



The Handicaps

Throughout his life Goebbels is acutely aware of his puny stature and of his club foot. He stands on a step for group photographs (top, visiting Italy in May 1933; and with Hitler and his co-conspirators)

(NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON; MARK COLLECTION)



left: Foreign journals like the American magazine *Time* make mockery of his 'deformity' (AUTHOR'S COLLECTION)

TRIUMPH OF THE WILL

The handicap is painfully visible (right) as he limps behind Hitler into the Nuremberg party rally arena in 1934

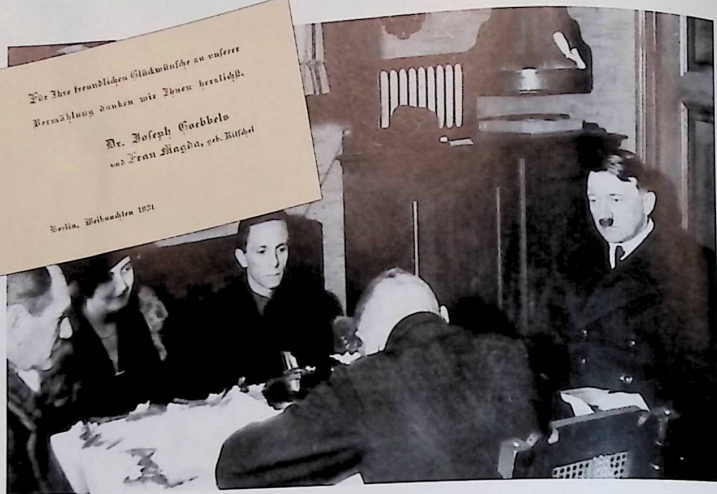
(NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)



Für Ihre freundlichen Glückwünsche an unsere
Verzählung danken wir Ihnen herzlich.

Dr. Joseph Goebbels
und Frau Magda, geb. Quandt

Berlin, Weihnachten 1931



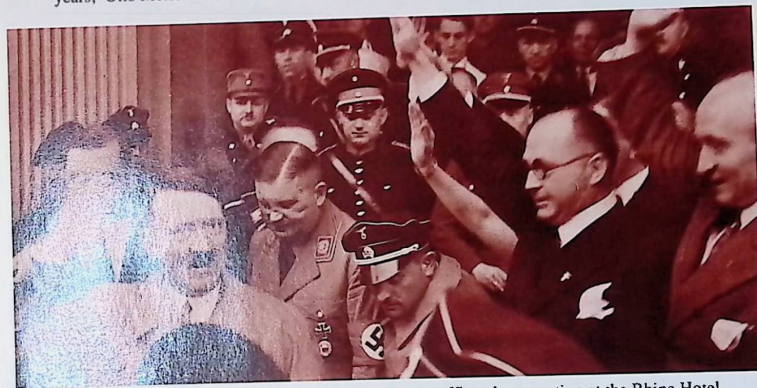
A QUIET VILLAGE WEDDING Just to be near her beloved Führer, Magda Quandt agrees to marry the puny gauleiter of Berlin, Dr Joseph Goebbels. The civil wedding ceremony is solemnized at Severin, in Mecklenburg, on December 19, 1931, with Hitler as witness and with white-shirted S.A. men forming a guard of honor. Magda's son Harald, proudly wearing the Brownshirt uniform that she has stitched for him, looks on (NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)



ALL DIE VIOLENTLY Harald Quandt (seen right in 1932) enthusiastically joins in his step-father's cause. He will die in a plane crash after the war. His father has killed himself; Hans Frank, behind Goebbels, and Wilhelm Frick, far left, are hanged at Nuremberg; Gregor Strasser (in raincoat), dies on June 30, 1934—the Night of the Long Knives (NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)



MAGDA'S OTHER MAN The depth of the affection between Magda and Hitler is evident over the years; Otto Meissner's wife will even claim that Magda has borne one child to the Führer.



BEST OF FRIENDS Hitler and Ernst Röhm leave the S.A. officers' convention at the Rhine Hotel Drossen in Bad Godesberg on August 19, 1933. Ten months later, he summons Goebbels to the same hotel and they sally forth together to eliminate Röhm (AUTHOR'S COLLECTION)

QUEEN CROWD Homosexuality is always a problem for the Nazis; Röhm's is notorious; Goebbels frets about it; Funk, his Staatssekretär (behind him), gets away with it; General von Fritsch (with monocle) is wrongly accused of it and resigns (NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)





News picture

THEODORE N. KAUFMAN
His first idea was more horrible.

The Book that Hitler Fears

GERMANY MUST PERISH!

BY

Theodore N. Kaufman

FINAL SOLUTION In a sensational book, *Germany must Perish*, American writer Theodor N. Kaufman proposes the sterilization of all male Germans. *Time* magazine lauds the book. In August 1941 Goebbels translates it for the troops and uses it to persuade Hitler to tackle the Jewish problem now (TIME / CHARLES SPOVAN)



THE DIPLOMAT In October 1933 Dr Goebbels visits Geneva with foreign minister Konstantin von Neurath (front row) and Karl Hanke (holding paper). Here, he behaves impeccably (UNITED NATIONS LIBRARY, GENEVA)



FEMME FATALE On January 5, 1935 Hitler and Goebbels visit the Ufa film studios at Babelsberg, where cameraman Friedl Behn-Grund is shooting a scene from *Barcarole* with Gustav Fröhlich (below left), and the twenty-year-old filmstar Lida Baarova (below right). It is the moment that Goebbels first sets eyes on the young Czech actress (NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)

Bottom: The author interviews Lida Baarova in Austria in July 1993 (HELSINKIN SANOMAT)



DEUTSCHES INSTITUT FÜR FILMKUNDE





Among Goebbels' guests at his hideaway on the Bogensee: Lida Baarova (top) and her best friend Hilde Körber, who shortly marries filmstar Veit Harlan (DEUTSCHES INSTITUT FÜR FILMKUNDE)



The Retreat

BIRTHDAY GIFT In 1936 the city of Berlin donates to its gauleiter Dr Goebbels a large parcel of land on the secluded Bogensee lake, near Lanke. Here he builds a little love-nest, buried among the trees. In 1938, on the

at Lanke

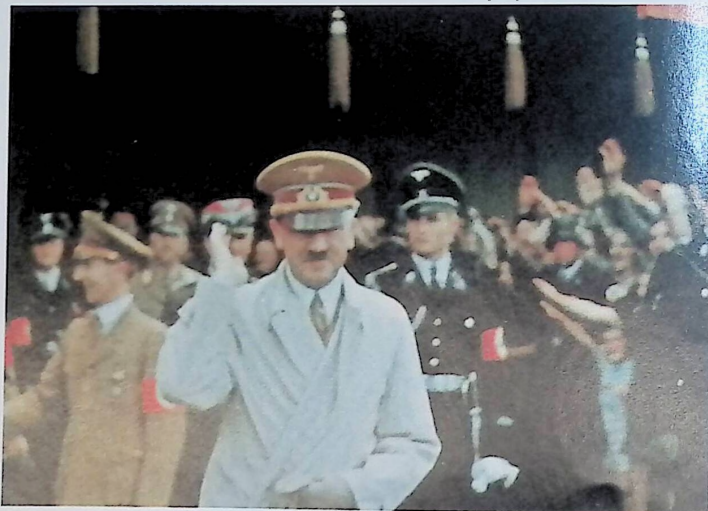
far side of the lake, he begins construction of an imposing mansion, the Haus am Bogensee (right) complete with immense electrically operated windows. Both houses still stand today (AUTHOR'S COLLECTION)





above: Alfred-Ingemar Berndt, Goebbels' chief propaganda executive. He devised the lies needed to justify the Nazi seizure of Czechoslovakia and Poland (WALTER FRENTZ)

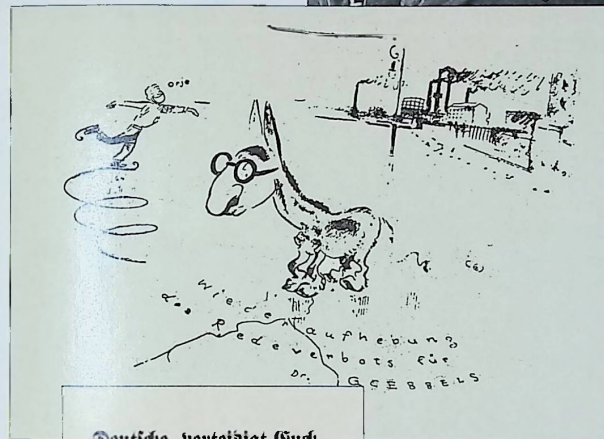
below: Captured by a home movie, Goebbels and Hitler attend a gaudy arts festival in Munich in July 1949. His tunic and cap are in private hands today (left) (AUTHOR'S COLLECTION)



'Isidor's' Torment

From the moment of his arrival in Berlin in November 1928 Dr Goebbels wages a remorseless war against the city's police chief Dr Bernhard Weiss (NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)

Weiss sues him forty times, mostly for calling him 'Isidor.' Nazi caricaturist Mjölfnir portrays him as a donkey skating on thin ice. After a judge rules the cartoon defamatory, Goebbels' newspaper announces 'JUDGE AGREES DONKEY DOES LOOK LIKE ISIDOR.'

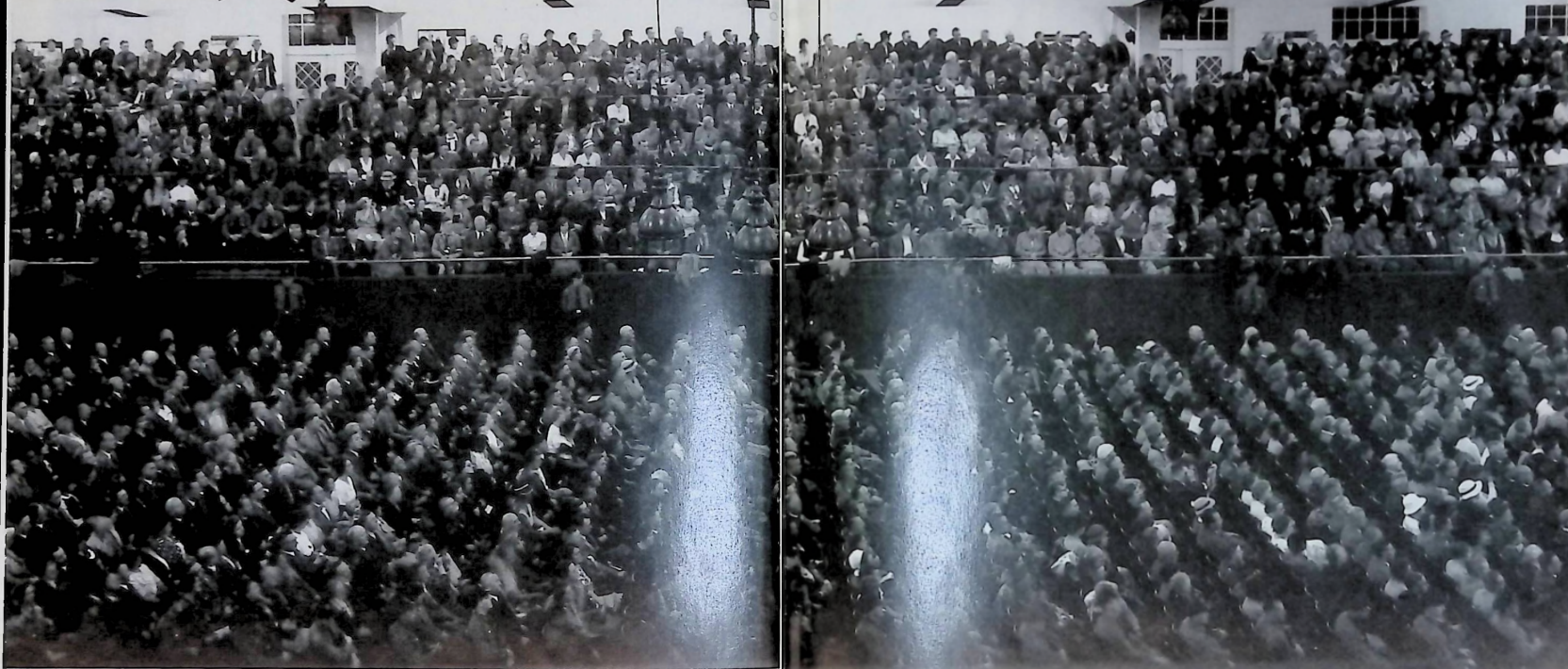


**Deutsche, verteidigt Euch
gegen die jüdische
Greuelpropaganda,
kauft
nur bei Deutschen!**

Germans defend
yourselves against Jewish
atrocious propaganda
buy only at German shops!

Goebbels retaliates against the international Jewish boycott of German produce by declaring a boycott of Jewish stores in Germany. It lasts for only one Saturday morning (NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)

r Jude siegt mit der Lüge und stirbt mit der Wahrheit.



In mass meetings at the Deutschlandhalle (above) in the late fall of 1935 the German public is whipped to a frenzy against the Jews. Gigantic banners proclaim "THE JEW TRIUMPHS WITH THE LIE AND DIES WITH THE TRUTH."

About the violently antisemitic Julius Streicher, the Nazi gauleiter of Franconia (right), Goebbels is ambivalent. In his diaries, he praises the gauleiter's courage and commitment, but fears that his extreme and vulgar brand of antisemitism will alienate public sympathies (NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)





After a crazed Jew assassinates German diplomat Ernst vom Rath (*above*) in November 1938 Goebbels issues orders for an orgy of violence against Jewish stores and buildings. For years his precise role in this outrage, the Kristallnacht, is disputed. Now his diaries provide the proof (NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)



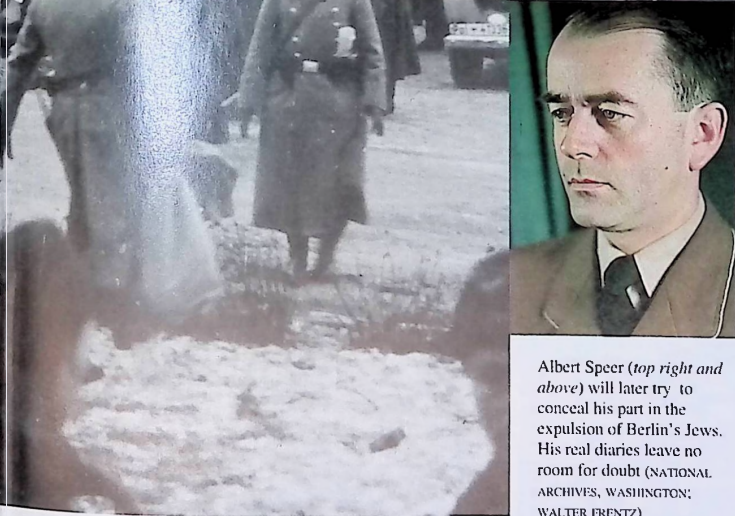
Neither S.S. Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler (*left*) nor foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop makes any secret of his fury at Goebbels for masterminding the events leading to the Kristallnacht (WALTER FRENTZ; NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)

On November 11, 1938, the day after Kristallnacht, Hitler stands by Goebbels and delivers an impassioned speech to editors on the importance of propaganda to the tasks that lie ahead. To Goebbels' right is Nazi publisher Max Amann, who has bought the rights to his diaries (NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)



The Exodus Begins

IN MID-OCTOBER 1941 Goebbels' officials ship the first trainloads of Jews out of Berlin to 'the east'—first to Lodz and Minsk, then, one thousand at a time, to Riga, capital of Nazi-occupied Latvia (*below*). On November 30, 1941 a trainload of Berlin Jews arriving at this railroad platform is driven a few miles outside Riga, robbed of their possessions, and machine gunned in to pits (KLAUS EWALD)



Albert Speer (*top right and above*) will later try to conceal his part in the expulsion of Berlin's Jews. His real diaries leave no room for doubt (NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON; WALTER FRENTZ)

A Shotgun Reconciliation

THE PENNY DROPS In October 1938 Dr Goebbels realizes that none other than his own handsome Staatssekretär Karl Hanke (left) is cavorting with his wife Magda.

Egged on by Hanke, she takes her matrimonial problems to Hitler. After a long, difficult session with Magda Goebbels and Eva Braun at his new mountain-top teahouse on October 24, 1938 (below), Hitler sends for Dr Goebbels, and then for a photographer to record the family's enforced togetherness on film for posterity.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON



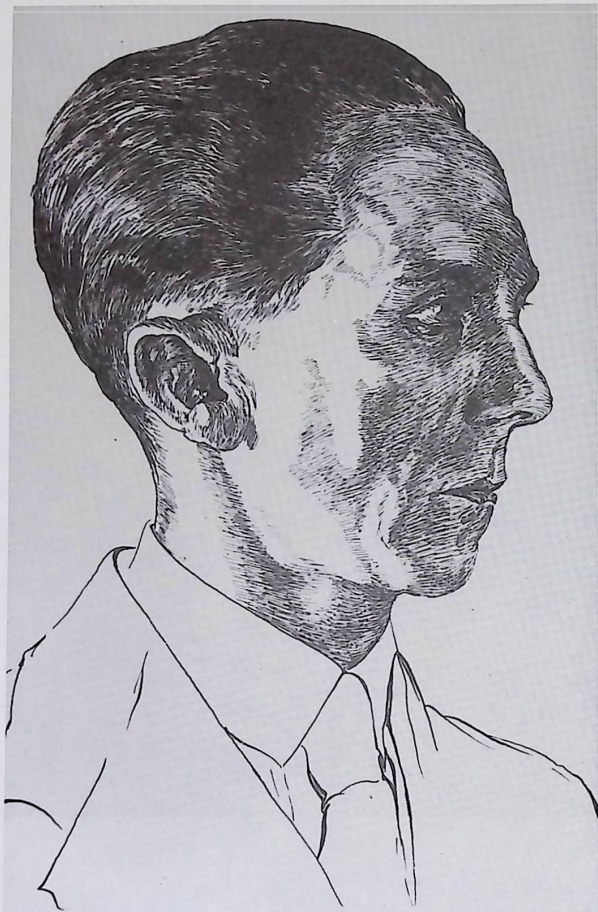
WALTHER HEWEL / AUTHOR'S COLLECTION



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David Irving is the son of a Royal Navy commander. Educated at Imperial College of Science & Technology and at University College London, he subsequently spent a year in Germany working in a steel mill and perfecting his fluency in the language. Among his thirty books the best-known include *Hitler's War*, *The Trail of the Fox: The Life of Field-Marshal Rommel*, *Accident, the Death of General Sikorski*, *The Rise and Fall of the Luftwaffe*, and *Göring: a Biography*. He has also translated several books by other authors. He lives in Grosvenor Square, London, and is the father of five daughters.



Joseph Goebbels



above: Goebbels in 1908, a first year schoolboy



above: Goebbels, at center, holds hands with a fellow pupil on their matriculation, 1917

below: cross-legged on the floor, as a member of the local catholic businessmen's association (MÜNCHEN-GLADBACH CITY ARCHIVES)



UNCHANGED TODAY The Goebbels parental home in Rheydt's Dahlener Strasse. His room beneath the roof overlooks a tombstone merchant's yard (AUTHOR'S COLLECTION)



below: After student high-jinks at Freiburg university Karlheinz 'Pille' Kölsch, Joseph Goebbels' ultimately unsuccessful rival for Anka Stalherm's affections, sends her this picture—it shows Goebbels with a lampshade on his head (STALHERM/IRENE PRANGER COLLECTION)



APPROACHING MATURITY Goebbels as a young unemployed postgraduate in 1923 (left); he keeps the picture as a memento of worse times, gives the snapshots of himself as a well-dressed embryonic agitator at Zwickau in 1925 (center), as a suitor in 1925 (right) to Anka Stalherm and later to Horst Wessel in 1925 (MÜNCHEN-GLADBACH CITY ARCHIVES; STALHERM/IRENE PRANGER; HORST WESSEL DIARY)



... but always there is Anka

THE FIRST GIRL Goebbels falls for is Agnes (above left, in 1918), a catholic girl with a come-hither look, sister of his best friend 'Pille' Kölsch. Later he discovers Else Junker (entre); they idle away the summer weeks on the beach at Baltrum. All goes well until Else reveals that she has Jewish blood. In Berlin he starts dating his secretary Ilse Stahl (above right). She eventually marries another gauleiter and blows herself up on the last day of the war.

Ever since Heidelberg he has an enduring obsession with his fellow-student Anka Stalherm (right); her wealthy family disapproves of her penniless and clubfooted suitor. After a fruitless midnight visit to his bedroom, when he spends a week with her and her husband in Weimar in July 1929, Anka receives a snapshot as a memento from her 'Ulex' (bottom left).

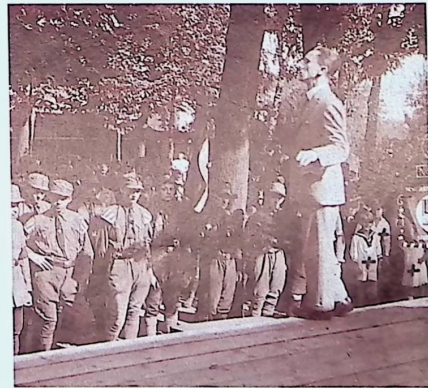


(MÖNCIEN-GLADBACH CITY ARCHIVES; ANNETTE CASTENDYK; STALHERM / IRENE PRANGER)



'X' MARKS THE SPOT Sending more photographs to Anka, Goebbels pencils ✕ on himself (*above*, speaking with his back to the camera) on the picture of the Essen gau rally in April 1927. More crosses identify the three Wagner children listening in sailor-suits just to his right as he speaks at Bayreuth (*far right*); he helpfully identifies even Adolf Hitler for Anka, standing in the car next to him at the Stuttgart party rally (STALHEIM / IRENE PRANGER)

left: the north-western Nazis parade through a town in Westphalia in 1926. Left to right: Joseph Wagner, Gregor Strasser, Goebbels, and Viktor Lutze (NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)





NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON

Hitler and Helga

THE FUHRER adores Helga, the Goebbels' eldest daughter (seen *above* at Hitler's Berghof in October 1937). He flatters the propaganda minister that if only he were ten years younger, and Helga ten years older, she would make the perfect wife for him.



Immune Again!

THROUGHOUT THE YEARS OF struggle Dr Goebbels is rarely more than one step ahead of the police, whose chiefs Albert Grzesinski (*above*) and 'Isidor' Weiss are determined to see him locked away. In 1930 he is re-elected to the Reichstag. On October 13, with every Berlin policeman briefed to arrest him on sight, he reaches the building and makes a dash for the south entrance. Immune again! (BUNDESARCHIV; NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)





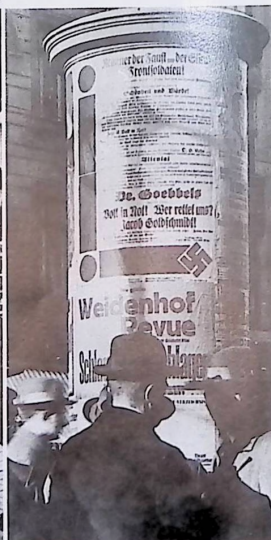
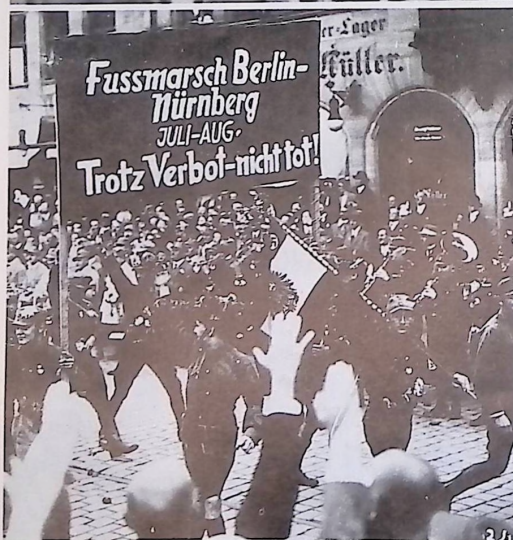
The Struggle for Berlin

IN JUST OVER six years, from 1926 to 1933, Dr Goebbels wins Berlin for Hitler. Aided by idealistic young Nazis like Horst Wessel—pictured at the extreme right of his Alexander-Platz section in 1927 (*left*)—he stages drum-beating marches by the S.A. Brownshirts through the leafier suburbs of Berlin (*center*). After their prohibition he sends his Berlin S.A. on a propaganda march to the Nuremberg rally in August 1927 (*below left*)

(PHOTOS: HORST WESSEL DIARY, UNIVERSITY OF KRAKÓW)



Posters across Berlin (*below*) announce that Dr Goebbels is to speak on May 4, 1927. The meeting ends in violence—and police chief Grzesinski seizes the opportunity to dissolve the gau (BUNDESARCHIV)



above: As the membership of the Berlin gau multiplies Goebbels, wearing the tiepin that Anka gave him, takes on more staff for his headquarters—with an eye particularly for the more comely young females.

below: In the final years of the struggle every week finds Goebbels speaking at the graveside as another victim of communist violence is buried (BOTH PHOTOS: NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)





Flanked by gau business-manager Dagobert Dürr and Martin Bethke ('Orje'), Goebbels addresses a rally from an open four-seater Mercedes-Benz at Bernau, near Berlin, in 1928. Goebbels claims to have been given the car by anonymous benefactors, but police chief 'Isidor' Weiss determines that the gauleiter has purchased it for two thousand marks from the merchant Bank Grundman & Co., and registered it in his own name (ALL PHOTOS: NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)

Nazi Shibboleth

THE LIMOUSINE More than any other political party in Europe, the Nazis use the motor car as a brutal demonstration that they have arrived.

right: In 1929 Goebbels claims that an expatriate German supporter living in Argentina has donated this blue Opel seven-seater landau, license tag 1A-53398, to the gau.

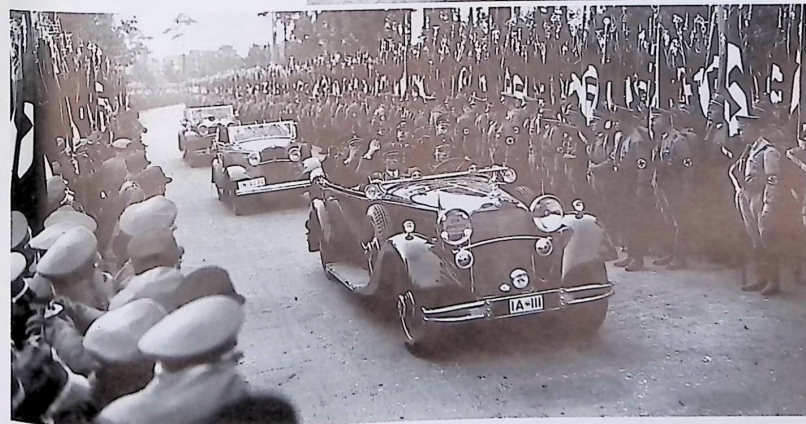


MERCEDES-BENZ chief executive Jakob Werlin (*above*, with Goebbels, Röhm, Göring, and Hitler) sees to it that Hitler and Goebbels enjoy a limitless supply of ever flashier new limousines.

right: In a shiny new Mercedes-Benz Goebbels drives up to his new propaganda ministry building in March 1933, greeted by house manager Mehlis.



below: Driven by chauffeur Albert Tonak, Gauleiter Goebbels arrives in style at the 1934 Nuremberg Party Rally, in yet another Mercedes-Benz.





above: Aboard a Strength through Joy (K.d.F.) cruise-ship in the Baltic, Hitler snoozes on a deck-chair, leaving Goebbels and Hess to talk party business.

below: The benign face of evil, momentarily softened by the sight of a caged canary in the fall of 1933. Their enemies are now all behind bars.

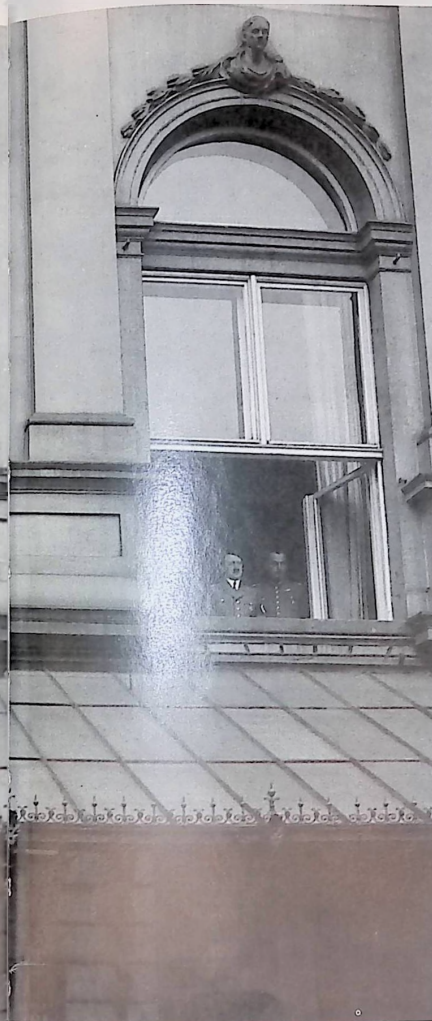


The Devil and

OPINION is divided about Dr Goebbels' relationship with Hitler. Which is the evil genius, and which the spellbound princeling? Which is the better orator?

In his diary on April 19, 1926 Goebbels jots, 'I love you: because you are great and simple at the same time—what we call a genius.'

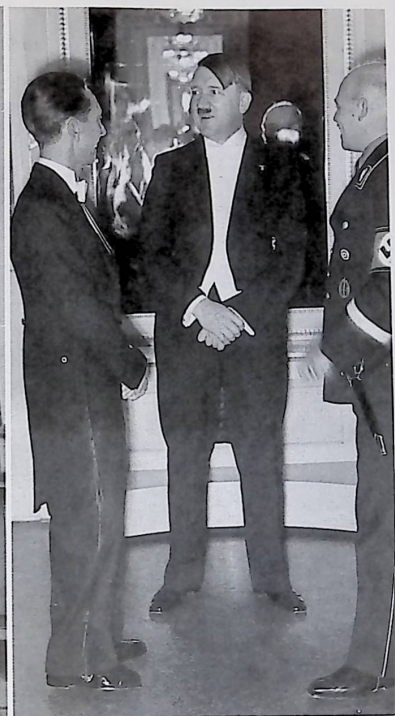
(ALL PHOTOS: NATIONAL



His Disciple

At first his loyalty is absolute. Receiving a faked telegram announcing Hitler's death, he is close to a nervous breakdown. Later, in unguarded moments, Goebbels muses out loud, 'Now, if I were the Führer ...' When he hears of the attempt on Hitler's life in 1944 he is strangely unmoved.

ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)



above: Hitler and Goebbels, looking right out of place in tails, at a gala function in 1935.

center: Surrounded by their flunkies the two Nazis show themselves to the crowds below.

below: The Führer smiles at his adoring fans through the swing doors at the opera.





above: Ernst 'Teddy' Thälmann, the communist party leader, at a Berlin May Day demonstration in 1930. Unlike many of his comrades, he has the courage of his convictions. Sent by the Nazis to concentration camp after the Reichstag fire he refuses to work on anti-communist propaganda for Goebbels and is shot at Buchenwald on August 18, 1944 (NATIONAL ARCHIVES, WASHINGTON)

**Der Naziführer
Dr. Goebbels**

„Die nordische Rasse stellt die elementare Schöpferkraft der Menschheit dar“

in den Reichstagsreden der NSDAP, Wintersemester 1933/34, 1. D. Vortragsabend, 19. November 1933, unter dem allgemeinen Titel: „Die Zukunft des deutschen Volkstums“ am 12.12.1933

„Erkennt mit, Oest! Ertrudat,
Diesen Zerstörer der Natur!“

←

Dieser „nordische“ Mensch

siehe im Reichstags-Sprechsaal

„Dem bayerischen Volk muß die Faust unter die Nase gedrückt werden.“

Bayerische Landsteute
geht diesem Verböser „Uebermenschen“ und all seinen braunen Tadelstößen
eine deutliche bayerische Antwort.

Gibt am 31. Juli Eure Stimme der Eile

Bayer. Volkspartei! 9

IV 117

above right: Opponents poke fun at the less than Nordic, perhaps even Jewish, appearance of 'the Nazi leader Dr Goebbels.' A 1932 election poster for the Bavarian People's Party mobilizes latent anti-Prussian sentiments (SÜDDEUTSCHER VERLAG)

right: Like many of the top Nazis Goebbels feels at home with the fading members of Germany's aristocracy, like 'Auwi,' Prince August-Wilhelm of Prussia, son of the Kaiser. Auwi is given the highest rank in the Brownshirted S.A. (BUNDESARCHIV)



The Deadliest of Enemies

WHEN GOEBBELS takes a dislike to somebody—usually a rival in intellect or power—he carries on the feud with remorseless tenacity.

right: The arrogant ex-businessman Joachim von Ribbentrop attracts his venom from the moment of his appointment, first as ambassador to the Court of Saint James, then as Reich foreign minister—a position which Goebbels secretly covets.

Venom turns to fury when Ribbentrop sends an S.S. unit to occupy a Berlin radio station.

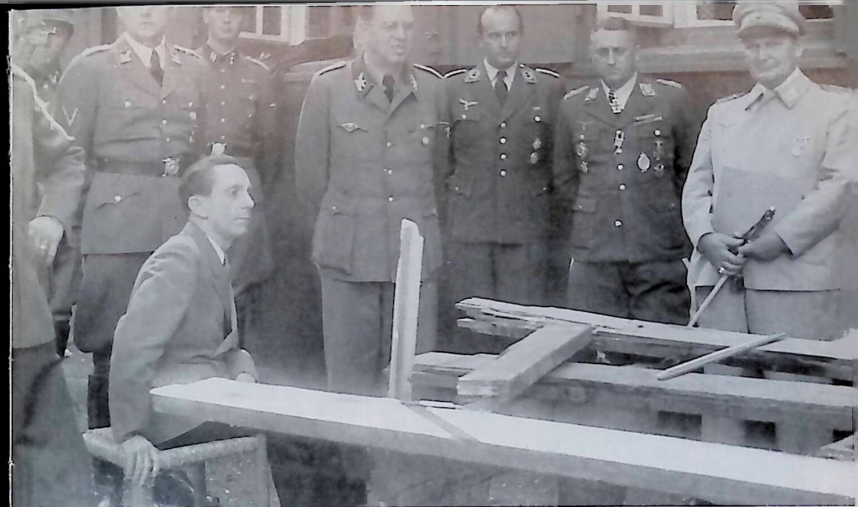
below: Following his usual tactic of divide and rule, Hitler cunningly appoints Otto Dietrich as his press chief. From then on Goebbels snipes at Dietrich, particularly after he prematurely announces victory over Russia in October 1941.



It is however Alfred Rosenberg (*right*) who earns Goebbels' deadliest contempt. The party's chief ideologue claws at Goebbels' cultural empire, and writes scathing commentaries in his diary: 'G. was a discharger of purulence. Until 1933 he squirted it at Isidor Weiss. With him gone, he has begun to discharge it over us instead' (ALL PHOTOS: WALTER FRENTZ)



STICKLER FOR DETAIL At his field headquarters Hitler inspects models of enemy fortifications with Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, chief of the High Command, and staff officers (WALTER FRENTZ)



THE VALKYRIE MYSTERIES On July 20, 1944 a bomb explodes under Hitler's conference table in his headquarters at Rastenburg.

Then the highly decorated commander of the Berlin guards battalion, Major Otto-Ernst Remer (left), arrives in Goebbels' office in Berlin, ordered by the plotters to arrest him. Goebbels talks him round—but there are inexplicable features of that day.

Why does he seem so unmoved by the news of Hitler's death? What has happened to the pages

of his diary for that day? And why does panzer general Heinz Guderian (center) rumble his tanks into the heart of Berlin: whose orders is he awaiting?

When Goebbels arrives at the Wolf's Lair on July 22 to inspect the damaged table (top, with Julius Schaub, Karl Koller, and Hermann Göring) Hitler at last puts him in charge of Total War. But it is Martin Bormann (right) who emerges from the Bomb Plot as the real power behind the scenes (AUTHOR'S COLLECTION; WALTER FRENTZ)



IN GOOD TIMES AS IN BAD In 1938, as the good times roll, all the Nazis are proud to march at the side of Adolf Hitler—seen here taking the salute of an honor guard at a Berlin railroad station after his Munich triumph on October 1, 1938 (VOAK / HOFFMANN COLLECTION)

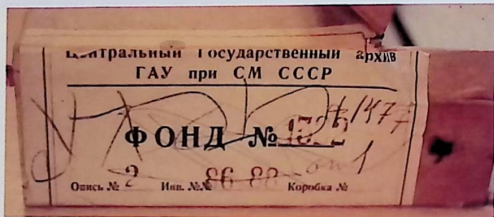


Behind an unmarked door in Moscow: The missing Goebbels diaries. The author is the first to use them.

The Discovery of the Goebbels Diaries

EARLY IN 1992 Dr Elke Fröhlich (below right), Germany's leading authority on the Goebbels diaries, comes across collection No. 1477 in the former Soviet secret state archives in Moscow. There are ninety-two boxes of Agfa photo-

graphic plates. She recognizes the writing of Goebbels' private secretary Richard Otte on the lids (bottom picture). She has found the missing Goebbels diaries—the Reichsminister has had them filmed on these microfiches as the war



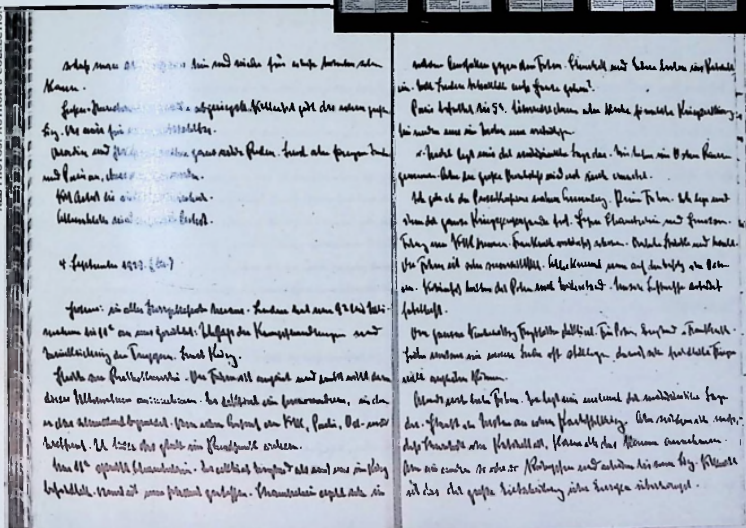
The glass plates give up their secrets.

in Moscow

draws to a close. But her institute denies to her the means to research further. Thus in June 1992 the author is the first to get access to this treasure. On the glass plates he finds the images of 75,000 pages of diaries.



ALL PHOTOS: AUTHOR'S COLLECTION



HANDWRITTEN HISTORY Few can read Dr Goebbels' difficult handwriting, even when the enlarged original is as clear as this. On September 4, 1939 he records the day war broke out: 'Gestern: in aller Herrgottsfrühe heraus. London hat um 9h ein Ultimatum bis 11h an uns gerichtet: Schluß der Kampfhandlungen und Zurückziehung der Truppen. Sonst Krieg' (AUTHOR'S COLLECTION)



The image that Goebbels propagates with millions of picture postcards is not far from the truth. The children are his one consolation in a rapidly darkening scenery. *Far left, top to bottom:* with Harald and the family in 1939; with



CHARLES E. SNYDER

Hedda; with Helga and Hedda at Christmas, 1942. *Above:* Magda with her eldest daughter Helga, left, and Hedda; *right:* probably the last photograph of the minister, now visibly weary, with his family.



The Goebbels Family Album

HAPPY FAMILIES Recently discovered original proof prints of studio portraits of Joseph and Magda Goebbels and their six children. The photographs underline the horror of their tragic

end—poisoned by their mother's hand in the bunker of the Chancellery in Berlin on May 1, 1945 to spare them the imagined horrors of survival in a post-Hitler Germany.

Geheim!

Rundfunk

6. September 1944

Datum:

(13 B) Sr/Mz.

Sender Moskau:

Erklärung eines kriegsgefangenen deutschen
Generalleutnants über Misshandlungen und
Massenhinrichtungen im Konzentrationslager
Lublin

Der Sender Moskau, am 6. 9. 44, brachte
am 3. 9. um 16. 45 Uhr polnischer
Sprache folgende Meldung:

"Die Sowjetpresse veröffentlichte folgende
Erklärung des Deutschen Generals Moser (+) an das Kom-
mando der Roten Armee:

"Moser, Generalleutnant, ehemaliger Kommandant der
372. Feldkommandantur in Lublin, erklärte:

Ich ... Moser, geboren am 1. 1. 1880 in Langenroda,
Kreis Roda, diente seit 1900 in der deutschen Armee. Den
Rang eines Generalmajors erreichte ich 1935. Generalleutnant wur-
de ich im Jahre 1942. Bei der Kampferfolge wurde ich mit
allen in Deutschland für meine Kriegstunenden kommenden Orden ausgereich-
net. 42 Jahre lang war ich ein ehrlicher und anständiger
Soldat: Teilnehmer der Weltkriege ... und war schwer ver-
wundet. Ich habe mich nie und zu keiner Zeit zu ihrer Rechtfertigung, Ich
Verbrechen H 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 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Notes to Sources

Notes to Prologue

1 Soviet documents on the identification of the cadavers of Goebbels and his family were published by Lev Bezymenski in *Der Tod von Adolf Hitler* (Munich, Berlin, 1982) (hereafter Bezymenski), 48ff and 97ff; Soviet surgeon Lt-Col. Grachow established the children's cause of death as 'toxic carbohemoglobin,' and made no mention of bullet wounds in Joseph or Magda Goebbels; but for political reasons Soviet intelligence also suppressed references to the bullet entry in Hitler's head.

2 Testimony of Paul Schmidt at Amtsgericht Berlin-Zehlendorf, Oct 21, 1955 (Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich [hereafter IfZ], file F82, Heiber papers); William Henning in *Hamburger Freie Presse*, Nov 5, 1947.

3 Testimony of Fritzsche, Apr 30, 1947 (Hoover Libr., K. Frank Korf papers).

4 On May 5 the British ambassador in Moscow was told that the bodies of Goebbels and family (but not of Hitler) had been found: 'The cause of death was poison' (Tel. 1738 to Foreign Office London [hereafter FO], May 6. Public Record Office [PRO] file FO.371/46748); also *Krasnaya Zvezda*, Moscow, and United Press dispatch in *New York Times* [hereafter NYT], May 18, 1945.

5 Former Kommissar of Geheime Feldpolizei Wilhelm Eckold, quoted in 'Zehn ehemalige Generale zurückgekehrt,' in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* [hereafter FAZ], Jan 9, 1956; he was Goebbels' personal detective 1934–38, 1942–45.

6 Today it is numbered 202 Odenkirchener Strasse.

7 Ralf Georg Reuth, *Goebbels* (Munich, 1990); a solid volume particularly well researched in Reuth's native Berlin archives and the Goebbels papers held by François Genoud in Lausanne (hereafter Reuth).

8 Birth certificate issued by Rheydt-Mitte registrars' office, No. 1017/1897 (IfZ file F82, Heiber papers); under Germany's Data Protection Act such documents are no longer available to historians. Copy of certificate in Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 47, vol. vii. Goebbels' brother Hans listed their father's occupation as *Werkmeister* (overseer) on his NSDAP (Nazi party) application form (in BDC files); in his handwritten early memoirs (*Erinnerungsblätter*, henceforth EB) Goebbels (JG) himself described his father as a *Handlungsgehilfe* (trade clerk).— The *Erinnerungsblätter* and some diaries (1924–41, incomplete) are transcribed expertly by Dr Elke Fröhlich of the IfZ in *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels. Sämtliche Fragmente*, 4 vols (Munich, 1987); the original manuscript of EB is on microfiche in packet 26, box 2, of the Goebbels collection ('Fond 1477') located by Fröhlich in the former Soviet secret state archives in Moscow early in

1992, a collection of 1,600 glass plates (approximately 75,000 pages) of his diaries and manuscripts, first researched and used by this author. On one microfiche is a 'Tagebuch 1897—Okt 1923' but this diary is nearly empty.—On the 'DNA' of the family name, see the article 'Der Sippenname "Goebbels"' by Peter Jansen (of Uebach) in *Westdeutscher Beobahter*, Nr. 212, Apr 28, 1939; he found traces of GOEBLIN (tapestry) and GODEBERAHT (God-famed) in the name. Also the article 'Geilenkirchener Land. Stammland der Sippe Goebbels,' with photographs of the ancestral Goebbels homes in Uebach, Odenhofen etc, *ibid.*, Oct 26, 1938.

9 In 1923 Goebbels mentioned a 'Rechtsanwalt Joseph' in EB. Dr Josef Joseph published an open letter to JG in Nov 1944 from his exile in the USA. Günter Erckens, *Juden in Mönchengladbach* (Mönchen-Gladbach, 1989), 189f.

10 Conrad was a *Hofverwalter* (farm bailiff) from Gevelsdorf. He had married Gertrud Margarete Roskamp of Beckrath.

11 The author has adhered more closely to what Goebbels himself wrote in his Jul 1924 EB, 'Von 1897 bis zu meinem ersten Semester 1917 in Bonn,' than to Helmut Heiber or to other secondary sources.

12 Wilfried von Oven, *Mit Goebbels bis zum Ende*, 2 vols (Buenos Aires, 1949) (hereafter Oven), 241 ('Apr 24, 1944').

13 Diary, Aug 8, 12, 13, 1924. The birth certificate identifies his job as *Handlungsgehilfe* (trade clerk).

14 Against which, see NYT, Jun 10, 1946: 'Goebbels Never Helped Aged Mother' (an alleged interview of her and Goebbels' sister Maria).

15 Diary, Jul 20, 1924: 'Dat kömp on Kreg ut'—That comes from the war. On the Dutch side of the border river Wurm the Dutch spoke Limburg *platt*, almost identical to the *platt* spoken on the German side.

