

THE THIRD
IMPERIAL FIGURE



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Preface

The "imperial figures" do not coincide with mortal human beings of flesh and blood; human beings of flesh and blood are only their ephemeral tools and organs. One could think of algebraic signs: these signs stand in the place of an abundance and multiplicity of facts, events, happenings, actions, continuities, historical effects and realities. The figures are "imperial" because they bring to bear modes of behaviour, forms of organization and methods of organization, experiences of the treatment of people and techniques of domination, which first developed under particular historical circumstances and then later proved themselves over centuries, across vast spaces and countless Alenschen. The imperial figure is the epitome or, if you like, the algebraic sign of these unheard-of and never maturing effects.

The awareness that this is only an attempt at a kind of political description has not been lost sight of for a moment; nor should the reader forget that he alone encounters signs that point to confusing and intricate connections with reality.

Although there is talk of the "eternal Roman" and the "eternal Jew", this is neither an anti-Roman nor an anti-Semitic book. The historical traces of the Roman and Jewish essence are traced and analyzed, but not

" fought "; what lies behind us is past and is insensitive to the indignation of those who believe their future is ruined because they are tainted by this past. It would be an affront to the dignity of the third imperial figure to kick the imperial "educators" with whom we have shared the same historical space at the moment when fate allows us to leave them.

Incidentally, does one not see that where anti-Semitism prevails, all things still revolve around the Jew and that one remains a slave to the Roman as long as one

cannot get rid of the anti-Roman affect * One does not free oneself from an object if from now on one merely " with a reversed sign " t o him. The third imperial figure pays attention to its sovereignty: it is not "anti", neither anti-Semitic nor anti-Roman.

The third imperial figure does not appear suddenly, from one day to the next. It announces itself in a variety of often misunderstood, sometimes misunderstood signs. Its components are scattered in an environment that is not yet its own; they gain ground in it, form themselves properly, mature in it. They are sprinkles whose true being is not understood for a long time, which fall victim to misinterpretations, which at times even give room to the most serious errors about themselves. Eventually, however, the hour comes that casts the right light on them, in which they are placed in their rightful place in the overall framework of existence and in which they assume the rank they deserve. Then it suddenly becomes apparent that behind the hackneyed slogans, provocative slogans, challenging concepts and suspicious ideas, the reason for things itself was making its way and that those slogans, slogans, concepts and ideas all merely formed the scaffolding behind which it erected the walls of a new system of order almost unnoticed.

In this understanding of the third imperial figure, revenge is not satisfied. It is possible that what lies behind it is an effort to stand one's ground on the "right" front in the looming confrontation between the three imperial figures for dominion over the world.

Berlin, November 7, 1934.

E m st N i ek is ch.

THE ETERNALLY OLD

Eternal Roman un'1 eternal ,fu'1e

I.

There are some historical types of people with universal reach; they are political figures whose playing field extends far beyond the borders of spatially and temporally limited states; they are the actual "supranational" figures. Their image of order embraces the globe, their will to order takes the whole of humanity into account. They feel committed to a mission that commands them: "Go into all the world." They do not want one people, they want to bring all peoples into one form: they are "international" in the most comprehensive sense. Their view spans the widest horizons; peoples and states are only "provincial" within their sphere of vision. By establishing a kingdom for all peoples, they create "peace on earth". Their empire is a world empire; their rule is world rule. They are "imperial" to the highest degree. They are

"mythical figures" insofar as their respective human embodiment only ever appears as an imperfect fragment with which they protrude from an infinite realm into earthly reality. They never coincide with the tangible human existence into which they enter; they are more than this; they point to the backgrounds, reserves and dimensions for which the largest human being is still too small and too narrow. In the "imperial figure" the will for world order and world domination is purely grasped, which in its sensual-human corporealization presents itself broken, often distracted, superimposed and buried. Just as its space is the whole earth, so its time stretches over millennia; a glimmer of infinity and eternity lies over it. The "eternal Roman" and the "eternal Jew" are two imperial figures who traverse our historical space with a very long breath and immeasurable stride.

The birth of the "eternal" Roman took place in the light of history. Rome grew up in the center of the Mediterranean world, the circle of the earth that the "civilized" white man knew and overlooked at that time. Its location gave Rome the prospect of becoming the leading and real center. In a sense, the location itself gave the city the task of transforming itself from a local and provincial entity into a global one. Step by step, one can observe how this transformation, this elevation, took place. Scipio Africanus was the man who, in contrast to Cato and the "church tower horizon" thinking peasant aristocracy of the Senate, brought about the imperial upheaval and breakthrough. Carthage was Rome's only equal rival; the decision was on a knife's edge when "Hannibal stood at the gates". No other Roman understood as deeply as Scipio Africanus the stakes at play between Rome and Carthage. While Rome was tormented by the horrors of the Punic invasion of Italy, Scipio contemplated the plan to establish Roman rule over the western Mediterranean basin. Ten years later, he sought the subjugation of the eastern Mediterranean with unforgettable fervor. The aristocratic Senate had never coveted world domination over Europe, Asia and Africa. Scipio forced it to leave the circle of self-sufficiency and enter the path of great history. The Senate followed only reluctantly and reluctantly; Cato defended the over-supplied self-restraint of the good old days against the dangerous seducer of imperial adventure. Scipio Africanus learned that no political leader can be popular who exposes his people to the unrest, uncertainty and risks of a great historical existence. His end, like that of Bismarck, was immersed in an atmosphere of the darkest, most grief-stricken bitterness.

He who wants to rule the world can never rest in the bond of a "clod". The emperor must be above all things over which he rules, he must also be above the branch that bears the fruit; he cannot remain rooted in one place; he must be mobile so that he can reach out and intervene anywhere and everywhere as necessary. A nation that wants to rise to the heights where an empire matures must r e m o v e from its feet the heavy earth that holds it in the "depths". In the country one still lives below politics, but an empire is the most perfect creation of a passionate political will. A nation must overcome the peasant within itself before it can become master of the world. The center of the " world circle" can only be places or landscapes that "de-landed", "de-peopled", in which all the threads converge, from which all energy flows radiate. The empire consumes ethnicity; it mixes all with all - from East and West, from South and North. Every original people that comes into the empire's field of force is consumed, melted down, burnt to ashes. The end is one indiscriminate, leveled mass. Nations disappear where empires rise. The Roman empire devoured countless peoples; it sustained and renewed itself from the sacrifice of intrinsic value that every people had to make that was subject to Rome, whether by force or voluntarily. In the end, the real place of Rome, the fact of wood and stone with its tangle of punishments and its tangle of people, lost the "ground under its feet"; its political effect no longer came from the fact that it was sensually there, but from the fact that it became an "idea". The will to rule and order that built up in this city, that reached out from i t powerfully across lands and seas, became independent as a spiritual reality, made itself independent of space and time as a " pure principle and claimed to be the real Rome, in comparison to which the city structure of Rome was unimportant.

and became insignificant. The idea of Rome became the glamorous epitome of global political greatness; the city of Rome was left behind as an earthly remnant, a pleasing shell, a - often slightly - burnt-out cinder.

When Caesar had led Roman rule to its peak, the idea of Rome rose radiantly above the political and geographical fact of Rome and unfolded its special existence. Now matured the incomparable legacy that the Imperium Romanum bequeathed to a few millennia: its perfect example, the experience of its lasting and proven world domination, the memory of its sublime moments, deeds and achievements, the example of its ordering law, the pax romana of the Roman imperial age, the work of its civilization, the experience of the unity and equality of the human race. A type of man was shaped that never disappeared from the memory of mankind; even today, hearts are still beating everywhere that are receptive to the echo of the proud statement: "civis romanus sum". It is the type of man who knows how to possess and exercise power, who is "born" for power and who is entitled to rule because he knows how to make use of it. The historical testimonies of his deeds continue to have an effect and keep his memory alive and present forever. This type of man has ennobled the place in which he originated for all time; Rome itself, the city of Rome, has since appeared as a "chosen" city, to which it is rightly entitled to be the seat and residence of the "highest authority". Eternal Rome" is the never-ending obligation in which the "eternal Roman" is bound: a mission of world domination has been imposed on him, and it is up to him to fulfill this mission in ways that are appropriate and adapted to the changing times and circumstances.

The Jew also grew out of provincial confinement into his cosmopolitan form. It was dangerous ground on which he had settled after his "exodus from Egypt"; he lived on the land bridge that connected Asia with Africa, the Babylonian, Assyrian and Persian empires with Egypt. Palestine was a politically important area for the great powers of antiquity; it did not matter to which political empire it belonged. The Jews were more the victims than the beneficiaries of their politically significant land. Unlike for the Romans, the gift of this special and distinctive location of their settlement area was not a glorious but a fateful story. The Jews did not succeed in a political creation that was full of power; when the ambition for such a creation awoke among the judges and kings, mistrust of the path they had taken was immediately expressed through the mouths of the prophets. The time of judges and kings

remained an unsuccessful episode; in the extreme affliction, in the "Babylonian captivity", the Jewish people renounced the will to political and national achievement, but prepared themselves to take up the struggle for world-historical status on a different level.

The priest, who had already been in opposition to the judges and kings, seized the exclusive leadership; he developed an unusual system of priestly politics. The whole had been pushed to the edge of the abyss; the priest took precautions to ensure that it would be able to withstand the most monstrous pressures in the future. He filled it with the feeling of being the people chosen by God. God's interest in mankind was focused solely on the Jews. The rest of humanity was rejected before God's eyes; its destiny was to one day be given into the hands of the Jews. Judah became the navel of world history.

The story of Judah was chosen as the center of the story; one could only understand it if one knew that it revolved around the Jew. The blows of fate that Judah suffered, its political misfortunes, the misery of its subjugation to foreign rulers suddenly took on an uplifting, even inciting meaning: God chastised his people for having gone astray from their divine destiny. They were able to buy their turn for the better by doing the right thing - by remembering their chosenness. The idea of divine chosenness was biologically underpinned; it was divine will that the Jewish people should preserve their racial distinctiveness. A "fence of the law" was

" that separated "Israel" from the other peoples; the fanaticism to resist everything was kindled in the Jews,

"which leads to fusion with the surrounding peoples or to assimilation". If the Jew maintained the consciousness of his divine chosenness and remained faithful to the commandment of racial purity, then he saw himself in a vehicle in which he could weather all historical storms and which protected him from the dangers of destruction and loss of self.

There was no doom from which he needed to despair. He was saved by God himself for a glorious future: he had a divine promise for himself. It was the promise of world dominion. "Beware that you do not make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land when you enter it" (Exodus 34). "And I will make you a great nation, and I will bless you and make you a great name" (Genesis 12). "And I (omen shall be your priests and their princesses your nurses. They will fall to the ground before you and lick the dust of your feet" (Isaiah 49).

The priestly hero, however, who is the establishment of world domination will accomplish is the Messiah. The Messiah is a figure of longing; the hardship and humiliation of the present are easier to bear as long as the belief that he, the Messiah, is not weakened,

when the time is fulfilled, will come and exalt the humiliated over all the nations of the earth. The Jewish Messiah is an ideal figure of religiously colored hope; he is the image of the leader that the chiliastic expectation of Caesar creates for itself. He is the Gegen- figure of the Roman Caesar, who is an apparition of the highest historical reality and the most mature formative fulfillment. The Messiah is as "otherworldly" as Caesar is "this worldly". Caesar lives in memory, the Messiah in dreams. Caesar is an inheritance, the Messiah a promise. Caesar is a monument to the enjoyment of power; the Messiah is a vision of feverishly excited desire for power. Caesar left behind immortal thoughts of order, the Messiah heals cenur', happiness, well-being, paradisiacal pleasure. Caesar "civilizes" the peoples, the Messiah leaves them to his chosen ones as servants, servants and creatures of exploitation. The yoke of Roman rule was Judah's hardest test; faith in the Messiah heated up to white heat. The destruction of the temple was to deprive the Jews of their support and their attitude, the dispersion was to uproot them and dry up the sources of their vitality. But it was precisely the destruction of the temple and the scattering that gave the Jews the form of existence in which they became capable of performing world-penetrating functions. Before the destruction of the temple, he had stored up enormous tensions in a confined space; they could not be translated into historical influence from Palestine. Through the dispersion, the Jew was hurled out into the world as an energy element; there he could now unfold undreamt-of and incalculable effects. The unity of his biological crustal substance, the bond in the elation of his chosenness and in the spirituality of his hope in the Messiah brought forth a unity of character and a unity of values, both of which could no longer release even the most isolated Jew from their spell and gave his actions certain control and a clear direction. From h when he out

Although he was ultimately left to his own devices and acted entirely on his own initiative, he served the Jewish community; his own way of life was linked to the mission of Judaism. Wherever a Jew appeared, the particular point of view of Judaism in general naturally came to the fore.

Thus the Jew had become an imperial figure, he had become the "eternal" Jew.

By destroying the temple, Rome wanted to wipe out Jewish existence. The intention failed; Rome had underestimated the Palestinian rebels. Behind the small provincial mutiny was a rebel of the highest order. When Jerusalem ceased to be the Jewish capital, it became a "plague spot" from which the nihilistic decomposition poured out over the entire Roman world. The nihilistic gift, however, with whose help the Jew took revenge on Rome, was the Christian.

Nietzsche has said everything essential about the relationship of Judaism to Christianity and about the slave revolt of Christianity against Roman values; there is almost nothing more to add.

"But this is the event:", he says in the eighth section of the first treatise of his "On the Genealogy of Morals", "out of the trunk of that tree of revenge and hatred, of Jewish hatred - the deepest and most sublime hatred, namely hatred that creates ideals and embraces values, the like of which has never been seen on earth - grew something equally incomparable, a new love, the deepest and most sublime of all kinds of love: - and from what other stem could it have grown? ... But let it not be supposed that it has grown up as the actual negation of that thirst for revenge, as the counterpart of Jewish hatred! No, the reverse is the truth! Love wuchs

out of him, as his crown of glory, as the triumphant crown of glory unfolding in the purest brightness and fullness of the sun, which with the same urge, as it were in the realm of light and height, aimed at the goals of that hatred, at victory, at prey, at seduction, with which the roots of that hatred sank ever more thoroughly and covetously into everything that had depth and was evil. This Jesus of Nazareth, as the incarnate gospel of love, this 'Savior' who brought salvation and victory to the poor, the sick and the sinners - was he not seduction in its most sinister and irresistible form? the seduction and the detour to precisely those Jewish values and innovations of the ideal 5 Did Israel not reach the ultimate goal of its sublime vengefulness precisely through the detour of this 'redeemer', this apparent adversary and dissolver of Israel? Does it not belong to the secret black art of a truly great politics of revenge, a far-sighted, subterranean, slow-grasping and pre-calculating revenge, that Israel itself had to deny the actual work of its revenge before all the world as if it were something mortally inimical and strike it on the cross, so that 'all the world', namely all Israel's enemies, could bite unhesitatingly at this very bait? And on the other hand, out of all the sophistication of the Christ, would it be possible to think of a more dangerous bait; something that in its enticing, intoxicating, intoxicating, corrupting power would be equal to that symbol of the 'holy Ieuze', that eerie paradox of a 'Cotte on the Ikreuze', that mystery of an unthinkable ultimate cruelty and self-crucifixion of Cotte for the salvation of man; . . . It is at least certain that sub hoc signo Israel, with its revenge and revaluation of all values, has so far triumphed again and again over all changing ideals, over all superior ideals."

The Jew rejected the values of the Roman world out of hand. Bow. " There has ", remarks Nietzsche in "Beyond Good and Evil", " never and nowhere has there been such an audacity in turning back, something as fearful, questioning and questionable as this formula - 'Cott am ILeuze' : it promised a revaluation of all ancient values. - It is the Orient, the deep Orient, it is the Oriental slave who in this way took revenge on Rome and its noble and frivolous tolerance, on the Roman 'catholicism' of unbelief."

Christianity was the ancient "Bolshevism"; it stood in a similar relationship to the Roman Empire as Russian Communism stands to European bourgeois society. All the forces of disintegration of state and society, which had a score to settle with Rome from everywhere and which converged in Rome, were organized by Christianity. The leadership of the "total insurrection" was in the hands of the Jews; Paul was the commander of the conspiracy that spread in the name of the Jewish "king" Christ. "The small insurrectionary movement," says Nietzsche, "which is baptized in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, is the Jewish instinct once again." Christ was the greatest world-historical nihilist, he even professed, like a terrorist, "fire and sword". He had a world empire on his shoulders that seemed unshakeable. Christian love" melted the eroded Roman law of order; Roman will to rule, Roman power of command and authority evaporated in its clutches. It was the winning camouflage of all mobilized anarchic instincts; the unrestrained private feeling turned red against the strict state rule. It was a heavenly legitimized alibi for the nihilism that atomized ancient morality and the ancient state. Rome had been the state par excellence; its structure was shattered when the state became a lesser form of society.

The state was degraded to a lower rank. By erecting the higher "divine" order of salvation above the state, as a worldly order bound to "sin" and "evil", the Christianity consigned it to the realm of baseness, thereby destroying its majesty. The doctrine that "God must be obeyed more than man" was the bomb that shattered its foundations; where it is in force, there are only states that are weak and are eaten away by "original sin". The Messiah overcame Caesar.

When Rome wanted to level and "digest" the Jews as a nation, the latter separated the "Cift" of Christianity; the world was thus infected with the plague of the anti-state principle. Ancient Rome eventually perished as a result.

The Jew could afford to bring the anti-state principle into the world; for millennia he was out of the question of forming a state himself. The secret of his imprisonment lay precisely in the fact that he renounced state-forming ambition and interacted with his own in the form of a "supranational freemasonry" in order to immediately undermine every state wherever it had arisen as the natural creation of a people endowed with statehood. Christianity performed its good Jewish service in this respect. Moreover, it was a serious preventive measure: it weakened and paralyzed the will of all aspiring peoples to rule as soon as they bowed to the cross.

Through Christization, the peoples became Jewish; they imperceptibly became accustomed to looking at things with "Jewish eyes". They became instinctively confused and lost the ability to escape the influence of refined Jewish points of view. Anyone who believes as a Christian - and if he did not believe it, he would no longer be a Christian - that "salvation came from the Jews" is already wearing Jewish glasses, so that he is no longer able to reliably distinguish between what is Jewish and what is not

is Jewish. "Consider," Nietzsche points out, "before whom one bows today in Rome itself as before the epitome of all highest values - and not only in Rome, but almost halfway around the world, everywhere where only man has become tame or wants to become tame, before three Jews, as one because, and a Jewess (before Jesus of Nazareth, the fisherman Peter, the carpet weaver Paul and the mother of the Jesus mentioned at the beginning, called Mary)". Since then, the Jew has always found a point among Christian peoples where he can start to push the long course of events onto a Jewish track. He is also well aware of his superiority; just read this passage from Rathenau's letter of February 20, 1919: "They do not love the Old Testament," he writes there, "and hate - no, disapprove of it.

- us Jews. You are right, because we have not yet fulfilled our mission. Do you know what we have come into the world to do; to call every human being before the sun. You don't want to go * If I don't call you, Marx will call you; if Marx doesn't call you, Spinoza will call you. If Spinoza does not call you, Christ will call you. "

Judah's strength vis-à-vis the Christian peoples is based on the fact that it itself abandoned Christianity, but never became Christian. It does not taste its own excrements, on which the other peoples now feed. It works with the help of Christianity without itself being subject to its effects; it stands above it. Christianity is the weapon with which the Jew wounds only others, his "enemies; he does not hit himself with it. The Jew does not run into the Christian paradise; but he has its strings in his hand. In the machinery of Christianity, the inality of Judaism prevails; the Jew sits at the lever and regulates the speed and number of revolutions with regard to the nature of the biological material, whose own growth is to be bent into shape by the Jews. He is the true, autonomous "sovereign" who ultimately outstrips all Christian feudal lords.

Early Christianity was the Jewish world obscuration in which ancient Rome went astray. The statesmanlike Roman had misjudged the power of the priestly Jew; he was defenceless against the latter's weapons of war. Ancient Rome died from the Christian curse that the Jew had hurled against the majesty of the state. When it rose again in Christian Rome, it had the Jewish enemy within its own walls.

Judah overcame Rome, but Rome was still not dead. The Roman spirit, the Roman attitude, the Roman sense of state and the Roman will to order had not been eradicated; when they felt hopelessly surrounded and undermined, they allied themselves with the Judeo-Christian indignation, brought their supremacy into the Judeo-Christian flood and, by various detours, regained their high reputation in the counter-world. "Christianity," remarks Nietzsche in the epilogue, "has emerged from Judaism and from nothing else; but it has grown into the Roman world and has produced fruits which are as much Jewish as Roman." The Christianization of Rome was a Jewish campaign won, but by no means a Jewish victory. The "eternal " Roman was weakened, bent over, but he was still defensive and headstrong enough not to allow the "eternal Jew" to quietly enjoy his "Christian" revenge.

Early Christianity was Jewish; from century to century the Christian church became more and more Romanized. To the extent that this happened, it became a state itself; it replaced its sacramental law with Roman I(ctual law and transformed itself from an evangelical institution of grace into a juridical institution. The state-building I(raft of Rome tamed the anarchic, state-destroying spirit of Jewish origin. It was state-

Roman instinct, which determined the pope to remain in Rome when the empire shifted its center of gravity to Byzantium and to preserve for the I(irch the good that lay in the immense authority of the Roman name. During the Renaissance, the legacy of ancient Rome came to the fore in the I(irch itself; by allowing its Jewish components to atrophy, it was almost

" pagan ". The secularization of the Catholic I(irch was in truth the breakthrough of ancient Rome into it; this breakthrough took place at the I(ost of the Jewish-Christian elements.

The Christian Roman no longer coincided with the ancient Roman, but for all that he still remained a variety of the "eternal" Roman. As much as he himself was haunted by the eternal Jew, he was not prepared to capitulate to him completely; as the Renaissance period had just shown, he even secretly cherished the hope of one day getting rid of the Jew again.

6.

After Judaism had been scattered throughout the world by Rome, it penetrated like a bacillus into the most hidden center of life of the Roman being and settled there. There is a species of wasp that lays its eggs in living larvae; the hatched brood consumes the host, which just had the power to pupate, from within and in the end it is not the expected butterfly that emerges from the pupa, but a young mature wasp.

Christianity is the Jewish egg, which was absorbed into the Roman I(ör- per; since then the Jew has also been an I(easter of the Roman substance. Where the Roman now settles, he smuggles the Jew in with him. Where Christ is worshipped, it is made clear that one wants to be "redeemed" by a Jew; it is natural that the Jew ultimately takes the liberty of exercising his "redeeming office". Since the Roman under the

sign of the I(reuz building his empire, he paves the way for the Jew; as much as the Christian Roman still Roman he may be, but he is only a Roman who also lives on a Jewish armpit carries water. The eternal Jew has a head start over the Christian Roman; at the moment of his Christianization, the eternal Roman took a back seat to the eternal Jew.

The Christian Roman continues the historical confrontation between the eternal Roman and the eternal Jew; but he has already made so many concessions to the eternal Jew that it is only to a limited extent his own cause for which he is fighting. His face is still Roman, but his heart no longer beats purely to the Roman beat. Since Christ's representative reigns in Rome, the eternal Roman is the enemy brother of the eternal Jew; baptism establishes the relationship. They hate each other, but they belong to the same clan. The Christian Roman suspects that his empire will one day fall into the lap of the eternal Jew; but the eternal Jew cannot always wait calmly enough for this to happen. In the eternal Jew, the Christian Roman detests the heir who shamelessly flaunts his impatience; in the Christian Roman, the eternal Jew lurks for the testator who is unduly reluctant to depart. The Christian Roman is always a few steps less than the eternal Jew, but since the Hebrew Christ sets him his goal, he will one day arrive where the eternal Jew wants him to be.

7.

Every imperial figure has its I(onsequences; it is not by chance and must pay dearly for wanting to rule over the whole world instead of a quiet corner. It would not be what it is if it did not contain the immense resilience of a great will to rule, which is neither in the vortices of a

It is a will to rule which, even when, according to human judgment, all prospects of success have been destroyed, does not give up on itself in any situation or under any circumstances. It corresponds to the unconditional nature of its will to rule that it seizes every means that its ends require; its irresistible power rests precisely on the fact that it knows no inhibition over which it does not rush.

This will to rule requires a handle by means of which it grips and moves people. Because it works across wide areas and encompasses numerous peoples, the handle must be a general one that can be common to people of the most diverse origins and traditions. There is nothing more general than the "Ceist": the Ceist is "universal". A will to rule the world needs a spiritual principle through which it can bind and unite the whole of humanity in the most extreme case. No empire is based on merely external power; it endures because its "citizens" have a uniform spiritual attitude. Its citizens are inwardly focused on a " principle; through this principle they are meaningful members of the empire. The empire revolves around its " principle "; it presents itself as its embodiment; the will to rule appears as the motor that brings the principle to fruition in the world. Thus the empire gives the impression of being in the service of a Ceistigen; this gives it dignity and authority.

The " principle is the cohesive center of the empire; the canze is ordered around this center. Thus every empire strives towards neutralization; there is a point which stands above all parts, which first assigns them their function and gives them their actual meaning. Usually the "capital" becomes the special place of worship of the principle; it becomes a holy place, like Rome, Jerusalem and Mecca, it becomes the receptacle of the principle.

principle itself, as ancient Rome was and Christian Rome still is. I(a part is autonomous; the part is only a "province" that looks beyond itself to the center in order to receive may and direction from there. The "province" would only be a poor and meaningless fragment if it were not part of the empire.

Of course, only gradually do the peoples and countries that are incorporated into the empire become "provinces". Self-growing peoples resist being brought under the uniform denominator of the general imperial principle. Their self-growth must be displaced so that they do not lie oppressively "in the stomach" of the empire: they are "digested". Peoples are the raw material from which the empire is built; there is no empire that does not build up peoples. The idiosyncrasy is robbed of its naive sense of self by being compared with the idiosyncrasies of other peoples; it is devalued, ironized as "backward" and in this way worn down and frayed. It is the duty of great rule not to rush this destruction; haste would involve the empire in great dangers, provoke rebellions, bring counter-pressure. An empire can take its time until the "root" has completed its own dissolution. It is enough to "inoculate" it with fermentation substances; the rest will then take care of itself. On the path of empire lies the

"Human porridge"; for the human porridge, the "primacy of the spirit" is undisputed. An empire is a community of blood; it is a community of faith, in some sense always of spirit. That is why imperial figures are necessarily destroyers of the people and their customs; whoever joins an empire in their wake must always "leave father and mother and run away from clod and homeland. Empires need mobile people who are receptive to the slogans of the principle and can be marched "into the whole world"; the

The narrow horizons of the rooted are undergrowth in whose confusion the imperial figure is not able to step out.

The imperial figure is least interested in what is "proper" to the peoples; it thinks and strives beyond the "borders" of each people: this is its unrestrained internationalism and universalism. The empire wants to fill the world circle; it does not want nations, but humanity. It wants to expand, beyond every national ambition and every national boundary, as far as "the earth reaches".

The empire is eager to be an end in itself; it feels rich enough to be able to satisfy all the demands of its "citizens. It has infinitely more to give than the ancient polis once gave - which the Greeks were nevertheless satisfied with. Even the Roman church is so exclusively self-serving that it ultimately only makes such a festive fuss about God, Mary and the saints because they belong to the ecclesiastical body.

The imperial figure only has its empire in mind; everything "grown" is its material, which is to be brought into the spiritual form of the empire. The organic is detached from its naturalness: Christianity elevated Jewish history to the history of salvation of all peoples, and where Roman transfers of power had taken root, the traditional law of the peoples was replaced by Roman law. Every original has to found its existence anew on the principle of empire.

8.

World domination demands that all opposing forces be integrated into the overall structure with superior reason, with penetrating expertise; as strong as the will is that shapes the comprehensive form, so wise must be the reason that is able to take the elements in such a way that they all feel in their "right place" in the completed work. Every imperial figure

works with different means according to its biological conditions, historical traditions, political possibilities and temporal constraints, and approaches its task from a particular angle. It makes special use of those means which are essentially tailored to the imperial principle, which is its own; in the use of these very means it gradually develops the highest mastery. Above all, its rationality plays itself out in the field from which it takes its means of domination; the imperial figure embodies, as it were, the most experienced expertise of its predetermined field. The imperial figure, its imperial principle, its factual means of domination and its rationality attuned to them coincide into one.

The greatness of the ancient Roman was his state-building genius; his productivity proved itself in the solution of political tasks of order. He based his work on legal creations and legal achievements that are illuminated by the glow of immortality. Nowhere has the ratio of legal creation reached such a peak since then. The highly refined legal-creative rationale achieved the imperial effect and the imperial success of the ancient Roman; as an imperial figure, he is the most sophisticated tool that the legal-creative rationale has ever achieved.

In Roman Christianity, legal-creative reason entered into a peculiar union with theological speculation; the gates of the kingdom of heaven were opened, but the image that presented itself to the pious eye was a metaphysical state. Caesar had as much part in Augustine's "state of God" as the Messiah. The Roman doctrine of God is on the one hand. Half of the Roman doctrine of God was secular-governmental, the other half priestly-theological legal scholarship. As theologians, they understood Roman law just as well as the Holy Scriptures; they were a mixture of Roman legal experts and Jewish priests.

This is how souls were ruled and how secular states were integrated into the overall order of the ecclesiastical empire. The fruit of the theological-juridical pairing was dogma; it is as much a binding law as a divine mystery. Scholasticism developed the dogmatic-theological rationale to its ultimate potential. Christian Rome had become the center of dogmatic-theological reasoning.

The eternal Roman, in both his ancient and Christianized form, is a positive imperial figure insofar as he is directly building his empire at every moment. In contrast to him, the eternal Jew is a conspirator whose universal nihilistic radicalism is still unbroken. He is at a stage where he wants to take control of things, not to organize them, but to dissolve them into their atoms. He is only in the preliminary stages of his empire, he cannot yet think of his empire itself. His empire begins when nothing, apart from himself, stands on its own feet, when there is no longer any intrinsic value, when it is he who determines the "value" of every content of existence. The dictatorship he has in mind is a "price dictatorship" within a world in which everything is only worth as much as he "offers" for it. His world order is a universal warehouse of goods that he mobilizes at a high profit. The world as an inexhaustible, Jewish monopolized source of profit: that is his kingdom of reverence, which the Lord of hosts has in store for him. Anyone who knows how to read the prophets has no doubt that they hope their God will give them the authority to totally exploit everything that is not Jewish.

The instrument of the Jewish will to power is the field; as long as there are still things, values and people that are not unconditionally cultable, Jewish power still has barriers. The Jew prepares his empire by breaking down these barriers. He wants to "economize" the world in order to make it so

completely into his hands. It is an unfathomably deep Jewish saying that "economy is destiny". Where economy is destiny, the Jew is on top; for his strength is the economic ratio. He reduces all processes and conditions, states of affairs and developments to the formula of monetary calculation, trade and haggling. The economic view of history is the view of the world that one must have when looking at the world from a Jewish point of view. If the content of existence is nothing but economics, then it will not be long before a Jew will be the master of existence. The imperial will to power chooses the machinery that suits it best: what the rule of law was for the ancient Roman, what dogma is for the Roman Christian, is the mechanism of the money economy for the Jew. The rule of law, dogma and the field are the tried and tested great means of imperial rule; they are like nets in which whole peoples are caught and in which their originality is then suffocated and their own growth withers.

The Jew loves to disguise his existential ties to the economic rationale; he wants to blame the good relationship he has with it on chance. Because he was locked into the net, because all other professions were closed to him, that is why he has made it this far in money matters. This is a cheap construction; nowhere else has the fate of isolation and ostracization paid off so brilliantly, according to all historical experience. It is detrimental to the Jewish future if one comes to realize that one is paving the way for Jewish domination when one surrenders to the guidance of economic expertise: that is why the Jew passionately denies that one must take him into I(on with economic reasoning just as unavoidably as one must take the Romans with dogmatic-theological reasoning.

It is hard to ignore the Jewish self-analysis left behind by I(arl Marx, who spoke of the deepest and most profound

the innermost layers of Jewish substance. "What is the worldly reason for Judaism?" he asks. "The practical need, self-interest."

"Which is the worldly I(ultus of the Jews; The chess he. Which is his worldly god * The Money*" "The Field," he continues, "is the zealous God of Israel, before whom no other god may stand. The field humiliates all the gods of man

- and turns them into a commodity."

As insightful as Karl Marx's Jewish self-analysis is, it does not penetrate to the innermost and decisive secret. The Jew is an imperial figure because he is moved by a powerful feeling for the world, because he is filled with a tremendous passion for world subjugation and world exploitation; he lives in the very direct certainty that the world is the inheritance that must one day fall into his lap. His unshakeable belief in the inheritance that has been bestowed upon him is the reflection of the fact that in the subsoil of Jewish existence there is at work a drive to take control of the world that reaches out into infinity and is sure of itself. Haggling and monetary calculation are the forms in which this world feeling and this world urge are realized; they are the wall-breakers and explosives with whose help the system of order of the Roman will to world domination is to be shattered and cleared out of the way.

The mechanism of the monetary economy is also a spiritual construct, just as the law and dogma are. But it appeals to a different human elementary area. The law appeals to the sense of order, the dogma appeals to the need for order, but the money economy appeals to human selfishness. The Jew speculates on the "lowest instincts" in order to achieve the "empire" that is promised to him for the end of days and which, by its very nature, would be the Jewish monopoly of power over the world market.

Eternal barbarian

The "eternal Barbara" appears in two forms: as a farmer and as a victor. They go back to two original forms: to the sefiic, animal- and plant-breeding primitive farmer and to the boldly roaming, prey-seeking primitive hunter.

The farmer stays "in the country"; he does not strive beyond his own area; he does not know the ambition of greatness. It is enough for him to be "king on his farm". He is bound by traditional customs and traditions; his practical understanding proves itself and is exhausted in the affairs of his daily farm chores. He is not a "spiritual" man. His "spirit" does not question and does not wander into the boundless and unlimited; he is silent in reverent self-effacement before that which is given and has a long past of its own. The farmer mistrusts the "spirit"; he senses danger behind it. He tends to fear the serpent in his mind, who wants to tempt him to eat from the tree of forbidden knowledge because it envies him the "happiness of paradise". He listens to the "voice of his blood"; it, not the whispering of the spirit, gives direction to the course of his life.

Thus, the peasant being lacks the trait of universality and Centralism, which is always only a gift of the spirit; it insists on the special nature of the "fathers" and does not want to be disturbed in the venerable habits of the homeland, the narrow, familiar circle. It resists the "general rule" and the "uniform style", both of which are at odds with the diversity of what has grown up.

The "state" is a unifying form; in one sense or another, it is always a rape of the given nature and the tradition-bound blood by the spirit and that which derives from it

born law. Basically, the state goes against the peasant's instincts; it is a puzzling burden to which the peasant bows, but against which he constantly protests to himself. That is why the peasant is not a political person; politics, which is action from the point of view of reasons of state, is on a level that is "alien" to him and too "distant". He has only a suffering relationship to the state: the state subjects him to its laws, levies taxes and duties on him, calls him under its banners; the peasant submits because he does not know how he could rise up against the state and its power. Politics includes the peasant in its calculations; but he himself has little say in the estimation of the value to which he is to be put. He is the bearer of the national character; however, it depends on constantly changing state and political considerations of expediency whether the national character is highly or lowly valued.

The victor has more unbridled ambition; it is not enough for him, like the farmer, to be there in his own way and to pass on his inheritance to his descendants intact and safe. He knows the thrill of victory, the habit of command and the exhilaration of being master, of being on top, of being above his subjects. He learns that the power of the sword is able to keep men in discipline and order: he elevates it to the principle of his state foundations. He creates violent kingdoms, soldier states; he breaks the resistance of his subjects through the terror he spreads; he forces them to tremble before the edge of his sword.

Soldier states have sometimes reached unmeasurable proportions; they seemed to develop into world empires, but then they suddenly collapsed. One lost battle was enough to bring them down. They never last longer than their principle, the power of the sword, maintains the glory of invincibility. It is confirmed again and again that

they are built on sand. The warrior may succeed in climbing the imperial heights if he is fortunate enough to do so, but there he soon "runs out of steam"; he has no imperial breath. He does not seize people from within; he does not call them to fulfill a mission: they do not stand behind him out of their own urge and free will. He does not gather them together in a common cause and does not direct them towards a "great idea"; he has no "higher goals". It does not administer any spiritual values and has no spiritual mission: that is why its regiment has the character of external oppression, crudeness and brutality. The force of the naked sword works alongside the wisdom of law, the dogmatic-theological reason, and the economic understanding; it can "strike the table", but it is not convincing. After all, its "barbarism" is based on the fact that it is "spiritually backward". The warrior is the form of the "eternal barbarian" in which he wants to compete with the imperial figures. Admittedly, he has always come off badly; he was ultimately abused by the dogmatic-theological rationale and corrupted by the economic one. The peasant, however, who does not invite himself to the competition, has always been sucked dry by the imperial figures; he delivered the tithe to the "Roman" and the usurious interest to the "Jew". The "eternal Barbarian" is helpless against the imperial figures: if they have it in for him, he is always the stupid devil in the end. From the point of view of the imperial figure, of course, every people that is still "down-to-earth" and "original" also falls under the type of the "eternal barbarian"; it is precisely in this respect that the "eternal barbarian" is the devil.

