

Appendix 2: Quotations on Nazi socialism and fascism

Socialism against individualism

“National socialism is the determination to create a new man. There will no longer exist any individual arbitrary will, nor realms in which the individual belongs to himself. The time of happiness as a private matter is over.”

—Adolf Hitler¹³⁷

“The concept of personal liberties of the individual as opposed to the authority of the state had to disappear; it is not to be reconciled with the principle of the nationalistic Reich. There are no personal liberties of the individual which fall outside of the realm of the state and which must be respected by the state. The member of the people, organically connected with the whole community, has replaced the isolated individual; he is included in the totality of the political people and is drawn into the collective action. There can no longer be any question of a private sphere, free of state influence, which is sacred and untouchable before the political unity. The constitution of the nationalistic Reich is therefore not based upon a system of inborn and inalienable rights of the individual.”

—Ernst Rudolf Huber,¹³⁸ official spokesman for the National Socialist German Workers’ Party, 1939

¹³⁷ Quoted in Joachim C. Fest, *Hitler*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974, p. 533.

¹³⁸ Huber, *Verfassungsrecht des grossdeutschen Reiches* (Hamburg, 1939), in Raymond E. Murphy, et al., ed., *National Socialism*, reprinted in *Readings on Fascism and National Socialism*, selected by Department of Philosophy, University of Colorado. Athens, OH: Swallow Press, 1952, p. 90.

“[O]ur German language has a word which in a magnificent way denotes conduct based on this spirit: doing one’s duty [*Pflichterfüllung*]¹³⁹—which means serving the community instead of contenting oneself. We have a word for the basic disposition which underlies conduct of this kind in contrast to egoism and selfishness—idealism. By ‘idealism’ we mean only the ability of the individual to sacrifice himself for the whole, for his fellow men.”

—Adolf Hitler,¹³⁹ 1925

“The State must act as the guardian of a millennial future in the face of which the wishes and the selfishness of the individual must appear as nothing and submit.”

—Adolf Hitler¹⁴⁰

“[S]ocialism is sacrificing the individual to the whole.”

—Joseph Goebbels¹⁴¹

“THE COMMON INTEREST BEFORE SELF-INTEREST.”

—NDSAP Program, Point 24, 1920

“We must rouse in our people the unanimous wish for power in this sense, together with the determination to sacrifice on the altar of patriotism, not only life and property, but also private views and preferences in the interests of the common welfare.”

—Friedrich von Bernhardi,¹⁴² 1912

¹³⁹ Hitler, “On Idealism and Winning the Masses Over,” in Heinz Lubasz, ed., *Fascism: Three Major Regimes*. John Wiley & Sons: 1973, pp. 81-82.

¹⁴⁰ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, translated by Ralph Manheim. Houghton Mifflin: 1971, p. 404.

¹⁴¹ Goebbels, *Michael*, in Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*. New York: Rinehart & Company, 1941, p. 233.

¹⁴² Friedrich von Bernhardi. *Germany, the Next War*, translated by Allen H.

Socialist economics

“To put it quite clearly: we have an economic programme. Point No. 13 in that programme demands the nationalisation of all public companies, in other words socialisation, or what is known here as socialism. ... the basic principle of my Party’s economic programme should be made perfectly clear and that is the principle of authority ... the good of the community takes priority over that of the individual. But the State should retain control; every owner should feel himself to be an agent of the State; it is his duty not to misuse his possessions to the detriment of the State or the interests of his fellow countrymen. That is the overriding point. The Third Reich will always retain the right to control property owners. If you say that the bourgeoisie is tearing its hair over the question of private property, that does not affect me in the least. Does the bourgeoisie expect some consideration from me? ... The bourgeois press does me damage too and would like to consign me and my movement to the devil. You are, after all a representative of the bourgeoisie ... your press thinks it must continuously distort my ideas. ... We do not intend to nail every rich Jew to the telegraph poles on the Munich-Berlin road.”

—Adolf Hitler,¹⁴³ to R. Breiting, “bourgeois” newspaper editor, 1931

“We are socialists, we are enemies of today’s capitalistic economic system for the exploitation of the economically weak, with its unfair salaries, with its unseemly evaluation of

Powles. New York: E. Arnold, 1912, Chapter 5, p. 113.