16 She was born at Uebach on Apr 18, 1869 and died Aug 8, 1953, aged 84. She stated on Mar 25, 1948 that her mother Maria Katharina Odenhausen née Coervers was born in 1824 at Uebach and died in Krefeld, Germany, in 1886; her father (Johann) Michael Odenhausen was born at Uebach and died at Mönchen-Gladbach in 1880. All were Catholic (Korf papers).

17 Born Aug 8, 1893; joined the NSDAP in Dec 1928, becoming a Kreisleiter; promoted to gau (Nazi party region) publishing chief in 1933, acting as business manager of the Völkischer Verlag in Düsseldorf. In 1935 he became publisher of the *Frankfurter Volksblatt*, then head of the gau publishing house in Hessen-Nassau and manager of the *Rhein-Mainische Zeitung*. From 1932 to 1933 he was in the SA reserve. Promoted to Reichsamtseiter (a medium party rank) in 1936.—Biographical file in the Berlin Document Center and in the National Archives, Washington DC (hereafter NA): Record Group (RG) 319, XE.246725, Werner Naumann. And *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, Aug 31, 1948.

18 Hans Johann Friedrich Goebbels, born Jan 25, 1895, died Aug 13, 1947; joined NSDAP in 1929 (No. 160,449) and the SA in 1931, rising to Oberführer on Nov 9, 1942. In 1931–32 he was Propagandaleiter of an *Ortsgruppe* (local), then of a *Kreis* (district) and chairman of a *Kreis* party court (*Urschla*). From 1933 to 1945 he was general manager of the Provincial Fire and Life Insurance Co. of the Rhineland, and permanent deputy president of the provincial Landesversicherungsanstalt Rheinprovinz from 1937. To the dismay of his parents he married a protestant, Hertha Schell, by whom he had a son Lothar (1929) and daughter Eleonore (1935). *Ibid.*

19 Konrad Goebbels died Jun 11, 1949 leaving one daughter. Maria's (deceased) sisters were Maria (died in infancy) and Elisabeth (1901–15): testimony, Mar 25, 1948 (Korf papers). There were also aunts and uncles: his

mother's sisters were Anna Simons (1849–1939 or 1940), Christine Jansen (1856–1939) and Maria Jansen (1862–1916); her brothers were Joseph Odenhausen (died 1902), Peter Odenhausen (1860–1915) and Johann Odenhausen (1857–1916).

20 In Genoud's papers are Fritz Göbbels's bank statements 1900–20, and a blue account book in which he recorded every penny spent (Reuth, 14, 17).

21 Writing to Anka Stalherm on Sep 17, 1918 he described poring over old school relics with Willy Zilles—'a little picture of my First Communion, a school picture of the Second Form, a dictation book from the First' (Bundesarchiv Koblenz [hereafter BA] Goebbels papers, 'Film 1,' NL.118/109); François Genoud, guardian of Goebbels' papers (and interests) owns a letter from Willy Zilles to JG dated Jan 4–5, 1915.

22 Goebbels manuscript for Else Janke, 1923 (BA file NL.118/126).

23 The late Curt Riess, in *Joseph Goebbels* (Baden Baden, 1950), states that JG suffered from a bone-marrow inflammation at age seven, and the foot deformation resulted from the consequent operation. JG's diary for Aug 21, 1930 records his brother Konrad as suffering from an unspecified chronic foot complaint. Wilfried von Oven saw that a Somerset Maugham novel about a youth born with a club foot, taunted and bullied in his childhood, featured prominently in JG's bookshelf in World War Two.

24 Later he would suggest it was a war injury: Party Court, session of Jun 10, 1927 (BDC file, Goebbels; author's film DI-81).

Notes to Chapter 1

1 The year is recorded in JG's 1921 handwritten curriculum vitae appended to his doctoral dissertation (Reuth, 17).

2 An article on Flisges is on microfiche in packet 26 of the Goebbels papers (Moscow archives).

3 A one-hour interview of Hompesch's wife taped by Westdeutscher Rundfunk in 1987 is in Mönchen-Gladbach city archives.

4 JG, 'Der tote Freund,' Apr 1912 (Genoud papers; Reuth, 20).

5 See his school reports 1912–16 in BA file NL.118/113.

6 See JG's eulogy, 'Gerhardi Bartels Manibus!' Dec 6, 1919 (BA file NL.188/120).

7 Fritz Göbbels to Joseph Goebbels, Nov 9, 1919 (facsimile in *Neue Illustrierte*, Jun 6, 1953; original now in BA file NL.118/112). According to an article, 'Studentenbriefe,' in *Ruhr Nachrichten*, Dortmund, May 12, 1953, JG left a suitcase filled with snapshots, love letters (including 115 letters from Anka Stalherm and 'one letter by Joseph Goebbels to Georg Mumme'), poetry, press clippings, and other early documents with his mother for safekeeping. Worried by a 1943 air raid on Rheydtt he phoned his brother Hans to place the case in safety; Hans deposited it in the lung clinic at Holsterhausen operated by the Rhineland Insurance Fund of which he was president. In about Feb 1945, according to Frau Hildegard Meyer, a nurse at that clinic, Hans came to destroy the papers as the Americans approached; she persuaded him to let her take them. She sold them to the catholic Wort und Werk GmbH publishing house, according to an article in *Abendzeitung*, Aug 31, 1954 (IFZ archives). Alerted by these press items, Swiss lawyer François Genoud acquired title to JG's writings from the administrator of Goebbels' estate by contract of Aug 23, 1955, subsequently amended on Oct 21, 1955 and Mar 12, 1956,

and he fought several legal actions against Frau Meyer and others to establish his title to them in 1956, 1963, and 1964 in Germany.—From court papers in the author's possession.

8 JG, 'Wie kann auch der Nichtkämpfer in diesen Tagen dem Vaterland dienen?', class paper dated Nov 27, 1914; quoted in 'Joseph Goebbels bewarb sich beim "Judenblatt,"' (JG applied for job with 'Jewish rag') in *Westdeutsches Tageblatt*, Jul 7, 1954; these papers from his youth had just been sold in a Berlin auction. They are now in BA file NL.118/117.

9 Now in Genoud's possession.

10 Hans served in 160 Inf. Regt, was in French captivity from Jun 16, 1916 to Jan 22, 1920 (BDC file).

11 Text in BA file NL.118/126.

12 Joseph Goebbels, *Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei. Eine historische Darstellung in Tagebuchblättern (vom 1. Januar 1932 bis zum 1. Mai 1933)* (Berlin, 1934): Apr 25, 1933 (hereafter *Kaiserhof*).

13 Ibid., Dec 6, 1930 (Olga Förster).

14 Ibid., Jul 28, 1924.

15 Ibid., Jul 2, 1924.

16 Ibid., Jun 2, 1929.

17 See Kölsch's contribution in *Unitas*, organ of the association of Unitas Catholic student fraternities, 57th year, No. 5, June 1917, 227 (BA file NL.118/119).

18 Programm zum Vereinsfest des Bonner Unitas-Vereins, Jun 24, 1917; *Unitas*, Jun and Aug 1917 (IfZ file F82, Heiber papers; and BA file NL.118/119).

19 Extracts from twenty-four of these were published in *Echo der Zeit*, Jul 21 and 28, 1952. And see the article 'Ein feiner Vertreter des Dritten Reiches,' by Studienrat Karl Klauck (clerk to the society since 1914) in *Kölnischer Volkszeitung*, Jan 31, 1952; also documents in BA file NL.118/113.

20 Hermann Kölsch to JG, Nov 10 and 25, 1917 (Mönnen-Gladbach city archives); Dietz Bering, *Kampf um Namen. Bernhard Weiss gegen Joseph Goebbels* (Stuttgart, 1992) (hereafter Bering), 119.

21 JG's correspondence with Agnes Kölsch is in BA file NL.118/111.

22 Writing to JG on Nov 16, 1917 Mrs Kölsch called herself his *Mütterchen* (little mother) number two (BA file NL.118/111).

23 Diary, Jul 24, 1924; and Mar 20, 1929: Anka's son Christian is 'just like her: blond with blue eyes.'

24 Agnes ('Anka') Stalherm was born on Oct 8, 1895 in Recklinghausen; died of cancer in 1955, and is buried in an unmarked grave at Horben, above Freiburg. See the curriculum vitae in Freiburg's Albert Ludwig university archives, 1922, appended to her dissertation, 'Kapitalbedarf und Kapitalbeschaffung in der Industrie nach dem Kriege.' I am indebted to Anka's friend Irene Pranger and daughter Annerte Castendyk for information about this pivotal character on Goebbels' romantic horizon.

25 Undated postcard from Karlheinz Kölsch to Anka in Freiburg (Irene Pranger papers).

26 Anka's daughter volunteered to me (interview, Nov 10, 1991) that her mother told her that she found Goebbels intellectually attractive, but physically not.

27 JG to Anka Stalherm, Jun 15, 1918 (BA file NL.118/109); two letters on this file dated 'Feb 1918' are in fact from Feb 1919.

28 Writing her on Sep 9, 1918 he asks if he may kiss her rosebud lips 'for the first time' (ibid.).

29 On Jan 26, 1919 he writes her that there is a snapshot of her on Castle Hill meadow on his desk, 'and for Ulex it is as though he must sit down and press a tender kiss on her dear cheek just like then' (ibid.).

30 Entitled 'Judas Iscariot. Eine biblische Tragödie in fünf Akten von P. J. Goebbels,' the 107-page manuscript, written on squared paper in immaculate, legible, copperplate Sütterlin script, is dedicated to Anka Stalherm 'in tiefer Verehrung' (with deepest respect). (BA file NL.118/127).

31 Agnes Kölsch to JG, Aug 15, 1918 (BA file NL.118/112).

32 JG to Anka, Aug 28, 1918 (BA file NL.118/109). Mrs Castendyk (interviewed, Nov 10, 1991) says Anka's mother regarded JG as an *Emporkömmling* (parvenu).

33 Cf JG to Anka, Sep 9, 1918, 10 A.M.

34 Ditto, Aug 23, 1918.

35 Ditto, Aug 20, 1918.

36 Ditto, Aug 26, 28, 1918.

37 Ditto, Aug 30, 1918.

38 Ditto, Aug 5 and 11, 1918.

39 Ditto, Aug 11, 1918.

40 Anka to JG, Aug 11, 1918.

41 JG to Anka, Aug 26, 1918.

42 Ditto, Aug 30, 1918.

43 Ditto, Sep 2, 1918.

44 Ditto, Sep 3, 1918.

45 Ditto, Sep 8, 1918.

46 Ditto, Sep 9, 1918.

47 JG to Prang, Sep 14, 1918.

48 JG to Anka, Oct 5, 1918.

49 Fritz Göbbels to JG, Nov 14, 1918 (BA file NL.118/113).

50 Ditto, Nov 25, 1918.

51 Anka to JG, Dec 21, 1918.

52 JG memoirs 1924.

53 JG to Anka, Jan 21, 1919 (BA file NL.118/109).

54 Ditto, Jan 25, 1919.

55 Anka to JG, Jan 25, 1919.

56 JG to Anka, Jan 29, Feb 4, 10, 1919.

57 Ditto, Jan 26, 1919.

58 Ditto.

59 Ditto, Jan 27, 1919.

60 Ditto, Jan 29, 1919.

61 Ditto, Feb 24, 1919 (BA file NL.118/109).

62 Diary, Jul 14, 1924.

63 Ibid., Jun 9, 1925.

64 See JG to Anka, Mar 16, 1919 (BA file NL.118/109).

65 JG to Willy Zilles, Jul 26, 1915 (Mönnen-Gladbach city archives; Reuth, 24); JG's essay, 'Wilhelm Raabe,' Mar 7, 1916, is in Genoud's papers.

66 JG to Anka Stalherm, Feb 17, 1919 (BA file NL.118/126).

Notes to Chapter 2

- 1 Fritz Goebbels' correspondence with JG is in BA files NL.118/112 and /113.
- 2 Fragment of a Drama, 'Kampf der Arbeiterklasse,' winter 1919/20 (Genoud papers; Reuth, 45).
- 3 'Die Saat. Ein Drama in drei Akten, von Joseph Goebbels.' The cast includes: the worker, his wife, their son; first, second, third workmen; the French lieutenant; a French sentry. 'The setting is somewhere in Germany.' Handwritten MS in BA file NL.118/107.
- 4 JG to Anka, Mar 4, 1920 (BA file NL.118/110); speaking the Plattdeutsch dialect of Rheydt he would have found it easy to learn Dutch.
- 5 JG, 'Sursum corda!' in *Westdeutsche Landeszeitung*, Nr. 55, Mar 7, 1922 (on film in Mönchen-Gladbach city library; courtesy of Reuth).
- 6 See JG's correspondence with Geitmann and others in BA file NL.118/112.
- 7 JG to Anka, Jun 29, 1920 (BA file NL.118/126).
- 8 The four sheets show no folds.—JG to Anka, undated (BA file NL.118/118).
- 9 JG, 'Mein Testament,' Rheydt, Oct 1, 1920. Not witnessed; inked on a small page, evidently a flyleaf torn from a book (BA file NL.118/118; a similar version in /113).
- 10 Flisges to JG, Oct 31, 1920 (BA file NL.118/112).
- 11 EB, JG's 1924 memoirs.
- 12 Dr Georg Mumme, born Brunswick Oct 31, 1892, joined NSDAP Feb 1, 1930 (No. 190,196), later headed the Gau legal section of Thuringia and the legal department of the Reichsleitung (NSDAP headquarters) in Munich; died in Düsseldorf in 1970 (BDC files).
- 13 Anka to JG, Nov 24, 1920 (BA file NL.118/126); diary, Aug 7, 1924.
- 14 Diary, Apr 3, 1929 (BA file NL.118/126).
- 15 JG, 'Wilhelm von Schütz als Dramatiker. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Dramas der Romantischen Schule,' PhD thesis, 215 pages, Ruprecht-Karls university, Heidelberg, 1921.
- 16 Diary, Jan 20, 1929: 'I tell [Anka] of the terrible pain I felt at our separation when ... [Mumme] was so lousy to me and turned up with a lawyer ... But I believe she was probably not to blame for it.'
- 17 A copy of the diploma dated Apr 21, 1922 is in BA file NL.118/128.

Notes to Chapter 3

- 1 German FO files, Feb 15, 1923, on the Ruhr occupation: Friedrich Ebert foundation archives, Bonn: Carl Severing papers, file 95; execution of Schlageter, files 99ff.
- 2 Albert Krebs, *Erinnerungen an die Frühzeit der Partei* (Stuttgart, 1959) (hereafter Krebs), 158. Krebs, no friend of JG's, excused the 'uniform' and remark as a necessary propaganda tactic given the hostile atmosphere of the times. The writer Franz Schauwecker exposed JG's 'military career' later in an open letter.
- 3 A blue carbon-copy typescript of Goebbels' much revised play, *Michael Voormann. Ein Menschenschicksal in Tagebuchblättern*, dedicated to the memory of Flisges, is in BA file NL.118/127. In it, Michael's mother sends to the mining apprentice Alexander Neumann a copy of *Zarathustra* that had belonged to Michael; Neumann writes to Hertha Holk that he has found one passage lined in red, reading: 'Many die too late, and some too early. Never forget the lesson: Die at the right time!'

- 4 *NYT*, May 4, 1945.
- 5 Karl Kaufmann to Otto Strasser, Jun 4, 1927 (BDC: Goebbels file; author's film DI-81).
- 6 Müller (editor) to JG, Oct 13, 1922 (BA file NL.118/113).
- 7 JG, 'Ausschnitte aus der deutschen Literatur der Gegenwart,' Oct 30, 1922 (Genoud papers; cit. Reuth, 58).
- 8 *Kölnner Tageblatt* also published two articles by JG in the summer of 1923; a dozen early newspaper articles by JG are preserved in BA file NL.118/113.
- 9 'Heinrich Kämpfer. Ein Drama in drei Aufzügen' (BA file NL.118/114); completed Feb 12, 1919.
- 10 'Die die Sonne lieben,' summer 1917 (BA file NL.118/117).
- 11 'Bin ein fahrender Schüler, ein wüster Gesell ...' A 32pp. novel handwritten in summer 1917 on squared paper, 'Novelle aus dem Studentenleben von Joseph Goebbels,' dedicated to Kolsch (BA file NL.118/127).
- 12 'Bei Nacht' (BA file NL.118/118).
- 13 Cf diary, Mar 8, 1926: 'I weigh just one hundred *Pfund*,' i.e. fifty kilos or about 110 pounds.
- 14 Diary, Jul 14, 1924; JG's correspondence with Else Janke is in BA file NL.118/110.
- 15 Diary, Aug 6, 1924.
- 16 *Ibid.*, Aug 8, 1924.
- 17 In his diary on Dec 28, 1933 JG would describe another visit to the castle, with 'blissful memories.'
- 18 On Jul 19, 1924 JG noted, 'Today is one year since Richard was killed at Schliersee.'
- 19 JG to Else Janke, Sep 22, 1923 (BA file NL.118/110).
- 20 Fritz Göbbels to JG, Sep 27, 1923 (BA file NL.118/113).
- 21 JG, 'Schöpferische Kräfte. Richard Flisges, dem toten Freunde!' in *Rheydter Zeitung*, Dec 22, 1923 (BA file NL.118/113; and Moscow archives, Goebbels papers).
- 22 Cf Diary, Jul 31, 1924.
- 23 Diary, Oct 17, 1923–Jun 22, 1924 (Moscow archives, Goebbels papers, box 2). The microfiches in this box also contain the following segments: Dec 31, 1923–Mar 11; Mar 13–Jun 12; Jun 27–Aug 6, 1924. JG also wrote a 32 page sketch for Else entitled 'From my diary.' This reflected his painful lack of any vocation and his crushing doubts in God and the world. 'I feel the need,' he began, 'to give some account of my life so far.' The best way, he felt, would be to sit in judgment each day upon himself. 'My goal,' he wrote, 'is God. And my greatest joy, the search for Truth.' (BA file NL.118/126; cf. Elke Fröhlich (ed.), *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels. Sämtliche Fragmente*, four vols (Munich, 1987), cv.
- 24 Diary, Jul 19, 1924.
- 25 JG, 'Aus meinem Tagebuch,' Jun 1923 (BA file NL.118/126).
- 26 Else Janke to JG, Nov 4, 1923 (Genoud papers; cit. Reuth, 74).
- 27 Diary, Jul 2, 1924.
- 28 *Ibid.*, Jul 11, 1924.
- 29 *Ibid.*, Jul 15, 1924.
- 30 *Ibid.*, Aug 13, 1924.
- 31 *Ibid.*, Aug 1, 7, 1924.
- 32 *Ibid.*, Jul 9, 1924.
- 33 *Ibid.*, Jul 4, 1924.

- 34 JG to Rudolf Mosse Verlag (BA file NL.118/113).
- 35 The papers of Theodor Wolff (1868–1943), chief editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, are in BA file NL.207.
- 36 Diary, Jul 30, 1924.
- 37 Ibid., Jul 17, 1924.
- 38 *Rheydter Zeitung* and *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*. JG's diary for Nov 8, 1928 suggests that he began his career 'as a little country orator' at Hattingen.
- 39 Boris von Borresholm, *Dr Goebbels. Nach Aufzeichnungen aus seiner Umgebung* (Berlin, 1949) (hereafter Borresholm), 46ff. It is not clear who the author was.
- 40 See Manfred Müller, *Den Weg zur Freiheit bahnen! Um Sozialismus und Sozialpolitik: NS-Arbeiteragitator Wilhelm Börger* (Essen, 1993). Börger (not 'Berger', as Fröhlich has it) was a friend of JG.
- 41 Diary, Jun 30, 1924. Presumably Rosenberg's diary (Mar 1, 1939) reference to JG's alleged remark to Darré on Feb 25, 1939 that Hitler ought to have told him (JG) 'in 1924' to comport himself differently is a mistake. Hans-Günther Seraphim (ed.), *Das politische Tagebuch Alfred Rosenbergs* (Munich, 1964); the unpublished balance of the Rosenberg diary was last heard of in the private papers of the late Dr Robert M W Kempner, a Frankfurt attorney.
- 42 Diary, Jul 4, 1924.
- 43 Ibid., Jul 7, 9, 1924.
- 44 Ibid., Jul 25, 1924.
- 45 Ibid., Jul 28, 1924.
- 46 Ibid., Jul 30, 1924.
- 47 Ibid., Mar 27, 1925.
- 48 Although Witkowski was often called 'Isidor', e.g. in the *Morning Post*, Jun 11, 1922, his real first names were Felix Ernst. His brother was Witting of the National Bank.
- 49 Diary, Jun 30, Jul 2, 4, 1924; see too Dietz Bering, *Kampf um Namen. Bernhard Weiss gegen Joseph Goebbels* (Stuttgart, 1992), 215, and *Angriffs*'s hate-filled obituary, Nov 21, 1927.
- 50 Diary, Jul 4, 1924.
- 51 *Briefe aus dem Gefängnis an Karl Liebknecht* (1919); JG diary, Jul 4, 1924.
- 52 Diary, Aug 25, 1924.
- 53 Ibid., Aug 20, 1924.
- 54 Ibid., Aug 22, 1924.
- 55 W. von Ameln, 'Die Stadt Rheydt und die Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei,' in *Einwohnerbuch der Stadt Rheydt 1936* (Mönchen-Gladbach city archives).
- 56 Diary, Jul 2, 1938. 'I receive a secret protocol from the Belgian war ministry on my interrogation by Detective Nagel in 1924.' And cf Ameln, 'Die Stadt Rheydt.'
- 57 E.g. in *Rheinische Landeszeitung und Volksparole*, Nr. 239, Sep 1, 1935 (Höfkes collection); JG's police file however states under Feb 1, 1926 he 'fled from the occupied territories because of political machinations.'
- 58 Diary, Aug 29, 1924.
- 59 Ibid., Sep 1, 3, 4, 1924.
- 60 *Völkische Freiheit. Rheinsch-westfälisches Kampfblatt der Nationalsozialistischen Freiheitsbewegung für ein völkisch-soziales Deutschland*.
- 61 Diary, Sep 1, 9, 17, 22, 24, Oct 6, 1924.

- 62 Ibid., Sep 15, 1924.
- 63 Ibid., Sep 23, 1924.
- 64 Ibid., Oct 21, 1925.
- 65 Ibid., Oct 3, 1924.
- 66 Ibid., Sep 23, 1924.

Notes to Chapter 4

- 1 Diary, Mar 18, 26, Apr 16, 1925.
- 2 Ibid., Apr 2, May 23, 1925.
- 3 Ibid., Aug 17, Sep 7, 1925.
- 4 Ibid., Aug 12, Oct 14, 15, 1925; Aug 17, 1926. JG's original 'Elberfeld diary' (Aug 12, 1925–Oct 30, 1926) is in the Hoover Library, Stanford, California (Goebbels papers); on microfiches in Moscow archives, Goebbels papers, box 2; published by Helmut Heiber (ed.), *Das Tagebuch von Joseph Goebbels 1925/26* (Stuttgart, 1961) (hereafter Heiber); English translation on NA film T84, roll 271, 1116–222.
- 5 Diary, Apr 14, 1925.
- 6 Ibid., Feb 23, 1925.
- 7 Ibid., Mar 20, 1925.
- 8 Ibid., Jun 8, Sep 3, 1925. Else survived the war, though her Jewish blood must have caused her problems. JG wrote cryptically (ibid., Jun 25, 1933) after visiting Rheydt: 'I settle the Else problem with [Mother] alone.'
- 9 Ibid., Apr 18, 1925.
- 10 Ibid., Apr 22, 1925.
- 11 Kaufmann to Otto Strasser, Jun 4, 1927 (BDC file, JG).
- 12 Undated police report in Düsseldorf city archives, cit. Reuth, 87.
- 13 Diary, Mar 26, 1925.
- 14 JG handwritten letter, Apr 3, 1925, photocopy in NSDAP Hauptarchiv (NA film T581, roll 5; BA file NS.26/136; IfZ film MA.735).
- 15 *Rheinische Landeszeitung*, Sep 1, 1935.
- 16 Diary, Mar 26, 28, 1925.
- 17 Ibid., Mar 18, 26, 30, Apr 7, 28, May 27.
- 18 Ibid., Apr 16, 1925.
- 19 Ibid., May 2, 6, 7, 11, 1925.
- 20 Ibid., May 12, 1925.
- 21 Ibid., May 19, 1925.
- 22 Ibid., May 28, 1925.
- 23 Ibid., Jun 9, 1925.
- 24 Ibid., May 22, 27; VB, May 24, 1925.
- 25 Diary, Jun 8, 1925.
- 26 Ibid., Aug 12, 1925. I located the rest of the previously missing diary for Jun 9–Sep 10, 1925 in box 2 of the Goebbels microfiches in the Moscow archives.
- 27 Diary, Aug 31, Sep 7, 1925.
- 28 Ibid., Aug 14–16, 1925.
- 29 Ibid., Aug 24, 1925. Characteristically JG antedated this in his memory. Speaking at Lutze's state funeral (May 7, 1943), he said: 'I saw him [Lutze] again in the gloomy basements and backyards of Elberfeld, where we founded and built up together with Karl Kaufmann the party in the Ruhr gau between 1923 [sic] and 1926. . . I'll never forget how he escorted us every night when we drove off to the communist meetings in Hattingen, Bochum, Düsseldorf, or Gelsenkirchen.'

- 30 Diary, Aug 29, 1925.
- 31 See too JG's note in BA file NL.118/108: 'Jul '25, Hitler Weimar.' And Hinrich Lohse, 'Der Fall Strasser' (IfZ file ZS.265).
- 32 Diary, Aug 19, 1925.
- 33 Ibid., Aug 20, 1925.
- 34 Ibid., Sep 7, 9, 11, 1925.
- 35 Fobke, 'Report on Founding of the Association of North- and West German gaus of the NSDAP,' Göttingen, Sep 11, 1925; publ. by Werner Jochmann, *Nationalsozialismus und Revolution. Ursprung und Geschichte der NSDAP in Hamburg 1922-33*, vol. iii (Hamburg, 1963); NA film T581/44.
- 36 Diary, Sep 28, 1925.
- 37 The account in VB Oct 7, 1925, did not bear this out, stating that the meeting confirmed Kaufmann, Lutze, and JG as equals in a triumvirate.
- 38 And cf diary, Jul 6, 1926: 'Somehow, somebody carries me shoulder high into the hall.'
- 39 For samples see NSDAP Hauptarchiv (NA film T581, roll 52; BA file NS.26/1224).
- 40 NS Briefe, Oct 15, 1925.
- 41 Ibid., Nov 15, 1925.
- 42 Diary, Oct 16, 1925.
- 43 Ibid., Oct 23, 1925.
- 44 Letter of Schmitz, Jun 13, 1927 (BDC file, JG).
- 45 Hanover situation report, Oct 3, 1925 in JG's police file on 'Goebbels, Dr phil. Paul Josef,' opened on Dec 9, 1925; later placed in the NSDAP Hauptarchiv (NA film T581, roll 52; BA file NS.26/1224) (hereafter police file), on which see too NYT, Sep 29, 1945: with twenty convictions JG's file was thicker than those of Hitler and Göring combined; it was endorsed 'closed' on Feb 13, 1933.
- 46 JG, *Lenin oder Hitler? Eine Rede gehalten am 19. Februar 1926 im Opernhaus in Königsberg i.Pr.* (Zwickau, 1926).
- 47 Krebs, 159. His diary and letters are in the archives of the Forschungsstelle für die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus, Hamburg city archives.

Notes to Chapter 5

- 1 Diary, Sep 30, Oct 2, 1925.
- 2 Ibid., Oct 2, 1925.
- 3 Ibid., Jan 31, 1926.
- 4 Diary, Oct 9, 1925; VB, Oct 22, 1925.
- 5 Diary, Oct 26, 1925; Jan 13, 1926. There are entries about payments of 1,500 and 800 marks by Arnold on Mar 21 and 27, 1926.
- 6 Ibid., Sep 30, 1925.
- 7 Ibid., Dec 5, 1925.
- 8 Ibid., Nov 10, 1925.
- 9 Krebs, 162.
- 10 Diary, Apr 30, 1926.
- 11 Ibid., Dec 16, 1925.
- 12 Ibid., Dec 21, 1925.
- 13 Ibid., Oct 10, 1925.
- 14 Ibid., Apr 30; VB, Nov 25, 1925, May 5, 1926.
- 15 Diary, Feb 27, 1926.
- 16 Ibid., Oct 2, 7, 1925. Carl Severing (1875-1952), son of a cigar worker,

- trades unionist, had been Prussia's minister of the interior since Mar 29, 1920.
- 17 Ibid., Oct 26; VB, Oct 30, 1925. There were forty-nine injured.
- 18 In notes at the end of his 1927-28 diary JG jotted: 'End of November '25 Hitler. First time Berlin' (BA file NL.118/108).
- 19 Diary, Nov 6; cf VB, Nov 6, 1925.
- 20 Diary, Nov 23; VB, Nov 25, 1925; cf diary, Nov 21, 1928.
- 21 Ibid., Nov 23, 1925.
- 22 Ibid., Jan 25, 1926. On Schlange see Oven, Jul 10, 1943; 39.
- 23 Diary, Nov 14, 23; VB, Nov 29-30, 1925.
- 24 Diary, Dec 7; VB, Dec 13-14, 1925.
- 25 Richard Wagner, *Die Kunst des Dirigierens*. Diary, Jun 27, 1924.
- 26 Diary, Dec 14, 1925.
- 27 Ibid., Dec 29, 1925.
- 28 Ibid., Dec 18, 23, 1925; Jan 6, 1926.
- 29 Ibid., Jan 8, 1926. The personality studies appeared later as part of JG's *Das Buch Isidor*, which had the sub-title, 'Thirty of this republic's characters.' JG's first published book, *Die Zweite Revolution. Briefe an Zeitgenossen*, appeared Feb 1926.
- 30 For his fascination with Russia, see e.g. diary, Oct 21, 1925.
- 31 Otto Strasser, *Hitler und ich* (Konstanz, 1948), 116; for several interrogation reports on Otto Strasser and hundreds of postwar telephone and letter intercepts, 1946-59, see NA file RG.319, IRR, G.8172121.
- 32 Rosenberg diary, Mar 3, 1939.
- 33 Diary, Feb 11, 1926.
- 34 Ibid., Feb 15; cf. VB, Feb 25, 1926.
- 35 Krebs, 161.
- 36 Diary, Feb 22, 1926.
- 37 JG to Streicher, Feb 18 (BDC file, JG; author's film DI-81). Hitler did not reply; Hess did (diary, Feb 24, 1926).
- 38 Diary, Mar 13; see JG's article on the South Tyrol in NS Briefe, No. 12, Mar 15, 1926.
- 39 Diary, Mar 7, 1926.
- 40 Thus in VB, Mar 17, 1926. Kaufmann was still regarded as *primus inter pares*, however, with JG remaining gau manager (Geschäftsführer). See the *Rheinische Landeszeitung*, Sep 1, 1935.
- 41 Report on convention of Rhein-Ruhr gau, Mar 6-7, 1926 (NA film T581, roll 5; BA file NS.26/136).
- 42 Diary, Apr 13; VB, Apr 10, 1926; cf JG's police file.
- 43 It is in NSDAP Hauptarchiv, NA film T581, roll 54, now BA file NS.26/1290.
- 44 Diary, Apr 19, 1926. The Württemberg police later (Oct 13) reported to Berlin, 'Goebbels is a man of good education with an unusual talent for speaking. Not on such good terms with Hitler now as earlier' (police file).
- 45 Minutes of NSDAP annual general meeting, May 22 (NA film T581, roll 52; BA file NS.26/1224). VB, May 26; JG diary, May 24, 1926; police file.
- 46 Diary, Mar 13, Apr 1; VB, May 7, 1926.
- 47 Lutze was commander of the SA Gausturm; Erich Koch was Bezirksführer of the Ruhr's Bergisch Land region.
- 48 Diary Jun 12, 1926.
- 49 Ibid., Jul 12, 15, 23, 1926.
- 50 Ibid., Jul 23, 1926.

- 51 Ibid., Jul 15, 1926.
- 52 Ibid., Jun 16; similar on Jun 17, 1926.
- 53 Ibid., Jun 21, 1926.
- 54 Ibid., Feb 22, 1926; she had written him since then (Mar 13).
- 55 Ibid., Jul 6. He reprinted his speech in *NS Briefe*, No. 21, Aug 1; see *VB*, Jul 7, 1926.
- 56 Diary, Jul 23, 24, 1926.
- 57 Ibid., Jul 25, 1927. In his 'notes on diary for Jun 9, 1925–Nov 8, 1926' JG recapitulated: 'Jul 23–26 Obersalzberg. Strasser, Hitler, Rust. Decision: Berlin! Jul 30: Pfeffer is to be SA supreme commander, me Berlin' (BA file NL.118/108).
- 58 Diary, Jul 31, Aug 1, 1926.

Notes to Chapter 6

- 1 Julek Karl von Engelbrechten, *Eine braune Armee entsteht. Die Geschichte der Berlin-Brandenburger SA* (Munich, 1937); Martin Broszat, 'Die Anfänge der Berliner NSDAP 1926/27,' in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (quarterly published by IFZ; hereafter *VZ*), 1960, 85ff; for JG's battle with the Strassers and Kampf Verlag see IFZ file Fa.114.
- 2 Albert Grzesinski, Berlin's police chief (May 16, 1925–Oct 6, 1926), boasted in his unpublished memoirs, written in Paris in 1933, 'Im Kampf um die deutsche Republik. Lebensweg eines heute Staatenlosen' (BA file Kl. Erw. 144) that he had installed informers in both the KPD and NSDAP HQs in Berlin, sometimes 'big shots' (*Prominente*): 'Often only a few hours after decisions were taken in secret conferences, a written report on them lay on my desk.' JG was later warned of this (diary, May 16, 1926).
- 3 Diary, Aug 21, 26, 1026.
- 4 Ibid., Sep 3, 10, 1926.
- 5 Muchow report No. 3, Aug (see note 13 below). See too police file, Aug 26, 1926; and Engelbrechten, *Im Kampf*, 45f.
- 6 Diary, Aug 28, 1926; JG confirmed in his later notes on diary 1925/26: 'Aug 28: refusal to Hitler re Berlin' (BA file NL.118/108).
- 7 Diary, Sep 8, 1926.
- 8 Ibid., Sep 11; and see his warm references to her on Oct 17, 1926.
- 9 Ibid., Sep 17, 1926.
- 10 JG, *Kampf um Berlin* (Munich, 1932), 24; and see the two-page history of the Berlin gau, Jan 27, 1937 in NSDAP Hauptarchiv (NA film T581, roll 1, BA file NS.26/133; and T581, roll 5, BA file NS.26/5), and *Angriff's* tenth gau anniversary edition Oct 30, 1936 (BA file NS.26/968; Zentrales Staatsarchiv (ZStA) Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 1189).
- 11 Diary, Sep 17, 1926.
- 12 Ibid., Sep 23, 25, 28, 1928.
- 13 Reinhold Muchow, Propagandazelle NSDAP, Ortsgruppe Neukölln: situation report No. 1, Jun 1926 (NSDAP Hauptarchiv: NA film T581, roll 5; BA file NS.26/133 (hereafter Muchow report). Muchow would die in a foolish shooting accident in 1933.
- 14 *Dokumente der Zeitgeschichte. Dokumente der Sammlung Rehse* (Munich, 1938) (hereafter *Dokumente*).
- 15 Diary, Oct 16; Muchow report No. 5, Oct 1926.
- 16 Schmiedicke to JG, Oct 16, 1926 (BA file Schumacher collection, 199a); see Heiber, 112f.

- 17 In his notes 1927/28 he summarized: 'Oct, Potsdam. Mark [Brandenburg] rally. ... Pig-sty Berlin. ... Decision: I'll come' (BA file NL.118/108).
- 18 Schmiedicke to JG, Oct 28 (BA: Schumacher collection, file 199a).
- 19 Diary, Oct 18, 1926.
- 20 Notes on diary (BA file NL.118/108). The hitherto largely missing diary for Nov 8, 1926–Jul 21, 1928 is on microfiches in the Moscow archives, Goebbels papers, Fond 1477, box 2.
- 21 Muchow report No. 1, Jun 1926.
- 22 Data supplied to the author by the German Federal Office of Statistics.
- 23 Brünig MS (Syracuse Univ. Libr.). A typical government loan was one raised by the merchant banks Lazard Speyer-Ellissen; E. Heimann; Lincoln, Menny, Oppenheimer; L. Behrens & Sons; M. M. Warburg & Co.; Veit L. Homburger; Salomon Oppenheimer Jr & Co.; J. Dreyfus & Co.; Mendelssohn & Co.; Simon Hirschland; Jacob S. H. Stern, and A. Levy (Hoover Institution files).
- 24 Files on the Kutisker fraud on the Prussian state bank: records of Generalstaatsanwalt bei dem Landgericht Berlin, now in the Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 62; Sklarek's fraud on the Berlin state bank, item 61. I am indebted to Dr R. G. Reuth for drawing my attention to this source on historic court cases; according to Bering, 283, a Nazi state prosecutor in 1933 decided that these case files, some three thousand of them which would otherwise have been routinely shredded, should be preserved.
- 25 Dr Bernhard Weiss, born Berlin Jul 30, 1880, died London Jul 29, 1951; member of the Berlin political police since May 1918; their chief from 1920 to 1924, when he was suspended for raiding the Soviet trade mission; social democrat. Subsequently chief of criminal police, then vice police chief after 1927. See his own 160 page book, *Polizei und Politik* (Berlin, 1928; a copy is in the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Bonn). This prominent and sorely wronged official emigrated in 1933 via Czechoslovakia to London where his daughter Hilde Baban still lives; he was stripped of German citizenship in 1937 for having allegedly promoted the immigration of eastern Jews into Germany. On this important figure see too *Berlin in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Jahrbuch des Landesarchivs Berlin 1983* (Berlin, 1983); Hsi-Huey Liang, *Die Berliner Polizei in der Weimarer Republik* (Berlin, New York, 1977), 61, 75, 177; and Bernhard J. Weiss, *American Education and the European Immigrant 1840–1940* (London/Univ. of Illinois, 1982), and now the scholarly study by Dietz Bering, *Kampf um Namen. Bernhard Weiss gegen Joseph Goebbels* (Stuttgart, 1992), drawing on Weiss's family and official papers. Weiss's own CV is in his files in the ZStA Potsdam, file 21,344; see too the article, 'He Rules Berlin's Finest,' in *American Hebrew*, Jul 17, 1931, and obituaries in e.g. *Tagesspiegel*, Jul 31, 1951; *Cronica Israelitica*, Aug 1951.
- 26 Qualification report 1912 in personnel file on Hptm. Weiss (Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich, OP 51 391; cit. Bering, 41f).
- 27 See the remarks of his predecessor Ferdinand Friedensburg, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Frankfurt, 1969), 175 (his papers are in BA file NL.114); Bering, 84f.
- 28 'Der mächtigste Mann in Gross-Berlin / Das ist der Isidor Weiss. / Doch Joseph Goebbels, der "Oberbandit," / der macht ihm die Hölle schon heiss,' etc. Bering, 20; Bering shows that the Berlin communist Otto Steinicke (later a Nazi and editor on Goebbels' *Angriff*) had first dubbed Weiss 'Isidor' in *Rote Fahne*, No. 152, as early as Jul 5, 1923; and see May 16, 1924.
- 29 Interpol figures, in Deutsche Nachrichten-Büro (hereafter DNB), Jul 20,

1935; and see Kurt Daluge, 'Judenfrage als Grundsatz,' in *Angriff*, Aug 3, 1935 (Hauptamt Ordnungspolizei files, BA file R.19/406); on the criminal demimonde of 1920s Berlin see Paul Weiglin, *Urmerwüstliches Berlin. Bilderbuch der Reichshauptstadt seit 1919* (Zürich, 1955) and Walther Kiaulehn, *Berlin: Schicksal einer Weltstadt* (Munich, 1958).

30 Muchow report No. 1.

31 Case against the vendor Zawitalsky, Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 367.

32 Zörgiebel to Landgericht Munich I, Jun 1, 1927 (ibid.). The editor was acquitted by the Munich courts.

33 Item 24, vol. v, 4; similarly in vol. i, 21, and vol. i, 44.

34 *Angriff*, No. 18, Oct 28, 1927.

35 Ibid., No. 15, Oct 10, 1927; Landesarchiv Berlin, rep. 58, item 24.

36 His deregistration (*Abmeldung*) with police in Elberfeld was dated Nov 22, 1926; *Angriff*, Oct 30, 1936.

37 Police file.

38 Daluge was born Sep 15, 1897, and hanged by the Czechs on Oct 20, 1946. See his handwritten memoirs on NA film M.1270, roll 3, and in NA: RG.319, file XE.2394.

39 Gau circular No. 1, Berlin, Nov 9, 1926 (NA film T581, roll 5; BA file NS.26/133, and Schumacher collection, file 199a).

40 *Spandauer Volkszeitung*, Nov 15, 1926; cit. Reuth, 113.

41 Police file, Dec 26, 1926; Muchow report, Dec 1926; and see JG's references to the League in *NS Briefe*, No. 31, and diary, Nov 21, 1928.

42 Horst Wessel (Oct 9, 1907–Feb 23, 1930), manuscript, 1929, originally in Staatsbibliothek Berlin, now in Uniwersitet Jagiellonska archives, Kraków, Ms. Germ. Oct. 761, microfilm No. 5668, 1988. See NSDAP Hauptarchiv file on him, BA file NS.26/1370a, and Thomas Oertel, *Horst Wessel. Untersuchung einer Legende* (Cologne, 1988). Wessel's mother had handed the MS to JG (diary, Mar 24, Apr 26, 1930).

43 Muchow report.

44 Wessel MS, 1929.

45 Muchow report No. 8, Jan 1927; and an anonymous history of the gau by an SA man born in 1906 (NA film T581, roll 5; BA file NS.26/133) (hereafter gau history).

46 JG to Otto Strasser, Feb 8, 1927 (BDC file, JG; Heiber, 130ff).

47 O. Strasser memoirs, *Mein Kampf. Eine politische Autobiographie* (Frankfurt, 1969) and statement, Nov 24, 1959 (IIZ).

48 Muchow report No. 9, Feb 1927; and see Wilfried Bade's account in *Angriff*, Oct 30, 1936.

49 Albert Tonak (1905–1942) joined the NSDAP on Apr 9, 1926 (BDC file, Tonak).

50 VB, Mar 10. Detective Inspector Rühl (of Section Ia) reported on Mar 28 that the appeal raised 'big money' for the party: police file. See Heiber, 117ff. The clinic was pictured in the party's *Illustrierter Beobachter*, Mar 15, 1927.

51 Police file.

52 Muchow report No. 9, Feb 1927; JG, *Kampf um Berlin*, 50. The gau's other officials now were: deputy gauleiter, Daluge; manager, Dagobert Dürr; press spokesman, Karl Kern; propaganda director: Werner Studentkowski.

53 Erich Koch, who had it from JG's arch-foe Elsbeth Zander, wrote to Kampf Verlag about this on Jun 13, 1927 (BDC file, JG).

54 Police report, Mar 21, 1927, in Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 302, vol. iv.

55 Ibid., vol. ii, 63.

56 Testimony of Erich Timme, a neutral witness, ibid., 195.

57 Rühl report, Mar 28 (police file); JG had to make a statement on Apr 25, 1927 (ibid.).

58 VB Mar 24, 1927.

59 Police report in Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 302, vol. i.

60 Muchow report No. 11, Mar 1927, and his special report on this incident (both on NA film T581, roll 5; BA file NS.26/133); also gau history. The Nazis rampaged down Kurfürstendamm, burst into the Romanisches Café near the Remembrance church and manhandled Jews; the *Berliner Tageblatt* used the word pogrom for the first time. For twelve vols of court documents arising from the Lichterfelde battle see Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 302.

61 Wessel MS.

62 'The result was,' complained JG in a letter to Hindenburg and Grzesinski on May 6, 1927, 'that our comrade [Kleemann] was besieged in his apartment for several days and had to be liberated by a major police operation' (BA: Schumacher collection, file 199a).

63 Which Hitler denied: VB, Jun 25, 1927; for the 'Jewish' character of these newspapers, see Bering, 116.

64 Strasser, *Mein Kampf*.

65 Police file.

66 JG to Dr Eugen Mündler, publ. in *Die Zweite Revolution*.

67 Hess to Ilse Pröhl, Apr 25, 1927; W. R. Hess, *Rudolf Hess. Briefe 1908–1933* (Munich, 1988), 379f. Hitler spoke in the Krupp Saal on Apr 27 to mounting applause. Hess, 380; *Dokumente*, 258.

68 Article in *Berliner Arbeiterzeitung*, Apr 23, 1927; and *Der Nationalsozialist*, No. 17, 1927; in general, JG to Hitler, Jun 5, 1927 and minutes of supreme party court (OPG) session of Jun 10, 1927 (BDC file, JG; author's file DI–81).

69 Koch to JG, Apr 26, 1927 (BDC file, JG); Heiber, 120f.

70 For the history of *Angriff* see Hans Georg Rahm, *Der Angriff 1927–1930. Der nationalsozialistische Typ der Kampfzeitung* (Berlin, 1939), based on his PhD thesis; and Carin Kessemeier, *Der Leitartikler Goebbels in den NS-Organen 'Der Angriff' und 'Das Reich'* (Münster, 1967), 51f.

71 Hans Hinkel, US Seventh Army interrogation, SAIC/28, May 28, 1945 (NA file RG.165, entry 79, box 756).

72 *Vossische Zeitung*, May 5; *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* [hereafter DAZ], May 6, 1927; Borresholm, 69ff; police file; and police report of Jun 20, op. cit.

73 Testimony of four detectives, May 5, 1927, in Berlin public prosecutor's files (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 12B, vol. i, 107). JG was told that Kriegk, assigned to the Clou meeting, had protested: 'I'm not setting one foot in that monkey house' (police report).

74 JG testified that he wanted the journalist to sue him, so as to ascertain his 'real name'. ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 12B, vol. i, 100.