"barbaric", when it still had something originally natural in it that does not want to be brought under a general imperial rule. Just as the imperial figure, in order to complete his "empire", has to remove the peasant from the earth and the warrior from the "father".

land", it cuts the umbilical cord that binds peoples to "blood and soil". The community of blood is to be replaced by a community of civilization, faith or spirit, the bond to the soil by a commitment to cultural values, to a confession or a reflection. The peasant should become a slave, serf, farm laborer, the soldier a legionnaire, mercenary, lansquenet, the people should become the masses. The peasant is to believe and pay interest, the soldier is to fight and bleed, peoples are to invest their reserves of substance and energy in the

"kingdom" so that it has "means to live".

The history of European peoples, states, culture and economy since the emergence of Christianity can be seen from the point of view that it is the struggle between the "eternal Roman" and the "eternal Jew" over the "eternal barbarian". This is a war that extends over millennia: one people after another becomes embroiled in it and becomes the object of attack by both imperial figures. As long as the roots of a people are still unshaken, the imperial figures share in the work of sawing them off; once this has happened, the tough and relentless struggle begins, in which it is decided which of the two imperial figures the disputed people should ultimately fall to.

Each people has its own movement and its own particular tension in relation to other peoples, each of which in turn is involved in its own way in the power struggle between the eternal Roman and the eternal Jew. The forms in which the course of events can take place here are manifold.

Gradually, the autonomy of the special entities, the peoples and states, is pushed away from its original direction in such a way that it increasingly coincides with the legality of an imperial figure; it is carefully but unerringly switched from its "particular" long to the "imperial" long. Sometimes the imperial figure disappears completely behind

The imperial figure does not shy away from time or detours; it has the great patience that waits until what has been prepared "over a long period of time" matures. The imperial figure does not shy away from time or detours; it has the great patience that waits until what has been prepared "for a long time" and designed for the "long term" matures. It seizes the peoples from within: it plants in them the seeds of points of view, attitudes and values which, as soon as they have reached a broad development, steer the peoples, as it were of their own free will, into the paths that lead to the realm of the imperial figure.

The imperial figures are the laughing stock in all national struggles; they stand so high above the national issues that they take none of them seriously. They stand so high above the national disputes that they take none of them seriously, that they do not get involved in any of them. Since what is sacred to the "barbarian" peoples is never sacred to them, they are always above the situation and can boil their imperial soup over the fire of ethnic strife. They never succeed in taming and subduing the "eternal barbarian" by their own efforts; they encourage him to let himself go until he sinks exhausted and exhausted into their arms; they are masters of the principle: divide et impera. They favor "divisions" until the moment when the inherent power of each element is exhausted; then they hope to cross the threshold of their "empire", which encompasses the whole of exhausted, denatured humanity.

From the point of view of the competition between the eternal Roman and the eternal Jew, European history is condensed into a few lines that run through the centuries; these seem to be the essential and decisive elements. The colorful and confusing details become blurred; they emerge only as whimsical flourishes of those great and continuous lines. Suddenly they only come to mind as "local events".

Cewicht, which only take on their true meaning in the context of an overall picture that spans more than two millennia in time and now spans the entire globe across Europe.

10.

Barbar is the Cermans in the decades of the end of the Roman Empire. His wild detention gathers at the borders of the Roman Empire; he wants to conquer, plunder and be master. He does not come on a mission, he does not invoke any spiritual principle, he moves deep below the summits to which the legal, theological and economic rationale rise. He is driven by a flood of blind life-energy; he storms forward from no other direction than that from which he feels himself physically strong. He wants to capture the works and goods of Rome; they captivate him and heat up his fier; he has no idea of order of his own. He comes as a robber, not as a builder. He is incomparably inferior to his victim in terms of achievement and intellectual breadth. He is an elemental force that does not shape, but conjures up catastrophes.

Rome is internally rotten; the form of the old empire no longer provides protection for the "eternal Roman". The "eternal Roman" has, of course, already taken precautions: the Catholic Church is the building that brings the legacy of Rome's rule to safety, against which the barbarian storm breaks, from which the Germanic barbarian is once again subjected to Roman discipline and order. The barbarian should only be a servant, he must not be master of the world.

The Christianization of the Germanic barbarian forces him into Rome's service. It is a sacral robbery; the Cermans abandon their most sacred things; thus their center of gravity is shifted to a foreign place; it no longer rests in themselves. By kneeling before the Roman's holiest, he leads a dependent exi

stence; the decisive place of its orientation is Roman, no longer Germanic. Christianity establishes a community of believers, which the Germanic barbarian finds shaped and into which he enters. He has no part in its origins; for him it is a spiritual landscape far removed from his essence. By making himself at home in it, he gives up his own spiritual home. Before the rule of the Claudian community, the customs and traditions of the clan lose their right. The clan is the receptacle of pagan traditions; it must disintegrate the more Christian the German becomes. The Christian clan community gains ground at the expense of the pagan blood community. The German is detached from the blood ground from which he has hitherto derived his unrestrained natural barbarian powers. With the Christianization, the German is bound to the Roman law and tamed according to Roman practice.

Christianity also broke into the realm of the Germanic order of life as nihilism, just as it had broken into the political order of ancient Rome. The sacrilege of felled Donar oaks stands as a "Bolshevik act" alongside the destruction of the Roman imperial statues. Of course, Christianity soon entered into a cohabitation with the elements of the Germanic state it had destroyed in order to create a new solid world of forms - similar to the way ancient Rome had previously mixed with Judah. The "empire" was coined in the area north of the Alps from the alloy of Christian and Germanic-barbarian elements. The family was the culmination of the process of dissolution which had taken hold of the blood community of the Germanic clan; in the social environment it is a similar balance between Roman influence and the autonomy of the Germanic substance as the "empire" is in the political environment.

The "Reich" is a Germanic variation of the empire Romanum. The tension between pope and emperor is too

reasons that the Kaiser can never be quite as Roman as the pope naturally is. The Pope is the full Roman, the Kaiser never denies his "barbarian" origin. The Germanic component that the "empire" contains is always an element of protest against Roman alienation, in that it does not want to give itself up completely. The Kaiser who fights against the Pope reveals that the Teuton does not want to become even more Roman, that he already has a hard enough time being as Roman as he is. For all his greatness, the position of the Kaiser and the nature of the "empire" are not able to conceal a Germanic inferiority; just as the Kaiser gets his crown in Rome, so the empire gains its deepest justification not from a Germanic but from a Roman thought. In the empire the Teuton lives under the eye and the spell of the eternal Roman. The greatest popes are the most pronounced Romans; they leave no doubt that the Teuton has only as much political credit as Rome grants him. So much is the Teuton of the empire the creature of Rome that Rome is able to humiliate him at once in the most shameful manner when the desire for independence strikes him: it shuffles the course of the world in such a way that the end will be a long walk to Canossa or even to the scaffold in an Italian marketplace. Within the framework of the empire, the Teuton hangs inescapably on Roman strings; he plays the role that the eternal Roman intended for him. He is "imperial" not from his own but from borrowed imprisonment; he is the instrument of an idea of domination that the eternal Roman has given him. He does not forfeit any Germanic will to order: by ruling, he serves Rome.

The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation had been the sword of the eternal Roman; it was the position of honor that had been granted to the Germanic barbarian for being in

Rome's service. The coronation of Charlemagne in Rome in 800 had symbolized this powerfully; every subsequent imperial coronation confirmed that nothing had changed in the basic relationship between ruler and barbarian. The empire sought to reach as far in the secular as the *una sancta* had advanced in the spiritual. Even when the "empire" had lagged far behind the Church, it still held on to the honorable hope of one day catching up again; in Charles V's "empire", in which the sun never set, the "empire" had once again become almost as extensive as the Church had been. Never again did the eternal ruler exercise such undisputed dominion as in the times of the medieval Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

Of course, the barbarian had his special stubbornness; because he had the sharpness of the sword at his disposal, he sometimes felt tempted to cool his temper with his master: the *sacco di Roma* had been a real barbarian act.

As much as Hewitt's Christianization subjected the Germanic peoples to riimic influence, it also gave the eternal Jew access to the Nordic swamps and whales. Christ retains his special Jewish logic under every stroke of heaven, and even as the blond-haired and blue-eyed Heliand he has his Jewish ulterior motive alongside his riimic mission. Heliand, as a Jewish-riimic Germanic, is a twit-ter, like a constitutional prince or a liberalizing general.

When the Catholic Church, in the course of its secularization, adopted a When the Germanic world had regained such a high degree of riimic purity, when Germanic primal instincts loved to mobilize against so much riimic exclusivity, the Judeo-Christian elements sailed under the wind of Germanic anti-riimic effects; the eternal Jew allied himself with the German barbarian against the eternal Riimer. This gave him, who in the heyday of the Holy

The Rii Empire of the German Nation had led a disenfranchised existence in the ghetto. He gained an undreamt-of freedom of action when he directly or indirectly, secretly or openly encouraged mutinies against the Riimic order; every incursion of economic reason into the scope of the theological and juridical, empire-building reason broadened the ground on which he was at home and able to operate successfully. Wherever economic reason penetrated, it immediately unleashed social antagonisms; it was like a cutting knife that socially fragmented the overall organism, which had been formed under riimic formal law, after it had already disintegrated into individual religious, political and popular components.

"This crucified Christianity," Nietzsche continues in that Aphorism from his epilogue, "has found in Catholicism a form in which the Roman element has come to predominate: and in Protestantism another in which the Jewish element predominates. This is not because the Germans, the trotters of Protestant extraction, are more akin to the Jews, but because they are more distant from the Romans than the Catholic population of Southern Europe. "

The Swiss Reformation was not Hewitt's "Jewish machination", but the eternal Jew had a hand in it . The course of elementary events took a turn in which the eternal Jew came out on top. Against the papal rulers, Luther brought Paul, a Jew with a penchant for the faith, into the fray; the Old Testament was placed above the tradition in which the spirit of Rome had cooperated. The German Reformation shortened the Jewish leash that the Renaissance ruler had just wanted to deny. Consider how Max Weber linked the emergence and development of capitalism to the upheaval of the Reformation. Here, we follow in the footsteps of the eternal Jew, whose economic rationale was destroyed by the Reformation.

mation was paved the way. Accordingly, the Protestant peoples also became the actual bearers of capitalist progress. The preference of some reformatory periods for Old Testament first names, the inclination of reformatory peoples for Old Testament similes and allusions, for prophetic pathos and the Lord of hosts, expose the relationships that link the protesting barbarian with the eternal Jew.

The destruction of ecclesiastical unity was a devastating blow to the imperial position of the Roman order; as a result of the Reformation, the eternal Jew outstripped the eternal Roman in Germany. The eternal Jew gained what the eternal Roman lost.

Due to the internal thrust of the Reformation, the Germanic, watered-down version of the Roman imperial idea, the "empire", also had to be affected. The Reformation was a revolution of the princes against the emperor for the same reason that it was an ecclesiastical plunder. The weakening of the imperial power did as the weakening of the papal power had done - it broke down the universal authority of Rome. Princely libertinage, Protestant knowledge and the new monetary thinking were different sides of a unified cause; the sovereign sovereign, his court preacher and his court Jew were the rebellious actors who had won political, ecclesiastical and spiritual ground from Rome in Germany. The cities fell to the Reformation because they smelled the good economic roast that the Jew in the background was driving into their kitchens.

What heresy is to the Ifirche, liberty is to the empire; denominations crumble the Ifirche like sovereign states crumble the empire. Lutheranism, Icalvinism, Anglicanism and, at a corresponding distance, Callicanism are breaking up the Roman Ifirche, just as the German principalities, independent Switzerland, the

the seceded Netherlands, the nation states of England and France broke up the empire.

The Protestant regional churches and the sovereign states were to a certain extent "congealed" intermediate stages of the general process of dissolution that had befallen the ecclesiastical and secular manifestations of the traditional Roman imperial idea. They were not self-growing building blocks of a newly emerging German rule; no German principle lived in them that could have opposed the Roman idea of order on an equal footing. Mutineers knew how to bring their share of the spoils to safety: that was all. In the encounter with the imperial figure of the eternal Jew, the rebellious German barbarian was as short-sighted and provincial as he was ultimately defenseless; in his indignation against the eternal Roman, he did not see through how dangerous the neighborhood of the eternal Jew was for him. The capitalist world movement was not a Germanic movement of its own; the "eternal Jew" had provided the impetus. The German barbarian unfolded his unslaughtered power in the direction of the thrust received from outside; in the vastness and cross-spaciousness into which he thereby fell, the rhythm of Jewish, not of his own being, swung. Since the Reformation, capitalist development had befallen the German barbarian like a dark fate that hurled him upwards and into the distance and whose secret he never understood.

The peasant uprising that the Reformation had triggered was the rebellion of the Germanic original substance in the state of its unbroken originality; it was a resistance to everything alien and was as suspicious of the eternal Jew as it was of the eternal Roman. This elementary unconditionality was his undoing; in its radicalism it frightened the Reformation itself in no small way. The ambition of the Reformation wanted to be content with this,

to be able to make his own way in the nooks and crannies of the inherited Christian cultural building; he was by no means tempted by the risk of demolishing the western house and replacing it with a purely germanic new building.

The rebellious peasant was the barbarian who rebelled against the leadership of any foreign imperial figure; that is why the German peasant uprising was one of those rare revolutions that were not to the taste of the eternal Jew. Even Marx's friend Engels had not reconciled himself with those rebellious peasants; he destroyed the "legend" of peasant heroism by wanting to regard the fighting peasants only as "reactionaries".

The suppression of the peasant uprising benefited above all the eternal Jew; the national raw material, which in its revolutionary independence could not be integrated into the Jewish economic conception of the world, now became docile and usable. The terrible bloodletting which the princely court of punishment inflicted on the peasants and which Luther approved of, broke the savagery of German independence so lastingly that from now on no independence encroaching from outside met with invincible resistance in Germany. The eternal Jew, who took up the contest with the eternal Roman on German soil, had an easy game from then on. The barbarian's defiant self-confidence, which he had displayed when he had seen the Roman weak, had been broken again; he had become tractable once more. The first stage of the "process of laborization", which gradually "diluted" the peasant into the proletarian of capitalist society, had been "successfully" completed. The invasion of Roman law in Germany facilitated and accelerated this process. Although it appeared to be the camouflaged return of the eternal Roman, and undoubtedly was within certain limits, Roman law nevertheless became one of the most momentous tools of the Jewish imperialism.

mus. Roman law detached the farmer from his land,
" mobilized " him and in this way made him an impotent pawn of
the Jewish economic rationale.

12.

By bringing the eternal Jew into the big game, both the struggle between the special entities and special powers and their rebellion against the imperial structures of the Church and the Empire took on the character of a conflict between the two imperial figures, the eternal Roman and the eternal Jew. The imperial point of view is always the higher, more comprehensive one,

"more durable". It may be barely recognizable at first, but over time it inexorably asserts itself; it inevitably subordinates the narrower, local, provincial points of view. Since the German Reformation did not produce an imperial principle of its own accord, it ultimately became subject to an already existing imperial principle. It probably began as a German rebellion against the institution-creating and theological rationale of Rome, but then drove the German people into the arms of the economic rationale that unfolded in the gigantic creation of capitalist society. The success of the eternal Jew was due to the fact that the economic rationale conquered province after province and that it gradually consumed the compelling force of the theological and law-creating-state-forming rationale. In the end, the theological rationale remained behind as an outmoded oddity: precisely in the progress of the economic rationale, man, his thinking and his view of the world became secularized. At the same time, the ancient Roman legacy of the constitutional and state-based rationality was lost; it was only valid conditionally, insofar as the economic rationality left room for it: thus the state and politics became confused. Just as the Middle Ages are the time of the eternal Roman, the Reformation marks the beginning of the time of the

eternal Jew; he climbed up on the shoulders of the rebellious barbarian.

However the weights may have been distributed at the time, the struggle between the two imperial figures continued unabated and gradually involved the whole of humanity. The peoples are like pawns on a chessboard; one move sometimes takes a hundred years, and if one of the pawns falls, it means blood, tears, misery and the downfall of thousands and thousands. From the point of view of the imperial figures, history is a tangled web of multiple detours, on which progress can only be made at a snail's pace: the imperial figures need time and never give up a game, even in the face of setbacks, because they have no doubt that they have time.

Masks

li.

he modern incarnation of the eternal Roman is the Jesuit. The Jesuit does not exhaust the Roman fullness, but he brings the Roman content to a formula necessary for the times. He is the hero of the Cegenreformation; he reconquered part of the ground Rome had lost to the Reformation. Loyola took up the gauntlet that Luther had thrown down to the Roman world. The Jesuit embarked on the campaign of victory against the Germanic barbarians; it is a process of warlike adaptation that he cloaks himself in one of the barbarian robes: the robe of the "soldier".

What the legionary who conquered provinces was for ancient Rome, the Jesuit became for Christian Rome. The Jesuit wears the garb of the Iwarrior with suave elegance; in this way he reveals that there is still something more to him than just a soldier. He comes across as a soldier to the barbarian so that the latter does not realize that he has highly unsoldierly ulterior motives.

The Germanic indignation against Rome's "MiG-

The Jesuit had to give the appearance of taking it into account "as far as it was justified". Rome had to give a Catholic-Jewish answer to the Protestant-Jewish call. The Jesuit gave this answer. He became so much a Jew when he took Christianity seriously again. The tension against Jewishness, however, did not go far enough for him to see himself at the same time as the great conqueror of the Jew. He translated the language of the Roman Caesar, which had become native to the Vatican under Leo X, back into the dialect that the Jewish Messiah had bequeathed to his earthly representative. He put the mask of the suffering figure of the servant on the imperious face of the ecclesiastical emperor. He attempted to overplay the Jew once again; after the Germanic barbarian had been forgiven according to the Old Testament and the prophets, the Jesuit was no less generous with it than the Reformation pastor was. Nor was he embarrassed by the German demand for Paul. The Jesuit is the Jewish crimass of the Roman in the same sense in which the pastor is the Jewish crimass of the barbarian. He is trained to trump every Reformation-Jewish sophistry with a Roman-Jewish one. He stuffs his Roman cause into every shimmering Jewish skin in which it can be sold among northern heretics. If the end did not justify the means, he would have lost his *raison d'être*; it is not necessary for him to profess this fundamental principle explicitly; but the fundamental principle is the essence of Jesuit existence and Jesuit probation.

The Protestant rebellion had brought the ecclesiastical institution The right of free knowledge was hurled against the Roman Empire; modern individualism had thus made a breach in the closed system of the Roman order. This individualism,

which was a barbaric unruliness, from whose cover the eternal Jew shot his own arrows against Rome the longer the more effectively, could only be countered if he was seized "individually" by the scoop; the Jesuit became an individualist to the extent t h a t it was necessary to take the water out of individualism. He had to make hierarchical thought palatable to the apostate again; for this purpose he had to get to the bottom of the subtleties of "proud Protestant knowledge" in order to be able to appease all resisting concerns about knowledge through the superior and more skillful "knowledgeability" of icasuistics. He had to be trained to beat the heretic with his own weapons; he had to know from the outset where the heretic's shoe pinched in order to have the means ready at once to alleviate his pain. The Jesuit had to understand every situation so thoroughly that in the end the cause of Rome always won through him. Here he could not be educated, cunning and scheming enough, there he could not be relentless, brutal and cruel enough. He became a cot- tessoldier, who in every case fought with the bravest elasticity as the situation demanded. He had no rigid physiognomy and no ossified regulations; he always adapted his methods to the circumstances.

This is how the Jesuit behaved towards the individual heretical soul. But so was the policy he developed towards the heretical peoples. If they did not convert, they had to be condemned with fire and sword. The oft-quoted words of the legate Aleander in Worms: "Even if you Germans throw off the papal yoke, we will see to it that you rub yourselves up against each other and suffocate in your own blood" - these words could have been spoken by a Jesuit general. When Wallenstein had wanted to pacify the German people and establish a cheap confessional balance, the Jesuits arranged the jack-in-the-box play

the great German commander then fell victim to in Eger; the mark of the blood that the heretical German people had shed up to that point was far from enough for them. The Jesuit confessor of Catholic princes became the court Jew of Protestant fathers.

The Jesuit is a manifestation of Rome's state of distress and emergency; Rome no longer rests strong and self-confident in its own strength; it needs special measures. The Jesuit is the eternal Roman in a state of militant convulsiveness.

The Jesuit who takes up arms against the modern age, which gave birth to heresy from its womb, is himself its und. He stands with the cynical impartiality of a Renaissance man above the Claubensian conviction, but defends it nonetheless with holy zeal. It is not the content of Clauben, but the Roman hierarchical order of power that is his real concern. The change of things lies in the fact that the Roman hierarchical order of rule can only be saved by legitimizing it from the Jewish-Christian Claubensgut; the Jesuit is its

"Iconic jurist" who, as often as necessary, puts them right again and again with the help of theology. For Roman-Machiavellian reasons, he is the soldier of the Jew Jesus; the Roman order reaps the fruits of the victories that the Jesuit achieves under the banner of Jesus. Machiavelli has had no more learned disciples than the Jesuits, who, "like the fox", know how to masterfully conceal their role with clever turns of phrase. Monarchomachism, endorsed by Mariana and Bellarin, is the boldest use to which the Jesuits put Machiavellianism. Cerade here revealed most openly what the Roman position was capable of when it had to organize its defense.

Since the time of the Reformation, the Jesuit has been the purest and most condensed form of the imperial will of the "eternal Roman". The

Jesuit is the eternal Roman who has trained himself in the weapons with which his opponent, the eternal Jew, has surprisingly achieved something. Both continue the war for the high price of world domination that has raged between Rome and Judah since the days of early Christianity. They stand on heights, operate in horizons, reckon with periods of time that have so far made them superior to all princes, nation states and peoples; while the latter thought they were pushing, they were always only the pushed ones of those two imperial figures.

14.

Calvinism and above all its child, Anglo-Saxon Puritanism, were even more thoroughly saturated with the spirit of the Old Testament than Lutheranism was. They looked at world events through the eyes of the arch-fathers, the prophets and the Maccabees; they felt called by heavenly providence to seize the promise of Israel. In the end, the stormy breath of the English revolution turned out to be the cool, icy breeze of economic rationality; this claimed the field and placed England at the forefront of the development that transformed Europe into a trading center. The capital, which showed the international balance of profits, became the venerable counterpart of the Bible, which carried within it the certainty of heavenly reward. To regard mankind exclusively as an object of exploitation and a source of enrichment for England: that was the idea of Jewish eschatology. England emerged as the empire of economic rationality; through the British world empire, the eternal Jew received a sword in his hand in a similar sense, in which the sacrum imperium, the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, had been the sword of the eternal Roman. The cause of the eternal Roman was initially taken up by the Spanish world power against the aspiring British world power.

power; as she fought in Germany against the Protestants, in Holland against the Icalvinists, so she involved herself in a war with the English heretics. Ireland was the Roman stake in English flesh; the English war of extermination against the Emerald Isle struck the enemy who had taken up residence on the threshold of the British house. The beheading of Mary Stuart had saved England from being embraced by the Romans from the north. The English Catholic legislation revealed the depth of England's understanding of the world-historical meaning of her struggle with Spain. The rule of the priesthood was put a stop to by the rule of the merchant.

In the midst of the turmoil of the English Revolution and the wars against Spain, the centleman was born. He is a hybrid, a bastard: the spirit of the Viking crosses with the spirit of the eternal Jew. The Viking, the barbarian element, adds the feeling of mastery, the aristocratic attitude, the individualistic pride, the readiness for chivalrous fair play, the unbridled lust for conquest, the rapacity and the coarse brutality; the eternal Jew adds the sense of mission, the passion for the acquisition of the celder, the economic and calculating sense, the merchant ambition. The Centle- man does not have the universality of the pure imperial figure; he still has too many earth-bound "barbaric" elements, too much

" blood and soil" in him; however, he reaches almost up to this height. The English people found in him their special model of character; at the same time he was worldly enough to be at least "fashionable" in all parts of the world.

15.

When the third estate in France overthrew the feudal social and state order, the citoyen entered the historical stage.

Every revolution unleashes primal elements, brings to light the primordial stone of the people. Just as the English Revolution had awakened the Viking, so the French Revolution revived the ancient *civis romanus* from the blood of the French people. But it also breathed economic rationality into the stirred-up original substance; this was the moving principle of the resurrected "Roman citizen". The eternal Jew had slipped into the body of the ancient Roman: that is what gave rise to the citizen. Under the mask of the Ancient Roman, he did away with the Eternal Roman: it was the riskiest adventure the Eternal Jew had ever embarked on.

Over the centuries, the cause of the eternal Roman had become so inextricably linked with the cause of Christian Rome that, paradoxically, the anti-Christian revival of the attitude to life of Roman antiquity ultimately benefited the "eternal Jew". The French Revolution was a Jewish success in a similar sense to that of the German Reformation several centuries earlier. The Enlightenment, from which the ideas of 1789 had sprung, had "fundamentally" destroyed all institutions, traditions and privileges that stood in the way of the development of economic reason.

"English ideas" had initially fertilized the French Revolution; across the Channel, the economic rationale undermined the ground on which the Roman-bound French monarchy stood. Exemplary, stirring impulses of the revolution had simultaneously flowed to France from North America, from the wars of independence in the "New World". Monarchical France had supported these independence wars in order to put a stop to the economic boom in England; in reality, it was laying the axe to its own foundations.

The Anglo-American Iwar was a domestic Iwar; only two different stages in the development of economic

Ratio were hostile to each other; there was little to gain for Rome. The "eternal Jew" sensed that he had a freer path in America than in England and he wanted to make uninhibited use of it. In England he was bound by tradition and all sorts of uncomfortable rules: he had to be a gentleman. The Gentleman is the eternal Jew who preserves the English ces- sion: in America, the eternal Jew saw an opportunity to get rid of the English ces- sion. The Yankee is much more Jewish and much less English than the gentleman is; he is the gentleman who is allowed to be considerably more Jewish. The War of Independence gave America the freedom to replace the Gentleman with the Yankee.

America's victory over England reinforced the economic tendencies that were already prevalent in England and which were now also dragging France into their vortex. Through Lafayette, monarchical France had supported the game of its enemy without realizing it; it had to spoon up the soup it had made for itself when Lafayette later became one of the heroes of the revolution that opened France's doors to the eternal Jew.

16.

The social figure that gives the age of economic rationality its face is the citizen. The citizen is a pro- theus who changes temperament, range of vision, willpower and physiognomic expression with every stroke of the hand. Where the citizen is originally rooted in a national environment, he is the product of the fusion of the essential national element of his country with economic reason; at the same time, he is always also a piece of eternal Jew. The " citizen is a generic term that e n c o m p a s s e s a number of subspecies: the gentleman, the Yankee, the citizen, the bourgeois.

Economic reason revolutionizes the world of things; these are placed under a completely new perspective and

thus change their meaning from their origin. For juridical-creative reason, things were reserves of state self-assertion and the development of political power; the individual used them, as it were, on the basis of a power of attorney that placed the extent of his responsibility for the political power structure in a straight proportion to the extent of his personal possession; he administered them according to the order of the *ce mein* being. Theological reason had recognized things as material, tools and signs through which the will of Cotte worked; man received the "earthly goods" as undeserved gifts which, if he forgot to give thanks, led him into temptation. Here as there, things were included in an overarching bond; they were only "transferred" to the "owner"; he had to "give an account" of their proper use, whether to an earthly or a metaphysical authority.

Economic reason releases the thing from any kind of overarching bond; its economic usability is impaired insofar as it is not yet unconditionally free-floating. It becomes a commodity whose only decisive quality is its price, its cash value, and which can end up in any hand and be used in any exchange. The individual, who has succumbed to economic reason as an instrument, claims unlimited power of disposal over the thing; this becomes a private matter, "private property". As a property that has been handed over by legal-state authority for use as a loan, the thing is ennobled, as a divine gift it is sanctified, but as private property it is the plaything of every whim and arbitrariness, of every dark impulse. It is "unholy disrespect" for the thing to "dignify" it as a private thing; this disrespect for the thing, however, is removed from all criticism by interpreting it as the modern manifestation of the sacred: what is sacred is private property.

tum. The sacred is originally a category that bears its rank in itself, independent of human-individual judgment and human-individual attribution; as long as no one calculated when and how sacred possessions, values and goods came into being, it was as good as "objectively" clear what was sacred and what was not. Now, subjective arbitrariness is forcing its way in; it determines what is to be considered sacred. The sacred becomes a mode of evaluation that no longer conceals the fact that it is at the will of individual selfishness; this mode of evaluation is used according to expediency and open consideration of advantage. From the realm of theological reason, economic reason steals the category of holiness; from its origins, this category is charged with so many mysterious, emotionally arousing, sense-confusing powers that it still exerts its magical spell even when abused. Unholy private property appears holy as soon as there are enough private owners who want it to be sanctified, i.e. when the economic rationale has sufficiently taken root. Where it has displaced theological reason, economic reason takes over the responsibility for canonization: it illuminates the sacred, which has been degraded and desacralized precisely because it has been privatized.

Legal-creative, theological and economic reason are embodied, each in its own way, in a figurative precipitate and in an essential institution. Law, dogma and money are the manifestations assigned to them; the state, church and private property are the institutions belonging to them.

Law and state order, dogma and church bind; they agree in that they draw boundaries, give direction, prescribe paths, set goals, demand attitude, discipline and force into form, organize hierarchically. Money and private property, on the other hand, put everyone on their own two feet, force them to be

wild iconoclastic competition of all against all, unleash the chaos of the free play of individual forces. By grinding the world into a mountain of sand of private matters, they simultaneously set all private matters in motion against each other.

The beginning of this crushing process is the liberality of thought: the thinker may allow himself to deviate from the beaten track, he may doubt what was beyond all doubt, and may ask questions where previously every question had to be silenced. The liberality of thought already lays down boundaries and looks "over the fences"; it opens up further horizons. By tearing down, it expands the scope of movement. Although it does not yet lift economic reason into the saddle, it is already driving theological reason into a corner; it is only a small step from the sovereignty with which it switches over thoughts to the changing sovereignty with which economic reason disposes of the goods of this world. The liberality of thought expels theological reason from its positions; it cannot then prevent economic reason from immediately forcing its way in and making itself at home there. Liberal thoughts are the nimble swallows that herald the summer of the citizen; they are the early morning red that precedes the bourgeois day of history.

Economic reason first fails because of barriers of the most diverse kind; it is of inexhaustibly productive cunning to make these barriers give way, to clear them aside. The ideas of humanity, liberty, equality and fraternity were the tools by means of which economic reason broke free; they were the pact on which the citizen initially forced his way into the world with full rights, and then into dominion over it.

The feudal state had been intimately interwoven with the institutions of the Christian Church; in all its national shades it was the instrument of the influence that

⁴ imp. Fig.

the eternal Roman had secured for the Western peoples.

"Throne and altar" served each other and guaranteed each other's existence. The prerogatives of the estates contradicted "economic reason" in more ways than one.

The demand for freedom replaced the political power of the estates and the system of order to which they belonged. Along with the traditional forms of rule, the bourgeoisie also overthrew the leading ruling class and took its place.

The objective and inviolable, the "God-ordained" political order of the Middle Ages "stood in his way"; he undermined it by deploring it as an "iniquity" and unleashing his "struggle for freedom" against it. Because it hindered the individual, "free to go forth", it was "not worthy" of man. The freedom of the citizen consists in only having to share political power with citizens.

The central bourgeois idea is, of course, equality; whoever reveals its secret, because that is what matters to the citizen. It calls into question the social cohesion of the estate-based society. People and goods were bound everywhere, they were difficult to move: "real estate" hung like "pegs on the leg" of the economic will to expand, so that it could not move forward. At the same time, the social hierarchy was a system which, according to almost insurmountable rules of custom, distributed the mark of economic freedom of action in different and well-balanced ways. The building of the social hierarchy was based on the ancestors' imperial and courtly merits, ancient inherited rights, violent violations of the common man's rights that had been legitimized by time. The key to the distribution of property was, by and large, unalterable; each estate and each class of cenos was entitled to its own share; for business speculators, project makers, and the like, "economic pioneers" was generally not much to gain. In the

In the sense of theological reason, everyone received "from Gott" what was due to him according to custom and tradition; economic reason, which perceived the well-acquired rights and traditional orders against which it clashed all around it as inhibiting "restraints, had nowhere to break in: it could even commit "usury" only with bad knowledge. The special rights and privileges of which the estate-based society was the epitome constricted economic reason; the "fair play" to which it aspired was that everyone was equally entitled to the same. Then it was possible to show what was "in one"; in the "free play of forces" a "free path was created for the capable". Economic utility, the natural born measure of economic reason, could become the mark of all things. The sensual form in which this measure could be made visible was the celd; the celd calculation was the mathematics of economic reason. The only human hierarchy that people were still willing to accept was derived from the order of magnitude of the celd possessions that everyone had at their disposal: the wealth that someone had acquired was in direct proportion to the extent of their economic understanding.

Since the "economic mind" was the final deciding factor, the even played up this hierarchy as a "spiritual order". Every human quality that could not be realized as a celd value, like economic reason, became a "breadless art", "no longer weighed".

The course of bourgeois society is characterized by the fact that it completely devalues all non-economic qualities. Thus bourgeois society becomes ever more monotonous, as monotonous as the field is. The citizen is worth as much as the Celdsumrt3e he has inherited, earned or speculated on; he is only the proxy of a Celd heap. This is the inequality of bourgeois society: that every citizen is poorly organized in the form of a celd.

can be set. The diversity of the numerators is irrelevant to the essence; it is the equality of the denominators that makes everyone into a uniform mass, in which no one stands out from the rest due to their character or other peculiarities. Not everywhere where uniforms are worn are warriors. The uniformity of bourgeois society pushes towards a uniform dress that turns the citizen into a "coin" that is just as easily recognizable, passable, exchangeable and interchangeable as the coins with which he fills his pockets. It is embarrassing for the warrior that the uniform can also be the last iconic consequence of the bourgeois idea of equality, that this idea cannot be sufficiently expressed by the same straw hat, top hat, cutaway, tie and striped trousers. The uniform is neutral in itself: it makes little difference to it whether it "dresses" the rapturous uniformity of militant spirit or the downcast uniformity of economic spirit. This, too, is part of the great bourgeois process of the devaluation of extra-economic qualities: that in the end the citizen dishonors even the soldier's dress of honor by finally slipping into it himself, in order to intolerantly realize the likeness of everything that wears the human face.

The uniform of the warrior is a distinguishing feature; you can see at a glance on which front he is fighting. What they all have in common is the enemy and the will to destroy it. But the uniformity does not go deeper; the warrior is an unexploited substance: he can still become much. A chaos of the manifold is powerfully directed to one point by being placed under a helmet and tucked into the same skirt. The outward uniform here covers a diversity of content; it is a makeshift device for martial purposes.

When the citizen puts on the uniform, he has reached his final stage; when he appears in uniform, you can see that

he already is, right down to the last corner of his being. He no longer has any individuality; it has been used up in counting and calculating and serving the cause. He is standardized from within; it cannot be prevented that he becomes so from without.

Drives and needs, emotions and ways of thinking, orientation of will and mental points of view are simplified; in the process of becoming clear, the citizen becomes a mass. By becoming one, he also places himself in the political constitution of the masses: on the path via democracy, he ultimately sinks into its most corrupt manifestation: mob rule.

Democracy harbors a secret: the "will of the people" ultimately always coincides with the interests of the Celdmacht.

"Ain Colde hangs, after Colde everything urges": this is the masses' circular drive, which is overpowering because it is common to all; it is the actual impulse for movement in democracy. The masses' drive to celd achieves its goal in democracy by exchanging their consent, their acclamation, for sounding coin. Buying votes is not a "bribe" in democracy; it is the real political business into which the masses throw themselves wholeheartedly. In democracy, the amount of celd can be converted into a corresponding amount of political power; celd and political power are interchangeable values. The urge of the masses to celd secures the political influence of celd over the masses: this is a well-balanced relationship. The voice of the "people" can be swayed by Celd; it has its price. The masses will back those who are able to achieve something where they expect something. He who speculates on the masses in order to attain political power through them must put up with the fact that the masses speculate on him in order to attain celd through him. The mass man, who can no longer be supported by any valid order, who cannot stand if he is dependent on

himself is on top. He is nothing for himself; he is only as much as he "has"; it is easy for him to give himself away if he gets money for it. In every such transaction he is always the winner, because the sums he receives are always worth more than he himself. Democracy lives from the fact that everyone expects to benefit from it; it is a political order that stands least in the way of economic reason. The legal-creative rationality created the world empire of the Caesars, the theological rationality created the Cotte state with the "representative of Cotte" at its head, the economic rationality created the state as an imperialist economic enterprise that gives every "citizen" a share in the profits. In democracy, politically colored leadership is only a matter for procurists; the financial powers send their young men onto the political stage to do the rattling that is part of their trade. Celd interests determine the course of events in democracy; the speeches of the tribunes of the people are the mustard that has to make celd rule palatable.

