

VOLUME TWO THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

CHAPTER 1: *WELTANSCHAUUNG* AND PARTY

On February 24th 1920, the first great mass meeting under the auspices of, the new movement took place. In the Hofbräuhaus-Festsaal in Munich the twenty-five theses which constituted the programme of our new Party were expounded to an audience of nearly two thousand people and each thesis was enthusiastically received.

Thus we brought to the knowledge of the public the first principles and lines of action along which was to be conducted the new struggle for the abolition of a confused mass of obsolete ideas and opinions which had obscure and often pernicious tendencies.

A new force was to make its appearance among the timid and cowardly bourgeoisie. This force was destined to impede the triumphant advance of the Marxists and bring the chariot of Fate to a standstill just as it seemed about to reach its goal.

It was evident that this new movement could gain the public significance and support which are necessary prerequisites in such a gigantic struggle only if it succeeded from the very outset in awakening a sacred conviction in the hearts of its followers.

It was not a case of introducing a new electoral-slogan into the political field, but that an entirely new *Weltanschauung* of radical significance had to be established. One must try to recall from what a feeble jumble of opinions the so-called party programmes are usually ‘cooked’ and brushed up or remodelled from time to time.

If we want to gain an insight into these programmatic monstrosities we must carefully investigate the motives which inspire the average bourgeois ‘programme committee.’

They are always influenced by one and the same preoccupation when they introduce something new into their programme or modify something already contained in it, namely, the results of the next election.

The moment these artists in parliamentary government have the first glimmering of a suspicion that their beloved public may be ready to kick up its

heels and escape from the harness of the old party wagon they begin to paint the shafts in new colours.

On such occasions the party astrologists and horoscope readers, the so-called 'shrewd and experienced men,' come forward. For the most part they are old parliamentary hands whose political schooling has furnished them with ample experience.

They can remember former occasions when the masses showed signs of losing patience and they now sense the imminence of a similar situation.

Resorting to their old prescription, they form a 'committee.' They go around among their beloved public and listen to what is being said. They carefully digest newspaper articles and gradually begin to sense what the broad masses really want, what they abhor and what they hope for.

Every section of the working community and every class of employee is carefully studied and their secret wishes weighed and considered.

Even the malicious slogans of a dangerous opposition are now suddenly looked upon as worthy of consideration, and to the astonishment of those who originally coined and circulated them, appear innocently and as a matter of course in the official vocabulary of the older parties.

So the committees meet to revise the old programme and draw up a new one, for these people change their convictions just as the soldier changes his shirt in war-time when the old one is lousy.

In the new programme, everyone gets everything he wants. The farmer is assured that the interests of agriculture will be safeguarded, the industrialist is assured of protection for his products, the consumer is assured that his interests will be protected in regards to market prices.

Teachers are given higher salaries and civil servants will have better pensions. Widows and orphans will receive generous assistance from the State.

Trade will be promoted. Tariffs will be lowered and even taxes, though they cannot be entirely abolished, will be almost done away with.

It sometimes happens that one section of the public is forgotten or that one of the demands mooted by the public has not reached the ears of the party.

In such a case what can still be pushed on to the programme, is hastily added, until finally it is felt that there are good grounds for hoping that the whole host of Philistines, including their wives, will have their anxieties laid to rest and will beam with satisfaction once again.

And so, internally armed with faith in the goodness of God and the impenetrable stupidity of the electorate, the struggle for what is called 'the reconstruction of the Reich' can now begin.

When the election day is over and the parliamentarians have held their last public meeting for the next five years, when they can leave their job of getting the populace to toe the line and can now devote themselves to higher and more pleasing tasks, then the programme committee is dissolved.

The struggle for the progressive reorganisation of public affairs becomes once again a business of earning one's daily bread, which for the parliamentarian, merely means drawing his salary. Morning after morning, the honourable member wends his way to the House, and though he may not enter the Chamber itself, he gets at least as far as the lobby, where there is the register of members attending the meeting.

His onerous service on behalf of his constituents consists in entering his name and he receives in return a small indemnity as the well-earned reward of his unceasing and exhausting labours.

After the lapse of four years, or if any crisis arises in which parliament seems faced with the danger of dissolution, these gentlemen are suddenly fired with the desire for action.

Just as the grub-worm cannot help growing into a cockchafer, these parliamentarian worms leave the great House of Puppets and on new wings flutter out among the beloved public.

They address the electors once again, give an account of the enormous labours they have accomplished and emphasise the malicious obstinacy of their opponents.

