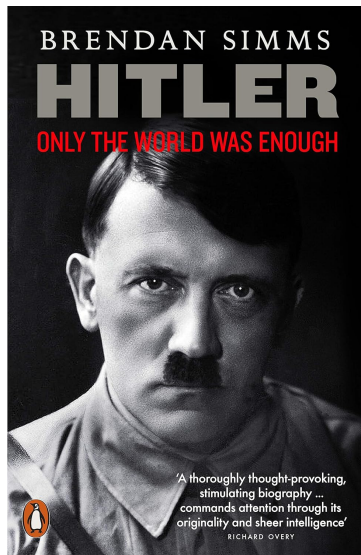


# HITLER



César Tort's annotated excerpts  
of the first chapters of Simms' book



César Tort's (editor) foreword

In Martin Kerr's list of books recommended in his introduction to National Socialism, we can see this subheading, 'Books Hostile to National-Socialism but Still Containing Valuable Information'. In line with this literary advice I bought a book, *Hitler: Only the World Was Enough* by English biographer and historian Brendan Simms.

Simms' book, once purged from its anti-Nazi sentiments, is useful for the point of view of my website *The West's Darkest Hour*: the Anglo-American world has been the villain of our film. This viewpoint contrasts dramatically with what George Lincoln Rockwell believed, and is much closer to the position of Francis Parker Yockey.

*Hitler: Only the World Was Enough* begins with a magnificent epigraph, some words from the Führer himself: 'In the end man takes his livelihood from the earth, and the earth is the trophy which destiny gives to those peoples who fight for it'.

*Lebensraum!*

Some of the final chapters contain striking titles: 'England is the motor of the opposition to us', 'The struggle against the Anglo-Saxons and plutocracy', and 'The Fall of Fortress Europe'.

Simms' prologue contains the key to deciphering his thesis. Hitler's biographer informs us that on July 17, 1918, brigade adjutant Fritz Wiedemann wrote that Private First Class Hitler dropped off two American prisoners at the headquarters of 12 Royal Bavarian Infantry Brigade. Simms adds: 'This, then, is when all it began' because these doughboys were the descendants of German immigrants, lost to the Fatherland for lack of living space (not enough *Lebensraum*). In subsequent discourses, Hitler repeatedly came back to the moment, in the mid-summer of 1918, when the first American soldiers appeared on the battlefield of

France: 'Well-grown man, men of our own blood, whom we have deported for centuries, who were now ready to grind the motherland itself into the mud'. In Hitler's mind, only the *Lebensraum* east was ultimately to become the remedy because he wanted to imitate the US somehow, an extensive 'spacial formation' he said elsewhere.

Already in the Introduction, Simms gives brief reviews of the major works on Hitler and criticises their authors for not having seen this reality, including Alan Bullock, Joachim Fest, Ian Kershaw, Peter Longerich and other standard biographers of the anti-Nazi System under which we live: biographers who deal with other facets of Hitler's personality. Simms then sets out his thesis.

What he offers us is an *intellectual* biography of Hitler, from his first conception of Germany's history and its role in the world in the wake of defeat in World War I, to his conviction that the main enemy was neither communism nor the Soviet Union, nor even international Jewry, as has hitherto been repeated in racist forums; but Anglo-Saxon capitalism and, primarily, the United States. While most historians have argued that Hitler underestimated the American threat, Simms shows that Hitler embarked on a pre-emptive war against the United States precisely because he considered it the main adversary and the only one that could destroy Germany. The Third Reich domination of virtually all of Europe, the war against the USSR and the annihilation of European Jewry were chapters in a race against time to turn the Reich into a power capable of confronting Anglo-Saxon leadership and, if not defeating it, at least achieving a bipolar world balanced between the stark Anglo-Saxon finance capitalism and a German Reich rooted in the Germanic racial tradition.

Simms' thesis is not entirely original. As we also read in the Introduction, Adam Tooze has shown to what extent the US must be considered the main reference for the Third Reich from its very beginning. In the Intro Simms also mentions the sources he used for his massive biography of Hitler. In addition to the official texts, he includes the memoirs and diaries of those close to the Führer. But he is very emphatic in stressing that

While the connection between Hitler's anti-Semitism and his anti-capitalism is often noted, and has been the subject of some individual subjects, its centrality to his worldview, and

the extent to which he was fighting a war against 'international high finance' and 'plutocracy' from start to finish, has not been understood at all.

To understand it I would advise the visitor of my website to familiarise himself with the realism of theorists such as John Mearsheimer, who teaches us how States think and how they relate to each other.

*17 May 2025*



## Part One

*by Brendan Simms*

### HUMILIATION

The first three decades of Hitler's life were characterized by obscurity and deprivation of one sort or another. Not long after his birth in the far west of the Habsburg Empire into modest but not impoverished circumstances, Adolf Hitler's situation rapidly deteriorated. His father and mother both died, the latter after a traumatic illness, and he squandered his small inheritance. His artistic talents were not recognized in Vienna. Hitler stumbled, and suffered severe hardship, before rallying and moving to Munich, then the second city of the German Empire. There he just about got by. Beyond this explicit rejection of the Habsburg Empire, Hitler showed no overt signs of politicization before reaching the age of twenty-five. The war proved to be both a liberating and a dislocating experience. During the four years of his military service, Hitler was wounded, subjected to shattering bombardments, decorated, blinded and defeated, along with so many other Germans. He ended the conflict as he began it, as a rather lonely figure on the margins of German and world history.





## Chapter I

*by César Tort*

Hitler was born on 20 April 1889, i.e. he was a year younger than my paternal grandmother, with whom I lived for a while (that means that if it hadn't been for the Anglo-Americans, I might even have met him!). He was born in Braunau am Inn in Austria. Hitler would later call himself a Bavarian on several occasions.

Hitler had an older half-brother, Alois Junior, and a half-sister, Angela, born from his father's first marriage. After the death of his first wife, Alois married his cousin Klara Pölzl, with whom he had six children, only two of whom survived: Adolf himself and his younger sister Paula. Two of Hitler's four siblings died before they were born, and another when Hitler was ten years old.

At school, the boy Adolf only got good marks in drawing and sport, but he was such a bad student that he failed one year before leaving school for good at the age of sixteen, about the age at which I, too, left school and for the same reasons (it's all brain-washing bullshit what the System teaches us there). Simms informs us:

Hitler's main preoccupations after leaving school were his financial security, his emotional life, pursuing a career as an artist and the health of his mother. The first known letter by Hitler was penned in February 1906, together with his sister Paula, asking the Finanzdirektion Linz for payment of his orphan's pension.

I will be omitting the numbers related to the endnotes throughout my quotations of Simms' book.

He visited Vienna on a number of occasions and soon moved to the imperial capital. There he pursued an interest in the operas of Richard Wagner. In the summer of 1906, Hitler saw *Tristan and Isolde* as well as *The Flying Dutchman*. He also attended the Stadttheater. He was engrossed by not only the

music but especially the architecture of opera. A postcard of the Court Opera House Vienna records that he was impressed by the ‘majesty’ of its exterior, but had reservations about an interior ‘cluttered’ with velvet and gold.

I know that many visitors find it bothersome that, whenever I can, I take the opportunity to denigrate white nationalism. But I must. Of all the post-1945 writers, I have the closest rapport with Savitri Devi—by far. Savitri hits the nail on the head in her book when she points out that the Hitler phenomenon can only be understood if we see that he was a kind of initiate. And the initiation was art! It seems easy for me to understand this because, coming from parents who were artists, it seems obvious to me that this is what motivated me to seek a different path from the crap that conventional schooling offers us (many cultural aspects look like swine to someone who understands Beauty). In other words, if contemporary racialists fail to initiate themselves into art, they won’t be able to save their race. I will not repeat Savitri’s reasons: that is why I abridged her book and translated that abridged version in my website. Simms continues:

In early 1907, Hitler’s mother was diagnosed with cancer and operated on without success. She had no medical insurance, but bills were kept low by the kindness of her Jewish doctor, Eduard Bloch. Hitler helped to look after his mother during her illness and he seems to have been devastated by her death in late December 1907.

He was eighteen years old.

It is certain, in any case, that Hitler neither blamed Bloch for his mother’s death nor became an anti-Semite in consequence. On the contrary, he remained in friendly contact with Bloch for some time after and even sent him a hand-painted card wishing him happy new year. Much later, Hitler enabled Bloch to escape from Austria on terms far more favourable than those granted for his unfortunate fellow Jews.

The young Hitler’s interests were above all musical and architectural, like the layout and architecture of Linz. He confessed to leading a hermit’s life and was plagued by bedbugs. These were times when he was on good terms with August Kubizek, another teenager. Savitri recounts some very revealing anecdotes of this

friendship in her book. Simms ignores them in his biography *Hitler*, although he writes the following:

He certainly seems to have experienced a period of poverty, telling Kubizek that 'you don't have to bring me cheese and butter anymore, but I thank you for the thought'. He was not too poor, however, to miss a performance of Wagner's *Lohengrin*.

Shortly, afterwards, Hitler left the Stumpergasse and was swallowed up by the city for more than a year. He lodged with Helene Riedl in the Felberstrasse until August 1909. His only known activity during this period was a second and equally unsuccessful application to the Academy. Hitler then lived for about a month as a tenant of Antonia Oberlerchner in the Sechshausterstrasse, leaving in mid September 1909. Even less is known about what came next. He certainly underwent some sort of economic and perhaps psychological crisis, leading to a descent from respectability.

A few years later, well before he was famous, Hitler told the Linz authorities that the autumn of 1909 had been a 'bitter time' for him. According to a statement he gave to the Vienna police in early August 1910, he spent a time in a sanctuary for the homeless at Meidling. How Hitler extricated himself is not known, but he was able to pay for a bed at the more respectable men's hostel in the Meldemannstrasse in Vienna-Brigittenau from February 1910. There he started to paint postcards and pictures which his crony and 'business' partner Reinhold Hanisch would sell to dealers; this relationship soured when he reported Hanisch to the authorities for allegedly embezzling some of the money.

Simms ends his first chapter with some of these passages:

All we know for sure is that Hitler had to mark time in the Austro-Hungarian Empire until he was twenty-four so as to keep collecting his orphan's pension. It did not help that he fell out with his half-sister Angela Raubal over their inheritance, and was forced to give way after a court appearance in Vienna in early March 1911...

In the spring of 1913, Hitler collected the last instalment of his pension. There was nothing to keep him in Vienna. When Hitler went to Munich in May 1913 his worldly possessions filled a small suitcase...

He lived happily for nearly a year under the roof of Czech spinster, Maria Zakreys, and betrayed no irritation at her limited command of German. His documented interests were architecture, town planning and music, particularly the connections between them. There was surely much more going on inside his head, but we cannot be certain what it was.

Hitler's self-description varied, but the common denominator was creativity. He registered himself as an 'artist' in the Stumpergasse in mid February 1908, as a 'student' in the Felberstrasse in mid November 1908, as a 'writer' in the Sechshausterstrasse in late August 1909, and as a 'painter' at the Meldemannstrasse in early 1910 and again in late June 1910...

He was eventually mustered in Salzburg by the Austrian authorities, in early February 1914, and found to be physically unfit to serve. In the meantime, Hitler continued to make his living by selling pictures, just as he had in Vienna.

All this makes our picture of the young Hitler closer to a sketch than a full portrait. To be sure, he was already more than a mere cipher: his artistic interests were already well established; his hostility to the Habsburg Empire, though not the reasons for it, was a matter of record... There is no surviving contemporary evidence that he was much aware of France or the Russian Empire or the Anglo-World of the British Empire and the United States. That was about to change. If the Hitler of 1914 had as yet left almost no mark on the world, the world was about to make his mark on him.

## Chapter II

The second chapter of Brendan Simms' book is entitled 'Against a World of Enemies'. Although I will follow the prose of his abridged paragraphs closely, in order not to violate the copyright of his book I will be rephrasing it. Only when I quote him verbatim will I indent the quotations. Simms published his book in 2019, begins his chapter by saying that the young Adolf reacted enthusiastically to the outbreak of the First World War, and although he doesn't publish the following photograph, he mentions it:



Adolf Hitler attends a rally in the Odeonsplatz to celebrate the declaration of war in 1914.

The enthusiastic Hitler volunteered to fight with the Bavarian army and was drafted into a regiment known as the List Regiment, the name of its commander, which included not only volunteers but also forced recruits. During weeks of training, Hitler learned to use the regulation rifle and was then sent to reinforce the German advance through Belgium and northern France.

Hitler did not, in other words, react to the outbreak of war by disappearing. Instead, he immediately volunteered for the German (technically, the Bavarian) army, an unusual choice. In August 1914, therefore, Hitler definitively turned his

back not just on Austria-Hungary, but opted decisively *for* Germany. It was his first major documented political statement.

But the curious thing is that, at this point, Hitler's main enemy was England. The first letter on record after enlistment announces his hope that he 'would get to England' apparently as a German invasion force. The target was not the Tsarist Empire, although the Russians were at that time a danger to Prussia.

The List Regiment did indeed encounter the British at Geluveld, Wytshate and Messines in the Belgian region of Flanders. Hitler took part in several frontal attacks. He himself refers to 'heaviest battles'. Despite an initial triumph, the Bavarians were eventually driven out of Geluveld. Hitler was promoted to *Gefreiter*, Private First Class. Since then he claimed 'I can say that I risked my life daily and looked death in the eye'. On 2 December Hitler was awarded the Iron Cross Second Class. 'It was', he wrote, 'the happiest day of my life'.

In a letter of February 1915, Hitler lamented the loss of life in a struggle against a 'world of international enemies' and expressed the hope not only that 'Germany's external enemy' would be crushed but that her 'inner internationalism would disintegrate'. These were times when the word globalisation wasn't yet in use. In the following letter from mid-1915 Hitler recounted a bomb hit from which he was 'rescued as by a miracle', and rejoiced that Germany was 'at last mobilising opinion against England', further evidence of his concern about Great Britain.

Hitler's next major battle, in March 1915, was preceded by even more massive bombardments by the British, followed by the first encounter with Imperial troops from the Indian Army. A month later Hitler had to face more Empire units, especially Canadian ones. In time, the array of exotic helmets in the enemy trenches—including turbans and beaked hats—gave the men of the List Regiment the sad impression that the world was up in arms against them (something that would be repeated in the Second World War). This truthful impression was reinforced the following year. Hitler was back in action in French Flanders in May-June 1916. This time the List Regiment had to face Australians and New Zealanders.

The Bavarians were once again discouraged to find themselves grappling with men who had travelled from the far side of the world to fight them in Flanders. Worse still, as Hitler's comrade Adolf Meyer recalled, some of the Australians were of German descent. One of his captives 'not only spoke excellent German, but wore my own name of Meyer into the bargain. Understandably: His father was a German, who had immigrated to Australia as a child with his parents and later married an English woman there'.

Subsequently, the List Regiment suffered the final stages of the Battle of the Somme. Hitler's bunker was hit by a British artillery barrage, wounding him in the left upper thigh. While the wound wasn't life-threatening, it was serious enough for him to be evacuated. Hitler was sent to the Beelitz military hospital in Berlin to recover.

In March 1917, Hitler returned with his unit to the regimental barracks. Shortly afterwards, List's men witnessed the heavy Canadian attack on the Vimy Ridge. And then they were directly confronted by fierce British attacks during the Battle of Arras. Then, in the late summer of 1917, the List Regiment returned to Geluveld for the Third Battle of Ypres, during which it was brutally pounded by British artillery for over a week. The combination of high explosives, shrapnel and gas caused terrible casualties. Hitler was directly involved in the fighting, as his regiment's barracks stood in the way of the British advance towards the Ypres salient.

Meanwhile, the United States entered the war on the side of the Allies in early April 1917. This decision was seen by many on both sides of the Atlantic as an act of Anglo-Saxon solidarity directed against the Teutons. Millions of Americans, many of them foreign-born, prepared to cross the Atlantic.

The List Regiment was deployed to support the major German offensive in the spring of 1918. In late March, while advancing just behind the assault troops, they encountered French soldiers from the colonies, Algerian Zouaves. Then, in mid-1918, the List Regiment encountered Americans for the first time, at the Second Battle of the Marne near Reims. Here they were forced to retreat quickly, but not without taking some prisoners. Two of them were taken by Hitler to the brigade barracks.

Colin Ross, who would later advise Hitler on the United States, and who was then serving on the western front, remembers not only the courage of the American soldiers, but also their frequent calling out to each other in German and the large number of German-speaking prisoners.

By now, the Allied blockade, control of the sky and numerical superiority were beginning irreversibly to wear down Hitler's regiment.

The German offensive was running out of steam in the face of overwhelming Allied superiority in manpower, material and energy. General Ludendorff famously spoke at the time of 'the black days of the German army'. Although Hitler was again decorated in August 1918, this time with the Iron Cross First Class, German morale collapsed under the heavy bombardment. One report lamented that 'enemy aircraft completely controls the skies'.

The growing wave of American soldiers arriving throughout September exacerbated the general feeling of despondency. Since October, more than half a million rested Americans entered the war and Africa, Australia, India and Canada continued to send whole units of soldiers to Europe.

After more than four years of war, the List Regiment had had enough. In mid-October, Hitler was wounded in a gas attack during a British bombing raid. A week later, he was sent to the Prussian Reserve Hospital northeast of Berlin. There he learned of the Armistice and the German surrender on 11 November 1918. Thus ended Hitler's four-plus years of war.

Above all, Hitler had come away from the war with a keen sense of power of the Entente, especially the British, in his eyes the most formidable of the 'world of enemies' against which he had battled in vain those four years...

In short, by the end of the war, Hitler had the 'world of enemies' firmly in his sights. The struggle against the Jews, in their capitalist or communist guises, had not yet begun, however, and nor had he explicitly targeted the United States.



### Chapter III

The third chapter of Simms' book is entitled 'The Colonisation of Germany' and begins with these words:

The immediate post-war years were a period of national disgrace for Germany. Its monarchy banished, shorn of large tracts of territory by the Versailles settlement and saddled with a huge reparations bill, the Reich was plunged into profound economic, political and psychological dislocation. Foreign soldiers, some of them of colour, occupied substantial parts of the country. Germany had fought the world and lost; now many felt she was a colony of the global system.

The very biological substance of the German people seemed to be at stake, as they grappled with the continuing blockade and then the prospect of long-term immiseration. Hitler experienced these travails both personally and politically. His own situation was even more marginal than most. He found his way through the turbulent aftermath of the war with difficulty. Hitler was also even more exercised than most Germans about the state of the Reich. He looked for answers, and he soon found them.

Hitler identified the root cause of Germany's humiliation as the power of the Anglo-American and Jewish international capitalism, which used various instruments, in particular revolutionary communism, to keep the Reich in subjection. With the help of others, but essentially under his own steam, Hitler began to develop an ideology to make sense of the world around him. By the end of this period, Hitler had undertaken a comprehensive diagnosis of the Reich's ills, though he had yet to suggest a cure. Given the depths to which Germany had fallen, Hitler expected the national revival would take generations.