¹⁴³Hitler, in interview with Richard Breiting, 1931, published in Edouard Calic, ed., “First Interview with Hitler,” *Secret Conversations with Hitler: The Two Newly-Discovered 1931 Interviews*. New York: John Day Co., 1971, pp. 31-35.

a human being according to wealth and property instead of responsibility and performance, and we are all determined to destroy this system under all conditions.”

—Adolf Hitler,¹⁴⁴ 1927 speech

On “the money pigs of capitalist democracy”: “Money has made slaves of us. “Money is the curse of mankind. It smothers the seed of everything great and good. Every penny is sticky with sweat and blood.”

—Joseph Goebbels,¹⁴⁵ 1929

“The worker in a capitalist state—and that is his deepest misfortune—is no longer a living human being, a creator, a maker. He has become a machine. A number, a cog in the machine without sense or understanding. He is alienated from what he produces.”

—Joseph Goebbels,¹⁴⁶ 1932 pamphlet

“‘Private property’ as conceived under the liberalistic economic order ... represented the right of the individual to manage and to speculate with inherited or acquired property as he pleased, without regard for the general interests ... German socialism had to overcome this ‘private,’ that is, unrestrained and irresponsible view of property. All property is common property. The owner is bound by the people and the Reich to the responsible management of his goods. His legal position is only justified when he satisfies this responsibility to the community.”

—Ernst Rudolf Huber,¹⁴⁷ official Nazi Party spokesman, 1939

¹⁴⁴ Hitler, May 1, 1927; quoted in Toland 1976, p. 306.

¹⁴⁵ Goebbels, quoted in Orlow 1969, p. 87. And Goebbels 1929, in Mosse ed., 1966, p. 107.

¹⁴⁶ Goebbels 1932, “Those Damned Nazis” pamphlet.

¹⁴⁷ Huber, *Verfassungsrecht*, p. 91.

National Socialism, according to some later commentators

“Hitler was never a socialist.”

—Ian Kershaw¹⁴⁸

“Bastard movements like the National Socialism (Nazism) of twentieth-century Germany and Austria ..., save for the bare fact that they enforced central control of social policy, had nothing of socialism in them.”

—Margaret Cole,¹⁴⁹ under “Socialism,” in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*

“Stalinism is a pathology of socialism, Hitlerism being the apposite example for capitalism.”

—Robert Heilbroner,¹⁵⁰ popular socialist author, 1980

“If there is one thing all Fascists and National Socialists agreed on, it was their hostility to capitalism.”

—Eugen Weber,¹⁵¹ historian of fascism

“[A]nti-Semitism was rife in almost all varieties of socialism.”

—Sidney Hook,¹⁵² socialist philosopher

¹⁴⁸ Kershaw, *Hitler: 1889-1936 Hubris*. New York: Norton, 1999, p. 448.

¹⁴⁹ Cole, “Socialism,” *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Paul Edwards. New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1967. Vol. 7, pp. 467–70.

¹⁵⁰ Heilbroner, *Marxism: For and Against*. New York: Norton, 1980, p. 169.

¹⁵¹ Weber, *Varieties of Fascism*. D. Van Nostrand, 1964, p. 47.

¹⁵² Hook, “Home Truths About Marx,” *Commentary* (September 1978), reprinted in *Marxism and Beyond*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1983, p. 117.

“It is significant that the most important ancestors of National Socialism—Fichte, Rodbertus, and Lassalle—are at the same time acknowledged fathers of socialism.”

—F. A. Hayek,¹⁵³ 1944

Socialism and authoritarianism

“The party is all-embracing. It rules our lives in all their breadth and depth. We must therefore develop branches of the party in which the whole of individual life will be reflected. Each activity and each need of the individual will thereby be regulated by the party as the representative of the general good. There will be no license, no free space, in which the individual belongs to himself. This is Socialism—not such trifles as the private possession of the means of production. Of what importance is that if I range men firmly within a discipline they cannot escape? Let them then own land or factories as much as they please. The decisive factor is that the State, through the party, is supreme over them, regardless whether they are owners or workers. All that, you see, is unessential. Our Socialism goes far deeper.”

—Adolf Hitler¹⁵⁴

“Our present political world-view, current in Germany, is based in general on the idea that creative, culture-creating force must indeed be attributed to the state.”

—Adolf Hitler,¹⁵⁵ 1925

¹⁵³ Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*. University of Chicago Press, 1944/1994, pp. 184–85.

