The Struggle for Germany: A Reader for German Youth By Philipp Bouhler

1001 to 1050 thousand copies¹

1939 Zentral Verlag der NSDAP, Franz Eher Nachf., GmbH Berlin

¹ Philipp Bouhler was Nazi party member number 12 and, among other things was in charge of implementing the T4 euthanasia program, which murdered more than 250,000 people deemed not worthy of life. Because he committed suicide shortly after his arrest, Bouhler was never put on trial for his crimes. According to Christian Adam, Bouhler's *Der Kampf um Deutschland* had the third highest print run of any book published during the Third Reich, just shy of two million. This was largely because it was mandatory in the schools. By comparison, *Mein Kampf* sold some 12,450,000 copies. Adam, Christian (trans. Anne Stokes). *Bestsellers of the Third Reich*. New York: Berghahn, 2021. Appendix, p. 271.

Dedicated to the Führer and Organizer of Germany's Future

Foreword

It is thanks to the Führer that this book was written.

During a stroll in the forests of the Obersalzberg in the fall of 1936, the Führer talked about the necessity for German schools to have a history of the NSDAP that succinctly describes for German youth the struggle of the movement.

In the following pages I have tried to accomplish this task. May this book contribute to encouraging German boys and girls to fulfill their loyal duty and confirm them in their fanatical² faith in the Volk, the Reich, and the Führer, whose legacy they will be called upon to protect.

Because it is they who have been called to become bearers of the German future.

Russdorf on the Inn, Spring 1938.

The author

² Victor Klemperer discusses how the Nazis turned 'fanaticism' into a positive in his *Language of the Third Reich: LTI*, which chronicles his observations about the Nazi distortion of the German language. Initially a term used during the Enlightenment to condemn what was seen as the mindless faith of clerics, the Nazis required a constant fever pitch to enforce the willingness to obey unquestioningly and to kill.

Introduction The Germany of Yesterday

I. The Second Reich

When we to whom it is granted to live in the National Socialist German Reich look back on the Germany of yesterday, we are full of gratitude to Providence, moved by the transformation that the German nation has experienced as a result of Adolf Hitler's mission.

History knows no standstill, only ascent or decline. It pursues its path with merciless logic. The path taken by Germany after the Great War was the path into oblivion until the Führer swung it in a new direction, leading his Volk up the steep and difficult path that led to unity, giving it renewed power and greatness.

The yearning of Germans for a united, powerful Reich is as old as its history.

But never – until today – has this dream been fulfilled. There have always been powers at work that destroyed instead of building, that split when they should have joined together. At one time it was the tribes that went their separate ways; then struggles over professions of faith split the Reich; princely houses were primarily concerned with their own power and neglected the interests of the nation; and finally, the Volk was subjected to alien seductions and torn apart by classes.

Soon after Arminius the Cheruscan's heroic battle of liberation, discord and dissension were victorious over German unity. The migration of peoples bore powerful Germanic tribes to foreign lands, where they died in heroic battle.

Nor did the powerful Reich founded by Charlemagne last. The German Kaisers of the Middle Ages bled to death on Italian soil or sacrificed the flower of the German knighthood in the "holy" land, for a phantom. And finally, the sad result of church fanaticism brought a war lasting 30 years upon Germany, which laid waste to its fields and decimated its population horribly. For centuries, the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" eked out its existence, more properly its shadow existence, and when it finally met its well-deserved dissolution at the hands of Napoleon, there appeared the forty individual sovereign states that comprised a Reich not even in name, which perpetuated the splintering of Germany.

The beginnings of national unification, marked by the revolution of 1848-1849, were soon forgotten, and more importantly, this revolutionary movement bore with it the germ of dissolution because it was built on the "achievements" of the French Revolution, and preached "liberty, equality, fraternity" and parliamentary forms of government.

It is true that the statecraft of Otto von Bismarck was able to unite the northern German states into the "North German Confederation" and after the victorious conclusion of the German-French War on January 18, 1871, created a German Kaiser Reich. But he was unable to forge together a united Germany that pulsed with a single heartbeat, borne forth by a single idea, aglow with a single will.

Un-German influences of all sorts churned up the soil of this Reich that was not sufficiently fused together. Three factors in particular hindered Bismarck's Reich from becoming a great German national state: particularism, liberalism, and the unresolved social question.

<u>Particularism</u> denotes the independence of individual states. In German history, disunity has achieved a sad fame. Dynastic interests have played a main role in this. The small German states fought over their own sovereignty, and all of their agreements were marked by their own interests rather than the overall well-being of the Reich. Thus it was, that their politics were often marked not by larger perspectives but by the parochialism of narrow interests. Because the individual confederated states were granted considerable influence on Reich politics by the constitution, this necessarily led to a weakening of the powers of the central Reich, or better said, prevented centralized power from developing.

Liberalism means the freedom from obligation in politics. It has its roots in the French Revolution. The understandings of the Enlightenment, valuable in and of themselves, were distorted there. That which was reasonable was exaggerated and turned into its opposite. Liberalism places the personal freedom of the individual citizen in the foreground, thus making it the pace-setter of democracy. We are using this term in the meaning that has attached to it since the French Revolution. Because the original concept of democracy, as exemplified in the constitution of the Spartans or among the ancient Germans, contains something completely different. What we call Germanic democracy, what has been revived in the National Socialist state to an extent never before realized, means the deployment of the will of the Volk in political activity, in particular in the form of a fundamental trust on the part of the masses in the Führer, whose authority and decision-making power are not reduced as a result, but rather strengthened.³ This is different from the Western democracies. For them the person means nothing. They replace that by a dead number, and in the process forget that all great creations in the world are the work of individuals. In their conception all people are the same, the genius and the idiot, and therefore they must have the same rights. According to this corrupted democracy, they must all be given contributive influence on the creation of policies. The parliamentary system is the visible expression of this error. Policies upon which the wellbeing of the nation depends are now dependent on majority votes. The door is now wide open to limitless cattle trading and to unprecedented blackmail and extortion by the various parties.

However, the most toxic flower that thrives on the swamp of liberalism is Marxism. A more insane doctrine has never been conceived by a human brain. The Jew Karl Marx

³ An interesting formulation of the Führer Principle by which the Volk aligns itself "organically" with the leader. It is the principle behind the policy of *Gleichschaltung* by which all institutions and people are "coordinated" in accordance with official policy. The term was borrowed from electrical engineering, and as Victor Klemperer points out, it is an example of how the Nazis used mechanical terms to describe societal processes. *Gleichschaltung* is a word that should be incorporated into English as similar tendencies are being pushed in current American political and economic life.

⁴ As discussed in the introduction, Bouhler was in charge of the T4 Program which "euthanized" so-called "idiots," among others deemed "unworthy of life,"

(1818-1883) is infamous for having invented a worldview that must ineluctably end in communism, which has brought immeasurable suffering to the peoples of the earth. The core of his doctrine is the theory of class warfare.

This brings us to the third point, the <u>unresolved social question</u>. Germany, which was still primarily and agrarian state during the first third of the previous century, became increasingly industrialized as machinery developed. It slowly developed a new estate, the workers' estate, that is, the proletariat. In particular, at the end of the years of rapid industrial expansion, which began in 1871, a great "crash" occurred in 1873, which destroyed the livelihoods of innumerable Germans. Jewish speculation conducted its unscrupulous dealings.

The capitalist economic system considered only its profits and cared not at all for the worker, whose living conditions were in part extraordinarily poor. To this, we must add the conceit of the owner classes which viewed the worker as something inferior and to be rejected.⁵

Jewish intellectuals made good use of this circumstance. They grabbed the leadership of the working masses by means of skillful agitation, and incited them against the bourgeoisie and against the state. This resulted in the fact that, with the exception of the army and the civil service, only the owning class continued to believe in the idea of the state, whereas the stance of the workers was increasingly anti-state. In the view of the workers, nationalism had become synonymous with ownership. But they sought their salvation in the *Internationale*, in the "solidarity of the proletariat."

In essence, Jewish-led Marxism had transformed the daily struggles of the German worker into a political struggle. The bourgeois intelligentsia, however, failed to exercise political influence on the workers' estate. It was too comfortable and too cowardly to deal with the Marxist inciters on the streets and at meetings. No one told the German worker that only the cooperation of all estates and professions could ensure the thriving of the nation, and that his own wellbeing was inseparable from that of his Fatherland.

Thus was how the gulf was created that divided the German Volk in half and appeared unbridgeable.

The state was powerless to combat this development. Although in part it attempted by means of social policies to remove the causes championed by social democratic agitators (by means of health insurance in 1883, accident insurance in 1884, social security in 1889), and in part by emergency laws, both these means failed. The Social Democratic party grew, and in the Reichstag elections of 1912, it was for a time even the strongest party.

As the situation was at the time, it could not have been any different. The split in the nation could not be resolved by half measures or by a decree from above. Only a new worldview that could inflame the hearts of the entire Volk and give it a new faith would be capable of resolving this problem.

⁵ The Nazis tried hard to appeal to the working-class left by pretending to have workers' interests at heart, while tying capitalism to the Jewish "threat."

Liberalism and its consequences are inseparably bound up with the Jewish question. The deeper causes and the actual driver of this development are to be found in the Jew.

The Jew has the French Revolution to thank for his equal rights, which were enacted a few decades later in Germany and completed over the course of the revolution of 1848. This maxim of equality was music to his ears, because a mankind in which all are equal knows no race question. Previously, the Jew had been separated from the rest of the population in the ghetto. Now he was free. If previously he had plied the economic exploitation of his host peoples as a parasite, he was now free to pursue his dark dealings unimpeded. External equality gave him entry into most positions and professions, and furthermore his money made it possible for him to marry into impoverished noble families. As a result his influence grew in all areas, especially in German cultural life, with deleterious effects. As the "plastic demon of decay," as Richard Wagner called him, he became the promoter and bearer of all phenomena that endanger the existence of the nation, hollow out the foundations of its state, and poison its cultural values.

II The Great War

The foreign policy situation in which the young German Kaiser Reich found itself was complicated from the very beginning. Only the statesmanship demonstrated by Bismarck was able to keep it in balance. But soon after the resignation of the "Iron Chancellor," the situation became ever more difficult and threatening. His successors were not up to the task. Slowly but surely, Germany became encircled. France never came to terms with its terrible defeat, and itched for a war of revenge. After the Reinsurance Treaty failed to be renewed, Russia allied itself with France.⁶ England had repeatedly attempted to create an alliance with Germany; however, when Reich Chancellor von Bülow rejected their advances, England allied itself with our enemies. This alliance was soon joined by the majority of the Balkan states, which were under Russian influence. Thus, the assassination of the Austrian successor to the throne in Sarajevo was not the cause of the catastrophe that engulfed the peoples of the world, but merely its trigger.

The Great War began on August 1, 1914, because Germany and its allies viewed itself surrounded by enemies. In this critical hour, only the unprecedented concentration of the forces of the entire Volk could have prevented defeat, and thus incalculable harm. However, there lurked in our country, far from the whistling bullets and exploding grenades, a clandestine enemy who waited only for the hour when he could translate his shameful treasonous plans into deeds.

It is true that those unforgettable August days forged the German Volk once again in its unique intoxication of enthusiasm, and it is also true that Kaiser Wilhelm II calmly pronounced the following words at that remarkable Reichstag session, "I know no parties

⁶ The Reinsurance Treaty was a secret diplomatic treaty between the German and Russian empires between 1887 and 1890. It provided for a policy of neutrality should one or the other become embroiled in a war with another country.

anymore, I know only Germans!" But that intoxication of enthusiasm was routed under the merciless hammer blows of the times, and a few years later the Germans no longer had a Kaiser but only parties.

But what the German army accomplished during the four and a half years of this World War, whether in the trenches, in the drumfire of the relentless battle of matériel, whether in U-boats in far-off seas, whether in the fighter squadrons of our airmen – all this will remain eternal.

Flanders and Verdun, the Somme and the Argonne Forest, Tannenberg, Isonzo, the Falkland Islands – a thousand names and a thousand invisible monuments to eternal heroism, which accumulate into an incomparable memorial to the unknown German soldier! The glory of those days will outlast the pitiful outcome. It resounds loudly and swells to an immense and noble symphony to German greatness, whose tones can never fade.

But while the German soldier in his simple field-gray uniform accomplished wonders of courage on all fronts under the leadership of the elderly Field Marshal von Hindenburg and Quartermaster General Ludendorff; while he notched victory upon victory in murderous battle upon the staff of his battered flag, the political string pullers used all means at their disposal in continuation of their underhanded doings to undermine the victory of the German forces. When the Jew Walter Rathenau⁷ stated that world history would lose its meaning if Kaiser Wilhelm entered the Brandenburg Gate as a victor with white horses; when the official organ of the German Social Democrats, the *Forward*, wrote, "Germany must – this is our wish – destroy its war flag forever without returning home victorious one last time" – it would be impossible to demonstrate more clearly the ultimate goals of the Jews, and of the Social Democrats, and of their fellow travelers who functioned as their instruments.

All of them needed a German defeat.8

The long duration of the war and the terrible sacrifice in blood that it exacted, as well as the privations suffered by the women and children on the home front, offered welcome nourishment for their labor of corruption. For the purpose they used numerous Marxist agitators who incited the people by propaganda spread from mouth to mouth at public gatherings and in secret, especially to vacationers from the fields, workers in munitions factories, and women, who were queued up in lines in front of stores for hours every day just to obtain the most necessary foodstuffs. But even more than that, they spoke out publicly in the press and in other writings against the government, against the "warmongers" and "militarists," in a manner that must seem well-nigh unimaginable to the German Volk today in the National Socialist Reich. The consequence was increasing discontent among the masses, which manifested in isolated riots, and in the end in a

⁷ Walther Rathenau (1867-1922) was foreign minister of Germany from February 1922 until his death. Rathenau was assassinated in June 1922 by the extreme right-wing Organisation Consul. It was banned in 1922, but many of its members joined the Nazi SA.

⁸ This is a restatement of the "stab in the back" theory.

munitions strike. This demonstrated the organized treason of the Social Democrats who led this strike.

Militarily, the position of our enemy at the beginning of 1917 was anything but rosy. In the west, east, and south, German armies had advanced far into enemy territory. The massive Russian offensive against the Austrian army, and the unprecedented deployment of men and matériel in the English and French offenses on the Somme were brought to a standstill. Romania, which in the summer of 1916 had allied itself with Germany's enemies, was defeated in an assault without equal.

The unlimited U-boat war that began in February 1917 – unfortunately much too late – provided some relief to the Central Powers, which had been deprived of imports by an iron blockade. Then on April 5, 1917, the United States, whose efficient industries had already been supplying our enemies with weapons and munitions, entered the war on their side. This step, which in truth had been dictated exclusively by the interests of American finance capital, was launched with a campaign of lies and atrocity propaganda against Germany, in particular with regard to the supposed barbarity of the German U-boat war. They neglected to mention that it was merely the desperate defense against a brutality without equal as represented by the starvation of defenseless German women and children resulting from the blockade.

In this changed situation, which was so to the disadvantage of Germany, the wholehearted unity of the entire nation was of the greatest importance. The force of the entire homeland would be required to reinforce the front. Only a Titan who first got rid of the vipers nesting within Germany, would have been equal to the superhuman tasks posed by these days. But both the Kaiser and the government proved weak and indecisive. They no longer had the courage to mount serious resistance against the Red tide advancing everywhere. They also did not have an organized Volk such as that over which the National Socialist state leadership now disposes with the help of the National Socialist movement, nor did they understand how to use nationalist propaganda as an instrument against the growing revolutionization of the masses.

Just how strong the un-German forces had become in the Reich is demonstrated by the peace resolution that Matthias Erzberger⁹ introduced in the Reichstag on July 19, 1917. The Social Democrats, Democrats, and the Center Party, which under his leadership advanced a "negotiated peace" proposal, thereby attacked the German armies from the rear, because this proposal was bound to shatter faith in Germany's resilience and encourage our enemies to continue.

Unfortunately, the last great German summer offensive on the western front did not achieve the breakthrough that was hoped for. The Entente, now reinforced by a huge American army, continually attacked our lines, so that the supreme command, under pressure from the domestic situation, which had begun to affect the young replacements at the front, saw no other recourse than to request the government to conclude an armistice.

⁹ Matthias Erzberger (1875-1921) was a leader of the Catholic Center Party. He was assassinated in 1921 by the Organisation Consul.

On October 3, a parliamentary government that included the Social Democrats was formed, with Prince Max von Baden as Reich chancellor. This concluded the first phase of the revolution. Woodrow Wilson, the president of the United States, was approached to mediate the conclusion of the armistice, with his formulation of "fourteen points" serving as its basis. But faith in this man's promises was a beautiful dream for many millions, which would soon devolve into a terrible awakening.

A few days after the signing of the armistice, revolution broke out in Germany. Kaiser Wilhelm II, instead of leading his troops against the mob and calling upon the German Volk to resist in a final desperate battle against the external enemy, capitulated in the face of the revolt of the traitors and deserters. He fled across the Dutch border, thereby renouncing all claims to the crown. Almost all other German princes behaved similarly. Without recourse to the sword, the Reds took over the government of the Reich and of the provinces. German patriots averted their eyes, with a gnashing of teeth before this spectacle in powerless rage, anger, shame, and contempt.

III Germany in Chains

Ever since the Great Migrations [ca. 375-570 CE], the German Volk, lying as it does in the heart of Europe surrounded by powerful state formations, has been engaged in an existential struggle for air and living space [*Lebensraum*]. And no German rulers of previous centuries have earned greater respect than those who enlarged the living space of the German Volk, whether by acquiring new territory for Germany by peaceful colonization in the East, or by reconquering old German territory by means of arms. To give just one example, what would Germany be today without Silesia or East Prussia, territories which, viewed historically, were victims of the Silesian Wars and the Seven Year War.

Because Germany was no longer able to feed its growing population from the harvests of its own soil, it had to think about acquiring colonies after the other states of Europe had already satisfied their colonial claims. On the basis of treaties, Germany lawfully acquired German Southwest Africa, Togo, New Guinea, and the Bismarck Archipelago in 1884; in the following years it took possession of Cameroon, German East Africa, the Marshall Islands, the island of Nauru, and the Marianna, Carolina, and Palau Islands, and Samoa. Jiaozhou was leased from China for 99 years in 1898.

The necessary living space that generations had acquired for Germany with blood and iron and sacrifice was surrendered by wretched creatures without a fight in Germany's most tragic hour.

That is the crime of the Social Democrats: that they prevented a German victory in the name of achieving domestic power, thereby serving the purposes of world Jewry. If it had swept aside a government of weakness and fanned the flames of resistance in the Volk, organizing it against the external enemy, it would have elicited the last measure of strength from the German nation in the name of German socialism, thereby justifying its

deeds before history. Instead, they fomented a revolution in order to initiate a politics of submission that dragged Germany further into the abyss for what is now 14 years.