75 Ibid., 107. Writing to Grzesinski on May 6, JG quoted it as: 'Du bist mir auch der rechte germanische Jüngling!' (BA: Schumacher collection, file 199a). *Vossische Zeitung* has it as 'Sie sehen mir gerade aus wie ein germanischer Jüngling!'

76 *Germania* and *Berliner Börsen-Courier* of May 5, 1927.

77 The weapons are listed in the public prosecutor's files (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 12B, Nr. 2); Bering, 97.

78 Pastor Stucke belonged to the reform church (after the church of Nazareth had dismissed him for alcohol problems); it is worth noting that he was prosecuted for blaspheming the protestant church in the communist *Rote Fahne* two weeks earlier, Apr 23, 1927 (Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 378).

79 For documents on this dissolution of the Berlin gau see BA: Schumacher collection, file 199a.

80 Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, items 27 and 385.

Notes to Chapter 7

1 Albert Grzesinski, typescript memoirs (BA file Kl. Erw. 144). See too his published memoirs, *Inside Germany* (New York, 1939), translated by Alexander S. Lipschitz; and his brochure *Verwaltungsarbeit im neuen Staat* (Berlin, 1928; copy in Friedrich Ebert Stiftung archives).

2 Zörgiebel to JG, May 5, 1927 (BA: Schumacher collection, file 199a).

3 JG to Grzesinski, May 6, 1927 (ibid.).

4 Stuttgart report, May 18, 1927 (police file).

5 Police file.

6 JG to Charlottenburg administrative court (Oberverwaltungsgericht), May 11 (BA: Schumacher collection, file 199a); Zörgiebel to JG, May 23, 1927 (ibid.).

7 See Hinkel interrogation SAIC/28; and Lippert's reminiscences in *Angriff*, Oct 30, 1936 (BA file NS.26/968).

8 Strasser to Hess, Jun 15, 1927 (BDC file, JG).

9 JG to Hitler, Jun 5, 1927 (ibid.).

10 JG to Hess, Jun 9, 1927 (ibid.).

11 Minutes of the meeting (ibid.).

12 Strasser to Hess, Jun 18, 1927 (ibid.).

13 Holtz, of Gauuntersuchungs- und Schlichtungsausschuss (Uschla), to Hitler, Jun 17 (ibid.).

14 Bruno Heinemann, minute on meeting with JG, Hitler, Hess, Jun 21, 1927 (ibid.).

15 Police file (NA film T581, roll 52; BA file NS.26/1224). In Aug 1930 the Supreme Court in Leipzig began an investigation of JG's speech as an incitement to treason. JG cited Hermann Esser as a witness in support of the claim that he had not uttered the words alleged. Assize Court Judge Braune to Police HQ Munich, Aug 13, 21, 1930 and Jan 19, 1931 (ibid.), and see Prussian ministry of the interior, minute on the NSDAP, Feb 1932 (BA file R.18/3864; IFZ file ED.4).

16 JG leader in *Angriff*, Oct 5, 1930; and *Kampf um Berlin*, 1934, 136.

17 VB, Jul 14, 1927; cit. in minute of Feb 1932.

18 JG, *Der Nazi-Sozi. Fragen und Antworten für den Nationalsozialisten* (Munich, 1927); JG mentions it in his diary as early as Oct 17, 1926.

19 The Prussian ministry of the interior commented (see note 15 above) that the Elberfeld courts had ordered *Der Nazi-Sozi* confiscated on Jan 30, 1928; the case against JG was dropped on Aug 31, 1928 in a general amnesty. See too *Angriff*, Nov 21, 1931.

20 Speech on Sep 14, 1927; cit. in Prussian minute of Feb. 1932.

21 Puns on his name: e.g. references to Edelweiss in *Angriff*, No. 25, 1927, and to his police as 'Weiss-Guards.'

22 *Angriff*, No. 26, 1930, 'He whose name one may not utter, like the name

of the God who is honored and prayed to in the temples of his homeland;' Bering, 275f.

23 Bering, 79ff, denies that Weiss was humorless; this author disagrees.

24 Aug 15, 1927; Apr 8, Jun 18, Oct 29, 1928; Mar 11, May 6, 1929.

25 *Dokumente*, 268.

26 Unpubl. diary, Feb 18, 1928 (Moscow archives, Goebbels papers, Fond 1477, box 2).

27 Eher Verlag to NSDAP Hauptarchiv, Jul 5, 1937 (NA film T581, roll 47; BA file NS.26/968). Documents in the Hauptarchiv dated Feb 27 and Apr 23, 1936 give these quarterly average print figures: III/31, 68,600; IV/31, 58,300; I/32, 68,300; II/32, 107,300; III/32, 108,300; IV/32, 110,600; I/33, 103,500; II/33, 119,300; III/33, 100,600; IV/33, 92,000. JG's diary gives different figures, a circulation of 80,000 (Mar 12, 1931) and 90,000 (Aug 12, 1931).

28 Albertus Magnus Society files. It had taken them until Nov 12, 1927 to find JG, now living at No. 79/II Frege Strasse in Berlin-Friedenau.

29 Krebs, 161.

30 JG to Ilse Pröhl, Nov 16, 1927, unpubl.; on *NS Briefe* letterhead (Rudolf Hess papers, Hindelang).

31 Diary, Jan 19, 22, 23, Feb 4, 1928; the unpublished diary Jan-Apr 1928 is in the Moscow archives, Goebbels papers, Fond 1477, box 5.

32 Ibid., Feb 18, 1928.

33 Ibid., Mar 16, 1928.

34 Police file.

35 Grzesinski MS; Weiss boasted he had 429,686 fingerprint sets on file: B. Weiss, '25 Jahre Kriminalpolizei,' in *Die Polizei* (Berlin, 1928), 212.

36 JG, *Das Buch Isidor: Ein Zeitbild voll Lachen und Hass*; diary, Feb 20, Mar 3, 1928.

37 Diary, Feb 24, 1928.

38 Ibid., Feb 26, 1928.

39 JG to the courts, Mar 12, 1928, Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 24, vol. viii, 8.

40 Diary, Mar 12, 23, 24, 26, Apr 2, 1928; Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 302.

41 Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 24, vol. vii, 16.

42 Diary, Mar 24, 1928.

43 JG to prosecutor, Apr 17, 23, Aug 6, 1928 (Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 24, vol. i)

44 Regierungsdirektor Wündisch to state prosecutor, Apr 23, 1928 (ibid., vol. iv); Bering, 306.

45 Diary, Apr 28, 1928; Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 24.

46 Diary, May 4, 5, 12, 13, 1928.

47 *Angriff*, Sep 9, 1929.

48 Diary, Jun 5, 1928; *Berliner Tageblatt*, Jun 4; *Rote Fahne*, Jun 7; Bering, 77.

49 *Angriff*, Jun 11, 1928; Landesarchiv, Rep. 58, item 23. Weiss also prosecuted Ernst Schulz, *Angriff's* printer: ibid., item 28.

50 Diary, Apr 14, 1928.

51 Gau history (BA file NS.26/133).

52 Diary, Apr 16, 20, 1928.

53 Ibid., Apr 17, May 11, 1928.

54 Ibid., Apr 20, 1928.

- 55 Ibid., Apr 22, 1928.
 56 Ibid., May 17, 19, 1928; and Kurt Daluege, 'Zehn Jahre Berliner S.A.', spring 1935, in his papers, BA file R.19/377 ('Dr Goebbels mit an unserer Spitze').
 57 Diary, Feb 26, Apr 3, 1928.—Born Apr 12, 1895, Stennes was an army officer in Aug 1914, formed the Hacketau Freikorps on Jan 1, 1919, was employed by Berlin police HQ Jul 19, 1919, was promoted to police captain Jun 12, 1920, resigning Jan 28, 1922; joined NSDAP Dec 20, 1927. See 'Hauptmann Stennes. Ein alter Geheimbündler und Verschwörer,' in *Vorwärts*, Nr. 411, Sep 3, 1930, and *ibid.*, Oct 15, 1929, and *8 Uhr Abendblatt*, Berlin, No. 78, Apr 2, 1931; NSDAP Hauptarchiv file on Stennes (BA file NS.26/1368).
 58 Stennes MS and interview, Jul 29, 1968 (IfZ file ZS.1147).
 59 Diary, Apr 5, 14, May 10, 16, 1928.
 60 Diary, May 22, 1928.

Notes to Chapter 8

- 1 *Angriff*, Oct 29, 1928.
 2 Police file (NA film T581, roll 52; BA file NS.26/1224).
 3 Diary, Jun 20, 1928; case files in Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, items 58, 302, and Berlin police (Ia) report, Jun 20, 1928 (BDC file, JG); JG accused the police witnesses Bobber and Weicker of perjury, and was prosecuted for libel on Dec 15, 1929 (Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 3).
 4 Diary, Jun 9, 1928.
 5 Ibid., Jun 6, 1928.
 6 Ibid., Jun 13, 1928.
 7 Ibid.
 8 *Berliner Arbeiterzeitung*, May 27; in *NS-Briefe*, Jun 15, 1928, Otto Strasser said the proletariat had voted overwhelmingly for the communists, and he blamed those who were 'too clever by half'.
 9 On the new HQ: Ibid., Jun 1, 5, 19, 28, Jul 28 1928.
 10 See the references to his health in his diary, Apr 19, May 23, Jul 5, Sep 15, Nov 5, 13, 25, 1928.
 11 'Ein §175er' Ibid., Oct 26, 1928.
 12 Ibid., Sep 29, Oct 11, 12, 1928.
 13 Ibid., Nov 25, 1928.
 14 Ibid., Dec 19, 20, 1928; Jan 5, 1929.
 15 Ibid., Jan 26, 29, 1929; on Feb 5 he noted that he was measured for a new steel orthopedic caliper.
 16 Wessel MS; and JG diary, Jul 13, 14, 1928. Horst Wessel, commander of SA Trupp 34, had spent Jan-Jul 1928 in Vienna studying the Nazi youth movement there, which was better organized than that in Germany; he reported back to JG in detail on their methods. See too Richard Fiedler's reminiscences on Wessel in *Angriff*, Oct 30, 1936 (BA file NS.26/968).
 17 Diary, Jul 15, 1928. From JG's unpublished diary, Mar 30, 1928 it is plain he was attracted to her: 'Arrive Munich 5 A.M. . . Then I meet Geli Raubal. She wants to come to Berlin. A darling thing! We've laid plans.' And see diary, Oct 19, 1928.
 18 Unpubl. diary, Jan 10, 1928 (microfiche in Moscow archives, Goebbels papers, box 5).
 19 JG postcard to Ilse Hess, Jul 9, 1928 (Hess papers, Hindelang); diary, Jul 10, 1928.

- 20 Diary, Apr 16, 1928.
 21 Ibid., Jan 19; and Jan 14, 17, 1928.
 22 Ibid., Jan 23, Feb 23, 1928.
 23 Ibid., Feb 9, 10, 1928.
 24 Ibid., Feb 23, 1928.
 25 Ibid., Mar 7, 1928; author's interview of Annette Castendyk. Her brother Christian Mumme, born Sep 1927, was killed when an American plane strafed his flak position on the Elbe front on Apr 16, 1945.
 26 Diary, Mar 9, 13, 1928.
 27 Ibid., Mar 23, 24, 1928.
 28 Ibid., Mar 30, 1928.
 29 Ibid., Apr 10, 1928.
 30 Ibid., Apr 12, 1928.
 31 Ibid., Apr 22, 1928.
 32 Ibid., Apr 17, 1928.
 33 Ibid., Apr 25, 1928.
 34 Ibid., Apr 27, 1928.
 35 Ibid., May 9, 12, 14, Jul 23, 1928.
 36 Ibid., May 28, 30, 1928.
 37 Ibid., May 30, 1928.
 38 Gauorganisationsleiter. See Gerhard Starcke, *NSBO und Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (Berlin, 1934), 198f; JG diary, May 23, Jun 6, 1928.
 39 Diary, Aug 7, 1928.
 40 Ibid., Aug 10, 1928. On Jul 25, 1924, after watching *Tristan*, JG noted that he had last seen it in Oct 1919 in Frankfurt with Anka, 'blessed memory.'
 41 Ibid., Aug 24, 29, 1928.
 42 Ibid., Aug 10, 25, 27, 1928.
 43 Ibid., Sep 4, 1928.
 44 Ibid., Sep 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 21, 1928.
 45 Ibid., Sep 23, 1928.
 46 Ibid., Sep 24, 25, 1928.
 47 Ibid., Sep 26, 1928.
 48 Ibid., Oct 2, 1928.
 49 Ibid., Oct 7, 1928.
 50 Ibid., Oct 14, 1928.
 51 Ibid., Oct 17, 1928.

Notes to Chapter 9

- 1 Diary, Aug 20, 1928.
 2 Ibid., Feb 4, 24, 1929.
 3 Ibid., Aug 12, 1930. The correct transcription is 'Auwi'—The author disagrees with Dr Fröhlich's 'Anni.' In an entry for Mar 11, 1930 he however scoffed at magnetopaths, and in the unpubl. diary, Jun 22, 1939 he mocks that 'Görlitzer has comically enough become a sucker for astrology.'
 4 Ibid., Oct 2, 1930.
 5 Ibid., Jul 20, 1928.
 6 Ibid., Aug 8, 10, 13, 1928.
 7 Ibid., Aug 24, 1928.
 8 Under Emil Holtz. Diary, Sep 1, 8, 1928; *Dokumente*, 280f.
 9 Diary, Sep 23–25, 1928.

- 10 Facsimile in *Dokumente*, 285.
- 11 He was prosecuted for cursing the Republic at this Sport Palace meeting. Case files in Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 697.
- 12 Diary, Oct 1, 1928.
- 13 Ibid., Oct 4, 1928.
- 14 Ibid., Oct 4-6, 9, 11, Nov 2, 1928.
- 15 Ibid., Nov 5, 1928.
- 16 Confidential circular, Oct 31, 1928, signing off: 'Mit Hitler Heil!' (Irene Pranger papers).
- 17 Diary, Oct 21, Nov 4, 1928. Schweitzer 'thinks just as I do.'
- 18 Ibid., Nov 2, 1928.
- 19 Ibid., Jan 22, 1929.
- 20 Ibid., Jun 6, 1929.
- 21 Ibid., Nov 8, 1928.
- 22 Ibid., Nov 15, 1928.
- 23 Ibid., Nov 4, 1928.
- 24 Public prosecutor, letter of Dec 20, 1928 (police file).
- 25 Ibid., Nov 13, 15, 16, 1928.
- 26 Ibid. and VB, Nov 17, 1928.
- 27 JG, 'Kütemeyer,' in *Angriff*, Nov 26, 1928.
- 28 *Dokumente*, 283.
- 29 Diary, Jun 20, 1929.
- 30 Ibid., Apr 26, May 30, Jun 11, 1929.
- 31 Ibid., Jun 18, 1928.
- 32 Ibid., Dec 3, 1928.
- 33 Ibid., Jan 31, 1929.
- 34 Ibid., Feb 15, 1929.
- 35 Ibid., Apr 26, 1928.
- 36 Ibid., Jan 3, 1929.
- 37 Ibid., Jun 30, 1928.
- 38 Ibid., Feb 3, 8, 9-11, Mar 2, 3, 1929.
- 39 Ibid., Apr 5, 1929.
- 40 Ibid., Apr 21, 28, 1929.
- 41 Ibid., Sep 22, Oct 24, Dec 8, 1928; Feb 5, 6, 9, 1929; premièred on Mar 10, 1929.
- 42 JG to Ilse Hess, Dec 22, 1928 (Hess papers, Hindelang).
- 43 Diary, Dec 14, 1928.
- 44 Ibid., Dec 15, 16, 1928.
- 45 JG to Anka Stalherm, Dec 16, 1928, handwritten on Reichstag notepaper (Irene Pranger papers).
- 46 Diary, Dec 18, 1928; she was not eighteen until Jan 26, 1929.
- 47 Ibid., Dec 20, 1928.
- 48 Ibid., Dec 22-24, 30, 1928; Jan 3, 1929.
- 49 Ibid., Jan 4, 6, 7, 1929.
- 50 Ibid., Jan 20, 1929.
- 51 *Dokumente*, 291.
- 52 Diary, Jan 21, 1929.
- 53 Treaty of Mar 22, 1921, articles 176 and 177; Grzesinski MS (BA file KI. Erw. 144).
- 54 In NSDAP Hauptarchiv (NA film T581, roll 26a; BA file NS.26/1768).
- 55 Diary, Dec 4, 9, 1928; Jan 5, 6, 8, 27, 1929.

- 56 Ibid., Mar 13, 23, May 15, 16, 1929; police file.
- 57 Ibid., Feb 26, 1929.
- 58 Ibid., Apr 17, 1928; Feb 5, 1929.
- 59 Ibid., Jan 31, Feb 1, 6, 1929.
- 60 Krebs, 160.
- 61 Diary, Jan 28, 1929.
- 62 Ibid., Mar 1, 1929.
- 63 Ibid., Jan 26, 1929.
- 64 Ibid., Feb 12, 1929.
- 65 Ibid., Feb 15, Mar 10, 1929.
- 66 JG to Anka, Feb 25, 1929 (Irene Pranger papers).
- 67 Diary, Mar 10-12, 1929.
- 68 Ibid., Mar 13, 17, 1929.
- 69 JG to Anka, Mar 20, 1929 (Irene Pranger papers).
- 70 Diary, Mar 23, 24, 1929.
- 71 Ibid., Mar 25, 26, 1929.
- 72 Ibid., Apr 1, 1929.

Notes to Chapter 10

- 1 JG to Anka, Apr 9, 1929 (Irene Pranger papers).
- 2 Papers of the Albertus Magnus Society; and see diary, Mar 21, 1929: 'In the morning a process server comes on an embarrassing business.'
- 3 Lawyers Erwin Platzer and Carl Bauer to the society, Apr 29, 1929.
- 4 Diary, May 17, 1929.
- 5 Ibid., Apr 15, 1929.
- 6 Ibid., Apr 12, Jun 2, 1929.
- 7 Ibid., Apr 7, 9, 1929.
- 8 Ibid., Apr 18, 1929.
- 9 Ibid., Apr 19, 21, 25, 1929.
- 10 Ibid., Apr 28, 30, May 5, 6, 13, 17, 20, 1929.
- 11 Diary, May 25, 26, 1929.
- 12 Ibid., May 28, 1929.
- 13 JG to Anka, May 28 (Irene Pranger papers); diary, May 29, 1929.
- 14 Diary, May 29, 1929. In *Dokumente*, 271, it is wrongly stated that JG was appointed Reichspropagandaleiter on Jan 2, 1928 with Himmler as deputy. This is not confirmed by JG's diary.
- 15 Diary, Jul 5, 1929.
- 16 Ibid., May 29, 1929.
- 17 Ibid., May 2, 1929; statement by Carl Severing to Reichstag, Jun 8, 1929, in Reichstag proceedings, 80th session, 2218ff.
- 18 Grzesinski (MS) lived with a Mrs Daisy Torrens, although not divorced until May 12, 1930; he married her at the end of May.
- 19 Cf diary, Jun 9, 1929.
- 20 Reichstag proceedings, 80th session, Jun 25, 1929, 2918ff.
- 21 Diary, Jun 26, 1929.
- 22 Ibid., Nov 22, 1929.
- 23 Ibid., May 3, 4, 1929.
- 24 Ibid., May 14, Jun 27; and see Sep 2, Nov 8, Dec 21, 1929.
- 25 Ibid., Feb 20, 1931.
- 26 Ibid., Jun 29, 1929.

- 27 Ibid., Nov 8, 1930.
- 28 Ibid., Oct 28, 1929.
- 29 Oven, 241, 'Apr 24, 1944.'
- 30 Diary, Jun 1, 4, 1929.
- 31 Ibid., Jun 2, 4, 9, 19, 23, 24, 1929.
- 32 Ibid., Jun 16, 20, 24, 25, 1929.
- 33 Ibid., Jun 30, 1929.
- 34 JG to Anka, Jul 6 (Irene Pranger papers); and diary, July 6, 1929.
- 35 JG to Anka, Jul 8, 1929 (Irene Pranger papers).
- 36 Diary, Jul 6, 1929.
- 37 Ibid., Jul 13, 1929.
- 38 Ibid., Jul 15, 17, 20, 21, 1929.
- 39 Ibid., Jul 23, 1929.
- 40 Ibid., Jul 25, 1929.
- 41 Ibid., Jul 26, 1929. In Irene Pranger's papers is the snapshot JG sent to Anka, 'With heartfelt greetings and with happy memories of a beautiful week in Weimar. Your ULEX, Jul 30, 1929.'

Notes to Chapter 11

- 1 Diary, Sep 10-12, 1929.
- 2 Ibid., Aug 24, 1929.
- 3 Ibid., Jul 12, 1929.
- 4 Ibid., Aug 2, 1929; *Dokumente*, 299ff; VB, Aug 3, 1929.
- 5 Wessel MS; and gau history, NA film T581, roll 5; BA file NS.26/133.
- 6 Stennes, statement on Jul 29, 1968 (IfZ file ZS.1147); and Prince Schaumburg-Lippe, *War Hitler ein Diktator?* (Witten, 1976), 57f.
- 7 Diary, Jul 26, 28, Aug 5, 6, 1929.
- 8 Ibid., Aug 11, 13, 14, 1929.
- 9 JG to Anka, Sep 7, 1929 (Irene Pranger papers).
- 10 JG to Anka, Sep 29, 1929 (ibid.).
- 11 JG to Anka, Oct 1, 1929 (ibid.).
- 12 Diary, Oct 3, 16, 28, 1929.
- 13 Ibid., Jul 5, Aug 14, 1929.
- 14 Ibid., Jul 21, 1929.
- 15 Ibid., Oct 6, Dec 1, 1929.
- 16 Ibid., Sep 2, 1929.
- 17 Ibid., Nov 25, 1929.
- 18 Ibid., Sep 3-5, Oct 1, 1929.
- 19 Ibid., Jun 18, 1929: with 1,000 marching farmers' sons, 'I feel like a dwarf.'
- 20 Ibid., Aug 27-29, 1929.
- 21 *Angriff*, Sep 9, 1929.
- 22 *Angriff*, Nov 24, 1929; cit. Reuth, 153.
- 23 Diary, Aug 28: 'The swine. All this will be repaid later.'
- 24 *Angriff*, 1928, No. 22, 3 and 1929, No. 4, 9; Bering, 236.
- 25 Diary, Sep 10, 1929.
- 26 Ibid., Sep 26; see the photo in *Berliner Montag*, Sep 23, 1929, and *Dokumente*, 304.
- 27 Diary, Sep 19, 20, Oct 5, 1929; and 'Kampf gegen Young, eine Sache des deutschen Arbeiters,' *Rede gehalten am 26. September 1929 im Kriegervereinshaus Berlin* (Berlin, 1929).

- 28 Diary, Oct 28, 1929.
- 29 Ibid., Oct 31-Nov 3, 5, 29, 30, 1929.
- 30 Gau history, NA film T581, roll 1; BA file NS.26/133.
- 31 Diary, Nov 14; hearing (ibid., Nov 22, 1929) that she was involved with another man he had another showdown with Anka and parted without pain: 'It seems I have gotten over Anka.'
- 32 Ibid., Oct 29, 1929.
- 33 Ibid., Nov 18, 1929.
- 34 Ibid., Sep 22, Oct 20, Nov 5, 1929; Franz Eher Verlag to NSDAP Hauptarchiv, Feb 27, 1936 (NA film T581, roll 47; BA file NS.26/968).
- 35 Diary, Nov 17, 20, 1929; police file.
- 36 Diary, Nov 20, 22, 23, 1929; Jan 7, 1930.
- 37 Ibid., Nov 22, 1929.
- 38 Ibid., Oct 10, 1929.
- 39 Ibid., Nov 29, 1929.
- 40 Ibid., Dec 11, 1929.
- 41 JG to Anka, Dec 14, 1929 (Irene Pranger papers).
- 42 Diary, Dec 17, 1929.

Notes to Chapter 12

- 1 They were Hans Küttemeyer, Nov 17, 1928; Gerhard Weber, Nov 4; Walter Fischer, Dec 14; Werner Dölle, Dec 16, stabbed to death by a Jewish opponent in Kurfürstendamm, and Fritz Radloff, Dec 24, 1929.
- 2 Diary, Oct 2, 6, Dec 23, 1929.
- 3 Ibid., Oct 30, 1929.
- 4 Ibid., Dec 23, 1929.
- 5 Ibid., Sep 29, 1929.
- 6 Stennes, Jul 29, 1968 (IfZ file ZS.1147).
- 7 Report by Berlin police section Ia.III.1, Berlin, Jun 9, 1931 in Wessel's file in NSDAP Hauptarchiv (BA file NS.26/1370a).
- 8 The case files against 'Ali' Höhler, Else Cohn, Rückert, Kandulski, Junek, Mrs Salm, and the brothers Max, Walter, and Willi Jambrowski (Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 11) were marked for historical preservation but released to the Soviet sector in 1947 and not returned. Höhler, Willi Jambrowski, and seven others were tried on Sep 26, 1930 for manslaughter and given sentences ranging from one to six years. 'There these creatures sit in the dock,' wrote JG (Sep 24, 1930), 'real criminals with an air of injured innocence.... Poor Horst. To die at the hands of [illegible word] pimps like these!' In a subsequent trial from Jun 15, 1934 against the defendants Peter Stoll (seaman), 'Sally' Epstein (Jewish painter), and Hans Ziegler (barber), Epstein and Ziegler were sentenced to death, Stoll to seven and a half years; Höhler (who was kidnapped from his prison cell and lynched by SA men in 1933) was stated to have 'deceased in the interim' (Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 22; Stoll case files courtesy of R. G. Reuth). Report on trial in *Vösische Zeitung*, Sep 23, 24, 1930.
- 9 Diary, Jan 19, 1930.
- 10 Ibid., Jan 27, 1930.
- 11 *Angriff*, Feb 6, 1930.
- 12 *Rote Fahne*, Jan 15, 1930.
- 13 Diary, Feb 24, 1930.
- 14 *Vösische Zeitung*, Mar 2, 1930.

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- 15 *Angriff*, Feb 27, 1930.
- 16 Diary, Mar 2, 1930; *Dokumente*, 311f.
- 17 Diary, Jan 13, 1930.
- 18 Ibid., Jan 20, 31, 1930.
- 19 Ibid., Jan 16, 17, 1930.
- 20 Ibid., Jan 24, 1930.
- 21 Ibid., Jan 29, 1930.
- 22 Ibid., Jan 30, 1930.
- 23 Ibid., Jan 31, 1930.
- 24 *VB*, Feb 5, 1930. On Feb 6 *Angriff* published a statement by JG on the newspaper question designed to reassure his gau members.
- 25 Diary, Feb 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 1930.
- 26 Ibid., Feb 20, 21, 1930.
- 27 Ibid., Mar 2, 4, 1930.
- 28 Ibid., Mar 5, 1930.
- 29 E.g. *ibid.*, Mar 12, 1930.
- 30 Ibid., Mar 1, 1930; Grzesinski MS.
- 31 Diary, Feb 11, 1930.
- 32 Ibid., Feb 21, 1930; Goltz memoirs, MS (BA file KI. Erw. 653/2), and interrogations (NA file RG.319, IRR, XE.1026, esp. US Seventh Army interrogation SAIC/X/10, Jul 5, 1945). Born Jul 10, 1894, father of ten children, Goltz had been a lawyer in the Stettin county court since 1926.
- 33 Reichstag proceedings, 141st session, Mar 13, 4442ff; diary, Mar 14, 1930.
- 34 In the Sport Palace on Feb 7, 1930 he attributed the remark to August Bebel. 'Attacking the present system of government,' the police reported, 'he wound himself up into ever greater ecstasies ... [saying] the opponents of the NSDAP were now laughing on the other side of their face' (Justice ministry file, 'Libel actions against Joseph Goebbels Nov 1929-Aug 1931' in Deutsches Zentralarchiv; IfZ film MA.118).
- 35 Police file, 20f. He was accused of libeling Weiss in issues of *Angriff* dated Oct 29, Nov 26, Dec 10, 1928; Sep 9, 1929; Apr 8, May 1, 1930: seven volumes of court files are in Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 47; of libeling him in a speech in the Victoria Park on Mar 23, 1929 (item 39); and in a speech on Sep 20, 1929 at the Veterans' Building printed as *Der Kampf gegen Young. Eine Sache des deutschen Arbeiters* (item 2); for further libel cases resulting from articles in *Angriff*, see item 39.
- 36 Summons dated May 17, 1930 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 1, Goebbels, Bd. 1); for the resulting court case see Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 48.
- 37 Diary, May 8, 26, 27, 1930.
- 38 *Angriff*, No.65, Dec 29, 1929.
- 39 Ibid., Jan 1, 4, 24, 1930; and see Zeezschwitz to (unknown), Apr 20, 1930 on the background to the Hindenburg case (IfZ film MA.744).
- 40 Diary, May 15, 16, 28, 1930.
- 41 *Angriff*, Jun 5, 1930.
- 42 *NYT*, Jun 1, 1930.
- 43 Diary, Jan 23, 30, Feb 2, 3, 1930.
- 44 Ibid., Jan 6, 8; Mar 7, 1930.
- 45 Ibid., Apr 18, 20, 1930.
- 46 Ibid., Apr 24, 1930.
- 47 Ibid., Mar 16, 1930.

- 48 Ibid., Mar 20, 1930.
- 49 Ibid., Mar 22, 23, 1930.
- 50 Ibid., Mar 28, 1930; on Mar 29, depressed, he noted, 'No word from Munich.' And the next day, 'All thanks to this stupid Munichery. We're faced by the gravest decisions. And Munich's fast asleep.'
- 51 Ibid., Apr 1, 2, 5, 1930.
- 52 Reichspropagandaleiter. As late as 1930 the Nazi *Jahrbuch* which had gone to press in Sep 1929 listed Hitler as chairman of the RPL with Himmler as deputy; the last RPL decree countersigned by Himmler was published in *VB* on Apr 5, 1930; the first by JG (as Reichsleiter I) on May 23, 1930. Diary, Apr 28, 1930.
- 53 Diary, Oct 13, 1929; Apr 9, 1930.—Re Muchow: *ibid.*, Oct 2, 4, 1929; Jan 21, 1930; and see his article, 'Die Strassenzellen-Organisation des Gaues Berlin,' in *VB*, Mar 11, 1930.
- 54 Diary, Aug 27, Oct 6, 1929; Apr 10, 30; May 2, 1930.
- 55 Ibid., Apr 30, 1930.
- 56 Ibid., Apr 16, 1930. JG scraped together 100 marks a month for his mother (diary, May 14, 1930). On Jun 10, 1946 the *New York Times* would report that JG's sister Maria had said, 'We did not see Joseph often, although we lived in Berlin, and I know he never gave mother any money or helped support her.' This seems unjustified. The diaries contain many other references to JG's financial help for his mother, e.g. on Jul 13, 1930.
- 57 Diary, May 18, 1930. The killers of the communist Heimbürger claimed self-defense, but there were many arrests. Grzesinski MS.
- 58 Diary, May 4, 14, 1930.
- 59 Ibid., May 3, 1930.
- 60 Ibid., May 22, 1930. Much later Otto Strasser published in *Hitler und ich* (Konstanz, 1948) his own fanciful record of his two talks with Hitler. Postwar American authorities termed him a wastrel, rabid antisemite, and anarchist (NA file RG.319, IRR, G.8172121). This file also contains a 1948 description by Otto Strasser of his May 1930 clash with Hitler. On Otto Strasser see also W Donovan to F D Roosevelt, Jan 20, 1942 (FDR Libr., President's Safe File [hereafter PSF], box 163).
- 61 Diary, May 24, 1930.
- 62 Ibid., Jun 11, 12, 15, 17, 1930.
- 63 Ibid., Jun 12, 1930.
- 64 Ibid., Jun 14, 17, 1930.
- 65 Ibid., Jun 18, 21, 1930.
- 66 Ibid., Jun 25, 1930.
- 67 Ibid., Jun 29; and Strasser's *Der Nationale Sozialist*, Jul 1, 1930.
- 68 Diary, Jun 28-30, Jul 1, 2, 5; *Angriff*, Jul 3, 1930. After *Der Nationale Sozialist* reported on Jul 3 that he was still its publisher and director, Gregor Strasser issued a statement through the Telegraphen Union agency sharply disowning the 'circle around Kampf Verlag led by my brother Dr Otto Strasser' and announcing that he had severed ties with the publishing house on Jun 30. 'I still stand loyally behind Adolf Hitler and the NSDAP led by him.'—Hinrich Lohse MS, 'The Strasser Case' (IfZ file ZS.265, 8f); and see Günter Bartsch, *Zwischen drei Stühlen. Otto Strasser, Eine Biographie* (Koblenz, 1990). Otto Strasser later accused JG of ordering 'SA Standarte 208' to assassinate him; he was beaten up by several SA men in Aug 1930, and claims to have shot two of them (NA file RG.319, IRR, G.8172121).

- 69 Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 24, vol. iii, 4.
 70 Diary, Jun 15, Jul 3, 16, 1930; Moabit criminal court summons to JG, endorsed by postman on Jul 24, 1930 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 1, Goebbels, Bd. 1).
 71 Diary, Jan 10-13; JG's visiting card is in Anka's papers, endorsed in her hand on Jun 3, 1930.
 72 Ibid., Jun 21, 25, Jul 6, 7, Aug 7, 17, 24. Interrogated on Feb 3, 1948 Lucie Kammer née Zimpel testified that her husband died in 1930; she had joined the NSDAP in 1927 (Staatsarchiv [StA] Nuremberg, Rep. 502, K.19; NA file RG.260, OMGUS files, box 15).
 73 Diary, Jul 12-15, Aug 3, 7, 1930.

Notes to Chapter 13

- 1 [Lieutenant of the Reserve Walter Jahn], 'How it came to the Stennes putsch,' typescript in NSDAP archives, IfZ file Fa.88/83 (hereafter Jahn), the anonymous author, was Stennes' chief of staff. Stennes testified (letter to Prof. H. Krausnick, Nov 12, 1956, IfZ file ZS.1147) that the document was written for internal SA use; in fact it was published (with the sub-title 'Adolf Hitler largely to blame') in consecutive issues of the organ of the Stennes faction (the NSKD), *Wahrheit der Woche* from No. 7, Oct 10, 1931 onward (BA file NS.26/325).
 2 JG's police file, Apr 5, 1930, 10 (NA film T581, roll 52; BA file NS.26/1224).
 3 Jahn.
 4 Diary, Nov 5, 1929.
 5 Diary, Jul 28, 1930.
 6 Stennes MS, Jul 29, 1968 (IfZ file ZS-1147, vol. ii).
 7 Diary, Jul 21, 23, 29, 1930.
 8 E.g. Princess zu Wied. Diary, Aug 4, 1930.
 9 When addressing the NSDAP section at Hanover on Sep 5, 1929.
 10 Diary, Jul 29, 1930; police file.
 11 Ibid., Aug 4, 1930.
 12 Ibid., Aug 8, 12, 13, 1930; and Jahn.
 13 Ibid., Aug 24, 1930.
 14 Ibid., Aug 9, 1930; Goltz MS (BA file Kl. Erw. 653/2).
 15 Diary, Aug 13; Goltz MS; *Angriff*, No. 65, Aug 14, 1930.
 16 The letter read: 'From a declaration made to me by Dr Goebbels I infer that he had no intention of defaming me personally with the remarks that are the substance of the action against him, but was merely acting in his own political interests. I would withdraw my complaint of Dec 31, 1929 against Dr Goebbels if that were possible at this stage. As it is not in law possible, I have to content myself with the declaration that I regard the matter as closed and have no further interest in punishing Dr Goebbels.'
 17 Court transcript in ZStA Potsdam, files of justice ministry (IfZ film MA.118); diary, Aug 14-15; Goltz MS; *Angriff*, Aug 17, 1930.
 18 Court transcript (loc. cit.) and case files in Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 25; *Angriff*, Aug 17, 1930.
 19 JG was also prosecuted for inciting disrespect for the Reich flag in the NSDAP *Mitteilungsblatt* Aug 1930 (Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 8).
 20 Diary, Aug 21, 23, 26, 1930.
 21 See Dr Conti's letter to ('Osaf') Pfeffer, Sep 8, 1930, in Stennes' papers,

- NSDAP archives (BA file NS.26/325); on the background of Pfeffer's resignation as Osaf and the first Stennes putsch see Himmler's *aide-memoire* of May 24, 1941 (NA film T175, roll 123, 8772ff).
 22 Himmler (ibid.) recalled that Pfeffer resigned a few days before the Berlin mutiny, and dismissed Pfeffer's alternative version. 'Pfeffer could no longer exorcise the spirits he had summoned up and had to admit his incompetence to the Führer.' *Dokumente* (p. 341) agrees, reporting that Pfeffer resigned on Aug 29 'for political reasons,' and that Hitler took over on Sep 2. JG's diary states that Hitler dismissed Pfeffer on the afternoon of Sep 1, i.e. afterward.
 23 Wiedemann, in conversation with Fritz Tobias, Jun 1973 (Tobias archives).
 24 The Berlin police HQ dossier states: 'On the night of Aug 30-31, 1930 [Stennes] issued the written order to SA men to occupy the Greater Berlin Gau HQ...' NSDAP archives (BA file NS.26/1368).
 25 Hitler had promised to expel anybody carrying firearms; the Prussian ministry of the interior reported in Feb 1932 that between Feb and Sep 1930, despite fifteen trials of NSDAP members for firearms offenses, not one had been expelled; there were seventy-one more such cases by Jul 1931, again without expulsions (BA file R.18/3864).
 26 Himmler (NA film T175, roll 123, 8772ff): 'Upon receiving this alarming news [by phone from Bouhler to Hess] the Führer ordered an immediate departure for Berlin although we had slept hardly at all the last few nights.' They had only just arrived in Bayreuth at 1:30 A.M. Aug 31.
 27 Diary, Sep 1, 1930. Wiedemann has Hitler and Hess staying at her apartment.
 28 Ibid., Sep 3; VB, No. 210, Sep 4, 1930.
 29 Thus in JG's broadcast on Jul 26, 1944: 'In Aug 1930 a hireling of the Prussian ministry of the interior staged a revolt.'
 30 Borresholm, 71f.
 31 NYT, Sep 2, 1930.
 32 Göring seems to have disapproved. According to Stennes' chief of staff Jahn, Göring told Wetzel on Dec 31, 1930 that he now saw the grave injustice done to Stennes, and that he 'would see an end put to the ugly double-game being played by a certain gaulciter and would not hesitate to have Himmler deposed as Reichsführer SS.'
 33 Röhm was still in Bolivian army service; Dr h. c. Otto Wagener continued as chief of staff until Jan 5, 1931.
 34 Report by Berlin Landeskriminalpolizeiamt, Sep 16, 1930 (Bremen city archives, 4.65, vol. 5); cit. Reuth, 173.
 35 Wiedemann.
 36 Diary, Sep 1, 1930. Stennes was in no doubt about Goebbels' two-faced role (IfZ file ZS.1147).
 37 Darré diary, Sep 3, 1930 (BA: Darré papers, vol. 65a).
 38 *Dokumente*, 333, 335; diary, Sep 7, 9, 1930. In *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* his photo was captioned 'Paul J. Goebbels,' leading to mocking suggestions by Otto Strasser's *Berliner Arbeiter-Zeitung* on Nov 2, 1930 that the 'Joseph' concealed Jewish origins. His opponents called him 'Goebbeles'—the '-les' suffix being typically Jewish.
 39 Author's interview of Gutterer.
 40 Diary, Sep 11, 1930.
 41 Ibid., Sep 12, 1930; on Sep 21 he recorded a cordial encounter with Stennes, and believed he could get on with him in future.

42 On Jan 4, 1932 disgruntled SA men would point out in a duplicated circular that the Nazis' 107 Reichstag deputies included thirty-three estate owners, manufacturers, and businessmen; thirty-one senior civil servants; nineteen lawyers, doctors, and other professionals; nine former officers, eight salaried staff, and seven ('yes, seven!') workers. NSDAP archives, files of 8 SA Standarte (BA file NS.26/322).

43 Diary, Sep 16, 1930.

44 Ibid., Sep 24, Oct 1, 9, 1930.

45 Ibid., Sep 20, 1930; *Angriff* published on Jun 1, 1931 an appeal for eye-witnesses, resulting in a letter from Lili and Erna Ernst (Hoover Libr., Goebbels papers, box 2); for Dr Weiss's prosecution of JG for libeling police officials this day, Sep 19, 1930 see Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 5.

46 Diary, Oct 13-14; *Vossische Zeitung*, Oct 14, 1930. The *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* published on Oct 28, 1937 a photograph of his dash.

Notes to Chapter 14

1 Diary, Oct 18, 1930; and see Lohse, 'The Strasser Case' (IfZ, and Karl Höffkes papers, Oberhausen).

2 Diary, Oct 16, 17, 22, 1930.

3 Grzesinski to Braun, Oct 13, 1930 (BA file Kl. Erw. 144).

4 Diary, Oct 23, 1930.

5 Grzesinski MS

6 Ibid., Oct 21, 23, 1930. Bronnen, born Aug 19, 1895, was an Austrian playwright—famous for his 1920 play *Vatermord* (Patricide)—currently producing the Berlin Radio Hour program. After flirting with communism, he had recently joined the Nazis; after the war he made common cause with the East German regime and died in East Berlin. Told that Bronnen was half-Jewish, JG refused to believe it (ibid., Oct 4, 1930).

7 Ibid., Sep 14, 20, 1930.

8 Ibid., Sep 23, 26, Oct 9, Nov 2; *Angriff*, Nov 3, 1930; Eher Verlag to NSDAP archives, Feb 27, 1936 (NA film T581, roll 47; BA file NS.26/968).

9 *Angriff*, Nov 8, 1930. JG was prosecuted for this editorial under the Law for the Protection of the Republic (Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 13).

10 Grzesinski to *Angriff*, Nov 11; JG diary, Nov 12, 1930; Eher Verlag to NSDAP archives, Jan 7, 1937 (NA film T581, roll 47; BA file NS.26/968).

11 Ibid., Nov 22, 1930.

12 Ibid., Oct 15, 1930.

13 Ibid., Aug 24, Jan 1, 6, 1931.

14 Ibid., Jan 3, 1931.

15 Ibid., Jan 4, 11, 13, 22, 1931.

16 Ibid., Nov 7, 14, 1930.

17 Ibid., Nov 7, 1930. A Nov 15, 1931 memo identifies her as a possible police informer (BA file NS.26/325).—JG's unpubl. diary, Jun 25, 1934, describes a late night with Ilse Stahl—a 'patentes Madel' (tip-top girl)—and her fiancé Gauleiter Josef Terboven. They married a week later. JG went off Ilse soon after. 'She's all powder and paint,' he wrote on Dec 13, 1935. 'I'm glad to get away.' 'Mrs Terboven,' he noted on Jan 15, 1936, 'brings the latest scuttlebutt. She's changed very much for the worse.' Josef and Ilse Terboven blew themselves up in May 1945.

18 Diary, Nov 9, 1930; he scores with Hella later (ibid., Jan 16, 1931).

19 Ibid., Nov 21, 1930.

20 Ibid., Dec 1, 3, 1930.

21 Ibid., Nov 19, 27, 1930.

22 Ibid., Dec 12, 1930.

23 *Schwamm drüber*. Ibid., Dec 17, 1920.

24 Ibid., Dec 19, 20, 24, 1930.

25 Ibid., Jan 19, 1931.

26 Ibid., Dec 5, 1930. 'In the evening we "take a look" at [the film].' This was typical of JG's caution in writing up his diary.

27 Ibid., Dec 7, 1930. Police chief Grzesinski (memoirs) was frantic; to him, the film was 'politically one of the most valuable in recent years.' He blamed Brüning for the police defeat. 'A huge Nazi demonstration near Nollendorf Platz, at which Goebbels ranted and raged, gave the government an external pretext for caving in.' He himself had planned to ban all demonstrations next day. (BA file Kl. Erw. 144).

28 Diary, Dec 9-12, 1930.

29 E.g. *Vossische Zeitung*, Dec 12, 1930.

30 See Severing's file on the ban (Friedrich Ebert foundation, Severing papers, folder 176).

31 For the transcript of the film censorship board's deliberations on Dec 11, 1930 see BA file Kl. Erw. 457. Universum Film GmbH (Ufa) was represented by the lawyer Dr Frankfurter. On behalf of the ministry of defense Lt-Cdr. von Baumbach described as 'extremely repellent' the scenes of panicking, screaming, and weeping volunteers under artillery bombardment, their animal-like behavior, and their wrangling over their dying comrade's new boots.

32 Diary, Dec 4, 1930.

33 Ibid., Jan 18, 1931.

34 Ibid., Jan 23, 24; *Angriff*, Jan 25, 1931. On Ulbricht's early career see NA file RG.319, IRR, XE.188374.

35 Diary, Jan 24, 1931.

36 JG to Ilse Hess, Nov 24, 1930 (Hess papers).

37 Diary, Dec 12, 1930.

38 Otto Wagener, MS (IfZ archives); Henry A. Turner, *Hitler aus nächster Nähe: Aufzeichnungen eines Vertrauten 1929-1932*, 377.

39 Diary, Feb 1; on Jan 28, 1931 he writes: 'She is a very beautiful woman.'

Notes to Chapter 15

1 Bismarck, a counselor at the German embassy in Rome, was quoted in Count Ciano's diary, Oct 17, 1941.—The bitchy Bella Fromm included similar canards about 'Magda Goebbels, divorced Quandt, née Nothing at All' in her diary, mid-Dec 1932: Magda, wrote this Jewish Berlin gossip columnist, had been brought up after World War One by the Nachmanns, a family of Berlin Jews, and had met Quandt at the Ullstein publishing house. 'So she struck real lucky with the Jews.' (Boston Univ. Libr., Special MS Division, Fromm papers, box 1.) Hans Hinkel stated in Jun 1969 he had 'got to know' her before JG (IfZ file ZS.1878).

2 She was born Oct 31, 1879; Alexander Hubert Theodor Wilhelm Oskar Ritschel died in Duisburg, Apr 4, 1941.

3 Birth certificate No. 101/1901, No. 4 Registry Office Kreuzberg, Berlin (IfZ file F82, Heiber papers).

4 Diary, Jan 26, 1933.

5 Auguste Behrend, 'My daughter Magda Goebbels,' a series in *Schwäbische Illustrierte*, Stuttgart (hereafter Behrend), No. 13, Mar 29, 1952.