The function of the idea of equality is to put an end to all unpredictable human primal instincts until they are ruined. When the criminal instincts of all "citizens" have been standardized to such an extent that they only appear as the will to Celd, economic reason will no longer be bothered by anything unpredictable. A reliable point has thus been gained from which man can be "mobilized" in any case. He is qualityless and therefore also "characterless", as is the celd; like the celd, he can be had for absolutely anything.

After all, citizens are always among their own kind: "all people become brothers". The response of the Cemüts to the fact of celdness is the feeling of brotherhood. "Brothers" are not taken so seriously; the strictness of traditional forms of rule is out of place here. The idea of

Fraternity has a tendency to dissolve hard authoritarian forms; it puts the pathos of distance in the wrong with the beautiful upsurge of the noblest feelings. As splendid and incomparable as Beethoven's "Fidelio" is, the chorus of prisoners does serious damage to the reputation of feudal state power. The "authority" of the celde is an authority of its own kind; it does not have the exclusionary and unapproachable quality of lordly and theocratic authorities. It is "sociable"; it is happy to put itself on a first-name basis with the masses; but it is precisely in this that it helps the idea of fraternity to achieve its highest triumphs.

We owe it to our brother man to be "humane"; accordingly, humanity becomes the nucleus of all civic virtues. " Let man be noble, helpful and good. " The idea of humanity is the most seductive means of softening the forms of authority that have been handed down, which, as long as they exist, a r e perceived as uncomfortable shackles by economic reason. The traditional system of rule went astray when its "inhuman" implacability was confronted with the beautiful intention of being "noble, helpful and good".

For over a century, bourgeois humanity was in truth only a fictitious value, but it was fully accepted in payment. It was, so to speak, the moral credit that the citizen took on in order to be able to sustain his campaign of destruction against all established, genuine authorities. It was the good manners that enabled the citizen to gain access everywhere. The idea of humanity was all the more necessary to bourgeois knowledge because bourgeois society practically degraded man and humanity more deeply than either h a s ever been degraded. The citizen is humane as he is moral: the outward polish must conceal how bad and rotten the quality of the mass article is, which is "the ce-

does business". Bourgeois humanity is the sentimental stirring that wants to melt the iron heart of the form-forcing will of state and rule like wax; once it has been seized, the economic-managerial anarchy has brought home its first celestial gains.

Humanity has set itself up as a Hult; "Freemasonry" is its "Ichurch". This Ifirche is a world church. Like the Roman church, it reaches across all borders. By placing "noble humanity" at the center of its worship, it seeks to compete with the Christian I-church: there is no divine order; there is only the harmony of human-civil order, which emerges automatically from the free play of I-forces. This affects the order-creating eternal Roman: he is displaced where Freemasonry, which is more comfortable to ride with, has found entry.

The "noble" humanity is the humanity of the citizen: the citizen is on his knees before his own type in the "invisible temple"; he wants to make it universally binding in its venerability. Here the imperial tendency of economic reason is hidden: the logic of this reason wants to gain trust everywhere in the bourgeois ceiling. Economic reason, however, is the reason of the "eternal Jews". It is quite all right that Masonic symbolism is cast in Jewish iconic forms. The Masonic citizen is indeed the "uncircumcised Jew". The lodge house is the forecourt of the temple: this is where the proselytes gather. Just as the Catholic Church became the world organization of the "eternal Roman", Freemasonry became the world organization of the "eternal Jew". The Freemason is, in the same sense, a breeding of the "eternal Jew" calculated for the struggle under special circumstances, as the Jesuit is the breeding of the "eternal Roman". What the Roman Caesar is to the Jesuit, the I-King David is to the Masonic citizen. The

Freemasonry wants to liquidate the two great formative principles of the "eternal Roman", the state-creating legal statute and the church-creating dogma, and replace them with the Jewish principle of organization, the anarchy-creating Celd rule.

The subject

IT.

D Germany did not bring the citizen's own character from the
The Yankee is the fruit of a revolutionary war of independence. Gentleman and citizen were born in the convulsions of revolutions; the Yankee is the fruit of a revolutionary war of independence. Cerade, however, the great German revolution, the Reformation, had spoiled the opportunity for Germany to release from its womb an important civic figure of its own. Since the Reformation was a revolution of princes, a revolution of the highest aristocracy, the prince stood at its representative center; the sovereign, the father of the country, became its leading figure. The course of events revolved around him, he moved things, and all things drifted towards him. He even became the master of the *Claubensdinge*: *cuius regio, eius religio*. Even centuries later, Bismarck was still able to notice:
" German patriotism generally requires the mediation of dynastic attachment in order to become active and effective. " The princely authority became the political destiny of the German people; the emperor faded into a pseudo-authority. The sovereign position of the high aristocracy was the social, the princely authority the political success of the Reformation; in the court preacher, however, its "religious" content was represented, which, for reasons of expediency, was not included in the shadow put be was not allowed to be overshadowed. It is in the nature of things that the "father of the country" as a type

did not become a form of the people in the direct sense; not everyone can be a Landesherr as he could be a citizen, gentleman or citizen. It was only indirectly that the figure of the Landesherr exercised his power to shape the people. The father of the nation was the dominant figure; he was the very meaning of political existence. The people were his environment, was the element that was attuned to the father of the nation by moving within it. The people adopted the attitude of being that corresponded to the needs of the fatherland type; they began to exist exclusively in relation to the fatherland. They educated themselves in the way that the father of the country needed; in the court baker, the court tailor and court cobbler, the court hairdresser and court musician, the court pharmacist and court bookseller, the court actor and court councillor, the German people's inner attraction to the father of the country came to light. The people revolved around the Landesherr and wanted to revolve around him; he was the center in whose radiance they lived and whose law of existence they inwardly adapted to. The children of the country belong to the father of the country; as a child of the country, however, one is always somehow immature, in need of guidance and leadership, unable to take responsibility for oneself, in short: one is a subject.

At the moment when the sovereign had become the human model of the Reformation, it was decided that the man of the people could only be a subject. The subject became the form in which the German people was politically present from then on; he became the essential figure binding for the German. The directly creative form was the sovereign; the subject was only its negative opposite; it was a derivative, not an original; it came into being because the sovereign had previously come into being. He was dependent on the sovereign for his measurements, his ups and downs, his strengths and weaknesses. In its derived existence, which was always the echo of a call, the answer to a question, the ce-

obedience to an order that was a shadow of a light was something comical from the very beginning; in view of its essential structure, the subject is already a piece of caricature as a purely natural form. All great Germans with a cosmopolitan and broad view have seen this caricature-like impact of German political and social existence; E. T. A. Hoffmann captured it in a brilliantly poetic way.

The authorities have a peculiarly distanced relationship with their subjects; they are virtually their "better" part. It thinks for him where he should not think, it speaks for him where he should not speak, it acts for him where he should not act. The authority is the epitome of the entire wealth of wisdom, courage and foresight that has to compensate for and make up for the ignorance, narrow-mindedness, short-sightedness and malice of the subject. The subject cannot be understood without his authority; he himself cannot endure a day without it. It is in the order of his nature that he is there for the authorities; they precede him in every consideration. The idea that the authorities could be there for him horrifies him; he regards it as wicked presumption. He feels with instinctive certainty that in this case he would cease to be what he is, namely a subject. But he who is subject from the very foundations of his being defends with the courage of despair his right to remain so.

The subject was the national inverse of the sovereign prince of the land; the German people emerged from the fusion process of the Reformation as the people of the subjects. The subject remained the actual and imperishable item of all those forms of creation in which it adapted to the changing historical situations from then on. It was the "solid" ground on which one repeatedly came across when scraping off the deposited coughs of the circumstances of the time. Since the Reformation, it has always been the underground that comes to the fore when one exposes what

is in truth behind the German. The subject does not reflect the barbarian; he is the intimidated barbarian.

The benefit that every Reformation German drew for himself from the rejection of Roman universalism, both ecclesiastical and political, was the "free Protestant conscience"; it had to be taken up when any kind of "one and universal law" was called into question. The Protestant conscience was the reflex with which the individual reacted to the dominant current of the times. It was a big deal and a great tendency to question the web of the unconventional. However, insofar as it was merely a reflex of the anti-imperial current of the times steered by the high nobility and not exclusively an elementary outburst of a volkish-volcanic primal force pushing into the imperial, it did not itself shape realities with a compelling grip, but only shifted the realities moved forward and shaped by other sources of energy into a false appearance. The subject intoxicated himself with the exhilaration of being drawn to responsibility for the salvation of his own soul; by immersing himself in the Bible, he enjoyed the "privilege" of being able to trace the Word of God on his own: these were spiritual freedoms in which he could indemnify himself for the loss of most political freedoms. He could savor to the full the sublime thought that he had direct access to God as often as he wished. After such overwhelming inner experiences, it was no longer a burden to shower in front of the worldly authorities. If you suffered from their humiliations, you could virtually flee to God and regain your balance and the pride of a free Christian. The limited mind of the subject died all the more submissively in submission to the authorities when he was allowed to know that they would not persecute him into his inwardness, which he regarded as the domain of his

defiant Protestant knowledge. For inwardness remained the exclusive realm of Protestant knowledge; it had nothing to say in the social and political world. The freedom of the Christian man was a mere fact of consciousness, but not a fact of social and political reality. The individual, deprived of speech and breath in the face of his authorities in wilderness-less miserableness, recollected himself in "prometheic defiance"; in his own breast he traversed the infinite space between hell and heaven; there he was the bold fighter who, when the hour demanded it, wrestled like Jacob with his cote. Protestant knowledge, which appeared as the heroism of the individual soul before the face of Cotte, had no need of similarly heroic proof before the face of the police.

German philosophical idealism was a methodical procedure through which the Protestant knowledge of the German subject pulled itself out of the noose in relation to the world. It shifted the decisive encounter with the world into consciousness; here the relationship of the philosophizing subject to the world unfolded in the same forms in which the relationship of the free Christian to Cotte had unfolded. It made little difference whether the world was regarded as Cotte's self-portrayal, as a particular divine mode of appearance or as the free creation of a universal ego. On the level on which idealism confronted the world, it saved the subject's sense of spiritual sovereignty; by interpreting the world with bold arbitrariness, indeed with "all-crushing" intellectual iconography, it became all the more *i n s e n s i t i v e* to the strict regiment of the police truncheon, which belonged to a circle of disgusting facts that rudely and unabashedly eluded the legislation of philosophical consciousness. The philosophizing subject found himself with

from this environment by assigning it to a mere "illusory world", the dull world of empirical things; he paid to this "illusory world" the tribute of his servility, from which, however, to his self-doubt, he had lost his true, real, his "intelligible" I knew freely.

German idealism developed a doctrine of freedom that was to perform the miracle of endowing the subject with dignity and the pride of a free man. If freedom consists in doing what necessity dictates out of one's own inner decision, then no authority, which always equates itself with the higher necessity, has reason to be suspicious of a concept of freedom understood in this way. It is too clearly visible that it only has the task of preserving the Cc- view where a willingness to submit can only be poorly concealed. It in no way coincides with the famous attitude of "amor fati". The amor fati has a completely different pathos; its soil is volcanic. One seeks to escape, one boldly challenges that reality before which the philosophical subject humbly bows, one rebels against the bondage that the common mind recognizes as a necessity, and is willing to take on the full extent of the consequences of one's rebellion, to be ennobled by the severity of the consequences. The amor fati is a matter for truly free men, whereas the concept of freedom of German idealism is a matter for subjects who only weakly yearn for freedom.

The philosophy professor fulfilled a similar function to the court preacher; both opened valves, so to speak. They gave instructions on how to be subject and yet feel free at the same time. This was very useful for any authority; it prevented the emergence of revolutionary tensions. The regional church and the regional university became the most important educational institutions

of the sovereign; one reconciled the masses of believers, the other the elite of the intelligentsia with their lot of subservience. So that they all parried all the better, here the clerics were allowed to interpret the Holy Scriptures, there the thinkers the world according to their taste, according to their "style". The sovereign assessed the preacher and the professor appropriately; in the words: "Religion must be preserved for the people", there is no greater respect for the preacher than, this time for the professor, in Ernst August of Hanover's eulogy:

" Professors, whores and ballet dancers are available everywhere for Celd."

The vocation of the preacher and professor, the national church and the national university is to divert the activity of the subject to the full extent of inwardness. Inwardness is the plot of land on which the subject plants a variety of freedom that no authority can spoil the recipe for.

The sovereign and, to a relatively more limited extent, the feudal ruling class in general were not confined to the boundaries of "interiority"; for them, free Protestant knowledge and the freedom of idealism were no mere compensation for a lost social and political reality. As bearers and holders of sovereign power, they were also free in "externality"; they enjoyed genuine political, social and economic freedom. If it is indeed true that Cott created the Cermans to be free, then only the feudal ruling class fulfilled the divine purpose of creation. Luther's curse on the revolutionary peasants made it clear that no arguments against acts of violence and arbitrariness by the authorities may be derived from the freedom of a Christian. Luther confirmed to the feudal ruling class that free Protestant knowledge did not release anyone from being a faithful and obedient subject. Neither the Gospel nor the Lutheran Church granted the subject a position to which he was entitled.

should in any case have withdrawn to resist the authorities in political and social matters. A special concept of leadership responsibility belongs to authority in the German post-Reformation sense. The action and deed of the subject is always a reflex to an official action or, if it failed to materialize contrary to expectations, to its omission. The subject's act is always as great or as small, as serious or as insignificant, as far-reaching or as short-sighted as the order of the authorities that triggered it. The authorities always have the subjects they deserve; the authorities bear exclusive responsibility for all the sins and shortcomings of their subjects. The authorities have all power and authority; they alone are responsible if their subjects fail. The captain is rightly held responsible if the company is no good: the authorities must also answer for their subjects. It shows that the authorities do not stand up to their task as soon as the subject succumbs to an opposition that becomes "malicious". If the authority is defeated by the subject, then it is proven that the authority was not up to its task. In no situation is there a "Dolchstoß" by the subject, for which the authority cannot be held accountable; if it seeks to wash its hands of the matter by accusing the subject, then it only admits that it is no longer called to be the authority. In the relationship between authority and subject, the subject is incapacitated; it would be all too convenient for the authority to blame the subject for suddenly slipping out of its hands. Since the authorities take all the honors for themselves in every case of success, it dishonors them if they talk themselves out of the subject's successes. It is the erring leader who is guilty, not the masses of those led astray. If the authorities lose power over their subjects, then they have no

The subject is no longer entitled to claim it; he is not liable to punishment, but is bankrupt. Finally, the authorities must also bear a risk: since they want the subject, they must be burdened with the assigned responsibility for how he turns out. The inference from the subject to his authority is inevitable; the subject cannot be worse than his authority is.

The soldierly manifestation of the "subject" is the Landsknecht. The Landsknecht is the warrior as such, who has no real and independent relationship to the cause for which he fights. He fights for everything if he can only fight. He draws his weapons when the captain orders him to; he never asks what he is drawing them for. German Landsknechts have fought on all European fronts; German Landsknechts have bled to death for every European cause. They also occasionally allowed themselves to be transported to America on the orders of southern German fathers. The true soldier differs from the Landsknecht in that he dies only for a cause that he holds sacred. He obeys the call of this cause, the "call of the fatherland", unconditionally; but he must always have the certainty that it is really the sacred cause that is calling. As soon as the bond between him and the holy cause loosens, he slips into servility. The German auxiliary troops that marched under Napoleon's banners against Ruhland had already crossed the border where the Landsknecht begins, and when in 1913 Erzberger and General Hoffmann offered the German world war army to the French General Foch to fight against Moscow, the German front-line soldier was threatened with the danger of being degraded to the rank of Landsknecht. The Landsknecht, like the subject, has no opinion of his own on the matter; both follow their authorities blindly - even in the most disreputable and disreputable matter. They can be brave to the point of excess; if the order demands it, even the

Subject to the life-despising hero. But this martial bravery then stands out all the more sharply from the civic shyness of responsibility, which lackey-like evades the duty to examine a matter for itself as to its merits and, if its merits appear questionable for valid reasons, to fight through its deeper insight to the authorities. As a matter of principle, subjects and lansquenets do not check what the authorities are up to; it is not "their business". "Their office" is, in respect for the commanding authority, unconditional obedience.

The German Kleinbürger is the subject in a pure state of nature, so to speak; there is no more submissive being than he.

The narrowness of his horizon did not make it difficult for him to give free rein to the wisdom of the authorities. His need for security, his penchant for peace and order removed any obstacle to the invasion of the all-powerful police state. He trembled before the revolution, even if, like 1848, it was his own; the most extreme adventure he could embark on was the "loyal opposition". If a revolution was really due, he expected it from "above"; it would have frightened him if the authorities had not played a leading role in it. In every unusual situation, he demanded a decree from the authorities instructing him how to behave. In Crunde he fully understood the reproachful displeasure of King Frederick William III at the unauthorized illumination by the people of Berlin on the occasion of the royal entry into the capital after the victorious conclusion of the Wars of Liberation. When subjects began to light up their windows without official orders, they were led down a slippery slope, at the end of which they might succumb to the temptation to set fire to their masters' palaces. It was this Kleinbürger who gave Nietzsche the impetus for his angry expression of the German "servant soul people". With songs of freedom on the lip

the educated Itlein citizen strove for a safe and secure "well-meaning" philistinism. Ever since the German IMein- bürger came into existence, every sovereign found as much Byzantinism as he desired; Reventlow's well-known writing: "Der Itaiser und die Byzantiner" ("The Itaiser and the Byzantines") has been topical at every moment of German history since the Reformation. Nietzsche's conception of the "superman" can only be understood from a German perspective. The superman is the breeding-philosophical generalization of the father of the nation, the authoritative person, and the "many-to-many", whose purpose of existence and meaning of life is to be the ground that supports the superman, are all identical with the mass of petty-bourgeois subjects who only want to exist according to the rule and guideline, according to the order and law of the authorities.

The Itleinbürger is a stunted form; he is like a virgin egg from which the real citizen cannot crawl out because it has not been fertilized by the eternal Jew. The Itleinbürger is necessarily anti-Semitic; he has what he lacks to become a perfect citizen. That is why he is always willing to let Rome use him against the Jew. He is filled with envy, jealousy and hatred towards the mature citizen; he is the

"Itrüppelbürger", who is waiting for the hour of revenge that will compensate him for being stuck in a corner. He is

"locally patriotic" and mifltraut the wider horizons; he sits at home and feeds himself honestly instead of venturing onto the uncertain ground of bold speculation. The petit bourgeois senses the strangeness of the Jew; he is wary of him. Petty-bourgeois anti-Semitism stems not only from the fact that the Jew outgrows the petit-bourgeois and that he builds department stores, but much more from the fact that he has a "different spirit"

- a Ceist that goes beyond the protection of guild barriers and secure food. The IMeinbürger clings to the Cewohnheit; the great unquestioning pull of the economic

Reason is suspect to him. He is provincial and wants to remain so; anyone who sins against the spirit of the province conjures up the end of the world.

1848 gave the German citizen the prospect of becoming a citizen. But this citizen was as miserable as his revolution had been. It was an imitation revolution; people had taken to the barricades because the French had done the same. But when a genuine revolutionary wind began to whistle from the corner of the proletariat, this c i t i z e n , as a good subject who valued peace and order, offered the most powerful German father of the realm the ILone. It only increased his devotion to the father of the country that he had shown him the door with contempt.

The German citizen who had slipped out of the petty bourgeois eggshells was not in his own right; he was the monkey of the foreign citizen: a gentleman, a citizen, a Yankee, depending on what impressed him most individually. He was never anything other than a parvenu; he was a subject who had become reich, who perhaps took some liberties with his money bag, but was always secretly prepared to be snubbed by the authorities. He himself was the most distrustful of political freedom, which had fallen into his lap more than he had fought for it: the subject in him felt himself to be in an awkward position, since he had been conceded that he no longer had to merely obey blindly. The state of political freedom went against his nature; with bitterness and indignation he soon put an end to it again, once he had inadvertently and against all probability fallen into it.

18.

The mental attitude of the citizen who is preparing to organize the whole world as a sales market is liberalism. The

Liberalism is the philosophy that the economic rationale imposes on itself; it destroys the principles and points of view by which the previous social and economic state was justified. He makes the fundamental categories of economic reasoning binding for the whole of humanity; for metaphysics, science, literature and the arts, the final presupposition, which is self-evident and of which no-one explicitly speaks, is that the meaning of the world is to throw off profit and pension to the citizen. The middle-aged society was based on a supernatural highest cut, on the

"Thus, even the things of everyday life had to somehow reveal a supernatural side in order to stand up to the all-dominant standard of value. The revolutionary achievement of liberalism is based on having established a new measure of value: "profit" was elevated to the place previously occupied by "salvation". With this exchange, a rotation of the axis by one hundred and eighty-one degrees was accomplished; "profit" is as this-worldly as "salvation" was other-worldly. The pull towards the supersensible is thus uprooted; from now on the entire spiritual cosmos revolves around a "worldly" center on this side. All perspectives are reversed. If until now man was the image of Gott, now Gott becomes the image of man. The process of secularization of all supernaturally accentuated notions, concepts, ideas and values is spreading from decade to decade. In the end, the legacy of the Middle Ages can no longer contain any remnants of the social and economic formal elements that still hinder the free, unrestricted rule of economic reason,

The medieval society had been the ceiling of the Roman will to order; the liberal advances were too

equal to the successes of the eternal Jew over the eternal Roman. The liberated, emancipated Jews marched in the lead; together with the feudal social order, the Cetto had crumbled into dust. A large proportion of the great names of liberalism were Jewish. When the swelling liberal tide was countered by a conservative Cegen movement, the Jew also broke into this movement; the hard rigidity of the conservative Cegen will was broken as the liberal man also unfurled the banner of conservatism. Conservatism was thus diluted to a mere variety of liberalism; it became that manifestation of liberalism which was believed to wear its conservative mask because it hesitated more cautiously before every "advance and considered every innovation more carefully. In reality, this modern conservatism was merely the liberalism of a more leisurely pace. Disraeli in England and Stahl in Prussia were the Jewish wizards whose incantations changed the conservative heartbeat to a liberal rhythm.

The most serious explosive for the rebuilding of the middle The "strong personality" was the first defender of the medieval social order; the moment it was first given justice against the law of this social order, its authority was shaken. Liberalism began as an advocate of the strong personality; it became the lever by which medieval society was unhinged. Wherever a strong personality arose, Jews proclaimed its fame; it was not only Coethe who had his Jewish prophets and prophetesses. By insisting on her self, the great personality in principle advanced the cause of selfishness: every strong personality had her followers, who made calculations of economic profitability on the natural power of her Promethean defiance.

From the medieval point of view, the Chinese wisdom was right: that every great personality is a public calamity. The "public misfortune" became all the more catastrophic as the prevailing liberality of human attitudes all around favored the emergence of strong personalities who threw down the gauntlet to the ruling social order and asserted themselves against it. After all, everyone wanted to be recognized as a personality with their own character and rights; what was right for one person should be fair for everyone else.

The history of the bourgeois age in Germany derives its special character from the fact that the man whom liberalism had set free was the German subject. The German liberal citizen was the subject who had achieved something; he was a parvenu and a Byzantine, not because he had become a citizen, but because he had remained a subject. The liberal citizen rebelled against the same authorities to whom the subject felt obliged to obey. He was a liberal citizen only with tormenting inhibitions; the subject in him disturbed the liberal peace of his soul. The liberal citizen was the subject who lived in a state of sin; for this reason he was always awaiting the atoning judgment. Whenever he wanted to strike out in liberal pride against the authorities, the subject fell into his arms. It was his good fortune that the authorities fell prey to liberal softening of their own accord: thus liberalism progressed without the liberal citizen having to drive it forward. The German liberal citizen was without dignity throughout the centuries; he took advantage of his circumstances, but he did so in the haste and attitude of the little man, whom the lack of a great overview and the cynicism of the moment make incapable of disregarding even a single opportunity.

From Hierarchism to Cösarisinus

19.

Dominion means of production in the Middle Ages was the land. Land and serf property was the wealth of which one could be acquired. The size of the landed property conferred the social rank that one held. Crant lordship was a social and political relationship; it not only elevated the crant lord socially above his followers, servants and serfs, but at the same time bound him to take into account the elementary necessities of life of this "lesser" people who were placed in his hands. It was precisely this that made him a political organ, a person of status.

Stand is social wild growth; it proliferates in barbaric space. As a result, it is always in the majority; it stands alongside changing estates. The estates are organs of a common ruling body; they are not equal; each estate has its special rights, its "privileges". This is precisely what gives rise to the internal organization of the ruling body. The will to rule of the common people, their political rights and liberties, are concentrated exclusively in the body of the estates; outside this body of rule there is only bondage, obedience, servitude and dependence. The

The "common man" stands beyond the political sphere; he has no political consciousness, no political will, no political celtization. He suffers his political fate as an alien event to which he has to submit, the consequences of which remain hidden from him and over which he has no influence or impact.

There is a certain coerciveness in the way in which the separation between the corporative ruling body and the unfree common man is carried out and presented with all openness.

becomes. The master wants to appear as master, the servant should feel like a servant. The separation into masters and servants is acknowledged; this is what the divine and natural world order wants. Only in the masters lives the will to power, the instinct and the mission of nation - and only in them should it live.

The estate is an estate based on power; one participates in power insofar as one stands firmly on one's land. It is rooted in the situation of their ordinary everyday life. That is why it has a good common-knowledge, that is why it is so unshakeable. This manhood has the open courage to use force, because daily experience in the midst of the patriarchal environment teaches again and again that there are conflicts that can only be resolved by means of a court sentence or an act of court. The privileged man of the estate is born into his lordship, he receives it naively as a divine gift and thus enjoys and defends it. He is master of his substance; there is literally an abundance of manhood in him. In the society of the estates the high-born gentlemen flourish. Their authority has grown; they have it in themselves; it is a reflection of the divine and an increase of the paternal authority. They distribute the goods of life to the non-privileged according to equity and discretion, as they are due and according to the way in which the father provides for his children. The generosity and the croppiness of attitude, the colorfulness and variety of forms, the boldness and ruthlessness of resolutions characterize the inner fullness of the humanity that exercises rule within the framework of the estates and feudal society.

Crund and soil are the most natural and solid foundation. Within the estates-based society, the people and its organization are not a problem because the

The firm and massive factuality of the conditions of crunch rule leaves no room for question. As long as one feels the pressure of the unalterable, there is no desire for change. The great lords had no need to speak of the people; they were sure of the people. The cause of the people was also part of the cause of the Lord; even if it was only allocated a modest space within it, it had no need of emancipation. The conventional forms in which the lords insisted on their cause were designed to ensure that the people's cause was not neglected to the point of bordering on the intolerable and provocative.

Hunger for power and wealth was, according to the circumstances, hunger for land. However, the distribution of land in the homeland was complete and secured by legal relationships. It was necessary to break into the neighboring territories in order to conquer land for the second, third and fourth sons. This prevented the emergence of a population overpressure that could have been devastating and at the same time expanded the power base of a people.

The political and economic drive for expansion coincided with the missionary tendencies of the Christian church, which served the eternal Roman claim to world domination. The feudal hunger for land entered into an alliance with the Roman Ifirche and its Christian missionary task. The pagan territories were invaded; if their population allowed itself to be baptized, it was subjugated and robbed of its freedom and possessions; if it resisted baptism, it was exterminated with the edge of the sword. Land theft was the reverse of the Christian mission. Christianity was brought to the pagans in order to take away their se holle. The impetus of Christian missionary zeal gripped hearts all the more fervently when the rapturous gaze spied earthly fruits in the distance. The sign of the Icross, which was

The pagan celestial fathers, who were erected in the middle of the city, not only extended the possessions of the Christian Heavenly Father, but also those of the Christian Claubensbringer. The internecine wars waged against the pagans were religious wars. As a Christian fighter, one had good knowledge if it was only a pagan who had been chased from his farm or slain at his domestic hearth. Bishoprics were founded in the conquered land and knights' castles were built to secure the influence of the church and the new property system. Religious warfare was the ultimate means of the feudal era to create necessary living space for oppressed peoples. One was all the more relentless a fanatical fighter for faith when one was allowed to regard the land that fell to one as a blessing from heaven, as confirmation that one had done a work pleasing to God. For the heathen it was a just punishment to be driven out of his father's inheritance; for the fanatical believer it was a reward from heaven to be able to take possession of a foreign inheritance.

Alongside the feudal nobility, the bourgeoisie rose to prominence and struggled for social and political unification. The struggle between the two "estates" was not yet over, but its open outbreak was already on the horizon.

The feudal society of the early modern era can no longer think of expanding; in the face of the encroaching bourgeoisie, it lives in anxiety about how to preserve its property. It defends; it no longer attacks. The stormy faith of the missionaries and conquerors is outdated. There is no longer a "land of the heathen" that can be treated as a masterless cut. You have to let others live in order to be able to continue living yourself.

A state of social equilibrium develops; it becomes the foundation of the absolute monarchy. The absolute prince, the father of the country, guarantees the inviolability of the state of peace. He is

the feudal lord who has also won the race against his own kind. He becomes the arbitrator, the mediating authority - the laughing third party between two disputing parties. Together with his bureaucracy, he calculates the conflicting forces and balances them out. In the midst of the tensions between the feudal and bourgeois classes, he is the trustee to whom the state apparatus is entrusted. He must proceed with caution and understanding if he does not want to blow up his position. There must be no certainty; nothing unforeseen must happen. No elementary forces must be unleashed that would make the balanced situation questionable. The political guideline that could not be violated with impunity was the reason of state.

Feudal society had now dissolved into a number of absolute states that rivaled each other. They jealously balanced each other out: in this way they could be easily harnessed by higher "overarching" powers, which were outside the political system of equilibrium, by the imperial figures as *icondottieri*.

Admittedly, their victories must also be toned down to the fragile foundations of absolutist princely existence; they are carefully executed undertakings, not stirring elementary events. They do not confront a people with the question of to be or not to be; they only directly correct shifts in the balance of power between the state systems. They are cabinet wars whose well-circuited course is monitored by the state rulers of all those involved.

However, no one was able to contain the growth of the third estate; the circumstances of the time, the development of world traffic, the development of industrial production favored it. The time was approaching when the maintenance of the social equilibrium between the feudal nobility and the bourgeoisie was in fact already an obvious rape of the

is the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie feels this rape all the more strongly the more it becomes conscious of itself. The economic supremacy that falls into the lap of the third estate as a result of the expanding monetary calculation increases the bourgeoisie's sense of self. It feels superior to the feudal classes; it wants to prove its superiority; it no longer wants to be limited and bound. "What is the third estate?" asked Sieyès in France. "Everything." "What has it been hitherto in the political order?" "Nothing." "What does it want; "

" To become something. " He wanted to become everything! He pushed for mastery. The foundations of equilibrium collapsed; the bourgeois revolution began.

The citizen does all the work. He embodies in himself a new image of being; but he is not content to cultivate the full awareness of his otherness: his image of being lays claim to being the universal good, the being-solitary par excellence. "The most respectable legal title of the French nobility," Champford wrote around 1780, "is its descent from 30,000 helmeted, armored, harnessed men who, seated on great harnessed horses, trampled 8-10 million people, the ancestors of the present nation, underfoot." At the same time Sieyès remarks: "The aristocratic caste is really a special people, which cannot live for itself alone only for lack of useful organs, and therefore clings to the real nation like the plant excrescences, which can live only on the sap of the plants which they suck and dry up. " He continues elsewhere: "One no longer asks what place the privileged should actually occupy in the social order. That hiefie ask what place in the body of an I(rank deserves the malignant juices that undermine and torture him, or the terrible I(rankness that consumes his living flesh." This is an I(rank announcement without mercy and compassion. The noble one who

descendant of the former knights and barbarians, bears Germanic traits: now the "Civis Romanus" rears up against him and throws him off his horse. With the victory of the bourgeoisie, the image of the citizen asserts itself; France believes it has seized the legacy of the Imperium Romanum. The "civilized" citizen takes precedence over the barbarian hero of Germanic origin. He, only he, is "the Nation"; whoever is not a free citizen is a "plant outgrowth", a "malignant mixture of juices", a "terrible lankness". The bourgeoisie alone constitutes the "complete nations. The "third estate", according to a French complaint of the *tième*, "comprises 99 hundredths of the nation and therefore cannot be called a class". The bourgeoisie is the nation; it is at the same time "the state".

This is a decisive blow struck by the bourgeoisie against feudal society: it equates itself with the nation; the nation is bourgeois. The aristocracy is beheaded as the "feud of the nations" or at least banished from the nation.

The third estate - that is the meaning of the bourgeois revolution - disempowers the other estates; it wants to have all the power for itself alone. It abolishes itself as a class in order to deprive the other classes of the legal basis for their continued existence. However, he hesitates to take explicit responsibility for his claim; the rule he establishes should never be recognized as a bourgeois regiment. At the very threshold of bourgeois society lies bourgeois hypocrisy. Estates society did not hide the fact that it was a society of the privileged; bourgeois society lacked the courage to stand up openly for the regiment it exercised. While grasping the reins of power, it pathetically proclaimed that the "Nations should rule. It was a political sleight of hand that she performed. But in order not to be exposed after all

In order to achieve this, it required a whole system of deceptions and misleadings. Bourgeois society grants "political freedom, while at the same time it establishes the tyranny of wealth; the feeling of political freedom is supposed to drown out the shame of dependence on the Celdsack. There is no danger of giving "political" freedom to everyone; after all, no one gets any further with it than his property and his credit. Power was tied to property; for the propertyless, political equality was just a rotten spell that played tricks on him. To prevent him from revolting against the social order, he was compensated with political rights. The "nation" places everyone on an equal political footing with everyone else; everyone is equal before the nation; property differences fade into private matters in which no one else is allowed to interfere. By celebrating the cult of the nation before the eyes of the entire people, the bourgeoisie secretly and unobserved sacrifices itself to its true cot, the cot of mon.

The bourgeoisie brought the better national consciousness into the world. It was no longer enough for the peoples to simply and naturally play their role in the world; they had to have come to a clear awareness of themselves. In so far as the nation is the popular bearer of a historical destiny, it is not a bourgeois invention; national consciousness, on the other hand, is a bourgeois weapon of war against barbarian-feudal society. Because express national consciousness was still foreign to the latter, it came under suspicion of having neglected the cause of the people. Bourgeois national consciousness pursued an insidious ulterior motive: it wanted to put the feudal opponent in the wrong and make him defenceless. It had the evil eye: it was partly a poisonous accusation, partly the boast of an intolerant self-righteousness. The bourgeois national conscience was intent on making the

to make feudal society mislead itself. Feudal society had hitherto not doubted that it was endowed with the general political authority for the people and the empire; but if it was now taught that it did not possess this authority, it lost its right to exist and had to surrender itself to itself. Just as Christian man had once consciously turned against the heathen, so now bourgeois national consciousness turned against feudal society. Feudal society was to be destroyed, not for the sake of Christ, but for the sake of the nation. National consciousness was the form of bourgeois élan before which feudal society vacated all positions in the state. National consciousness legitimized the bourgeoisie to rule the state. Only the bourgeoisie brought the state onto the foot of "closeness to the people"; it cast it in the form of the nation state. There was no area of life that it did not subordinate to the national purpose: since the victory of the bourgeoisie there has been a national economy and a national culture, and the troops it leads are national troops.

It is difficult to see the agreement between bourgeois and The propaganda has to be made credible in the context of capitalist economic freedom and the people's necessities of life; it is not obvious and does not catch the eye. That is why it should be drummed into the ears: the citizen needs propaganda. Where bourgeois national consciousness is born, propaganda must be summoned as a midwife. Propaganda appeals to private interests never to show themselves in public except in the cloak of national interest; by offering this cloak for sale, it always makes it clear what a good hiding place it is.

Bourgeois national consciousness is the powerful pressure that bourgeois society exerts in order to be identified with the people.

Every company that brings citizenship into France will be "national", as once everything that had touched the hand of King Midas had become Gold. It is because what it owes to the nation. National consciousness is the first great bourgeois monopoly; it is exploited exclusively in the interests of the bourgeoisie. One must be a citizen - a fellow-citizen - if one wants to move with full rights in the national community.

