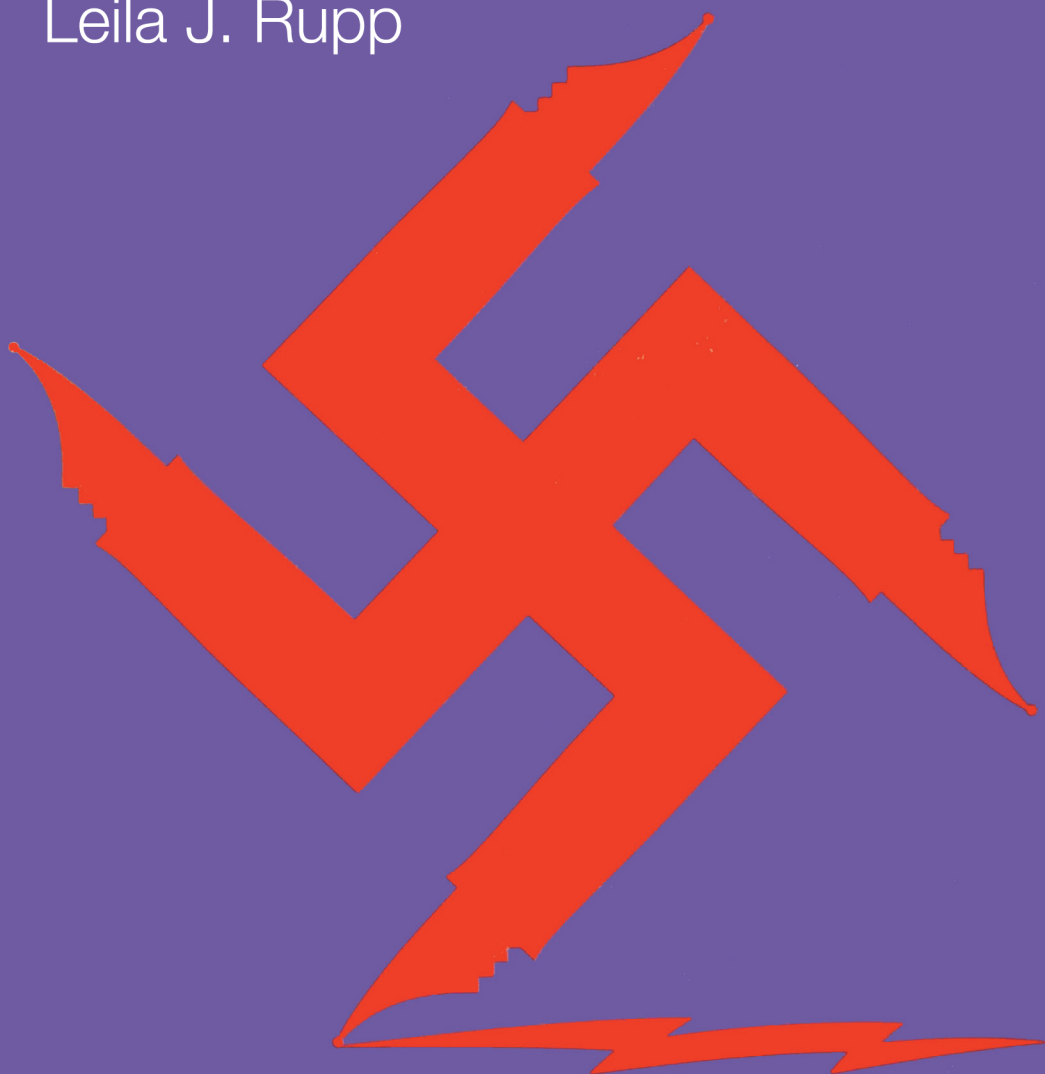


# Nazi Ideology before 1933

A Documentation

Introduced and translated by  
Barbara Miller Lane and  
Leila J. Rupp



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**Barbara Miller Lane and Leila J. Rupp**

**University of Texas Press Austin**



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## Preface

We are jointly responsible for the selection and translation of the documents, for the critical apparatus, for the descriptive notes, and for the second part of the Introduction, called "The Documents." The first part, "Nazi Ideology," was written by Barbara Miller Lane and published in *Central European History*, vol. 7, no. 1 (March 1974), pp. 3–30. It is reproduced here with only very slight modifications; the authors thank the editors of the journal for permission to reprint it.

We wish also to thank Volcker Witte, whose rough literal translations of all the selections were very helpful, since German is not a native language for either of us; and Christina Welti and Carol Patterson, who carefully searched the pages of the *Völkischer Beobachter* up to 1933 for articles by the writers included here and for treatment of the major themes raised by these writers. Barbara Miller Lane was greatly aided in the initial phases of research by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies (1967–68); Leila Rupp's work was facilitated by the Federal Work-Study Program in the summer of 1974. The staff of the Miriam Coffin Canaday Library at Bryn Mawr College has repeatedly extended itself in helping us to obtain varying editions of the works from which we have selected. And finally we thank our colleagues and friends at Bryn Mawr College for their cheerful help with obscure passages and quotations, and for their patient interest in a work whose subject matter is so often repugnant. Any errors, of course, are our own.

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# Introduction

## Nazi Ideology: Some Unfinished Business

During the last ten years historians have begun to reinterpret nearly every aspect of Nazi history. Many of their conclusions are very fruitful indeed. But there has as yet appeared no satisfactory reinterpretation of Nazi ideology. The study of Nazi ideology presents some apparently intractable problems; many scholars believe, moreover, that political thought played a relatively unimportant part in the rise (and fall) of the Third Reich. For these and other reasons, some of the most important source material for the study of Nazi ideology has been almost totally neglected. This is the large quantity of writings and programs published by the various Nazi leaders before 1933.

Before 1933 the Nazi Party published three major programs—the “Twenty-Five Points,” the agricultural program of 1930, the full-employment program of 1932—and many minor programs for the party’s suborganizations. The party publishing houses—Eher and the Kampf-Verlag—issued dozens of books and pamphlets, some by Hitler, but most by other party leaders. Of these other leaders, the most prolific were Dietrich Eckart, Gottfried Feder, Alfred Rosenberg, Gregor and Otto Strasser, and Richard Walther Darré. The many party newspapers and journals, which included the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the *NS-Briefe*, the Strasser newspapers, *Der Angriff*, and the *NS-Monatshefte*, published the programs, together with many theoretical writings. In addition to the papers and magazines published by the party itself, Eckart, Feder, Rosenberg, and Darré edited journals for nonparty publishers; these journals must, because of the political position of their editors, have seemed to contemporaries to express a Nazi Party “line.” The speeches, of Hitler and of the other party leaders, are far less accessible; few were published before 1933, and the collections published after 1933 are not always trustworthy.<sup>1</sup> But even without the speeches, the books and articles published by the Nazi leaders before 1933 constitute one of the largest bodies of political thought ever set forth by a political group over a comparable time period. By studying them chronologically, by comparing each to the other and to the programs, it ought to have been possible long ago accurately to assess what political goals the party sought before 1933, and what promises it made to its followers before it came to power. And by setting Hitler’s thought in this con-

text, it ought to have been possible to decide what his personal contribution to Nazi ideology really was.

That this task has never been attempted in any systematic way is one of the more peculiar omissions in Nazi historiography. There is of course an enormous literature on Hitler, but those studies which credit him with "ideas" (and most do not) tend to concentrate either on *Mein Kampf*, on the so-called "Secret Book," or on his writings and speeches after 1933.<sup>2</sup> The context of his thought is usually sought outside the party, in Vienna, or in the *völkisch* movement, or even in the broadest patterns of German intellectual development.<sup>3</sup> It is true that the history of the Nazi Party before 1933 has begun to be reconstructed, but this effort has concentrated upon political organization, without much reference to political thought.<sup>4</sup> Since there is now some doubt that Hitler was as powerful a dictator as was once assumed, scholars have begun to study the lives of those of his lieutenants who shared his power: Himmler, Goebbels, Goering, Rosenberg, Bormann, Speer, and many others.<sup>5</sup> But this study, with some exceptions, leaves out of account the major ideologies of the period before 1933.<sup>6</sup> Insofar as the party newspapers before 1933 have been discussed, they have been analyzed for the evolution of propaganda techniques, without reference to content.<sup>7</sup>

The reasons for scholarly neglect of the programs and publications of the period before 1933 should probably be sought in the enduring impact of some of the earliest studies of the Nazis, those for example of Frederick Schuman, Konrad Heiden, or Erich Fromm.<sup>8</sup> Their almost exclusive concern with Hitler led logically to their rejection of formal political thought as an important motive force in Nazi history. *Mein Kampf*, in which they were most interested, stubbornly resisted analysis as a work of political theory, lending credence to their view that Hitler was a ruthless demagogue, interested in power, not programs. Moreover, these early writers were attempting to discover what "led to" the institutions and policies of the Third Reich; since most of the leading publicists of the earlier period were powerless after 1933, their thought seemed to be irrelevant. And finally, the earliest students of Nazi history employed a very broad definition of ideology, often accepting Hitler's own insistence that they look for a "Weltanschauung." Since the relatively modest programmatic publications of the period before 1933 seemed unrelated to any claim to a "cosmology," the early writers on Nazism often discounted both the claim and the publications as cynical propaganda.<sup>9</sup> The ways in which such early studies of Nazi history have influenced later scholars are far too complex to analyze here. It is evident, however, that the pattern of interpretation has remained much the same for forty years.

It is, I think, the proper time to begin again; to study Nazi ideology comprehensively and without the preconceptions which have

dominated earlier scholarship. This Introduction will survey the publications of the major ideologues before 1933, in an attempt to suggest the methods appropriate to such a study and to identify the kinds of source materials which most urgently require attention. My discussion will concentrate upon Eckart, Rosenberg, Feder, Gregor and Otto Strasser, and Darré. These were the most prolific writers before 1933, the ones who most frequently set down statements with clear theoretical content, and the ones who, either through their personal prestige or through their editorial positions, exercised the most influence on the rest of the party.<sup>10</sup>

Where possible I will attempt to relate their thought to what is known of Hitler's, but I will not offer any sizable reinterpretations of Hitler's ideas. Hitler's few published works from this period have already been studied enough; a realistic appraisal of his thought must await the thorough examination of those hundreds of his speeches which he apparently chose not to publish. It is important to realize, however, that anything published by the party presses before 1933 either had Hitler's tacit approval or appeared to have it.

If one approaches the study of Nazi ideology without preconceptions, some useful observations can be made at the outset. Most of the Nazi leaders set forth a great deal of political theory in the period before 1933. The major ideas of each are quite distinctive, but there were significant shifts of emphasis and even of opinion for each throughout the period before 1933. Sometimes these shifts resulted from external political circumstances, sometimes they represented a response to the emergence of a new idea or writer in official publications. To a great extent the Nazi leaders wrote in competition with one another. While it may not always be clear whose favor they were courting (Hitler, a party following, the general public?), they clearly thought it necessary to publish in quantity, as a means to personal power within the party, or as a means of increasing the power of the party within the nation. Thus Nazi ideology, before 1933 at least, was obviously not a consistent whole, but a doctrine in the process of rapid development, into which new ideas were continually introduced. To trace this development it is necessary to study the writings, in every kind of publication, of the major political theorists within the party; and it is just as important to trace the interaction of these men and their ideas.

Among all of the Nazi writers, interaction and mutual influence is clearest and most clearly significant in the case of Eckart, Feder, and Rosenberg. Even before Hitler arrived back in Munich for the second time and became the fifty-fifth member of the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, these three had come to be close associates, and together had developed a distinctive set of political ideas.

Since recent rewriting of Nazi Party history has tended to concentrate on the early years in Munich,<sup>11</sup> the lives of the first party lead-



ers have begun to be reexamined. Of the three original ideologues, only Feder still lacks a biography.<sup>12</sup> Powerless after 1934, treated with contempt by Hitler, he has been discounted ever since. Feder was widely disliked within the party for his arrogance and inflexibility, but his early writings had a pervasive influence on the party's approach to economic issues. In 1919 he published his "Manifesto for Breaking the Bondage of Interest" and, in Eckart's *Auf Gut Deutsch*, an essay called "The Social State."<sup>13</sup> These writings contain the core of his thought, though he expanded on them in other works between 1919 and 1923.<sup>14</sup> They include his well-known demands for the abrogation of the national debt and the nationalization of credit; they also contain his much less well known theories of corporatism.

"Breaking the bondage of interest" is an uncouth and meaningless-sounding slogan; it is easy to dismiss it as the utterance of an "economic crank." But if one reads the writings rather than the slogan, it becomes clear that Feder had some concrete proposals in mind. He wanted to nationalize and centralize the German banking system.<sup>15</sup> He wanted a new "national socialist" state to play a major part (though he was imprecise about the means) in the management and ownership of public utilities, transportation systems, and natural resources.<sup>16</sup> The revenues the state obtained from these would, he thought, permit retirement of the public debt and eliminate most direct taxation.<sup>17</sup> He also envisioned large-scale interference by the state in private enterprise: through its control of credit it would gain some control over prices and wages; it would confiscate excess profit and use it for social welfare purposes; it would participate in urban landownership on a large scale, thus regulating rents and diminishing, or in some cases abolishing, mortgages.<sup>18</sup> Feder's writings, then, called for a thoroughgoing state socialism.

In the same writings he also said quite a lot about the form of the new state. It would be corporatist in structure, and highly representative.<sup>19</sup> Never did Feder, or any major Nazi writer before 1933, prophesy a dictatorship.<sup>20</sup> Like many later Nazi theorists, Feder spoke both of the community of the folk and of the rise of a new elite, and it was never clear whether he thought the two were the same or not. But it is significant that Feder was the first of the Nazi writers to set forth a comprehensive theory of corporatism; it is not necessary to look to the Strassers for this idea, as Reinhard Kühnl has done, and certainly corporatism was widely accepted within the Nazi Party long before the influence of the depression made German industrialists enthusiastic about it.<sup>21</sup>

Although there is as yet no direct evidence, Feder could well have been the writer of the anticapitalist sections of the "Twenty-Five Points," which promised expropriation of big business and of some urban landholdings.<sup>22</sup> He did not, apparently, extend his theories to

encompass rural land use before 1923, although he may have done so in speeches to the radical farmers of the north in the later twenties.<sup>23</sup> It is also possible to see him as the author of the references to corporatism in the early program. But I think he did not write the anti-Semitic portions of this document. Hitler's assertions to the contrary, there is no evidence that Feder had strong anti-Semitic leanings.<sup>24</sup> In fact he described anti-Semitism in disparaging tones as "purely negative" and did not write a systematically anti-Semitic tract until 1933.<sup>25</sup>

For early anti-Semitic doctrine among the Nazi leaders it is necessary to turn to Eckart and Rosenberg. Here too there has been considerable confusion. Since the publication of the earliest histories of national socialism, Eckart has been regarded as the most sadistic and vulgar of the early anti-Semites within the party—as a precursor of Streicher.<sup>26</sup> Yet the works which conform most closely to this stereotype, *Gravediggers of Russia*, *In the New Germany*, and *Reports from a Suffering Hungary*, were in fact compilations of vicious cartoons drawn by a friend of Rosenberg's from Reval, with introductions by Rosenberg and a few bits of anti-Semitic doggerel as Eckart's only contributions.<sup>27</sup> Actually, Eckart's anti-Semitism was entirely different from Streicher's, which conforms most closely to our stereotype of Nazi anti-Semitism, and different from Rosenberg's views as well. Rosenberg's anti-Semitism was overwhelmingly biological. He held that the Jews were a distinct race, from whose racial characteristics religious, political, and cultural consequences could be deduced.<sup>28</sup> But for Eckart, "Jewishness" was not a racial condition but a spiritual one. In part, "Jewishness" was defined by religion; the Jews are those, Eckart said, who do not believe in a life after death; they therefore have no "soul" themselves and seek to deny it in others.<sup>29</sup> And from this he derived a much broader definition.

In some of his early writings "Jewishness" represents concentration on this-worldly things and forms the fundamental basis of all philosophical materialism.<sup>30</sup> Using this concept of "Jewishness," Eckart argued that each man is at least a little bit "Jewish": that men must seek to overcome "Jewishness" not only around them but also within themselves. Eckart decked out these theories with a wealth of philosophical trappings, invoking Ibsen and Schopenhauer, among others, but the most interesting of his conclusions was a kind of pervasive dualism. Not only the individual but also the nation is wracked by the battle between the spiritual and the material, between Jew and non-Jew; yet "life" depends on the perpetuation of the struggle, so that when the individual or the nation overcomes "the Jew within," death ensues (though, presumably, so does immortality).<sup>31</sup> This strange notion may help to explain Eckart's hatred of the Zionist movement, against which he raged in *Auf Gut*

*Deutsch*. He may also have inspired Rosenberg's early anti-Zionist tracts. But clearly the implications of Eckart's and Rosenberg's anti-Semitism were very different, since for Eckart Germany must retain some "Jewishness" to stay "alive," while for Rosenberg the revivification of the *Volk* depended utterly upon the purging of all Jews.<sup>32</sup>

Scholars have generally noticed only Eckart's anti-Semitism. But the subject matter of his publications was much broader. The extent of his influence is still not wholly understood, despite Margarete Plewnia's careful work.<sup>33</sup> Between 1919 and 1921 Eckart's *Auf Gut Deutsch* offered a forum for many political writers, not least for Rosenberg and Feder.<sup>34</sup> While writing for *Auf Gut Deutsch*, Rosenberg and Feder may have adopted some of Eckart's ideas, or the influence may have been predominantly in the other direction.<sup>35</sup> It is clear, however, that Eckart considered himself a political radical; he was probably the first of the Nazi writers to call for a "second revolution" because the "first revolution"—that is, the November revolution of 1918—had not been radical or thoroughgoing enough. The November revolution was a sham, he argued, because it merely cloaked the return of the old leaders under a false socialism. A genuine revolution would bring forth new leaders and introduce true socialism.<sup>36</sup>

In April 1919 Eckart tried to challenge the newly established Soviet Republic in Bavaria by issuing his own call to revolution. He composed the leaflet "To All Working People!" which he and Rosenberg hand-distributed on April 5, 1919.<sup>37</sup> "To All Working People!" called for a new government which would bring about the "nationalization of credit" and free the common people from the yoke of the Entente powers. As Rosenberg later described the incident, they were a timorous pair of revolutionaries indeed, alone on the streets without a following.<sup>38</sup> But both the handbill, which later found its way into official Nazi publications, and the revolutionary effort acquired considerable fame within the party. Some of the phrases in the handbill sound like Feder, but his participation is not certain. What is clear, however, is that by the spring of 1919, Feder, Eckart, and Rosenberg were working very closely together.

Rosenberg's distinctive contribution to this early development was his view of the Bolshevik revolution. Almost immediately after he came to Munich from the Baltic region, Rosenberg was taken under Eckart's wing. He launched his career as a political pamphleteer with an article called "The Russian Jewish Revolution" in *Auf Gut Deutsch*.<sup>39</sup> In this and many subsequent articles and books he "revealed" the dominance of the Jews in the Bolshevik revolution and claimed that this revolution was part of a larger Zionist conspiracy which included the plundering of Germany by international banking circles as well.<sup>40</sup> By adding the Bolsheviks to Feder's "international monetary powers" and to Eckart's international Jewish con-

spiracy, Rosenberg created one of the most persistent images in Nazi thought and writing. After Rosenberg, the "golden international" represented a conspiracy of Jewish Bolsheviks and Jewish bankers closing in on Germany.<sup>41</sup> There is no doubt that many Nazi leaders, including Himmler and probably Hitler as well, adopted this idea with the utmost sincerity.

From 1919 to 1923, in essays in *Auf Gut Deutsch*, editorials in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, and in a long series of books, including his very popular commentary on the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*,<sup>42</sup> Rosenberg established an enduring reputation within the party as an expert on both the Bolsheviks and the Jews. He remained a fervent anti-Bolshevik all his life, but the emphasis on anti-Semitism diminished greatly in his later official publications, and its role in his thought remains somewhat ambiguous. Rosenberg's earliest essays, written before he came to Germany and unpublished until 1943, contain little anti-Semitism.<sup>43</sup> Rather they show great, if amateur, enthusiasms for painting, archaeology, and aesthetics. And they display Rosenberg's professional interests as an architect. These interests reappeared in Rosenberg's editorial writings in the *Völkischer Beobachter* in the middle twenties, dominated his work with the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*, and appear to have absorbed most of his intellectual energies from 1928 on.<sup>44</sup> During this later period, however, Rosenberg edited an independent anti-Semitic journal, *Der Weltkampf, Halbmonatsschrift für den Judenfrage aller Länder*.<sup>45</sup> It is not clear, therefore, whether Rosenberg's anti-Semitism was sincere and consistent, but was at least partially suppressed after 1923 by some kind of official pressure, or whether it was a cynical concoction used whenever he found a favorable market. There is evidence for the latter view.<sup>46</sup>

In any case, after 1923, Rosenberg's political writings for the *Völkischer Beobachter* and for the Eher Verlag concentrated increasingly upon foreign policy, art, and culture.<sup>47</sup> His glorification of the "Aryans," which appeared first in articles for the *Völkischer Beobachter* and later in *Houston Stewart Chamberlain* and *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, seems to have been one of his earliest passions. If one can believe Rosenberg's memoirs, it developed long before he read Chamberlain, as a result of his enthusiasm for those archaeologists who taught that the Baltic must have been the birthplace of the original Indo-European people.<sup>48</sup> There exists therefore a definite possibility that it was Rosenberg who introduced Hitler to the Aryans, rather than the other way around, as is commonly assumed.

The changes in Rosenberg's thought and writing which occurred around 1923 were paralleled by a more general change in the way in which Nazi ideology developed. Eckart died at the end of 1923 and Feder became rather rigid: although his early works were reissued

by Eher several times between 1923 and 1933, they appeared without significant changes, and he did not attempt many new publications.<sup>49</sup> Thus, although "breaking the bondage of interest," throwing off the yoke of the "golden international," and establishing "German socialism" became the typical slogans of Nazi propaganda, they were not developed further by the original Munich ideologues. Meanwhile Rosenberg, exploring new themes, and the Strassers and their circle (including for a brief time both Goebbels and Himmler) became the leading influence in the development of party doctrine. Unlike the original Munich group, Rosenberg and the Strassers were not closely allied, and after 1923 Nazi political writing displays many tensions. The two schools competed directly through the press, so that, for example, no less a work than the *Myth of the Twentieth Century* was almost certainly written—and very hastily written—in response to Gregor and Otto Strasser's *National Socialism, the Weltanschauung of the Twentieth Century*.<sup>50</sup> It is also probable that Rosenberg was encouraged to return to his earlier interest in the arts during this period by a series of essays on the arts in the Strassers' *NS-Briefe*.<sup>51</sup> All the Nazi writers attempted to preserve a façade of mutual respect in print, but on at least one occasion Gregor Strasser's views provoked Rosenberg to harsh words in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, while Otto carried on an acrimonious debate with the inflexible Feder on the question of profit sharing.<sup>52</sup>

But if the Strassers and their circle helped to stimulate debate and widen the focus of ideological writing, this was not, as has usually been assumed, because they represented a dissident or radical faction within the party. Certainly it is true that neither Otto, who resigned from the party in 1930, nor Gregor, who resigned his post as Reichsorganisationsleiter in 1932 (though not his party membership), held office in Hitler's government. But whatever the reasons for their resignations were (they are not entirely clear as yet), up to the dates of their sudden departures they were widely influential publicists, and Gregor, between 1926 and the end of 1932, was one of the most powerful men in the party.<sup>53</sup>

To understand the Strassers' role it is necessary to separate the thought of the two brothers, and this, primarily because of the impact of Otto Strasser's apologias, has not been done. In his several memoirs, Otto sought to dissociate himself, and in retrospect his brother too, from the Nazi Party, by stressing the radical, revolutionary, and socialist nature of their thought.<sup>54</sup> To the extent that the Strassers' ideas have been studied at all, therefore, interest has focused on Gregor's unpublished draft program of 1925–26 and upon the radical views which supposedly led Otto to break with the party in 1930. Gregor has tended to be seen as Otto's disciple, and many scholars assume, all evidence to the contrary, that it must have been

his socialist ideas which led Gregor in turn to break with Hitler in 1932. If their writings are looked at as a whole, however, it would appear that Otto, not Gregor, was the disciple, and that far from being a disappointed dissident, Gregor successfully introduced more new ideas into the mainstream of Nazi thought than anyone else. Gregor wrote more than any other Nazi leader except Rosenberg, and had one of the most fertile minds of all the Nazi writers. Nor was he a radical; he was, if anything, more conservative than Feder.

Apart from the complications which Otto's memoirs have created in the interpretation of Gregor Strasser's thought, there are several other reasons why he has often been regarded as a dissident and disappointed radical. The first of these is Hitler's rejection in February 1926 of the draft program written by Goebbels and Strasser. Goebbels' descriptions in his diaries of this event are highly emotional and portray it as a major defeat.<sup>55</sup> The second reason is Gregor's organizational role in the party—his efforts to strengthen the party in the northern cities, and his proposals to form Nazi trade unions.<sup>56</sup> Finally, as Propagandaleiter, Strasser is known to have laid great stress on the frequent use of the term "socialism" in Nazi propaganda.

Hitler's rejection of the draft program at the Bamberg conference has often been misinterpreted. He did not explicitly reject the content of the Strasser-Goebbels draft; instead he convinced the assembled party leaders that it was inappropriate to formulate a new major program at that time.<sup>57</sup> In fact it was Goebbels who was disappointed, not Strasser. Gregor went on to write many more programs, major and minor; at least one of the major ones—the full-employment program of 1932<sup>58</sup>—was wholly endorsed by the party, and it is quite probable that he also had a significant part in drafting the agricultural program of 1930. The Nazi trade-union proposal and its failure have also been misconstrued. Gregor developed many successful organizational innovations to aid party expansion in the north; there is no evidence that he was particularly devoted to the trade-union scheme or particularly unhappy when Hitler refused to endorse it.<sup>59</sup>

If we turn to his writings it becomes clear that Gregor's views on "socialism" have also been misunderstood, as a result of a semantic confusion which he himself created. When Gregor Strasser wrote about socialism he was not advocating social justice, nor was he urging the economic betterment of a single class. Instead, like Feder, and as in the 1926 draft program itself, Strasser advocated a corporate organization of society, according to economic function, and, like Feder, he thought that the new state should have a parliament of corporations. Such a parliament had been promised in the "Twenty-Five Points"; Strasser's draft program of 1926 described such an

arrangement in more detail than the earlier program, and although Hitler repudiated the draft program as an official document, Strasser continued to write about corporatism, as did Feder.

In general, Gregor appears to have built very extensively on Feder's work, unsystematic as Feder was. When Strasser condemned modern capitalism it was in terms of the danger of "mammonism" on the one hand and the conspiracy of international bankers on the other.<sup>60</sup> He did add a number of variations on Feder's themes. In *Fifty-Eight Years of the Young Plan* (Kampf-Verlag, 1929), for example, he brought the early "conspiracy" theory of Rosenberg, Eckart, and Feder up to date. Not only had the defeat of Germany been engineered by international finance capital, but reparations in general represented a continuation of a state of war, maintained in the Dawes and Young plans.<sup>61</sup>

Gregor based his strong pleas for autarchy on this kind of argument. Again and again he stressed that it was the economic dependency of Germany on the rest of the world which had permitted the Versailles treaty and the Dawes and Young plans. Rearmament must go hand in hand with autarchy; only when both were accomplished could Germany resume its rightful role among nations.<sup>62</sup> Some of this was implied by Feder, but never spelled out by him, and there is not much about autarchy in *Mein Kampf*. Gregor was primarily responsible for introducing this theme into Nazi thought; he therefore inspired if he did not help draft the agricultural program of 1930, with its great stress on autarchy.<sup>63</sup>

Strasser's relationship to the agricultural program becomes even more apparent when we observe that he regarded an improvement of the condition of the small farmer as the essential precondition of autarchy. This emphasis appears not only in the draft program of 1926 and in the abortive resolution in favor of dissolving the princely estates, but also in a long series of articles in the Strasser newspapers and in the *Völkischer Beobachter*; it is perhaps the most consistent theme in Gregor Strasser's writing.<sup>64</sup> None of the other Nazi theorists before 1930 was much concerned with this class, and Daré, as we shall see, probably entered the party too late to do more than change the direction of this line of thinking. The party's decision to mount a systematic appeal to German small farmers, which is reflected in official publications and speeches from 1925 on, may also have been inspired by Gregor.<sup>65</sup>

Ernst Nolte argued that Ernst Roehm embodied for the party the ideal of the front soldier.<sup>66</sup> This may well be, but it was Gregor Strasser, Roehm's friend, who exalted the front soldier in print. It is very striking that when Gregor wrote about the necessity of selecting a new elite for the future society, he never said that this elite would be working class. Occasionally he implied that it would be made up of farmers, but more frequently he promised leadership to the front

soldier.<sup>67</sup> Like his friend and close associate, Manfred von Killinger, he also wrote in glowing terms of "front socialism," the comradeship before death.<sup>68</sup> His view of women's role in the new society was closely related to this military ideal.<sup>69</sup>

Gregor Strasser also helped to reintroduce the concept of the "second revolution" into Nazi writing after 1925. The "second revolution" would complete the work of the "first," which, Gregor said, had made a good beginning by overcoming the old empire and by combining the revolutionary efforts of workers and soldiers, before it was perverted and stunted by the Weimar Republic.<sup>70</sup> It is important, in view of the grudging admiration for the Second Empire which Hitler expressed in *Mein Kampf*,<sup>71</sup> that Gregor so often stressed that there could be no return to any of the empire's institutions. Those few writers who have noticed his references to the "second revolution" have assumed that he was here at his most dissident; that he was proposing immediate and violent revolution in the face of Hitler's determination to use legal means. But as Reichsorganisationsleiter, Gregor was Hitler's principal agent in negotiating coalitions. Actually, Gregor Strasser was not writing about either a violent revolution or an immediate one, for he said, "it is not enough to change a system . . . necessary most of all is a change of spirit."<sup>72</sup> The real essence of the "second revolution" for him was a "spiritual revolution," which would bring about an ethos of "work and bread," "honor and merit." A "revolution of the soul" could easily wait for legal means. In the overall perspective of Nazi writing, Dietrich Eckart was more impatient and more inclined to violence than Gregor Strasser.

When Otto Strasser's thought is examined against this background, it appears almost wholly derivative and still less radical than his brother's. On every issue, Otto followed his brother's lead, sometimes expanding on a given theme, but never originating an idea. Like Gregor and Feder, Otto was anticapitalist rather than socialist, and like them he defined the enemy as financial capitalism.<sup>73</sup> Like Gregor, and again like Feder, Otto proposed a corporatist organization of the economy and of the future state.<sup>74</sup> He seems to have been even less interested in the condition of the working class than Gregor was, but he echoed Gregor's concern for the small farmer and for autarchy.<sup>75</sup> Otto also wrote at some length about the importance of military service as a proving ground for a new elite; in addition, it was the war itself which for Otto had constituted the "first" revolution.<sup>76</sup>

Otto's best-known writing on the "second revolution" is the "Fourteen Theses of the German Revolution" of 1929.<sup>77</sup> Since he republished this document after his break with the party, as the manifesto of the Kampfgemeinschaft revolutionären Nationalsozialisten, it has been assumed by Mosse and others that this document, at



least, called for immediate and violent revolution. But on the contrary, the "Theses," windy and vague in style, propose no immediate political changes. They prophesy the coming of the "German revolution," but do not say when; they "welcome the corporative economic system of socialism"; they condemn materialism; they promise "the full development of the unique racial character."<sup>78</sup> Certainly they cannot have been regarded as particularly objectionable by the party, since Goebbels publicly congratulated Otto on them, and since Otto remained within the party for another year after their first publication.<sup>79</sup>

In fact there was only one issue on which Otto clearly differed from his brother. Inspired perhaps by an early essay by Goebbels, Otto argued that, since the ascendancy of Stalin, Russia was no longer Bolshevik, but rather "national socialist," and as such should be seen by the party not as an enemy, but rather as a potential ally.<sup>80</sup> This idea must have been wholly unacceptable to Rosenberg, and almost certainly to Hitler as well. Gregor, like Goebbels, flirted briefly with the "national bolshevist" idea, but Otto wrote about it repeatedly and consistently.<sup>81</sup> It is possible that it was his intractable stance on this issue which led Otto to resign in the early summer of 1930.

It would be fruitful to reexamine Otto's break with the party in the light of an analysis of his published writings. Otto himself claimed after the fact that he could not accept Nazi participation in the coalition in Thuringia; that he left the party under the banner "revolution now!"<sup>82</sup> But there is little in Otto's earlier writings that is prophetic of this position.<sup>83</sup> I think that something quite different may have happened: that Otto was always seen, by both Hitler and Gregor, as useful in wooing the intellectuals of the radical right; that by 1930 many of these had already been accommodated within the party structure, and that those who had not been so accommodated were sticking on the "national bolshevist" issue. At the same time, Rosenberg's *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* was proving very successful in gaining the backing of distinguished, but ultimately more malleable, academics.<sup>84</sup> And some of these men, as employees of the coalition government in Thuringia, were making the party famous to an extent that neither Otto nor the Strasser circle in general could hope to emulate.<sup>85</sup> It is possible, therefore, that by 1930 the Strasser "circle," and above all Otto Strasser, had served their purpose, and Otto, at least, did not know how to, or did not wish to, adapt.

These observations on the Strasser circle make the role of Richard Walther Darré even more problematical than it has hitherto appeared. References to Darré's best-known works, *The Peasantry as the Life-Source of the Nordic Race* (Lehmann, 1928) and *A New Aristocracy out of Blood and Soil* (Lehmann, 1930), were rather fre-

quent in the early studies of Nazi ideology, probably because Darré, unlike the other writers so far considered, achieved a position of great and lasting power under the Third Reich.<sup>86</sup> These works went through at least a dozen new editions after 1933, and seemed therefore to explain the policies both of the Reichsbauernführer and, to some people, of the SS as well.<sup>87</sup> Certainly these books did provide the terminology and the frame of reference for a great deal of writing, both systematic and propagandistic, about "blood and soil" after 1933. It was therefore quite natural, for those who noticed the agricultural program of 1930 at all, to assume that Darré wrote it. And this assumption has persisted up to the present, in the work of Bullock, Reitlinger, Frischauer, Höhne, Ackermann, Orlow, and Schulz in the face of rather persuasive evidence that Darré did not become a formal party member until a month or more after the agricultural program was published.<sup>88</sup> In fact it has recently been established that even the sketch for the organization of the Agrarpolitischer Apparat, presented to Hitler in August 1930 and always attributed to Darré, was instead the work of Georg Kenstler, Artamanen leader and member of the Strasser circle.<sup>89</sup> The truth about the authorship of the program, as well as about Darré's entrance into the party, will probably eventually emerge from the quantities of manuscript evidence in Koblenz.<sup>90</sup> But the problem will remain of assessing Darré's role in Nazi ideology, and this can be attempted on the basis of published sources.

Even if Darré's major works were written before his entrance into the party, from the spring of 1931 they were regularly quoted and paraphrased in party publications; their central arguments therefore found their way into the mainstream of Nazi ideology well before 1933. In these works of 1929 and 1930, Darré emerges less as an agricultural expert than as a mystical glorifier of the peasant way of life. He argued that the remnants of the Aryan or Nordic race, the original Germans, could still be found on the soil among those German small farmers who had handed down their holdings from father to son from time immemorial. In the future, these—rather few—farmers should therefore have a pivotal political and social role as a new leadership elite. This ancient peasantry should also provide the basis for a eugenics program which would purge the Nordic race of degenerate accretions.<sup>91</sup>

Anti-Semitism was never the main theme of Darré's writings, but where it does appear it gains authority from its apparently "scientific" context. For Darré the Jews, descended from the ancient Semitic tribesmen, represented the reverse of all the virtues of "Nordic" history. The Nordic was rooted in the soil, attuned to nature, religious, courageous, and creative. The Semite was nomadic, rational, irreligious, cowardly, uncreative, and, in recent times, highly urbanized.<sup>92</sup> Out of these arguments Darré created a far more coherent

doctrine of biological determinism for the Nazis than they had had before. Both culture and society, for him, depended upon race; any kind of broad social and cultural revolution must therefore involve a eugenics program. Darré was never a "popular" writer; his books were scholarly or pseudoscholarly, studded with footnotes and learned references—primarily to biological and anthropological sources.<sup>93</sup> A professional agronomist, Darré also brought his not inconsiderable knowledge of animal husbandry to bear upon his arguments, so that, vicious as he was, he appeared to be the most authoritative of the Nazi racists. This mixture of ideas must have had a most profound effect on Himmler's thought;<sup>94</sup> the extent to which it influenced Hitler still needs to be explored.

While paraphrases and quotations of his longer works began to appear regularly in party publications early in 1931, Darré also began to write extensively for Nazi journals and newspapers, and to draw some practical conclusions from his ideas. In such essentially programmatic statements as "The Farmers and the State" and *The Farmers in Crisis: Their Salvation by Adolf Hitler*, he promised the establishment of entail and primogeniture for "racially fit" peasant proprietors, and an extensive program of resettlement in the east for "Nordics" who had left the land.<sup>95</sup> At the same time, he continued to publish other less official writings with the Lehmann publishing house; *Eugenics for the German People*, for example, developed a series of propositions about racial selection which formed the basis of Himmler's marriage laws for the SS.<sup>96</sup>

Because of his influence upon Himmler and because he held major offices in the Nazi state, Darré played a more obvious role in putting ideology into practice than any of the other major Nazi writers. It is tempting to conclude that Darré somehow displaced the other party ideologues, either in the affections of Hitler or in the struggle for power within the party hierarchy. But whatever the realities of Darré's influence after 1933 actually were, I think it would be wrong to assume a necessary relation between personal political power and the implementation of ideology in the Third Reich. Although most of the leading party ideologues were either executed, ousted from office, or kicked upstairs into purely honorific posts after 1933, there is no clear evidence that it was their political thought which barred them from power. And after 1933, the "new men" who rose to political power were men who had received their political education not only from Darré, but also from Eckart, Rosenberg, Feder, and the Strassers. They may well have attempted to put into practice the ideas of their mentors.

I have not attempted to assert that Nazi ideology as it developed before 1933 exerted a decisive influence over state or society in the Third Reich. But I do think that a fresh look at Nazi institutions against the background of a thorough study of Nazi thought before

1933 might furnish some surprises. As Nolte has remarked: "Did not the subsequent control of international payments through a central government foreign-exchange body correspond to one of Feder's early proposals?"<sup>97</sup> Moving to a broader interpretation of Feder, one might also assert that the structure of the Labor Front and the Reichskulturkammer approximated Feder's corporatism. Gleichschaltung itself implemented the centralism of Feder and Strasser. The Arbeitsdienst grew directly out of Gregor Strasser's proposals to the Reichstag in 1930;<sup>98</sup> Nazi public works in general may have been inspired by his full-employment program of 1932. The artistic policies of the Third Reich were closely related, though in a complex manner, to Rosenberg's ideas.<sup>99</sup> If such an investigation showed only partial, conflicting relationships between institutions and the early ideology, these findings would still be illuminating. Like other political movements in other times and places, the Nazi Party probably broke some of its promises, and kept some.

## The Documents

This group of twenty-six documents illustrates the themes and phases of Nazi ideology which are discussed in the preceding section. We have selected them from the vast mass of writings published by Eckart, Feder, Rosenberg, Darré, and the members of the Strasser circle; each selection is as typical of the thought and style of its author as we could make it. The selections support the argument of the preceding section about the ideas of each individual and the phases in his thought; they also provide a great deal of additional information which could not be summarized in a general introduction. We have included eight programs and manifestoes which were not specifically discussed in the previous section; their content, we think, is fundamental to an understanding of the development of Nazi ideology before 1933. Each selection is prefaced by a detailed introduction, which discusses provenance, accounts for the reasons for selection, and comments on specific points not discussed elsewhere.

Selections from Hitler's work are not included—*Mein Kampf* and Hitler's *Secret Book* are readily available, as are some of the speeches before 1933; these can be read in conjunction with the materials presented here. We hope that an anthology such as this will prompt further study of Nazi ideology, which will in turn eventually lead to a clear understanding of what was personal in Hitler's thought, what was consistent in it, and why he permitted or even encouraged such divergent views among his lieutenants. It has been our preliminary conclusion that in his published works, Hitler addressed himself to very few of the specific issues treated by the selections in-

cluded here; cross-references are made in the notes to the most relevant passages in *Mein Kampf* and the *Secret Book*.

All the documents but one were published (Strasser-Goebbels draft program). While a few were originally speeches, they were later published and often republished, thus attaining at least semiofficial status as programmatic statements. It can be argued, and Hitler did so (see *Mein Kampf*, vol. 2, chap. 6), that Nazi political thought was better represented by the spoken than by the written word. It may well be that a full picture of the development of ideas within the party will eventually require thorough knowledge of all the unpublished speeches of the period. But, as the previous section points out, published materials alone offer an immense field of research, and should be dealt with first.

The selections are arranged chronologically, rather than by author, in order to facilitate systematic comparison to each other and to Hitler within short periods of time. This arrangement does not single out individual writers, as the first part of the Introduction does, but emphasizes the interplay among them and thus stresses the phases in ideological development up to 1932. A series of eight selections leads up to the "Twenty-Five Points," published in 1920; this first party program can be seen to have summarized much of the content of these early writings and manifestoes. The gap of three years to the date of the next document probably reflects the ebbing of concern with political writing and the concentration on organizational questions among the party leaders during that period. The selections resume in 1923; those from 1923 and 1924 reflect the dominance of Rosenberg in ideological matters during those years. A new phase began in 1925, with the emergence of Hitler from prison, the resolution to create a national, legal parliamentary party, and the growing prominence of the Strasser circle, both in party organization and in ideological debate. Our materials from 1925 to 1929 are drawn entirely from the writings of the Strasser circle; both Feder and Rosenberg remained very active in political writing during those years, but their ideas are adequately anticipated in the earlier selections. The last eight documents were written during the period of the party's rise to power; they appeared from 1929 to 1932, a time which marks the onset of the Great Depression and the peak of agricultural crisis. These selections demonstrate Darré's growing importance in Nazi political thought, and at the same time show the further development and increasing significance of the Strassers' social thought. Two major programs and one minor one appear at this point: Rosenberg's program for the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* displays the evolution of his earlier cultural ideas in the context of increasing power; the party statement on agriculture of March 6, 1930, helps in understanding Darré's importance and also embodies or anticipates some of his ideas; "Work and Bread!", the

full-employment program of 1932, represents in large measure the culmination of social thought within the party before 1933.

Nearly every document included here raises the problem, long a troublesome one for historians of the Nazi movement, of distinguishing between ideology and propaganda. Even the most "elevated" or philosophical tract was intended to win followers, a process regarded by most scholars as "propagandistic." On the other hand, even the most crude and emotion-laden broadside, directed to a small interest group or to an ephemeral issue, usually promised at the same time large-scale political and cultural change. This latter kind of promise has traditionally been regarded by historians as the function of ideology. We have made an effort to emphasize writings with a thoughtful character and a considerable amount of general content; from the multitude of minor programs and manifestoes we have chosen only those which made an attempt to be broad in scope and, after 1920, only those with some official status. But it is important to remember that although Nazi political writings were always at least partially propagandistic in intent, Nazi propaganda was always characterized by a very high ideological content. We suspect, in fact, that the distinction, while useful for some purposes, has been too much belabored, and often obscures, rather than illuminates, the nature of Nazi political thought.

In choosing the selections, we sought to find pieces which were both thematically and stylistically typical. When possible, however, we preferred a short essay to a longer one, since it seemed better to include the whole, rather than to extract from it. Only by following the thread of an argument at some length can one capture the peculiarities of style and thought which characterize the Nazi writers.

Each of these authors had a very individual prose style; in some cases different phases in the writing of each can also be discerned. Rosenberg wrote an abominable German, stilted, pretentious, wooly, and ungrammatical at once. In his more philosophical writings it is hard to find a sentence which uses the active rather than the passive voice. Yet in his most typical anti-Semitic writings, such as "The Russian Jewish Revolution," or the *Protocols*, he adopted a journalistic manner, quite different and rather effective, which he may have modeled on Eckart's early political journalism. Feder's prose, in contrast, was extremely simple, dry, and formula-like, reflecting perhaps his training as an engineer. Eckart's writing ranged from the stirring manifesto ("To All Working People!") to political satire ("The Twister") to elaborate religious and philosophical speculation ("Jewishness in and around Us"). In some cases he was able to move among many of these modes at once ("Men!", "The Twister"). He also often adopted a preacherlike tone, evoking, perhaps, his own Protestant background. Occasionally, too, in his more philosophical vein, his arguments became twisted and irra-

tional. The resulting combination of learned allusion, alternating high wit and gutter humor, and lacings of utter unreason, produced a unique blend.

As representative of the Strasser circle there are selections by Himmler, Goebbels, and Gregor and Otto Strasser, together with a condensed version of the Strasser-Goebbels draft program of 1925. The pieces by Goebbels and Himmler are good examples of the problem of distinguishing between ideological and propagandistic writing. All three are extremely simple in expression, and hortatory in tone, yet the content is extensive. Himmler adopts an unusual storytelling manner, while Goebbels feigns the intimacy of the personal letter. Both men, of course, went on to be enormously skillful propagandists and to acquire very great personal power. A foretaste of Goebbels' later career can be found in the ease with which he proposes further revolution without specifying its content, and in the ruthlessness with which he proposes to shuck off the "pioneer."

Otto Strasser's writing was consistently straightforward and expository in manner, precise, educated, but never pseudoerudite. We might assume that these qualities reflected Strasser's academic background were it not for the fact that German academic writing was normally far more turgid than Strasser's. On occasion, too, Otto could be both inspirational and wooly, as in the "Fourteen Theses of the German Revolution."

Gregor Strasser's prose was in dramatic contrast to his brother's, and to that of most of the other Nazi writers as well. It was enormously personal (he may have owed something to Goebbels in this), designed always to display Gregor as a simple man of action, ready to think heavy thoughts for the good of the movement, and in the process coming up with the right answers. Some of this tone may derive from the fact that Gregor's writings usually began as speeches, but on the other hand, and unlike most of the other Nazi leaders, Gregor seems usually to have designed his speeches to be published. And the same manner is apparent in such essays as "Thoughts about the Tasks of the Future." Gregor was as revolutionary as Eckart, as ruthless as Goebbels, and perhaps more truly intellectual than any of them, but the tough, plain-speaking tone often obscures these qualities.

Despite the differences among the members of the Strasser circle, they all shared a certain simplicity of expression. With Darré, however, we return to a prose nearly as opaque as Rosenberg's, and with the same pretensions to erudition. Like Rosenberg, Darré was an *Auslandsdeutscher*, a German raised outside of Germany; the two men had many of the same difficulties with the language. And, in addition, they both often tried to make the language bear more meaning than it would. Darré, for example, rang so many changes on the words *Blut*, *Boden*, *Bauerntum*, and *Zucht* that we are left

wondering if their content is mystical or nonexistent. Rosenberg treated *Volk*, *Staat*, and *Nation* very similarly. But Darré was far less able than Rosenberg to write simply when he tried, as in "The Farmers and the State."

These idiosyncrasies of style should help solve the controversy over the authorship of the various programs. In particular, the origins of both the "Twenty-Five Points" and the party statement on agriculture have long been debated. Our tentative conclusion is that both were joint products: the "Twenty-Five Points" draws on ideas and phraseology from Eckart, Rosenberg, and Feder, and to a certain extent from the "Guidelines of the German Workers' Party" as well. The party statement on agriculture does, as has long been asserted, contain many of Darré's ideas, but the prose style is very different from his. Neither program dramatically resembles Hitler's writing either, though his participation must be assumed. Given the committeelike manner in which the Strasser-Goebbels draft program of 1925 was composed, perhaps it is not too fanciful to suggest that these two programs also resulted from a widely circulated draft. The other programs and manifestoes included here, though they have been less widely debated, have also been the subject of some scholarly controversy; the authorship of nearly every one has at some time been questioned. We feel quite confident in our ascriptions: the "Manifesto for Breaking the Bondage of Interest" sounds like Feder's; the "Work and Bread!" resounds with Gregor Strasser's overwhelmingly personal style. The "Fourteen Theses of the German Revolution" diverges somewhat more markedly from the other pieces by Otto Strasser, and its interpretation is further complicated by its obvious intent to rival the "Twenty-Five Points" in tone and format. But the ideas are those of Otto and Gregor; there seems no compelling reason to question Otto's signature, particularly since the "Theses" were twice published as his in Strasser publications.

This discussion underlines some of the difficulties of translating Nazi prose: the many different styles; the mixture of erudition, allusion, and extremely colloquial phrasing; the implicit reference, in some kinds of phrasing, to native traditions of speech and prose. These factors alone make the Nazi writings very hard to render into a parallel American English prose. But, in addition, the Nazi writers had already begun before 1933 the process of creating "Nazi Deutsch," a new set of usages in which words do not always mean what they seem to mean, either because they are now combined in new euphemisms, or because they come to be overloaded with too many implications. Some examples, in addition to those already mentioned, are *Judentum*, "Jewishness"; *Geschlecht*, variously "sex," "family," "clan," "tribe," "generation"; a series of words compounded with *-stand* (*Landstand*, "farmers"; *Bauernstand*, "peasantry"; *Mittelstand*, "middle class"; *Berufstand*, "occupation-



al group"; *Nährstand*, "food producers") and with *-schaft* (*Arbeiter-schaft*, "workers"; *Arbeitnehmerschaft*, "employees"; *Bauern-schaft*, "peasantry"; *Judenschaft*, "Jewry"); and the various compounds of *Volk* (*Volkstum*, "nationality"; *Volks-gemeinschaft*, "community of the people"; *Volkskörper*, "body of the people"; *Volks-genosse*, "folk comrade"; *Volksaufklärung*, "popular enlightenment"), *Blut* (*bluteigen*; *blutgebunden*, "blood-related"), and *Staat* (*Staatsidee*, "idea of state"; *Staatsbild* and *Staatsvorstellung*, "view of state"; *Staatsgedanke*, "idea of state"). Some of the problems with these words result from the desire of all the Nazi writers to assert the existence of levels and groups (*-schaft*, *-stand*, *-tum*) in society without using a Marxist or class-based vocabulary. The difficulties with *Blut*, *Volk* and *Nation* stem from the need to define the national community as one bound by familial but not quite racial ties. And the compounds and usages of *Staat* mentioned above are expressive of the view of most of the Nazi writers that they were setting forth a political theory which was more encompassing than most. Hitler's response to this problem, as is well known, was to speak of a new *Weltanschauung*, but, interestingly enough, this term was almost universally avoided in the writings and programs included here.

We have tried to be flexible and pragmatic in the process of translation. We have attempted to be as literal as possible without violating English usage and grammar. But when Rosenberg's or Darre's complex sentence structure proves unreadable, we have not hesitated to break up a sentence into two or more. Where possible we have substituted American idioms and colloquialisms for the German ones, but occasionally we have had to translate the latter literally. Problematical words have sometimes been given two or more English equivalents, depending on the context. *Volk*, for example, is usually translated as "people," but occasionally as "nation," and where some biological or familial relation is intended, simply as "folk." Other variances are noted in the text. We have retained the italics of the originals and have approximated the original formats. We hope that the resulting translation strikes a balance between literal accuracy and reasonable felicity in English.