6 Heiber is also dubious about Auguste Behrend's marriage, though inclined to accept it. In the Jul 1931 amendment of Magda's birth certificate, later referred to, there is mention of Ritschel only as her father, and not as Behrend's divorced husband.

7 Ritschel, supplementary testament, Apr 3, 1941 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 2, Magda Goebbels, letters); it benefited Ritschel's two brothers Gustav and Wilhelm, paying off the latter's debts.

8 Diary, Jul 24, 1931.

9 According to Ulrich Reimann, *Goebbels*, Magda's stepfather Friedländer was with Auguste Behrend from 1904-20. I have found no source which furnishes him with a first name. See e.g. the series by Jürgen Peters and Hans Roos' (Dr Erich Ebermayer and Dr Hans-Otto Meissner), 'Magda Goebbels,' in *Revue*, Munich (hereafter Ebermayer and Meissner), No. 8, Feb 22, 1952. Since Behrend does not specify any dates of marriage or divorce this may have been an equally loose arrangement. Prof. Klaus Herrmann kindly searched the voluminous *Sigilla Veri* on this author's behalf, but a Friedländer matching Magda's stepfather was not listed; the register of the 1930 Jewish community in Berlin might be more productive.

10 Ebermayer and Meissner, *ibid.*, state he acquired a small cigar store.

11 Behrend, No. 8, Mar 8, 1952.

12 Quandt was born at Pritzwalk (Prignitz) on Jul 28, 1881; he had a brother Werner. Before his first wife Antoine, née Ewald, died in 1918 she bore him two sons—Hellmut, and Herbert, born Jun 22, 1918 at Pritzwalk. For more on Günther Quandt see NA, RG.226, OSS reports, No. 106,145, Dec 1, 1944.

13 See Quandt's own version of all this in his privately published memoirs, edited by Herbert and Harald Quandt (Mensch & Arbeit Verlag, Munich, 1961).

14 Magda's Jewish background was frequently bowdlerized, e.g. by Sir George Ogilvie-Forbes of the British embassy in a telegram to Anthony Eden on Jan 6, 1938: 'He [JG] is married to the former (divorced) rather pretty wife of a rich Jew ...' (PRO file FO.371/21671).

15 Amendment to birth register approved by minister of justice on Jul 15, 1920; Magda was 'declared legitimate ... at her father's request' (IfZ file F.82, Heiber papers).

16 Behrend, No.10, Mar 8, 1952.

17 Harald Quandt was born in Charlottenburg on Nov 1, 1921. Under interrogation by K. Frank Korf on Apr 4, 1948 he stated he last saw his grandmother 'Auguste Friedländer, divorced Ritschel' in Berlin in Jan 1944 (Korf papers).

18 Quandt memoirs.

19 Hans-Otto Meissner, *Magda Goebbels, ein Lebensbild* (Munich, 1978); based to a perilous degree on the testimony of the late Ello Quandt.

20 Her interest in Buddhism, which became profound, came from Ritschel. Ebermayer and Meissner, No. 8, Feb 22, 1952.

21 According to the late Curt Riess (*Das war mein Leben. Erinnerungen*, Munich, 1986, 326) this was Viktor Arlosoroff. Viktor Chajim Arlosoroff, born in the Ukraine in 1899, emigrated to Palestine and became a fanatical leader of the Labour-Zionist movement. After Hitler came to power he was the Zionist representative in the negotiations with the new Nazi government that resulted in

the Ha'avara ("Transfer") agreement, whereby German Jews could emigrate to Palestine with their property; in June 1933 Arlosoroff was assassinated in Tel Aviv in 1933 by Revisionist-Zionists of the Jabotinsky movement.

22 Eleonore Quandt, born at Eisenberg on Sep 28, 1899, had married Günther's brother Werner. Lying about her age she told Magda they were the same age; Ello was two years older. Like many others she joined the NSDAP on May 1, 1932 (BDC file).

23 Quandt memoirs.

24 BDC file, Magda Quandt.

25 Hinkel MS.

26 Behrend, No. 13, Mar 29, 1952.

27 *Rote Fahne*, Jan 30; *Berliner Tageblatt*, Feb 2, 1931.

28 Diary, Feb 13, 1931.

29 Wagener MS.

30 Diary, Feb 15-16, 1931.

31 *Ibid.*, Feb 18-22, 1931.

32 *Ibid.*, Feb 26, Mar 10, 1931.

33 *Ibid.*, Feb 26-27, 1931.

34 *Ibid.*, Mar 10, 15, 1931.

35 *Ibid.*, Mar 11, 13, 1931.

36 *Ibid.*, Feb 22, 1931.

37 *Ibid.*, Jan 29, Feb 19, 1931.

38 *Ibid.*, Feb 20, 1931.

39 *Ibid.*, Feb 22, 1931.

40 *Ibid.*, Mar 1, 8, 1931.

41 *Ibid.*, Mar 15-16, 1931.

42 *Ibid.*, Mar 16; on Mar 28 JG described Göring as a man 'sick with megalomania.' *Angriff* articles on Feb 19 and 26, 1931 had praised Stennes as a brave soldier and Free Corps veteran.

43 *Angriff*, No. 47, Mar 7, 1931; police file (author's film DJ-81).

44 *Vossische Zeitung*, Mar 14, 17.—Grzesinski noted on Mar 27: 'The suspicion cannot altogether be ruled out that the attack on Dr Goebbels was staged by the NSDAP itself for publicity purposes' (Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 509). Eduard Weiss came clean with a sworn affidavit published in Stennes' new newspaper *Arbeiter, Bauern, Soldaten*, May 4; which JG assured his diary, May 6, 1931, were just 'Stennes' lies.'

45 Diary, Mar 14, 1931.

46 *Ibid.*, Mar 3, 13, 1931.

47 *Ibid.*, Mar 14, 1931.

48 *Ibid.*, Mar 15; *Angriff*, No. 54, Mar 16, 1931.

49 Diary, May 17-19, 1931.

50 Hans Grimm to Goltz (BA file Kl. Erw. 653/2, pages 192ff); JG diary, Mar 21, 1936, and *Angriff* No. 59 of the same date.

51 *NYT*, Mar 22, 1931.

52 Diary, Mar 22, 1931.

53 *Ibid.*, Mar 25, 1931.

54 *Ibid.*, Feb 26, Mar 6, 1931.

55 *Ibid.*, Mar 26, 1931.

56 *Ibid.*, Mar 13, 27, 1931. He learned that Grzesinski had three police officials whose daily task was to check each new *Angriff* for sufficient cause to ban it.

- 57 VB, Apr 1, 1931.
 58 Diary, Oct 9, 1930.
 59 Jahn.
 60 See the duplicated circular to SA comrades, Feb 25, 1931 in the files of No. 8 Standarte (BA file NS.26/322). 'Do Hitler and Röhm think we're stupid enough not to notice what's going on?'
 61 Jahn.—A further duplicated circular of Jul 25, 1931 scurrilously mentioned Röhm's prosecution for homosexual offenses in 1925 and the cost of the Brown House where the staircase alone had cost 30,000 marks and the sixty ornate chairs for the Senate Chamber 180,000 marks. 'But Hitler is frightened of Dr Goebbels and doesn't do anything against him, in case he starts a revolt because he knows what's going on' (BA file NS.26/322).
 62 Diary, Oct 10, 1928.
 63 Ibid., Nov 12, 27, 1930.
 64 There were frequent references to Röhm's perversion in the underground SA circulars (BA file NS.26/322), e.g. a spoof advert from Röhm on Jun 30, 1931: 'Wanted, first-class riding breeches with zip flies in perfect working order for uniforms of my palace guard! Size 175—!' On Röhrbein and Ernst, see Fischer to Hitler, Nov 1, 1932 (BDC file, Helldorff).
 65 See Stennes to Röhm, Feb 28, 1931, cited by Jahn; copy in Stennes papers, NSDAP archives (BA file NS.26/325).
 66 Diary, Nov 28, 30, 1930.
 67 Ibid., Jan 15, 1931.
 68 Ibid., Feb 27, 1931.
 69 Stennes to Röhm, Feb 28, 1931 (see note 65 above); JG diary, Mar 4, 1931.
 70 Jahn.—And see the well-informed report No. 9, on the second Stennes garrison, circulated by the Berlin Landeskriminalpolizei, May 1, 1931 (BA file NS.26/1368; Schumacher collection, file 278).
 71 Jahn.
 72 Ibid.
 73 BA file NS.26/322.
 74 Diary, Mar 29, 1931. In the Stennes papers is a petition beginning, 'We the undersigned SA commanders of Pomerania hereby declare ...' etc. (BA file NS.26/325).
 75 Landeskriminalpolizei report.
 76 Ulrich von Hassell diary, Jul 11, 1942: in *Vom ändern Deutschland. Aus den nachgelassenen Tagebüchern 1938-1944* (Frankfurt, 1964).
 77 Jahn.
 78 Dialogue to Röhm, Apr 1, 1931 (BA file NS.26/325).
 79 Jahn, and Stennes MS (IfZ file ZS.1147).
 80 Published in *Völkische Zeitung*, Apr 3, 1941.
 81 Diary, Apr 2, 1941.
 82 *Extrakt aus Nationalsozialisten* (IfZ, Alfred Conn papers).
 83 VB, Apr 4, 1931.
 84 Police order, Apr 2, 1931 (BA file NS.26/325).
 85 Hitler to JG, Apr 3, 1941; Borresholm, 76.
 86 Diary, Apr 4, 1931.
 87 Diary, Apr 9, 1941. Stennes claimed 1,500 supporters in Berlin, but the police noted that only 600 attended his meeting in late Apr 1931.
 88 Report No. 9 by the Berlin Landeskriminalpolizei, May 1, 1931 (BA file NS.26/1368; Schumacher collection, file 278).

89 Diary, Apr 10, 1931.

Notes to Chapter 16

- 1 Diary, Apr 9, 11, 1931.
 2 Meissner, *Magda Goebbels*; JG diary, Apr 12, 1941.
 3 Diary, Apr 14, 1931.
 4 Ibid., Apr 14, 1941; Schickedanz to Amann, Mar 19 and Oct 27, 1931 (Rosenberg files, NA film T484, roll 78, 0109-113).
 5 Diary, Apr 21, 25, 1931. Hinkel does not mention his work for *Angriff* in postwar interrogations.
 6 Ibid., Apr 14, 18, 29, 1931.
 7 Police report on JG's speech of Sep 26, 1929, in Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 2.
 8 Diary, Apr 15-16, 1931.
 9 Ibid., Apr 18, 1931; Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 23, vol. iii.
 10 Diary, Jun 17, 1931.
 11 Ibid., Apr 18, 1931.
 12 Ibid., Apr 20, May 9, 1931.
 13 Ibid., Apr 25, 1931.
 14 Ibid., Apr 25, 1931; police file (author's film DI-81).
 15 Police file, May 22, 1931. This appears to have become a common police requirement; see the similar declaration signed by JG on Oct 1, 1931 in Hoover Libr. files, NSDAP papers, box 1.
 16 *Angriff*, Apr 28, 1931.
 17 NYT, Apr 28, 1931.
 18 Diary, Apr 30; the appeal failed (diary, Jun 2-3, 1931).
 19 Memo on file in Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 39, vol. 4.
 20 Diary, May 12, 1931; Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 24, vol. iv. For a file of JG correspondence with his lawyer Otto Kamecke see ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90 Go 1, vol. 2.
 21 Ibid., Jun 13, 1931.
 22 Ibid., Apr 18, 1931.
 23 Ibid., Apr 19-21, 25, 1931.
 24 Ibid., May 18, 1931.
 25 Ibid., May 26, 1931.
 26 Ibid., May 27, 1931.
 27 Ibid., May 31, 1931.
 28 Ibid., Jun 5-6, 1931.
 29 Ibid., Jun 13-14, 1931.
 30 Ibid., Jun 11, 1931.
 31 Schimmelmann to Anka Stalherm, Dec 17, 1931 (Irene Pranger papers).
 32 Diary, May 2, 1931.
 33 Ibid., May 3, 8, 10, 12, 19, Jun 16, 1931.
 34 Ibid., May 20, 1931.
 35 Ibid., Jun 8, 1931.
 36 Ibid., Jun 10, 1931.
 37 Goltz MS (BA file Kl. Erw. 653/2).
 38 Police file, May 29, 1931.
 39 *Angriff*, Jun 30, 1931.
 40 In Feb 1945 this very oval would be RAF Bomber Command's aiming

1936 in a riot that would kill two to three times more people than were in his factories.

40 Dehomag on Dietrich's career see *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* (hereafter *NNN*), Jul 25, 1941 (NA: NG-3787); CSDIC(WEA) BAOR report BRK 8 Sep 10, 1945 (NA: RG 319, IRK, NE.003812); defense documents in *Nuremberg S.A. Rep.* 504; and interrogations (*ibid.*, Rep. 502).

41 *Ibid.*, Jul 17, 1941.

42 *Ibid.*, Jul 24, 1941.

43 *Ibid.*, Jul 27; and see Jul 31, 1941.

44 Organisationsleiter. Born in Lauban, Silesia, on Aug 24, 1903, the son of an engine driver and four generations of blacksmiths, Karl-August Hanke would become JG's right-hand man, and then Staatssekretär until 1940.

45 Gruppenagandaleiter. See his lengthy MS dated May 1, 1938 in NSDAP archives (NA film T581, roll 47; SA files NS.26/546 and /133).

47 *Himmler in die Schürze*. His opponents scoffed in one samizdat circular to disgruntled SA men, dated Sep 15, 1931, 'If the little clubfoot Joseph, known as Goebbels the Riding-Whip, waffles about socialism over the next few months he's thinking of the reply he gave to the question "How do you stand on socialism?" "Socialism is just a means to an end!"' NSDAP archives, files of SA 8 Standarte (SA file NS.26/322.)

48 *Kaiserhof*, Jan 6, 1932.

49 Compared with 523 in Saxony, 297 in Silesia, 187 in Brandenburg, 180 in Mecklenburg-Lübeck, and 128 in Württemberg. NSDAP archives (BA file NS.26/1290).

50 Figures announced by Rudolf Diehls, consultant to the police department of the Prussian ministry of the interior, on Nov 13, 1931 in Prussian state council; the police had confiscated 618 firearms, 1,380 knives and coshes, and 12,000 rounds of ammunition. Grzesinski MS.

51 *Münchener Post*, Jun 23; diary, May 17, Jun 24, 30. Maj. Giuseppe Benetti, Mussolini's agent in Berlin, told JG that Italy took a very dim view of Berlin. JG's opponents in the gau expressed disgust that Hitler not only tolerated these homosexuals in high places, but spent so much time hobnobbing with big business. 'Ours must be the first "worker's party" to set out its ideas in confidential discussions with the captains of industry,' they mocked in a circular of Nov 19, 1931, after Hitler met 400 top businessmen in October. (BA file NS.26/322.)

52 Diary, Aug 6, 1931.

53 BDC file, Helldorff. That is, incidentally, how *he* signed his name, not 'Helldorf'.

54 SA Standartenführer Gottlieb Rösner to Lutze, Jan 24, 1935 (BDC file, Helldorff).

55 Police report of Feb 9, 1932 (author's film DI-81). A letter from Grzesinski on the cover dated Oct 5, 1931 states that at a conference with several SA Standartenführer three days before they had been drilled as to what evidence to give. *Landesarchiv Berlin*, Rep. 58, item 20, vol. i.

56 Thus the indictment in the trial of those arrested. *Landesarchiv Berlin*, Rep. 58, item 20, vol. i.

57 *Fischer to Hitler*, Nov 1, 1932 (BDC file, Helldorff). He accused Helldorff himself (who was arrested and imprisoned after the riot) of tipping off the police. 'When the orders were given out only Dr Goebbels, [Karl] Ernst and Helldorff were present, but the police still found out.' (BDC file, Helldorff.) JG's police

file, Feb 9, 1932, confirms that a 'police agent' at gau HQ overheard him and Helldorff plotting the riot.

58 Police report.

59 A memo in Nazi party archives dated Nov 15, 1931 reports: 'Miss Stahl, Dr Goebbels' secretary, has the closest relations with officers of the police, whom she always introduces as her relatives. In fact Miss Stahl is said to report everything that goes on in Hedemann Strasse to these officers' (BA file NS.26/325).

60 Phipps to FO, Feb 22, 1933: *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, 2nd series, vol. iv, 425.

61 Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 20, vol. vii.

62 *Ibid.*

63 Leaflet in *ibid.*, vol. iii.

64 See NA film T581, roll 4 for indignant reports of Hanns-Günther von Obernitz on this.

65 Circular, Oct 12, 1931 (BA file NS.26/322); similar in *Rote Fahne*.

66 Grzesinski MS.

67 Obernitz, report Dec 21, 1931 (NA film T581, roll 4; BA file NS.26/87).

68 Dr Otto Wagener MS (IFZ file ED.60); and see his recollections in IFZ file ZS.1732 (partially published by Henry A Turner as *Hitler aus nächster Nähe. Aufzeichnungen eines Vertrauten 1929-1932.*) For Röhm's intervention, see NA film T581, roll 4; BA file NS.26/87.

69 So he told Henriette von Schirach (author's interview).

70 Behrend, No. 14, Apr 5, 1952.

71 Wagener MS.

72 The date is uncertain. According to the Quandt memoirs, Magda invited him to the foyer of the Kaiserhof in Jul 1931 and told him JG had asked her to marry him.

73 Ebermayer (who interviewed Ello Quandt) and Meissner, No. 12, Mar 22, 1952.

74 Hitler's Table Talk.

75 Quandt memoirs.

76 Copy of the marriage certificate, dated Aug 31, 1935, in Heiber papers (IFZ file F82).

77 The eighteen guests included Hitler, his adjutants Wilhelm Brückner and Julius Schaub, Ritter von Epp, JG's mother and sister, Karl Hanke, Walter Grantzow; Viktoria von Dirksen; Magda's schoolfriend Lola Umbreit. A malicious report reached the Berlin police HQ three days later (evidently from the later SA Obergruppenführer Hanns-Günther von Obernitz) that JG only married for appearances, 'to mask his homosexual inclinations—they say he didn't marry the woman but her son,' i.e. Harald (NA film T581, roll 4.)

78 Borresholm, 82.

Notes to Chapter 17

1 *National Union Catalog pre-1956 Imprints*, 317ff. JG, *Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei. Eine historische Darstellung in Tagebuchblättern (vom 1. Januar 1932 bis zum 1. Mai 1933)* (Berlin, 1934) (hereafter *Kaiserhof*).

2 JG's 'Tagebuch für Ferien und Reisen,' May 22, 1932–Dec 17, 1935, is in box 1 of the Moscow archives (Goebbels papers, Fond 1477); the missing diaries for the *Kaiserhof* period are on a dozen microfiches in box 4, his original manuscripts of the Era of Struggle (Kampfzeit) around 1930 will be found in

box 3—vol. i on twenty-one, and vol. ii on fifteen microfiches.

3 Diary, Jun 8; Kaiserhof, Jun 7, 1932.

4 Kaiserhof, Jan 4, 1932.

5 Ibid., Jan 9, 24, 1932; when JG speaks at the Reichstag, it too is 'overflowing' (Mar 23, 1932).

6 Ibid., Jan 9, 1932.

7 Ibid., Jan 7, 1932.

8 Ibid., Jan 12, 1932; see e.g. Jan 6, and May 28, 1932.

9 Ibid., Jan 19, 1932.

10 Jan 30, 1933.

11 Ibid., Jan 6, 1932.

12 Ibid., May 10, 18, 19, 1932.

13 Ibid., May 10, 1932.

14 Diary, Jun 14; Kaiserhof, Jun 14, 1932. The unpubl. diary of Apr 11, 1934 shows that Hitler advised JG to flatter Göring in the book (Moscow archives).

15 Kaiserhof, May 4, 19, 1932.

16 Ibid., Jan 22, 1932 records his indignation when the press speculates on his family life.

17 Ibid., Jan 5, 1932. Yet according to a note by Staatssekretär Hermann Pünder, chief of the Reich Chancellery, dated Apr 16, 1932, the party was receiving substantial protection-racket payments ('Terror-Abwehrprämien') from the Jewish businessmen Oskar Tietz (owner of the Hermann Tietz superstore) and Schapiro of the Sport Palace (*Akten der Reichskanzlei. Weimarer Republik*, vol. iii, [Boppard, 1990] No. 722, p. 2455f).

18 Diary, May 22, and see Jun 8, 11, 12, 1932.

19 Ibid., Sep 19, 1932.

20 Ibid., Oct 5, 1932.

21 Kaiserhof, Jan 7, 1932. Hindenburg had taken office on May 5, 1925; the constitution limited his term to seven years.

22 VB, Jan 19, 1932.

23 According to the *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Berlin*, 8th year, 1932, p. 8; published by Berlin city statistical office.

24 Kaiserhof, Jan 8, 1932; police dossier, report dated Jan 13, 1932.

25 Weiss to JG, Jan 25; Angriff, Jan 26, 1932.

26 Police circular No. 71 to all Regierungspräsidenten, Jan 28, 1932 (BDC, JG; author's film DI-81).

27 Angriff, No. 17, Jan 26, 1932. For the trial of the murderers Stolt et al., see Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 9 (10 vols).

28 Kaiserhof, Jan 26, 1932; for the trial of the murderers Adam et al., see Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 37 (22 vols).

29 Ibid., Feb 12, 1932.

30 Text in *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, Feb 8; and see Grzesinski MS and Angriff, No. 31, Feb 11, 1932.

31 JG referred to the dog-whip several times in the Reichstag during Feb 1932, as did Hitler on Mar 23, 1933: 'They even offered to drive me out of Germany with a dog-whip [Storms of jeers from the National Socialist benches].'

32 Thus JG was prosecuted for incitement to violence in a funeral eulogy on Jul 25, 1932 (Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 759).

33 Kaiserhof, Feb 10, 1932.

34 Police file, Feb 20; *Berliner Lokalanzeiger*, No. 86, Feb 20; Kaiserhof, Feb 20, 1932.

35 According to *Vossische Zeitung*, Feb 23, JG said he was 'authorized' to tell them of Hitler's decision to stand. The speech was published as *Schluss jetzt! Das deutsche Volk wählt Hitler! Rede im Berliner Sportpalast am 22. Februar 1932* (Franz Eher Nachf. Verlag, Munich, 1932). On Apr 4, the 'Opposition within the NSDAP' circulated a pamphlet blaming JG for the *fait accompli*. 'Without being authorized to do so he proclaimed in the Sport Palace at the end of February, "Hitler will be our Reich President."' After remarking yet again on JG's Jewish appearance the pamphlet suggested that JG intended to profit either way, whether Hitler won or lost. (BA file NS.26/322.)

36 Krebs, 167. In conversation with Krebs in May 1932 Hitler exonerated JG by saying that he had been speaking to a huge audience. See too Krebs' diary, Sep 19, 1930–May 30, 1932 in the Hamburg archives.

37 Kaiserhof, Feb 22, 1932.

38 See Reichstag proceedings, 58th session, Feb 24, 1932, 2270, and Angriff, Mar 5, 1932, for the controversy about his precise words.

39 Reichstag proceedings, 57th session, Feb 23, 1932, 2245ff.

40 Reichstag proceedings, 59th session, Feb 25, 1932, 2346ff.

41 Historical essay by Kampmann as Gaupropagandaleiter May 13, 1938 (NA films T581, rolls 5 and 546; BA files NS.26/133 and /546); JG's drafts of the posters and leaflets for the Mar 13, 1932 election are in NSDAP archives (BA file NS.26/287).

42 Kaiserhof, Feb 29, 1932.

43 Diary, Oct 31, 1930; Kaiserhof, Feb 29, Mar 3, 1932. The JG film was directed by Häussler. JG to all gauleiters, Mar 13, 1932 (NSDAP archives, NA film T581, roll 29; BA file NS.26/546).

44 Kaiserhof, Mar 6, 1932.

45 Ibid., Mar 2, 5, 1932.

46 Papers of Deutsche Welle GmbH, Mar 1932 (BA file R.55/1273).

47 Diary, Mar 9, 1932.

48 Kaiserhof, Mar 12, 1932. This glowed with false praise for Göring's oratory.

49 Hindenburg won 18,651,497 votes, Hitler 11,339,446, the communist Ernst Thälmann 4,983,341, and the DNVP's Duestenberg 2,557,729. In the still predominantly Red capital, the Nazis gained 22.9 percent—well below their national average of 30.1 percent.

50 JG to all gauleiters, Mar 13, 1932 (NA film T581, roll 29; BA file NS.26/546).

51 Kaiserhof, Mar 14–17, 1932.

52 'A rain of blows on the defeatists' (Kaiserhof, Mar 19); JG's drafts of the posters and leaflets (BA file NS.26/287).

53 Hitler to Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Mar 17, 1932 (BA file NS.26/564).

54 JG to all gauleiters, Mar 23, 1932. NSDAP archives (NA film T581, roll 29; BA file NS.26/546).

55 Drafts of his posters for the Apr 10, 1932 election are in BA file NS.26/287; similar files of his Reich election directorate are in file NS.26/290.

56 *Die Welt am Montag*, No. 14, Apr 4, 1932 suggested that Hitler had forfeited the right to be leader of a workers' party, as the Kaiserhof had billed him for 4,408 marks for ten days' food and accommodation in luxury suites on the first floor; Kaiserhof, Apr 2, 1932.

57 In VB, No. 97, Apr 6, and in Angriff, No. 64, 66, and 68 of Apr 4, 6, 8.

He claimed Hitler's suite was on the fourth floor. *Die Welt* sued Hitler and JG for libel, producing the original bill. *MNN*, No. 122, May 30, 1932 (BA file NS.26/1932).

58 Severing papers (Friedrich Ebert foundation, Bonn, file 189).

59 Grzesinski alleged in his memoirs that his political police (Ia) raided a Nazi gau office in Pomerania and found compelling evidence of high treason, automatic weapons, and plans by Hitler to stage a putsch if prevented from taking office after an anticipated election victory. See *Märkische Volkszeitung*, Mar 20, 1932; for the Hagen police HQ's copy of Groener's telegram transmitting the ban to all police authorities see NA film T81, roll 90.

60 Leaflet drafts by JG are in BA file NS.26/286.

61 *Kaiserhof*, Apr 15-16, 1932; Kampmann MS; *NYT*, Apr 16, 1932, p. 4; Goltz MS.

62 *Kaiserhof*, Apr 24, 1932.

Notes to Chapter 18

1 Göring had met Emmy in the spring of 1932 on the Weimar stage, and sent her a telegram from Capri in May.

2 Quoted by Erwin Giesing in USFET MISC report OI SR/36, 'Adolf Hitler. A Composite Picture,' Mar 12, 1947 (NA file RG.407, entry 427, box 1954F).

3 Diary, Jun 13, 1932.

4 For the prosecution of Röhm for homosexual offenses since 1925 see Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 517; a case against Berlin editors for publishing Munich court documents against Röhm is *ibid.*, item 710.

5 See e.g. Konstantin Hierl to Hitler, Mar 24, 1932 (Hoover Libr., NSDAP papers, box 2).

6 H. R. Knickerbocker MS, 'Nazi Germany' (Syracuse univ., George Arents Research Libr., Dorothy Thompson papers, box 2); for JG's letter to Knickerbocker, Mar 8, 1932, see Columbia univ., New York, Rare Book and MS Libr., Knickerbocker papers).

7 Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, vol. iii.

8 *Kaiserhof*, Apr 26-30, 1932.

9 Diary, May 25; *Kaiserhof*, May 24, 1932.

10 Lohse MS; *Kaiserhof*, May 12, 1932. Case files on JG's antisemitic libels against Weiss on May 12 are in Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 721.

11 JG's secretariat to lawyer Dr Otto Kamecke, Sep 2, 1932 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep 90, Go 1, Bd. 2).

12 Tax accountant Paul Schüller to JG, Jan 2, 1933 (Hoover Libr., JG papers, box 2).

13 Diary, May 22-23, 1932. Not all was idyllic; the diary on May 24 has Magda 'irritating' JG, but on May 30 'she is clever and pretty.'

14 Kampmann MS, May 13, 1938.

15 JG to Otto Born *et al.*, Jun 9, 1932 (NSDAP archives. NA film T581, roll 11a, BA file NS.26/1224).

16 *Angriff*, Jun 14, 1932; Grzesinski MS.

17 *Kaiserhof*, Jun 24-25; diary, Jul 2, 1932.

18 BA file R.55/1280.

19 Diary, Jul 6; *Kaiserhof*, Jul 10, 18, 1932. For JG's broadcast script, with Gayl's handwritten cuts, see BA file R.55/1273.

20 Gau Gross-Berlin, candidates' list, Jul 4, 1932 (NSDAP archives, NA film T581, roll 29, BA file NS.26/546).

21 JG, declaration, Berlin, Jul 6, 1932 (original in Princeton univ., Seeley Mudd Libr., Adolf Hitler collection); for the one signed by Gauleiter Herbert Albrecht, Jul 5, 1932, see his BDC file.

22 The Neuer Deutscher Verlag was prosecuted for publishing Goebbels' picture with the caption: 'How'd it be, aside from murdering the workers, to bump off Superman Goebbels too!' (Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 705).

23 See the report in *Hamburger Volkszeitung*, Jul 16-17, 1932, and the Severing papers, folder 192, in the Friedrich Ebert foundation. *Dokumente*; Grzesinski MS; *Kaiserhof*, Jul 17, 1932.

24 For Severing's dismissal see folders 193-6 and 317-22 of his papers in the Friedrich Ebert foundation in Bonn; for his intercession on Dr Weiss's behalf, folder 50.

25 Grzesinski MS.

26 Captured by the Nazis, they were put on display in 1936. *Angriff*, Oct 30, 1936.

27 Kampmann MS.

28 Milch diary, Aug 1932 (author's film DI-59); for correspondence on these negotiations see BA file NS.51/14.

29 Diary, Aug 8-11, 1932.

30 The 'Wirtin' in Fröhlich's transcription of the diary, Aug 10, should of course read 'Werlin'—Jakob Werlin.

31 Diary, Aug 11, 1932.

32 Press release, Aug 12, 1932.

33 Papers and correspondence on Hitler's talks with Papen, Aug 13, 1932, are in Party chancellery files, NA film T120, roll 2621, E381901ff; BA file NS.51/14).

34 Diary, Aug 15-18, 1932.

35 *Kaiserhof*, Aug 30-31, 1932; Milch diary, Aug 31, Sep 8, 1932 (author's film DI-59).

36 Diary, Sep 19, 1932.

37 *Ibid.*

38 RPL, circular to gauleiters, Oct 17, 1932 (BA file NS.26/263).

39 Ditto, Oct 19; and *Angriff*, Oct 20, 1932.

40 RPL, circular to gauleiters, Oct 20, 1932.

41 *Unsere Nation*, No. 18, Sep 15, and No. 19, Oct 1, 1932.

42 RPL, circular to gauleiters, Oct 27, 1932.

43 Kampmann MS.

44 *DAZ*, Nov 3, 1932.

45 Leopold Gutterer, MS, 28 (Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Wolfenbüttel: file 250 N.317).

46 Diary, Nov 8, 1932.

47 *Angriff*, No. 230, Nov 7, 1932.

48 Diary, Nov 9; *Kaiserhof*, Nov 8, 1932.

49 Hitler to Papen, Nov 16, 1932 (NA film T120, roll 2621).

50 See note by Reichstag deputy Dr Hans Eugen Fabricius on this resignation, Nov 17, 1932 (BA file NS.26/4).

51 Hitler to Hindenburg, Nov 21 (NA film T120, roll 2621).

52 Lohse MS.

53 Diary, Dec 1, 1932.

54 For remarks by Schleicher and Ott on why they accepted, at defense ministry conferences Dec 13-15, 1932, see General Liebmann's papers in IfZ

file ED.1, pp. 257ff; also Dr Otto Meissner's MS, 'Der Weg der Regierung,' Sep 22, 1945 (US State dept files).

55 Diary, Dec 9, 1932; according to Wagener (fZ, ZS.1732), Funk's former secretary once told him that Goebbels had helped Strasser dictate the letter in Funk's apartment. There is no confirmation of this odd detail in the diary.

56 Hans Frank, *Im Angesicht des Galgens. Deutung Hitlers und seiner Zeit auf Grund eigener Erlebnisse und Erkenntnisse* (Munich, 1953), 108. Frank wrote this MS in Nuremberg prison, and Justice Robert H. Jackson retrieved it.

57 Lohse MS.

58 Diary, Dec 9, 1932.

59 *Vossische Zeitung*, Dec 9, 10, 1932.

60 Diary, Dec 10; Feder subsequently published a cringing declaration of loyalty in *Angriff*, No. 258, Dec 10, 1932.

61 Based on Lohse's MS.

62 Diary, Dec 10, 1932.

63 *VB*, Dec 9, 1932.

64 *Angriff*, No. 257, Dec 9, 1932.

65 Quoted by Heiber, 104.

Notes to Chapter 19

1 Lochner to daughter Betty, Dec 11, 1932 (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Lochner Papers, box 47, copy in FDR Libr., Toland papers).

2 Diary, Dec 11, 1932.

3 Haegert and other propaganda ministry personnel are briefly characterized in CSDIC(UK) Paper 80, 'Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda,' by Dr Richard Arnhold, pers. Referent of Prof. Bömer (PRO file WO.208/4174 and NA file RG.165, entry 79, box 766).

4 Adolf Hitler, 'Memorandum on the internal reasons for the directives on enhancing the movement's striking power' (NA file T120, roll 2621).

5 *Angriff*, No. 267, Dec 21, 1932; *Dokumente*, 418.

6 Diary, Dec 23, 1932.

7 Ebermayer and Meissner, No.23, Jun 7, 1952.

8 Diary, Dec 24, 1932.

9 Ibid., Dec 26, 1932; Behrend, No. 19, May 10, 1952; JG to Hitler, Jul 18, 1944 (BA file NL.118/107).

10 Diary, Jan 2, 1933.

11 The microfiches are in Fond 1477.

12 Diary, Jan 13; *Kaiserhof*, Jan 12, 1933. See 'Stationen eines Arztes. Operieren bei Sauerbruch, Kinderkriegen bei Stoeckel,' in *fAZ Magazin*, May 8, 1987, 52ff.

13 Kurt Baron von Schröder, born Nov 24, 1889; later SS Brigadeführer. See his personnel file in BA, NS.48/73. Diary, Jan 6-7, 1933.

14 Diary, Jan 10, 1933.

15 Lohse MS.

16 Diary, Jan 14, 1933: 'That sounds like a traitor to me. I always saw it coming. Hitler is very dismayed.'

17 Ibid., Jan 17, 1933; Lohse MS.

18 Ibid., Jan 22; *Kaiserhof*, Jan 22, 1933.

19 Diary, Jan 23-27, 1933.

20 In the diary, Jan 30, 1933 JG writes that Hugenberg was to be economics

minister. Fröhlich has 'Krisenminister,' perhaps a misreading.

21 Diary, Jan 30, 1933.

22 Ibid., Jan 30-31; and diary of Count Lutz Schwerin von Krosigk, Jan 30, 1933.

23 Ebermayer and Meissner, No.16, Apr 19, 1952.

Notes to Chapter 20

1 Extracts from the diary of Sir Walter Layton, Apr 3, 1933 (PRO file FO.371/16722).

2 Interrogation, SAIC/FIR/46, Sep 13, 1946 (NA file RG.407, entry 427, box 1945i).

3 Grzesinski MS.—See too Jürgen Wetzel, 'Monarchie gegen Hitler. Aus der Korrespondenz Otto Brauns mit Albert Grzesinski 1934 bis 1936,' in *Der Bär von Berlin*, Jahrbuch des Vereins für die Geschichte Berlins, 1977, 7-14.

4 Rosenberg diary, Mar 1, 1939.

5 Interview of Rudolf von Ribbentrop, Jul 20, 1989.

6 Goebbels papers (Hoover Libr.).

7 Diary, Sep 24, 1933.

8 Ibid., Aug 25, 1933.

9 Text of the broadcast in Joseph Wulf's documentation, *Presse und Funk im Dritten Reich* (Frankfurt, 1983), 284ff.

10 Ibid., Feb 1; *Kaiserhof*, Jan 31; gau history (NA film T581, roll 5; BA file NS.26/133); *Angriff*, Jan 31-Feb 6, 1933. Maikowski, born in Charlottenburg Feb 28, 1908, had joined the Berlin SA in 1926 and been stabbed by communists in Dec 1927; after shooting a communist in 1931 he fled to Venice, was arrested Oct 1932, and was released only in December (NSDAP archives, Maikowski papers; BA file NS.26/323). For the trial of Schuckar *et al.*, murderers of Maikowski and police constable Zauritz, see Landesarchiv Berlin, Rep. 58, item 30.

11 Report by Eberhard Assmann, Sep 20, 1934 (BDC file, Helldorff).

12 Unpublished Brüning typescript in Dorothy Thompson papers (Syracuse univ. Libr.).

13 See JG's testimony of Nov 8, in *Vossische Zeitung*, Nov 9, 1933. Heinrich Hoffmann, who was also present, confirms this in *Hitler Was my Friend* (London, 1955), 71ff; as does Hanfstaengl in his 1970 interview with John Toland (FDR Libr.).

14 Diary, Feb 28, 1933; on the microfiche for Feb 16-May 1, 1933 (Moscow archives, Goebbels papers, box 4).

15 JG's testimony, Reichstag arson trial, Nov 8, 1933, pp. 6ff; transcript provided by Tobias archives.

16 Oven, 'Jul 27, 1943'; and Table Talk, Aug 21, 1942 (Heim, 356f).

17 The leading article was published in *Angriff*, Feb 28, 1933. Communism, JG argued, must now be wiped out so thoroughly that not even the name survived; Hindenburg must give Hitler the powers to do so.

18 SS Oberführer Alfred-Ingemar Berndt, born in Bromberg 1905. His ancestors for six hundred years had been farmers near Thorn and in the Warthegau; after the Poles annexed these regions in 1919 and 1920 and seized the estates he and his family were expelled. Berndt had been sacked by Wolff's Telegraph Agency—forerunner of the Nazi DNB agency—in Dec 1932 and became Otto

Dietrich's adjutant in Feb 1933; from Apr 1, 1936 he was deputy press chief, and headed the government's press office; he served as an infantry NCO Jul-Aug 1939, as ADC to Rommel in North Africa from Feb 1, 1941, then returned to take over JG's press division on Sep 5, 1941. In Jan 1945 he was given a Panzer IV company in Hungary, where he died in action (BDC file, Berndt; and see Berndt to Himmler, Jul 11, 1944: NA film T175, roll 33).

19 *Manchester Guardian*, Apr 27; cf *NYT*, Apr 28, 1933. The *NYT* obituary of JG on May 3, 1945 stated, 'It was he who conceived the spectacle of the Reichstag fire.'

20 Diary, Apr 9, 1941. In general see Fritz Tobias, *Der Reichstagsbrand* (Rastatt/Baden, 1962); and the critique by Martin Broszat on the controversy in *VfZ*, No. 3, 1960, 275ff.

21 Cabinet, Mar 7, 1933 (BA file R43I/1460).

22 JG had preferred 'Reichsminister of culture and public enlightenment.'—Lammers memo, May 9, 1934 (BA file R.43II/1149).

23 He issued repeated directives insisting that 'propaganda' be used only in a positive sense; and that it be called 'agitation' when conducted by the enemy. E.g. directive of Jul 28, 1937 in Brammer collection, BA file ZSg.101/10; RMVP directive, Nov 8, 1940 (BA file R.55/1410); confidential briefing, Feb 9, 1942 in Oberheimann collection, BA file ZSg.109/28; RMVP circular in files of Propaganda-Staffel North-west, Jul 24, 1944 (Hoover Libr., Lerner papers).

24 Interrogation at CCPWE No. 32, report DI-32, Jul 16, 1945 (NA file RG.407, entry 427, box 1954q).

25 Schäffer diary, Mar 8, 1933 (BA file KI. Erw. 614/17c; IfZ file ED.93, vol.24a).

26 Fromm diary, Mar 15, 1933 (Fromm papers, box 1). Bella Steuermann-Fromm was a childhood friend of Ludwig III of Bavaria. She fled to the USA in 1938 with, she claimed, only \$3.96 (but brought out her entire furniture including a grand piano!). Hanfstaengl described her as an unappetizing and malodorous creature. 'This frump,' he wrote on Jun 23, 1944 to his son, 'was one of those semi-ladies whose mere entrance sufficed to tell me that the company concerned had begun to become what one might call "mixed"' (NA file RG.219, X-7141141, Hanfstaengl).

27 Fromm diary, Mar 29; and see 'bf's' column in the *Berliner Zeitung*, Mar 30, 1933.

28 Gutterer affidavit, Jul 6, 1948 (IfZ file ZS).

29 Cabinet, Mar 11, 1933 5 P.M. (BA file R43I/1460 and /1149).

30 *Reichsgesetzblatt* (Reich Law Gazette, hereafter *RGBl.*), 1933, I, 104. An addendum of Jun 30, 1933 (*ibid.*, 440) stipulated that the ministry would perform 'all tasks of spiritual influence on the nation, of publicizing the state, culture, and economy at home and abroad, and administering all bodies serving those functions.' In general, see Z. A. B. Zeman, *Nazi Propaganda* (London, 1964), 'Ernest Kohn Bramsted,' *Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda 1925-1945* (Michigan State Univ. Press, 1965), and Wolfram Werner, *Zur Geschichte des Reichsministeriums für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda und zur Überlieferung* (Koblenz, 1979).

31 *Kaiserhof*, Mar 15; *NYT*, Mar 20, 1933.

32 William E. Dodd to FDR, Mar 27, 1933 (FDR Libr., PSF file 45, Germany, Dodd).

33 Borresholm, 94f; *Kaiserhof*, Mar 11, 1933. There are detailed floor plans in a 70pp survey (PW paper 80) on the propaganda ministry by Dr Richard

Arnhold; and see his PW paper 108, 'Party Control of Propaganda,' a 19pp analysis of the Reichspropagandaleitung and its associated agencies (PRO file WIO.208/4174). On the ministry's later organization and personalities see interrogation SAIC/CIR/4 of Hinkel, Immanuel Schäffer, Martin Schönicke, Rolf Hoffmann, Eugen Maier, Karl Cerff, Paul ('Presse') Schmidt, Jul 10, 1945 (NA file RG.332, entry ETO Mis-Y, Sect., box 116), and PWB/SAIC/22 of Hoffmann, Jul 12, 1945 (*ibid.*); also Special Interrogation Report on Otto Dietrich, CSDIC/WEA, SIR.2, Oct 16, 1945 (NA file RG.332, Mis-Y, box 16).

34 Cabinet, Mar 20, 1933 (BA file R43I/1460).

35 *Sunday Express*, London, Mar 26, 1933; its main Mar 24 headline had read 'JUDEA DECLARES WAR ON GERMANY'; *NYT*, *passim*.

36 *Sunday Express*, Mar 26, 1933.

37 Cabinet, Mar 29, 4:15 P.M. (BA file R43I/1460); and see *Kaiserhof*, Mar 27, and his press conference reported in *NYT*, Mar 28, 1933.

38 Reported thus in *NYT*, Apr 1, 1933.

39 *NYT*, Apr 2; *Kaiserhof*, Apr 1, 1933. For a sample leaflet protesting against Jewish 'atrocities propaganda' see file G-127 in the archives of the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research in New York, Record Group 215 (hereafter Yivo).

40 Sir Eric Layton diary, Apr 3, 1933 (PRO file FO.371/16722). JG used to state that seventy-five percent of Berlin's lawyers were Jews. Writing to him on Nov 30, 1936 Heydrich gave detailed figures. 'Before March 1933 altogether 3,890 lawyers were active in Berlin. Of these 1,998 (51.36%) were Jews. Since the new admission regulations the overall number of Berlin lawyers has sunk to 3,095. Of these 1,203 (38.87%) are Jews.' (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, propaganda ministry: Diewerge papers, vol. 994.)

41 *Kaiserhof*, Mar 27, 1933.

42 Diary, May 16, 1933.

43 JG to Furtwängler, quoted in *NYT*, Apr 16, 1933.

44 Franz von Papen, *Der Wahrheit einer Gasse* (Munich, 1952), 289ff.

45 Diary, May 12, 25, Jul 22; uniforms: Jun 15, 20, Jul 27, 1933.

46 *Ibid.*, Jun 20, 21, 24, 1933.

47 *Ibid.*, Aug 6-7, 1933.

48 *Ibid.*, Aug 23 ('Hope Fatso departs soon') and Sep 2, 1933. JG's rivalry with Göring occasioned much scandalized comment among diplomats in Berlin. Cf Basil C. Newton to Orme Sargent (FO), Sep 29, and Eric Phipps to Sir John Simon, Oct 25, 1933 (PRO file FO.371/16728).

49 Borresholm, 92f.

Notes to Chapter 21

1 Borresholm, 96f; *Kaiserhof*, Apr 28, 30; diary, May 2, 1933.

2 Testimony of Otto Wagener, Feb 5, 1960 (IfZ file ZS.1732).

3 His diary, May 11, seems to make clear it was the Nazi students themselves.

4 Gerhard Sauder, 'Der Germanist Goebbels als Redner bei der Berliner Bücherverbrennung,' in Haarmann, Huder, Siebenhaar (eds), *Das war ein Vorspiel nur. Bücherverbrennung Deutschland 1933*, Schriftenreihe der Akademie der Künste (Berlin, 1985), 56ff; Reuth, 286.