Shortly after the war ended, Hitler was discharged from hospital. Then according to Simms came three decisive events. First, Hitler was chosen by his commanders to serve in the

propaganda and education section of the army, headed by Captain Karl Mayr. This indicated, according to the author of *Hitler*, an understanding that he had an aptitude for such work. Secondly, Hitler was elected *Vertrauensmann*—a person to be trusted—by the High Command, which shows that he had by then won the support of a section of his comrades. The third event was the news of the humiliating conditions of the Treaty of Versailles at the end of June 1919.

The following month Hitler took part in a debate in his Reichswehr unit; three days later he delivered a speech on the peace terms. Simms informs us that this was Hitler's first major political statement on record. Although the text hasn't survived, the content can be deduced from comments on it. The next day Hitler spoke on the subject of 'emigration'. Two days later, a Reichswehr report states that Hitler had given 'a very good, clear and spirited lecture on capitalism during which he touched, indeed he had to touch, the Jewish question'. Simms comments that this was Hitler's first recorded reference to Jews, adding that it was made in the context of capitalism, not Bolshevism.

The normie biographer Simms writes:

The 'Gemlich' letter, which is the first surviving longer political text by Hitler, defined the Jewish 'problem' partly as a medical issue. Hitler dubbed the Jews the 'racial tuberculosis of the peoples'. Partly, the 'problem' was defined in political terms, with the Jews cast as the 'driving forces of the revolution', which had laid Germany low. Here he was referring not to the events of 1917 in Petrograd but to the workers' and soldiers' councils of 1918 in Germany.

The above quote seems to suggest that this young Hitler's view of the Jews is identical to that of contemporary white nationalism. Since my approach is different, what can I say? Let's summarise my view.

Christianity introduced the doctrine that 'all are equal in the eyes of God' (the New Testament message of the rabbis who wrote it for us Gentiles). The secularisation of that Christian doctrine aggravated the matter. After the French Revolution the psyche of the Aryan went from all are equal in the eyes of God to all are equal *before the law* (see what Tom Holland says in *Dominion*).

Following this secularised principle originally inspired by Christianity, France was the first European country to grant civil equality to Jews. Indeed, the legal position of Jews in France was widely envied by Jews in other countries. As a result of the so-called Jewish emancipation, and because of the high IQ of the Jew compared to the common Gentile, the first thing Jewry did, courtesy of Napoleon, was to take over the media. Otto Glagau, who led a journal, *Der Kulturkämpfer*, complained: ‘No longer can we suffer to see the Jews push themselves everywhere to the front, everywhere seize leadership and dominate public opinion’.



An 1806 French print of Napoleon empowering the Jews.

The Christian Question is not to be underestimated. Before modernity, when the Inquisition ruled and 16th-century Spain was wiser about the Jewish Question than 19th-century Europe, Iberian whites committed ethno-suicide in the Americas by intermarrying with Amerinds. This historical fact is nothing less than a ‘checkmate’ to the Judeo-reductionism of the typical white nationalist. And even forgetting the miscegenation perpetrated by the Spanish and Portuguese and focusing on the history of Austria and Germany, it’s clear that Christianity is responsible for the empowerment of Jewry.

For example, many pan-Germanists were imprisoned in the late 1880s and early 1890s, and the League Against Anti-Semitism was founded in 1891 by a pacifist who was eventually awarded the

Nobel Prize, Bertha von Suttner. This wanker attracted a wide membership, mostly members of the educated and Gentile bourgeoisie and even aristocrats who were so scandalised by pan-Germanism that they denounced it as ‘the narrow beer-hall politics of the unshaven’. Quite a few Protestant clergymen and Catholic intellectuals subscribed to the League Against Anti-Semitism. As devout Christians, Bertha von Suttner and her husband Arthur founded the League in response to the growing ‘anti-Semitism’ across Europe. So this cancellation of the healthy mind represented by 19th-century pan-Germanism also came from Christians and their Christian principles of equality. That’s why, addressing today’s nationalists, Robert Morgan said in *The Unz Review*: ‘These ignorant imbeciles complain endlessly about Jews, but who let the Jews into white society?’

Before continuing with Simms’ book there is something I would like to clarify about the Gemlich letter which, as Brendan Simms said above, is Hitler’s first surviving political text.

Why did Hitler suddenly mention the Jews in September 1919? In *Mein Kampf* he confesses that he transvalued his values concerning the Jewish Question. Starting on page 52 in Ralph Manheim’s translation, he wrote:

For the Jew was still characterised for me by nothing but his religion, and therefore, on grounds of human tolerance, I maintained my rejection of religious attacks in this case as in others. Consequently, the tone, particularly that of the Viennese anti-Semitic press, seemed to me unworthy of the cultural tradition of a great nation. I was oppressed by the memory of certain occurrences in the Middle Ages [pogroms], which I should not have liked to see repeated.

On page 55, however, after realising how Jewry was behaving in Vienna, Hitler tells us:

My views with regard to anti-Semitism thus succumbed to the passage of time, and this was my greatest transformation of all. It cost me the greatest inner soul struggles, and only after months of battle between my reason and my sentiments did my reason begin to emerge victorious. Two years later, my sentiment had followed my reason, and from then on became its most loyal guardian and sentinel.

Albert Lindemann's *Esau's Tears* describes the conflict between the Jews and Austria and Germany. His book contextualises the information Simms mentions in his third *Hitler* chapter. Lindemann's book was published by Cambridge University Press (first edition: 1997). Although Lindemann is Jewish, his study shows that even before Hitler came to power, many Austrian and German patriots realised that Jews were taking over Germany and Austria. *Esau's Tears*, as well as Kevin MacDonald's trilogy on Jewry, are essential to illustrate how I will be approaching Simms. As a normie academic, Simms failed to make it clear from the very first pages of *Hitler* that the Jewish problem isn't a hallucination but something real.

Having clarified that the so-called Jewish problem is not a hallucination, but something real, the next step is to point out that the System brainwashes us with words that anaesthetise our understanding. Among all these words, statistically speaking, the one that has been used the most is precisely 'anti-Semitism', even more than 'racism' and 'white supremacism' as clearly illustrated by Jared Taylor through some graphs (see 'Words the Left Uses Against Us', posted on December 1, 2023 in *American Renaissance*).

It is precisely because the media have assigned a pejorative valuation to 'anti-Semite' that I prefer the term 'Jew-wise', in the sense of a sage Gentile in matters of Jewry.

Having understood this, throughout his book Simms uses the term 'anti-Semite' failing to clarify what we know thanks to Kevin MacDonald's work and Lindemann's *Esau's Tears*. Since I will be quoting Simms, based on what Martin Kerr said (that valuable material can be gleaned even from the books of anti-Nazi biographers or historians), we should always keep in mind that in its origins the word anti-Semitism had no negative, only descriptive, connotation. The same can be said of words like 'racialism', 'racism' and 'white supremacism': it was only when universities, Hollywood and the media used these words to designate opprobrium that the Aryan internalised the supposed negativity of what should be considered a great virtue.

That said, let's continue to comment on the biographical material in Simms' book. The letter to Gemlich is Hitler's earliest surviving political text. That very first text, in which Hitler calls the Jews the racial tuberculosis of peoples, is virtually indistinguishable from the ideology of the typical white nationalist today. Matt Koehl,

the heir to the American National Socialist organisation after George Lincoln Rockwell was assassinated, had it translated into English.

But what I find fascinating about Hitler's life is that he didn't get stuck with that idea but saw the big picture: something that with honourable exceptions, such as Francis Parker Yockey and Michael O'Meara, the American racial right has been very reluctant to see. After mentioning the letter to Gemlich, in the third chapter of his book, Simms wrote:

But Hitler's primary emphasis was another aspect of the 'problem' entirely. His initial anti-Semitism was profoundly anti-capitalistic, rather than anti-communist in origin.

This is what Rockwell, whose point of view seemed at times to coincide with the anti-commies of his day, failed to see. Despite the great nobility of his soul, Rockwell lacked the meta-perspective we now have.

He [Hitler] spoke of the 'dance around the golden calf', the privileging of 'money', the 'majesty of money', the 'power of money' and so on... As yet, two years after the Russian Revolution, he seems to have nothing to say about communism, Bolshevism and the Soviet Union. Hitler, in other words, became an enemy of the Jews before he avowedly became an enemy of Russian Bolshevism.

Simms then observes that none of this is surprising because both what he calls 'anti-Semitism', and what we call a wise stance on questions of Jewry, was a political constant along with anti-capitalism in the political thought of 19th-century Germans. Simms continues:

One way or the other, in Germany, and perhaps in Europe more generally, anti-Semitism and anti-(international) capitalism have historically been joined at the hip. With Hitler there is little point in talking about the one without the other.

And:

From mid November 1919, Hitler mounted a series of full-scale attacks in public speeches on the main enemy—'absolute enemies England and America'. It was Britain which had been determined to prevent Germany's rise to world power, in order not to jeopardize their 'world monopoly'. 'That was also the reason,' Hitler claimed, 'to make war on us.

And now America. As a money country it had to intervene in the war in order not to lose the money they had lent.' Here he explicitly made the link between his anti-capitalistic critique and the hostile behaviour of the western coalition. This was closely connected to Hitler's anti-Semitism. 'The Americans put business above all else. Money is money even if it is soaked in blood. The wallet is the holiest thing for the Jew,' he claimed, adding: 'America would have stuck with or without U-boats.' What is remarkable here is that the terms 'the Americans' and 'the Jews' were used almost interchangeably.

As I said earlier, a small faction of the American racial right, represented by Francis Parker Yockey (1917-1960) and the retired Michael O'Meara (1946-) were, like Hitler, harsh critics of Anglo-American capitalism.<sup>1</sup> Simms continues:

If Hitler's profound hostility to the Anglo-Saxon powers was shaped by his anti-Semitism, it was also distinct and, crucially, anterior to it. He had, after all, spent almost the entire war fighting the 'English', and latterly the United States. Hitler became an enemy of the British—and also of the Americans—before he became an enemy of the Jews. Indeed, he became an enemy of the Jews largely *because* of his hostility to the Anglo-American capitalist powers. Hitler could not have been clearer: 'We struggle against the Jew,' he announced at a public meeting in early January 1920, 'because he prevents the struggle against capitalism.'

The rest of Germany's adversaries, by contrast, fell into a second and milder category. The Russians and the French, so the argument ran, had become hostile 'as a result of their unfortunate situation or some other circumstances'. Hitler was by no means blind to the extent of French antagonism, but it is striking that he discoursed at much greater length about the financial terms of the treaty, and the blockade, than the territorial losses to Germany's immediate neighbours. This focus on Anglo-American, and increasingly

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<sup>1</sup> Anyone wishing to be introduced to Yockey's thought can do so by reading Kerry Bolton's essay, 'A Contemporary Assessment of Yockey', originally published on *Counter-Currents*. Anyone wishing to be introduced to O'Meara's thought can do so by reading my excerpts from his *Toward the White Republic* (linked at the bottom of the Metapedia article on O'Meara).

on US, strength, with or without anti-Semitism, was by no means unusual in Germany, or even Europe generally. It reflected a much broader post-war preoccupation with the immense global power of the United States. As we shall see, Hitler's entire thinking, and the policies of the Third Reich after 1933, were in essence a reaction to it.

Note that Simms' volume—the hard copy in the hardcover edition I own is over 900 pages long—is replete with endnotes, so every biographical claim about Hitler's intellectual odyssey that we see in this volume is backed up by primary sources. Although in years past I have browsed through other voluminous biographies of Hitler that have been selling in mainstream bookstores, I didn't buy them because I wasn't motivated by the point of view of the biographer in question (e.g., Ian Kershaw's volumes). The revisionism of another normie—Simms—really caught my attention. Let's continue quoting what Simms wrote in chapter 3 of Hitler:

The principal internal enemy, however, was the Jews, who had 'stabbed Germany in the back', although Hitler rarely used this precise phrase. All this has given the impression that Hitler, like so many other Germans, sought to blame the defeat primarily on internal scapegoats rather than facing up to the strength of the Entente. In fact, Hitler never subscribed to a **monocausal** domestic explanation for the disaster and much of his thinking, especially the later quest for *Lebensraum*, would be inexplicable if he had. Eliminating the Jews and healing the domestic rifts inside Germany were necessary conditions for the revival of the Reich, **but not sufficient ones**.

I bolded the above because I was unaware that a renowned historian had used the word I have used on my website in my dispute with white nationalists, whom I have branded as 'monocausalists' in the sense that they have refused to see other factors besides Jewish subversion. Now it turns out that an academic says the same thing I say about Hitler even though his viewpoint is altogether different. He continues:

Hitler was well aware of the industrial strength of the British Empire and the United States, but in his view the struggle against the Anglo-Americans during the First World War was not decided solely by material factors. His vision of international politics was essentially human-centred. On



Hitler's reading, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had been an epic demographic contest which the German Empire had spectacularly lost. She had failed to provide an outlet for her excess population either through economic or through territorial expansion, with the result that millions of Germans had emigrated. Meanwhile, her enemies built up huge empires which they could parlay into strength on the European battlefield. Hitler lamented 'that the Entente sent alien auxiliary peoples to bleed to death on European battlefields'. He had personal experience of this, having confronted (British) Indian troops in 1915 and (French) Algerian Zouaves in 1918. Hitler's anxiety deepened on beholding the Africans and Moroccans who formed part of the French occupation forces in the 1920s. He accused France of 'only waiting for the warm season to throw an army of 800-900,000 blacks into [our] country to complete the work of the total subjugation and violation of Germany'. Hitler's concern was thus not only racial, but strategic: that France would use the human reserves of Africa to oppress Germany, a weapon no longer available to Germany as she had lost her much smaller overseas empire as a result of the war.

The main threat posed by the European empires, however, was not the deployment of men from the 'subject races', but from the white settler colonies. Some of the most formidable British troops on the western front had come from Canada, Australia and New Zealand. They were numerous, well fed, fit, highly motivated, and often extremely violent. Worse still was the fact that the Germans whom the Reich had exported in the nineteenth century for want of land to feed them had come back to fight against her as American soldiers during the war. In later speeches, as we shall see, Hitler repeatedly came back to the moment he had encountered his first American prisoners. The emigration question was the subject of his second known major speech in September 1919, and it also underlay his next disquisition, which was on the internal colonization of Germany. His thoughts on that subject so impressed his sponsor Captain Mayr that he announced his intention 'to launch this official report abridged or in full in the press in a suitable manner'. Emigration was part of daily life in post-war Germany, so much so that a whole newspaper

in Munich, *Der Auswanderer* ('The Emigrant'), was devoted to the topic.

That said, although contemporary concern with the emigration issue went well beyond Hitler, it does not seem to have enjoyed a particular salience in the broader inquest into the war. It thus represents his distinctive contribution to the debate on German revival and one of the most important lessons he drew from the war. Henceforth the emigration question, and the associated American problem, lay at the very heart of Hitler's thinking.

Strikingly absent from Hitler's thinking immediately following the war, and indeed for some time thereafter, was any serious anxiety about Russian power or the Soviet Union. This is not surprising, given that Germany's main enemy had been the western allies, and the fact that Russia had been defeated by 1917. Hitler was not even worried about communism as an external threat. The impact of the Baltic emigre and ferocious anti-Bolshevik Alfred Rosenberg during this period was not significant and, in any case, the two men did not even meet until a few months later. Like many Germans, Hitler saw Bolshevism as a disease, which had knocked Russia out of the war, and then undermined German resistance a year later. He did not fear a Soviet invasion, not even after the victory of the Reds in the Civil War. Instead, Hitler fretted that communism would destroy the last vestiges of German sovereignty in the face of the Entente. 'The threatened Bolshevik flood is not so much to be feared as the result of Bolshevik victories on the battlefields', he warned, 'as rather as a result of a planned subversion of our own people', which would deliver them up to international high finance.

At this point Simms puts endnote 43 of his third chapter, and at the end of the book we can read the sources of Hitler's words.

Significantly, Hitler wasted no words on the Soviet Union in his early statements from 1919 save to predict that it was set to become a 'colony of the Entente'. This means that capitalism and communism were not simply two equal sides of the anti-Semitic coin for Hitler. Bolshevism was clearly a subordinate force. Its function in the Anglo-American plutocratic system was to undermine the national economies

of independent states and make them ripe for takeover by the forces of international capitalism.

I find Simms's revisionism so fascinating that I am adding Appendix I, a 4,500-word article by Gregory Hood. That article, 'Rockwell as Conservative' was published in 2013 in *Counter-Currents*.

Rockwellian Nazism was America's fascist movement par excellence when I was a child, but it was very different from Hitler's National Socialism. George Lincoln Rockwell hated commies as much as US Senator Joseph McCarthy during the late 1940s through the 1950s. Hood shows that Rockwell, the founder of Rockwellian Nazism, was ideologically closer to American conservatism than is generally accepted on the racial right.

Settling scores with Simms on the Jewish question with Kevin MacDonald's work, and with white nationalists on the Rockwell question in Appendix I, is important. But since the rest of the book no longer requires major clarifications, I will be putting my comments in footnotes. Thus, the rest of Simms' book will no longer be indented starting from the next page.

## SIMMS' TEXT WITHOUT INDENTATION:

For now, Hitler regarded the Slavs as the victims of Jewish capitalism, a fate they shared with the Germans, and hoped for the restoration of the 'true' Russian spirit in the Soviet Union. There was no sign yet of any territorial ambitions in the east. Pity, not hostility, was Hitler's main sentiment towards Russians at this point.

At the end of March 1920, Hitler took off his army uniform for good. By then, some of the main outlines of his world view, expressed consistently in private correspondence, public meetings and newspapers articles alike, were clearly visible: fear of the western allies, especially Britain, a profound demographic anxiety about the United States, a violent hostility to international capitalism, a sense of the subversive effects of socialism and communism, and, of course, a virulent anti-Semitism.

None of these sentiments were visible before 1914. Fear of Britain and the 'world of enemies' was first expressed at the start of the conflict. The rest were a response not to defeat as such, or even to the revolution, but to the consequences of defeat. It was the Versailles settlement which brought home the meaning of November 1918. This was the subject of his first known political speech and its consequences dominated his later thinking. Unlike for most nationalists, territorial losses were the least of Hitler's concerns: as we have seen, he was far more worried about the long-term impact of perpetual debt bondage, the continued blockade and a resulting surge in emigration.

In other words, it was not the war that made Hitler, or even the revolution, but the peace.