¹⁵⁴ Hitler, quoted in Hermann Rauschnig, *The Voice of Destruction*. New York: Putnam, 1940, p. 191.

¹⁵⁵ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 382.

“The first foundation for the creation of authority is always provided by popularity.”

—Adolf Hitler¹⁵⁶

“The advantage of ... an unwritten constitution over the formal constitution is that the basic principles do not become rigid but remain in a constant, living movement. Not dead institutions but living principles determine the nature of the new constitutional order.”

—Ernst Rudolf Huber,¹⁵⁷ official spokesman for the National Socialist German Workers’ (Nazi) Party, 1939

Against capitalism

“We German National Socialists have recognized that not international solidarity frees the peoples from the ties of international capital, but the *organized national force*. ... The National Socialist German Workers’ Party asks you all to come ... to a GIANT DEMONSTRATION against the continued cheating of our people by the Jewish agents of the international world stock-exchange capital.”

—Nazi Poster,¹⁵⁸ 1921

“It is not to save capitalism that we fight in Russia ... It is for a revolution of our own. ... If Europe were to become once more the Europe of bankers, of fat corrupt bourgeoisies ... *we should prefer Communism to win and destroy everything. We would rather have it all blow up than see this rotteness resplendent.* Europe

¹⁵⁶ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 518.

¹⁵⁷ Huber, *Verfassungsrecht*, p. 63.

¹⁵⁸ Nazi poster/handbill, in *Mein Kampf*. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1941, Appendix, p. 541.

fights in Russia because it [i.e., Fascist Europe] is Socialist. ... what interests us most in the war is the revolution to follow ... The war cannot end without the triumph of Socialist revolution.”

—Leon Degrelle,¹⁵⁹ leading National Socialist figure, speaking on behalf of the Nazi SS in occupied Paris, 1943

“[W]e will do what we like with the bourgeoisie. ... We give the orders; they do what they are told. Any resistance will be broken ruthlessly.”

—Adolf Hitler,¹⁶⁰ 1931

“The internal and international criminal gang will either be forced to work or simply exterminated.”

—Adolf Hitler,¹⁶¹ 1931

“Today I will once more be a prophet. If the international Jewish financiers, inside and outside Europe, succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the Bolshevisation of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe!”

—Adolf Hitler,¹⁶² 1939

¹⁵⁹ Degrelle, 1943. See Eugen Weber, *Varieties of Fascism*. D. Van Nostrand, 1964, p. 47. Degrelle was “a leading National Socialist figure, highly regarded by Hitler and by Himmler, speaking for the SS who would later publish and distribute the long speech, with the most revolutionary statements carefully italicized.”

¹⁶⁰ Hitler, in Breiting, p. 36.

¹⁶¹ Hitler, in Breiting, p. 86.

¹⁶² Hitler, speaking in the Reichstag on January 30, 1939. http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/genocide/hitler_speech_2.shtml

Historical roots: Jean-Jacques Rousseau

“Hitler is an outcome of Rousseau.”

—Bertrand Russell,¹⁶³ 1945

“Each member of the community gives himself to it at the instant of its constitution, just as he actually is, himself and all his forces, including all goods in his possession.”

—Jean-Jacques Rousseau¹⁶⁴

“Whoever refuses to obey the general will will be forced to do so by the entire body; this means merely that he will be forced to be free.”

—Jean-Jacques Rousseau¹⁶⁵

“The political body, therefore, is also a moral being which has a will; and this general will, which tends always to the conservation and well-being of the whole and of each part of it ... is, for all members of the state ... the rule of what is just or unjust.”

—Jean-Jacques Rousseau¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945, p. 685.

¹⁶⁴ Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (1762), translated by Donald Cress. Hackett, 1987. Book 1, Section 9.

¹⁶⁵ Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Book 1, Section 7.

¹⁶⁶ Rousseau, *A Discourse on Political Economy*, in *Discourse on Political Economy; and, The Social Contract*, translated by Christopher Betts. Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 7.

“The State dominates the Nation because it alone represents it.”

—Adolf Hitler¹⁶⁷

The state “ought to have a universal compulsory force to move and arrange each part in the manner best suited to the whole. Just as nature gives each man an absolute power over all his members, the social compact gives the body politic an absolute power over all its members.” “We grant that each person alienates, by the social compact, only that portion of his power, his goods, and liberty whose use is of consequence to the community; but we must also grant that only the sovereign is the judge of what is of consequence.”