## **Nazi Ideology before 1933**

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Eckart's call for a new generation of political leaders was published as the lead article in the first flier (*Probeheft*) of *Auf Gut Deutsch*, the journal which Eckart founded and edited from December 1918 to May 1921. His denunciation of the corruption and materialism of postwar politicians reappeared again and again in his later writings; soon, in "The Twister," he would compare their incompetence to the prewar situation, and call for a new, real, revolution.

Margarete Plewnia (*Auf dem Weg zu Hitler: Der "völkische" Publizist Dietrich Eckart* [Bremen, 1970], pp. 61–93) describes this piece as a call for a dictator, for a single leader. But it is rather a call for contributors and readers, and also something of a personal statement about Eckart himself. In publishing *Auf Gut Deutsch*, Eckart was moving away from his career as a literary figure; some of his thoughts about the personal dangers of this move are very clear here.

## Men!

### Dietrich Eckart

Politics is less damaging to character than character to politics. Politics has turned into a dirty business throughout the world because for a long time the official and unofficial leaders of the peoples have—consciously or unconsciously—sought only one thing: *personal power*. Their ambition to satisfy the most frivolous kind of selfishness stems from inner weakness. He who is conscious of his own spiritual power, and therefore knows what things really matter, knows too that mere power is an empty bauble, which may distract us for a while from the hollowness within, but which will be thrown away as worthless one fine day.

The itch for power leads among other things to the *creation of parties*. Weaklings get together in order to raise each other to the heights and to help each other stay there. Nothing good can come of such a Nazareth, or at least nothing pleasant. Bismarck stood ever alone, tied to no party. A huge desire for power burned in him, but also a huge desire for inner worth. That the two balanced each other marked his greatness. His politics were not business, but art. Not appearance, but reality; creation, not destruction. He was a *substantial man*, a *personality*.

I call a man substantial when he is so deeply anchored in essentials, that is, in *spiritual* things, that he can never wholly lose himself in worldliness, that he therefore also cannot fall victim to a lust for power. Next to the spiritual man stands the pious, the wholly inward man; but so long as he is thus he produces no political act, cannot act. His solution is introspection. Only if he comes out of himself can he do something for the common good; his deeds will

be as valuable as his passion is strong, as long as his passion is constantly held in check by a corresponding spirituality. He must be able to give forceful orders and at the same time be capable of immediate obedience, be capable, that is, of obeying his inner voice, for this alone guides his actions, this alone lets him see to the bottom of men's hearts—the only possible way of perceiving the deeper interrelationships among human actions, thus to serve them the better. The man of action, lacking soul, is according to the extent of his passion either a babbler or a dangerous fool, however consequential he may appear to other babblers and fools. But he is always a liar, because although he feels the deadly maggots gnawing at his work, his bearing is triumphant. He hides *his bad conscience*. He is the born bungler and spoiler; in the last analysis he is the betrayed traitor.

The inward man—Bismarck too at some times in his life—strives against political involvement precisely because he senses the great danger present in it, danger not to his comfort, but to his spiritual development. For it will lead him away from his better nature in every case. *For this reason, the desire to educate a whole people into political awareness leads to the leveling of the whole people.* Peoples who love politics have lost their share of the spiritual leaders of mankind; one day their external brilliance will also come to a pitiful end. Whoever means well by the German people will help to resist the inclination to politics which is, God be thanked, so foreign to it. At that moment when the German people began to be enslaved by a passion for politics it lost all remnants of its courage. Since it was the *most substantial* among all peoples, it was least able to bear the sudden fever; now it writhes in chaotic spasms, until it can again find inner peace and the old worth.

Every German who still has most of his senses is forced to aid *this recovery*; I myself am driven from the quietude of the poet out into the chaotic public arena, unnoticed, as far as I know, by the temporary powers that be. Whether or not I can summon up enough passion for it I do not know, but I hope so; in any case I think I have the necessary inner strength. Then whatever will be, will be. I will not sink into commonness.

I have no one by my side, no one at all. Whoever wants to help my effort is welcome, but I cannot bind myself to him: neither to any individual nor to any party. I need an echo for my voice, I need *readers*. Otherwise every sacrifice is useless, *the beginning of the end*.

This issue is only a sample. The real beginning will be in the *middle of December*.

Whoever wants to contribute must stand by his own words. I shall have to reject pseudonyms, without exception. Only thus can dignity be maintained, only thus, honesty.

The Editor.

The title of the essay comes from a character in Eckart's very popular translation and dramatization of Henrik Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*. In Ibsen's play, after Peer Gynt escapes from the halls of the Troll King, he encounters the "Boyg," an impermeable, possibly gelatinous, monster which encircles him no matter where he turns, resists his attacks, and disappears only at the sound of church bells. The "Boyg," never translated in English versions of *Peer Gynt*, was rendered by Eckart as *der grosse Krumme*: "the great crooked one," or perhaps "Big Hook," with an evocation of the "hook-nosed" Jew. For Eckart, the "Boyg," *der grosse Krumme*, represented the material world, which Peer had to overcome in order to find himself. Thus for Eckart's readers the title of the essay would immediately evoke several images: a dangerous monster, philosophical materialism, the Jew. We have translated *der grosse Krumme* as "the twister," which has associations in English both with financial double-dealing and with dangerous natural phenomena.

"The Twister" is a particularly typical essay for understanding Eckart's prose and his appeal. Its title would remind his readers of his importance as a literary figure, and its imagery is literary and philosophical, looking ahead to "Jewishness in and around Us"; its tone and much of its subject matter is popular and satirical. "The Twister" was the second article in the first number of *Auf Gut Deutsch*, no. 1 (December 1918), pp. 3-8, and is reproduced here in its entirety.

## The Twister

Dietrich Eckart

The parties are getting ready for the National Assembly. In plain German: they are starting to manipulate the people, thoroughly. So thoroughly that the people cannot see or hear. We know how this is done. By a storm of speeches, newspaper articles, handbills. That costs money, a lot of money. After all, people have to know who will best look after their welfare, and in order to make this clear to them, an expensive "campaign" is needed. It almost seems as though that party with the most money at its disposal—no, I don't want to go on, it would be nonsense. For the people knows its men and follows only those from whom it can expect unselfish help. Otherwise it could be talked into buying a fool, or even a knave. For years it has known these men, the Eberts, Müller-Meiningsens, Erzbergers, Cohns, Wiemers, and countless others.<sup>1</sup> The few new ones it does

not yet know have been recommended by the old ones, and thus their worth is established at the outset. The only question is, how did the people get to know the old men before? By a storm of speeches, newspaper articles, handbills. That costs money. After all the people have to know who will—oh good God! We've come full circle back to filthy lucre.

"What are you talking about? Our familiar leaders have stood the test throughout the years!" True. Each of them for his own party. But not for the people as a whole. Otherwise we would be better off now, not at the very nadir of poverty and ruin. "But we have gained the heights, we have gained freedom!" Excuse me. This freedom is the freedom of the lions in the zoo. Inside the cage the good animals can do what they like, but the feeding trough is seen to by the "Entente," and if they should make too much noise—don't feed them today! "We should not have gone to war!" Is that so? "Now we have to suffer for the frivolous presumption of our old government." Granted, but where were the party leaders at that time? To my knowledge, they all agreed to the war, with the exception of three or four. And these few tried even then to achieve what has now become a reality—the "agreement" of the lions with the zoo keepers. "But they wanted that in an entirely different sense!" Doubtless. But then it is too bad they were mistaken from the first, having not the slightest notion of the character of a zoo keeper. Such people may perhaps perform masterpieces on the Jew's harp, but—you understand me. Anyway, they were by far the minority, scarcely worth mentioning. The huge majority of the party leaders went along meekly, in short, they did not stand the test, at least not in such a way, in my opinion, as representatives of the people should. "To err is pardonable." Always, I agree, except when the error throttles a whole nation. "Nothing is lost yet!" Nothing, at least, of the old incapacity. Exactly the same party leaders who lined up behind the old government with such magnificent foresight stand in the foreground still, and are again destined to guide the future of our people in the coming parliament. I'll eat my hat if we don't find exactly the same names there, if we don't find them in the ministerial offices instead. Do not say that these people used to be powerless. If each of them had not concentrated on himself and on the support of his group; if only instead they had all been guided by unselfish love of the whole, then they *would* have had power, because, as sure as I live, true loyalty produces overwhelming courage. And they would have had the necessary intelligence too, because, by the everlasting God, intelligence and unselfishness go hand in hand, as inseparable as the Siamese twins!

Let us inquire whether even a single man among these party leaders, during all these long years, ever undertook anything serious, anything penetrating, anything worth the effort, against the hair-

raising [amount of] usury in our country! Not one of them ever went farther than mere aversion—words, nothing but words—not one. What might have happened instead had they joined together as for a storm, risen and swept away that offspring of a demonic power! But the birds sang it from the housetops, the stones told how things stood—our representatives had better things to do than to clean the Augean stables, they were busy in the spider webs of the party. Not by the presumption of the military (let me tell you!) were we betrayed, but above all by *usury*, again, by *usury*, and a third time, through *usury* did we lose our power! Boundless bitterness, disconsolate despair over the meaning and purpose of the war, the desperate question, “What? Did we die for the benefit of the loan sharks?”—these have been the result everywhere of this satanic unscrupulousness. And when the cup was full to the brim, a little drop of sweet poison sufficed to let it run irretrievably over. And then they dare—ah, it makes me sick to tell you whom they accuse of everything, using a red cloth to distract attention from the real culprits! Here and there a candid voice, not always very sincere, at the moment that is all. Thus the Berlin *Freiheit*<sup>2</sup> writes: “Twenty-two dynasties have fallen or are clinging desperately to the crumbling rocks. These were only the puppets. Now it is the puppetmasters’ turn. These are the bearers of capitalism, the uncrowned kings of stock exchange and stock market; the true makers of our misery and of the criminal policies which conjured up the World War. These are the international enemies of peace and law, the imperialistic agitators who sowed a storm in order to salvage the jetsam beached between the corpses.”

Salvage jetsam, that means not to allow themselves to be disturbed while doing it. “The new socialist government is permeated by the feeling that German economic life in its present condition needs the most anxious care,” announces Secretary of State *Landsberg*<sup>3</sup> from Berlin for the benefit of our simplicity. And the Bavarian prime minister<sup>4</sup> shrugs his shoulders: “We say in complete candor that it seems impossible, in a time when the productive powers of the country have been nearly exhausted, to transfer industry immediately into the possession of society. One cannot socialize if there is hardly anything there to socialize. Furthermore it seems impossible to carry out a socialist organization in a single national area of the world economy. We therefore believe that indispensable socialization can be carried out only after the peace, when a united League of Nations of the democracies of the world has been formed, by the decisive influence of the proletarian international, risen in new power, in mutual effort of the peoples of the earth. We are preparing for quick solution three great problems of social reconstruction: large landholding, urban land use, the educational system.”

No doubt, if things work out according to the fondest desires of



Kurt Eisner and like-minded men, these men will quickly "solve" large landholding, urban land use, and education. They can be sure of a large following since these three old rags have been waved back and forth in the arena for decades with the greatest success. I would be glad to let the people indulge in this sort of thing, except that then they cannot get rid of their [real] tormentors: the international money powers—*financial militarism*!

There is on God's wide earth no criminality more cold-blooded and lying than that which lies behind the invisible masters of the world economy. With an unscrupulousness so indescribable that the mere hint of it chills one to the bone, the secret princes of gold mix their foul drink, which makes men foolish and blind, so that they believe good to be evil and evil good, and become servile. Without blinking an eye, they play one people off against another, *cheating both*; here they create empires, there republics, among us chaos, as it suits them. They both support and fight bolshevism in one and the same country, always taking care not to stem too much of the flood. . . . Beginning with *assassination*—and who dares even now to ask who was guilty—the various branches of the German people had to suffer the outbreak of war, war in its most terrible form, in alliance with a world of lies, because in our people and *only in us* still burned a feeling for law which could be dangerous to the powers of darkness. And now even we have become blinded enough to abuse our glorious past and greedy enough to sell our soul.

He who has no idea of all this shall play the fool within his four walls—he has forfeited the right to lead us. We do not want to hear a single word more about the "anxious care" needed by the German economy, nothing more about how one cannot socialize because there is scarcely anything there to socialize. Something *is* there, something which has to be made available to the people without any restrictions; and if you really can't see the wood for the crippled trees, I'll have to rub your noses in it so that you'll see, willy-nilly, how we are going to get our firewood—*by the nationalization of all credit*!

In this way the power of "the twister" can be broken, at least in this country. Like polyps his many banks suck up the many billions of our private savings and fatten him for ever-greater influence. Go and lay your nest eggs—what do you get for interest? A mere nothing! For "the twister," though, it bears fruit a hundred times over. Eliminate him, put the state in his place, and you will get a double return: because your money will earn better interest, and because the state will still earn enough to pay its debts, taking this burden off you too. Even a threefold return! For this will also put an end to tax evasion! It would be child's play to do it, in a completely *legal* way, without degenerating into fantastic bolshevism, which leads to demoralization.

Everything else, whatever it may be, however important it may seem, is in comparison childishness and can confidently be put off until the golden age of the "proletarian international." Is it not true, as the radio joyfully told us, that the red flag flew in a French trench? Actually it turned out that it was only the handkerchief of a drunken Algerian. Nevertheless—a beginning.

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The German Workers' Party (Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, DAP) was the creation of Karl Harrer and Anton Drexler and represented their attempt to harness working-class discontent in Munich to a nationalist cause. There were many similar movements in southern Germany and Austria in 1918 and 1919, but it was of course the Munich version which was joined by Feder, Eckart, Rosenberg, and then Hitler. Hitler moved rapidly to reorganize the small party; at his insistence it changed its name in 1920 to the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP).

The "Guidelines" (January 5, 1919) are included here so that they may be compared to the "Twenty-Five Points" and to other programmatic statements by the NSDAP and its leaders. They sound many of the continuing notes in party ideological discussion: profit-sharing, expropriation of war profiteers, the belief in a conspiracy of Jews and bankers, belief in the moral value of work, antiparlamentarianism. But at the same time they are far narrower in intent, and probably in appeal, than the "Twenty-Five Points" and similar statements by the party leaders.

## **Guidelines of the German Workers' Party**

**What is the German Workers' Party?**

The DAP is a socialist organization, composed of all folk comrades engaged in mental or physical work. It may only be guided by German leaders who put aside all selfish goals and allow national needs to be the highest concern of the program.

**What does the German Workers' Party offer the worker?**

The DAP seeks the ennoblement of the German worker. Skilled resident workers have the right to be considered members of the middle class. A sharp distinction between workers and proletarians should be made. An international agreement with the trade unions of other countries must stabilize wages, making it impossible for the working class of a particular country to engage in sharp bargain-

ing. In the future the competitive position of an individual country shall be determined not by the lowest wages but by the diligence and efficiency of its workers. In this way the causes of friction among the various countries will be avoided. Big business provides food and employment and is therefore to be protected, as long as it does not relentlessly exploit the worker making it impossible for him to lead a worthwhile life. The DAP believes that the socialization of German economic life signals the collapse of the German economy. By controlling socialized businesses our enemies would be in the best possible position to collect efficiently the war indemnities which have been imposed on us, and to do so at the expense of the workers. Therefore the German worker should have not socialization but profit sharing. Profit sharing can be made possible by founding work cooperatives in the cities, and in the country, farm cooperatives among the agricultural workers, to protect land and soil.

Who is the DAP fighting against?

The DAP is fighting with all its strength against usury and the forcing up of prices. Against all those who create no values, who make high profits without any mental or physical work. We fight against the drones in the state; these are mostly Jews; they live a good life, they reap where they have not sown. They control and rule us with their money. For these drones Germany and her entire people were just objects of speculation; their party slogans are much the same. Talk, no action. The DAP honors the principle, he who will not work shall not eat. We fight for justice, true freedom, and happiness. No dictatorship of the proletariat! Equal justice for all. No rule of bayonets. Everyone shall feel himself to be a free German. There is no happiness in phrases and empty speeches at meetings, demonstrations, and elections. Our striving is toward the free happiness of good work, the full pot and prospering children.

To what extent is the DAP politically active?

The DAP opposes any threat to the unity of the Reich, but excludes the predominance of one single state. We want to be governed only by Germans; foreigners and Jews govern us only in their own interest or in the interest of a foreign country. With the people and with the government they make deals, not politics. The Foreign Office shall consist of German representatives from all of the states participating in the federation, representatives elected by the peoples of the federated states. The party advocates an international law for the press of all countries. By punishing the intentional reporting of false news, this law will prevent the kind of incitement of peoples to aggression which occurred during the World War. The highest principles of justice and truth must again be made valid in today's world.

How does the DAP think the costs of the war can be paid?

Our guiding star is this: war is a disaster for a country and disaster means suffering. For this reason no one had any right to gather riches at home while our soldiers fought abroad. Regardless of earnings before the war, we consider 10,000 marks to be the highest permissible annual earnings during the war; the rest is to be delivered to the central government, which will use it to pay war costs. Furthermore, property owners must be called upon to help cover the war costs, and any estates which are little encumbered are to be forced to take up compulsory mortgages.<sup>1</sup>

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"The Russian Jewish Revolution" appeared in the eighth issue (February 21, 1919) of Dietrich Eckart's magazine, *Auf Gut Deutsch*. It was Rosenberg's first published work.

This highly polemical essay introduces what was to be the most basic theme of Rosenberg's thought and writing, that Bolshevism was "Jewish." It also helped to establish Rosenberg's reputation among the Nazis as an expert on Russia and on the Bolshevik revolution.

In other places Rosenberg would argue that one of the reasons for the "Jewishness" of Bolshevism was its derivation from Marxist dialectical materialism, an argument that is implied in Eckart's thought. But it is clear that Rosenberg was much more interested in the actual presence of Jews in the Bolshevik government. So fascinated by this subject was he, and so pleased with his formulation of it in this essay, that he reprinted "The Russian Jewish Revolution" four times, three times as part of a larger book, and once as a lead article in the *Völkischer Beobachter* (as a chapter in *Die Spur des Juden im Wandel der Zeiten* and in *Pest im Russland!*; as the introduction to Eckart's *Totengräber Russlands*; and as the lead article, slightly modified, in the November 26, 1921, issue of the *Völkischer Beobachter*). He also quoted from it many times in his other works.

Given Rosenberg's reputation as a "Russian expert," and the large extent to which this reputation was based on this article, it is important to investigate his accuracy about his subject matter. It is significant that most of the information in this article is correct: Rosenberg usually has the right people doing the right things at the right time. He is also correct in his identifications of pseudonyms, although the implication he finds, that the pseudonyms were used to hide Jewish names, is wholly wrong. All the Russian revolutionaries, Jews and non-Jews alike, had used pseudonyms to hide their

true identity from the Tsarist police. He is also correct in most of his identifications of Jews, though not all (Kollontai and Lunacharsky are unlikely). Rosenberg therefore knew a good deal about both the revolution itself and the evolution of the Bolshevik regime, much more than he could have learned either from his own brief experience of the revolution, from November 1917 to January 1918, or from the reports of Russian émigrés thereafter. After he left Russia, he must have followed the course of events there in *Pravda* or some other Russian language newspaper.

This is not to say, however, that the picture Rosenberg draws is accurate in its larger dimensions. He omits all the non-Jews in the Bolshevik cabinet, just as he neglects to mention the preponderant number of Gentile Soviet ambassadors. Jewish Socialist Revolutionaries were murdered by the Bolsheviks along with Gentile. The Bolshevik betrayal of the Russian intelligentsia which he so movingly describes was to a large extent a betrayal of a Jewish intelligentsia. Moreover, Rosenberg must have known this, just as he must have known the real significance of the use of pseudonyms. It is hard to escape the conclusion that he consciously perverted his evidence in order to play upon the anti-Semitic biases of an audience which would not be able to challenge his statements.

In the assertion that the Bolshevik revolution was financed from outside Russia, Rosenberg already hints at the theme which was later to become his trademark: the conspiracy between the Bolsheviks and the "golden international." This theme becomes explicit in *Die Spur des Juden im Wandel der Zeiten* (*The Path of the Jew through the Ages of Time*), 1920, and is most fully elaborated in *Die internationale Hochfinanz als Herrin der Arbeiterbewegung in allen Ländern* (*International High Finance as the Master of the Proletariat throughout the World*), 1925.

## The Russian Jewish Revolution

Alfred Rosenberg

"Does it not occur to you that the Jews, even without your help, are citizens of a state mightier and more powerful than any of yours, and that if you give them in addition citizenship in your own states, they will trample your other citizens under foot?" With this warning, based on deep historic insight, *Fichte* addressed the German nation a hundred years ago. His words were in vain: ignoring the potential force possessed by a homogeneous race, bemused by the slogans of human equality, all parliaments adopted the dogma of infinite toleration. Tolerance toward the alien, the hostile and the

aggressive was seen as a highly humanitarian achievement, but was, as the history of the nineteenth and especially of our present century shows, merely an ever-greater abandoning of ourselves.

The gullible European has only too credulously listened to these temptations, sung to the lyrics of the sirens' song—freedom, justice, brotherhood. The fruits of this subversion are apparent today. They are so nakedly apparent that even the most unbiased person, a person who has no idea of the necessary historical relationships, must become aware that he has placed his confidence in crafty and glib leaders, who intended, not his good, but the *destruction of all laboriously acquired civilization, all culture*. The proof, grown to a bloody reality, can be found in the Russian revolution, which has been passed over in silence by the liberal or Jewish papers, in striking contrast to their other doings. And during the war the newspapers of the right suppressed the clear facts of the matter, in order to protect their "inner front." This resoluteness came too late; in Germany too the Jews had become the leading enemies of the Germanic ideal.

Let us turn to the *facts* of the Russian revolution.

There can be no doubt that the entire Russian people longed for the end of Tsarist rule. Anyone who has witnessed this form of government must acknowledge that it discouraged by every means any kind of independent activity—economic, communal or intellectual; that the rule of a rotten civil service was a repressive one. Thus all of Russia felt as if relieved from a nightmare when the news of the fall of the Tsar spread from the Baltic to the Pacific. The suppressed self-confidence of the citizen reappeared everywhere with a vigor which one would never have believed possible, and the leaders had every reason to look ahead optimistically and to hope to be able peacefully to solve their new problems.

But soon *centrifugal forces* set in in the form of the *Soldiers' Soviets* (!!)

The soldiers, who during March of 1917 had all promised to continue the war in Russia's defense until victory, came under the influence of manipulative agitators who aimed at aggravating discord and loosening discipline. The Soldiers' Soviets and the workers were first led by a couple of Georgians, Chkheidze and Tseretelli, who thought the time had come to apply socialism to politics, although they set aside economic and social demands. But very soon they were pushed aside, pushed aside by *Jews*, who flocked from all corners of Russia and from abroad. By energetic agitation, aimed at the egotism of each individual, they soon managed to be popular with the mob.

Taking note of the strong and widespread mood, they at first pretended to be moderates; thus the party spokesmen and representa-

tives *Bernstein-Kogau*, *Liber*, *Dan* and *Götz* acted faithful to the state, but secretly hindered the government, in the name of freedom, from taking steps against the rapidly growing Bolshevik movement.

The soul of this movement was the well-known *Bronstein*, alias *Trotsky*, a Jew from the Ekaterinoslav Province, and his blood brother *Apfelbaum*, called *Zinoviev*. The Jewish spirit, with all its energy, fastened on to these two, together with the Russo-Tatar Lenin. In the streets, in the barracks and military hospitals, in meetings and at the front, it was the Jews who promised peace, freedom and bread to everybody, demanded a general *fraternization with the Germans*, in short, tried to disorganize the state with deliberate lies.

In July 1917, the Kronstadt sailors (!), led by the infamous Roschal, a Jewish student from the technical college of Riga, tried to overthrow the Kerensky administration. The revolt failed and the Bolshevik leaders, the Jews Bronstein (Trotsky), Rosenblum (pseud. Kamenev), Mrs. Kollontai and others, were taken prisoners. But not for long. Thanks to the energy of Liber and Dan they were released by the weak Kerensky. Dan and Liber, of course, justified their demand in the name of freedom. *After all, the Bolsheviks had only fought for their ideals, and these convictions ought to be honored!* Which goes to show that it is good to have one's brothers at work in many parties.

Now the agitation began in earnest. The soldiers were told that they were too tired to go on with this war, that the slaughter had to end, and so forth. Their moral resistance had of course been worn down by three years of war and so it is no wonder that they yielded to the seductions of peace and threw away their arms when they were supposed to attack. Kerensky (by the way no Jew) wavered between his socialist principles and the national will; his hysterical speeches did not succeed in stemming the attrition, and in October 1917 a soldiers' congress appealed to all the armies, over the heads of their governments, to lay down their arms.

The history of this congress is informative and typical. It was supposed to discuss all social and political questions, but most of the Russian armies, in the face of the threatening military situation, refused to engage in political disputes for the time being. This hindered the zealous Bolsheviks not at all: they gathered all their representatives together, the Jew Abraham (Krylenko) took the chair and, incompetent and unauthorized, issued proclamations and decrees *in the name of the entire Russian army*, in the name of the *entire Russian people*. The attempt of Kerensky to suppress this impudence failed miserably: the Petersburg garrison, demoralized by idleness and provided with money by a mysterious source (people were sure it was *German*, since the Jew Fürstenberg-Genezky had evidently transferred large sums from Stockholm to the Petersburg Soldiers' Soviet), sided with its patrons and overthrew the last Russian gov-

ernment in the beginning of November 1917. It is also characteristic that during the last sessions of the constituent assembly no Russian spoke against the government, *only Jews*.

In this way the victory of the Bolsheviks was decided, and now the Jews showed no restraint. They removed their masks and established an almost purely Jewish "Russian" government.

*Lenin* is the *only non-Jew* among the peoples' commissars; he is, so to speak, the Russian storefront of a Jewish business. Who were the others? The names to be given here will completely reveal a *rule of Jews* which can no longer be denied.

Commissar for War and Foreign Affairs is the above-mentioned Bronstein (Trotsky), the soul of the red terror; Commissar for Culture, Lunacharsky; Commissar for Education, Mrs. Kollontai; Commissar for Trade, Bronsky; Commissar for Justice, Steinberg; Commissar for Defense against the Counterrevolution [the CHEKA], the monster Moses Uritzky. In his interrogation prison in the notorious no. 2, Gorokhovaya, thousands were incarcerated and murdered without trial. Ensign Abraham (Krylenko) became commander in chief of all armies; after he became involved in a too embarrassing scandal he was replaced by the Jew Posern. President of the Petersburg Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet is Apfelbaum (Zinoviev); of the Moscow Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet, Smidovitch. The peace delegates in Brest-Litovsk were Bronstein (Trotsky), Joffe, and Karakhan, and were, except for the typists, Jewish. The first political courier to London (he probably brought his blood brothers good news!) was the Jew Mr. Holtzmann, and as representatives of the Soviet government in all countries Jews sprang up like mushrooms after the rain. In Bern the name of the "Russian" ambassador is Dr. Schlowsky (he and his entire staff were fired the other day); in Christiana, Beitler; in Stockholm, Voronsky; Mr. Rosenblum (Kamenev) is delegated to Vienna, as is the notorious Mr. Joffe to Berlin.

The negotiations on the agreements which were to supplement Brest-Litovsk were directed "on the Russian side" by the above-mentioned Voronsky, to whom were attached about twelve Jews and Jewesses and two or three Latvians.

In addition there are the great agitators of the Bolshevik newspapers, Messrs. Nakhamkes (pseudonym Steklov), Lurie (Larin), Stlyansky and Sobelsohn (Radek).

In the name of humanity they demanded freedom of speech and abolition of capital punishment. But scarcely had they come to power when there began a censorship such as even the darkest Tsardom had *never* known. Capital punishment was used in practice everywhere and then also "legally" reintroduced. Under the banner of brotherhood and peace they had attracted the naïve masses; immediately they began inciting furious hatred against everything "bourgeois" and soon introduced *systematic massacre* and civil war, if



one can so describe this one-sided slaughter. The entire Russian intelligentsia which had for decades toiled for the well-being of the Russian people, to the point of the gallows or exile, were simply killed wherever they could be found. Kokoshkin and Shingarev, lying critically ill in the hospital, were treacherously murdered. The murderers, of course, remain unpunished. Not everything can be treated here in detail; but whatever was known of honest Russian-dom was *mercilessly executed*.

Because it did not want to submit to the Bolsheviks, the National Assembly, the hope for many years of all Russian patriots, was abruptly dispersed by the Red Guard in the name of freedom, and now the true Russian stands helplessly at the grave of his plundered fatherland.

The workers and soldiers have been driven so far that there is *no going back for them any more*, they are the slavish creatures of a tough Jewry which has burned all its bridges. The true core of the Red Army is absolutely reliable; the other enlisted men are kept under a terrible discipline.

Enlistment happens in the following way: a commissar comes into a village and announces the call to arms of all men from the age of twenty to about forty. If this announcement is not absolutely obeyed, a so-called punitive expedition appears and shoots down the entire village including women and children. Since this has been done mercilessly many times, the people who are called up appear to the very last man. In such a way and by this alone, the Jewish government holds on, for it knows well: the hatred, still weak, of the unarmed population could become terrible if precautions are not taken daily. According to the figures given by *Pravda* ("Truth"), the "official" paper, more than 13,000 "counterrevolutionaries" have been shot to death in the last three months.

But one can observe, and all recent news confirms it, that the hatred against the Jews in Russia is constantly spreading, despite all terror. The most tenderhearted and tolerant Russians are now as full of this hatred as a Tsarist bureaucrat used to be. If the present government falls no Jew will remain alive in Russia; one can say with certainty that what is not killed will be driven out. Where to? The Poles are already keeping them at bay, and so they will all come into old Germany, where we love the Jews so much and keep the warmest seats ready for them!

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"Jewishness in and around Us" (*Auf Gut Deutsch*, Jan.–Apr. 1919) is one of Eckart's longest writings, and one of the most difficult for

contemporary readers. Eckart argues in this series that the Jews do not believe in immortality, that they therefore lack souls, and that they therefore are materialists and "world affirmers" as opposed to "world negators." He proceeds to blame political disorder and the disintegration of the nation and the folk on "Jewishness." He then goes on to the curious but important assertion that "Jewishness" is not solely a property of race, but a quality inherent in every folk, in every nation, in every individual; it is, in fact, essential to life itself. Germany then must keep its Jews, they must not be permitted to emigrate to Palestine and found a new state; but at the same time "world affirmation" and "world negation" must constantly do battle, in order to maintain the vital balance.

Eckart is much indebted in "Jewishness in and around Us" to Otto Weininger's controversial book, *Geschlecht und Charakter* (*Sex and Character*), first published in 1903. In this book, Weininger presents his theory of the bisexuality of humankind, but his ideas as reflected in Eckart's writings have little to do with this theory. Eckart relies heavily on Weininger's chapter "Das Judentum." Weininger, who indicates in a footnote that he is of Jewish descent, argues that many comparisons can be drawn between the ideal woman and the Jew, also an ideal type, especially the lack of a belief in immortality and the lack of a soul in both. Weininger carefully defines what he means by Jewishness: not a race or a people (*Volks*), or a recognized creed, but a tendency of the mind which is a possibility for all of humankind but is most fully realized in the historic Jewish people. Anti-Semitism he explains as hatred of Jewishness in one's self. The Aryan is indebted to the Jew for the realization that he must guard against Jewishness within himself.

Weininger feels that Zionism is a negation of Jewishness, for the essence of Jewishness involves a worldwide distribution of the Jews. The Jewish question can only be solved by each individual Jew overcoming his own Jewishness. A Jew who has become a Christian must be respected. The only Jew completely to conquer Jewishness was Christ, but there remains the possibility that the founder of the next religion will also emerge from the Jews. It is this vague hope which explains the persistence of the Jewish people: the meaning of Jewishness is the possibility of begetting Christs.

Eckart takes from Weininger the idea that the Jew does not believe in immortality and thus has no soul, as well as the rejection of Zionism as a solution to the problems of Jewishness. But it is less clear that Eckart is always talking about an ideal type. He is not as careful as Weininger in making that distinction. His view of Jewishness as a necessary evil differs from Weininger's scheme of Christianity and Jewishness as two poles between which humankind must choose. But Weininger's influence is obvious. Eckart's attitude toward Weininger as a Jew was no doubt ambivalent. He accepts many

of his ideas but criticizes him explicitly for falling short of full understanding and implicitly for being a Jew.

In "Jewishness in and around Us," a mixture of biblical quotations with invocations of Goethe, Kant, Schopenhauer, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Eckart attempts to sound a prophetic note. The language is sonorous and gloomy, as from a pulpit. There is none of the sly satire of "The Twister" and none of the popular sound of "To All Working People!" This is a very different self, and one which Eckart evidently took utterly seriously. There is also more than a little paranoia. Consider the following passage from part six, not included in the following translation:

Let us imagine a man who is in every single moment of his existence filled to his fingertips, so to speak, with the certainty that earthly life (as opposed to supernatural life) has as little significance as the most wretched null; the first thing we acknowledge in such a man is a limitless equanimity toward his corporeal fate. . . . Such a man must appear to those people who value only earthly life, to be out of his mind; but they will be careful . . . because they do not have to fear competition from him, not to enlighten him about his supposed folly. . . . Here we see what the case is with the . . . pure affirmer of the world: he is not driven by love of truth, but by arrogance. . . . On the other hand it is not worth while for the other, who places no value on the earthly world, to play a role in it; he has no reason for vanity or for lies; his speech is without ulterior motives: yes, yes—no, no: the only possible *true* speech.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that this is a personal portrait: of the pure, truthful world-negator, mocked by the cruel, vain world-affirmer. It is a portrait of Eckart the artist, spurned by the world, and provoked, finally, to enter the arena as a politician, at the risk of his immortal soul.

## **Jewishness in and around Us: Fundamental Reflections**

Dietrich Eckart

### **I.**

"And Paul, looking intently at the council, said, 'Brethren, I have lived before God in all good conscience up to this day.' And the high priest *Ananias* commanded those who stood by him to strike him on the mouth. Then Paul said to him, 'God shall strike you, you whitewashed wall! Are you sitting to judge me according to the law, and yet contrary to the law you order me to be struck?' Those who stood by said, 'Would you revile God's high priest?' And Paul said,

'I did not know brethren, that he was the high priest; for it is written, "You shall not speak evil of a ruler of your people."'

"But when Paul perceived that one part were Sadducees and the other Pharisees, he cried out in the council, 'Brethren, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees; *with respect to the hope and the resurrection of the dead I am on trial.*' And when he had said this, a dissension arose between the Pharisees and the Sadducees; and the assembly was divided. For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, nor angel, nor spirit; but the Pharisees acknowledge them all. Then a great clamor arose; and some of the scribes of the Pharisees' party stood up and contended, 'We find nothing wrong in this man. What if a spirit or an angel spoke to him?' And when the dissension became violent, the tribune, afraid that Paul would be torn in pieces by them, commanded the soldiers to go down and take him by force from among them and bring him into the barracks.

"The following night the Lord stood by him and said, 'Take courage, for as you have testified about me at Jerusalem, so you must bear witness also at Rome.'

"When it was day, the Jews made a plot and bound themselves by an oath neither to eat nor drink till they had killed Paul. There were more than forty who made this conspiracy. And they went to the chief priests and elders, and said, 'We have strictly bound ourselves by an oath to taste no food till we have killed Paul. You therefore, along with the council, give notice now to the tribune to bring him down to you, as though you were going to determine his case more exactly. And we are ready to kill him before he comes near.'"

Thus reads the twenty-third chapter of Acts. We also learn that the "chief priests and elders" *actually agreed to the dastardly plan.* "The son of Paul's sister," who "heard of the ambush," reports to the Roman tribune: "The Jews have agreed to ask you to bring Paul down to the council tomorrow, as though they were going to inquire somewhat more closely about him." Therefore the Pharisees must have also yielded to the prevailing opinion and approved of the plot, and this, as their halfhearted defense of Paul indicates, without many twinges of conscience.

Without hesitation, the Roman [tribune] orders two centurions to take the threatened apostle, with the greatest precautions, to the Imperial Governor Felix in Caesarea. "At the third hour of the night get ready two hundred spearmen to go as far as Caesarea." He is thus immediately convinced that all of Jewry, or at least the majority, want Paul's life. Undoubtedly he also knows the reason for their murderous animosity and considers it sound enough to justify the greatest possible caution.

Consider this: Paul is accused before the high council of his people *because he believes in the resurrection of the dead.* He himself says it, more than once. But the other Pharisees also believe in it and

are not accused. At this point it is already clear that his variety of belief was essentially different from that of his supposed followers. Behind Paul stood the shadow of Christ. . . .

And now comes something strange. Paul refers to the "promise made by God to our fathers, to which our twelve tribes hope to attain as they earnestly worship night and day" as the basis of his belief in resurrection. But in the same breath he reproaches the Jews for not believing in the resurrection of the dead. Hence that promise must have gone far astray. Christ himself remarked on it once: "And as for the dead being raised, have you not read in the book of Moses, in the passage about the bush, how God said to him, 'I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?' He is not God of the dead, but of the living." For Christ, the implication of the last sentence is obvious, but for the Jews it is not, as all their behavior shows. In the book of Moses, Jehovah says only: "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." From this alone one cannot deduce that promise, even with the best intentions. *It almost looks as if something got lost in the course of time.*

Schopenhauer already indulged in this suspicion. In *Parega* I, 13, he writes:

The *Jewish religion* proper, as described and taught in Genesis and all the historic books until the end of Chronicles, is the crudest of all religions because it is the only one which has no theory of immortality, not even a trace of it. Every king and every hero or prophet is buried, when he dies, with his fathers, and there is an end of the matter; no trace of any existence after death; indeed, as if intentionally, every thought of this sort seems to have been removed.<sup>1</sup>

Every thought of immortality *as if intentionally removed*! Is it true, what *Houston Stewart Chamberlain*<sup>2</sup> (who because of this was so maliciously attacked) tries with great shrewdness to prove, that there is a tremendous difference between the original *Israelites* and the *Jews*? That the beginnings of a true religion, which existed in the *Israelites*, along with the rest of their essence, was in the course of time swallowed up without a trace by the "furious belief in God," which restrains the *Jews* in any feeling for the individual, the eternal soul? And that this in the end took place *as planned, consciously* directed by the Jewish priests? Truly, then one could understand why in Jerusalem the prophets' admonitions to inner conversion were so often rewarded by—*stoning*. The prophets were the heroic expression of what was left of the old *Israelite* spirit, while the people who murdered them embodied the already victorious *Jewish* spirit, the triumphant spirit of the *desert*. And also the shrill "Crucify! Crucify!" of the high priests against the supernatural appear-

ance of the Savior, who came from the despised "heathen district" (this is the only possible translation of "Galilee"), could be understood. And many, many other things.

"You shall devour all peoples." The death of Christ was the key-stone of the destruction of that people with whom the Jews, after their invasion of a more humane world, had first come into contact. That's when it began, *out of the nothingness, out of the "eternal emptiness" of the desert*. And so it continued until the present day. . . .

### III.

It is now probably clear that a people which grows up completely denying the existence of life after death must limit all of its thoughts and endeavors to the present world, to *earthly* existence; it has no other choice.<sup>3</sup> But a people can only grow up with such an emphasis on worldly matters if it, so to speak, fundamentally lacks any need for immortality, which in turn is only possible if there is not a trace of feeling in its *basic character* for the eternal in mankind. Wherever soul makes itself felt, however slightly, the feeling for immortality must necessarily appear. With an individual this may not always penetrate the awareness; indeed, there are many whose *understanding* refuses to know anything about it, who know so little about immortality that they inveigh against it at every opportunity; but meanwhile their unselfish actions clearly reveal that each feels soul and therefore eternity within himself. One must call out to such a Bramarbas:<sup>4</sup>

Dear friend, permit me: Many speak thus, in order to raise themselves. It would not be proved that you do not believe, but only that you believe, we know, that you do not believe.

Admittedly, the spiritual power does not seem to me to operate very strongly in such a person; the main thing is, however, that it at least makes itself felt in the subconscious, where all actions obtain their character. The *deed* is the result of the soul, the good deed a sign of its elevation, the bad one of its degradation—"you shall recognize them by their fruits!" Of course *speech* also belongs to deed: speech which flows from the depth, that is, soulful speech, to the good deed; the empty hairsplitting and bombastic phrases, as untruthful as they are filled with hatred, to the bad. But neither one is a *reliable* measure of the *essence* of a man, because nowhere are appearances as deceptive as here. For that reason one also says that speech and action are two very different things. Nevertheless, even the *actual* deed must be cautiously observed, especially if, whether good or bad, it is *isolated*. The greatest scoundrel can do something good

now and then and the best person commits a bad action once in a while. So from *every* deed one cannot deduce the *basic character* of a man, but only the momentary condition of his soul, and not even always that; because, for example, an archscoundrel, as experience only too often teaches, does not shrink from carrying out an honest action in order to divert attention from his base actions. The much-praised correctness of certain businessmen is often of this variety. In judging a person, the *average* of his deeds is what matters. This applies even more to whole peoples, because only the individual can temporarily produce a false picture of the reasons for his actions, but an entire national community, which in addition has been subject to observation for centuries, cannot.

There is no deed of the Jewish nation which characterizes it better than the creation of its *Jehovah*. Every Jew participates in this, not only the Jews of the old Palestine, but *all* Jews up to the present day. No god can maintain himself unless he is continually created *anew*. Do not believe in the so-called freethinking of any Jew; for it is impossible that even a single one would be unfaithful to Jehovah in his deepest inner self. *None of them* can do that, *because the God of the Jews is nothing but the projection of their innate essence*. "As the man, so is his god," says Goethe, and that is it to a T, exactly to a T!

If it were otherwise, the curious contradiction which lies in the fact that the Jews believe in Jehovah, but not in their immortality, would be absolutely unexplainable. What good is a god if I can never get to him? I have to fear him because he has power over me as long as my short existence lasts; but the inducement to love him is lacking, the gap is too great. As a matter of fact, because there is no question of an existence after death, Jehovah is not able to threaten his Jews beyond their earthly life, and he *never does*; only their descendants can be forced to pay for the sins of their fathers, "unto the fourth generation." And as a matter of fact they chiefly observe him with no other feeling than that of the most ghastly fear. This seems a little strange if one considers that he is basically nothing but a projection of their own character; but we shall see that the unchecked affirmation of the world, which is the basis of their character, is a strong source of horror for those, and especially for those, who embrace this affirmation.

How precisely Jehovah coincides with the inner essence of the Jews can be recognized in the complete conformity of their most conspicuous characteristics and his. He is jealous of everything that threatens his position; they also turn up their noses at any attempt to do the same to them. He is swollen with vindictiveness; they certainly aren't lacking in it. Only the Jewish people exist for him; for them, no other people is really worth thinking about. Unscrupulously he robs the other peoples of the fruits of their labor; they do that with equal joy. Often he abuses, of course with reservations, his

own people; the same is true of them. Like the pettiest hairsplitter, he sticks to the letter; they also, to use a phrase from Shakespeare, dog a person's heels. He is the absolute master on earth, and they too have that in mind. . . .

#### IV.

To repeat once again, and yet again, the most important thing up to now: *in the Jewish religion the belief in a spiritual life after death is completely lacking*. One even gets the almost certain impression that in the course of time everything which could remind one even slightly of an incorporeal existence after death has been systematically eliminated. And the Jews stand alone in the world with their purely earthly religion! Do not forget this for a moment; it is so significant. For in this exceptional position lies the reason that a "crypto-nation" like the Jews survived the greatest and most glorious peoples and will continue to survive until the end of time, until the hour of salvation for mankind strikes. Sooner will the Jewish people *not* perish. The world is preserved, as we shall see, only through its affirmation. In the Jewish people this affirmation of the world is completely pure, without any admixture of negation of the world. All other peoples of the past or present had or have this admixture, characterized by the idea of the next world, if even only by a trace of it. Even this mere trace would have been or would be sufficient to give the necessary balance to the unmixed affirmation of the world embodied in the Jewish people. For the inner light—and the belief in immortality *is* the inner light—does not need to shine with the brightest glow all the time in order to be effective; but it must be there, it must not be extinguished, otherwise mankind would be lost forever to this world. Everything must have its appropriate moment, however, a fact which is often overlooked. The negation of the world still needs a long time in which to grow before it will gain lasting predominance over affirmation of the world. At the present time negation of the world seems to have again fallen back to zero; its opposite, symbolized in the Jewish people, triumphs as never before; it looks as if the inner light had entirely disappeared from the earth. But to anticipate a little, it only looks that way. Negation of the world *cannot* perish because it belongs to the essence of the soul of mankind, and this is *immortal*. Where immortality dwells, longing for the eternal and renunciation of the temporal must continually reemerge, that is, the negation of the world must continually reappear. And that is the meaning of the non-Jewish peoples: they are the *preservers* of the negation of the world, of the idea of an existence after death, even if they preserve it ever so meagerly. Therefore one or the other of these peoples can perfectly well



be destroyed; what is important will live on in the heirs. But if the Jewish people were to perish, there would no longer be a nation which cherished affirmation of the world: the end of time would have come.

But this would also be the case if the *Zionist* ideal were realized, that is, if all of Jewry came together in a national union, in Palestine or elsewhere. There has *never* been such a union of Jews; this fact must be emphasized here twice and three times, since it is so little known. *Long before the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem*, a good part of the Jews lived in the diaspora, that is, scattered among the "heathen" peoples; just as every school child knows that at the very beginning of their history, they played the "guests" among the Egyptians. What arose later in Palestine was not a state, at best it was an attempt at a state, at worst the training ground for the exploitation or destruction of foreign peoples. To the Jew Weininger,<sup>5</sup> his own nation appears to be an invisibly connected web of slimy fungus (plasmodium), always existing and spread over the wide earth; and precisely this spreading, he rightly remarks (without, however, giving reasons for it), lies in the *idea*, in the *essence* of Jewishness. That becomes immediately clear if we again view the Jewish people as the embodiment of the *affirmation of the world*. Without this, nothing earthly is imaginable, no people either; and thus the Jew, the only consistent and therefore the only effective affirmer of the world, must be present everywhere as the ever-necessary counterweight, even where the other men have only the slightest impulse to overcome the world. For otherwise the former impulse would immediately reach fulfillment and the world would not be redeemed (for the Jewish people would still remain), but would be destroyed in another way, by the elimination of the spiritual force without which it cannot exist. This, however, I shall explain later. Here it was only important to show that the world could not exist if the Jews lived by themselves, for which reason an old prophecy announces the destruction of the world on the day on which the Jews found a state in Palestine.

## V.

It follows from all of this that Jewishness belongs to the organism of mankind as, let us say, certain bacteria belong to the human body, and just as necessarily as these. As we know, the body contains a lot of small organisms without which it would be destroyed, although these organisms feed on it; and similarly mankind needs the Jewish presence in order to remain vigorous until the fulfillment of its earthly mission. In other words: the affirmation of the world, pernicious in itself, which is present in the purest form in Jewishness, is

the condition of worldly existence as long as there are men, and cannot be imagined away; only with the salvation of all mankind will it collapse.

Thus we must accept the Jews among us as a necessary evil for who knows how many centuries to come. But as our body would atrophy if those bacteria developed to more than a healthy extent, so also, to make an analogy, would our people gradually succumb to a permanent spiritual infirmity if the Jew got to be too much for it. That which Zionism wants or at least pretends to want, to leave us completely, would be just as fatal as the Jew ruling us. The mission of the German people ends, it is my firm conviction, with the last hour of mankind, but we cannot get there if before that time we lose the affirmation of the world—the Jew among us; because without affirmation of the world no existence is possible. But on the other hand, if the Jew constantly stifled us, we would never be in a position to fulfill our destiny, which consists of the salvation of the world, but would, to put it bluntly, succumb to insanity; for pure affirmation of the world, as the unchecked desire for transitory existence, leads to no other end. It would literally amount to nothingness, to the *annihilation* not only of earthly appearances, but also of what truly exists, the *spiritual*. Viewed in himself, the Jew represents nothing but this blind desire for annihilation, the madness of mankind. It is known that the Jewish people suffers to an exceptional degree from mental illness; we have already discovered the reason. "Governed by madness," Schopenhauer too says of the Jew.

Some time ago the Jew *Martin Buber*<sup>6</sup> gave a lecture in Munich in which he vividly dealt with the future state in Palestine. Very vividly. The most important of his statements was the following hint, expressed unintentionally but with great sullenness: if this state should be founded and there should creep into it *even the slightest trace of a supernatural tendency, then it also would have to be destroyed!*

The secret of Jewishness could not have been revealed more plainly. It wants the *despiritualization of the world* and nothing else; but this would be the same as its *annihilation*.

While the Jews still live among us, everything they do comes to this, and *must* come to this. Their goal is the despiritualization of mankind. Therefore they attempt to destroy every form behind which the living soul operates; because, as archmaterialists, they are of the insane opinion that the spiritual—only vaguely suspected by them—is connected as a matter of life and death with the form, and must be destroyed together with it. Therefore they are all without exception *anarchists*, consciously or unconsciously; indeed, they *cannot* be anything but opponents of *law* and *order*, because these two bear in incomparable fashion the shining stamp of a purer world. Schiller calls order the *daughter of heaven*, and in Schiller,

but especially in Goethe, there are innumerable proofs of the divine origin of law.

But no idea of state can be realized without law and order; they are the indispensable basis for it. Therefore the Jew, their deadly enemy, can never create a viable state in Palestine. Instead, the *Chaos* would come again, for this word means, correctly translated: the infinite emptiness; in German, *nothingness*.

Here again Weininger approaches the truth, but here again he falls short of full understanding. First of all he thinks the (pure) idea of state has never been even approximately realized in any historic form, which is true, but only because mankind has until now lacked the necessary profundity; but then he adds that, in spite of this, there is in every historic attempt to form a state something, perhaps only that minimum of (pure) idea of state, which lifts the structure above a mere union of business and power interests. This is true in the *Aryan* attempts at forming a state; but Weininger did not know that previously this minimum *could* not become a maximum because until the present day the Aryans had not attained the corresponding maximum of *spiritual force*. But even the minimum sufficed to help the Aryan formation of states to prosper, at least for a while, often for centuries.

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The "Manifesto" marks Feder's first attempt at a career as political publicist. It may have been written as early as November 1918 but was first published in *Kritische Rundschau* in the summer of 1919.<sup>1</sup> Here, Feder makes the distinction between financial and industrial capitalism which so impressed Hitler and, before him, Rosenberg and Eckart as well. We have used the early version, rather than the expanded one published by Huber later in 1919, so that a careful comparison with Eckart and with the "Guidelines of the DAP" may be made. The later, Huber version spells out the roles which Feder hoped the state would play in managing public services, and also makes clear Feder's enmity for many forms of large-scale industrial capital.<sup>2</sup> It also, however, hints at some anti-Semitic ideas, of which there is no trace in this document.<sup>3</sup>

# Manifesto for Breaking the Bondage of Interest

Gottfried Feder

*Mammonism* is the heavy, pervasive, stifling disease from which our present culture, and indeed all humanity, is suffering. It is like a devastating plague, like a devouring poison which has seized the peoples of the world.