5 Fromm diary, May 11, 1933 (Fromm papers, box 16).

6 In conversation with Pierre Bertaux and Brigitte Bermann-Fischer, in *Das war ein Vorspiel nur. . .*, 230; Reuth, 286.

- 7 NYT, May 11; VB, May 12, 1933: 'Execution of the People's Will.'
- 8 NYT, May 12, 1933.
- 9 Ibid., Apr 2, May 7, 11, 1933.
- 10 Fromm diary May 31, 1933.
- 11 His unpublished diary of Apr 22, 1934 shows he later assessed Hassell as 'quite clever'; on May 25, 1935 he found, 'Hassell ... sees things very clearly.'
- 12 Diary, Jun 7, 1928. On Aug 29, 1928, agitated by the South Tyrol question, JG noted: 'Italians are all swine. Except for Mussolini.' After reading the Duce's memoirs JG commented (Jan 19, 1930), 'Magnificent, this Mussolini! My great contemporary model.'
- 13 Ibid., Jun 4, 1933.
- 14 NYT, Jul 9, 1933.
- 15 Fromm MS (published in New York as *Blood & Banquets* in 1942), Fromm papers, box 2.
- 16 Diary, Apr 14, 1933.
- 17 See his speech at the opening of the exhibition on women, quoted by Knickerbocker (Syracuse Univ., Thompson papers, box 2).
- 18 Magda Goebbels broadcast, May 14, 1933: *Die deutsche Mutter* (Heilbronn, 1933) 20pp; JG diary, May 15, 1933.
- 19 Diary, May 10, 1933.
- 20 Ibid., May 5, 7, Jun 14, 1933; Magda's mother wrote, 'The very thought that somebody might think he could be influenced through his relatives used to get his goat.' (Behrend, No.17, Apr 26, 1952).
- 21 Diary, Jun 6, 1933.
- 22 Fromm MS (Fromm papers, box 61); JG diary, Jun 11, 18, 1933.
- 23 Diary, Jul 24, 1933.
- 24 Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (hereafter RMVP) budget for fiscal 1933 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol.1059); JG diary, Jun 10, 1933.
- 25 Blind to his own shortcomings, JG referred (diary, Aug 12, 1933) to German broadcasting as a 'hotbed of corruption' that needed cleansing.
- 26 Diary, Jul 9, 1933. See Hadamowsky's article on early broadcasting in *Angriff*, Oct 30, 1936.
- 27 Diary, Aug 19, 1933.
- 28 Ibid., Jun 11, 1933. For RMVP personnel, jurisdiction, and filing systems see Yivo file G-106; telephone directories 1939-43, G-107, and a list of senior ministry officials, G-108. These show that the RMVP had 956 employees on Apr 1, 1939, 1,356 on Apr 1, 1940, and 1,902 on Apr 1, 1941.
- 29 Georg Wilhelm Muller, *Das Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda* (Berlin 1940), 10.
- 30 On Jul 10, 1934 he discussed with Funk 'how to cast our ministry in an even more national socialist mold. And particularly the Reich chamber of culture. Ever more tightly to the party' (Unpubl. diary, Jul 11, 1934).
- 31 Diary, Jun 27, 1933; interrogation of Fritzsche, Sep 17, 1946 (StA Nuremberg, F86). Hanke had been JG's Gauorganisationsleiter, then pers. Referent (special assistant), then Adjutant.
- 32 Much the same on Nov 8: 'If our opponents afforded us the parliamentary means to get rid of them, that was their affair. But that's no reason for us to make the same mistake.' *Frankfurter Zeitung*, No. 804, Nov 10, 1933.
- 33 Reichsverband der deutschen Presse; for some of its records under the

- RMVP, see NA films T70, rolls 127-33. See CSDIC(WEA) BAOR report PIR.8, Otto Dietrich interrogation, Sep 9, 1945 (NA file RG.219, XE.003812).
- 34 Diary, Aug 14; ten days later Hitler authorized a bill on the chamber of culture (ibid., Aug 25, 1933). See the interrogation of Alfred Frauenfeld and Hans Hinkel on the Reichskulturkammer, SAIC/27, May 27, 1945 (NA: RG.165, entry 79, box 756).
- 35 JG to Lammers, Jul 13, 1933 (BA file R.43II/1244).
- 36 'Basic thoughts on the establishment of a Reich Chamber of Culture,' Jul 1933 (BA file R.43II/1241).
- 37 Diary, Aug 25, 1933.
- 38 Reichspressekammer. See e.g. War Dept. Historical Branch (Lt.-Col. Oron J. Hale) interrogation of Amann, Aug 22, 1945 (NA file RG.332, entry Mis-Y Sect. box 116); and Dietrich interrogation.
- 39 Diary, Jul 24, 1933: 'An odd feeling—to sit in front of this great musician.'
- 40 Reichskammer der bildenden Künste. On which see the 51pp CSDIC(UK) document PW paper 50 by Erich Mai, a leading member (PRO file WO.208/4174).
- 41 Reichsrundfunkkammer. See OSS R&A report No. 2100, 'News Distribution System of Germany,' Apr 25, 1944 (USAMHI, Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Donovan papers, box 35c).
- 42 Membership of a chamber was restricted to pure Aryans, 'second-grade half-Jews,' and Aryans married to 'first-grade half-Jews.' For the questionnaire used by the chamber of music, with elaborate questions on candidates' racial origins, see Yivo file G-54; similarly for the film chamber, file G-55.
- 43 Dated Jul 1936. USFET report DE.496/DIS.202 (Hoover Libr., Lerner papers).
- 44 *Rede des Reichsministers Dr Goebbels bei der Eröffnung der Reichskulturkammer am 15. November 1933* (Frankfurt, 1933).
- 45 Dodd to FDR, Nov 27, 1933 (FDR Libr., PSF box 45, Germany, Dodd); cf *Ambassador Dodd's Diary* (New York, 1941), 90f.
- 46 Dr H. E. Schmidt-Leonhardt, *Das Schriftleitergesetz vom 4. Oktober 1933 mit den einschlägigen Bestimmungen, erläutert von Dr H. Schmidt-Leonhardt und Dr P. Gast* (Berlin, 1944); and the CSDIC(WEA) BAOR interrogation of Otto Dietrich.—For the preparation of the press law and its implementation see the papers of Prof. Alfred Herrmann (BA files KI. Erw. 368/13-14).
- 47 See among other sources CSDIC(UK) PW paper 8, compiled by four prisoners of limited (local press) horizon, but very illuminating on the RMVP control of editors (PRO file WO.208/4174); and the interrogation of Werner Stephan, Dietrich's PA, Oct 29, 1947 (NA file RG.260, OMGUS files, 53-3/7, box 15).
- 48 Fromm diary, Nov 25, 1933 (Fromm papers, box 1).
- 49 Diary Mar 29, May 7, 1933.
- 50 *Jahrbuch der Reichsfilmkammer* (Berlin, 1937), 194; Hinkel interrogation, SAIC/29, May 28, 1945 (NA file RG.165, entry 79, box 756).
- 51 When interviewed by the author on Jul 14, 1993; and before that in a TV interview for Westdeutscher Rundfunk in May 1991.
- 52 US Seventh Army interrogation PWB/SAIC/3 of Riefenstahl, May 30, 1945 (NA file RG.332, entry ETO, Mis-Y, Sect., box 116).
- 53 Leni Riefenstahl, *Memoiren* (Munich, 1987) (hereafter Riefenstahl) 181; JG diary, Dec 1, 1929 (he went with Erika Chulius).
- 54 Diary, Nov 8, 1932; under interrogation (see above), perhaps naturally,

she stated that her first meeting with Hitler was after he came to power, which might be what JG refers to (diary) on Jun 14, 1933: she had been to see Hitler, and 'will now start work on her film.'

55 Riefenstahl, 186ff, and interview with this author, Jul 15, 1989. The only related diary entry is on Dec 11, 1932, when General Italo Balbo is entertained at Hermann Göring's and both Magda and Leni flirt madly with the dashing Italian aviator.

56 There is no reference to a visit to Riefenstahl in the Christmas Eve diary, which shows JG with Harald or visiting Magda at the clinic. She ventilated none of these allegations to her American interrogators in 1945.

57 Riefenstahl, 199f.

58 Diary, May 17, 26, 1933.

59 Diary, Jun 12, 1933.

61 Ibid., Jun 16, 20, Jul 4, 9, 18, Aug 14, 16-17, 1933.

62 Riefenstahl, 202ff.

63 So she told Hans-Otto Meissner (interview with the author, Apr 22, 1990).

64 Borresholm.

65 Diary, Jul 22; NYT, Jul 20, 25; Fromm diary, Apr 11, 1933.

66 Borresholm, 99f; JG diary, Jul 26 ('An evening with princely personages. In a word, a gang of scoundrels'); and see Aug 5, 1933.

67 Behrend, No. 20, May 17, 1952; his problems with Magda are temporarily over. 'How happy we both are,' he writes on Sep 2, 1933, 'she is my only darling.'

68 Riefenstahl interrogation, and interview, Jul 15, 1989; see JG's reference to her as *fähig* in his unpubl. diary, Aug 26, 1934.

69 NYT, Aug 29; letter Louis Lochner to Betty, Nov 12, 1933 (Lochner papers, box 47).

70 NYT, Sep 13, Nov 24, 1933.

71 Cabinet meeting, Sep 12, 4:30 P.M. (BA file R.43I/1465); cf NYT, Sep 15, 1933.

72 NYT, Sep 24, 25, 1933.

73 Paul Schmidt, *Statist auf diplomatischer Bühne 1923-45* (Bonn, 1949). See *La Suisse*, Sep 25, 26; JG diary, Sep 28; and the report by G. Motta, chief of the political department, to the Conseil Nationale, Berne, Sep 27, 1933, publ. in *Documents Diplomatiques Suisses* (Berne, 1982), 835ff.

74 Professor Carl F. Burckhardt, *Meine Danziger Mission 1939-1939* (Stuttgart, 1960), 51ff.

75 The full text of JG's speech of Sep 28 is in Lord Tyrell's telegram No. 226 to FO (PRO file FO.371/17367 and /16728); see too NYT and *La Suisse* of Sep 29, and *Tribune de Genève*, Sep 29-30, 1933.

76 Borresholm, 111f.

77 Paul-Boncour to Daladier, Sep 29, 1933, in *Documents Diplomatiques Français 1932-1939* (1st series) vol. iv, No. 259.

78 Eden, minute, Sep 26, 1933 (PRO file FO.371/17368).

79 Weizsäcker, private letter of Oct 1 (Leonidas E. Hill (ed.), *Die Weizsäcker Papiere, 1933-1950* (Berlin, 1974), 76); on Oct 6, 1933 Weizsäcker wrote that he was 'well satisfied' with JG's visit.

Notes to Chapter 22

1 Basil Newton to Sir John Simon, Sep 13, 1933 (PRO file FO.371/16728).

2 NYT, Oct 9, 1933.

3 Phipps to FO, No. 224, Oct 16, 1933 (PRO file FO.371/17368).

4 The forged article was entitled, 'Germany's Aim: She Wants More Territory.' See NYT, Nov 18, 19, 22, 1933.

5 NYT, Nov 18, 1933.

6 'Querschnitt durch die Tätigkeit des Arbeitsgebiets Dr Taubert (Antibolschewismus) des RMVP bis zum 31.12.1944' (Yivo, file GPA-14) (Taubert report). For records of Anti-Comintern see BA files R55/70, 207, 369, 373, 374-6, 730.

7 Diary, May 8, 1933; at the Reichstag fire trial an incriminating memorandum allegedly by Oberföhrer was produced. JG commented (transcript, p. 23), 'Why pick as the author of such a document a dead man who can't defend himself any more?'

8 Trial observations of Prof. Justus Hedemann, a Jena lawyer (BA file KI. Erw. 433).

9 Court record; Borresholm, 122.

10 Court record, Nov 8, p.114; cf. *Vossische Zeitung*, Nov 9, 1933. At the press desk was Louis Lochner—see his descriptive letter to Betty, Nov 12, 1933 (Lochner papers, box 47).

11 Borresholm, 118f.

12 DNB release, Jan 27, 1934: 'Dr Goebbels favors saying yes to life and joy'; NYT, Jan 27, 1934.

13 Ullstein's *Morgenpost* sold 4-5m daily, *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* 1m, *Grüne Post* 400,000, *Berliner Zeitung* 100,000, *Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung* 80,000, and *Vossische Zeitung* 60,000.

14 Unpubl. diary, May 11, 1934. Interrogations of Amann: Nuremberg Sep 30, 1947 (HfZ file ZS.809) and Jan 10, 1948 (NA file RG.260, box 15); by Frank Korf, May 1, 1948 (Hoover Libr., Korf papers), and CSDIC(UK) PIR.79. And CSDIC(UK) report, SS Obergruppenführer Otto Ohlendorf, 'Notes on Corruption and Corrupted Personalities in Germany,' PW papers 133, Aug 11, 1945 (PRO file WO.208/4174), and CSDIC(WEA) BAOR report FIR.80, appendix Jul 6, 1946: 'Winkler's connection with Party publishing firms' (NA file RG.332, Mis-Y, box 18).

15 Unpubl. diary, Apr 30, May 2, 11: 'The gentlemen from Ullstein. Bluntly told them my opinion. About Jews and suchlike. Ban on *Grüne Post* won't be lifted. They should eliminate the Jews.' NYT, May 9, 1934.

16 CSDIC(WEA) BAOR report FIR.80, appendix Jul 6, 1946: 'Winkler's connection with party publishing firms' (NA file RG.332, Mis-Y, box 18).

17 Diary, Jan 2, 1934.

18 Ibid., Sep 1, 1933.

19 JG to 'Frau Dr Mumme,' Nov 3, 1933 (Irene Pranger papers).

20 See JG's unpubl. diary, Mar 20: 'Marianne Hoppe tells me about her new film. I'll help her;' on May 13 he added, 'Talk with Marianne Hoppe. She evidently went shooting her mouth off. Now she's cut down to size.' On Jun 20, 1934, JG notes eloquently: 'Marianne Hoppe: I'm fed up with her.'

21 Ibid., Apr 24, 1934: 'Käthe Dorsch, with whom I discuss film matters. She is very charming.'

22 Diary, Dec 11, 1936.

23 Interview of Irene Pranger, Sep 6, 1990; see the letter written by Deutscher

Verlag to Anka Oswald, Apr 20, 1943 (Irene Pranger papers).

24 Eher Verlag to JG, Feb 3, 1933 (ZSta Potsdam, Rep. 90 Go 1, Goebbels, vol. 3).

25 Diary, Mar 25, 31, Apr 4, 6, 13, 1934.

26 Unpubl. diary, Mar 11, 12, 17, 1934.

27 Ibid., Apr 9, 1934.

28 Ibid., Apr 13-14, 1934.

29 Ibid., May 28, 1934.

30 Ibid., Jun 3, 1934.

31 See the reference, *ibid.*, Jun 7, 1934, to a countess with whom he sees the film *Zwischen Heute und Morgen*; he 'parlavers' (as he routinely spells this buzzword) at length with her, finds 'she is very nice.' On Jun 13 he notes meeting Käthe Kruse, 'She is very nice. Drive late through the Grunewald.'

32 JG (*ibid.*, Jun 22, 1934) also called it *eine Art Profanierung*, 'a kind of blasphemy.'

33 *NYT*, May 13, 27, 28; unpubl. diary, May 13, 1934.

34 See the German FO file on the 'Jewish atrocity lies' on NA film T120, roll 4673.

35 A Turkish Jew, Wilhelm Rose, born Aug 18, 1898, who had repeatedly been arrested during the Weimar period for passport forgeries etc., and was arrested and deported on Feb 22, 1934. *Ibid.*

36 Unpubl. diary, Apr 24, 1934.

37 Unpubl. diary, Apr 13, 1934.

38 Gauleiter conference in Berlin, Feb 2, 1934 (BA file NS.26/1290).

39 Thus spake JG in Essen, Jun 24: 'OUTRIGHT WAR AGAINST THE REAKTION. DR GOEBBELS SPEAKS OUT AGAINST THE HIDDEN ENEMIES OF STATE.' *National Zeitung*, Essen, Jun 25, 1934.

40 *VB*, Jan 15, 1934.

41 Memo by WIIb, Jan 18, initialed by Fritsch and Reichenau (Reich defense ministry, file H35/29 on JG's lectures: NA film T78, roll 372, 5199f); *VB*, Jan 19, 1934.

42 His speech on all these occasions was the 16pp *Wesen und Grundbegriffe des Nationalsozialismus* (*ibid.*, 5229ff).

43 Unpubl. diary, Mar 16, 1934. 'Spoke to Reichswehr. On top form. General von Kleist very pleasant. I speak two hours.'

44 For JG's speech in Königsberg, May 14, see *ibid.*, 5292ff; and the *Ostpreussische Zeitung* (with photo) and unpubl. diary, both May 15, 1934. He found Brauchitsch 'very nice, but a monarchist like many in the army.' He also spoke in Munich and Münster.

45 E.g. NA film T78, roll 372, 5262f.

46 See Willy Münzenberg, *Braunbuch des Hitler-Terrors* (Paris, 1933), 62; and JG's testimony at the Reichstag fire trial, Nov 8, 1933, 28. Afterwards, JG's condemnation of homosexuals became extreme, e.g. after Gauleiter Helmuth Brückner, founder of the Nazi party in Silesia, was arrested for homosexual offenses (unpubl. diary, Dec 6, 10, 11, 1934).

47 Diary, Mar 1, 31, 1934.

48 Text of JG's speech in SA Standarte No. 8's files, NSDAP archives (BA file NS.26/322).

49 Unpubl. diary, Mar 17, 1934.

50 *Ibid.*, Apr 20, 1934.

51 *Ibid.*, May 7, 9, 1934.

52 *Ibid.*, May 17, 1934. For an article on JG's interest in American films, see *NYT*, Sep 30, 1945.

53 *Ibid.*, May 28, 1934. Karl von Eberstein, in charge of Hitler's security, reported: 'During the supper Hitler treated the baroness with great distinction, and talked to her almost exclusively.' USFET OI SR/36, May 12, 1947: 'Adolf Hitler. A Composite Picture.' (NA file RG.407, entry 427, box 1954f.)

54 Unpubl. diary, Apr 13, 1934.

55 *Ibid.*, Apr 18 and 20, 1934: 'Midday at Führer's re Harald, with Röhm and Göring. Both back me to the hilt. Göring very decent. Talk with Dr Quandt. I stand firm in face of his sentimentalism. He yields. Magda gets her Harald back. She is delighted.'

56 *NYT*, Apr 27; unpubl. diary, Apr 26, 1934.

57 Unpubl. diary, Apr 28, 1934.

58 *Ibid.*, Apr 30, 1934.

59 *Ibid.*, May 5, 1934.

60 *Ibid.*, May 23, 1934.

61 *Ibid.*, May 9, 1934.

62 Diary, May 28, 30, 1934.

63 Unpubl. diary, Jun 3, 1934.

64 Fischer (Potsdam) to Hitler, Nov 1, 1932 (BDC file, Helldorff).

65 Darré diary, Oct 15, Dec 18, 1933; Jan 17, 27, 1934.

66 Rosenberg to Hess, Mar 15 (BA file NS.8/171 and Rosenberg papers, NA film T454, roll 63, 0584ff); JG publ. and unpubl. diaries, Apr 14, 18, 24, 26, Jul 22 ('I can't put up [with Rosenberg] much longer'), Jul 28, Aug 24, 26, 29, 31, Dec 13, 15, 1934.

67 Diary, Jan 2-3 ('feelings running hard against Göring' in the Brown House); *VB*, Jan 2, 1934. In his unpubl. diary of Mar 29, JG noted: 'With the Führer. Things just as they were. He's so nice to me. ... Long time with Führer in the evening. He sets out his foreign policy plans. Great stuff. Our Hitler!'

68 Unpubl. diary, May 26, 1934.

69 *Ibid.*, Apr 11; and see May 7 and 17 ('I'm on good terms with Göring now') 1934.

70 DNB release, May 3, 1934.

71 DNB night release, Jun 6-7; JG unpubl. diary, Jun 7, puts the audience at 80,000. The *NYT* reported on May 19, 1934 that SA men had invaded Berlin cafés and restaurants and delivered scorching speeches while comrades prevented customers from leaving.

72 *NYT*, May 13, 1934.

73 Ernst 'Putzi' Hanfstaengel, report on JG for FDR, Jul 16, 1943 (FDR Libr., PSF box 126).

74 NA negatives 242-HLM 1013; unpubl. diary, Jun 5, 1934.

75 Fromm diary, Jun 21: 'That little S.A. man Ulicht told me that, the one on the *Morgenpost* staff; and *ibid.*, Jun 22, 1934: 'The Schleichers came to dinner with me, and [Major-General Ferdinand von] Bredow [all were victims of the purge eight days later]. ... Of course Papen's Marburg speech was the main topic. We were glad he'd taken a swipe at Goebbels and his endeavors to muzzle public opinion' (Fromm papers, box 2).

76 Orme Sargent to FO, Jun 27 (i.e. written *before* the purge), quoting Glass of the Austrian News Agency (PRO file FO.371/17707); it is worth noting that, speaking to Gestapo officials on Oct 11 about these events, Himmler referred to rumors in the foreign émigré press, prior to Jun 30, 1934, 'that I was hoping to

overthrow Minister Goebbels ... and that Goebbels no longer had the Führer's confidence' (NA film T175, roll 89, pp.1536ff).

77 *Czas* (Warsaw), Jun 11, 1934, emphasized this point. Speaking to Polish journalists on May 8 (diary, May 9, and DNB release), JG had talked about the desire for peaceful rapprochement; Pilsudski, the Polish president, and Hitler, he said, both knew what war meant; national socialism was 'not for export.'

78 Diary, May 11, 13 ('Midday with the Führer. He's weighed down with worries. And nobody helps share the load') and May 17, Jun 7, 1934.

79 JG, *Das nationalsozialistische Deutschland als Faktor des europäischen Friedens. Rede vor der Intellektuellen-Union in Warschau, 13. Juni 1934* (Berlin, 1934); DNB special release, Jun 12, 1934; *Westdeutscher Beobachter* ('Our hand is extended') and *DAZ*, Jun 14, 1934. And Sir W. Erskine, Warsaw, to Simon, FO, Jun 19, 1934 (PRO file FO.371/17745).

80 Unpubl. diary, Jun 11, 16, 1934.

81 Ibid., Jun 18; according to newspaper reports JG attacked Papen indirectly, referring to Center politicians who made much of their personal friendship with God; but it was the Nazis, he said, who were meanwhile restoring full employment. See e.g. *Gladbach-Rheyder Tageblatt*, Jun 18, 1934.

82 Unpubl. diary, Jun 18; and cf. ibid., Jun 20, 1934.

83 Papen, *Der Wahrheit einer Gasse* (Munich, 1952), 349; Borresholm, 125ff.

84 Phipps to Simon, Jun 22, explaining JG's attack on Papen in his speech that night (PRO file FO.371/17707); Lochner to Betty, Jul 27, 1934 (Lochner papers, box 47.)—JG's diary does not mention the painful episode.

85 *Der Tag*, and DNB night release, Jun 22, 1934.

86 Papen memoirs, 310ff; information from the Forschungsstelle für die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus in Hamburg, May 1991.

87 Unpubl. diary, Jun 25, 1934.

88 Ibid.

89 The *Hallischer Nachrichten* put the figure at 225,000; and see *12 Uhr Blatt*, Jun 23, 1934.

90 *12 Uhr Blatt*, Jun 25 ('Outright fight against the *Reaktion*. Dr Goebbels against the hidden enemies of state'); *National Zeitung*, Jun 25 (PRO file FO.371/17707). JG wrote (unpubl. diary, Jun 25, 1934) with satisfaction that everybody took his words as directed against Papen.

91 DNB press release, e.g. in *DAZ*, Jul 8, 1934.

92 'Diary of Viktor Lutze beginning with the ill-starred Jun 30, 1934,' handwritten volume in Friedrich Ebert Foundation archives, partially transcribed by Dr Ulrich Cartarius (hereafter Lutze diary). Publ. in part by *Frankfurter Rundschau*, May 14–16, 1957, and *Hannoversche Presse*, May 17, 1957. It was probably retrospectively written up from early 1936.

93 His London press attaché Dr Fitz Randolph reported to JG (unpubl. diary, Jun 27, 1934) on the damage done there by Papen's speech. 'The Herren-clique,' observed JG, 'cynically make use of foreigners, and hate me most of all.'

94 Ibid., Jun 27, 1934.

95 Ibid.

96 Diary, Jun 29, 1934.

97 *Flensburger Nachrichten*, Jun 28; *Hamburger Nachrichten*, Jun 28, 1934 ('Dr Goebbels settles accounts with the critics and grouseers.')

98 On Jun 25, 1934. See the dissertation by Karl Martin Grass, *Edgar Jung. Papenkreis und Röhmkrise 1933/4* (Heidelberg univ., 1966), 242; cited by Heinz Höhne, *Mordsache Röhm* (Hamburg, 1984), 247. Jung's arrest was reported in

Basler Nachrichten, Jun 30, 1934. See too Sefton Delmer's well-informed account of JG's clash with Papen and Jung in *Daily Express*, Jun 29, 1934.

99 Diary, Jun 29, 1934.

100 Ibid.

Notes to Chapter 23

1 Thus infantry general Röhrich hypothesized that JG had joined Hitler's 'punitive expedition' to Munich primarily to escape the clutches of Himmler and Göring in Berlin (Kurt Dittmar diary, Sep 3, 1945; author's collection, film DI-60).

2 Lutze diary.

3 The nature of the Forschungsamt (FA) reports can only be conjectured. Ministerialrat Walther Seifert, former chief of the FA, wrote to Fritz Tobias on Mar 17, 1977 that both Schleicher and Bredow were wiretapped, though without much success. Milch recalled in a memoir written at Kaufbeuren on Sep 1, 1945 that Göring told him he had sent Körner by plane to Hitler with 'the final bits of evidence against Röhm & Co., probably mostly wiretaps' (Author's collection). Writing to this author on Jun 8, 1989, Klaus von Klitzing of the FA confirmed that their agency had exposed Röhm's plot, as does a BAOR (British Army of the Rhine) report on the FA, Jan 2, 1946 (NA file RG.226, XE.4986). The FA's Dr Gerhard Neuenhoff told this author that their section head Rudolf Popp had himself run the Röhm surveillance.

4 Hitler summarized their purported content to the Cabinet on Jul 3, 1934, 10 A.M. (BA file R431/1469); on the specific Forschungsamt intercept(s) concerned, see David Irving, *Das Reich hört mit* (Kiel, 1989).

5 Lutze diary.

6 Rosenberg diary, Jul 7, 1934; his observation of JG's psyche was astute. On Jan 4, 1935 JG would approvingly note (unpubl. diary) a visit to the state opera: 'Entire German leadership. Men only.'

7 He made a virtue of this in his broadcast on Jul 1: 'Once again the Führer acted on his old principle of only telling those who needed to know, and only what and when they needed' (*VB*, Jul 1–2, 1934).

8 Diary, Jun 29, 1934. He repeated the phrase, 'So, it's on' (*Also geht es los*) in his unpubl. diary, Jul 1, 1934, recounting Friday's events. Probably he was quoting Hitler.

9 Unpubl. diary, Jul 1, 1934; this author corresponded with the late André François-Poncet, who denied any intrigue with Röhm; nor have French archives yet revealed any such plot. Hanfstaengl recalls one outburst by JG in autumn 1934 over dinner with Hitler in the chancellery, about the monarchists, Potsdam, and the army: 'These people will never change. One should get them together one fine day and mow them down—reihenweise sollte man sie niederschossen mit dem Maschinengewehr.' Report on JG for Pres. Roosevelt, Jul 16, 1943 (FDR Libr., PSF box 126).

10 Fromm diary, Jul 3, citing a hotel employee (Fromm papers, box 2). Lutze diary, and JG broadcast, Jul 1, 1934.

11 Lutze diary.

12 The final death roll was probably eighty-three: NA film, T81, roll 90 (this source says that Klausener 'committed suicide on arrest'); on Strasser's murder see Frau Strasser to Frick, Oct 22, 1934 in Lothar Gruchmann's article in *VfZ*, 1971, 409f. One (unnamed) source, who had been present at Otto Strasser's

May 6, 1930 meeting with Hitler, found himself in the next cell to Gregor Strasser as the shot was fired, and personally recognised the murderer: 'Strasser was taken into temporary protective custody on Jun 30, 1934 in the house jail of the Berlin Gestapo, Prinz Albrecht Strasse 8, in cell 15. A few hours after his arrival the cell door opened and Gregor was shot down by a personal friend and emissary of Dr Joseph Goebbels, a man named Weiss. ... Hitler completely lost control when he heard but was forced to cover up for Goebbels.' Hitler ordered the widow paid 500 marks per month from police compensation funds. (Memo by Counter-Intelligence Corps region III, Frankfurt, Mar 25, 1948: NA file RG.319, G8172121, Otto Strasser). The death was listed as 'suicide' on the Nazi death roll (NA film T81, roll 90). However, the Reich student-Führer Gustav Scheel told Karl-Heinrich Hederich once when drunk that Franz A. Six (a student friend since Heidelberg who had however married Scheel's fiancée) had murdered Strasser. Hederich repeated this claim to Dr Werner Hagert (interrogation of Hagert, Sep 5, 1947: NA film M.1019, roll 23); unfortunately Hederich, interrogated Oct 23 and Dec.16, 1947 (ibid., roll 25) was not asked about this.

13 Unpubl. diary, Jul 1, 1934. See the documentation on Schleicher's murder (with proof that his phone was bugged), in *VfZ*, 1953, 71ff.

14 Interview of Hitler's secretary Christa Schroeder, Jun 6, 1976.

15 Unpubl. diary, Jul 1, and 4, 1934: 'The public is right with us. A huge wave of enthusiasm goes through the land. The rebels got public opinion quite wrong.'

16 Broadcast, Jul 1; Phipps to Simon, Jul 2, 1934 (PRO file FO.371/17707).

17 Unpubl. diary, Jul 4, 1934.

18 Ibid., Jul 5: 'SA question with Lutze. SA's reputation needs boosting. I send a telegram along these lines to Lutze. The SA is to be retained. It's very important today,' and see Jul 7, 1934.

19 Scheunburg-Lippe, *War Hitler ein Diktator?*, 46f; JG, unpubl. diary, Jul 4, 1934.

20 BA file R.431/1469. 'One can now see clearly again,' wrote JG (unpubl. diary, Jul 4, 1934). 'Events came dramatically to a head. The Reich was on the edge of an abyss. The Führer saved it.'

21 Unpubl. diary, Jul 4, 1934.

22 Ibid., Jul 6, 1934.

23 Ibid., Jul 14, 1934.

24 Fromm diary, Jul 15, 1934 (Fromm papers, box 2); she identified her source as a ministry employee, 'Max K.', who described JG as being shrewd, unscrupulous, perverse, cynical, moody, and lascivious, driven by hatred of Schacht and the American journalist Dorothy Thompson (the feeling was mutual); and as being involved in desultory love affairs with Maria Stahl and Edith von Coler, subsequently the mistress of Hanns Johst and Darré.

25 Heydrich to JG, Nov 30, 1936 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, Diewerge papers, vol. 994).

26 Unpubl. diary, Jul 7, 1934.

27 JG broadcast, Jul 10, publ. in *Berliner Börsenzeitung* and *The Times*, Jul 11; see JG unpubl. diary, Jul 11, 1934.

28 Lochner to Betty, Jul 22 (Lochner papers, box 47); JG diary, Jul 13, 1934.

29 Renzetti to Mussolini, Jul 14, 1934 (Mussolini papers, NA film T586, roll 419, 9433).

30 Diary, Jul 18, 1934. Lutze deduced that Röhm had been set up by his

enemies, and Hitler bamboozled. See Lutze's diary, the testimony of Wilhelm Brückner (IfZ, Irving collection), and an SS officer's report to Himmler on Lutze's later remarks (NA film T175, roll 3, 1892ff).

31 But at Bayreuth on Jul 21 a relaxed Hitler told JG more details about Röhm. 'Terrible! I am horrified,' noted JG in unpubl. diary, Jul 22, 1934.

32 Ibid., Jul 9, 1934.

33 Ibid., Jul 14, 1934.

34 Ibid. Ernst Hanfstaengl, 'I was Hitler's Closest Friend,' in *Cosmopolitan*, Mar 1943.—Ebermayer and Meissner, No. 19, May 10, 1952.

35 Magda Goebbels' correspondence with Martha (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 2, Magda Goebbels, vol. 2).

36 Unpubl. diary, Jul 11, 1934.

37 Ibid., Mar 17, Apr 11, 1934. See too *Der 25. Juli 1934 im Bundeskanzleramt in Wien. Forschungsergebnisse und Dokumente* (Vienna, 1965).

38 Unpubl. diary, Apr 28, 1934.

39 Ibid., Jul 24, 1934.

40 Ibid., Jul 26: 'Mountains out of molehills.' He was seeing Hela Strehl quite often (ibid., Aug 2, 8) and, in Magda's absence, Elio Quandt ('Long parlarer [sic] with Elio. Talks about her [crumbling] marriage'—Aug 20, 1934).

41 Adam MS (IfZ file ED.109/2); on the Dollfuss murder see Helmuth Auerbach's paper in *VfZ*, 1964, 201ff.

42 Unpubl. diary, Jul 26, 1934.

43 Ibid., Jul 28, 30, 1934. On Jul 28 Hitler told JG he had broken it off with Mussolini, and was going to deal with Yugoslavia instead. On Jul 31 JG noted, after seeing Hitler: 'Italy still mean. We'll repay her later.' And on Aug 31: 'Discussed Italy question with [Prince] Philipp of Hesse. Mussolini's a puzzle to me.'

44 Ibid., Jul 28, 1934.

45 Ibid., Jul 31, 1934.

46 Cabinet, Aug 1, 1934; unpubl. diary, Aug 2; *RGBl.*, 1934, I, 747; Lammers papers, NA film T580, roll 266.

47 Unpubl. diary, Aug 2, 1934.

48 Ibid.; rumors of a Hindenburg 'testament' dictated in his own favor by the wily Papen proved at first unfounded, 'so Papen loses out' (ibid., Jul 31, Aug 4). A few days later the rumors caused Hitler and JG fresh alarm (ibid., Aug 8). The document, published on Aug 15, betrayed Papen's authorship but was innocuous (ibid., Aug 16, 1934).

49 Ibid., Aug 8, 1934.

50 Diary, Aug 22, 1934.

51 Unpubl. diary, Aug 20, 1934.

52 *Berliner Morgenpost*, Sep 9, 1934.

53 *Verbiestert*. Unpubl. diary, Jul 4, 1934.

54 *Hamburger Tageblatt*, Aug 26, 1934.

55 *Berliner Lokalanzeiger*, Sep 17, 1934.

56 Dr Carl von Eicken's consultation notes, Aug 1934 (NA film ML.131).

57 JG to Bormann, Aug 17, 1934 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 1, vol. 3).

58 Daimler Benz to JG, Nov 7, 1934 (ibid.).

59 RMVP budget files (ibid., Rep. 50.01, vol. 1059).

60 Farmers, *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung*, Oct 1; labor service, *12 Uhr Blatt*, Oct 24; youth, ibid., Nov 2, 1934.

61 *Deutsche Zeitung*, Nov 20, 1934.

62 US interrogation of Weiss, Aug 31, 1945 (NA file RG.332, entry ETO, Min-Y Sec., box 116).

63 Note by NSDAP Kreisleitung Bitterfeld, Sep 14, 1934 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 58.01, vol. 1175).

64 *DAZ*, Dec 1, 1934.

65 *Ibid.*, Dec 12, 1934. On Jul 2, 1934 (unpubl. diary, Jul 4) he gave Erich Hilgenfeldt, chief of the NSV, directions for the coming Winter Relief: 'It's got to be really big.'

66 Borresholm, 101f.

67 Figures announced by JG; *Berliner Lokalanzeiger*, Oct 9, 1934.

68 *12 Uhr Blatt*, Oct 15, 1934.

69 Cabinet meeting, Dec 13, 1934, 4:15 P.M. (Lammers papers; NA film T580, roll 266).

70 Unpubl. diary, Dec 15, 1934 (Moscow archives, Goebbels papers, box 5); in January (unpubl. diary Jan 4) he found Hitler still poorly. 'Got to find a good doctor.'

71 *Ibid.*, Feb 4, 1935.

72 Diary, Dec 25, 1934.

73 *Ibid.*, Sep 17, 21, 24, 1934.

74 Behrend, No. 18, May 3, 1952; Ebermayer and Meissner, No. 23, Jun 7, 1952.

75 Wilhelm Furtwängler on Hindemith's opera *Mathis der Maler*, in *DAZ*, Nov 25, 1934; cf Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich* (Frankfurt, 1983), 373ff. A scene in this opera portraying the public burning of heretical writings was evidently the cause of the Nazis' discontent. As recently as Jun 25, 1934 JG had publicly praised Hindemith as one of Germany's up-and-coming musical talents.

76 Described in a 50pp MS by Detig for Dr Karl Silex, Feb 1970 (in Tobias archives); and see Detig's affidavit, Jul 3, 1948 (StA Nuremberg).—JG diary, Jan 2, 1935.

Notes to Chapter 24

1 *DAZ*, Dec 1, 1934.

2 *Berliner Lokalanzeiger*, Dec 15, 1934; *Berliner Nachtausgabe*, Jan 2, 1935.

3 Unpubl. diary, Jan 4, 1935. (From the diary volume Oct 23, 1933–Jun 28, 1935: Moscow archives, Goebbels papers, box 5).

4 Dr Werner Best (IfZ). On Hitler's speech: diaries of Leeb, Milch, and testimonies of Raeder, Fritsch MS, and Adm. Hermann Boehm (IfZ file ZS.12).

5 Unpubl. diary, Jan 6, 1935. 'Interesting visit.' Ludmilla Babkova (stage name Lida Baarova) was born in Prague on Sep 7, 1914. Her recollections, including memoirs in her native Czech, *Sweet Bitterness of Life*, are singularly free of spleen against JG. The author interviewed her in Salzburg, Jul 4, 1993; cf Gustav Fröhlich, *Wären das Zeiten! Mein Film-Heldenleben* (Munich, Berlin, 1983), 362f, and BA file R.55/412.

6 Unpubl. diary, Jan 6, 1935; confirmed by Baarova, interviews; and MI.14 report NOI/108, based on data from an unnamed 'talent scout in the German film world' repeating very accurately details known, he said, only to Hitler, JG, Sepp Dietrich, Baarova, and himself, Mar 15, 1944 (PRO file WO.208/4462).

7 Author's interview of Lida Baarova, Salzburg, Jul 4, 1993.

8 On Jan 29; unpubl. diary, Jan 31; and very similar *ibid.*, Feb 4, 1935.

9 *Ibid.*, Jan 6, 1935.

10 *Berliner Lokalanzeiger*, Jan 7, 1935.

11 Taubert report.

12 Unpubl. diary, Jan 16, 1935: 'Triumph of Patriotism!'

13 Confidential report by a Capt. Glas in Austria, from Berlin on Jan 18, 1935, forwarded by Wickham Steed to Orme Sargent, FO, Jan 28, 1935 (PRO file FO.371/18824). When *Giornale d'Italia* reported on Feb 8, 1935, 'A Goebbels speech on a plan of operations to return all Germans to the Reich,' specifying particularly Memel and Austria, JG protested in VB, Munich, Feb 9, 1935, against this 'poisoning of the wells.' (NA film T81, roll 667, 5251ff). For Glas, see unpubl. diary, Jul 23, 1939.

14 Unpubl. diary, Jan 22, 1935.

15 *Ibid.*, Dec 17, 1934. 'I think I won him. It's worthwhile talking to such people.'

16 *Ibid.*, Dec 21, 1934. The German transcripts of these conferences, captured by the British after the war, are now missing. Some of Rothermere's fulsome correspondence with Hitler is in BA file NS.10/5, and the Hoover Libr., Hohenlohe papers.

17 Diary, Jan 27. On Jan 20 Hitler had told JG that Poland was standing by Germany; France and Britain were preparing to blackmail Poland (unpubl. diary, Jan 22, 1935).

18 Speech report by Phipps to FO, Feb 25, 1935 (PRO file FO.371/18857). On Jan 22, JG noted: 'Become a Power. Everything else then sorts itself out.'

19 Rosenberg to Hess, Feb 26, 1935 (Rosenberg papers, NA film T454, roll 74, 0704f).

20 Diary, Feb 11, 1935.

21 Fromm diary, Jul 15, 1934 (Fromm papers, box 2).

22 Darré diary, Mar 28, 1935.

23 Phipps to Simon, Mar 22; and to Sargent, May 9 (PRO file FO.371/18879); unpubl. JG diary, Apr 5, 1935: 'A lot of criticism [at Hitler's lunch table] of Göring's marriage pomp. That'll damage us a lot in the people's eyes.'

24 Unpubl. diary, Mar 18, 1935. That evening Hitler told him Phipps had been astonished, but raised no objection; François-Poncet had protested briefly, Cerutti had paled, and 'Lipski was delighted.'

25 Diary, Mar 22, 1935.

26 Unpubl. diary, Mar 25, 1935. Over dinner, after further talks, Hitler told JG that Simon was in a good mood: 'Führer again confirms my characterization of the two.' JG considered the talks a success: 'Now they know what's what. We sit up with the Führer until 4 A.M. and gossip. He's really pleased.'

27 *Ibid.*, Apr 1, 1935. 'Evening ... long time with Führer, together with Göring and Blomberg. ... We must remain steadfast and firm. Don't let them bluff us! But the Führer's got good nerves.'

28 Taubert report.

29 Unpubl. diary, Apr 3, 1935: '[Hitler] has big worries. Ribbentrop brings fresh news. None too cheerful. We've got to watch out like hell.'

30 *Ibid.*, Apr 5, 1935.

31 *Ibid.*, Apr 7, 1935.

32 Robert T. Smallbones to British embassy, Apr 18, 1935 (PRO file FO.371/18857); for other views on JG see Phipps to Sargent, Feb 13, and to Simon, May 4, 1935 (*ibid.*).

33 Diary, Mar 2; NYT, Mar 1; unpubl. diary, Apr 11, 1935.

34 JG to Rosenberg, Aug 25, 1934 (BA file NS.8/171); and see Wulf, *Musik*, 194.

- 35 NYT, Jun 12, 24-26; diary, Jul 5, 13, 1935.
 36 Gestapo to Stapoleiststelle, Berlin, Dec 27, 1934; Heydrich to Himmler, Apr 16 (BA file R.58/739). 17B, Mar 29. Unpubl. diary, May 9, 13, 1935.
 37 Unpubl. diary, Jan 10, 1935.
 38 Ibid., Jan 12, 1935. 'In her second month. . . I hope, I hope it's a boy!'
 39 Diary, Mar 22, Aug 1, 15, Sep 8, 1935.
 40 Unpubl. diary, Apr 9, 11, 1935.
 41 Diary, Apr 29, Sep 19, 25, Oct 1, 1935.
 42 Ibid., Apr 15, Aug 1, Sep 4, 1935.
 43 Ibid., Apr 21, 23, 1935.
 44 Ibid., Jul 3, 1935: 'I console her to the best of my ability.'
 45 Ibid., Jul 8, 1935.
 46 Ibid., Jul 13, 1935.
 47 Fromm diary, Nov 12, 1935 (Fromm papers, box 2).
 48 Diary, Aug 3, 1935.
 49 Ibid., Jul 25, Aug 9, 15, 27, 31, 1935.
 50 Ibid., Sep 25, 1935.
 51 Ibid., Oct 3, 1935.
 52 Ibid., Oct 5, 1935. Otto Meissner's wife later claimed that the real father was Hitler. *Stars & Stripes*, Oct 9, 1946.
 53 Post-mortem on Hellmut Goebbels, May 1945; Behrend, No. 8, Feb 22, 1952; JG diary, Oct 3, 1941 on the need to put Hellmut with other boys. 'Nothing'll come of a boy who grows up surrounded by girls' (BA file NL.118/28).
 54 Diary, Oct 24, 1935.
 55 Ibid., Nov 21, 1935.
 56 Ibid., Oct 26, 1935.
 57 Ibid., Oct 24, 1935; and ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 748.
 58 Diary, Oct 9, 1935.
 59 Borresholm, 139.
 60 Diary, Dec 9, 11, 1935.
 61 JG to Anka, Christmas 1935 (Irene Pranger papers); diary, Jan 1, 9, 1936.
 62 Diary, Jan 11, 19, 21, 23, 1936.
 63 Ibid., Jan 29, 1936.
 64 Ibid., Mar 4, 1936.
 65 Ibid., Aug 21-27, 1935; JG's testimony in subsequent court proceedings, 1936 (BA file KL. Erw. 550); Daluge's final report (BA file R.19/77), and police file (ibid., /406).
 66 Diary, Oct 11, 13, 1935; the deaths of Gauleiter Wilhelm Loeper and Ministerialrat Otto Laubinger, head of his Dept VI, Theater, also unsettled him: Ibid., Oct 24, 26, 28, Nov 1, 9, 1935.
 67 RMVP budget for fiscal 1935. Revenues were 18-45m marks higher than estimated; increased domestic propaganda and cultural efforts would increase costs to 37,893,650 marks, partly offset by savings from closing down the Pornographic Literature Censorship office. Rebuilding the opera house had cost 2.9m. JG's ministerial salary was 102,840 marks less 21,640 across-the-board cut, or 86,000 net (\$21,000). (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 1059).
 68 Julian Padley, *Capital and Culture. German Cinema 1933-45* (London, 1979), 60; Viktoria de Grazia, 'Mass Culture and Sovereignty. The American Challenge to European Cinemas, 1920-1960,' in *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 61, Mar 1989, 53ff.
 69 Diary, Oct 15, 1935.