They do not always meet with grateful applause, for occasionally the unintelligent masses throw rude and unfriendly remarks in their faces.

When this spirit of public ingratitude reaches a certain pitch, there is only one way of saving the situation. The prestige of the party must be

burnished up once again. The programme has to be amended, the committee is called into existence once more, and so the swindle begins anew.

Once we understand the impenetrable stupidity of our public, we cannot be surprised that such tactics prove successful. Led by the press and blinded once again by the alluring appearance of the new programme, the bourgeois, as well as the proletarian herds of voters, faithfully return to the fold and re-elect their old deceivers.

The 'people's man' and labour candidate now change back again into the parliamentary grub and become fat and rotund as they batten on the leaves that grow on the tree of public life to be retransformed into the glittering butterfly after another four years have passed.

Scarcely anything can be so depressing as to watch this process in sober reality and to be forced to observe this repeatedly recurring fraud.

On a spiritual training ground of that kind it is not possible for the bourgeois forces to develop the strength which is necessary to carry on the fight against the organised might of Marxism. Indeed, they have never seriously thought of doing so.

Despite the admitted limitations or mental inferiority of the white race's parliamentary 'medicine-men,' they cannot seriously imagine that they can use Western Democracy as a weapon to fight against an ideology whose supporters regard democracy and all its ramifications merely as a means of paralysing their opponents and gaining for themselves a free hand to put their own methods into action. Certain groups of Marxists are, for the time being, using all their ingenuity to create the impression that they are inseparably attached to the principles of democracy.

It may be well to recall the fact that, when a crisis arose, these same gentlemen snapped their fingers at the principle of decision by majority vote, as that principle is understood by Western Democracy.

Such was the case in those days when the bourgeois parliamentarians believed that the security of the Reich was guaranteed by the monumental short-sightedness of the overwhelming majority, whereas the Marxists, backed by a mob of loafers, deserters, political place-hunters and Jewish would-be literary men, simply seized the reins of government.

This was a terrible blow to democracy. Only those credulous

parliamentary wizards who represented bourgeois democracy could have believed that the brutal determination of those whose interest it is to spread the Marxist world-pest, of which they are the carriers, could for a moment, now, or in the future, be held in check by the magical formulas of western parliamentarianism.

Marxism will march shoulder to shoulder with democracy until it succeeds indirectly in securing for its own criminal purposes, even the support of the intelligentsia of the nation whom Marxism has set out to exterminate.

But, if the Marxists should one day come to believe that there was a danger that from this witch's cauldron of our parliamentary democracy a majority might be concocted, which, if merely by reason of its numerical weight, would be in a position to legislate and thus to constitute a serious threat to Marxism, then the whole parliamentarian hocus-pocus would be at an end.

Instead of appealing to the democratic conscience, the leaders of the Red International would immediately send forth a furious rallying-cry to the proletarian masses and the ensuing fight would not take place in the sedate atmosphere of parliament, but in the factories and in the streets.

Then democracy would be annihilated forthwith, and what the intellectual prowess of the apostles who represented the people in parliament had failed to accomplish, would now be successfully carried out by dint of the crow-bar and the sledge-hammer of the exasperated proletarian masses just as in the autumn of 1918.

At one fell swoop they would make the bourgeois world see the madness of thinking that the Jewish drive towards world-conquest can be effectually opposed by means of Western Democracy.

As I have said, only a very credulous soul could think of binding himself to observe the rules of the game when he has to face a player for whom those rules are nothing but a pretext for bluff or for serving his own interests, so that he will discard them when they prove no longer useful for his purpose. All the parties that profess so-called bourgeois principles look upon political life as being in reality a struggle for seats in parliament. The moment their principles and convictions are of no further use in that struggle they throw them overboard, as if they were sand ballast, and the programmes are constructed in such a way that they can be dealt with in like manner.

But such a practice has a correspondingly weakening effect on the strength of the parties concerned. They lack the great magnetic force which alone attracts the broad masses, for the masses always respond to the compelling force which emanates from absolute faith in the ideas put forward, combined with an indomitable zest to fight for and defend them.

At a time when the one side, armed with all the weapons of its *Weltanschauung*, no matter how criminal, makes an attack against the established order, the other side will be able to resist only if its resistance takes the form of a new faith. In our case, this is a political faith which exchanges the slogans of weak and cowardly defence for the battle-cry of a courageous and ruthless attack.