By mammonism we must understand

On the one hand, the international financial superpowers, the supranational financial force which rules over all the rights of self-determination of individual peoples, the golden international;

And on the other hand, a frame of mind which has overcome the broadest segments of the population; the insatiable greed for gain, the view of life which is solely directed to this-worldly things, [a view] which has already led to a frightening decline in moral values, and must continue to do so.

This frame of mind is embodied and carried to its extreme in the international plutocracy.

*The source of mammonism's power is the effortless and infinite multiplication of wealth which is created by interest.*

Out of the thoroughly immoral idea of loan interest the golden international was born. Greed for loan interest produces a mental and moral outlook in the individual which has led to a frightening dissolution within one part of the bourgeoisie.

The ideal of loan interest is the diabolical invention of big capital. It alone makes possible the lazy drone life of a minority of financially powerful people at the cost of the productive peoples and their labor. It has led to deep insurmountable differences, to class hatred, out of which civil war and fratricide have been born.

The only remedy, the *radical means* to cure suffering humanity is:

Breaking the bondage of interest.

Breaking the bondage of interest means the only possible and effective emancipation of productive labor from the secret financial superpowers.

Breaking the bondage of interest means the restoration of personal freedom, the redemption of mankind from slavery, from the magic spell in which his soul is ensnared by mammonism. Whoever wants to do battle with capitalism must break the bondage of interest.

Where must breaking the bondage of interest begin? *With loan capital!*

Why?

Because loan capital is so overpowering in comparison to all industrial capital that the great monetary powers can only be fought against successfully by breaking the bondage of interest to loan capital. Twenty to one is the ratio of loan capital to industrial capital. Every year the German people have to raise more than 12 billion in interest for loan capital, in the form of direct and indirect taxes, rents and increasing cost of living, while even in the years of the war boom the total sum of all dividends paid by German corporations amounted to only one billion.

Beyond human comprehension is the avalanchelike growth of loan capital by the constant, endless and effortless multiplication of wealth [caused by] interest and compound interest.

What benefits will be brought by breaking the bondage of interest, for the working people of Germany, for the proletarians of all countries of the earth?

Breaking the bondage of interest allows us to undertake the abolition of all direct and indirect taxes. Hear this, you people of all lands, states and continents, you who create value: all revenue from direct and indirect sources flows into the pockets of big loan capital.

The profits of state enterprises, such as mail, telegraph, telephone, railroads, mining, foresting and power, suffice completely to pay for the necessary outlays of the state for education, culture, administration, and social welfare.

This means that all true socialism will bring no benefits to humanity as long as economic enterprises of the community owe their profits to big loan capital.

Therefore we demand, first as a constitutional law for the various German peoples, then as basic law for all those brother peoples which want to enter with us into the cultural community of a league of nations, the following:

1. By abolition of the obligation to pay interest, the shares of war loans, all other debt instruments of the German Empire, all other debt instruments of the German federal states, especially railroad loans, and further the bonds of all legally constituted governments, be declared legal tender at face value.

2. In the case of all other papers bearing a fixed rate of interest, mortgage bonds, industrial obligations, mortgages and the like, the obligation to pay interest be superseded by the obligation to repay principal. After twenty or twenty-five years, according to the rate of interest, the loan will be repaid and the debt dissolved.

3. All debts on real estate, mortgages and the like, be repaid in installments as before, according to the charges entered in the property register. Real estate properties—house or land—disencumbered in this way will become partially owned by the state or legally constituted government. This will enable the state to determine and lower rents.

4. The entire monetary system is to be subordinated to a central state treasury. All private banks and bankers, as well as postal banks and savings and loan associations, will be affiliated as branch establishments.

5. All real credit is only to be given out by the central state bank. Personal credit and credit on goods is given to private bankers by state license. This license is to be given according to need and will prohibit the establishment of branches in certain districts. The scale of fees is to be set by the state.

6. Dividends will be redeemed in the same way as papers bearing a fixed rate of interest—in annual installments of five per cent. Surplus profits will be paid out in part to the stockholder as compensation for “risked” capital (in contrast to papers at a fixed rate of interest and gilt-edged securities). The rest of the surplus reverts by independent right to the workers and is either to be distributed for social purposes or applied to the lowering of consumer prices.

7. All persons who for physical reasons (old age, physical or mental inability to work, extreme youth) are not able to earn their living, will continue to receive the previous interest on their securities (paid out of existing capital funds) as an annuity in return for depositing their bonds or securities.

8. In the interest of reducing the existing inflation by substituting legal tender, a general, sharply graduated confiscation of property will be undertaken. The property thus confiscated will take the form of war bonds or other debt instruments of the Empire or the states. These papers will be destroyed.

9. It must be made clear to the people by the most intensive popular enlightenment that money is not and must not be anything but an *exchange for labor*; that to be sure any highly developed economy does need money as a medium of exchange, but that this exhausts the function of money, and can in no case give to money, through interest, a supernatural power to reproduce itself at the cost of productive labor.

Why have we not yet achieved all this, which is so natural, which one has to call the perfect remedy for the social question?

Because in our *mammonistic delusion* we have forgotten how to see that the theory of the sacredness of interest is a monstrous self-deception, that the gospel of salvation by interest has entangled our entire thinking in the golden nets of the international plutocracy. Because we have forgotten, and the all-powerful money powers work industriously to keep us forgetting, that with the exception of a few financially important people the supposedly so nice interest, so beloved by the thoughtless, is eaten up by taxes. Our whole tax law is and will remain until we are freed from the bondage of interest, tribute paid to big capital, and not, as we sometimes imagine, voluntary sacrifice for the benefit of the community.

*Therefore, emancipation from the bondage of interest is the clear solution for the world revolution, for the emancipation of productive labor from the fetters of the international money powers.<sup>4</sup>*

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"To All Working People!" was a leaflet distributed by Eckart and Rosenberg in the streets of Munich on April 5, 1919. Eckart himself described it as an effort to win the people away from the new Soviet Republic.<sup>1</sup> It echoes the call for revolution and the contempt for socialist and Bolshevik revolution which are to be found in "The Twister," but now the enemy is clearly identified as international loan capital, which in turn is identified with the Jews. "International," "Jewish" loan capital is in addition implicitly linked with socialists and Bolsheviks from Lassalle to Levien. Eckart would return to these assertions in a similar manifesto of May 17, 1919,<sup>2</sup> but the basis is already laid here for the conspiracy of Jews, Bolsheviks, and international loan capital so ubiquitous in early Nazi writing.

The relationship between Eckart's leaflet and Feder's "Manifesto for Breaking the Bondage of Interest" is not clear. We have placed the Feder manifesto first on the assumption that it was in circulation before April 1919 and that it influenced Eckart. The reverse could also perhaps have been true. We have used a copy of the April leaflet from the archives at Princeton University; when the leaflet was republished in 1924, it contained more text; when Feder republished it in 1933, he claimed coauthorship.<sup>3</sup> But the prose style of the original leaflet is very distinctively Eckart's.

## To All Working People!

Dietrich Eckart

To all who *work*, regardless how or where, as long as they *work*!  
To all *reasonable* people!

Today people are storming at every kind of possession. Industrialists, farmers, churchmen, burghers— whoever has money or at least seems to have it, is supposed to hand it over. Only *one* thing isn't mentioned, you *never* hear a word about it, *never* a syllable, and there is nothing in the world which is such a *curse on humanity*. I mean

LOAN CAPITAL!

Do you know it? Probably everyone has heard of it, but know it, really know it—I doubt if you do. Otherwise you would forget your squabbles on the spot, today, and go out arm in arm to throttle the monster before tomorrow.

I will explain it to you in brief outline. But listen well! Because if any kind of explanation can make you what you want to be—a *free* and *happy* person—it is this. *Nothing but this!*

Loan capital brings in money *without work*, brings it in through *interest*. I repeat: without lifting a finger the capitalist increases his wealth by lending this money. *It grows by itself*. No matter how lazy one is, if one has money enough and lends it out at interest, one can live high, and one's children don't need to work either, or one's grandchildren, or one's great-grandchildren, and so on to eternity! How unjust this is, how shameless—doesn't everyone feel it?

*To infinity it grows, this loan capital, through compound interest. Just one example: In 1806 the house of Rothschild began its lending business with the millions entrusted to it by the abdicating elector of Hesse. Something over 10 million it would have been, certainly not more than twenty. Today, after 110 years, the wealth of the Rothschilds amounts to 40 billion!*

#### THE HOUSE OF ROTHSCHILD OWNS FORTY BILLION!

Not million, but *billion*! *If it continues in the same way, they will own 80 billion in 1935, 160 billion in 1950 and 320 billion in 1965.* It sounds like the ravings of a madman, but it is true! The Rothschilds only need to *administer* their wealth, to see that it is nicely placed, they do *not* need to *work*, at least not what we understand by work.

But who provides them and *their like* with such an enormous amount of money? Interest has to come from somewhere after all, somewhere these billions and more billions have to be *produced* by hard labor! Who does this? *You* do it, nobody but *you*! That's right, it is *your* money, hard earned through care and sorrow, which is as if magnetically drawn into the coffers of these insatiable people.

Once more: the house of Rothschild alone possesses 40 billion. But we hear nothing of that, not a word! We hear again and again about the farmers, about heavy industry, about industry in general. And with a deafening cry, our leading revolutionaries restrict their nationalization plans to *these* branches of the economy! "There's nothing else there to socialize!" This is what they din into your ears every day until you believe it yourselves and are happy that their magnanimity cares about you so much. Smartly said and smartly done I admit. Do you know the amount of the capital of our entire *industry*?



THE INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL OF ALL OF  
GERMAN INDUSTRY AMOUNTS TO  
LESS THAN 12 BILLION!

*Understand this clearly! "In all areas, in our iron and coal industry, clothing and textiles, stone and earth, mining and shipping, wood and glass, in our construction industry, in the gigantic chemical factories, in our formerly internationally dominant electrical industry, in our machine and locomotive factories, dockyards and paper factories, transportation and food industries; short and sweet, in the infinitely broad area of all our industries—again, all our industries—we find not even 12 billion!"* Reckoned on the basis of the splendid situation before the war! But even at that time

THE HOUSE OF ROTHSCHILD ALONE POSSESSED  
40 BILLION!

And what might it possess *today* after the gigantic interest that the war brought its way! You could gather together all the farmers of the entire world and their total cash assets would *not approach* the 40 billion of the *one* family of Rothschilds.

But we have a great number of such "Rothschilds." The *Mendelssohns*, the *Bleichröders*, the *Friedländers*, the *Warburgs*,<sup>4</sup> to name only a few of the most important. And even if none of these equals its gigantic model, *each* has more money to waste than *all* our outspoken farmers *together*! Yet in spite of this it is precisely the landowners whom our "saviors of the people" brand as the worst, *even* the only, exploiters, while the true vampire is *never* mentioned *even in a whisper*. We are *intentionally* diverted to the far lesser evil so that we will not see the greatest evil, all-consuming loan capital. And this is the way it's been done from *Marx* and *Lassalle* up to *Levien*, *Landauer* and *Mühsam*.<sup>5</sup> Haven't you opened your eyes yet? . . .

In "The Social State," first published in *Auf Gut Deutsch*, on May 24, 1919,<sup>1</sup> Feder joins Eckart's call for a new and better revolution. He demands the overthrow of domination by "the golden international," which he associates with the Entente powers, and proposes the establishment of a form of government which is democratic, highly centralized, and corporatist. His explanations of how this new government will work are rather vague, but one senses that this

is quite unintentional and results from the author's naïveté. It is the corporatist sections of this document which are most notable, since they lay the basis for future Nazi corporatist proposals.

## The Social State

Gottfried Feder

The old form of government has broken down. What shall take its place? This is the most important problem of the future: Weimar's democratic-parliamentary monster, lifeless as it is, now that its illusionary policies have completely collapsed, seems to have reached the end of its days. The peace conditions of the Entente are the horrible alarm bell which has dispelled Socialist dreams and illusions. Where is Mr. Scheidemann's peace with understanding? Where is Mr. Erzberger's economic peace—guaranteed to be ready in half an hour (!) Where is the League of Nations, where is Mr. Eisner's world revolution?<sup>2</sup> Where is the workers' state in which production is doubled; where is the higher morality—where is any reconstruction at all to be seen?

Weighed and found wanting—that is already the judgment of its own people, of its own contemporaries. Over and over again history will curse the German revolutionaries who betrayed their people, who in their shortsighted megalomania first robbed a brave people of belief in and desire for victory and then with the cowardly bravery of the assassin stabbed the army in the back during its most difficult days, in order to seize the power which they cannot use. For it is one thing to fell a swaying giant from *behind*, to *uproot a dynasty which has already lost touch* with the people, or to revolutionize a civil service which has lost its vital connection with the life of the people. It is quite a different thing to display revolutionary power when the task is to inspire the mortally wounded people with new vitality and to prepare a new and vigorous political organism. Where is the revolutionary power of the German revolutionaries? Where is the French, the English, the Italian revolution? Where is the world revolution? Messrs. Ebert, Scheidemann, Erzberger, Eisner, Hoffman and whatever all their names are have kept none of their promises, none whatsoever.<sup>3</sup> *Why?* Because no new idea of state guides them, because they think the new form of government should be, at best, class rule, or worse: *a system of parliamentary compromises*; because they are so far from the true socialist state that they cannot summon the courage to lay a hand on the capitalist system; because they have not yet understood what the World War was really all about, namely, that it was the final battle of the international monetary powers for ultimate world domination.

It would be best to ask ourselves which of the chief defects of the old state we should avoid. I will enumerate them:

The irresponsible [assertion of] divine right by the Crown; the fact that army and navy as well as the higher civil service were dependent on the sovereign ruler. Further, the wholly insufficient representation of the people in the parliament which, completely tangled up in disgusting party quarrels, lost any sense of the interests of the folk; a social democracy which seemed to find its life work exclusively in inciting the workers against their employers. These were probably the most prominent defects in the political life of our people before the collapse. It is, therefore, our most important task to avoid these defects. The revolution has made a clean sweep of the obvious abuses of the old form of government—the irresponsible [assertion of] divine right, the exaggerated and misdirected militarism and bureaucracy. But the much more deeply imbedded defect, the whole hopeless parliamentarianism, is growing vigorously and is beginning, if the signs are not deceptive, to reach an understanding with the forces of capitalism. Obviously, *the only deeper meaning of the revolution, that is, the emancipation of labor from international economic enslavement by the golden international*, would thus be abolished and the economic subjugation of creative labor by the interest slavery of the mammonistic powers would be firmly established.

The new state must therefore make a radical break with all the principles of western democracy. It must especially break with parliamentary parties and parliamentary cliques, and above all, it must not mix political and economic types of popular representation in a single parliament, but must provide for this basic separation by a two-chamber system. The *House of the People* (as the first chamber) represents the political interests of the whole people, while the *Central Council* must represent the *economic* interests of the working population.

The most important thing in the reorganization is a wholly different electoral system, erected on new foundations, which will be explained below.

## The House of the People

The good of the people is the highest law, the only guiding star for the representatives of the people. There can be no question of setting up guidelines for the highest leaders of the state; their guidelines are contained in the above-mentioned principle.

More important is the form of election for the deputies, which must build upon the broadest base, pyramid-fashion, to enter the next higher stage.

In the new state *every* person has the right to be represented. The

entirely arbitrary minimal age of twenty is wholly unjustified and must therefore be done away with. On the other hand, not every person is able to be an elector, although he has the right to be represented.

Consequently an elector is someone who can show that he has been legally or voluntarily assigned as representative by at least five, usually ten, persons. This assignment is territorially limited and valid only once, at the place of principal residence; also each person can only appoint *one other* person as his representative. Let me use a practical example:

A little town of about 6,000 inhabitants needs to assemble its list of electors. Every member of the population is then free to join, entirely at his own discretion, in groups of five to ten people. The family will appoint the father or the mother or the grown-up son or the oldest daughter as its confidant, as its elector; servants and maids will meet in groups of ten persons and designate as elector and confirm by signature the one who seems to them most suitable. The electors (about 600 in a town of 6,000 inhabitants), determined in this way, will gather on specific days to elect from their midst the *people's councillors*. Again, groups of ten electors who know each other well will join together in order to designate one from their midst as people's councillor. In contrast to the present method of having a single election day, this genuine election process must take place over a long enough period so that even those who find themselves grouping together mechanically can get to know each other and have time to talk, in order to choose from their midst the one who seems to them most suitable. Such a voting procedure has an extraordinary advantage over any other system of general election in that, on the one hand, it opens up a much wider base for popular representation than previously and includes all natural persons, yet on the other hand immediately and very considerably reduces the group of real electors by limiting very significantly the honor of being an elector and by excluding at the start people who are unsuitable because of age, personal inclination, interests or trustworthiness.

The *people's councillors*, designated by the electors, will be the lowest legal governing body. Each of them represents 100 persons who have given him their confidence, to whom he is responsible and with whom he is in close contact through the group of ten electors.

It seems clear that in this way selection would be very careful. There is little room for the machinations of ambitious politicians; the relationship of trust is too close between electors and elected. Thus the feeling of responsibility of the elected is considerably increased.

These people's councillors in turn gather in district meetings. They get to know each other there, again join in groups of ten and

elect their *district councillors*. Corresponding to the number of inhabitants in their districts, the district councillors constitute the local political representatives of the people. They have the right to control government organs, district authorities and so on, as well as the duty of stating grievances to the regional or government councillors. On the other hand, they have the duty of announcing all politically important decrees and government resolutions to the people's councillors, in order to awake among their electors political understanding and participation in the political life of the entire people. This District Council, consisting according to the size of the district of 60 to 100 or more district councillors, thus represents 1,000 persons per councillor, thus 60 to 100,000 or more inhabitants. At these district meetings the district councillors again get to know each other better. Again, they have to form in groups of ten, in order to delegate one from their midst as a government councillor.

The *government councillors* meet in the regional capitals for longer periods of time. They must represent the political interests of their region; they have analogous control over the *government* and *regional* authorities. In an analogous way, the government councillors, each of whom gets support from 10,000 persons, meet in groups of ten and elect delegates to the Council of People's Deputies. Each of these people's deputies is thus the direct speaker for and the responsible representative of 100,000 persons. Thus the Council of People's Deputies in Bavaria would have 67 persons, corresponding to a population of 6.7 million. This Council of People's Deputies is the highest legal governing body. It passes the laws and appoints from its midst, or as it sees fit, from outside, a people's president or presidents, endowed with extraordinary powers, who represent the country at home and abroad.

This organic structuring of popular representation is by no means cumbersome. On the contrary, because it is natural and *indigenous*, it is the true expression of a social community based on mutual trust. To be sure, this kind of election process cannot, as it used to, be completed in one day after the confusing propaganda of an election campaign. The election, and the construction of this new political organism within the body politic, can only take place slowly and steadily. Many months will pass before the people's councillors, district councillors and government councillors have all been elected. The voting procedures will nevertheless have to be limited in time. But in spite of the typical eccentricity of Germans, ten will eventually be able to agree on one from their midst as a suitable representative.

It must be left to the individual reader to ponder the very clear and simple structure of this proposal and to realize its advantages. Especially by comparison with the severe disadvantages of the present electoral system. I certainly do not maintain that this proposal will really lead to the selection of the most politically able leaders,

but at any rate it will lead to the exclusion of all idle gossipers and political charlatans.

## The Central Council

As its name suggests, the Central Council is the central body which deliberates on the economic interests of the country. The *labor* of the entire working population finds its expression in the body. In it sit the competent expert representatives of the employers and employees of all branches of business and the professions. In it sit the delegates of the Regional-ABC-Councils.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore a *corporatist* body; an organization representing not political, but *economic*, interests.

All occupations must be represented in the Central Council; and each occupation must have *one* representative of the employers and *one* of the employees. Here the number of votes is not the important thing, but that each occupation can speak through its representative. Usurpation of the power of some groups of professions will be prevented by giving the right of veto to every single councillor. Nor can it be the task of the Central Council to issue firm rulings for the individual professional groups, even if asked to do so. The work of the Central Council is, first of all, to oversee in a comprehensive way the entire production process, to control this production, to make inquiry as to what is needed and, beyond that, to regulate production and distribution according to the results of this survey. Hand in hand with this, there must be large-scale regulation of work and provision of employment. Wage agreements as well as all questions related to wages also lie in the hands of the Central Council.

The Central Council will have arisen from the Regional-ABC-Councils, which in turn will have arisen from the councils of the workers, farmers, businesses, professions, and so forth, within the individual business groups and occupations.

Here too for the sake of simplification it is advisable if not every individual acts as elector, but at least five members of the profession choose a single elector.

Bavaria yields approximately the following picture in numbers.

In 1907 there were 3,279,914 employed persons:

	men	women
1. Agriculture and forestry	324,918	873,030
2. Industry, including mining and building trades	804,837	215,366
3. Commerce and transportation, including hotels and taverns	4,212,281 [sic]	145,900
4. Public service and independent professions	145,047	36,324
5. Wage labor of changing kinds	10,569	26,642

We would thus begin with about 600,000 electors who choose their workers', farmers', civil servants', industrial, trades, commercial, and so forth, councillors for their district. These districts group themselves around the larger cities and towns, insofar as the latter are the economic centers of their respective areas. If we say that Bavaria has about 60 of these economic centers, then about 6,000 District-ABC-Councillors must be elected for the entire state. If in individual districts (for example in rural districts) there are fewer occupational groups, then of course this number is reduced. The District Councillors meet in the regional cities. They unite there not according to numbers but according to their professions, and each group names a representative to the Regional-ABC-Council. The Regional-ABC-Councillors in turn meet in the state capital to elect the Central Council, in which again every profession, every occupation unites and selects one delegate to the Central Council. Thus the Central Council is elected in a manner similar to that proposed for the people's deputies.

The Central Council will thus be composed as follows:

I.	1.Independent farmers—3	& 3 farm laborers	= 6
	2.Independent foresters—1	& 1 lumberman and forest worker	= 2
	3.Independent gardeners—1	& 1 undergardener	= 2
II.	4.Owners of mines and foundries—1	& 1 miner	= 2
	5.Quarry owners—1	& 1 stone worker	= 2
	6.Brickyard owners—1	& 1 bricklayer	= 2
	7.Concrete works—1	& 1 concrete worker	= 2
	8-12.Metallurgical industry—5	& 5 metallurgical workers	= 10
	13.Chemical industry—1	& 1 employee 1 worker	= 3
	14-15.Textile industry—2	& 1 employee 2 workers	= 5
	16.Paper industry—1	& 1 employee 1 worker	= 3
	17.Leather industry—1	& 1 employee 1 worker	= 3
	18.Wood and insulation—2	& 2 workers	= 4
	19-21.Food production industries—3	& 3 workers	= 6
	22-23.Clothing industries—2	& 2 employees 2 workers	= 6
	24.Laundries—1	& 1 worker	= 2
	25-26.Building industry—3	& 2 employees 2 workers	= 6 [7]
	27.Printing presses—2	& 1 employee 1 worker	= 3 [4]
	28-29.Commercial enterprises—2	& 2 employees	= 4

30. Innkeepers—1	& 1 employee	= 2
31. Theaters—1	& 1 employee	= 2
32. Music, art, writers—2		= 2
33. Transportation—1	& 1 employee	= 2
34–36. Government officials—2		= 2
37. Local government officials—1		= 1
38. Further groups as expedient		= 14
councillors:		100 [98]

The Central Council, it must be emphasized again, is the expression of the *working* community of the people. Only the best shall have a seat and a vote in it. Every profession, every occupation shall be heard in it. The closest cooperation shall in the best sense have an educational effect; it shall function *socially* to prevent the representation of the special interests of the individual occupational groups and to encourage their best incorporation into the whole. These are the general principles for structuring the system of councils and for rooting it in the constitution.

I think that these general guidelines for the new constitution leave no doubt that the proposed two-chamber system has nothing to do with that which I consider to be our greatest misfortune: the parliamentarianism of the western democracies.

The *House of the People* is the image of the *political life* of the entire people; the *Central Council*, the public expression of its *labor*. In both chambers, only the best from the various segments of the population, only the most experienced from the individual professional groups, shall or can be heard.

I would like to conclude with an image designed to show that the structure of the state can not really resemble a *building*, but rather a *tree*, a living, organic structure. The similes from the building industry which are very common in our speech when we deal with the "reconstruction" of our state are thoroughly misleading; for even if all comparisons are ultimately somewhat lame, the usual comparison of the constitution to a building overlooks too much the most essential element, namely, that a *people is an organism* and a building is a dead construction.

These considerations become very clear if one compares the favorite image of a ruined field which has to be reconstructed with the demolished house which is to be reconstructed. The house cannot be rebuilt out of its demolished parts. On the contrary a tree, however ill-treated, even if its big branches are torn off, even if some of its roots are hacked away, can revive. But with the tree as with a people, this renewal must grow out of the *inner* vitality of the organism. Not from the outside and not by artificial constructions can a sick organism be helped; the cure must come from inside. It must be the concern of the new art of government to find the vital con-



ditions for an organic renewal in a new constitution which guarantees to every single member of the people the freest development of his personality within the framework of the community, based on the clear realization that this free development of his personality (in an aristocratic sense) finds its natural organic limit *in the higher interests of the social community.*

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The Program of the NSDAP, or "Twenty-Five Points," is very well known to students of German history. It has been translated into many languages, often into English—usually rather poorly. To take one example, the term *Volksgenosse*, which we have rendered as "folk comrade," was in wide use in Germany by many parties, including socialist ones.<sup>1</sup> To translate it "racial comrade," as is often done, is therefore to read history backward in a most unfortunate manner.

The Program is both more specific and more general than the Guidelines of the DAP. Many of its points and phrases are familiar from the writings already included here: breaking the bondage of interest, profit sharing in big business, the urging of a strongly centralist government, the "formation of chambers according to occupation and profession," "the Jewish materialistic spirit in and around us." The anti-Semitism of the Program can be traced in a general way to both Eckart and Rosenberg. But much has been added to the concerns of Feder, Eckart, and Rosenberg, and to those of the Guidelines: the demand for a greater Germany and for colonies, the interest in old-age insurance, the emphasis on the small businessman, the promise of a German common law, the emphasis on equal educational opportunity, curricular reform and sport, the call for a popular army, the interest in the press and in cultural affairs, and the friendly attitude to the Christian churches. Many of these emphases undoubtedly result from an effort to compete with the other national party programs, nearly all of which touched on education, the army, the press, and the church. The aggressive foreign policy which is implied can certainly be attributed to Hitler.<sup>2</sup> The style is not recognizably that of any single individual, however.

The date of this version of the Program is not entirely certain. We have used a printed flier from the Hauptstaatsarchiv München, which is dated February 24, 1920, and is accompanied by a police report dated April 29, 1920.<sup>3</sup> But the newspaper reports of the February meeting at the Bürgerbräukeller are somewhat ambiguous as to what was set forth there. Slightly different versions of some of the points, in a different order, were published in the *Völkischer Beo-*

*bachter* of January 1, 1921. The first published version of the whole was Rosenberg's edition and commentary of 1923, in which they were described as "the twenty-five theses."<sup>4</sup> Feder reprinted the same text, with his own commentary, as volume one of the NS Bibliothek; this version was then frequently reprinted thereafter.<sup>5</sup>

## The Program of the NSDAP

The program of the German Workers' Party is addressed to its era. After the goals of the program have been achieved, the leaders refuse to set new ones for the purpose of artificially increasing the discontent of the masses, merely in order to make possible the continuance of the party.

1. We demand the union of all Germans—on the basis of the right of self-determination of peoples—in a Greater Germany.

2. We demand equality of the German people with all other nations, the abrogation of the peace treaties of Versailles and Saint-Germain.

3. We demand land and soil (colonies) for the nourishment of our people and for the settlement of our excess population.<sup>6</sup>

4. Only he who is a folk comrade can be a citizen. Only he who is of German blood, regardless of his church, can be a folk comrade. No Jew, therefore, can be a folk comrade.<sup>7</sup>

5. He who is not a citizen shall live in Germany only as a guest and must be governed by the law for aliens.

6. The right to make decisions about leadership and law belongs only to citizens. We therefore demand that every public office, no matter what kind, whether national, state, or local, be staffed only by citizens.

We oppose the corrupting parliamentary system of filling offices only according to the needs of the party and without regard for character or ability.

7. We demand that the state pledge itself to assure the productivity and livelihood of citizens above all others. If it is not possible to support the entire population, members of foreign nations (non-citizens) are to be expelled.

8. Any further immigration of non-Germans is to be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who have entered Germany since August 2, 1914, be forced to leave the Reich immediately.

9. All citizens must possess equal rights and duties.

10. It must be the primary duty of every citizen to work mentally or physically. The activities of the individual may not conflict with the interests of the general public but must be carried on within the framework of the whole and for the good of all.

WE THEREFORE DEMAND:

11. Abolition of income unearned by labor or effort;

BREAKING THE BONDAGE OF INTEREST.

12. Considering the enormous sacrifices of property and blood which every war demands from a people, personal enrichment because of war has to be seen as a crime against the people. We therefore demand complete confiscation of all war profits.

13. We demand nationalization of all (previously) incorporated companies (trusts).

14. We demand profit sharing in big businesses.

15. We demand a generous extension of old-age insurance.

16. We demand the creation and maintenance of a sound middle class; immediate communalization of the great department stores and their leasing to small businessmen at low rents; most favorable consideration to small businessmen in all government purchasing and contracting, whether national, state, or local.

17. We demand land reform suited to our national needs, creation of a law providing for expropriation without compensation of land for common purposes, abolition of taxes on land and prevention of all speculation.

18. We demand a relentless fight against those whose activities harm the common good. Traitors, usurers, profiteers, and so forth, are to be punished with death, regardless of church and race.

19. We demand the substitution of a German Common Law for Roman Law. Roman Law serves a materialistic world order.

20. In order to make it possible for every able and industrious German to obtain a higher education, and thereby to achieve a leading position, the state must take charge of a thorough extension of our entire national educational system. The curricula of all schools must be adapted to the demands of practical life. The school must impress an understanding of the state (civics) very early, at the very beginning of rational thought in the child. We demand the education of gifted children of poor parents at the cost of the state, regardless of the parents' status or profession.<sup>8</sup>

21. The state must improve public health through protection of mother and child, prevention of child labor, by imposing a physical fitness program by means of establishing legal obligations in gymnastics and sports, and by supporting all organizations concerned with the physical training of youth.

22. We demand the abolition of mercenary troops and the creation of a popular army.

23. We demand legal measures against the conscious political lie

and its propagation through the press. In order to make possible the creation of a German press, we demand that:

a. all editors and contributors of German language newspapers be folk comrades;

b. non-German newspapers must have the express permission of the state to appear. They may not be printed in the German language.

c. every non-German investment in or influence on German newspapers be legally forbidden and be punished by the closing of the publishing house and the immediate expulsion of the non-Germans involved.

Newspapers which conflict with the common good are to be forbidden. We demand legal measures against any tendency in art and literature which has a subversive influence on the life of our people, and the closing down of any meetings or organizations which do not conform to these demands.

24. We demand freedom for all religious denominations within the state as long as they do not endanger the state or violate the ethical and moral feelings of the Germanic race.

The party as such subscribes to a positive Christianity without binding itself to a specific denomination. It opposes the Jewish materialistic spirit within and around us and is convinced that a lasting recovery of our people can only come about by an effort from within based on the principle:

#### THE COMMON GOOD BEFORE THE INDIVIDUAL GOOD.

25. In order to carry out these policies we demand: creation of a strong central authority in the Reich. The central parliament must have unlimited authority over the entire Reich and all its organizations.<sup>9</sup>

The formation of chambers according to occupation and profession, to carry out in the individual states the basic law enacted by the Reich.

The leaders of the party pledge that they will relentlessly seek the implementation of these points, if necessary at the cost of their lives.

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Rosenberg's book of 1923, from which brief excerpts are included here, was a commentary upon the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. This famous forgery appeared to be a series of notes for the sessions of the World Zionist congress in Basle in 1897. In its pages, the participants appeared to be plotting the overthrow of national governments, the establishment of a Jewish world state of an authoritarian nature, and the imposition of Judaism on a world scale. The origins of the book, as Norman Cohn (*Warrant for Genocide* [New York, 1967]) has shown, reach far back into the nineteenth century, but the version which Rosenberg knew was concocted in Russia around 1905 and was brought to Germany in 1918 by members of the Tsarist secret police fleeing the Bolshevik revolution. In Germany the *Protocols* were an immediate success in anti-Semitic circles: the first edition, published in Berlin by Gottfried zur Beek in 1920, rapidly sold 120,000 copies. At the same time Theodor Fritsch, leading anti-Semitic publisher and editor of *Der Hammer*, brought out another very popular version in Leipzig; an English translation published in Boston "ran through six editions between 1920 and 1922."<sup>1</sup> In 1921 the *New York Times* published conclusive evidence that the work was a forgery and, partly as a result of the ensuing debate, the *Protocols* soon gained worldwide fame. Despite frequent demonstrations to the contrary, they continued to be widely accepted as authentic throughout the twenties and thirties, and this was particularly true in Germany, where the idea of a Jewish world conspiracy made a powerful appeal, both to frustrated nationalism and, more specifically, to the various German anti-Semitic movements.

Rosenberg's tract was not, as many of the early writers on National Socialism assumed, another version of the *Protocols*. The original text is represented only in brief and partial quotations, which are surrounded by Rosenberg's lengthy commentary. (Our excerpts are taken from the "Introduction" and from the chapter entitled "Fifth Session.") By means of this commentary, Rosenberg attempted to show that the *Protocols* were valid by bringing them up to date—"demonstrating" the persistence of the Jewish world conspiracy in current events and among current leading political figures. It is not clear when Rosenberg first became familiar with the *Protocols*; he may have known one of the early Russian texts, but even indirect references to them are absent from his writings until 1920 (see Introduction, n. 42). We consider it probable that he had not read them until Gottfried zur Beek's edition appeared. His commentary may well represent an effort to take advantage of the growing notoriety of the *Protocols* themselves, and certainly a part of his intention was to take a stand on their authenticity. In so doing, he must have thought he was lending authenticity to his own earlier theories about a Jewish-capitalist-Bolshevik conspiracy. In the same process,

the scope of the conspiracy was enlarged, given a world context and a historical dimension.

Rosenberg's text is both repulsive and boring, since it represents an extension of the arguments in "The Russian Jewish Revolution" the inclusion of these selections may appear unnecessary. But distasteful as they are, they mark an essential stage in the development of anti-Semitism within the Nazi Party. In one sense they represent a culmination of the kind of Jew-naming and Jew-baiting which characterized Eckart's *Totengräber Russlands*, Rosenberg's "The Russian Jewish Revolution," and much of the writing in the *Völkischer Beobachter* up to 1923. Rosenberg's earlier list of conspirators is here greatly extended to include not only Russian revolutionaries and a few major financial leaders but also the leading statesmen of the Allied Powers before and during the First World War. (This cast of characters undoubtedly remained important for many Nazis, some of whom may not have shared the presuppositions or agreed with the implications of Rosenberg's thought.) The practice of naming Jews in high office as a form of political protest had been widely used among German anti-Semites; it is very characteristic, for example, of the writings and publications of Theodor Fritsch. This kind of vulgar racism always implied the notion of vengeance against individuals as a mode of political action: if this, that, or the other Jew was purged from office, good Germans would rule and all would be well. Rosenberg here generalizes this kind of argument in a worldwide conspiracy—political, financial, and racial—against the defeated Germany. The theoretical step toward an argument for genocide and total war is not a large one. Rosenberg did not yet take this step, but he did forge a strong link between the earlier traditions of German anti-Semitism and the later idea that the Jew must be combatted totally on every front. He also coopted the *Protocols*, with all their notoriety, for the Nazi Party.

Jew-baiting and conspiracy hysteria disappear from the writings of most Nazi leaders between 1923 and 1933 (with the notable exception of Julius Streicher). Rosenberg himself went on to explore the nature of a German cultural revival; he saw this revival as "racial" in character, but usually he did not stress the role of individuals either in preventing the revival or in promoting it.<sup>2</sup> It must be remembered, however, that his commentary was widely circulated, so that both the contents and the method of argument retained an appearance of official sanction even before 1933.<sup>3</sup> After 1933, Nazi propaganda often cited the *Protocols*, and Rosenberg's commentary, in support of the regime's anti-Semitic policies.<sup>4</sup> By that time, Nazi anti-Semitism had also absorbed a racial view of culture and society—from Eckart, from Rosenberg's later works, and from Hitler himself—and a proposal for a eugenics policy from Darré.

# The Protocols of the Elders of Zion and Jewish World Policy

Alfred Rosenberg

## Introduction

It is remarkable to ascertain the difference between the *goals* which men thought they were serving when they inflicted this tragedy of tragedies upon themselves—and what the end of this story means, what their *actual work* accomplished.—The London *Jewish World* (May 10, 1923) on the occasion of the speech of Robert Cecil, in which he said that the only good results of the World War were the Jewish state in Palestine and the League of Nations.

When the *Protocols* appeared in German at the end of 1919, they immediately caused a great sensation. Millions suddenly found in them the explanation of many previously unexplainable present-day phenomena, which in their most important aspects no longer seemed accidental, but the results of a formerly secret but now exposed collaboration among the leaders of apparently bitterly antagonistic classes, parties, peoples.

The publication had a tremendous importance because the *Protocols* were demonstrably not a program put together after the fact, but the reproduction of a paper which concerned men had delivered as a warning, decades ago, to persons active in political life, without the paper ever having received the necessary consideration. . . .

As things are now, no *legally* conclusive evidence either of absolute authenticity or of forgery can be furnished. Some of the leaders of the 1897 meeting have died, and others will be wary of admitting the truth. And the Russians who procured the copy twenty-five years ago are probably also long dead.

But there are, apart from the obviousness of the present world situation, documents from earlier times and from the most recent present which spring from the deepest Jewish subconsciousness as well as from power-conscious arrogance, documents which reveal the same meaning as the reviled *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

The center of Jewish world policy before the war was in London. It was Herzl who designated England, "which encompasses the world with its glance," as the "starting point" of the Zionist idea. Here the almighty House of Rothschild had its main office, here Disraeli-Beaconsfield had systematically prepared the ground. Then,

with the approval of the British government, a book entitled *The Jews among the Entente Leaders* appeared in 1918 for private circulation. This work, so far fully translated only into French, contains a short biography of sixteen leading Jewish personalities of the Entente states. Judges, bankers, politicians, labor leaders, are all lumped together and claimed as *Jewish* representatives, and this fact alone should suffice to draw one's attention to the deceit—as if these people had become “Englishmen,” “Frenchmen,” “Americans.”

The book begins with the following words: “This little brochure aims to give a sketch of the careers of a few (!!) of the principal leading Jews among the peoples of the Entente, and to show their share in this world struggle for the cause of the Allies.” After referring again to diplomatic achievements, it says further:

Count Reading, in his mission in the United States to strengthen the spirit of brotherhood between the two great races of the English tongue on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean; Mr. Baruch and Mr. Samuel Gompers, commissioned to lead and control the economic resources of the United States, in order to strengthen this world struggle; and Mr. Kahn, who, although of German ancestry, has shaken off the yoke of Prussian militarism and proved himself a devoted and enthusiastic supporter of the Allied cause through his generosity and the testimony he gave as to the justice of this cause; all these men are the representatives of thousands of Jews, each of whom plays a role in the Allied nations which is not to be sneezed at in the struggle for the triumph of democracy and freedom.

Every unprejudiced person will admit that these words reveal the consciousness of mastery of the political and economic life of the peoples of the Entente, for if control of American industry lies in the hands of two men publicly claimed as *Jews*, that means the recognition of a Jewish financial dictatorship (cf. *Der internationale Jude*, vol. 2). And then Bernard Baruch also had control over all business arrangements of the United States with twenty-six Entente powers. He bestowed all profitable contracts on the Lewinsohns, the copper kings Guggenheim, the steel trust magnate Charles Schwab. The fruit of the labor of entire peoples was systematically directed into the pockets of the sons of Abraham. . . .

In the course of my later explanations I will often speak of similar characteristic indications of our ignominious present. Here it is only necessary to quote the final words of the introduction to the brochure, words which so correspond to the spirit of the *Protocols* that they could conclude the *Protocols* themselves:

*We hope that the common efforts of the Jewish representatives of the Entente powers are symbolic of a greater unity*



*which will be born after the war, not with the goal of annihilation and destruction, which is at the moment unavoidable, but in order to create a better and happier world in which the Hebraic ideals of law and justice will predominate.*

Thus an even greater concentration of Jewish financial power is prophesied and Hebraic "ideals" are to rule the world. If anything speaks for the authenticity of the *Protocols*, it is this evidence from a Jewish pen, evidence which came into the world twenty-one years after the Basle congress. It sets down—by content and tone—the fulfillment of the nineteenth century plans, and plainly points to additional goals. . . .

What still remains to be done is to emphasize the specifics to which the Jewish authors of this highly interesting work point with satisfaction. In this way we can immediately get a general picture of present-day world politics. First of all there is the former mayor of London (the fifth Jew since 1900!) and member of Parliament, Herbert Louis *Samuel*. It is said with great pride of this "Englishman" that he has "enthusiastically devoted himself to the interests and the pursuit of the goals of *Zionism*." That means that he may, as an "Englishman," openly work for Jewish-folkish endeavors.

Moreover, he was appointed viceroy of Palestine, was given the highest decorations by the English king, received an audience with the Pope on his journey to the "Land of his Father," and then entered Jaffa on an English battleship, to the thunder of the harbor batteries. . . .

Compare with that the motto of this book.

The second leading Jew discussed is Edwin-Samuel *Montague*, the second son of the Jewish Lord Swaythling, a "pillar of English Jewry" and member of Parliament. In 1906 he became "private secretary to Mr. Asquith" (cf. the Jew Philipp Sassoon as "private secretary" to Lloyd George; the Jew Hugo Oberndoerffer to Loubet; the Jew Mandel as "private secretary" to Clemenceau; before the war it was the Hebrews Cornelius Herz, Goudchaux and Roth; the Jew Louis Strauss as "private secretary" to the American food dictator Hoover; the Jewish "private secretary" and press chief of Tschitscherin, Rosenberg; the Jewish "private secretary" Cahen to the German peace delegation in Versailles, later to Brockdorff-Rantzau in Moscow). . . .

Right after Montague comes Lord Reading, born Rufus Isaaks, notorious as a speculator, along with Lloyd George, in the Marconi scandal. Presumably because of this talent for "Jewish ideals of justice," he was appointed lord chief justice of England, and then made a Lord. During the war he was the "English" ambassador in New York; now he is viceroy of India (which he helps to exploit, along with the opium Jew Sassoon, the Jewish finance secretary Lionel Abrahams and others).

Alfred Mond, "one of the most important authorities in England in the area of economic questions," appears as the fourth great "Englishman." He participates in the "largest industrial enterprises in the world." Moreover, a number of newspapers belong to him.<sup>5</sup>

In conclusion it says of Alfred Mond: "Sir Alfred is one of the English Jews who are proud of their Jewish ancestry; he is a very energetic representative of the Zionist movement." I must add that this English Minister for Public Works is on the board of directors of the national Jewish world loan (Keven Hajissod), and he has more than once made threatening speeches against the state which tolerates him as Minister. For example, he once said in a speech at Oxford, as *English Minister*:

I would like to note right away, that I speak not in my capacity as a member of His Majesty's government, but as a Jew. I would consider myself a coward, entirely unworthy of the citizenship I possess, if I chose this way. The Jewish race must interest all those who have the honor of belonging to it.

This (Balfour) Declaration was, it seems to me, a great act of statesmanlike wisdom and characteristic of the great man who made it, one of the greatest of the living British statesmen. As intended, it had *immediate success, in the middle of the World War, in uniting, on the side of the Allies, a powerful sum of Jewish sympathies in the states of all (!!!) continents*. Although I know that many think that this sympathy was of minor importance for such a powerful empire, and that the effect of the sympathy won by such a move, viewed superficially (!), was not very important, I would like to remind them that the next largest foreign group in the population of the United States after the Irish is the Jewish population, and that the sympathy and support of a *large group with important influence on public opinion was not without value when the Americans were about to join the Allies in the war*.

(In other words: The Jews pushed America into the war against Germany). . . .

Two "Frenchmen" from the Jewish world ghetto follow these paper Englishmen. First of all, Lucien Klotz, the French-Jewish Finance Minister during the war and present deputy, who cannot do enough in abusing Germany and demanding more and more extortion; then Joseph Reinach, the well-known and infamous journalist and Knight of the Legion of Honor of the Rothschild Republic.

Shortly before Italy was to enter the war, an important appointment was made in that country: Sidney Sonnino, born in Alexandria, the son of a Jewish banker, a millionaire, a high-level Mason and friend of England, became—Foreign Minister. All those who understood something of politics knew that the indicator pointed to

war. The Jewish work states dryly: "Italy had not yet (after San Giuliano's death) entered the war, *but under the leadership of Baron Sonnino* it took its place, after a few months, on the side of the Allies, and it was always a faithful ally in their successes and in their reverses." Is that clear, Michael?<sup>6</sup>

Then comes Luigi Luzzatti, the Italian Minister of Justice, then the Trientine Jew Barzilai (Bürzel), Minister without Portfolio; then the book proceeds to the American Hebrews.

First a top man of American Zionism is named, the Supreme Court Justice Luis Dembitz *Brandeis* (high brother of the pan-Jewish B'nai B'rith Order). It literally says of him: "From his appointment to the Supreme Court and his moving to Washington (!), he was one of the closest and most favored advisors of the President (Wilson). Not only was he asked about all matters concerning trade and industry, on which he is a well-known authority in the United States, but his sound (!) judgment was also solicited by the President, *if it concerned the international situation*. A committee, consisting of Colonel House and Mr. Brandeis, was appointed to study world questions and to lay down the broad outlines of American policy at the peace conference." At this "peace conference," the responsibility for American policy toward the east was turned over to the Jewish-folkish Zionists Brandeis, Mak and Marshall. As the *Revue antimaçonnique* reported at the time, Wilson was accompanied by 156 advisors. Of these, 117 were said to be Jews. . . .

[The trade union leader Samuel Gompers] is followed in the account by Oskar Strauss, born in Otterberg (Germany). This American Jew was American ambassador in Constantinople three times; he was president of the Chamber of Commerce, the Union for International Law, etc. The Jewish brochure honors him as one of the "most influential Jewish leaders of modern times." Oskar Strauss' brother, Nathan Strauss, is said to have been a great "philanthropist." He is also honored as such by the "German" *Hamburger Israelitisches Familienblatt* (no. 37, 1921). This Strauss was, in fact, one of the greatest inciters against Germany and explained in a letter to the French ambassador that the enthusiasm for the cause of the Entente among the Jews can be characterized as unanimous (cf. Schiemann, "Deutsche Politik," in Karl Heise, *Entente-freimaurerei und Weltkrieg*, etc.).

The above-mentioned *Bernard Baruch*, the absolute economic dictator of America, follows after the Strausses. Of the War Industries Board, of which the almost unknown Baruch was appointed chairman, the Jewish work says:

"This office is not only an agency for production, but it is also the agent for the (that is, all) purchases of the Allies, and it efficiently controls the world's provisions of the most important materials.

*Mr. Baruch actually received complete control of all industries in the United States."*

Can one admit *any more* in black and white? . . .

Thus ends this highly significant work, which I examined in detail because it is completely unknown in Germany (only Count Reventlow mentioned it once in *Reichswart*). In order to understand its full significance, a more general survey is necessary. For the sixteen personalities mentioned in the work are only a fraction of the men who today almost tyrannically determine the policies of all states. If we follow the same division into countries which the Jewish brochure uses, we can add to Reading, Herbert Samuel, Montague and Mond (to whom we will have to return in the course of our explanations) a host of other names.

Ever since Edward VII, when the titles of baronet and peer were sold to profiteers of all kinds for hard money, Jewish high finance has increasingly made itself at home among the English nobility, and today we see a dozen Jewish Lords sitting in the English upper house. To the domination of India and Palestine by the representatives of Jewish high finance can now be added a host of other colonies dominated by Hebrews. For example, as the head of the Zionists Cohen states with great satisfaction, the president and vice president of the parliament of New South Wales are Jews, and once the House had to interrupt its work, because these two Jews—were in the synagogue (*Jüdische Rundschau*, no. 33/34, 1921).<sup>7</sup>

Further, the commander of the Australian army corps, John Monash, is a descendant of Abraham, as is Mattheus Nathan, Governor of Queensland (*Vorwärts*, no. 277, 1921), and at all of the great world conferences, the English representatives were naturally always accompanied by a representative of Jewish high finance (usually by Anthony Rothschild). It was therefore understandable that the old Lord Balfour publicly declared at a mass meeting in London: "We have taken up a great cause—I explicitly say *we*, the Jews and England. We are comrades in this enterprise" (*Jüdische Rundschau*, no. 49, 1920). The Jewish financial dictatorship in England found its expression in the well-known Balfour Declaration, whose text cannot be too often brought to the attention of all Europeans. . . .

France acted just like England before the war, and even more so during and after the war. Aside from the previously mentioned Jewish leaders of the French, one must not forget that at the time of Clemenceau, the Jew Mandel stood at his side as "private secretary," and all diplomatic documents of the French Prime Minister passed through his hands; and also Poincaré, labeled a tyrant, had to declare several times in forced conversations his "willingness" to stand up for the so-called rights of the Jews. . . .

When Millerand became president, the London *Jewish Chronicle*

expressly honored him as a Jew and compared him to Gambetta. In the spring of 1922, Millerand set out on a trip to Tunis. *La Voix d'Israel*, the organ of North African Jewry and Zionism, printed in large letters under the title "A Page of History" the triumphant statement of the Jewish ancestry of the president of the R.F. *La Dépêche tunisienne* of May 2, 1922, describes Millerand's journey in detail and emphasizes the Jewish enthusiasm. Then the honors. No Frenchman was decorated, but Eugène Bessis, president of the Israelite community, and Guez, former director of the Jewish welfare society, received the cross of the Legion of Honor (*La Vieille France*, no. 277, of May 18, 1922). . . .

Great honor is due Professor Preciosi in Rome for his explanation of the mastery of Italian politics by Hebrew high finance. He published in his monthly *La vita italiana* many statistics which prove that the same elements stood behind the scenes in Italian political life as in other states. Although there were only 50,000 Jews in Italy, international high finance pushed one of them after the other into the important posts of Italian politics. Three thousand two hundred fifty-nine Jews were state officials. Sixty-four sat in parliament, 54 in the diplomatic corps, 317 in the administration of the interior, 470 in the leadership of the financial office, and so forth (cf. also the former representative of Italy to the conference in Genoa, the foreign minister and Jew Schanzer-Toeplitz). The Italian people had not the faintest notion of these things, any more than did the other peoples of the continent. Fascism, as the national reaction to international chaos, was originally very much inclined toward freemasonry, but then turned against Italian masonry and pursued a friendly policy toward the Church. Even Mussolini has so far preferred not to come forward against Jewish high finance, which is certainly not unknown to him, and so it was possible for different Jewish papers to claim the Minister of the Interior, Così Aldo Finzi, as a Jew, although he is baptized (cf. *Berliner Tageblatt* of March 8, 1923; in his biography by Auro d'Alta, there is little mention of this). A Jew, Ivo Lewi, was made head of the Fascist student organization, and only when he became presumptuous did the Fascist central organ *Popolo d'Italia* sharply reprimand him and silence him. In June 1923 the Jew Mortara was appointed the supreme judge of Italy.