The nation state is the state with a polemical tip; the citizen emphasizes here that he has taken possession of the state and that only since this happened has a genuine, real "national" state existed. The citizen soon realizes what a sharp and useful weapon has fallen into his hands. In a strange turn of events, the first nation state, France, immediately breaks through its "national" borders. Whoever controls the state can make loot, can enrich himself: this is the lesson that rings sweetly in the ears of the bourgeoisie and from which it tries to draw rich benefits. Economic reason takes precedence over reason of state.

Bourgeois hatred is on the lookout for peoples that it can subjugate and suck dry; it wants territories that supply its economy with cheap raw materials. Its "nation state" gives it superiority over African Negroes and Asian Celts. But its means of power are no less useful to it on the

"internal front" to its advantage: it thus enslaves the wage labor force within its National state with the same self-serving harshness with which it exploits the foreign colonial peoples.

Bourgeois society does not maintain serfs, as feudal society did. It has, however, developed a system which enables it to plunder the labor of legally free men and of entire colonial peoples. From this it draws its wealth, its "capital," which is for it the basis of its power in much the same sense as for the feudal society of land-ownership.

ownership had been the basis of power. Every "economic success has its I(honor side: it goes to the I(osts of others, it is somehow always also a robbery that has succeeded. Bourgeois society extends its raids across the whole world; the "world market" is ultimately the area in which it moves in order to make money. It is here that alliances of convenience are formed between the bourgeois classes of different peoples; they are international robbery cooperatives and at the same time reinsurance rules against the wage laborers and the oppressed peoples. International trusts, syndicates, monopoly formations span state borders; close economic alliances bind the bourgeois classes of different countries together and, despite numerous nepotisms, nevertheless create a series of common permanent interests. In this way, international connections extend beyond the bourgeois nation-states, through w h i c h bourgeois society becomes effective as a unified, global body. This unity asserts itself in three directions in particular: Firstly, as solidarity towards colonial peoples, which is not impaired by mutual envy of the neighbor's possession of colonial territories; secondly, as solidarity towards the proletariat, which is so strong that every bourgeois stratum of a people feels more akin to the bourgeois strata of the other peoples than to their peoples of labor; thirdly, finally, as solidarity of the same conceptions of law and contract, which reaches its climax in the common sanctification of private property.

These are horizons in which the imperial figures immediately find their bearings. They had previously made use of the feudal "barbarian"; now they see their man in the national citizen. The new era moves with him. The course of events moves

The bourgeois state is based on bourgeois interests; whoever wants to advance his cause must entrust it to the citizen. The eternal Roman and the eternal Jew are antichambering at the doors of the bourgeois national state as a precaution. For the preferential treatment that the eternal Roman enjoyed in the medieval Feudal state, the eternal Jew wants to hold himself harmless in the bourgeois nation state.

The bourgeois class, which created the nation state, became an international class over time. It made a breach for the imperial figures in all zones of the globe. This is not unnatural. From the very beginning, the "nation state" was not a "primal given" towards which bourgeois society had oriented itself. It was rather a tool which bourgeois society had prepared for itself according to its needs; it became the apparatus by means of which the working class and the primitive peoples were enslaved; its purpose was to favor the formation of capital and to secure the domination of capital.

Because the nation state is the exclusively bourgeois state, the worker inevitably has a skewed position towards it. The "national reliability" of the working class is necessarily questionable here to the same extent as its bourgeois reliability. The nation-state was once the bourgeoisie's militant defensive position vis-à-vis feudal society; it has since been transformed into the bourgeoisie's defensive position vis-à-vis the onrushing working class. The national state is so bourgeois that the mere attack on the bourgeois order is considered treason against the state, high society and the country. The political approach which is in accordance with the national state is nationalism: the basic conception is that of economic freedom and economic independence; the national element is merely an ornamental addition, a captivating color. The more the working class becomes conscious of itself, the more critical the situation becomes

for the nation state in the event of war: the certainty of whether its "poorest son" will still be its "most faithful" in the future dwindles. As soon as the colonial peoples come to the agonizing realization of their humiliated existence, their attitude becomes similarly dubious under warlike circumstances: the "oppressed" begin to examine all around them whether they should not take advantage of the embarrassments of the nation-state in order to rid themselves of the pressure of the bourgeois order.

It is in the vital interest of the bourgeois class of a nation to equip its political tool, its state, with all the means of power. It needs a strong nation state in order to be able to make strong inroads into the world economy. Its share of the world economy will be all the greater the fewer inconvenient iconoclasts there are to snatch the best morsels for themselves. You cannot prevent the bourgeois class of a nation state from making bold and daring deals on the world market if you have the crum to lead their Hlan ons. The international interdependencies, the overseas establishments, the vital connections with distant raw material areas and sales markets appear as convoluted emanations, as advanced ifiaf herders of a tax-laden national state; it acts as a vital item around which a rich abundance of outposts are grouped and which reaches out into the distance from its center. The world-embracing successes of the bourgeois economy are credited to the nation state; they increase its clanz and enhance its prestige. The development of a nation's bourgeois society increases the power and the global political influence of the state at its disposal; the direction of growth of bourgeois society and the "reason of state" are in complete harmony. The global economic conquests of the English bourgeoisie probably presupposed the sea-dominating fleet; but then they showered the English state, the British Empire, with

fame and laid the foundations on which its global authority grew. The French bourgeoisie has only been converting its financial power into political supremacy over Europe since that time, since it has been able to put the emphasis of superior clanking bayonets behind the echo of its cold. Imperialism is that stage in the development of bourgeois civilization at which, by means of its sharply honed national-state instrument, it has established itself in such a position of respect that it is able to secure for itself a rich share in the world economy and world dominion; in imperialist wars, it seizes its prey. Bourgeois imperialism is the ambition of the citizen to equal the imperial figure; but since the citizen never quite reaches it, since he always lags a little behind it, it takes him where it needs him. Bourgeois imperialism works into the hands of the imperial figures' ambitions for world domination.

20.

In Napoleon the meaning of his time had been absorbed without rest; therefore he was a man of destiny. An individual was reckless enough to jump over all boundaries without reverence - in this he was the son of the "Revolution"; but at the same time he was also impartial enough to make use of the ruins of the old institutions in order to bring the fruits of the bourgeois revolution to safety with their help. When Napoleon reached for the imperial crown, he, the strongest bourgeois individual of his time, ventured a bold experiment: he wanted to cut the same great figure on his own estates that he had previously only been able to achieve on the estates' throne. The bourgeois individual puffed himself up to the size, breadth and height of imperial majesty. But since it did not rise above itself despite all its efforts, it actually reduced the dignity of imperial majesty to its own dimensions. The

The individual is no longer a mere tool and mouthpiece of majesty, chosen by Cott, but majesty is only the greatest pose of the individual. It is not primarily an emperor and only accidentally and insignificantly a private person; it is much more merely an emperor in order to elevate itself to a private person of the highest importance. It is not a real emperor, it only plays emperor; what is not itself a citizen feels the come of inauthenticity in the nose. The bourgeois individual throws over himself the cloak of icons, because the theater that can be made with it maintains the appearance that bourgeois business, the excesses of economic rationality, are also great history.

The empire of Napoleon I was different from the state of Louis XIV from the ground up. The revolutionary rise to power of the third estate in France had destroyed the social stylistic unity of European existence. Bourgeois France was a foreign body within its feudal neighborhood. It could not feel secure until the tension had been eased, until the feudal element in Europe had been weakened in favor of the bourgeois element. Napoleon fulfilled this vital function for France in his wars; he was not an "absolute monarch", but a bourgeois king who had been granted extraordinary powers for the sake of his extraordinary function. Once he had set the bourgeois element in motion all around him, France had nothing more to fear for itself. When he yielded to the temptation to be a Roman emperor instead of being content with imperial appearances, the eternal Jew immediately felt uneasy. The eternal Jew feared that in this way the venture of the citizen could cost him dearly. It was now more than just a historical joke that Napoleon's fall at Waterloo made the Jew Rothschild a "great" Jew.

As an annoying troublemaker, the Ikorse was now transported to St. Helena, having done his Jewish bourgeois duty.

Bonapartism is monarchism as a business trick, not as a divinely ordained institution. All the legitimists were secretly afraid of it; they trembled at the devil's work behind it and felt with good instinct that it was aping the true monarchy and thus doing it and their approach the most serious harm.

In the days of Napoleon, the individual had not yet rebelled against family bias; at that time, he still felt at one with his family and even had something left for his clan. If the individual "succeeds", it benefits his family. Napoleon is a great entrepreneur whose family benefits from his successes; France, which he brings into his hands, becomes the property of the Bonaparte family. As long as the company of France flourishes, the Bonaparte clan and family remain healthy.

Napoleon found a policy that suited the citizen: politics is the expansion of power for profit. He plundered Germany like an entrepreneur plunders his market territories. He kept the French state budget in balance with German contributions, covered the deficit of his company, his family's bonuses and the royalties of his marshals. Bonapartism has a clear meaning: an individual takes courage to do what all other individuals secretly crave; a parvenu strikes the venerable, which had hitherto kept him at bay, in the face and sits down on the throne with defiantly uncouth forcefulness, as if it were an iconic chair. No matter how much the parvenu initially "fine", it is only the first great victory of the democratic uprising. The bourgeois individual who leads the way, who first sheds his shyness, goes f u r t h e s t ; he skims off the cream; the greatest surprise success,

The only reward is that it is crowned. Now, of course, the ice is broken; the race of all begins, no individual wants to lag behind the change. No one would get ahead, each would stumble over the other if they didn't get along. Heiner is no longer allowed to seize everything, as Napoleon did; they have to "share" for better or worse. Immediately, the "more efficient" ones secede; they agree to grant themselves equal opportunities, but to fob off the crowd of less efficient ones with tips. Parliamentarism emerges; the crowd votes, the representatives benefit. One cannot deny that there are still individuals who have something to stake. The bourgeois individual who has an inheritance, a reserve, be it material, biological or spiritual, is the "liberal personality". Liberalism is the time in which "personalities" still try their luck or make their luck, who are not to be despised throughout. Intellectual and general existence in general still has style, parliamentarism has level.

Gradually the "personalities" are consumed; the number of those who could be strong enough to be loners becomes smaller and smaller. The individual, who has never been a "personality" and has no prerequisites for becoming one, becomes more strongly celticized; he replaces the lack of innate qualitative weight with his summation, with the number in which he appears. The individuals "cartelize", they become more scattered, they join together to form powerful iconic groups in order to be strong in the competition for political power: the modern parties are formed. The parties divide the political sphere of power among themselves in much the same way as the syndicates divide the market area among themselves. Both are confessions of weakness on the part of the individual: the individual no longer has any clout and can no longer assert himself alone.

The parliamentary nation state still holds on to a certain

He allows a number of tendencies to pass that are "outside of business"; he even allows himself the luxury of occasionally closing both eyes to elementary impulses that could spoil his business. That is the rest of the "imponderables" he has in store and to which he gives himself no small credit.

The more the individuals "empty" themselves, the lighter their voice weighs, the less the parties fall into the balance. The cost of their coexistence and coexistence can no longer be afforded; the individuals are no longer "rich" enough to pay for it; the parties become a burden that the individual can no longer afford. As large as the parties may be, they are no longer the solid ground on which support, security and the confidence of success could be gained: they waste the last of their reserves in competition with each other. The hour has come for the one-party system: it is the historical situation for men like Napoleon III. The emptied-out individuals push into a stable. They have so little left in them and are so little left for them that they can only maintain a firm stand on the basis of their "unanimous unity". Only by being there millions of times in a single way is their imprisonment sufficient to be there at all. Existence is only possible in so far as it is based on a single concept; every deviation is a waste, an excess that calls the "single-mindedness" into question. Liberalism, with its tolerance in favor of diversity and multiplicity, needs a soil that still yields something; a leveling intolerance does not produce life; it is a scorching breath that rises from a barren biological desert of sand. Never was there a more hopeless drought in France than under Napo

leon III.

The "unanimous unity" of the emptied individuals presupposes the old parties, which had not yet let the individual get off so lightly, perish. That party establishes its monopoly which is most completely tailored to the body of the emptied individual; the old parties, which had not yet let the individual get off quite so lightly, perish; whoever had moved in them had still had to be somebody; the triumph of one party was based on the fact that it absolved itself of being anybody and at the same time hurled the curse against everything that was still something.

The resources for any kind of generosity are running out. The families, which were still "fertile soil", disintegrate into grains of sand of depleted individuals; thus the nation becomes a mass. The masses are the human stock that the bourgeois era leaves behind; there are no more provisions; people live from hand to mouth and feel the spectre of physical and spiritual starvation at the gates. As a result, the masses have only two concerns: Bread and spittle; this is how body and soul are to be fed. The parliamentary nation-state does not function primitively enough for the masses; it necessarily produces by-products for "higher needs". The masses no longer tolerate this wastefulness: their state should provide only for the necessities they need. It should be tailored solely to their cheap sustenance; it will be at their expense if it is not careful enough to break the mold. In the train of things lies mass endemocratic Caesarism with its intolerance, its terror, its despotism. This despotism does not enslave the emptied individual; it gives him just as much as he demands. It only enslaves what has not yet come down to the level of the emptied individual or what has already gone beyond it.

Each new state, by finally bringing things under its control, brings out the human type that now corresponds to the time; it is precisely this that removes the last resistances, that it clearly demonstrates who is the master of the hour. At the moment when the reign of the emptied individual is due, it becomes visible that even nothingness can be endowed with demonic power. An individual without great rank and content, as Napoleon III was, marches to the forefront; with fanaticism, emptiness and insignificance, trash and scum, bankrupt existence proclaims itself as the exemplary guideline.

Bonapartism was the magnificent play with which bourgeois society, when there was no one left to contest the field, celebrated its glorious entry into history. The moment it felt the first shadows of death looming over it, Bonapartism degenerated into a vile and miserable smear. Caesar, who was once given almost authenticity by a born heroic actor, is now played by the dull, worn-out comedian Napoleon III. Although the state was also Napoleon I's private property, he made an impressive use of it; the little people who, under Napoleon III, have this wasted legacy at their disposal, fritter it away in evil and miserable business.

The bourgeois logic draws a final iconic consequence by drawing the switch of the state to an event that merely provides the masses with bread and games as a unique "gigantic" business venture of a few "great" citizens; in this way, Caesarist mass democracy becomes a grandiose bourgeois-capitalist coup through which a few captains of industry, financiers, knights of fortune and their political puppet masters make their fortune by knowing how to properly treat the hunger of the masses.

The deflated mass individual is, as long as he or she is not subject to civic

The "mass state" is not a salvation either; Caesar is not a life-giving Messiah. The bread and circuses offered by Caesarism are too much to die for and too little to live for; the "massacred" individual no longer "pulls himself up",

no longer "rehabilitates" itself; it sinks deeper and deeper into neglect and decay, it goes further and further downhill, it is the ejection of an old world, not the home of a new one.

" Bread and games are the sad end of the great bourgeois booty-making; the mass individual still snatches some miserable realities for carrying up his Caesars in the foam of his enthusiasm; " bread and games are the " pro- fit" which he reaps when he pays in the worthless value of his salvos of applause. Where the noise about bread and games dominates the day, many want to get their money's worth; somehow, with shabby officiousness, a corrupt commercial consideration brings itself to the fore: one does not want to go away completely empty-handed by squandering oneself.

Interludes

21.

From the very beginning, Cewalt and Ceist are primal opposites. The Ceist is the first opponent of Cewalt; he is so much her equal that in the end he is always right against her. The Cewalt fills the space broadly and massively; the Ceist, however, has the time for himself, and it is evident in every case that he gets further with her.

Wherever the Cewalt is bearing down with great force, the Ceist undermines the ground on which it rests; wherever its pressure increases to a reasonable degree, he organizes a Gegen-pressure that cannot be grasped and caught; where their compulsion

When it seems that there is no way out, he discovers back doors; he destroys her reputation, diminishes her standing, robs her of her good knowledge and finally exposes her to ridicule, which becomes fatal for her. This primal opposition appears historically in the most diverse disguises; it appears as the polarity of spirit and sword, saint and hero, pope and emperor, priest and warrior, man of letters and soldier. The Cewalt insists on itself, self-sufficiently clings to the Cewissheit of its irresistibility, intolerantly threatens any resistance with existential annihilation; the Ceist, however, gives recognition to standards of value against which it may resist for a long time, but to which it sees itself inescapably subjected one day: it must put up with being discredited with an undertone of contempt as "crude", "pluinp", "stupid", "narrow", "stubborn", "barbaric", "immoral ". This was the Ceiste's most resounding success against the Cewalt, that he asserted himself as the authority authorized to judge; thus the Cewalt's reputation was at his mercy. It was part of his other wartime undertakings that he did not exactly treat this reputation lightly. But because he had the privilege of being his own judge, he took care not to hide his light under a bushel. He was as "superior" as the "inferior" Cewalt, as polished as she was rough, as agile as she was clumsy, as wide as she was narrow, as light as she was dark, as shrewd as she was blind, as free as she was enslaving, as uni-versal as she was limited.

The Cewalt is the direct eur'eration of existing life-forms. power, the natural outflow of unbroken vitality. Where Cewalt and Ceist can under no circumstances be made to march in lockstep, a being of a lower order betrays itself; where Cleichklang and Cleichschritt fall easily and naturally between the two, a being of a higher kind, of a nobler rank, of a grander character announces itself.

There is something wrong in the ground of life when the Cewalt stands isolated against the Ceist and the Ceist stands isolated against the Cewalt. By undermining the Cewalt, the Ceist consumes the substance of life, he is a "life strangler". Here is the point from which the Ceist's mistrust of the Ceist does not seem entirely unjustified. The German hero never wants to be clever; he would not be himself if he were not a "dumb fool". In the "Nibelungen", Hebbel has Siegfried tell his mother what she thinks of him. "She says that I am strong enough to conquer the world, but far too stupid to keep the smallest molehill. And if I didn't lose my eyes myself, it would only be due to the impossibility." Since it is Cewalt who first sets the orders, creates the political status, the "state", accomplishes the "deed", she feels herself to be the actual creative source; she already perceives the Ceist's interpretation of her work as unfruitful know-it-allism, his illitics even as bold, insinuating, tearing down decomposition.

There are cases in which there is a happy balance between Cewalt and Ceist; an equilibrium develops between them that is advantageous for both parties. Cewalt understands that she is best off if she leaves the honor of representation entirely to Ceist; in this way she can gain celands, sometimes unnoticed. It is believed that she is dealing with the Ceist and in the meantime she has Celegenheit to take root. She comes as a "servant of the idea"; she puts herself in this position because she believes that this is precisely what makes the realm of her rule all the more boundless. But the Ceist reaps high honors; he only becomes a weighty, authoritative, considerable Ceist through symbiosis with the Cewalt. The greatness of ancient Rome consisted in having brought the Ceist and the Cewalt into such a close relationship; the sword of the Roman acquired the right to be the path-breaker of the free world.

to be the law. When Rome had lost the sword, the idea of its rulership was so deeply engraved in the hearts of Western mankind that it could be brought back to recognition by other means: Christian dogmas took the place of the rule of law, the Church took the place of empire, priests and monks took the place of legionaries. First the emperors, then the princes of many nations, lent ecclesiastical Rome the sword that it no longer possessed.

Economic coercion is the form that coercion takes when it is exercised by Jewish hands. Everything has its price here - even the Ceist; and if you pay him high enough, he is happy to be bought. Education is of equal value to property; Celd rule does not flaunt itself nakedly, but hides behind the "cultural and civilizational achievements" that it finances. Plutocracy is as closely linked to the Ceist as theocracy and Caesarocracy are; this gives these systems of rule their dazzling, captivating, convincing and universal appearance.

The capitalist citizen is the former barbarian who has grown into the horizons of the plutocratic level. The national ties that he still maintains are the remnants of his barbarism; in his economic imperialism, however, he obeys the momentum of economic rationality.

It was the imperial character under whose influence the citizen always maintained a good relationship with the Ceist; only in this way could he stand up to the peasant and soldier in the long run. In his cities he rewarded the artists, scholars and writers for safeguarding intellectual interests; thus he pledged the cause of the Ceist to gratitude: it had no cause to rebel against him. By being promoters of "spiritual interests" and bearers of "civilizing" values

is seen as degrading workers, robbing the consuming masses and perpetrating merciless extortion against colonial peoples.

22.

The political centerpiece of the German barbarian was Prussia; the barbarian, who satisfied historical ambition as a warrior, created it. The Junker is the peasant with the instincts of the warrior; the nobility of the sword is the community of crofters who cultivate their land in order to be independent enough to take up arms when the hour calls.

The non-junker peasant, the little man in general, was perhaps nowhere more "subject" than he was in Prussia. But since the subject, when he stood at attention and put his hands to the seams of his pants, seemed to do so much more out of military-disciplinary reasons than out of civilian servility, his subservience had a respectable impact; it is in the nature of things that one must accept the uniformed subject, who does the soldierly man's work, as a man. Soldierly bravery does not show whether it originally springs from heroic impulses or is the utmost demonstration of blind, trembling obedience; only when the superior no longer commands does one realize its secret. The genuinely Prussian lack of moral courage, of, as Bismarck said, "civil courage", which even the most glorious soldiers display, reveals that even in that breast which swells with the pride of the most glorious deeds, only a subject's heart beats.

Preur'en took a stand against Rome, in whatever form it embodied itself, from the crusading attitude of German barbarism. Prussia was anti-Roman as a Protestant supremacy, as a power state against the metaphysics of the empire, in the I Wars of Frederick II against the emperor, in the

Wars of Independence and in Bismarck's victories against Austria and Bonapartist France; it was anti-Roman in its Polish policy and finally in the *Ikulturkampf*. But it had no equally great imperial will of its own to play off against the imperial will of Rome. The Prussian subject did not achieve any imperial effect and the "inferiority of the German sense of self", which Bismarck lamented, was not capable of founding a world empire. The "Idea of Potsdam" probably contained an imperial element: to establish a powerful state with military forces in the Nordic-Protestant area, in deliberate opposition to Rome's ideas of domination. To a certain extent, it took up the tradition of Gustav Adolf, who had wanted to establish a Nordic Protestant kingdom of soldiers from Stockholm. But the "Idea of Potsdam" did not have enough grandeur of vision, breadth of horizon, imperious impartiality and appealing detention to be able to prove itself in the fullness and breadth of the world. It did not even win over the German people south of the Crenzwall. Even the Prussian power of the sword could only subjugate people from the outside as long as the sword remained sharp. The moment it became blunt, its power structure collapsed, outrage and rebellion rose up against its pressure. Thus the "Man of Potsdam", the "Prussian", never grew into the dimensions of a world-renowned imperial figure; viewed from the height of Rome or even Judah, he always remained provincial. This entangled him in the tragic fate that befalls anyone who engages in battle against one of the imperial figures without being a match for it or attaining its rank: he unexpectedly becomes the tool and pawn of the other imperial figure. He is the barbarian who - by losing his own cause against the one imperial figure, which for him can be a cause of revival and death - becomes a tool and a pawn of the other imperial figure.

But only as the landsknecht of the changing imperial figure is involved in a small skirmish that has broken out between the two imperial figures in the course of the secular conflict.

is delivered. He is always just a "sword" who, like Frederick the Great, draws the least profit from his victories.

It remained Prussia's weakness that it did not succeed in bringing about a balance between Cewalt and Ceist. The Cewalt treated the Ceist with cringing esteem, if it did not suppress him even more harshly as an enemy. Literature became an opprobrious cewalt and being a man of letters became an objection to the man who was. But the Ceist retaliated by not only exposing Prussia to ridicule and ridicule in the face of the world, but also by exposing it to general disgust everywhere as a power of the darkest and crudest reaction. The lieutenant in the caricature, the "Prussian military boot" of political pamphleteering belong to the coin with which the Ceist paid Prussia back. The culmination of his vendetta, however, came in the imprecations with which Germany's most illustrious Ceister branded the Prussian character. "It shivers my skin from the vertebra to the toe" Winkelmann wrote in 1763, "when I think of the Prussian despotism and the shudder of the peoples, which will make the country, which is maligned by nature itself and covered with Libyan sand, the abhorrence of the people and burdened with eternal curse." Schopenhauer meant the "Prussian" when he wrote in his testament: "Should I die unexpectedly and one be embarrassed as to what my political testament is, I say that I am ashamed to be a German and that in this I am also one with the truly Croßen who have been displaced among this people." It had its evil consequences that Frederick William I kicked the Ceist; it was a custom that contradicted the sword.

and at the same time violated the fundamental laws of world order.

Frederick the Great did not change the character of Prussia either. He himself was moved by his love of the Ceist; he was an intellectual man of the highest order. However, the "Ceist" remained his private hobby, which in no way affected the structure, the attitude and the values of his state. As a philosophically reflective man, he himself looked at his barbaric and backward country with the eyes of a French-educated and enlightened European; the remarkable thing, however, was that as an acting and ruling king, he did not let the country feel what he thought of it philosophically. One of Kant's first great writings is dedicated to Frederick; however, Frederick did not see the hand that was extended to him here. In it it becomes clear that Frederick was not at all looking for ways to transform Prussia's violent criminality.

However, the great military writers Scharnhorst, Cneisenau and Clausewitz pursued intentions of this kind. They were strangers within the Prussian structure of being; the deep and entirely un-Prussian esteem in which they held the Ceist had no effect on the cesamtricity of the state they served: Prussia remained what it was. Only the "man of letters" Moltke seemed to have succeeded in achieving a synthesis; his creation, the Prussian General Staff, was an image in which Prussia had married itself to the Ceist in an unusual way. The Haserne had been as emblematic for Prussia as the iclostary was for Christian Rome: the Prussian General Staff was as soldierly as the iclostary and as spiritual as the iclostary. Such critical and opposing personalities as Friedrich Nietzsche and Friedrich Engels made no secret of the fact that the General Staff was something that really impressed them about Prussia. Alongside the Jesuit order and the English aristocracy

The Prussian General Staff as a school of high human breeding recognized.

But although the General Staff was a miracle flower on Prussian soil, it was no leaven for Prussian existence. Prussia was not formed after it; it was there in spite of Prussia. It was a laboratory in which the strangest experiments might be permitted; Prussia, however, did not align itself with the style of this laboratory. The literati of the General Staff were expressly privileged. However, this was not a prejudice for the civilian literati: they remained privileged.

"Press angels" and questionable creatures, as they have always been considered in Prussia.

In the midst of their Slavic surroundings, the Baltic knights had experienced at first hand that their social position could only be maintained if it was legitimized by a cultural mission. If they had only insisted on being "knights of the sword", their power would have collapsed long ago; it would have been swept away as unbearable and unauthorized arrogance. They also needed to be "bearers of culture" and "bringers of culture". They needed intellectuals to preserve and maintain their cultural heritage in a foreign environment from which they only stood out like Germanic islands. The "man of letters" was as important as they themselves were; they had to grant him equal status. Knight and man of letters were the two poles of Old German unity. This created a solid, lasting and fruitful relationship between sword and spirit that Prussia had never managed to achieve.

However, this is one of the Prussian oddities, that the Ceist, whom one distrusts, whom one gags, nevertheless exerts a secret temptation and lure. Somehow the Prussian not only respects the book, but would also like to have written one. Just look around you: almost all the "Landsknechte", hostile to literature, had literary ambitions. Their books

are, of course, bad books. From here we can gain a new understanding of the particular Prussian accent of the concept of the man of letters: "man of letters" is someone who writes well, who writes better than he himself can, who has more spirit than he himself possesses. It is good Prussian to show your sword and to rely on your sword, which you wield so well. If the Ceist wants to question the primacy of the sword, this goes against the heavyweight in which one has found one's Prussian foothold. As a Prussian writer, one wants to prove that one can also take on the Ceist and that the Ceist therefore has no right to cool his heels on the good Prussian sword. However, where one then directly and obviously experiences the sovereignty and superiority of the Ceist, one becomes insecure; the belief in the birthright of the Cewalt begins to waver. One is irritated and reviled; one says - "literary man". Thus one seeks to r e s t o r e one's Prussian equilibrium.

In the state of this Prussian equilibrium, the Ceist was
 However, he was too much of a Cinderella for Prussia to h a v e had a fully valid imperial effect.

As soon as a nation has entered a state of imperial charisma, it tends to produce a worldly literature. What makes its way through the world is what appeals to the world, what it perceives in some way as its own cause. Through the worldliness of its literature, a nation learns how far it has gained power over the world, how far its power over the world reaches.

Even those European countries that extended beyond Germany's borders were in the political sphere of influence of the medieval Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation: its political control rested on them, they shared its political power.

the same Romano-Germanic, Christian-antique cultural content. This was the time of a heyday of German literature. Wolfram von E se henbac h, Hartmann von der Aue, Cottfri ed von Straßburg, Walter von der Vogelweide were writers of the greatest occidental magnitude.

A literature that does not appeal to the world is "provincial". If the literature of a people does not break through the barriers of the provincial, then the conclusion can be drawn that this people has no effect on the world, that it has no reserves of power to bring spaces outside its immediate sphere under its control.

Great European literature is either oriented towards the horizon of the eternal Roman or the horizon of the eternal Jew: it is either a strict form, bound to Catholic hierarchical ideas of order and feelings of life, or an explosive, disruptive element. The great French literature before 1789 is "Roman" to the same extent as it has been "Jewish" since 1789.

Shakespeare and Anglo-Saxon literature in general is a special case: here, the inexhaustibly fertile womb of immediate Germanic vitality cries out and gives birth to its monsters. This literature explodes the Roman form in a Protestant attitude. The blocks thrown up are so gigantic that each one is still a world, an icosmos in itself; at the same time, the whole debris field is surrounded by such a violent dyna- mics that it reveals itself as a grotesquely designed, elemental primeval landscape, which at first glance appears to be nothing but chaos. In Shakespeare's work rumble the elemental forces that later built up the British empire; it is as worldly as England later became imperial.

Since the fall of the sacrum imperium, there is only one German literature that is provincial. Coethe and Heine are not a proof of a Cegen: in so far as they are of occidental caliber, they are not due to an unbroken German character. In Coethe it is a Roman one, in Heine a Jewish one.

his work has had an impact that extends beyond the German-speaking world. Thomas Mann is cosmopolitan because he writes like a Frenchman, not because he writes like a German.

The provincial atrophy of German literature is an important symptom: bourgeois Germany, like soldierly Prussia, lacks the energy of imperial growth. This is why Schiller and Kleist did not rise above the status of great "heathen poets".

Russian literature is the herald of Russia's imperial mission. From Pushkin to Gogol, Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky, a poetry of the highest order has developed. The unheard-of thing about it is that it has its own spiritual climate; it breathes neither in the atmosphere of the eternal Roman nor in that of the eternal Jew - nor is the air of the Gentlemen its own. It is Eigenwiich in every fiber. It is not cosmopolitan in the sense in which Goethe was or Thomas Mann still is: that foreign cut is first brought in and then, prepared in a particular national shade, offered and presented again to the countries of origin. This kind of worldliness testifies to the imperial power of others, not to one's own.

By forcing its way into the ears of the world despite its own growth, the great Russian literature made it clear that its own word, which Prussia had to say to the world, had an inherent irresistibility that no nation could escape. Its own growth and the irresistibility of its general impact characterized the Russian region early on as the birthplace of an imperial power.

24.

Since Bismarck, Germany has been drifting into a strange situation. The soldier, the sword nobility, the feudal backwardness, the " Prussian elements had achieved the victories on the battlefield.

and united Germany. These Ilets remained conscious of their achievement; they continued to claim the leadership of the people, the representation of the state. But they had no great horizon; it reached only as far as the border posts of the Kingdom of Prussia. They were provincials who painted the world according to the standards of their own districts. They ruled an empire that reached out into the world, but they did not understand the tone of the world. They possessed power, but not the spirit to inspire it; they wielded a good sword, but lacked a mandate to go "into all the world". Prussia was a harsh reality; but it was a reality without a "sense of the world" that would have illuminated or even enlightened beyond its borders. It was barren and unconvincing in its austere and ascetic masculinity. This Germany wanted world recognition without being able to offer its own world-valid value. It had imperial intentions without possessing imperial scope and imperial suggestive power.

The Prussian soldier and the soldierly Prussian was out of himself. He was not an imperial figure; he was brave, tough, honorable, but at the same time narrow, self-conscious, pedantic. He did not have the grand air that no boundary disturbs, nor the free view that takes all things as they want to be taken according to their innate nature.

This is where the citizen stepped in: he opened the door to the world. He opened up the world market for Germany, developed world trade, established the claim to colonies - he set world power goals and was the secret driving force behind world power politics. He determined the direction of travel into the world; it was his intuition that Germany's future lay on the water. A unique balance was achieved. The social and economic predominance rested with the bourgeoisie; the state apparatus, however, remained in the hands of the feudal and soldierly elements on the condition that it had to be based on a call to the sea.

must in any case be used in favor of bourgeois interests. The feudal remnant group represented the state, which in its core was increasingly becoming a bourgeois state; the bourgeoisie saw its advantage in exploiting the state experience of the feudal and soldierly classes for its own benefit. From the bourgeois point of view, this state leadership was backward and barbaric in its methods; nevertheless, it remained unchallenged as long as it adapted its objectives to bourgeois needs with good anticipatory foresight.

It was in the nature of this relationship that time worked for the citizen; since he directed the course of events, he became the longer the more inevitably the really and actually powerful. The feudal-soldierly, Prussian power-holders became mere administrators of power; they gradually transformed themselves into illusory figures, behind whose cloak there was no longer any glamorous being. Wilhelm II was a scheming emperor; he was a citizen who only put on the purple like an actor - admittedly, in comparison with Napoleon, like a bad actor.

Thus Prussian feudalism disintegrated; the role of the German citizen was to grind it up; the citizen was the maggot in the flesh of Prussian substance. Neither of the two imperial figures was willing to grant historical procuration to the German bourgeois, in whom they still scornfully sensed the subject, just as it had been entrusted to the gentleman, the Yankee, the citizen. The German citizen had no other task than to wear down the soldier state of Prussia from within in such a way that it would no longer be able to stand the test of victory. From the point of view of the two imperial figures, Germany was a stone in the way; they wanted to smash it. Nor should the German citizen have any possibility of settling broadly on it.

Germany endured the world war for four years; however many military victories the German soldier had won, he was ultimately defeated by the fact that Germany was incapable, to make "moral" conquests. It had fought without war aims: therein lay the admission that its existence in itself aimed at nothing.

The Weimar Republic was based on a peaceful and mutually beneficial comparison between the two imperial figures. Permanent unemployment corrupted the worker, who was no longer included in the discipline of the company, into a "lumpenproletariat", a beggar and alms-receiver, a "pauper", a demos, a pleb, a street-slicker and thus a hireling for every solvent imperial figure. After the unexpected victories of the Russian Revolution, it was an urgent Jewish concern to render the Marxist worker Euro- pas harmless as a revolutionary against economic reason: the eternal Jew had nothing more to fear from the unemployed welfare recipient. The long-term unemployed person no longer has what it takes to be a "revolutionary", the creator of his own world of order, in which economic reason is suspended. Thus the welfare policy of the Weimar state took care of the business of the eternal Jew. However, the fate of uprooting that the Weimar Republic prepared for the peasant broke his barbaric stubbornness and drove him into a desperation in which he grasped obsessively at every red straw.

The compromise that the Weimar Republic had represented, in the end, however, the eternal Roman was better off than the eternal Jew. As reformist trade union and welfare socialism de-revolutionized the worker, the eternal Jew disarmed himself and fell behind the eternal Roman: he had revolutionarily emasculated his auxiliaries for the moment of a test of power.

25.

When the disarmed Germany sank into the force field of the two imperial figures after 1918, it stood there as an abandoned object, as a "reservoir of raw materials", as a "colony" and "hinterland". It suffered from the humiliating experience of being abused, oppressed, sucked dry. The changes that took place in its womb were not adaptations to the climate of the larger world, but rather, as it was consumed, signs of decay and decomposition. The imperial figures embodied the "bloodless Ceist" that had desecrated the Ifirchturm, the homeland, disturbed its peace, dissolved its ties, corroded its values, undermined loyalty and love for the clod, the house and farm, the soil and the paternal heritage, The temptation of which one had fallen for when he had encouraged adventurous journeys and undertakings all over the world, in which one lost everything in which one had once been warmly embedded and at the end of which one found oneself in total abandonment with empty hands facing nothingness. One had been pushed away from the sources of life that had provided health, energy and strength. There was a growing longing for new security, for returning stability, for a firm order, a stable ground, a home that promised peace and quiet, where one could breathe again without worry. People believed they could turn around and go back to the way they had come: back to the originality and immediacy of blood and soil, to the well-ordered security of craftsmanship and guilds, to the womb of life and the inexhaustible abundance of nature itself. The Ceist, who was perceived as the dangerous element of the imperial figure, was unmasked as the "adversary of life"; people were determined to take all iconic consequences against him. One wanted to be the barbarian one had to be when confronting the imperial figures; one wanted to be simple, coarse, rough, perhaps crude and uncouth, even cruel,

in which this hostility and self-assertion had to be taken seriously. The strength of anti-Semitism betrayed the determination to once again become an elementary, unbroken human being integrated into natural orders.