By early 1920, Hitler had found two new homes. On leaving the army, he found lodgings as a sub-tenant of Ernst and Maria Reichert in Thierschstrasse no. 41, in the inner Munich suburb of Lehel. It was a very modest berth in a working- and lower-middle-

class neighbourhood. Hitler was an easy-going resident, who never locked his doors and allowed the Reicherts to use his gramophone and books during his frequent absences. We do not know what exactly he read, but the best-thumbed surviving volumes from his collection relate to history and art, whereas those on race and the occult gave the impression of being unread.<sup>2</sup>

His new professional and political home was the DAP, which was renamed the 'National Socialist German Workers' Party' (NSDAP) in the course of 1920. Hitler was by now a recognized quantity on the local right-wing scene...

Hitler believed political organization without propaganda was pointless. His main concern at this point was to use the party as a platform to disseminate and elaborate his ideas. He was involved in the drafting of the twenty-five point NSDAP (technically DAP) programme in February 1920, though it is unclear whether he can claim sole authorship. The first four related to national integrity, foreign policy and territorial expansion; the next four concerned race, mostly strictures against the Jews. Hitler turned Wilson's idea of 'self-determination' back on the Allies with his call for 'the unification of all Germans in a Greater Germany on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination'. More than that, he demanded 'Land and soil (colonies) to feed our people and to settle our surplus population', the first unambiguous documented articulation of what subsequently became the *Lebensraum* concept. The geographic location of these future 'colonies' was not specified but at this time Hitler seems to have had overseas territories in mind...

Hitler paid close attention to the iconography underpinning the message. A black swastika of his design on a white circle with red background was first flown as the official party emblem at a meeting in Salzburg in August 1920. In one of his very few excursions into the occult, Hitler praised the swastika—as a 'symbol of the sun' which sustained a 'cult' of light among a 'community based on Aryan culture', not only in Europe, but in India... as well.

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<sup>2</sup> *Editor's Note:* As Michael O'Meara said, it is the poet who creates nations, not the scientist (e.g. the scientific books on race realism published by Jared Taylor).

The use of the old imperial black, white and red colours was a calculated affront to the black, red and gold of the Weimar flag.<sup>3</sup>

‘The red is social,’ he later explained, ‘the white is national, and the swastika is anti-Semitic.’ By mounting the symbol diagonally, Hitler cleverly conveyed a sense of dynamism and movement.

Four months later, he oversaw the purchase of the *Völkischer Beobachter* newspaper and the Franz Eher Verlag, financed in part by a loan from a Reichswehr slush fund guaranteed by Dietrich Eckart, which gave the party a media platform with a print run of 8,000-17,000 appearing three times a week; after many ups and downs, the *Völkischer Beobachter* became a daily on 8 February 1923.

Over the next fifteen months, Hitler engaged in an intense programme of speeches in the major Munich beer halls; he practised his poses in front of a mirror.



Hitler giving a speech by Hermann Hoyer.

By the end of the year, he had made twenty-seven appearances in Munich, and twelve outside, including Bad Tölz, Rosenheim and even Stuttgart. The audiences ranged in number from 800 to about 2,000. During late September and the beginning of October 1920, Hitler made repeated trips to Austria and to

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<sup>3</sup> *Editor's Note:* Here it is noticeable that the white nationalists haven't really broken ideologically with the ethnocidal System. If they had broken away with it, they would have had the initiative to, at the very least, come up with a new flag very different from the American flag.

support the National Socialist Party in neighbouring Württemberg in their election campaign. In early 1921, a speech on Versailles at the Zirkus Krone was heard by about 5,600 people. One eyewitness, his first biographer Konrad Heiden, recalled that the secret of the success of his speeches was that the audience became 'participants' rather than 'listeners'.

There were some missteps. Hitler's opportunistic attempt to address a Munich crowd of 20,000 or so uninvited at a general rally outside the Feldherrnhalle in February 1921 was drowned out by the massed bands who struck up as he began to speak. It is also worth remembering that many members had never seen or heard Hitler in person. In general, though, his profile grew steadily, and he began to overtake the best-known orators, such as Gottfried Feder and Dietrich Eckart, as the public face of the party. Despite his somewhat mysterious aura—Hitler refused to allow any photograph of him to be taken—he had become a recognizable 'name' in Bavarian politics. His relationship with the Reichswehr in Bavaria, which had effectively incubated him, remained good even after he had left the ranks.

In mid May 1921, Hitler met with the prime minister, Gustav von Kahr, marking his political recognition by 'official' Bavaria. He had 'made it'...

During this period Hitler collaborated with a range of figures, not all of whom were party members, in an informal and often non-hierarchical way. His closest associate was Rudolf Hess, a First World War veteran who had grown up in Egypt; the date of their first encounter (which was probably in May 1920) is disputed, but we know for a fact that he joined the NSDAP in July 1920.

A key interlocutor was the Reichswehr officer Ernst Rohm, whose meetings are documented from early 1920, though the first contacts may have taken place a lot earlier.

Hitler had frequent dealings with the staff of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, especially its executive editor, the playwright Dietrich Eckart, and his deputy Alfred Rosenberg, a Baltic German refugee from the Russian Revolution, who would influence Hitler's view of the Soviet Union; the editor was his old regimental comrade Hermann Esser. In a rare gesture, Hitler explicitly acknowledged his debt to Eckart for his help with the *Völkischer Beobachter*, and to Rosenberg for his 'theoretical deepening of the party programme'.

In late 1920, Hitler met Max Erwin von Scheubner-Richter, who had witnessed and been appalled by the massacre of the Armenians as a German consul in the East Anatolian town of Erzurum during the First World War. It was probably from him that Hitler got his determination that the Germans should not become a 'people like the Armenians', that is, the butt of foreign oppressors...

The NSDAP, he claimed, had been established on 'the basis of an extreme racial outlook and rejects any form of parliamentarism', including its present-day incarnation. It was intended to be quite different from all other 'so-called national movements', and so constructed that it would best serve to wage 'the battle for the crushing of the Jewish-international domination of our people'. The NSDAP was also a 'social or rather a socialist party', whose statutes laid down 'that the seat of its leadership was Munich and must remain Munich, now and for ever'.

This programme, Hitler continued, had been agreed as 'immutable and inviolable in front of an audience of a thousand people, and invoked as a granite foundation in more than a hundred mass meetings'. Now, Hitler claimed, these principles had been violated by plans to merge with another party, by the agreement at Zeitz to move the headquarters to Berlin and by the prospect that they would be abjured in favour of the programme of Otto Dickel, which he condemned as a 'meaningless, spongy [and] stretchable entity'. Specifically, Hitler objected to Dickel's belief that Britain was emerging from under the thumb of the Jews and to his admiration for the Jew Walther Rathenau. He was interested in propaganda, not organization, and the power of ideas, not bureaucratic power...

Hitler averred that he made these demands 'not because I crave power' but because he was convinced that 'without an iron leadership' the party would soon degenerate from a National Socialist Workers Party into a mere 'Occidental League'. Hitler had originally wanted to control the message rather than the party, but he now realized that he could not do the former without ensuring the latter.

It is not quite clear whether Hitler resigned with the intent of forcing the leadership's hand, or whether he left in despair and decided to lay down the law only after attempts to win him back showed the underlying strength of his position. Even then, his



demands were more modest than they sounded, being subject (as the law required) to membership vote. The 'dictatorial powers' were not requested for the running of the party in general but limited to the sphere that Hitler was primarily concerned about, namely the re-establishment and maintenance of ideological coherence. This is what underlay his demand to purge deviators, to oversee the absorption of other groups and the retention of Munich as an ideological 'Rome' or 'Mecca'. The outcome, in any case, was the same. Hitler triumphed all along the line. Drexler caved in...

Hitler's struggle with Drexler is common to most emerging political movements: the clash between the need for growth and the maintenance of ideological purity, which was the side which he took with such vigour. In July 1921, Hitler won his first political battle. He had become a politician. Whether Hitler had sought leadership or had leadership thrust upon him, it was clear that he now was increasingly not merely the *de facto* but the formal chief of the NSDAP. If he had once seen himself as a mere 'drummer' of the movement for the new Germany, he now aspired to be its leader.

Hitler now moved to reorganize and expand the NSDAP. By the end of 1921, membership stood at about 6,000. The party moved from Sterneckerbräu to larger premises at Corneliusstrasse 12. Local groups were founded in Hanover, Zwickau and Dortmund. Hitler tightened his control over the party, including the cells outside Germany. In the spring of 1922 the Austrian and Bohemian NSDAP accepted Hitler's authority. Collegial decision-making was abolished...

Ideological purity rather than control for its own sake seems to have been his main concern.

In August 1921, Hitler established a formal party paramilitary formation, which was named the SA or *Sturmabteilung* on 5 October 1921, with headquarters in 39 Schellingstrasse, Munich. The first commander was Emil Maurice, who had already distinguished himself in brawling at Hitler's side, or on his behalf. The main task of this new force was to protect NSDAP meetings and disrupt those of the other side. Cyclist, motorized and mounted sections were established, with weapons and training being provided by the Reichswehr. The latter hoped to draw on the SA, as on other right-wing groupings, in the event of civil unrest or a French invasion. The initial growth of the *Sturmabteilung* was

modest, reaching about 700-800 men in twelve months, and about 1,000 at the beginning of the following year...<sup>4</sup>

In some ways, Bavaria was a congenial habitat. It considered itself a 'centre of order' in the Weimar chaos, an arcadia of conservative and patriotic values. Hitler was protected and supported by the Bavarian Reichswehr, which only loosely acknowledged the precedence of the national authority at this time, and whose loyalties lay firmly in Munich rather than Berlin. The president of the Munich Police, Ernst Pohner, and the Chief of the Political Police, Wilhelm Frick, were NSDAP supporters...<sup>5</sup>

Gregor Strasser joined the party in October 1922. That same month, Hitler first met Hermann Goring, a charismatic and well-connected fighter ace, who opened many doors to business and high society.

In other ways, Hitler and the NSDAP sat uneasily in the Munich mainstream, which was dominated by Catholicism and the Bavarian People's Party (BVP). The BVP had complete command of the local parliamentary political scene. All of the sixty-five BVP Landtag deputies were Catholic, six of them clerics; all but one of its twenty Reichstag members were Catholic, two of them clerics. While the party was confessionally homogeneous, it was socially diverse, representing Bavarians from all classes, and was determined not to break away from the Reich but also to resist the Weimar Republic's vision of a more centralized state. Despite his Austrian—essentially south German—roots Hitler found it very difficult to break into this constituency. It was for this reason *he attempted to reach out to the churches through his concept of 'positive Christianity'*. *Hitler claimed that Jesus had been 'slandered' by the same people who were scourging Germany today—the Jews. 'We should follow the example of this man,' Hitler argued on another occasion, 'who was born poor in a cabin, who pursued high ideals and whom for this reason the Jews later crucified.'* *'The Christian religion is the only possible ethical basis of the German people,' he said soon after, adding that it was important to avoid any tension*

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<sup>4</sup> *Editor's Note:* Compare this tolerance of Weimar Germany with what happened in 2017 in Charlottesville.

<sup>5</sup> *Editor's Note:* This was George Lincoln Rockwell's mistake: believing that American politicians, like the FBI director, were on his side. The US is not Weimar Germany! See Appendix I.

between the confessions, because ‘religious divisions’ had been one of ‘the worst things to happen to the German people’. <sup>6</sup>

Munich was thus an ambivalent habitat for the young NSDAP. It was stony ground for the Nazis not only politically and culturally, but also physically. The authorities began to take an ever dimmer view of Hitler’s activities, especially when these disturbed public order. He spent two stretches in prison. He lost an important ally with the resignation of Ernst Pohner as president of the Munich Police in September 1921. A month later, Hitler was summoned to police headquarters for a serious caution following a series of street brawls and beer-hall battles.

The *Volksischer Beobachter* was repeatedly banned for publishing inflammatory articles. In March 1922, after his conviction for a breach of the peace, the Bavarian minister of the interior, Dr Franz Schweyer, seriously considered deporting Hitler to Austria, and the minister president, Count Lerchenfeld, made it clear to Hitler that he was in Bavaria on sufferance. The police watched Hitler closely.

Hitler remained determined to establish himself in Munich, but only as a beacon to inspire the rest of Germany and as a base from which to take over the Reich as a whole. ‘Munich must become a model,’ he wrote in January 1922, ‘the school but also the granite pedestal’ of the movement. ‘We do not have a Bavarian mission today,’ Hitler announced six months later, ‘rather Bavaria has the most important mission of its entire existence.’

Bavaria, on this reading, was not separate but rather ‘the most German state in the German Reich’. Munich was a sanctuary and a bulwark, certainly, but above all it was a sally-port. The special role Hitler envisaged for Bavaria in Germany was thus not as a separate or autonomous entity, as the federalists and particularists wanted, but as the vanguard of national renewal. ‘Not “away from Berlin”,’ Hitler intoned when discussing the relationship between

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<sup>6</sup> *Editor’s note*: Italics added. See Appendix II, ‘The Wall’. Hitler and his people stayed close to the Wall. What we now need is studying the New Testament from the viewpoint of scholars like Richard Carrier; realise that Jesus didn’t exist, and that ‘positive Christianity’ was a hallucination (as hallucination is the Christianity of today’s white nationalists).

Bavaria and the Reich, ‘but rather “towards Berlin” in order to liberate it from the seducers of the German people’.

It would soon become clear that was a very different agenda to that of the generally monarchist and particularist Bavarian military and political elites...

The NSDAP programme—for example point 13<sup>7</sup> with its attack on ‘trusts’—was ferociously anti-capitalist and so, as we have seen, was much of Hitler’s rhetoric. Despite Hitler’s willingness to moderate his message to business audiences, emphasizing his anti-French and anti-Bolshevik themes, business was not reassured. Paul Reusch, a major Ruhr baron, noting the Nazi nationalization plan, remarked that ‘we have no reason to support our own gravediggers’. The party remained dependent on donations from the Bavarian Reichswehr, either in cash or in kind in the form of weapons or vehicles, and from a motley group of smaller donors, mainly traders, retailers and small businessmen.

Given the shortage of funds, the growth of the party and especially its propagandistic reach was impressive. There were significant gains in membership: 4,300 by the end of 1921, and more than 20,000 a year later... There was a real quantum leap in early 1922, when Hitler regularly spoke to between 2,000 and 6,000 listeners in the larger beer halls. A high point was the *Deutsche Tag* in Coburg in October, which culminated in a massive brawl with hostile demonstrators...

The purpose of all this activity was not the creation of a party organization capable of winning elections, still less that of a force capable of mounting an armed challenge to the Weimar Republic. Instead, Hitler’s main aim remained the establishment of ideological coherence in the movement. ‘The final strength of a movement,’ he claimed in mid February 1922, lay ‘not in the number of its local groupings but in its internal cohesion’...

Hitler claimed that ‘there was no fruitful work to be done in parliament’, and that ‘individual National Socialists would be corrupted by the swamp of parliamentarism’.

Throughout the early 1920s, therefore, Hitler used his speeches to rehearse and develop his ideology. During this period his words—which were, of course, acts in themselves—were more

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<sup>7</sup> *Editor’s Note*: ‘We demand nationalization of all businesses which have been up to the present formed into companies (trusts).’

important than his deeds. The recent defeat and its causes remained the central preoccupation. Hitler repeated his conviction that the war had been caused by an Anglo-American capitalist conspiracy. Sometimes, he attributed the 'original sin' to Britain, whose commercial and colonial 'envy' of the Reich had driven a 'policy of encirclement' against Germany, and whose press had vilified her before and during the war as a nation of Huns and barbarians. On other occasions, he targeted the United States. 'Not least because the social welfare and the cultural development [of the German Empire] was a thorn in the eyes of the American trust-system,' he thundered in March 1921, 'we had to disappear from view.' Hitler repeatedly contrasted 'Germany's social culture' with American capitalism. He reserved particular scorn for US president Woodrow Wilson as the 'agent of international high finance'...

Fighting France, and especially the British Empire, was bad enough, but what had ultimately tipped the scales was US intervention. This, Hitler was convinced, would have taken place with or without the U-boat war. Having previously been a 'passive' supporter of the Entente through the supply of armaments, the Americans intervened when Britain and France were on the verge of defeat in order not to lose the 'billions' which it was owed by the Allies. 'America was called in,' he claimed, 'and the power of international big capital thereby became openly involved'...

What linked all these explanations in Hitler's mind was the power and the malevolence of the Jews, the main controllers of an 'international capitalism' that needed 'ever more objects of exploitation'. It was they who under their Jewish ringleader Lord Northcliffe (who was in fact not only not Jewish but a fervent anti-Semite) had whipped up the British press into a frenzy against Germany before 1914. It was the 'international Jewish newspaper corporations', Hitler claimed, who had prevented a Russo-German rapprochement. It was they who owned the large American companies supplying the Allied war effort and who tricked the 'peaceful' American people into war with Germany against their better natures and best interests. It was the Jews who tried to manipulate Germany's food supply and who 'precipitated the revolution through hunger'. All this happened because the 'New York Stock Exchange'—the 'Headquarters of World Jewry'—was determined to crush Germany, the last remaining *Nationalstaat* which was 'not yet completely ruled by stock exchanges'. In short, Hitler

remained firmly wedded to the idea of a deadly synthesis between world Jewry, international capitalism and Anglo-America as Germany's nemesis.

Moreover, in Hitler's view the war was by no means over. Germany was still the victim of international capitalism, whose continuing power he repeatedly attacked. He spoke of 'international stock exchange and loan capital' as the main 'beneficiaries' of the peace treaty. Ever since the 'collapse of the Reich', Hitler claimed, the country had fallen under 'the rule of international, *fatherlandless* capital, independent of person, place and Nation'. [emphasis by Ed.]<sup>8</sup>

International conferences—such as Genoa in April 1922—were simply condemned as 'stock exchange conferences'. Hitler saw Jewish international capitalism and western democracy as linked. 'International Jewish stock exchange capital,' he believed, 'was the driving force of these western-democratic states.' He set up the 'equation' of 'democracy-capitalism-Jew'. For all these reasons, he argued, National Socialism was a 'new force whose aim could always only be anti-capitalist'.

Hitler was not completely opposed to all forms of capitalism, though he sometimes gave that impression. He contrasted the blanket hostility of Social Democrats and Marxists to capitalism in general with his own distinction between allegedly pernicious and largely Jewish 'international loan capitalism' and nationally oriented 'productive industrial capitalism'.

'Factories and industrial capital,' he told an audience of SA, 'is national' and 'the capital of every country remains national'. For clarity, he stressed that National Socialism 'struggled against every form of big capital, irrespective of whether it is German or Jewish, if it is grounded not in productive work, but in the principle of interest, of income without work or toil'.

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<sup>8</sup> Editor's Note: Considered by some as 'The Father of Economics' or 'The Father of Capitalism', Adam Smith, who popularised the idea that capital has no flag, wrote *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776 (look at the year of publication of his *magnus opus*!). Except for the European Tom Sunic and the American Michael O'Meara, it strikes me that the bulk of white nationalist pundits have been blinded to see something so obvious: that sooner or later the Anglo-Saxon economic system was going to betray their ethnicity.