—Jean-Jacques Rousseau¹⁶⁸

“For us the supreme law of the constitution is: whatever serves the vital interests of the nation is legal.”

—Adolf Hitler,¹⁶⁹ 1931

“A citizen should render to the state all the services he can as soon as the sovereign demands them.”

—Jean-Jacques Rousseau¹⁷⁰

“I wish to give officials greater discretion. The State’s authority will be increased thereby. I wish to transform the non-political criminal police into a political instrument of the highest State authority.”

—Adolf Hitler,¹⁷¹ 1931

¹⁶⁷ Hitler, quoted in Albert Jay Nock, *Our Enemy the State* (1935). Reprinted by Libertarian Review Foundation (New York, 1989), p. 10.

¹⁶⁸ Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Book 2, Section 4.

¹⁶⁹ Hitler, in Breiting, p. 86.

¹⁷⁰ Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Book 2, Section 4.

¹⁷¹ Hitler, in Breiting, p. 86.

Historical roots: Karl Marx

“[W]hen I was a worker I busied myself with socialist or, if you like, marxist [*sic*] literature.”

—Adolf Hitler,¹⁷² 1931

“I have learned a great deal from Marxism, as I do not hesitate to admit. I don’t mean their tiresome social doctrine or the materialist conception of history, or their absurd ‘marginal utility’ theories and so on. But I have learnt from their methods. The difference between them and myself is that I have really put into practice what these peddlers and pen-pushers have timidly begun. The whole of National Socialism is based on it. Look at the workers’ sports clubs, the industrial cells, the mass demonstrations, the propaganda leaflets written specially for the comprehension of masses; all these new methods of political struggle are essentially Marxist in origin. All that I had to do was take over these methods and adapt them to our purpose. I had only to develop logically what Social Democracy repeatedly failed in because of its attempt to realize its evolution within the framework of democracy. National Socialism is what Marxism might have been if it could have broken its absurd and artificial ties with a democratic order.”

—Adolf Hitler¹⁷³

“Besides, there is more that binds us to Bolshevism than separates us from it. There is, above all, genuine, revolutionary feeling, which is alive everywhere in Russia except where there are Jewish Marxists. I have always made allowance for this

¹⁷² Hitler, in Breiting, p. 58.

¹⁷³ Hitler, quoted in Rauschnig, p. 186.

circumstance, and given orders that former Communists are to be admitted to the party at once. The *petit bourgeois* Social-Democrat and the trade-union boss will never make a National Socialist, but the Communist always will.”

—Adolf Hitler¹⁷⁴

“What is the profane basis of Judaism? *Practical* need, *self-interest*. What is the worldly cult of the Jew? *Huckstering*. What is his worldly god? *Money*. Very well: then in emancipating itself from *huckstering* and *money*, and thus from real and practical Judaism, our age would emancipate itself. ... We discern in Judaism ... a universal *antisocial* element ...

“As soon as society succeeds in abolishing the *empirical* essence of Judaism—*huckstering* and its conditions—the Jew becomes *impossible* ... The social emancipation of the Jew is the *emancipation of society from Judaism*.”

—Karl Marx,¹⁷⁵ “On the Jewish Question,” 1843

“[I]t is quite enough that the scientific knowledge of the danger of Judaism is gradually deepened and that every individual on the basis of this knowledge begins to eliminate the Jew within himself, and I am very much afraid that this beautiful thought originates from none other than a Jew [i.e., Marx].”

—Adolf Hitler¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Hitler, quoted in Rauschnig, p. 131.

¹⁷⁵ Marx, “On the Jewish Question,” in Robert Tucker, *The Marx-Engels Reader*. Second edition. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1978, pp. 48, 52.

¹⁷⁶ Hitler, quoted in Julius Carlebach, *Karl Marx and the Radical Critique of Judaism*. pp. 355–356; see also Praeger and Telushkin, *Why the Jews?* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983, pp. 138–139.

“As I listened to Gottfried Feder’s first lecture about the ‘breaking of interest slavery,’ I knew at once that this was a theoretical truth which would inevitably be of immense importance for the German people. ... The development of Germany was much too clear in my eyes for me not to know that the hardest battle would have to be fought, not against hostile nations, but against international capital.