The rebellion against the imperial figures unleashed itself most primitively and elementarily in Ludendorff's desperate struggle against "Jew, Jesuit and Freemason".

Ludendorff had failed as a general because of the global superiority of "supranational" continuities; these continuities were anchored in spiritual values that could not be achieved with the edge of the sword. The

The "supranational" function of the imperial spiritual value bases "was a mystery and a riddle for him, which exhausted his powers; he felt the invincible omnipresence of this function so vividly that he saw its bearers as tangible creatures right in front of him. Since, however, he did not understand their imperial necessity within the framework of their planetary horizon, but regarded them exclusively in their disintegrating effect on species-specific growth, they were regarded by him only as sinister conspirators against blood and soil. He defended the cause of blood and soil; he wanted to help it gain its rights against the "supranational", imperial powers. He wanted to protect the peace of the homeland, the happiness of the quiet corner against the onslaught and invasion of the "supranational" powers, the great world. Germany had collapsed in 1918 because it had never broken the boundaries of the provincial. Behind its economic imperialism lay primarily greedy, unimaginative money-making; that had been too little not to come to a bad end. Ludendorff wanted to rebuild Germany by steering it even deeper back into the provinces. One could confront the supranational, imperial powers by opposing them with an overly imperial approach.

The German people's claim to power had to be fought through; but then the German had to rise to a type of cosmopolitan stature and world standing. He himself had to become a kind of imperial figure. In this way he could dethrone the two changing imperial figures; by ruling himself, he escaped the fate of being ruled. Ludendorff's battle rage would have been sufficient in its momentum and energy to dynamically fill imperial spaces. However, it was his peculiarity that he was not attracted by the imperial expanse; he buried himself with tremendous energy in the depths of "Caves in the earth"; the dust swirled high, but the result was only a dusty affair. A people that bites into provincial points of view does not thereby escape the spell of world-embracing points of view of the existing imperial powers; its flight into the provinces is only a way of sticking its head in the sand. The more it swings away into the provinces and pulls its hands out of the great game of the world, the more inevitably its fate is decided by change; the great game goes on endlessly, and its existence now becomes a stake for which the imperial figures continue to roll the dice. A people that withdraws from big politics does not thereby decide to end big politics altogether; it merely becomes a mere hand-held object of those powers that can only breathe in the air of big politics. There was no small disproportion between the degree of Ludendorff's combative effort and explosive energy here and the stature of the cause there, which he had made his own. His massive fury was aimed at dwarfing Germany. The path along which his imperious Ce- witterstorm roars inevitably ends in - idyll. Ludendorff strives towards the lack of history of a prehistorically dull, mother-legally and mother-spiritually bound state. This is a retreat into a reawakened barbarism which, like everything else

barbarism, does not make its own history, but must help to make the history of another, more "civilized" powers. The blood-and-borne, "loyal" barbarian is not a natural phenomenon, but a romantic fantasy. Where the natural blood and bloodline is dissolved, it cannot be restored by free decision; admonitions are not a sufficient incentive to renew the blood and bloodline. A man who has run with vitality may at least call out: "Become vital, the more I am": whoever does not have vitality will not make it bubble, no matter how much sweat it costs him. An "uprooted" people only has a future to the extent that it is aware of its "ability" to penetrate the whole world. There is no way back to one's roots; wanting to go back is almost proof that one feels too exhausted to dare to take the imperial flight into the wide world. You are far from being clod-bound when you are desperately digging in your clod; you are only wasting the rest of your strength that could still be invested in a historical achievement. In the end, one finds oneself on the clod into which one has dug oneself, more dependent on the "supranational" powers than ever before. One fell into their captivity all the more verbally, as one saw only one's own floe in front of one, while they overlooked the large open field and were able to set up their operations for the long term. The Frierle rleser homeland is rler Frierle rles church tower; their stability is solidification, their manual production system a museum, their farmer a creature of rles nature reserve unrl rler "barbarian", rler dwells here, has a criminal aftertaste.

The struggle against "supranational", imperial powers is merely a berserk escape to the provinces, it remains a hopeless rebellion against historical

Forces from which one retreats into the thicket because one does not feel equal to them on the open wide plain. The defiance is boundless; but the world-embracing I-forces finish off the enemy by surrounding the thicket and starving it out.

The German citizen was plunged into a crooked situation and into an ambivalence of feelings by the general German anti-imperial Ceiste movement, this "return to barbarism". He had become what he was because he had risen from the status of a "barbarian", because he did not deny the Ceiste, namely the "Jewish" Ceiste, the Ceiste of the chess player, of economic reason, the authority to tame life, nature and force it into shape. Even in the time of stress, he had been a citizen of the world, a world trader, a world debtor out of an inner urge. Now, however, he had had bad experiences. He had stumbled everywhere; his business had not prospered anywhere. Gradually he showed himself ready to join the movement against the citizen and the Ceist: he wanted to get on the nerves of the citizens of other countries, insofar as they were superior to him. He spit in his own face in order to cool his own little cap on the American, English and French citizens. He behaved as if he were a peasant or even a soldier, i.e. an "eternal barbarian": that was how he wanted to make the non-German citizen uncomfortable. Of course, he did not want to miss out on the use of his economic reason on the "inner" market for the benefit of his pocket; still in barbarian costume, he wanted to earn money from the barbarians of the same kind. For him, the conversion to blood, soil, life, nature, to "biologism" was merely the conversion to a different business iconography.

However, this was a bankruptcy policy that caused the catastrophe which it wanted to escape. Finally, if the citizen starts to paint the barbarian on the wall, he will inevitably come for him one day.

IN THE TECHNICAL ROOM

On the threshold

D* Capitalism was the machinery on which liberalism was built.
wanted to achieve. Liberalism was his "spiritual crund-

The capitalist machine had the urge to be total; it seized all the forces of existence, both natural and spiritual, and harnessed them into that very order whose center was profit. The capitalist machinery had the urge for totality; it seized all the forces of existence, natural and spiritual, and harnessed them into the very order whose center was profit; the "All" revolved around profit. The laws of motion of the capitalist machinery were the formulas of application in which the spiritual element took shape, which now began to fill the world and which is to a special degree that of the Jew: the element of economic reason. Economic reason was the spiritual womb that provided the system of meaning that modern capitalist society had to bring into play for itself. Gradually a point in time approached from which the whole of white mankind was attuned to the capitalist machinery. The machinery was the self-evident, the "natural" IJma into which the European was born; it was the inherited ground from which every individual embarked on his "journey into the blue". The mechanism was available to anyone who mastered it; even the anti-Jewish *Cegenwirkung* of Rome could make use of it. The Romans could use it to arm themselves against the Jews in order to defeat them with their "own weapons". The situation prepared itself in which the Roman was able to recruit the bastard of the eternal Jew, the citizen, against the Jew himself. The eternal Jew behaved towards the capitalist machinery as the imperial figure always behaves towards a living entity, a historical force. The imperial figure never disappears in it, neither in a nation,

nor in a group, a hatred, a culture, a level of civilization; it maintains its special reservation towards all these creations, however closely it seems to be interwoven with them, the reservation of its comprehensive interest, which ultimately preserves its independence. Every such design that enters into an alliance with an imperial figure is first used up as a tool and then finally thrown away. As soon as it becomes rigid in itself, as soon as its own path leads away from the path of the imperial figure, the latter dissolves the relationship. If it is expedient, the imperial figure is, in the very next moment, fused with the cegen- form, the cegenteiidenz, the cegen- gestalt, the cegen- force. It is incomparably elastic in that it can abandon everything at any time except itself; it seems to be without principle, while it remains faithful exclusively to its life principle with superior celassence. Any clever size which, in the course of cooperation, forgives the fact that the eternal Roman only wants to reach his particular Roman position, the eternal Jew his Jewish one, will have to feel betrayed in the end.

The capitalist machinery was born out of the ceiste of the eternal Jew; but it was only a stage on the way to the Jewish final goal. To the bourgeois, however, the Jewish final goal was nothing, the capitalist machinery everything. Towards feudalism he was a disintegrator, a revolutionary; the capitalist machinery, on the other hand, was his habitat, which he defended; here he was "conservative", "reactionary". If the Jew now wanted to further his cause, he had to undermine the bourgeois position: he moved away from his idol, the bourgeois, to a certain degree. This was the view in which the bourgeois was to be had for the Roman, in which even the bourgeois was prepared to become "anti-Semitic".

Of course, the Jew needed helpers to undermine the foundations of bourgeois society to the extent t h a t it was necessary.

was necessary to keep his secular cause flowing beyond the station of the citizen. The auxiliaries were found in the masses of the labor force.

Capitalism created a completely new type of person in the modern industrial worker. The mechanical means of production is a technical mechanism with its own rationally regulable rhythm; the worker is integrated into it as an objectively "impersonal labor force", not as a personally shaped human being; he is counted on in the same way as horsepower is counted on. This labor has its price, which is determined by supply and demand and tends to be close to the "cost of reproduction". In the context of his employment relationship, the worker is objectified, i.e. dehumanized. He has no relation to the cut he produces.

"He relates to it in an inwardly uninvolved way, just as the automatic spindle relates to the yarn it winds. Labor power is supposed to be profitable, it is supposed to give "surplus value"; it is squeezed out, like everything that gets caught up in the wheels of capitalism. The value of the worker, like the value of the machine, is based exclusively on how much profit can be made from it.

Early on, the human substance of the worker rebelled against the function that had been imposed on him; he rebelled against the abuse that economic reason was making of him. First he smashed machines to pieces in a senseless rage. Then he dreamed of the " noble entrepreneur, who was moved by the impulse of his great heart to grant the worker a position within the company that once again recognized the human claim and was in accordance with the human dignity of the worker. It was the time of "utopian socialism", in which Fourier waited daily for the millionaire who would offer his money to build the society of the future. The premise of utopian socialism was the

Hope that the capitalist citizen can get out of his skin and act as if he were not capitalist at all. The

The "noble entrepreneur belonged to the genus of the Redeemer; the worker stood to the socialist utopia as the pious Christian stands to paradise: the gates open without his intervention through the grace of the Almighty.

Faith in the noble entrepreneur evaporated; it failed because of the view of the real entrepreneurs. The worker was seized by the suspicion that he must arm himself for the struggle; his desire for struggle expressed itself even before he had come to terms with himself about the strategy and tactics of the struggle. Ceheim alliances were formed; the gloomy covenant formula of W eitlings "We workers are finally tired of working for the lazy, of suffering deprivation while others revel in abundance; we no longer want to have oppressive burdens imposed on us by the egoists, no longer want to respect laws that keep the most numerous and useful classes of people in humiliation, deprivation, contempt and ignorance in order to give a few the means to make themselves masters of these working masses. We want to become free and want all people on earth to live as freely as we do, so that no one is better and no one worse off than the other, but all share in all the burdens, labors, joys and pleasures, that is, live in community. "

Up to this point, the labor movement had been purely a movement of the poor, a slave movement with a longing for salvation; the workers felt like stunted fishermen from the Sea of Cenezareth, and the self-confident socialists were apostles who proclaimed salvation from the right faith. But now it had reached a turning point.

The worker's life situation contains elements of a very special order. In the workroom, the worker is a functional

As a figure of technical space, on the other hand, the worker stands outside the capitalist world and its economic standards of value. He becomes the conscious bearer of the technical-collective idea of order and detaches himself from the mixture with the privately organized and oriented environment. As soon as the working class understands itself in this way, capitalist society is put to a test of power in which it is a question of its being or nothingness.

Marx led the nineteenth-century worker to an understanding of himself; he filled him with the self-awareness of being the most advanced and revolutionary type of human being. He was the interpreter of what the worker at that time had only felt darkly and instinctively. " Giving the raw need the creative word, taking on the role of the church fathers, as it were, he opened the door of history to the worker.

Marx is critically superior to the bourgeois situation; but in terms of his being, he is its child. If he detaches himself from it, he can only do so by giving its crund concepts a differently shaded meaning - he remains faithful to the crund concepts themselves. He uses the language of the bourgeois era: thus his prophecy appears as a new system of national economics. The revolutionary book, which argues against capitalism and for the new value and world order, is entitled: "Das Ikapital. " The fundamental moods and fundamental assessments of the bourgeois situation still hold Marx under their spell: he sees the end of the bourgeois era as an event that will make him "happier", even as he looks at it with the optimism of the bourgeois. The proletarian is certainly a rebel against the bourgeois order; but he sees it with bourgeois eyes as a prey from which he too would like to snatch his piece: the proletarian tells the bourgeois to stand up so that he can sit down. Only mutedly does it sound that the proletarian

is actually a completely new type of human being who needs his own completely unique landscape of life, and that the proletariat only has a chance because the bourgeois situation is too fragile for the proletarian to become a "citizen". Under the bourgeois perspective, which still captures even Marx's gaze, the proletarian becomes an obstructed citizen; even if the proletarian lets himself feel that he is basically more, he lacks the right means of expression to express the special nature of his own kind.

28.

Through Marx, the worker was drawn into the atmosphere of Jewish spirituality: the "I(apital" of Marx exercised a function related to the function that was peculiar to the Bible. The Bible became a "book of life"; it detached man from the soil of his origins and moved him through its word, which nevertheless always remains an I(oncentration of Jewish essence. Those who live according to the "Holy Scriptures" do not live according to their innate originality, but according to Jewish rules. For the worker, the "I(apital" became Holy Scripture; decisive impulses for his actions and deeds flowed from Marx's work, not directly from his situation and his biological basis.

According to the Marxist view of history, the overcoming of the capitalist social order takes place according to a strict lawfulness inherent in it. In the Marxist school, the worker became as faithful to the law as only a Jew, who has infinite time to wait for the lawful end of things, can be. This belief in the law made him fatalistic; it paralyzed him from taking energetic spontaneous initiative for revolutionary action. Marx showed the worker the land of redemption; but by showing him

to take it by storm, it was ensured that the worker would not harm any Jewish interests.

Marx had led the worker to the threshold of the world of order, which is his own; the worker did not forget how deeply indebted he was to Marx for this. Since then, every Jew could speculate on the trust that Marx enjoyed to such an unlimited extent among the workers. Along with Christ and Spinoza, Marx is one of the great creators of the enormous Jewish credit from which the eternal Jew has been able to draw for centuries.

In Karl Marx, the Jewish feeling for the world lived in an extraordinary strength and in a purity that ultimately maintained its full independence even from the well-rehearsed mechanism of economic rationality. This feeling for the world attained such an extraordinary level of sovereignty in him that it was even able to set itself apart critically from the economic forms of self-realization to which it had hitherto been bound. Within his particular time, Karl Marx came to understand the dubiousness of economic forms of life. He had such a free overview that he was the first to recognize the emergence of the original technical world tendency and at the same time grasped the extent to which the Jewish cause would have to be exposed before it if it did not loosen its relationship to economic rationality in time. From his high position, he saw through the inevitability of the technical world trend and at the same time the special world feeling that emerged here with a new imperial claim. He made the bold attempt to convince this new imperial claim that it was in no way opposed to the Jewish imperial urge to exploit the world; if a Jew was the first to correctly understand the signs of technical rationality, the latter had no reason to indulge in anti-Jewish mistrust. Marx hoped to provide the Jew with the authority to be the trustee and

To become the interpreter of the technical world trend by giving voice to its dark imperial impulse.

Of course, in order to dispel the last suspicion of the technical-imperial world feeling against the Jew, Marx performed a dialectical masterpiece that seemed to dissolve the Jew into nothingness. Marx, who felt more deeply than anyone else how the Jewish imperial cause continues to exist for itself beyond economic mechanism, equated the Jew with the haggler; insofar as the technical organization of the world eradicates the haggler, it makes the Jew disappear. The Jew who no longer chesses is no longer a Jew: the technical world trend should demand itself in the nets of this logic. The Jewish cause wanted to sew through its superiority to the imperial will to rule of the technical world feeling by sneaking into its confidence a Jewish existence that was to a certain extent anti-Jewish. The Marxian paradox was: the burden of the Jew through the scandal of the chess player, against whom the immediate tip of the technical world order principle turned in the contemporary confrontation, was to be wiped away by letting the Jew disappear from the scene at the moment when the last hour for the chess player had struck; in this way, however, the Jewish cause was to be saved into the empire of the technical ratio. By organizing funeral ceremonies for himself at the grave of the chess player, the eternal Jew wanted to seize the right to be master and leader in the realm of the machine.

It is in this sense that one must understand the highly curious explanations written by Karl Marx in the second of the two essays on "The Jewish Question". "We explain," it says, "the capacity of the Jew not only from his religion, but rather from the human basis of his religion, the practical need, egoism" ...

" As soon as society succeeds in abolishing the empirical essence of Judaism, the haggler and his presuppositions, the Jew has become impossible, because his consciousness no longer has any meaning, because the subjective basis of Judaism, the practical need, is humanized, because the iconic conflict of individual-sensual existence with the categorical existence of man is abolished. The social emancipation of the Jew is the emancipation of society from Judaism. "

Marx assumes that the Jew as a historical being with his particular spiritual and volitional physiognomy would be extinguished if the haggler were eradicated with the overthrow of the capitalist order. However, the Jew was already there long before the capitalist order; he reaches deeper than the capitalist order and has been tested in outlasting the "restricted" chessman. If chess is the empirical essence of the Jew, then it is biologically founded; in the biological substance, to whose careful cultivation the Jewish religion of law is tailored, it has its inalienable, blood-like, regenerative foundation. The Jewish urge for self-assertion is nourished by the biological source; if it wants to live itself out excellently in chess, it does not dry up for a long time when the narrowest limits are placed on chess. The empirical Jewish being, the chess player, can encapsulate itself as a "disposition" and conserve itself for centuries. It is the intensity of the self-assertive urge of his being that elevates the Jew to the rank of an imperial figure and forms him into the figure of the "eternal Jew". If the chessman were completely stifled, the Jew would still live on as the will and willingness to chess, lurking for a turn of events.

By foreshortening the image of the Jew, Marx misled about its importance; he trivialized and belittled the Jew. Through his life's work, Marx seemed to prove the existence of a be-

Jewish point of view; but how this very work was able to convince the mutinous worker, with dialectic worthy of proof, that the Jew was his most reliable guide into the anti-economic and extra-economic, the "socialist" world of order, it confirmed all the more grandiosely the vigilant omnipresence of that Jewish point of view.

Marx was all the more successful because the German worker did not biologically fall out of the structural scheme of German collective existence: he was indeed an opponent of the feudal capitalist master class, but he was only an opposing subject. For decades he chafed against the Prussian three-class suffrage; but it was not his militant merit that it finally fell. He was not the instrument of a revolutionary will to power, which challenged the feudal-capitalist ruling class for the possession of power by the authorities, but merely the mouthpiece of a dissatisfied subject sentiment, which could be satisfied at any time through tips and a little more

"Leutseligkeit von oben" could be mitigated. "Our party must learn," wrote Rosa Luxemburg in 1913, "to bring mass actions into flow in appropriate situations and to lead them. The fact that it does not yet understand this, that its previous standard of leadership fails at important moments, is exemplified by the action in the Prussian suffrage struggle, which was broken off in the middle and thanks to which we are just as far along today as we were at this time three years ago, despite all the consolations. The same incapacity is also shown by current changes in our ranks, who want to go out on 'the mass strike' like a military parade, who want to apply to great historical mass struggles the same advice of discipline, leadership, responsibility, foresight and restraint that has proved so successful in elections to the court of appeal, elections to the city council and elections to the Reichstag." Eduard Meyer once reported that

Chichcrin had remarked to him: "The German worker loves order and the law. If he is ordered to storm a station, he will first make sure he has a valid platform ticket." When in 1932 a Reichswehr captain called on the Prussian Interior Minister Severing to vacate his office, he obediently resigned. The German Social Democrats and the German trade unions surrendered their social, economic and political positions of power without a fight when they had been given the authority to do so; the obedience of the subjects was in their blood, even though they had risen to the commanding heights of the authorities in the meantime. Whoever has been shaped as a subject will not lose his inner insecurity if the power of authority suddenly falls into his lap; he will remain convinced that he is only the temporary placeholder of the real and only authorized authority and will immediately give way as soon as he hears a knocking at the gates.

There was no lack of Jews who legitimized themselves before the working class through Marx so as not to have to fear that they would be looked at too closely. They were the guardians whose job it was to legitimize the revolutionary worker's escape from the enclosure of economic reason: they had to interpret the concept of "socialism" correctly. They were not on a par with Icarl Marx: they still feared that they would have to leave the realm of economic things, while Marx was already worried about making room for the Jew in the realm of the technical empire. Socialism could only be understood as intra-capitalist profit competition and intra-political quota haggling: as a struggle for higher wages and more money. It should only be a process of intra-capitalist shifts of weight that could cause citizens to waver, but by no means a dethronement of economic reason. Under no circumstances

9 imp. fig.

The worker was supposed to understand his Marx as if socialism were the technical planning of the world, through which the economic points of view were rendered irrelevant. These Jewish interpreters accepted that the worker, for whom socialism exhausted itself in wage movements, works councils, trade unions, consumer cooperatives and parliamentary seats within the framework of the capitalist order, necessarily had to become a mere buffoon of the revolution.

In Germany, it was Eduard Bernstein, in the protective coloration of the Marxist revolutionary, who made a broad breach in the German workers' movement against the eternal Jew and his economic reason. His "Preconditions of Socialism" was a book that brought the hate fighters to their senses,

i.e. he wanted to bring people into the business. The socialism to which he wanted to persuade was not a change of world, but a tip. His wisdom that the movement was everything and the final goal "nothing" was a cynicism that whispered to the believing worker not to take the socialist cause too seriously or even sacredly; if this cause was "nothing" as a final goal, it was devalued and not worth the highest effort that the worker was prepared to give. This was a subtle way of breaking the momentum of the attack that could have swept away the capitalist order and laid hands on the technically planned construction of existence. Socialism ceased to be a "heroic" opportunity; it became a method of business negotiation between employer syndicates and union secretaries; the capitalist system of rule was the recognized basis of the negotiations, which was not questioned by either side.

The trade union movement and social democracy dogmatized the bourgeois self-conceptions of Marxism; they gave up a vocation in order to bring shares to safety. Therefore, they entered the inventory of bourgeois

The world is afflicted by emaciation; what is of a physical nature is consumed, what is of a spiritual nature is diluted from its juicy bushiness into a pale, shadowy abstractness. The abundance in which one swam in the transitional times came from overexploitation and was only a preliminary stage of later scarcity and imminent paucity. The world becomes colorless: it cultivates the same fashion, the same public opinion is formed everywhere, the big cities everywhere wear the same cc- view. The Ceist, who reduces the here and now to ever simpler crund-formulas, becomes rootless: by reducing it to a few clear-cut laws, he tears its materiality to shreds; by dissolving the world beyond into brain products, into a blue haze, he destroys the bonds that had imposed on him and prescribed immovable paths. He becomes self-glorious, lives exclusively out of his own crunde and gradually falls from the flesh: he becomes "intllcktualistic". On the "ground of faith" he had had something "solid" under his feet; knowledge, on the other hand, is no ground on which he could stand and walk. It is like an infinite wave movement that runs in all dimensions, comes to rest nowhere, finds no limits anywhere, is exposed to a new question at every point, through which it is pushed on and pushed further.

By conquering the world, the nature of human domination If materiality is subjugated to this world, if this world becomes total, then in the end it only exists in two forms: either as iconic structural material for the apparatus, through which the effect is just barely produced, to provisionally sustain existence, or as ash, exhaust, slag, rubble. What is not yet slag is either machine or operating material, and since the material resources are becoming increasingly "scarce", the effect must be produced with ever more economical overall expenditure.

the eternal Jew repelled the rule of private capitalist-economic reason from all sides; even as he appeared to be its mortal enemy, he deflected the devastating blow that could have dealt it the Caraus.

When the national fabric of German capitalism had to be defended with arms in 1914, the reformist worker did not hesitate for a moment to do so. Bernstein's suggestions had long since convinced him that he "belonged to it". However, since the German form of capitalism was still deeply intertwined with the remnants of feudal society, a German victory contradicted the needs of the Jewish location. At this moment, the "reformist" Bernstein unveiled himself as the guardian of the "eternal Jew": he abandoned the reformist worker who, under the influence of reformist doctrine, had decided to defend the fatherland. The "real political reformist" of the past immediately became a "foreign pacifist" when the "advanced" capitalist powers of the West could be helped in the guise of the German pacifist.

The naked existence

D he end of the Middle Ages began with the advance into the unknown. A powerful impulse gripped mankind to shed light on the dark and discover what was hidden. Columbus and Copernicus were conquerors whose fur' broke new ground, as Cutenberg and Parac elsus were.

This advance received its irresistible impetus from the fact that the Ceist had been seized by a passionate impatience to see how far he could get if he stood on his own two feet and no longer blindly trusted the guidance of the "overworld". He was set against the long accustomed guidance of the

In memorable cases, he already dared open rebellion. There were many intermediate stages of the "emancipation of the spirit": from the cautious and critical distancing from supernatural authority to the boldest determination of "reason turned away from God". Luther, German idealism, English positivism, French rationalism are stages on the way to the "secularization" of the occidental spirit.

The world is explored in all dimensions; the here and now is increasingly gaining sovereignty; the space in which one can still talk about possible influences from the hereafter is becoming ever more limited. The question arises as to where Cott should actually live now; there is no more room for him. Every step by which the unraveling of this world is taken further is at the expense of the hereafter: this world is wrested from the hereafter. One needs the hereafter less and less to understand the hereafter; however, every case that can be clarified without the help of the hereafter has outgrown the jurisdiction of the hereafter.

One takes possession of the world, of this world, as one takes possession of prey; Cortez and Pizarro are the purest embodiments of the "spirit of their time". By grasping and comprehending the world, one exhausts it: one takes from "wonderlands" their cold, their diamonds, their mineral resources and from the cosmos its strangely exciting relationship to the human mind. America, the "land of unlimited possibilities", is today a social body whipped by the same hardships that afflict Europe, and the starry sky above us has lost the supernatural power of proof that it still possessed for skin. The more one becomes master of the world, the narrower and poorer it becomes; the globe that an airplane circles in a few days no longer has any "spatial expanse". What one has decided to do becomes

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There is an inner and factually necessary relationship between the world view of a time and its social and political constitutional state; both are coordinated with each other, belong to each other. They show the extent to which the world has become man's means: whether it still lies before him unmastered, whether he is in the process of appropriating it, whether he has already come to terms with it. Where the world is the reflection of a super-world, the creation of Cotte, the social and political constitutional state is strictly hierarchical; if it is not purely thocratic, it is feudal with a theocratic touch. The lordly class is unapproachable, almost like Cott; it is the sole administrator of leading, directing, authoritative wisdom; it is the actual owner of land, cut and life, from which one takes one's own only as a fief; it is set in Cott's place, by Cott's cnades. Cott has allotted to each his mark of food, rights, liberties; one enjoys them, administers them, preserves them for the heirs. The desire for what does not belong to you is a criminal sin, blasphemous arrogance.

The social and political function, the social and political rank are linked to land ownership. The land is what is bound and what binds, what is given and what is given, what is limited and what limits, what rests in itself and what is granted, what is hidden and what is salvaged, it is refuge and home, it is the mysterious womb from which the miracle of growth emerges again and again, it is the treasure chamber from which Cott himself and directly donates his inexhaustible bounty.

The order of life derives its valid force from tradition, custom, habit and custom; this origin and its age testify to the divine and therefore sanctifying approval.

World discovery, world penetration, world conquest and world exploration are a matter for the bourgeois age; the "bourgeoisification" of the world is progressing to the same extent,

in which man takes possession of the world and "mobilizes" this possession. The world ceases to be a reserve of substance; it is "distributed; whatever can be extracted is extracted from it. The world is supposed to be profitable; it is being "economized"; it is the great, all-encompassing economic reservoir. The economic point of view becomes the highest and most decisive of all points of view; life becomes an economic enterprise, and the methods differ only according to whether they are successful or unsuccessful. The world is the capital from which benefits are drawn. One must have clear knowledge of its composition, its utilization possibilities; it must be broken down into figures that can be "booked". It must become "calculable" in every respect: it must be possible to put a value on it. By seeing the world only as a reservoir of capital waiting to be exploited economically, man becomes a citizen and is a citizen. The forest becomes a forest and the tree becomes a sum of solid meters.

The tradition is not only obscure, but because it is based on The traditional is a shackle that prevents bourgeois existence from developing fully and freely. People therefore chafe against tradition, rebel against it, perceive it as a power that is hostile to life, until they get rid of it. The order of existence falls into a deep crisis; it has to balance two contradictory principles within itself. Man wants to free himself from all ties that prevent him from being a ruthlessly grasping conqueror in natural and spiritual landscapes; he no longer wants to be denied by the state the freedom to think as freely as he wants to think in the "free economy". This is the expression of an anarchic tendency. On the other hand, the ties that are necessary to give the "free economist" support are maintained,

which he needs to secure, to "legalize" his prey. The secret meaning of this legal system is, last but not least, that the conqueror, the "private initiatives", has a free hand to do absolutely everything, whereas the self-defense will and the self-defense measures of the object of the conquest, the victim, the socially and economically weak, become the epitome of crime. This is an authoritarian cynicism that must one day reap a storm because it has sown the wind. It has so little genuine and true pathos of order that it cannot escape the fate of being a mere follower of the anarchic tendency.

The civil age is a transition: the time must come when there is nothing left to be discovered, conquered, captured or explored. One may realize the dangerous end to which one has now come when one remembers that the expeditions that are now being equipped no longer want to "seek sea routes to India, but must be content with barren, dead ice deserts and glaciated Himalayan peaks. Romanticism has retreated to the North and South Poles and is truly a very old romanticism; one freezes one's hands and for'e in the process. The dream of wading in inexhaustible riches and glories melts away, and man realizes with horror that all his capital is wasted, that he has nothing more to add, and that all that remains for him is to be prudent and prudent with the last remnants. However, the days of the citizen are over and a new era begins.

The conquest of the world proceeds in stages: it strives towards a climax at which man does indeed seem to stand before unlimited possibilities. The small citizen evolves into a bourgeois who spends his business all over the world. Optimism is boundless; every

Every step you take is "sensational" and makes you familiar with what has "never been there before". By lifting veil after veil, by "opening up" district after district, the number of mysteries and secrets, of "dark spaces" becomes smaller and smaller. Although this bourgeois age soon realizes that its progress is based precisely on "expropriating" Cott, on taking the control of this world entirely under its own human direction, it does not yet liquidate religion for good as long as it has not run its course to the final goal; on Sunday, the day on which business is at rest, Cott is paid one last respect. The poor people still need him to understand and bear their personal misfortune. That is, after all, a function to which even the most successful citizen still earn and willingly tips his hat.

Is religion in the bourgeois age a diluted regression?

which is not poured away because it is convenient to

If those who have "gotten off on the wrong foot" can be fobbed off with this, metaphysics becomes the interpretation of the world with which the citizen wants to remain equal to his or her deeds. Philosophy breaks with the practice of explaining this world from the hereafter. As long as the state of things does not yet allow us to regard the hereafter as written off, we try to come to terms with it by illuminating it from this world. One sets out to be able to open a gate to the Supermundane World from the world; however, if one no longer respects the fundamental inaccessibility of the Supermundane World, then it is already degraded to a mere as yet unexplored corner of the world. In the end, the overworld, the hereafter, Cott, is indeed tacitly dropped under the table: infinite is outer space, this world; the overworld is merely the stubborn narrow-mindedness of "dark men". The possibility of a metaphysics of a great independent style also dies. Philosophy becomes epistemology, psy-

chology, soul analysis, biologism, vitalism. The world is interpreted from the world itself. Instead of a view of the world, philosophy strives for a knowledge of the world; it no longer immerses itself in the secrets of the world, but digests its facts; it e x c h a n g e s the language of sensuous symbols for the language of the most abstract concepts and simplified formulas.

Ibsen's Nora was once suspected of being a modern woman: in reality she was a wench with the most old-fashioned needs. Her husband: that was the bourgeois who stood firmly and exclusively in this world, who had traveled the circumference of the world and brought it home in his pocket, so to speak, who knew that the time for anything other than economic speculation was finally over. But in Nora, who thirsted for the "miracle", medieval atavisms came to the fore. She was not ahead of her husband, she had lagged behind him; the road on which she escaped her husband was lost in the "forest of the past"; she did not open up a new contemporary living space. The bourgeois public, which was bitterly opposed to Nora, felt darkly that this female rebellion, which did not want to keep pace with her husband, threatened to cheat them of their celebrated progress.

30.

For medieval man, the world is a mystery; it presents him with unsolvable riddles at every turn. Since he has not discovered its innate laws, it is unpredictable for him; he knows nothing of the inevitabilities that are inherent in it and that will unfold with certainty. Therefore, the events he encounters are inexplicable in a natural way; they are always somehow "wonderful". His life is a journey through adventures and wonders; it can always "change slightly before nightfall".

it was early in the morning". He never has the world in his hands; he always has to blindly take his chances and find his way through its surprises.

But people want certainty; they want a common thread that they can see shining through the events; they want "a sense of existence". He creates a view of the world that brings meaning to the Canze. There is an authority that sends and directs everything that goes on; not a hair falls from the head without "our Father in heaven does it because". This authority foresees every eventuality; it is "providence" par excellence. It is called "Cott". Cott is the solution to all riddles and the key to all secrets. He answers the question: where from? he is the "creator" - and the question: where to? he is the "destination". He may be dark and inscrutable in himself, but if you disregard this, he spreads light over everything. The darkness and inscrutability of the world is shifted back into him; in return, of course, one sees the world clearly. If one discovers the "finger of Cotte" everywhere, then one has gained a secure position in relation to the world; above every life there is a "finger of Cotte".

"higher providence"; there is no room for meaningless suddenness. You only come to Cott freely by believing him; you have to believe him in order to have him. Cott is the meaning of the world; the act of believing is the act of creating meaning.

With Cott, one is "beyond" the world; one is in the realm of the "supernatural". The fact that the "beyond" and the "supernatural" are veiled and opaque is not distressing; since one is not actually at home there, one can resign oneself to not knowing about it. Even if the inscrutability remains the characteristic of the "beyond", we are grateful if it helps us to understand the world in which we are inextricably placed. The pressure of the riddle of the world is released the moment it has been transformed into a riddle of the hereafter. Religion is, to a certain extent, technology,

The priests and theologians are the technicians who operate the levers of the supernatural in order to regulate nature from there.

The image that understands the world from the standpoint of a superworld is a speculation; the experiences are interpreted in such a way that they fit meaningfully into an overall order. The *cesamt-ordnuig* is the object of an inner vision; it is a matter of inwardness, it is an "idea". The accent of the actual and higher reality rests on the inner vision and the idea; it is from the inner vision and the idea that the natural things first acquire their "face", indeed their "weight of reality". One has no direct relationship to naked existence; one experiences it in the decorative coloring of the inner vision and sees it only in the illusion-spreading light of the idea one has of it.

The "inner richness" consists in the fact that speculation is not limited by natural things; one can always "drill deeper", i.e. place these things under points of view in which they and their own weight are less and less important. The "inner richness" is the reflection of an "outer" richness, the treasures of which form the contents of the world, insofar as these are not yet understood out of their own item. The as yet incomprehensible world is a reserve of substance on which humanity sits and from which it can nourish itself in every respect.

Here, the *Cei st* is completely under the spell of the overworld; he perceives himself as its emanation. He scans the world in order to interpret it in the sense of the Supermundane. He does not feel that he belongs to the world; he takes the side of the Supermundane World against the world. The *Ceist*, who has the cause of the world at heart, is considered outrageous and devilish; he is ostracized and cursed.

The true reality, the higher and purer being, was once considered to be the beyond, the supernatural, the overworld, the "idea", Cott. The more the cone of rays of human consciousness illuminated the dark realms of existence, the more the Supermundane World lost ground; the more seamlessly this world sealed itself off within itself, the more completely the suggestion of reality of the beyond dissipated. The idea lost its weight of reality; it was no longer the image of a deeper, stronger otherworldly being, but evaporated into a mere imagination triggered by causes in this world. While it is already practically ignored, it is still presented as if it were taken seriously: it becomes an "ideology", a "cant", a beautiful appearance. With the help of "ideology" one no longer arrives at any understanding of the world, any interpretation of the world; what the world is, it is by itself, what it means, it means through itself. Thus one encounters naked existence directly, and only this indirect naked existence is still of interest. The idea and everything that lies beyond is seen through as false coloration and a misleading illumination effect; the true nature of this naked existence is only to be concealed and "glossed over".