It began in the Forest of Compiègne. A cringing for peace where one could have made demands, because the mightiest and most courageous army in the world still stood in position, fully armed. When the French commander-in-chief saw the German armistice delegation in its black suits and top hats, he is said to have stated, half in derision, half in embarrassment, "This is Germany!?"

The enemy armies, which in reality were themselves close to collapse, dictated the conditions of the armistice. The German representatives appended their signatures. The German troops were forced to relinquish all of the territories that they had conquered, and furthermore to retreat to a line 10 km east of the Rhine. Germany on the left side of the Rhine was occupied by our enemies, and all German weapons had to be turned over to them. This made it easier for our enemy to force peace upon a helpless Germany.

This peace became a reality on June 28, 1919 in the form of the shameful agreement, as history has recorded. The name Versailles will forever be remembered as the hour of Germany's deepest humiliation.

The Versailles Decree limited the German army to 100,000 men and forbade Germany to possess heavy artillery, tanks, and airplanes. Almost all weapons had to be turned over, and German fortresses were razed. The left bank of the Rhine was to remain in enemy hands for 15 years! Ancient German territories were torn from the motherland: Alsace-Lorraine, Danzig, the Memel, West Prussia, Posen and Upper Silesia, Hultschin, northern Schleswig and Eupen-Malmedy, a total of 70,580 km² with almost 6 ½ million inhabitants! Germany was robbed of all its colonies, a territory comprising 2,952,602 km²!10

In terms of land, the following picture emerges, which demonstrates the inequality, and therefore injustice, by which the territories of this earth are distributed among the peoples:

The land surface of the earth comprises 133 million km² on which approximately 2 billion people live.

The British Empire, with a motherland of 311,000 km² and 49 million inhabitants has colonial possessions with a total surface area of 34.6 million km² and 495.5 million inhabitants. Soviet Russia comprises more than 21 million km² with 165.7 million inhabitants. France's colonies amount to more than 12 million km² and 105 million inhabitants. United States of America claims possession of almost 9.7 million km² on which 137.5 million people live. Even small European states such as Belgium and the Netherlands have colonies that are a multiple of the size of their motherland.

Germany (without Austria!) must feed 67 million people on its 470,000 km²! Accordingly, taking into account the territory and population of each homeland, its colonies, and colony-like territories, the following populations live on each square kilometer:

¹⁰ In anticipation of regaining its colonies, handbooks detailing the physical, racial, and other qualities necessary for a successful colonist were published. One such was Adolf von Duisburg's 1938 *Wer will in die Kolonien*?, the title of which assumes they already exist or soon will again.

in the British Empire 14.3 inhabitants in Soviet Russia 7.9 inhabitants in France 8.6 inhabitants in the United States 14.2 inhabitants in Germany (without Austria) 143 inhabitants!

In other words, other peoples live in superfluity and produce far more food and raw materials than they are able to use, while Germany must import materials that are necessary for life.

But even that was not enough. The internal and external enemy did not spare the German Volk the final humiliation: Germany's representatives signed the statement that Germany bore sole responsibility for that terrible war, which in truth the world had forced upon the German nation.

Because Germany was helpless and powerless, all kinds of economic concessions were easily demanded, which seem unimaginable in their scope. Thus the London Ultimatum of May 5, 1921 demanded reparations from the Reich of 132 billion gold marks, triple the existing amount of gold in the world! And this net of economic debt was tightened further in later agreements and treaties.

Thus, on November 9, 1918, Germany entered the period of its deepest shame and humiliation. What the revolts of the traders and deserters had flushed to the surface of our political life now established its rule by inferiors.

They promised to make everyone rich, but took bread from the mouths of millions.

They talked about freedom, but forced the nation into chains and slavery.

They promised a high life in beauty and dignity, but led the Volk into depression such as it had never experienced before.

Powerless and torn asunder, enslaved, disenfranchised, and dishonored, Germany became the object of exploitation by its enemies and a playground for all baser instincts.

Into this desert of oppression, of despair and impoverishment there arose one voice. Adolf Hitler pronounced the new worldview.

Because he heard the cry of the multitudes for freedom and bread and lent them his words, which the entire German Volk understood, because he gave the inchoate yearnings of millions a plastic form and comprehensible goal: that is why he founded the community of sworn fighters who would help him to achieve the Reich.

Chapter 1
Adolf Hitler

I Biography It is among the inscrutable and wonderful ways of a higher world order that at the same time as Bismarck's Reich began to teeter, the creator and designer of the German future saw the light of day.

Adolf Hitler was born on April 20, 1889, on Austrian territory close to the Bavarian border in the old German town of Braunau on the Inn.

He grew up under difficult but often happy circumstances, as he described for us himself in his book *Mein Kampf*. We see his father, the Royal and Imperial customs official, who had, as a poor peasant boy from the Waldviertel, worked himself up to that position. Honest and upright, dutiful, and possessed of strict, even rigid, views and principles, he did not for anything in the world want his son to become an artist, but rather a civil servant like himself. We see his mother, also from a peasant family, quiet and kindhearted, who lovingly cared for the boy and attempted to even out some of his father's hardness and strict ways. And we see the young Adolf Hitler himself, who looks up to his father, but loves his mother with all the intensity of his youthful heart. We see him attending elementary school in Linz, where he excelled above all of his classmates in geography and world history. But we also see him as a ringleader, playing tricks with his comrades in the field and forest, and understand his joy at hearing war stories and playing soldier. We experience the youthful enthusiasm that grips him when he sees William Tell for the first time and hears *Lohengrin*. We empathize with the ambivalence in his youthful soul, which recognizes the authority of his father, but rejects with all his heart the civil service career his father wished him to pursue. Instead, he feels himself drawn to art, especially to painting and architecture.

In this boy there already dwells the Adolf Hitler as he stands revealed to us today fully matured as the Führer, the Führer who went to prison as the "ringleader' of the movement for German freedom; who no longer studies world history, but makes it;11 who pursues the reconstruction of his new German army with an almost tender love and care, that evinces understanding for the artist in a manner that has never existed before; who is the most grateful audience at an opera or concert and the most understanding and knowledgeable viewer of paintings; who plans and designs the boldest and most magnificent buildings of our time, and supervises their construction with the most loving attention.

Young Hitler loses his parents much too early. He is only 13 when his father dies; and a few years later his mother dies as well. As a result, his dream of studying at the art academy comes to nothing. Without means and completely alone in the world, he is forced to earn his own bread. And so with a suitcase filled with clothing and bedding, he makes his way to Vienna with an unshakable will in his heart. Thus begin his hard apprenticeship years, full of deprivation. Even as a boy, he had become a fanatical German nationalist who wanted nothing more than that all Germans, even those beyond the black-white-red boundary post, to stand united in a mighty German Reich. But now

¹¹ A similar notion attributed to Karl Rove: "We're an empire now, and when we act, we create our own reality. And while you're studying that reality — judiciously, as you will — we'll act again, creating other new realities, which you can study too, and that's how things will sort out. We're history's actors . . . and you, all of you, will be left to just study what we do."

he also learns from personal experience and by his own study the existence of two realities that will exercise a decisive influence on his entire later life. These are Marxism and the closely connected Jewish question.

At first he works as a construction laborer. But it does not take him long to come into conflict with his workmates who are organized in a union, because he stubbornly refuses to join the union, which he views primarily as a political instrument of Marxism. And now he gets to know the Red terror inflicted on his own body, with which Marxist workers will later torture and persecute his allies. The "comrades" threaten him when they cannot get him to submit, throw him from the scaffolding, and finally force their employer to fire him. He tries other construction sites as well, but things were not any different there. Those unwilling to bend before the rules set by the workers led and incited by the Jews will be ruined. But Adolf Hitler refuses to bend. He takes up the life struggle. He gets to know hunger, poverty, and misery. He knows the bitterness of having to find work and being rejected everywhere. He gets a deep glimpse into the social conditions of the lower classes, and begins to understand why these people fighting for their mere existence would forget the Volk and Fatherland and seek their salvation in the Internationale, led on by Jewish seducers. And it becomes ever more clear to him that salvation is possible only if the gap between the classes and estates in our Volk can be bridged, and nationalism and socialism, two seemingly opposite concepts that negate one another, can be melded into a unity.

In the evening, when Hitler came home exhausted from the construction site, that is when his actual studies began, the satisfaction of his thirst for knowledge in all areas, studies that gave him great pleasure with which he lay the groundwork for his immense and comprehensive knowledge. Each new book and each opera ticket was bought at the expense of his own physical nourishment.

During the last years of his stay in Vienna and in Munich, where he had resettled in 1912, he earned his crust of bread as a graphic artist and watercolorist. This allowed him to continue his self-study, concentrating in particular on architecture, an area in which he hoped to accomplish something special. He was greatly drawn to Munich not only because at that time it was the center of German artistic life, but because he, who had always felt himself to be a German, wished to live in the German Reich and in a truly German city. At the time, Vienna, with its mixture of peoples and almost two hundred thousand Jewish inhabitants, was not such a city. So even though he continued to struggle for his livelihood, he felt very comfortable in Munich, which he soon came to consider his second *Heimat*.

He was among the enthusiastic crowd at the Feldherrnhalle¹² on August 2, 1914, the day the Great War broke out. His most ardent wish was to be permitted to participate in the war in a German regiment. Because he had been released from military service in Austria one-half year earlier for health reasons, he submitted a petition directly to King

¹² "Field Marshals' Hall," a loggia in Munich, the site where the Hitler putsch was put down.

Ludwig III of Bavaria, and soon received permission to enlist in the Bavarian army as a volunteer.¹³

He took to the field on October 10, 1914 as a member of the Bayarian 16th Reserve Infantry Regiment, which made an immortal name for itself as the "List Regiment" as a result of its heroism in Flanders. What particularly characterized Adolf Hitler the soldier were his courage, cool-headedness, fearlessness, dutifulness in the most extreme circumstances, and ruthless risk of his own person. These traits earned him the love, respect, and admiration of his superiors and comrades. How many times did he voluntarily offer to take on difficult and dangerous assignments as a messenger so that comrades who were fathers would not have to face murderous enemy fire! He himself seemed to be invulnerable to bullets, and when the "air was thick," his comrades sought to get close to him, saying "Wherever Hitler is there won't be a direct hit." However, on October 7, 1916, Hitler was hit by a shell fragment. Luckily he got off easy, and he was able to rejoin his regiment the following March. As early as December 2, 1914 he received the Iron Cross second class, and later an array of other decorations, among them a regimental commendation for outstanding bravery in the battles at Fontaines, and in 1918 he received the Iron Cross first class. Is there any greater testament to the worth of a soldier than that his regimental commander would recommend him for the Iron Cross first class? The document reads:

Bay. Ref.-Inf.-Reg. No. 16

to the

K. 12 Ref.-Inf.-Brigade

Re: recommendation from P.E.K.I.

Lance Corporal (volunteer) Hitler, Adolf, 3rd Company

Hitler has been with the regiment since it marched out, and has proved himself splendidly in all battles in which he has taken part. As a messenger, he has been a model both in the trenches and in mobile combat both in terms of cool-headedness and nerve, and he was always been willing to bring messages even in the most difficult and life-threatening circumstances. After all connections were interrupted in the most difficult battle circumstances, it was Hitler's tireless and sacrificing activity that we have to thank for getting important messages through despite all difficulties.

July 31, 1918

Hitler received the Iron Cross II bravery in the battle at Wijtschate on December 2, 1914.

I consider Hitler to be completely worthy of decoration with the Iron Cross I.

Baron v. Godin

During the great spring offensive he performed a particular piece of bravery. On one of his missions, he suddenly found himself alone facing about 15 men on a French patrol under the leadership of an officer. One would think he was as good as lost. But he acted

¹³ A completely apocryphal story, but one that young readers probably loved.

lightning fast, bravely, and with presence of mind. He yelled "Hands up!" at the enemy, and they surrendered because in their confusion they believed they had been caught off guard by a superior German force.¹⁴

Fate came calling again on October 14, 1918. In their attacks, the English had used mustard gas for the first time. The gas masks that had been used up to then provided no effective protection, and so the German front suffered numerous losses. Along with many of his comrades, Hitler also became a victim of severe gas poisoning, as a consequence of which he became temporarily blind. He was brought to the field hospital at Pasewalk, where he witnessed the shameful revolution that had been incited by the Jews and Freemasons, 15 who were allied with our enemies, and which was carried out by a handful of criminals and deserters. This treason and the complete collapse of his German Fatherland filled him with pain and grief. By now he was well aware of the causes of this final disintegration of the homeland, which despite the exemplary heroism of German soldiers in the trenches had now led to the collapse of the German Kaiser Reich. But there was one thing that he refused to believe: that 2 million German soldiers had fallen for no reason, and that further millions had given their blood, health, and limbs, and that the country and its people had suffered the bitterest impoverishment and unspeakable misery for nothing, and that the meaning of all these sacrifices had merely been to deliver Germany into the hands of miserable criminals, as a plaything that they would allow to perish!

Now there grew in his spirit the enormous task to which fate had predetermined him. What he had perhaps previously merely sensed now became clear and a lucent certainty: that he had been called to lift Germany from its most abject shame and humiliation to new glory, to might and greatness that had often been dreamed of but never achieved. He decided to make the most consequential decision of his life: to become a politician and to

¹⁴ According to the Warfare History Network: "The battalion had advanced so far that their own artillery was shelling their position. The battalion commander, Hugo Gutmann, promised Hitler the Iron Cross 1st Class if he could get a message to the artillery to quit shelling the forward positions. Hitler miraculously made it through and Gutmann kept his word. In later years, Hitler maintained that he had personally captured 10 French prisoners to win the decoration, a transparent attempt to hide the fact that he gotten his medal upon the recommendation of a Jewish officer." https://warfarehistorynetwork.com/article/hitler-dictator-and-artist/

¹⁵ This conflation of Jews and Freemasons is found frequently in Nazi writings. According to the US Holocaust Museum: "During the nineteenth century, both antisemites and those opposed to Freemasonry argued that Jews manipulated Masonic ideology and international connections for nefarious purposes. They charged that Freemasons operated as front men for the Jews who preferred to remain inconspicuous and that the perceived Masonic belief in racial equality and human progress was a tool to serve Jewish interests, including the establishment of Jewish emancipation....

[&]quot;In his political testament, *Mein Kampf* (1925), Nazi Party leader Adolf Hitler repeated the charge that the Jews used Freemasonry to achieve their political ends: 'To strengthen his [i.e., the Jew's] political position, he tries to tear down the racial and civil barriers which for a time continue to restrain him at every step. To this end he fights with all the tenacity innate in him for religious tolerance—and in Freemasonry, which has succumbed to him completely, he has an excellent instrument with which to fight for his aims and put them across. The governing circles and the higher strata of the political and economic bourgeoisie are brought into his nets by the strings of Freemasonry, and never need to suspect what is happening." https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/freemasonry

create for himself an instrument that would eventually make him the master of the state and thus the savior of the German Volk and the creator of a new German Reich.¹⁶

After his recovery, Lance Corporal Hitler returned to his reserve battalion. But the activities of the soldier councils and the "achievement" of the revolution caused him to report for duty as a camp guard at the prisoner of war camp in Traunstein. After it was dissolved he returned to Munich, where shortly thereafter the Red council republic was proclaimed. As if by a miracle he avoided arrest by the Communist central committee, assisted in the overthrow of council rule by troops and bands of volunteers, and was thereupon called upon to testify before the investigative committee about revolutionary activity in the 2nd Infantry Regiment. He took part in courses that were meant to train members of the Wehrmacht in civic-mindedness, and he came to the attention of his superiors to the extent that he was employed as an "education officer." In this capacity he came into contact with a number of persons who were attempting to reform the political and economic life of Germany. He was also asked to attend political meetings in order to report about them to his superiors. One of the meetings occurred in the meeting room ["Leiberzimmer"] of the Sterneckerbräu brewery, where a heretofore completely unknown "German Workers Party" was holding a meeting with about 20 people. He took part in the discussions with visible success. Because he saw in this small party the desire to free the German workers from the shackles of Marxism and win them back for the nation, he gave up his plan to found a social-revolutionary party of his own and became the seventh member of the German Workers Party. He gained in influence almost immediately, and was soon named its Führer. Thus began the legendary rise of an unknown soldier.

II The Führer and His Movement

It is not possible to imagine the Führer as anything but a soldier fighting for German freedom. His worldview hardened in the drum fire of the World War, in trenches along the western front, and on nerve-racking missions through death and terror to deliver messages, and further matured in the head of this young genius, Adolf Hitler, during his years of apprenticeship and suffering. His belief in Germany grew in immensity in that field-gray community of the Volk and fate.

¹⁶ "Providence" introduces the religious thrust of Nazi mythification. Hitler is portrayed as the Savior, if not of humanity, then of Germany. And with that comes the requirement for blind belief and the replacement of reason by feeling and emotion, which must be fanned to fanaticism. In a chapter in Victor Klemperer's *LTI* titled "I believe in him," Klemperer describes encounters with people during the early days of the regime and during his flight from Dresden in 1945 who allowed themselves to be blinded. It was impossible to reason with them. A similar dynamic has played out in the United States. For example, one response by evangelicals to Donald Trump's infidelities has been that although a moral failing, in times of crisis God does not always provide us with his most moral emissary. Again, Providence.

It is therefore understandable that the characteristics of the movement that Adolf Hitler created for his struggle for Germany would have to be thoroughly military.¹⁷ What is self-evident in every army and especially in the German army had completely disappeared in the political life of almost all nations: the recognition of the value of the person and his responsibilities. Whereas in the Germany of yesterday, the political leaders had to tailor their actions to the decisions of the majority behind which they could hide because they exercised no responsibility, Adolf Hitler built his party on the principle of authority downward and responsibility upward.¹⁸

Of course, the German Workers Party which Adolf Hitler joined in 1919 as its seventh member, did not yet understand these principles. It was thoroughly oriented toward parliamentarism. However, when the previous board resigned in July 1921 and Adolf Hitler was elected chairman and given dictatorial powers, it soon became evident that the orator who held the masses in thrall to his words was also a born organizer in the grand manner. Ruthlessly, he immediately broke with previous customs that he believed brought about the destruction of all organizations. After all, he did not wish to build a party in the usual sense. What he needed was a combat-effective, strictly organized instrument that would obey blindly the will of its Führer. This instrument was the NSDAP, the organizational core of the National Socialist movement, which would eventually comprise the entire German Volk.

This community of the Volk must be determined by blood and be rooted in the soil of the homeland. All differences of a political, social, and religious type that had previously split the nation into different orientations had to be bridged, and every petty impulse in the egotistical interests of individual persons and groups had to be drowned out by the command that prescribes united action for all Germans.¹⁹

What is the significance of the question of a form of state, the significance of the struggle over church problems or the hate-filled struggles between workers and owners before the almighty fate that implacably decides over the life or death of Germany!

An organization such as that which Adolf Hitler imagined was not merely a state in itself that would someday replace the rotten, collapsing Marxist state formation, but borne by the eternal truth of the idea, the genius of a Führer must shake the world to its foundations with it!