Moreover, Hitler added, the NSDAP ‘battled the Jew not only as the sole bearer of this [form of] capital’, but also because he ‘prevented’ the ‘systematic struggle’ against it. In Hitler’s view it was the determination of international capitalism to subjugate independent national economies which had led to the world war and the brutal peace settlement. This was the context in which he interpreted Allied attempts to control the Reichsbahn, the German national railways. Hitler accused the Jews of trying to ‘grab’ them, as part of a policy whose ‘final aim was the destruction of our national economy and the enslavement of our workforce’.

The Allied determination to annihilate Germany, Hitler believed, was demonstrated by their continuation of the blockade after the end of hostilities. ‘One wants to destroy us completely,’ he claimed, ‘one wants to make our children sick and to allow them to waste away’...

‘The Entente,’ he lamented, ‘advises us to emigrate in order to feed ourselves, and to make way for the Eastern Jews.’ Hitler, in other words, feared that Germany would become the victim of what is today called ‘population replacement’.

He frequently urged his audience to think of the ‘thousands of German emigrants’. This was the great trauma underlying Hitler’s whole world view: the continued haemorrhaging of the best elements of the Reich who had left the Fatherland in order to enlarge the population of Germany’s rivals, with the fatal results that had been seen in the Great War. Worse still, he argued, these best elements were being replaced by the Jewish dregs of central and eastern Europe in a kind of negative selection, designed to further undermine the racial coherence of the German people.

International capital and the victor powers—the two were indistinguishable in Hitler’s mind—had thus reduced Germany to the status of a ‘colony’. The purpose of Versailles, he argued, was ‘to make Germany ripe’ for its fate as ‘a colony of international capital’, to ‘soften up our people’ in order to make them ‘international slave workers’. He lamented that Germany was a ‘wage slave of international capital’. Germany was no more than a ‘colony of the international Jewish finance syndicate’, Hitler argued, thus making the German people ‘the slave of the outside world’. In April 1922, he fumed that ‘we practically no longer have an independent German Reich, but really just a colony of the world outside’...

All this was embedded in a broader, though idiosyncratic, critique of European imperialism. On the one hand, Hitler was bitterly critical of the British Empire. 'Where was the law,' he asked, 'when England flooded China and India with opium and North America with spirits in order to undermine these people the better to dominate them?' He also charged that Britain had 'reduced the Irish people from 8.5 to 4.5 million [through the potato famine]', and had 'cynically allowed' some 29,000 Boer women to die a miserable death in the 'concentration camps of South Africa'. He paid black people the back-handed compliment that he would rather have '100 Negroes in the hall than one Jew'. On the other hand, Hitler objected not so much to colonialism as to what he would later call the 'negrification' of the Germans...

The Weimar Germany in which Hitler operated was thus both colonized and post-colonial in an era of continuing western imperialism. Defeat by the western powers had turned the international racial order upside down...

Worse still than the old European imperialism of western powers, according to Hitler, was the Jewish aspiration to world domination, of which the Germans were the principal victims. Drawing on the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, he claimed to see a grand plan to control the world. The ultimate aim of policy towards Germany and other independent states, Hitler stated at the beginning 1921, was the creation of a 'Jewish world state'. He came back to this theme repeatedly over the next two years, when he spoke of the 'Jewish-imperialist plans for world domination', the 'Jewish world dictatorship' and the 'final aim [of the Jews]: world domination [and] the destruction of the national states'. In his notes for one speech, Hitler made the connections absolutely clear in point form: 'World domination with a Jewish capital—Zion—that means world enslavement: world stock exchange—world press—world culture. World language. All for slaves under one master.' In this way, Hitler closed the circle of western imperialist, Jewish and capitalist enemies of the Reich...

It is in this context that Hitler's evolving attitude to communism and the Soviet Union should be seen. At times, he suggested that Bolshevism and international capitalism were working together. He spoke of the way in which Jewish capitalism allegedly used Chinese 'cultural guardians' in Moscow, and black 'hangmen's assistants' on the Rhine, while the Soviets in Genoa



‘walked arm in arm with big bankers’. The Jews, Hitler claimed, ‘had their apostles in both camps’ and thus agents on both the ‘right’ and the ‘left’. From time to time, Hitler claimed that communism was the main threat. It is also true that after the Bolshevik victory in the Russian Civil War, the threat of international communism loomed larger in his mind than it had in 1919. Hitler now called for ‘the overcoming and extermination of the Marxist worldview’. ‘Developments in Russia must be watched closely,’ he warned, because once the communists had ‘consolidated their power’ they would ‘probably turn it against us’...

Despite all this, Hitler still did not regard capitalism and communism simply as two equal sides of the same Jewish coin... More generally, his rhetoric and attention were still overwhelmingly directed towards the threat posed by the western powers and international finance capitalism.

For this reason, Hitler was bitterly opposed to any form of internationalism, not just because he despised it in principle, but because he considered it humbug. In part, this hostility was directed towards the German left, whose blind faith in universal principles, Hitler argued, had left Germany defenceless during the world war and its aftermath. For this reason, he argued, ‘[we should] free ourselves of the illusion of the [Socialist] International and [the idea of] the Fraternity of Peoples’. Hitler’s main objection to internationalism, however, was that it simply served the interests of the western imperial powers.

Where was international law, he asked, when Louis XIV had plundered Germany in the late seventeenth century, when the British had bombarded neutral Copenhagen in 1807 and starved and oppressed the Irish, or when the Americans had displaced the native Indians. It had not escaped Hitler’s attention that ‘in the home of the inventor of the League of Nations [Wilson’s America] one rejects the League as a utopia, a madness’. There was not even a racial solidarity among whites, Hitler lamented, because France had sent ‘comrades from Africa in solidarity to enserf and muzzle the population on the Rhine’. For this reason, Hitler rejected the whole notion of international governance, claiming that ‘The League of Nations is only a holding company of the Entente which wants to secure its ill-gotten gains’...

Significantly, the first mission of his new paramilitary formation, undertaken even before it was christened the SA, was an

attack not on the Jews, communists or Social Democrats, but on a meeting of [*particularist—Ed.*] Ballerstedt's Bayernbund in the Löwenbräukeller in the summer of 1921 under the banner 'we will not betray Bavaria'. Hitler led an assault in which Ballerstedt was manhandled and the police were eventually called to break up the fight. His violent behaviour earned him a short jail sentence. By contrast, it is not documented that Hitler ever personally laid hands on an individual Jew, either then or subsequently. Hitler's campaign against Bavarian federalism in general and his *vendetta* against Ballerstedt in particular continued throughout the 1920s and remained a preoccupation until he had him killed during the 'Night of the Long Knives'.

Hitler's view of foreign policy was, as we have seen, strongly ideological. That said, he was also beginning to develop a keen sense of geopolitics. In part, this followed the prevailing discourse of Germany's central location in Europe and her consequent vulnerability to 'encirclement'. He spoke of 'the position of our fatherland, which was geographically one of the most unfortunate in Europe'. Hitler inveighed repeatedly against the 'encirclement attempts of the Entente against Germany'. Where Hitler went much further than the nationalist mainstream was over the growing question of space, the *Raumfrage*, references to which increased exponentially during the early 1920s. In mid April 1920, Hitler lamented that 'the world was so unjustly distributed'. Four months later, he noted that Germany suffered from a crippling lack of space by comparison with Britain, which controlled about one-quarter of the entire globe. By March 1921, Hitler decried the injustice that Britain, with a smaller population, controlled 'three-quarters of the entire world', while more populous Germany had to make do with considerably less space. 'This sense of connection between Germany's 'disadvantageous military location' and the 'impossibility of securing the food supply in Europe' stayed with Hitler to the end.

The cause of this unequal distribution, he believed, was global capitalism and its associated system of world governance. 'The international exploitation of capitalism must be combated', Hitler demanded, as well as that of 'international loan capital'. 'We want to turn world slaves into world citizens,' he announced. This required 'the liberation of our German people from the fetters of its international world enslavement'. This in turn meant that Germany

would have to regain its military freedom of action. 'The German is either a free soldier,' Hitler argued, 'or a white slave.' He therefore called upon the German people to relearn the old adage that 'whoever does not want to be a hammer must be an anvil', adding that 'we are an anvil today, and were being beaten until the anvil became a hammer', that is a 'German sword'. The idea that Germany must become a 'hammer' to avoid remaining an 'anvil' was a common trope at the time and one to which Hitler returned on a number of occasions.

In short, Hitler saw the root of Germany's evils in her external subjection... Any prospect of a vigorous German foreign policy, Hitler claimed, 'is predicated on a radical domestic political change'. In this context, the defeat of 1918 could be put to good use. Just as the catastrophe of 1806 had led to the Wars of Liberation in 1813, Hitler hoped that defeat in 1918 and the humiliation of Versailles would be followed by a national revival; 'fall', 'purification' and 'rebirth' were common tropes in Weimar Germany. Hitler's rhetoric consciously mimicked that of the great patriotic martyr Palm, a Nuremberg bookseller who was executed by Napoleon in Hitler's hometown of Braunau for penning the rousing tract 'Germany in its deepest humiliation'...

Hitler rejected the standard solutions to Germany's predicament. He wondered whether Zionism might be a solution to the 'Jewish Question', but quickly came down against the idea. Hitler saw in Jewish aspirations for statehood proof of their sense of national identity, despite all their international rhetoric. 'The Jews,' he wrote, were 'one people', who 'identified themselves as a people (Zionists)'. The 'proof' of this, Hitler continued, was 'Palestine'.

Hitler was deeply sceptical, though, that the Zionist project could succeed, because it was completely inimical to the nature of Jewry. The 'Aryan' concept of the state, he claimed, was 'territorial', while the parasitic Jews could only feed off existing states, not establish one of their own. The Jew 'cannot build a state', he argued, because he was 'incapable of building a state'. Moreover, even if such a state could be erected, Hitler believed that it would merely increase the Jewish threat. 'The planned Zionist state "Jerusalem",' he argued, should not be regarded as an area of Jewish national settlement, but rather as 'the headquarters for Jewish world power plans for exploitation and nefarious activity'.

For the rest of his life, in fact, Hitler stuck to the view that the establishment of a Jewish state, in Palestine or anywhere else, would simply create another focal point for world Jewry...

Hitler rejected the 'purely economic way of looking at things', which he called the 'greatest mistake of German policy in the past decades'. 'The hoped-for peaceful seizure of [world] power through our economy,' he continued, 'has been a failure.' 'Industrialization [and] the peaceful capture of the world,' Hitler claimed, were doomed to fail, because one 'did not consider that there can be no economic policy without the sword [and] no industrialization without power'. 'The economy,' he explained, 'is only of secondary importance.' 'The main thing,' Hitler stressed, 'is national pride, [and] love of country.' The primacy of politics in Hitler's thinking could not have been more clearly expressed.<sup>9</sup>

The key question, Hitler stated, was not the state form itself, but what arrangement served the German people best in its quest to escape external subjection. Here there was remarkably little shift in his views throughout the early 1920s. The issue was not, he argued in April 1920, whether Germany should be 'a monarchy or a Republic', but rather 'which state form was best for the people'. 'We need a dictator of pure genius if we want to rise again.' 'We do not fetishize forms of government,' he explained in November 1921, 'the only thing that is decisive is the spirit which sustains it. The only consideration must be the welfare of the entire German people.'<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> *Editor's Note:* Calvin Coolidge was born in Massachusetts, a state founded by English Puritans. Compare the above quote with that famous phrase by Coolidge, the 30th president of the US: 'The business of America is business' in the sense that his was the nation of pure materialism. I remember, when I lived in the US, the words of President Ronald Reagan, who wanted a globalised world where 'the market reigned supreme'.

<sup>10</sup> *Editor's Note:* Compare this with the forums of American white nationalism, which endorse democracy and in recent years have suggested that their visitors vote for this or that candidate. The racialsists on the other side of the Atlantic are no better. At a BNP rally I attended in 2014 I spoke to a couple of senior members, who informed me that their aims were strictly democratic, not fascist.

He called for the nationalization of the entire banking and financial system, and thus the ‘breaking of interest slavery’, a term he had borrowed from Gottfried Feder. His aim here was not so much public ownership in the Marxist sense, as national control over the levers of international financial manipulation. Hitler had not yet called for the physical destruction of world Jewry, but the elimination of German Jewry was already implicit, at least in the context of a future war, in case they might once again act as fifth columnists. In the Gemlich letter of September 1919, he had already called for the ‘complete removal of the Jews’, and in a letter of August 1920, one correspondent reports that Hitler believed that ‘the bacillus’ must be ‘exterminated’ in order to ensure the survival of the German people. One way or the other, his domestic policy was essentially foreign policy...

Hitler therefore espoused ‘socialism’, but not as the Social Democrats, the Independent Socialists or the communists knew it. ‘National’ and ‘social’, he argued, were ‘two identical terms’. ‘True socialism teaches the most extreme performance of one’s duties,’ Hitler explained, ‘real socialism in the highest form of the *Volke*.’ ‘Marxism is not socialism,’ he claimed, ‘I shall take socialism away from the socialists.’ This was what the words ‘worker’ and ‘socialist’ in the party’s name meant. There was ‘no room’, Hitler said, for ‘class-conscious proletarians’ in the party, just as there was no place either for a ‘class-conscious bourgeois’. He repeatedly reached out to workers. All this explains Hitler’s ambivalence towards communists, whom he regarded not only as good men led astray, but as temperamentally more congenial than the lukewarm bourgeois who clove to the safe middle path.<sup>11</sup>

‘I would rather be strung up in a Bolshevik Germany,’ he averred, ‘than be made blissful in a French southern Germany.’ One observer noted that Hitler ‘was courting the communists’, saying that ‘the two extremes, communists and students, should be brought together’. The centre ground, he claimed, was full of useless ‘lickspittles’ (*Schleimsieder*), whereas ‘the communists had fought for their ideal with weapons and only been led astray’. They

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<sup>11</sup> *Editor’s Note:* This is indeed interesting, for it shows the chasm between German National Socialism and American white nationalism: something George Lincoln Rockwell didn’t understand because biographies like Brendan Simms’ *Hitler* didn’t exist in his time.

only need to be led towards the 'national cause'. With German communists, Hitler hated the sin, but loved the sinner.<sup>12</sup>

If Hitler saw Germany's salvation in a domestic revival, this did not make him blind towards foreign models. Indeed, the international context within which all his thinking was embedded made him particularly interested in the strength of rival powers. Hitler's principal model here was Britain. 'The British,' he admitted, 'are entitled to feel proud as a people.' Britain's vitality was based on the 'extraordinary brilliance' of her population. 'They had the 'British national sentiment which our people lacks so much' and they had maintained 'racial purity in the colonies', by which he meant the general absence of intermarriage between settlers and colonial administrators and the native population. Unlike the belated German national state after 1871, Britain enjoyed 'a centuries-long political-diplomatic tradition'. Unlike Germany, she had grasped the true connection between politics and economics. 'England has recognized the first principle of state health and existence,' Hitler argued, 'and has acted for centuries according to the principle that economic power must be converted into political power' and 'that political power must be used to protect economic life'. 'There are things that permit the British to exercise world domination,' he explained: 'a highly developed sense of national identity, clear racial unity, and finally the ability to convert economic power into political power, and political power into economic power'.

There were, however, two profound contradictions in Hitler's thinking about Britain. First of all, he dubbed the country a 'second Jewry', which sat ill with his otherwise respectful attitude. Hitler regarded British Jews as primarily urban, and so well

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<sup>12</sup> *Editor's Note:* Pace Rockwell, any attempt to imitate German NS on the other side of the Atlantic would run into formidable difficulties. Imagine how difficult it would be to convince the racial right that capitalism is even worse than communism. To boot, a century ago Hitler was referring to a Germany composed basically of Aryans. In today's polluted America, such a transvaluation couldn't even be preached without openly stating that the proposed socialism is solely for the benefit of whites. In other words, to implement Hitler's ideals on this side of the Atlantic the dictators of the new state would first have to ethnically cleanse the territory from non-whites.

integrated ‘that they appeared to be British’, which prevented the growth of anti-Semitism there. If true, then this might—in Hitler’s reasoning—account for British hostility to the Reich, but he did not explain why this uniquely high level of Jewish penetration did not render her even weaker than Germany. This paradox at the heart of Hitler’s view of the United Kingdom was never resolved.<sup>13</sup>

Secondly, there was the apparent contradiction that Britain had risen to greatness under the parliamentary system he so despised. There are grounds for believing, however, that he believed representative government suitable for the British but not for the Germans. ‘If all Germans belonged to the tribe of the Lower Saxons [that is the tribe from which the English trace much of their descent—and the only one which Benjamin Franklin had considered fully white]’, he remarked, ‘the republican state form might be the most suited’ to enabling the state ‘to weather all storms and to draw on the best elements for running the country’. ‘Because that is not the case [in Germany],’ Hitler continued, ‘the German people will always need an idol in the shape of a monarch.’ It was an early indication of Hitler’s profound anxiety about German racial fragmentation in the face not so much of Jewry, as of the globally dominant Anglo-Saxons.

Hitler was also increasingly interested in the United States, which he came to regard as the repository of (in his view) all the best European racial elements, including the supposedly better sort of Germans. He remarked that, unlike Germany, which admitted swarms of eastern Jews, ‘yellow people are not allowed to settle in America’. In August 1922 he was introduced to Kurt Lüdecke, who had spent some time on business in the United States and whom Hitler would later send as an emissary across the Atlantic. In the middle of that month, Rudolf Hess wrote on Hitler’s behalf to the legendary automobile manufacturer, and fervent anti-Semite, Henry Ford for support. Moreover, Anglo-America was also becoming interested in Hitler. He had appeared on the radar of the British

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<sup>13</sup> *Editor’s Note:* My view differs not only from the liberal (at its extreme pole, the Woke) or the common conservative (at its extreme pole, the white nationalist). It also differs from Hitler, as we can see in Appendix II: Discovering not only that Jesus didn’t exist, but that the Jews wrote the New Testament, replaces Hitler’s National Socialism with a more evolved ‘priesthood of the sacred words’ (cf. my website).

Foreign Office as early as 1920, and by later 1922 he was firmly established in their minds as a figure to be reckoned with, but there was no attempt to make contact with him.

By contrast, the United States embassy, probably influenced by Mussolini's coup in Italy, decided to take a closer look at this rising politician. In November 1922, the US assistant military attaché to Germany, Captain Truman Smith, came down from Berlin and met with Hitler on 20 November. Hitler argued that he was America's best chance of keeping the Bolsheviks out of Germany, condemned monarchy as 'an absurdity', claimed that 'dictatorship' was the only answer, denied any plans for a war against France and railed against 'the present abuse of capital'. To be sure, these were all things that the American wanted to hear—apart from the remarks on capitalism—but they also represented Hitler's genuine views. One way or the other, the two men—both Wagnerians—seem to have hit it off. A 'marvelous demagogue', Smith wrote a few days later. 'I have rarely listened to such a logical and fanatical man. His powers over the mob must be immense.'