Only then does one directly encounter naked existence, when all the traps, behind which it was hidden and buried, are gone; it is the last bet. When there is nothing else left for "enlightenment", existence is illuminated.

In the circle of an age, a few men first encountered naked existence from different points: Kierkegaard, Marx, Nietzsche. The Danish Hegel, like Marx, whose contemporary he was, had to deal with Hegel. Hegel had still let the world be governed by the world spirit; Kierkegaard was no longer capable of this "idealism"; he felt that it was entirely due to its existential reasons for being.

that no one, not even an "immanent" is ever responsible for it.

Of course, Kierkegaard does not yet go beyond the framework of the bourgeois era; he only steps to its outermost edge. The delivered Christianity as a power from beyond is dead; it has become a purgatory. The next existence is now to incorporate directly into itself, as an essential attitude, what had previously remained a demand from "above". The Christian is to shift to this side, after the hereafter has dissolved into nothingness; the Christian is to become the existential Christian and the existence is to become the Christian existence.

This is the rescue and restoration attempt of a radical spirit. One would not have arrived at immediate existence if all ideas had not lost their price; they had once formed the magnificent and rich façade of representation, behind which the naked existence had remained in a state of fleeing; they had constituted the richness of existence. Kierkegaard wanted to revalue these ideas from the point of view of existence; existence, which itself has nothing but its nakedness, was to help the ideas back on their feet by at least showing off their nakedness in "the emperor's new clothes".

In this respect, later existential philosophy learned from Kierkegaard's existential theology; it combined its "existenzhellung" with restorative manipulations. The bourgeois values of order were to be snatched from bankruptcy by discovering them as natural and fated components of bare existence.

32.

Kierkegaard saw through the process of the self-dissolution of the bourgeois order in its spiritual background - or, if you like: spiritual reflections; Marx saw this process as a process of self-dissolution.

Nietzsche revealed a few decades later the questionability of the value structure of the bourgeois world. To the extent that morality is always more practical than pure knowledge, Nietzsche had moved beyond Kierkegaard and approached Karl Marx's tangible view of reality.

Kierkegaard is already facing bankruptcy: his way of life. For him, "being a Christian" is a darkly mystical epitome of a still bourgeois mode of existence, which is supposed to be the last resort for the bourgeois bankrupt. Nietzsche escapes from bourgeois bankruptcy into an unspoiled biological "hinterland"; here he finds the heartland of a new world that rises above bourgeois chaos. Kierkegaard's Christianity and Nietzsche's biologism are, however, only reorganization proposals that are made because, although one is facing bankruptcy, one does not want to liquidate in full; they are conversion, rebooking and write-off programs that are intended to allow the old bourgeois company to continue to exist essentially untouched under a changed alias.

Kierkegaard and Nietzsche observe the bankruptcy and govern it. Marx, however, uncovers it and wants it. Kierkegaard and Nietzsche are the auditors who draw up the bankruptcy balance sheet and calculate the deficit; Marx is the merciless creditor who relentlessly wants to put an end to it and, out of his knowledge of the matter, plans the most expedient measures to wipe the bankrupt company off the face of the earth. Kierkegaard and Nietzsche still leave back doors open; Marx slams all back doors shut. Kierkegaard and Nietzsche are honest accountants who eat their physical and intellectual bread from the same bourgeois society whose rotten foundations they expose; Marx is the plenipotentiary and trustee of a coming order; he has to be without any resistance to the ruins, because what is becoming needs a completely free field.

Spengler is in the line of Kierkegaard and Nietzsche; what is new about him is only the decisive, last-doubt-destroying pressure with which he proclaims the downfall once again. But he is vengeful against those who place their hopes in this bourgeois downfall; that is why he is angry with Karl Marx, for whom the catastrophe that Spengler still finds painful today had already lost its horrors half a century earlier.

The great poet who covers the space from Kierkegaard to Spengler is Hamlet. He tells how the bourgeois becomes great by eating up his hinterland, how he squanders the reserves on which he feeds himself, how his existence becomes ever more contradictory, airy and impostor-like, how his works finally go up in flames and how the senseless investment of capital, on which he has finally fallen in his helplessness, grinds him into the abyss.

Ernst Jünger stands between Spengler and Karl Marx. The downfall, to which Spengler dedicated two thick volumes, is hardly worth mentioning for him. He is captivated by the new power that is rising; he has a concept of the inevitability and impregnability with which it is advancing, he is on the trail of the same reality that Karl Marx was the first to witness and which has since become part of everyday life in Germany. Admittedly, he does not take the side of this encroaching power as a fighter; he does not rush into the arena with a sword. He perceives it as a fate that is inexorably approaching, as a demon that occupies all positions. The movements of the working classes in the various countries, their victorious breakthrough in Germany, the undermining of the bourgeois order by other kinds of I-L forces and tendencies are only the manifestations of this demon. The demon is the "form of the worker". The living worker is in himself completely uninteresting; he only falls under this gestalt,

¹⁰ imp. Fit,

insofar as he is a tool of the "demon". The "figure of the worker" sits in the world, belongs to it, works from it and through it. Its peculiarity is: to be an intensely real thing, both inwardly and in this world, which has all the strings in its hand. It is the moving Ikraft, the dynamic element, metaphysical, but without a fictitiously sovereign otherworldliness. It is a Platonic archetype; all empirical embodiments are only its shadow images.

With icy coldness, Jünger registers the victories of the new world of order; however, he does not hoist any flags or light any bonfires of joy. The victor leaves him as cool as the vanquished. He has advanced to the extreme point to which one can reach from Ikerkegaard via Nietzsche and Spengler: the next step already leads across the border, beyond which the constellations of other iconic continents dominate the firmament.

The technical ratio

If one knows too much about the matter, if one knows it, one can no longer speculate about it carelessly in every direction; there is one, perhaps a second possible view of it; the knowledge one has of it prescribes fixed paths for interpretation. Faith, whose objects are the interpretations, becomes a delusion when he commits himself to an interpretation that does not really resonate with the knowledge of the matter. But as soon as the claube has to adjust to the fact that knowledge prescribes and controls which interpretations he is allowed to engage with, his unbroken power is gone; he is no longer a real claube. It becomes a stopgap that is allowed to pass where knowledge has not yet occupied the entire space.

Philosophical idealism was once again based on the idea of

The idea was to move the mass of reality through the power of the idea. The feeling was never lost, as if it were a mighty convulsion; the idea was given credit, even though there was no secret doubt that it was only engaged in fraudulent business.

Karl Marx revealed the bankruptcy of the idea; this stamped German philosophical idealism as an enterprise working with fake gold. Marx unmasked the idea: that it was not a "real thing" but a figment of the imagination. We know the famous sentence from the preface to "Political Economy":

"It is not people's consciousness that determines their being, but their social being that determines their consciousness. " The contents of consciousness, the concepts of value and religious notions, all ideas were dismissed at a stroke as mere "reflections" of being; these former "immeasurable treasures of inwardness" had become soap bubbles, had become foam. The world, which until then had stood "on its head", had been placed "on its feet". This was not materialism, but existentialism. Marx was already drawing a bankruptcy balance sheet from existence when no one else had yet noticed how rotten bourgeois things were: a half century after his death, the bourgeois intelligentsia had not caught up with him and continued to be indignant where it understood nothing.

While the bourgeois age was still at its peak, Marx sensed that this great movement of world consumption was coming to an end; an end was just around the corner; the bourgeois was at the end of his tether when there was no more booty to be made. Mankind had to rationalize and organize its bare existence, to which it was thrown back more and more from year to year. This task could only be tackled properly if existence was directly before our eyes and not viewed through the distorting and coloring glasses of ideas. The

Man was once regarded as the image of Cotte, the world as the poor embodiment of the divine idea, the Idea: so unexploited and boundlessly rich was the stock of the total existence at that time that man and the world only needed to be understood as second-rate treasures, as imitations, so to speak. Now, however, the naked and immediate being of man and the world had become the only capital; the idea was at best the last meager interest that this capital yielded. Since Feuerbach interpreted Cott as the image of man, it was already apparent that human existence would collect the outstanding debts that it had previously invested in religion. Marx went even further: he summarily terminated all the funds from which idealism of any kind had hitherto drawn its sustenance.

For Marx, there is no more ground for change than that of immediate existence; from its innate presuppositions alone he explains the course of things; consciousness is only mirrored being. Of course, the being that he exposes is social being: the sum of the "material productive forces of society" and the "relations of production", i.e. in legal terms, the "relations of property". For him, the whole of being is exhausted in this social being. He analyzes the bourgeois-capitalist social order and has no doubt that he encounters all elements of being in the process. This order fails, not because it is "bad" or "diabolical", but because it is objectively contradictory in itself. It must waste for reasons of principle, even if there is nothing left to waste. Its fateful line is the curve of the rate of profit; in the rate of profit it shows to what extent it has achieved the purpose for which it is essentially designed. Marx saw through all the changes that it must get into crises and catastrophes because it cannot let go of its pursuit of the rate of profit. The rate of profit

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is not just a national economic concept; it is the symbol for the tendency towards the destruction of substance and overexploitation, which gives the bourgeois order its actual and characteristic character.

The new continent of reality shimmers through Marx's bourgeoisly squinting conceptual language as if through a veil. It is precisely in the fact that the content of consciousness is understood as an airy superstructure above the solid immediate being that a will to a closer and more realistic organization of being is announced. If the idea content that fills consciousness is only a superstructure, then it is ornamental, a façade, then it is not essential, then it is no longer worth worrying about it. It is no coincidence that the Cottlose movement is linked to Marxism: one continues to bruise being and one loosens one's relationship to reality if one still attaches time and energy to the superworld, the supernature, which are not entitled to an existence of their own from and through themselves.

At the end of the bourgeois age, man is bound to the He had reached the "limits of the world"; while he measured it by storm and "skimmed off the cream", he made use of it as if it were inexhaustible. He had used and exposed himself in the process; he wore himself out in the hope of being able to rejuvenate himself again and again out of incomprehensible causes.

The Ilise and Icatastrophe of bourgeois-capitalist society consists in the fact that, in principle, it can go no further; the supplies it needs to be what it is have been exhausted. Humanity is writhing under the pressing necessity of having to arrange itself differently. The instinct of self-preservation drives it to a celestial level against which its habitat desperately resists. The compulsion to which she is subject is the "Fate", which she cannot escape, is the epitome of the Cesetz

It is the kind of humanity that works in the things themselves. It constricts: it has a tendency to curb private initiative. The "private initiative" once operated from the full; it must have something in front of it if it is to unfold. Insofar as it stands before the empty, its "productivity" is at an end; the effect of its activity is then a deficit that no power in the world can cover, that rubs a gap that can never be closed. Good times are d a w n i n g for impostors and swindlers of all kinds. The change of circumstances is betrayed by the fact that "private initiatives" are becoming ill- cognized; they themselves have the feeling that they are destroying irreplaceable stocks, which are the last nest egg of mankind: they suspect that they are in truth an "outrage" against humanity.

The right of private ownership expires because irreplaceable assets require the most careful care. Precise calculations must be made; one can no longer afford to leave anything hanging in private hands. The inventory is unavoidable. Then comes the plan that provides for the most economical consumption, the most appropriate use, the greatest effect with the least resources. Nobody goes out on their own anymore: there are no more celds for free hunting. You are allocated what you need, depending on the performance that makes up for your ration.

This organization of existence, which must be all-encompassing so that nothing is lost, is the most rational form of managing existence. It is the true item of what recommends itself as socialism. Socialism is a statement of life in the face of a need for life; it is a bastion to which everyone who has really grasped the state of human existence retreats. It takes hold where the last abundance is gone. Where there is still abundance, socialism is only a phantom, it is not necessary at all. It is not a bringer of happiness;

he screws private life down to that foot where it can no longer waste the "iron portions" which general life must resort to if it still wants to advance. The enthusiasm of his first followers was but one of those bills of exchange on clück which the Cangu of Things always exhibited when he had to bribe the masses to cut themselves in their own flesh, and which he never redeemed later. People always enthusiastically reached for the bitter cup that nothing could spare them; they shouted hallelujah whenever the inevitable cast its first shadows. Enthusiasm is like a fire, in whose gilded glow every thing is immersed, which soberly and by day "would not lure a dog out from behind the stove".

The new order of existence is designed for maximum efficiency. It should produce the greatest yield with the lowest input of power and energy. Pure objective necessity is its supreme functional law. It unwinds as if on a conveyor belt; it is an immense, standardized machine drive. Wheel engages in wheel; there is no room for free will, for "letting go", for adventures of personal arbitrariness. The spheres of life are coordinated with one another and formally arranged in an order of priority according to the principle of vertical concentration; the cheapest, most economical, most homogeneous and most economical form of maintaining life with human substance is the "business purpose". The standardization of the style of existence lies in the course of things. Abundance would overburden the overall balance. Technology becomes total; existence is a technical apparatus. Within the bourgeois order, technology was an instrument used to achieve economic ends. In the meantime, it has become obvious that the economic purpose thwarts technical rationality: so that, in the endless revolution

In order to earn a high price, no cut must be equipped with the high quality that can already be achieved in practice. It is well known that the electrical industry deliberately produces poor quality light bulbs. Substance is squandered in order to be able to buy pro- fit. The technology is giving up on the economic purpose; the economic purpose no longer applies. One realizes that it contradicts the technical rationale: it is immediately ineffective, remote, backwoods. The best machine does not produce profit, but only the cleanest and most perfect crops. For profit, the machine is innocent; only the economic ratio is responsible for it, which now entangles these objects in its disreputable business. Wherever the technical rationale has prevailed, it has beaten the economic rationale out of the field. The technical ratio tames and "cultivates" the world. In bourgeois society, the "primal hunter" once again and belatedly drives his estate; in the background of the society of the technical age, however, the "primal farmer" haunts; here the earth becomes a field and the forces of nature are harnessed as domestic animals.

The machine is the tamed force of nature. The force of nature produces itself, trained to the hint, with pleasing craziness; it is as if all elemental wildness has been driven out of its body. Man is the master; his leverage is the crack of the whip that makes the beast parry. Finally, man pulls the reins on his own elemental unpredictability; he disciplines himself into a machine that stands in the right place in the universal machinery and carries out the workload assigned to it.

The universal machinery, to which he himself contributes his planned quantum of energy, is man's work; it is logical this-worldliness. It is what man accomplishes when he is exclusively dependent on himself, when he can no longer rely on himself.

can rely on "God" and the "supernatural". She is his "Creatorship"; it is the I(onstruction with which he fills the gap that arises when the organism in which he, as a gift from God, has lived for centuries into the day decays. Economic success is a mixture of "human efficiency" and "divine blessing"; the technical achievement is credited exclusively to man; it no longer even needs God as a cynical fig leaf.

The exploration of the "unknown regions", the illumination of the "dark parts of the earth", the unveiling of venerable secrets, the conquest of the forces of nature, the transformation of the hereafter into a mere province of this world, the parching illumination of human inwardness, all of this obliterated the space of theological reason. With the "unexplored", theological reason lost its object, with inwardness its resonance. Speculations about the "hereafter" and its "effects" on this world are tired gimmicks since the world has swallowed up the last bit of supra-worldly ground; the feeling of "ecclesiastical dependence on God" has died out since God has become nothing more than a memory of "naivety", of which we have long been incapable. The mysteries no longer find believers; they gather around them only that crowd of wavering skeptics who lack the final and full courage to face the abyss of their skepticism. Those who "believe" have the most diverse and often most remarkable reasons: here it is a fading echo of old habits, there it is caution that does not want to write anything off before it has to put "something better" in its place, there it is perhaps only a feeling of chivalry that does not want to shame the "spiritual call": no one "believes" because he really believes; real faith is no longer possible.

The connection between theological and legal reasoning in the rebuilding of ecclesiastical Rome is not accidental. It has often been pointed out - Leibniz also did so - how related theology and law are. For theology, God is the direct lawgiver; the structure of the ordinances rests in his will; laws and ordinances are his work, drawing their compelling force from the divine origin. Breaking the law is therefore sacrilege, blasphemy, atheism. Law is secularized theology, just as philosophy is secularized religion. A supramundane, eternal order also wants to realize itself in this world; a metaphysical expression of will wants to bring itself to earthly realization. The principle of supreme justice hovers over law like God over theology. From "above", from a

From a "higher" position, a demand, a demand to be made of man.

The authority of law is only unshaken as long as a piece of transcendence is still alive. "Long live the law, even if the world perishes in the process": only those who consider the transcendent background of the law to be a more certain reality than the content of their daily experience can profess this. The legal rationale sounds convincing only where the transcendence of law is not doubted; in order to be accessible to the legal rationale, one must oneself have the need to see the cosmic "equilibrium" restored, which was disturbed by the crime - one must, from such a metaphysical point of view, want to atone oneself if one has failed. Metaphysical vision, transcendental experience are in any case a matter of "inwardness": thus, 'e theological rationality, legal rationality also only appeals where "inwardness" has not dried up. The idea of justice is as otherworldly as God is; where the otherworldliness is fundamentally liquidated, neither God nor the idea of justice have any meaning. The company's future is also worthy of a price increase.

Of course, if the space of theological reason disintegrates with the space of juridical reason, then the rule of the eternal Roman falters, and he becomes questionable as an imperial figure. He enters an air-diluted, if not airless zone in which he must inevitably suffocate.

The realms of inwardness, the regions of transcendence, disappeared at the same time as the "undeveloped" territories, the ownerless lands and unexplored treasures of distant islands and iconic continents. Spiritual "abundance" dried up to the same extent as material abundance. There are no longer any plundering expeditions to "undiscovered" continents; the legends of the great empires are withering away. Profit, which is the originator of capitalist society, in the end always needs a "last" that the dogs both: a colonial people not yet sucked to the bone, a middle class that can be robbed by inflation, a proletariat that is struggling with the "subsistence level".

Once the cream has been skimmed off the top, the middle class has been ruined, the minimum subsistence level has long since been reached, then all the wells from which the profit was pumped are empty; there is nothing more to be gained. The economic rationale has reached the end of its wisdom; there are no more sheep to be saved. The mechanism of bourgeois society no longer has a horn to grind, and the eternal Jew has been put to death. The element in which he came forward and upward has disappeared into the trackless. Like the eternal Roman, he has become an imperial figure who is running out of steam.

The logical and legal rationale grasps the world from an inner experience; it cultivates the drive to create meaning. The economic rationale grasps the world only insofar as it can be immediately utilized, squandered and destroyed. It stands with moralism on the known good fur'e,

because she always needs a mask. She cannot make a state with the view of the world that would suit her: she does not want to confess openly that she sees the world as a treasure trove in which everyone is allowed to fill his pockets as much as he can make room for with his elbows and as much as he can knock down with his fists. That is why it borrows images of the world wherever it can get them; it exchanges them, changes with them and only ever endeavors to conceal what image it itself has of the world.

At the opposite pole to the theological and legal rationale is the technical rationale, which merely describes the world from the

"external" things. For it, there is no above and no beyond, no superworld and supernature; it knows no manifestations of will from transcendental spaces, no "ought" from which one can escape. It uncovers laws that are inherent in things themselves and that are always in force, the execution of which is a natural necessity. If one transfers the form of the norms of ought into its realms, then a comical matter emerges: Ostwald's energetic imperative is "hilarious". Where the technical ratio sets the tone, one acts simply and naturally in accordance with the matter; the pathos sounds greasy and the big words sound hollow: one "works" best when it happens silently and without ceremony in the plan of the overall construction. The compulsion comes solely from the matter at hand; anyone who refuses to accept it is, in its place, defective material that may still be useful elsewhere. One is truly "beyond cut and dry"; expediency and objectivity are the standards by which man and his actions must prove themselves. To a certain extent, man also sees himself from the outside: as a quantum of energy whose degree of strength can be precisely determined and as a piece of material whose quality can be ascertained in material testing. It is used according to the,

what he is according to the result of a "performance measurement procedure", not according to an idea he has of himself. A system of descriptions clarifies how the matter must be set up, turned around, kept in check and maintained in the most appropriate way if it is to run smoothly and rationally.

The theological rationality takes care of the wisdom of the Supermundane World; the juridical rationality makes it fit for use in the here and now; the economic rationality speaks of it in all its varieties so that no one looks at the world-destroying deeds of economism. The technical rationale adheres solely to the wit, wisdom, logic and common sense of this world, whose penetrating luminosity is, of course, only revealed once the world itself has finally been discovered as the only real thing. Then the "heavenly wisdom" is unmasked as a mere reflection of rays that only the world had sent forth. The immediately existential had been blinded for centuries by the pale gleam of that reflection; so it came to pass that it had not wanted to seek its way in its own light, from which it had turned its face away, but in the glare of that reflection.

The operational field of technical reason has its own view, its own special value; it seems as if all old things have been put on the back burner. The revolution does not consist in the disintegration of a worn-out system of order, but in the assertion of a new system of order. New points of reference dominate the space; the accents and weights of meaning are distributed differently; familiar symbols become colorless and lose their power, new symbols take hold of the heart. A new language e m e r g e s ; life is given a new meaning, it is redefined what is virtue and what is vice. The e l e m e n t of theolo gical reason was faith;

its central symbol was the miracle. Those who had the right faith lived in the "truth"; the truth was the good of faith, insofar as the intellect, regardless of all absurdity, had said yes and amen to it. In the concept of truth, human conscientiousness came into its own, which wanted to be accountable to itself for that for which it had been charged with responsibility by tradition. The man who lived his life in truth was a saint; but the one who fought and died for the truth was a martyr. The institution in which theological reason embodied itself most purely was the church with its dogmas; the political-worldly concept of rule that it had in mind was the idea of theocracy, the theocratic state with the representative of God at its head. The one rejected before its face was the "heathen", the unbeliever, the apostate, the "father of lies".

What faith and miracles were for theological reason, power and the sword became for legal-creative reason, reserves of wealth and the field for economic reason; justice took the place of truth there, and profitability here. There the knight corresponded to the saint, here the creditable citizen, the martyr to the dead of the battlefield and the bold speculator. The state with its laws and the capitalist order with its private property, its market mechanism and the stock exchange are institutions similar to the I(irch and its dogmas; empire and imperialist plutocracy are I(onceptions of the kind of the theocracy. The traitor, rebel and lawbreaker here, the I(ommunist and Bolshevik there take the place of the unbeliever and I(etzer.

Technical reason moves in the orbit of nature, which has been stripped of its secrets and investigated down to the last detail.

theological reason with the hereafter, legal-creative reason with power, economic reason with all reserves of wealth. In the machine, it symbolizes how completely it has nature in its hands. Truth, justice, profitability lose their meaning in the operational field of technical reason; what matters here is what can be extracted from calculable and ponderable nature: productivity is the valid guideline. The focus on functional expediency and the art of great constructive planning determine the extent of productivity. The model is the disciplined functionary and the tried and tested in battle is the "shock trooper". The institutions are the planned-economy, coordinated company combinations and collectives with their production plans and work regulations, is the "socialist corporate system" made "totally" mobile and only allowing space for "workers". The planned-economy organized "technocratic" world federation of all workers' republics is the goal-setting political idea. The enemy is the "saboteur".

This entire field of operation of technical reason has imperial breadth and imperial altitude; it reaches the rank of the imperial fields of operation of the eternal Roman and the eternal Jew at every turn. It is the "realm" of the "third imperial figure". The fact that it is only now entering history does not disprove it; the eternal Roman and the eternal Jew also had their beginnings at some time.

37.

The European socialist movement produced only one man who saw the revolutionary reality, the overturning force of technical progress and the historical change in the type of human being shaped by the technical perfection of the forces of production as clearly and sharply as

all of this had been seen by Karl Marx, who, however, no longer viewed these things from a Jewish point of view and aligned them to Jewish interests, but with fresh impartiality and carefree reinterpretation gave free rein to their original, innate logic. This man was Lenin.

Lenin's penetrating view was first systematically demonstrated in the pamphlet "What to do", written in 1901 and, curiously enough, published by the Party Publishing House of German Social Democracy in 1902.

The pamphlet opposes "Bernsteinianism", reformism, or, as Lenin says, "economism". Economism - it is pacifism, as the word implies the matter here - trusts the "spontaneity of the masses; it maintains that the masses, under the impulse of their envy, their egoism, will do of themselves what economic conditions permit them to do at a given moment. The history of all countries, however, teaches Lenin "that the working class can only work out of its own forces a trade unionist consciousness, i.e., the conviction of the necessity of uniting in associations, of waging a struggle against the employers, of demanding from the government these or those laws which are necessary for the workers, etc.". "The "worship of the spontaneity of the mass movement" is the "preparation of the ground for the transformation of the labor movement into a work of bourgeois democracy". The spontaneous labor movement

"is in and of itself only capable of creating trade unionism, and it inevitably creates it". The economists and terrorists are worshippers of the two different poles of spontaneous movement: the economists - the spontaneity of the "pure labor movement", the terrorists - the spontaneity of the passionate indignation of the intellectuals. The spontaneity of the mass

This requires "a high degree of purposefulness" as a supplement. Awareness of goals is a matter for the "politicians". The "politicians" must actively "approach the political education of the working class, the development of its political consciousness". The group of politicians "leads not only the struggle of the working class for favorable conditions for the sale of their labor power, but also the struggle for the elimination of the social order which forces the dispossessed to sell themselves to the rich". But "political inertia has its logic, which is independent of the consciousness of those who, with the best of intentions, either call for terror or call for the economic war itself to be given a political character". The workers' consciousness of political hatred is not the fruit of spontaneity; it

"can only be taught to the worker from outside, i.e. outside the economic sphere, outside the sphere of relations between workers and companies". The politicians "are everywhere in the forefront, they arouse political discontent in all hatreds, shake up the sleepy, encourage the backward, spread comprehensive material for the development of political consciousness and the political activity of the proletariat". The "politicians" are "an organization of revolutionaries" capable of "securing energy, tenacity and integrity in the political struggle". It can even come down to one man; many do not know,

"what wonders for the cause of the revolution the energy of not only a circle, but even of a single person is capable of accomplishing". It is clear "that the masses of workers are producing ever greater numbers of such co-revolutionaries from their midst". In the organization of revolutionaries, "any difference between workers and intellectuals must disappear completely. This organization "must not be a very broad one and must be as conspiratorial as possible". Whoever is organized under the Absolu-

tism " a broad workers' organization with elections, reports, general votes, etc. - he is simply an incorrigible utopian". You have to know "that you need a committee of professional revolutionaries, whether they are students or workers". Talents are necessary. "But talents are not born by the hundreds." Lenin never wants to stop repeating "that demagogues are the worst enemies of the working class"; he wants to "defend this fundamental principle", however much one may incite the masses against his "anti-democratism, etc.". " as much as one may incite the masses against his "anti-democratism etc.

Lenin saw through the fact that two systems of order were irreconcilably opposed to each other; he saw the necessity of a power struggle between the two and wanted to organize it immediately. Due to his biological origins, he was also not linked to the economic-Jewish system; he had the inner independence to be able to go to the Canze and also the will to do so. In view of his origins, he had no need to buy his way out of life-and-death battles through sham fights. Lenin was reluctant to allow revolutionary action to become bogged down in economic self-movement.

let. The "political", which he opposes to "economism", is the epitome of the technical-collective world view, which is no longer under the rule of economic rationality. Lenin takes unreserved action against the private capitalist-economic social order; he not only has a sure sense of how it can really be brought down, but also the determination to bring it down at all costs. The end sanctifies the means, and he wants the end. He is a commander who has sovereignty over all auxiliary forces: " Only those who have no confidence in themselves can be afraid of temporary alliances even with unreliable people. " In order to teach the workers political knowledge, politicians must "penetrate all classes of the population.

When they go into battle, they have to send detachments of their army out on all sides".

Lenin's radicalism is based precisely on the fact that Lenin is not a doctrinaire. Even the most radical doctrinaire arouses the suspicion that he is aiming at sham battles, through which the radicalism of practice is to be thwarted; through the radicalism of word he wants to obstruct the radicalism of deed. The "word radical" can usually be unmasked as a "helper of the bourgeoisie".

In his clarifying essay "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution" (1905), Lenin described the Mensheviks, to whom Trotsky also belonged, as such "helpers of the bourgeoisie". At the time of the Russian Revolution, Lenin advocated a resolution that declared the participation of social democrats in the "provisional revolutionary government for the purpose of ruthlessly combating all counter-revolutionary attacks and safeguarding the special interests of the working class" to be permissible.

In contrast, the Mensheviks demanded that the Social Democracy should not set itself the goal of "conquering power in the provisional government or dividing itself into it, but must remain the party of the extreme revolutionary opposition". Lenin explained how this resolution left the working class at the mercy of its opponent with its hands tied and how such "utter revolutionary opposition" was just a hollow phrase. Every revolutionary decision must proceed from the present situation. "The German Social Democrat who would have left the question of the Republic in the shadows in 1848 would have been a direct traitor to the revolution; there is no abstract truth. Truth is always concrete."

Lenin, in making an alliance with the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, was not an opportunist and a reformist; he wished to advance the revolutionary resolve.

The Mensheviks were inspired by the desire to re-talize the peasant and petty-bourgeois strata in order to be able to strike the decisive revolutionary blow. It was precisely the decisive blow against the capitalist order that the Mensheviks did not want to see struck; they avoided neutralizing the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie because otherwise they would have been deprived of the pretext of being able to delay the decisive blow even longer. They were "extreme opposition" so that they would never have to be successful revolutionaries. The radical Trotsky was less terrible to the capitalist order than the realpolitik Lenin. In Lenin, the first unconditional enemy of this order arose, for whom neither Jewish nor Roman pity made his hand unsafe in the decisive hour.

Within the later statesmanlike relationship between Lenin and Trotsky, Lenin paid a historical debt of gratitude to Ikarl Marx; but by Lenin's unquestionable leadership, it was established that a Slavic-Asiatic point of view and circle of vision had outstripped the Jewish one. Now the eternal Jew was being used and played off by a superior power; he himself had the fate that he h a d hitherto prepared for barbarian ifies. When, after Lenin's death, Trotsky tried once again to regain the lost ground for the cause of the eternal Jew, he was banished by Stalin. Stalin asserted the imperial ~~independence~~ to which Lenin had led the Slavic-Asiatic element in the face of the Jewish character. A new thing had made room for itself in world history. The fact that it was no longer about profit and profitability, in short no longer about capitalist economics, but that a new world tendency had broken through, was brought to the fore by the eighteenth century and the five-year planes.

The third imperial figure

Jedes i The age forms an archetype of precisely that human being reines an organ of the "contemporary" tendencies, who is in full harmony with the driving forces at work. This archetype shows where the age is heading and in what it seeks its perfection. The archetype summarizes the content of the age in terms of form; it is as rich in tension, as large-scale and as horizon- wide as the age to which it belongs; it cultivates its convictions, uses its values and embodies its attitude. Its problems are precisely the problems of its time. This archetype is a role model, a model of character; it is the type of the time-sensitive human being. A new age announces itself when a new model of character emerges; the model is, so to speak, the outpost in the run-up to the dawning epoch. This is approaching to the same extent that the number of living people who are able to fulfill the Cepräg of the archetype.

Marx had tried to recognize the form of the "new age"; he believed he had discovered it in the industrial worker. He did not proceed arbitrarily; in fact, the future human being necessary for the times is inherent in the industrial worker.

The industrial worker is a "barbarian" in the Western sense of the word, in terms of the position of feudal and bourgeois man. He hardly participates in the traditional heritage, and his social situation keeps him so much on the fringes of European iculture that he cannot be absorbed by it. The occidental Iaftfeld does not want to incorporate him at all; the industrial worker lacks one essential thing: inwardness and the chance to become rich - " education and property ". His situation in life prevents him from the outset from achieving it.

" to something "; in the grinder of the betricbs discipline

he won't become a crumbler, and the pay packet he receives week after week won't get him anywhere. Those who work for piecework at Ikrupp and Thyssen don't even dream of one day being an iconic rival to their boss. For him, the ideal of wealth belongs to the fairy tale of an alien circle of life; it is not within his grasp, as it is for the citizen. The worker, who affirms the inner logic of his place in life, cannot want to become rich; otherwise he would immediately become a bourgeois and would fundamentally approve of the fact that the surplus value produced by workers is misappropriated by the bourgeois individual. Where the worker protrudes into the bourgeois world, where he bargains for the price of his labor power, for wages, he always experiences his weakness; he is always in the worse market situation and is in no way a match for the bourgeois buyer, the entrepreneur. The market is the natural habitat of the bourgeois; the natural habitat of the worker, however, is the enterprise. In the workplace, production takes place under the rational, objective control of the mechanism set in motion; there is no "trading". The worker who wants to be a citizen or become a citizen gives up the preconditions of his original existence; he looks at himself from the same perspective from which the citizen basically looks at the worker. The worker appears there as an "unsolid existence, as a "human invertebrate"; his bourgeoisification is the elevation from the rubble and an upgrading against all expectations. However, by being seen together with the dawning technical age, which is beginning to replace the bourgeois-economic epoch, the worker is inadvertently placed in an unusual perspective; he is given a meaningful accent. Precisely because of his nature, which had pushed him to the side in bourgeois society, he now moves to the intersection of events,

he becomes an exponent, a leading type, a bearer of class and destiny. "Scientific" socialism has taught the worker this view and filled him with a proud sense of destiny. The worker has no mission in the bourgeois environment; here he remains an unfortunate and unlucky fellow; he can only betray the vocation entrusted to him as a renegade. On the bourgeois level with its world of values, its ideas of order, its economic way of being, he always cuts a poor figure; he is not allowed to enter it at all. There is only one environment that is his: it is the world that announces itself in the technical-objective order of the company. It is up to him to make this "environment" universal, the only and generally valid one. Things come to meet him; they play into his hands. They drift in his direction; with the necessity that lies in themselves, they pile up the world around him, whose self-evident center point can be no one else but him.

39.

The moment the industrial worker is understood as the human center and decisive type of a new world of order, he is simultaneously placed in the broadest international horizon. A part of this horizon was already visible in the ambiguous admonition: "Workers of all countries, unite!". This exhortation presupposed a continuity that did not stop at the borders of one part of the world and related races, but wanted to extend through all continents, peoples and races. In this case, however, the continuity wanted to be based on the same social situation and on the common miserable position in the process of integration; the impetus for "exhilaration" and "departure" is resentment. "Wake up, damned people

of this earth!" However, the poor and the damned have never made history because they were poor and damned; as poor and damned they were social pathogens, not a power that created order. The future belongs to the worker only because the human structure of the industrial worker is tailored to an inescapable state of the world; this structure, however, is received by the worker within the production process, whose planned, precise sequence he is inserted into as a meaningfully functioning Icon of the technical apparatus.

In truth, the pervasiveness of the typical significance of the worker clings to this adaptation of the proletarian character to the machine style. Individual differences had to be ground down, depths buried, heights leveled in order to produce the technical-machine man. Ethnic peculiarities were diluted, national peculiarities pre-washed; in all parts of the world the worker took on the same face and the same heartbeat. His material needlessness is in harmony with his mental-spiritual needlessness; it corresponds to a prudent external and internal standard that makes the polarity of rich and poor simply irrelevant.

The empire towards which the industrial worker is striving is a world empire that encompasses the whole of humanity. The "proletarian international" is a concept of the most far-reaching industrialism. On the basis of the state of technology, the earth can be organized as a closed production area, administered and directed from one point. It is only necessary to simplify its diversity to a few formulas of production. The worker is the first human being who is built uniformly enough to be able to do this. The total technique is the v e h e m e n t o f t h e w o r l d e v e l o p m e n t f r o m t h e e x t e r n a l h e a r; only the human being who no longer has a sphere of being in inwardness is capable of this.

lung" has enough to sustain this vehemence.

Every empire has first emptied the primordial and then centralized its residue; the larger the space that is to be dominated, the more unreservedly that which fills it must be sheared over an im. No empire has yet claimed the whole globe in its complete exploration; the technical-worker imperialism, which initially announces itself in proletarian internationalism, has this great ambition. It is not accidental that this ambition appears only at a moment when the primitive has already been consumed to the smallest remnants. It is at once in accordance with the logic of things that the type of this very broad imperialism belongs to a species which is in no respect original. The proletarian of the industrialized end country enters the stage as an imperial figure of the highest rank. He is more unbound and therefore even more flexible than the eternal Jew and the eternal Roman. After all, the Jew is still embedded in the people; as a result, he cannot turn every person into a Jew. He cannot occupy every place by turning every person into a Jew. The eternal Roman never overcame a feeling of distance that was nourished partly by legal and partly by theological ideas. Between the Roman citizen and the non-citizen, the priest and the layman, a wall of separation rose up, which in the end, both outwardly and inwardly, at one point or another, was "Limes" and set limits to both the imperial will and the empire. The imperial figure of the technical space, on the other hand, is without the need to differentiate and without the will to differentiate. Anyone can be a worker and should become one. Where there are workers, the new empire has taken root; where one becomes a worker, there is a need for distinction.