The NSDAP and its subdivisions were constructed based on these great principles. But at its most fundamental, it was only the person of Adolf Hitler that guaranteed victory. Success is based solely on his understandings and his actions that are visibly blessed by Providence; on his work, his belief, the power of his will and decisiveness; and on the example of the Führer shining daily and hourly above all confusion.

Today it is the memory of a grand and unforgettable time that binds the Führer with his old comrades-in-arms. But during the period of struggle, it was his example, his

¹⁷ That is the logic of the identification of a nation with its military: the militarization of society.

¹⁸ The definition of the Führer Principle.

¹⁹ This is the definition of *Gleichschaltung*.

leadership, and his comradeship that bound them indissolubly to him. Why otherwise would these fellows, all these men and women, have given up their fortunes, blood, and lives without any claim to thanks? Why else would they have defied fate, impoverishment, privation, and persecution; why else would a glance from the eyes of the Führer have been sufficient recompense for these heaviest sacrifices?

Just as the Führer, as German Reich Chancellor, does not sit on a throne behind high walls separated from the world, but rather is in constant living contact with the Volk as one of his primary tasks, which he sees as a constant source of his own power, so is he and always was as Führer of the NSDAP, rooted in the Volk from which he arose. In a thousand meetings he used the magic of his voice to awaken hearts, and he never spared his own person. Wherever there was danger, that is where you could find him. He repeatedly saved his movement from oblivion by ruthless personal engagement and by lightning-fast intervention at the decisive moment.

There was a time when innumerable dangers crouched along the way to smash the party: rebels in its own ranks, self-serving ambitious members, or bribed persons who intended to abuse the NSDAP for their own purposes or wanted to split and weaken it. There were innumerable hate-filled enemies of all orientations who used all means of lies and of slander, of boycott and terror, to try to destroy their only real opponents; overeager party members who out of misunderstood revolutionary zeal pressed forward thereby endangering the movement because they offered the authorities a welcome occasion for intervention. It is thanks to his superior insight, his wisdom, his courage, and his decisiveness that the Führer met these challenges. And it seems to us today as a great and unimaginable miracle that he was able to steer the little ship of his party through all obstacles.

Of course, there were times when push came to shove. In the spring of 1931, when the leader of the SA, [Walter] Stennes,²⁰ decided the time had come for the SA to revolt against the leadership of Adolf Hitler, the Führer acted in the nick of time in Berlin to prevent unimaginable damage to the movement. The Führer was on his way by car from Berchtesgaden to Bayreuth, where he arrived at a hotel late at night. Despite some alarming news, the scope of the danger could not yet be evaluated. Way past midnight the telephone rang in my apartment in Munich. Dr. Goebbels was on the phone: "The Führer must come immediately. The utmost haste is required. The situation is becoming increasingly threatening." My booked personal call awaited the Führer when he arrived in Bayreuth. He sensed something bad. Without taking off his coat he answered the phone. They were all exhausted, but there was no help for it. They immediately jumped back into the car and without stopping drove to Berlin. Julius Schreck, the driver, almost fell asleep at the wheel. Heinrich Hoffmann told stories in order to keep people awake.

As soon as he arrived in Berlin, the Führer defeated the rebellion with iron energy. He held hours-long discussions with the various party functionaries, took measures, drove to all the hangouts where the men from the Berlin SA met, and then, something happened

²⁰ Walter Stennes (1895-1983) was head of the Berlin SA until 1931 and wanted to use the SA to attack the state. Hitler reasoned that this adventurism would bring down the full weight of state power. This contradicted Hitler's post-Putsch tactic of using the democratic machinery to destroy democracy.

that hardly seemed possible, the truth emerged through the power of his personality and the persuasive power of his logic: the men, who had become the victims of shameless incitement and the instruments of a corrupt traitor, felt ashamed to the bottom of their souls. With the exception of a small circle of ringleaders, who were immediately ejected from the movement, they stood by Adolf Hitler with renewed loyalty. The Führer then took the night train back to Munich and went immediately to the Brown House. Here he continued to work the whole day long without rest or break in order to put a final stop to the rest of the revolt.

In December 1932, Gregor Strasser,²¹ who had gone behind the Führer's back and negotiated with the government about taking on the position of vice-chancellor, threatened the unity of the movement. In the delusion that a large proportion of the party stood behind him, Strasser stepped down from his position, saying he could no longer accept Adolf Hitler's politics. This too was a crisis that required the Führer's entire personal engagement, a crisis from which the movement not only did not lose strength but emerged with new impulses thanks to his intervention.

What Adolf Hitler accomplished in terms of physical exertion alone during these great days of struggle in the movement cannot be outdone. This is especially true of the gigantic propaganda campaigns on the occasion of the elections, which on the one hand were a means of enshrining the powerful position of the party, while at the same time making visible the growth of the movement.

The entire world knows today that Adolf Hitler is a friend of technology, and that, to give just one example, he considers the automobile, which he has promoted, to be one of the most important achievements of human progress. But even during the initial years of his political career, the Führer made use of the auto, which he viewed as a well-nigh indispensable means of transportation, and even back then he opposed vehemently the thoughtless notion that the automobile was merely a luxury item. Ever since he acquired his first car in 1923, the Führer felt a great fondness for the automobile. How else would he have been able to accomplish his trips to meetings that took him to the farthest corners of the German Fatherland!

But the Führer's trips were not in the least limited to election campaigns, because he did not need these occasions to go among the Volk. The representatives of the bourgeois parties were satisfied with assuring the masses of their sympathy with their fate before the reconstitution of each parliament, while otherwise remaining invisible to their electors. But for Adolf Hitler, constant contact with the entire Volk was his innermost need, not to mention the fact that the effect of propaganda is all the more effective the

²¹ Gregor Strasser (1892-1934) was the head of the supposed anticapitalist "left wing" of the Nazi Party. He was murdered June 30, 1934 as part of the Night of the Long Knives.

[&]quot;We National Socialists want the economic revolution involving the nationalization of the economy...We want in place of an exploitative capitalist economic system a real socialism, maintained not by a soulless Jewish-materialist outlook but by the believing, sacrificial, and unselfish old German community sentiment, community purpose, and economic feeling. We want the social revolution in order to bring about the national revolution." (In Thomas Childers *The Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany*)

more systematically and consistently it is implemented.²² But his speeches were his most powerful means of expression for winning the German people to his ideas.

These meetings were experiences for everyone who attended. Just to see the man to whom the eyes of some looked with yearning hope, but which others viewed with a depth of hatred and damned as the personification of all evil, meant for hundreds of thousands the fulfillment of a dream. And when he began to speak, he drew them all into the magical circle of his thoughts, those who had been brought there by a believing heart and those who had come as opponents. His words, which with clarity pointed to the path out of chaos into a better future, were bound to ignite embers in the hearts of all wellintentioned listeners. They were bound to be lifted above themselves and commit to fighting for their Fatherland. And many who had come to the meetings with clenched fists and the intention of breaking them up experienced the hour of their greatest political transformation. Naturally, things did not always go smoothly. At meetings in the Red strongholds in the industrial centers he often encountered hostile crowds. When the Führer arrived, the Communist masses were often threatening; they whistled, screamed, and threw stones. It was only through the cool-headedness of the man at the steering wheel – first it was [Emil] Maurice, later Schreck, who drove with the compressor roaring through the thickest crowds – was it possible to avoid disaster. Toward the end of this period of struggle, a "bodyguard commando" was instituted, all of them tough, determined boys, who rode in a second car behind the Führer and were ready at a moment's notice to jump out and intervene.

But what the Führer experienced during his drives through villages and cities in terms of manifestations of joy, love, and loyalty, was infinitely stronger than these demonstrations of hatred. The honest joy in familiar faces, the gleam in the eyes of the children, the enthusiasm and adulation that were manifested toward the coming German Savior, all this far outweighed the impotent rage of those who had been led astray.²³

Thus did these trips become a part of Adolf Hitler's life. This is where he first got to know Germany and its people from the bottom up. Soon there was no place in the entire Reich where he had not been, no street that he had not already driven up. Some of his ideas took concrete shape during these trips, and more than a few plans and decisions ripened in his mind. I remember, just to note an unimportant example, a trip to Landshut in 1925 during which the Führer said with regard to the harrowing curves near the Schlüter factory at Freising, "We'll get rid of those!" Today those and many other curves and obstacles that had seemed permanent back then have long since been straightened out in the course of rebuilding the German road network.

Whenever the Führer returned to Munich from such a trip and went to see his coworkers in the Schellingstrasse or later in the Brown House. His power and his devout confidence always radiated onto those who had done their duty at their desks, working on organizational and administrative tasks, without, however, imbuing those tasks with the

²² This is of critical importance, especially effective when opposing views are barred and an alternative reality is created. It is a consistent feature of (current) right-wing media.

²³ Again, the religious aspect of the Hitler experience.

enthusiasm of mass demonstrations. All of the trivia that they had undertaken to confront the Führer with, all of a sudden seemed trifling, and all of the pressure melted in the magic of this encounter. People found ways and means of dealing with their petty concerns on their own.

As we have seen, although the Führer had a great fondness for the automobile early on, he stayed away from airplanes ever since he had made their unpleasant acquaintance in stormy weather in 1923. But this did not prevent him from making use of the airplane in April 1932 during the second Reich presidential election, for which he had only a short time to prepare. He suddenly decided to fly all over Germany as a propaganda device which would leave everything that had been done before in the shadows. This method, which allowed him to hold four meetings in different large cities on the same day, was retained during later election campaigns.

The description provided by Herbert Seehofer about such flights in his book *Mit dem Führer unterwegs* is gripping:

"Everyone is completely self-absorbed in the cabin of the D 2600. The Führer reads letters that have been given to him by his adjutant, and then peruses the domestic and foreign newspapers. Dr. Dietrich works on the speech that he will give to the Germans beyond Germany's borders by shortwave today at 1 o'clock, in which he will discuss the election campaign in Germany, in particular with regard to the Führer's person. The rest of us, for whom flying has become a daily event, use the three hours to Stuttgart for whatever purposes we are inclined.

"The mood in the cabin is casual. Here, among us 16 people, the Führer opens himself up in all his simple greatness. We talks only little. It is hard to make ourselves understood because the hammering and knocking of the engines drowns out our voices. But the land beneath us tells new, wonderful, and entertaining stories with every advancing meter that we fly.

"We have now slowly climbed to an altitude of 1500 m. The heat of the exhaust gases has created a pleasant warmth in the cabin, and we take our coats off. We just flew over Wittenberg. The Elbe winds its way curiously through the land as if one had accidentally poured ink over a colored tablecloth. The chimneys of factories, looking no higher than a finger, blow mighty clouds of smoke into the air, and in one rolling mill we can see the glow of the blast furnace.

"The sun has already disappeared, and all we see is a narrow navy blue band that encompasses the horizon. We sense that people are working on the fields below because fall-like potato fires smolder in thin threads of smoke, and in one of the fields the last grass has been piled up. From this height, the piles of grass look like heads of kale on a black bed of flowers. In the distance, the land and sky disappear into gray, hazy clouds, and below us we now see a cleanly outlined flower garden. But, as we see from the flight map, it is actually a considerable forest, over 500 morgens in size.

"Are you going to ask what city we happen to be flying over at the moment? No one can really answer. We make guesses back-and-forth, but our geographical eyes are not yet sharp enough to hazard even a guess at the right region. To do that we

would have to know that we are making straight toward Swabia, and we are absolutely astonished when a piece of paper handed to us tells us: Saalfeld is up ahead to the right. But where is Saalfeld actually located?

"We are now flying at an altitude of 2400 m at a speed of 160 km toward the airport at Böblingen. Furrow upon furrow lies upon the plowed land beneath our wings as if a great comb had pulled them into straight lines.

"A flight over the pre-winter slopes of Thuringia. Because we remain at this altitude, the various high mountain crests appeared to come toward us. The peaks of the ragged crests reach out to touch our wings. But in fact, we are separated by several hundred meters.

"Broad white cloth is spread over the slopes, and the snowy fields look as if they were pieces of a flat cake sprinkled with powdered sugar. Now we are approaching the silent Thuringian forest.

"An unforgettable image. The forest lies gray-green on the mountains sprinkled with snow, like a mountain made of lead crystal. Now it seems as if great clumps of iron shavings were being pulled apart by strong magnets, and then reordered into bizarre forms. The icy summits gleam like sparkling diamonds.

"We take in this pre-Christmas picture for a good half an hour. It is so moving. We think of fir trees and pfefferkuchen, glistening lights, and tinsel. Suddenly our cabin windows are obscured by swirling snow. Winter is coming.

"Now we have flown over the Thuringian forest, and after Kitzingen and Mergentheim we approach Ludwigsburg. The sun breaks through again and illuminates the late fall forest, which lies ocher and purple at our feet. We're told that we're landing in six minutes.

"The D 2600 is making its approach in broad spirals. We have just enough time to grab our hats and put on our seatbelts, and now the wheels touch down. The machine jumps up in the air a couple of times, and then we come to a standstill. We are once again jostled by the outpouring of jubilant greetings from the thousands who have gathered to await us along the runway at Böblingen, Stuttgart's airport."

Adolf Hitler, the Führer of the NSDAP, has but one goal in mind: "Germany, nothing but Germany!" All of this energy was devoted to the movement that served this goal. The office of the Führer and Reich Chancellor placed a burden of responsibility on the shoulders of this one man, the likes of which hardly any other man in the world has had to bear. Because he wished to shape the destiny and distant future of 70 million, Adolf Hitler the statesman had to grow beyond his role as party leader. But if today the NSDAP, as the sole political bearer of the will of the nation, is only one of the massive pillars upon which the new Reich builds; if in the hurly-burly of world politics it can claim only a small portion of Adolf Hitler's love, care, labor, and energy, it is still today the Führer's real *Heimat*.

With it he trod the thorn-strewn path that brought him to the height of his success. He gives the same loyalty to it and each of his comrades-in-arms as he demands unconditionally from them. Because although he has a heart for every man and is

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generous in understanding of minor human weaknesses, there is one thing that makes him implacable and merciless, and that is disloyalty. Disloyalty to the movement and disloyalty to him, the Führer. Whoever is disloyal is without honor. Because

"Our honor is loyalty."24

Chapter 2 The Early Days of the Movement

The meager political existence led by the German Workers Party, which had been founded in Munich on January 5, 1919 by the writer Karl Harrer with no more and no less than six members, was that of an association of well-meaning nationalistic men who had recognized the disastrous effects of Marxism and had united to win back the German workers for the nation. As correct as this recognition was, these people lacked the thing that would turn it into reality. The fact that they lacked money wasn't the worst of it. They possessed no unified line by which they could have pursued their struggle. They stood alone and helpless in a world that either purposely overlooked them or that had no inkling of their existence. They never found the key to drawing the people's attention, and as a result their "party" would probably never have amounted to much more than a meaningless debate club. In short, they lacked a Führer. But they got one in their seventh member.

The day – it was probably September 16, 1919 – that Adolf Hitler joined the German Workers Party, was the beginning of its unique ascent. Hitler recognized immediately that the party needed to shed its secret existence and come out in public. It seemed to him that the only way to do this was to pursue a systematic campaign of propaganda that would appeal to the psyche of the broad masses. First, Hitler had to deal with the resistance put up by the "committee" of this party, which functioned according to parliamentary principles and opposed even the most minor innovation. Even the purchase of two rubber stamps with the imprint "German Workers Party," which were to be used to mark letterhead, met no small resistance. And then there were the leaflets and finally even posters! Of course, all of this required money. The "strongbox" was an empty cigar box, the meager contents of which were fearfully protected by the treasurer, who fought bitterly about each expenditure. Eventually, Hitler was forced to use his own savings to pay for the most necessary purchases. But mainly, he insisted that as many meetings as possible be held in which he was increasingly the speaker. Although Harrer tried to tell him that he was anything but a speaker, the audience members to whom he spoke thought otherwise. Like no one else he understood how to animate them and draw them under his spell. Nonetheless, it took a long time and required much persistence to fill the rooms. At first it was only 7, 11, and 25 persons, but then in early 1920 there were 270. It took more

²⁴ This was the motto of the Waffen-SS. The oath of loyalty was made to Hitler personally, not to Germany or a Constitution. This was true of the Wehrmacht as well. Trained in honor and loyalty, it was part of the reason most Wehrmacht officers, even those with misgivings, had such a hard time opposing him.

than a little effort to convince the innkeepers to let them have their rooms. This was because on the one hand they were distrustful of this new party because they had never heard of it, or in any case had never heard anything good about it, and on the other the question of rent played considerable role.

But the big leap occurred on February 24, 1920 in the festival hall of the Hofbräuhaus in Munich. This date marks the actual founding of the NSDAP, even though it first received its present name, the National Socialist German Workers Party at the international [zwischenstaatlich] party rally held in Salzburg, on August 8-9, 1920. But on this date, February 24, Adolf Hitler proclaimed and explained the program of his movement, which was comprised of 25 fundamental theses. Thus were the most important fundamental challenges of our time laid out in a political manifesto for the movement. At the same time, the strategic principles for building the coming National Socialist state were established. The success of the meeting was a breakthrough. Even an attempt at disruption by Marxists was quickly and decisively put down.

The dam had been broken, and successive meetings quickly followed, so that it took barely a year before Hitler was able to choose the Zirkus Krone²⁵ building in the Marsstrasse as his regular meeting hall.

Soon something occurred that none of the bourgeois parties had ever experienced: all of the meetings held by the National Socialists were standing room only and had to be closed off by the police even before they began. The same thing happened with the speeches that were held every evening at the Café Neumayer or at the increasingly frequent Zirkus meetings. Crowds began to stream into the room hours ahead of time, crammed together patiently like so many sardines, awaiting the arrival of the Führer. They were young and old, people of all the estates and professions, who even then experienced each Hitler meeting as something special. Frail little old ladies brought collapsible stools so that they would get a place to sit no matter what. When Hitler arrived amid seemingly never-ending jubilation, he had a hard time getting to the podium.

The petty bourgeois of all parties were not up to the spirit of attack mounted by the young movement. Whenever a handful of National Socialists catcalled the nonsense uttered by an opposing speaker at the meeting, or whenever security tried to prevent them from doing so, that is when the fists flew. Bloodied heads were very much on the agenda. But woe to the opponent who dared to muck around in one of our own meetings. All it took was a single call of "out of order," and the interloper flew out the door in a high arc. But this intolerance was the only way for the party to assert itself against opponents who greatly outnumbered it. In addition, it also had the moral right because from the outset the party unambiguously identified as a militant movement, which in contrast to its political enemies never based itself on theories of democratic equality and brotherhood or relied on parliamentary niceties.²⁶

²⁵ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Circus Krone

²⁶ Bouhler here teaches young people violence as the proper way to settle differences. As will be seen in the next paragraph, violence also became a crucial recruitment tool.