It was Smith who put Hitler in touch with Ernst 'Putzi' Hanfstaengl immediately after their meeting. Hanfstaengl epitomized the relationship between Germany and the United States, which was to play such a central role in Hitler's thinking and policy over the next twenty years or so. Hanfstaengl's maternal grandfather, Wilhelm Heine, had emigrated to America as a liberal refugee from the failed 1848 revolution. He reached the rank of brigadier-general in the Union Army and served as a pallbearer at Lincoln's funeral. Hanfstaengl's father owned a large art business in Munich. Hanfstaengl himself was partly brought up in the United States, where he attended Harvard University and was personally acquainted with the young Franklin Delano Roosevelt. From 1912, he had run the New York branch of his father's business. Hanfstaengl spent the war—which killed a brother fighting on the German side—in America. The business was ruined by the American entry into the conflict and the associated 'Trading with the Enemy Act'. Hanfstaengl became an enemy alien: the insider had become an outsider.

Over the next year, Hanfstaengl and Hitler were in almost daily contact. Hanfstaengl impressed upon Hitler not only the immense industrial and demographic power of the United States, but the fact that every German had a close relative there or in some



other part of the world, something of which Hitler was already well aware. He argued that the party needed to reach out to the world through a coordinated foreign press policy. Hanfstaengl now became effectively the NSDAP's external media liaison officer. He also entertained Hitler with his piano, playing from a repertoire which included not only Wagner but Harvard football marches. Captain Mayr later recalled the 'American methods of salesmanship' used to push out the Nazi message. The United States thus increasingly became a model as well as a rival...

More immediately relevant to Germany's predicament were the dramatic recent examples of national revival, where peoples had bounced back from decline or catastrophic defeat. Perhaps surprisingly, Hitler was open to inspiration from France. 'The French Revolution was national and constructive,' he argued, 'whereas the German one wanted to be international and to destroy everything.' Hitler took a similarly positive view of later French radicalism. 'When France collapsed at Sedan,' he wrote, 'one made a revolution to rescue the sinking tricolour!' 'The war was waged with new energy,' he continued, and 'the will to defend the state created the French Republic in 1870', thus restoring 'French national honour'. This shows that Hitler's fundamental objection was not to the 'ideas of 1789', which he hardly ever mentioned. His real trauma—to which we will return later—was the fragmentation of Germany beginning with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648...<sup>14</sup>

[Hitler] enthused about Italy, where Mussolini and his fascists seized power in late October 1922 through his iconic 'March on Rome'. Shortly after, Hitler remarked coyly: 'one calls us German fascists', adding that he did not want to go into 'whether his comparison is true'. He was soon more forthright, demanding

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<sup>14</sup> *Editor's Note:* Young Adolf was unaware that the egalitarian ideas of 1789 were already symptomatic of a cancer in which Christian ethics were secularised to be metastasised in subsequent centuries. The French had been inspired by the American Revolutionary War of 1775-1783 and, in turn, these American ideals were inspired by Protestant ethics (cf. Tom Holland's *Dominion*). The young Hitler, naturally, didn't have all this in mind. He was first and foremost a politician, not exactly a philosopher and certainly not, to use my Appendix II metaphor, a visionary who sees the remote past to realise that Christianity is behind today's mass psychosis.

‘the establishment of a national government in Germany on the fascist model’. A year later, he told an interviewer from the *Daily Mail* that ‘If a German Mussolini is given to Germany, people would fall down on their knees and worship him more than Mussolini has ever been worshipped.’

## Part Two

### FRAGMENTATION

In 1923-7, Hitler grappled with the forces of disintegration in Germany. The most immediately threatening of these remained German particularism, which was largely indistinguishable in his mind from separatism. Hitler was also deeply exercised by the supposed racial fragmentation of the German people. This he attributed partly to deep political divisions, aggravated by foreign and Jewish support for parliamentarism, and partly to the historical legacy of confessional strife. Hitler attempted to head off these dangers through a *putsch* in Munich. In his subsequent speeches and writing, Hitler contrasted this miserable vista with the natural coherence of the Anglo-American world, which now dominated Germany more than ever, not just militarily, but economically and culturally as well. Last but not least, during his prison term at Landsberg and after his release, Hitler fought the threatened fragmentation of the NSDAP. It was only with difficulty that Hitler re-established his authority over the ideological direction of the movement and the party apparatus, a process that was not yet complete by the late 1920s.



Hitler's position at this time was complicated. He was still virtually unknown in most of Germany. The main Berlin newspapers ignored him and his party. They didn't even report on the riotous *Deutscher Tag* at Coburg, whose resonance was confined to south Germany. Hitler had very few funders outside of Bavaria, with the notable exception of the Ruhr industrial baron Fritz Thyssen, who contributed substantially in the course of 1923. That said, within the non-particularist Bavarian right wing nationalist milieu, Hitler now enjoyed a commanding position. He was well known in Munich, which Thomas Mann described in a 1923 letter to the American journal *The Dial* as 'the city of Hitler'. His speeches drew large and ecstatic crowds. Karl Alexander von Müller, who heard him speak for the first time at the Löwenbräukeller in late January 1923, describes the 'burning core of hypnotic mass excitement' created by the flags, the relentless marching music and the short warm-up speeches by lesser party figures before the man himself appeared amid a flurry of salutes. Hitler would then be interrupted at almost every sentence by tempestuous applause, before departing for his next engagement.

Over the next few months, the tempo of Nazi events and activities increased. There were in excess of 20,000 NSDAP members at the start of 1923, and that figure more than doubled over the next ten months to 55,000; the SA nearly quadrupled from around 1,000 men to almost 4,000 during the same period. Hitler himself was so prominent that the NSDAP was widely known as the 'Hitler-Movement', the term under which his activities were now recorded by the Bavarian police. He had become a cult figure. The *Völkischer Beobachter* became a daily paper in February 1923, giving preferential treatment to the printing of Hitler's speeches. Two months later, it began marking the Führer's birthday, an honour not accorded any other Nazi leader. He had long given up the humble role of drummer. Hitler spoke once again of the need for a dictator. The German people, he claimed, 'are waiting today for the man who calls out to them: Germany, rise up [and] march'.

There was no doubt from the context and rhetoric that he planned to play that role himself. His followers styled him not merely the leader of the national movement but Germany's saviour and future leader. The *Oberführer* of the SA, Hermann Goring, acclaimed him at his birthday rally on 20 April 1923 as the 'beloved Führer of the German freedom movement'. Alfred Rosenberg described him simply as 'Germany's leader [Führer]'.

Conscious of his tenuous position within the Catholic Bavarian mainstream, Hitler continued to try to build bridges to the Church, or at least to its adherents. 'We want,' Hitler pledged, 'to see a state based on true Christianity. To be a Christian does not mean a cowardly turning of the cheek, but to be a struggler for justice and a fighter against all forms of injustice.' The NSDAP did succeed in making some inroads among Catholic students at the university and the peasantry and in winning over quite a few clerics, including for a while Cardinal Faulhaber, but for the most part Hitler made little headway.<sup>15</sup>

During this period, Hitler continued to elaborate and develop his strategic thinking. Throughout 1923, he lambasted international capitalism—Jewish and non-Jewish—as the source of Germany's ills. Hitler provided a brief foreword to Gottfried Feder's book on the subject describing it as a 'catechism' of National Socialism. The salience of anti-capitalism, fears of expropriation and exploitation and enslavement by foreign masters is very clear in the party's 'work of the committee for food security of the National Socialist movement', which Hitler blessed in the summer of 1923. It defined the 'internal enemy' as 'profiteering in the system of the national economy', the 'idea of class conflict' and 'immoral tendencies in government and law-making'. It lamented the crucifixion of the German middle class by the 'massive fraud' of 'our money economy', the general 'spirit of speculation' and the 'terror of the capitalist idea'. The document made no direct mention of Bolshevism or the Soviet Union. It recommended—with Hitler's approval—that the state protect the 'basic assets of the nation', namely 'foodstuffs and manpower' through 'an anti-capitalist

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<sup>15</sup> *Editor's Note:* While a hundred years ago it was possible to use this kind of rhetoric in the more conservative sectors of Bavarian society, today it is impossible. The mainstream Christian churches follow the *zeitgeist* of our century, without exception.

legislation in the fields of land and settlement, housing, but also in the first instance in the field of the supply of necessities'. This would require the 'exclusion of foreign capital from German land and soil, businesses and cultural assets'.

Like the Ludendorff circle, Hitler was much less worried about the fate of German minorities and the peripheral lands of the Reich than about the fate of the core area, which he believed to be threatened with subjection and even extinction. Hitler was also beginning to look at long-term solutions to Germany's predicament. He rejected the common notion of an 'internal' colonization of sparsely populated German lands in favour of territorial expansion. 'The [re-]distribution of land alone,' he warned in the spring of 1923, 'cannot bring relief. The living conditions of a nation can at the end of the day only be improved through the political will to expand.'

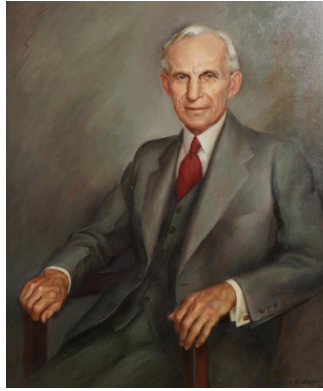
The concept of *Lebensraum* is already clearly visible here, though the term itself was not used.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1923, Hitler steadily became more aggressive. In early March 1923 there was a meeting of paramilitary formations in Munich at which Hermann Esser suggested that if the French advanced across the Rhine, the Entente should be informed that all Jews would be interned and shot if they did not withdraw. It is not clear whether this thought originally came from Hitler, but if it did it would be the first example of his subsequent strategy of using the Jews as hostages for the good behaviour of the western powers.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> *Editor's Note:* This passage deserves a pause to reiterate what I have been saying on my website. If we take as a paradigm the extreme idealisation of Jewry in the US, it is impossible not to compare it with the pre-Christian world when the Greco-Romans didn't give a damn about the holocaust of Jews perpetrated in Rome's wars against Judea: wars that involved several emperors. In those times it would have been inconceivable that Rome would have used the Jews under its power as a currency for moral blackmail of a rival nation! That enemy-loving crap only began with the introduction of Christian ethics that was exacerbated after the egalitarian ideals of the French Revolution, and the creation of the American nation based on Judeo-Christian principles, camouflaged in secular garb.

In mid April 1923, a massive joint paramilitary exercise was held at the Fröttmaninger Heide near Freimann, followed by a march to the government quarter in Munich. A fortnight later, on May Day, there was a serious confrontation with organized labour at the Oberwiesenfeld. Hitler encouraged this escalation. He personally ordered the *Sturmabteilungen* not merely to defend their own assemblies, by beating up hecklers, but also to disrupt those of their enemies. Hitler further instructed them to abuse Jews on the streets and in cafes. Rumours abounded that the NSDAP and the nationalist organizations would 'march on Berlin', clean out the stables there and establish a government capable of facing down the Entente.



Hitler also worked to expand his international links. These were partly designed to secure funding. One of the figures of whom Hitler had high hopes was the American automobile tycoon and Democratic Party Congressional candidate Henry Ford, who not only symbolized the kind of national productive capitalism he so admired but was an active anti-Semite into the bargain. His book, translated as *Der internationale Jude* (1921), had been a great success in Germany. It was well known at the time that Hitler kept a portrait of Ford in his office, and there was talk of inviting the American to speak.

His overtures to Ford were a failure. According to Robert D. Murphy, US vice consul in Munich, who met Hitler in early March 1923, 'Mr Ford's organization had so far made no money contributions to the party' and 'his funds were principally contributed by patriotic Germans living abroad'. Press reports spoke of Nazi hopes for 'America' and a joint struggle against Jews



and capitalism. At the end of August 1923, Hitler travelled to Switzerland in search of financial backing. 'Hitler is very engaging,' one of the ladies of the house of a wealthy Swiss supporter noted in her diary, 'his whole body trembles when he speaks,' which he did 'wonderfully'. Hitler told the Swiss general Wille: 'I will strike in the autumn'...

Hitler tried to win over the Americans through a series of interviews. In mid-August 1923 he gave a fire breathing interview to the New York *World* promising a 'fascist dictatorship' and demanding that 'officialdom must be reduced to a minimum', perhaps a sop to the 'small government' preferences of his American readers. These overtures suggest that Hitler's overwhelmingly negative image of Anglo-America had given way to a more positive attitude. This was partly tactically motivated, because he realized that his domestic aims could only be achieved with the support or at least the toleration of London and Washington...

Hitler flanked this rhetoric with a carefully calibrated propagandistic effort. He gave a speech at Bayreuth—Wagner's city—in mid September 1923, and returned about a fortnight later to speak again. On that occasion, taking up the invitation of Winifred Wagner, the Englishborn wife of Wagner's son Siegfried, he went to the Wagner shrine at Wahnfried. There Hitler spoke to the composer's son-in-law, the racist political philosopher Houston Stewart Chamberlain, author of the best-selling *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, upon whom he made a very favourable impression. Hitler paid homage at Wagner's grave. He also published an autobiographical text and a selection of his speeches under the title of *Adolf Hitler: His Life and His Speeches*. The name on the front page was that of his associate Victor von Koerber, but the real author was Hitler. He rehearsed his political positions, including his attacks on 'Bolshevism' and 'international Jewish mammonism', but pointedly deleted all negative references to the United States, most likely in order to encourage US toleration of a successful coup. The principal purpose of the book was to cast Hitler as the saviour of Germany. Koerber-Hitler spoke of him no longer as a 'drummer' but as 'an architect who is building the mighty German cathedral'. No doubt drawing on his overtures to Bavarian Catholics, Hitler had himself styled as a messianic figure,

whose political awakening was compared to the resurrection of Christ, and whose writings were a kind of holy writ.

On 26 September, on the same day as the end of passive resistance in the Ruhr, the Bavarian government announced a state of emergency. Kahr was made commissary general. That same day, too, Hitler signed a proclamation in support of a 'Battle League to Break Interest Slavery'; pointedly, the main enemy was defined as international capitalism and the victor powers rather than the German left...

Despite the local demands on his time, Hitler made serious efforts to square international opinion. He gave an interview to the American United Press at Bayreuth in which he said that the Bavarian 'masses' would back him over Kahr and announced that he was 'no monarchist and would battle against all monarchic adventures, because the Hohenzollern and Wittelsbachers would merely encourage separatist divisions'. Hitler also gave an interview to the distinguished German-American journalist George Sylvester Viereck, in which he claimed to be the only bulwark against 'Bolshevism' and revealed his territorial ambitions. 'We must regain our colonies and we must expand eastward', he argued. 'There was a time when we could have shared the world with England. Now, we can stretch our cramped limbs only to the east. The Baltic is merely a German lake.' At around the same time, he told an American newspaper of his plans for a 'Monroe Doctrine for Germany', the first time he articulated a theme which was to run through his entire strategy. In mid October 1923, he made a public statement in *Corriere Italiano* once again renouncing any German claim to South Tyrol, as a gesture to Mussolini. He was convinced that France would support a separatist coup, but seems to have believed that Britain and the United States would at least tolerate his own *Putsch*.

Right at the end of October 1923, the *Völkisch* and paramilitary leaders assembled in Röhm's Reichswehr office in Munich and began preparations for armed action. Their concern was at least as much to head off any separatist tendencies in the Bavarian leadership as it was to support them in joint action against Berlin. It was expected that Kahr would announce his plans for a coup against the Berlin government at a meeting scheduled for 8 November at the Bürgerbräukeller. If Hitler and his co-conspirators were going to forestall Kahr, and his suspected separatist agenda, or

co-opt him for their own plans, this would be an excellent opportunity to catch all the major protagonists in one place.

Hitler struck in an evening of high drama. He burst into the Bürgerbräukeller, fired his pistol into the ceiling and announced to general applause that the Bavarian government of Knilling and the Reich government in Berlin were deposed. Hitler 'suggested' Kahr as regent for Bavaria and Pöhner as minister president thereof. He promised that a 'German national government' would be announced in Munich that same evening. He 'recommended' that he himself should take over the 'leadership' until accounts had been settled with the 'criminals' in Berlin. Ludendorff was to be commander of a new national army; Lossow Reichswehr minister, and Seisser German minister of police. Attempting to marry Bavarian local pride and the pan-German mission, Hitler said that it was the task of the provisional government to march on the 'den of iniquity in Berlin'. In a considerable concession to Bavarian sensibilities he vowed 'to build up a cooperative federal state in which Bavaria gets what it deserves'. Kahr, Lossow and Seisser were held captive and prevailed upon to support the coup.

The putschists now swung into action. Their 'Proclamation to all Germans' announced that the nation would no longer be treated like a 'Negro tribe'. Hanfstaengl was detailed to inform and influence the foreign press; he tipped off Larry Rue of the *Chicago Tribune* that the coup was about to begin and appeared in the Bürgerbräukeller with a group of journalists from other countries. The offices of the pro-SPD *Münchener Post* were smashed up by the SA, but there was no 'white terror' on the streets of Munich; Hitler's main anxiety was the Bavarian right, not the left. One of the few detentions was that of Count Soden-Fraunhofen, a staunch Wittelsbach loyalist who was accused of being a 'hireling of the Vatican'. Winifred and Siegfried Wagner, who were almost certainly aware of the plot in advance, were due at the Odeon Theatre immediately after the coup, where Siegfried was to direct a Wagner concert, intended perhaps as a celebration. Hitler announced melodramatically that 'the morning will see either a national government in Germany or our own deaths'.

The morning brought the sobering realization that the putschists were on their own. There was no general national rising across the Reich. Kahr, Lossow and Seisser, who had given their 'word of honour' under duress to support the coup, slipped away

and began to mobilize forces to restore order. Hitler's worst fears were confirmed: he was now fighting not merely red Berlin, but reactionary separatist forces in Munich. A bitter Nazi pamphlet rushed out that day announced that 'today the [November revolution] was to have been extinguished from Munich and the honour of the fatherland restored.' 'This,' the pamphlet added, invoking Hitler's rhetoric, 'would have been the Bavarian mission.' Kahr, Lossow and Seisser, alas, had betrayed the cause. Behind them, the pamphlet continued, stood 'the same trust of separatists and Jews' who had been responsible for the treasonous Armistice in 1918, the 'slave treaty of Versailles and the despicable stock-exchange speculation' and all other miseries. It concluded with a call to make one last effort to save the situation. What was striking about this document was the far greater stress laid on the separatist-clerical and capitalist danger than on the threat of Bolshevism.