In spite of the fanatical national power of Italian Fascism, which has taken action with fire and sword against everything in its way, it has not dared to come out against Jewry: Mussolini faces foreign political difficulties, against which he is not (or not yet?) willing to take up a fight.

The center of gravity of today's world policy is in New York, and the above-mentioned six Jewish politicians represent only a small

sample of the members of that powerful financial group before whom all of Europe lies flat on its face. President Wilson was, as mentioned, always surrounded by Jews (Simon Wolf, who in the name of the Jews presented him with a golden medal on his return from Versailles as an expression of gratitude from American Jewry; Jacob Schiff and his son Mortimer; Otto Kahn, Felix Warburg and a host of other financial celebrities). Samuel Gompers was, as mentioned, the head of a workers' organization, but it was also arranged that a Hebrew, Sidney Hillman, stood at the head of the anti-Gompers unions (for details, cf. *Der internationale Jude*, vol. 1). Today nine-tenths of the land on which New York City is built belongs to Hebrews, and the same is true of theaters and cinemas; only one of the great department stores of the city is not in Jewish hands; one-third of the population itself consists of Jews. More than two million Jews live in the largest city in America, and this city of the "freest country on the globe" is at the same time the largest ghetto in the world. Shortly before Wilson left the presidency, he made an important appointment: he promoted an old stock-exchange jobber, who had become an admiral during the war, to commander-in-chief of all naval forces in the Pacific Ocean. This man was Mr. Josef Strauss, a relative of the above-mentioned Nathan and Oskar Strauss. The Frankfurt paper *Israelit* expressly characterized this Josef Strauss as a "conscious Jew" (no. 5, 1921).

Things did not change when Harding became president. Soon after his inauguration he wrote a letter to the Zionist leader Hartmann, in which he announced his respect for the Jewish people and praised their "faithfulness to the laws of the country in which they live" (*Jüdische Rundschau*, no. 83, 1920). Later, on November 5, 1921, the President of America congratulated Jewry the world over on Rosh Hashanah and praised the utility of the Jewish people (*Der Israelit*, no. 44, 1921). And he never hesitated to kowtow to New York high finance. The Jewish *Presszentrale* in Zurich found itself on February 16, 1923, in a position to print a letter of Harding's to the Union of Hebraic Congregations of America, in which he said, among other things: "One of the wonders of the history of mankind has always been the strength and the power of the Jewish faith *and the uninterrupted influence and power of the Jewish people.*" After Harding further glorified the Jewish faith, he concluded with the confession that the other religions had a "great debt to pay" to the Jewish faith. Much more could be said about this tragicomedy known as President Harding, but the indications in this one direction must suffice; it may only be added that Harding immediately after his inauguration let the Zionist Bernhard Rosenblatt be promoted to municipal justice of the peace of New York. Furthermore, the Jew Robert Lasker became president of the American Shipping Boards; the brand new President also appointed Mr. Lewis Einstein

American ambassador in Czechoslovakia, and the Rabbi Josef Kornfeld ambassador of the United States in Teheran.

When Professor Einstein and Chaim Weizmann came to New York, "official" buildings hoisted the Jewish-national Zionist flag next to the American one; both Jews were made honorary citizens of New York City.

It only remains to point out that the above-mentioned Paul Hymanns, the chairman of the League of Nations, is not the only Hebrew at the top of a highly political organization, but that he has a number of friends who help him run this kosher institution of exploitation.

The general Jewish joy over the splendid Geneva "League of Nations" is quite natural. For hardly had the general director of this institution, Sir Eric Drummond, arrived in Geneva, when he did what was natural considering the present financial power of the Jews: he set out for an audience with—*Grand Rabbi* Ginsburger. In his speech, Drummond said that he and his colleagues would "unite in defense of the Jews, and he held the firm conviction that the League would fulfill its duty (!) to the Jews. He hoped that all of Jewry would soon be able to enjoy all natural and civil rights everywhere. From now on the Jews would not appeal in vain to the justice of mankind" (*Der Israelit* of Nov. 11, 1920, no. 45; identical text in the *jüdische Rundschau*).

This promise is even more understandable if one knows that (as *Deutschlands Erneuerung* reports) in the most important sections of the splendid League, Jews sit as representatives of all nations: Dr. Hamel (representative of Holland), a Hebrew born in Germany; the director of the political division is the Jew Mantoux (earlier interpreter in the "Supreme Council" at Paris during the Versailles negotiations); the chairman of the commercial division is the Jew Haas; France is represented by André Weiss, Spain by Mr. Steegmann, San Domingo by Mr. Cuhnhardt. Moreover, the Jews secured the section responsible for the "fight" against the white-slave trade. That was their business for hundreds of years (*Deutschlands Erneuerung*, no. 4, 1921).

And as said before: the whole caboodle is crowned by a Hebrew.

How things in Germany were or are is the subject of an already enormous amount of literature. The most essential things must be assumed here (I refer you to W. Meister, *Judas Schuldbuch*; Kernholt, *Schuld und Sühne*; Armin, *Die Juden im Heer*, etc.). It should be pointed out in the course of this survey that the parallel phenomenon of Baruch-Montague-Rathenau is indeed startling. Just as the Jew Baruch emerged from obscurity to become dictator of the American state, just as Montague as munitions minister practically controlled the British army, so the Jew Rathenau approached the

German Kaiser a few days after the outbreak of war with a complete plan for the war economy. Note well, this was the *same* man who after the fall of this same Kaiser wrote a book (*Der Kaiser*) in which he coldly tells that he *even then* explained to a good friend that if William II with his paladins rode through the Brandenburger Tor as a victor, then "world history would have lost its meaning." The same man had explained what the "meaning of world history" was on December 25, 1909, in the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*: high finance was called upon to seize the reins of government from the emperors and kings. . . .

The objective result of the Rathenau system was the same as the rule of Bernard Baruch: the war industries fell almost exclusively into Jewish hands (more detailed and shocking evidence is in Armin: *Die Juden in den Kriegsgesellschaften*). The entire nation cried out against these exploiting syndicates, but the government was not in a position to move against them: it was *not allowed to*. And because of this the government fell under the blows of the troops of plutocratic usury, under the blows of Social Democracy. A well-deserved end, only the German people has to pay for it with great humiliation and slavery.

Right now the incorporation of the German colony into the pan-Jewish private syndicate is taking place. The army of France, the deluded workers of Germany and the threat of the troops of Soviet Russia are all at the disposal of the syndicate. More about this in another place.

A reasonable survey of the political situation of the world shows us the same picture everywhere. Behind the governments known as British, American, French or German, stands pan-Jewish high finance as the ruler (we do not neglect the effects of other forces), high finance organized in national "philanthropic" and "religious" world organizations which do not recognize any political borders.

How has that happened?

## Fifth Session

It is well known that Jews of all kinds pretend to fight for freedom and peace day after day; their speakers drip with humanity and love of mankind, as long as Jewish interests are thereby promoted. The old saying, that if two quarrel, a third profits, has been the guiding slogan of Jewish policy for centuries. Anyone who carefully followed the Jewish press before the World War was never in doubt about its basic direction.

The Jewish stock exchange had completely triumphed in the great "western democracies"; for this reason—in spite of or precisely because of their corruption—these democracies were praised to the



German public day after day. Hateful to Jewry were Germany, whose traditions showed greater resistance to the destructive parliamentary system, and Russia, which was certainly not an ideal state but was a national state in so far as it at least protected its cultural centers from a Jewish inundation. These two states were to be set against each other. *Therefore* the so-called German press abused Russia for decades, planning in this way to create an atmosphere in which the natural alliance between the two states would be undermined, rather than strengthened. Not a single week passed in which the tsarist yoke and knout were not reviled. *The same papers today*, however, urge upon the German people the necessity of an alliance or trade agreement with a Russia whose government is a hundred times more brutal, a thousand times more corrupt and cruel, than the tsarist government, under whose terror forty million Russians starved or were murdered. Throughout the entire world, these papers whine for assistance for *this* Russia, trying to awaken the people's sympathy, without even making the condition that first the guilty must be removed from office. Oh no! The entire program of aid for Russia—through food and political treaties (Rapallo)—is nothing but support of the Jewish regime of terror. All of the incidental noise was nothing but one great lie.

We see the same picture in prerevolutionary Russia. The democratic papers (Rjetsch et al.) praised the democratic West as the future of their "homeland," the Marxist papers grumbled about "Prussian militarism" and looked after the political business of the same powers which determined the tone of the "German" press. It is true that conservative Russian papers were also hostile to Germany, but the majority of the others was decisive, the policy of the Bros. Sasnow and Iswolsky, who bribed the *Temps* and on the other hand let the *Novoje Wremja* slide into the hands of Brother Northcliffe during the war.

Of course, neither of the two states was allowed to win. Bernard Baruch in New York and Samuel Montague in London took care of that. No ammunition went over the Finnish border or through Archangel to Russia without British supervision, and just enough assistance arrived from America to allow Russia to continue bleeding to death. On the other hand, Germany was not allowed to win, and this was taken care of by the Jewish usury center in Berlin, aided by money from the Jewish descendant Northcliffe and his helpers in the German Reich.

There will always be wars in world history. But there are wars in which peoples fight for *their own* right to exist, and those in which they shed their blood for a third party. The Dutch wars of independence were *people's wars*; the conquest of the Transvaal for the diamond Jews Alfred Beith and Wernher was a stock-exchange

war; 1813 was a war of independence, but America's entrance into the world conflict was a Jewish stock-exchange speculation.

The old plan, to deepen existing antagonisms among peoples or to create artificial ones, is also expressed in the *Protocols*.

*At times a general alliance of all Gentiles could conquer us. But we are protected from this danger by the deeply rooted, irreconcilable discord among the Gentiles. In the course of twenty centuries we have zealously stirred up personal and "folkish" antagonisms and racial and religious hatred among all Gentiles. Thanks to this situation, no Christian state that moves against us will find any support, because any other state will believe that an alliance against us would not be advantageous. We are too strong, we must be reckoned with! Today the powers cannot conclude the smallest agreement without our secretly having a hand in it.*

The next lines of the fifth protocol explain how the execution of the Jewish desire for destruction will be ensured. They read:

*In order to establish unlimited rule, financial power must be used to obtain the exclusive right to every activity in commerce and business. Invisible hands are already working to achieve this plan throughout the entire world. When this goal is reached, then the manufacturers will have such a predominance in political life that they can exploit the people without hinderance. Today it is more important to disarm the peoples than to lead them into war; it is more important to use the inflamed passions to our advantage than to check them; it is more important to take up foreign ideas and interpret them in our own way than to drive them away, as we did earlier, with fire and sword.*

*We will adopt every liberal idea of all parties and persuasions and instruct our speakers to dilate upon them, until we have exhausted people with fine speeches and produced in them a disgust for speakers of all persuasions.*

*In order to control public opinion, we must sow doubt and discord by allowing the different sides to express contradictory opinions for so long that the Gentiles get lost in the confusion; they will decide that it is best to have no opinion at all on constitutional questions, that the people lack the proper perspective for these things, and that only he who leads the people can really comprehend things.*

Considering these words, who could help but think of present-day Germany? In spite of the fact that the people have been fed up with the parliamentary system for a long time, the party holdouts allow

the ambitious politicians to babble on and on. A widespread political peevishness is the result. Many serious people believe they must completely withdraw from politics, and thus they leave the field to the unscrupulous deceivers of the people. This is just the atmosphere which is needed in order to crush a people and to mobilize the troops of chaos, the mob. This can happen by means of a violent revolution—as in Russia—or, when this fails (the Munich Soviet Republic), through “legal” measures: semi-bolshevistic provisional governments, parliamentary laws to protect the privileges of Jewry (supreme court for the protection of the German republic), prohibition of anti-Semitic literature.<sup>8</sup>

And out of this will come something seemingly monstrous, but which, considering the pathological Jewish arrogance, may very well be the Jewish plan. Compare, for example, the quoted speech of Isaac Cremieux with the following “words of longing”:

*By all these means we will so exhaust the Gentiles that they will be forced to offer us mastery of the entire world. Because of our talents, we are in a position to absorb all the political forces in the world and set up our sovereignty without an abrupt transition. We shall replace the present rulers with an apparition called supranational administration. Like pincers, its arms will reach in all directions, and it will represent such a powerful authority that all people will submit to our mastery.*

“Supranational administration” or “international private syndicate” (Walter Rathenau’s words) are as alike as two peas. Some are already asking for this “supranational administration” today. For example, the German November Republic, under pressure from the French coolies on one side and Marxist domestic traitors on the other, has declared more than once, through the mouths of the Chancellors Wirth and Cuno, its submission to the decision of an “international conference of experts.” The last submissive diplomatic notes of May and June 1923 are the best evidence of that sinister power of the stock exchange; one really must be blind not to see it. How must Chancellor Cuno have felt, as he submitted to the Entente in his note of May 2, 1923:

The German government is prepared to give special guarantees for the payments which it offers. All of the property and sources of income of the German Reich and the German states have already been confiscated by the treaty of Versailles. Only negotiations with the international loan consortium and the reparations commission can determine how this liability for the debt service can be made concrete, and which guarantees in particular should be arranged. Furthermore, the German gov-

ernment is prepared to provide, according to the measures of appropriate agreements, and through suitable and legal means, that the entire German economy may be used as security for the debt service.

And further:

The impartial international commission will consist of either the loan consortium, which negotiated the first twenty billion gold marks; or a committee of international businessmen as suggested by Secretary of State Hughes, in which Germany would be equally represented; or an arbitration board, consisting of one representative of the reparations commission and one of the German government, as well as a chairman whose appointment, in case the two other members cannot agree, will be up to the President of the United States of America!!

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These selections from Rosenberg's book of 1924 mark a significant change in his writing—away from his exclusive obsession with the Jewish conspiracy and toward a more comprehensive political theory. "The Folkish Idea of State" contains an effort at a racial theory of culture, history, and politics; race itself, however, is defined in broader terms than had previously been Rosenberg's habit. The goal of a classless, racially integrated, culturally creative society is set forth; when this is achieved, a thoroughly expansionist foreign policy can follow. It is true that the external enemies of this new German society continue to be identified with Jewish and Marxist loan capital; Rosenberg never repudiated this view and even wrote extensively about it in *Die internationale Hochfinanz als Herrin der Arbeiterbewegung in allen Ländern* (Munich: Boepple, 1925). But the emphasis here is on thoroughgoing internal cultural revival—henceforth, Rosenberg's principal concern. Many of the same issues would appear again in *Der Zukunftsweg einer deutschen Aussenpolitik* (Munich: Eher, 1927), in *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Hoheneichen Verlag, 1930), and in Rosenberg's programmatic statements for the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* (see, for example, "German Freedom as the Prerequisite of Folk Culture," below).

The reasons for the shift in emphasis in Rosenberg's writings are not wholly clear. Eckart, long his mentor, died in 1923, leaving him an entirely free hand with the *Völkischer Beobachter*. During the time Hitler was in prison (throughout most of 1924), he appointed Rosenberg his deputy, which gave Rosenberg more political stature

and may have made him feel an obligation to begin to provide more general and more theoretical leadership. And during the period of Rosenberg's deputy leadership, the Nazis entered national and state legislatures in union with several other right-wing anti-Semitic groups. This "opening to the right" clearly pleased Rosenberg and inspired some of the hopes expressed in the concluding passages of these selections.

Other factors in Rosenberg's ideological development have been mentioned above (see Introduction); it is also possible that his competitiveness as an ideologue began to manifest itself in this book. Hitler was, after all, just then working hard to get volume one of *Mein Kampf* (Berlin, Kampf-Verlag, 1925) to press; Rosenberg's *Der völkische Staatsgedanke* beat him to it.

## The Folkish Idea of State

Alfred Rosenberg

In the epochs of peace, the divergence of ideas develops almost imperceptibly. Slowly, through decades, the inner change of position on the problems of world view and the state is carried out. Until finally this tension within a people or among different popular organisms as a whole reaches such a degree that an explosion must result. War takes the place of peace, catastrophe the place of slow development. In *these* times people first become suddenly conscious of how much their ideas had already diverged earlier, and one discovers that in times of crisis the old, often still respected, views sink back into nothingness, and that other entirely new syntheses suddenly become alive and absorb everything that is searching, struggling, striving.

It cannot be our principal task here to characterize with a conclusive value judgment individual epochs of spiritual and political crisis from the past, but it can be stated that at the beginning of the sixteenth century a great tension reached the point of explosion and the idea which Luther proclaimed spread through all the states of Europe. In 1789 it lay like a film over the entire world, and just as in 1517 the attempt at religious and political renewal began, so here a new idea of state entered into conscious opposition to another. One was victorious, the other was shattered.

Today we again stand in the midst of a battle, one which is ideological as well as political. Whether or not the eternally indifferent and the eternally cowardly people want to admit it and whether or not they hide their indifference and cowardice behind old and long-since decayed conceptions of state, so that they do not have to take a position on the questions of the present and the future, the battle

*has* begun and will not be finished before a new synthesis of life has been victorious. First in one country in Europe, then in the other states.

Today we are all inwardly experiencing a collapse, and we have a deep longing for a new form of life. We do not *want* the past any more, we *hate* the present, we are *striving* for the future of the German people. . . .

## The Folkish Idea of State

In opposition to all parties of the present, striking down the ideas of state of the Middle Ages, of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a new synthesis of state is arising from the collapse and the chaos. The merely negative opposition to the old idea of state was victorious in 1918, and the fact that it was victorious in this manner proves that the old state was really ripe for collapse. Now, however, occurs the old remarkable situation that two different movements or personalities can be united in fighting a common enemy, but in the moment of victory immediately separate again. The democratic empire of William II was fought by the Social Democratic opposition and was fought by a little group of men in ill repute as Pan-Germans. Shortly before the November Revolution there were also plans to stage a folkish revolution from above and remove the weak Kaiser, who was at the mercy of the Ballins and Rathenau.<sup>1</sup> It turned out, however, that the state-negating Social Democracy proved to be stronger, because on the folkish side the men were too few and the obstacles too great.

In the Social Democratic camp voices were raised after the collapse, voices which soon recognized this whole revolution as a betrayal of the entire German working people and cursed the day on which they had given help to Ebert and Scheidemann. These men felt the enormous deception of the world, but they were not sure where to look for the real deceivers. And instead of then looking into the background and consequences of the deception, they veered for a while to the extreme left wing of the Bolsheviks. In the Communist Party all active forces of the German workers clustered, and as in all active movements the Communist Party formed a mixture of desperate elements, often adventurers; but it consists also in part of those elements of the German workers which not only make resolutions in official quarters but are also prepared to fight on the barricades for the views which they believe to be true. This fact presupposes in any case a spiritual force which all our democratic parties have lost. This best German popular force is misled and deceived. The problem of a German domestic policy is therefore to make clear to the representatives of this single energetic part of the German

workers the deception which the *whole* Marxist system represents, and to point out to them their indissoluble connection with all other folk comrades. It must be made clear to them that the difference among occupations must never become so sharp and gaping that it is able to mutilate the consciousness of folkish solidarity.

The bitter experiences with the International did offer the possibility of leading the German worker to consciousness; but it was difficult actually to strengthen this consciousness, because on the other side the parties of the so-called national Right were not willing to make the necessary avowals. With completely inopportune presumption, the so-called national parties pointed with all ten fingers at the German workers as if they alone were responsible for the present German misery; but they forgot that not only the Marxist idea of class struggle, but also that class- and status-consciousness in certain "higher" circles was responsible for the fact that the idea of class conflict could take root so deeply. In addition, the whole so-called national Right, although they still spoke of the Fatherland when speaking of foreign policy, carried on their domestic policy in the same purely economically oriented direction. The problems of German domestic policy were considered only from the standpoint of profit, not from the standpoint of protection of the people and the race. This was, and still is, the fundamental error of the conservatives, the German Nationals and by far the largest part of German big business. A new movement which set as its goal the salvation of the German people would have to ask itself first of all the question of the guilt for the collapse and would have to answer this question from a general German standpoint, without any regard for individual interests or an existing party or power situation. It would have to realize that such salvation could not be made possible by compromises with inwardly antiquated and rotten traditions, but just as little by a compromise with the leaders of high treason. The problem presented itself as a union of the national folkish idea of power and the unconditional demand for social justice. In the realization, however, that social justice will remain only an empty motto if it means gifts or private charity, the unconditional demand had to be made that the unconditional *recognition of the duty* of the state take the place of a *gift* from above. A feeling of duty to the state on the part of the individual citizen may only be demanded if the state also recognizes and carries out its duty to every individual citizen. In other words, the idea of state socialism must take the place of the Marxist idea. This results in a definition of National Socialism as social justice for all levels of the German people, without regard for status, on the basis of recognition of folkish duty—justice which the government will implement. Through this realization the workers' movement, which existed long before Marxism, would be put on the right track again, and a new necessary expression of

present European life—hitherto penetrated and betrayed by a Jewish system, hostile to Germany and Europe, Marxism—would resume its proper place.

National policy toward foreign countries requires a folkish government and the security of the whole. Socialism means a national policy toward domestic society, that is, the security of the individual. These trains of thought led the movement founded in Munich in 1919 to call itself a national socialist movement. With this designation it linked itself to the already existing party organizations in Austria and the Sudetenland. It did not thereby teach a development stemming from Marxism, but on the contrary a development against Marxism and stemming from the folkish idea of state.

Thus the folkish idea of state rests on three pillars: on the protection of people and race, on the idea of social justice and, realizing that all of this can only be carried out and preserved through one power, on the idea of national self-defense. Not a single political party on the continent until now has *seriously* conceived the idea of placing the protection of the people and race first in all questions of world view and public life. All attempts at building a national state were stifled in the course of the nineteenth century by economic relationships. There is not a single national state in the entire world today, although in foreign policy it sometimes seems as if there is.

The spirit of Jewish loan-capitalistic associations, which today determines world policy, must naturally take into account the character of peoples and try to win over the hysterical-fanatic Frenchman with propaganda measures other than those used to win over the cosmopolitan German and the dreamy Russian. Therefore the big Jewish newspapers behave in a most nationalistic fashion in France, England, Italy and also in North America, while in Germany, the Jews stand at the head of disintegration and international undermining. And because this is so, we have faced, since the end of the war, the undeniable fact that the "victors" *as well as* the vanquished lost the war. Defeated Germany is today obviously the colony of international banking powers, but the victorious states today have ten times as much in taxes to pay their bankers as before the war. This means that all states have become *taxable* by the same powers that finance the wars, who repay themselves by making the peoples in question pay interest, interest so high that these peoples are not able to pay. Thus in the end the World War itself turns out to be for the most part a speculation of the western stock-exchange powers; the ostensible national states stumbled into it and were deceived by their so-called governments, just as the German Empire, thanks to its incapable political leadership, was led toward catastrophe. This happened because in none of the western powers had the idea of a folkish state broken through, in spite of all the talk about a



national state. In foreign policy, nationalism in the sharpest form was stressed; domestic policy, however, was ruled by the lying slogan, equal rights for all, by that purely *formal concept of state* which stems from the ideological arsenal of the French Revolution, protection of race and people was never talked about in capitalistic democracies. Thus the "plastic demon of humanity's decay" (Richard Wagner) stole into all states in a "legal manner" and, symbolic of an epoch of decline, put the finishing touches on the betrayal that all the peoples of Europe had committed against their own essence.

After the conclusion of the war, which was reached by whipping up all of the national passions, it became evident that one could not do this without consequences after all, and the idea of the national state, defended in foreign policy, became for the first time a real problem for domestic policy also. In two countries there arose, simultaneously but independently, two movements which have often been compared with each other and which do have much in common: in Italy, Fascism; in Germany, National Socialism. Like National Socialism, Fascism had realized that for the truly nationally minded movement there could now be no compromise with Marxism as an international organization, rather that this international movement had to be overcome and its organization extirpated. The passionate Italian set to work more quickly than the more deliberate German, and everywhere in Italy associations sprang up under the leadership of Mussolini, associations which went into open battle against the Marxist storm troops after the first collapse of the Bolshevik experiment in Italy. They succeeded in crushing them, and the battle ended with Mussolini's triumphal march on Rome at the end of October 1922. It would take us too far afield at this point to examine more closely the activity of the Fascists, but it should be stated that they managed to establish in the entire country a governmental authority that had never before existed, and that in fact for the first time the national interests in certain social necessities were powerfully represented by a government in domestic policy. And yet National Socialism knows that Italian Fascism has not yet surveyed the final consequences of its great battle and especially has not yet realized that *in the long run* it does not help to fight only the *results*, without also making clear to the entire people the *causes* of these results. Fascism still lacks the insight to see that international private and stock-exchange capitalism, against which Fascism has *not* begun to fight, was and is the very same element which pays for Marxist propaganda throughout the world, that a community of interest between Marxism and international loan capital existed and still exists—namely, to make the national industries which are tied to the soil dependent on mobile loan capital. And Fascism has not yet comprehended that this community of interest is symbolized by the fact that the leadership of

one as well as the other power finds itself almost exclusively in the hands of the Jewish race or of a few personalities compliant to Jewish money. The danger for Fascism in Italy consists of the fact that it won a great victory, thanks to one personality, but does not yet represent such a strong ideological system that one could hope it would survive the death of Mussolini. The danger already exists today that Jewish stock-exchange capitalism naturally takes into consideration the new force as such, and in the realization that it cannot be fought against *directly*, approaches Fascism as a false friend. Symptoms are visible everywhere today, and unfortunately it can also be established that the Fascist leaders are welcoming these false friends and are making the same great error which Prince Bismarck unfortunately committed at the Congress of Berlin when he granted influence to Bleichröder and friends.<sup>2</sup> When the strong men had died, the smaller ones fell into the nets of a system of economic exploitation from which the whole world still suffers. Thus even today the social and folkish battle continues to take place at the wrong front.

In all of Europe, only National Socialism has really taken seriously the idea of the folkish state and not only fought the results of Marxism and parliamentary democracy but also the causes. And these are: the nineteenth century's materialistic conception of the world and of history; all the weak, flaccid teachings of democracy; the view that the economy and money are meant to represent a determining, instead of an ancillary, factor in political life; and the predominance of the mercenary spirit embodied in the Jews. Because National Socialism drew these conclusions and openly expressed and advocated them, it had to fight a larger number of enemies than did Fascism. Opposing it was the entire organized Jewish world press, of democracy as well as of Marxism; but it also had to fight against the unbelievable indifference and cowardice in the so-called national camp and against the economic circles dependent on high finance. It had, like every new idea, the entire world as enemy. It brought nothing with it except the conviction that it had actually created a new, inclusive view of the state which corresponded to the most inward meaning of the present, which described the mistakes of the past with ruthless honesty; it had the fanatical will to preach and to realize this new synthesis. And it knew that behind this synthesis stood the best forces of German history, the best ideas—ideas, forces that were at work at the time of Frederick the Great, the same moving forces which brought Germany freedom in 1813 and which, though overwhelmed and derided, rose up again in 1914. With this belief, an open battle was begun in 1919 which, if one looks back on it now, in the midst of all the hostile forces must have seemed an almost desperate one. In all questions of life a new standard was suddenly erected; one did not ask any longer whether a

measure corresponded to democratic, Marxist or religious ideals, or whether a measure could support monarchy or republic as a form of the state, but only: does this or that proposal correspond to the interests of the German people, regardless of status? From this perspective twenty-five theses were created which seemed and still seem contradictory to so many people because they are not able to grasp the central ideas upon which they are based.

By recognizing race as a motive force, a new view of history was, if not created, at least supported. The world history of the Indians, Greeks, Romans presented itself in this aspect not as a battle between classes, nor as a by-product of chance power conflicts; history would not only be conceived of as chronology, but as the consequence of racial and folkish impulses. The entire accumulated factual material of the past, which became increasingly unintelligible when seen through the glasses of hitherto existing historical research, suddenly produced a satisfying result, and the ascending and descending life of the oriental peoples and of ancient Rome revealed itself as a swelling and sinking of certain ideals and racial forces. This new concept of history also began to have a liberating effect on the consideration of religion and created a new standard for the evaluation of state forms. The Middle Ages fought under the banner of Protestantism or Catholicism; the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries used the slogans republic or monarchy; now all these have become symbols of the *past*. Today the question is: international or folkish idea. And just as in earlier centuries the warring camps created symbols, so also the present time, in which ideas are again divided into two camps, has created symbols: on the one hand the red flag with the Soviet star appears as the crowning of the international idea, and on the other hand the ancient Indo-Germanic symbol of ascending life, the swastika. Under these symbols the battles of the future will take place, and one of these symbols will have to be defeated and destroyed. One means international racial disintegration and the decay of all European culture, the other the victory of those forces which alone throughout the millennia created cultural values. This idea alone will make possible a national rebirth.

From this central experience necessarily follows not only a differently formed view of history, but also a fundamental change in the way one looks at all areas of life. In the area of civil rights, the folkish idea of state results in the rejection of today's purely formal concept of citizenship. According to the new conception, one may only be a citizen in Germany if, first, he is free from Asiatic-Jewish blood and, second, he has earned it by his manner of living until his majority. Thus civil rights become not only a gift of birth, but must also be earned. The distinction between inhabitant and citizen is in this way sharply drawn for the first time and results in undertaking

a careful separation of those personalities who actively participate in public life.

But the protection of people and race must not limit itself to this material security alone; it must also be especially watchful in the schools and the educational system. From the new synthesis follows necessarily a turning away from our entire present system of education, which on the one hand has become a collection of dead knowledge, and on the other hand serves abstract doctrines rather than German ideals. The glorification of the humanistic *Gymnasium* was naïve, for it overlooked the fact that this so-called humanistic, that is, purely human educational system, in the last analysis was not representative of *mankind* but presupposed the *Greek nationality*. The Greek educational system, however, was an originally racial one and in the beginning served only the purpose of educating Greeks according to the ideal image of the Greek soul. It was this Greek life-feeling alone which created Hellenic culture, and the present purely abstract thinking is not only not representative of mankind, it is also not Greek; it is a mockery of the needs of the Greek nation. In sad imitation of the Greek spirit, admittedly related to ours in many respects, we have shifted the emphasis of our lives outside ourselves; we have used the standards of another people to measure our own achievements, and we have forgotten in doing so that people, like personalities, can never be measured by the *same* standard. Just as Michelangelo cannot be measured with the standard of a Phidias, so the Strassburg cathedral cannot be considered a development of the Parthenon. If one applies Greek standards to a Gothic cathedral, then it is the most horrible monstrosity in the world. In the same way a Greek temple would appear strange to a Gothic master builder. Thus we experience the truly grotesque spectacle that our scholars know by heart three hundred tribes and racial mixtures of India, that they know what's what about every fragment of pottery in Asia Minor and Syria, but that reports on the racial history of Europe, reports which focused interest away from foreign continents toward the motherland, have only begun to appear in the last decades. Only in the last few years has there been a clear insight into the real world of the [early] European peoples and the spiritual and physical bases of the present.

As a reaction against the humanistic educational system, the nineteenth century created a purely realistic one. The Germanic ideal now confronts both, dominating them, and the understanding of and the respect for our own mythological past and our own history will form the first condition for more firmly anchoring the coming generation in the soil of Europe's original homeland.

Closely connected to the educational system, a new concept of the law is developing; nothing is more pleasing than the beginnings

of a sharp struggle between the Roman code of law and German legal views. Late Roman law was entirely subservient to capitalism and today it legally protects the exploiter from the exploited, now for the first time it has been fundamentally disavowed, and is being set aside by the old German conception of cooperative association [*Genossenschaftswesen*]<sup>3</sup> and especially protection of the state and race.

In whatever area one ventures after the experience of a new synthesis, everywhere the life of the past and the present appears in another perspective and other necessities arise for the shaping of the future. We have already had many shocks in the life of Europe, many a revolution and reformation has swept over the old soil of our continent, but for the first time in our history a new and *fundamental* turning point is appearing in the most important questions of life. Much of that which was revered without question for centuries is today not only inwardly rejected, but quite naturally done away with externally, because we have realized that the old gods long ago became idols and that we live in a time of a new spiritual birth.

In individual human lives the usual stages of development are such that after a half-unconscious instinctive life there comes a time of restless searching, scepticism and cynicism, but that after this period of error a time begins again in which knowledge on a higher level of consciousness joins with the unchangeable instinct, producing the first stages of maturity. On the whole it seems that sometimes, if not always, something similar occurs in the life of peoples. We believe that Europe, and especially Germany, is today in the time of such a rejoining. After leaving the instinctively lived existence, after romantic dreams of earlier centuries, after scepticism, enlightenment, cynicism and materialism, our people is entering a time in which it begins to put away childish things and to leave adolescence. That which millions have today clearly realized is simply that reason, insight and instinct have rediscovered one another on a new level and that a rebirth begins, which we can already characterize with the name "folkish world view," and which necessarily results in the birth of a new idea of state. And in this recognition of the root of our entire life, the protection of people and race appears as the beginning and end of any German idea of state, as the first prerequisite of a future free Germany.

Second in importance for the new idea of state is a concept which, because of the demagoguery of the last hundred years, has a bad reputation in the widest circles. For never is *social justice* more talked about than in a time of terrible social need and corruption. This concept of social justice *had* to remain a lie in the past decades of democracy, because the entire time was permeated with a materialistic conception of the state and of history, because the era of the machine burdened us with an unequalled economic catastrophe, and

because in no state had the concept of folkish and racial protection in general and in particular become the force moving *everything*. Therefore the two strands which finally found each other in National Socialist ideas came no closer in social and political life. Unsocial nationalism did not find the way to the suffering groups among the German people, and unnational Marxism did not find a connection with the German essence. The combination of nationality and socialism by a new idea offers the only possibility of responding to modern needs while at the same time depending on everything that German history has shown to be great. If the call for social justice, because it came from circles hostile to Germany, was only a demagogic *means*, today it has become, out of the need of the present and under the aegis of a new synthesis, a *goal* of the German struggle for freedom.

The third pillar of the new idea is the will to power. Of course democrats and the circles that are favorably disposed to them all maintain that they wanted the best, only circumstances were too difficult to achieve it. But they forget or do not want to admit that they did not really *will* it. Perhaps they wished, perhaps they whispered something to each other in private; but in the moment in which they did not kindle the will to power in order to replace this ostensible willing with action, weak phrases were all that remained. There was no glorification of the creative power of a man or of a people, which in the desire to create something new storms against all obstacles, but there were only rootless abstract conceptions like humanity, the brotherhood of man, and other nice things. Thus even the best attempts failed because, lacking a strong belief, they lacked also a firm will. National Socialism has, from the first day forward, declared itself to be a fighting movement. Knowing that a new and great idea is never tolerant and liberal, it has appeared to be intolerant. It has been reproached for this, it has been accused of brutality in the advocacy of its views, but increasingly, people have had to submit to its synthesis. It has been hated, and through this very hatred it has been recognized, willingly or not, as a new factor in the political life of Germany. National Socialism has not yet let itself be led astray by anything and will not in the future; it has declared that, in full consciousness of being the only powerful representative of the honor-loving and self-respecting part of the German people, it is ready to join inseparably its own fate with the fate of the German people. Just as after the unfortunate day of a lost battle Frederick the Great wrote that he would not sign a dishonorable peace, even if he had to take to his grave that which bore the name Prussia, so also the leaders of National Socialism have unequivocally let it be understood that they would either help the new idea of state to victory, in spite of all opposition and necessary disappointments, or, if necessary, perish with the entire German people. For if

a people in its most serious hour of fate knows no answers to the questions of life and death and only laments, but at the same time to a large and predominant extent dishonestly haggles and speculates, then it is not, seen from any standpoint, worth going on. Either the community of blood and fate of seventy million Germans will finally be comprehended and conclusions drawn from this comprehension, or a hodgepodge of individuals who incidentally speak German will vegetate in Central Europe: then it is high time to divide up this hodgepodge among a number of states which have some justification for existence.

Two important consequences result from this folkish greater-German idea. The concept of a "Bavarian people" in contrast to a "Prussian people" must disappear. There is only a Prussian *branch* and a Bavarian *branch*, which both belong to the German people. The concept of the German people is thus put into its proper position and set *above* particularist concepts. In this way one can avoid once and for all speaking of a Prussian people in the same way one speaks of the French or English people. In the same way the concept of the so-called Catholic or Protestant peoples must disappear; for there are no such peoples, but only peoples of the Catholic or Protestant faith. If we keep the earlier misleading concept, suddenly Bavaria, France and Italy will oppose Prussia, England and Scandinavia, creating a split in the German national body similar to that sought by the Marxist slogan of class conflict. There must still be many purifications of concepts and views, but they will occur automatically and gradually with the victory of the great idea. Wherever the new synthesis finds a firm footing, it will have to begin to probe critically, on the one hand, and on the other hand it will have to find a new affirmation for the German future.

German National Socialism fights for nothing other than the preservation of the German nationality and for the shaping of its future; but because this great battle at the same time encompasses problems which plague the whole of Europe today, and which Europe is trying in vain to solve, so in the last analysis, National Socialism is bringing about a solution to these problems for all of Europe too. As mentioned before, there is not yet a single national state in Europe, because a real consciousness of the idea of a national state is not yet alive in any people. Today there exists among certain economic circles a common interest which is above all nationalities; today there exists a purely internationally influenced world policy with the goal of a world republic, a world syndicate, that is, in the form of a *private* syndicate, as Walter Rathenau once demanded at the Cannes Conference.<sup>4</sup> The internationalism of the Jewish world stock exchange, in league with world revolution, stands today at the highest point of its power. And yet this internationalism is already fighting for its existence, for its strongest

opponent—still invisible in many states, in some already under way, fully developed in National Socialism—is growing. And the world-political task of National Socialism consists of knocking one state after the other out of the world-political power system of today and, in the end, leaving no peoples under international management, but only a series of organic, folkish state systems on a racial basis.

Two deadly enemies can use the same words and yet seek opposite goals. If today the international banks and international conferences discuss the League of Nations and the United States of Europe, the exact opposite is meant when, for example, National Socialism speaks of a drawing together of the extreme nationalists among the European peoples. Only if one really cultivates, develops and strengthens one's own personality, only then will one also possess respect for the individual life of others, but never if one disavows personality as such or regards it merely as the means to an end. There is, of course, no purpose in expounding possible or utopian ideas at this point; only the core of the battle must be pointed out and the already-characterized symbol of the swastika, which will someday be victorious in all of the European states.

In all spiritual and political camps a process of fermentation is building up, and the pillars on which the German people seemingly safely rested are being tested, as fate always demands if a nation becomes untrue to itself.

There comes a moment for every person who is truly searching when, out of thinking and fighting, suddenly *an experience* results. From this moment on, the present, past and the prospect of the future appear to him in an entirely different light than before. Perhaps he still has not been able to create a firm foundation for his life, but *he has turned in a new direction*.

It is a strange phenomenon for everyone who experiences the battle of earthshaking forces, that suddenly out of camps that faced each other hostilely, first singly, then more and more often, individuals are driven out and travel a common path. They move closer to each other and discover that the inner as well as outer barriers are swept away, and instead brotherly hands reach out. We are experiencing today that what we call *folkish world view* is suddenly becoming for all who have ever *experienced* it an idea which rises like a dome over the entire organic nationality. We see that religious differences are hardly active in folkish circles anymore, that no one forbids another the form of his faith because he knows and feels that this form, however oddly decked out with strange ornaments, is inwardly folkish. We see that a new idea is able to melt a seemingly ineradicable caste prejudice, that representatives of all walks of life are able to be together and work together without friction in *one* experience and in *one* endeavor.



But a reorganization is sensitive to every discordant element. A foreign body, that is, an essence that does not possess the same spiritual direction, is felt more distinctly as such than in the times when there was only inner chaos, surface conflicts and a hardening of the heart. And so a new idea will *always* appear fighting, commanding, legislating at first. It knows no general tolerance, it also knows no convention, because it carries with it its own new organic law.

So today the folkish world view stands as a young form in the midst of the old, and it demands—born out of need, out of despair, out of inner conversion and spiritual self-determination—its right, with which it was born.

In the realization and experience that everything valuable in our culture originates in that mysterious center known as the soul of the people, the impulse to affirm and negate has grown anew, as so often—under other conditions—in history. In the struggle against external influences, in the process which blended Celts, Teutons, and Slavs into the multiform but still singular *German*, the play of the life forces revealed itself at work for centuries. Earlier—in the nineteenth century—we had lost the sense for it. We are paying for that today. Now we are living again and are going a step further toward self-realization in the form of our era.

We recognize external influences related to us, enrich ourselves and them, but ruthlessly reject what we feel is dangerous poison for us.

For one who has felt what the folkish world view means, the burden of the so-called Old Testament naturally falls from his shoulders; for him the bastard creations which overgrew Roman law appear as parasitic plants which must be removed. One-sided humanism and classicism are dying; economic conflicts and the forces upon which they are based acquire a different appearance, and the entire battle up to the present turns out to be one fought at the wrong front and leading to its own destruction. The character of world and national policy today proves to be alien and hostile to us.

If a new spirit is *true* and is nourished by *one living root*, then it encompasses *all* things. Therefore all of the other normally divisive intellectual tendencies, parties, personalities unite against it. The Pharisees, dogmatists and high priests of orthodoxy, conservatism, liberalism, Marxism, and so forth, begin in common a bitter feud and demonstrate on the basis of their dogmas the precise ways in which the new phenomenon is impossible, irregular, scandalous and hostile to culture.

But this phenomenon does not recognize those dogmatists any more, because it has its own, *different standards*.

Today the folkish movement is already a *power*. Therefore it is threatened by still another danger than the struggle of united, but

rotten, Pharisees. The danger threatens that ambitious scheming hypocrites will draw near and use the joy over every new recruit for low purposes. Or it can happen that insipid babblers profess our movement loudly, and their dismissal by our enemies will affect us. Here the difficult, but just as necessary, battle begins, which cannot be avoided. And eternal life takes care that little by little the well-intentioned dreamers are eliminated, that the babblers and schemers and spiritual parasites are removed. The experience of seeing more and more tested people full of devotion at work is therefore all the more elevating. We believe it is true that many a worker, employee, writer, officer, and so forth, sometimes pauses in his work and a warm feeling runs through him, knowing that he serves with his whole being an idea of which he *knows* inwardly, that *it* will be the one which will renew and purify the soul of our people, under whose direction the German people will one day rise united and become free again.

Even outside of the movement we know of many in Germany who feel the same way and want to act in the same way. But we know that so many are still lonely; we know that the environment of many is still dull, crude and of a narrow-mindedness which we especially (disregarding our own mistakes) must fight against most strongly. But they all will, when the time is ripe, flow into the river of the folkish idea. This river may still carry refuse with it today; it will be left behind. But, rescuing and invigorating, the waves of the folkish movement will continue to flow through the German land.

And if we turn our attention to other countries we see that everywhere similar organic forces are rising up against the same deceit which surrounds us. Wherever any people is disregarded, violated or humiliated, wherever it falls into need through its own or foreign fault, there the flames of a welding fire flare up. Whether in India, whether in Egypt, whether on the Bosphorus. Internationalism in religion, economics and politics dies, the folkish idea is born. The old nationalism too has proven itself false and purely egoistic; it too today often serves the International, which at the height of its power is already struggling for its existence. This nationalism will also die.

In different forms, but similar in origin and goals, the folkish world view is spreading today like an enveloping fluid from the Indian Ocean to the North Sea. Millions may still not *know* what it is all about, but hundreds of millions already *feel* it.

Today is again a turning point in the history of the world. At the beginning of the sixteenth century one began for Europe; at the end of the eighteenth century another set in, at the beginning of the twentieth century is again decline and rebirth.

We know where we belong. What in particular the future holds for us we are not able to know; what forms our longing will take, we

cannot say exactly. But we see in the distance *one goal* shining, and we have set out on our travels toward it. We are irresistibly driven toward it, and this faith will prove us right. We are the forerunners of a new era, and even if many or all of us should not live to see it, we shall nevertheless be able to say at the end: we have *lived*, and it was beautiful to live and to fight. . .<sup>5</sup>

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This selection, and the one which follows, were written during the period of approximately a year in which Goebbels was one of the most vigorous members of the "Strasser circle" and editor of the *NS-Briefe*. In "National Socialism or Bolshevism?", Goebbels shows very remarkable understanding of the strong nationalist impulse which would characterize Stalinist Russia, and he suggests to a German Communist that they work together for the nationalist revival of the two countries. He argues that true nationalism in both is anti-capitalist, antibourgeois, anti-Semitic, and aggressive in foreign policy. In so far as "national bolshevism" played a role in National Socialism, these were its arguments—we find Otto Strasser returning to them again and again, for example (see Introduction, n. 81). Any kind of affiliation with Soviet Russia was uncongenial to Hitler, however, and Goebbels rapidly realized this, as did Gregor Strasser.

This essay also calls for "the second revolution," as does the next. Goebbels is usually viewed as the most radical among the Strasser circle, and it is usually thought that Hitler won him away from this radicalism to greater conservatism in 1926. It seems equally likely, however, that Goebbels was instead won over to the idea that he might compete for power within the party with Gregor Strasser—indeed the next nine years, from 1926 to 1934, were marked by bitter competition between the two men, Goebbels concentrating upon propaganda, Strasser upon organization. Goebbels' radicalism, while antibourgeois and revolutionary, was always more lacking in content than Gregor Strasser's; thus Goebbels shifted more easily into almost purely propagandistic types of writing.

## National Socialism or Bolshevism?

Joseph Goebbels

My dear friend from the Left,

Not as *captatio benevolentiae*, but straight out and without reservations, I confess I liked you, you are a fine fellow! Yesterday eve-

ning I could have gone on debating with you for hours before the thousand of our flock who were listening in, because I had the feeling that the central question of our likenesses and our differences was here being raised in the forum of the German workers, whom it in the last analysis concerns. And out of the same feeling I am writing you these lines.

You have clearly realized what it's all about. We agreed about the causes. No honest thinking person today would want to deny the justification of the workers' movements. The important thing is the performance and the formulation of the final goal of these movements. Grown out of need and misery, they stand before us today as living witnesses to our disunity and impotence, to our lack of national courage and will for the future. We don't need to discuss any more whether the demand of the German employee for social compensation is justified, just as we don't need to discuss whether or not the disenfranchised fourth estate may or must live.

National or international in way and goal, that is the issue. We are both fighting honestly and resolutely for freedom and only for freedom; we want as final fulfillment peace and community, you that of the world, I that of the people. That this fulfillment cannot be attained in this system is entirely clear and evident to both of us. To talk of calm today is to make the cemetery one's home; to be peaceful under this government is to be pacifist and cowardly. You and I, we both know that a government, a system which is inwardly thoroughly mendacious, is meant to be overthrown; that therefore one must sacrifice and fight for the new state. Yesterday we could have both written the same thing in this respect in the album of the bourgeois coward of black-red-gold Social Democracy.

So far we would have agreed.

I do not have to emphasize for you that for me, people and nation means something different than for the talkative gentleman with the belly and the golden watch chain stretched across it, who unctuously recapitulates the diluted phrases of Stresemann and Hergt like a phonograph.<sup>1</sup> People, that is, we, you and I, the thousand who yesterday sat attentively before us, the millions who are of the same spirit and the same blood as we. Nation is the organic union of these millions in a community of need, bread and fate. A longing for the nation is alive in the people. To form the nation as a community of need, bread and fate is our first goal. The second goal follows from this first one necessarily and as if of its own accord: the freedom of the nation. For this freedom the people will have to fight, and will be impelled to fight when it has become a nation. That is our way. Nothing new, nothing shocking for those in the know, an ancient historical causal chain. The history of peoples is nothing other than a single consequence of the will to build the nation and of the energetic movement of nations toward freedom.

Never has a people been redeemed by another people, whether out of goodness, love or philanthropy. Always by its own will for freedom alone, which found help from the neighboring people only if the will for power and existence shared the same direction.

You praise Russia as the country of international solidarity and admit yourself that today Russia is more Russian than ever. What you call the Bolshevist internationalism of Moscow is Pan-Slavism in its clearest and most pronounced form. I wouldn't think of singing along with the choir of middle-class liars and ignoramuses. Russia, Russian Bolshevism, are not about to collapse. But the Russian soviet system does not endure because it is Bolshevist, because it is Marxist, because it is international, but because it is national, because it is Russian. No tsar ever grasped the Russian people in its depths, in its passion, in its national instincts as Lenin has. He gave the Russian peasant what Bolshevism always meant to the peasant: freedom and property. In this way he made the most indigenous group, the peasants, into the real supporters of the new system. The more the Russian peasant hates the Jew, especially the Soviet Jew, the more passionately is he a follower of agrarian reform, the more ardently does he love his country, his land and his soil. "Down with the Jewish Soviets, long live the Leninist agrarian reform!" This slogan characterizes most strikingly the attitude of the Russian peasant toward the new system in Russia.

The German Communist sees Bolshevism just as the capitalist Jew of the West would wish: ideological, theoretical, with an infernal hatred for the enemies of his idea; impractical, without understanding of true reality, even as idea without regard for the possibility of its practical completion. Not for nothing is he a child of the people of poets and thinkers. He sees in Russia the seed of the Marxist world state, while in reality it is only the seed of a new national organization of the states of Europe.

To recapitulate: *Lenin sacrificed Marx and instead gave Russia freedom. You want to sacrifice German freedom for Marx.*

Even the Bolshevist Jew has clearly recognized the compelling necessity of the Russian national state and has early and wisely adjusted himself to it. Whether for tactical reasons, whether with ulterior motives, who knows? Probably! In any case, today he has to sing with the rest of the chorus. And that spoils the harmony for the capitalist Jews in the West. Therefore the brooding hatred of the West for Soviet Russia. The stock exchange cannot and will not tolerate a national state, and the Bolshevist-international Jew is not enough security against a national-Bolshevist Russia.<sup>2</sup>

Yesterday you beat about the bush on the Jewish question. I know why. Please don't object. We don't want to deceive each other. *You are an anti-Semite as I am.* You don't yet want to admit this to yourself. The Jew can at best exist in Communism. *The Jew in a*

*national-Bolshevist state is an absurdity.* He knows that best himself. But he is tactically clever. With refined calculation he adjusts to the forces that are stronger than he is. Adjusts to the national instincts of a people, which he sees and takes into account earlier than we do, because he is not bound to them with his heart, but at best observes them *as an interested spectator*. The Jewish question, in Bolshevism too, is more complicated than one might think. It will probably not be that the capitalist and the Bolshevik Jew are one and the same. Perhaps in the final effect but never in present practice. Perhaps they both want the same in the end: *You shall devour all peoples!* But they are too intelligent to offer resistance at the wrong places to those forces which are stronger than their merchant instincts. One such force is the national will for creation, which in Russia today is more awake than ever.

For the German burgher Bolshevism begins with the demand for personal sacrifice. *To him everything, everything is Bolshevism that in any way lays a hand on his wallet.* For him, the only thing that is politically right and true, that is, not Bolshevik, is *the guarantee of his possessions and his complacent Philistine peace.* I see you smile: yes, there we can scold him together. That is common, base, disgusting, in the true sense of the word, nationally irresponsible. *You and I don't give a hoot for national phrases, behind which there is no will for sacrifice.* Bolshevism only begins with the preparation of international mush. *It has nothing, absolutely nothing to do with the size of the sacrifice demanded of the possessors. We can and must demand everything, everything, if the freedom of the nation requires it.*

What you said yesterday about international fraternization, my friend, that is nonsense, and you certainly know that as well as I do. Do you really believe that the Russian people want solidarity? Has it never occurred to you that *Russia stands on the side of the German proletariat because it sees in it the first and most important factor in the stabilization of its national existence?* There is not a single ruble working in German Communism on which the word "*Russia*" is not written as a program.