There was another reason for these physical fights with disturbers of the peace. The greatest difficulty for the party was, as previously described, the fact that no one paid attention to it. At the beginning it was always the same few stalwarts who sat next to each other, listening to the speakers, at National Socialist meetings. New people rarely entered the halls. It was a young movement that defiantly had to use all means to obtain the public's attention. Everything possible was tried, given the modest monies that were available. First leaflets were printed by machine, which were then slipped into mailboxes in apartment houses by members of the committee – who at first were basically the only members of the party. Later we were able to announce our meetings to the public on posters. The big red posters with their detailed texts written by Hitler about the political issues of the day, which radiated their message from all the advertising pillars in Munich, soon aroused the attention of the populace. The masses gathered around the pillars, and heated discussions developed for and against the printed appeals. Thus they quickly became the most attractive means of propaganda, and in the end the Munich street scene would have been unthinkable without them. But in later years the cunning police, for whom their effect was a thorn in the eye, banned them for "traffic safety reasons." For much larger meetings at the Zirkus and later on the Königsplatz, Hitler hit upon the idea of printing leaflets in large quantities and throwing them to the masses out of car windows, a method that proved to be extraordinarily effective. Nonetheless, even though large holes in the audience were filled with the help of the placards, the meetings lacked a palpable ingredient of success because the entire press, of all shades, remained stubbornly silent about them. Then something took place one evening in the Hofbräu cellar. A man who had dared to interrupt was helped a little ungently out into the fresh air. Next day the Münchner Neueste Nachrichten reported that a harmless attendee had been beaten up at a meeting of the German Workers Party. It was, they said, regrettable to the highest degree the excesses to which the political struggle had degenerated in our day. – Finally, the party had found the way to lure the newspapers out of their icy reserve! Here was the rope by which it could hoist itself up from the depths of disregard to the daylight of "public opinion." The criticism leveled in the press at the party's efforts was harsh and unfriendly because it never discussed its intentions and goals. But more than anything else the party did not want to continue to be buried in complete silence. So in the future, every opportunity was taken to respond to even the most minor challenge with physical ejection. And lo and behold! From then on both the bourgeois and the Red press began to cover the evil Nazis daily.

Naturally, fights with those with other political ideas took place on the street as well. More than once it happened that Hitler saw a crowd of people from his car and immediately understood what it was about. With a cool head, he stopped the car even in the middle of a teaming crowd, and jumped out with his comrades and began throwing punches.

In general, Adolf Hitler was to be found at the center of any danger, both in the early days of the movement and later. Thus, for example, he and a few "accomplices" were

sentenced to five weeks in jail by the "Bayernbund" for breaking up a separatist meeting called by the engineer Ballerstedt.²⁷

It was in the nature of things that the National Socialists were continually forced to deal with the police and the courts. They constantly broke the "law" and the regulations in force. It was usually the "Law for the Protection of the Republic" [Republikschutzgesetz] that claimed its victims.²⁸ Sometimes the black-red-gold flag would disappear suddenly at night from its tall staff in the Bahnhofplatz. Or maybe Reich President Ebert was careless enough to let himself be photographed at the beach, and when he returned to Munich he would be greeted by fluttering red bathing trunks. Whatever: the ringleaders and instigators of these actions were almost always National Socialists. Pasting posters, distributing banned leaflets, and harassing German citizens of the Jewish faith also led to frequent conflicts with the authorities of the System-State.²⁹ And of course, transgressions by the press played a big role as well. The *Völkischer* Beobachter, the only newspaper that the party possessed early on was published only twice a week until February 1923, and even when it became a daily, it appeared in small format for more than half a year. But each issue teemed with insults aimed at leading figures of the November Republic. Men like Dietrich Eckart, 30 Alfred Rosenberg, 31 and Hermann Esser³² poured out a constant stream of merciless, biting invective about existing deplorable conditions and the Social Democratic and Center party bosses who were responsible for them. Nor did they spare the bourgeois parties, which stood by cowardly and miserably in the face of these facts and conditions. Of course, the press freedoms afforded by the black-red-gold republic allowed newspapers a fair amount of leeway. Nonetheless, bans hailed down on the VB, and its editors constantly had to deal with trials and civil actions.

The National Socialists during the period of struggle were anything but "respectable." The fighters with whom Adolf Hitler surrounded himself at that time, and who stood at the ready to do his bidding, appeared reckless and foolhardy. The first to find their way to him were front soldiers from his own regiment, because they had

²⁷ A monarchist, Otto Ballerstedt (1887-1934) advocated strict federalism, which is why the Nazis accused him of "separatism. At the meeting on September 14, 1921, Hitler and his men actually attacked Ballerstedt and injured him seriously. He was murdered on June 30, 1934 during the Night of the Long Knives.

²⁸ By victims he means Nazi Party members.

²⁹ One of many terms of contempt for the Weimar republic and constitution.

³⁰ Dietrich Eckart (1868-1923) was a very important early role model and mentor for Hitler who took part in the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch. He died shortly after his release from prison.

³¹ Alfred Rosenberg (1892-1946) was a Nazi ideologue and theorist who was intimately involved in the formulation of racial theory, including the persecution of Jews. His most influential work was *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*. Rosenberg was also instrumental in planning the invasions of Norway and the Soviet Union, and the plundering of conquered countries. He was tried at Nuremberg and found guilty of crimes against humanity and war crimes, and hanged.

³² Hermann Esser (1900-1981) was an early member of the Nazi Party and was editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*.

experienced his courage and his flawless character on the field, and because they were bitter about the defeat of their Fatherland. They were also sick to death at the underhanded dealings that were so prevalent in society, and in particular in our political life. What they saw in Adolf Hitler's party was the old fighting spirit that had animated them in the trenches. Here they found the unbridled will to bring about a turnaround in this desolate epoch. Here, real men were valued, their guts, their readiness to fight, and their strong fists, which could do their work when needed. These people were welcome and properly valued. Other like-minded men also came along. These included activist, nationalist youth who brought with them the energy and idealism of their years, and ensured that fresh blood and youthful enthusiasm constantly pulsed through the movement. They had no uniforms at the beginning. Most of them wore their tattered field-gray army uniforms. It was an almost unwritten law that when they appeared in public they should look as wild and warlike as possible. Shirt collars were forbidden. Later they wore windbreakers and ski hats. The brown shirt was introduced in 1925. Hitler himself designed the red armband with the black swastika against a white field, as well as the party badges, the storm flag, and in early 1923 the banner.

Initially, all male members of the party belonged to the NSDAP order service [Ordnungsdienst], which later developed into the SA. Hitler honored it with the title Sturmabteilung [Storm Troop] after the memorable battle in the Hofbräuhaus on November 4, 1921, in which an overwhelmingly superior Red force was heroically beaten. That was the first time that the Marxists had attempted a large-scale operation to break up a National Socialist meeting.

The Führer described the dramatic events of the evening in My Struggle:

"I entered the vestibule of the hall at a quarter to eight and saw that there was no doubt whatever of the immediate intention. The hall was packed, and the police were stopping any more from entering. Our enemies, who had arrived very early, were inside the hall, and our friends were outside. The little body of guards were waiting for me in the vestibule. I had the door into the large hall shut and called the forty-five or forty-six men up to me. I explained to the young fellows that to-night, for the first time, the Movement would have to prove its faithfulness to the point of bending and breaking, and that none of us might leave the hall, except we were carried out dead; but I did not think any of them would desert me. If I saw any man showing himself a coward, I should myself tear his armlet off him and take away his badge. I then called on them to go forward at once at the first sign of an attempt to break up the meeting, and to remember that a man defends himself best by attacking.

"I was answered by three cheers which sounded fiercer and hotter than ever before.

"Then I entered the hall and saw the situation with my own eyes. They sat packed close and tried to stab me with their looks. Numberless faces were turned on me with seething hatred, whilst others uttered yells which meant but one thing. They knew they were the stronger party and felt accordingly.

"Nevertheless, the meeting could be opened and I began to speak....

"A few angry shouts and a man suddenly jumped on a chair and roared into the hall: 'Freiheit!' (Freedom.) At which signal the fighters for freedom began their work.

In a few seconds the whole hall was filled with a roaring, screaming crowd, over which, like howitzer shells, flew innumerable beer mugs, and in between the cracking of chair-legs, the crashing of the mugs, bawling, howling, and screaming.

"It was an idiotic spectacle.

"I remained standing in my place and was able to observe how thoroughly my boys fulfilled their duty.

"The dance had not yet begun when my storm troopers — for so they were called from this day on — attacked. Like wolves they flung themselves in packs of eight or ten again and again on their enemies, and little by little actually began to thrash them out of the hall. After only five minutes I hardly saw a one of them who was not covered with blood. How many of them I only came really to know on that day; at the head my good Maurice,³³ my present private secretary Hess, and many others, who, even though gravely injured themselves, attacked again and again as long as their legs would hold them. For twenty minutes the hellish tumult lasted, but then our enemies, who must have numbered seven and eight hundred men, had for the most part been beaten out of the hall and chased down the stairs by my men numbering not even fifty. Only in the left rear corner of the hall a big group stood its ground and offered embittered resistance. Then suddenly two shots were fired from the hall entrance toward the platform, and wild shooting started. Your heart almost rejoiced at such a revival of old war experiences.

"Who was shooting could not be distinguished from that point on; only one thing could be definitely established, that from this point on the fury of my bleeding boys exceeded all bounds and finally the last disturbers were overcome and driven out of the hall.

"About twenty-five minutes had passed; the hall looked almost as if a shell had struck it. Many of my supporters were being bandaged; others had to be driven away, but we had remained masters of the situation. Hermann Esser, who had assumed the chair this evening, declared 'The meeting goes on. The speaker has the floor.' And then I spoke again."³⁴

Meetings in which the masses are affected by the spoken word were only one means by which the Volk was to be won over to National Socialist ideas. The other, which was no less important, was the demonstration. From the very beginning Hitler recognized that National Socialism had to contest Marxism for supremacy in the streets. Hardly a day passed by that smaller or larger troops marched somewhere in Munich. The swastika flag

³³ Emil Maurice (1897-1972) was "An early associate of Hitler and first leader of the storm troops. He was in prison with Hitler in Landsberg after the Putsch, and Hitler first dictated *Mein Kampf* to him. After the National Socialists seized power, he became a municipal councilor in Munich. He was active in the blood purge killings of 1934." (Mannheim fn.)

³⁴ Ralph Mannheim translation, pp. 505-506.

was always borne out front, or the old flag of the Reich Navy, which was still borne at the time to commemorate the heroic efforts of the bands of volunteer sailors in suppressing the communist uprisings in Munich and in the Ruhr region.

The marchers sang loudly, and the songs that resounded from their raw throats were not always enjoyed by those who heard them. This was because they were not only well-known military songs from the war, but also new ones that had been born of the moment, often with threatening anti-Semitic content. And so as they marched they observed shutters being rolled up at certain homes and shops as they approached. But one such song was the anthem of the movement until the collapse on November 9, and all of the old fighters remember it well:

Hakenkreuz am Stahlhelm, schwarzweißrotes Band – Sturmabteilung Hitler werden wir genannt. [Swastika on steel helmet black-white-red armband Storm Troop Hitler That's what we are called.]

More and more people began to join these columns of marchers, singing loudly and enthusiastically. Some of those who joined during those days never left the movement.

Chapter 3 Bavaria Is Conquered³⁵

The first local groups outside Munich were in Rosenheim and Landshut.

In contrast to the manner in which the bourgeois parties built support, which usually began by founding local groups in many places and furnishing them with leaders even before they had soldiers, the NSDAP developed organically. That is why it was the will of the Führer to build a firm platform in one city, before venturing out into the countryside.

That city was Munich. In the beginning this is where Adolf Hitler concentrated all his energies, and even after he had gained a firm foothold there, and a large number of bases³⁶ had been set up in the countryside, Munich remained at the center of his attention. Thus, he spoke at public meetings in Munich every week, in addition to the evening speeches he gave every Monday at the central office.

Whenever people from out of town attended Hitler's meetings, drawn by the events in Munich and driven by their own desire for change in Germany's political situation, they returned to their respective *Heimats* with impressions of his personality and of his will, which they then used to gain fresh stalwart and fanatic fighters for his ideas. Only when the preliminary work in a place had gained a certain number of members that formed the basis for an organization, were efforts made at founding a local group. At that point, a

³⁵ In this section, Bouhler begins to sketch out organizing principles for his young readers.

³⁶ The word *Stützpunkte* is a military term; the Nazis viewed their movement in military terms from the outset.

public meeting was called at an inn or other suitable venue. The members would have already brought leaflets and application forms from Munich, and when a speaker from the central office, or even the Führer himself appeared, then the new local group became a reality. As soon as an SA was formed, it was called together from the entire surrounding area whenever there were meetings or other occasions. The men often traveled for hours by foot, bicycle, or truck. In the beginning, all available male party members came together to protect the meeting, because its opponents did everything they could to prevent the establishment of such bases.

It was therefore unavoidable that these meetings of the Volk often ended in wild melees, in which, it should be added, the National Socialists generally left the field victorious. Of course, in some cases they suffered setbacks if the meeting had not been sufficiently prepared, or when the opponent had assigned a top-notch speaker who arrived with an overwhelming troop of men. One time, in 1923, a National Socialist meeting in Regensburg was broken up by an overwhelming number of Marxists. The Führer thereupon decided to mete out punishment. A new meeting was announced at which the entire Munich SA would be present in order to show the Regensburg Marxists once and for all that we were fully prepared to contest them if they wished in terms of terror [in puncto Terror]. A special train was rented for the purpose. But when we arrived at the main Munich train station in a fighting spirit, a police ban had been issued, and the plan had to be postponed to a later date.

The Marxists were by no means the only opponents with whom the National Socialists had to deal during those first years. Separatism developed into a second, no less stubborn and dangerous enemy, whose demagogic propagandists well understood how to paint in vibrant colors the advantages that the Bavarian Volk would enjoy if Bavaria separated from the Reich, which was being misruled by the Marxists.

Although the NSDAP was unwilling to deviate even an iota from its goals and program, it had to maintain contact with the various groups of a patriotic nature that existed in Bavaria, and occasionally even participate with them on certain occasions. This was especially the case for large demonstrations on the Königsplatz where a unified will of the Volk [einheitliche Willenskundgebung] was to be expressed, as for example when the Law for the Protection of the Republic was proclaimed after Rathenau's shooting. Or when the civil guards³⁷ were dissolved. Even though we derived some advantages from such collaborative actions, the old adage remained true, that the strong are most powerful when they act alone. This was because the Führer's goal could not be based on a community of work and interest over the long term; what he wanted was the eventual disappearance of groups that had similar goals, and their integration into the NSDAP.

The German-Socialist Party, at least the group in Franconia under the leadership of Julius Streicher, was one of the first *völkisch* organizations to join with Hitler. In Streicher, Hitler gained not only one of his most loyal comrades-in-arms, but also a man who had writ the uncompromising battle against All Judah on his banners.

³⁷ These were right-wing civilian paramilitary groups that organized after WWI.

In Munich there was another man who had also recognized the danger of Judah to the German Volk, and had found his way to National Socialism by way of anti-Semitism. Dietrich Eckart, a poet of the Volk, had published his bold journal *Auf gut Deutsch* ["in good German"] during the days of the Red Munich council republic. He got to know Adolf Hitler in the summer of 1919, and they were soon close friends. Two years later he became the editor-in-chief of the *Völkischer Beobachter*. When the arrest warrant was issued for Eckart in Berlin in 1923, in accordance with the Law for the Protection of the Republic, he was forced to go into hiding on the Obersalzberg, near Berchtesgaden. Through him the Führer got to know this region, which has become his *Heimat*, and which he has come to love. In his "Deutschland erwache!" [Germany awaken], which was set to music by [Hans] Gansser, Dietrich Eckart gave the movement a fighting song of eternal worth.

The will of the movement was always to gain the heart of the German Volk with intellectual weapons by means of tireless enlightenment. However, wherever force was used against it, it was determined to smash this terror with all brutality, if need be. Up to now, Marxism ruled the streets. Adolf Hitler then coined the slogan: "We must teach Marxism that the future master of the streets is National Socialism, just as it will one day be master of the state."

The Führer showed just how serious he was in the city of Coburg. On October 14, 1922, Adolf Hitler at the head of 800 Munich SA men, marched through this Red fortress with banners waving and drums beating. The bourgeois parties, which wanted to organize a German Rally there together with the National Socialists, were about to capitulate to threats by the Red mob.

However, when he arrived at the train station, the Führer flatly rejected the recommendations of their representatives, who had presented to him the results of their negotiations with the Marxists. The National Socialists were supposed to roll up their banners and enter the city without fanfare and not in closed ranks. Immediately, the Führer ordered the storm detachment to enter. Now those Red gentlemen and the scared "völkisch" rabbits would get to know what he was all about! Hitler described it as follows:

"On the square in front of the railroad station we were received by a howling, shrieking mob numbering thousands. 'Murderers,' 'bandits,' 'robbers,' 'criminals,' were the pet names which the model founders of the German Republic affectionately showered on us. The young SA kept exemplary order, the companies formed on the square in front of the station, and at first took no notice of the vulgar abuse. In the city that was strange to all of us, frightened police officials led the marching column, not, as arranged, to our quarters, a shooting gallery situated on the periphery of Coburg, but to the Hofbrauhauskeller, near the center of the city. To left and right of the procession, the uproar of the masses of people accompanying us increased more and more. Hardly had the last company turned into the courtyard of the Keller than great masses, amid deafening cries, tried to crowd in after us. To prevent this, the police locked the Keller. Since this state of affairs was intolerable, I had the SA line up once

again, gave them a brief speech of admonition, and demanded that the police open the gates immediately. After a long hesitation, they yielded.

"To get to our quarters, we marched back the way we had come, and now at last a stand had to be taken. After they had been unable to disturb the poise of our companies by cries and insulting shouts, the representatives of true socialism, equality, and fraternity had recourse to stones. At this our patience was at an end, and so for ten whole minutes a devastating hail fell from left and right, and a quarter of an hour later, there was nothing red to be seen in the streets." 38

Later attacks by the Marxists and their attempted sabotaging of our trip back on the rented train were appropriately rebuffed, and so this day turned into a milestone in the history of the National Socialist movement that is so rich in successes. The Coburg badge along with the gold medal of the NSDAP and the Blood Medal commemorating November 9, 1923, the highest decoration of the movement, remains the visible sign of a proud memory for all participants in this victorious battle.

A few months later, in January 1923, the annals of the NSDAP record a further event that would have great consequences for the movement. This was the first Reich Party Rally, which was held despite difficulties and impediments, and despite the state of emergency announced by the Bavarian government for January 27 and 28. National Socialists from all of southern Germany met for the first time – the relatively few northern Germany party members had largely been caught by the Red government of Thuringia and prevented from attending.

Of course, this meeting cannot be compared with our Nuremberg Reich Party Rallies. Nonetheless, and only incompletely and in small, we find within it the germ of the style that the Führer manifested for all times at Nuremberg. On the evening before, the participants were greeted in mass meetings. Next day, meetings about organizational and propaganda questions, etc., were held in side rooms of the Hofbräuhaus, whose main hall served as our headquarters. The Führer spoke to the delegates of the local groups for several hours about the goals of the movement and about the political situation. At the end, a meeting of the general membership was held at the Zirkus Krone, where the board of the National Socialist German Workers Association was elected, at a ceremony that was at the time still inscribed in the bylaws. The mood was festive. However, the main event was the consecration of the first four standards and their presentation to the SA, a ceremony that the Führer performed on the snow-covered Marsfelde.