Our present Movement is accused, especially by the so-called national bourgeois cabinet ministers (the Bavarian representatives of the Centre, for example) of heading towards a revolution.

We have only one answer to give to those political pygmies, namely, ‘We are trying to remedy that which you, in your criminal stupidity, have failed to accomplish. By your parliamentary jobbing you have helped to drag the nation into ruin, but we, by our aggressive policy, are setting up a new *Weltanschauung* which we shall defend with indomitable devotion. Thus we are building the steps on which our nation once again may ascend to the temple of freedom.’

Thus during the first stages of founding our Movement we had to take special care that our militant group, which fought for the establishment of a new and exalted political faith, should not degenerate into a society for the promotion of parliamentary interests.

The first preventive measure was to lay down a programme which of itself would tend towards developing a certain moral greatness that would scare away all the petty and weakling spirits who make up the bulk of our present party politicians.

Those fatal defects which finally led to Germany’s downfall afford the clearest proof of how right we were in considering it absolutely necessary to set up programmatic aims which were sharply, and distinctly defined.

Because we recognised the defects above mentioned, we realised that a new conception of the State had to be established, which in itself became a

part of our new conception of life.

In the first volume of this book I have already dealt with the term *völkisch*, and I said then that this term has not a sufficiently precise meaning to furnish the kernel around which a closely consolidated militant community could be formed. All kinds of persons, with all kinds of divergent opinions, are, at the present time, playing their own game under the motto *völkisch*.

Before I come to deal with the purposes and aims of the National Socialist German Labour Party I want to establish a clear understanding of what is meant by the concept *völkisch* and herewith explain its relation to our party movement.

The word *völkisch* does not express any clearly specified idea. It may be interpreted in several ways and in practical application it is just as general as the word 'religious,' for instance.

It is difficult to attach any precise meaning to this latter word, either as a theoretical concept or as a guiding principle in practical life.

The word 'religious' acquires a precise meaning only when it is associated with a distinct and definite form through which the concept is put into practice.

To say that a person is 'deeply religious' may be very fine phraseology, but generally speaking, it tells us little or nothing.

There may be some few people who are content with such a vague description and there may even be some to whom the word conveys a more or less definite picture of the inner quality of a person thus described.

But, since the bulk of the people are not philosophers or saints, such a vague religious idea will mean to the individual merely that he is justified in thinking and acting according to his own bent.

It will not lead to that practical faith into which inner religious yearning is transformed only when it leaves the sphere of general metaphysical ideas and is moulded to a well-defined belief.

Such a belief is certainly not an end in itself, but the means to an end. Yet it is means without which the end could never be reached at all.

This end, however, is not merely something ideal, for at bottom it is

eminently practical. We must always bear in mind the fact that, generally speaking, the highest ideals are always the outcome of some profound vital need, just as the nobility of beauty lies essentially in its practical value.

By helping to lift the human being above the level of mere animal existence, faith really contributes to consolidate and safeguard his very existence.

Take from humanity as it exists to-day the religious beliefs which it generally holds and which have been consolidated through our education, so that they serve as moral standards in practical life, and abolish religious teaching without replacing it by anything of equal value and the foundations of human existence would be seriously shaken.

We may safely say that man does not live merely to serve higher ideals, but that these ideals, in their turn, furnish the necessary conditions for his existence as a human being. Thus the circle is completed.

Of course, the word 'religious' implies certain ideals and beliefs that are fundamental. Among these we may reckon the belief in the immortality of the soul, its future existence in eternity, the belief in the existence of a Higher Being, and so on.

But all these ideas, no matter how firmly the individual believes in them, may be critically analysed by any person and accepted or rejected accordingly, until the emotional concept or yearning has been transformed into an active force that is governed by a clearly defined doctrinal faith.

Such a faith constitutes the militant feature which clears the way for the recognition of fundamental religious ideals. Without a clearly defined belief, religious feeling would not only be worthless for the purposes of human existence, but might even contribute towards general disorganisation, on account of its vague and multifarious tendencies.

What I have said about the word 'religious' can also be applied to the term *völkisch*. This word also implies certain fundamental ideas.

Though these ideas are very important indeed, they assume such vague and indefinite forms that they cannot be estimated as having a greater value than mere opinions, until they become constituent elements in the structure of a political party.

The ideals set forth in a *Weltanschauung* and the demands arising from them cannot be realised by mere sentiment and inner longing any more than freedom can be won by universal yearning for it.