Never has an oppressed class freed itself by international protests, but always by the national will for the future. The French bourgeois at the end of the eighteenth century did not wait for the solidarity of the German and English bourgeoisie. He shook off his chains alone, with his own strength, at the moment when they became unbearable for him. The powers of the old system tried to break his spirit, but he defended himself and victoriously carried his idea, liberalism, throughout the entire world. The same today. *The German worker will be free only if he frees himself, with his own strength, and he will do that when he can no longer bear the chains of slavery.*

You rave about the International without having understood it in its deepest meaning. The more corrupt a system, the more international its relations. *Your and our most bitter enemy, democracy, money, is international.* It tries to swindle the fighters for freedom with this International, because it knows that it will then be *eternally invincible.*

*The path to freedom leads through the nation. The more united this nation, the stronger and more fervent the will for freedom.* To set in motion in the nation this passionate will for freedom, that is the task of National Socialism. *We want freedom, as you do, but with other means, with means that lead to the goal.* International solidarity is your program; *the solidarity of the nation, the community of the people is ours.* I noticed one thing yesterday with joy: *You now believe me that our community of the people is not the pacifistic mush that Mr. Marx and Mr. Stresemann mean.<sup>3</sup> The community of the people today is nothing but the struggle for the rights of the people for the sake of the nation.* We want this struggle because it alone can bring freedom.

There must be fighting for the future. You and I, we fight each other without really being enemies. In this way we splinter our forces, and we never reach our goal. Perhaps the most extreme need will lead us together. Perhaps!

Do not shake your head! This question is a matter of Germany's future, and more, of Europe's future. *The new state or the decline of the West, both lie in our hands.*

*We young men, you and I, we are the bearers of the fate of generations.*

*Let us never forget that!*

*I greet you!*

Dr. Goebbels

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Another of Goebbels' "Letters to Contemporaries," "The Radicalizing of Socialism" is also antibourgeois and anticapitalist. In addition, it is a vicious attack on the recruits from the anti-Semitic right, and perhaps on Rosenberg personally. It displays clearly Goebbels' own chagrin at not being one of the "alte Kämpfer," and his eagerness to assert that it is still possible to be revolutionary in the context of trying to build up a national political party. It asserts, more clearly than most other publications of the Strasser circle, the need to appeal to blue collar workers, and it stresses the importance of

youth and "movement," important emphases in all the Strasser publications. Beyond this, however, it is more significant in what it repudiates than in what it affirms.

## The Radicalizing of Socialism

Joseph Goebbels

Dear Mr. Pioneer:

I am in the habit of returning insults twice as strongly; who treats me rudely is treated very rudely by me. This time I cannot and will not do it. The matter demands a dispassionate and cool argument. I am glad to have found the opportunity for it here.

You have grown fat in the role of a pioneer; you give yourself airs about it. You have stood behind the idea, the movement, for years, for decades, and you demand respect and subordination from us young people. Permit me: behind what idea, which movement, have you stood for years, for decades? And most of all: during these years and decades of deprivation, what has your work accomplished for this idea, for this movement? You were an anti-Semite under Liebermann von Sonnenberg.<sup>1</sup> Nice! You have been reading *Der Hammer* for decades.<sup>2</sup> That is very decent of you. You were with the Pan-Germans during the war. At home! After the war you joined the League for Offense and Defense and then passed through the Freedom Party in order to present yourself now as the bearer and apostle of our idea. We forgive you. But what has your cause to do with ours?

Your ignorance of world politics since 1918 is enviable. The development of honorable German nationalism into German socialism, and the resulting steadily growing radicalization of socialism in our day have passed you by without leaving a trace. *I know you are legion among us*, but does that make you right? There are people in our camp, not the worst ones, who learned something after 1918 and are therefore still learning after 1923. Today they see not only the falsification of the socialist idea in Marxism, but also, just as clearly and plainly, the falsification of nationalism in the so-called national parties and organizations of every hue. They are prepared to draw from these insights the necessary political conclusions. They turn just as sharply against middle-class views as against Marxist proletarian ones, and do not let themselves be diverted from any political tactic by an accidentally uniform national opposition to it. For them the middle class, in its political organizations, has lost the right to take a stand against any consequence of the politics of this system just as much as has Marxism, because both are guilty



of this system, because both have participated in this system and will continue to do so, whenever and wherever the stampede to the fodder trough permits it. Down with the madness of Marxism, for it is falsified socialism! Down with the madness of the so-called national opposition in the parties of the right! For it is falsified nationalism. These are the slogans which make socialism into nationalism and nationalism into socialism. For us any nationalist demand required a socialist one; any radicalization of the national will for freedom, a radicalization of socialism. You consistently confuse system and person. But it is always the system itself which is in question, never its temporary supporters. You speak of national capital and mean national capitalists—as if there were any still! We speak of national capital which, so to speak, does not exist any more today, because your “national” capitalists, by their stupidity, arrogance and self-indulgence, let it be ruined by the Jewish stock exchange. We speak of that national capital which is hidden away in the vaults of the big banks as stocks and bonds. We call it national capital because it is necessary for the life of the nation, because according to nature and law it belongs in the hands of him who works for it with head and hand. His portion depends on the will and responsibility with which he works.

I dislike it when you appear after me on the program of one of my meetings. A few days ago you ruined my effect with your stupid babbling. In my concluding remarks I was gracious to you. Next time I will be unmerciful. You speak of national German capitalists as if you were getting money from Thyssen.<sup>3</sup> You talk of community of the people as if you shared a little of Gustav Stresemann’s spirit. What do you know about community of the people? You see our movement as a suitable place to put down your stale phrases which you cannot get rid of anywhere else. We have long realized that the achievement of a community of the people creates a basis upon which burgher and proletarian can and should work together toward the final goal, the consolidation of the nation within and without. But only one of these groups will win through to this goal, in its struggle for the future it will be led and directed by renegades from the other group. If the middle class denies our battle, what is left but to find in the so-called proletariat the cadre we need for the liberation of Germany from the fetters of capitalism.

You and your like are responsible for the fact that our radicalism is slack and weak, that our propaganda, though it makes some beginnings, in its pursuit of socialist demands seems excessive to the burgher and insignificant to the proletarian. Thus we lose the burgher and fail to win the worker.

Yes, you are right: Anti-Semitism is the beginning of our knowledge. But it still is not everything. It is only a beginning—one which for us has long been a matter of course. You are stuck at this be-

ginning, you rage in the most primitive way against Jews and their fellow travelers and gladly overlook the guilt of your own fellows and above all your own guilt. Let us not be foolish: every people has the Jews it deserves; the German people in its present form deserves no other Jews than those it has.

If the Jew plays a catastrophic role in a state he can only play this role because the burghers of this state stand at his side; he is clever enough to involve his accomplices within the state in his plunder. How gladly those national circles from whom you still expect something let the Jew give them a share in the exploitation of the German people. You believe that the middle class is the group which is still national in and for itself. How modest are your concepts of national thought and action! The middle class is national as long as nationalism guarantees it property and peace and quiet. If nationalism does not do this any more, then the will for a nation is finished, then the burgher is more prepared to hold on to his possessions by the international way than to make even the slightest sacrifice in the national way. You can see this clear development of the middle class in its rapidly progressing democratization. Democracy is nothing but the international exploitation of national labor by stock-exchange capitalism, with the silent participation of the so-called national middle class. The middle class sees in Bolshevism not so much the subverter of national will and folkish instinct, but mainly the thief of its property, the uncomfortable disturber of peace and quiet. It also sees our National Socialist will for freedom from this point of view: we are its last consolation and last hope if Bolshevism is just around the corner. The less Bolshevism threatens, the less the burgher cares about us, the more serenely he smiles at our desperate struggle. Here and there he is shameless enough to admit this openly; then he speaks of us as though we were vigilantes, laughable and superfluous in quiet times, but important to join, if one is cautious, when there is again robbery and plunder.

It is this attitude which makes him sympathetic and affectionate toward the Russian émigrés, whom he sees as his fellow sufferers, worse off than himself. He lets them tell him horror stories in which he sees the future of Russia and, in touching neglect of world historical conditions and enviable ignorance of the real motive forces, indulges with them in the most primitive anti-Semitism. He thus gives the Jew the best possible weapons for counterpropaganda and discredits from the very beginning a really well-aimed anti-Semitic propaganda, which comes from national passion and not from the most disgusting personal egotism.

You, Mr. Pioneer, are an offshoot of this species, half Philistine, half anti-Semite. You are a fine fellow if left in peace. Be reasonable! Leave us in peace too! Don't meddle with our work. Up to now we have taken you with us. You are standing halfway up the mountain

and have a nice view of the blooming valley. Feast on this panorama for a few hours and then return quietly and in a friendly mood to the valley. We cannot take you with us to the summit. Now comes the last part of the way, the most difficult—but also the most beautiful.

When we stand on the highest peak we will signal to you and wave our hats and shout joyously: "We made it! Long live the new, the third Reich!"

We are socialists! We do not want to have been socialists in vain!

We have learned and are still learning. We defend ourselves fanatically against the babblers who never knew anything and have not learned anything since; against those who are so fond of saying that it is the essence of genius to know everything without having learned it, with the self-evident assumption that they are geniuses and the equally self-evident corollary that they do not need to learn anything.

We are not content with an attitude. We are trying to make this attitude stronger and more profound by work and restless creation. We want clarity, clarity!

Socialism is still only a feeling for us, merely feeling. It has to be organized, extended, inwardly consolidated. Everything basic is lacking. Belief moves mountains but only knowledge moves them to the right places. In knowledge we are seeking clarity and a unitary character for our feeling.

Do not believe that our present silence means hesitation. We are working restlessly and unerringly; the day is no longer far away when we shall say everything, everything. Then even you will learn that we are anything but a black-white-red security police for middle-class self-interest and Philistine peace and quiet.

Then you will shudder before the radicalism of our demands, before the inflexible logic of that which must be and which we are determined to do because it must be. Today people in Germany know that no one surpasses us in fanaticism for national freedom.

Soon people will also learn that we stand unified at the front in the will for socialism.

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Much of the scholarly interest in the Strassers has focused on this document; we have therefore included some selections from it even though, unlike the other writings in this anthology, it was never published. During the winter of 1925–26, the party was in the process of reorganization into a national and parliamentary party, with the Strasser circle mainly concerned with attracting support from industrial workers and from the agricultural laborers and farmers of

the north. Strasser and Goebbels evidently felt that a more comprehensive program than the "Twenty-Five Points" was necessary for this effort, an idea which Hitler overruled at the Bamberg conference of the party in 1926. As remarked above (see Introduction), however, it was not the content of this draft which Hitler rejected but the need to formulate a new official program at that time.

On careful reading, the draft does not diverge very significantly from the "Twenty-Five Points"; rather it elaborates on them, often in wearisome detail, and shifts some emphases. The economic well-being of "employees" looms larger than in the earlier program, as does that of the farmer. The foreign-policy stance is somewhat more amiable; corporatism is much more heavily stressed. And finally, the term *dictatorship* (section I.c) is used for the first time, though what is meant is not entirely clear. We have attempted to retain some indication of the structure of the draft, but have quoted at length only from those passages which include something new or something particularly significant.

## Draft of a Comprehensive Program of National Socialism

Gregor Strasser, Joseph Goebbels, and others

### I. Introduction.

(A nation is a community of fate, need and bread!)

- a.) In brief the disorder of conditions:
  - in foreign policy
  - in domestic policy
  - in economic policy.
- b.) Characterization of National Socialism as a wholly new, comprehensive view of political economy (a synthesis of a politically creative nationalism and of a socialism which guarantees the support and development of the individual).
- c.) Prerequisite for carrying out this mighty project is the national dictatorship. Fateful and causal connection between the economic emancipation of German employees and the political emancipation of the German people.

### II. Foreign Policy.

- a.) Borders of 1914. . . .
- b.) Tariff union with Switzerland, Hungary, Denmark, Holland and Luxemburg.

- c.) Colonial empire in central Africa. . . .
- d.) United States of Europe as a European league of nations with a uniform system of measure and currency. Preparation for a tariff union with France and the other European states. . . .

### III. *Domestic Policy.*

#### A. *Reich*

- 1. *Levels of office:*
  - a.) *Reichspresident* with a seven-year term (first Reichspresident the dictator), with broad powers. . . . His specific functions:
    - designation of the presidents of the individual states,
    - appointment of ministers,
    - contracting of treaties, declaring of war and peace in cooperation with the ministry.
  - b.) *Reichsministry* led by the Reichschancellor. . . .
  - c.) *National Council*, consists of the (12-14) presidents of the individual states and the leaders of the Reich Chamber of Corporations (the five chairmen of occupational chambers) under the chairmanship of the Reichspresident. . . .
  - d.) *Reich Chamber of Corporations*: consists of representatives of the individual Reich occupational chambers (see E.2) numbering 100; in addition 10 members named by the Reichspresident (representatives of the universities, of the Christian denominations, and otherwise outstanding individuals). . . .
- 2.) *Administration*. Division of the entire Reich territory into 12-14 states according to their particular historical traditions, with concomitant consideration of economic and religious affiliations. . . .

#### C. *Electoral system*

- 1.) *Reichspresident*: National Council and Reich Chamber of Corporations each elect 5 candidates—the two groups of candidates need not be different from one another; the two bodies vote separately on the entire list. If a candidate receives more than half the votes in both bodies, he is elected. . . .

### IV. *Economic Policy.*

#### A. *Agricultural policy.*

- 1.) Land and soil are the property of the nation! . . .
- 2.) Present-day properties, up to a size of 1,000 Morgen (productivity level I [Bonität I]), may remain as hereditary holdings as long as there is a male heir in the family who is able and willing to carry on the hereditary obligations.
- 3.) Holdings larger than 1,000 Morgen are to be divided into small holdings of 50 to 200 Morgen, after each man of German nationality

who has been an agricultural laborer on the property has been compensated with 2 Morgen. . . .

6.) No hereditary obligations can be sold or borrowed against. . . .

9.) Mortgages are to be granted only by state loan offices set up by the Chamber of Agriculture in each state. . . .

*B. Industrial policy*

1.) All businesses which on a stated day in the past employed twenty or more employees are to be converted into joint stock companies.

2.) The Reich Ministry of Economics divides industry into 2 groups:

a.) Essential industries (key industries, armaments industries, banks, chemical and electrical industries)

b.) Nonessential industries (finished goods industries, export industries, and all others)

3.) For all joint stock companies, ownership of 51 percent of those in group 2.a will be turned over to the general public; 49 percent of those in group 2.b. . . .

4.) The employees in each of these industrial enterprises are to be grouped in a works-union which will receive 10 percent of the stock of the company. . . .

*C. Trade and small business policy*

1.) Those businesses or individuals who employ fewer than 20 are to be grouped by law in compulsory guilds.

2.) Taxation of these self-governing bodies will take the form of a lump sum which the guilds themselves will divide and levy on their individual members. . . .

*D. Financial policy* (Basic principle: Direct taxation of the source of profit within the productive process)

1.) Matrix is the financial participation of the Reich, the states and the localities in the whole of industry (see B.3). . . .

*E. Structure and character of the corporations*

1.) The various principal occupational groups are to be combined in regional, state and Reich chambers. . . .

2.) The following chambers are to be formed:

a.) Chamber of Agriculture

b.) Chamber of Industry and Trade

c.) Chamber of Labor

d.) Chamber of Civil Servants and Employees

e.) Chamber of the Free Professions . . .

8.) Tasks of the Chamber of Corporations: See A.d [sic] and

B.1.b. The tasks of the regional chambers are of an administrative nature. Principal task is the observation and control of the effect of legal measures on economic life; the advising of officials, as well as the right to investigate complaints about the assessment of taxes (see B.3). . . .

F. *Division of production* (Basic principle: shortest possible path between producer and consumer, with extensive elimination of free trade)

1.) *Agriculture.*

a.) Compulsory combination of the farmers into local cooperatives, and of these cooperatives into regional cooperatives under the supervision of the Chamber of Agriculture

b.) Prohibition of free sale of agricultural products; sale only to the cooperative

c.) Combination of members of the finishing trades (butchers, millers, bakers, etc.) in compulsory guilds (see C.I.)

d.) Conclusion of direct delivery contracts between these producers' cooperatives and the guilds or large direct consumers' cooperatives. . . .

2. *Industry.* It is the task of the Reich Ministry of Economics to combine similar enterprises into cartel organizations, but without using general legal compulsion. Continuous supervision of the modernity of the technical situation, with the possibility of closing down unprofitable enterprises, is also the responsibility of the Reich Ministry of Economics, because of joint ownership by the state.

## V. *Cultural Policy.*

1. *Jewish Question*

a.) All Jews who immigrated after August 1, 1914, are to be expelled within six months.

b.) All individuals who have accepted the Mosaic religion (at any time) since January 18, 1871, and all former citizens descended from such individuals, are to be declared foreigners (Palestinians). In mixed ancestry the father is decisive. . . .

2. *Church and school*

a.) Protection and encouragement of the two Christian faiths by the state

b.) Denominational and nondenominational schools may coexist, but it will be enforced that there is at least one nondenominational school in each locality. . . .

d.) Attendance free at all schools, including the university; many study materials also free

3. *Press*

a.) Besides the previous *Reichsanzeiger*, an official Reichsnews-letter will appear; the same in every state and in each district. Local officials may issue them also.

b.) Official announcements will be permitted to appear only in these official newspapers.

c.) Other private or self-supporting newspapers are free to appear.

d.) Owners and editors must be citizens of the German Reich.

e.) All articles must be signed by the author. (No immunity for members of parliament.)

4. *Justice*. Far-reaching reform with conscious return to Germanic legal perceptions (man, not things, the focal point). Basic principle is: few laws, but good ones, strictly enforced.

#### VI. *Miscellaneous*.

I. . . .

2. *Wages*. Desirable to accomplish a large proportion of payment in kind. . . .

#### VII. *Conclusion*.

(Drawing together and reanalysis of the problems)

1.) *On the problem in foreign policy*: the organic arrangement and the powerful racial unification of the German nation in a greater German Empire; this greater German Empire as the instigator of a central European customs union and as the dominant force in the United States of Europe

2.) *On the domestic problem*: the division of authority between centralism and federalism with the introduction of an organically structured system of corporations in the place of an artificial parliamentarianism

3.) *On the economic problem*: the reconciliation of the rights of the general public with the personal egoism which is rooted in human nature

a.) In agriculture through realization of the idea of hereditary tenure

b.) In industry through far-reaching transfer of the ownership of the means of production to the general public; in both cases with maintenance of private enterprise and with regard for the sense of property

This powerful synthesis of chaotic, competitive political and economic forces, their utilization for the nation and for humanity, is Germany's predestined historical task.

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"Thoughts about the Tasks of the Future" (June 15, 1926) is one of Gregor Strasser's most comprehensive ideological statements. It contains his definition of "socialism"—by which he apparently meant not only that the common good should be served in a material sense, but also that the rule of money and the profit motive



should be overthrown. He also meant to imply sacrifice for the common good; his later program for compulsory labor service is implied here, as is his continuing emphasis on the role of military service in the selection of the new elite. This latter emphasis was coupled with a strong ethical current in most of Gregor's writing: were the ideals of the front soldier to prevail, then devotion to honor, duty, and service would replace the alienation of modern man. Gregor's concern for the plight of the small farmer, on the other hand, and his great interest in how to achieve autarchy (see Introduction, nn. 61, 64) are absent from this essay, and the basis for the full-employment program of 1932 is only hinted at. It is worth noting that Gregor is much more diplomatic toward the anti-Semites of the "folkish" movement than Goebbels had been.

## Thoughts about the Tasks of the Future

Gregor Strasser

Lying on a sickbed for a few weeks and months does have its good side. So much that in the trivialities of everyday life does not get a hearing now has the chance to rise slowly from the unconscious to the conscious mind where it is tested and is winged by imagination, so that it acquires form and gains life. In general, people often make the mistake of assuming that practical action—the incessant preoccupation with daily necessities—is not founded in the mind. They therefore like to *set up an invidious comparison between the thinker and the doer*! It is true that the currents of the mind and the soul do not become conscious when one is resolutely grappling with the tasks of the day and trying, by freshly setting to work, to solve all questions in a practical way!

So it is a comfort every now and then to have the leisure to look beyond the tasks of the day and of the near future and to plumb the *depths of the questions* toward whose solution we are resolutely dedicating our life's work. When would this be better than during the many lonely hours of the sickbed, when the hands of the clock seem to stand still and the night never to end—until it becomes finally, finally morning again! This *new dawn*, the fact that again and again the dawn comes, is the deep consolation, is the blessed certainty which makes the night of the present bearable for us—and even if the hours, years, never seem to end—*the dawn does come, my friends, and the sun comes, the light!*

Such thoughts of the lonely nights, thoughts about the National-Socialist tasks of the future—I will briefly survey them here—such

thoughts have surely occurred to most of our friends in similar hours and in a similar way—thoughts which *at the moment* are not yet the subject of our work, but *whose undercurrents are flowing, whose blood runs through our work.*

## I. The Spirit of the Economy

*We are Socialists*, are enemies, mortal enemies of the present capitalist economic system with its exploitation of the economically weak, with its injustice in wages, with its immoral evaluation of individuals according to wealth and money instead of responsibility and achievement, and we are determined under all circumstances to abolish this system! And with my inclination to practical action it seems obvious to me that we have to put a better, more just, more moral system in its place, one which, as it were, has arms and legs and better arms and legs than the present one!

*And yet it is not enough* to change a system, to replace one economic system by another—necessary above all is a *CHANGE OF SPIRIT! The spirit which is to be overcome is the SPIRIT OF MATERIALISM!! We must achieve an entirely new kind of economic thinking*, a kind of thinking which frees itself from the present conceptions rooted in money, in property, in profit and false success! It is an indication of the Marxist, the false Socialism, that its way of thinking is exactly that of capitalism. For this reason I have said for years that the two form a spiritual unity, only with reversed signals! National Socialism, which stems from organic life itself, casts aside the mendacious words of a theory remote from the world, as well as the dead ideas of a declining civilization!

*We have to learn that in the economy of a people it is not profit, not gain, which are important—but only satisfying the needs of the members of this people!!* This and nothing else is the task of a “national economics!” We have to learn that the ideas “world trade”—“balance of trade”—“export surplus” are ideas of a declining epoch which have in the end reduced themselves *ad absurdum*, because they violate the eternal law of organic life and were *born out of speculation, not out of necessity*, not out of the soil! We have to learn that it is a betrayal when speculative production, with all its means of touting and advertising, creates an *artificial need*, a betrayal of human labor, of human life! For artificially stimulated covetousness creates ever-increasing aspirations, and increased aspirations *double human slavery, which is slavery of the mind, which instead of the soul has taken up mastery over life!* What do people know today about life?! They run around and tire themselves out, torment themselves, strive and drudge like galley slaves—in order to lead a life of horrifying emptiness! *It is not that this new economic sys-*

*tem which we want produces more. What is at stake is certainly not higher production, which Marxism demands, but the human soul!! And production, economy have only the one task: to meet the economic needs of individuals, rejecting goods which owe their demand only to artificial stimulation, rejecting also the prodding of "profit and gain"!*

We have to learn that **WORK IS MORE THAN PROPERTY! ACHIEVEMENT MORE THAN DIVIDENDS!!** It is the most unfortunate heritage of this capitalist economic system that all things are evaluated according to money, according to wealth, property! The decline of a people is the inevitable result of the application of this standard, since *selection according to property* is the mortal enemy of race, of blood, of life! We have never left a doubt that our national Socialism breaks this *prerogative of the owner* and that the *liberation of the German worker shall also extend to SHARING PROFIT, SHARING PROPERTY AND SHARING ACHIEVEMENT!!* But it would mean measuring again with the old standards if one left it at that and did not stress that *revolution of the spirit* which guides us against the spirit of the present system! We consciously oppose valuation according to property with **VALUATION ACCORDING TO ACHIEVEMENT**. This is the only valuation which we recognize!! We consciously place **WORK** higher than **PROPERTY**! We focus on **ACHIEVEMENT**, not dividends, and we recognize **RESPONSIBILITY**, not riches or splendor, as the crowning of human striving. That is a new world view, a new religion of economics. It establishes with certainty that the horrid rule of the golden calf is at an end and that the differences among individuals and the differences among rights—are differences in achievement, differences in degree of responsibility, differences which come from God and which are sacred!!

## II. The Spirit of Society and of the State

And just as our fight against the *form* of the capitalist economy is at the same time a fight against the *spirit* of this capitalist economy, which must be rooted out in its outward expression and in the heart of every individual; so our fight against the form of *society* and of the present state is also a *life or death struggle against the SPIRIT of this society, this state: AGAINST LIBERALISM AND FALSE DEMOCRACY!*

The spirit of our National Socialist idea has to overpower the spirit of liberalism and false democracy if there is to be a third Reich at all! Deeply rooted in organic life, we have realized that the *false belief in the equality of man* is the deadly threat with which liberalism destroys people and nation, culture and morals, violating the

deepest levels of our being! National thinking<sup>1</sup> gnaws at the basis of life itself, destroys the blood, destroys the sacred order which is based on the *distance* which is created by inequality and which has nothing in common with the present social structure! For hierarchy, of which I am speaking here, depends exclusively on the *achievements of the individual for the community*. We have to reject with fanatical zeal the frequent lie that people are "basically equal" and equal in regard to their influence in the state and their share of power! *People are unequal*, they are unequal from birth, become more unequal in life and are therefore to be valued unequally in their positions in society and in the state! *But this inequality in turn has only one standard, can and must have only this one standard: the achievement of the individual for society, for the nation, for the state!!*

And thus I reach a demand which at first glance may seem utopian, but which results inevitably from what I have said, and which has occurred to various friends in a similar way. The demand for unequal distribution of rights according to achievement for the state requires the elaboration of a process of *selection* according to which such achievements are to be measured. In the folkish movement there is much talk about the *emergence of a new group of leaders*, and this demand touches what I said. But the ways which are recommended for a solution: these blood tests, Nordicization, and so forth, and so forth, appear to my practical mind somewhat dubious as to possibility, value and even effect! Another way, however, a thoroughly German, Prussian way of which my friend Pfeffer reminded me on one occasion, is suited as no other: *selection by the army!*<sup>2</sup>

*This requires that military service be voluntary, a right and not a duty!* The practical way would be that by law every German citizen would have to *serve the state for one year*; during this year he would not, as the supporters of a compulsory year of labor service want, build roads or do other mass work, but would *learn a trade*, so that there would not be a single German who had not had at least a year's training in a trade! *The selection of the best, however, would be reserved to the trade of arms, which would last for TWO years* and therefore attract only those most willing to sacrifice and which would bring with it the mortal danger of war and therefore demand all the *heroic virtues!* Entrance is *voluntary* and not dependent on any force. Who doubts that those Germans who voluntarily apply for the army, which removes them from private life twice as long as the civil service, which further does not, like the latter, include practical advantages for practical life, but on the contrary, after an infinitely more severe service, means danger to life in war—who doubts that these Germans would be the best of their people, the *racially best*, whose achievements for the state now and in the future would

tower high above the average! What would be more natural than that the National Socialist state *value these higher achievements above others*—so much so that, *in addition to the general equal right to vote of every citizen, it would give the voluntary defenders of this state a TENFOLD ADDITIONAL RIGHT TO VOTE?! What is this but the recognition of the principle of achievement as the basis for political rights?! And in return the military profession would visibly take over the leading role in the state, which above all is its state which it will maintain and protect against all attacks from outside!!*

It would be a sin not to make the *same distinction in reference to the female sex* in this connection! For since all characteristics of decay are apparent with the same fateful intensity in *both sexes*, thus also the *racial basis* is the same; I would almost like to say that experience shows it to be even stronger among the “mothers.” It would therefore be an unforgivable oversight if the National Socialist state did not look here too for the method of natural selection which would divide the more valuable part and prefer—yes, *prefer*—it to the other!

*With the man military service is the most sincere, and most valuable, form of participation in the state—with the woman motherhood!!* There are numerous warlike tribes in Africa in which mothers who die in childbed are buried with the same military honors as the men who have fallen in battle! Therein lies a double meaning: besides recognizing *personal heroism*, it is shown that the *value of these people for the tribe was the same*. It therefore seems to me a logical as well as an inwardly compelling extension of the efforts toward *natural selection of the best of a people to compare wedded motherhood with the military service of the man and reward it too with a corresponding right for more votes.*<sup>3</sup> It is self-evident that in both cases the right for more votes can not be the *only form of reward*, but that in addition *preference* in all other political rights must be made, in the *election of magistrates and high officials*, in appointments of *civil servants*, and in all *honorary positions*.

Call it utopia, for me it is a certainty: *20 to 30 years of such selection—and Germany will have a group of leaders and lesser leaders which changes the entire face of society and the state and which is the unshakable support of this state and its economy!*

### III. The Spirit of Culture

Is any special word still needed to show that the *false spirit of our present life too has to be overcome at the root, in order to create something really new, something new that lasts?! It was no longer possible to write “spirit of our present life”; that would be too big a*

lie! I had not realized clearly the *tragedy of this present life* until I had time to read during the long weeks. If I did not know how the souls of men hunger, hunger and thirst, then I would have got the impression from the books I read that the soul is finally dead and has been replaced by reason, by "ratio," which sees meaning and purpose and content only in the mechanical, only in the technical.

There is a *terrible hopelessness* in the souls of humanity, a *dissolution of all firm values, an instability which looks in vain for stability, stability which it does not find any more in religion and which it has lost in ethics!* "RELATIVITY"—that is the keynote of the culture of our times—relativity in all things, relativity in all knowledge, relativity in all feeling—and the numb anxiety of a bad conscience tries in vain to cover and excuse this inner instability with "psychoanalysis"! The core itself is eaten away and has to a great extent already been lost!

*And this is the largest, perhaps also incurable wound!!* For it is a profound truth that *moral recovery is the precondition for the social and political attitude of a people.* I do not want to be misunderstood in the word *morality*—morality is always founded only on animate nature, not on supposedly unalterable commands even if they were once extracted from animate nature! We are not talking about the dogmatic concept of morality of one rank or one religion, but about *harmony—harmony between the divine in man and eternal nature.* The form [of this harmony] is bound to time as man himself is—but *the content is eternal!!*

It is difficult, especially here, to propose concrete measures which would promote improvement. And yet my practical mind tries nevertheless to set up general demands. The influence of the state can only be of an indirect and rather external nature: through the *schools* and especially by *using teachers* with a corresponding attitude. What, however, is necessary in order to change the present spirit of disintegration, of dissolution, of aimlessness, or relativity and dishonesty; or at least to prevent the further spreading to those individuals or segments of the population which have stayed healthy, is, besides *giving support to all TRULY religious endeavors, mainly this: THE FEELING OF HONOR has to be placed in the center of the entire spiritual life!* It would be wrong to ignore the fact that, for many people, and racially not the worst ones, religion is no longer capable of forming this center, as it did so splendidly in the Middle Ages. But the sense of honor, which in itself is already a typical characteristic of a first-rate individual, is still thoroughly able to take its place as the dominant force in the soul, to organize man's thoughts, which have been fragmented and aware of too many nuances, making it possible for him to find once again the "*meaning of life.*" It is only the *second* phase of the same line when I demand a *strong emphasis on DUTY* as the *political and social activation of honor.* I therefore see the "*meaning of life*" as the com-

pletion of human existence through both *HONOR* and *DUTY*; this is a solution which is possible for the German of today and which perhaps, for him, represents the "Prussian style"<sup>4</sup> of his fulfillment!!

For in one thing we must achieve utter clarity: that *FORMS AND INSTITUTIONS ARE CHANGEABLE*, are never right "as such" and never wrong "as such": that there is, however, only one "*RIGHT*" *SPIRIT*, only one spirit with a constructive viewpoint: that is the spirit of eternal nature, animated by man, the image of God!!

*It is our strong belief and our deep knowledge that this spirit is in us, in the idea of national Socialism, so that THIS SPIRIT and NO OTHER will build:*

#### *THE MILLENNIAL THIRD REICH!*

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This essay of August 1, 1926, is one of the very few Himmler ever published. During the years before 1933 his services to the party were principally organizational and propagandistic (he was acting Gauleiter of Lower Bavaria in 1925; acting chief of propaganda 1926-30; head of the SS from 1929; head of the Gestapo from 1930). Himmler was a very popular speaker for a few years after he became a member of the Strasser circle (he was secretary to Gregor Strasser 1925-27), but wrote, as far as we have been able to discover, only two articles during this period—both on the status of the farmers—of which this is one.

This selection is therefore not typical of a larger body of work by its author, yet there seemed several persuasive reasons for including it. It typifies the concern of the Strasser publications between 1925 and 1927 for the plight of the small farmer, which concern in turn was part of a growing consciousness within the party as a whole of the importance of this constituency.<sup>1</sup> Himmler's argument, moreover, typifies the writings of this period which were designed to appeal to the farmer: it claims that depressed agricultural prices are the result of the domination of Germany by Jewish international finance in cooperation with Bolshevism. It thus brings Feder's and Rosenberg's arguments up to date—in no way does it look ahead to Darré's mystification of blood and soil. For all these reasons it offers useful comparisons to the party statement on agriculture of March 1930.

## Farmer, Wake Up!

Heinrich Himmler

Farmer, wake up! You have been sleeping for a few years. The war is over—you fought and bled for your fields and then you came home. Most of you didn't like the *revolution*. A few traitors to the farmers' cause went along in November 1918. Then you helped in May 1919 to bring back order in the towns and you dammed up the red flood. But do not forget what you could see then of stealing, rapacity and murder.

The red flood was dammed up and you could peacefully till your fields. The Home Guard units were dissolved, and it became quiet in the farm villages. During these years between 1920 and 1923 you, the old, otherwise so reasonable, farmer began to dream and spin. You thought it was a nice time for you; you earned money, the scraps of money piled up in your house, and something else, you were glad you had paid up your mortgages so cheaply. I can only say: stupid farmer! The million and billion mark bills addled your head. You paid up your *mortgages* cheaply, but your big loan associations, which gave you your mortgages at low interest, were swept away by the same inflation, and today you depend on the *mercy of the bank*.

You did not think of this then, nor, dreaming as you were, did you rightly understand the *need of the city*. Remember how it was. The city people scolded you in words and in print, you, the man who tills the fields; called you a usurer and a scoundrel, and you and your newspapers scolded the worker of the city because he only worked eight hours and, basically, because he fought his social fight. At that time, German farmer, if anyone spoke to you, it fell on deaf ears. You did not want to believe us that those in the city were oppressed by an enemy: *by capital and by Jews*. You did not want to believe it, you foolish German farmer, when we told you: the one who stirs you up against those in the city and the one that stirs up the hungry of the city against you in the country—they are *the same*, they are the same ones who made the inflation, they are the same ones who trade your grain, and you especially did not want to believe it when we said: they are the same ones who will one day destroy you, the farmer.

And so it went until 1924. Then your dream came to an end, and now you have again become the thinking, meditating German farmer. Need has made you reasonable and serious again, and now you also notice that there is an enemy called international capital. But now you should think correctly as you walk behind your plough; you should think and ponder just as your father and grandfather did.



You should not follow any juggler or agitator. And now let us think together.

*What are you dependent on, German peasantry?* First, you have to produce grain and livestock. For grain you need *fertilizers* today, for livestock you need so and so much *concentrated fodder*. Have you ever noticed that the price of fertilizers and fodder is reduced when the price for grain and livestock goes down? Certainly not, and you never will notice it. I will give you the reason for this. Fertilizers—nitrogen, potash, phosphorus—are in the hands of a few people, a few corporations, and they determine the price. Except for these few, no one in Germany will produce fertilizers. Therefore the price of fertilizer stays high. It is the same with fodder. These are, in short, two necessary bases for your production.

When the harvest is in the barn and the livestock ready to be slaughtered, then you have to *sell*, and then you will find that you will *not get as much as the product itself has cost you*. Again I will give you the answer. It is again only a few wholesale dealers who either buy or don't buy your grain and your livestock. I don't mean the small German grain and livestock handler, I mean the *commodities exchange*. In Germany a few large Jewish companies determine the value of your sweat, the sweat which you spent on the sunny field during harvest, which ran down your forehead while you were tilling your fields. Farmer, I would like nothing better than to be able to take you to a grain exchange some morning. Then you would realize who your enemy is. *This enemy: Jew and big capital*. These two, the fertilizer Jew and the grain Jew, understand each other very well and work together. The price you have to pay gets higher and higher; the price you receive gets lower and lower. These are two grinding stones which fit each other.

A *third thing*, too, determines your fate; the agitators tell you about it all the time. They say: the tax office is responsible, knock it down! Do not think that I defend the tax office. But think again for yourself, let us think together as friends. How can the little tax official help it if he has to raise taxes? If he does not do it he is out in the street, he has no food, his family goes hungry. And then someone else, who has already gone hungry for a few years, will do it anyway. The fault must be hidden somewhere higher. I will help you find it. Some of you still think that we have a *German* state and *German* governments—see, that is the *error*! They are men of German citizenship, but by the way they govern, every thinking person must have realized by now that their service as ministers consists of extorting from Germany as much as possible for capital. And then I have to talk about something else. Have you ever had it pointed out to you by your present leaders that there is a lien against us; and have these leaders ever admitted that they have accepted this lien with your, the farmer's, votes? Have they ever told you that *for this*

*reason* the state has to pay annually *two and a half billion marks*, that *for this reason*, this state collects taxes so relentlessly, and *for this reason*, and only for this reason, impounds your cow and the old household goods of your forefathers and empties the grain barn, and takes the vats from the vintner? Have they ever told you that because of all this, because this alleged state has obligated itself, the tax office has to play the sheriff that takes the last penny away from you?

*And therefore, you first estate of the German people, you German farmer, therefore it is time for you finally to wake up and get ready to defend your farm and your soil.*

Just think now how you will one day stand before the judgment of God; you may have to say: I lost the farm and fields which my father left me on his deathbed. Then there will be no such excuse: they have taken it away from me, the tax office, the state, or someone else. For the question will follow: well, why did you not pay attention, why did you dream along, did you not look around to see who your enemy was? And it will not work if you answer: well, this farmers' leader, he swindled me and told me the wrong things.

You must *think*, farmer, and then—*fight*!

I will tell you one more thing:

The way that Germany, that you as a farmer, have been going so far will lead further into the depths, into a misery which is called Bolshevism, as in Russia, and that means: mass murder and starvation in town and country, robbery and expropriation of your farms and your soil.

In conclusion one more example. A man is walking along with his brother. Suddenly a hand grabs him and tries to strangle him. In his distress the man strikes out with his oaken staff and hits again and again the other one, his brother, and the one who was attacked is robbed and has to be servant and slave to the robber from the bush. You, farmer, are that man, and you are being strangled today, and your brother, the other one, is the rest of the German people. Now do not make the mistake in your distress of striking your brother to the ground with your oaken staff, as the Communist and as Gandorfer and Kübler advise you to do.<sup>2</sup>

Strike you shall but hit the *right ones* with your staff, strike those who are trying to strangle you, *the Jews and the capitalists*!

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This piece exemplifies Gregor Strasser's continuing insistence that there must be a second, real revolution to complete or replace the first, false one. There are many examples of this type of writing by

Strasser (see Introduction, n. 71). It is very significant that this theme remained prominent in Nazi thought even during a period of great commitment to building up a national, parliamentary party. In this particular selection, Gregor is more negative than usual about the efforts of the 1918 revolutionaries.

## From Revolt to Revolution

Gregor Strasser

Another year has passed, for the ninth time, since that 9th of November 1918.

We hate that day and we despise its supporters, just as we hate its fruit: the present state!

We do not hate it because on that day an old system collapsed which until then had embodied "Germany," for we young ones had nothing to do with this old system. In the fiery breath of the war we young ones fearfully realized how empty were the formulas of this system; to us the mighty sacrifices of a single people imparted a revelation of the nation which aroused the will, demanded obligation, urged toward action. We young Germans of the Great War had nothing, nothing at all in common any more with the rotten world of the old system and saw without regret its world of formulas fall apart—at most we were surprised and indignant at how cowardly this "middle class" world was as it was swallowed up.

Not as "reactionaries" therefore do we hate that day and its revolt.

But as revolutionaries! As Germans! As front soldiers! As socialists!

Because that day gave birth only to a revolt, not a revolution!

Because this revolt, born out of cowardice, depravity, incompetence and treason, was without honor and without greatness, without absoluteness and without truth—and therefore without meaning for German history!

And because it betrayed—consciously betrayed—the national interests of the German people and the social interests of the German workers.

Nationalism and socialism, this dual unity, whose recognition and achievement were the German meaning of the Great War, were equally betrayed.

Where was the revolution which, in the name of socialism, would have carried the red banner of victorious self-affirmation against the enforcers of hostile capitalism?

Where was the revolution which would have found the reverberating war cry for the freedom of the German people, for the honor of the German nation, and, not least, for the honor of their own rev-

olutionary act: "Death to world capitalism! Death to world imperialism! Long live nationalism! Long live Germany!"

That would have been a cry with which a German revolution could have shaken all the buildings of the world—and at the same time secured victory and duration for this revolution, freedom and independence for the German nation.

But instead?!

"Immediate peace is the slogan of the revolution. Whatever the peace looks like, it is better than the continuation of the enormous mass slaughter"—with this appeal to cowardice the "revolution" started its activity—an activity which logically led to the betrayal of our brothers in Austria and Sudeten Germany, to the loss of Eupen and Malmédy and Alsace-Lorraine, of northern Schleswig and West Prussia, of Danzig and Memel and Upper Silesia! Which led to the "peace" of Versailles and our voluntary repetition of it in Locarno and Geneva. Which also led just as logically to a boundless dictatorship of money, to the feudal domination of international capitalism, in which there is not the smallest room for socialism, in which the "eight-hour day" is a hopeless demand, but fifty years of slavery a normal condition, confirmed by writ and properly verified. And all this with the help of the criminals who had "made the revolution"!

Therefore we hate this revolt and despise its makers—and we know that the form and spirit of this revolt of November 9, 1918, and its fruit, the present state, must be thoroughly rooted out by a German revolution in order to make room for the fulfillment of German fate!

But this fate is called: nationalism and socialism, and from Germany and by Germany it will change the face of the world!

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This essay, part of a tripartite publication by the *NS-Briefe* called *National Socialism, the World View of the 20th Century* (Berlin: Kampf-Verlag, 1929), displays Otto Strasser's particular talent for reformulating crisply the ideas of others. Its explanation of the relationship between nation and state is similar to that in Rosenberg, "The Folkish Idea of State," as is the repudiation of liberalism. The stress on a corporate organization of society and government comes ultimately from Feder, perhaps via Gregor Strasser. The emphasis on inequality in the new society is again Gregor's, as is the idea that military service can serve as a process for the selection of talent. The emphasis on the importance of blood relationships under the new state is perhaps more baldly stated here than by most Nazi

writers, but again, the idea is derivative. The overall effect is quite persuasive, however, perhaps precisely because Strasser writes briefly and very explicitly. The antagonism to Italian Fascism as too "authoritarian" is noteworthy.

## National Socialism and the State

Otto Strasser

The irreconcilable antagonism with which National Socialism confronts the present state is not—as is widely but wrongly believed—a result of November 9, 1918. It is an essential antagonism! The essence of the National Socialist conception of state versus the essence of the liberal (or in today's elderly usage, "democratic") conception of state, which is 100 to 150 years old! For it is not true that the attitudes of the state of 1918 are essentially different from attitudes before 1914; the differences between the two, stressed for obvious reasons both by the reactionaries and by the November fellows, are much more external differences, decorative, occasionally differences in attitude but more often in tone! (Even gesture is surprisingly similar!)

For the essence of the present state, as of the outfit which preceded it, was Liberalism, that doctrine of licentiousness, of disconnectedness among individuals and—as a necessary result—of dictatorship by the will of the mass, composed of atomized individuals; a mass called into being (how else could it be formed), dominated and directed by money! This liberal theory of the "*rule of the majority*" has been dominant since the French Revolution, in Germany since Napoleon and the western "constitutions" which he enforced; in October (!) 1918 it was only carried to its last and external conclusions, so that the so-called Revolution was really able to confine itself to changing coats of arms and official seals, while titles and official nomenclature could be "taken over."

To this liberal state we oppose our national state, to the state of rule by the mass our state of rule by achievement, to the state of money the state of blood!

At this point it is necessary to make clear what, in our view, the German state will look like, in order to see its essential difference from the present state, so that we may recognize that in no instance is a reform, an alteration, an "improvement" of the present state possible or even conceivable, but only its destruction from the ground up, a revolution in the smallest as in the largest aspect. Any attempt to alter in an evolutionary way the liberal state which we have before us—and not only, let me emphasize again, since 1918—any such attempt is doomed to failure because the two ideas of state

are as diametrically opposed as night and day, so there can only be day or night!

The most important basic principle of our National Socialist idea of state is the view that a state is the organizing form of a living nation, that its purpose is to protect the life of this nation internally and externally, to make possible the future of this nation and to enable the nation to achieve this future.

The state, therefore, is organization—the nation alone is an organism! The state is not an end in itself, but organization for the sake of the nation. (Which means that the state must necessarily obey the biological laws of "its" nation.)

*Of the nation!* Not of a majority of so-called citizens! Not of a mass of atomized and independent individuals! And here, right at the very foundation of our view of the state, is the *folkish* idea, the idea of race. It is inevitable that Liberalism does not know this idea, and it is just as inevitable that it is the bedrock of National Socialism. For we see the nation as the God-given result of race, situation and history, for which reason it is also clear to us that up until 1914 one can only speak of a "German people," while only from August 1, 1914 (to speak a little too specifically, but not incorrectly), does the concept of a "German nation" become viable. (A process which we are still in the midst of and which will only be concluded and given form by National Socialism!)

Basic therefore to our view of the state is the knowledge that the German state can only be the form of organization of the *German* nation! That is just as true externally as internally. That is above all and in a word: the erection of all political institutions (the constitution, the law [!], and so forth) on the basis of blood, on the same blood, not on the will of individuals who accidentally live next to each other, not on the basis of an alien "law" and money to buy public opinion!

And a second principle is inherent in our state, resulting from the biological law of the blood: our state knows, recognizes and is founded on a knowledge of the *inequality of man*. Not only those large inequalities among races, peoples and nations, but also to the same extent those inner inequalities within these units. The recognition of this discord, its introduction into the state and its utilization for the state results in a new hierarchic structure and in varying duties—and rights, but with the firm requirement that the measure of inequality and thereby of unequal duties and rights can be nothing other than achievement, achievement for the nation! Thus we oppose to the liberal state of "equality of all citizens with equal rights, equal duties," the National Socialist state of "inequality of all folk comrades, with unequal duties, unequal rights," thus creating a new society with new disparities, new relationships—disparities and relationships which are all related to service to the nation.

It necessarily follows from this that one of the most essential tasks of this, our National Socialist state system, is to create the conditions which make possible the selection of the most capable and most devoted forces of the nation, and which guarantee the utilization of these forces, discovered and replenished by a process of natural selection, in the service of the nation. It neither can nor should be left either to chance or to the arbitrary judgment of individuals—good or bad arbitrary judgment—to find and employ these best forces of the nation; rather it is the task of a system to devise and build in methods of natural selection.

In connection with natural selection, so necessary to life, there results the significance of the *military idea* and the not less fruitful *idea of self-government*. The National Socialist state will not find any better means of selection according to blood than voluntary enrollment in military service (cf. Gregor Strasser, *Freedom and Bread*, pp. 61ff.), and it will not find any more effective method for discovering and training new leaders than extensive self-government among occupational groups! That ancient German idea of guilds, of occupational self-government, as it reappeared in the reforms of Stein (and was then suppressed again by Liberalism as “too soon”), will essentially determine the appearance of our state.<sup>1</sup> For our state, with its Germanic self-determination, not the Fascist satrapy with its “orders from above,” is the form most suited to the German character, and it alone guarantees that selection of the best among the nation upon which the life and future of this nation above all depend. Inherent in both the “Marxist prison state” and the “Fascist authoritarian state” is, as contemporary Russia and Italy show, idolatry toward the state and its “omnipotence”;<sup>2</sup> we oppose them both with a “state of occupational self-government” which uniformly employs for the good of the nation the achievement, controlled and heightened by self-determination, of a multitude of talents among the people.

Uniformly employed! For the principle of occupational self-government in all areas (administration, economics, law, culture!) releases the highest possible sum of national forces, but more than any other system—even contemporary liberal bureaucracy—it requires a uniform consistent overview at the top, so that the entire power of the national forces can be focused and uniformly employed in this nation’s battle for self-assertion in the world and in history. To recognize this is to reject all particularistic, political or religious hindrances in order to give the Reich the strongest kind of central leadership, which in a state of occupational self-government is especially necessary and possible! Just as the individual is in direct connection with the state through his relationship to his occupational group—and not indirectly via party or church—so is the Reich

directly bound to the regions occupied by the various branches of the people, and not through either independent or confederated states.

Thus this state of National Socialism reveals itself as the powerful organizational form of the German nation, invigorated in all its parts by the rich bloodstream of German life, always concerned to adjust the form to life, to the life of the German nation, never constraining it, never suppressing it—no matter how often and how extensively the form has to be destroyed, changed, or adjusted.

For the form is there for the sake of life—the state for the sake of the nation!

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This brief selection comes from *The Peasantry as the Life Source of the Nordic Race*, published in 1929 at a time when it is not certain that Darré had yet joined the party. Given the scholarly uncertainty on this point (see Introduction, n. 88), we have placed the writings of Darré in the order of their publication.

Here Darré sets forth the glorification of peasant virtues— independence, self-assurance, the ability to command, belief in ideals of work and service—which he associated with the Nordic race, whose remnants he saw as still living on the soil. Here too is the condemnation of the city, as the abode of nomads and the despoiler of racial purity. These ideas would occur again and again in Darré's writings.

## **The Peasantry as the Key to Understanding the Nordic Race**

R. W. Darré

In this section the author will offer no scientific argumentation for the idea that the Nordic race was originally a peasant race, but only attempt to deduce certain characteristics of Nordic man from the fact that he was originally a peasant.

*To be a peasant means to be free.* He who cannot do as he pleases with his farm and cannot make use of the fruits of his activity at his discretion is not a peasant but a steward or tenant, a servant or a slave. Back where the Nordic race began its characteristic single-household settlement, the herd instinct, probably natural in itself, was overcome, and from then on people evolved who were self-de-



pendent and relied on their own abilities. The phrase "unfree peasant" is basically self-contradictory and should be dropped from the German language. No activity from early historical times can so distinctly give proof of the feeling for freedom as can the personality of the peasant within the Nordic household. The Nordic household permits only an either/or answer to the question of whether one has something of consequence in him. If we remember the nomads, whose strength lies conversely in their ability to give up the consciousness of self for the good of the tribe, we will understand that the unrestrained consciousness of self and of freedom of Germanic peoples is by far most easily and most obviously derived from their peasant origins. *Merk*<sup>1</sup> says of the Germanic peoples: "In the lands conquered by them they have, through their settlements and their land law, put an end to the depopulation of the plains and the unhealthy predominance of the cities, and restored a strong peasantry. *Into a world enslaved by the omnipotence of the Roman state they brought back personal freedom.*"<sup>2</sup> Only where the peasantry in Germany was subjugated toward the end of the Middle Ages did that unfortunate phrase originate: If you suffer want, God will help you. But it cost rivers of blood before the German peasantry was brought to such a condition. Nevertheless, not all regions were subjugated, especially not those of northwest Germany. The German Reich owes the loss of two of its most flourishing provinces (Switzerland and the Netherlands) to the ruinous attempt to bring our free German peasants into an un-German slavery.