In the meanwhile, the headquarters was busy fulfilling all of the necessary organizational and administrative tasks, even though these tasks were secondary to the political work and the development of the SA – understandable given the revolutionary character of the party.

Added to this is the fact that we were always plagued by money problems, an evil circumstance that never ended throughout the entire struggle period of the movement.

³⁸ Mannheim pp. 549-550.

We were grateful for all donations, on the condition that they came to us without strings. We waited in vain for the "fortune" that would have lifted our worries off of our shoulders all at once.

One day – it was pretty much in the middle of the inflation – an engineer came to see [Max] Amann, the manager of our headquarters in the Corneliusstrasse. He was a dignified older gentleman with a white beard who declared that he had decided to donate a larger sum of money to the party. He had come to the conclusion that no sacrifice was too big for this movement. And he could afford to do it because his circumstances – Thank God! – were good, perhaps even very good. The meaning of these words were further underscored by the fact that our visitor was carrying a rather large bag. Amann glanced in my direction. We both hoped that this old gentleman wished to bequeath us the money that was in this bag.

Although our time was limited, and many other visitors were waiting in the waiting room, we listened to him come what may. We again discussed with him the goals of the movement, which further boosted his opinion of us, in the hopes that he would perhaps add a little more to the donation he intended to make.

He finally got up from his chair. The tension was almost unbearable. Now he is going to open his bag — However, nothing could have been further from his mind. This promoter of the national cause rummaged around in his bag and, looking as if he had just funded an orphanage, took out a banknote and laid it on the table. I forget the denomination. But what I do know is that the amount could not have exceeded the value of a Reich Mark by very much. Our disappointment knew no bounds. However, the white-bearded gentlemen left in the knowledge that he had done his patriotic best.

Shortly after the first Reich Party Rally, the SA entered a significant phase. The storm troopers, who up to then had been led by a spirited young naval officer, Lieutenant [Johann Ulrich] Klintzsch, were placed under the supreme command of the Pour-le mérite aviator Captain Göring. With great energy he organized the SA along military lines, thereby creating an instrument that soon proved its combat effectiveness and discipline.

Chapter 4 November 9, 1923

And deep be the stake, as the prize is high—. Who *life* would win, he must dare to die!

There are things in life that must be done regardless of whether they carry the hope of success. These are decisions and acts that one can shirk only at the price of inner freedom, worth, happiness, yes even one's life. That is why there are defeats that the individual, a movement, or a nation just has to get through.

Among these are November 9, 1923.

Certainly a black day in the history of the National Socialist movement, but at the same time a turning point in the events of our era.

On this day, one man with a few faithful comrades attempted to bend the course of German destiny. He dared to undertake something, even though it would in all probability fail.

But this undertaking had to happen. Only he who had the courage to leap into uncertainty could belong to the German future. Only from blood and battle could the seed of a more beautiful fatherland arise.³⁹

When Adolf Hitler decided to let loose, it was one of the most difficult decisions of his life. It required a considerable measure of courage to act without being ordered by anyone else in the world, only out of one's own conviction, to proclaim battle against the existing order, to declare invalid a government in possession of the powers of state, and to bear by himself the entire burden of responsibility for all the consequences that this coup would bring with it.

Adolf Hitler did that. He could wait no longer.

On January 10, 1923, the French had occupied the Ruhr region in order to exact further reparations in tangible assets while holding itself blameless. The populace attempted passive resistance. They disobeyed all French orders, factories closed, and the region went on strike.

Only a few nationalist activists – mainly National Socialists – went further and inflicted considerable damage on the enemy by destroying railroad lines, blowing up bridges, and similar activities. During one of these missions, the National Socialist Albert Leo Schlageter⁴⁰ was betrayed and delivered into the hands of the French. On May 26, he was shot on the Golzheimer Heide, near Düsseldorf. He died standing tall and became a hero to the German nation.

Passive resistance had to fail in the long run. What could an unarmed leaderless Volk do over the long term against a well-organized and armed force that felt that it was master over this German territory? It might be able to complicate its advance, in the best case delay it, but never bring it to a halt. The government—which at the time was headed by Reich Chancellor Cuno, who was basically a nationalist—supported this passive resistance, and was in fact the originator of this idea.

But fundamentally this entire undertaking made no sense. It would only have had a purpose if the time gained by these actions had been used to organize active resistance. However, Cuno's cabinet was unable to muster the courage to do so.

On September 26, 1923, passive resistance was abandoned in whatever form it took. All of the sacrifices that the populace had made during this time appeared to have been in vain. Death, prison, mistreatment of all sorts, expulsions, the burden of quartering arrogant foreign soldiers with all the humiliations it entailed, all of it had been in vain. The fulfillment policies that ate at the marrow of the Volk and ground into the dust the entire honor of the nation, continued unabated.

³⁹ This tenet of "purification by battle" is basic to almost all fascist movements.

⁴⁰ Because he was executed by the French for acts of sabotage, Leo Schlageter (1894-1923) became an important Nazi martyr and propaganda tool.

As a result, Germany's economy descended further into catastrophe. The disintegration of our currency quickened and then raced without end in sight, and inflation led to numbers that even the boldest imagination could never have envisioned. Paper money was printed in endless quantities and wages were increased. The natural consequence was an increase in prices, which in turn led to further wage increases. The money that a person had received today was worthless the next morning. One result was wild speculation and the sale of German stocks to foreigners with deep pockets. Innumerable lives were ruined. The cunning and unscrupulous businessman who knew how to exploit the economy triumphed over the little man. The Jew filled his pockets.

This continued until the exchange rate for the dollar hit 1 billion. The government stood by powerless to change this terrible reality. But the Volk wanted action. The Volk did not know what needed to be done, but something had to be, that much was clear.

Meanwhile, in Bavaria – not least because of Adolf Hitler's educational work and his NSDAP – something like a nucleus of national opposition had developed that was directed against the System government in Berlin, and it seemed that the German question might be resolved from here. Of course, there were forces at work here as well who were less interested in that than in separating Bavaria from the Reich. Some of them even played with the idea of reintroducing the monarchy by recalling former Crown Prince Rupprecht to be the king of Bavaria. It should be clear that such a separation would be possible only if supported by a foreign power, and that it would lead to smashing the German Reich.

On the occasion of the German Party Rally in Nuremberg on September 1 and 2, the NSDAP combined the "Bund Oberland" and the "Reichsflagge" (after disloyalty by its leader, Captain [Adolf] Heiß, it became a splinter from the "Reichsflagge" under Captain Röhm that called itself the "Reichskriegsflagge") into the "Deutsche Kampfbund," whose political leadership was conferred upon Adolf Hitler on September 25. Militarily, the forces of the Kampfbund were under the command of Oberstleutnant [Hermann] Kriebel.

The Bavarian government responded to the united political orientation of the Kampfbund by appointing Dr. von Kahr⁴¹ as Bavarian general state commissioner, and giving him executive power in Bavaria. Some superficial observers back then saw him as an imminent German dictator. Kahr immediately announced a state of emergency for Bavaria and banned a powerful National Socialist demonstration planned for the next day. He intended to maintain "law and order" by all means. But that he was not the strong man that people were expecting was soon demonstrated when he became involved in two conflicts between Bavaria and the Reich government and advanced the Bavarian and national point of view. Things went so far that there was open talk of a "March on Berlin" and the thought was that such a march would be completely realistic, even though no one had the courage to face the inevitable consequences, and it was later claimed that it had only been an idea that was to be understood in a figurative sense.

⁴¹ Gustav von Kahr (1862-1934) was a right-wing politician. For the actions described in this section Kahr was murdered during the Night of the Long Knives.

But Adolf Hitler established the necessary contact with Kahr, the Bavarian district defense commander General Otto von Lossow, and the Bavarian police commander Hans von Seißer, and with the various patriotic associations in Bavaria. He would have associated with anyone who he hoped would bring him closer to his goals. And this goal was: the liberation of Germany.

A battle against the entire power of the state in Germany would have been hopeless from the very outset. But a battle against the weak Marxist Reich power that was directed against the state power of one province that could base itself on the NSDAP, which was rooted in the Volk of Bavaria, at least had the possibility of some success. Especially since the first quartermaster-general during World War I, General [Erich] Ludendorff was a member of the association. His name, it was hoped, would bring all of the vacillating patriots together at the decisive moment in order to sweep away Marxist rule in Berlin as if it were an apparition. There was no hope of a 51 percent majority, as General Lossow hoped for. So, Hitler had no choice other than to take the initiative upon himself and create a fact on the ground that lifted from others any responsibility for the decision to act. He must have felt the leap as a relief.

That was to happen on November 8, 1923,⁴² on the fifth anniversary of the Marxist November crime, and was by a single act to end this shameful chapter in German history.

For that evening, the patriotic associations of Munich, especially the Bund Bayern und Reich, had called a meeting in the Bürgerbräukeller in which Kahr was to lay out his program. At around 8:45, when he was about half an hour into his talk, noise and commotion were noted at the entrance to the hall. Adolf Hitler, followed by a few other daring men with pistols stormed into the hall and forced their way through the masses to the podium. Hitler jumped onto a chair, fired his pistol into the ceiling, and called out in his lion's voice, ""The national revolution has broken out! The hall is surrounded by six hundred men. Nobody is allowed to leave."" Kahr went pale. The entire meeting was in an uproar. Hitler declared that the Bavarian government and the Reich government had been overthrown, and announced the formation of a provisional national government. He then ordered Kahr, Lossow, and Seißer to follow him into an adjoining room for talks.

The surprise coup had succeeded. Unnoticed, trucks with storm troopers had arrived at the Bürgerbräukeller. None of the bourgeois participants of the meeting attempted resistance, although the number of Hitler's men in the hall was exceedingly small.

But Hitler stood before a difficult task. He now had to win over the masses who had been taken by surprise, overcome their personal misgivings, and get them to act in unison. In the back room, Hitler explained the situation and told them [Kahr, Lossow, and Seißer] what measures needed to be taken. Bavaria wants to be the springboard for the new Reich government. The Munich chief of police at the time, Ernst Pöhner, an unusually competent, courageous, and convinced nationalist, who, along with the head of the criminal police, Dr. [Wilhelm] Frick, had made himself unconditionally available to Hitler, was to become the Bavarian minister president with dictatorial powers, and Kahr

⁴² The Armistice was actually signed on November 11. The politicians who signed it were referred to as the "November Criminals."

was to become the Bayarian state administrator. Ludendorff was to be the commander of the national army, Seißer the Reich chief of police. Hitler was to head up the political battle.

Hitler then gave an incendiary speech in the hall. He declared that the government of the November criminals in Berlin had been overthrown, and explained his subsequent plans to the meeting. The icy mood that had overtaken the hall eventually warmed up and gave way to jubilation and enthusiasm. When Hitler returned to the back room, this time with General Ludendorff, Kahr, Lossow, and Seißer declared their agreement and affirmed it by a handshake before the entire meeting.

While all of this was taking place in the Bürgerbräukeller, the Stosstrupp-Hitler [Shock Troop Hitler], all of them daring men – men like [Julius] Shreck, [Joseph]

No one could have imagined that just a few hours later they would break their word.

Berchtold, and [Julius] Schaub among them – on orders from Hermann Göring, the commander of the SA, broke into the Münchner Post building, the organ of the Social Democrats, and smashed this Marxist toxin-kitchen to pieces. Rudolf Hess had arrested the Red and the Black [i.e., Catholic] members of the Bayarian government and of the Munich city council and taken them as hostages. The headquarters of the party under Amann had moved into and occupied the rooms of the Bayerische Siedlungs- und Landbank, where they spent the entire night in feverish activity. But the headquarters of the provisional national government was located in the Bürgerbräukeller.

But toward morning, rumors began to spread that Kahr, Lossow, and Seißer had turned coat. In exchange for their word of honor, Ludendorff had let them go, whereupon they went to the Reichswehr barracks and organized counter actions to the national revolution. Whether, as they later claimed in court, they had merely "played along" in the Bürgerbräukeller in order to gain time, or whether they had seen themselves forced to act in the face of a fait accompli by the Reichswehr, organized by the Black⁴³ Bavarian minister of culture Franz Matt, is completely irrelevant given the shameful treason to the national revolution that they had committed.

But for Adolf Hitler and his friends there was no going back. What now had to be done was to propagandize the inhabitants of Munich as never before, win them over, and turn the tide before it was too late. Hitler therefore decided to march at the head of a parade through the streets of Munich. On November 9 at 12 noon, the SA and the Bund Oberland⁴⁴ set forth from the Bürgerbräukeller. The swastika flag led the way, followed by the vanguard which, aside from Adolf Hitler, consisted among others of General Ludendorff, Captain Göring, Dr. [Friedrich] Weber, the leader of the Bund Oberland, and Alfred Rosenberg.

The police had already closed off the Ludwigsbrücke in an attempt to halt the procession. But there was no holding it back anymore. One way or the other the march toward liberation had to be carried out to the end, even in the face of casualties. An order was given – and then the terrible thing happened: German men who acted in accordance

⁴³ Pejorative epithet for Catholicism.

⁴⁴ A paramilitary group, also called Freikorps Oberland, which became the core of the SA.

with their military duty shot into the German liberation movement that Adolf Hitler led and in which the quartermaster-general of the World War was marching! The salvos rained down mercilessly into the densely packed procession, and innumerable National Socialists rolled in their blood. As he fell, Adolf Hitler suffered a collarbone fracture and wrenched his shoulder; his faithful companion Ulrich Graf, who had thrown himself in front of his Führer to protect him, collapsed with several bullet wounds. Göring was toppled by a serious bullet wound to his leg. Fourteen heroes – their names are immortal – lay dead on the pavement. The flag, red with their blood, was saved. This "blood flag" has become the most sacred symbol of the movement.

Hitler was driven by car to Uffing am Staffelsee, where he was arrested the next day. The dream of German liberation appeared to be done for.

During the tragic events at the Feldherrnhalle the Reichskriegsflagge⁴⁵ had held the building of the defense district headquarters [Wehrkreiskommando] on the Ludwigstrasse against the Reich defense forces [Reichswehr] until it was completely surrounded and was forced to give up its weapons. The movement suffered two further deaths during this action. The Reichskriegsflagge flag was borne by Heinrich Himmler. Ernst Röhm⁴⁶ was in command. The treason that he later committed against the movement, against his Führer, and therefore against Germany, which he and his minions paid for with their lives, weighs doubly heavy given this hour of shared action and shared danger.

Two days later, the NSDAP headquarters in the Corneliusstrasse was occupied by the police. However, we were able to rescue the membership list and all important material in time. Kahr decreed a ban on the party and confiscated its entire assets. The *Völkischer Beobachter* was also banned. All further action by the National Socialists was threatened with severe penalties. There was talk of "liquidating" the National Socialist movement.

What arrogance! For the first time, all of Germany listened as Adolf Hitler advocated unyielding and fanatically for his cause during the great trial. The hearts of all brave and loyal fighters flew to him from all German districts when in his summation he spoke the prophetic words: "Therefore I now believe that one day the hour will come when these masses who today bear our swastika, and walk the streets carrying our swastika banners, will unite themselves with the very units which opposed us on November 9. I thus believe that the blood which flowed on that day is not doomed to divide us forever."

The Führer later concluded that the time had not been ripe on November 9. During the tenth anniversary celebration at the Bürgerbräukeller on November 9, 1833, he called the collapse back then, "the wisdom of Providence," but added, "And nonetheless I am convinced that all of those who did what they did at that time were made, by the dictates of a higher power, to act as they did, and not otherwise."⁴⁷

⁴⁵ The "Reich War Flag" was Ernst Röhm's fascist organization that supported Hitler's putsch.

⁴⁶ Ernst Röhm (1887-1934) was an early Nazi member. He became the head of the SA, but became increasingly critical of Hitler and his government. Hitler, seeing him as a potential rival, had him purged and much of the SA leadership murdered during the Night of the Long Knives, on June 30, 1934. Röhm was executed the next day.

⁴⁷ Again, the religious imagery.

Those who marched under the flag of the swastika to the Feldherrnhalle, toward the new Reich, did not follow a phantom, but rather the pull of their hearts, the loud call of an ideal that spoke to them through the Führer's voice. All of them were prepared to surrender the ultimate that they had to give because they set the idea embodied by Adolf Hitler higher than their own lives.⁴⁸ But there were 16 men from whom fate demanded that sacrifice.

And thus the dead of November 9 became the first martyrs of the National Socialist struggle. Many have followed them and have sacrificed their blood and lives at the altar of the Fatherland. But they were the first. Their struggle was far more hopeless than that of those who came later. Because of this their sacrifices were all the greater. They proved to the world that this new movement was prepared to fertilize the path toward German freedom with the blood of its fighters.

It was with good reason that the Führer raised the 16 who had fallen on November 9 from the marching column of "comrades shot by the Red front and reactionaries" and placed them in a Temple of Honor in the Königsplatz, in Munich, a memorial that through its simplicity and nobility of form bears witness to the immensity of their sacrifice, and at the same time to the tribute paid to them by the movement. That is why their mortal remains were taken from their graves located in various cemeteries in and around Munich and after lying in state during the night at the Feldherrnhalle, were borne the next day in solemn procession to their new crypt.

There they will maintain the memory of this day as an "Eternal Watch" for coming generations.

Chapter 5 The NSDAP Once Again

More than a year of attempts to resurrect an organizational structure after the collapse of November 9, 1923, a time of inner ferment, discord, and leadership battles, lay behind the movement. The impression left by the great legal battle before the People's Court [Volksgerichtshof] in Munich, which initially brought a massive upsurge in National Socialist thinking in the entire Reich, had long since been replaced by severe reversal. Many of the old fighters succumbed to deep disillusionment and hopelessness. Some turned their backs on the movement. In northern Germany, a few ambitious Germanvölkisch would-be Führers tried to inherit Adolf Hitler's mantle and turn his movement to their purposes. A relatively small group maintained their loyalty to the old flag.

On December 20, 1924, the gates of the Landsberg prison opened for Adolf Hitler. He was to serve probation for the remainder of his five years of "punishment" to which he had been sentenced for "high treason."

His comrades-in-arms breathed free. Now that their Führer was with them again to bear the flag forward with even greater resolve, they no longer felt fearful about the future!

⁴⁸ This is where the cult of the leader and religious fanaticism inevitably lead: to a death cult.

What for some had meant bitter disappointment was self-evident to him and to his faithful comrades: that he would not base himself in the existing völkisch organizations, but rather would resurrect⁴⁹ his old NSDAP. On February 27, 1925, amid jubilant cheers from his followers, he proclaimed the refoundation of his movement in the historic Bürgerbräukeller, in Munich, which on this occasion had to be closed off by the police because of overcrowding.