- 70 Première in Munich's Gloria Palace cinema, Mar 28; Best Film, May 1; major triumph at Venice festival (diary, Aug 27, 1935).
 71 Interview with Riefenstahl, Jul 15, 1989. Ufa Filmverleih loaned 300,000 marks to her to make *Triumph*, of which she used 270,000. JG diary, Mar 25 (unpubl.), Aug 17, 21, Oct 3, 10, Nov 7, 1935.
 72 Diary, Nov 27, 1935.
 73 Ibid., Jul 21, 23, Aug 17, 1935.
 74 Ibid., Sep 6, 9, 1935.
 75 Interrogation of Hans Fritzsche, Nov 1, 1946 (StA Nuremberg, F86); and Karl Hederich, Jul 9, 1948 (ibid., G15).
 76 Diary, Jul 15, 1936; he referred to the demo in a speech at Essen, Aug 4; Newton to Hoare, Aug 6, 1935 (PRO file FO.371/18858).
 77 *12 Uhr Blatt*, Feb 17, 1933.
 78 Rösner to legal dept of SA Gruppe Berlin-Brandenburg, May 4, 1935, quoting witnesses Oberführer von Arnim and (the late) Karl Ernst. Hanussen's killers were named as the SA men Schmidt alias Schweinbacke, Obersturmbannführer Ohst (Ernst's adjutant), and Steinle (BDC file, Helldorff).
 79 SA Gruppe Berlin-Brandenburg to Röhm, Mar 29, 1933 (BDC file, Helldorff).
 80 Rösner minute, Feb 2, 1935; in Helldorff's file (BDC) are receipts for 500 and 1,000 marks signed by him on Feb 9 and Mar 4, and by Stabsführer von Arnim for 400 marks on Mar 4, 1933.
 81 Diary, Jul 19, 1935; and BDC file, Helldorff.
 82 *Manchester Guardian*, Aug 24, 1935: 'Starving out the Jews.' RMVP to German FO, Sep 9, 1935 (NA film T120, roll 467, 4318).
 83 Taubert report. Acquitted at the Reichstag fire trial, Torgler had been taken into 'protective custody' during which he and fellow communist deputy Maria Reese jointly wrote this manuscript. The book was suppressed (JG diary, Dec 2), but Torgler himself was freed (diary, Dec 23, 1935); Hitler subsequently paid him 800 marks monthly as a consultant provided he did not resume his public career (diary, Dec 25-26, 1937). In 1940 he began working for the RMVP's black transmitters. See BA files R.55/450, 567, and 1289.
 84 *Kommunismus ohne Maske* (Munich, 1935); Phipps to Hoare, Sep 16, 1935 (PRO file FO.371/18883).
 85 For Hitler's reluctance, see e.g. diary, Jun 25, 1936: 'Führer strongly disapproves of work of all the race agencies.'
 86 Circular directive by Hinkel to presidents of the sub-chambers, Apr 29, 1936 (BA file R.56V/102).
 87 Diary, Sep 17, 1935.
 88 Ibid., Oct 1, 5, Nov 1, 7, 15, 1935.
 89 Ibid., Sep 19, 1935.
 90 Ibid., Sep 25, 1935. The Bundesarchiv would not permit me to review the missing word. See author's Acknowledgments, page viii.
 91 Diary, Oct 1, 1935.
 92 Ibid., Oct 19; Cabinet, Oct 18; and see Oct 26, Nov 15, 1935.
 93 Ibid., Nov 1, 1935.
 94 Ibid., Nov 6, 1935. Emil Ludwig, *Der Mord in Davos* (Amsterdam, 1936), on which see ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 998.
 95 Ibid., Dec 9-16, 1936. Speaking at Magdeburg in 'impressive language' (Phipps) on the world menace of Jewry, JG stated: 'I regret that the foreign press should display the attitude "it is not the murderer but the murder victim who is

- guide" (Phipps to FO, Feb 23, 1936, PRO file FO.371/19922).
- 96 Files on the case in ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90.01, vols. 570, 714-15, 994-7, 999, 1040.
- 97 Diary Jul 5, 1936.
- 98 Phipps to FO, Nov 3, 1936 (PRO file FO.371/19924).
- 99 JG speech to Eleventh International Penal and Prison congress in Berlin, Aug 1935 (ibid., /18880); NYT, Aug 28, 1935.
- 100 JG speech to Wehrmacht academy, 'The Nature of Propaganda' (CIA film T78, roll 372, 53120).
- 101 Unpubl. diary, May 15, 1935.
- 102 Ibid., May 15, 25, 27, 1935.
- 103 Ibid., May 27, 1935.
- 104 Diary, Aug 19, 1935. As Italy became more deeply involved in Abyssinia JG longed for Britain to declare war on Italy. "That's when we'll reap the harvest."
- 105 Ibid., Oct 13, 15, 1935.
- 106 JG speech to gau, Jan 17—the DAZ, Jan 18, alone printed the missing passage; Phipps to FO, Jan 18 (PRO file FO.371/19922); *The Times*, Jan 18, 1936.
- 107 Diary, Jan 21, 1936.
- 108 JG speech in Cologne, Jan 24; British consul-general in Cologne, J. E. Bell, to Phipps, Jan 27, 29, 1936 (PRO file FO.371/19884).
- 109 Diary, Feb 20, 1936.
- 110 Ibid., Mar 2, 1936.
- 111 Ibid., Mar 6, 1936.
- 112 Ibid., Mar 8, 1936.
- 113 Ibid., Mar 17, 1936.

Notes to Chapter 25

- 1 JG proclamation, Mar 24, 1936; PRO file FO.371/19884.
- 2 Diary, Mar 18, 1936.
- 3 See Phipps to Eden, Mar 31, 1936 (PRO file FO.371/1923).
- 4 Diary, Feb 17, 1936.
- 5 Diary, Mar 15, 1936.
- 6 Ibid., Mar 22, 1936. Recollections differ on how JG financed this deal, e.g. Winkler, inaugurated by Korf on May 1, 1948. It seems JG merely promised to pay and completed the deal in Nov 1936. Amann confirmed to Korf, May 4, 1948 that he recalled Hitler saying to him in Thiersch Strasse, Munich that he wanted JG to have a stylish home in Berlin, and that JG needed 300,000 or 370,000 marks to buy a property. 'If I had the money,' said Hitler, 'I'd give it him. Goebbels is one of Eher's best authors.' Amann, no fool, checked his firm's royalty accounts before advancing the money. His version, and Hitler's role, are independently confirmed by his accountant Joseph Pickel, questioned by Korf on May 13, 1948 (Hoover Libr., Korf papers).
- 7 *Berlin National Zeitung*, Dec 11, 1945. The lot No. 8-10 Insel Strasse was finally 3,740 square meters. A Mr Ludwig of Osnabrück claimed after the war that JG had owed him money for the purchase of the plot. Ludwig and a trustee for Nazi property secured the appointment by the Amtsgericht (District Court) Berlin-Zehlendorf of the lawyer Dr Kurt Leyke as administrator on Sep 21, 1954; on Oct 16, 1954 the West Berlin authorities commenced *Wiedergutmachung* (restitution) proceedings against the Goebbels estate and confiscated it. *Tages-*

- spiegel* Berlin, Nov 24, 1954 and see the papers of Dr Leyke (BA file Kl. Erw. 858).
- 8 Reuth, 340, citing the Schwanenwerder Land Registry in Schöneberg magistrates' court; the sale was registered on Apr 25, 1935.
- 9 Hanfstaengel, report on JG for Pres. Roosevelt, Jul 16, 1943 (FDR Libr., PSF box 126).
- 10 Diary, Mar 29, 1936.
- 11 Ibid., Apr 20, 1936.
- 12 Ibid., Apr 4, 6, 8, 11, 1936.
- 13 Ibid., Oct 22, 1936. Winkler and Amann, questioned by Korf, May 1 and 3, 1948, were vague about the details.
- 14 The real-estate files of the Zehlendorf courthouse confirm that JG paid the whole 270,000 marks in cash; see Korf's interview of JG's conveyancing attorney Dr Alfons Knatsch, Apr 12, 1948. For the 1936 royalty account see the Publisher's Note prefacing Louis P. Lochner (ed.), *The Goebbels Diaries* (London, 1948), ix; and Hoover Libr., Goebbels papers, box 2.
- 15 Diary, Apr 20, 1936; Behrend, No. 17, Apr 26, 1952.
- 16 JG to Reichshauptkasse, Apr 7, 1936 (ZStA, Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 1, vol. 3).
- 17 Diary, May 2, 5, 7, 11, 1936 records constant rows.
- 18 Ibid., May 8, 1936.
- 19 Ibid., Jul 8, 9, 1936.
- 20 Ibid., Apr 16, May 3, Jun 13, Jul 9, 1936.
- 21 Ernst Hanfstaengel, report on JG for Pres. Roosevelt, Jul 16, 1943 (FDR Libr. PSF box 126).
- 22 Diary, Jul 9, 1936.
- 23 Ibid., Apr 18, 19, 26, May 8, 13, Jun 23, 1936.
- 24 Ibid., Jul 14, 1936.
- 25 Ondra: Ibid., May 19, Jun 11; Edda: Jun 8, 9, 1936: 'The Führer does not like painted ladies either.'
- 26 Fromm diary, Jun 12, 1936 (Fromm papers, box 2; cf MS in box 61).
- 27 Diary, Jul 2, 1936.
- 28 Ibid., Jun 25, 1936.
- 29 Ibid., Jun 16, 1936.
- 30 Ibid., Feb 2, 1937.
- 31 Unpubl. diary, Apr 27, 1935 (Moscow archives).
- 32 Diary, Jun 19, 1936: JG noted that Mosley said he had been promised £60,000 and 'has already received £2,000.' Despite contemporary denials by Sir Oswald, the author found in Italian ambassador Dino Grandi's files the receipts and reports on transfers of substantial cash sums to Mosley in 1936 (Archivio Segreto dello Stato, Rome). While it must be said there is no corresponding evidence in German files, Diana Mosley now says, 'It is difficult to argue with a diary' (letter to the author, Jan 22, 1994).
- 33 Otto Dietrich called Wrede in a self-serving interrogation (6824DIC[MIS]/M.1169) 'an arrogant, stupid, fanatic Nazi.'
- 35 Diary, Jun 24, Jul 29, 1936.
- 36 Ibid., Aug 6, 7, 1936.
- 37 Perhaps Hitler's former adviser Kurt G. Lüdecke; JG also employed a manservant Lüdecke at Lanke—but Magda is unlikely to have crossed the class-barrier. Rosenberg had met JG in the training center of the Party's foreign policy agency (APA) in Dahlem on Jul 31, to set aside their differences. (Rosenberg to

JG, Aug 28, 1936. Rosenberg papers, NA film, T454, roll 74, 0601ff; JG diary, Aug 1, 1936.

38 Diary, Aug 2, 1936.

39 Ibid., Aug 5, 7, 1936.

40 Ibid., Jul 7, 8, 1936.

41 See BA file R.55.509.

42 Diary, Jun 26, 1936.

43 Ibid., Aug 6, 1936; Cooper C. Graham, *Leni Riefenstahl and Olympia* (London, 1986).

44 Schaub MS (IfZ file ED.100/203, Irving collection).

45 Fethlich, 367; the film was *Stunde der Versuchung*—JG noted (Jun 10, 1936) it was corny, but 'the Baarova woman' acted well.

46 Lochner to children, Aug 1936 (FDR Libr., Toland papers, box 52); cf William E. Dodd, *Ambassador Dodd's Diary*, 349f. On JG's two Peacock Island parties see BA file R.55.511, and Gutterer MS (Lower Saxony provincial archives, Wolfenbüttel).

47 Diary, Jun 27, 1936.

48 Ibid., Jul 30; first outing in it, Sep 30, 1936.

49 Ibid., Aug 28, 1936.

50 Ibid., Aug 11, 1936.

Notes to Chapter 26

1 'Tagebuch für Joseph Goebbels vom 15. September 1936 bis 12. February 1937.' On microfiche in Moscow archives, Goebbels papers, box 1.

2 Holde Goebbels was born in Feb 1937 after seven months, i.e. conceived around July. A sickly, quiet child, she was later spurned by her sisters as 'slow-witted and boring.' JG ribbed her mercilessly and often reduced her to tears (Ebermayer and Meissner, No. 20, May 17, 1952).

3 Based primarily on Lida Baarova: interviewed by the author, Jul 4, 1993; by Ota Filip (transcript courtesy of R. G. Reuth); and by Westdeutscher Rundfunk, May 1991 ('Goebbels through the eyes of Ufa star Lida Baarova'). See too the articles in *Die Wochenpost*, Stuttgart, Nov 20, 1949 (IfZ archives) and by Stan Czech (former Ufa employee and historian), in *Heim und Welt*, Hanover, No. 8 *at seq.*, Feb 1950 (hereafter Czech).

4 Diary, Aug 19, 1936.

5 Diary, Sep 1; cf Basil C. Newton to Eden, and Wigram to Eden, Aug 1936, in PRO file FO.371/20417.

6 JG, *Der Bolschewismus in Theorie und Praxis* (Berlin, 1936). The speech, based on drafts from Taubert (diary, Sep 2, 4), ran to 64pp. Hitler was delighted (diary, Sep 8); 15pp summary by B. C. Newton to Eden, Sep 11, 1936 (PRO file FO.371/19948).

7 Baarova interviews; cf JG diary, Sep 10, 1936.

8 Diary, Sep 11, 1936.

9 Ibid., Sep 12, 1936.

10 Ibid., Sep 15, 1936.

11 WDR interview. For what it is worth, Julius Schaub later insisted that JG's affair with Lida Baarova was the only one he ever had with an actress, and that his reputation resulted from malicious filmstar gossip: manuscript in Irving collection (IfZ file ED.100/202).

12 Diary, May 12: lunch with the Führer, who has 'grandiose plans' in foreign

policy. On Nov 30, 1936 JG noted that Hitler was applying his mind to the production of scarce raw materials like copper and iron ore within Germany.

13 Ibid., May 30, 1936.

14 Ibid., May 3, 1936.

15 Ibid., Apr 15; and see Oct 16, 1936.

16 Ibid., Jun 9, 1936.

17 Ibid., Nov 27, 1936.

18 Ibid., Apr 4, 6, 16, May 11, 9, Jun 17, Jul 14, Aug 1, Oct 6, 21; correspondence, Apr 1–Nov 24, 1936 in Rosenberg's files, NA film T454, roll 74, 0580ff; BA file R56V/102.

19 Diary, Oct 6, 21, 1936.

20 Unpubl. diary, Apr 5, 1935.

21 Interview of Rudolf von Ribbentrop, Jul 20, 1989.

22 Diary, Sep 18, 19, 1936.

23 Ibid., Oct 2, 1936; interviews of Lida Baarova.

24 For JG's Bogensee estate see CSDIC(UK) SIR.1008, an interrogation of the Lanke forester Kloss, Sep 26, 1944, with his sketch plan; JG diary, Sep 16–18, 29, 30, Oct 4, 12, 23, Nov 13, 1936.—For JG's 1939 staff lists at Lanke see BA file R.55/14.

25 Diary, Sep 27, 1936. 'Tagebuch für Joseph Goebbels am 29. Oktober 1936 bis Dezember 1939 (Haus am Bogensee)' (microfiche in Moscow archives, Goebbels papers, box 1).

26 Ibid., Oct 6, 1936.

27 Ibid., Oct 11, 1936: Magda is 'always the same: friendly, nice, obliging, amiable. I like her best of all.'

28 Who did not come down? The diary (Oct 13, 1936) does not specify.

29 Ibid., Oct 29, 1936.

30 A former Berlin film talent scout told MI.14, British Intelligence, in 1944 that 'the sole inhabitant [at Lanke] is a manservant [Kaiser] who is sent away in the evening when Goebbels entertains. It is here that Goebbels brings women secretly, offering them two alternatives: either to drive back with him to Berlin, or to remain for dinner. . . .' (PRO file WO.208/4462).

31 SS Untersturmführer Alfred Rach, born Feb 8, 1911 in East Prussia, a stocky, blue-eyed ex-fitter with a broad Danzig accent, had been JG's second chauffeur since the beginning of 1933 (BDC file). To him would later fall the grim task of burning his master's corpse.

32 Interviewed in prison by *Pinguin* (Hamburg).

33 Diary, Nov 2, 1936.

34 Ibid., Nov 12, 1936.

35 Ibid., Nov 18, 1936.

36 Ibid., Sep 17, 20, 1936; information from Lady Mosley, Jan 12 and 22, 1994, and see her memoirs *A Life of Contrasts and Loved Ones*. W. E. D. Allen, a former Conservative MP, and Captain Gordon-Cumming were Mosley's witnesses, Unity Mitford and Magda were the bride's.

37 Ibid., Oct 12, Nov 14, 25, Dec 5, 1936.

38 R. Likus to Ribbentrop, Dec 17, 1936 (NA film T120, roll 31); Lochner to his children, Dec 10, 1936 (Lochner papers, box 2).

39 Diary, Jan 23, Apr 12, 1937.

40 Ibid., Jan 20, Oct 2, 1937.

41 Ibid., Jan 12, Feb 7, Apr 10, 12, Aug 14, 1937. Lady Mosley does not believe that Hitler provided funds, as the diary suggests; he did however help her

to meet Ohnesorge, Eltz's successor as post-office minister, about Sir Oswald's plan for commercial broadcasting; the French government had allowed Capt. L. Plugge, the Conservative MP, to establish Radio Normandy on a similar basis.

- 42 Diary, Jul 5, 1936.
- 43 Ibid., Jul 18, 1936.
- 44 Ibid., Oct 21, 1936.
- 45 Ibid., Jan 22; text of JG's speech to the Wehrmacht course on the elements of Nazi propaganda, Jan 21, 1937 (BA file R.55/1338).
- 46 Ibid., Sep 21, 1937. The RMVP subsequently drafted a general plan for propaganda in a hypothetical war, and insisted on independent control of this 'new weapon' (Yivo file G-93).

- 47 Diary, Jan 4, 5, 1937.
- 48 Including Erika Dannhoff, who is (diary, Jan 11, 1937) in a good mood and amiable: 'So she's learnt her lesson from our last talk.'

- 49 Diary, Jan 18, 1937.
- 50 MS of Fromm diary, 'Feb 20, 1937' (Fromm papers, box 61).
- 51 Diary, Mar 4, 8, 11, 25, 1937.
- 52 Ibid., Feb 3, 1937.
- 53 Ibid., Feb 11; and see Jan 11, 1937.
- 54 Günther Retelsky to JG, Feb 26, 1937, re Max Kimmich, born Nov 4, 1893 in Ulm (ZStA Potsdam, Magda Goebbels papers, Rep. 90 Go 2, vol. 2); diary, Feb 18, 1937.

- 55 Diary, Feb 3, 4, 1937.
- 56 Ibid., Mar 2, 4, 1937.
- 57 Ibid., Mar 18; on Mar 8, 1937 JG had written, 'The old fool! Final fling.'
- 58 Ibid., Mar 5, 1937.
- 59 Diary, Dec 10, 1937.
- 60 Ibid., Mar 11, 13, 15, 18, 1937. According to the talent scout mentioned above, when Falckenberg refused to become JG's 'one-night mistress' he banned her in Germany; she escaped to Italy and married an Italian (PRO file WO.208/4462). This well-informed source says that the same fate befell Hedda Uhlen, and that when JG had the wife of a Dr Witmann 'kidnapped' and taken out to Lanke, a scandal ensued.

- 61 Ibid., Feb 3, 6, 7, 16, 20, 1937.
- 62 Cabinet, Jan 30, 1937; Milch MS; JG diary, Jan 31, 1937.
- 63 Karl-Wilhelm Krause, *Zehn Jahre Tag und Nacht. Kammerdiener bei Hitler* (Hamburg, 1949) (hereafter Krause), 52.
- 64 Diary, Feb 6, 1937.
- 65 Ibid., Feb 16; Bormann diary, Feb 15, 1937.
- 66 Ibid., Feb 23; Bormann diary, Feb 22, 1937.

Notes to Chapter 27

- 1 Diary, Jan 29, Mar 3, 1937; passim, 1938.
- 2 Ibid., May 5, 15, 1937.
- 3 Table talk, dinner, May 24-25, 1942. Heinrich Heim, *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier 1941-1944* (Munich, 1980), 295.
- 4 Darré diary, Feb 8, 1937, lunch. 'Der Spötter des Dritten Reiches.'
- 5 Magda told Count Ciano (Ciano diary, May 21, 1939) that dinner with Hitler was stupendously boring.
- 6 Friedelind Wagner, *Nacht über Bayern* (Munich, 1947).

- 7 Traudl Junge née Humbs MS (in author's possession) (hereafter Junge MS).

8 Capt. Herbert Friedrichs, interview, Nov 19, 1972, and letter to author, Apr 4, 1989; in his diary, Jan 31, 1938 JG notes one dinner: 'Frau von Dirksen goes yakking on, pure rubbish. I'm furious with her. The Führer is much too indulgent toward her.'

- 9 Behrend, No. 19, May 10, 1952.
- 10 Diary, Jun 13, 1941.
- 11 Hanfstaengel, report on JG for Pres. Roosevelt, Jul 16, 1943 (FDR Libr., PSF box 126).

12 Affidavits by Karl Bodenschatz, Wilhelm Brückner, and others in the Irving collection, IFZ.

- 13 Interviews of naval adjutant Karl-Jesco von Puttkamer in 1967.
- 14 Krause, 15ff.
- 15 Ibid., and Hans-Leo Martin, *Unser Mann bei Goebbels* (Neckargemünd, 1973) (hereafter Hans-Leo Martin).

- 16 Diary, Feb 24, 1937: 'Greeted everywhere most warmly by the people.'
- 17 Minute by Stevenson, FO, Jun 15, 1937, citing former diplomat Count Albrecht Bernstorff (PRO file FO.371/20733); Bernstorff was shot after the July 1944 plot.

- 18 Diary, Dec 1, 12, 13, 1937. 'One has to make an example of him.'
- 19 Junge MS.
- 20 Julius Streicher diary, Nov 13, 1945; by kind permission of Karl Höffkes.
- 21 Diary, Aug 15, 1937.
- 22 Darré diary, Feb 22, 1938.

23 This was on Apr 24, 1937. Hans Kehrl, *Krisenmanager im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1973) (hereafter Kehrl), 82ff. JG's diary, May 1, 1937 puts a different gloss on it: he had been 'cordially welcomed' everywhere. He then admitted that the 'ill-disciplined' Kreisleiter had all muttered against his speech and he was going to draw the necessary conclusions. 'I tick off [Ley] again about the Vogelsang scandal.' On Jun 13, 1937, he said it was the last time he would make such a speech. 'The Kreisleiter are little demigods,' he wrote on Jan 11, 1938, still furious about the humiliating episode.

24 Diary, Dec 25, 1937: he listens to the broadcast of his conversations with the children as presents are handed over.

25 Ibid., Dec 5, 1937. The first day of the 1937/8 WHW raised 8.5m marks, 32.5 percent more than the year before.

26 'Material received by the Minister of Propaganda,' Libr. of Congress, film reel 20, containers 43, 44.

27 Diary, Oct 30, 1937.

28 *Illustrierter Beobachter*, Oct 21, 1937.

29 Kurt Prager to Magda Goebbels, Nov 7, 1937 (Libr. of Congress, film reel 20, containers 43, 44).

30 Kirkpatrick to Strang, FO, Jan 12, 1938 (PRO file FO.371/21660). He traded in the Maybach for a Horch, then a 200hp Mercedes (diary, Oct 26, 1937; Jan 1, Feb 19, 1938); Ogilvie-Forbes to Eden, Jan 4, 1938 (PRO file FO.371/21671). For more detail on the RMVP's cars 1935-43 see BA file R.55/418.

31 Diary, Mar 21, 24, 1937.

32 Ibid., Mar 31, Apr 2, 1937. Hans Günter Hockerts, *Die Sittlichkeitsprozesse gegen Katholische Ordensangehörige und Priester 1936/37* (Mainz, 1971).

33 Diary, Apr 4-6, 1937.

598 SOURCE NOTES FOR PAGES 227 TO 230

- 34 Ibid., Apr 6, 7, 13, 1937.
- 35 Ibid., Apr, 26, 29, 1937.
- 36 Ibid., Apr 30, 1937.
- 37 Ibid., May 1, 1937.
- 38 Ibid., May 4, 1937.
- 39 Ibid., May 12, 13; further church trials that summer, *ibid.*, Jul 1, 4, 1937.
- 40 Ibid., May 25-26, 1937; this claims that Hitler, cruising with him off Schwanenwerder, gave him tips for the speech.
- 41 Sir Nevile Henderson to FO, May 29, 1937 (PRO file, FO.371/20727).
- 42 Diary, Jun 14, 1937.
- 43 Ibid., Jun 3, 4, 1937.
- 44 Ibid., Aug 1, 4, 1937.
- 45 Ibid., Aug 7, 1937.
- 46 Ibid., Aug 8, 13, 1937.
- 47 Ibid., Dec 22, 1937; Jan 15, 1938.
- 48 Gestapo Nuremberg to Gestapo Berlin, Sep 23, 1938, with attachments; the open letter circulated in Eichstätt, Oct 3-15, 1937 (NA film T81, roll 184, 3495ff).
- 49 Diary, Oct 5, 9, 16, 1937.
- 50 Ibid., Aug 11, 12, Oct 27, 1937.
- 51 Ibid., Mar 3, 8, 10, 11; and Dec 31, 1937, further allegations about Funk.
- 52 Ibid., Oct 7, 8, Nov 5, 1937.
- 53 Unpubl. diary, Mar 7, 1938.
- 54 Diary, Feb 3, May 5, Jun 4, 30, Sep 21, Oct 9, Dec 3, 1937; Jan 13; unpubl. diary, Mar 16, May 18, Oct 5, 1938; Mar 16, Jun 23, 1939, etc.
- 55 Diary, Mar 3, 1937.
- 56 Lochner to his children, Dec 5, 1937 (Lochner papers, box 47).
- 57 See Yivo files G-58, G-60; and JG diary, Dec 3, 1937.
- 58 Diary, Mar 6; German foreign ministry circular to all missions, Apr 24, 1937 (NA film T120, roll 4673, 4420).
- 59 Diary, Oct 26, 1937.
- 60 Ibid., Dec 9, 1937.
- 61 Ibid., Sep 11, 13, Oct 6, 14, 1937; on the Jewish-organized boycott of German films in the USA see JG's unpubl. diary, Mar 15, 16, 1938.
- 62 Diary, Mar 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 1937.
- 63 Ibid., Mar 17, 1937.
- 64 Ibid., Mar 20, 21, Apr 17, Aug 3, 19, 20, 1937.
- 65 Ibid., Jan 2, 1937.
- 66 Ibid., Jan 10, 13, 17, 26, 1937.
- 67 Ibid., Feb 14, 1937.
- 68 Ibid., Feb 24, 1937.
- 69 Ibid., Feb 10 and 18; the flooring at Lanke stank of creosote and was having to be renewed (*ibid.*, Jan 4, 1937).
- 70 Other writers have assumed this famous incident occurred in 1938; but Fröhlich had sold his villa by Sep 1937 (cf *ibid.*, Sep 5, 1937). Lida Baarova has stated that it occurred while she was filming *Patrioten*. Filming began late in Jan 1937 (diary, Jan 26), and he showed the film to his family on Apr 20, 1937 (diary). I have preferred to follow her version (see notes to previous chapter) rather than Gustav Fröhlich's.
- 71 Diary, May 16, 1937.
- 72 Ibid., Jul 27, 1937.

- 73 Author's interview of Lida Baarova, Salzburg, Jul 4, 1993. 'I had not gone ... the whole way. *Noch nicht ganz.*'
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 Czech; otherwise based on her testimony.
- 77 Baarova interviews, especially with WDR and with the author.
- 78 Diary, Feb 25, 1937; the actress was Irene von Meyendorff.
- 79 Ibid., Feb 28, 1937.
- 80 Ibid., Feb 2, Mar 3, Apr 3, 13; she may be referred to in the entry of Mar 22, 1937 about a gray Sunday at Lanke: 'But indoors it is warm and comfortable. ... Sat as model. Gossiped. Read until late. Then stayed out at Bogensee. And a long, beneficial sleep.'
- 81 Ibid., Feb 10, 17, 1937.
- 82 Ibid., Mar 21, 22, Apr 13, 16, 1937.
- 83 Ibid., Mar 24, 1937.
- 84 Ibid., Apr 13, 1937.
- 85 Ilse Hess to Magda, Jan 21, 1938 (Rudolf Hess papers, Hindelang).
- 86 Diary, Apr 1, 2, 13, 25, 1937.
- 87 Ibid., May 15, 1937.
- 88 Ibid., Apr 17-19, 25; Prof. Paul Baumgarten took over the design work, but Hitler did not at first like his model: Ibid., Aug 24, Oct 7, 17, 1937.
- 89 Ibid., May 3, 26; Hitler had already spoken of this aim to JG (ibid., Feb 23, 1937); he repeated it a year later (unpubl. diary, Sep 18, 1938).
- 90 Speech reported by Phipps to FO, Feb 15 (PRO file FO.371/20709); JG diary, Feb 14, 1937.
- 91 Diary, May 29, 30; on Ribbentrop: Mar 3, May 17, 22, Oct 27, Nov 16, 1937.
- 92 Thus JG said in Reichenberg, 'When one has the feeling that the time is ripe, the Goddess of History is descending on earth, and the hem of her mantle is touching mankind' (British embassy to FO, Nov 25, 1938: PRO file FO.371/21665).
- 93 Diary, Feb 5, 13, Mar 4, 12, Apr 22, 23, 30, May 8, 27, Jun 19, 30, 1937. Speaking at lunch on Jul 17, 1942, Hitler blamed JG for the failure to carry out his prewar instructions to set up the cable radio (Picker, Table Talk, 455f).
- 94 Diary, Feb 13, 1937; the Drahtfunk system, first devised in 1934, carried high-frequency radio transmissions over telephone wires to existing radio sets. See OSS R&A Report No. 2100, May 29, 1944. Ministerialrat Schroeder of the post ministry reported to the Defense Council session of Apr 21, 1937 that cable radio would provide three programs; it would take four or five more years to bring it to all radio subscribers (NA film T77, roll 131, 3465ff).
- 95 Ibid., Oct 13, 1937.
- 96 Ibid., Oct 15, 17, Dec 2, 16, 17, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29. Ogilvie-Forbes to FO, Dec 30 (PRO file FO.371/20919); on Dec 7, 1937 the British ambassador in Egypt had expressed puzzlement about why JG and Fritsch should be visiting Egypt at the same time as Himmler was in Libya (FO.371/20919).
- 97 Borresholm; JG diary, Jul 31, Aug 1, 1937; interviews of Col. von Below, 1967.
- 98 Diary, Aug 3, 1937.
- 99 Ibid., Sep 14, 1937.
- 100 FO minute on Kirkpatrick's report, Sep 10 (PRO file FO.371/20749). That day Henderson sat between Himmler and JG, the two men whom 'he

most distrusted,' at Hess's castle for lunch. Henderson to FO, Sep 12, 1937 (FO.371/20722).

101 Diary, Sep 3, 7, 8, 1937. BDIC/FIR/31 interrogation of Sauerbruch, Oct 10, 1945 (NA file RG.332, entry ETO, Mis-Y, Sect. box 22).

102 Minute by Ridsdale, FO, on conversation with *Daily Mail*, Oct 2, 1937 (PRO file FO.371/21176).

103 Diary, Nov 5, 1937; JG had spoken at Bad Segeburg on Oct 10, 1937 about Germany's need for colonies (Ogilvie-Forbes to FO, Oct 11, 1937. PRO file FO.371/20722).

104 Diary, Oct 19, 20, 22, 27, Nov 3, 4, 1937.

105 Ibid., Nov 6, 1937.

106 This was the notorious 'Hossbach conference' of Nov 5, 1937: a partial transcript, ND: 386-PS. Cf Walter Bussmann, in *VfZ*, 1968, 373ff, and General Ludwig Beck's commentary (BA file N.28/4).

107 Diary, Nov 17, 1937.

108 Ogilvie-Forbes to FO, Oct 21, 1937 (PRO file FO.371/20736); on Jan 4, 1938 he described JG as 'small, dark and Jewish in appearance' with one leg crippled (FO.371/21671).

109 Diary, Jan 7, 1938: Eden was a 'danger to Britain' as her foreign secretary.

110 JG had demanded that Low's cruel caricatures of Hitler be suppressed. See Rex Leeper's memo of Dec 9, 1937 (PRO file FO.371/20737).

111 Diary, Nov 22; Henderson, memo on JG's talk with Halifax, Nov 21 (PRO file FO.371/20736); diary of Lord Halifax, Nov 21, 1937 (ibid., and Borthwick Institute, York univ., Hickleton papers).

Notes to Chapter 28

1 'The diaries contained a lot of personal material which was not suited for publication without severe editing.' Interrogation of Harald Quandt, Apr 4, 1948 (Hoover Libr., Korf papers).

2 *Mein lieber Gewissensarzt*. Diary, Sep 23, 1925.

3 Diary, Oct 29, 1937. For details see *Nachrichtenblatt des RMVP*, vol. 6, 1938 (BA file R.55/435); and *Berliner Tageblatt*, *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, etc., Apr 20, 1938.

4 Dietrich affidavit, Oct 1947 (NA film, M.1019, roll 13); and interrogations of Hederich, Feb 26 and Mar 1, 1948 (ibid., roll 25).

5 Diary, Dec 1, 1937. Dietrich was Pressechef der NSDAP, Funk Reichspressechef, Hanke Chef des Ministerbüros. See Dietrich's interrogation by CSDIC (WEA) BAOR, report IR.28, Oct 29, 1945 (NA file RG.219, IRR, XE.003812). See too Louis Lochner's letter home, Mar 15, on Dietrich's speech of Mar 7, 1938 (Lochner papers, box 47).

6 Diary, Dec 8, 1937. Naumann was director of JG's Breslau propaganda office (RPA). The author has drawn extensively on Naumann's personnel files in the BDC, and later OSS documentation. See too the manuscript by Dr Jay W. Baird of the Dept of History, Miami univ., Ohio, based on extensive interviews of Naumann taped in 1969/70.

7 Unpubl. diary, Feb 23, 1942: 'He's the most reliable colleague I have.' Naumann was born Jun 16, 1909 in Guhrau; his Nazi party number was 101,399; his SS number 1607. *Schlesische Zeitung*, Aug 27, 1936; May 19, 1937. BDC file, Naumann, and NA file, RG.319, IRR, XE.246725, containing especially the British high commission's Jul 1954 report, 'The Naumann Circle. The Study of a Technique in Political Subversion.'

8 Report by SA Gruppe Pommern, Jul 27, 1934. During investigations against Gauleiter Helmut Brückner, he claimed to have had an erotic relationship with Naumann: 'We kissed and slept together.' These were lies, although Naumann admitted to the Breslau Gestapo on Oct 19, 1935 that Brückner had fondled him, 'and perhaps there was a kiss too' after an election victory. In May 1937 Brückner withdrew his testimony. BDC file, Naumann.

9 Affidavit by Karl Hederich, Jul 9, 1948 (StA Nuremberg).

10 Diary, Dec 3, 1937.

11 See Hanke's file of JG's tax affairs in ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 1, vol.

2. During fiscal 1937, these show that JG received 25,974 marks from his publisher Eher Verlag.

12 Diary, Feb 12, 1938; Albert Speer, *Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1969), 35ff.

13 Oven, 'Jun 1944,' 362ff.

14 Diary, Aug 27, 1937.

15 Ibid., Sep 9-10, 1937.

16 Ibid., Sep 23-24, 1937.

17 Ibid., Dec 3, 1937.

18 E.g. *ibid.*, Sep 5, 1937.

19 Ibid., Sep 30, 1937.

20 Ibid., Dec 27, 1937; Czech; interviews of Baarova.

21 Diary, Oct 6, 1937.

22 Ibid., Dec 1, 1937. On Mar 8, 1938 JG noted: 'Helldorff has given the Schwanenwerder Jew who wanted to diddle us over the house purchase a going-over. Now it will probably go through easier.' And diary Mar 22, 29, 30, 1938.

23 Reuth, 385f, researching in 1954 files of JG's executor Krech and the Schwanenwerder land register. On Jun 8, 1939 JG sold off part of the new lot to the industrialist Alfred Ludwig of Osnabrück for 180,000 marks. See diary, Mar 24, 30, 1941.

24 Ello Quandt, cited by Ebermayer and Meissner.

25 Diary, Dec 12; there was building work at Lanke (*Ibid.*, Dec 21, 1937).

26 Ibid., Dec 19, 1937.

27 Ibid., Jan 6, 1938.

28 Ibid., Jan 12; unpubl. diary Feb 19, Mar 20, 22, Apr 15 (completed), 20, 21, 1938.

29 Diary, Jan 16; unpubl. diary, Feb 13, 27, Mar 29, Apr 3, 22, 26, 27; documents on the plaster model, Jan 31, 1938 (BA file R.43II/1184).

30 This was on Mar 4; unpubl. diary, Mar 5. On Mar 17, 1938 the *Münchner Illustrierter Beobachter* featured a photo taken at the film ball showing Lida Baarova with Hilde Körber and four other stars.

31 A 'selfish little beast': unpubl. diary, Apr 26, 27, 29, 1938.

32 Ibid., Feb 14, 1938.

33 Letter to Oberregierungsrat G. W. Müller (of RMVP), Jan 26, 1939: Magda points out she is incapable of paying the taxes for Nos 12-14 Insel Strasse from her housekeeping money in addition to those for Nos. 8-10 (Hoover Libr., Goebbels papers, box 2).

34 Diary, Jan 20; unpubl. diary, Feb 20, 1938.

35 Diary, Jan 15, 1938. On Feb 8, 1935 JG had recorded in his unpubl. diary a similar private talk with Hitler, on ambassadorial appointments to London and Paris.

36 Diary, Jan 15, 1938.

37 Ibid., Feb 1, 1938.

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- 38 Ibid., Jan 22, 1938.
- 39 Ibid., Feb 1, 1938.
- 40 Ibid., Dec 15, 1937; and see Jan 13, 14, 18, 1938.
- 41 Ibid., Jan 26, 1938.
- 42 Ibid., Jan 27, 1938.
- 43 Ibid., Jan 28, 1938.
- 44 Ibid., Jan 27, 29. The 83pp transcript of the four-hour grilling on Jan 27, 1938 is on NA film T82, roll 272. The author also used Fritsch's own handwritten record of the scandal, written Feb 1938-Sep 27, 1938 (see IfZ, Irving collection, and BA file N.33).
- 45 Diary, Jan 30, 1938.
- 46 Ibid., Jan 31; and see Lutze diary, Jan 30, 1938.
- 47 Diary, Feb 1, 1938.
- 48 Ibid., Feb 6, 1938.
- 49 Ibid. See too Fritsch's notes, and the diaries of Milch, Eberhard, and von Leeb.
- 50 Unpubl. diary, Feb 13, 14, 1938: 'Thank goodness, the world press has still not printed anything of the true background to our "crisis".'
- 51 Rudolf Likus described Berndt to Ribbentrop on Feb 11, 1938 as a 'tactless fellow' with less manners than a butcher's boy (NA film T120, roll 31, 8876f).
- 52 Lochner to daughter, Mar 15, 1938 (Lochner papers, box 47).
- 53 Ibid. Juliana had married the German Prince Bernhard von Lippe-Biesfeld at the end of 1936. At the wedding he had refused to permit the German anthem, speaking in a later declaration of 'foreign national anthems that he no longer desired,' and calling himself somebody who 'is and feels Dutch.' 'A fine patriot,' commented JG, launching a bitter press attack on him with Hitler's blessing (diary, Jan 1, 3, 5, 25, 1937); and see Nigel Law to Orme Sargent, FO, May 16, 1937 (PRO file FO.371/20733).
- 54 Unpubl. diary, Feb 16, 1938.
- 55 Goebbels had remarked as recently as Dec 27, 1937 (diary) that a long road still lay ahead to Austria.
- 56 Unpubl. diary, Feb 16, 1938.
- 57 Ibid., Feb 21, 1938.
- 58 Ibid., Feb 13, 1938.
- 59 Ibid., Feb 17, 1938.
- 60 Ibid., Feb 16, 1938.
- 61 Ibid., Feb 26, 1938.
- 62 Ibid., Mar 1, 1938.
- 63 Diary, Jul 3, 4, 6, 1937: Niemöller should 'never be turned loose' again.
- 64 Ibid., Apr 17, 1937. Frick had drafted a new law requiring all civil servants to have law degrees. JG suggested an amendment (Apr 20, 1937): 'Not "only lawyers" may become civil servants, but "even, in exceptional cases, lawyers."'
- 65 Ibid., Jan 21, 1938.
- 66 Ibid., Feb 5, 8, 1938.
- 67 Ibid., Feb 9; and unpubl. diary, Feb 14, 20, 23, 1938.
- 68 Ibid., Feb 23, 25, 26, 1938.
- 69 Ibid., Mar 3: 'That's the clock striking thirteen!;' and Mar 4. See Franz Gürtner's diary, Mar 5, 1938 (BA file R.22/946) and Fritz Wiedemann, *Der Mann, der Feldherr werden wollte* (Velbert, 1964), 149.
- 70 Unpubl. diary, Mar 3, 1938. Niemöller survived the war after a relatively privileged captivity at Dachau and other camps.

- 71 Diary, Nov 14, 1937.
- 72 Ibid., Nov 16, 1937.
- 73 Ibid., Dec 11, 1937; statement by Ehrhardt to Kurzbein on Apr 22 quoted by Grau to Himmeler, Apr 23, 1938 (Tobias archives.)
- 74 Unpubl. diary, Feb 23, 1938.
- 75 Ibid., Mar 2, 1938.
- 76 Ibid., Mar 6, 1938.
- 77 Ibid., Mar 18, 1938.
- 78 Diary, Jun 15, 1938.
- 79 Ibid., Aug 12, 13, 1938.
- 80 Unpubl. diary, Mar 7, 1938.
- 81 Ibid., Mar 10; JG's glare was fixed on the Czech parliament, where an anti-German debate was raging—'until one day [our] divisions go marching in.' Party: Milch diary, Mar 9; the NYT on Mar 10, 1938 quoted JG as stating at this reception that 'certain journalists of foreign countries ... stand in the service of secret powers and must fulfil their orders, be these Jewish or Masonic or international-Marxist or capitalistic.'
- 82 Unpubl. diary, Mar 10. To JG's fury, Daluge's official police magazine *Die deutsche Polizei* revealed 'just about all' their secrets of Mar 10–13 in an article; he had the journal seized and the author arrested (Ibid., Apr 3, 4, 1938).
- 83 Ibid., Mar 11, 1938.
- 84 Ibid. In fact the telegraphed 'invitation' arrived only two days later after the party was over (ibid., Mar 14, 1938). See Seyss-Inquart's MS on the telegram controversy, in his papers (copy in IfZ, Irving collection).
- 85 Unpubl. diary, Mar 13, 1938.
- 86 Körber was Harlan's second wife. Veit Harlan, *Im Schatten meiner Filme. Selbstbiographie* (Gütersloh, 1966), 83; and interview of Thomas Harlan, 1994.
- 87 Unpubl. diary, Mar 16, 1938
- 88 Ibid., Mar 17, 1938: 'This is a chanting, cheering city.'
- 89 Ibid., Mar 18, 1938.
- 90 Ibid., Mar 19, 1938.
- 91 Ibid., and an unpubl. diary of Colonel Alfred Jodl, Apr 1938, transcribed by this author.
- 92 See JG's unpubl. diary, Mar 10; and Mar 21, 1938: 'They [the Czechs] are too late.'
- 93 Ibid., Feb 25, 1938.
- 94 At the Berlin diplomatic reception on Feb 15, 1938, Mastný had spoken with him about a newspaper truce between their two countries. Subsequently Mastný did urge Prague to curb the anti-German press. See the note on his phone conversation with Krofta, Feb 16, 1938, in Král, *Das Abkommen von München 1938* (Prague, 1968), 67f, No. 16.
- 95 Unpubl. diary, Mar 20, 1938.
- 96 *Unzeitgemäß*. Ibid., Mar 22, 1938.
- 97 Ibid., Mar 25, 1938.
- 98 Ibid., Mar 29, 1938.
- 99 Ibid., Apr 8, 1938.
- 100 Ibid., Mar 22, 1938.
- 101 See the report in NYT, Mar 30, 1938.
- 102 Monthly report by British vice-consul at Breslau, Mar 31, 1938 (PRO file FO.371/21674).
- 103 Unpubl. diary, Apr 5, 1938.

- 104 See the report in *NYT*, Apr 5, 1938.
- 105 Unpubl. diary, Apr 10, 1938.
- 106 *Ibid.*, Apr 11, 1938.
- 107 *Ibid.*, Apr 12, 1938.
- 108 *Ibid.*, Apr 11. Of 49,403,028 entitled to vote, 49,279,104 had voted, of whom 48,751,857 had voted for Hitler and Anschluss. Analyzed: *ibid.*, Apr 26, 1938.

Notes to Chapter 29

- 1 On this decree see OSS R&A report No. 113, Feb 22, 1943 (USAMHI, Donovan papers, box 35c). On the new theater academy see BA file R.55/264.
- 2 Diary, Jun 5, 1937.
- 3 *Ibid.*, Jun 5-7, 12, 1937.
- 4 JG to Ziegler, Jun 30, cit. Peter-Klaus Schuster, *Die 'Kunststadt' München 1937. Nationalsozialismus und 'entartete Kunst'* (Munich, 1987), 37ff; Reuth, 367; diary, Jun 30, 1937.
- 5 Diary, Jul 24, 25, Aug 1, 1937.
- 6 *Ibid.*, Sep 1, 1937.
- 7 *Ibid.*, Sep 22, Nov 5, 1937; unpubl. diary, Mar 15, May 17, 1938. The law: diary, Jan 13, 14; unpubl. diary, Feb 12, 14, Mar 15, May 17, 18; diary, Jun 5, 1938.
- 8 Unpubl. diary, May 18, 16; diary, Jul 29, 1938.
- 9 See e.g. Král, *Das Abkommen von München*, 63, No. 9; Prof. Carl Burckhardt's opinion, quoted in Geneva telegram to FO, Jan 27 (PRO file FO.371/21660); and JG unpubl. diary, May 21, 1938.
- 10 *Ibid.*, Mar 14, 21, 24, 1938.
- 11 Ello Quandt says this was in the last weeks of this pregnancy. Meissner, *Magda Goebbels*, 175f.
- 12 Unpubl. diary, Apr 13, 14; and see Apr 3, 1938.
- 13 *Ibid.*, May 3, 1938.
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 *Ibid.*, May 5, 1938.
- 16 *Ibid.*, May 6. The nobility, Hitler remarked later, were good only for marrying off to wealthy Jewesses (*ibid.*, Jun 16, 1938).
- 17 *Ibid.*, May 4, 1938.
- 18 *Ibid.*, May 5, 1938. Aboard the Comte di Cavour Cavour, Hitler told Mussolini that Germany would step out along the ancient teutonic road to the east. See Ciano's letter to Ribbentrop, Aug 13, 1939 (Loesch files, NA film T120, roll 610).
- 19 Unpubl. diary, May 7, 1938.
- 20 *Ibid.*, May 7-8, 1938.
- 21 *Ibid.*, May 11, 1938.
- 22 *Ibid.*, May 12, 1938.
- 23 *Ibid.*, May 5, 1938; the late Capt. Herbert Friedrichs to the author, Apr 4, 1989; Behrend, No. 19, May 10, 1952.
- 24 Unpubl. diary, May 12, 1938.
- 25 Diary, May 13; incorrectly dated May 12, 1938 in E. Fröhlich's edition.
- 26 Unpubl. diary, May 15, 1938.
- 27 *Ibid.*, May 17, 18, 19, 23, 27, 31; diary, Jun 2, 3, 15, 16, 17, 19, 1938.
- 28 From a well-informed article by a Forschungsamt official in *Neue Presse*,

Coburg, Aug 3, 1946; and see NA file RG.226, file XE.4986.