*To be a peasant means to know one's craft.* The peasant must master every aspect of farm work in order to be able to instruct his men, even if he does not work with them himself. This is necessary in order to evaluate their work. No servant must be able to fool a peasant, but no peasant would direct his men to do something which he did not understand himself. Especially in the oldest and freest peasant communities in Germany it was a long-standing custom that the heir to a farm was apprenticed to another peasant, for "he who wants to command well must first have served well." In the country, on the farm, the relationship between employer and employee is fundamentally different than in the city. Among the peasantry, reality is sharply divided from appearance, and the eyes see essentials clearly; inability is irretrievably recognized in the long run and ordered to its proper place. The words of *Count Schlieffen*, which he coined for the German general staff: "To accomplish much, be noticed little, be more than you seem," stem from a peasant way of thinking and represent an ennobled form of peasantry.<sup>3</sup>

*To be a peasant means to work on the farm, not to sit on it as a parasite.* The peasant is first and foremost on the farm. Thus the peasant reaches a consciousness of self, a *self-assurance*. The unspoiled peasant is not ashamed to be a peasant, on the contrary he is

much more likely to underestimate anyone who does not wear overalls. When the Transylvanian Saxon wants to express his respect for a man he says, "He is one of us"; and in Hesse, memories of the old glory of a *free* peasantry are clearly retained in the sentence, "To a peasant belong four horses," that is, the *peasant* may drive a coach and four.

*Riehl* tells a charming story about the characteristic haughtiness of the peasant, as he looks down on the city dweller:<sup>4</sup> "A still-living and distinguished jurist, latter-born son of a peasant, had been marked by his father to learn the butcher's trade. But as the delicate little boy could not stand the sight of blood, the father declared that he had to let the boy study law since he was too 'simple' to learn something 'respectable.'" To which *Riehl* adds matter-of-factly that this peasant acted correctly, since otherwise, instead of becoming a good jurist, the son would have become a mediocre butcher.

At the bottom of his heart the true peasant, who is always either Nordic, Phalec or Dinaric, has only a deep and mostly silent contempt for the city dweller or nonfarmer. Many a judgment of a city dweller on peasants would turn out quite different if the city dweller were not so blind to nature and if he knew how to read the thoughts behind the brows of our peasants.

But let us return to the relation of the peasant to his enterprise. The farm does not only exist for the peasant, but the reverse is also true. The peasant directs the farm, he is the head, the others the limbs; but all together they are visibly active *for* the farm. All therefore experience the enterprise as a whole, in which the peasant is *incorporated* as a part, even if as the head. *To be a peasant therefore means to have a feeling for the organic interplay of forces in the work as a whole.* From the peasant's self-assured feeling of freedom and from his feeling of responsibility for his work—that is, his farmstead—there developed the core of the free man's feeling of duty. *Service* becomes the most noble deed of the *free man*. The phrase "I am only the first servant of my state" is nothing more than the extension to royal sovereignty of Nordic peasant attitudes. Out of the Nordic peasantry grew that moral standard which measures the deeds of a *free man* according to other standards than egotism. Here kind providence laid a gift in the cradle of the Nordic race out of which grew perhaps its most significant characteristic. It is the innermost need of the Nordic to place his life at the service of a cause and to develop inner moral principles for himself out of the necessities which determine this work.

It is said that the peasant is hard, since his feelings are governed by what is good for his farmstead. But are not the famous Prussian "reason of state" and the Anglo-Saxon "right or wrong, England above all"<sup>5</sup> obvious expressions of this peasant attitude? It is perhaps good to remember that it was the peasant *Cromwell* who laid

the foundation of England's overseas empire, and that it is no accident that his colleague of the Prussian school, *Bismarck*, was called by his enemies the "diplomat in wooden shoes."<sup>6</sup>

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These "Theses," published originally in the *NS-Briefe* in July of 1929 and republished after Otto's break with the party (see Introduction, nn. 81, 82), have frequently been regarded by scholars as an extremely revolutionary document. But if one compares them to earlier calls for a "second revolution" by other leading Nazis, it will be seen that they are relatively innocuous. In fact, read in the context of the other selections here, they seem merely to reaffirm many aspects of the "Twenty-Five Points." The tone is more emotional, perhaps, and the implied importance of the experience of the front soldier, together with the appeal to youth, are familiar principally from the writings of the Strasser circle. There is somewhat greater stress on corporatism than in the "Twenty-Five Points," and the foreign policy stance is perhaps a little more peaceful sounding. But these are minor differences which could not have been very disturbing to the party leadership. Certainly the "Theses" themselves cannot have been the occasion for Otto's break with the party, though in 1930 Otto claimed that they had played a part. Rather than sounding too revolutionary, it may well be that the stance they represented appeared to Gregor, Goebbels, and Hitler as frivolous and beside the point, at a time when the party was trying to build up its constituency, particularly among the farmers.

## The Fourteen Theses of the German Revolution

Otto Strasser

### THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

The meaning of the Great War? German Revolution! That mighty revolution of the twentieth century, of which the "World War" was only the first act, of which all "putsches," "rebellions," "battles" are only parts, in which fate tests and discards different solutions in order to find the solution.

On both levels of life—the spiritual, the intellectual—mighty changes are going on, confused in expression, fragmented in form,

and yet filled with the same melody, advancing toward the same goal!

But this goal is the German Revolution, the revolution of conservatism, by which the great French Revolution, that victory of liberalism, will be overthrown, overcome, set aside! It is the revolution of the soul against the mind, of nationalism against individualism, of socialism against capitalism, and when we try to announce its overwhelming content in a schematic way, we set down:

## THE FOURTEEN THESES OF THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

### I

The German Revolution denies before God and the world any obligation toward the "peace treaties" of Versailles and Saint-Germain, treaties based on the lie of Germany's guilt and instituted through brute force. The German Revolution wages ceaseless and fanatic war, with all means, until it brings about the complete abrogation of these dictated treaties and all agreements based on them.

### II

The German Revolution proclaims the freedom of the German nation in a strong German state which embraces all the German peoples of central Europe, and which, from Memel to Strassburg, from Eupen to Vienna, embraces Germans of the motherland and of the unredeemed territories, and because of its greatness and ability, forms the backbone and the heart of white Europe.

### III

The German Revolution refuses to rule over and exploit foreign peoples and nations. It wants no more and no less than sufficient living space for the young nation of the Germans, and insofar as the fulfillment of this deepest natural right of life conflicts with the same right of other peoples and nations, the German Revolution recognizes the decision of war as the will of fate.

#### IV

The German Revolution declares that it is the sole purpose of the state to gather together all the forces of the nation and to employ them uniformly in guaranteeing the life and the future of this nation. It accepts every means which furthers this purpose and denies every means which hinders it.

#### V

The German Revolution therefore demands the harshest use of a strong central authority against all disruptive or disturbing organizations, whether political, party, or religious. The centralized state of the German nation binds together in the most powerful unity those forces which grow out of regional and particularist traditions.

#### VI

As an appropriate extension of the high tasks of the state, the German Revolution gives free scope for development to the forces of occupational self-government, which have been inhibited and suppressed by a lifeless liberal system. It values the living organization in professional and occupational chambers above an artificial parliamentarism, just as in anything and everything, it values the personal responsibility of leadership over the irresponsibility of an anonymous mass.

#### VII

The German Revolution proclaims that the German nation is a community of fate. But it is aware that a community of fate is not only a community of need but also a community of bread, and therefore affirms all of the demands which follow from this recognition according to the fundamental principle: "The common good before the individual good."

#### VIII

The German Revolution therefore rejects the individualistic economic system of capitalism; and the overthrow of capitalism is the prerequisite to the success of the German Revolution. With the same decisiveness the German Revolution affirms the corporative economic system of socialism, proceeding from and concluding

with the knowledge that the purpose of any economic system is solely the satisfaction of the needs of the nation, not riches or gain.

## IX

The German Revolution therefore declares its superior property right in all land and mineral rights. Landowners are only leaseholders of the nation, and are accountable to the nation and to the state, because the nation as a whole defends this property.

## X

On the basis of the same right, the German Revolution proclaims the right of all workers to share in ownership, profit and management of the economy of the nation, which every folk comrade serves. His personal share in property, profit and management is either earned or limited by increased output, greater responsibility. The German Revolution knows and recognizes the motive force of personal interest, but incorporates this force into a larger machinery for the good of the nation.

## XI

The German Revolution sees this good of the nation neither in the accumulation of material goods, nor in a limitless improvement of the standard of living, but exclusively in the recovery and maintenance in health of that God-given organism, the Nation. Only thus can this German nation fulfill the task entrusted to it by fate.

## XII

The German Revolution sees this task as the full development of the unique folkish character and therefore fights with every means against racial degeneration or foreign influence in culture, and for folkish renewal and purity, for German culture. This fight applies particularly to the Jews, who, in combination with the international powers of freemasonry and ultra-Montanism, are destroying, partly compelled by their nature, partly intentionally, the life of the German soul.

### XIII

The German Revolution therefore also fights against the rule of Jewish Roman law and for a German law which has the German and his honor as its axis and consciously affirms and values the inequality of man. This German law recognizes as citizens only folk comrades and measures all according to the good of the whole.

### XIV

The German Revolution overthrows the world view of the great French Revolution and shapes the face of the twentieth century.

It is nationalistic—against the enslavement of the German people; it is socialist—against the tyranny of money; it is folkish—against the destruction of the German soul—but it is all of these only for the sake of the nation.

And for the sake of this nation the German Revolution recoils from no battle, finds no sacrifice too great, no war too bloody,

for Germany must live!

Thus we youths feel the heartbeat of the German Revolution pounding, thus we front soldiers see the face of the near future before us and experience, humble-proud, the role of the chosen ones, to fight, to win the battle of the twentieth century, satisfied to see the meaning of the war,

the Third Reich.

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In *A New Aristocracy Based on Blood and Soil* (Munich: Lehmann Verlag, 1930), a chapter of which is excerpted here, Darré proposed a comprehensive eugenics program. The arguments of *The Peasantry as the Life Source of the Nordic Race* are repeated in this book, which then sets forth the argument that a systematic breeding program, analogous to that employed in animal husbandry, will nurture and encourage the peasant, Nordic stock. Here "breeding" is seen as the cure-all, not only for economic problems, but for all the afflictions of modern society and culture. Darré's argument, with its scholarly apparatus and evidence of wide learning, sounded both erudite and scientific, despite the irrationality of its fundamental

premises. For those party leaders like Hitler, Himmler, and perhaps Rosenberg, who sought a "scientific" basis for their racism and anti-Semitism, he must therefore have been very persuasive.

## **Marriage Laws and the Principles of Breeding**

R. W. Darré

The German Empire will not rise again until the *good* German blood rises again.—*Ruedolf*

"It annoys me to see how much trouble is taken to cultivate pine-apples, bananas and other exotic plants in this rough climate, when so little care is given to the human race. Whatever people say, a human being is more valuable than all the pineapples in the world. He is the plant we must *breed*; he deserves all our trouble and care, for he is the ornament and the glory of the Fatherland" (Frederick the Great).<sup>1</sup>

Doubtless if Frederick the Great had had the misfortune to be our contemporary, the host of his historic enemies would have been swelled by a group of Germans who would damn him utterly for his audacity in wanting to apply the laws of plant cultivation to the human race. For today it is part of the intellectual equipment of the "complete idealist" that he views the application to mankind of any breeding principles, learned from the world of plants or animals, as an expression of the worship of matter. He regards such things as "materialism" in the worst sense of the word.

This kind of negative attitude toward the application of principles of "breeding" to mankind is generally rooted in ideological considerations. Let me say something about that now, because one cannot very well create "aristocracy" without somehow subjecting it to principles of breeding.

The fact that today's German sees any effort to couple breeding questions with those of the public good as contrary to idealism is in itself a peculiarity in intellectual history. What these Germans now condemn was for centuries considered by our people to be an expression of custom and morality. It is perhaps even more peculiar that this is happening in a people which as recently as about a century ago would not permit an apprentice to become a master unless he could show proof of his unobjectionable descent; nor could he retain the rank of master if he chose a girl of unknown or undesired origin as his wife. In Germany until well into the nineteenth cen-



tury, not only the nobility, but also groups of craftsmen and Germanic peasants very consciously pursued a policy of selective breeding. It is surprising to discover in the old traditions the extent to which German marriage laws were filled with wisdom about the interdependence of blood and culture, especially in those cases where the Germans intentionally erected a blood barrier, as for example toward the Slavs. Today our people seem to have lost all this wisdom, and we have carelessly gone so far that he who points out the need to pay attention to such things runs the risk of antagonizing some of the best of our people.

Today antagonism begins quite often with a certain excitement about the word *breeding*. But it is not so that the application of this term to human propagation would import something new from animal and plant breeding! No, in earlier times the word "breeding" was used for everything living; only later did the term nearly disappear in its application to mankind, while remaining in use for animals and plants.

The derivation of the word *Zucht* [breeding, cultivation] is very clear, too: Our word *Zucht* belongs to the verb *ziehen* [to pull, to draw, to grow]. One of the meanings of the verb *ziehen* is illuminated by the usage *das und das ziehen* [to grow such and such], in the sense of "to cultivate," *züchten*. Old High German *zuhtig*—pregnant, with child—is derived from the same verb stem; in Middle High German it was still *zühtic*—polite, well-bred—but having the essential meaning of "fertile," "fruitbearing." The component meaning of "cultivation" in *ziehen* can also be shown in its Germanic prototypes: Dutch *tucht*, Afrikaans *tocht*—procreativity, procreation; Gothic *ustauhts*—completion (Weigand, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*). In this way usages in Middle High German such as *Züchten* (in *Züchten*) to mean "chastity" are explained. A *züchtige* maiden was thus not one who ignored sex, but a girl constantly conscious of her "obligation to breed."

*Zucht* was actually for our ancestors everything related to *procreation within the framework of accepted possibilities*. Therefore the contrary of *Zucht* in this sense was *Unzucht* [unchaste behavior, prostitution]. *Unzucht* was applied to all sexual actions which grossly violated the limits placed on sexual intercourse by popular morality and custom. It must be emphasized that the word *Unzucht* has been differently understood in the course of German cultural history. Thus, for example, our ancestors did not describe illegitimacy as unchaste if nothing disadvantageous could be brought up against the descent of the parents of the child; such behavior was perhaps improper, perhaps even immoral (at least in the view of the Christian church), but in no way unchaste. Today, on the contrary, a married person who gives birth to an illegitimate child is punish-

able by civil law, that is, indirectly punishable, since illegitimacy is grounds for divorce, and therefore, strictly speaking, is considered unchaste. . . .

*Züchtung* [breeding] is applied knowledge of heredity. It is unimportant whether this knowledge of heredity has been gained by belief in a divine creation of the clan, or by belief in descent from an original ancestor, or by observation of human life, or by both of these together (as was obviously the case with our forefathers), or whether one uses modern instruments, like calipers, tape measure, magnifying glass, learned experiments and calculations, to establish that physical and mental abilities are indeed hereditary, that human beings are hereditarily different. The fact that until well into the nineteenth century, the whole status system and social order of our people originated in equality of birth in marriage is enough to show clearly that our people had been inspired by the idea of breeding (in the earliest sense of the term) for one and a half millennia—and this in spite of Christianity, which circumstance is really the greatest peculiarity. Each rank consciously engaged in breeding: each rank *supervised its own procreation* by rejecting in marriage the next of kin and selecting from among other suitable girls. It does not matter whether the model for selection was firmly anchored in the consciousness, easily grasped, as it were, in material terms (and underlying racial evaluations, as is more or less clear in the case of the prescriptions against the Slavs), or whether it was only an indirect result of mental and physical merits of more immediate importance (such as might have come up, for example, in evaluating a girl as a housewife, etc.). In either case they understood the significance of the woman with her genetic inheritance for the ups and downs of the clan and tried to the best of their knowledge and ability to protect from harm the institution of marriage, which controls the direction of the clan's journey into the future, toward good or evil. If therefore until about a hundred years ago no journeyman—not to speak of noblemen or urban patricians—could become a master without having proved that he was born in "legal wedlock," and that for his four grandparents the same was true, it proves that for one and a half millennia German culture consciously built upon the concept of breeding: a concept of breeding which controlled the legal order and was itself conditioned by it, and which must be seen as the rock upon which the culture of the German people rested, as if created for eternity. It therefore shows either simple thoughtlessness or serious ignorance of the history of German culture and customs when Germans among us today attack the science of heredity by arguing that it is degrading to the German soul to use the word "breeding"—this concept of "animal" breeding—in any connection with Germans.

The old German marriage law, fused with the goals of breeding and with the prerogatives of rank, worked on the one hand as a filter which permitted complete procreation only to that blood which had been tested in constructive work; on the other hand as a safety device to protect the tested blood against the struggle of life sufficiently so that the founding of families and the number of children would not suffer. This old German marriage law was the wall which protected valuable German humanity, which kept subhumans outside the German social order and limited very considerably their opportunities to reproduce themselves, even sometimes making it impossible. It must be emphasized that the present victory of "subhumanity" (which caused the North American *Lothrop Stoddard* to write his well-known work, *The Cultural Revolution, the Threat of the Subhuman*,<sup>2</sup> and has made our geneticists look for the cause of the population excess among the inferior and undesirable races, that is, those races which influence the German social order in an undesirable way) could only become a problem to the German people when, about a hundred years ago, *Hardenberg* adopted a course which necessarily had to end in the final dissolution of all marriage restrictions, a situation which has now been reached.<sup>3</sup> Read what *Freiherr vom Stein*, with his clear understanding of the causal interrelationships within the German people, prophesied as the result of these insane measures: it is easy to see that our present situation is solely the result of having at that time turned away from German views of marriage, thereby creating the foundation for a rank proliferation of inferiors of all colors. When today people talk about the "birthrate war among the races" as the cause of decline, they are confusing cause and effect.

Every legal order has not only an educational but also a breeding effect upon the whole of a people, even if this is not always apparent to the individual. The *social order* is the formal expression of the law, come alive. To use an analogy from natural science: the social order burns up as fuel the residual values of the people. It is less important that something is burned up than what is burned up. This "what" determines the "how" of the social order, which is directly dependent on the legal order. Therefore one can say that the legal order has the decisive significance for the fate of the hereditary values of a people, since it determines *which human values are furthered and which limited or even eliminated*.

*The form of the law in turn is an expression of a certain world view.* So we get the following chain of causes and effects: world view—legal order—social order—breeding—human physical characteristics. As applied to our people this means: Christianity and the late Roman Empire changed the world view of the Germanic peoples; hand in hand with this change went a change in legal concepts

in an un-Germanic direction; it is therefore, as shown above, thoroughly logical that Germanic-German culture and the Germanic physical characteristics of Germans are being more and more displaced by an un-Germanic humanity.

*Wildhagen* (in his excellent *The English National Character*) points to the selective and thus shaping force of the English social order which, erected on the foundation of the old Saxon law, was formed by English history but not essentially changed.<sup>4</sup> Of course *Wildhagen* underestimates the value and significance of race. For neither the developments which we observe in a thousand years of English history nor the English social order of today produced the Englishman as he is today. It is rather the case that the Englishman had within himself the power to endow his political life with a legal order which through its fixing of a goal and its selective effects created a social order which by itself kept the original Germanic humanity of the Anglo-Saxons alive. This social order was to some extent able to maintain itself surprisingly unchanged up to the present and also to respond to external challenges in a reasonably consistent manner.

He who leaves the plants in a garden to themselves will soon find to his surprise that the garden is overgrown by weeds and that even the basic character of the plants has changed. If therefore the garden is to remain the breeding ground for the plants, if, in other words, it is to lift itself above the harsh rule of natural forces, then the forming will of a gardener is necessary, a gardener who, by providing suitable conditions for growing, or by keeping harmful influences away, or by both together, carefully tends what needs tending, and ruthlessly eliminates the weeds which would deprive the better plants of nutrition, air, light and sun. Exactly thus, speaking now of the folk, was the old German legal order intended, whose weeding and tending (which no doubt arose out of the blood consciousness of the Germanic peoples, based on an ideological foundation) created the conditions of existence needed for life and growth.

Thus we are facing the realization that questions of breeding are not trivial for political thought, but that they have to be at the center of all considerations, and that their answers must follow from the spiritual, from the ideological attitude of a people. We must even assert that a people can only reach spiritual and moral equilibrium if a well-conceived breeding plan stands at the very center of its culture. . . .

It has become apparent that what we call human culture and what "history" shows as its essential meaning were obviously dependent on some very specific races and still are. Thus the concept of race left the purely scientific realm and began to become an instrument in evaluating people in relation to culture and customs. This racial

theory was developed by *ethnology*; today applied ethnology is already attempting to utilize the findings of ethnology for human society.

Actually the procedures of this evaluation should be very simple. If it can be established that this or that race is exclusively or predominantly responsible for creating a culture, and that the condition and persistence of this culture depend upon the race concerned, then basically the task is very easy: that race, upon which the culture to be sought or to be maintained depends, is to be preserved and furthered. But strangely enough this simple conclusion is drawn by only a few; even fewer are those who set forth demands based on it. A great proportion of the ethnologists, together with a correspondingly large audience, want to transfer the scientist's objectivity toward natural phenomena to races and cultural questions as well. But we are evading life itself if we are unwilling, or no longer able, to express our opinion of life. . . .

Today we pursue only population increase, not breeding. We are surprised that German culture more and more disappears. But the general public in Germany is already too cowardly—for ultimately it is a question of cowardice!—to analyze these phenomena and find their *causes*. Or has the logical ability of the German people already diminished so much that it can no longer recognize the causes? *Population increase alone is of no use at all; the important thing is the heredity of the children*. But if we could ask our children what they have to say about this, they could only answer:

We are becoming fewer and fewer!  
and:

We are becoming more and more inferior!<sup>5</sup>

And thus our customs are condemned to death: they are useless! That is the truth! Let us at least have the courage to admit at last that it is the truth, and that fine speeches about our "belief in Germany's future" and similar subjects help matters not at all, even if made in frock coat, top hat, and officially; we are helped even less by sentimental, edifying discussions of the evils of modernity and the superiority of a pure and noble German soul.

Let us return to the customs of our forefathers: they sufficed to keep German culture alive for one and a half millennia. Let us re-educate our girls to a full understanding of the old German concept of *Züchtigkeit* [chastity]. For our ancestors it was not that bashful girl who had no knowledge of the facts of her sex who was *züchtig* [chaste], but she who consciously prepared herself to become a *mother* and as a *mother* to rule over a large number of children. Having children, for these women, was not exercising the right of self-determination but fulfilling their responsibility to the next generation; for them, service to the clan was still a guiding principle of life: their task was the preservation, furthering and increase of their kind. These women knew about breeding and it was their pride.

They did not feel degraded to a "brood-mare," as is the silly objection voiced today by those who apparently understand the highly praised "personal freedom" of the woman to mean only the freedom to taste all the joys of a "bedfellow" at their discretion and preferably without limit. Instead it was the pride of these women to become the ancestress of a noble clan and to receive the *confirmation of her own value in her noble son*.

There's nothing better for a boy than to  
Have had a good and noble father and  
To marry well. I can't approve of those  
Who go below their station out of love  
And compromise their sons through their own lust.  
(Euripides, *Heraclides*)<sup>6</sup>

If in our plan to create a new nobility, the concept of marriage includes breeding, we are not thereby importing anything animal-like and unworthy of human beings. We are but resuming the best spiritual and moral traditions of our ancestors, while cleansing and clarifying them with the findings and researches of modern genetics. Thus we can thereby discredit any suspicion of "materialism."

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This important document has been relatively little studied by scholars. Although it was published under the title "Official Party Statement on Its Attitude toward the Farmers and Agriculture" in the *Völkischer Beobachter* (March 6, 1930) over Hitler's signature, its status as a major official programmatic statement is rarely acknowledged. Yet of all the programmatic statements of the period before 1933, this was the only one to be appended to the "Twenty-Five Points" in subsequent editions of their text.

When scholars have discussed this program, they have almost universally assumed that Darré wrote it.<sup>1</sup> We consider this assumption to be most unlikely. The "agricultural program" does contain some proposals, like entail and internal colonization, which the Agrarpolitischer Apparat and the Reichsbauernführer would later espouse; perhaps he could have contributed these ideas.<sup>2</sup> The sentence "We . . . see in the farmers the main bearers of a healthy folkish heredity, the fountain of youth of the people, and the backbone of military power" is certainly reminiscent of the portions of his earlier works which are reproduced here. But most of the ideas—the exploitation of the farmer by Jewish high finance, the proposals of tax and tariff benefits for the farmer, the promise of a large future role for farmers' cooperatives—are familiar from Gregor Strasser,

Himmler, and Feder, while the strictures against speculation and the promise to expropriate aliens are already present or implied in the "Twenty-Five Points." These ideas, moreover, do not appear in the earlier writings of Darré. Nor is the language his: the program speaks most often of farmers, *Landvolk*, and *Landwirte*—much less frequently of peasantry, and in the latter case the word used is *Bauernstand*, not the *Bauerntum* of Darré. Far more likely is the explanation that the stimulus for the program, and for the Agrarpolitischer Apparat itself, came from the Strasser circle, and that Darré was a later recruit (see Introduction, nn. 88–90).

## Official Party Statement on Its Attitude toward the Farmers and Agriculture

### I. Significance of the Farmers and Agriculture for the German People

The German people satisfies a considerable part of its needs by importing foreign foodstuffs. Before the World War we were able to pay for these imports with the income from our industrial exports, our foreign trade and our capital invested in foreign countries. This has been made impossible for us by the outcome of the World War.

Today we pay for imported food mainly by borrowing foreign money. In this way the German people is led further and further into bondage by debt to international high finance. International high finance—if the present situation continues—will increasingly dispossess the German people. By blocking credit, it can block the food supply, and by thus withdrawing our food, it can force German proletarians into its service at starvation wages, or hire them out to foreign colonies as slaves.

Emancipation from this bondage is possible only if the German people can produce its essential nourishment from its own land and soil.

*Increasing the production of native agriculture has therefore become a vital question for the German people.*

An economically sound farm population with sufficient purchasing power is also of decisive significance in providing a market for our industry, which must more and more produce for the domestic market.

We not only recognize the eminent significance of the *food producers* for our people but also see *in the farmers the main bearers*

*of a healthy folkish heredity, the fountain of youth of the people, and the backbone of military power.*

*The maintenance of a productive peasantry, which will continue to be a large and strong segment of the increasing population, is a cornerstone of National Socialist policy, precisely because this policy serves the welfare of the entire people, now and in coming generations.*

## II. Disregard of the Peasantry and Neglect of Agriculture in the Present German State

In disregard of the biological and economic significance of the peasantry and in contradiction to the vital necessity of increasing the productivity of agriculture, the present German state has permitted the maintenance of an economically sound peasantry to be most severely threatened.

A considerable increase in agricultural production is in itself perfectly possible to achieve, but it is being prevented because the farmers, increasingly indebted, lack the necessary tools and materials, and because the incentive to increase production is lacking, for agricultural labor no longer pays well.

The reasons why agricultural labor earns insufficient return (profit) are to be found:

1. In the present tax policy, which burdens agriculture disproportionately. This happens because of party politics and because the Jewish world financial monopoly, which in actuality runs the German parliamentary democracy, seeks the destruction of German agriculture. The German people, and especially the workers, are utterly at its mercy.

2. In our *competition with foreign agriculture*, which produces under more favorable conditions, which is not sufficiently curbed by our *tariff policy*, which is hostile to agriculture.

3. In *unacceptably high profits* which go to the *wholesale trade* in agricultural products. It steps in between producer and consumer and today lies mostly in the hands of Jews.

4. In the *usurious prices* which the peasant has to pay for *artificial fertilizers* and *electric power* to concerns which are mostly Jewish.

High taxes can no longer be paid out of the poor returns on agricultural production. The peasant is forced to contract debts on which he has to pay usurious interest. He finds himself more and more in bondage to interest and in the end loses house and farm to the predominately Jewish owners of loan capital.

*The German peasantry is being uprooted.*



### III. In the Future Reich for Which We Strive, German Land Law Shall Rule and a German Land Policy Shall Be Made

A sweeping improvement of the lot of the farmers and the recovery of agriculture will not occur as long as the international money magnates, with the help of the parliamentary-democratic government system, actually rule the German Empire, for they want to destroy indigenous German forces.

Only in the *new German state*, essentially different from the old, which we are seeking to establish, will the farmers and agriculture find that consideration which they deserve as the mainstay of a *true German popular state*.

In this *future empire German land law* shall prevail and a *German land policy* shall be pursued.

Out of this grow the following demands:

1. *German soil, taken into possession and defended by the German people, serves the entire people as their home and livelihood. It must therefore be administered in this sense by the individual owner.*

2. Only German folk comrades may own German soil.

3. *Ownership of soil which has been legally acquired by German folk comrades may be inherited.*

*But this property right is dependent on the duty to use the soil for the good of the entire people.*

The supervision of this duty is the responsibility of *corporate courts*, which are composed of representatives from all the occupational groups active in agriculture, together with a representative of the state.

4. German soil may never be the object of speculation, and may not serve to provide its owner with unearned income. In the future, only he can buy land who will farm it himself.

*In every sale of land and soil, the state therefore has the right of preemption.*

*Mortgaging of land and soil to private lenders is forbidden.*

Agriculture will receive the necessary credit on favorable terms from its legally recognized corporate cooperatives or from the state.

5. In return for the use of German soil, the owner must give to the state a certain payment according to the size and productivity of the property. This tax on the productivity of the soil makes any further taxation by the state of agricultural soil and enterprises unnecessary.

6. *The size of the agricultural enterprise* cannot be regulated schematically.

Important above all from the point of view of population policy is to have a large number of viable small- and medium-sized farms.

But the large enterprise, too, fulfills its own *necessary* tasks, and

*in a sound proportion* to medium and small enterprises its existence is justified.

7. The *right to inherit* land and soil is to be regulated by a law of entail in such a way as to avoid fragmenting the property or burdening it with debt.

8. The state has the *right to expropriate, for an appropriate compensation*:

a. land not owned by German folk comrades;

b. land which, according to the judgment of the competent corporate court, has been so irresponsibly mismanaged by its owner that it no longer serves the provisioning of the people;

c. those parcels which the large land owner does not farm himself—these to be used for settlement by a free peasantry;

d. land needed by the entire people for special state purposes (e.g., transportation, defense).

Land acquired illegally (in the sense of German law) will be expropriated without compensation.

9. It is the task of the state to provide for a carefully planned *settlement* of available land in keeping with a broad population policy.

The land shall be *apportioned to the settlers as hereditary leasehold*, with initial contractual conditions which will make possible a viable economy.

The selection of candidates will be made by testing their civic and professional suitability as settlers. The sons of farmers who are not entitled to inherit (see no. 7) will receive special consideration.

*Important above all is the settlement of the eastern frontier.* But this problem cannot be solved by the creation of farms alone. Rural cities with a large potential for consumption must be developed in connection with these farms, and these cities must be connected in turn to a new grouping of industry. Only in this way can the markets be created which will make viable the new medium and small peasant holdings.

The creation of *space on a large scale for food production and settlement* by the growing German people is the task of German foreign policy.

#### IV. The Peasantry Shall Be Improved Economically and Culturally

It is the task of the state to promote the *economic and cultural improvement of the peasantry* in accord with its importance for the entire people; the state will thereby do away with one of the chief causes of the flight from the land.

1. First the present pressing need of the farmers must be mitigated by *an easing of the tax burden* and by other special measures. Fur-

ther indebtedness of agriculture must be halted by *legal reduction of the interest rate* for loan capital to prewar levels, and by *taking the strongest steps against usury*.

2. In its *economic policy*, the state must see to it that agricultural labor begins to pay again.

Domestic agricultural production is to be protected by *tariffs, state regulation of imports, and a systematic national education*.

Speculation in the stock exchange must no longer be permitted to set the *prices* of agricultural products, and the farmers must be delivered from exploitation by wholesale trade. The state should support the taking over of wholesale trade in agricultural products by agricultural cooperatives.

It is the task of the *corporate agricultural organizations* to *lessen the cost of production* for the farmers and to *increase production* (supply of agricultural machinery, fertilizers, seeds, breed animals on favorable conditions, soil enrichment, pest control, free agricultural advice and chemical soil testing, etc.). In fulfilling these tasks the corporate organizations are to receive extensive support from the state. Above all, state intervention must substantially lower the cost of artificial fertilizer and electric power.

3. It is also the duty of the corporate organizations firmly to integrate the occupational groups of the *agricultural laborers* into the peasant occupational community by means of socially just labor contracts. The state may supervise and serve as the highest court of appeal.

The hard-working agricultural laborer must have the *opportunity to raise himself* to the status of settler.

The necessary *improvement of living conditions and wages* for agricultural laborers will occur the more rapidly and extensively, the more the situation of agriculture as a whole improves. By bettering the lot of the domestic agricultural laborer and by preventing flight from the land, the *importation of foreign agricultural labor becomes unnecessary and will therefore be forbidden in the future*.

4. The significance of the peasantry for the people necessitates state and corporate promotion of job training and the *revivification of peasant culture* (hostels for rural youth, agricultural colleges with extensive reduction of fees for the poor and talented).

## V. Corporate Occupational Organizations Are Not Enough; the Peasantry Can Find Decisive Aid Only from the Political German Liberation Movement of the NSDAP

*The present distress of the farmers is part of the distress of the entire German people.*

It is madness to believe that a single occupational group can exclude itself from the German community of fate; it is a crime to set farmers and city dwellers against one another, for they are bound together for better or for worse.

*Economic makeshifts within the framework of the present political system cannot bring sweeping improvement; for the distress of the German people is rooted in its political enslavement, from which only political means can free it.*

The old ruling political parties which led our people into slavery cannot be the leaders on the road to emancipation.

*Corporate organizations will have important economic tasks in our future state, and can in this sense already carry on important preparatory work. But for the political war of liberation which must first create the prerequisites for a new economic order, they are unsuited. For this war cannot be carried on from the standpoint of a single occupational group; it must rather be carried on from the standpoint of the entire people.*

*The war of liberation against our oppressors and their task-masters can be successfully led only by a political liberation movement which, although it fully recognizes the significance of the farmers and of agriculture for the people as a whole, draws together the consciously German members of every occupation and rank.*

*This political liberation movement of the German people is the National Socialist German Workers' Party.*

SIGNED: Adolf Hitler

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This manifesto sets forth the goals of the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur, an organization of academics, writers, and artists begun late in 1929.<sup>1</sup> By the spring of 1930 the leading figures of the Kampfbund had come to prominence in the educational system of Thuringia; the educational goals stated here had therefore already begun to be put into effect. The repudiation of the humanistic tradition in education, the demand for the study of folk heroes, the repudiation of modernist movements in literature, drama, and the arts, and the stress on physical culture are very consistent in Nazi cultural policy from this time forward.<sup>2</sup> The document was published over Rosenberg's signature and was quite clearly written by him. The prominence of "blood"-related terms and the references to "blood and soil" suggest some familiarity with Darré by June of 1930; indeed,

Darré was invited to speak at the Weimar meeting of the Kampfbund.

The Kampfbund established the lines of development of future Nazi thinking about educational policy; it also soon conceived of itself as a model corporate organization for the creative professions. It seems very likely, in addition, that from 1930 on the Kampfbund took over the role of drawing intellectuals into the party following—a function which had previously been carried on by the Strasser circle and the Strasser publications (see Introduction).

## German Freedom as the Prerequisite of Folk Culture

Alfred Rosenberg

In the midst of a seemingly ubiquitous internationalism, the great experience of our times has arisen: the new awareness of age-old German-Germanic spiritual values, the rediscovery that any culture and all true and worthwhile politics are deep-rooted in blood and soil.

Today this experience fills the hearts of all who are still inwardly young, who are able to shake off obsolete formulas, to comprehend a stirring new reality. In all German *Gaue*, a steadily increasing number of people, longing for a really German future, are gradually beginning to share an attitude of mind and soul. This community of attitude unites the leading spirits of Germandom, the right-thinking folk comrades of all professions and occupations; it insinuates itself among students and youth groups and is strengthened by the growing recognition of its necessity. The arrogant, self-reliant ego, loosed from all ties, is no longer the highest good, as it appeared to be for the last decades of our era. Nor does the dream of serving a vague "humanity" still rule our souls today. We have become aware that the highest personality is the blossom and the final crowning of a German totality united by blood. The effect of this totality, on the people as a whole, is for us today the standard by which we evaluate all our dealings. In the service of Germanic values—honor, pride, freedom—in renewed experience of the profundities of German creativity, and in joyful recognition of the struggles of a generation for its right to express itself in the forms most suited to its own being, we see the task, the starting point and the final goal of the activity of every German.

In an earlier time culture was often thought to be in opposition to power; during the era when we were deluged by technology and

caught up in the nets of the world economy, the rule of those soulless powers was truly hostile to the values of soul and civilization. But today we feel again most deeply the organizing unity and mutual dependence of real culture and creative power. For culture is only real and alive if its bearers are ready to defend it, even if necessary with their blood; and power has no value in itself, but only gains its highest meaning when it is the guard and the shield for the spiritual life and the cultural creativity of a people.

We hereby recognize the unity of Potsdam and Weimar, of the German principles of power and honor with spiritual creativity. We therefore know that there will be and can be no German culture in the sense of a true folk culture so long as the nation has not forcibly won its external freedom and so long as it has not overcome the internal opponents of its own essence.

Out of this recognition, the organizations and personalities assembled in Weimar from June 7 to 9, 1930, at the invitation of the Kampfbund for German Culture, set forth the following goals as guidelines for their actions:

Above all a steadily closer union of the many individuals who are motivated by related ideas and who are struggling for their rights as creative Germans. United defense against all hostile attacks which are contemptuous of the great personalities of the nation and which seek to destroy German values. Firm intervention on behalf of high school and university teachers who are being persecuted because of their national views. Support of the struggle of German students for intellectual freedom, once so hard won, now more than ever threatened. Utilization and promotion of the work accomplished by the German-conscious youth movement.

We profess deep ties to our native soil and to all German workers, farmers and other occupational groups which protect and maintain this soil. We especially hope that young blood will regain the soil which is its due, and at the same time rehabilitate the reputation of its fathers. We direct our urging to all those who are called to this task, particularly in seriously threatened East Germany, and assure them that we will fight with them in word and deed.

We demand that the education of our youth cease its mechanistic rote-learning, directed toward a purely intellectual accumulation of knowledge. It must instead strive to develop soul and character and the body as well; games, dancing and sport, in a healthy balance, must be given more emphasis; knowledge must be approached from the experience of the homeland; and especially in the teaching of history the significance of the great personalities of Germanism must be fully valued and be held up as lifelike models for youth. Education shall not be activity in the service of a scholastic construct, but shall bring about in the younger generation the reawak-

ening of the best age-old forces of the soul and values of the blood. We therefore welcome gratefully all those educators of German youth who are now working in this spirit.

Yet none of these questions can be solved until we have become again a free people, instead of an enslaved colony of international world capital—and until we have created for ourselves a free, strong, German state. Therefore we demand above all the hardening of the German military will, out of the old recognition that battle has always been the father of all things—of the freedom of a nation, of its social goods and of its spiritual culture. This recognition must be reawakened everywhere, and must become the common property of all ranks of the people.

We call for resistance to all tendencies in the theater which are damaging to the people, for the theater in nearly all big cities today has become the scene of perverted instincts. We fight against a constantly spreading corruption of our concepts of justice, a corruption which gives the big swindlers practically a free hand in exploiting the people. We passionately reject the expression of scorn for the Germanic ideal of beauty, internal and external, in literature and sculpture; we protest the disfiguring of our homeland, our cities, by an alien architecture.

We affirm, on the other hand, every organic struggle of a young generation, which seeks, in the midst of a great tradition, to give expression to the blood-conditioned life-style for which we yearn.

We shall steadfastly strive for the greatest possible community among all walks of life: farmers and workers, burghers and soldiers, artists and scholars. We greet all Germans, inside and outside today's accidental political boundaries, who consciously and forcefully want to contribute to the realization of a great, strong community of the people, united by blood.

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After the great electoral victory of the Nazi Party in September 1930, Gregor Strasser apparently felt it necessary to make a new programmatic statement in the Reichstag. His speech of October 17, 1930, most of which is translated here, was then reprinted in compilations of party programs.<sup>1</sup>

In this speech, Gregor deemphasizes the revolutionary character of the Nazi movement and somewhat glosses over any expansionism in foreign policy. Yet he makes clear that the movement requires radical changes in the form of government; he calls for the abrogation of the Versailles treaty, which "leads to insoluble con-

flicts"; and he demands the "exclusion of the Jews from German life." The economic policies he sets forth are consistent with his earlier writing: the protection of the farmer and the worker, the establishment of full employment, the return to autarchy, and the reorganization of the monetary system. But these aims are stated more concretely here than in most of his earlier writings, and in addition he proposes specific measures, such as a compulsory labor service and the use of a state building and loan association engaged in public works. These measures look ahead to the full-employment program of 1932.

## **The Nature and Aim of the National Socialist Idea**

Gregor Strasser

We have not come to this house to poison ourselves with parliamentarianism. . . . Nor have we come to this house to make political deals in the hope of securing cabinet seats. . . .

We National Socialists want not reaction but recovery. We want no planless revolution, but reorganization instead of disintegration and anarchy. We want no civil war or class agitation, but we want the internal reconciliation of the people, the union of the good forces of the workers of hand and brain. . . . We want the protection of all honorable labor and its product against the open or concealed abuses of capitalism, and [we want] the eradication of organized speculation, hostile to the people and the economy, which milks the people and cheats them of their right to work, income and security.

We want no persecution of the Jews, but we demand the exclusion of the Jews from German life. We demand a German leadership, without a Jewish spirit, without Jewish backers and Jewish financial involvement, which today rule almost the whole of political life. We demand the protection of our cultural inheritance against Jewish presumption and encroachment.

We want no new war, for we know that Europe and the world can only recuperate when the leading civilized peoples of earlier times have themselves recuperated. In this we put our faith in the new generation of our age and in like-minded people abroad; we renounce the mercy of our present foreign enemies, with their calcified brains and their hate-filled hearts. But we do not shun a war if after organization and mobilization of German power it should prove to be the only means of restoring German political and social freedom.



We want no agitation against religious denominations and no persecution of the Christian churches, but we demand the sincere cooperation of the churches in the renewal of German culture, without which the churches too become spiritually barren and empty. From the pastors we want no party politics, but instead service for the peace of the human soul, for the moral improvement of the masses, so that labor will again have moral value, and so that professional honesty and a feeling of responsibility may again replace the destructive lust for pleasure and gain which divides the German people and reduces it to destitution. Finally, we require of the servants of the Christian denominations that they do not weaken the God-given instinct of national self-determination and that, in the spirit of original Christianity, they shall not allow religious differences to become a political danger to the German people. . . .

From all this result the principles of our present domestic and foreign policy. We do not need to hide them; we state them clearly for all the world to hear. With all the power of our minds and hearts we turn against the stain of war guilt, which oppresses every single German and robs him of his honor. . . .

We National Socialists emphatically do not stand for senseless rearmament at any price, as we are accused of doing; we demand that the other peoples disarm, thereby for once honoring their frequent and solemn promises. But as long as the other peoples are rearming, we do demand for the German people the right to provide for its own protection, for the necessary protection of its interests.

Our foreign policy therefore requires above all the restoration of German honor. A state in which this word "honor" is not understood in its entire intellectual content and in its consequences will sooner or later have to die. We demand the restoration of German honor. We have followed the wrong path, and must retrace our steps, starting from the Young Plan and going back to the beginning, to the Treaty of Versailles. In its present form, the Treaty of Versailles is an immoral treaty, null and void in relation to the moral law of the entire civilized world. The Treaty of Versailles is, first of all, based on error and violence; it therefore, secondly, leads to insoluble conflicts; thirdly, it is a notoriously unrealizable treaty and is even on this basis immoral. The same is true of the lesser treaties based on the Treaty of Versailles. . . .

Our domestic policy is just as clear and plain. If we think through the consequences of living on under the present state, common sense tells us we are being utopian. A state which can no longer put its own house in order; an empire which knows no better than to take out a series of stopgap loans, leaving to the next generations a tangle of debts; a state whose borderlands are collapsing: such a state, especially when embodied in its present men, can

never under any circumstances begin and carry out that sweeping essential task of renewal which is so necessary to the salvation of the German people. The people want order, work and bread. . . .

For us the solution of the social question is not a matter of book learning, nor a matter of rigid theory to be realized sometime in the distant future; it is the existential question of the present, which must be tackled immediately, by new men. "Practical solutions," a common phrase, are only valid when they are illuminated by a new conception of the state. For us the real and only source of national energy is in labor, in which is inherent a vital value for the whole society, in the productive power of German earth, in the genius and intelligence of all segments of the population (which will not fail when the rubble of governmental skills developed since 1918 has been cleared away), and in the organization of the German labor force as a voluntary decision of the nation. Economics for us does not mean shouting at the stock exchange, making financial deals and speculations at the cost of the suffering people; it means the production of value, in order to live and for the benefit of the general public. For us, "people" does not mean an assembly of employers and workers, of employment offices which cannot offer employment, of millions of unemployed who wait for work for months and years; nor is "people" an assembly of civil servants and parliamentarians. For us, "people" is a healthy and vital community, sharing the same fate, capable of internal and external defense, which belongs together because of common character, customs, and language. State for us is not a soulless law-making and bureaucratic machinery, but the living bearer of custom, order and law against the enemies of the German people in all areas.

At all times we respect the constitution of the Reich and the individual states. But we require that these constitutions be moral and that they ensure morality. The present system of the degenerate capitalist age as well as a Marxism which is equally unnatural because it developed from the same ideological basis, have confronted the German people with a desperate task: to accumulate and pay interest on imaginary sums of billions, on the basis of a shaky currency, while being unable to work and feed themselves. What is produced today is not even sufficient to pay the taxes and interest on the apparatus itself. In this way the economy of a whole people is doomed to extinction.

Our first aim is therefore the elimination of waste in the German economy—first, by overcoming unemployment and restoring the condition of agriculture; second, by solving the problem of the just wage; and third, by reorganizing our monetary system. National Socialism demands not only a year of compulsory labor service, which might under certain circumstances be institutionalized, and

which might, circumstances permitting, yield a profit which could be used to pay reparations. National Socialism as a world view demands further the proclamation of a general obligation to work as part of constitutional law. . . .

For long enough we have dreamed of a state which would share in world industrial production and in world trade, without supporting this participation by cultivated land and an independent domestic economy; those who want to maintain these ideas only destroy instead of construct. We demand provision of employment, by means of our proposal for a [state] building and loan association, which would construct buildings, without interest, commissioned by the state. We see the most important task of German industry in increasing the value of quality products. But for the rest, National Socialism stands for the broadest kind of autarchy. By the National Socialist idea of a general obligation to work we imply nothing more than the logical extension of compulsory education and compulsory military service.

Thus will be reawakened and mobilized among our people that power which will fundamentally alter the treaties and the present situation. We shall carry out this policy, and behind us is the German people, which has given us a mandate unprecedented in the parliamentary history of all the peoples of the earth.

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The following essay was written by Darré after he had become head of the Agrarpolitischer Apparat, perhaps as an effort to explain the goals of that organization within the party, and was published in two parts in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, April 19/20 and April 21, 1931.<sup>1</sup> Darré has made a clear effort to abandon some of the tortuous erudition of his earlier writings, and indeed the prose is somewhat simpler. There remain, however, a number of convoluted and even impenetrable passages.

It is interesting to compare this essay to the "Official Party Statement" on agriculture of the previous year. Darré promises the farmers a much more important role in the future state than that document did, and appears to promise them considerably more economic protection. His ideas about eugenics are clearly expressed, as is his Germanic racism and his antiurbanism—ideas which are scarcely to be found in the earlier program. On the other hand, he has added a plea for autarchy, previously unimportant to him, and although he suggests that there exists an ideology of "blood and soil," he is careful to speak of the farmers, *Landstand*, rather than, except for a few instances, of the *Bauernstand*. The term *Bauerntum* is entirely

absent from this essay. Darré's influence upon party doctrine was very great indeed, but clearly the party had some influence upon his thought as well.

## The Farmers and the State

R. W. Darré

A state constructed according to *vitalist principles* is compelled to recognize two basic facts as prerequisites for its existence:

1. the human beings who fill it with life and give it its character,
2. the space which is available for its existence.

*Blood and soil are the most essential prerequisites of every organically structured state.* This implies that economic problems in such a state can only be resolved with reference to these prerequisites, that is, that they are

*subordinate to the idea of blood and soil.*

We, however, stand at the end of a century-long development which represented exactly the opposite point of view, namely that blood and soil were things which had to be subordinated to the economy and its laws. This economic theory was introduced to us by *Hardenberg*; it was carried further and tended by *Liberalism*, and finally terminated in the twin brotherhood of *Marxism* and *Liberalism*, which differ in appearance but not really in essence.

Therefore one can say that a state form which is based on the idea of blood and soil and constructed according to vitalist principles must be the absolute antithesis of the economic state of the Liberals and Marxists. This knowledge is important!

He who affirms the organic character of the state thereby also seeks its independence, for:

*any dependent relationship will sooner or later prevent the state from living according to its special character.*

The question of the state's independence is above all determined by the possibility of

*an independent supply of foodstuffs.*

No other kind of dependency so centrally damages a state with a will to live as dependency in foodstuffs: this can paralyze it completely.

A people is only guaranteed an independent supply of foodstuffs if

*it has space available to nourish itself through its own energies. From the standpoint of the organic idea of state the question of food supply is probably the most essential task to be faced by the government.*

The government will therefore direct its main attention to those

who above all have the responsibility for providing foodstuffs, the *farmers*. It will make the farmers the *cornerstone of the state*.

This is also justified for the following reason: All the members of a body of people which is structured according to vitalist principles depend in their *cultural* and *economic* achievements on nourishment. Therefore *those who provide nourishment may be called the engine of life within the body of the people*.

But a people shall not only eat in order to live; it shall also really live, that is, it shall think of its preservation in the future. This is essentially a question of a surplus of births over deaths. Now, it has been found that the city is not conducive to large families and that urban families die out in the course of time. Conversely, it is clear, especially among Germanic peoples, that under sound economic and moral conditions the land displays an almost unlimited capacity for life and procreation. The resulting bloodstream wells up out of the land, flows to the cities and there sooner or later dies out.