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itself. This nascent empire wants to be universal; it will be complete when the whole earth will be the "fatherland of the workers. The imperial trait of this new imperial figure is of unprecedentedly pervasive, all-embracing and inclusive power; in this figure the most modern manifestation of the barbarian, the industrial worker, enters into a confrontation with the eternal Roman and the eternal Jew, which will perhaps finally decide who will rule the earth.

40.

It is only in the capitalist era that the I-class emerges as a politically oriented concept; it is a distinction made by the analyzing mind. The I-class is the attitude into which the proletariat throws itself when it wants to separate itself from the bourgeoisie and defiantly oppose it. Only the proletariat has the will to be I-class; where it appears as I-class, technical reason announces that it intends to prepare itself for the I-struggle against economic reason. Hate is the power structure of the proletariat. The proletariat wants to be there exclusively as a hate, just as the bourgeoisie wants to be there only as a nation. The bourgeoisie rejects the idea of being a class. The bourgeois Iclass is the image that the bourgeoisie presents when it is viewed from the standpoint of the proletariat. What the proletarian sees as a struggle of proletarian hatred against the bourgeois I class, the bourgeois interprets as a crime of the proletarian I class against the nation. The bourgeois Iclass is the form in which the proletarian has bourgeois society when he seeks and wants to meet his opponent in it. The proletarian view of the world knows only two hates: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It forcibly assigns the poor peasant to the proletariat, the middle and rich peasant to the "bourgeoisie". This simplification corresponds to the proletarian need for struggle: they only want one

The enemy must be seen in front of him in order to be able to attack him with full and undivided force. Where one speaks of the nation, citizens speak; where one thinks in terms of classes, proletarians speak.

The Iclass is the constitutional form of a class of people that is still pushing towards domination; as a result, it is a dynamic element. The corporative ruling body and the bourgeois nation are dascinsformeii of classes of people who enjoy, exercise and, if necessary, defend rule. The corporative ruling body and the bourgeois nation correspond to each other as stages of development; the Iclass relates to them like the larva to the butterfly. The butterfly, however, is the "classless society".

The classless society comes into being when the proletarian Iclass has leveled the Iclass of the bourgeoisie and incorporated it into itself. The elimination of the bourgeois Iclass is the process by which the power of the bourgeois is broken, by which the bourgeois is subjugated to the proletariat. The disappearance of the bourgeois first class indicates that the proletarian man has assumed his rule. The classless society is the cemein being that comes into being as soon as the proletarian man has asserted himself as the only type of man entitled to exist. The classless society realizes the sole rule of the mechanically disciplined human being, just as the corporative society embodied and secured the rule of the privileged human being and the bourgeois nation the rule of the human being with private property. It is a perfected imperial state.

The worker as a proletarian is a speck of dust; he is hardly He has nothing for himself and has no investment capital with which he could build up a business that would increase the "national welfare". Left to his own devices, he is defenceless and helpless; he has no crund under his f ucks and no account in the bank. He can't fall back on anything and has no recourse.

The people, as yet unconsumed and united by their estates, have their elementary crustal forces and their healthy instinct; bourgeois society has its interests; the worker has only his exhausted and pulverized existence. The pre-political people is unexhausted primal ground; bourgeois society is the intoxication of individual selfishness, which has been allowed to run riot unchecked since the third estate asserted its claim to totality. The worker, who lives from hand to mouth, is the hopelessly cornered man who must send himself into every lot that is thought to be his. He is as little originally a "class" as the citizen is a "people"; he lacks the place on which he could stand as a "class", just as the citizen lacks the immediacy of the "people", which finds its full fulfillment in itself. The citizen strives to be a people and becomes a nation; if the worker wants to stand on his own feet as the "fourth estate", he becomes a horse. The class has grown as little as the nation has; it is only formed when the worker "pulls himself together". There is no wild-grown, class-conscious worker; the consciousness of hatred must first be wrapped up and drilled into him. The bourgeois still possesses elementary remnants; from there the nation draws its bloodiness. The worker is faced with elementary nothingness; thus the class must be constructed out of pure insight into the social situation. Propaganda, incitement and enlightenment are even more necessary for the ignition of class consciousness than they are for the ignition of national consciousness. The Iclass is the principle of order with the utmost minimum of natural preconditions; therefore the "politicians in the sense of Lenin have an incomparably more difficult time than the national awakeners had; the "economist" does not attain to Iclass consciousness by himself; he never reaches it. As a rule, if not a bourgeois memory lives in the worker,

at least a bourgeois longing. Pioneer service for the empire of technical rationality, for the "worker's empire", requires privations, is full of dangers and demands the highest stakes; it is more comfortable to be a

"black passengers of the bourgeois world with the most undemanding shelter. The call: "Be national! " therefore finds a warmer echo even in the proletarian breast than the call: "Be class-conscious!" The nation is the form to which the citizen rises in order to make himself capable of historical action; it is an artificial way of life, but the citizen can keep it up if he stretches himself enough. The I-class is even less a natural mode of being; it is an expediently devised marching formation of which the worker is only just capable if he makes a great effort and mobilizes his last ounce. In the same sense, the class is an ideationally oriented, sometimes even romanticized way of being, as the nation is for the citizen.

The consciousness of the estates is of immediate, blood-warm sensuality; it is linked with the experience of personal chosenness. National consciousness, on the other hand, is of intolerant severity; it takes care of itself all the more implacably because it is not entirely self-evident that "something belongs to it" in order to have it. The social and economic prospects that one has are linked to the prestige that the nation enjoys. Profitability calculations only work out completely when they have been reduced to the formula of national enthusiasm.

Class consciousness is abstractly fanatical; it is based on a sociological realization. One feels united with all those who are as much a part of a technical mechanism as one is oneself. One is only fully human insofar as one is included in the context of technical discipline. Class consciousness claims to be universal consciousness: but it presupposes general consciousness.

The national consciousness is the same as the consciousness of all "proletarian" people. The consciousness of the estates is illuminated by a cheerful satisfaction with life; in the national consciousness there is pride in bourgeois success and bourgeois achievement. The consciousness of the class, on the other hand, is soberly oriented towards objective, purposeful achievement.

The class-conscious worker has neither a natural authority nor an authority conferred on him by law; he can only acquire authority by committing it to a legal sense as a soldier. He is not a born master and not a "free personality"; as a functionary he only has as much authority as his function gives him. He has neither land nor celd; he has only his labor. He uses it and it is the only thing he allows to be of value. The honor of work supersedes the honor of manhood and chivalry. He reaches beyond the limits of his modest human existence neither through lordship nor through celd property; he only gains importance and rank through the place in which he is placed and the responsibility he is given. The functionary now becomes what the privileged lord of the estates was there, the national man of education and property here. The functionary appears as a tool, not as a master; only in a very veiled way, namely by being a very important tool, is his will to power satisfied.

The privileged man of the estates, the bourgeois man, the proletarian man are varieties which differ in respect to the fullness of their vitality, the abundance of their inner and outer existence, in short, the rank of their vitality. The same gradation exists between the orders belonging to each of these human varieties. The privileged society of the estates is more full of life than the society of the nation-state or even the "socialist" society; it does not as yet attack the immense reserves which the national society has.

state-owned company and from the abundance of which the "socialist society" has hardly remained. The degree of "nobility" is diminishing; the society of the estates is noble; the appearance of nobility is still cultivated by the society of the nation-state; the proletarian classless society explicitly renounces nobility.

The path of European humanity can be seen in these differences in rank: there is a tangible developmental trend that wants to make the last the first.

From the point of view of the feudal and bourgeois world, this process of emptying is a descent, a decline, a downfall, a path to nowhere. Here the world is gradually destroyed in which the feudal and later the bourgeois had nested. However, one should not fail to recognize that the same process has a positive reverse side from the point of view of the "class-conscious" worker, which, of course, neither the feudal man nor the bourgeois can perceive.

Social hierarchy rooted in the soil, Christianity, private property, national sentiment are the values around which the corporative and bourgeois worlds revolved; anyone who does not belong to either world can have no relationship to these values. Their loss does not affect him; he appreciates values of a different kind. The remnants of the estates, the Christian church, private property and bourgeois, intolerant national consciousness originate from the areas in which the eternal Roman and the eternal Jew set the tone and harnessed the barbarian for their purposes. One remains attached to these areas as long as one does not want to let go of these values. The third imperial figure is precisely the figure that never has anything in common with the life content and values of the changing figures. In the meantime - Thus the "class-conscious" point of view can argue that if the worker understands his imperial mission, he throws away all values and contents that have their origins in the Roman-

theological and the Jewish economic world. The

For the worker, "emptying" is the process by which he first brings himself to the height of his task. He divests himself of all the *cepæc k* with which the past has burdened him; he gives up the entire inheritance which has also been entrusted to him; he wants to be mobile enough for the campaign of conquest from which he expects to gain mastery over the world. A Russian once remarked that the Russian Bolsheviks had been so successful because they had been able to stow all their property in a handkerchief; the German Communists, on the other hand, had always had to be considerate of their assets, which had rendered them incapable of action.

In the light of this interpretation, the Iclass appears as the *Cc-meinschaft* of those imperial fighters who sacrifice everything because they have no doubt about their final victory; who bet everything on a hard one, on their hard one; who abandon everything in the certain expectation that their "last stab" will amply compensate them for everything they have lost in the meantime. The I-class in this sense has also thrown overboard the most seductive value, the national idea; the worker is "emptied" in order to be able to fill himself to the brim exclusively with the new contents of his approaching empire.

41.

Within the medieval order, man, together with the zones he overlooks and controls, is embedded in the dark space of the inscrutable. Everywhere he comes up against the boundaries of the impenetrable; this space even extends over wide areas of his own interior. Man encounters areas within himself that he passes by shyly and with his eyes closed, because they belong to "that" world. He mistrusts the understanding of himself and the knowledge of the world, insofar as they are based exclusively on experience and the

his own judgment. He feels Cotte's gaze resting on him and his earthly field: how false, narrow and skewed the image he makes of himself in his narrowness and limitation may be compared to the deep vision of the divine eye!

This kind of general situation, in which middle-aged man understands himself, corresponds to the social forms of life in which he exists. He is bound to his clan, his gender and his class. They are his background, from which he cannot escape, which is stronger, more significant, more essential than he himself is. From his background he is pushed, lifted or, at worst, rejected; the background is his destiny. It gives man backing, rank, dignity; it makes something of him; man owes his "position" in the city, state and church to it. In its connection with tradition and "paternal heritage", clan, gender and class ties are both a spiritual and material reserve for existence.

The "upswing" of the bourgeois era draws its energy from the consumption of this reserve of existence; it is "heated" with it. The clan decays; the family takes its place in the bourgeois heyday. The clan is an "appendage" of too great importance; because it "takes up" too much, it makes one immobile and cumbersome for the conquest of the world. The clan is decomposed by no longer asking for it; its solid material assets are mobilized for the purposes of division; there is no longer anything left for any "entail". Initially, the citizen still cultivates kinship ties; they are not merely a "burden", but also a leaning on, a back-up, a refuge; as long as they exist, he still has something to add; they are safeguards for emergencies. But in the Crunde he demands more from these ties than he gives them; they are meant to support him in his undertakings and speculations,

for his moves into the unknown; he is far from being the man who would have staked his cause on nothing. Of course, he does not want to be a slave to the ties; he wants to have them in his hands. The family must be content with the space that bourgeois business still leaves free; where it could interfere with business, it no longer has a say.

The closer the conquest of the world comes to the point from which there is nothing more to conquer, the less the citizen can afford burdens and superfluous expenses that he had hardly felt at first. However briefly he may keep the family, it still makes demands that he no longer feels equal to; he is no longer the personality who has enough "moral pathos" and "moral seriousness" to be able to bring both to the marriage in sufficient measure. The family disintegrates into a loose relationship of sex and maintenance, in which individuals who are internally independent of each other and economically autonomous seek their own paths; each of these individuals would see a common path as a shackle. The family is maintained partly for reasons of habit, partly for reasons of convenience, partly for reasons of expediency. The individual stands entirely on his own behalf, and even through the family bond, where he still maintains it, he no longer allows his "rights" and "freedoms" to be restricted.

This individual is the person who goes through the whole world, who has seen beyond everything, who can no longer encounter anything new. At the same time, still blinded by the splendor of the wealth he has squandered, he has no idea how poor he has become. It is the person who, because he lives only out of his emptiness through himself and for himself, can "exhaust" every glance and "spend" himself into nothingness.

Insofar as this individual continues to move within the force field of the economic ratio, it is dross and the end product of a process of decomposition; there is nothing more to be done with it in the future. If, however, it moves into the force field of the technical ratio, then it enters into different combinations and relations of tension, in which it suddenly regains a useful side. It offers itself as the

"raw materials and those" building elements that are needed for the new world of order, the outlines of which can already be recognized. However, before it can be used as "building materials," its sandy character must be overcome; it must be prepared so that it becomes cohesive again.

The stone that has been discarded by schori will, in time, become a "cornerstone".

The "collective" can be seen as the first promising attempt at such a "preparation process"; the aim here is to artificially replace what the deflated individual has lost with the clan and the family.

The "collective", which is understood in this way, is the purposeful form in which the devastated mass individual of the economic age can be made usable again for a different world of order. It is true that the collective, like mass-democratic Caesarism, only operates from the outside; but it does so under different conditions, for different reasons, with different means, with different intentions, for different purposes and from different points of view. The collective stands outside the bourgeois atmosphere; it does not belong to the bourgeois fauna in any respect. It is like a crucible in which the desiccated individual is melted down and restored to the state of a human compound that can be reshaped and from which something can be extracted again. The collective is an apparatus in which the "human mass" is transformed into simple energy and can be transformed into something new.

is harnessed for an extreme objective effect. The objective effect is the supreme guideline: it is achieved in the most intensive form of "this-world and world administration" that can appear under the existing circumstances. The collective is a machinery of immediate human substance; it is constructed to put human energy into function in the most rational, economical and productive way possible and without any loss of friction. The system of collectives is a system of dynamic centers which, in their interplay, "produce" the most solid and viable "models" of an order of the world experienced entirely in this world, illuminated in every corner and stripped of all untapped reserves. The collective is for the "worker" what the clan and family were for the feudal man: the supra-personal context that disciplines him and determines what his meaning, his task, his honor and his ethos are; although it is more technically constructed than naturally grown, it does not seize the worker any less "totally". It is the incubator in which the third imperial figure is hatched from the empirical and concrete industrial proletarian. It is the formation in which this figure is drilled for its imperial mission and in which it lives according to the law of its mission.

Kinship and family were organic formations, which The collective, in its artificial-constructive and human-planning way, subdivides the Iclass. By structuring the I-class in its artificial-constructive and mechanical-planning way, the I-collective reveals the special distant relationship between the technical ratio and naturalness.

s2.

Property is a central symbol of order; you look at the heart of a social order system when you examine how it has resolved the question of property.

The economic purpose of the feudal social order was to meet needs; the production of goods was calculated directly for consumption. The extent of consumption was clearly related to the class to which one belonged, to the level one occupied within the social hierarchy. One was required to "live according to one's station"; it was bindingly defined what one "owed to one's position". The effort one made corresponded to the social rank one held; it was an obligation one had to fulfill towards one's station.

Property was the crunch point of the status-appropriate expenditure; it should be adapted to the status-appropriate foot on which one had to live. If it was sufficient, it fulfilled its purpose; there was no reason to increase it. It was in keeping with one's station if the income it yielded was able to cover one's stationary claims. Property was the ground on which the estate was founded with permanence and stability; in that it was property in land and soil, the "estate" logic of things asserted itself in a very sensible way.

Each estate had its specific position in the civil order; from this order it received its mandate. The lord of the estate had his general task; it elevated him to the rank he held. But it was not attached to him by chance; it was essentially implanted in him by his birth; it had grown into his being. He was distinguished by it and chosen for it: that made up his nobility. His value lay in his being, which was chosen by the calling of his birth; his honor was also rooted in it. It was precisely this being that was honored.

Without property, one fell below one's rank and was no longer able to fulfill one's role as a member of the estate. Property was thus an organic part of being a member of the estate. The

Ceburt was an appointment by Cott; Jas's property was the means that Cott bestowed in order to fulfill the appointment. Property, like ceburt, was a cnade; both obliged one to "serve the canzen". One only had a legitimate claim to the property insofar as one fulfilled one's obligation as a high-born person; in respect of this obligation, one bore it "in fief". To ensure that no descendant was forced to neglect his duty, his obligation, due to a lack of resources befitting his station, he had to be a faithful steward and good steward of the property. The vocation, the obligation of the estates rested on the whole "select", "noble" clan; this clan was consequently also the actual holder of the property. The property was not private property; it could not be such because the lord of the manor was not a private person; he was, as a manor, a public person. The large house he ran indicated that he did not seek to encapsulate himself in the private sphere.

The universal rested in the hands of the master class; the latter had a monopoly on it; it was as if it had made itself exclusively their business. One had to have been born into the ruling class in order to participate in the general and thus in the form of existence elevated by its political publicity. The "Herrenstand" led a life that was oriented towards the dimensions, horizons and visual angles of the public and the general public. It was a "more distinguished", "more grandiose", "more dignified", "more honorable" existence, and at the same time a "more provided for" and "more enjoyable" one. Property not only provided the basis for this; it was also the symbol of a cesamt order that reminded everyone that they were owed their own. The higher one stood, the more property one owned; the more this yielded, the more glamorous one had to live on. One

represented the general in the hierarchy of the estate structure; one would have offended the reputation and the clan of the general, for which one had to stand up, if one had not represented it according to tradition and custom. The expense was not a private matter; it was a duty of representation. The general public placed high demands on a limited selection of people who were self-contained by birth; it endowed this selection with the property that enabled them to meet these demands. Property was inconceivable without its obligation to serve the general; the claim of the general, of the political community, of public existence rested on it like a servitude.

The establishment of feudal property had its meta-physical background: a world view that is hierarchically structured in a well-ordered way according to a divine plan, in which everyone stands in their place according to the will of Providence and is equipped as required by the task entrusted to them. Cott gives those to whom he gives an office not only the intellect, but also the necessary economic support.

Private property is created when the owner cuts off the threads that connect property with the general; in this way, only a pure and exclusive relationship between owner and property remains. In this way, property is brought entirely into the private sphere. The private owner deals with property as he pleases; he multiplies or squanders it as he pleases; he transforms it in such a way that it becomes the most handy and most manageable for him. He turns it first into a commodity and then into cash and credit. By becoming commodity, cash, credit, it becomes colorless, shapeless, sightless, qualityless; the irrational values which had given feudal property its special charms evaporate; it finally simplifies itself to the mere size of the

Celd and Icredit sums at one's disposal. When the celd economy emerged, feudal society had sensed with good instinct that sooner or later it would be "sold out"; it had thought to protect itself by despising the celd account. However, the Celdrechnung had been careless enough not to take any notice of this violation.

Property had lost its "higher" purpose when it had become a private matter; it sought to regain "meaning". It found no other meaning than that of turning itself into something inaccessible.

Private property is private power; the increase in property increases the power of private individuals to an unheard-of level. Increasing power by increasing property is success; private success becomes the real meaning of life. He who is successful is the man of his time; everything else, attachment, influence, honor, falls into his lap for nothing.

It is embarrassing to observe that some general interest persists, even though it is persistently ignored, and that this general interest always wants to bring about the cessation of the right to property. The private owner seeks to "replace" the service in a highly meaningful way. The general, which persistently sets limits to even the most extravagant will to privatize, is violated in its peculiar dignity by interpreting it as a special category of the private: it was allegedly constituted by the voluntary contract of independent individuals. Insofar as it "justifiably" asserted itself against the expansionist urge of private existence, the bureaucracy was appointed as its custodian; however, it must always be made acutely aware of the limits that have been drawn for it. In feudal times, the general lived by its own right and sovereignty; therefore it was "ennobled",

whom it drew into its sphere. Now, however, it is an annoying barrier, a necessary evil; it is a repugnant disturbance of private existence. The civil servant shares the esteem in which the common man is held: he is a spy whom one must allow, even pay, according to the situation; but according to the prevailing standard of value, which assigns the highest rank to the private, he is the "starving wretch" against whom one harbors one's prejudices, even if one conceals them.

The private owner does not elevate himself and his environment to the level of the general; he also wants to privatize the most general and universal; one because, for him, religion soon becomes a private matter. To privatize a thing means to make it common at the level of the private; what is private cannot rise higher than the arm of the private man can reach. The tendency of all-encompassing privatization destroys all distance; as a result, it has no ennobling liability. It is anti-hierarchical; it lumps everything together; it is "democratic" from the ground up.

The sanctification of private property reveals that private property also has its metaphysical ambition; it mobilizes for itself the sacred, just as it has mobilized for itself intelligentsia, literati, judges, bailiffs, soldiers and protectors. It is the focal point of a world that is its creation, its *Ceistes Ikind*. Things move in it as commodities for private exchange purposes and all human relationships dissolve into barter transactions in which profit is to be made. Man becomes an individual whose central concern is to outstrip his equals from one exchange transaction to the next in uninterrupted succession, to e x t e n d the perimeter of his private property ever further in the course of these exchange transactions, to transform the entire globe into a market which he exploits, which yields him profit, interest, rents, which are immediately transferred as new profit-hungry capital into even more extensive markets.

The more and more varied investments want to be profitable and, by doing so, expand the private property power of the successful individual to immeasurable proportions. Just as religion has already become a private matter, so too will world economics and world politics. In the background, a few "economic kings" - cannon manufacturers, oil producers and industrialists, coal magnates, oil producers and money men - hold the strings in their hands. There is no longer a generality of its own right, power and sovereignty. The general becomes a special case of the private sphere: it is merely a *h u n d e r s u p p o r t e d p r i v a t e s a c e*.

"Socialism" heralded the new dawning move towards the general; it was the shadow cast by a radical reversal that was in the making. This shadow was more contemporary than the romantic urge to find the general again in the feudal past and to be able to encounter it by fleeing back to the feudal era with its feudal ties. This generality is now not only the machinery of the enterprise; it grows into the planned organization of life of an entire people and in its broadest outlines already foreshadows the unified planning of existence that encompasses the whole of humanity. The plan organizes and subordinates; where it comes into effect, the world of private matters loses ground. It wants to develop sources, harness forces, place the individual branches of production in the most objectively appropriate and productive relationship to one another, remove inhibitions, eradicate mistakes; it achieves the highest degree of productivity. Nature is only a limited reservoir of energy that is rationally exploited; overexploitation in the private sector becomes a "Crime against the whole". An idea of order encompasses nature and man; it brings method into the interrelationships that exist between the two. Society becomes a

The result is a huge operating mechanism for which nature provides the sparingly used and carefully utilized power elements, but in which man has his hand on the switches and levers. Every man is in his place; everyone is bound to the rhythm of the running "conveyor belt"; everyone is a functionary in the course of the magnificently constructed apparatus. A man can create an order if he does not keep pace; each man is allotted his measure of plan fulfillment; it can be the same disturbance whether he exceeds the plan or whether he falls behind it. He receives the impulses from the production-strategic command center of the overall machinery; the functionary has as little right to private initiative as the soldier who stands in rank and file. The production plan is accompanied by a distribution plan; it is geared to the production yield. The determination of distribution quotas is subject to considerations of expediency. Private business is now merely a matter for remote corners, where private hobbyists can make their own calculations. Private hobbyists try to get their money's worth; they are pushed to the periphery. The mechanism of production and distribution is altogether the sensuous body in which the general appears; it is the general thing. The constructive plan can only reach its goal if it cannot be thwarted by any private right of disposal over raw materials, machines, quantities of goods, funds. The I(oneman and the private entrepreneur are dying figures; the technician and the planning I(onstructor are their heirs.

Feudal society had, so to speak, loaded the general onto the shoulders of the estate. The lord of the manor was a pinnacle with which the generality entered everyday life from its otherworldly background. It depended on this pinnacle; not everyone was predestined to be one; one was in any case "by God's grace".

The private economic society had wanted to transform the general into a special case of the private; as long as it remained visible in its independent purity, it was an objection to its guiding principle.

Now, however, the general is once again demanding at the door; it returns in this present, now formally tangible immediacy. Before its objectively overwhelming force, private existence melts into nothingness. The general begins to fill the whole scene of events; it sucks the mass of all individuals into itself and transforms them invisibly into its strictly bound functionaries. The professional man still had for himself his excellent birth; the functionary is never anything except that he is a functionary. As a functionary he proves himself by the performance corresponding to the plan; in this, not in any being, lies his honor. He is a collective human being; the fulfillment of the plan as the meaning of life necessarily creates a collective existence; it collectivizes man in a similar way to the harem, in which he is subordinated to the idea of national defense. The modern industrial worker is no more a private figure than the soldier is.

The air of this technical "planned economy" can only bear collective property - private property suffocates in it. The commodities that are allocated to everyone and that people can consume, save or exchange are the last remnants of the private zone that remains for everyone. It is a question of expediency and production how far this zone is drawn. Only the private ownership of the productive apparatus is conquering and thus genuine private property; the power of disposal over commodities is essentially only the free scope that the natural order of society also wants to see reserved for the collective man.

Collective property managed and mobilized according to plan

as an institution is the embodiment of a technical-rational, imperial idea of order; it symbolizes a claim of such a general-universal nature that no private, provincial or in any sense particular reservation can rightly exist against it.

Wherever the question of private property becomes heated, whether as a defender or an attacker, we are still operating within the framework of the private-capitalist social order. The question of private property is irrelevant for the attitude to life of the technical-collective world view; here it is not within the field of vision of really current affairs. The allocation of available commodities is a matter of the distribution plan; they come of their own accord, so to speak, like the soldier's menage; one steps up to "seize" them when they are ready and the order is issued. They are neither "sacred, nor do passions attach themselves to them. It is part of the common order that one has them or receives them; they become a natural part of life - almost like water and air. Thus they lack the special accent of individual belonging that is attached to private property in the bourgeois world. Private ownership of the mechanism of production, however, is utterly unthinkable; the very idea is repugnant. The mechanism of production has, one could almost say, joined the ranks of "cosmic" things, which regulate their course of events according to their own laws, of whose. Although the individual is dependent on their icons, they are unapproachably enthroned above individual arbitrariness and private discretion. Private property is on a level that has been "overcome" by objective necessity and the constraints of circumstances; it is as outlived as the problem of the virgin birth is for a modern skeptic. One never dwells on it any more,

Neither in the bad nor in the good; it is a weakness and a romanticism that one has left behind; one only looks at it historically.

The city originally fulfills an organic function for the landscape within which it lies. It is their market: the goods for daily and special needs, the production of which requires a higher level of skill than can be developed in a closed rural household, are traded there. Here, the craft feeds its man, just as in the countryside, the sea feeds the farmer. It piles up a supply of goods "from afar", which are only bought "on feast days". It is a castle: behind its walls it offers refuge, and if it withstands the siege, the enemy can clear the entire countryside.

The farmer is bound to the course and change of nature; he must allow things to mature and grow; he can only "make" things himself to a limited extent. In the city much is "made"; here the inventive power of the spirit has room for maneuver. That is why the city is more "spiritual"; it is the hops, the "Cehirn" of the countryside. If city air "sets you free", then it is not only in the sense that you escape rural-social bondage, but also in the other sense that you have to stand more on your own feet there and that it is very important what you do with your energy and under your responsibility with yourself.

From the very beginning there is a tension between city and landscape, as there is between the sky and nature; but it is a fruitful tension; the city is the stimulating element that keeps the tranquillity of the landscape from sinking into torpor; in it the originality and essence of the entire landscape also gain symbolically comprehensible, often highly artistic form. The tension is never so sharp that the city is

It remains a part of the landscape; it is embedded in the overall atmosphere of the landscape and is never anything other than its flowering. The city embodies a principle that is opposed to the landscape; but since it is completely mastered and mastered, it enhances the inner richness, the fullness and color of the landscape; it does not burst it. The city, too, remains in the haze of general traditions; the custom of the fathers is a sacred obligation everywhere; those who are not native or indigenous do not really belong to it throughout their lives. Even the good burgher lives piously, piously and honorably like the true peasant. The real individuality that every town seems to have is only the special trait that every landscape possesses. The town is part of the rural-feudal context of life; it is subject to its horizons, its values. As part of its landscape, it remains a "province"; it does not rise above the province, the province merely culminates in it; it is a provincial center point. Its foundations are also blood and soil.

The city has its fixed position within the estates society. It is the living space of the third estate, to which its unbreakable duties and achievements, but also its rights and privileges, are assigned. The city respects the boundaries drawn for it within the feudal-hierarchical structure of society; in its guild system and its constitution of rule, it reflects the feudal world behind its walls in its own special way.

The most typical representative of the feudal social order, the knight, always suspected that there were forces in the city that would one day blow up the feudal social order from within. That is why he mistrusted it. He cooled his heels at the "Pfeffersäcken", just as if he had wanted to take "revenge" in advance for the destruction of his existence that they would later make him suffer.

Princely absolutism is a transition; it is the "emergency constitution" that feudal society adopts at the moment when it feels its powers waning. It was for feudal society what fascism became for bourgeois society a few centuries later.

However, by making use of the celd economy, the development of which had brought about the crisis of feudalism, as the most modern and progressive means of its rule, absolutism inevitably promoted the power of the same third estate against which the feudal order wanted to assert itself. Because the absolute prince needed Celd, he had to favor the burgher; under the mercantile system the cities prospered. They did not yet tear apart the unity and unity of the countryside, but they became more self-confident and more demanding. The tension between town and country is deepening by several degrees; there is no lack of signs that the town is preparing to detach itself from "blood and soil". A desire for broader horizons emerges; however provincial the city may remain, it would no less like to look beyond the province. The feudal bond that absolutism wants to maintain becomes all the more oppressive for the city the more it is dependent on the help of the money-generating urban economy.

The characteristic type of city produced by absolutism is the capital and residence city. It is the city that belongs above all to the court and only to a limited extent to its countryside. It "lives" more from the court than from the rural population of its surroundings. Its citizens see the whole country through the eyes of the court; the city feels itself to be the center of the absolute monarchy. Within this monarchy, it occupies a position that corresponds to that which every city had previously held within its landscape. It is a step forward for the citizens of the royal seat that

he is in future only a subject of the absolute prince; in an emergency he can cope more easily with this top, which he faces directly, than with the broadly based institutional system of the feudal order in which he was previously immersed. All bourgeois revolutions in the future take place in the capital: if their victory is decided there, it is also decided in the whole country.

The citizen's victory was for the city, the field on which he not without consequences. It dismantled the barriers everywhere that had previously been imposed on it by guild legislation; the city, too, now overflowed its walls and broke out into the unlimited in all directions. Bourgeois freedom was more the anarchic unleashing of instincts hostile to form than the independent self-determination of an exuberant will to form. Accordingly, the city also expanded into the formless; where it emerged anew and did not develop around the form-governed item of a medieval city, it pushed upwards and outwards as a senseless, random, arbitrary stone waste. The lack of organizing power was obvious; what expanded here was not growth, but accumulation. The ruling citizen aspired to the Croßstadt; its millions filled him with pride. From the Croßstadt, the burgher sought to connect to the world economy and world trade; it was the starting point from which he could enter foreign markets as an iconic competitor. The Croßstadt caught the eye; every dog outside knew where you came from when you mentioned its name; it "legitimized". The background of the Croßstadt is the world economy. The world economy is its "milieu", which it shares with all other Croßstadt towns. That is why one Croßstadt is like another; they can all be reduced to a single scheme in the Crunde. The nation state is not their natural space, but the instrument with which

with the help of which it blows open those gates of the world market that people are unwilling to open voluntarily. The horizon of the Croßstadt extends far beyond the borders of the nation state; but it accepts it because it knows what it has in it. It has made it its arsenal, so to speak.

There is no real relationship between Croßstadt and the landscape. The two fall apart. For the Croßstadt, the landscape is an appendage which, in memory of "dark", "backward" and "happily overcome" centuries, still has to be taken in hand. The landscape is an embarrassment for the Croßstadt, not a problem that needs to be solved. The Croßstadt leaves it open to what extent the landscape must be crushed by it. It does not impose a new form on the landscape; it merely ruins and corrupts it: this is the meaning of the "urbanization of the countryside". Under the pressure of circumstances, the peasant behaves like a citizen; he treats his land as if it were liquid cash. The landscape does not transform itself into a new form of life under the pressure of the Croßstadt, which weighs on it; it rots. The rationalism of the Croßstadt is blind and dull before the innate logic of the countryside; that is why the landscape remains incomprehensible to it. From the point of view of the Croßstadt, it makes little difference whether the farmer cultivates his land, whether he speculates with it or whether a rich financier builds his summer residence on it. The Croßstadt is hardly interested in the cattle and meat production of its countryside, as this is not very profitable; everything can be imported "more cheaply" from Australia, Canada and South America.

The citizen needs goods in order to profit from their turnover; they are produced in huge factories in which large armies of workers are subject to a peculiar technical discipline. In the way in which he sells his labor power, the worker is also a ~~taxer~~; but the situation in which he sells his

The use and consumption of labor forces him into an attitude of direct, objective, collective responsibility, which is in complete contrast to the merchant's lack of responsibility towards his goods. The factories stand in the Croßstadt in much the same way as the cities once stood within the feudal social order: they are completely integrated and organized; in their structure they reflect the collective state, but they are nevertheless rooted in a contradictory principle. The worker moves in the Croßstadt like an enemy in disguise; the sinister aftertaste of the workers' quarters and workers' suburbs indicates that they are perceived as herds of subterranean, brooding dangers.

The horizon of the Croßstadt is the world economy, but only in the sense that it is the celds on which the citizen hunts for his profit at his own discretion, on his own initiative and for good luck. The "undeveloped hinterland" on which the Croßstadt feeds is only in the smallest part the landscape in the midst of which it lies, but rather the "foreign celds", the colonies with their primitive population. As soon as the undeveloped hinterland is used up and exhausted, as soon as the citizen can no longer draw from the full, the bourgeois order and with it the Croßstadt plunges into its crisis. Food becomes scarce; everyone is at everyone else's mercy; war is necessary to drive out a number of rivals. The situation of the defeated in the Uri eg became bleak: since the world economy was closed to it or only accessible to a limited extent, the supply of necessary life forces dried up for its coastal cities. The shrinkage of "trade and change", unemployment and impoverishment were inevitable consequences; as long as the masses still filled the Croßstadt, misery and impoverishment were their lot. When one had lost one's place in the world economy, the Croßstadt could no longer be maintained in the old sense; the Croßstadt was reduced to "hunger-

ratioii " when the nation state is no longer merely an "instrument" but the exclusive living space for them. It was understandable that tendencies emerged to rebuild them, to return to a type of city that was independent of the now closed expanse of the global economy.

However, the masses wanted to be catered for. With this population figure, it is no longer possible to march back into the past, back to the genteel moderation of the capital and royal seat or even to the idyll of the "country and district town".

The problem is: how to budget in order to guarantee the livelihood of the masses. Capitalist economic management "wasted" foreign raw materials, pasture and arable land and native landscapes; it was overexploitation. Waste is no longer permitted: one must calculate and plan. Calculation and planning are not mutually exclusive: one can examine whether an entire nation should not organize itself as a closed production community and, by destroying the foundations of the capitalist world economy, give the impetus to a kind of "world economy". In their spatial distribution and at the same time connection, energy cells and raw material stores become the pillars of entire production systems. The countryside is integrated from the rational point of view of its maximized use in production; it becomes a cereal, potato, animal feed, livestock and poultry factory. It is no longer "It no longer stands "outside" as a backward remnant: it takes on the character of the technical-industrial cohesive existence. It no longer leads an isolated life of its own, but is fully part of it in accordance with its status and possibilities. The difference between town and country is meaningless; there is neither town nor country in its former form.

Significance. Production district follows production district, production basin follows production basin'), and within this framework, land cultivation is no less technically rational than coal mining, iron production, timber distribution or weaving. Thus the citizen disappears; every man is a "worker"; even the peasant conforms to this type. Once the foreign raw material, cereal and pasture areas have been integrated into the world economy in the same way as the domestic countryside, then the colored peoples will also be adapted to the "style of the worker". In this way, the capitalist world economic space, ravaged by the anarchic noise of the market, will be transformed into a planned working space the size of a globe, organized in accordance with production technology. The organic landscape rests in the technical workspace like the blood-warm human being in the tip of the automatically functioning Japanese torpedo. The city, which in feudal times was incorporated into its landscape, was a free place where enterprising human spirit, inventiveness, artistry, technical skill, i.e. human creativity, were allowed to unfold, albeit only to the extent that they benefited the landscape. The irrational-meta-physical, blood-bound natural law of the landscape was thus not suspended; it had only loosened the reins somewhat in the feeling of its powerful inviolability, without questioning itself or even abandoning itself. Now, however, the landscape assumes the position previously held by the city; it is included in the planning of the technical-ratio, human-self-sovereign creativeness. In so far as the originally irrational law of the countryside becomes the

1) The Ruhr area is a borderline case; here the developmental stage of the bourgeois metropolis meets with a foreshadowing of the coming working-class production basin.