29 Interview of Thomas Harlan, Jan 13, 1994; Lida Baarova remembers two Gestapo cars shadowing her sometimes.

30 Julius Schaub, MS (IfZ Irving collection, ED.100/202).

31 Diary, Jun 17, 1938.

32 Ibid., Jun 21, 1938.

33 Author's interview with Lida Baarova, Salzburg, Jul 4, 1993.

34 Meissner, *Magda Goebbels*, 141.

35 Diary, Jun 30, 1938.

36 Ibid., Jul 3, 1938.

37 Ibid., Jul 5, 7, 1938.

38 Ibid., Jul 8, 1938.

39 Hanke told his later wife, the then Baroness Freda née von Fircks, that while he was willing, Magda was not (interview of the late Freda Rössler, Mar 5, 1990).

40 Cabinet, Jan 26; diary, Jan 27, 1937.

41 Unpubl. diary, May 12, 1938.

42 Diary, Jun 16, 1938.

43 Ibid., Aug 13, 1938.

44 Ibid., Jul 30, 1938.

45 Max Wünsche diary, Jun 19 (BA file NS.10/125); JG unpubl. diary, May 1, 3, 1938.

46 Unpubl. diary, Apr 21, 1938; program, BA file NS.10/44.

47 Guest list in Graham, *Leni Riefenstahl and Olympia*, 186ff.

48 Unpubl. diary, Apr 22, 23, 1938.

49 Diary, Aug 13, 1938.

50 Unpubl. diary, Apr 5, 1938.

51 Ibid., May 29, 1938: 'He is happy when I speak a few friendly words to him.'

52 The author was Ernst Wiechert. Diary, Aug 4, 30; unpubl. diary, Sep 11, 1938.

53 Diary, Jan 6, 1938.

54 Unpubl. diary, Feb 12, 1938.

55 Ibid., Mar 6; he was aware how many top Nazis' wives purchased in Jewish stores, including Emmy Göring. 'Women sometimes can't distinguish between them.' Apr 22, 1938.

56 Yivo file G-61.

57 Unpubl. diary, Mar 20, 1938.

58 Ibid., Mar 23; he used the same turn of phrase in his Vienna speech of Mar 29, 1938.

59 Unpubl. diary, Apr 23; and Helldorff's report to JG on his anti-Jewish operations, Jun 20, 1938 (Princeton univ., Seeley Mudd Libr., Adolf Hitler collection, box 2).

60 Diary, Jun 2, 3, 1938.

61 Dr Julius Dresel. See Heydrich to Himmler, Jul 22; Himmler to Helldorff, Jul 30, 1938 (BDC file, Helldorff).

62 Diary, Jun 4, 1938.

63 Under Regierungsassessor Brummel.

64 Helldorff's report; JG diary, Jun 19, 1938: 'Helldorff is now taking radical steps on the Jewish Problem. The party is helping him in this. ... The police have understood my instructions.' See the United Press report from Berlin, on NA film T120, roll 4357, 5162ff.

65 Lochner to family, Jul 10, 1938 (Lochner papers, box 47). He and his wife witnessed 'orgies of window smearing' on Kurfürstendamm.

66 Diary, Jun 21, 1938.

67 Ibid., Jun 22; Henderson to FO, Jun 22, 1938 (PRO file FO.371/21663). Three thousand Jews had actually moved into Berlin in the last three months, he shrilled. 'They must not behave as if there had never been a national socialist revolution.' *DAZ*, Jun 23, 1938: 'Goebbels über die Auseinandersetzung mit den Juden. Eine Rede bei der Berliner Sonnenwendfeier' (BA, Schumacher collection, file 115.)

68 Diary, Jun 21, 1938.

69 Ibid., Jun 24, 1938.

70 Ibid., Aug 5, 8, 1938. 'I don't want that.'

71 Ibid., Jul 6, 1938; see Joachim von Ribbentrop, *Zwischen London und Moskau* (Leoni, 1953), 275.

72 Diary, Jul 24; on July 26 Helldorff handed him a report on steps so far taken against Berlin's Jews, and on Aug 3 about subsequent operations: 'They are proceeding to plan' (diary).

73 Unpubl. diary, Apr 15, 1938.

74 Ibid., Apr 23, 1938.

75 Ibid., May 3, 1935. On May 21 he wrote, 'Poor Prague, we'll be seeing see to you.'

76 Ibid., May 22, 24, 1938.

77 Ibid., May 25, 1938.

78 Ibid., May 28, 1938.

79 Ibid., May 29; the *NYT* noted, May 28, 1938, 'As if by order, the German press ceased abruptly its blasts against Czechoslovakia.'

80 Unpubl. diary, May 30, 1938.

81 Ibid., Jun 1, 1938.

82 Ibid., Jun 3, 4, 1938.

83 Diary, Jul 16, 17, 1938.

84 Ibid., Jul 17; JG, Hitler, and Ribbentrop had all assured Ambassador von Dirksen of their desire for an understanding with Britain. Henderson to Cadogan, May 2, 1938 (PRO file FO.800/269).

85 Diary, Jul 19, 1938.

86 Ibid., Jul 9; Max Wünsche diary, Jul 8, 1938 (BA file NS.10/125).

87 Diary, Jul 10, 11; Wünsche diary, Jul 9, 10, 1938.

88 Author's interview with Speer, May 20, 1968; see Speer, *Inside the Third Reich* (New York, 1970), 218f.

89 Diary, Jul 16, 17, 1938.

90 Ibid., Jul 23, 1938.

91 Ibid., Jul 25; Wünsche diary, Jul 24, 1938. Author's interview of Speer; Speer's memoirs put this episode in July 1939. Wünsche's diary leaves no doubt that it was 1938.

92 Diary, Jul 26; see Wünsche diary, Jul 25, 1938.

93 Diary, Jul 26, 1938.

94 Ibid., July 27, 1938.

95 Ibid., Jul 28; Magda phoned twice from Bayreuth. Diary, Jul 29, 30. There is one unexplained diary entry, Jul 29, 1938: 'The Bronnen Case comes up again. I now squash it for good.' Arnolt Bronnen, by now Programmleiter at Berlin's radio and television station, was a (part-Jewish?) radio official with whose fiancée Olga JG had had his first true sexual encounter years earlier.

- 96 Ibid., Jul 30, 1938.
- 97 Ibid., Aug 3, 1938.
- 98 What follows is based on Lida's various recollections. The amethyst ring is the key to the chronology. Ibid., Aug 4, 1938: 'I give Magda a beautiful ring. We have a long discussion.'
- 99 Baarova interviews.
- 100 Author's interview of Lida Baarova, Salzburg, Jul 4, 1993. 'I wanted to get out of the whole thing.'
- 101 Diary, Aug 5, 1938.
- 102 Ibid., Aug 6-9, 12, 14, 1938.
- 103 Ibid., Aug 5, 1938.
- 104 Ibid., Aug 9, 10, 12, 1938.
- 105 Ebermayer and Meissner, No. 22, May 31, 1952; see diary, Aug 12, 1938: 'A long parlay [sic] with Magda and Auntie Ello.'
- 106 Ibid., Aug 14, 1938.
- 107 Baarova interviews.
- 108 Diary, Aug 15, 1938: 'Rain, rain, rain. And the whole house full of guests.'
- 109 Ibid., Aug 16, 1938.
- 110 Behrend, No. 18, May 3, 1952.
- 111 Bahls (Hitler's adjutant) to RMVP, Aug 16, 1938 (BA file NS.10/45).
- 112 Diary, Aug 16, 1938.
- 113 Ibid.

Notes to Chapter 30

- 1 Hitler's secret speech to Nazi editors, Nov 10, 1938 (BA file NS.11/28).
- 2 Taubert report.
- 3 Berndt was chief of JG's press department (Abteilung Presse). On his role in fabricating these atrocity stories see the testimony of Schirmeister on Jun 28, 1946 (IMT, xvii, 262), and the Nuremberg interrogation of Heinz Lorenz, Dec 3, 1947 (IfZ file ZS-266).
- 4 See JG diary, Aug 30, 1938: 'Henlein's propaganda minister Höller reports to me from Prague. . . .' On Höller see VB, Oct 13, 1938, p. 2.
- 5 From the memoirs of JG's press officer (Pressereferent): published anonymously by E. G. Schoor as 'Ein enger Mitarbeiter des Reichspropagandaministers erzählt,' copyright Hermann Laatz Verlag, Hamburg, in *Nord-West-Illustrierte*, in 1949 (IfZ archives) (hereafter Pressereferent memoirs). The author was Moritz von Schirmeister, as both the memoirs and he misdate a certain episode as Jul 20, 1939 (cf interrogation, May 6, 1946, NA film M.1270, roll 19). Schirmeister, an SS Hauptsturmführer, entered the party on Oct 1, 1931, and was JG's Pressereferent from Jul 1, 1938 to Jul 1, 1943.
- 6 Diary, Jul 25, 1938.
- 7 Ibid., but see Aug 17, 1938: Dietrich told JG that Hitler had intended nothing special with this visit, merely to reassure Britain.
- 8 Ibid., Aug 22, 1938.
- 9 Ibid., Aug 17, 1938.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid., Aug 18, 1938.
- 12 Ibid., Aug 19, 1938.
- 13 Ibid., Aug 21, 1938. He repeats the adjectives *hardhearted* and *cruel* in the diary on Aug 17, 18, 19, 20, 1938.

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- 14 Ibid., Aug 27, 1938.
- 15 Ibid., Sep 1, 1938.
- 16 Unpubl. diary, Sep 2; he does not see the children again until Oct 14, 1938.
- 17 Diary, Aug 28, 30; unpubl. diary, Sep 2, 1938.
- 18 Diary, Aug 30; JG (ibid., Sep 16, 1938) called this attaché 'der alte Hosenscheißer.'
- 19 Ibid., Aug 31, 1938.
- 20 Ibid., Sep 1; Wünsche diary, Aug 31, 1938.
- 21 And see too diary, Aug 28, 1938.
- 22 Unpubl. diary, Sep 2, 1938.
- 23 Ibid.; Wünsche diary, Sep 1, 1938.
- 24 Unpubl. diary, Sep 3; Wünsche diary, Sep 2; NYT, Sep 2, 1938.
- 25 Unpubl. diary, Sep 5, 1938.
- 26 Ibid., Sep 6, 1938.
- 27 Ibid., Sep 6, 7, 1938.
- 28 Ibid., Sep 8, 1938.
- 29 Ibid., Sep 9, 1938.
- 30 Ibid., Sep 10, 1938.
- 31 Ibid., Sep 11, 1938.
- 32 See Ogilvie-Forbes to FO, Sep 14, 1938 (PRO file FO.371/21760); and unpubl. diary, Sep 11, 12, 1938.
- 33 Ibid., Sep 14, 1938.
- 34 Ibid., Sep 15, 1938.
- 35 Ibid., Sep 18, 1938.
- 36 Ibid., Sep 16, 17, 1938.
- 37 Ibid., Sep 18; Wünsche and Bormann diaries, Sep 17, 1938.
- 38 Unpubl. diary, Sep 18; and again on Sep 19, 1938.
- 39 Ibid., Sep 20, 1938. Hitler gave a file of these Beneš wiretaps to the British (PRO file FO.371/21742). See Irving, *Das Reich hört mit*, appendix. Interrogation of Legationsrat Emil Rasche (NA file RG.226, XE.4986); and Hitler's remarks to the editors on Nov 10, 1938 (BA file NS.11/28).
- 40 JG was unprintable about Hungary's 'shameless' weakness, cowardice, and greed: see his unpubl. diary, entries of Sep 21, 22, 26, 27, Oct 6, 9, 15, 16, 18, 20, 24, and Nov 4, 1938.
- 41 Transcript of Hitler's meeting with Lipski, Sep 20; and unpubl. JG diary, Sep 21, 1938.
- 42 Ibid., Sep 22, 1938.
- 43 Ibid., Sep 23, 1938.
- 44 Ibid., Sep 24, 1938.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Ibid., Sep 26, 1938.
- 47 In JG's own circle he noted warnings from Funk, Hanke, and Krosigk (ibid., Sep 22); Helldorff (Sep 14); the editors (Sep 15); and that Fritz Wiedemann was to be sacked for having lost his nerve (Oct 24, 1938).
- 48 Ibid., Sep 28, 1938. JG had originally planned to seal all German radio receivers to immunize the public from enemy propaganda; Keitel dissuaded him.
- 49 Ibid., Sep 28, Oct 2, 1938.
- 50 Ibid., Sep 28. He had used the 'sleepwalker' simile before, ibid., Sep 11, 1938.
- 51 Wiedemann, 176.

52 *In stummer Obstruktion*. Ibid., 176. JG's unpubl. diary, Sep 29 and especially Oct 2, 1939. See too Klaus-Jürgen Müller, *Das deutsche Heer und Hitler*, (Stuttgart, 1969), 373, n.136.

53 Private letter from Weizsacker's wife Marianne to his mother, Sep 30, stating that he gave JG the main credit after Göring over the last few days for averting war. In his diary Weizsäcker wrote on Oct 9, 1938 that JG made his remarks 'in front of everybody and out loud to the Führer,' which he reiterated in his Oct 1939 survey of historical events.

54 Pressereferent memoirs. Precisely confirmed by JG's unpubl. diary, Sep 29, 1938.

55 Unpubl. diary, Sep 30, 1938.

56 Ibid., Oct 1, 1938.

57 Ibid., Jun 3, 1938.

58 Ibid., Sep 5, 1938.

59 Ibid., Oct 2, 1938.

60 Ibid., Oct 3, 1938.

61 Ibid., Oct 10; Hanke echoed this view. 'Capturing the fortifications would have cost us rivers of blood.' (Ibid., Oct 12, 1938.)

Notes to Chapter 31

1 Unpubl. diary, Oct 1, 1938.

2 Czech.

3 The late Capt. Herbert Friedrichs to the author, Apr 4, 1989.

4 *Der Amüsierpöbel, der sich nachts von Bar zu Bar wälzt*.

5 Mussolini remarks to Count Ciano that JG was in the wrong to allow his face to be slapped. Ciano diary, Feb 13, 1939.

6 Hassell diary, Jan 22, 1939; his source was Ufa's Dr Oswald Lehnich.

7 Rosenberg diary, Feb 6, 1939, 80f; quoting Himmler.

8 Unpubl. diary, Sep 5, 6, 1938.

9 Ibid., Sep 7, 1938.

10 Ibid., Sep 10, 1938.

11 Ibid., Sep 12, 1938.

12 Ibid., Sep 14, 25, 26, 1938.

13 Ibid., Oct 4, 1938. Of course, JG may have known all along, and inserted this passage to make his ultimate betrayal by Hanke sound even more horrid.

14 Ibid., Oct 9, 1938.

15 Confirmed by Baarova, interviews; and the anonymous report NOI/108, CSDIC interrogation of her manager, 'Mar 15, 1944,' in MI.14 dossier on JG (PRO file WO.208/4462).

16 Other sources speak of twenty-eight names; *Life*, Mar 20, 1939, states that three divorce attorneys turned her down, fearing the risk.

17 Unpubl. diary, Oct 10, 1938.

18 Ibid., Oct 11, 1938.

19 Ibid., Oct 12, 1938.

20 Ibid., Oct 13, 1938.

21 Ibid., Oct 14, 1938.

22 Ibid., Oct 12, 1938: 'Helldorff reports on the state of the anti-Jewish operation in Berlin. This is continuing to plan. And the Jews are now gradually pulling out.'

23 Ibid., Oct 7, 1938.

- 24 Ibid., Oct 15, 1938.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid., Oct 16, 1938. Eva Braun won back Hitler by this dubious means in May 1935. She faked a suicidal diary entry, left it lying open, and took some aspirins. See Irving, *The War Path* (London, 1978), 110f.
- 27 Diary, Oct 18, 1938. According to Max Winkler's slightly different version of the episode, JG sent Rach to Magda with farewell letters addressed to her and his mother. Magda followed Rach back to Lanke, threw herself across what she took to be JG's lifeless form, and besought him to come back to life; JG obliged. (Interrogation, May 1, 1948, Hoover Libr., Korf papers.)
- 28 Unpubl. diary, Oct 19, 1938.
- 29 Ibid., Oct 20, 1938.
- 30 Emmy, quoted by Olga Rigele, Göring's sister (Hassell diary, Jan 26, 1939); Olga spoke contemptuously of JG's seduction of young actresses dependent on his ministry.
- 31 Unpubl. diary, Oct 21, 1938.
- 32 Bormann diary, Oct 19, 20, 1938.
- 33 Unpubl. diary, Oct 21, 1938: 'Göring acts like a real comrade. Fair, decent, noble, cordial.'
- 34 Rigele in Hassell diary.
- 35 Unpubl. diary, Oct 22; Bormann diary, Oct 21, 1938.
- 36 Ogilvie-Forbes to FO, Oct 22 (PRO file FO.371/21708); reports in *Hamburger Nachrichten*—its photo shows a very po-faced Goebbels—*DAZ*, and *Börsenzeitung*, Oct 22, 1938.
- 37 L. L. Robinson to Ogilvie-Forbes, Oct 25 (PRO file FO.371/21665); and British embassy, Berlin, to FO, Oct 26, 1938 (ibid., /21791).
- 38 Unpubl. diary, Oct 24, 1938; and Lida Baarova, who was briefed by Helldorff on what happened.
- 39 Unpubl. diary, Oct 24; Bormann diary, Oct 23, 1938 (note his exclamation mark: 'Führer goes up to Kehlstein house with the Goebbels Family!').
- 40 This immediately became known abroad. E.g. *Life*, Mar 20, 1939. Different versions of the family photo were published in e.g. *VB*, *DAZ*, Oct 25–26, 1938.—See too Werner Stephan, *Goebbels—Dämon einer Diktatur* (hereafter Stephan), also Czech. Sending a copy of the photo to the FO, the British embassy commented on Oct 26, 1938 that JG's matrimonial affairs 'have for long been the subject of much delighted gossip in Berlin.' It (and *Life*) reported the rumors that Fröhlich had beaten up JG, then 'surrendered to Himmler and [said] what about it,' and stated that Magda had cited 'twenty-five' co-respondents (PRO file FO.371/21791).
- 41 Helldorff told this to her: Author's interview, Salzburg, Jul 4, 1993. JG unpubl. diary, Oct 24, 1938.
- 42 I.e. withdrawing the *du*. MI.14 report (PRO file WO.208/4462).
- 43 Stephan; Czech; well confirmed in unpubl. diary, Oct 25, 1938. Julius Schaub (MS) claims it was *he* who broke the news to Lida.
- 44 Ogilvie-Forbes to Lord Halifax, Nov 3, 1938 (PRO file FO.371/21791); *he* probably had this from Göring himself.
- 45 Unpubl. diary, Oct 25, 1938.
- 46 Author's interview of Lida Baarova, Salzburg, Jul 4, 1993.
- 47 *Life*, Mar 20, 1939.
- 48 Unpubl. diary, Oct 29, 1938. He added, 'It was uninterrupted torment.'
- 49 Rudolf Likus to Ribbentrop, Nov 3 (NA film T120, roll 31, 9042); Stephan

wrongly identifies the film as *Preußische Liebesgeschichte*. Writing to the FO on Nov 3, 1938 Ogilvie-Forbes stated: 'Certain remarks [in the script] . . . made her an all too tempting target for public derision and interruptions unflattering to herself and to Dr Goebbels.' See too the detailed account of this incident in *Life*, Mar 20, 1939. Author's interview with Baarova, Jul 4, 1993.

50 Baarova.—She does flee to Prague. When Hitler invades she moves to Rome. She will make half a dozen movies there before the Allied invasion halts her career again. Hounded by Magda Goebbels, Hanke, Himmler, the Gestapo, the American CIC, and finally the Czech communists—her twenty-three-year-old actress sister Zola throws herself out of a window to her death—this talented actress ekes out a postwar living in Austrian exile as a waitress in a greasy-spoon café.

51 Unpubl. diary, Oct 26, 1938. It was perhaps Oberregierungsrat Dr Curt Thomalla, who would be found dead in a gasfilled room with his secretary in Mar 1939. 'He left behind letters containing a full confession' (Diary, Jan 4, 1939); Ebermayer and Meissner, No. 21, May 24, 1952.

52 Unpubl. diary, Oct 26, 1938. 'Thus concludes this book. It covers the most awful period of my life. I am still in the midst of the crisis. Shall I get over it? That's written in the stars.'

53 Diary, Nov 2, 1938: begins work on MS; unpubl. diary, Nov 7: 'I begin thinking about my new book. I'll soon begin writing it. It's got to be really magnificent.' Nov 10: 'It's real fun.' Nov 15, at least one worthwhile task; 21, dictates four chapters; 24, talks with Baur; Dec 4, Hitler wants to see it when finished; 12, 100 pages finished; 14, 15, 16, completion; 16, talks with Hearst; 30, galley proofs.

54 *Ibid.*, Jan 17, 1939. Rudolf Semler reports that there were two proof copies.

Notes to Chapter 32

1 Goebbels himself admitted two months later that he had been on the verge of a nervous breakdown: diary, Jan 17, 1939.

2 Unpubl. diary, Oct 27, 29, 1938. The unpubl. fragments of JG's diary from Oct 26, 1938 to Oct 8, 1939 are in the Moscow archives, Goebbels papers, box 1.

3 *Ibid.*, Oct 27, 1938

4 *Ibid.*, Oct 29, 30, 1938.

5 *Ibid.*, Oct 30, 1938: 'I spend midday in leaden solitude. Can any man bear and endure all that?' *VB*, Oct 29, 30, 1938.

6 Unpubl. diary, Oct 31, 1938.

7 Diary, Nov 3, 4, 1938.

8 *Ibid.*, Oct 29, 1938

9 Behrend, No. 17, Apr 26, 1952. Unpubl. diary, Oct 31; report on JG's Weimar speech in *VB*, Oct 30, 31, 1938.

10 Diary, Nov 4, 1938.

11 Ogilvie-Forbes to Halifax, Oct 24 (PRO file FO.371/21658); and see Henderson's report on JG's speech at Marienfelde, Oct 13, 1938 (*ibid.*, /21655).

12 At the 31st session of Göring's Defense Council on Oct 14, 1938, two pages were devoted to the de-Jewling (*Enjudung*) of the economy (NA film T77, roll 131, 3295ff).

13 Unpubl. diary, Oct 12, 1938: 'It proceeds according to plan.'

14 *Ibid.*, Oct 13, 15 (Prague was now cracking down on émigrés, Jews, and

communists, 'a nation is beginning to awake'), and 16, 1938.

15 *Star*, London, Oct 28, 1938: 'Nazis swoop on Polish Jews.' For existing literature, written before JG's diaries became available, see Helmut Heiber, 'Der Fall Grünspan,' in *VfZ*, 1957, 154-72; Hermann Graml, *Der 9. November 1938* (Bonn, 1958).

16 The Polish Jew Herschel Feibel Grynszpan (Grünspan) had run away from home in Germany in 1936 and drifted around Paris until Feb 1938 when his passport expired and the French ordered him out; he stayed on, lived underground. His parents were among the 15,000 Polish Jews hounded out of Germany in Oct 1938.— See F. J. Kaul, *Der Fall des Herschel Grynszpan* (East Berlin, 1965), which exploits the ZStA Potsdam files.

17 Unpubl. diary, Nov 7 (Moscow archives, photocopies only, Goebbels papers).— On Fürstenberg, see *VB*, Nov 7. And yet only on Oct 27, 1938 JG had noted: 'I have Schäffer [Willi Schaeffers] warned by Hanke. He's making political jokes again in the Comedians' Cabaret.'

18 *VB*, Nov 8, 1938: 'Jewish raid on German embassy in Paris.'

19 JG directive cited in Günther Gillessen, 'Reichskristallnacht,' anniversary supplement to *FAZ*, Nov 5, 1988.

20 Commenting on this entry, author Ingrid Weckert points out to the author that the first news of outrages in Hesse arrived during the dinner on November 9, while the first synagogues were burned later that night. Indeed the word with which JG prefaced most entries, *gestern* (yesterday), is missing. This suggests that JG in fact wrote it up on the tenth, with minor resulting anachronisms.

21 Unpubl. diary, Nov 9, 1938. I am grateful to Ingrid Weckert for her input on problems in its transcription.

22 It is thus unlikely that Hitler learned of the trouble brewing only after 7 P.M. at the evening's reception, with a messenger whispering it into his ear and him passing it on to JG—the version favored by Professor Hermann Graml, *Reichskristallnacht. Antisemitismus und Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich* (Munich, 1988), 17ff, and adopted by Reuth, 395.

23 Statement by former SA Gruppenführer Max Jüttner (IfZ file ZS.243).

24 Unpubl. diary, Nov 10, 1938.

25 The Reichspropagandaämter. The source of this is a 1950 MS by Gauleiter Albert Hoffmann (BA file Kl. Erw. 954/II).

26 According to Brandenburg's gauleiter Emil Stürtz, speaking to his subordinate Kreisleiter and Gauamtsleiter afterward. Kehrl, 141f.

27 Testimony of Friedrich Eberstein, IMT, xx, 320.

28 Jordan to Weckert, quoted by her to the author, May 26, 1978.

29 Heinrich Heim statement, Oct 1, 1952 (IfZ file ZS-243).

30 British Consulate in Munich to embassy in Berlin, Nov 11, 1938 (PRO file FO.371/21637).

31 The witness was SA Gruppenführer Max Jüttner (IfZ file ZS.243). In his unpubl. diary Lutze enters merely: 'On the night of Nov 9-10, 1938 reprisals for the murder of v[om] Rath in Paris. Jews' shops are shut down.'

32 Interrogation of Hederich, Nuremberg, Apr 16, 1947 (NA film M.1019, roll 25). Ludwig Schneider of the Party's Supreme Court (OPG) confirmed this to him.

33 Carl Röver (Bremen), Jakob Sprenger (Frankfurt), Karl Kaufmann (Hamburg), and (surprisingly) Julius Streicher (Nuremberg), refused to have anything to do with it. See Graml, 33.—Streicher claimed to have had a blazing row with his police chief SA Gruppenführer von Obernitz and dissociated himself

from the destruction of Nuremberg's synagogue. (Witness-application for Fritz Herrwarth, Streicher defense, Jan 24, 1946: NA, RG.260, OMGUS files, box 117.)

34 According to testimony by Eugen Maier, one of Otto Dietrich's staff, on Dec 10, 1947, he subsequently learned that this *Aktion* had been 'initiated and launched' on this occasion by JG and Wagner (StA Nuremberg, G15). JG's diary appears to clear Wagner. See too the testimony of Dietrich's aide Heinz Lorenz, Dec 1947 (NA film M.1019, roll 43).

35 US First Army interrogation of SA Sturmführer Hans Stech, Apr 18-19, 1945 (NA file RG.407, entry 427, box 1945R).

36 British consulate report.

37 Report of Party Court to Göring, Feb 13, 1939 (ND: 3063-PS).

38 Report by SA Gruppe Nordmark, Kiel, on the *Aktion* of Nov 9/10, 1938 (BDC, file 240/I). Kiel learned only that 'an unidentified official from the NSDAP headquarters (Reichsleitung)' had uttered these orders at a Munich meeting. At 11:55 P.M. the Gestapo HQ in Berlin also issued an 'igniting' signal (ND: 374-PS), as did Eberstein at 2:10 A.M. to his police commanders at Nuremberg, Augsburg, etc (BDC file 240/I and ND: 374-PS).

39 Ingrid Weckert.

40 First report by Heydrich to Göring (ND: 3058-PS; USA-508).

41 I.e. to destroy the biggest synagogue, at No. 79 Fasanen Strasse. Leopold Gutterer, telephoned with the news, saved the life of the caretaker who had been dragged out of his home and beaten up. Gutterer MS, 80f (Lower Saxony state archives, Wolfenbüttel.) — Nine of Berlin's remaining twelve synagogues were destroyed that night. H. G. Sellenthin, *Geschichte der Juden in Berlin und des Gebäudes Fasanenstraße 79/80* (Berlin, 1959) (hereafter Sellenthin).

42 Unpubl. diary, Nov 10, 1938.

43 ND: 3052-PS; Karl Wolff is evidently wrong (statement in IfZ file ZS.317) in placing Himmler in Hitler's apartment at this time.

44 Author's interview of Col. Nicolaus von Below, May 18, 1968.

45 Testimony of Wilhelm Brückner (IfZ, Irving collection).

46 Schaub's unpubl. memoirs, in the author's collection (IfZ: ED.100/202); this of course contrasts starkly with JG's version of Schaub's activities.

47 Hederich interrogation. He was head of JG's Abteilung Schrifttum (literature department).

48 Fritz Wiedemann, handwritten MS, Feb 1939 (Libr. of Congress, Wiedemann papers, box 604).

49 ND: 3063-PS; repeated as circular 174, BDC file 240/I. At 3:45 A.M. the Berlin Gestapo HQ reversed its previous order (Groscurth papers).

50 JG to Hitler, Jul 18, 1944 (BA file N.118/107).

51 Ribbentrop, *Zwischen London und Moskau*. (Leoni, 1953)

52 Unpubl. diary, Nov 10, 1938.

53 The recordings are in the Frankfurt radio archives (Ingrid Weckert); see the summary in PRO file FO.371/21637. The VB, Nov 11, 1938 also published the local gau's proclamation of twenty mass meetings in Munich that night to demonstrate against the Jews, to be addressed by Adolf Wagner and twenty others. The British consul reported, 'I hear that there is strong opposition to tonight's meetings from the Gestapo' (PRO file FO.371/21637).

54 Unpubl. diary, Nov 11, 1938.

55 JG, Schnellbrief, quoted in order of Gau HQ, Bavarian Ostmark, Nov 10, 1938 (Yivo file G-198).

56 This was noted by Ogilvie-Forbes to FO, Nov 11, 1938 (PRO file FO.371/21637).

57 Unpubl. diary, Nov 11; VB, Nov 11, 1938; and Bruno Werner, *Die Galeere* (Frankfurt, 1949), 157. The shorthand record of Hitler's speech of Nov 10 is in BA file NS.11/28; see a different transcript with commentary by Wilhelm Treue in VJZ, 1958, 175ff, and the summary by Rudolf Likus, NA film T120, roll 31, 9044ff; for those present, see the Hoffmann negatives NA albums 242-HLB.3555-7, 3564.

58 Unpubl. diary, Nov 11, 1938.

59 Cited by Weckert. Wächter was promoted to the RPL (JG diary, Jan 3, 1941), headed its propaganda staff in 1942, and has been missing since 1945.

60 Diary, Nov 12, 1938.

61 *Time*, Mar 20, 1939. For German press coverage of this conference, see DAZ, Nov 12, 1938.

62 Likus to Ribbentrop, Nov 11 (NA film T120, roll 31, 9049); see too the FO's summary of events in PRO file FO.371/21637. Goebbels, mocked Ogilvie-Forbes to FO on Nov 12, 1938, maintained in his interview that Grynspan 'must have' been taught to shoot: but 'he missed with three shots out of five at point-blank range!'

63 Lochner to his children, Jan 1, 1939 (Lochner papers, box 47).

64 Likus to Ribbentrop, Nov 11, 1938.

65 Ogilvie-Forbes to FO, Nov 14, 1938 (PRO file FO.371/21637).

66 Lutze diary, Nov 9-10, 1938.

67 Rosenberg diary, Feb 1939; and see his remarks to Georg Leibbrandt, quoted in interview with John Toland, Sep 6, 1971 (FDR Libr., Toland papers, box 52).

68 Testimony of Schirmeister and Fritzsche, Jun 28, 1946, IMT, xvii, 190f and 235ff.

69 Hassell diary, Nov 25, Dec 29, 1938; for Hess's condemnation of JG's actions that night see the Nuremberg interrogation of his secretary Ingeborg Sperr.

70 Communication of SA Supreme HQ, Dec 19, 1938 (BDC file 240/II).

71 Unsigned letter to Hess, probably from Kurt Daluge, Dec 12, 1938 (BDC file JG; author's film DI-81).

72 Heydrich, speaking to Nazi politics course (Napola); quoted in Groscurth diary, Dec 29, 1938.

73 Himmler memorandum, cited by Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York, 1973).

74 Darré diary, Jun 2, 1939; there are signs that Goebbels was indeed feeling the strain, e.g. his diary of Nov 19, 1938 begins: 'I'm so ill and so tired. I must slow down my pace of work a bit.'

75 Kehrl, 142; Burckhardt, *Meine Danziger Mission*; and see Göring's witness summons for Gauleiter Dr Ueberreither (NA file RG.260, shipping list 74-3/7, box 117).

76 A partial stenogram is ND: 1816-PS; Ernst Woermann's two-page telephone summary for Ribbentrop is on NA film T120, roll 722, 1681ff.—General Wenninger, Luftwaffe attaché in London, told British Intelligence on Nov 21, 1938 'that Göring could not bear Goebbels and that there was bitter enmity between them' (PRO file FO.371/21665).

77 Opening the Reich Defense Council session in the air ministry building on Nov 18, Göring said in JG's presence: 'The plate-glass windows smashed during

the demonstration against the Jews have not only inflicted a loss on the nation's wealth but necessitated the expenditure of four to five million marks in foreign currency. . . . The Führer has therefore expressly ordered that from this moment on all destruction of assets is categorically forbidden!' (NA film T120, roll 131; summary 3088ff, verbatim 3157ff.); cf JG unpubl. diary, Nov 19, 1938—he did not mention Göring's rebuke.

78 Ogilvie-Forbes, reporting to the FO on Nov 13, lists Frick, JG, Gürtner, Krosigk, Funk as present, with Göring in the chair (PRO file FO.371/21637). On the economic measures against 50,000 Jews in the professions, see his telegram of Nov 16, 1938.

79 Diary, Nov 13, 1938.

80 The text is in PRO file FO.371/21637; see JG diary, Nov 13, 15; *The Times*, Nov 15. The interview was published with omissions in Germany on Nov 15 (Ogilvie-Forbes to FO, Nov 14, 15, 1938: FO.371/21637).

81 Diary, Nov 14; since Göring was now aryanizing all the Jewish businesses, he said, it would no longer be possible to get back at them by damaging their shops or businesses. *DAZ*, Nov 14: 'Goebbels: the Jewish Question will be Finally Solved.' See Ogilvie-Forbes to FO, Nov 14, 1938 (see note 80 above).

82 Diary, Nov 20, 1938.

83 Memo from W. W. Astor, Nov 9; British consulate in Vienna to Ogilvie-Forbes, Nov 25; memo by Capt. J. McLaren, Nov 29; minute by W. Ridsdale, Dec 6, 1938 (PRO file FO.371/21665).

84 Diary, Dec 4, 1938.

85 Wünsche diary, Nov 15, 1938 (BA file NS.10/125). Still further evidence of the unreliability of the 'diary' of Major Gerhard Engel, forged by him after the war and published by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich: this 'diary' has Hitler and JG 'convincingly explaining' the point of the *Aktion* to Hitler's lunch table at the Berlin chancellery four days before on Nov 11, 1938. Reuth and other historians have fallen for the forgery because of the IfZ imprimatur.

86 Diary, Nov 17, 1938.

87 Wünsche diary, Nov 15; JG diary, Nov 17. Kirkpatrick to FO, Nov 18, about rumors that JG was divorced. 'In order to put an end to them . . . Hitler made an appearance two days ago in the same theater sitting in the same box with Dr Goebbels and Frau Goebbels' (PRO file FO.371/21655). And see C. Burckhardt to League of Nations, Dec 2, 1938 (FO.371/21804).

88 Diaries of Wünsche and Eberhard (IfZ, Irving collection), Nov 16; author's interview of Gerhard Engel, Apr 5, 1971.

89 Diary, Nov 17, 1938.

Notes to Chapter 33

1 Diary, Jan 1, 1939.

2 Ibid., Jan 19, 1939.

3 Borresholm, 143ff; the episode was in the autumn of 1938.

4 Meissner, *Magda Goebbels*, 172. Possibly Hedda Uhlen or the young film actress Anneliese Uhlig. She had tested for the film *Stimme aus dem Äther* (unpubl. JG diary, Jun 11, 1938).

5 Handwritten letter from H. O[skar] Ritschel, director of the Magno Works, Duisburg, Dec 3 (Magda Goebbels papers, ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 2, vol. 3); he mentions a major Norwegian industrialist who has invited him and Magda as guests. JG's diary talks on Dec 3, 1938 of 'many personal agonies. But I'm almost inured to them.'

6 Diary, Dec 8-9, 12; the newspapers reported he was suffering from acute intestinal influenza. *NYT*, Dec 23, 1938.

7 On Dec 30, 1938 he wrote it up in retrospect. He noted (*ibid.*, Dec 20, 1939) that the wedding anniversary then was somewhat nicer than in 1938: 'That was awful. This time we can all celebrate together again.' The *NYT* reported on Dec 31, 1938 that he had recovered enough to make his New Year's address.

8 Diary, Jan 1, 4, 1939.

9 *Ibid.*, Jan 8, 1939.

10 *Ibid.*, Jan 11, 1939.

11 *Ibid.*, Jan 17, 1939.

12 *Ibid.*, Feb 6, 8, 1939.

13 *Ibid.*, Jan 17, 1939.

14 *Ibid.*, Jan 18-20, 1939.

15 See Ebermayer and Meissner, No. 24, Jun 14, 1952.

16 Diary, Feb 4, 1937.

17 *Ibid.*, Jan 23, 1939.

18 *Ibid.*, Jan 25, 1939; the letter has not survived.

19 Letter from a Mr Flood, Mar 15, 1939 (PRO file FO.371/23007).

20 *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* published on Jan 22 in an article 'De Positie van Goebbels' rumors that the party court under Major Buch had considered JG's future; *NYT*, Jan 1, 21, 26, 1939.

21 Diary, Jan 27, 28, 1939.

22 The official was Gotthard Urban, Rosenberg's most senior political adviser. Rosenberg diary, Feb 6, 1939.

23 *Ibid.* 'Hitler won't let him publish it,' predicted Himmler. On Jun 14, 1939 JG noted (unpubl. diary), 'Amann now wants at last to publish my book about the Führer. But only the Führer himself can decide. I'd be happy to.'

24 Interview between Home Office ARP department and Major Otto Schwink, Feb 23, 1939 (PRO file FO.371/22965).

25 JG writes in his diary, 'Let's gloss over that.' The photo, published *inter alia* in *NYT*, Jan 30, and *Westfälische Landeszeitung*, Jan 31, 1939, shows Magda next to JG in a box, with Hanke and Capt. Wilhelm Weiss (editor of the *VB*).

26 British consul in Dresden, political report, Feb 28, 1939 (PRO file FO.371/22965).

27 Führer's adjutant to RMVP, Jun 2, 1938 (BA file NS.10/44).

28 See interrogation of Fritzsche, Nov 1, 1946. In May 1939 RMVP complained that *Stürmer* had mentioned the Czechs despite official policy to ignore them (Yivo files G-41; G-42, G-43).

29 Diary, Nov 11, 1938; Hassell diary, Jan 17, 1939.

30 Diary, Feb 1, Mar 22, 1939.

31 On Oct 22, 1939 he wrote (*ibid.*) that he could laugh himself sick about the 'wonderful' British caricatures of himself. On Nov 17, 1939 however he furiously noted (*ibid.*) that the *Daily Sketch* had published a cartoon depicting himself, Göring, and Hitler on the gallows: 'But it won't be long before we're paying them back.'

32 Diary, Jan 31, Feb 1, 3; *NYT*, Feb 4, 5, 1939.

33 JG's article in *VB*, Feb 4, was called: 'Do we still have a sense of humor?'—*NYT*, editorial Feb 7; contest ends, Mar 9, 1939.

34 Unpubl. diary, Mar 18, 1939.

35 JG's office to Dept Ib of RMVP, Apr 1, 1939 (BA file R.55/945).

36 Diary, Jan 26, 29, 1939; Rosenberg diary.

- 37 Diary, Jan 29, 1939.
- 38 Bartels to JG, Aug 1 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 759); diary, Feb 3, 4, 7, 1939. The refrigeration company warned that JG would have to authorize them to downgrade vital military contracts if he was to get these items on time.
- 39 Unpubl. diary, Mar 18; on Jun 20, 1939 (*ibid.*) he records further money worries about Lanke, and Amann, faced by tax problems, is refusing to bail him out. 'But I'll find a way out.'
- 40 Phone book, Haus am Bogensee (BA file R.55/1402); and author's visit to the site. The window still operates.
- 41 *Angriff*, Nov 30; diary, Dec 17, 1938.
- 42 Diary, Nov 24, 1938.
- 43 Ogilvie-Forbes to FO, Nov 23, 1938 (PRO file FO.371/21665); diary, Nov 18, Dec 8, 1938.
- 44 Dr Paul Schmidt, chief of German FO press section, to Woermann, undated minute, endorsed: *Morgenbespr.* (morning conference), Mar 20 [1939?], on NA film T120, roll 1434, D578256f.
- 45 Heinrich Hansen (Dietrich's press officer) affidavit, Jul 10, 1948 (StA Nuremberg, G15).
- 46 Diary, Dec 8, 1938.
- 47 *Ibid.*, Feb 5, 1939; author's interview, Jul 1989.
- 48 Behrend, No.19, May 10, 1952; JG diary, Jan 26, Feb 5, 11, 1939.
- 49 Diary, Dec 22, 1937.
- 50 Darges to Wünsche, Jun 27, 1939 (BA file NS.10/49).
- 51 Bahls to RMVP, Apr 24, 1939 (*ibid.*)
- 52 Diary, Jan 25, 27, 1939.
- 53 *Ibid.*, Jan 11, 28, Feb 8, 9, 14, 1939.
- 54 *Ibid.*, Jan 22; JG's article, 'What does America really want?' was also featured in *Hamburger Tageblatt*, *Berliner Tageblatt*, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and several other newspapers. On Feb 28, 1939 the British consul in Dresden confirmed that by identifying Roosevelt with the influential Jews around him JG had scored quite a propaganda hit.
- 55 Diary, Jan 3, Feb 6, 1939.
- 56 *Ibid.*, Nov 5, 12, 1938, Mar 23, 1939.
- 57 *Ibid.*, Mar 20, 1939.
- 58 British embassy Berlin to FO, Nov 25 (PRO file FO.371/21665); diary, Nov 20, 1938.
- 59 Diary, Dec 14, 15, 1938.
- 60 *VB*, Jan 31, 1939.
- 61 Diary, Feb 1, 1939.
- 62 *Ibid.*, Feb 3, 1939.
- 63 *VB*, Feb 25; reproduced by other newspapers, e.g. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Feb 26. Writing to the FO, Feb 28, 1939, Henderson urged that Downing Street exercise a moderating influence on newspapers like the *News Chronicle* 'in the interests of appeasement generally' (PRO file FO.371/22966).
- 64 Ebermayer and Meissner, No. 24, Jun 14, 1952.
- 65 Diary, Mar 4; unpubl. diary, Mar 5, 10, 1939 (Moscow archives, Goebbels papers, box 1).
- 66 Unpubl. diary, Mar 11, 1939.
- 67 *Ibid.*, Mar 12, 1939.
- 68 CSDIC interrogation of Baarova's manager, 'Mar 15, 1944,' in MI.14

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- dossier on JG (PRO file WO.208/4462). He had smuggled her back to Germany.
- 69 Unpubl. diary, Mar 13, 1939.
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 Ibid., Mar 14, 1939.
- 72 Ibid., Mar 15, 1939.
- 73 Ibid., Mar 16, 1939.
- 74 Diary, Mar 19, 25, 28, 1939.
- 75 Ibid., Mar 23, 1939.
- 76 Ibid., Mar 25, 1939.
- 77 Curt von Siewert, minute on Hitler's meeting with Brauchitsch (ND: R-100).
- 78 Admiral Erich Raeder's papers.
- 79 Diary, Mar 28, 1939.