It was no small accomplishment that Adolf Hitler was able by means of a masterful speech to bring together the members of the Grossdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft [Greater Germany Volk Community] and the Nationalsozialistische Freiheitsbewegung [National Socialist Freedom Movement,] as they were called at the time, which had been deadly enemies and often at each other's throats.

The beginnings had been accomplished. The struggle could now resume under the banner of the old ideal. However, he differed fundamentally in terms of the methods that he had employed on November 9, 1923. Whereas up to then all activity was focused on a massive revolution against the existing system, the Führer now recognized clearly the necessity for pursuing the struggle by legal means. That, however, merely meant a change in tactics, by no means a change in goals, which was still to capture political power in Germany. The constitution of the November Republic, built on a democratic basis, afforded the possibility for increasingly winning over the German Volk by means of tireless propaganda, and by means of elections infiltrating [einzudringen] the parliamentary system, thereby achieving his goal by thoroughly legal means. In other words, democracy had to be defeated using its own weapons.⁵⁰

But because the Führer had openly and clearly challenged the political regime in Germany, the then rulers immediately initiated countermeasures to prevent the party from gaining a foothold and spreading its ideas. The Bavarian government began with a ban on speeches by Adolf Hitler, which they justified by means of a distorted description of a speech of his, and which they followed up with an array of repressive official measures and harassment.

Other German provinces joined in, and for years the Führer was able to speak only at closed membership meetings. But it was important that the party not be banned again. That had to be avoided at all costs. Even though the possibilities for spreading propaganda were limited from the outset, nonetheless the struggle against the Enslavement Agreements⁵¹ and against the government's weak policy of negotiation were carried out relentlessly by all permissible means. Likewise, the battle against Marxism and its corruptive influence in all areas continued unabated. Slowly, the movement was

⁴⁹ This concept of resurrection is common in such writings and coopts Christianity.

⁵⁰ This is crucial. In addition, by putting down the Stennes revolt, the Berlin SA's attempted coup, and expelling Stennes from the party, Hitler won the support of some wavering industrialists. As soon as he was chancellor, he proclaimed a state of emergency and made himself dictator. One cannot state one's intentions more baldly than in this passage.

⁵¹ I.e., Versailles

able to gain a foothold in provincial governments by parliamentary means, first in Thuringia in 1930, and then in Braunschweig and Anhalt.

While the political battle continued to be fought with undiminished vehemence and tenacity, great organizational tasks piled up for the movement. Plans were not simply drafted on the drawing board; rather, the structure of the party was allowed to grow organically from below. Those who were meant to be leaders were found by natural development. But in the end, this wild growth had to be contained and steered along orderly paths. Whoever had built a local group, who had shown that he was the guy for the task and knew how to get his way was recognized and from then on supported whenever attacked. But only when the local groups shot up like mushrooms from the earth everywhere in the country did we set about organizing them into districts. Only men who had been born in battle and had conquered their region on their own became district leaders.

As a result, the apostles of National Socialism grew in all parts of Germany out of struggle, work, and constant engagement. They traveled tirelessly, spoke, and fought; hard, surly, angular men, by no means always simple by nature, often pig-headed and headstrong. But how else could they have accomplished the truly superhuman task of preparing the soil for the seed of Adolf Hitler?⁵²

Whereas in southern Germany many people had become adherents of National Socialism even before November 9, 1923, in the north of the Reich, more and more people began to join. In the Rhineland, Dr. Ley,⁵³ Dr. Goebbels,⁵⁴ Kaufmann, Lutze,⁵⁵ and Wagner were the main forces who contested the souls of the German industrial worker; in Hannover, men like Rust⁵⁶ and [Hans] Kerrl did the same; in Anhalt, Captain [Wilhelm Friedrich] Loeper; in Saxony, [Martin] Mutschmann; in Thuringia, Sauckel.⁵⁷ They and all the others who worked tirelessly are inscribed in the honor roll of our Volk.

⁵² Organizationally very interesting. Leaders were deliberately selected on the basis of authoritarianism and violence.

⁵³ Robert Ley (1890-1945) was a Nazi politician. He committed suicide while awaiting trial at Nuremberg on charges of crimes against humanity and war crimes.

⁵⁴ Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945) was one of the most important members of the Nazi leadership. The Gauleiter of Berlin, his most influential official position was as Minister of Propaganda. Goebbels committed suicide during the last days of the war.

⁵⁵ Viktor Lutze (1890-1943) took over the SA after Röhm's execution.

⁵⁶ Bernhard Rust (1883-1945) was the Minister of Science, Education, and National Culture. As such he controlled the Nazi school system and would have shepherded Bouhler's book into the schools. Gregor Ziemer described Rust and the education system he created in his 1941 *Education for Death*.

⁵⁷ Fritz Sauckel (1894-1945) implemented the forced labor policies that brought about 5 million laborers from the occupied territories into Germany. In a 1942 letter to Alfred Rosenberg, he wrote, "All the men [prisoners of war and foreign civilian workers] must be fed, sheltered, and treated in such a way as to exploit them to the highest possible extent at the lowest conceivable degree of expenditure." Sauckel was one of the people tried at Nuremberg, and executed.

The Austrian National Socialists, with whom the NSDAP had been in close contact for years, as they had been with the fraternal German-Bohemian party, had joined the movement in 1926.

Among those who back then had tirelessly crisscrossed Germany proclaiming the new teaching and structuring the organization was one who would later become a traitor. Because Gregor Strasser had stabbed his Führer and the movement in the back during their most difficult hour, shame is forever attached to his name.⁵⁸

The number of men representing Adolf Hitler in **the** battle to stem the Red tide became ever greater; ever greater the number of those unknown soldiers who selflessly and tirelessly did their duty spreading the Führer's ideas.

At this time, the uniform composition of the SA proved increasingly necessary. That is why in 1926 the Führer called the then Westphalian district leader [Gauleiter] Captain [Franz] von Pfeffer to Munich to head up the SA. He then went about restructuring the SA into groups, regiments, storm units, storms, etc., and standardized their operations.

When "Olaf" v. Pfeffer stepped down from his position in the fall of 1930, the Führer himself took over supreme command of the SA. As chief-of-staff he appointed First Lieutenant Röhm, who had just returned from Bolivia, who was replaced by Viktor Lutze after June 30, 1934.

Soon after the refounding of the party, several members of the former "Stosstrupp Hitler," including Julius Schreck, formed a "Stabswache" [bodyguard] to protect the Führer personally, from which the Schutzstaffeln [SS = "security squads"] developed. When Heinrich Himmler took them over in early 1929, they soon became a racially select, flawlessly disciplined core troop of National Socialism.

The National Socialist youth movement founded by Kurt Gruber in Plauen, which the Führer endorsed, quickly experienced an unexpected surge in activity under the leadership of Baldur von Schirach as well.

And fresh organizational tasks kept piling up for resolution. Students began to be gathered into the NS-Studentenbund [NS Student Association], jurists into the NS-Juristenbund [NS Lawyers Association], the teachers into the NS-Lehrerbund [NS Teachers Association], and the physicians into the NS-Ärztebund [NS Physicians Association], etc. A National Socialist Motor Transport Corps was also formed – initially under the SA – led by Corps Führer Hühnlein. The founding of the NS-Betriebszellenorganisation [NS Organization of Individual Cells] was the forerunner of the present Deutsche Arbeitsfront [German Labor Front]. The NS-Volkswohlfahrt [National Socialist People's Welfare] and the NS-Kriegsopferversorgung [National Socialist War Victims Welfare Service] also began their missions. The propaganda and press apparatuses continued their development. Organizational Department II under the leadership of Konstantin Hierls, began in 1931 to develop plans for the Labor Service, which the Third Reich was to implement, and R. Walther Darré with his "Agrarian Policy

⁵⁸ This refers to Strasser's discussions with Chancellor Kurt von Schleicher about becoming vice-chancellor, a maneuver on Schleicher's part to divide the NSDAP. Strasser was murdered during the Night of the Long Knives, as was Schleicher.

Department" created the preconditions for the present agricultural and nutritional policies.

With this expanding organization, which by now had more than 800,000 members, the Führer marched forward into the final battle during the decisive year of 1932.

The movement was never spared. In struggle, difficulties, and privation, the movement had grown, become hardened, and purified. Its members had been subjected to persecution by the thousands. They had been stripped of their brown shirts, beaten, thrown in jail. They had been heaped with dirty insults and abuse, been economically damaged, and killed. Repeated lawsuits attempted to wear the party down. In bloody brawls, thousands upon thousands of National Socialists took honorable wounds from the field. Many had been assassinated at night on the street by animalistic Red "comrades." Pitiless necessity constantly whipped them onward in propaganda campaigns and elections, meetings and marches. National Socialists were robbed of any private life. Always on the go, in service, and in struggle. Even in victory, the iron word of the Führer, "The battle continues!" was their reward, a command that he himself obeyed to the point of ultimate self-sacrifice.

Some collapsed along the way, some doubted the final victory, some were physically broken. Only faith held the movement together, and its symbol, the Führer, who shone the way forward like a flag in the tumult of battle....

And yet, the hardest year was ahead of them.

The year 1932, with its extreme concentration of all forces, which demanded the last measure of strength from each individual, beginning with the Führer and including each unknown SA member, that year, with its election for Reich president, both Reichstag elections, the numerous Landtag and citizens council elections, and with Adolf Hitler's four flights around Germany – in the third one alone, the Führer spoke before 49 enormous meetings in 14 days – which went hand-in-hand with a heretofore unheard of propaganda wave!

That year 1932, with its ever-changing cabinets of Brüning, Papen, Schleicher, its ban on the SA, and its emergency decrees; with the vain attempt on the part of the government to seduce the Führer onto a dead end by offering him the position of vice-chancellor; with the disappointing decrease in votes for the National Socialists during the second Reichstag election in November; with the constant growth of the Communist wave, with Gregor Strasser's stab in the back; and finally with the shedding of the best German blood for the rebirth of the Reich!

The National Socialists were not the only ones who spared no effort. Even as the bourgeois parties slowly crumbled, Marxism approached the end battle with ever bitterer rage against its opponents. In their effort to inflict losses on its enemies, all forms of violence, assault, and assassination were just good enough. Soon hardly a day went by when a brown battler did not sacrifice his young life for the idea to which he had dedicated his entire being.

Even as that year was coming to an end the outcome was not yet decided. But the time was ripe, and the following month was to involve an unprecedented test of nerves to bring about its fulfillment.

Chapter 6 Munich – Nuremberg – Berlin 3 Sites of the Movement⁵⁹

1

From the Sterneckergässchen to the Königsplatz.

These words could serve to describe the history of the development of the NSDAP in Bavaria, and thus of the movement in the Reich as a whole. Because hardly anything demonstrates more vividly the fantastic ascent of National Socialism from a tiny insignificant and often ridiculed association to a movement of millions in the German nation, more than does the change in premises that now presents to the world both its headquarters and central political leadership.

When Adolf Hitler joined the young German Workers Party it did not yet have a headquarters. The necessary work was done in the homes of committee members. Hitler, however, immediately recognize the necessity for having a headquarters of one's own, and on January 1, 1928, at Hitler's behest a room at the Sterneckerbräu at Thal 54, whose entrance was in the Sterneckergässchen, became the headquarters. It was a gloomy hole in the cellar in which it was almost impossible to work without the help of an electric lamp. But still, it was a "headquarters," and it initially served its purpose well.

One day, Hitler bumped into his old army buddy Max Amann⁶⁰ on the street, who as staff sergeant had been his superior. At that time, Hitler was having a lot of trouble with his little party. There were intrigues against him, and in the committee he had to expend considerable time, effort, and nerve to push through even the most necessary decisions. Business management wasn't in the right hands either. In Amann, Hitler knew he had found the right man, and he asked him to take over as business manager of the NSDAP. That was toward the end of July 1921. And Amann did not disappoint, although he had a well-paying position at the Bayerische Siedlungs- und Landbank, which he was forced to give up. The fact that the party, and later the *Völkischer Beobachter*, which Amann took over a few months later as business manager, were soon on a solid financial footing was due to his tireless diligence, business know-how, and especially his ruthless energy. This meant that Adolf Hitler was now free of these responsibilities because he knew that the business leadership was in good hands, and so he could turn his attention to the real tasks he had set himself.

⁵⁹ This whole section is, I think, meant to make students feel that they have an inside view of and can identify with how the party developed.

⁶⁰ Max Amann (1891-1957) was a very early Nazi party member. He took part in the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch. He became the NSDAP's business manager and later head of the Eher Verlag. After the war he spent 5 years in a prison labor camp.

Amann was of the opinion that the tiny dark hole in the Sterneckergasse was not at all suitable for luring new members, and he soon set up a new office at a former inn at Corneliusstrasse 12. It had a large room in the front, which was later divided by a counter. This was where party business was conducted. Donations and memberships were collected here, propaganda material handed out, and information of all sorts distributed. In addition this was where the membership rolls were later housed in large iron cabinets. Julius Schreck, among others, oversaw the counter, which also served as the telephone exchange. During the winter, the anteroom in front of the counter became a warming room for unemployed party members, who loudly played cards there. Often you could not even hear yourself think, and from time to time Christian Weber, who exercised jurisdiction over the area, was forced to come out and clear the anteroom with a long "horse whip."

Toward the courtyard there was a "meeting room," in which an old billiard table was set up, where committee meetings were held and decisions made. This was also where the ever-growing number of stenotypists were seated. That left a small unprepossessing little room for the "party leadership" or business management. This was where letters were dictated and visitors received; later it became the office of First Lieutenant Brückner, who led the Munich regiment of the SA. In 1923, Göring, as commander of the entire SA, housed his staff in the offices of the editor of the *VB* [*Völkischer Beobachter*], Schellingstrasse 39-41.

After the collapse of the party in 1923, and the "Führer-less and terrible time," Adolf Hitler left the fortress of his internment at the end of 1924, and at the beginning of the next year began to reestablish his NSDAP. At that point we had absolutely no headquarters, let alone money or office equipment, because the Bavarian state had confiscated all of the party's assets on November 10, 1923, and later illegally refused to restore them. At that time, party work was done at the editorial rooms of the *VB* in the Thierstrasse by [Franz Xaver] Schwarz, the treasurer, and by me as the business manager. Back then there was exactly one stenotypist to serve the entire Reich leadership.

At this point we began to look about for our own headquarters, but nothing appropriate was to be found. Eventually, a savior was found in the form of party member Heinrich Hoffmann. He had a photographic studio in the first floor of the building behind Schellingstrasse 50. A bankrupt film company had sublet a few rooms from him. They had to leave, and we moved in full of hope.

The largest room had some old red stuffed furnishings, which we reserved for the Führer. Hitler's private secretary, Rudolf Hess, sat in a small adjoining room. I moved into an adjacent room, and Reich treasurer Schwarz – at the time his position was that of cashier – moved into the last room at the end of a long hallway, along with his bookkeeper.

We were massively proud of our headquarters, especially since it was forced to expand with each move. Rebuilding the movement required incredible amounts of work, and with it a constant increase in personnel, which meant that even after a few months the rooms available to us no longer sufficed.

The first thing we did was take over a bankrupt gilding workshop, which was outfitted as the counter room with enormous safes for the files. There was also a laundry room, which became the Reich treasurer's office.

Then, when a unified leadership was established for the SA, a storeroom was added, on top of which a second story was built. With that we even came to possess a "Hall of Honor," which we decorated with memorial plaques for the fallen of November 9, and with photographs from the movement. The flags of the Munich SA were also stored there. The weakness of the Hall of Honor was that because the glass roof was defective, it tended to rain into the building.

In fact, the entire building was decrepit, and anything else but respectable-looking. You entered a dark entrance hallway into a small dirty courtyard before getting to our headquarters. But we were nonetheless happy to have it, and the more money we had to spend to clean the insides and make it livable, the more difficult it became to give it up.

One time the Führer said jokingly to Hoffmann, "The time will come when we spread ourselves out like a cuckoo in someone else's nest and throw you out of your own studio."

And that is exactly what happened. Because after we acquired the last three rooms on the bottom floor by squeezing out a wine dealer, in 1929, when we set about to build Organization Department II, we had no choice but to ask Hoffmann politely to find another place to work.

But now, all of the available space at Schellingstrasse 50 was occupied. The thought that we entertained briefly, namely that we buy the rear building and the front building that belonged to it, was quickly abandoned. So we had to look around for something else, because with a steadily growing membership and expanding tasks, more and more personnel were needed.

We looked at all kinds of places, and for a time the Führer was considering buying a large office building, but in the end we hit upon a completely different solution.

By chance, we learned in the summer of 1930 that the "Barlow Palais" in the Brienner Strasse was up for sale. We looked at it and were quickly won over, and the bold leap was accomplished. Without having any money we bought a building for 1½ million Reich marks. We immediately assessed the entire membership of the party and also asked for donations. That is how we accomplished it, and in January of the next year we were able to move in after alterations were made to suit our purposes. Naturally, our dear critics, some of them among our own ranks, who shook their heads and asked what the party was going to do with such an enormous and expensive building! A palais to boot! A workers party in a palais!

The Führer quickly put an end to such talk and rededicated the Barlow-Palais as the "Brown House." That is how it came to be known throughout the world, and became symbolic of both the Führer and his movement.

It soon became apparent that the questions surrounding an NSDAP central headquarters could not have been resolved better at the time, even though it became clear that given the growing needs of the Reich leadership, even the Brown House was too small. The house next door was bought for the supreme leadership of the SA, and later

the Reichsadler Hotel for the leadership of the Reich organization. But nonetheless the Führer and his coworkers in the Reich leadership of the party had now found a dignified headquarters that was commensurate with the size and significance of the movement.

Interior Minister Stützel of the Bavarian Volks Party and his Munich chief of police Koch were rabid with anger. They used the most threadbare excuses to find ways to harass the National Socialists. Multiple house searches were conducted, all in vain. They found nothing that would have justified a ban on the party. The Führer was much too clever to tolerate even the slightest illegal act by a member of the movement, or to utter words thoughtlessly that might have imperiled our success, which he was sure would come eventually.

Because the usual house searches yielded nothing, they tried other means as well. One day, two squads of a hundred police arrived in trucks, armed with rifles and machine guns. They sealed off the Brienner Strasse and the Königsplatz, surrounded the Brown House, and forced their way in from the street and from the garden. An army of "criminal investigators" turned the place upside-down trying to find something "incriminating." They occupied the building for two days and a night. The Brown House was like an army encampment. The police stood around all the hallways; each telephone was guarded. But this action turned into a fiasco. In the end, the intruders were forced to leave without accomplishing anything.

The movement's advance was not to be stopped. And when on March 7, 1933, after the victory of January 30, the Bavarian government was swept away as well, and Adolf Hitler finally had a free hand to shape the NSDAP headquarters as he wished. Together with the architect Ludwig Troost, who unfortunately did not live to see the completion of his work, he designed the two massive buildings, the Führerbau [Führer's building] and the Verwaltungsbau [administrative building], which henceforth formed the nucleus of the National Socialist movement, the crown in the Königsplatz.