Only when the idealistic longing for independence is organised in such a way that it can fight for its ideal with military force, only then can the urgent wish of a people become a vital reality.

Any *Weltanschauung*, though a thousandfold right and supremely beneficial to humanity, will be of no practical assistance in moulding the life of a people as long as its principles have not yet become the rallying-point of a militant movement which, in its turn, will remain a mere party until its activities have led to the victory of its ideals and its party doctrines form the new fundamental principles of a new national community.

If an abstract conception of a general nature is to serve as the basis of a future development, then the first prerequisite is to form a clear understanding of the nature, character and scope of this conception, since only on such a basis can a movement be founded which can draw the necessary fighting strength from the infernal homogeneity of its principles and convictions.

A political programme must be constructed on a basis of general ideas and a general *Weltanschauung* must receive the stamp of a definite political faith.

Since this faith must be directed towards ends that have to be attained in the world of practical reality, not only must it serve the general ideal as such, but it must also take into consideration the existing means that have to be employed for the triumph of the ideal. Here the practical wisdom, of the statesman must come to the assistance of the ideal, correct in the abstract, as evolved by the author of the political programme.

In this way an eternal ideal, which has everlasting significance as a guiding star to mankind, must be adapted to the exigencies of human frailty so that its practical effect may not be frustrated at the very outset through those shortcomings which are general to mankind.

The exponent of truth must here go hand in hand with him who has a practical knowledge of the mind of the people, so that from the realm of eternal verities and ideals what is suited to the capacities of human nature may be selected and given practical form.

To take abstract and general conceptions, derived from a *Weltanschauung* which is based on a solid foundation of truth and from them to mould a militant community whose members have the same political faith (a community which is precisely defined, rigidly organised, of one mind and one will) is the most important task of all, for the possibility of successfully carrying out the idea is dependent on the successful fulfilment of this task.

Out of the army of millions who feel, more or less clearly, the truth of these ideas, and may even understand them to some extent, one man must arise.

This man must have the gift of being able to formulate from the vague ideas held by the masses, principles that will be as clear-cut and firm as granite and he must be able to fight for these principles as the only true ones, until a solid rock of common faith and common will emerges above the troubled waters of vagrant ideas.

The general justification for such action lies in the necessity for it and the action of the individual will be justified by his success.

If we try to penetrate the inner meaning of the word *völkisch* we arrive at the following conclusion. The current political conception of the world is that the State, though it possesses a creative force which can build up civilisations, has nothing in common with the concept of race as the foundation of the State.

The State is considered rather as something which has resulted from economic necessity or is, at best, the natural outcome of political urge for power.

Such a conception together with all its logical consequences, not only ignores the primordial racial forces that underlie the State, but it also leads to a minimization of the importance of the individual.

If it be denied that races differ from one another in their cultural creative ability, then this same erroneous notion must necessarily influence our estimation of the value of the individual. The assumption that all races are alike leads to the assumption that nations and individuals are equal to one another. Therefore, international Marxism is merely the adoption by the Jew, Karl Marx, of a general conception of life, which had existed long before his day, as a definite profession of political faith.

If it had not already existed as a widely diffused infection, the amazing political progress of the Marxist teaching would never have been possible.

In reality what distinguished Karl Marx from the millions who were affected in the same way was that, in a world already in a state of gradual decomposition, he used the unerring instinct of the prophetic genius to detect the essential poisons, so as to extract them and concentrate them, with the art of an alchemist, in a solution which would bring about the rapid destruction of the independent nations of the earth. All this was done in the service of his race.

Thus the Marxian doctrine is the concentrated extract of the mentality which underlies the general *Weltanschauung* to-day.

For this reason alone it is out of the question and even ridiculous to think that what is called our bourgeois world can put up any effective fight against Marxism, for this bourgeois world is permeated with all those same poisons, and its *Weltanschauung* in general differs from Marxism only in degree and in the character of the persons who hold it.

The bourgeois world is Marxist, but believes in the possibility of a certain group of people—that is to say, the bourgeoisie—being able to dominate the world, while Marxism itself systematically aims at delivering the world into the hands of the Jews.

Over against all this, the *völkisch Weltanschauung* recognises that the primordial racial elements are of the greatest significance for mankind.

In principle, the State is looked upon only as a means to an end and this end is the conservation of the racial characteristics of mankind.

The *völkisch* principle does not admit that one race is equal to another, but by recognising that they are different, separates mankind into races of superior and inferior quality.