*The source of the blood's motion in the body of the people is, however, undoubtedly the land, or, more precisely, the farmers. In other words, the farmers, and among them especially the peasantry [Bauernstand], are the source of renewal of the blood for the people.*

If this knowledge is applied to a corresponding *German* idea of state, four very instructive and important tasks can be anticipated in the rebuilding of our Reich:

1. We must plan and prepare for a *political organization* which will make the farmers the cornerstone in the new state.
2. As compared to almost all other occupational groups, the farmers are at a disadvantage in the free play of economic forces because agriculture is to a great extent dependent upon chance. The farmers must therefore be assured of a certain *economic protection*. Furthermore, a *well-thought-out system of education* must make it possible for the farmers to acquire a sufficient amount of the knowledge necessary to their tasks. Finally, it will be the task of the state to educate the farmers to regard *labor on the soil not only from the point of view of profit* but also as an *honorable service* to the German people.
3. If the farmers are to become the sure source of blood renewal for the body of the people, a law must be created which *protects the family and permits new rural families to become really rooted again*; for much depends in this connection on the rootedness of a family. In return, the farmers<sup>2</sup> can grant to the state the right to require that the farmers permit among themselves only those marriages which guarantee healthy offspring. Otherwise the idea that the farmers should be the source of blood renewal for the body of the people would be empty talk.

4. If an eternally young stream of blood flows from the farmers into the body of the people, one can also say that the farmers root the state in the native land; that the *estates and farmsteads are really the places where the body of the people lets its roots penetrate the native soil*. This means that the geopolitical space available is of fundamental importance to a state which is constructed according to organic principles.

*Space and people must be in harmony with each other if the people is to remain healthy. Today we are the "People without Space."*<sup>3</sup> For us, therefore, there is no harmony in this matter, but only discord: we have too little space!

In Germany today people are terribly afraid of mentioning the *Eastern Problem*. And yet the German people cannot avoid coming to terms with it. The Slavs know what they want—we don't! We look on with dumb resignation while formerly purely German cities—Reval, Riga, Warsaw, and so forth—are lost to our folk. *Why shouldn't other German colonial settlements of past centuries—Breslau, Berlin, Stettin, even Leipzig and Dresden—be next in line? But this would mean submitting to a dangerous error.*

The German people cannot avoid a life-and-death struggle with the advancing East. Our people must prepare for the struggle and also for this, that in this struggle there can be only one solution for us: absolute victory! Furthermore, the idea of blood and soil gives us the moral right to take back as much eastern land *as is necessary to achieve harmony between the body of our people and geopolitical space.*

To build up the state as an organism means to affirm the idea of blood and soil: Recognition of the significance of blood taught us to respect the soil again. But this recognition necessitates a fundamental renunciation of the prevailing Liberal-Marxist conception of the state. It can be said that the idea of blood and soil presents the German people with an ideological decision of the most fundamental kind. This is the meaning of our era!

Until now one single political party has not only clearly recognized these relationships, but has also had the courage to set the rudder of its will in the direction of an organic idea of state<sup>4</sup> and to accept the consequences whatever the cost: This is the movement of Adolf Hitler.

This fact alone suffices to show that there can be no more senseless charge (it is so often made!) against this party than that it is hostile to peasants and agriculture.

On the other hand we realize that the idea of blood and soil—it sounds like a contradiction in terms and yet it is not—shows the current call for a "*Green Front*" to be fallacious. The previous development of the Liberal-Marxist state brought German agriculture to its present desperate condition, because agriculture in relation to

other occupational groups will never be able to hold its own for long in a state based on a purely economic point of view.

Versailles-Dawes-Young has accelerated the present condition of German agriculture but is not its sole cause. Now not only agriculture is going under, but practically everything *German*. To form a "*Green Front*" today is as reasonable as trying to set up trade unions on a sinking ship in order, while the ship sinks, to secure the best possible economic rights for each occupational group among the crew.

What we need now is not a "*Green Front*" but a "*German Front*," which before anything else will save Germanism from going under, and will erect a state in which the German can feel at home. Adolf Hitler has recognized this task and the secret of his success lies in his ability to see it through consistently and persuasively.

This document was first presented by Gregor Strasser on May 10, 1932, as a speech in the Reichstag. Unlike the party statement on agriculture, it was never published over Hitler's signature in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, but it was republished, with party imprimatur, by the Eher Verlag.<sup>1</sup> Hence, it may be regarded as having had full official status; that it does not appear in later Nazi compilations of the official programs may be due to Gregor's fall from favor on the eve of the *Machtergreifung*, rather than to any official disapproval of the program itself. As for Gregor's break with Hitler, this is not the place to investigate it in any detail. But it seems to us that what was at issue was power, not ideology, and recent scholarship supports this view.<sup>2</sup>

As noted in the Introduction, many of the ideas expressed here go back to Feder; most of the others are rather consistent in Gregor's writings from 1925 on, although not so fully stated as in this program. The full-employment program calls for the establishment of autarchy, the implementation of large-scale public works in the form of land reclamation and housing construction, to be financed by deficit spending on a very large scale. Gregor stops short of calling for a complete government takeover of the economy, but it is clear that he foresees very extensive government management of wages and prices, of supply and demand in commodities, and perhaps in raw materials as well. His speeches of 1932 propose government intervention in land ownership and management of transportation facilities, though these proposals are only hinted at here.<sup>3</sup> The institution of compulsory labor service, proposed by Gregor since 1925, constitutes a large proportion of the full-employment

program and was, of course, put into effect after the *Machtergreifung*. The overall picture of future Nazi policy is of an economy in which the state plays almost as large a role as in Soviet Russia. Some role is reserved for private initiative, but the proposed regimentation of labor is as extensive as in Russia, and more far-reaching than in Fascist Italy.

Some writers have stressed the sophistication of Gregor's economic program and have argued that he could not have written it alone.<sup>4</sup> Yet the writing is in Gregor's very typical personal style, and the reasoning does not seem to us very sophisticated. The ideas about deficit spending and the "pump priming" effect of public works, together with the proposals for the expansion of credit, were certainly bold and new. But at the same time they can be seen as commonsense solutions to extraordinary economic problems. To arrive at them it was necessary above all to reject traditional economic theory, and Strasser, like Feder, had been willing to do this from the very first.

This selection reveals some shifts in emphasis from Gregor's earlier writing. It is much more antiurban in its discussion of resettling urban populations, for example. But the great stress on the ethical value of work, the definition of socialism as service to the common good, and the view of a society turned in upon itself and organized in an almost military fashion are among the most enduring themes in his thought.

## **Work and Bread!**

Gregor Strasser

### **Emergency Decrees Are the Only Recourse of the Present System!**

The last time I spoke here in October 1930 I settled our accounts with the System, and on the basis of our electoral victory of September 1930 I announced the basic domestic and foreign policy principles of the National Socialist German Workers' Party. Since that time nothing has changed, nothing at all. The only new thing we have experienced since that time is the weapon of emergency decrees, which on the one hand reveal emergency and on the other hand decree emergency. But otherwise no new and above all no redeeming idea has emerged from the whole political development since that time. I see the reason for this in the fact that Germany's ruling men have limited themselves to concentrating their entire political effort on the suppression and the exclusion from power of the national and social forces present in National Socialism; also in



the fact that the government, like the debates in the German Reichstag on the few days in which it met, has always recognized but a single theme: the fight against us, and no longer a fight for the interests of the German people.

The entire energy of the government during the last election campaign, the whole manner of its propaganda with all its resources for influencing the people, was devoted to slandering us before the whole people and before the world. No mention was made of what the government had achieved itself in the interim.

The Reich Chancellor's recent statement that a National Socialist takeover of the government would automatically entail chaos, inflation and civil war is from the political standpoint the more dangerous because here in the Reichstag there is surely no one who doubts that the solution to the great German problems can never be attempted or found against our opposition or without our help.<sup>5</sup>

## The Rise of National Socialism

Despite the unprecedented resistance of all the people involved in the Brüning system and of all the men in government, the elections of recent times have brought about the incessant and irresistible rise of the movement. I think it is time for German officialdom to take off its party-shaded glasses and take a close look at where this rise comes from.

When people today say stubbornly that the rise of the National Socialists is merely the result of widespread dissatisfaction among the German people, then I must ask, where do all these dissatisfied people come from, why are they dissatisfied? It must be the fault and the failure of the governing parties and of the government supported by them.

But that is not a sufficient explanation. It is not even sufficient for me to say that the great reason for the rise of our movement is the newly awakened national feeling which, having been senselessly and extravagantly throttled for years, is naturally developing the more strongly now. Here much more is involved.

The rise of the National Socialist movement is the protest of a people against a state which denies to folk comrades the right to work and the restoration of their natural subsistence. It is the protest against a state which allows and makes possible an economic system which falsifies natural productivity, burns wheat, throws coffee into the sea, senselessly hoards staples, and all this only for the purpose of driving up prices and the profits of the stock market.

Gentlemen Communists, I have always liked polemics, and no one can say that I would avoid caustic political argument; yet now that I am going to talk about the problems of the German emer-

gency, and especially about creating employment, I have the right to demand your respect.

We must firmly assert and firmly remember (the ability to do this is established in the innermost core and thinking of the German people) that the good Lord lets enough grow throughout the world to provide for the needs of all mankind. If today's world economy cannot distribute nature's wealth justly, then this system is wrong and must be changed if the people is to live.

The German people protests against an economic order which thinks only in terms of money, profit and dividends and which has forgotten to think of work and achievement.

The great anticapitalist yearning (as I call it) which has gripped our people, which has already persuaded perhaps ninety-five percent of them, consciously or unconsciously, is interesting and valuable. It is not in the least a rejection of that property which is morally justified, which has been acquired by labor and thrift. It has above all absolutely nothing to do with the senseless, unproductive and destructive tendencies of the Comintern. It is rather the protest of the working people against a degenerate system of economic thought. It demands of the state that, in order to secure its own existence, it sever relations with the demons of gold, world economy, materialism; with the practice of thinking exclusively in terms of export statistics and Reichsbank discount; and that it find a way to ensure an honorable return for honest work.

This great anticapitalist yearning proves that we are confronting a great, a magnificent turning point: the conquest of liberalism and the rise of a new kind of economic thought and a new attitude toward the state. . . .

## The National Socialist Full-Employment Program

I have stated that unemployment and the provision of employment are the most urgent problems, and I want to take the opportunity here and now to bring to the attention of the German people the plans and ideas about these problems which we National Socialists have developed in the past months. We have said for years that the following problems are at issue in Germany: the improvement of the economic situation of the farmers—I say explicitly the farmers; the necessity of internal resettlement; the reduction of migration to the city; the recovery of trade and the monetary system; the increase of internal production, which goes hand in hand with support for a closed economy; assurance of an adequate food supply; the organization of national labor; the establishment of an internal market with the cooperation of industry; the revision of our land law; and, perhaps most importantly, the proclamation of what I call the

duty to work and the duty to provide food, that is, the obligation of the German folk comrade to devote all of his labor to the nation in the production of necessities. We demand the rating and valuation of the individual according to the extent of his mobilized achievement. Whether he works as a privy councillor or as an unskilled laborer is of no consequence.

When we turn to the provision of employment, to the actual full-employment program, to the proposals of the greatest German party, we must be very clear in our minds about something which is in contrast to present thinking: There are in the world two eternal values from which stems everything we need, everything we have and everything we can create—these are natural resources and labor. In other words, all statements like “Capital creates labor” are false. Labor creates capital!

Two things are necessary before one can approach the provision of employment adequately, clarifying the whole situation of the people. First, Article 163 of the Weimar Constitution must be changed. I think it shows the conscious cowardice of the constituent assembly that in Article 163 they only adopted the phrase that every German should have the right to work. This usage already expressed the inability and unwillingness of these people to direct the state and the economy according to organic principles and to give work to everyone who honestly wants to work. Article 163 will have to be changed, in awareness of the full consequences of this change, to say that every German *must* have the right to work [italics added].

Article 163 of the constitution, which regulates the right to work, must be completed by the second demand which I formulated earlier as the obligation to work, the utilization of labor for the general public. From labor come life's necessities: food, housing, clothing, light and warmth. Labor, not capital, is the wealth of a people; everything stems from labor. Therefore, when confronting the problem of the provision of employment, the state must never ask, “Is there money for it?” There is only a single question to be asked: “How should the money be used?” There is always money to provide employment, and the last resort is simply to expand credit, which is absolutely justified and productive in terms of the economy. That is at least as right and justified as your silver inflation, and at least as feasible and at least as safe as your frozen Russian credits, and safer than the money [*sic*] you have used for the stabilization of the German banks. In the provision of employment the question can only be: where do we start? The point of departure has to be found. On this the following should be said. In satisfying the most important of human needs, the need for food, Germany is still dependent on foreign countries. But in the last analysis a people which is dependent on foreign countries is never in the position to

settle its international problems, the problems of freedom, according to its own liking. In other words: We must make possible the production on German soil of at least a subsistence for the whole people. We should have done this already, before the present level of unemployment was reached; we should have done it in response to the Treaty of Versailles, which constricted our living space and thus automatically necessitated a reorganization of agricultural production.

Furthermore we need in Germany a large-scale housing and population policy, that is, the evacuation of the big cities. The cities are already shrinking, which shows that the inherent power of the people, its unconscious sentiment, is beginning to go the natural, right, organic way. I don't need to explore this question and its ramifications any further. In the last analysis the housing problem is the greatest social problem. It is not possible in the long run for a person who has to live in a horrible, cold, dark hole of a big city apartment to have any sense of the political needs of his people, of the beauty of nature or of the valuable and even inexpensive ways in which he could improve his lot in life. We must provide for this desire by building, to the largest possible extent, housing developments consisting of private dwellings. . . .

The direction in which free labor in Germany must move is thus plainly shown; it is prescribed for us by our own economy, by the needs of our people: increased production of foodstuffs and the achievement of a sound housing and construction policy, from which we proceed to an extraordinary stimulation of the labor market as such by payment of wages, thereby increasing purchasing power and also by providing materials, which in the last analysis always form a high percentage of wages. In the building of a development of private homes, if one assessed each at 5,000 marks, sixty-five percent, including everything, is wages. But wages provide the possibility of reemploying the unemployed. Unemployment insurance then ceases. Social security costs and all these things can then be paid for again by the employed worker himself. An enormous burden on the treasury will be lifted. But to do this we must reject in principle one rule which appears often in the dealings of the Economic Council [Reichswirtschaftsrat]: I mean the slogan of misdirected capital. There are still people, utterly infected with liberal thinking, who take the standpoint: If I create more employment by means of expanded credit or by expanding the supply of money in one sector of the German economy, then this money will be lacking in another sector. For today's modern man this view is almost inconceivable, for labor creates new labor in an eternally continuous, consistent progression. Any employed person involves at least one further person—an economic principle which is generally acknowledged today! Therefore there can be no misdirected capital! I shall

tell you how we think financing can be achieved. For it we need the savings from unemployment relief, the additional tax revenues which will result from putting the economy back to work, some payment by the beneficiary himself, and the rest we will obtain by a productive creation of capital.

There is enough land in Germany. . . . The 8 1/2 million acres to be drained, the 2 million acres of moorland and 1 million which was once cultivated but now lies fallow—all this would make it possible, in round numbers (I am willing at any time to provide exact data, but this is not possible in such a short speech), to employ 1 million workers for 5 years at normal wages, if a compulsory labor service is implemented. I am really surprised when people my age who for 4 years worked in danger of their lives to defend the German frontier resist the idea of twenty to twenty-one-year-old Germans working for their people for a single year.

The gentlemen on the left object to a compulsory labor service not because as Communists they oppose force as such, but because they know all too well that the value of the labor service lies not only in its material successes, but above all in that it can solve the problem of education toward a German idea of state.

That education toward a German state will destroy your world view (to the Communists): this is clear and is the precondition of our proposal.

Among the ways to improve the soil is also a new method of fertilizing. It is unthinkable that because the farmer lacks purchasing power, fertilizer stays in the factory, does not benefit the soil, even though if we had the right price policy fertilizing would be automatically profitable and therefore gladly employed by the German farmer at any time. I have said before and say once again: the projects to be carried out within the system of free enterprise shall be carried out at standard wages. I shall return in conclusion to questions of financing.

Soil improvement on small- and medium-size properties should in our opinion be carried out by soil improvement cooperatives under state supervision. Problematical projects and those in which profits must be deferred [should be carried out] by means of the labor service obligation.

The need for equipment, shelter and clothing which will be created by these projects will employ further segments of the labor force in crafts, industry, commerce and transportation. I am firmly convinced that it is basically just a question of starting the motor. Work creates more work. We really don't need to have a great deal of state intervention in these things. But the first great commissions which provide employment do have to come from the state, because no private entrepreneur today is in the position to tackle such a problem. Once the great commissions have been cranked up to go, then I am convinced that within two years we will automatically

have a normal course of events again. That is the eternal benefit of labor, which is the basis of life and always has been.

The soil improvement projects and those for the cultivation of now fallow land will, if one tackles the problem directly and uses all technical possibilities, create resettlement opportunities for 100,000 people annually. I am distinguishing here between housing developments near the cities for city dwellers, and settlements on the land, a problem which has in part been tackled by settlement in the east. If we resettle 100,000 people yearly (I have to admit that this figure is a little high, but it can be achieved), after five years we will have half a million new settlers in the east, and thereby enormous geographical and military possibilities which would lead us too far afield to discuss today. Furthermore, the establishment of these settlements will in turn continually provide employment. . . .

I turn now to a matter with which the gentlemen on the left have often reproached me. They reproach me with the fact that in the proclamation of the right to work and the obligation to work, which we see as essential if we are to approach these problems with any hope of success, there is a limitation of personal freedom. In the last analysis, we already have paragraphs in the Weimar Constitution saying that in times of emergency, the citizen can be obliged to make certain special efforts. If you think you can solve the problem without force, if you want to starve in freedom, go ahead; for famine itself will be inevitable if the present system and present economic thought continue. But the catcallers are right about one thing, even though they don't say it in this spirit: A state which goes so far as to give its people the right to work, but which, in fulfilling this right, decrees the obligation to work for the sake of both the individual and the nation; such a state must of course take the most extensive precautions so that the goods produced by participants in the new labor service do not as before fall into the hands of private speculators on their way to the consumer. That is clear, of course. In other words, when it introduces these measures the German state will have to establish comprehensive control of the market in foodstuffs, in order to head off the justified complaints of those who are conscripted into the labor service.

If today's destructive tendencies continue, I do not think that such controls can be effective without a monopoly on grain. For among agricultural circles I have repeatedly heard the following: the reserve of foodstuffs is already too small during the last months of the harvest year, because the agricultural emergency is making the area of cultivation smaller and smaller. . . .

I am also convinced that control of the market in foodstuffs, if necessary beyond grain (the entire question needs to be investigated), offers the only possibility of solving the problem of wages in Germany. During the last few weeks I have been in the Bavarian State Library, rummaging around in old newspapers from the mid-

dle of the last century; I read the speeches of men like the statesman von Hasenbrädl and others who, when the Bavarian police taxes (which at that time acted as controls on foodstuffs) were lifted, automatically predicted inflation and a destruction of the economy amounting to billions. I might say that these studies taught me to evaluate rightly the often ridiculed "Bavarian beer war." In Bavaria a measure of beer represented a very specific amount of labor and later a very specific amount of property. And a rise in price by a penny meant a rise in price for all goods in general, which in the further course of events grew to millions. I see the enormous difficulties of present wage negotiations as a result of the fact that the state today cannot approach the wage problem from such a standard, from such a "touchstone." The necessity of removing foodstuffs from speculation by an increase in our own production as a result of reorganization must and will provide the occasion for us to solve these questions, too: control of the foodstuffs market and beyond that of the wage problem in general.

It is clear that agriculture must show a profit, if we are to make a start in soil improvement. But just as indispensable is the requirement that imports must first be curbed, before soil improvement can help the German farmer to produce more.

Curbing imports or fixing quotas—we have made such proposals and give you the opportunity to express your opinion on them—these are necessary in order to be able to appeal successfully to the initiative of the farmer and in order to make agriculture profitable. Making agriculture profitable is achieved in our opinion by price supports—here again I am putting forward for debate the question of full monopoly—and above all by lowering the rate of interest, especially for first loans where it will really be effective.

We are further convinced that it will also be necessary to put the whole system of agricultural credit on a new basis; beyond that, and I say this as a politician, not as an expert, I see no necessity for creating an extensive organization for the German peasantry. At that moment when the state takes over as guarantor of the viability of German agriculture—and any future state will have to do that, any state which does not want to fall apart—at that moment a large part of today's opposition organizations, which arose justifiably, will simply lose all their appeal and justification. Here too simplification ought to offer far-reaching possibilities.

## How Shall the National Socialist Full-Employment Program Be Financed?

I turn now to the financing of labor. When the National Socialist side demands the execution of great works as a cure for unemploy-

ment, the representatives of the present political system always raise the same objection: we lack the means. We are too poor to be able to work more. That is wholly false. If one is poor one must work more in order to become prosperous again. The poorer a people is, the more it must work, for increased prosperity can only come from the two eternal sources: labor and natural resources.

The financing of a program to provide employment on a large scale is wholly possible. I give as examples soil improvement and the construction of housing developments of private homes, both of which provide extensive opportunity for employment. It is necessary to have the financing carried out by a bank especially set up for the purpose, such as a [state] building and loan association. In the past you have either laughed or protested at the phrase "building and loan association." Today you are not protesting any more, because your "acceptance and guarantee" bank, forced upon you by the emergency, has become something very similar.

The workers who are put to work by the full-employment program shall receive full wages except for those working in the labor service. I must now be brief because time is passing: if in soil improvement projects, settlements of private homes and similar works, one transforms the expenditures for materials as much as possible into wages, by including the provision of materials very extensively within the employment program, then the costs will on the average be distributed in the following way: expenses for wages up to 75 percent; expenses for raw materials, 25 percent. The means can be found in the following way. The Reich office for unemployment insurance puts at the disposal of the employees of the new bank—the building and loan association—the sums which up until now have been paid as unemployment compensation. Thus the bank receives 30 percent of the entire amount needed for wages. You have to pay the compensation today, too, and in starting the work you have the assurance that you can halt unemployment. Secondly, you have, and I am not taking it into account here, the people who are put to work by the effects of the newly created labor process; the second man, if I may put it that way, withdraws in any case from unemployment compensation and can be included here wholly or partially. Then the new unemployment payments which you don't need any more! If one million are working, the 6.5 percent which make up the unemployment payments for social security disappear. These payments are saved. That represents 5 percent of the money necessary for financing.

Then when there is work, there is immediately something to tax. One can demonstrate this: it can be shown with precision that as the total income of the labor force rises and falls, tax revenues rise and fall in parallel percentage. Thus there exists here a close relationship which cannot be denied.



If I say that the returns from the taxes coming from those people—members of the middle class, master craftsmen, and so forth—who are put to work by the widest possible expansion of employment, if I say that these returns constitute only 15 percent (although we actually calculated these returns and percentages at a higher level—22 percent, 23 percent, etc.) then we have another 15 percent for financing. To that must be added what can be contributed by the settler or by the farmer who has improved his soil. We reckon on only 25 percent. Thus in the case of a settlement of private homes, 25 percent; in the case of soil improvement the farmer's contribution will be higher. Either one can resettle some people who still have small savings which they can use for these purposes, or one can give other settlers the opportunity to save through withholding from their wages enough to purchase a 25 percent share in his [*sic*] settlement, making him one of the original quarter-owners of the new creation.

The remaining 25 percent will be covered by the building and loan association, which will issue credits. That part of the tax revenue which is not available at the beginning will also be covered by the issuance of credits. Here we are considering the problem—which I do not need to explain in more detail—of the productive creation of credit; you are doing it now, too, but with far less justification than under our proposal, which would create new values and new work. This kind of productive creation of credit is unobjectionable as long as a strong and honest state is in the position to stop at the right moment and prevent undesirable developments. . . .

We will have to realize that in all these new employment plans one conception must be completely discarded: the capitalist calculation of profit. We must not ask how much of this labor will produce interest to fatten the coffers of the money-lender so that he need not work. Rather we should consider what I like to call the National Socialist calculation of profit, in which one looks at the financing of such works from the point of view of the welfare of the entire nation; in which one asks what will be achieved for the economic, cultural and other needs of the whole people. . . .

But the most important thing is the lowering of interest. There will be no improvement in Germany, and all those possibilities which I enumerated will remain meaningless, if you do not get rid of interest, reduce it from its present level to a bearable one, above all by getting rid of the treacherous maneuvers of the banks. They talk of 5 percent interest, but looking more closely one finds a 2 percent additional charge, another 2 percent for credit provision, and then when credit is provided, only half is given, then one more percent is added for provision against a credit overdraft; that is, in reality there is no interest under 10 percent. This is an unbearable situation for a people which must, for its own sake, reconstruct its

economy by work and public works. Interest creates capital only in profitable economies. Interest paid out of real capital destroys capital. . . .

We have to realize that when we in Germany are forced by necessities, over which we have no power, to the organization of an internal economy, we cannot avoid a reorganization of our social structure. These reorganizations are a thousand times easier than starving on account of the present situation.

That is the consequence of facing the beginning of a new epoch, from which we cannot withdraw.

Chancellor Brüning has certainly approached all these problems with good will; we have never doubted it.

But it seems to me that it was impossible to solve them as long as the leader of the government had to use up all his strength in dealing with those heterogeneous parties which are called a government. I consider it impossible in the long run to govern with a multitude of parties, and above all, it is impossible to solve problems. For this reason, the "voters' revolution," as it is often called, which we are experiencing today, is right. Small parties, whose demands are in inverse ratio to their size, which, because of their internal weakness and because of the immoral position they take up by remaining here when they have no support outside anymore, are subject to all kinds of corrupting influences. With these one cannot govern; they have to disappear, there is no doubt about it. . . .

To a large extent, the German people have earned Adolf Hitler and his movement. We have gained for ourselves the task of governing by building up this movement out of nothing, against you all. The Lord may grant us fulfillment; we leave judgment to history.

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## Appendix: Biographies of the Principal Nazi Writers

### **Richard Walther Darré, 1895–1953**

Born in Belgrano near Buenos Aires; father in import-export business in Buenos Aires, mother the daughter of a German merchant in the same city. Early schooling in Belgrano, then attended Heidelberg, Godesberg, Kings College Wimbledon; in 1914 entered the Deutsche Kolonialschule in Witz- enhausen. Volunteered in German army during First World War, became lieutenant, served on western front.

Resumed study at Witzzenhausen in 1920, received diploma in colonial economics; then to Halle, where in 1925 he received the diploma in agronomy. Between 1925 and 1927, little is known of his activities and friendships; in 1927 he traveled to Finland and throughout the Baltic area, and in 1928 he became a consultant to the German embassy in Riga. This lasted until the end of the year, when he published *The Peasantry as the Life Source of the Nordic Race*. The winter of 1929–30 found him in Saaleck and close to Paul Schultze-Naumburg. His involvement in Nazi politics can be documented with certainty in June of 1930, when he spoke to the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur in Weimar; his involvement in the Agrar-politischer Apparat is certain in August of the same year (see Introduction, nn. 88–90). In 1931, he was head of the Rassen und Siedlungsamt of the SS and thus closely associated with Himmler; in 1933 he succeeded Hugenberg as Minister of Agriculture. In 1934 he became, in addition, Reichsbauernführer. He was excluded from office in 1942. After the war he was tried and imprisoned by a United States military court, and released in 1950.

### **Dietrich Eckart, 1868–1923**

Born in Neumarkt, Oberpfalz, the son of a notary. His mother was Lutheran. Married, 1913; divorced, 1921. Began to study medicine, then stopped and led a rather rootless life as drama critic for a number of south German newspapers; eventually settled in Berlin. Wrote poems, novels, plays, a few of which were performed before the First World War. Achieved fame, or notoriety, with his version of *Peer Gynt* (1912). Returned to Munich in 1913, worked on two further plays during the war (*Heinrich der Hohenstaufe*; *Lorenzaccio*); in touch with the Bayreuth circle and the Thule Society. Founded *Auf Gut Deutsch*, 1918; gave it up in 1921 to devote all energies to editing the *Völkischer Beobachter*. Attempted political activity on his own in 1919 and 1920.

### **Gottfried Feder, 1883–1941**

Born Würzburg, descended from a family of senior civil servants in Bavaria. Married, 1908; two sons, one daughter. Educated at the humanistic gym-

nasium in Würzburg and at the technical colleges of Munich, Berlin, and Zürich. Diploma in civil engineering, 1905; joined a reinforced concrete construction firm; 1908, set up own practice. Took up the cause of monetary reform, 1917, attempted to found own political organization in support of the "Manifesto for Breaking the Bondage of Interest." Led one of the first propaganda courses given by the Reichswehrgruppenkommando IV, Bavaria, where he would have met Eckart and Hitler sometime between June and September 1919. Member of the Thule Society and of the German Workers' Party. Nazi member of the Reichstag, 1924–36; editor of the NS Bibliothek, 1928–38; chairman of the Economic Council of the Nazi Party, 1930; state secretary in the Reich Ministry of Economics, 1933; Reichskommissar für den Siedlungswesen, 1934. Given a teaching position at the Technical College of Berlin in 1936 and shouldered aside by party leadership until his death. Also edited, before 1933, three short-lived journals: *Die Flamme*, *Deutsche Wochenschau*, and *Deutsche Technik*.

### **Paul Joseph Goebbels, 1897–1945**

Born Rheydt, Rhineland, of middle-class parents of very limited means. Attended gymnasium in Rheydt; rejected for military service because of crippled foot. Attended universities of Bonn, Würzburg, Munich, Freiburg, and Heidelberg, studying widely varying subjects; obtained Ph.D. in German literature from Heidelberg in 1922 with a dissertation on Romantic drama. Attempted a career as a writer, but was unsuccessful in marketing his fiction and poetry. Came to be associated with the Strassers around 1925, at which time he probably joined the party. First editor and one of the founders of the *NS-Briefe*, helped to organize the party in the Rhineland; moved away from the Strasser circle to found the Berlin paper *Der Angriff* in 1927; became responsible for party organization in Berlin. Member of the Reichstag, 1928; chief of propaganda for the party, 1929. Largely responsible for the emphasis of party propaganda on developing the Führer cult from 1930. 1933, Reich Minister for Propaganda and Public Enlightenment; founder and head of the Reichskulturkammer, which gave him far-reaching powers over all communications media. Maintained himself in Hitler's favor throughout the Nazi period; suicide, with his family, in Hitler's bunker on May 1, 1945.

### **Heinrich Himmler, 1900–1945**

Born Munich, Bavaria, of a Catholic family. Father a gymnasium teacher and tutor to the Wittelsbach prince. Primary education in Munich and, briefly, in Landshut, where he could have known the Strasser brothers. Army service, 1917–18; 1919, worked on farm near Ingolstadt, Bavaria; in poor health. 1919–22, studied at Technical College of Munich, received diploma in agronomy. Knew Roehm in 1922; then or in the following year, joined Reichskriegsflagge. Joined NSDAP, August 1923, participated in Putsch; rejoined party, 1925; secretary to Gregor Strasser, 1925–27. Acting Gauleiter of Lower Bavaria, 1925; Upper Bavaria, 1926. Acting head of propaganda for party, 1926–30; Reichsführer SS, 1929; chief of police, Munich, 1933. Coordinated SS and Gestapo, 1934. 1939, Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums—led colonization and "Germanization" policies in Eastern Europe. 1940, set up the Ahnenerbe foundation

for research in "Germanic" history and archaeology. Minister of the Interior, 1943–45; suicide, May 23, 1945.

**Alfred Rosenberg, 1893–1946**

Born Reval, Estonia; educated in Realschule, rather than in a humanistic gymnasium; studied architecture at the Technical College of Riga, 1910–15, and in Moscow from 1915 to 1918; diploma in architecture, 1918. Married first wife in Moscow, took final exams in architecture, November–December 1917, when had opportunity to observe Bolshevik revolution. Returned to Reval early in 1918, which was soon occupied by German troops. Movements during the rest of 1918 are uncertain: scholars place him variously in Paris, London, and Berlin. Arrived in Munich, January 1919, met Dietrich Eckart through Russian and Baltic émigrés, began writing for *Auf Gut Deutsch* in February. Member of the Thule Society. Joined NSDAP very early. Editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter* from 1921. Divorced, 1923; remarried, 1925. Hitler's deputy in 1924. Founded Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur sometime between 1927 and 1929. 1933, director of party's Foreign Policy Office; semiofficial mission to London, May 1933. 1934, "Custodian of the Entire Intellectual and Spiritual Training and Education of the Party and of all Coordinated Associations." From 1941 on, civilian administrator of conquered Russia. Executed, after trial by the International Military Tribunal, October 16, 1946.

**Gregor Strasser, 1892–1934**

Born Geisenfeld, Bavaria. Education, Landshut; university training in pharmacology, military service; Freikorps organizer. Joined NSDAP, 1920 or 1921, participated in Putsch. 1924–33, member of Reichstag. Organizer of party in West and North Germany, 1925–26; founder and early editor of *NS-Briefe*; one of the founders of the Kampf-Verlag. Reichspropagandaleiter, 1926–32. Reichsorganisationsleiter, 1932. December 1932, rift with Hitler. Shot during Blood Purge, on June 30, 1934.

**Otto Strasser, 1897–1974**

Born Windsheim, Bavaria. Education Landshut and elsewhere; university training at Berlin, Munich, Würzburg; Ph.D. in economics. Joined NSDAP, 1925; cofounder and editor with Gregor of the *NS-Briefe*, the Kampf-Verlag, and the Strasser newspapers. Left the party, or was expelled (see Introduction), in mid-1930; founded Kampfgemeinschaft revolutionären Nationalsozialisten, often called the "Black Front." 1933, emigrated to Vienna, Prague, Canada; deprived of citizenship, 1934. May 1955, returned to Germany after citizenship restored.

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## Translators' Note

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- "Farmer, Wake Up!": Heinrich Himmler, "Bauer, wach auf!" *Der Nationale Sozialist für Sachsen*, Aug. 1, 1926.
- "The Farmers and the State": R. W. Darré, "Landstand und Staat," *Völkischer Beobachter*, April 19/20 and April 21, 1931, condensed version of "Stellung und Aufgaben des Landstandes in einem nach lebensgesetzlichen Gesichtspunkten aufgebauten deutschen Staate," *Deutschlands Erneuerung*, Sept. 1930.
- "The Folkish Idea of State": Alfred Rosenberg, *Der völkische Staatsgedanke, Untergang und Neugeburt* (Munich: Eher, 1924), pp. 3, 21–34.
- "The Fourteen Theses of the German Revolution": Otto Strasser, "14 Thesen der deutschen Revolution," *NS-Briefe*, July 1, 1929, pp. 22–24.
- "From Revolt to Revolution": Gregor Strasser, "Von der Revolte zur Revolution!" *Berliner Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Nov. 6, 1927.
- "German Freedom as the Prerequisite of Folk Culture": Alfred Rosenberg, "Deutsche Freiheit als Voraussetzung der Volkskultur," *Berliner Arbeiter-Zeitung*, June 22, 1930.
- "Guidelines of the German Workers' Party": F. Maier-Hartmann, "Richtlinien der Deutschen Arbeiterpartei vom 5. Januar 1919," in *Dokumente der Zeitgeschichte* (Munich: Eher, 1938), pp. 85ff.
- "Jewishness in and around Us": Dietrich Eckart, "Das Judentum in und ausser uns," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, serially, nos. 1–7 (Jan.–April 1919).
- "Manifesto for Breaking the Bondage of Interest": Gottfried Feder, "Das Manifest zur Brechung der Zinsknechtschaft des Geldes," *Kritische Rundschau*, vol. 2 (Summer 1919), pp. 14–15.
- "Marriage Laws and the Principles of Breeding": R. W. Darré, "Die Grundgedanken der Zuchtaufgaben und die Ehegesetze," in *Neuadel aus Blut und Boden* (Munich: Lehmann Verlag, 1930), pp. 127–144.
- "Men!": Dietrich Eckart, "Männer," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, no. 1, Dec. 7, 1918, pp. 1–3.
- "National Socialism and the State": Otto Strasser, "Nationalsozialismus und Staat," in *Grünen Hefte der NS-Briefe*, no. 1: *Der Nationalsozialismus—die Weltanschauung des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Kampf-Verlag, 1929).
- "National Socialism or Bolshevism?": Joseph Goebbels, "Nationalsozialismus oder Bolschewismus," *NS-Briefe*, Oct. 15, 1925.
- "The Nature and Aim of the National Socialist Idea": Gregor Strasser, "Wesen und Ziel der nationalsozialistischen Idee," Oct. 17, 1930, *Stenographische Berichte des Reichstages*, 1930, pp. 57ff.



- "Official Party Statement on Its Attitude toward the Farmers and Agriculture": "Parteiämtliche Kundgebung über die Stellung der NSDAP zum Landvolk und zur Landwirtschaft," *Völkischer Beobachter*, March 6, 1930.
- "The Peasantry as the Key to Understanding the Nordic Race": R. W. Darré, "Das Bauerntum als Schlüssel zum Verständnis der Nordischen Rasse," in *Das Bauerntum als Lebensquell der Nordischen Rasse* (Munich: Lehmann Verlag, 1929), pp. 277–80.
- "The Program of the NSDAP": "Programm der Nationalsozialistischer Deutschen Arbeiterpartei," flier from the Hauptstaatsarchiv München, Feb. 24, 1920.
- "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion and Jewish World Policy": Alfred Rosenberg, *Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion und die jüdische Weltpolitik* (Munich: Boepple, 1923), pp. 5–27, 60–64.
- "The Radicalizing of Socialism": Joseph Goebbels, "Die Radikalisierung des Sozialismus," *NS-Briefe*, Oct. 15, 1925.
- "The Russian Jewish Revolution": Alfred Rosenberg, "Die russisch-jüdische Revolution," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, no. 8, Feb. 21, 1919, pp. 120–23.
- "The Social State": Gottfried Feder, "Der soziale Staat," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, no. 14/15, May 24, 1919, pp. 218–27.
- "Thoughts about the Tasks of the Future": Gregor Strasser, "Gedanken über Aufgaben der Zukunft," *NS-Briefe*, June 15, 1926.
- "To All Working People!": Dietrich Eckart, "An alle Werktätigen!" flier of April 5, 1919, Princeton University archives.
- "The Twister": Dietrich Eckart, "Der grosse Krumme," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, no. 1, Dec. 7, 1918, pp. 3–8.
- "Work and Bread!": Gregor Strasser, "Arbeit und Brot!" in *Kampf um Deutschland* (Munich: Eher, 1932), pp. 345–78.

# Notes

## Introduction

1. Before 1933, Hitler permitted only one small group of speeches to be published: *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (Munich: Deutscher Volksverlag—Dr. Ernst Boepple, 1925). After 1933, he made no move, as did most of the other party leaders, to compile these earlier speeches (the short collection *Adolf Hitler in Franken: Reden aus der Kampfzeit*, gesammelt und herausgegeben von Heinz Preiss im Auftrage von Julius Streicher, n.p., n.d. [ca. 1939], was published without his endorsement). (The various English translations of Hitler's speeches, of which the best are Norman H. Baynes, ed., *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler, 1922–1939* [Oxford, England, 1942], and Gordon W. Prange, ed., *Hitler's Words* [Washington, 1944], contain partial versions of these two early collections.) As a result, very little indeed is known about the majority of his early speeches; their content must be sought either in the pages of the *Völkischer Beobachter* or in police reports, and this has never been done in a thorough way, though Reginald Phelps has made a beginning. See his "Hitler als Parteiredner im Jahre 1920," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (hereafter *Vierteljahrshefte*), vol. 11 (1963), pp. 274–88; "Hitler and the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei," *American Historical Review*, vol. 68 (1963), pp. 983–86; and "Hitlers 'grundlegende' Rede über den Antisemitismus," *Vierteljahrshefte*, vol. 16 (1968), pp. 390–420. According to Hellmuth Auerbach in "Hitlers Politische Lehrjahre und die Münchener Gesellschaft 1919–1923; Versuch einer Bilanz anhand der neueren Forschung," *Vierteljahrshefte*, vol. 25 (1977), pp. 1–45, a major collection of all Hitler's speeches, writings, and manuscripts up to 1924 is now in preparation by Eberhard Jäckel and Axel Kuhn under the auspices of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte (see pp. 4–5 and n. 11). Of the other leading Nazis, only Gregor Strasser published his speeches before 1933.
2. Except for the work of Phelps, n. 1, above; W. Jochmann, ed., *Im Kampf um die Macht: Hitlers Rede vor dem Hamburger Nationalklub von 1919* (Frankfurt am Main, 1960); and Albrecht Tyrell, ed., *Führerbefehl . . . Selbstzeugnisse aus der "Kampfzeit" der NSDAP: Dokumentation und Analyse* (Düsseldorf, 1969). See, for example, H. Hammer, "Die deutschen Ausgaben von Mein Kampf," *Vierteljahrshefte*, vol. 4 (1956), pp. 171ff.; Wilfried Daim, *Der Mann, der Hitler die Ideen gab* (Munich, 1958); Gerhard L. Weinberg, ed., *Hitlers Zweites Buch* (Stuttgart, 1961); Telford Taylor, ed., Salvator Attanasio, trans., *Hitler's Secret Book* (New York: Grove Press, 1961); Ernst Nolte, *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche* (Munich, 1963); idem, *Three Faces of Fascism* (New York, 1966); Werner Maser, *Hitlers "Mein Kampf"* (Munich, 1966); Friedrich Heer, *Der Glaube des Adolf Hitler* (Munich, 1968); Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, *National-*

sozialistische Aussenpolitik (Frankfurt am Main, 1968); Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitlers Weltanschauung: Entwurf einer Herrschaft* (Tübingen, 1969); idem, *Hitler's Weltanschauung: A Blueprint for Power* (Middletown, Conn., 1972); Joachim Fest, *Hitler: Eine Biographie* (Frankfurt am Main, 1973); and Joseph P. Stern, *Hitler: The Führer and the People* (Berkeley, 1975). Alan Bullock's tendency to stress Hitler's demagoguery and deemphasize his ideas (*Hitler: A Study in Tyranny* [New York, 1953], rev. ed., 1960; 2nd rev. ed., 1962) has been echoed in most subsequent biographies and in many studies of the Third Reich. See especially Karl Dietrich Bracher, *Die Deutsche Diktatur: Entstehung, Struktur, Folgen des Nationalsozialismus* (Cologne, 1969); idem, *The German Dictatorship: The Origin, Structure, and Effect of National Socialism* (New York, 1970); and Helmut Krausnick, Hans Buchheim, Martin Broszat, and Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, *Anatomie des SS-Staates* (Freiburg i. Br., 1965); idem, *Anatomy of the SS-State* (New York, 1968). The recent revival of interest in the psychopathology of Hitler also deemphasizes the significance of his ideas. See Walter C. Langer, *The Mind of Adolf Hitler: The Secret Wartime Report* (New York, 1972); Cornelius Schnauber, *Wie Hitler sprach und schrieb: Zur Psychologie und Prosodik der faschistischen Rhetorik* (Frankfurt am Main, 1972); Rudolf Binion, *Hitler among the Germans* (New York, 1976); and Robert G. L. Waite, *The Psychopathic God: Adolf Hitler* (New York, 1977). An excellent and critical review of the "new wave" of Hitler studies is provided by Auerbach, "Hitlers Politische Lehrjahre," n. 1, above.

3. Daim, *Der Mann*; Bullock, *Hitler*; William A. Jenks, *Vienna and the Young Hitler* (New York, 1960); Bradley F. Smith, *Adolf Hitler: His Family, Childhood and Youth* (Stanford, Calif., 1967). On the völkisch movement and broader intellectual patterns, see, for example, Hedwig Conrad-Martius, *Utopien der Menschenzüchtung* (Munich, 1955); George Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology* (New York, 1964); Uwe Lohalm, *Völkischer Radikalismus* (Hamburg, 1969); Peter Viereck, *Metapolitics from the Romantics to Hitler* (New York, 1941; rev. ed., New York, 1961); Kurt Sontheimer, *Antidemokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik* (Munich, 1962); Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair* (Berkeley, 1961); Walter Z. Laqueur, *Young Germany* (New York, 1962); Peter G. L. Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (New York, 1964); Klaus Bergmann, *Agrarromantik und Großstadtfeindschaft* (Meisenheim, 1970); Daniel Gasman, *The Scientific Origins of National Socialism* (New York, 1971); and Hans J. Luthöft, *Der nordische Gedanke in Deutschland 1920–40* (Kiel, 1971).
4. Martin Broszat, "Die Anfänge der Berliner NSDAP, 1926/27," *Vierteljahrshefte*, vol. 7 (1960), pp. 85–118; Georg Franz-Willing, *Die Hitlerbewegung* (Hamburg, 1962); Horst Gies, "NSDAP und landwirtschaftliche Organisationen in der Endphase der Weimarer Republik," *Vierteljahrshefte*, vol. 15 (1967), pp. 341–76; Werner Jochmann, *Nationalsozialismus und Revolution: Ursprung und Geschichte der NSDAP in Hamburg 1922–1933* (Frankfurt am Main,

1963); Werner Maser, *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP: Hitlers Weg bis 1924* (Frankfurt am Main, 1965); Jeremy Noakes, "Conflict and Development in the NSDAP, 1924–1927," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 1 (Oct. 1966), pp. 3–36; Dietrich Orlow, *The History of the Nazi Party 1919 to 1933* (Pittsburgh, 1969); Wolfgang Schäfer, *NSDAP* (Hanover, 1956). Four recent works depart somewhat from the organizational emphasis: Reinhard Kühnl, *Die nationalsozialistische Linke 1925 bis 1930* (Meisenheim, 1966), discusses some of the writers in the Strasser circle, but misunderstands their relation to the rest of the party. Max H. Kele, *Nazis and Workers: National Socialist Appeals to German Labor 1919–1933* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1972), catalogues working-class appeals in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, but does not relate these appeals systematically to the thought of the party leaders. Joseph L. Nyomarkay, *Charisma and Factionalism in the Nazi Party* (Minneapolis, 1967), recognizes the diversity of ideas expressed by party leaders before 1933, but does not analyze them in detail. Gerhard Schulz, *Aufstieg des Nationalsozialismus: Krise und Revolution in Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main, 1975), provides a very full account, both of organizational developments and of factional disputes, and makes many more references to the major writings of the lesser Nazi leaders than did earlier texts. Again, however, there is no systematic or comprehensive analysis.

5. Edward N. Peterson, *The Limits of Hitler's Power* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1969), suggests that in many areas of government, Hitler was unable to exert power. This argument has not been well received by scholars; somewhat more prevalent is Martin Broszat's view that, except in certain areas of foreign policy, Hitler chose not to exercise his power (*Der Staat Hitlers*, Munich, 1969). The most important special studies are: Werner T. Angress and Bradley F. Smith, "Diaries of Heinrich Himmler's Early Years," *Journal of Modern History* (hereafter *JMH*), vol. 31 (1959), pp. 206–224; Heinz Höhne, *Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf* (Hamburg, 1966); idem, *The Order of the Death's Head*, trans. R. Barry (London: Pan Books, 1969); J. Ackermann, *Himmler als Ideolog* (Göttingen, 1970); Bradley F. Smith, *Heinrich Himmler: A Nazi in the Making, 1900–1926* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1971); Peter Loewenberg, "The Adolescence of Heinrich Himmler," *American Historical Review*, vol. 76 (1971), pp. 612–41; Ernest K. Bramsted, *Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda, 1925–1945* (E. Lansing, Mich., 1965); Reinhard Bollmus, *Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner: Studien zum Machtkampf im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem* (Stuttgart, 1970); Robert Cecil, *The Myth of the Master Race: Alfred Rosenberg and Nazi Ideology* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1972); James McGovern, *Martin Bormann* (London, 1968). Biographical vignettes appear in Eugene Davidson, *The Trial of the Germans* (New York: Macmillan, 1966); and Joachim Fest, *Das Gesicht des Dritten Reiches* (Munich, 1963); idem, *The Face of the Third Reich*, trans. M. Bulloch (London: Penguin, 1970).
6. In addition to Cecil's work on Rosenberg (n. 5, above), Margarete Plewnia has written a scholarly biography of Dietrich Eckart: *Auf dem Weg*

- zu Hitler: *Der "völkische" Publizist Dietrich Eckart* (Bremen, 1970). Some studies of specific tendencies in German and European thought analyze and comment on some of the writings of a few of the Nazi ideologues. For example, Walter Laqueur, *Russia and Germany* (London, 1965), and Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide* (London, 1967) are illuminating on Rosenberg's early writings; Gerhard Kroll, *Von der Weltwirtschaftskrise zur Staatskonjunktur* (Berlin, 1958), provides some useful discussion of Feder's economic ideas; and Wolfgang Hock, *Deutscher Anti-Kapitalismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1960), helps to put Feder and Gregor Strasser in focus. Such works, of course, do not treat the Nazi writers as a group.
7. Oron J. Hale, *The Captive Press in the Third Reich* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1964); Carin Kessemeier, *Der Leitartikel Goebbels in den NS-Organen Der Angriff und Das Reich* (Münster, 1967); Z. A. B. Zeman, *Nazi Propaganda* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1964). Some information on content is given in Kele (n. 4, above); Roland V. Layton, Jr., "The Völkischer Beobachter, 1925–1933," (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1965); and Larry Dean Wilcox, "The National Socialist Party Press in the Kampfzeit, 1919–1933" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1970). See also Roland V. Layton, Jr., "The Völkischer Beobachter, 1920–1933," *Central European History*, vol. 3 (1970), pp. 353–82.
  8. Frederick L. Schuman, "The Political Theory of German Fascism," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 28 (April 1934), pp. 210–32; idem, *The Nazi Dictatorship* (New York: AMS Press, 1935; rev. ed., 1936); Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1941). The most influential of Konrad Heiden's earliest works (both Schuman and Fromm relied on them) were: *Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, 1933); *Geburt des Dritten Reiches* (Zurich, 1934); *Adolf Hitler: Eine Biographie*, vol. 1: *Das Zeitalter der Verantwortungslosigkeit* (Zurich, 1936), vol. 2: *Ein Mann gegen Europa* (Zurich, 1937). The first two were combined and condensed in a single English translation: *History of National Socialism* (New York, 1935); translations of the two-volume biography appeared in 1936 and 1939 respectively, but were superseded in the 1940's by a one-volume edition, *Der Fuehrer* (New York, 1944).
  9. See especially Heiden, *History of National Socialism*, pp. 3–82; *Der Fuehrer*, pp. 36–77, 90–124; and Fromm, *passim*. Bracher's view of the "Twenty-Five Points" as "an innate lie" (*The German Dictatorship*, p. 147) can thus be traced back, via many intermediaries, to Heiden.
  10. A larger study might consider Esser, whose publications always took the form of topical articles; Dinter, although his period of influence was very brief; and Streicher, who before 1923 was more than an anti-Semitic pornographer. Despite the careful scholarship of Smith and Angress, Ackermann, and to a lesser extent Heinz Höhne, it has not been possible so far to identify the political ideas of Heinrich Himmler before 1933. These analyses have had to depend not on published works but upon an unpublished and undated manuscript ("Völkische Bauernpolitik," NSDAP Hauptarchiv, microfilm roll 98),

and upon Himmeler's rather enigmatic diaries. Goebbels has already been studied very extensively as a propagandist; my discussion will refer to him in those cases where he contributed something new or significant to ideological debate.