With this, and with the conferral of the proud name "Capital of the Movement" on the city of Munich, the Führer established that which he had often stated:

That Munich should be and remain the headquarters of the NSDAP now and for all times.

II The City of the Reich Party [Nuremberg] Rallies

During the postwar years, one man traveled tirelessly from place to place in northern Bavaria, his backpack full of anti-Semitic books and writings. In a thousand meetings, he never tired of explaining to the Volk of Franconia the danger of world Jewry. Stubbornly and indefatigably, Julius Streicher, a public school teacher who had returned from the battlefield, created a community that was prepared to support him through thick and thin. Nor did it abandon him when at the end of 1922 he left the German Socialist Party and joined Adolf Hitler's NSDAP.

Thus did the later Führer of Franconia become one of the first promulgaters of National Socialism in Franconia. It goes without saying that his foremost goal was to turn the Red city of Nuremberg into a bastion of National Socialism and anti-Semitism. And he succeeded through hard struggle, and through persistent, indefatigable educational work. And soon, purely in terms of numbers, Nuremberg rivaled Munich in enthusiasm for the great cause, and became one of the most powerful groups in the entire Reich. As almost nowhere else, the Führer could be assured here that the halls would be full to bursting, and that he would be met by a populace whose faith in and love for the Führer would know no bounds.

Whereas in 1922, the Marxists in Nuremberg had attacked and broken up "Artillery Day" with iron bars, the following year on September 1, this noteworthy German day was celebrated here on the Deutschherrenwiese, a day to which the German Kampfbund [Fighting Association] owed its existence.

This knowledge facilitated the Führer's decision in the spring of 1927 to hold the third Reich Party Rally since it is refounding, within the walls of this beautiful old imperial city.

Today, in addition to celebrating our traditions and our style, the Reich Party Rally has become the symbol of the unitary organization of the nation. In it is revived the concept of the might and glory of the medieval imperial diet, but in more modern, new, and manifold form. At the same time, much like the Reich rallies called in Berlin from time to time, they afford the Führer a forum in which to discuss the fundamental political questions that affect the entire world. However, only delegations of the individual formations may appear in Nuremberg, only a fraction of those whose hearts march in cadence by the millions may experience the revelation of these rallies in any given year. Earlier, the party rally was also a troop review that was meant to show the National Socialists as well as the indifferent and our opponents the powerful and inexorable growth of the movement. It would give members fresh impetus to face the coming day of struggle, and to the others refute decisively the lies spread by the world about the supposed death of the NSDAP.

When on January 28, 1923, the Führer dedicated the first four regiments of his SA on the Marsfelde, in Munich, the young movement, filled with hot courage and an impetuous urge to act, believed it was heading toward a powerful solution to the German question, and never imagined that all of its plans and hopes were to be smashed to bits on that merciless November day.

A mere 3½ years later, Adolf Hitler selected the German National Theater in Weimar for the National Socialists' congress and regimental dedication. In that place, where a Weimar coalition had baptized the un-German System State, the Führer handed over the blood-consecrated flag of November 9 to the loyal hands of his SS. The Weimar Party Rally broke the ban, which had weighed so heavily on the party since its refounding. The hearts of National Socialists were filled with new courage, and hope glowed within them that the Reich would one day belong to them.

Given the growth of the party, the 1927 Reich Party Rally in Nuremberg was already considerably larger, and was the most powerful proclamation of freedom that Germany

had experienced since those unforgettable August days of 1914. The various halls in the festively decorated city held mass meetings as well as 13 special meetings about particular areas of National Socialist policy and organization, while the grand congress of delegates met in the great hall of the Kulturvereinhaus. The arena in the Luitpoldhain was the ideal venue for the SA parade and regimental consecration, although the masses who had arrived in Nuremberg in trucks and special trains, by foot and by bicycle, were by far not enough to fill out this enormous space.

But the biggest event for all of Nuremberg was the SA parade that moved amid the fervent, jubilant cheers of the populace through the streets, across the main marketplace – now called Adolf Hitler Platz –, where the Führer, standing in his car, reviewed the passage of his loyal followers.

The thorough preparations had been led by the Führer himself, who repeatedly drove to Nuremberg with his staff to oversee even the smallest details. This was because, for everything to "click," transportation to and from, accommodations and meals, security and cordon services, not to mention the movement of masses of people, require the most precise and prudent preparation. The fact that everything did "click" is something that the movement can be extremely proud of.

The success of this party rally, the attractiveness of the old imperial city, and the suitability of the locales led the Führer to select Nuremberg for the next party rally, which took place between August 1-4, 1929.

The scope of the various events was now established, except that everything took place on a much grander and more powerful scale than the enthusiastic participants had ever seen before. Well over 100,000 people streamed into Nuremberg in 170 special trains and countless trucks; the streets of the city were festooned with the symbols of National Socialism.

But the fact that the party rally of the time of struggle was necessarily piecemeal was something that both the movement and the nation recognized after the victorious National Socialist revolution gave the Führer the necessary freedom to implement the Reich Rallies in accordance with his will and his spirit. While the large-scale restructuring of the Luitpoldhain grounds were undertaken to adapt to the new requirements, the Führer's gigantic building projects, which will be associated with the names Speer and Ruoff for all times, were also begun.

The Führer's decision to elevate Nuremberg to permanent "City of the Reich Party Rallies" has now become a reality. With this decision, the name Nuremberg, which in the Middle Ages was known throughout the world, has been given new life. Back then, Albrecht Dürer gave the world the immortal works of his masterful hands, Peter Vischer fashioned the most noble statues out of stone and bronze, and Hans Sachs brought popular poetry to its highest perfection. Exemplary works of art of all sorts were created, and trade blossomed. Nuremberg became a center of German cultural life.

It is no accident that the Reich Party Rally is introduced each year by a performance of the *Meistersinger*. Because what else other than this immortal masterwork by Richard Wagner could convey the magic of old Nuremberg, fading away in unintended but grand symbolism, transitioning to Adolf Hitler's heroic struggle for the German Volk?

Spatially separated from the old walls and towers, witnesses to a grand past, and yet intertwined with it by a thousand threads, the new Nuremberg grows from the ground in accordance with the will of the Führer. The massive buildings, the temples of our faith, our will, our deed, the National Socialist spirit, all arose from his genius and are immortalized in marble.

Thus, Nuremberg has become a byword for us. Both the old and the new city have become a bridge from an honorable past to a proud present and glorious future. It is for us the precious shrine that preserves both the old and the newly-forged tradition. The new political and cultural style is realized in its monuments and in the deeds that are here symbolically connected to its name and take place every year before the eyes of the German nation.

III The Struggle for Berlin

Berlin must not be omitted from the names of the triplet of cities that have achieved especial importance for the movement.

Berlin! Capital of the Reich and seat of the Reich government, metropolis, world city. Berlin – immeasurable sea of houses with more inhabitants than all of Switzerland! Berlin, where during the time of struggle the threads of all political orientations came together, where the cadence of the forward march of the proletarian masses rang more loudly and self-confidently, where the Jew, in self-satisfied knowledge of his power behaved evermore insolently and raised his head more impudently than elsewhere.

When the National Socialist movement began to collect itself again after the collapse of November 9, and slowly shifted its sights to northern Germany, including to Berlin, the conditions for its success were extremely unfavorable. The contradictions, partly objective partly personal, which came to the fore within the *völkisch* movement during Adolf Hitler's imprisonment, and which continued to have their effects for a long time after the refounding of the party, were especially evident in a gigantic city like Berlin, because this asphalt desert with its largely proletarian population was fertile soil for corruption and breakdown of all sorts. So it was that the local Berlin group of the NSDAP was unable to make headway despite all efforts and became a real headache for Munich. It found itself in the same position as the German Workers Party before Adolf Hitler took the reins of leadership, and gave its struggle contents and goals, elevating it to the pinnacle of success. It too lacked a person who had sufficient charisma, the power of whose words could win over the masses of workers to the idea of National Socialism, who could deal successfully with the leaders of the parties. It needed someone who could struggle with the intellectual orientations that characterized the System and was just as effective in dealing with the brutal terrorism of the political underworld, in order to plant the swastika banner in that city of millions despite all resistance.

For a time, the party leadership waited in the hope that a natural Führer would emerge from among the party members in Berlin. However, when various attempts at resolution

proved unsuccessful, the Führer decided in the fall of 1926 to entrust the task of conquering Berlin to Dr. Goebbels, and to give him special powers. Dr. Goebbels had already made a name for himself as Gauleiter in the Rhineland and as a particularly emotional and effective speaker at worker meetings in the Ruhr region. His success proved that he was the right man to act as Gauleiter [district leader] in the Reich capital. And so, on October 30, 1936 in front of the old guard of Berlin, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Gau, he thanked Dr. Goebbels with these moving words: "Your name stands atop the 10-year struggle for Berlin! It will always be connected with this struggle, and will never be erased from German history, from the history of the National Socialist movement, and most especially from the history of the city."

In fact, the history of the NSDAP in Berlin begins on that day, on which Dr. Goebbels assumed its leadership. He had to undertake thoroughgoing changes in order to set the organization on a healthy footing, nor could he be intimidated from excluding a large clique of constantly squabbling party comrades. Naturally, the "headquarters," which was dubbed the "opium den," which was located in a rear building in the Potsdamer Strasse, was quickly abandoned, to be replaced by dignified, clean headquarters, first in the Lützowstrasse and later in the Hedemannstrasse. He then undertook targeted propaganda and meeting activities, initially in Spandau, but eventually taking in all of Berlin.

It almost seems to go without saying that the Berlin NSDAP had to undergo its own "battle of the Hofbräuhaus" in order to prove to its opponents that it was willing to advance its cause against the Reds by violent means as well. On Friday, February 11, 1927, Dr. Goebbels spoke in the Pharussälen [Pharus Halls], the Communists' meeting place and "second home" in red Wedding.⁶¹ "The bourgeois state is careening towards its end. A new Germany must be forged! Workers with nerve and fists, the fate of the German Volk is placed in your hands!" That was what was written on the big red posters that were pasted on almost all the advertising pillars.

The Marxist parties interpreted this meeting as a declaration of war by the National Socialists, and they were basically right. The NSDAP's infiltration into their sacred districts was imminent. When Dr. Goebbels entered the hall, he found that it had been closed by the police for an hour, and that two-thirds of it was occupied by Red front fighters. When a Red inciter attempted to interrupt the meeting with provocative shouting, he was quickly removed by SS men from the protective wall of his confused cohorts, and hauled onto the stage. This was the signal to attack the Red mob. What followed was a precise reenactment of the battle that had taken place 5 years earlier in Munich, which established the renown of the first storm troops. Here too a vanishingly small number of fanatic National Socialists fought a seemingly hopeless battle against a brutal Red enemy that would stop at nothing. But here too, the National Socialists were victorious, and the meeting continued.

Everything that characterizes the struggle for power in the Reich as conducted by the National Socialists we find in concentrated form in Berlin. Official impediments and suppression of all sorts, occasional speaking bans against Gauleiter, bans on the SA and

⁶¹ A working class neighborhood in Berlin.

the party in general, nerve-racking trials, house searches and arrests, jail, brawls, ambushes, and murder.

In this whole struggle, played out in the glorious era of deputy chief of the Berlin police Isidor Weiss, whose real name was not in fact Isidor but Bernhard, but whose family origins and nose fully justified the nickname that the Berlin folk-wits gave him.⁶²

The time of bans was the most challenging for the Berlin party. It eked out a precarious organizational existence in savings clubs such as the "Zum goldenen Sechser," and in bowling and swimming clubs. The ban on propaganda was to some extent gotten around by the founding of the newspaper *Der Angriff*, and with its constant battle cry "Trotz Verbot, nicht tot" [Despite the ban, not dead], it thankfully got through the crisis that threatened to dishearten even the most fervent fighters.

And then there were happier times, times whose successes justified even the heaviest sacrifices. Infiltration into the ranks of Marxism could no longer be held up. When on the evening of the election communications between Munich and Berlin were established, the Führer listened on the telephone, feverish and "all nerves," as he heard the news from the "Doctor" that in the workers' quarters in particular there had been a growth in National Socialist votes that far exceeded his expectations.

None of the reversals that had to come as a matter of course and that at times threatened the existence of the Berlin NSDAP and therefore the unity of the entire movement could impede Adolf Hitler's road to victory. The open defection of Dr. Otto Strasser, who had always been a splitter [*Spaltpilz*] in the movement, the mutiny by SA Führer Stennes, and the treason by Gregor Strasser – all this passed as if it had been nothing.

Much blood was also spilled in the struggle for Berlin. Some Berliners with high hopes were forced to give up their young, blossoming lives for this struggle, which was a struggle for Germany. One cannot remember these sacrifices without memorializing the hero who, struck by treacherous hands, entered immortality on February 23, 1930. Because here in Berlin is where the young student Horst Wessel⁶³ formed a storm troop of stalwart young men who had until then proudly identified as "proletarians," and infused them with the spirit of National Socialist ideals. And it is from this faithful trust in imminent victory that the song, like his sacrificial death, has immortalized his name.

"Raise the flag! The ranks tightly closed!..." It is not only a description of the Berlin SA's marches through the streets in the eastern and northern parts of the city, it sounds like a command, an order, an appeal to the conscience of comrades not to waiver and not to yield until the Hitler flags wave over all our streets. Horst Wessel personifies the generation of young Führers of the new era, and his name has become a memorial to the unknown SA man.

⁶² In fact it seems to have been Goebbels, not the "folk-wits," who played up his Jewishness. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernhard_Wei%C3%9F_(police_executive)

⁶³ Horst Wessel (1907-1930) had been a gangster and pimp before joining the Nazi party. He became a Sturmführer in the SA. Wessel was murdered by communists, after which he was made into a martyr for the Nazi cause. The song "Die Fahne hoch" (Raise the flag), also known as the "Horst Wessel Lied," was written in his honor.

The Führer spoke often in Berlin, at the "Clou"⁶⁴ and at the Sportpalast.⁶⁵ But only in 1932, the year of decision, was he a more frequent guest in the Reich capital, where he quartered at the Kaiserhof. This was because it was in Berlin that the decisive negotiations for assuming control of the government took place, this is where the political and diplomatic battles played out, and this was where the final impediments had to be removed before the coast was clear for the most competent men in Germany. Today, Berlin is lucky to have Adolf Hitler as Führer and Chancellor of the German Volk within its walls, and more than any other city in Germany participate in his struggle, in his work, and in his plans and worries.

If a start has been made to restructure Berlin, this giant metropolis that has grown through untamed restlessness; if over the course of a few years this stone desert has gained a new face through the construction of massive streets, impressive plazas, and noble, powerful buildings, this, too, is just a symbol, only a part of the enormous task that Adolf Hitler has set for himself and the German Volk: the building of a National Socialist German Reich.

Chapter 7 Germany Is Ours

"Hindenburg appoints Hitler as Reich Chancellor!"

This news shook all of Germany on January 30, 1933. Those whose sins against the movement and the nation weighed on them feared for their futures to the extent that they preferred not to flee across the border with their money, from where they might aim their poisoned arrows against Germany from the protection of other countries. The others, who had suffered badly enough through the years of privation thanked Providence, which had finally brought about a major change.

But the emotions that moved the Führer and those who had for years sacrificed and endured privation to struggle for this day of victory cannot be described in words. In this hour, everyone saw the past in their mind's eye: the dogged, initially hopeless-seeming beginning attempts to make the name of the movement mean something; the struggle against all the political powers in Germany; the wrestling with a destiny intent on crushing it; election campaigns, parades, meetings, brawls in streets and in meeting halls; court cases, jails, hospitals, the faces of murdered comrades to whom it was no longer granted to see the country of their desires....

Privation, struggle, sacrifice, pain and desperation, but also the beauty of an inevitable ascent blessed with successes, the joy in our own power, in personal engagement and accomplishment, in the ineffable happiness of a time of struggle for the highest ideals, all this again came to life in their thoughts and hearts.

⁶⁴ A large concert hall in Berlin where political meetings and other events were held as well.

⁶⁵ An arena where sporting events were held, along with political rallies. It was where Goebbels called for "total war" in 1943.

When the Führer, buffeted by the ecstatic calls of Hail! from the hundred-thousand-headed throng in the Wilhelmsplatz appeared in the window next to the aged Reich president, he understood that that he would have to master all of the enormous difficulties that were piled up before him. The faith that had carried him unwaveringly through the years of struggle gave him the strength of decisiveness to use the power that he had wrested from fate, and which the well-being of the Volk and nation demanded.

They marched past him below, his brown storm columns of freedom, intoxicated in the giddiness of joy of the victory that they had finally achieved. The flames from their smoking torches lit their faces, their gleaming eyes, a sea of light surged through the January night. In the symbol of the struggle, which had become the banner of victory: the swastika flags fluttered brightly over all the streets....

In impotent rage the Red mob rose up in vain against this powerful event. Once again, on the day of National Socialist ascent, the Communists could book one more sad success in their list of infamy: the murder of two courageous Germans. Now finally they had struck their last blow. With a devilish zeal that criminal minds alone can imagine, they attempted to organize an armed revolution of subhumans in Germany. The burning Reichstag building was supposed to be an enormous glowing torch, the signal for a bloody revolt.⁶⁶

But this blow failed. The National Socialist government and its police were too vigilant. The Reichstag fire was discovered soon enough, and unspeakable disaster was prevented by quick action. Order was immediately restored in Prussia by the most

⁶⁶ Ouite possibly set by the Nazis themselves:

Walter Gempp was head of the Berlin fire department at the time of the Reichstag fire on 27 February 1933, personally directing the operations at the incident.[15] On 25 March he was dismissed for presenting evidence that suggested Nazi involvement in the fire.[16] Gempp asserted that there had been a delay in notifying the fire brigade and that he had been forbidden from making full use of the resources at his disposal. In 1937, Gempp was arrested for abuse of office. Despite his appeal, he was imprisoned. Gempp was strangled and killed in prison on 2 May 1939.[17]

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In July 2019, more than 80 years after the event, Germany's *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung* and the RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland published a 1955 affidavit, uncovered in some papers of Fritz Tobias, which were found in the archives of the Amtsgericht (court) in Hannover. The affidavit by Martin Lennings (1904–1962), a former member of the Nazis' paramilitary SA unit, stated that on the night of the fire, he and his SA group drove Van der Lubbe from an infirmary to the Reichstag, where they noticed "a strange smell of burning and there were clouds of smoke billowing through the rooms". The statement suggests the fire had already started when they arrived and that the SA played a role in the arson.[45] Lennings, who died in 1962, further stated in his account that he and other members of his squad had protested the arrest of Van der Lubbe, "because we were convinced that Van der Lubbe could not possibly have been the arsonist, because according to our observation, the Reichstag had already been burning when we dropped him off there". He claimed he and the other witnesses were detained and forced to sign a paper that denied any knowledge of the incident. Later, nearly all of those with knowledge of the Reichstag fire were executed. Lennings said that he had been warned and escaped to Czechoslovakia.[46] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reichstag fire

stringent measures.⁶⁷ The new Reichstag elections, which took place on March 5, proved that the majority of the Volk was behind the National Socialist revolution. The NSDAP now had almost half of all votes, and along with the battlefront Black-White-Red, controlled the absolute majority in the Reichstag. This provided a parliamentary basis for the new direction, although Adolf Hitler was by all means determined to go his own way, the only man who could lead Germany to freedom.