This is only a special and borderline case of the rationally organizing overall style. Film and radio are the means that lend omnipresence to the technically rational organizing human spirit and human will and rid it of all spatial and temporal constraints. There is no longer any distance or concealment that could be a barrier to the voice of the

" announcers " would no longer be accessible. Now, if circumstances required it, the entire globe and all of humanity could be directed from one point and with the same eye.

The metropolis stands in the midst of the world horizon: but it is more an open field full of adventures, conquests, speculations, surprises, sometimes even full of wonders than the "cultivated garden" that belongs to the home and in which everything is well planned, well-ordered and well utilized. It is only in the nature of the production basins of the post-bourgeois era to be located in the world horizon in this sense.

to make it "at home", to "cultivate" it in this way.

Certainly the man of that epoch is extremely conscious; he will be without naivety. But man, including the peasant, already lost his naivety in the age of bourgeois society; its loss, like the loss of virginity, is final; one can no longer wish to become naive once one has ceased to be so. That the world will be without naivety in the future may be deplorable, but no healthy person has yet committed suicide because he was no longer able to be naive. The world-to-be will also succeed in its own way in helping itself along without naivety.

"State" is not the same in all times and under all circumstances; every situation produces its own appropriate type of state.

One could very well say that the state was the form in which a "people" led its social life; however, one was only expressing something highly general. In this sense, the old empire was also a "state", even though the "state" had only asserted itself against the empire through the princely insurrection. Cerade this form depends on the type of social tensions that have developed within a people. The people is divided into diverse groups; it is the sum of the groups and their relationships with one another; it is the embodiment - also biologically underpinned - of unity consciousness, whereby all these groups are in an ultimate sense still held together in a commonality. As the epitome of national order, group organization and group relationships, the people is "society". Society is the naturally evolved and naturally given "state of constitution" in which a people finds itself. The form of the state is always determined by the respective nature of this social constitutional state. Viewed externally, the state is an apparatus: a legislative, administrative, judicial, defense and educational machine. The civil servant, judge, teacher, soldier, and above all those persons in whose office the state represents itself as a "sovereign entity" are "state people". Externally, the state brings the power of the people to bear; internally, it realizes "justice" under normal circumstances; it can also set itself the goal of promoting "culture" and guaranteeing "welfare". What "law" is laid down in laws whose content is drawn from the realm of society. Thus, it is in the crux of the welfare of the community that the state enforces through law.

It is in the nature of the apparatus "to be instruments of a will which makes use of it; but it is, on the other hand, in the sense of the "pure idea of the state" that the state should never be regarded as a mere

It would forfeit its dignity, its sovereignty. Thus it benefits the prestige of its position when the divergent groups of society maintain such a balance that the apparatus is enthroned above them as an "arbiter". Here the apparatus seems to exist independently of society; by making decisions between the directions or creating compromises, it also proves itself internally as a "true sovereign". He keeps each group in check through the other; since he has the power of legalization, he is courted by all the groups, each of which awards their cause the momentous rank of legality. Heine Cruppe is here in a position to dictate to him; he is above that; he seems to be the end in himself. It is the highest and strictest form, resting in itself and aiming at itself: this is how it comes closest to the "idea of the state". The "absolute state" was a state of this kind; its absoluteness consisted in the fact that, in the state of equilibrium between the feudal powers and the rising third bourgeois class, neither of these two groups could impose its will on the apparatus, but rather that the apparatus, by alternately playing off one group against the other, brought its particular will to recognition. The period of absolutism was the classical period of the state: here the apparatus acquired a life of its own between the social groups and above them.

It had the most far-reaching consequences for the "state" when the third estate made a "clean sweep" in its revolutions; the state order was rebuilt according to the real power situation. Even the "state" should not be allowed to escape the bourgeois society's urge for totality. Society. From its neutral height above the groups, the apparatus was stormily drawn into the field of force of the victorious bourgeois group; the latter seized it with intolerant ruthlessness.

The apparatus was ruthlessly "purged"; it remained unreliable as long as it still harbored a person with a non-bourgeois mindset and attitude. It deserved suspicion as long as it did not unconditionally obey the every beck and call of bourgeois society. There were still laws, administrative and legal conventions that could also benefit the defeated group opponent: that was the "alienation of the people" of the apparatus, that it at least still practiced the appearance of justice towards the defeated opponent instead of simply destroying the defeated. The bourgeois group created its own organs of power, Jacobin clubs and national guards, which corrected the "alienation of the people" of the state; they practiced "justice" that corresponded to the "feelings of the people", where the apparatus stumbled over "legal threads". The bourgeois group made itself capable of immediate action through the Jacobin Clubs and the National Guards; these structures were immediately deployed until the apparatus of the authorities and the regular army were purged of the non-bourgeois elements and thus freed from their "outdated legal considerations". For the bourgeois group, the state apparatus was merely an instrument alongside the other, directly revolutionary instruments of power. The state was nothing less than "total"; only the will of the bourgeoisie to assert itself was total; the impetuosity and unconditionality of the unrestrained momentum of action arose from it, not from drives in the state sphere. When the apparatus had finally been adapted to the needs of the bourgeoisie down to the last detail and renewed down to the most hidden corner, the "nation state" was complete. The nation state was "close to the people" because its laws and legal concepts had been born out of civic reflection and attitude.

The nation state is no longer a strict form, as the abso-

lute state was; to the extent that it became "close to the people", it distanced itself from the "pure idea of the state". The apparatus of the nation-state now develops only to a limited extent a logic of its own, a reasoning of its own particular kind; its mere instrumental character for the purposes of bourgeois society becomes apparent in the most sobering way.

The reverse side of this course of development is that the state loses its mystical essence; the mysterious haze in which its sovereignty was shrouded evaporates. The Hegelian metaphysics of the state is a fanaticism that feeds on the feeling of weakness: one senses that the mystical veil is melting into nothingness and wants to hold on to its vanishing residues by performing rites in front of them with intolerant permanence, from which no one is released. The mystical residue is to be taken into safekeeping all the more desperately because it has been discovered that it can be used to polish bourgeois interests to a shine that dazzles anyone who wants to have the wool pulled over their eyes.

However, a mysticism that has to be helped along with philosophical effort no longer makes any great leaps; it whistles from the last hole, no matter how much dialectical medicine is instilled into it and how many injections of dutiful cesine are given to it. Mysticism, before which one has to take a special pose in order to see the world through its eyes, is theater; there is nothing more behind it. The philosophical system to which he is puffed up is an illusion; he offers his last, but this last hardly comes into consideration. As soon as he is put to the test, he collapses; all his splendor is shattered in one fell swoop. It belongs to that ornamentation which is meaningless and dead because there is no longer any abundance to feed it.

Marx, as an "existential" thinker, got to the heart of the mystical magic with the callous brutality of someone who, while everyone is still lulled by illusions, already sees where the journey is heading. He was driven by malice against Hegel to expose the "incarnation of the world spirit" as a pompous deceptive maneuver that concealed a mere "instrument of power for bourgeois class interests", an "ordinary machine for the oppression of one social class by another. Friedrich Engels also gave the "dead lion" a kick in the pants; the "state plunder", he said, should be put into the "junk room" are thrown out.

Although the bourgeois did not want to let Marx and Engels spoil his taste for the mysticism of the state, it became increasingly difficult for him to commit himself to it. The longer the bourgeois state mystic lived, the more inevitably he came under suspicion of not even being bona fide. The state could hardly convince anyone that it was a "neutral authority"; it could no longer even hint at a divine origin. The idea of the state lost its appeal; this was also the sad end of its mysticism. It entered into public opinion that it was only an instrument, which had a merely earthly hand over it, which made unconditional use of it. In the end, the bourgeoisie also regarded the state with the same coolness that Marx had once expressed: but they did not yet want to expose the disposing earthly hand with Marxist cynicism. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" is the state machinery that makes no secret of the fact that it is merely a tool of power of the proletariat; it openly displays the ambition to serve exclusively proletarian ends. The citizen does not want to throw his hard on the table so blatantly; it does not suit him. If he has to praise the mysticism of the state, he is still protecting the "people" or the

" parties" from which the instrument of state must take its orders.

To the extent that the purely instrumental character of the state now appeared without restraint, the state became an image that actually belonged in the realm of technical reason and was only retained in foreign areas for reasons of tradition. It would immediately function "differently, better, more meaningfully" if only it were first included in the field of technical reason.

Technical reason organizes existence as a production process that is rationally thought through down to the last detail, not, as economic reason did, as a process of exploitation. With the purpose, the "animation" of the instrument changes; it adapts to the "other spirit". The "power construct" ensures the control of plan implementation and plan fulfillment; it no longer favors economic exploitation. Since the total state is maintained as a total production apparatus that incorporates every human being as a "worker", social plundering and political enslavement are human relations that no longer have a starting point or a basis. The characteristic human relationship in the space of existence of the "eternal Roman" was political domination and oppression, in that of the "eternal Jew" it was economic exploitation; in the space of existence of the third imperial figure it will be the purposeful productive classification that seeks to achieve the highest performance with the least effort. "Government over people is replaced by the administration of things and the management of production processes." This has its consequences. "The whole of society becomes an office and a factory." State "law" is displaced by the sum of planning instructions, management regulations and operating instructions. Management, in so far as it is rule, becomes superfluous, because the Gesamtmecha-

nism functions in accordance with its icausality and its objective lawfulness and, as it were, unrolls by itself if only the levers and buttons are operated appropriately.

Naturally, the third imperial figure - otherwise it would not be "imperial" - has a tendency towards a unified global organization. This globe organization is no longer state-like in the previous sense; it is also more comprehensive than the "empire"; it is an earth-spanning end empire that establishes and maintains the "peace of humanity". This final empire is, if one may still speak of politics here, the political crunch concept of the third imperial figure.

43*).

In the bourgeois world of order, in the space of economic rationality, the worker is the "barbarian", freely the barbarian without bloody gravity. His lack of wildness and originality, however, is precisely his strength in the field of technical rationality, which is dominated by the production plan within whose framework he is supposed to prove himself. In this environment, he is the "native and "native.

Insofar as he is "dematerialized", he is "prepared" for the collective iconography into which he is inserted. He can rise all the more to become the type of the technical imperial figure.

*) The book "Decision" was written in 1929 in the specific context of the Weimar situation; at the time, it primarily championed the cause of the German "barbarian" against the "eternal Roman". However, the German barbarian was not portrayed in terms of his imperial possibilities; he was observed with great importance as he turned his face from his prefabricated, Protestant, soldierly, land-bound niveau to the 0th, the worker and his imperial mission. It was merely the starting point from which the German barbarian would have to begin his ascent to the height of the third in the periodical figure.

The less it has remained "natural", the more it can be shaped. Admittedly, he then provides only the "ceiling", the "naked IUoche framework" for this type, if one may say so; he has no energy reserves to endow the type with dynamism. He embodies the Cestalt, but only in a shadowy, ghostly way. For this reason, he lacks the irresistible power of penetration for the test of strength against the bourgeois cosmos of order, in the march against the "economic enemy territory". He frightens the bourgeois environment, but he does not master it.

In the construction of the technical building, nature was used up in every sense: as a natural raw material and as the natural substance of man. In the process of his industrial discipline, the worker is transformed into a technical energy element; the natural force is tamed and utilized in him, just as water and steam power or electricity are tamed and utilized in the machine. The worker moves in a zone of progressive human desolation; he stands in the same relation to this zone as the technical enclosure stands to its sucked and squeezed natural landscape. This enclosure is an immense technical apparatus that is constantly hungry for fresh raw material; under certain circumstances this raw material can be

- Germany because of such need - no longer even fetches from afar. The worker, who is without living originality, corresponds, according to his general style of existence, to a technical apparatus that no longer has a reservoir of raw materials. However perfect this apparatus may be, it can no longer produce anything. The "denatured" worker is incapable of creatively shaping his relationship to the technical apparatus to which he belongs; he has nothing to do with it; he has no power to impose on it the meaning he would like to give it.

Since it has no vital excess I force in the rear,

he is not able to distance himself from the technical apparatus in its complexity and to deal with it in a sovereign manner. Even as he pulls the lever that sets the gears in motion, he is more acted upon than a handler: he blindly obeys the compulsion of the technical logic of the mechanism. To the full extent of its existence, it is inserted into the technical apparatus as a mechanical component of it; it is no longer a vital primal cause enough to be able to make use of it with superior freedom in the direction of creative impulses.

He is powerless in his homelessness and uprootedness, whether he owes both the boundless expanse of imperial points of view and the boundless generosity of humanity-spanning planning: one must not misjudge the imperial horizon of his idea of the "International".

Cerade because no earth, no homeland keeps him "confined", the worker, the "proletarian barbarian of Europe", has what it takes to compete with the eternal Roman and the eternal Jew as a worldly figure. However, he does not have the robust power to actually assert himself as a worldly figure. Even the eternal Roman and the eternal Jew, left to their own devices, would have remained powerless; the forces of nature had helped them forward.

It is a twist of fate that there are bloodily unspent auxiliaries waiting for the call of the worker, in so far as he has the e x p e r i e n c e o f i m p e r i a l f i g u r e. If the worker entered into a cohabitation with them, he would create a relationship that would be without precedent in its historical novelty.

The eternal Roman and the eternal Jew always remain strangers to their primitive barbarians, no matter how intimate their friendship may be. They parasitize on the primitive powers, feast on them, suck them dry, grind them up, squander them.

their biological substance: inwardly they have nothing in common with them. The eternal Roman and the eternal Jew pursue exclusively their own purposes, which lie too far outside all spatial and temporal ties to be brought into a final and complete harmony with the indigenous needs of the bloodily provincial barbarian peoples; those imperial purposes are always "adverse to the species" for the barbarian peoples. The worker, however, encounters a primitive, unconsumed barbarian who, from the very foundations of his existence, is designed to "coincide in purpose" with him. In the symbiosis between barbarian and eternal Roman or eternal Jew, a head is always grafted onto the crude body that does not fit it. The worker, on the other hand, finds a barbarian as a "body", for whom he is the head that belongs. It is probably because the technically disciplined worker who is willing to exert power is a form of life of the barbarian that has been elevated to worldliness that he had the chance to meet a primitively original barbarian with whom he would be able to form an organic unity that is completely aligned inwardly. In his contact with this originally natural barbarian he would not

"devastate", but fulfill and complete. Thus, in the end, the eternal barbarian would grow in this very symbiosis, in a sense as a "Barbarian", to an imperial figure; since he no longer "limited" enough to pull the chestnuts out of the fire, he would spoil the concept for both the eternal Jew and the eternal Roman in the future. Furthermore, both would have no "Stupid" anymore.

The naturally primitive barbarian, who by nature carries within him the prerequisites to perceive the imperially oriented worker not only as "a piece of himself" but even as his "better" piece, is the Slavic peasant and the Tartar shepherd.

pure, yet only embodied without desire or power, the raw material that endows it with dynamic irresistibility. What is special here is that the raw material does not need to be raped, does not need to be "alienated"; the "refinement process" that takes place on it is not, like the christianization of the ceremen, a sacral robbery or, like the capitalistically determined bourgeoisification, a self-perpetuating revaluation of essential values. The worker, dominated by imperial ambition, would "spiritualize" their elementary content in the union with the Eastern peoples; this content would not be distorted, but "sharpened" and sharpened according to the species.

The pull towards the great and wide is natural to those peoples. Pan-Slavism, whose most illustrious mouthpiece was Dostoyevsky, the immense Tartar empires, which were knocking at the gates of Europe and whose most powerful creator was Dzhi ngiz Khan, were contemporary expressions of the highest imperial will to power. These peoples do not cling to the clod; a nomadic inclination keeps even the peasant in restlessness; he lives, like the nomad at sea, the Viking, as if on the move and in constant expectation. He is not indissolubly bound to any place; he "vagabonds" when he can no longer resist the temptations of the distance. He breaks "takes down his tents" when restlessness strikes him; he separates himself from his "inheritance" with difficulty and starts all over again with a light heart. That is why he is not conservative, not conservative; he is an elementary revolutionary. This is what was aimed at when the innate "nihilism" of the Russian peasant was noted. In the Russian peasant there is a secret readiness to put everything at risk; there are no ultimate fixed values that will not be touched under any circumstances. However high they may be, the moment always comes when they are shattered in the lust for destruction. Such impartiality gives one the courage to make great icon- structions; one does not shy away from any measure, from any corridor.

14 imp. rig.

The tsar, who unceremoniously pulls the reins of the Petersburg-Moscow railroad with a ruler, is already "Bolshevik" before the spectre of "Bolshevism" has even entered the European scene. The Tsar, who quickly draws the line of the Petersburg-Moscow railroad with a ruler, is already "Bolshevik" before the spectre of "Bolshevism" has even entered the European circle of opinion.

For Eastern mysticism, there is a transcendent only in a non-real sense; it is merely a deep perspective of this world. The ragged shell of the poorest beggar is the window through which the gaze falls directly on the eternal. Western thought, on the other hand, draws a gulf between this world and its background; these backgrounds are the mysterious elements of an otherworldly realm that is completely removed from this world and self-contained:

"my kingdom is not of this world". But as the here and now makes room for itself against the hereafter in the process of Western secularization, everything that was dark and mysterious is transformed into foreground; the world view flattens out. The process of secularization is a process of externalization. Eastern mysticism does not need to level out the background in order to get rid of the annoying authority of an afterlife. It can incorporate all backgrounds into the totality of this world without worrying; they have never been anything other than depths of this world. The worldly carries all the inscrutability of existence within itself; the external is never anything other than the outside of the "last things".

Thus the Eastern man, who is only conditionally bound in every respect, has no point - not even a metaphysical one - on which he could dare to defiantly assert himself in his icy abandonment "against the whole world"; he is not an individualist. In the strong feeling of the wavering insecurity of his existence, which is not attached to a fixed place, he survives his adventures in the midst of the world.

of all-connectedness, in the "herd"; he is a collectivist. Originally, in terms of its basic nature, it is attuned to the lifestyle of people of the technical age. Around the year 1850, the Spaniard Donoso Cortes had already unravelled the Russian secret - contrary to all the views of his time, he foresaw that Rurikland would be the first country to realize "socialism".

By pouring himself into the technical chassis, the Eastern man transforms it. He imbues it with vitality; the mechanism becomes the organ of an elementality. A new, artfully cultivated, modified naturalness emerges. Technology is no longer simply the nature of nature; it, which from the very beginning, even in its strongest contrast to nature, only rose on the crest of nature, reveals its distance to it. The technical equipment perceives itself as a piece of purified but nevertheless still unbroken naturalness. Technology neither wants to replace nor supersede nature; it wants to appear as the summit that nature is able to climb, as the state of self-completion to which nature can bring it.

The technical apparatus becomes the most developed stage of the natural world of forms. In the process of its creation, the technical case had exhausted and consumed the natural substance of the European peoples who chased from invention to invention. In its bloodless rigidity, it seemed to be the Ccgen nature, because where it had risen, it had put an end to the abundance and unpredictability of the original naturalness. Now, however, in its mechanical perfection, it is being washed over by the vitality of the unspent Eastern peoples; this vitality is like the flesh, the blood circulation and the nervous system, all of which are silent around a cerippe built up from inorganic substances and, together with the cerippe, form a truly functional and fruitful organic unity.

Western civilization and bourgeois-capitalist civilization are works and achievements in the midst of which the people who produced them had exhausted themselves; they are the "top achievements" with which Europe gifted the world. The technical apparatus, however magnificently it was constructed, was only an occidental "by-product"; it was never directly aimed at; it was a means to an economic end. For the European bourgeois man, the mechanism of the free market economy was the natural element of his self-development; for the anti-bourgeois worker and the Eastern peoples, on the other hand, as a result of the harmony of their essential orientation with the apparatus, the technical housing will be that element. The economic space would be transformed by subjecting it to the dictatorship of the technical space.

46.

The eternal Roman and the eternal Jew are celebrities of the Mediterranean region; from there they conquered spatial Europe and created spiritual Europe. Both have roots that reach into other iconic continents. Behind the Jew one senses anterior Asian influences, behind the Roman North African secrets.

Their historical setting is, of course, Europe. Europe stands and falls with them; they are the quintessential Western figures. On the back of the Germans and Slavs, they rose to their imperial heights.

However, the Germanic-Slavic barbarian protest never fell silent. In the battles between the emperor and the pope, in the persecution of the Jews, in Protestantism and in Prussianism, it had its say, perhaps more grandly and decisively in the schism of the Church in 1054, which was the turning away of the Slavs from Rome.

The new imperial figure, the bearer of the technical world

The image of the eternal Jew is an anti-Western phenomenon; by confronting the eternal Jew and the eternal Roman, it throws down the gauntlet to the West. The eternal Jew was its godfather, just as he had once been the godfather of the post-antique eternal Roman; what Christ became for the eternal Roman, Icarl Marx would have wanted to become for the imperial, upwardly striving eternal barbarian. Of course, the moment Lenin conceived of Icommunism as a campaign of electrification, the emancipation of the third imperial figure from the eternal Jew had already begun.

On Russian soil, Lenin and Stalin created the appropriate political system for the self-willed imperial aspirations that Dostoyevsky had so captivantly formulated earlier. In his famous Pushkinredec, Dostoyevsky had asked: "For what is the imprisonment of the Russian national spirit in its ultimate goals other than the striving for all-worldliness and allinhumanity?" The Russian people showed a "readiness and inclination towards an allmale union with all the peoples of the great Aryan tribe". To be a true Russian means

"to be a brother of all men, an all-man, if you will". The Russian lot was "universality, not one fought for with the sword, but one acquired through the power of brotherhood and fraternal striving for the unification of men". The true Russian strives to "pronounce the final word of universal harmony". This final word was due. In his commentary on Pushkin's speech, Dostoyevsky remarked: "In Europe, that Europe where so many riches are stored up, the bourgeois crust of all nations is submerged and will perhaps collapse tomorrow for all eternity; in its place, however, something unheard-of new will begin that bears not the slightest resemblance to the former." Dostoyevsky objects to the fact that Ruhland, in order to bring this unheard-of new thing into being

The idea is that, in order to set a new course for the future, it must first "become a rich nation and transplant the Western European bourgeois institution to itself", i.e. "slavishly copy this Western European order [which will collapse in Europe tomorrow]".

This "unheard-of newness" has been in the making in Ruhland since Lenin; it is the "word" that Ruhland offers the world and through which "general harmony" is to be established and the "unification of people" is to be achieved. The Slavic urge for all-worldliness and all-humanity, which is rooted in an elementary concept, wants to be the driving force that gives the technical rationale political clout; it sees itself as the motor that could provide the new imperial figure with the "horsepower" it needs to overcome all "obstacles in order to "get over the mountain". The long breath and great patience of Asia are tangibly behind him.

To the extent that the worker's idea of order and will to plan are combined with the Russian inclination towards all-worldliness and the Tatar-Asian collective identity to form the unity of a world view and an idea of political organization, his vision points beyond Europe. Since the pressure of the economic-bourgeois Occident also weighs on the worker, the liberation of all oppressed peoples is at the same time his own cause; he can only rise up against the bourgeois world to the extent that the economically oppressed peoples throw off the chains in w h i c h they have been placed by it.

47.

It is the significance and rank of an imperial figure that it stands in relation to an ordered good that is not bound to a country, province or nation, but is of universal validity across all countries, provinces and nations. The imperial figure can either administer or destroy it: what is essential is that it is connected with one or the other.

the changing process produces an effect of universal extension.

The eternal Roman of pre-Christian times felt himself to be the executor of a moral and juridical order that rested absolutely and comprehensively in nature and was given with nature; he inevitably came across the moral and juridical laws, so to speak, if only he knew how to read nature correctly and impartially. The eternal Roman of the post-Christian era by no means rejected this natural order; he only discovered the hand of God behind it; above everything and in everything he recognized the planning of God. The course of the world rolled out according to the divine plan of creation; but the divine plan of salvation ruled over the fate of mankind. The divine plan had established an objective, inviolable, authoritative order, which was free from human influence and subjective arbitrariness; the human being who rebelled against it was sinful, was a transgressor; he had to atone so that the holiness of the order was reconciled and the disturbance of the order was eradicated.

In the sense of this objective order, hierarchism and patriarchalism, the division into priests and laity, lords and nobles, the structure of the estate-based society. Everyone was assigned and entrusted with his position in the world as a whole, his profession, his honor, his rights; this order demanded that the cobbler stick to his last. Its greatest seers, heralds and interpreters were Augustine and Thomas Aquinas.

Every order stands in the way of the eternal Jew, whose promise will only be fulfilled at the end of days; as long as order still prevails, his time will not dawn. It is almost against all order that all things are handed over to the eternal Jew; but precisely the power over every thing is the content of his chiliastic hope. Only by transcending all orders can he reach his goal; his cause thrives all the better the more the

Disorderliness spreads. Where an objective order reigns, it puts him in a cetto; he has objective orders because they place him in a place from which he can no longer escape. He subverts the objective order: he fights for "freedom". He understands "freedom" as a breakdown of order. In ancient Rome, too, he was the "ferment of decomposition". The instrument he uses to destroy order is the economic ratio. It estimates every value, every cut on the price. In this way, it destroys the absolute; it makes everything relative: it can be measured with celd. The fixed becomes mobile, the inviolable character of order questionable. Order becomes the "fetter of progress"; this puts it in the wrong. Where order is unshaken, the treasures of the world remain elevated; the economic rationale confronts man with the choice of whether he wants order or the treasures of the world. Man succumbs to the temptation and chooses the treasures of the world. He dismantles order piece by piece. Se hori by beginning to follow his own path as an isolated individual, he leaves the path of order; it encourages him that he is successful in doing so; the more boldly the individual takes his fate into his own hands, the greater his success. This is what Jünger finds: there are more and more individuals who seek their success at the expense of order. As soon as it is the general opinion that order stands in the way of success, order is generally abandoned. The disintegration of order brings all relationships into flux; there is no more security, no more stable ground: everything ferments. Those who want to fish in the murky waters get their money's worth. Hierarchism is order; it collapses. The masses, in which everyone is equal to everyone else, flood the field.

This process takes centuries. The first serious
The shaking of order is the replacement of objective order by "pre-stabilized harmony". The pre-stabilized harmony

wants to fulfill a function of order, wants to satisfy the need for order without being a real order. It is the uppermost part of the slippery slope on which one finally slides down into anarchism via liberalism, individualism and democratism. All transformers, the philosophers since Descartes and modern science, work into the hands of this process of order destruction; sovereign man replaces objective order.

The third imperial figure carries a new image of order. It experiences the Icosmos as a machine; its eye is attuned to seeing things only as components of the technical apparatus, the technical equipment. It traces the technical logic; this is to come to pure effect. Technical logic is strict and relentless; where it is neglected, there are failures. Existence must function precisely, in the sense of a machine; it must be constructed in such a way that no element of life is lost through avoidable friction or waste. Man is a cog or a screw or a lever or a piston or a rail or a drill; he must be filed or molded to a fraction of a millimeter: he must fit his place. There is no room here for subjectivism, for individual free love. The construction plan that assembles the canvas and holds it in place is an objective idea of order; it places things and people according to objective laws that only the technical eye has drawn out of the darkness. These laws are neither moral nor juridical in nature; they also have no supernatural-transcendent background and no otherworldly origin. They are entirely this-worldly; but nonetheless universal, inexorable, inescapable, compelling. The order is rational down to the last ramifications; yet the reason at work here has its own special coloring. In that the metaphysical-juridical ratio is the

flow of a supernatural power, it has a personal character. The economic ratio, which is not bound to any one thing, which subjects things to individual interests, is individualistic-subjectivistic; it is the mark of cunning, with which everyone seeks his advantage and beds himself in life as he will then lie. Technical reasoning, on the other hand, is impersonal, not individualistic and not subjectivist; it is a factually anonymous, worldly logic that is drawn from the things themselves. Individualism and subjectivism mean the same thing within the technical structure of order, which for a machine means recalcitrance, inelasticity, fragility, defectiveness of the material from which it is built. The hierarchism of the Roman order now corresponds to functionalism, to the patriarchalism of collectivism. Hegel and Marx stand at that point at which the technical ratio reflects on itself for the first time; the Hegelian dialectic is the intellectual stepping stone to reach the synthesis of the technical world construction via the thesis of the juridical-theological Roman world of order and the antithesis of the economic-Jewish anarchy. The technical world plan idea has already found its Augustine.

Rome probably destroyed the "species-specific" primitive orders in favor of its universal "higher" and "spiritual" order. In a careful process of reinterpretation, it weakened, refined and purified the orders of blood and soil to such an extent that they could be integrated into the Roman universal world of order. The eternal Jew dissolved the species-bound order of the barbarians and at the same time undermined the universal order of Rome; he was a nihilist to both the barbarians and the Romans.

The new imperial figure necessarily has its nihilistic stage. Both the provincial orders and the order of Rome obstruct its path. In this respect, all that remains for it is to

to carry out decomposition work first. Then, of course, comes the hour in which she creates her own bold, planned constructions on the cleared building site under her own responsibility.

It is part of the peculiar coloring of Western institutions to be presented as if they were rooted in religiously transcendental, theologically otherworldly foundations and backgrounds. "Cott created man in his image": they want to be images of divine ideas of order. In their totality and in their harmony, they form a cosmos of order that seems to revolve around "Cott". "Cott" is regarded as the center, the item, the inextinguishable spark, the nourishing source of life. A closed world view relates all being and becoming to Cott: Cott is the creator of all things; man is his creator and man is also indebted to Cott for his human works. Cott blesses man with his children as he blesses him with earthly goods. Man is nothing without God; he stands before the Almighty in humility and dependence. He is so much a nothing that it is not for him to comprehend either himself, nature or God; it is for him to accept all this "believingly". He exalts himself and disturbs the order of the cosmos in which he is embedded when he tries to lift the veils of secrecy with his intellect, when he wants to know what he is supposed to believe.

It is the Ceist w h o tempts people, to be "arrogant". He feels the power within him to "understand", to know, to be able to track Cott down. The doubt lurks within him as to whether there really is as much behind the beyond as he would like to "believe". He harbors the suspicion that the afterlife only insists on the distance of honorable fear because its entire reputation is gone,

as soon as the Ceist looks into his hardness; in this gaze it will no longer be possible to conceal the fact that the hereafter is also only "like him". The enticement: "You will be like Cott" had a reverse side: "Cott is no more than man can be."

Where the emancipatory impulse of the spirit, where his desire to get to the bottom of everything on his own responsibility, is branded as "satanic", the hereafter protects itself. "Satanic" is what drives the hereafter into a corner. "Satan" is the Ce who has discovered that it is a prejudice to have any respect for the beyond.

"Satan" is the curse that the hereafter hurls into the face of the Ceist to prevent spiritual disrespect from gaining general acceptance and spreading. If spiritual disrespect were to succeed, then all the glory of the hereafter would come to an abrupt end; it would dissolve into an empty, blue haze.

Because the occidental cosmos does not want the impression to be lost that its center of gravity lies in the hereafter, it shares the fear of "Satan": in order not to lose its equilibrium, it must take care that the Ceist does not pull the hereafter away from under its favors. For this reason, the "free Ceisters" in the West generally come to a bad end at the beginning. The world of legal-creative-theological reasoning wages war against the Ceist, if necessary, with funeral pyres and calves - unless he is able to bind himself to its advances and be beaten.

There is, of course, a special relationship with the "free Ceist". The spirit begins to feel free when a prevailing state of order loses its power over it. The "free spirit" is a symptom: now it becomes apparent that the compelling force of an order is weakening, that it is no longer asserting itself everywhere in one's own home. The structure of order is already becoming

questionable; that is why the "free Ceist" oppresses it with his questions. In principle, the order had capitulated when it no longer burned the free spirit, but only mistrusted it. The "successes of the free spirit" indicate the extent to which the process of the world's degradation is progressing. Neither activity nor initiative lies with the free Ceist; he only imagines it. He smugly and presumptuously records in his account what he does in things all by himself; he is a theatrical hero who would like to convince us that he is moving reality. Where he has a "corrosive" effect in the Western environment in which he appears, and where he gnaws away at the foundations of the Western faith, one can be sure that something was already "rotten in the state" beforehand. The free Ceist is an anarchist and atheist to the extent that the binding orders of the legal-creative-theological ratio are loosened. Insofar as he claims the "merit of it", he is a poseur and a vain peacock.

As an element of dissolution and the abstract seizure of the world, he becomes a natural ally of economic reason. The free Ceist, if he does not come from the Cetto himself, always has a good relationship with the eternal Jew; he is familiar with Spinoza or Mendelssohn and gives the Occident his "Nathan the Wise" to bite into. Western institutions feel bitterly that they themselves have to pay for the existence of the free spirit. Nietzsche still perceived that the Western institutions, in the midst of which he lived with "philosophized with the hammer", as a "wicked man". These institutions rightly sensed that where a "free spirit" first spread, there would be no more Western crassness. He is the spectre that appears when they are at the end.

Since the victory of the economic rationale in Europe, Western institutions have been reduced to a mere existence.

Forms still exist, but they have lost their tenacity and solidity. They are like tinder, and any storm can blow them away. Since the Claubens ground has been worn away, Western institutions have been floating in the air; one never knows when they will collapse. It is no coincidence that the last figure of the West, the citizen, constantly fears for his safety. Under the cutting analysis of the Ceist, the hereafter, which was once

"stick and staff" became an illusion; it turned out to be mere imagination, through which the reality of this world had allowed itself to be made stupid. The free spirit drew courage for frivolity when the spell of the hereafter was broken for reasons that lay in the things themselves.

While the occidental system of order is still spending the substance of existence "privately", the world of order of bare existence is already taking shape. It is the order that no longer allows room for wastefulness, digressions and digressions; within it, the self-assertive urge of existence to the hardest necessities is self-evident. It tolerates no mediocrity, no ornamentation, no "ornaments", no more "luxury"; it urges straight lines and concise forms. In the sobriety and immediacy with which it pursues the goal of continuing bare existence, it appears "external", "superficial", "meagre", "this-sided"; in contrast, the occidental world of order was inward, profound, rich and otherworldly. However, the technical cosmos of order, the order of bare existence, has not fallen away from a beyond that exists in an independent distance; it has only saved the effort of alighting a beyond from its means; it has dismantled what has gradually become too costly for it. Even the ordering of the naked existence is so "tieful-lick" as is the case with the organization of the metaphysicum.

spun e xi stence; however, it has stripped itself of all facades. The real remains what it is; only now it no longer makes much of itself.

The order of bare existence finally also cashes in on the "free ceist"; since it is in the process of becoming and is dominated by the tendency to solidify, there is nothing left to question. The spiritual element is taken into service; it is forced to be a power of order and construction. It functions as the crund of things demands. If one follows its trail and considers it in isolation, independently of the circle of things from which it shines forth, then it appears as a constructive, both this-worldly and technical spirit; in the form of the technical ratio it attains the height towards which it is designed. The order that emerges rises from the comprehensible; it is a machine-like order, and the constructed machine would like to be recognized as a symbol of human creativity.

The empire, which is founded on the logic of technical rationality, has no transcendent center: as much as the knowing human being may certainly only be an obedient executive organ of existence reduced to its "iron stock," he nevertheless acts on the historical stage as an imperial founder of order and legislator; the third imperial figure is the responsible type of this empire. From the point of view of the Occident, which has sunk into the transcendental, this empire is the realm of "Satan", the "Antichrist": but since the Occident is dead, its standards of value do not apply and its insults and denunciations have become blunt. When the "satanic empire" replies coolly, calmly and superiorly that faith is "opium for the people", this is not a homage with the same drooling coin.

The "this-worldly" empire will not be a paradise; in its technical objectivity of hardships and "abstract" crau-

not be deprived of the same things. But the *sacrum Imperium* did not spread happiness either; it tormented people no less with its persecutions of heretics and witch burnings, with its Inquisition, its religious wars and the extermination of pagans. The humanitarian balance sheet of the "satanic" empire will certainly not lag behind the humanitarian balance sheet of the *sacrum* empire: the individual items will shift, but the debets also will be just as high or as low here as it was there.

A new cosmos of order emerges - not because it is wanted or longed for by people, but because its hour has come. Behind the "Luciferian" empire on this side is the same inevitable necessity that the divine empire on the other side had been able to argue in its favor. In the hour of its dawning it is pointless to conjure up the day of its downfall, although this too will one day draw near. Our circle of vision is currently filled only by the rise of the technical-divine world of order.

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