11. In addition to the works cited above, the following are helpful on the beginnings of the party and on its early leaders: Ernst Deuerlein, "Hitlers Eintritt in die NSDAP und die Reichswehr," *Vierteljahrshefte*, vol. 7 (1959), pp. 177ff.; idem, *Der Hitler-Putsch: Bayerische Dokumente zum 8/9. November 1923* (Stuttgart, 1962); idem, *Der Aufstieg der NSDAP 1919–1933 in Augenzeugenberichten* (Düsseldorf, 1968); D. M. Douglas, "The Early Ortsgruppen: The Development of National Socialist Local Groups, 1919–1923" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1968); Hans Fenske, *Konservatismus und Rechtsradikalismus in Bayern nach 1918* (Bad Homburg, 1969); Georg Franz, "Munich: Birthplace and Center of the National Socialist German Workers' Party," *JMH*, vol. 29 (1957), pp. 319–34; Hans Hubert Hofmann, *Der Hitlerputsch: Krisenjahre deutscher Geschichte 1920–24* (Munich, 1961); Wolfgang Horn, *Führerideologie und Parteioorganisation in der NSDAP 1919–1933* (Düsseldorf, 1972); Donald M. McKale, *The Nazi Party Courts: Hitler's Management of Conflict in His Movement, 1921–1945* (Wichita, 1974); Peter H. Merkl, *Political Violence under the Swastika: 581 Early Nazis* (Princeton, 1975); Walter Pese, "Hitler und Italien 1920–1926," *Vierteljahrshefte*, vol. 3 (1955), pp. 113–26; Reginald Phelps, "Anton Drexler, der Gründer der NSDAP," *Deutsche Rundschau*, vol. 87 (1961), pp. 1134–43; idem, "'Before Hitler Came': Thule Society and Germanenorden," *JMH*, vol. 25 (1963), pp. 245–61; Paul Pörtner, "The Writers' Revolution, Munich, 1918–1919," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 3 (1968), pp. 137–51; Albrecht Tyrell, *Vom 'Trommler' zum 'Führer': Der Wandel von Hitlers Selbstverständnis zwischen 1919 und 1924 und die Entwicklung der NSDAP* (Munich, 1975).
12. Arthur R. Hermann, *Gottfried Feder: Der Mann und sein Werk* (Leipzig, 1933), is reliable only on events before 1918.
13. "Das Manifest zur Brechung der Zinsknechtschaft des Geldes." The original date of the "Manifest" is unclear. In "Innere Geschichte der Brechung der Zinsknechtschaft," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Aug. 12, 1920, Feder said he first circulated the text during the latter half of November 1918. The first published version, however, appeared in the left-wing *Kritische Rundschau*, ed. L. Held, Munich, vol. 2 (Summer 1919), pp. 14–15. An expanded version—the original with extensive commentary—appeared later in 1919 as no. 1 of the pamphlet series *An Alle, Alle!* (Diessen: Huber). This latter version was republished without alteration by Huber, 1923, and by Eher, Munich, 1926, 1932. "Der soziale Staat," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, no. 14/15, May 24, 1919, pp. 218–27.
14. *Der Staatsbankrott die Rettung* (Diessen: Huber, 1919), no. 2 of *An Alle, Alle!*; with August Buckeley, *Der kommende Steuerstreik: Seine Gefahr, seine Unvermeidlichkeit, seine Wirkung* (Diessen: Huber, 1921); *Der deutsche Staat auf nationaler und sozialer Grund-*

- lage—Neue Wege in Staat, Finanz und Wirtschaft* (Munich: Eher, 1923; new printings 1932, 1933, 1935).
15. "Manifest," *Kritische Rundschau*, secs. 4, 5, p. 15.
  16. *Manifest* (Diessen: Huber, 1919), pp. 6–7, 26, 36. He also proposed a comprehensive public works program, *ibid.*, p. 47.
  17. *Ibid.*, pp. 26–27, and *passim*.
  18. "Manifest," *Kritische Rundschau*, secs. 3, 5, 6, 8, p. 15. Feder's defense of industrial capitalism (*ibid.*) has misled historians into thinking that he wished to give industrial capital complete freedom. Instead, however, he expected a deceleration of the profit motive to be enforced by restricted credit; he called for the abolition of luxury industries; and he wished forcibly to redirect industrial production toward the home market and toward utilitarian goods. His complaint against wholesale socialization of industry was that it would curtail productivity (*Manifest*, pp. 6–10); on the other hand he wanted the state to decentralize industry and to guard against the growth of large-scale enterprise (*Manifest*, pp. 29–30, 56, 59–61). "Profits" were to be restricted by lowered prices and were to be shared with the workers (*Manifest*, sec. 6, p. 8, and p. 44).
  19. In "Der soziale Staat," he even proposed that the vote be extended to children.
  20. Like any negative statement, this one is impossible to prove. But it is noteworthy, given historians' assumptions about the importance of the "Führerprinzip" in early Nazi history (see, for example, Orlow, pp. 25, 74, 86), that none of the writings surveyed in this article even hints at a future dictatorship. Nor do they glorify Hitler as *Führer*—even Gregor Strasser's *Das Hitler-Buchlein* (Berlin: Kampf-Verlag, n.d. [ca. 1927]) merely says, in effect, "if you think Hitler is unimportant, read what he has written" (pp. 3–7). Strasser also wrote: "Studiere auch die Idee, die er [Hitler], der Trommler, durch die Lande verkündet . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 12).
  21. Reinhard Kühnl, "Zur Programmatik der nationalsozialistischen Linken," *Vierteljahrshefte*, vol. 14 (1966), pp. 317–33; Dieter Petzina, "Hauptprobleme der deutschen Wirtschaftspolitik 1932/33," *Vierteljahrshefte*, vol. 15 (1967), pp. 18–55. John Haag, "Othmar Spann and the Politics of 'Totality': Corporatism in Theory and Practice" (Ph.D. diss., Rice University, 1969), claims for Spann a major influence on Nazi ideology after 1930. Feder praised Spann but emphasized his own originality in introducing corporatism into Nazi ideology in "Othmar Spann, zu seinem 50. Geburtstag," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Oct. 3, 1928. See also Henry Ashby Turner, "Hitler's Secret Pamphlet for Industrialists, 1927," *JMH*, vol. 40 (1968), pp. 348–74; and "Big Business and the Rise of Hitler," *American Historical Review*, vol. 75 (1969/70), pp. 56–70.
  22. Feder, in *Das Programm der NSDAP und seine weltanschaulichen Grundgedanken* (Munich: Eher, 1927), pp. 17–20, refers repeatedly to his early works as the basis of the economic portions of the program.
  23. *Manifest* (Diessen: Huber, 1919), p. 36, makes only brief mention of the benefits for the small farmers of "breaking the bondage of interest."

- Feder did not begin to write about them at length until 1926 (see "Aus der Bewegung," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Feb. 12, 1926). According to Albert Krebs, *Tendenzen und Gestalten der NSDAP: Erinnerungen an die Frühzeit der Partei* (Stuttgart, 1959), p. 204, Feder was one of the party's most popular speakers in northern rural districts.
24. In *Mein Kampf*, pp. 287–89, Hitler says that Feder made it clear to him that the true political enemy was "Jewish" financial capitalism, rather than capitalism in general (all references are to the Sentry edition of *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Manheim [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943], unless otherwise noted). While it is true that Feder concentrated his invective above all on financial capitalism, this was not his only target, nor did he call it "Jewish." There are a few veiled anti-Semitic remarks in the *Manifest* (pp. 15–16, 33–34, 62), but Feder explicitly denies that financial capitalism can be identified with any one segment of the population (*ibid.*, pp. 34–35). The equation between Jews, bankers, and Bolsheviks, which appears in *Mein Kampf*, stems from the combined influence upon Hitler of Feder, Eckart, and Rosenberg (see below, p. xiv).
  25. *Das Programm* (1927), p. 17. For systematic anti-Semitic tracts see Feder, *Die Juden* (Munich: Eher, 1933); and, with Ferdinand Werner and Ernst Graf zu Reventlow, *Das neue Deutschland und die Judenfrage* (Leipzig: Rüdiger, 1933). There are occasional anti-Semitic statements in Feder's earlier speeches and articles, but they tend to be perfunctory. See, for example, "Wirtschaftsgrundsätze des Nationalsozialismus," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Mar. 2, 1923; "Handel-, Finanz- und Wirtschaftspolitik–Zinsknechtschaft," *ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1923; "Feder in Parchim," *ibid.*, Jan. 13, 1927; "Gegen die Negerkultur," *ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1930.
  26. Margarete Plewnia, pp. 7–8, traces this view from Heiden through Bullock, Maser, Bracher, and Mosse.
  27. *Totengräber Russlands* (Munich: Deutscher Volksverlag, Dr. E. Boepple, 1921); "Im neuen Deutschland," *Auf Gut Deutsch* (Jan.–Mar. 1920), whole issue; "Aus Ungarns Schreckenstagen," *Auf Gut Deutsch* (May 1920), whole issue. The cartoons were by Otto von Kursell.
  28. See especially Alfred Rosenberg, *Die Spur des Juden im Wandel der Zeiten* (Munich: Boepple, 1920).
  29. Eckart, "Das Judentum in und ausser uns," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, serially nos. 1–7, Jan.–Apr. 1919, especially pp. 28–31, 79–80, 95–96, 109–12.
  30. "Das Judentum in und ausser uns," pp. 28–31, 109–12; "Der grosse Krumme," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, no. 1, Dec. 7, 1918, pp. 3–8. See also Plewnia, p. 29.
  31. "Das Judentum in und ausser uns," pp. 109–12. See also "Zwiesprache," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, no. 2, Jan. 10, 1919, pp. 18ff.; "Der Herr Rabbiner aus Bremen," *ibid.*, no. 37/38 (Nov. 1919), whole issue; "Das ist der Jude! Laien predigt über Juden- und Christentum," *ibid.*, no. 30/34, n.d. (ca. Oct. 1920), whole issue.
  32. Plewnia, p. 95, believes Eckart to be the author of the anti-Semitic portions of the "Twenty-Five Points" because of the presence of the phrase "Das Judentum in und ausser uns." But the restrictions of Jewish civil rights in the "Twenty-Five Points" are much closer to



- Rosenberg's thinking. See especially *Die Spur des Juden im Wandel der Zeiten*, chap. 20, in which Rosenberg proposes that all civil rights and state employment be forbidden to Jews (whom he defines according to blood and marriage ties, explicitly rejecting religious affiliation as a criterion). He also proposes that they be excluded from all cultural activities, though he thinks they should be permitted to practice a profession. For Hitler's use of the phrase "Das Judentum in und ausser uns," see Phelps, *Vierteljahrshefte*, vol. 16 (1968), pp. 390–420.
33. Plewnia is primarily interested in Eckart's probable influence on Hitler; she does not consider in detail the relations between Eckart and Rosenberg or between Eckart and Feder. The culmination of her argument, that Eckart laid the basis for the *Führer* cult, is the least convincing part of her study: see pp. 61–93.
  34. *Auf Gut Deutsch: Wochenschrift für Ordnung und Recht* (Hoheneichen Verlag: Dec. 1918–July 1920, Wolfratshausen and Munich; Aug. 1920–May 1921, Munich).
  35. For example, Eckart began to identify Judaism and Bolshevism in the same issue of *Auf Gut Deutsch* in which Rosenberg discussed this theme for the first time. See Eckart, no. 8, Feb. 21, 1919, p. 114; Rosenberg, *ibid.*, pp. 120–23.
  36. Eckart, "Der grosse Krumme," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, no. 1, Dec. 7, 1918, pp. 3–8; "Männer," *ibid.*, pp. 1–3; "Bürger . . . Wir fordern den wahren Sozialismus," *ibid.*, no. 13, May 17, 1919, p. 196; and "Deutscher und jüdischer Bolschewismus," *ibid.*, no. 25, August 22, 1919, pp. 380–399. The arguments of the last are carried forward in *Der Bolschewismus von Moses bis Lenin: Zwiegespräch zwischen Adolf Hitler und mir* (Munich: Hoheneichen, 1924; 2nd ed., Munich: Eher, 1925: *Der Bolschewismus von seinem Anfängen bis Lenin*). Plewnia's discussion (pp. 101–9) of the relationship of this work to Hitler's thought is authoritative.
  37. "An alle Werktätigen!" April 5, 1919. Reprinted as a pamphlet (Halle an der Saale: Walter Kersten, 1924), and used as election campaign literature by the Völkischsozialen Block; and in Feder, *Kampf gegen die Hochfinanz* (Munich: Eher, 1933), pp. 97–103, where Feder claims coauthorship. See also Eckart, "Männer" and "Bürger," and Rosenberg, ed., *Dietrich Eckart: Ein Vermächtnis* (Munich: Eher, 1928), introduction.
  38. Rosenberg, *Letzte Aufzeichnungen* (Göttingen, 1955), p. 77. See also Eckart's romanticized reminiscences of his revolutionary activities in "Sturmtage," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, vol. 1 (1918–20), serially in nos. 14–21.
  39. Rosenberg, "Die russisch-jüdische Revolution," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, no. 8, Feb. 21, 1919, pp. 120–23. Rosenberg so valued this essay that he reprinted it often. See *Die Spur des Juden im Wandel der Zeiten*, pp. 20–32; "Der jüdische Bolschewismus in Russland," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Nov. 26, 1921; "Der jüdische Bolschewismus," in *Totengräber Russlands*, pp. 3–5; and the introduction in *Pest in Russland! Der Bolschewismus, seine Häupter, Handlanger und Opfer* (Munich: Boepple, 1922).

40. See, in addition to works mentioned in n. 39, *Der staatsfeindliche Zionismus auf Grund jüdischer Quellen erläutert* (Hamburg: Deutschvölkische Verlagsanstalt, 1922); *Der völkische Staatsgedanke, Untergang und Neugeburt* (Munich: Eher, 1924); *Die internationale Hochfinanz als Herrin der Arbeiterbewegung in allen Ländern* (Munich: Boepple, 1925). In *Das Verbrechen des Freimaurerei: Judentum, Jesuitismus, deutsches Christentum* (Munich: Lehmann, 1921), Rosenberg assimilated Jesuits and freemasons into his conspiratorial theory.
41. The identification of Jews and Bolsheviks appears first in "Die russisch-jüdische Revolution." References to the role of banking circles begin in *Die Spur des Juden*, chap. 20; to Zionism, *ibid.*, chap. 13. See also "Hochverrat der deutschen Zionisten," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, no. 11/12, March 31, 1921, 153–72; no. 13/15, April 20, pp. 198–208; no. 16/18, May 17, pp. 226–38.
42. *Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion und die jüdische Weltpolitik* (Munich: Boepple, 1923): not a new edition of the *Protocols* but a commentary on them, with some quotations from them. Rosenberg did not, of course, bring the *Protocols* to Germany, and although Robert Cecil argues that he read them in 1917, Cecil's only evidence for this is an unsupported statement by Heiden (Cecil, p. 17; Heiden, *Der Fuehrer*, p. 9). The first hint of familiarity with the *Protocols* in Rosenberg's work comes in *Die Spur des Juden* (1920), in which Rosenberg's references to Tolstoy echo the writings of Fyodor Vinberg, one of the purveyors of the *Protocols*. (For German editions of the *Protocols* see Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide* [New York: Harper & Row, 1966], pp. 129–35.) It is noteworthy that Rosenberg did not review the *Protocols* until February 1921; see "Bücherschau," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, no. 5/6, Feb. 15, 1921.
43. *Schriften und Reden*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1943), contains one rather ambiguous reference to Jews from 1917 ("Gedanken über Persönlichkeit," vol. 1, pp. 15–16) and three anti-Semitic essays from the summer of 1918 ("Eine ernste Frage," pp. 75–79; "Über Religions-Unterricht," pp. 79–88; "Der Jude," pp. 88–115) among a wide variety of essays on art, architecture, archaeology, and aesthetics. While such editions after the fact are not necessarily reliable, there was no reason, in 1943, for Rosenberg to hide his early anti-Semitism.
44. "Um eine Weltanschauung," *Völkischer Beobachter*, May 24/25, 1925; "Nationalsozialismus im Weltkampf," *ibid.*, Nov. 7/8, 1926; "Auseinandersetzung über Wundts 'Deutsche Weltanschauung,'" *ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1927. See also Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918–1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 148–53, 155–67.
45. Munich: Boepple, 1924–44.
46. According to *Letzte Aufzeichnungen*, pp. 69–71, Rosenberg's first impulse on arriving in Germany was to attempt to sell some paintings and/or a previously written tract on aesthetics (perhaps the same as "Objektiver und individueller Stil," in *Schriften und Reden*, vol. 1, pp. 46–54, or "Von Form und Formung im Kunstwerk," *ibid.*, pp. 27–45, both dated May 1918). Although he was a trained architect, by

his own account he does not seem to have tried very hard to find a job in this field, although, of course, in Germany in 1918 and 1919 there was scarcely any work for architects (or for engineers, which may have some bearing on Feder's political activities). Thus, jobless, it is quite likely that Eckart's patronage would have swayed him toward anti-Semitic journalism. "Die russisch-jüdische Revolution" shows that Rosenberg kept himself very well informed about events in Russia after he left, presumably through Russian newspapers. He must therefore have known that he was distorting the facts; there is thus a real possibility that he did so intentionally and perhaps cynically, to please Eckart. Eckart's death at the end of 1923 may have released Rosenberg from some sense of obligation and permitted him to return to an emphasis on his own earliest interests.

47. On foreign policy, *Der völkische Staatsgedanke* (Munich: Eher, 1924); *Der Zukunftsweg einer deutschen Aussenpolitik* (Munich: Eher, 1927). Rosenberg's influence on Nazi foreign policy is assessed in H. A. Jacobsen, *Nationalsozialistische Aussenpolitik 1933-38* (Frankfurt am Main, 1968), and in G. Schubert, *Anfänge der Nationalsozialistische Aussenpolitik* (Cologne, 1963). On art and culture see, in addition to works cited in n. 44, *Houston Stewart Chamberlain als Verkünder und Begründer einer deutschen Zukunft* (Munich: Eher, 1927); *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Hoheneichen Verlag, 1930).
48. According to *Letzte Aufzeichnungen*, Rosenberg developed an early enthusiasm for the works of the then distinguished (though controversial) archaeologist Gustav Kossina, who in 1906 and 1912 set forth the idea that the Indo-European, or "Aryan," "homeland" was to be found along the Baltic. See also Rosenberg, "Einzelne Gedanken," dated 1917, *Schriften und Reden*, vol. 1, pp. 12-13, 16, 24-26. It is important to realize that, in equating "Aryans" and "Indo-Europeans," Rosenberg was following established and respectable current usage: not only did Kossina confound the two, but so did V. Gordon Childe (*The Aryans* [New York, 1926]).
49. Feder, *Der Dawespakt* (Munich: Eher, 1928); *Das Programm der NSDAP* (Munich: Eher, 1927); *Die Wohnungsnot und die soziale Bau- und Wirtschaftsbank* (Munich: Eher, 1929), and nn. 13 and 14, above.
50. In January 1929, the *NS-Briefe* announced that a major treatise by Gregor and Otto Strasser, Ernst Graf zu Reventlow, Herbert Blank, and Reinhold Muchow, "National Socialism as the Weltanschauung of the Twentieth Century," was forthcoming. (The book appeared as no. 1 of the *Grünen Hefte der NS-Briefe* series, 5 vols. [Berlin: Kampf-Verlag, 1929].) Very soon after this announcement, Rosenberg began to refer to the need for national socialism to provide a new, twentieth-century "myth." See "Die Kulturkrise der Gegenwart," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Feb. 27, 1929.
51. See, for example, Winfried Wendland, "Kulturbolschewismus," *NS-Briefe*, no. 18, Mar. 15, 1929, pp. 292-97; idem, "Vom Sinn der Kunst," *ibid.*, no. 8, Oct. 15, 1929, pp. 123-26; and idem, *Nationalsozialismus und Kunst*, no. 4 of the *Grünen Hefte*, Nov. 1929.

52. Alfred Rosenberg, "Nationaler Sozialismus?" *Völkischer Beobachter*, Feb. 1, 1927; Gregor answered in "Nationaler Sozialismus," *NS-Briefe*, no. 34, Feb. 15, 1927. Otto Strasser, "Gewinnbeteiligung!" *NS-Briefe*, Jan. 15, 1929; Gottfried Feder, "Gewinnbeteiligung," in *Volk und Gemeinde*, series 8 (Troppau, 1929); reprinted in *Der Kampf gegen die Hochfinanz*, pp. 214–233.
53. On the Strassers as dissidents, see Kühnl, Nyomarkay, Bullock, Mosse, Bracher, and many others. Otto Strasser wrote for the *NS-Briefe* and the Strasser newspapers (which included the *Berliner Arbeiter-Zeitung*, *Sächsischer Beobachter*, *Rheinisch-Westfälische Arbeiter-Zeitung*, *Märkischer Beobachter*, and six editions of *Der nationale Sozialist*); he also edited the *Berliner Arbeiter-Zeitung* for a brief period. Gregor edited the *NS-Briefe* from Oct. 1, 1926, to July 1930 (taking over from Goebbels, who was editor from Nov. 1, 1925, to Sept. 1926), and wrote an extraordinary volume of short essays for these and other Nazi publications. The Kampf-Verlag itself owed most of its direction to Gregor; it was closed down in 1930 not by party fiat, but by letting Otto take it over and run it into bankruptcy. Gregor's organizational activities (he was Propagandaleiter and then Reichsorganisationsleiter) are treated by Orlow and Kele; his career as a Reichstag member is not yet well understood.
54. See, for example, Michael Geismeyer [pseud.], *Gregor Strasser* (Leipzig, 1933); Otto Strasser, *Juni Sonnabend 30: Vorgeschichte, Verlauf, Folgen* (Prague, 1934); *Die deutsche Bartholomäusnacht* (Zurich, 1935); *Wohin treibt Hitler?* (Prague, 1936); *Europa von Morgen* (Zurich, 1939); *Hitler und Ich* (Buenos Aires, 1940); *Hitler and I* (Boston, 1940); *L'aigle prussien sur l'Allemagne* (Montreal, 1941); *The Gangsters around Hitler* (London, 1942); *Germany in a Disunited World* (Eastbourne, England, 1947); *Exil* (Munich, 1958). These writings should be used only with extreme caution, and this is also true for the memoirs, polemics, and apologies of other former members of the Strasser circle: Krebs, Blank, Niekisch, Hierl.
55. Helmut Heiber, ed., *Das Tagebuch von Joseph Goebbels 1925–26* (Stuttgart, 1961), pp. 59–62.
56. Stressed by Kühnl, Bullock, Orlow, and Kele.
57. Nyomarkay, pp. 82–89.
58. There were several versions of the full-employment program. Gregor Strasser made it public initially in a Reichstag speech of May 10, 1932; this speech was republished as *Arbeit und Brot!* (Munich: Eher, 1932) shortly thereafter, and reprinted again in Strasser's *Kampf um Deutschland* (Munich: Eher, 1932), pp. 345–78. Another version, prepared by the Hauptabteilung IV (Wirtschaft) der Reichsorganisationsleitung der NSDAP, and introduced by Strasser, was published in July as *Wirtschaftliches Sofortprogramm der NSDAP* (Munich: Eher, 1932). Another version, or perhaps a commentary upon the others, was "Das nationalsozialistische Arbeitsbeschaffungsprogramm und seine Finanzierung," *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft* (Berlin), special issue no. 1, Aug. 1932. The authorship is disputed: Gerhard Kroll, *Von der Weltwirtschaftskrise zur Staatskonjunktur*, argues that Gregor Strasser could not have written such a

- bold program for public works and deficit spending; Gerhard Schulz, *Aufstieg des Nationalsozialismus*, basing his argument on the August version, sees Strasser merely as a sponsor of the economic theories of Adrian von Renteln, Otto Wagener, Heinrich Dräger, and Robert Friedländer-Precht. But on the contrary the bases for such a program were laid by Feder, and many of Gregor's earlier speeches and articles contain its major outlines. See, for example, Gregor Strasser, "Instinktolose Geschäftemacher," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Oct. 20, 1925; "Es lebe die Revolution," *ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1926; "Bürger oder Proletarier," *ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1926; "Freiheit und Brot für den deutschen Mann," *ibid.*, Mar. 19–20, 1929; "Für den Staat der Arbeiter und Soldaten," *ibid.*, Mar. 21, 1929; "Gregor Strassers Abrechnung mit den Young-Parteien," *ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1930. Strasser himself implied that the main ideas were his, and that the details were being worked out by professional economists (see, in addition to *Arbeit und Brot!*, "Gregor Strasser und Wilhelm Dreher über das Arbeitsbeschaffungsprogramm der NSDAP," *Völkischer Beobachter*, May 22–23, 1932); since he in fact directed the work of Hauptabteilung IV of the Reichsorganisationsleitung, this seems very likely.
59. Hitler did endorse a modified version, the NSBO. There is, however, considerable disagreement as to whether the NSBO was an effective organization: Orlow, pp. 196–97, thinks not; Kele, pp. 149–56, thinks it was.
  60. "Die Götzendämmerung des Marxismus," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Apr. 8, 1925; "Die Herrschaft des Kapitalismus," *ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1926; "Die Versklavung der Eisenbahner," *ibid.*, Feb. 26, 1926; "Triumph der Börse," *ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1926; and many others.
  61. 58 *Jahre Young-Plan!* (Berlin: Kampf-Verlag, 1929). See also: "Immer wieder: Fort mit Locarno," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Nov. 18, 1925; "Der Betrug der Abrüstung," *ibid.*, June 12, 1926; "Gedanken über Aufgaben der Zukunft," *NS-Briefe*, June 15, 1926; "Versailles–Dawes–Bauernnot," *Berliner Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Feb. 28, 1928, whole issue; "Gregor Strassers Abrechnung mit den Young-Parteien," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Oct. 21, 1930; "Deutschland nur Deutschland!" *ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1932.
  62. Works cited in n. 61.
  63. "Nationalsozialismus und Landwirtschaft," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Mar. 7, 1930, dated Mar. 6, 1930, over Hitler's signature.
  64. Section IV.A. of the draft program as published by Reinhard Kühnl in *Vierteljahrshefte*, vol. 14 (1966), pp. 317–33; Gregor Strasser and Joseph Goebbels, "Resolution der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Nordwest der NSDAP zur Frage der Fürstenabfindung," *NS-Briefe*, Feb. 1, 1926. Gregor Strasser, "Nationale Wirtschaft," in *Kampf um Deutschland* (Munich: Eher, 1932), no page numbers, dated June 13, 1925; "Wir und die Agrarzölle," *Völkischer Beobachter*, June 11, 1925; "Nochmals: Wir und die Agrarzölle," *ibid.*, June 28/29, 1925; "Der Weg in die deutsche Not–Der Weg aus der deutschen Not," *ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1925; and works cited in n. 61.
  65. Orlow, pp. 128–84, sees the appeal to the farmers as a result of the May 1928 elections, in which the party lost votes in urban areas and

- gained them in rural ones. Certainly the election returns confirmed the importance of agriculture to the Nazi cause, but appeals to the small farmer loomed very large in the *Völkischer Beobachter* from 1925 on and dominated the pages of the *NS-Briefe* between 1925 and 1927. The *NS-Briefe*, during these years, helped to bring into the party a number of lesser ideologues whose exclusive interest was the plight of the small farmers. See especially Erich Rosikat, articles of no. 4, Nov. 15, 1925, no. 14, Apr. 15, 1926, and no. 40, May 15, 1927; Hans Seibert, no. 22, Aug. 15, 1926; Herbert Backe, no. 26, Oct. 15, 1926; Gross, no. 25, Oct. 1, 1926; Böttcher, no. 8, Jan. 15, 1926. In view of Ackermann's belief (*Heinrich Himmler*, p. 205) that Himmler was already influenced by "Blut und Boden" ideas at this time, it is worth noting that Himmler's writings for the Strasser publications use Feder's and Strasser's terminology. See "Die Lage der Landwirtschaft," *NS-Briefe*, no. 13, Apr. 1, 1926; and "Bauer, wach auf!" *Der nationale Sozialist für Sachsen*, Aug. 1, 1926.
66. Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism*, p. 327.
  67. "Gedanken"; "Frontsoldaten," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Apr. 24/25, 1927; "Quo vadis Reichswehr," *ibid.*, Mar. 16, 1928; "Ziele und Wege," *NS-Briefe*, no. 1, July 1, 1927 [new numbering begins with this issue], pp. 3–23; with Otto and others, *Der Nationalsozialismus—die Weltanschauung des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Grünen Hefte der *NS-Briefe*, no. 1 [Berlin: Kampf-Verlag, 1929]); *Das letzte Abwehrkampf des Systems* (Munich: Eher, 1931), reprinted in *Kampf um Deutschland*, pp. 317–35. Roehm's memoirs also contained many of these themes: Ernst Roehm, *Die Geschichte eines Hochverraters* (Munich: Eher, 1928).
  68. "Gedanken"; and "Eine sehr notwendige Feststellung," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Feb. 12, 1932.
  69. Women's place was in the home, as wives and mothers of German soldiers. Strasser stressed the perils of childbirth and compared them to the dangers faced by the front soldier. Nazi women were urged to take a soldierly attitude to motherhood. "Gedanken"; and "Die Frau und das Nationalsozialismus," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Apr. 6, 1932.
  70. "Lüge der Demokratie," *Der nationale Sozialist für Sachsen*, May 23, 1926; "Es lebe die Revolution!" *ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1926, reprinted *Völkischer Beobachter*, Nov. 9, 1926; "Von der Revolt zur Revolution!" *Berliner Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Nov. 6, 1927; "Nationalsozialismus und Geschichte," in *NS-Jahrbuch* (Munich: Eher, 1928), pp. 190–99; "Macht Platz, Ihr Alte!" *Berliner Arbeiter-Zeitung*, July 13, 1930 (reprinted in *Kampf um Deutschland*, pp. 171–75; which gives original date as May 8, 1927). Goebbels, at first, was also energetic in calling for the "second revolution"; see "Die Revolution als Ding an sich," *NS-Briefe*, no. 23, Sept. 1, 1926, and *Die zweite Revolution: 15 Briefe an Zeitgenossen* (Berlin: Kampf-Verlag, 1926). Kele sees Goebbels as the most radical of the Nazi leaders, but his most radical-sounding writings are singularly lacking in content.
  71. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 323–27.
  72. "Gedanken"; see also "Nationalsozialismus und Geschichte."
  73. "Vom Wesen des Kapitalismus," *NS-Briefe*, no. 2, July 15, 1927; *Berliner*

- Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Aug. 10, 1930, after Otto's break with the party.
74. Works cited in n. 73, and *Der Nationalsozialismus—die Weltanschauung des 20. Jahrhunderts*.
  75. "Völkische Bauernschaft," *Der nationale Sozialist für Sachsen*, Aug. 15, 1926. Otto affected pseudonyms drawn from past leaders of peasant revolutions: Ulrich von Hutten, Michael Geismeyer. Unlike Gregor and Feder, Otto did not write very often for the journal of the NSBO, *Das Arbeitertum*.
  76. With Ernst Jünger, Herbert Blank, and Franz Schauwecker, *Vom Sinn des Krieges: Eine Antwort an Remarque* (Berlin: Kampf-Verlag, 1929), no. 3 of the Grüne Hefte. See also "Pazifismus und Sozialismus," *Der nationale Sozialist für Sachsen*, Jan. 30, 1927.
  77. "14 Thesen der deutschen Revolution," *NS-Briefe*, no. 1, July 1, 1929, pp. 22–24; *Berliner Arbeiter-Zeitung*, July 28, 1929. Kele, p. 158n., says that Herbert Blank probably wrote the *Theses*, and cites the July 1, 1929, issue of *NS-Briefe*. I can find no evidence there to support his view.
  78. *NS-Briefe*, no. 1, July 1, 1929, pp. 22–24.
  79. Goebbels, "Vom Chaos zur Form," *NS-Briefe*, no. 3, Aug. 1, 1929.
  80. Goebbels, "Nationalsozialismus oder Bolschewismus," *NS-Briefe*, no. 2, Oct. 15, 1925. For Goebbels' and Gregor's proposal to the Hanover Conference for a Russian entente, see Kele, pp. 96–97.
  81. Gregor Strasser, "Russland und wir," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Oct. 22, 1925. Otto Strasser, "Trotzskis Ende," *NS-Briefe*, no. 8, Oct. 15, 1927; "Die Krise des Kommunismus," *ibid.*, no. 15, Feb. 1, 1929; and especially "Der Sowjetstern geht unter," *ibid.*, no. 12, Dec. 15, 1927, republished as no. 2 of the Grüne Hefte (Berlin: Kampf-Verlag, 1929). See also "10 Jahre Sowjet Union," *NS-Briefe*, no. 10, Nov. 15, 1927, and *Internationale Marxismus oder nationaler Sozialismus: Eine Grundlegende Diskussion zwischen Otto Strasser und Bruno Frei* (Berlin: Verlag der nationale Sozialist, 1930), published after Otto's break with the party.
  82. For example, in "Ministersessel oder Revolution?" *Berliner Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Aug. 10, 1930; published as a pamphlet by the Kampf-Verlag, 1930.
  83. Only one early article, "Wahlbeteiligung oder nicht?" *NS-Briefe*, no. 5, Dec. 1, 1925, is at all suggestive of this position.
  84. Lane, pp. 148–52, 156–60.
  85. *Ibid.*
  86. See the biographical note by Heinz Haushofer in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin, 1957), vol. 3, p. 517.
  87. *Das Bauerntum als Lebensquell der Nordischen Rasse* (Munich: Lehmann Verlag, 1929, new editions 1933, 1934, 1935, 1937, 1938, 1940, 1942). *Neuadel aus Blut und Boden* (Munich: Lehmann Verlag, 1930, new editions 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1943). Schuman, Heiden, and other early writers on the Nazis often pointed to these works as a source of the policies of the SS.
  88. Alan Bullock, rev. ed., 1961, p. 110; Gerald Reitlinger, *The SS: Alibi of a Nation* (London, 1956), p. 29; and Willi Frischauer, *Himmler: The Evil Genius of the Third Reich* (London, 1953), pp. 28–29, say that

Darré joined the party in 1928. Höhne and Ackermann show some uncertainty on this point, but Orlow, p. 180, and Schulz, p. 470, n. 55, have him entering the party in time to write the agricultural program in March. Yet there is as yet no documentary evidence which clearly establishes Darré's active party membership before August 21, 1930 (BA-Koblenz, Nachl. Darré, AD 45, cited by Horst Gies, "NSDAP und Landwirtschaftliche Organisationen in der Endphase der Weimarer Republik," *Vierteljahrshefte*, vol. 15 [1967], pp. 341–376, and p. 346, n. 21). Darré himself claimed that he had no association with the party or with Hitler before April 1930: *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal* (Nuremberg, 1949), vol. 42, pp. 405–7. Gies, p. 344, shows him to have been in close touch with the Thuringian wing of the party from February, but without official status until May at the earliest. Michael Kater's excellent essay, "Die Artamanen–Völkische Jugend in der Weimarer Republik," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 213 (1971), pp. 577–638, assembles conflicting evidence on Darré's relations with the party, but comes to no firm conclusion as to when he joined. See especially pp. 623–28, nn. 295–96.

89. Horst Gies, "NSDAP und Landwirtschaftliche Organisationen," p. 343.
90. On the basis of the relationships described by Gies and Kater and the evidence cited in Lane, *Architecture and Politics*, p. 156, it seems to me most likely that Darré was introduced to the party by Paul Schultze-Naumburg, not by Himmler.
91. Lane, pp. 153–56.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. The influence is clear by 1931, uncertain before that date. Ackermann and Höhne, in the process of trying to show the roots of these ideas in the Artamanenbewegung, concoct a fictional meeting between Himmler and Darré in that movement. See also nn. 65 and 88, above.
95. "Landstand und Staat," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Apr. 19–20, 1931, Apr. 21, 1931; *Landvolk in Not und seine Rettung durch Adolf Hitler* (Munich: Eher, 1932). See also "Auf den Weg," *Nationalsozialistische Landpost*, Sept. 1931; and "Ostraumgedanke oder Rückforderung unserer Kolonien?" *Völkischer Beobachter*, May 9, 1931.
96. *Das Zuchtziel des Deutschen Volkes* (Munich: Lehmann Verlag, 1931).
97. Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism*, p. 325.
98. The evolution of the Arbeitsdienst is traced by Wolfgang Benz, "Vom freiwilligen Arbeitsdienst zur Arbeitsdienstpflicht," *Vierteljahrshefte*, vol. 16 (1968), pp. 317–46. According to Benz, Konstantin Hierl was the leading proponent of the Arbeitsdienst within the party.
99. Lane, *Architecture and Politics*, pp. 169–84.

### The Twister

1. Friedrich Ebert (1871–1925): Social Democratic leader during the First World War, head of the provisional government in 1918, first president of the Weimar Republic (1919–1925); Ernst Müller-Meiningen



- (1866–1944): leader of the German Democratic Party (DDP), Bavarian Minister of Justice (1919); Matthias Erzberger (1875–1921): leader of the left wing of the Catholic Center Party, chairman of the armistice commission (1918), minister of finance (1919); Erzberger was assassinated by nationalists for his policy of cooperation with the victorious Allies; Oskar Cohn (1869–1934): Independent Socialist leader and member of the Reichstag; Otto Wiemer (1868–1931): vice president of the Prussian Landtag.
2. *Freiheit*, the newspaper of the Independent Social Democrats.
  3. Otto Landsberg (b. 1869): Social Democrat, member of the first government of the Weimar Republic, minister of justice.
  4. Kurt Eisner (1867–1919): leader of the Independent Socialists, organizer of the Munich revolution, first prime minister of the Bavarian Republic (1918–1919); Eisner was assassinated by a right-wing student.

### Guidelines of the German Workers' Party

1. See *Mein Kampf*, vol. 1, chap. 9, for Hitler's description of the DAP.

### Jewishness in and around Us

1. "Fragmente zur Geschichte der Philosophie," in *Parega und Paralipomena: Kleine philosophische Schriften* (Berlin, 1851), section 13: "Noch einige Erläuterungen zur Kantischen Philosophie."
2. Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855–1927): author of *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1938), influential in propagating a racial theory of history.
3. Hitler, in *Mein Kampf*, writes that the Jews live only for this earth, and that they have no religion because they do not believe in an after-life (pp. 64, 306). Hitler's anti-Semitism was clearly racial.
4. Expression for a braggart; it entered into common usage through the translation of the Norwegian-Danish playwright Ludvig Holberg's comedy *Jakob von Tyboe* (1741), in which the main character, a boastful officer, is named Bramarbas.
5. Otto Weininger (1880–1903): author of *Geschlecht und Charakter* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1903). See prefatory note.
6. Martin Buber (1878–1965): Jewish philosopher and religious scholar active in the Zionist movement.

### Manifesto for Breaking the Bondage of Interest

1. See Introduction, n. 13.
2. See Introduction, nn. 16–18.
3. See Introduction, n. 24.
4. See Hitler's discussion of Feder and loan capital in *Mein Kampf*, pp. 209–215.

### To All Working People!

1. "Sturmtag," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, vol. 1 (1918–20), serially in nos. 14–21.
2. "Bürger . . . Wir fordern den wahren Sozialismus," *Auf Gut Deutsch*, no. 13, May 17, 1919, p. 196.
3. G. Feder, *Der Kampf gegen die Hochfinanz* (Munich: Eher, 1933), p. 97.
4. Mendelssohn, Bleichröder, Friedländer, Warburg: German Jewish banking families.

5. Ferdinand Lassalle (1825–1864): founder of the German Social Democratic Party; Max Levien: Russian Jew and Communist, proclaimed Communist government in Bavaria in 1919 in opposition to Soviet Republic of the Independent Socialists; Gustav Landauer (1870–1919): Independent Socialist, proclaimed Soviet Republic of Bavaria in 1919, murdered by nationalists; Erich Mühsam (1878–1934): poet and playwright, Independent Socialist, proclaimed Soviet Republic with Landauer.

### The Social State

1. Reprinted in *Der Kampf gegen die Hochfinanz*, pp. 40–50; same ideas in *Der deutsche Staat auf nationaler und sozialer Grundlage* (see Introduction, n. 14).
2. Philipp Scheidemann (1865–1939): leader of the Social Democratic Party, first chancellor of the republic.
3. Adolf Hoffmann (1858–1930): Social Democratic politician, Prussian Kultusminister (1918–1919).
4. Collective expression for the different kinds of councils. [Feder's note.]

### The Program of the NSDAP

1. See for example the manifesto issued by Adolf Hoffmann, Bavarian SPD leader, in April 1919, cited by Allan Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria, 1918–1919: The Eisner Regime and the Soviet Republic* (Princeton, 1965), p. 314, n. 15.
2. See especially R. Phelps, "Hitler als Parteiredner im Jahre 1920," *Vierteljahrshefte*, vol. 11 (1963), pp. 274–88.
3. Phelps, *ibid.*, discusses both documents.
4. A. Rosenberg, *Wesen, Grundsätze und Ziele der Nationalsozialistischen deutschen Arbeiterpartei* (Munich: Boepple, 1923).
5. G. Feder, ed., *Das Programm der NSDAP und seine weltanschaulichen Grundgedanken* (Munich: Eher, 1927).
6. Hitler deals explicitly with the demand for territory in the East in *Mein Kampf*, vol. 2, chap. 14. See also his *Secret Book*.
7. See *Mein Kampf*, vol. 2, chap. 3, on citizenship.
8. Hitler deals with education in *Mein Kampf*, vol. 2, chap. 2.
9. Hitler discusses federalism in *Mein Kampf*, vol. 2, chap. 10.

### The Protocols of the Elders of Zion and Jewish World Policy

1. Cohn, 138; see also 136–37.
2. The principal exception is *Der Sumpf: Querschnitte durch das 'Geistes'-Leben der November-Demokratie* (Munich: Eher, 1930), a scurrilous attack on individuals prominent in film, music, literature, and the theater.
3. By 1933, Rosenberg's book had sold 25,000 copies. In both editions—that of 1923 and that of 1933—it was published not by Eher, but Ernst Boepple's Deutscher Volksverlag. In 1927, however, Eher published another commentary by Rosenberg on the same subject: Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Weltverschwörerkongress zu Basel* (Munich: Eher, 1927).
4. Cohn, pp. 194–215.
5. The extent to which the English press is run by the Jewish stock ex-

change is shown in no. 103, 1923, of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, where 29 newspapers and magazines are listed, all of which are dependent on or directly owned by Jews. For example, *The Times*, managers Preuss and Ellermann; the *Daily Telegraph* belongs to the Jewish Lord Burnham (Levy); the *Westminster Gazette*, owner Alfred Mond; the *Daily News*, the organ of the firm Cocoa, Cohen and Co.; the *Daily Graphic*, led intellectually by the Zionist Lucien Wolff, etc. [Rosenberg's footnote.]

6. *Michael*, a country bumpkin in colloquial German usage.
7. The following heroic deeds of George V of England are perhaps worth mentioning. In honor of his birthday, he named the commercial Jew David Stern a baronet; the governmental expert of the diamond trade, the Jew Arthur Levy, a knight; Lord Reading (Rufus Isaak) received the Grand Cross of the Order of Victoria; the Jew Isaacs, judge in the Supreme Court of Australia, was promoted to membership in the Privy Council; the Hebrew Abrahams became on this day supreme judge of Zanzibar. In Palestine, the celebration of the royal birthday was postponed because of a Jewish holiday (*Jewish Chronicle*, June 9, 1922). On the same day, this Jewish paper reports the king of Italy received a Jewish delegation in Trieste and manifested great interest in Jewish affairs (cf. *Vieille France*, no. 282, June 22, 1922). [Rosenberg's footnote.]
8. In New York, for example, even the performance of "The Merchant of Venice" was prohibited. The *Jewish Chronicle* of June 1, 1923, provides a very significant report from Beirut. The article reports that ten packages of the writings of the French anti-Semite Urbain Gehier had arrived there. Mr. Farhim, president of the Jewish community, and the head rabbi, Dr. Takker, went together to the French governor in order to demand the confiscation of these writings. As a matter of fact, the governor had already ordered the confiscation and forbidden the circulation of anti-Semitic literature in Syria. The editor of the *Vieille France* rightly commented: "Our property has been stolen by the French Republic, which is in the service of Jewry" (*Vieille France*, no. 332, June 7, 1923). [Rosenberg's footnote.]

### The Folkish Idea of State

1. Albert Ballin (1857–1918): director general of the Hamburg-America Line, close to William II; Walther Rathenau (1867–1922): industrialist, organizer of the war economy in the First World War, minister of reconstruction (1921), foreign minister (1922). Rathenau, who was Jewish, was assassinated by anti-Semitic nationalists for his policy of cooperation with the Allies on the question of reparations.
2. Congress of Berlin (1878): international congress to settle the Balkan situation after the Russo-Turkish war; Gerson von Bleichröder (1822–1893): private banker, friend of Bismarck.
3. *Genossenschaftswesen*: refers to the *Genossenschaftsbewegung*, an early modern socialist movement to set up cooperatives for consumption and production.
4. Cannes Conference (1922): international conference to discuss reparations.
5. Hitler set forth his ideas on the folkish state in vol. 2 of *Mein Kampf*, especially chaps. 1 and 2, originally published in 1927.

### National Socialism or Bolshevism?

1. Gustav Stresemann (1878–1929): leader of the German People's Party (Deutschnationale Volkspartei, or DNVP), chancellor (1923), minister of foreign affairs (1923–1929), pursued postwar policy conciliatory to Allies; Oskar Hergt (1869–1967): cofounder and chairman of the DNVP, minister of justice and vice chancellor (1927–1928).
2. Hitler insists in his *Secret Book* that Russia is not a nationalist state (pp. 132–35). He argues that Russia destroyed its national economy in order to give international finance full control.
3. Wilhelm Marx (1863–1946): leader of the right wing of the Catholic Center Party, chancellor (1923–1924, 1926, 1927–1928).

### The Radicalizing of Socialism

1. Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg (1848–1911): Austrian racial theorist.
2. *Der Hammer*: newspaper edited and published by Theodor Fritsch, an early and violently anti-Semitic publicist.
3. Fritz Thyssen (1873–1951): industrialist, chairman of the board of directors of the United Steel Works, author of *I Paid Hitler* (New York, 1941).

### Thoughts about the Tasks of the Future

1. Although the text reads, "Das nationale Denken . . .," Strasser must mean "liberal thinking."
2. Franz von Pfeffer (b. 1888): Gauleiter and head of the SA in the Ruhr (1925–1926), chief of staff of the SA (1928–1931), member of the Reichstag (1932).
3. Hitler, too, saw motherhood as analogous to military service and urged that men become citizens after completion of military service, women after marriage or if active in economic life. See *Mein Kampf*, pp. 414, 440–441.
4. Probably a reference to A. Moeller van den Bruck's *Der preussische Stil* (Munich, 1916).

### Farmer, Wake Up!

1. On scholars' attempts to discover a "blood and soil" doctrine in Himmler's early thought, see Introduction, n. 65.
2. Karl Gandorfer and Konrad Kübler, leaders of the radical wing of the Bayerischer Bauern- und Mittelstandsbund (BBMB) in Lower Bavaria, where Himmler was acting Gauleiter. According to Geoffrey Pridham (*Hitler's Rise to Power* [New York, 1973], pp. 64–73), Lower Bavaria was one of the earliest sites of agrarian discontent during the Weimar Republic; he suggests that the Nazi Party learned from the example of the BBMB.

### National Socialism and the State

1. Heinrich Friedrich Karl vom und zum Stein (1757–1831): Prussian reformer and statesman involved in the reconstruction of the state after the defeat by Napoleon.
2. Unlike Strasser, Hitler praised Italy and Mussolini throughout both *Mein Kampf* and the *Secret Book*.

### **The Peasantry as the Key to Understanding the Nordic Race**

1. Merk, *Vom Werden und Wesen des deutschen Rechts*, Langensalza 1926. [Darré's footnote.]
2. Walther Merk (1883–1937): professor of law at Marburg and author.
3. Count Alfred von Schlieffen (1833–1913): chief of the general staff (1891–1905), field marshal, creator of the famous Schlieffen Plan.
4. Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl (1823–1897): historian of culture, novelist, professor of political economy, director of the Bavarian National Museum, influential in the "folkish movement."
5. [Darré's footnote omitted.]
6. Although Hitler does not pay much attention to the peasantry in *Mein Kampf*, he does state that a healthy peasantry cannot be valued highly enough as the foundation of the nation (p. 138).

### **Marriage Laws and the Principles of Breeding**

1. See the works of Frederick the Great in the translation of Fr. v. Oppeln-Bornikowsky, Verlag Reimar Hobbing, Berlin 1913, Bd. VIII, S. 266/7. [Darré's footnote.]
2. Theodore Lothrop Stoddard (1883–1950): American author and racial theorist.
3. Prince Karl August von Hardenberg (1750–1822): Prussian reformer and statesman involved in reconstruction of the state after the defeat by Napoleon.
4. Karl Wildhagen (b. 1873): professor of English philology at Kiel.
5. The author took both of these answers from a book without noticing the author or title. It was not possible for him easily to find the author's name from his notes. [Darré's footnote.]
6. Speech of Iolaus, lines 297–311, *Heracleidae*. We have taken this translation from Ralph Gladstone, trans., "The Heracleidae," in David Grene and Richmond Lattimore, eds., *The Complete Greek Tragedies*, vol. 3: *Euripides* (Chicago, 1959), p. 128.

### **Official Party Statement on Its Attitude toward the Farmers and Agriculture**

1. Introduction, n. 88.
2. See, for example, the essays "Innere 'Kolonisation'" (1926) and "Das Gesetz des Minimums . . ." (1928), reprinted in *Erkenntnisse und Werden* (2nd ed., Goslar, 1940).

### **German Freedom as the Prerequisite of Folk Culture**

1. See Lane, pp. 148–52, 156–60.
2. Lane, chaps. 6 and 7, *passim*.

### **The Nature and Aim of the National Socialist Idea**

1. See, for example, Wilhelm Mommsen and Günther Franz, ed., *Die deutsche Parteiprogramme, 1918–1930* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1931), pp. 129–33.

### **The Farmers and the State**

1. This is a revised version of an essay of September 1930.

2. The *Völkischer Beobachter* has "*Lebensstand*" here rather than the correct "*Landstand*," as it appears in the original longer version of the article.
3. A reference to *Volk ohne Raum* (Munich, 1926), a popular and influential book by Hans Grimm (1875–1959).
4. The *Völkischer Beobachter* has "*organisierten Staatsgedankens*" here rather than the correct "*organischen Staatsgedankens*" as it appears in the original longer version of the article.

### **Work and Bread!**

1. See Introduction, n. 58.
2. Orlow, Kele, as cited in Introduction, n. 4.
3. See, for example, "Die Staatsidee des Nationalsozialismus; Gregor Strassers Rundfunkrede vom 14. Juni 1932," *Völkischer Beobachter*, June 16, 1932; and "Das nationalsozialistische Aufbauprogramm: Die grosse Rundfunkrede Gregor Strassers," *Völkischer Beobachter*, July 31, 1932.
4. For example, G. Kroll, cited in Introduction, n. 58.
5. Heinrich Brüning (1885–1970): leader of the right wing of the Catholic Center Party, one of the last chancellors of the Weimar Republic (1930–1932).

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Note: The index lists the names of all authors mentioned in the text and the notes. References to the documents included here are listed by title under the name of the author. Rosenberg's "Jew-naming" essays, "The Russian Jewish Revolution" and "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion and Jewish World Policy," are not fully indexed, since the number of names mentioned by Rosenberg makes such an exercise pointless. In general, concepts are only indexed when discussed specifically in the introduction or the prefatory notes.

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