“... Thus, it was the conclusions of Gottfried Feder that caused me to delve into the fundamentals of this field with which I had previously not been very familiar. I began to study again, and now for the first time really achieved an understanding of the content of ... Karl Marx’s life effort. Only now did his *Kapital* become really intelligible to me ...”

—Adolf Hitler,¹⁷⁷ 1925

“Hitler admired Stalin, quite properly seeing himself as a mere infant in crime compared to his great exemplar.”

—Doris Lessing¹⁷⁸

“As National Socialists we see our program in our flag. In the *red* we see the social idea of the movement.”

—Adolf Hitler,¹⁷⁹ *Mein Kampf*

“The Nazis were not conservatives. They were radicals, they were revolutionaries, and conservatives in Germany understood this.”

—Thomas Childers,¹⁸⁰ American historian of World War II

¹⁷⁷ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 213, 215.

¹⁷⁸ Lessing, *Walking in Shade*. Harper Collins, 1997, p. 262.

¹⁷⁹ Hitler, *Main Kampf*. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1941, p. 737.

¹⁸⁰ Thomas Childers, “Lecture 5: The Nazi Breakthrough.” *A History of Hitler’s Empire*, 2nd ed., lecture series published by The Teaching Company, Chantilly, VA, 2001, minutes 5-6.

Comparing Italian Fascism and German National Socialism

“For Fascism, society is the end, individuals the means, and its whole life consists in using individuals as instruments for its social ends.”

—Alfredo Rocco,¹⁸¹ founder of Fascist theory, 1925

“Liberalism denied the State in the name of the individual; Fascism reasserts the rights of the State as expressing the real essence of the individual.”

—Benito Mussolini¹⁸²

“The State, in fact, as the universal ethical will, is the creator of right.”

—Benito Mussolini,¹⁸³ 1932

“In Fascism the State is not a night-watchman, only occupied with the personal safety of the citizens.”

—Benito Mussolini,¹⁸⁴ 1929

“As regards the Liberal doctrines, the attitude of Fascism is one of absolute opposition both in the political and in the economical field.”

—Benito Mussolini,¹⁸⁵ 1932

¹⁸¹ Rocco, “The Political Doctrine of Fascism” (address delivered at Perugia, August 30, 1925), reprinted in *Readings on Fascism and National Socialism*, selected by Dept. of Philosophy, University of Colorado. Athens, OH: Swallow Press, 1952, p. 35.

¹⁸² In Charles F. Delzell, ed., *Mediterranean Fascism: 1919 - 1945*. New York: Harper & Row, 1970, p. 94.

¹⁸³ Mussolini, “The Doctrine of Fascism: Fundamental Ideas,” *Enciclopedia Italiana*, 1932. Reprinted in Heinz Lubasz, ed., *Fascism: Three Major Regimes*. John Wiley & Sons: 1973, p. 41.

¹⁸⁴ Mussolini, “The Doctrine of Fascism,” p. 21.

¹⁸⁵ Mussolini, “The Doctrine of Fascism,” p. 18.

“Anti-individualistic, the Fascist conception of life stresses the importance of the State and accepts the individual only insofar as his interests as he coincides with those of the State It is opposed to classical liberalism which arose as a reaction to absolutism and exhausted its historical function when the State became the expression of the conscience and will of the people. Liberalism denied the State in the name of the individual; Fascism reasserts the rights of the State as expressing the real essence of the individual ... Thus understood, Fascism is totalitarian, and the Fascist State—a synthesis and a unit inclusive of all values—interprets, develops, and potentiates the whole life of a people.”

“The Fascist State, as a higher and more powerful expression of personality, is a force, but a spiritual one. It sums up all the manifestations of the moral and intellectual life of man. Its functions cannot therefore be limited to those of enforcing order and keeping the peace, as the liberal doctrine had it.”

—Benito Mussolini,¹⁸⁶ 1932

“We do not, however, accept a bill of rights which tends to make the individual superior to the State and to empower him to act in opposition to society.”

—Alfredo Rocco,¹⁸⁷ 1925

“All for the State; nothing outside the State; nothing against the State.”

—Benito Mussolini¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Mussolini, “The Doctrine of Fascism,” pp. 93-94, 95.

¹⁸⁷ Rocco, “The Political Doctrine of Fascism” (address delivered at Perugia, August 30, 1925), reprinted in *Readings on Fascism and National Socialism*, p. 36.

¹⁸⁸ Mussolini, quoted in Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1993, p. 122.