Hitler and his co-conspirators set out mid morning 9 November for central Munich in a column numbering about 2,000 men, many of them armed. Strasser, who had turned up from Nuremberg with a contingent of followers, was particularly belligerent. Their plan was unclear, but it seems to have been to wrest the initiative back from Kahr; Hitler may also have intended to go down fighting as he had vowed the night before. Outside the Feldherrenhalle at the Odeonsplatz, they encountered a police cordon. Hitler linked arms with Scheubner-Richter and the column marched straight at the police lines, weapons at the ready.

It is not clear whether he was seeking death as a blood sacrifice to inspire future generations or whether he was trying to

imitate Napoleon's famous confrontation with Marshal Ney, when the emperor marched slowly towards his old comrades, who refused to shoot. Shots were exchanged, leading to fatalities on both sides. Hitler himself escaped death only narrowly, injured his arm and fled the scene. Before the day was out, Kahr issued a proclamation announcing the failure of the 'Hitler Putsch'. The great drama had ended in complete fiasco.

A pamphlet published immediately after the failed coup, penned by either Hitler himself or someone briefed by him, traced the collapse of relations between Munich and Berlin throughout October 1923. It quoted from a conversation which allegedly took place between Hitler and Lossow, in which the latter 'repeatedly spoke of an Ankara-government', on the lines of the 'Turkish national revival under Atatürk, which would take on Berlin. The pamphlet went on to attack Kahr, who was allegedly 'completely dependent on the Roman Jesuits'. 'Because Hitler knew,' it continued, *'that the "black [i.e. clerical] danger" in Bavaria was even bigger than the red one'*,<sup>17</sup> Hitler had been compelled to pre-empt the machinations of the Jesuits, the Wittelsbach dynasty, the French, the papacy and the Habsburgs. The main lines of Hitler's rather contradictory interpretation of the Putsch were thus clear: it had been carried out both with the collusion of the Bavarian conservatives and in order to forestall their plans for a clerical, monarchist and separatist coup at the expense of the Reich as a whole.

On 11 November, Hitler was arrested at the home of Hanfstaengl at Uffing am Staffelsee, south of Munich. Just before his capture, Hitler managed to get off a short message to Alfred Rosenberg, asking him to lead the movement in his absence. He was imprisoned at Landsberg, awaiting trial. Hitler seems at first to have undergone some kind of personal crisis, appearing depressed and even suicidal. Hess, not yet in Landsberg, spoke of him being 'emotionally very down'. Following stormy interrogations, Hitler went on a ten-day hunger strike. According to the recollection of the resident psychologist, Alois Maria Ott, Hitler was distraught at the death of his comrades and announced that 'I have had enough, I am done, if I had a revolver I would take it.' Ott succeeded in calming Hitler and persuaded him to call off his protest; the

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<sup>17</sup> *Editor's Note*: my emphasis.

planned forcible feeding proved unnecessary. In early December 1923, Winifred Wagner sent him blankets, books and other items to cheer him up; she also wrote frequently. Hitler's spirits revived, and within a fortnight he was beginning to prepare his defence.

In mid December 1923, Hitler was questioned at Landsberg by the state prosecutor, Dr Hans Ehard. Still struggling with his injured arm, Hitler vowed 'to play his best trump-cards in the court room itself', and wondered aloud whether 'certain gentlemen' would have the courage to perjure themselves under oath in court. This was clearly directed at Kahr, Lossow and Seisser. Ehard reported that Hitler, having initially steadfastly refused to make any sort of statements on the record, to avoid 'having words put into his mouth', soon began to hold 'interminable political lectures'. He explained that he had struck because the men of the Kampf bund had been impatient for action, and could not be held back any longer. Ehard, probably acting on instructions from superiors who feared dirty linen being washed in public, asked Hitler directly whether he planned 'to bring the question of the alleged Bavarian separatist plans into [his] defence strategy'. Hitler pointedly declined to answer, but he soon launched into a lengthy attack on 'well-known, influential, one-sidedly religiously inclined circles, which pursued solely separatist aims and to this end pushed forward Kahr as a straw man'. 'These circles,' he added, 'sought the restoration of the monarchy.' In the context of what he called 'French plans to break up', these tendencies would lead to 'the separation of Bavaria' and the 'disintegration of the Reich'. It is striking that Hitler again spent far more time on these dangers to the Reich than those from the left.

Hitler soon made himself comfortable in Landsberg. Conditions were remarkably good, as both the warders and the other prisoners treated him as a celebrity, even after his sentencing. The terms of his incarceration did not involve compulsory labour, a regimented diet, prison clothes or restrictions on visitors. His main companions behind bars were his chauffeur and bodyguard Emil Maurice and Rudolf Hess; his authority was unquestioned. The young Nazi Hermann Fobke related that it was not so much a question of 'presenting to the boss' as being 'lectured to by the boss'. Admirers brought him books, food and flowers and news. Helene Bechstein provided cheese. In all, more than 500 people, including Elsa Bruckmann, visited him in the first few months

alone. Hanfstaengl later remarked that the cell looked like a 'delicatessen'. For all that, Hitler found captivity irksome, as he was kept cooped up and powerless to intervene in outside affairs. His surroundings were far from luxurious—Landsberg remained a prison, not a hotel. Music and hatred kept him going. 'I let out my annoyance in my apologia' he wrote in January 1924, 'whose first part, at least, I hope will survive the court case and me. For the rest I am dreaming of Tristan and similar matters.'



Alfred Rosenberg

The NSDAP, meanwhile, was in disarray. President Ebert announced that Hitler's followers would be prosecuted for treason. The party itself was declared illegal and went underground; its press was banned, including the *Völkischer Beobachter* and Streicher's newspaper *Der Stürmer*. The party premises were raided, with seven bags of potatoes being carried off by police along with all records and valuables. In Hesse and Wurttemberg the authorities moved quickly to stamp out any threatened copycat attempts. The Nazi leadership was now largely on the run, hiding among sympathizers in and around Munich. Hitler's choice of Rosenberg to head the party in his absence took everybody by surprise and caused general consternation. Rosenberg was aloof and cerebral and had no personal following in the movement.

By contrast, the three deputies also appointed by Hitler—Julius Streicher, Max Amann and Hermann Esser—were powerful in their own right. Hitler did not explain his decision. It is possible that he saw Rosenberg as a straw man who would simply keep the

seat warm for him for his release, but it may also be that he saw the main priority in his absence as the maintenance not of organizational coherence, but of ideological purity, and for that Rosenberg was the perfect fit...

In late February 1924, Hitler was brought to stand trial before the *Volksgericht* in Munich in the old Infantry School on the Blumenburgstrasse. He was allowed to appear in a suit rather than prison clothes and sporting his Iron Cross. Security was strict, and the press interest, including from abroad, was intense. Hitler would no doubt have been pleased to know that 'one heard particularly many English voices'. The Reich government had wanted the trial to be held in Leipzig, but the authorities in Munich were determined to keep it local, almost certainly because they feared what might otherwise emerge about their complicity in the various plots. Berlin gave way in the context of a broader rapprochement with Bavaria. In mid February 1924, about a week before the trial began, the Bavarian Reichswehr submitted once again to command from Berlin, thus reversing Kahr and Lossow's position in November 1923; Kahr resigned.

Hitler famously used the courtroom as a platform from which to expound his world view... The trial lasted just over a month, from 26 February to 27 March 1924... He did not deny the substance of the charges, but argued that he had acted at all times in the greater interest of Germany... Sometimes Kahr appeared so overwhelmed that his voice dropped to a whisper as the courtroom audience strained to hear him. The rampant Hitler, by contrast, was repeatedly told to lower his voice by the trial judge.

Hitler's final speech was a triumphant reiteration of his beliefs and sense of mission. If he was a traitor, then so were Bismarck, Atatürk and Mussolini, whose treason had been ratified by success. Hitler decried that there was 'self determination for every Negro tribe', but that 'Germany did not belong to the Negro tribes but stood under them'. The root of the German predicament, he continued, lay in Germany's exposed geopolitical position in Europe. 'The German people', Hitler argued, 'has perhaps the worst location of all nations in military-political terms. It is geographically extraordinarily badly located, surrounded by many rivals'. It was menaced by France's determination to 'Balkanize' Germany and to reduce her population. In this context he referred to 'Clemenceau's [alleged] aim to exterminate 20 million Germans in Europe, to



break up Germany into individual states and to prevent the emergence of another united large Reich'. It was also threatened by Britain's supposed much broader policy of Balkanizing Europe as a whole in order to maintain the balance of power. There was no economic solution to this predicament, Hitler stressed, but only a powerful foreign policy based on the highest level of internal mobilization. Germany would need to get rid of 'international Jewry', which was coordinating the global forces against her. She would also need to pursue the related struggle against international capitalism. 'The battle against international stock exchange enslavement' and against the 'trustification' of the 'entire economy', Hitler demanded, must be taken up.

These were all familiar themes from Hitler's previous statements, but this time he had the eyes of the German and even some of the international press upon him. His dosing speech concluded with a resounding statement that though the court might secure a conviction, posterity would surely acquit him. In an obviously choreographed sequence, the other accused said they had nothing to add, with the result that Hitler's resonant last words were left ringing throughout the courtroom and shaped the story of the trial. He turned the defeat and humiliation of 9 November 1923 into a victorious narrative...

Hitler was now a hero not merely to the Bavarian right, but to many nationalists throughout Germany. What had begun in the public mind as the 'Ludendorff Trial' ended as the 'Hitler Trial'. 'I am occupying myself with Hitler and the National Socialist movement,' the Rhenish student Joseph Goebbels wrote in his diary in early March 1923...

On his return to Landsberg to serve the rest of his sentence, Hitler was confronted with some serious strategic questions... Ernst Röhm began to revive the SA, under the cover of a front organization, and went to confer with Hitler at the very end of May 1924. Perhaps anxious not to provoke the authorities, and mindful of his inability to seize power by force, the Führer insisted that the SA keep a lower profile...

Gottfried Feder remarked after visiting him that Hitler was 'depressed [and] wants to withdraw completely from the movement' in order to 'work', that is, 'write' to earn money. Over the next two months, Hitler repeated his message publicly on a number of occasions. He was acting partly because he was disenchanted with

the way in which the various mergers and collaborations were turning the party into a purely bourgeois organization, and partly because he had no real power to turn things around from prison...

One reason why Hitler wanted to lie low was fear of having his release delayed, or of being deported to Austria. The Bavarian authorities had long hoped to do the latter, and in early May 1924, the Polizeidirektion in Munich told the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior that 'Hitler constitutes a permanent threat to the internal and external security of the state'. In late April 1924, the Austrians agreed to accept him in principle. Hitler managed to avoid deportation, but after being refused probation he failed to get out by 1 October as he originally hoped. On 16 October he made a statement that he should be allowed to stay, 'because I never felt myself to be an Austrian citizen but only a German'. 'My affection for my Austrian homeland is great,' Hitler continued, 'but so is hostility of the Austrian state', in which—like the 'earlier Habsburg state'—he could only see 'an obstacle for the unification of the German people'.

## Chapter 5

### *Anglo-American power and German impotence*

The main reason why Hitler withdrew from party management was his plan to write a 'large book', which he stated clearly in the declaration announcing his decision. This project began as a quasi-legal defence of his actions for the court. It soon developed into the idea of producing, as Hitler told Siegfried Wagner in early May 1924, a 'comprehensive settlement of accounts with those gentlemen who cheered on 9 November', in other words Kahr, Lossow and Seisser. No doubt hopeful of signing a sensational book with high sales, various publishers offered their services to Hitler, either in person or by letter. In time, however, the emphasis of the work changed again, probably in part thanks to some sort of explicit or implicit bargain with the Bavarian state to let sleeping dogs lie in return for a mild sentence. There were also positive reasons, however, for the new approach. Hitler wanted to use the relative peace of Landsberg to write a much broader manifesto elaborating the principles of National Socialism, charting a path to power for the movement and showing how Germany could regain her independence and great power status. The first volume of *Mein Kampf*, most of which was written or compiled in Landsberg, seems to have been largely a solo effort, with relatively little input from others. Julius Schaub, another inmate who later became his personal adjutant, recalled that Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf* 'alone and without direct input from anyone', not even Hess, who had joined him in Landsberg. Hitler typed the book himself, reading out or summarizing large sections to his fellow prisoners, who constituted an appreciative or at any rate a captive audience. Sometimes, he was moved to tears by his own words.

Incarceration gave Hitler a chance to read more widely and gather his thoughts. One of his main preoccupations in Landsberg

was the United States, which he was coming to regard as the model state and society, perhaps even more so than the British Empire. He 'devoured' the memoirs of a returned German emigrant to the United States. 'One should take America as a model,' he proclaimed. Hess wrote that Hitler was captivated by Henry Ford's methods of production which made automobiles available to the 'broad mass' of the people. This appears to have been the genesis of the Volkswagen. Hitler envisaged that the automobile would further serve as 'the small man's means of transport into nature—as in America'. He also planned to apply methods of mass production to housing, and experimented with designs for a *Volksbaus* for families with three to five children which would have five rooms and a bathroom with a garage in large terraced settlements. He was equally determined not be outdone in the construction of 'skyscrapers', and looked forward to the consternation of the *Deutsch-Völkisch* elements by putting the party headquarters into such an edifice. Quite apart from showing that Hitler had an interest in vernacular architecture, and not just in monumental public buildings, these plans prove that he was thinking of elevating the condition of the German working class through American style suburban and metropolitan modernity. This was the model of an ideal society against which he wrote *Mein Kampf*.

Modernity was not an end in itself, but a means by which the German people, especially the German working class and German women, could be mobilized in support of the project of national revival. Hitler exalted technological development—airplanes, typewriters, telephones and suspension bridges, and even domestic appliances. These would free German women from drudgery and enable them to be better wives producing more children. 'How little our poor women benefit from progress,' he lamented, 'there is so much one can do to make [a woman's life] easier with the help of technology! But most people still think today that a woman is only a good housewife if she is constantly dirty and working from early until late.' 'And then,' Hitler continued, 'one is surprised when the woman is not intellectual enough for the man, when he cannot find stimulation and recuperation.' Worse still, he went on, this was 'bad for the race' because it was 'obvious that his overtired wife will not have as healthy children as one who is well rested, can read good books and so on'. The link between what Hitler would later call the racial 'elevation' of Germany,

technological progress and maintaining the standard of living is already evident here.

Part and parcel of this programme of racial improvement was Hitler's support for what we would today call 'alternative' technology. 'Every farm,' he demanded, 'which does not possess any alternative source of energy' should set up a 'wind motor with dynamo and rechargeable batteries'. This might not be possible in the current economic climate, Hitler continued, but it would be a viable long-term investment. He rejected the idea that technological change took the romance out of farming. 'I couldn't care less about a romanticism,' he exclaimed, 'which puts people behind frosted windows in the twilight, [and] which lets women age prematurely through hard work'. Hitler therefore sneered at the city folk who went into the country for a day, enthused about the scenery and then returned to their modern and efficient homes in the city. Hitler claimed to support 'the preservation of nature', but in his view it should take the form of national parks in the mountains. 'Here too,' Hitler concluded, 'the Americans have made the right choice with their Yellowstone Park.'

In Landsberg, Hitler did not abate his ferocious hostility to international finance capitalism. He did, however, qualify some of his earlier ideas about 'national' economies. Significantly, he rejected the demands of the German automobile manufacturers to be protected against competition from Henry Ford through higher tariff barriers. 'Our industry needs to exert itself and achieve the same performance,' Hitler remarked. Once again, the United States was the explicit model.

Hitler was also taking on board the concept of *Lebensraum*. This was one of the key ideas of Hess's teacher and patron Karl Haushofer, the doyen of German *Geopolitik*. He visited Hess in prison, bringing him copies of Clausewitz and Friedrich Ratzel's 'Political Geography', one of the seminal geopolitical texts. While there is no hard evidence that Haushofer met Hitler on those occasions it is highly likely he did so, or at any rate that his ideas found their way to him. In mid July, there was a debate about *Lebensraum* at Landsberg, which began with some good-natured joshing in the garden and ended with Hitler's 'marvelling' inner circle being provided with a lengthy definition of the term by Hess. Its essence was simple: every people required a certain 'living space' to feed and accommodate its growing population. The idea

seemed to provide the answer to the main challenge facing the Reich, which was the emigration of its demographic surplus to the United States. This was part of an important shift in Hitler's thinking, away from a potential Russo German alliance and the prevention of emigration through the restitution of German colonies, towards the capture of *Lebensraum* in the east, contiguous to an expanded German Reich. It had less to do with hatred of Bolshevism and eastern European Jewry, and more to do with the need to prepare the Reich for a confrontation or equal coexistence with an Anglo-America whose dynamism mesmerized Hitler more than ever.

While Hitler tried to reduce his exposure to petty party disputes in prison, it is striking that he tried to maintain engagement with the wider world, especially potential ideological sympathizers and funders in Italy and the United States. Despite the fact that he allowed Göring to find sanctuary in Italy after the Putsch, Mussolini was careful to keep the Nazis at arm's length.

That left America. In early January 1924, not long after the start of his incarceration at Landsberg, Hitler penned a letter of accreditation for his envoy Kurt Lüdecke. He asked Lüdecke 'to promote the interests of the German freedom movement in the United States and especially to collect money for them'.

At the end of January, Lüdecke set off with Winifred and Siegfried Wagner to Detroit. Despite Lüdecke's invocation of the 'solidarity of white men', and his offer to promote the kind of international anti-Semitism demanded by the *Dearborn Independent*, he was unable to persuade Ford at their meetings to provide any funding for the movement. Lüdecke repeatedly visited Hitler in Landsberg in May and June 1924. In 1924, a National Socialist *Ortsgruppe* was founded in the German quarter of Chicago, and there also appears to have been some sort of presence in New York City; a year later, Hitler personally thanked one of his activists in America for sending back money for the movement. In general, however, the attempt to reach out to the United States was a failure.

Hitler was under no illusions about the timescale for the national and racial regeneration of Germany. The failure of the coup had cured him of any vanguardism. He was now thinking in terms not of years, or even decades, but of centuries. In late June 1924, he made a public announcement that 'the re-establishment of

the German people is by no means a matter of the acquisition of technical weapons, but rather a question of the regeneration of our character'. 'Spiritual renewals,' Hitler continued, 'require, if they are to be more than just a passing phenomenon, *many centuries* [emphasis in the original]' to be 'successful'. Five months later, Hess recorded that Hitler 'is under no illusions about the extent to which the "idea" can be implemented by him'. 'The ripening of ideas, the adapting of reality to the idea and the idea to reality,' he continued, 'will probably require many generations.'