On the basis of this recognition it feels bound, in conformity with the Eternal Will that dominates the universe, to postulate the victory of the better and stronger and the subordination of the inferior and weaker thus subscribing to Nature's fundamental aristocratic principle and it believes that this law holds good even down to the last individual organism.

It selects individual values from the mass and thus operates as an organising principle, whereas Marxism acts as a disintegrating solvent.

The *völkisch* belief holds that humanity must have its ideals, because ideals are a necessary condition of human existence itself.

But, on the other hand, it denies that an ethical ideal has the right to prevail if it endangers the existence of a race that is the champion of a higher ethical ideal, for in a world composed of mongrels and Negroids all ideals of human beauty and nobility and all hopes of an idealised future for humanity would be lost for ever.

On this planet of ours human culture and civilisation are indissolubly bound up with the presence of the Aryan. If he were to be exterminated or become extinct, then the dark shroud of a new barbaric era would enfold the earth.

To undermine the existence of human culture by exterminating its custodians would be an execrable crime in the eyes of those who subscribe to the *völkisch Weltanschauung*.

Whoever dares to raise his hand against the highest image of God, sins against the bountiful Creator of this marvel and contributes to the expulsion from Paradise.

Hence the *völkisch Weltanschauung* is in profound accord with Nature's most sacred will, because it restores the free play of the forces which, through reciprocal education, will produce a higher type, until finally the best portion of mankind will possess the earth and will be free to work in spheres which lie not only within, but without the limits of that earth.

We all feel that in the distant future man may be faced with problems which can be solved only by a superior race of human beings, which is master over all the other peoples and has at its disposal the means and resources of the whole world.

It is evident that such a general definition of what is implied by the term *völkisch Weltanschauung* may easily be interpreted in a thousand different ways.

As a matter of fact, there is scarcely one of our recently founded political parties which does not in some manner have recourse to this conception; but the very fact of its independent existence, despite the many others, goes to prove its infinite variety.

Thus the Marxist conception, directed by a central organisation endowed with supreme authority, is opposed by a medley of opinions which are not ideologically impressive in face of the solid phalanx presented by the enemy.

Victory cannot be achieved with such weak weapons. Only when the international *Weltanschauung* politically directed by organised Marxism is confronted by a *völkisch Weltanschauung* equally well-organised and equally well-directed will the one side do battle with the other on an equal footing and victory be on the side of eternal truth.

The organisation and mobilisation of a *Weltanschauung* can never be carried out except on a basis of its clear definition.

The function which dogma fulfils in religious beliefs comparable to the function which party principles fulfil in a political party which is in the process of being built up. It is, therefore, essential to forge an instrument which, like the Marxist party organisation which clears the way for internationalism, can be used in fighting for this ideal. This is the aim which the National Socialist German Labour Party pursues.

That a definite formulation of the idea *völkisch* in connection with a party movement is a prerequisite for the triumph of the *völkisch Weltanschauung* is strikingly proved by a fact which is admitted, however indirectly, even by those who oppose such an amalgamation of the *völkisch* idea with party principles.

The very people who never tire of insisting again and again that the *völkisch Weltanschauung* can never be the exclusive property of any individual, because it lies dormant or 'lives' in myriads of hearts, only confirm by their own statement the simple fact that the general presence of such ideas in the hearts of millions of men has not proved sufficient to prevent the victory of the opposing ideas, which are, admittedly, championed on the recognised party political lines.

If that were not so, the German people ought already to have gained a sweeping victory instead of finding themselves on the brink of the abyss.

The international ideology achieved success because it was championed by a militantly organised party.

The reason for the failure hitherto sustained by the opposite ideology is that it lacked a united front to fight for its cause.

It is not by allowing the right of free interpretation of its general principles, but only in the limited and, consequently, concentrated form of a political organisation that a *Weltanschauung* can sustain a struggle and

triumph.

Therefore, I considered it my special duty to extract from the extensive but unformulated material of a general *Weltanschauung* the essential ideas and give them a more or less dogmatic form.

Because of their precise and clear meaning, these ideas are suited to the purpose of uniting in a common front all those who are ready to accept them as principles.

In other words, the National Socialist German Labour Party extracts the essential principles from the general conception of the *völkisch Weltanschauung*.

On these principles it establishes a political doctrine which takes into account the practical realities of the day, the character of the times, the available human material and all its deficiencies.

Through this political doctrine it is possible to bring great masses of the people into a systematic organisation which is the main preliminary that is necessary for the final triumph of this ideal.