Its opponents who still occupied a few provincial governments were forced to make way in silence.⁶⁸ The National Socialist movement seized state power, as had for long been its proper due. The Bavarian People's Party held out the longest, but it too disbanded on March 16, 1933.

On March 21, the German Reichstag met again for the first time in the Garnisonkirche [Garrison Church], in Potsdam. In that historic place, where the faded flags of glory shaded the final resting place of the great Prussian king, the act of state took place that solemnly inaugurated a new epoch in German history.

Once again Germany belonged to the Germans! The path to a more beautiful future lay before us! Adolf Hitler could now begin to build the Third Reich!

Chapter 8 The Third Reich

A pile of rubble: that was what Adolf Hitler inherited on January 30, 1933. What did more than 14 years of mismanagement by the parties do to the once so proud and mighty German Reich!? To the world, a disarmed and powerless Volk that no one respected anymore, enmeshed in dishonorable and unfulfillable treaties that reduced it to a colony of its enemies. These Marxist usurpers had in undignified manner sold the honor of the Reich and given away or wasted its assets. Germany, whose economy had collapsed catastrophically was close to bleeding to death from the swindle of reparation payments.

Internally, class hatred and party squabbles reigned supreme. Separatism raised its ugly head in order to split Germany apart. The provincial governments grasped power to themselves at the expense of the Reich. The representatives of numerous parties exhausted themselves in parliaments in fruitless debates and haggled over ministerial positions.

In the meantime, one factory after another closed down, businesses upon businesses declared bankruptcy, farmers had the cows in their stalls and the harvest in their fields

⁶⁷ The "Reichstag Fire Decree," formally known as the "Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of People and State," suspended most civil liberties in Germany, including *habeas corpus*, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, the right of free association and public assembly, and the secrecy of the post and telephone. In addition, the Enabling Act allowed Hitler to assume "emergency" powers.

⁶⁸ The "Provisional Law on the Coordination of the States with the Reich" and the "Second Law on the Coordination of the States with the Reich" dissolved all state parliaments and placed the states under central control. Another part of the overall *Gleichschaltung*.

seized because they were unable to pay back taxes. At the beginning of 1933, the specter of unemployment writ the number 7 million as a threatening warning on the wall. Criminality increased to frightening proportions.

Election after election, the number of people voting for the Communists increased threateningly, and it was only a matter of months before Bolshevism would inaugurate its reign of terror over Germany. That is, if National Socialism had not succeeded in wresting control of the state in its hands.

The fact that the aged Reich President von Hindenburg at the last moment entrusted the formation of a government to Adolf Hitler after all other cabinets had failed, became a decisive turning point in the history not only of Germany, but of the entire world.

The Führer asked for four years to implement his measures to save the German Volk in that memorable Reichstag session on March 23, 1933, which gave us the Enabling Act. And when after these four years he accounted for his policies before the German Volk, and called upon the nation to vote in a referendum, 99 percent of the electorate voted "yes," a success never before witnessed by statesmen in any democracy in the world.⁶⁹ Of course, this overwhelming unanimity of approval of his policies was the well-earned fruit of his tireless work for the Volk and the nation. If there was ever a time when the voice of the people was the voice of God, this was that time.⁷⁰

After taking power, the Führer initiated a series of laws to unify the Reich, and in place of numerous parliamentary provincial governments with legislative functions, he created a strong central government. At the same time, the parties disappeared and there remained only the NSDAP as sole bearer of the political will of the nation. As a result, for the first time in German history, the splintering of Germany had been overcome. At the same time, the terrible unemployment was ruthlessly attacked. Massive works projects so stimulated the economy that today there are no more unemployed in Germany. A network of roads now crisscrosses Germany of a beauty and technical perfection such as the world has never before seen. New buildings are going up everywhere, and the cityscapes are changing. Steam hammers pound again, the chimneys send up smoke, and once dead shipyards are humming with life.

The Führer's racial and blood protection laws prevent for all time the reproduction of hereditary idiots, for whose maintenance the Volksgemeinschaft [people's community] has had to come up with 200 million marks annually. In addition, the Nuremberg Laws of September 15, 1935 have prevented the further bastardization of the German Volk by mixing with racially alien Jewry.

By means of an array of further laws, especially as a result of market regulations and the Farm Inheritance Law, the shaken farmer estate was strengthened and led toward revitalization. In place of unions devoted to class warfare, the German Labor Front united all workers under the motto "The honor of work." The National Socialist People's

⁶⁹ The election of 1938 asked whether voters approved of the reunification with Austria AND Hitler's electoral list. There were no other parties. Almost 49 million supposedly voted 'yes', fewer than 500,000 'no'.

⁷⁰ Again, the conflation of politics with religion.

Welfare, which the party had founded during the time of struggle, along with the Winter Relief Program of the German People, became a grand memorial to the sacrificing connection between the entire nation and its poor. The organizations of youth women's work, the Reich Labor Service, "Strength through Joy" – each of which represents a creation of Adolf Hitler of unheard of proportions!

In the area of culture, we not only broke permanently with the diseased stutterings of Bolshevik artistic perversion. In its place, German art of all types was given new impetus, and the German artist was given the place of honor that he deserves.

Anyone who was even remotely familiar with the Führer's desires knew that he would not simply rest with putting Germany's internal political affairs in order. His most important task must have seemed to him restoring respect for the Reich abroad. As much as he had experienced the horrors of war on his own body, he nonetheless took every opportunity to stress his love of peace, and to advance the cause of understanding, even with our former enemies, to that extent he fought fanatically for the honor and freedom of his Volk. That is why there could be no rest or peace for him until the shackles of the shameful treaties had fallen and Germany, again protected by a strong Wehrmacht loyal to the Volk,⁷¹ took its place among the nations of the world as an equal actor, a powerful bulwark for peace, prepared to defend European culture against Bolshevik destruction.

However, the Führer recognized very early that in the truest sense of the word, Germany would be free only when it had made itself independent with regard to critical raw materials from abroad. That is why the Führer established the second four-year plan in 1937, making Hermann Göring responsible for its implementation. As a result, the spirit of German invention is working overtime to research nature's unsolved riddles, and in all German districts, enormous works are being established in which the materials that nature has failed to provide German soil are being produced by synthetic means. New problems are continuously being tackled and solved, and each time an important step on the path to the National Socialist Germany of the future is completed.

But in this blossoming Germany a new generation is growing up. Steeled by sports, healthy in body and soul, it gazes with intent eyes into the future that it will one day carry on its shoulders. The woolly ideals of romanticism and the wet beer-hall merriment of a sunken past have ceased to enthuse the German youth of today. This new generation, which according to the Führer "is strong, reliable, faithful, obedient, and decent," stands with both feet firmly planted on the ground. Never again will this youth, which has gone through the National Socialist youth organizations, through the labor service, the army, and the party, become the bearers of ideas like pacifism and class warfare. Early in their lives, everything they do teaches them to recognize clearly an ideal that illuminates their way, an ideal to which all of their personal wishes and hopes are to be subordinated, for which they must and are permitted to live this life: Germany!

Chapter 9

⁷¹ In fact, the Wehrmacht swore loyalty to Hitler personally.

6½ Million Come Home

As a result of Austria's reunification with Germany, Adolf Hitler has become the creator of the Greater German Reich. His deed has altered the course of Austria's destiny, which for well-nigh a thousand years had been separated from the greater Fatherland, and returned it to the course of German history. With that, the Führer laid the final foundations for building the Third Reich and for creating Germany's future. Thus could he in honesty report to the German Volk "the greatest act of fulfillment of my life" when on March 15, 1938 he announced on the Heldenplatz, in Vienna, the homecoming to the Reich of the oldest German Ostmark [Eastern March].

The region, which was once settled and colonized by Bavaria, was for the first time won for the Reich by Charlemagne. Around the turn of the millennium, it was separated from its Bavarian motherland and elevated to the Duchy of Austria, under the reign of the Babenbergs, and from then on it became a bulwark as the Eastern March of the Reich against penetration by foreign peoples. It fulfilled this mission faithfully with the best German blood. However, its separation from its Bavarian duchy of origin also meant the onset of a development that, while bestowing upon our common German Volk wondrous blossoms and the ripest fruit in the area of culture, nonetheless separated Austria increasingly from the Reich politically, which ineluctably eventuated in that calamitous and tragic dualism that could not be eliminated, even on the battlefield at Königgrätz.⁷²

It was not foreign territory that was gained on that historic March day, but ancient, fundamentally German land had returned home. And so, the National Socialist movement did not tread on new ground, but rather closed the circuit, because after all, the cradle of the idea and of its herald were in Austria. The organizational structure of National Socialist thought was first fulfilled on Austrian soil. In 1904, in German Bohemia, the German Workers Party for Austria was founded, which on May 5 and 6, 1918 took the name German National Socialist Workers Party of Austria, and after the collapse of the Danube monarchy divided itself into a Sudeten German and an Austrian party. Of course, like the Munich movement, both groups, with which the Reich German NSDAP was in close contact, gained actual importance only after the genius and dynamism of Adolf Hitler gave the idea form and combat strength. The Führer repeatedly held meetings in Austria. To see their greater-German yearnings fulfilled, the Austrian National Socialists subordinated themselves to the leadership of Adolf Hitler on May 19, 1926, and a few months later the Austrian NSDAP was integrated into the Reich German organization, to which they belonged until they were banned by the Dollfuss government on June 19, 1933.

Today the German Reich has 75 million inhabitants and comprises an area larger than that of the old Reich before the Versailles Treaty tore from it land in the east, west, and north. That which our enemies sought to prevent with their "peace" treaties of Versailles

⁷² Where Prussia defeated the Austrian Empire in the Austro-Prussian War in 1866.

and St. Germain has become a reality. An ancient dream of all those who carry Germany within them has been fulfilled. Greater Germany has arisen!

Future generations will not be able to comprehend that it was once any different, that the old German Eastern March had for centuries been ruled by the House of Habsburg, Germans together with alien peoples, in a nonsensical state in which they were raped as a Volk and sometimes enmeshed in bloody fraternal wars with German countries. They will not be able to understand how after the "Peace" Treaty of St. Germain the Austro-Hungarian double monarchy lay in rubble, and the small Austrian state with its 6 ½ million inhabitants went its own way against the will of the overwhelming majority of the Volk. Externally, although it appeared independent, in truth it was completely dependent on foreign powers. In truth, it could not have survived on its own. In addition, like the Reich, it was subject to the manifold shocks that are the result of a lost war. Impotent and disarmed vis-à-vis other countries; internally subject to Marxist incitement, the corrupting activities of the Jews in all areas, economic deprivation, growing unemployment. All this mirrored precisely the postwar situation in the Reich. But whereas Adolf Hitler with his brown army won the Reich, the National Socialist movement in German-Austria was brutally suppressed. And when the spontaneous attempt of the Volk to shake off the chains during the summer of 1934 had failed, our brothers across the border who thought in terms of National Socialism and therefore also of a Greater Germany, entered into a time of immeasurable suffering.

But here too, it became evident that terror and suppression can never extinguish an idea from the hearts of those who are infused by it in their innermost selves. It is true that the party and all of its subdivisions was dissolved, and all illegal activities were punished severely. It is true that wearing the swastika and giving the German greeting were banned. But it is also true that hundreds of thousands were joyfully prepared to carry the vilified flag through the night of misery into the dawn of victory that had to break someday. For many the sacrificial path led through the System's prisons, through defamation, and through shame. More than a few breathed their last, but they did it with dignity and unbroken, their faces firmly set, but transfigured by the knowledge of an imminent transformation, and with a final "Heil Hitler" on their pale lips. No powers of a reactionary state could prevent the increasingly dull rumble of "One Volk – One Reich – One Führer!" that reverberated throughout Austria, and was greeted with open hearts across the border in their grand Heimat.

In July 1936, the Führer had tried to remove tensions by means of an agreement with Austria. However, despite all promises, the Austrian government did not give up its hostility to National Socialism. Then on February 12, 1938, on the Obersalzberg, that meeting took place between the Führer and the Austrian chancellor in which Herr Schuschnigg promised to grant the Austrian National Socialists complete equal rights. But no sooner had he returned home than he betrayed his promise. On March 9, in Innsbruck, he announced an unconstitutional "plebiscite" on the independence of Austria that made a mockery of all constitutional principles. No one could doubt that it would be impossible to hold a just plebiscite with a mere three days' notice and without any preparation or any lists of candidates. But Schuschnigg was not interested in an honest

plebiscite, but wanted to achieve a favorable electoral result by treachery and terror. This would give him grounds to continue to suppress the German idea. But he forgot that Germany, under Adolf Hitler's banner, had once again become a great power that was no longer willing to tolerate a betrayer's breach of promise or the enslavement of millions of German Volk comrades.

The curtain that had for too long hung over this shameful game fell quickly. After initial bloody attempts to suppress the angry flames of indignation that flared throughout the population, Schuschnigg resigned on March 11. The government was now in the hands of [Arthur] Seyss-Inquart, 73 a National Socialist who had belonged to the cabinet since the agreement in Berchtesgaden. To restore order, he requested the presence of German troops, because the Marxists now believed that they could cast their rods in muddy waters. Days later, German aircraft thundered over Austrian territory and greeted National Socialist Austria with millions of leaflets. The Führer now entered his homeland in triumph together with his soldiers, who were on the march throughout the land.

Those who had the good fortune to accompany Adolf Hitler on this incomparable march to victory will never forget the experience. No customs barrier impeded the column of vehicles that passed over the Inn Bridge at Simbach, drove through Adolf Hitler's city of birth, and continued on to Linz, accompanied by the jubilation of the liberated. The next day, the unimaginable had become reality. By law:

"Austria is a province of the German Reich."

The yearning had been fulfilled: One Volk – One Reich – One Führer! This was the unified cry of thanks that met the liberator when he entered Vienna through a sea of jubilant, flag-waving people.

More clearly than any Volk could ever have expressed, the German Volk in Austria had spoken when it bore Adolf Hitler on waves of enthusiasm through his Heimat during those unforgettable March days. And so, the results of the plebiscite that was set for April 10 now became merely the external confirmation of a fait accompli. It could be nothing other than an overwhelming declaration of loyalty to the Greater German Reich and to its creator and Führer.

Concluding remarks The Victory of Faith!

It is worldviews that bring about the great revolutions in the history of mankind. And it is men who as creators, bearers, and proclaimers of worldviews become immortal.

⁷³ Arthur Seyss-Inquart (1892-1946) was an Austrian Nazi who served as deputy governor in the General Government of Occupied Poland. He was also responsible for the for the deportation of Dutch Jews and the shooting of hostages. Seyss-Inquart was tried at Nuremberg and executed.

Individuals, in whose genius the image of the inner, ideal view develops, and which, seized by the intoxication of creation, gives it vital form.

And writ in glowing letters over the history of the German rebirth from darkness and misery is one name: Adolf Hitler. Adolf Hitler and National Socialism are one and the same. The Führer and the movement created by him are dynamic forces that made possible the seemingly impossible, wresting Germany from the edge of the abyss and giving it a new form that is true to itself.

That is what is so ineffably great about this powerful man: that he had faith. He had faith in Germany during a time when everything around him was disintegrating: the proud and mighty Reich of Wilhelm II, his army, his economy, his finances, and any concept of loyalty, reverence, decency, and order.

He believed in the German worker, whom he saw enmeshed in a net of error and seduction, who for him was never the responsible originator of Marxist insanity, but the victim of alien incitement.

This unknown nameless man had faith in his Mission,⁷⁴ and this faith was the internal engine of all his deeds. Not an hour passed by in which he did not feel this devouring inner fire that drove him forward through the days, through sleepless nights, through years, soaring over thousand-fold resistance, disappointments, and crushed hopes.

The faith that he was called upon to stand at the head of the entire German Volk by the force of his genius and his achievement was firm and unwavering. He would build his Volk a state that towered over even the most distant future centuries.

This faith is an immeasurable force that radiated from him and leapt over to each and every one of his comrades-in-arms. In it lies the only explanation for the overabundance of idealism that allowed thousands upon thousands to sacrifice patiently for years and accept repression in silence.

That is the only way to understand the miracle. First, it is Adolf Hitler who has faith in the German resurrection, then a handful of people who are prepared to walk with him through thick and thin. The small group becomes a party, grows into a movement, and at first slowly, then ever more quickly, swells until like an avalanche it becomes a movement of millions, a Volk movement. And then after 14 years it rules over Germany!

The deed was not at the beginning. Nothing great has ever developed in the world without first having been thought. In the beginning is the idea, and the faith that moves mountains allows the idea to mature into the deed.⁷⁵

Here stands the truth of the idea, the lonely, brave idea in response to a hard physical reality. A world as will and imagination storms a world of reality and tosses it on the trash heap. How can the calculations of small-minded shopkeepers, the narrowminded self-preservation of a world ossified by bureaucracy, come up against the idea of a genius that obeys the truth of eternal laws!⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Again, the cooptation of religious language.

⁷⁵ "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God..."

⁷⁶ Nazi mysticism. Again, the conflation of Hitler with God.

The National Socialist revolution is a revolution in the truest sense of the word because it does not entail a mere cabinet transition, and not even a change in system, but rather a complete and radical change. And this is what has taken place in all aspects of German life. All of this was carried out without the loss of blood, without upheavals of any sort, but obeyed the logical laws of reconstruction. It grew organically, without palpable external force. Only where it was a matter of life and death of the nation were individual destinies disregarded because the common good must take precedence over the individual good.

But the basis for the National Socialist state is trust. Supported by bayonets and machine guns, it is possible to bolster in the short run a regime that runs roughshod over the feelings of the Volk and pursues the path of naked power. But woe unto such a rule of terror when its own hour of weakness has tolled! When, confronted by difficult decisions it must recognize that its roots do not lie in the Volk, and that no one is prepared voluntarily to give his all to such a regime.

Nowhere else in the world is there a state that like Adolf Hitler's German Reich rests on such firm foundations, where there is such love for and loyalty to the Führer and a blind trust in his policies and decisions.

There is no other Volk in the world in which 99 percent have placed their trust in their Führer, as occurred with the Germans in the elections of 1936 in 1938.

And there is no other country in which the actions of a government have propelled an ascent as in Germany, by the consistent implementation of a clear program, the realization of a grand ideal for the welfare and thriving of an entire Volk.

Unimaginable things have already been accomplished in the National Socialist Reich of Adolf Hitler. Much still needs to be done, and whatever the present generation is unable to accomplish today, our youth will complete tomorrow.

It will complete the task because the spirit of Langemarck, the spirit of the men of the Feldherrnhalle, and the spirit of Horst Wessel belong to them.

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