Hitler, Hess went on, saw his own role as merely 'setting up a new marker in the distance', 'loosening the soil' around the existing pole, which 'represented a major era in the development of mankind'. The task of 'ripping out' the pole and advancing it some way towards the goal, by contrast, would be the task 'of another, a greater man yet to come'. In other words, after the certainty of 1923, Hitler was once again unsure whether he was the messiah himself rather than just John the Baptist, the 'drummer' of 1919-20.

Despite the bravado, Hitler trod very carefully. Shortly after his release, Hitler had two meetings with the Bavarian minister president, Heinrich Held, at which he assured him that he would not attempt another putsch. He toned down some of the rhetoric in *Mein Kampf*, the second volume of which he was writing in the calm of his mountain retreat at Berchtesgaden, the use of which had been given to him by a well-wisher...



The principal method through which Hitler sought to re-establish control over the party was through ideological purity and coherence. He did this the hard way, seeking to achieve uniformity across a range of highly contentious issues. Hitler could not simply impose his views: he had to cajole and persuade. This was done through speeches, declarations, debates and, from the end of 1925, through the publication in succession of the two volumes of *Mein Kampf*. These were only partly written from scratch at Landsberg and after his release, the rest being cobbled together from various articles and instructions, and even from drafts dating back to before the Putsch. Much of *Mein Kampf* originated as a direct response to the political events of 1925-6, and Hitler used the text to lay down the law, at least implicitly, not just to the membership but also to his internal critics. For this reason the book needs to be seen in the context of the many contemporaneous statements he made before and after publication...



Much of what Hitler said in *Mein Kampf* and his various speeches rehearsed familiar themes from the time before the Putsch. There was the same focus on the forces of domestic fragmentation. Hitler inveighed once more against the ‘mendacity of these so-called federalist circles’ who were only promoting their ‘dirty’ party interest. He continued to fulminate about the disintegrative effect of Marxism, and to lament the alienation of German workers. Hitler rose to new heights of invective against the German middle class, whom he dismissed as ‘philistines’, ‘bourgeois boobies’, who were so befuddled by the ‘fug of associational meetings’ that they were unable to transcend the ‘usual jingoism of our bourgeois world of today’. He contrasted the robustness of the SA, who knew that ‘terror can only be broken by terror’, with



'bourgeois wimpishness'. Hitler also trenchantly restated his objections to parliamentarism and electoral politics, and western democracy in general, concluding that the 'majority principle' amounted to 'the demolition of the Führer idea as such'.

The main danger of Germany's internal weakness was that it made her vulnerable to external attack, especially from the enemies that Hitler feared most: international capitalism, Anglo-America and the associated forces of world Jewry. Hitler critiqued the economics of inequality and exploitation, the 'jarring juxtaposition of poor and rich so close to each other', the 'role of money', in which 'money [became] God' and 'the false God of Mammon was offered incense'. He became increasingly convinced that 'the heaviest battle to be fought was no longer against enemy peoples but against international capital'. Here Hitler insisted more than ever on his earlier distinction between national capital, which the state could control, and pernicious international capital, which controlled states or sought to do so. One of its principal instruments of subjugation was revolutionary Marxism, which undermined national economies, societies and governments. Others were economic immiseration and racial contamination, both of which also reduced the capacity of nations to resist international takeover. For Hitler, maintaining an independent national economy was therefore absolutely central to the defence of national identity, sovereignty and racial purity. Hitler violently objected to international capitalism even when it was not Jewish, but he assigned the Jews a particularly malevolent role within the global capitalist system; this remained the principal root of his antisemitism. In *Mein Kampf*, as in his earlier rhetoric, Jews were inseparably linked with money and the whole capitalist system as 'traders', as 'middlemen', who levied an 'extortionate rate of interest' for their 'financial deals'. Jewry, he claimed, aimed at nothing less than the 'financial domination of the entire economy'. Yet because 'a Bolshevized world can only survive if it encompasses everything', a 'single independent state'—such as a revived Germany—could bring the whole juggernaut to a standstill...

Hitler returned to this theme in *Mein Kampf*, when he said that 'for purely emotional reasons one should not show the masses two or more enemies, because this would otherwise lead to a complete fragmentation of their striking power'... Hitler's rhetoric was thus far more anti-capitalist than anti-communist: references to Dawes in his speeches dwarfed those to Lenin at this time. He

continued to fear Bolshevism, not in the form of the Red Army, but principally as a virus which would render Germany ripe for takeover by the forces of international capitalism.

## Appendix I



### *Editor's Note*

After assimilating Brendan Simms's book on Adolf Hitler, it is clear that George Lincoln Rockwell, despite his nobility, failed to understand National *Socialism*, as is evident in the phrases I highlighted in bold from Gregory Hood's article published on May 8, 2013 in *Counter-Currents*. And the saddest thing is that, almost sixty years after Rockwell's death, American white nationalists still fail to understand Hitler!



## Rockwell as Conservative

*by Gregory Hood*



Gregory Hood in the 2023 American Renaissance conference.

The Left usually understands the Right better than the Right understands itself. In the dominant progressive narrative, conservatives are simply more “respectable” racists that use rhetoric about anti-Communism, free markets, or limited government to disguise their bias. They may not even be aware of it, but American conservatism is, in this telling, an inherently racist ideology.

Commander George Lincoln Rockwell in many ways shared this analysis. His National Socialism was not an ideology so much as a tactic, an attempt to build a fighting conservatism capable of defeating the militant Left. **Rather than Nietzsche, Baron Evola, or even Alfred Rosenberg, the greatest influences on George Lincoln Rockwell were Senator Joe McCarthy, Douglas MacArthur, and even William F. Buckley.**

His inability to rally the American Right marks a milestone in white political activism, as George Lincoln Rockwell is the bridge between patriotic racial conservatism and revolutionary White Nationalism. Commander Rockwell was above all a tactician, but he failed to reveal some new method for white patriots to achieve political power. **Instead, his strategic importance is that he**

**demonstrated, perhaps inadvertently, the bankruptcy of American conservatism.** Rockwell's hope for "street fighters of the American conservative movement" was always doomed to fail. One does not need to be a "Nazi" to see that **conservatism is designed to lose, not to fight.**

George Lincoln Rockwell began his turn to the Right at Brown University, where he dissented against the "blank slate" teachings he encountered in his sociology class. He notes in his autobiography *This Time the World*, that he was always in conflict with the "liberalism" overflowing at Brown, which he would later connect to Communism. He made the same connection between the "filthy thing" and the chaos and ugliness of modern art that he experienced in his studies after World War II. It's not surprising in the intense Cold War atmosphere of post-war America that the young naval officer would link cultural degradation to the struggle against the Soviet Union.

Commander Rockwell's first political activism was on behalf of General Douglas MacArthur, who was fired by President Harry Truman because of his willingness to expand the Korean War into "Red" China. General MacArthur would receive a dedication in *This Time the World*, and Rockwell would adopt MacArthur's habit of chewing on a corn cob pipe. According to Rockwell, it was in the midst of his efforts to book a hall for General MacArthur that he was introduced to the Jewish question. Further research led him to conclude that Bolshevism had Jewish roots and that there was a preponderance of Jews among Communists in the United States. Thus, Rockwell's opposition to Jews was rooted in his conviction that "Jewish traitors" were sabotaging the Cold War. **However, this did not extend to questioning the American Establishment as a whole**—when Commander Rockwell wanted to attend a speech by Gerald L. K. Smith, he first asked the local FBI office *for permission*.

In the early 1950s, Commander George Lincoln Rockwell served in Iceland, where he met his second wife and obsessively re-read *Mein Kampf*, as well as other works like the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. He even took his new wife Thora on honeymoon to Berchtesgaden to visit Hitler's mountain retreat. However, **bizarrely, it was after the work of Adolf Hitler "stripped away the confusion" from his mind that Rockwell began his involvement with mainstream conservatism.** He worked as an



independent contractor for William F. Buckley and his *National Review*.

Commander Rockwell refers to William F. Buckley as “Bill” in *This Time the World* and notes that he is “square-dealing” as a man. This exaggerated familiarity explains the wildly different interpretation of Buckley’s character that men who knew him far more intimately have claimed, as in Peter Brimelow’s devastating obituary for him. Perhaps more importantly, even after becoming at least a philosophical “Nazi,” Rockwell says of Buckley that “There is more pulsating brain-power and genius surrounding Buckley than in any place else on earth, where I have ever been” and Buckley himself is “brighter than all the rest.”

After (by his own admission) failing to obtain many subscriptions for the magazine, Rockwell tried his hand at organizing “The American Federation of Conservative Organizations” and a newspaper to be called the “Conservative Times.” At this time, Rockwell believed that conservatives could “sneak up on the Jews” by rallying conservatives behind a militant (but publicly philo-Semitic) organization. Rockwell later mocked his own restrained approach and declared that liberals had to be fought using their own tactics—“force, terror, and power.” He was further disgusted by the “human content of the ‘right-wing’—ninety percent cowards, one-track minds, tightwads, and worst of all, hobbyists” that were unwilling to jeopardize their possessions.

Interestingly, however, Rockwell also credits the John Birch Society with “[doing] what I planned then” (*This Time the World*, 87). Jewish entertainer Bob Dylan would later mock the Society in “Talkin John Birch Paranoid Blues” wherein the paranoid narrator proclaims that the only “true American” is “George Lincoln Rockwell.” In his own way, Commander Rockwell confirmed Dylan’s intended smear by declaring a shared purpose between the John Birch Society and himself.

Nor was Rockwell alone on the “radical” Right in believing such a strategy could work. Revilo Oliver was a founding member of the Society and admitted that he continued to work for it even after all mention of Jews was eliminated. In the end, Oliver only abandoned the Society because of his contempt for Robert Welch, writing in *America’s Decline: The Education of a Conservative* that “one does not abandon a lost cause before one knows the cause was lost because the general is a traitor” (200). Like Oliver, Rockwell’s chief

gripe with the Right wing was that the people involved were flawed and that the American Right was essentially cowardly. Instead, **Rockwell would build a fighting faith of Nazism as the only “alternative to communism.”**

Even so, **Rockwell’s Nazism was still couched in conservative forms for years afterward.** Rockwell worked for Russell Maguire of the *American Mercury*, later writing scathingly about Maguire as someone who was actively hurting the cause. However, as Andrew Hamilton has pointed out, Maguire may well have had good reason for his caution and in any event, was far better ideologically than the “brilliant” William F. Buckley.

Rockwell had fonder memories of his partnership with DeWest Hooker, and notes warmly that he wasn’t a “patriot or a right-winger or a conservative but a fighting, tough, all out Nazi.” Rockwell’s justification for this was Hooker’s creation of the Nationalist Youth League, which rallied **“tough kids” in New York City to fight “Jewish Communism” and inspire them with “fanatical loyalty to the United States, the White Race, and Adolf Hitler”** (100). Rockwell also quotes Hooker’s retelling of the Jewish role in bringing down Joe McCarthy’s crusade against “Jewish Communism.” Aside from the questionable background of Hooker highlighted by Andrew Hamilton, **what is significant is that Rockwell identifies “Nazism” with a militant anti-Communist struggle that simply does not allow Jews.**

George Lincoln Rockwell’s “coming out” was his protest to “Save IKE from the KIKES” along with Harold Arrowsmith in May 1958. This led to a minor media frenzy surrounding him after a synagogue was bombed in Atlanta a few months later, when it was revealed that Rockwell had corresponded with the bomber. Rockwell’s response was revealing. His writing shows that he thought that bombing a synagogue was a mistake “because it relates to the religious rather than political.” Rockwell’s focus on “atheist Jews” rather than religious Jews would be a constant of his later career, even while being interviewed in uniform standing in front of the swastika banner. Furthermore, Rockwell issued a statement that “I am anti-Zionist and anti-Communist Jews, and any other form of treason. **I’m pro-American republic.**”

Also at this time, Rockwell began printing literature for what he called the World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists (WUFENS), which shows **the Commander’s**

determination to fit National Socialism into the pro-free market mould of American conservatism. Rockwell denounced fascism as an economic doctrine of state ownership and promoted “international racism” as opposed to “racial nationalism.”<sup>18</sup>

Rockwell’s pro-Americanism was complemented by his vision of white unity between “Aryan” countries, a precursor to his later strategic contribution of “White Power.” However, Rockwell’s National “Socialism” largely neglected the economic aspects besides repeating general conservative themes. It is revealing that following the failure of WUFENS, Rockwell would create the American “Nazi” Party in 1959 instead of a “National Socialist Party.” Rockwell thus claimed the one term slur of “Nazi” for his own purposes, and said that it “means that we are racists.”

The American Nazi Party was notorious for its flamboyant use of street theatre. The Commander had his critics on the Right, with members of the National States’ Rights Party charging that he was simply continuing his father’s “vaudeville” acts. Rockwell justified his tactics on the grounds that he needed to appeal to the masses with spectacle and easy to understand propaganda. Rockwell pointed out Jews on Wall Street funding the Bolshevik revolution, protested the film Exodus, and even staged activism against Sammy Davis Jr. With blacks, he was more creative, as he used “hate buses” to parody the so-called Freedom Riders, created “hatenanny” country songs, and in one notable instance, tried to enrol a monkey in a public school.

Lost in the debate over the appropriateness of the Commander’s tactics was the strategic purpose. In his speeches and writings, Rockwell blasted the “Communist-Negro” revolution, arguing that blacks were simply following the marching orders of their Jewish funders, with occasional independent blacks such as the Nation of Islam breaking free of Zionist control. Rockwell also appealed to spiritual idealism, proudly claiming himself and his followers as “fanatics” because only fanatics can truly create something. However, **though Commander Rockwell bemoaned American civilization’s “unwholesomeness, love of money, and love of luxury” as a sign of decline, he rarely (if ever) turned his fire on**

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<sup>18</sup> *Editor’s Note:* As we will see at the end, this error, typical of American white nationalism (in contrast to Himmler’s Nordicism), cost the commander his life in 1967.

the American economic or political system per se (William H. Schmalz, *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* [Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 1999], 212).

**If anything, Commander Rockwell had a truly naive faith in certain institutions of the American government. From the time he asked permission from the FBI to attend a Gerald L. K. Smith rally, he kept the Bureau constantly informed of his activities, and even those of his members. According to Frederick Simonelli, author of *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), Rockwell “believed—rightly or not—that the agency’s director, J. Edgar Hoover, secretly sympathized with most of his aims” (87).**

During a meeting with Ed Fields, Rockwell went so far as to call the FBI while Fields was in the room. Though internal memos credited Rockwell with being “very cooperative with Agents,” it did the Commander no good. FBI reports on the ANP were scathing about Commander Rockwell as a person. More importantly, COINTELPRO specifically targeted the ANP for harassment, sending both Rockwell and his enemies fraudulent letters designed to sabotage the party’s operations. On one occasion, the FBI sent Rockwell a phony letter from a “supporter” designed to make him mistrust a subordinate. Fearing it violated federal law, an unknowing Rockwell promptly reported the letter—right back to the FBI.

**The great strategic failure of George Lincoln Rockwell was the assumption that the vast majority of Americans (and especially conservatives) already agreed with him, but they were too cowardly to say so. In a 1965 interview, Rockwell said, “I think the majority of Americans think the same way I do, most of them don’t care to say so. Most of them are fed up with Negro pushing, they’re fed up with the Jewish-communists who have been time and again exposed as selling us out to the Soviet Union; they’re fed up with the cowardice of our administration. I think they’re grateful that we’re finally fighting in Viet Nam, but... I think we’ll lay down like we did in Korea and quit. In other words, I think the people are with me. They don’t like the name [Nazi] but they believe what I believe” (*Hate*, 251).**

Campaigns against “peace creeps” were a staple of ANP activities. In November 1965, Commander Rockwell personally

ripped a Viet Cong flag from a peace march and tore it to pieces. He recounted the incident with pride in *White Power*. At the same time this incident occurred, ANP members on the West Coast counter-protested peace marches with slogans like “Kill Reds in Vietnam” and “Peace Creeps Are Traitors.” Commander Rockwell’s slogan, “Not dead, not red, but dead reds!” was also a staple of his rhetoric. Even near the end of his career, Commander Rockwell bragged at campus speeches that he would launch a nuclear attack on Red China and claimed, “I’m going to be the man who pushes the button.”

In 1965, George Lincoln Rockwell ran for governor of Virginia. His platform was firmly focused on race and dismantling Jewish organizations. He advocated teaching “white supremacy” in the classrooms for an hour a day, deputizing white men to carry guns, and outlawing the Anti-Defamation League and the NAACP. Insofar as he spoke about economic concerns, Rockwell supported eliminating the income tax (*Hate*, 250). Rockwell’s focus on abolishing welfare for blacks, condemnation of the federal government, and promises to use the power of the state against Leftist radicals align naturally with the hard Right of the American conservative movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s. He only won a few thousand votes, as most of the segregationist supporters in the state broke for other third party candidates.

Though Rockwell was scathing in his treatment of “Right-wingers” and launched protests against Barry Goldwater, his writings reveal that he considered them somehow closer to his own positions than any alternative. In *White Power* in 1966, he bashes Barry Goldwater as the “Zionist-capitalist Jew friend of the [Jewish] Captain” engaged in a shell game with the “Red Jew labour leader” on the “other side.” He also has a detailed analysis of why “economic conservatives” cannot win, focusing mostly on tactical issues. He points out (accurately) that the masses will not vote for an economic conservative without the issue of race. However, these are essentially tactical criticisms, alternately criticizing conservatives as either being phony or tactically stupid.

In terms of ideology, Rockwell now praises fascism, using the Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary definition of fascism as “the movement towards nationalism and conservatism as opposed to internationalism and radicalism.” For Rockwell, race will be the glue that binds together a nationalism and conservatism that can win.

Occasionally, Rockwell even made this explicit, with a forlorn hope that conservatives would rally behind him. *The Rockwell Report* and *National Review* exchanged barbs, which eventually led to a strange exchange of letters between Commander Rockwell and William F. Buckley. Rockwell challenged Buckley to convince him that he was actually doing harm; in response, Buckley dispatched a priest. During the meeting, *Rockwell offered the American Nazi Party as the "street fighters of the American conservative movement"* (Hate, 209). Needless to say, Buckley did not take up the Commander on his generous offer.

None of this is to say that Rockwell's approach did not occasionally pay dividends. In August 1966, Commander Rockwell successfully rallied thousands of blue collar white Chicagoans to resist a desegregation effort led by Martin Luther King, Jr. After giving a well-received speech, Rockwell was showered with applause, as Chicagoans chanted "White Power" and waved the swastika. Overcome with emotion, "Rockwell was moved to tears" (Hate, 291). In September, he would lead a march through the streets of Chicago—though he had predicted 3,000 people, Rockwell's "failure" still rallied 250 people to march under the swastika and slogan of "White Power." Clearly, Buckley-style conservatism had nothing to say to blue collar whites fighting to defend their communities, and their rage and fear has only been vindicated by what Chicago has become today.

That said, Rockwell found that he could not capitalize on his tactical successes and that old style "Nazism" was unsuited to rallying white workers of Southern and Eastern European stock. This was an important factor in the transformation from the American Nazi Party to the National Socialist White People's Party. The new ten points of the NSWPP also included nods to economics and social policy, although it was mentioned far after smashing "Jewish domination," "Communism," "Zionism," "crime," and "riots." The ninth point stated "every productive, working American must have a decent job, life-time economic security and wholesome living conditions for himself and his family."

Rockwell's last major work, *White Power*, shows the Commander caught between Cold War conservatism and a more fully developed National Socialism. The opening of the book is a recitation of various outrages taken from the headlines, from sexual

depravity to draft dodging. Most of these could have come from the pages of any conservative magazine of the time. Rockwell also gives an extended treatment to various charges of the Cold War American Right, detailing the “loss” of China to the Reds, the Marxist ties of Lee Harvey Oswald and the assassination of “our President” John F. Kennedy, and the government’s hesitation in fighting our “deadly Communist enemies” in Vietnam. In his famous “Nightmare” chapter, Rockwell posits a non-white takeover of America where the white police and armed forces are defeated with the help of international Communists from China and Cuba.

At the same time, *White Power* shows an important evolution in Rockwell’s thinking. Though Rockwell condemned Francis Parker Yockey’s work as a new form of “Strasserism” in 1964, in *White Power* he predicts an eventual alliance between white Russians and white Americans. Years before the Sino-Soviet split, Rockwell notes the alliance between anti-Soviet Trotskyites and the Red Chinese, Maoism being the preferred form of Communism for campus radicals and non-whites. Going further, Rockwell condemns the repeated “wars of racial suicide,” calling for a white racial unity in foreign policy that transcends even nationalism. This vision of race as the critical basis of identity, loyalty, and state policy, with nationalism as purely secondary, goes beyond anything Rockwell could have taken from German National Socialism. Furthermore, Rockwell writes, **“The centre of Jewish power and money is here in New York City, U.S.A., not Moscow and not even Jerusalem.”**

By the time of *White Power*, Rockwell is also willing to criticize conservatives for substantive rather than tactical reasons. He goes so far as to say, “there are dozens of ‘socialistic’ operations in any decent nation, operations not for profit, but for the benefit of all.” Rockwell condemns the wealthy, “the managing class,” for neglecting their workers and falling into the Jewish trap of attacking the people they depend on. “The working people of America want ‘social security’; they want ‘medicare’; they want a paternalistic and welfare-conscious government. That is a fact.” This is a more accurate reading of political reality than anything you will get from a well-paid GOP consultant.

**Ultimately, however, Rockwell comes off as frustrated with conservatives, rather than seeing them as enemies.** He is trying to explain to them why they need different tactics in order to defeat

the Left, **rather than crusading against them.** Though he is critical of economic conservatives, he does not outline an economic alternative with the same passion for detail and documentation that he marshals in chronicling Jewish perfidy. **Rockwell sees conservative voters—if not the leaders—as his base.**<sup>19</sup> He writes, “It is a matter of life and death that we find the energy, will, wisdom, and diplomacy to reach the millions of ‘conservatives’ who are spiritually on our side, but who are still blind to the issue on which all the others depend—breed, race” (218).

Whatever his criticisms of conservatives, Rockwell still saw himself as the logical progression of their better ideas, once the reactionary nonsense was cut away. Speaking in California only a few months before his death, George Lincoln Rockwell praised the newly elected governor of California, Ronald Reagan. However, he thought that Reagan might not be Right-wing enough because he was an “ex-pinko.” Rockwell noted in a campus interview, “For a state that could elect Reagan, it’ll be ripe for me in a few years.” (*Hate*, 318). One of the last street demonstrations Rockwell participated in was a counter-protest of a vigil at an execution of a black cop killer. Rockwell’s sign said “GAS—The Only Cure for Black Crime and Red Treason.” Even in the midst of ideological transformation, Rockwell’s propaganda was much the same as it was in 1967 as it was in 1961.

George Lincoln Rockwell was assassinated in August 1967, cut down by one of his former followers. **Ironically, John Patler was a Southern European, one of the non-Germanic whites that George Lincoln Rockwell was working to bring into the “White Nationalist” fold in opposition to the Northern European faction as represented by men like William Luther Pierce.**<sup>20</sup>

The transformation of the swastika from an image of German National Socialism into a rallying point for a pan-European National Socialism is generally regarded as George Lincoln

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<sup>19</sup> *Editor’s Note:* I get the impression that, even today, the editors of *The Unz Review*, *American Renaissance*, *The Occidental Observer* and *Counter-Currents*, the most notable white nationalist sites, publish articles for a conservative English-speaking audience.

<sup>20</sup> *Editor’s Note:* If Rockwell had been a true National Socialist (i.e., a Nordicist), the mudblood who betrayed him wouldn’t have even entered his ranks.



Rockwell's greatest strategic contribution. Even White Nationalists who have never heard of him unintentionally echo his viewpoint by positing white racial identity as the critical rallying point for anti-System resistance. In America, there is no other way forward.

However, George Lincoln Rockwell was cut down at perhaps the very moment when ideological transformation was most needed on a much deeper level. James Mason writes in *Siege* that the stormtroopers of Rockwell's party took beatings to defend the honour of an all but dead Republic. He believes that Rockwell, had he lived, would have eventually adopted the more underground, guerrilla style of leaders such as National Socialist Liberation Front founder Joseph Tommasi. There is little to suggest this would be the case—Rockwell himself confidently predicted that he would be President of the United States by 1972. His writings even through *White Power* posit that most ordinary white working people and conservatives were secretly on his side.

**Rockwell's critical shortcoming was a failure to understand that even non-Jewish opposition to him was largely sincere. Though Rockwell championed "White Christian America" (though he was agnostic), critics such as Buckley were more likely to use Christianity as a club to attack Rockwell than to defend their supposed faith against Jewish attackers. The American government and its FBI were not besieged anti-Communist bastions but active agents in the effort to destroy Commander Rockwell and his values. As for the conservative movement, groups such as Young Americans for Freedom were far more active in protesting the relatively safe target of George Lincoln Rockwell than they were against Black Panthers.**

While Rockwell (accurately) saw the white race as the necessary root of America's achievements, conservatives identified the second-hand products of Constitutionalism or limited government as paramount. The idea that these values were doomed to destruction in a non-white America simply did not register. Though Rockwell recognized the impotence of the conservative approach, he didn't have an effective response other than calling them stupid or cowards.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *Editor's Note:* If Rockwell had realised that the primary cause of Aryan decline in North America was Christian morality and prioritising money over everything else, he would never, ever have

Commander Rockwell missed two critical opportunities. First, though he recognized the need for racial and class unity, **Rockwell never presented a concrete program that outlined an economic and governmental alternative to American conservatism or progressivism. His National Socialism was almost exclusively focused on race**, and his campaign for Governor in 1965 did not offer anything besides a promise to defeat the Civil Rights Movement. Though the later NSWPP program made a nod towards an “honest economy,” George Lincoln Rockwell never gave white workers a reason to support him besides opposition to integration. Attacks on financiers, corporate fraud, and capitalist sponsorship of the Civil Rights Movement were largely missing from his propaganda, which made it easier to paint the party as a publicity student, rather than a serious ideological movement.

Second, **George Lincoln Rockwell never broke with the System as such.** Even after the fiasco of his 1965 campaign, **Rockwell believed that the existing democratic system could be made to work for whites**, and that the American people would somehow rally to him *en masse*. He neglected the long, slow period of growth that the NSDAP experienced during the *Kampfzeit* and expected a sudden propaganda victory. Even his “Nightmare” scenario posited a foreign invasion of a white America suddenly overcome by Communist forces aligned with non-whites. **This is not terribly far removed from the super-patriotism and anti-Communism of Cold War kosher conservatives.**

Despite his realization that New York and not Moscow (or Jerusalem) was the centre of Jewish power, Rockwell never took this insight to form a critique of the American system of government. **Rockwell still wanted to defend the existing American system.** The Commander believed that by simply plugging away, members of the NSWPP would somehow manage to seize the machinery of state through legal means and simply dissolve enemy institutions. In the end, white conservatives could eventually wake up and save the country from itself.

**What George Lincoln Rockwell failed to understand is that American conservatism is designed to fail. The Commander was a combative conservative.** He took Cold War rhetoric seriously, was

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flown the flag of thirteen horizontal stripes and a blue rectangle with fifty white stars.

outraged by moral depravity, and worried about military defeat abroad and even falling standards in the Marine Corps. Indeed, he believed American conservative propaganda more sincerely than the people who came up with it, and they hated him for it.

While liberals contemptuously connected Rockwell to conservatives, they failed to understand that American conservatism by its very nature defends the products of the nation, rather than the nation itself. **Conservatives value the existing System and the people in power (regardless of who they are) far more than any eternal principle or ethnic group.** Therefore, any “revolutionary” force will inspire more conservative hatred than even the most progressive fanatic, as long as the latter pledges to play by the rules of the system. No matter how rigged the rules of the game, conservatives will keep wanting to play.

**Though George Lincoln Rockwell recognized America’s white racial core, he didn’t fully understand the nature of his enemies or the System they employed. The American state was not something that needed to be defended from Communists; it was an aggressor whites needed defence from. The System was already completely in the hands of his foes. Furthermore, American conservatism and its deluded followers cannot be shamed by courage, dissuaded by logic, or cowed by attack. They have to be eliminated by providing a systematic alternative on policy grounds.**

Despite uniforms, swastikas, and dedication, George Lincoln Rockwell did not build a real alternative. He talked Revolution, but never broke with the System. He bashed conservatives, but spoke as one of them. He recognized the flaws of capitalism, but didn’t provide another option. He went too far for the conservatives, but not far enough to win anyone else. Finally, he simply didn’t realize the obvious reality—you might eventually get white Americans to fight for their interests as whites, but they’re never going to do it as “Nazis.” <sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> *Editor’s Note:* The last, non-bolded words remind me of what the Canadian Sebastian Ronin said a dozen years ago. If Ronin was right—that is, if white Americans will never become real National Socialists—they are on a path to extinction.



## Appendix II



## The Wall

*by the Editor*

‘Christian ethics was like a time bomb ticking away in Europe, a Trojan horse waiting for its season’. —William Pierce

‘1945 was the year of the total inversion of Aryan values into Christian values’. —Joseph Walsh

These quotes summarise *The West's Darkest Hour*, my website, in a nutshell!

In George Martin's fantasy novels, the Wall is an immense wall of ice stretching from east to west in the north of Westeros, separating the Seven Kingdoms from the wilds beyond.

It is considered one of the nine wonders created by man, but my appropriation of some characters from the *A Song of Ice and Fire* universe would upset the anti-Nazi George Martin. In my appropriation, the Wall symbolises the white man's mental block due to Christian morality: fertile breeding ground for the ubiquitous propaganda against the Third Reich.

### *First migration*

We could start our journey of deprogramming such morality in the direction of the Wall by reading carefully Thomas Goodrich's *Hellstorm: The Death of Nazi Germany, 1944-1947*.

I discovered Goodrich's book thanks to an American white nationalist webzine. I approached the Wall in 2010 and began to devise ways to cross it. Psychologically, it is very difficult to approach the Wall, even if you stay in the comfort zone, the south side, the fertile ground. Due to Christian morality, the white man is so deranged that he considers it disloyal to worry about a real holocaust that, at the hands of the Allies, the Germans of the last

century suffered, including women and children, the subject of *Hellstorm*: the greatest secret in modern history.

A book review of Tom's book by J.A. Sexton can be read in *Counter-Currents*. This review is the starting point of our journey; without taking this first step it will be impossible for the adventurer to reach our destination.

How many have approached the Wall, even if they remain on the south side, educated in white nationalist forums such as *American Renaissance*, *The Occidental Observer* and *Counter-Currents*? Quite a few, it seems, according to their comments section and other less serious nationalist sites.

### *Second migration*

It is one thing to believe in the sacred words of David Lane, and another to cross the immense Ice Wall. This can be done via a tunnel under it, while white nationalists have decided to stay in the comfort zone. By contrast, the National Socialists of the last century dared to cross the Wall to populate the northern side.

Although Adolf Hitler was their guiding star, most of his book for the masses of Protestant and Catholic Germans, *Mein Kampf*, is dull and Hitler wasn't entirely outspoken there insofar as it is not an anti-Christian manifesto. The second migration, going under the tunnel, requires the reading of a more frank, readable and rather more anti-Christian text: *Hitler's Table Talk*.

For the English speaker, I would also suggest the book of Hitler's priestess Savitri Devi, who, after the catastrophe of 1945, came to grasp the spirit of Hitlerism perfectly.

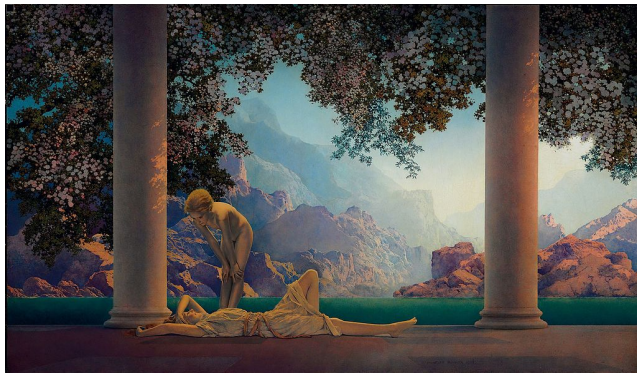
Who, among the white nationalists, has been disappointed by this stagnation south of the Wall and converted, like Savitri, to Hitler's religion? Since it is forbidden in totalitarian Europe to speak out in favour of National Socialism, it is impossible to calculate the figure in the Old World. And as far as the country of the First Amendment is concerned, I am afraid to say that the neo-Nazis got stuck in the tunnel.

Who, among them, crossed it in the sense of transvaluing Christian values to pre-Christian values? More specifically, who maintains that the extermination of races that stand in the way of an Aryan Reich is a moral enterprise given the new scale of values? What they do is the opposite: many of these Christians and neo-



Christian secular humanists have become holocaust deniers when what we need are holocaust affirmers who follow in the footsteps of Mark Weber, the head of the Institute for Historical Review, even if Weber isn't exactly a priest of the holy words or an exterminationist like us.<sup>23</sup>

He who has transvalued his values endorses not only Heydrich's *Wannseekonferenz*, but also Himmler's *Generalplan Ost*: a secret Nazi plan of ethnic cleansing, the aim of which was to deport more than thirty million *Untermenschen* from the western parts of the Soviet Union to Siberia. The plan, prepared during the years 1939-1940, was part of Hitler's dream of expanding the German *Lebensraum* to create, with the help of Himmler and his very loyal SS, a beautiful Eastern and Western Europe populated by Nordics: a utopia such as I have, since December 1978, dreamed with Parrish's paintings.



So, I repeat: Who has recently crossed the tunnel, who has turned to Hitler's faith without atavisms of Christian morality? I guess they could be counted on the fingers of one hand, and perhaps some of them have even commented on my website.

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<sup>23</sup> The historian Mark Weber, the director of the Institute for Historical Review, now accepts that homicidal gassings happened in some death camps and is basically on the same line as historian David Irving. In Weber's YouTube interview with a denier, Jim Rizoli, after minute 52 Weber speaks of the gassings; after 1:08 he says that between two and four million Jews died, although not necessarily murdered by the Germans but died in the ghettos from diseases, unhealthy conditions, etc.

### *Third migration*

It is one thing to cross the Wall—an axiological metamorphosis in which the Christian compass of ‘good’ and ‘evil’ is replaced by Himmler-like Hitlerism—and another to meet the three-eyed raven.

Even on the other side of the wall, Hitlerism’s top ideologues were still talking about ‘God’, or that the historical Jesus might have had Aryan blood. Hitler himself believed the story that Mary could have been impregnated by a Roman soldier with Gallic blood. Never mind that Hitler wasn’t a Christian but a pantheist (see Richard Weikart’s *Hitler’s Religion*), or that this semi-Aryan Jesus was, in his imagination, a mere mortal. The very fact that, in speaking of deity, he and other top National Socialists continued to use the singular ‘God’ implied, for the German mass imagery—and this is why I dislike *Mein Kampf*—a monotheistic entity, a late tail of Judeo-Christianity.

When speaking about the deity, an entirely transvalued overman already uses the word ‘Gods’, in the plural, like those of the Delphic Oracle, and even ‘god’ with a lowercase when alluding to the despicable god of the Hebrews. Similarly, to believe that a semi-Aryan Jesus confronted the Temple Jews is itself a residue of kike programming in the collective unconscious because it suggests that this historical Jesus might have been benign to our cause. The reality is that it was the Jews themselves who wrote the so-called New Testament (see David Skrbina’s *The Jesus Hoax*).

In Martin’s novel, after crossing the Wall Bran Stark and his guardians find guides who lead them to the cave of the three-eyed raven (actually a human telepath), who offers to train Bran in retrocognition and out-of-body experiences: the last ‘greenseer’ who can, paranormally, see the past as it happened. Anyone who has seen the past by studying Richard Carrier’s *On the Historicity of Jesus: Why We Might Have Reason for Doubt* knows that Jesus was a character of pure literary fiction, probably from the pen of rabbis.

What is infinitely worse, in our collective unconscious (I was raised Catholic) the Jesus archetype has inverted Indo-European values to the values of the subversive Jews who wrote the gospel, as Nietzsche discovered.

Had Hitler won the war, his spiritual descendants wouldn't have stayed so close to the Wall, though already firmly settled on the northern side. One among them would have followed the long and arduous path that Bran travelled inland to the lands of the Hyperboreans until he reached the mysterious cave of the raven. That, and that alone, would have represented the final initiation of the adventurer who migrated from the warm lands south of Westeros. He had come to the Wall to—unlike the stagnant Southerners—cross it to seek and find the last of the greenseers and be initiated into the ancient religion that existed before the arrival of those who destroyed the sacred trees.

How many National Socialists have been initiated in the raven's cave to the extent that they have retrocognitively 'scanned' not only the career of Judea's governor Pontius Pilate (with the crow's third eye it was possible to see that even a human, all too human Jesus was missing from the historical record), but also what the Judeo-Christians did throughout the Roman Empire: destroy the classical world (see *The Darkening Age: The Christian Destruction of the Classical World*, a 2017 book by Catherine Nixey). How many have become ultimate apostates from Christianity, cutting off the tail end of the last atavisms of semi-apostasy (e.g., Alfred Rosenberg's views of an Aryan Jesus)? How many have knelt before their true Gods, begging for forgiveness for having committed the mortal sin of worshipping the god of their enemies for two thousand years? How many are legitimate heirs, like Savitri, of the religion bequeathed to us by the avatar of Vishnu?