Notes to Chapter 34

- 1 Ogilvie-Forbes to FO, Mar 28, 1939 (PRO file FO.371/23006).
- 2 Diary, Mar 28, 29, Apr 1; Sir G. Knox to Halifax, Mar 27, 31, 1939 (PRO file FO.371/23006).
- 3 Sir Sydney Waterlow to FO, Mar 31 (PRO file FO.371/23006); he stated that JG was accompanied by RMVP officials G. W. Müller, von Wiesenhof (Franz von Weyssenhoff), and Knock (Willi Knoche). And see E. M. B. Ingram to Waterlow, Apr 6, 1939 (ibid., /23007).
- 4 Diary, Apr 1, 1939.
- 5 Ibid., Apr 4, 1939.
- 6 Sir Miles Lampson to FO, Apr 4, 1939 (PRO file FO.371/23006).
- 7 Diary, Apr 8, 1939.
- 8 Lampson to FO, Apr 29, 1939 (PRO file FO.371/23007). And see B. Vernier, *La Politique islamique de l'Allemagne* (Paris, 1939), 38f, and Lukasz Hirsowicz, *The Third Reich and the Arab East* (London, 1966), 18.
- 9 Diary, Apr 10, 1939.
- 10 See the diaries of Bormann; Eberhard; and Major Wilhelm Deyhle, Jodl's staff officer (ND: 1796-PS); also a letter from Col. Eduard Wagner to his wife, Mar 30 and Apr 1 (in which latter he wrote '*gestern bei der Führerentscheidung* ...'—'yesterday, when the Führer reached his decision ...').
- 11 Sir H. Knatchbull-Hugessen to FO, Apr 21, 1939 (PRO file FO.371/23007).
- 12 Waterlow to FO, Apr 6, 1939 (PRO file FO.371/23006).
- 13 US State Dept interrogation of Göring, Nov 6-7, 1945 (author's film DI-34); JG's diary, Apr 19, 1939.
- 14 Gutterer MS and interview, Jun 30, 1993; JG diary, Apr 20, 1939; the RMVP program in BA file NS.10/127 times this reception at 8 P.M.
- 15 Karl-Heinz Hederich, interrogation, Dec 17, 1947 (NA film M.1019, roll 25).
- 16 Unpubl. diary, Apr 24, 1939.
- 17 Ibid., May 2, 1939.
- 18 Diary, May 3; press directive, May 5, 1939 in Brammer collection (BA file ZSg.101).
- 19 Unpubl. diary, May 6, 1939.
- 20 E. G. Cable, British consul-general in Cologne, to British embassy in Berlin, May 23 (PRO file FO.371/22989); diary, May 19; VB, May 18 and 22, and DAZ and *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, May 20, 21, 1939.

21 Unpubl. diary, May 23; Ribbentrop had endless rows with JG afterward over his humiliation at the signing (he had been placed in a rear row). And *ibid.*, Jun 1, 2, 1939.

22 *Ibid.*, May 12, 1939.

23 Report to Reich Defense Council, Jun 5, 1939 (NA film T77, roll 131, 3043f). In addition five one-megawatt transmitters were to be ready later in 1939. Over eight months from May 1941 the RMVP would also take sixteen mobile transmitters into service. For the ministry's mobilization preparations in Jun 1939 see ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 874.

24 Berndt to Himmler, Jul 11, 1944 (NA film T175, roll 33, 1405).

25 See the analysis by Gabi Frautschi, Aug 21, 1947 in NA file RG.260, shipping list 53-3/7, box 15.

26 Author's interview of Lida Baarova, Salzburg, Jul 4, 1993.

27 CSDIC interrogation of Baarova's manager, 'Mar 15, 1944,' in MI.14 dossier on JG (PRO file WO.208/4462).

28 Hanke to Himmler, May 20, 1939 (BDC file, Hanke). Greven denied this—he said he had lunged at Hanke, whom two burly SS men had saved.

29 Unpubl. diary, May 20, 1939.

30 *Ibid.*, May 23, 25, 1939.

31 *Ibid.*, May 26, Jun 4, 1939.

32 *Ibid.*, Jun 2, 7, 8, 1939.

33 *Ibid.*, May 11, 1939.

34 *Ibid.*, Jun 17, 1939.

35 *Ibid.*, Jun 22, 1939.

36 *Ibid.*, Jun 14, 1939: 'I've at last sold my house. I'm glad to be shot of that burden.'

37 Magda Goebbels to Ritschel, Jun 16 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 2, vol. 3); JG unpubl. diary, Jun 17, 1939: 'Long discussion with Magda. House selling and buying. The Führer also wants to buy into Schwanenwerder. That would be nice.'

38 *Berliner Illustrierte*, Aug 3, 1939.

39 See the four files of confidential press circulars issued by RPA Berlin, Jun 1-Dec 30, 1939 in Fritzsche's papers in the Hoover Libr., MS division (accession XX185-9.13), box 4. For an analysis of the press directives, see Walter Hagemann, *Publizistik im Dritten Reich. Ein Beitrag zur Methode der Massenführung* (Hamburg, 1948). For BA files of press conferences from various sources, see ZSg.101 (Karl Brammer); ZSg.102 (Fritz Sänger); ZSg.110 (Gottfried Traub); ZSg.115 (Fritz Nadler); ZSg.109 (Theo Oberheimann); ZSg.116 (DNB).

40 Comments of Major Percy C. Black, acting US military attaché, Berlin, on current events, Report No. 28, Aug 21, 1939 (FDR Libr., Harry L. Hopkins papers, box 187, vol. vii).

41 RPA (Reichspropagandamt) Frankfurt, *Vertrauliche Nachrichten* (hereafter RPA Frankfurt, confidential briefing), Jul 20 and Aug 5, 1939. These and 'special briefings' are published in Helmut Sündermann, *Tagesparolen. Deutsche Presseweisungen 1939-1945. Hitlers Propaganda und Kriegsführung* (Leoni, 1973) (hereafter Sündermann), 20ff. More such items, 1941-43, are in Yivo file G-105. See BA files, ZSg., Oberheimann Material (also ND: NG-3800), and Brammer material (ND: NG-3070).

42 Unpubl. diary, Jun 16, 1939.

43 Dispatches by Shepherd, British consul-general in Danzig, to Halifax, Jun 19 and 21, 1939 (PRO file FO.371/23021).

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- 44 Unpubl. diary, Jun 18, 1939.
- 45 Pressereferent memoirs. And *Danziger Vorposten*, Jun 18, 1939.
- 46 A verbatim text reached London on Jun 21, 1939 (PRO file FO.371/23020); unpubl. diary, Jun 19, 1939: 'I receive the foreign press and lay it on the line to them.'
- 47 Hassell diary, Jun 20, 1939.
- 48 Henderson to FO, Jun 19, 1939 (PRO file FO.371/23020).
- 49 RPA Berlin, press circulars in the Fritzsche papers, Hoover Libr., MS division, box 4.
- 50 RPA Berlin, press circular, Jun 30, Jul 1; unpubl. diary, Jul 2, 1939.
- 51 RPA Berlin, press circular, Jul 1, 1939, commenting on articles in *Daily Mail* and *Le Jour*.
- 52 Ibid., Jun 3, Jul 20; RPA Frankfurt, special briefing, Jul 1, and confidential briefing, Jul 3, 14, 1939.
- 53 RPA Berlin, press circular, Jun 24, 27, Jul 1; JG had to drop the Japanese atrocity stories so as not to irritate Tokyo—'So no more stories about Englishmen being stripped naked' (ibid., Jun 27, 1939).
- 54 Ibid., Jun 20, 28, 1939. When the RPL published a wall-newspaper, *Die Parole der Woche*, depicting British soldiers killing Palestinians demonstrating against 'Jewish rule,' the OKW objected to attacks on British soldiers who were merely 'obeying orders' (Yivo, file G-52).
- 55 RPA Berlin, press circular, Jun 27; unpubl. diary, Jun 29, 30, 1939.
- 56 Interrogation of Schirmeister, May 6, 1946 (NA film M.1270, roll 19); JG unpubl. diary, Jun 27, 1939; Gutterer interview, Jun 30, 1993.
- 57 Pressereferent memoirs. The letter had evidently been drafted by Hans Schwarz Van Berk, one of JG's top tacticians. The unpubl. diary, Jun 30, Jul 7, 1939, seems to bear this out.
- 58 RPA Berlin, press circular, Jun 19, 28, 1939.
- 59 Unpubl. diary, Jun 2, 4, 12, 1939.
- 60 Ibid., Jun 12, 13, 1939.
- 61 Ibid., Jun 25, 1939.
- 62 Ibid., Jun 16, 17, 18, 20, 1939.
- 63 Ibid., Jun 21, 1939.
- 64 Ibid., Jul 6, 8, 1939. 'But at least we both made the effort to restore human relations between us.'
- 65 Ibid., Jun 2, 3, 11, 1939.
- 66 Ibid., Jun 23, 1939.
- 67 Unpubl. diary, Jun 24, 1939.
- 68 Ibid., Jun 11, 1939.
- 69 Ibid., Jul 5, 1939.
- 71 Ibid., Jul 5, 1939. For the text of the four King-Hall letters see *Living Age*, Sep 12-16; *Berliner Börsenzeitung* Jul 16; *MNN*, Jul 17, 1939.
- 72 Oven, 'Feb 27, 1944,' 240f.
- 73 Unpubl. diary, Jul 6, 8, 1939.
- 74 Ibid., Jul 9, 1939.
- 75 Ibid., Jul 12, 1939.
- 76 Ibid., Jul 13; printed in *Angriff*, Jul 14, under the headlines 'GOEBBELS REPLY TO BRITAIN. GOEBBELS RIPS MASK OFF KING-HALL. LORD HALIFAX AND THE BRITISH PROPAGANDA BUREAU'S LETTERS,' and in *VB*, Jul 19, 1939.
- 77 Henderson to FO, Jul 17 and 18, and Sir P. Ramsay (Copenhagen) to FO, Jul 14 (PRO file FO.371/22990); *VB*, Jul 14, 1939.

- 78 Unpubl. diary, Jul 16, 17, 18, 25, 1939.
- 79 Ibid., Jul 4, 1939.
- 80 Ibid., Jul 9, 1939.
- 81 Ibid., Jul 10, 11, 1939: 'The Führer is still working over my answer to Britain.'
- 82 Ibid., Jul 12, 1939.
- 83 Ibid., Jul 17; RMVP program for Jul 14, 15, 1939 (BA file NS.10/126).
- 84 Unpubl. diary, Jul 21, 1939.
- 85 Ibid., Jul 23, 1939.
- 86 Ibid., Jul 24, 1939.
- 87 Ibid., Jul 25, 26, 1939.
- 88 Ibid., Jul 18, 21, 1939.
- 89 Ibid., Jul 26, 1939.
- 90 Ibid., Jul 27, 1939.
- 91 Ebermayer and Meissner, No. 24, Jun 14, 1952, wrongly set the dialogue in Salzburg.
- 92 Unpubl. diary, Jul 27, 1939.
- 93 Ibid., Jul 28; the diary mentions the 'decision' several times later, e.g. Jul 30 ('Frau [Helga] Bouhler. She is really happy about our decision') and Aug. 1, 5, 1939.

Notes to Chapter 35

- 1 Leopold Gutterer had a working television set in his apartment throughout the coming war (interview).
- 2 Unpubl. diary, Aug 4, 1939.
- 3 Ibid., Jul 29, 1939.
- 4 Ibid., Aug 1, 5, 1939.
- 5 See the hectographed list of 'what to wear to the party rally,' attached to a letter of Aug 8, 1939 (Hoover Libr., Goebbels papers, box 2).
- 6 Ministerial conference (see note 59 of next chapter), Feb 2; diary, Feb 3, 1940.
- 7 RPA Berlin, press circular, Jun 3, 9, 20, 23, 27, 28, 30, Jul 1, 8, 10, 12, 13, 17, 31, 1939.
- 8 Ibid., Aug 2, 1939.
- 9 Ibid., Aug 1, 2, 1939.
- 10 Ibid., Aug 7, 1939.
- 11 At 265,000 marks per month. Brückner to Funk, Aug 18 (BA file NS.10/38); and unpubl. diary, Jun 2, 16, 17, Aug 19, 1939.
- 12 RPA Berlin, press circular, Aug 10; VB, Aug 12, 1939.
- 13 Freybe to Waldegg, Aug 10, 1939 (Hoover Libr., Goebbels papers, box 2).
- 14 Unpubl. diary, Aug 9, 10, 1939.
- 15 Ibid., Aug 13; *Frankfurter Zeitung* and *DAZ*, Aug 9, 1939.
- 16 Unpubl. diary, Aug 10, 1939.
- 17 Ibid., Aug 11, 1939.
- 18 RPA Frankfurt, confidential briefing, Aug 8, 1939.
- 19 RPA Frankfurt, special briefing, Aug 10, 1939.
- 20 Ibid., Aug 12, 1939.
- 21 RPA Berlin, press circular, Aug 11, 1939.
- 22 RPA Frankfurt, confidential briefing, Aug 14, 1939.
- 23 RPA Berlin, press circular, Aug 16, 1939.

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- 24 Ibid., Aug 16, 1939.
- 25 RPA Frankfurt, confidential briefing, Aug 17, 1939.
- 26 For JG's 1939 domestic staff see BA file R.55/945.
- 27 Details, correspondence, estimates, and inventories in BA files R.55/421, /423, /1360.
- 28 Unpubl. diary, Aug 17, 18; and see Jul 3, 1939. On No. 20 Hermann-Göring Strasse see BA files R.55/421, /423, /430, /1360.
- 29 Unpubl. diary, Aug 19, 1939.
- 30 Ibid., Aug 17, 19, 1939.
- 31 RPA Frankfurt, confidential briefing, Aug 18, 1939. 'In propaganda it has always proved very effective to personalize a political issue.'
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Unpubl. diary, Aug 19, 20, 1939.
- 34 Ibid., Aug 20, 1939.
- 35 Major Percy C. Black (see note 40 of previous chapter).
- 36 Unpubl. diary, Jul 9, 1939.
- 37 RPA Frankfurt, special briefing, Jul 12, 1939.
- 38 RPA Frankfurt, confidential briefing, Jul 27, 1939.
- 39 Ibid., Aug 7, 1939.
- 40 RPA Berlin, press circular, Aug 5, 1939.
- 41 Unpubl. diary, Aug 21; RPA Frankfurt, special briefing, Aug 21, 1939.
- 42 Unpubl. diary, Aug 22, 1939; the Forschungsamt 'intercepts' will be found in David Irving, *Breach of Security* (London, 1968), 92ff; and *Das Reich hört mit*.
- 43 Unpubl. diary, Aug 22, 1939.
- 44 RPA Frankfurt, confidential briefing, Aug 22, 1939, in Oberheitmann collection (BA file ZSg.109).
- 45 Unpubl. diary, Aug 23, 1939.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Louis Lochner, who obtained Canaris's report on the meeting from General Beck, knew more than JG; see his interrogation, Jul 25, 1945 (NA film M.1270, roll 12) and *What about Germany?*
- 48 RPA Frankfurt, confidential briefing, Aug 23, 1939.
- 49 The London *Daily Express* revealed that the pact had a secret clause relating to the partition of these states (Johnny von Herwarth, a traitor in Hitler's Moscow embassy, had leaked the text). JG issued a denial: RPA press circular, Aug 26, 1939.
- 50 Unpubl. diary, Aug 24, 1939.
- 51 RPA Frankfurt, confidential briefing, Aug 24, 1939.
- 52 RPA Berlin, press circular, Aug 24, 1939, No. 192/39.
- 53 Ibid., Aug 25, 1939.
- 54 Unpubl. diary, Aug 25, 1939.
- 55 Ibid., Aug 25, 1939.
- 56 RPA Frankfurt, confidential briefing, Aug 25, 1939.
- 57 Ibid., 1. *Ergänzung*.
- 58 Photo in Eva Braun collection, NA file RG.242-EB.
- 59 Unpubl. diary, Aug 26, 1939.
- 60 RPA Frankfurt, confidential briefing, Aug 26, 1939.
- 61 Ettore Slocovich, Alfieri message to JG, Aug 26, 1939, 12:30 P.M. See PWB report No. 6, Documents found in the Italian Ministry of Popular Culture, item No. 6: telephone conversations between Alfieri or Slocovich and JG, Aug-

Sep 1939; cf PRO file FO.371/43877. The originals are in Mussolini's files, NA film T586, roll 415, 6577ff. JG noted (unpubl. diary, Aug 27, 1939): 'Alfieri phones. He wants to pump me. But I act dumb.'

62 Backe to his wife, Aug 1939 (Ursula Backe papers).

63 Ibid., Aug 27, 1939.

64 Gutterer MS, and interview, Jun 30, 1933; JG diary, Aug 28, 1939.

65 Bormann diary, Aug 27; diary of F. W. Krüger, Aug 27 (Hoover Libr., Krüger papers); and the diaries of General Franz Halder and Lt-Col. Helmuth Groscurth, Aug 28, 1939.

66 Unpubl. diary, Aug 28, 1939.

67 Ibid., Aug 30, 1939.

68 Ibid.; on Aug 30, 1939 JG had a further talk with Dietrich—'He sees the situation quite clearly. He loathes Ribbentrop.'

69 Ibid., Aug 29, 1939.

70 Ibid., Aug 30, 1939.

71 Ibid., Aug 31; and RPA Frankfurt, confidential briefing, Aug 30, 1939.

72 RPA Frankfurt, special briefing, Aug 30, 1939.

73 RPA Berlin, press circular, Aug 30, 1939, No. 198a/39.

74 Unpubl. diary, Aug 31, 1939.

75 Ibid., Sep 1, 1939. JG added later, 'Polish attack on the Gleiwitz transmitter. We make a big thing of this.' In fact the attack was by SS men wearing Polish uniforms.

76 Ibid.

Notes to Chapter 36

1 Testimony of Schirmeister, IMT, xvii, 258f, 275f.

2 Testimony of Fritzsche, *ibid.*, 161.

3 RPA Frankfurt, confidential briefing, Sep 1, No. 197/39 (Oberheitmann collection, BA file ZSg.109/5); JG unpubl. diary, Sep 2, 1939.

4 Interrogation of Schirmeister, May 6, 1946 (NA film M.1270, roll 19).

5 RPA Frankfurt, confidential briefing, Sep 3, 1939.

6 JG, 25pp memo for Hitler, 'Gedanken zum Kriegsbeginn 1939' (BA file NS.10/37). Later (diary, Nov 4, 1939) JG himself would decide not to accept any memoranda longer than 3pp.

7 Note for Italian minister of popular culture on phone call to JG, Sep 10, 1939 (NA film T586, roll 415, 6583ff).

8 Unpubl. diary, Sep 7; Hitler's draft ordinance (*Verfügung*) of Sep 3 is publ. in *ADAP(D)*, vii, No. 574. On Sep 9, 1939 JG recorded, 'There's still no end to Ribbentrop's mischief.'

9 Hitler had known since Sep 27 that a *German* submarine was responsible for the sinking, but he did not tell JG; Heinz Lorenz confirms this in interrogation, Dec 3, 1947, part ii (NA film M.1019, roll 43).

10 Hitler did not tell JG that the assassin Georg Elser had already been caught on Nov 9 and interrogated.

11 Unpubl. diary, Sep 2, 1939.

12 Ibid., Sep 3, 1939.

13 Ibid.

14 On Blomberg, see *ibid.*, Dec 2, 1944; on Fritsch, Jun 14, 1938.

15 Groscurth diary, Sep 29; in unpubl. diary, Sep 24, 1939 JG noted: 'Fritsch died a magnificent death. His body had to be recovered by shock-troops. He was right up front. A true soldier!'

- 16 JG visited Führer's HQ on Sep 7 (Führer's HQ war diary, Sep 7; IFZ film MA.272, 0627); and Sep 14: Bormann diary and JG's phone conv. with Alfieri that day (NA film T586, roll 415, 6577ff).
- 17 Rosenberg diary, Sep 29, 1939.
- 18 Darré diary, Sep 9, 1939 (transcript in BA, Darré papers, vol. 65a).
- 19 Unpubl. diary, Sep 3, 1939.
- 20 See JG to Lammers, Sep 1, 1939 ('No objections have been raised') and other documents in NA film T120, roll 2474, E255273ff; the Mar 1936-Jul 1941 file on listening to enemy broadcasts in ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 630; and C. F. Latour's paper in *VZ*, 1963, 418ff.
- 21 Gürtner to Lammers, Sep 1, 1939 (NA film T120, roll 2474, E.255277f).
- 22 Lammers minute, Sep 1, 1939 (ibid., E.255279).
- 23 Ibid., Sep 2 ('that's great: we have smitten this weapon from the enemy's hand'); Groscurth, official diary, Sep 8. On Sep 3 (unpubl. diary) JG noted, 'Big row over the decree on foreign radio stations. Göring, Frick, and Gürtner don't want to go as far as I.' The law was gazetted in the *RGBl.* on Sep 7, 1939.
- 24 Hess to members of the Cabinet, Sep 3 (NA film T120, roll 2474, E255295ff); Heydrich, Schnellbrief of Sep 16, 1939 (Hoover Libr., Lerner papers, file DE.460/DIS.202).
- 25 JG circular to all gauleiters and gau propaganda directors, Sep 10, 1939 (NA film T581/16; BA file NS.26/291).
- 26 Darré diary, Sep 6; and see the entry for Sep 20, 1939.
- 27 Unpubl. diary, Sep 4, 1939.
- 28 Ibid., Sep 5, 7; JG assured Alfieri late on Sep 4, 1939 that since there were no U-boats nearby, Mr Churchill must have ordered the *Athenia*, with its many American passengers, sunk to propel the USA into the war (NA film T586, roll 415, 6577).
- 29 Unpubl. diary, Sep 5, 1939.
- 30 Ibid. Sep 6, 1939.
- 31 Note for Alfieri, Sep 9, 8:30 P.M. (pp.6577ff).
- 32 Unpubl. diary, Sep 6, 1939.
- 33 Führer decree of Sep 8 on Foreign Propaganda, ND: NG.3259 and *ADAP(D)*, viii, No. 31; and see foreign ministry (Habicht) to Keitel, Nov 29, 1939 (OKW files, NA film T77, roll 64, 7860f).
- 34 Unpubl. diary, Sep 9, 1939.
- 35 E.g. ibid., Sep 14, 15, 1939.
- 36 Ibid., Sep 10, 1939.
- 37 Note for Italian minister of popular culture on phone call to JG, Sep 10 (NA film T586, roll 415, 6583ff); unpubl. diary, Sep 11, 1939. 'Then I brief the Führer and Ribbentrop on our conversation. They want to wait and see. Question what Russia's up to now.'
- 38 Unpubl. diary, Sep 17, 1939: 'The justification is very original,' commented JG.
- 39 Ibid., Sep 13, 1939.
- 40 Note for Italian minister of popular culture on phone call to JG, Sep 16, 8 P.M. (NA film T586, roll 415, 6586f).
- 41 JG propaganda directive, Oct 2, 1939, in OKW secret propaganda files (NA film T77, roll 964, 7332).
- 42 Diary, Oct 11, 13, 1939.
- 43 Ibid., Dec 12, 1939.

- 44 Ibid., Oct 18, 1939.
- 45 Ibid., Oct 14, 17, 1939.
- 46 Ibid. Oct 15, 18, 1939.
- 47 Ibid., Oct 20, 1939.
- 48 Ibid., Oct 23; VB, Oct 21, 1939.
- 49 Diary, Oct 28, 1939.
- 50 On this routine see the interrogations of *inter alia* Helmut Sündermann, Oct 15; Werner Stephan, Oct 29; Fritzsche, Oct 7; Dietrich, Oct 14 and 17; and Gutterer, Dec 18, 1947 (NA RG.260, list 53-3/7, box 15).
- 51 Kreis-, Gau-, Stoßtrupp-, and Reichsredner. See the RPL report, 'Die Propagandaarbeit der Partei im Kriege,' winter 1940-41 (NSDAP archives, NA film T581, roll 16).
- 52 Diary, Nov 5, 1937.
- 53 Ibid., Oct 17, 24, Nov 2, 3, 9, 11, 12, 18, 19, 28, Dec 18, 1939.
- 54 Harlan, *Im Schatten meiner Filme*, 111f.
- 55 Diary, Dec 15, 30, 1939.
- 56 H. Parlo *et al.*, *Jud Süß. Historisches und juristisches Material zum Fall Veit Harlan* (Hamburg, 1949).
- 57 *Sunday Express*, Sep 3, 1939, p.1.
- 58 Diary, Oct 31, 1939.
- 59 *Daily Sketch*, London, Nov 9; diary, Nov 17, 19. Ministerkonferenz, Nov 19, 1939. The transcripts of these ministerial conferences, now on the original microfiches in Moscow archives, were also held on microfilm in ZStA Potsdam; Willi Boelcke, a former ZStA official, fled to West Germany taking microfilms with him, and published them as *Kriegspropaganda 1939-1941. Geheime Ministerkonferenzen im Reichspropagandaministerium* (Stuttgart, 1966), and *Wollt Ihr den totalen Krieg? Die geheimen Goebbels-Konferenzen 1939-1943* (Stuttgart, 1967). Whether from Boelcke or the original files they are cited hereafter as MinConf.— See too Karl-Dietrich Abel, *Presselenkung im NS-Staat* (Berlin, 1968), and Fritz Säger, *Politik der Täuschungen. Mißbrauch der Presse im Dritten Reich. Weisungen, Informationen, Notizen* (Vienna, 1975).
- 60 Diary, Nov 2. And see *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, Nov 1; *DAZ*, Nov 2; *NYT*, Nov 3; and picture in *Illustrierte Beobachter*, Nov 9, 1939.
- 61 Diary, Nov 3, 1939.
- 62 Ibid., Dec 5, 1939.
- 63 Rosenberg diary, Nov 11, Dec 3; for JG's speech see *DAZ*, and *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, Oct 23, 1939.
- 64 Diary, Nov 2; RMVP (Hippler) to Schaub, Nov 1, and reply (BA file MS.10/46); cf Rosenberg diary, Dec 8, 1939.
- 65 Rosenberg diary, Dec 11; JG diary, Dec 12, 1939.
- 66 Ibid., Oct 27, 30, 1939.
- 67 See the architect's file, Oct 1939, in ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 1032; and diary, Oct 15, 21, 22, 28, 1939.
- 68 Diary, Oct 18-26, 1939.
- 69 Ibid., Nov 10, 1939.
- 70 Diary, Dec 6, 9, 1939.
- 71 Ibid., Nov 5, 1939.
- 72 Ibid., Nov 8, 1939.
- 73 Ibid., Dec 4, 1939; and letter from her secretary to ration card office, Jan 9, 1940 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 2, vol. 2).
- 74 See Himmler files, NA film T175, roll 473, 4786; and BA file NS.10/126.

75 Diary, Nov 9, 1939.

76 RPA Berlin, press circular, Nov 9, 1939 (Hoover Libr: Fritzsche papers, box 4); on Nov 10, the circular directed journalists to blame 'world Jews and not the Jewish community in Germany.'

77 Diary, Nov 10, 11; RPA Berlin, press circular, Nov 22, 1939.

78 Borresholm, 146ff.

79 Diary, Nov 11, 12, 1939.

80 MinConf., Nov 10, 1939.

81 Diary, Nov 13, 14, 15; MinConf., Nov 11, 13; RPA Berlin, press circular, Nov 11; cf NYT, Nov 13, 1939. The murderer Georg Elser, aged thirty-six, a Swabian watch-maker, had been caught a few hours after the bomb blast: see BA files NS.20/65 and R.22/3100; he appeared to have acted alone.

82 RPA Berlin, press circular, Nov 21; news of the capture had been embargoed on the tenth (ibid.).

83 MinConf., Nov 2, 22, 25, 1939; Boelcke, *Kriegspropaganda*, 229.

84 MinConf., Nov 11, 13, 1939.

85 Borresholm, 146ff.

86 Karl Loog, *Die Weissagungen des Nostradamus. Erstmalige Auffindung des Chiffreschlüssels und Enthüllung der Prophezeiungen über Europas Zukunft und Frankreichs Glück und Niedergang 1555-2200* (Pfullingen, 1940). And Bruno Winkler, *Englands Aufstieg und Niedergang nach den Prophezeiungen des großen französischen Sehers der Jahre 1555 und 1558* (Leipzig, 1940). Diary, Dec 5, 14; MinConf., Dec 5, 1939. He sent a copy of the Nostradamus brochure to Hitler's adjutant Albert Bormann on Sep 10, 1940 (Princeton univ. Libr., Hitler collection).

87 MinConf., Dec 11, 12, 1939.

88 Diary, Dec 13, 14, 17. MinConf., Oct 28, 1939; Feb 27, 1940.

89 Diary, Dec 17, 1939.

90 RPA Berlin, press circular, Dec 11, 1939 (Hoover Libr., Fritzsche papers, box 4). For a further collection of RPA Berlin special press circulars Oct 1939-Jul 1940 see ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 1041.

91 Diary, Dec 20, 1939.

92 MinConf., Oct 28, 1939; Apr 20, 24, 1940.

93 Diary, Nov 3; MinConf., Nov 2, 3, 11, 1939.

94 MinConf., Nov 17, 18, Dec 19, 20, 1939; Jan 11, 1940. Diary, Dec 14, 15, 17, 19, 1939; Jan 9, 10, 1940. He directed Fritzsche to publish fresh sentences every two or three weeks as a deterrent (MinConf., Apr 19, 1940).

95 For the first *WB* see the SD morale reports called *Meldungen aus dem Reich*, Nov 22 (NA film T175, roll 258, 0299f and 0317) (hereafter *Meldungen*); and OKW propaganda files, Dec 2, 1939, NA film T77, roll 964, 7987ff. For the second, third, and fourth *WB* and other leaflets including *Fliegende Blätter Nr. 1* and *Englands Kriegsziel-Englands Friedensziel*, see *Meldungen*, Dec 6, 29, 1939, and Jan 12, 1940 (0396f, 0535f, 058f).

96 MinConf., Dec 9, 11, 1939.

97 Diary, Dec 5, 1939.

98 RPA Berlin, press circulars, Dec 23, 26, 1939; *Meldung*, Jan 5; MinConf., Jan 9, 1940.

99 RPA Berlin, press circular, Nov 17, 18, 1939.

100 Ibid., Nov 21, 23, Dec 18, 1939. In Mar 1942 he informed the magazine *Kirchenmusik* that even reviewers of church singing had to sign their full names. (Yivo file G-17).

101 RPA Berlin, press circular, Dec 16, 28, 1939.

Notes to Chapter 37

- 1 Diary, Jan 24, 25, 1940.
- 2 Ibid., Feb 2, 3, 1940.
- 3 Ibid., Jan 17, Mar 10, 1940.
- 4 Ibid., Feb 10, 1940.
- 5 Ibid., Feb 17, 22, 23, 1940.
- 6 Ibid., Jan 9, 1940.
- 7 JG to Hitler, Jan 10; Hitler read it Jan 29: Lammers to JG, Jan 29, 1940 (Reich chancellery files, NA film T120, roll 3198, E530667ff).
- 8 MinConf., Jan 5, Feb 6, 1940. A second foreign press club was opened on Jan 10, 1941. 'Dr Goebbels delivered the speech of welcome,' reported Louis Lochner on Jan 26, 'and turned the club rooms over to us. They are beautifully appointed and there are plenty of telephone lines, typewriters, newspapers, and news bulletins available' (FDR Libr., Toland papers, box 52).
- 9 MinConf., Mar 1, 1940.
- 10 Ibid., Jan 2; diary Jan 3; for similar remarks see VB, Apr 6, text publ. by H. A. Jacobsen, *Der Zweite Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt, 1965), 180f.; and diary, Aug 2, 1940.
- 11 MinConf., Feb 8, 1940.
- 12 Meldung, Jan 5; MinConf., Jan 9, 1940.
- 13 MinConf., Jan 13, 1940.
- 14 Ibid., May 18, 20, Dec 23, 1940; Feb 7, 1941.
- 15 Ibid., Jan 17, 31, Mar 7, 1940.
- 16 Ibid., Apr 10, May 11, 25, 1941.
- 17 Unpubl. diary, Nov 19, 1941.
- 18 MinConf., Jan 27, 1940.
- 19 Ibid., Apr 12, 1940.
- 20 Ibid., May 9, 1940.
- 21 Minutes by Dr Immanuel Schäffer, Sep 7, and by Werner Naumann, Sep 12, 1944 (Yivo file Occ E2-68).
- 22 MinConf., Apr 13, 1940.
- 23 Ibid., May 25, 1940.
- 24 Diary, Jul 8, 1941.
- 25 Ibid., Feb 19, 20, 1940.
- 26 Directive No. 368 from RMVP press conf., Feb 18, 1940 (BA, Brammer files).
- 27 Press conf., Feb 19, 1940; Boelcke, *Kriegspropaganda*, 289.
- 28 This Aufklärungsausschuß Hamburg, run by a Dr Johannsen with Staatsrat Dr Helferich, had agents in Budapest, Ankara, Stockholm, Sofia, Bratislava, Madrid, and (Bertram de Colonna) Lisbon; see SAIC report CIR.4 on the organization of the RMVP and RPL, Jul 19, 1945 (NA, RG.332, entry ETO Mis-Y, Sect., box 116). Some of the agency's files are in BA Militärarchiv (BA-MA): RW.49 (in records of the Abwehr's Bremen field office) with a supplementary collection in Hamburg city archives. For its finances see BA files R.55/381, /382, and /383 (with a note on its origins, Dec 1, 1939); duties, /1338; organization, /1425, and ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vols. 994, 995. Yivo, and BA file R.55/1425. Unpubl. diary, May 1, 1942.
- 29 Rosenberg diary, May 8, 1940.

- 30 Diary, Mar 2, 1940.
- 31 Lammers, decree of Mar 1940 (NA film T84, roll 175, 4957).
- 32 Affidavit by Karl-Jesco von Puttkamer, May 25, 1948 (StA Nuremberg, G15).
- 33 Diary, Apr 6, 7, 8, 1940.
- 34 Diary, Apr 16, 1940.
- 35 Ibid., Jan 17, Mar 5, 1940.
- 36 Ibid., Jan 3, 4, 20, 23, Feb 10, 1940. For *Humanité's* broadcasts May 1 to Jun 24, 1940 see Ortwin Buchbinder, *Geheimsender gegen Frankreich* (Bonn, 1984).
- 37 Diary, Jan 5, 6, Mar 14, 1930.
- 38 Ibid., Feb 13, Mar 12, 15, 1940; Gutterer MS, 84f, and interview. The French retaliated with their own porno-leaflets (MinConf., Feb 17, 1940).
- 39 Diary, Mar 27, 28, Apr 25, 26, May 8, 1940.
- 40 MinConf., Apr 4; *Life*, Aug 5, 19, Sep 23, Dec 30, 1940.
- 41 *L'Illustration*, Paris, Mar 16, 1940. Bernd Martin, *Friedensinitiativen und Machtpolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg, 1939-1942* (Düsseldorf, 1974), 220; Reuth, 442f.
- 42 Diary, Apr 9; Lt-Col. Hasso von Wedel, chief of Wehrmacht propaganda, handed him Keitel's directive on the operation (*Weserübung*) on Apr 9, 1940 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 878). Wedel, a passionate and amply proportioned gourmet cook, became JG's *bête noire*. Wedel's papers are in BA-MA, RW.4 and see his memoirs, *Die Propagandatruppen* (Neckargemünd, 1962).
- 43 Diary, Apr 10; MinConf., Apr 9, 1940.
- 44 Diary, Apr 18, 1940.
- 45 Ibid., Apr 30, 1940. In fact the French Alpine chasseurs and some Norwegian units fought with conspicuous gallantry; the English bravely, but less so.

Notes to Chapter 38

- 1 Diary, Apr 29, 1940.
- 2 Behrend, No. 9, Mar 1, 1952.
- 3 Ibid., Apr 16, 22, 1940.
- 4 Ritschel to Magda, Jul 7, 1940; in a file of their correspondence (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 2, vol. 3).
- 5 Diary, Apr 4, 1940.
- 6 Ibid., Aug 11, 1941.
- 7 JG, letters to colleagues in the field, Jan 24, Aug 10, Sep 3, Oct 23, 1940 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 765).
- 8 Diary, Feb 1, 1940: Berndt had joined the colors on Jan 31, 1940. And BDC file, Berndt.
- 9 Diary, Apr 29, May 21, 1941.
- 10 Ibid., May 13, 1940; Feb 20, Apr 21, May 21, 25, Jun 6, 8, 10, 12-15, 1941.
- 11 Ibid., Jul 4, 1941.
- 12 Wilfried von Oven, *Mit Goebbels bis zum Ende* (republished as *Finale Furioso*, in Tübingen in 1974), 22ff. Oven's 'diary' was evidently written up only after the war (it was first published in Buenos Aires in 1948). His dates are often late (e.g. Mussolini's overthrow, Italy's capitulation); he writes on 'Nov 25, 1943' without even mentioning the colossal air raid two days before on Berlin; Speer has

'recently' taken over air armament on 'Feb 2, 1944' (in fact in Jun 1944). Some parts, e.g. JG's views on Gauleiter Weinrich and the entry of Jun 5-6, 1944 seem derived from Rudolf Semler (whose 'diary' had been published in London in 1947—see note 49 of chapter entitled 'The Road to Stalingrad'). There are syntactical oddities: e.g. 'Jul 27, 1944,' which begins 'yesterday afternoon' and proceeds (p. 438f) to 'on the next morning': why not 'today'?—However Oven probably did use contemporary notes: his reference to JG phoning Morell on 'May 7, 1944' is supported by Morell's diary of May 8, 1944; his references to air raids on Mar 6 and May 7 and 8, 1944 are accurate, and on 'Sep 3, 1944' he correctly gives the departure time of the courier train to Rastenburg as 20.13hrs (see the corresponding itinerary in ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 956).

13 Diary, Apr 25, 1940.

14 Ibid., Apr 28; MinConf., Apr 29, 30, May 3, 19. See too Jodl diary, Apr 23-27; naval staff war diary, Apr 27; and Eduard Wagner's letter of May 7. The White Book No. 4, *Dokumente zur englisch-französischen Kriegsausweitung* (Berlin, 1940) was issued on Apr 27, 1940.

15 Diary, May 8, 9, 1940.

16 Speech to 500 Reich orators, VB, Feb 14, 1940.

17 Diary, Apr 21; and, again quoting Hitler, Apr 25, 1940: 'There is no need for Britain to lose her overseas possessions.'

18 Ibid., May 5, 1940.

19 Ibid., May 7, 1940.

20 MinConf., May 10, 1940.

21 Diary, May 11, 1940: 'Klare Fronten!'

22 Ibid., May 11, 12, 13, 16, 1940.

23 MinConf., May 13, 14; diary, May 15, 17, 1940.

24 MinConf., May 14-16, 1940.

25 Diary, May 11, 1940.

26 Ibid., May 16, 1940.

27 Ibid., May 13, 14, 1940.

28 Ibid., May 16, 17, 1940.

29 Ibid., May 19, 1940.

30 Ibid., May 29, 1940.

31 MinConf., May 14, 17, 21; diary, May 30, 1940.

32 Diary, Jun 15, 1940.

33 Gutterer MS, 83.

34 MinConf., 17, 20-22, 25, 29, 1940.

35 Ibid., May 23, 24, 25, 31, Jun 11, 1940.

36 On Albrecht see US Intelligence files (NA file RG.319, IRR, file XE.131670) and his interrogation, Nuremberg, Jan 27, 1948 (NA film M.1019, roll 2). Born in Weingarten, Württemberg, Nov 8, 1897 he had joined the Spartacus League in Dec 1918, served in Russia from Apr 1924 to Dec 1935, been sentenced to death there in 1934, returned to Germany, and turned his back on Moscow in Mar 1938 after the Soviet execution of twenty-two commissars. He wrote the book *Der verratene Sozialismus*.

37 Diary, May 22, 30, Jun 1, 2, 8, 10, 1940. For JG's subsequent relations with Torgler see BA files R.55/567 and /1289.

38 Diary, May 28; MinConf., May 17, 1940.

39 David Cesarani and Tony Kushner (eds) *The Internment of Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain* (London, 1993).

40 MinConf., Jun 9; for the dangerous—and still widely quoted—Rauschning

book *Gespräche mit Hitler* see diary, Feb 13, 14, Mar 14, 1940.

41 Diary, Jun 6, Jul 8, 1940.

42 MinConf., Jun 7, Jul 7, 1940.

43 Ibid., Jun 22, 1940.

44 Diary, May 17, Jun 3, 1940.

45 Ibid., May 28, 1940.

46 Ibid., Jun 3, 1940.

47 Ibid., Jun 2, 3, 1940.

48 Ibid., Jun 18, 21-23, 1940. Goebbels listened to the secret recordings of the peace negotiations.

49 MinConf., May 27; according to William Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, (New York, 1941), it was shown to the press on Jun 10, 1940.

50 Diary, Jun 23, 1940; he correctly deduced that Churchill had ordered these raids only to provoke Germany to counter-attacks which would dispel the British public's growing war-weariness.

51 Ibid., Jun 27, 1940.

52 Ibid., Jun 29, 1940.

53 For JG's preparations for the homecoming and speech see ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 7.

54 Ibid., Jul 3; Bormann diary, Jul 2. Other sources confirm that Hitler had at this time no desire to destroy the British Empire: e.g. naval staff war diary, Jun 17, quoting Jodl; the Weizsäcker diary, passim; and a private letter by Hitler's secretary Christa Schroeder dated Jun 25, 1940 (IfZ, Irving collection).

55 See e.g. Halder's diary, Jul 2, 3, and comments under interrogation; Major Hasso von Etzdorf, diary, Jul 10, 1940; Bernd von Lossberg, private letter of Sep 7, 1956 (Irving collection); Jodl's speech to the gauleiters on Nov 7, 1943 (ND: 172-L).

56 British analysis of German propaganda output, Jul 1-16, 1940 (PRO file FO.898/30).

57 Diary, Jul 5, 1940.

58 Ibid., Jul 6, 1940.

59 RMVP program for the Führer's return from the battlefield in BA file NS.10/26.

60 Diary, Jul 7, 1940.

61 Darré diary, Jul 8, 1940 (BA, Darré papers, vol. 65a).

62 Diary, Jul 9; Bormann diary, Jul 8, 1940.

63 G Sander, 'Unbekanntes über Goebbels Rolle im Krieg', *Unser Land Illustrierte*, a well-informed supplement to *Deutsche Bauernzeitung* (Cologne-Deutz) Oct 16, 1949 (IfZ archives; hereafter Sander); Rudolf Semler, *Goebbels-The Man Next to Hitler* (London, 1947) (hereafter Semler), diary, 'Jul 24, 1941.' 64 Diary, Mar 6, Jun 7, Dec 6, 1940; Hans Dieter Müller (ed.), *Facsimile Querschnitt durch Das Reich* (Munich, 1964), and 'Das Reich. Porträt einer Wochenzeitung,' in *Der Spiegel*, Aug 19, 1964, 32ff.

65 See e.g. the remarks by a captured bomber navigator on Feb 18, 1941: 'The best magazine is *Das Reich*. It costs thirty pfennigs. It's got all sorts of interesting things about politics, economics, art and the armed forces.' CSDIC(UK) report SRA.1360 (PRO file WO.208/4123).

66 Diary, Feb 26, 1941.

67 Conversation between Lt-Gen. Lindner, air-raid protection section, Reich air ministry, and Lt-Gen. Veith, military governor of Brunswick, Apr 29, 1945.

CSDIC(UK) report SRGG.1149 (PRO file WO.208/4169).

68 Diary, Jul 19, 1940; some were unimpressed. Milch wrote in his diary, '6 P.M. entry of a Berlin division before Fromm, Goebbels. Awful' (author's film DI-59).

69 MinConf., Jul 19, 1940.

70 Ibid., Feb 8, 1940.

71 Canaris memo, Sep 12, 1939 (IWM file AL.1933); RSHA department heads conferences Sep 1939 (NA film T175/239); Heydrich memo of May 1941 (VfZ, 1963, 197ff); David Irving, *Hitler's War* (London, 1991), 222ff.

72 Diary, Jan 16, 1940.

73 The journalist was Wladyslaw Studnicki. Diary, Feb 9, 13, 21, 23, Jul 26, 1940.

74 His informant was Gauleiter Arthur Greiser. Diary, Mar 13, 1940.

75 Ibid., May 1, 1940; Jan 31, 1941. Bouhler, as chief of the Führer's private chancellery, had found himself in charge of the infamous 'T4-Aktion.'

76 Ibid., May 9; on Jul 4, 1940, Hans Frank, governor-general of Poland, reported to JG. 'Jewish problem almost beyond solution,' he noted. Ibid., Jul 5, 1940.

77 Ibid., Jun 6; MinConf., Jul 19, 1940.

78 MinConf., Jul 19; and see diary, Jul 23, 1940. Jewish population statistics were chronically vague. In Sep 1940 Hinkel would report that there were still 71,800 Jews in Berlin; the plan was to expel 60,000 in the first four weeks after the war, and the rest four weeks later.

79 Diary, Jul 26; he had seen Hitler on his return from Bayreuth at midday on Jul 24, 1940.

80 Ibid., Jul 20; for Hitler's speech see *Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, vol. 460, 65ff.

81 MinConf., Jul 19, 1940.

82 Diary, Jul 22, 1940.

83 MinConf., Jul 20, 1940; Boelcke, *Kriegspropaganda*, 421.

84 Sefton Delmer, *Die Deutschen und ich*, 420ff; JG diary, Apr 3, 1941.

85 Diary, Jul 21, 1940.

86 MinConf., Jul 22, 1940: 'Given their totally different, insular mentality it is just inconceivable to the English that the offer made in the Führer's speech was not mere bluff but meant in dead earnest.'

87 Diary, Jul 23-24, 1940.

88 Ibid., Jul 24, 1940.

89 Ibid., Jul 25, 1940.

90 MinConf., Jul 24, 1940.

91 Diary, Jul 26, 1940: 'The Führer's still pondering on it.'

Notes to Chapter 39

1 Diary, Aug 1, 1940.

2 MinConf., Aug 5, 1940.

3 Diary, Aug 8, 1940.

4 MinConf., Aug 8, 1940.

5 Diary, Aug 18, 1940.

6 Ibid., Aug 3, 8, 9; MinConf., Aug 8, 1940.

7 MinConf., Aug 10, 1940.

8 Ibid., Aug 17, 1940.

632 SOURCE NOTES FOR PAGES 340 TO 345

- 9 Diary, Aug 2-3, 1940.
- 10 MinConf., Aug 3; diary, Aug 4; Louis Lochner, letter, Aug 9, 1940 (FDR Libr., Toland papers, box 52).
- 11 Diary, Aug 1, 21, 1940.
- 12 Ibid., Sep 26, Oct 2, 4, 1940.
- 13 Ibid., Aug 4; cf Meldung, Aug 15, 1940 (NA film T175, roll 259, 2178f).
- 14 Diary, Aug 5, 6, 1940.
- 15 Ibid., Aug 7, 1940.
- 16 Ibid., Aug 9, 1940.
- 17 MinConf., Aug 9, 10; diary, Aug 10-13, 1940.
- 18 Ibid., Aug 12, 1940.
- 19 Diary, Aug 13, 1940.
- 20 Ibid., Aug 14, 1940.
- 21 Ibid., Aug 23, 1940. On the nineteenth JG noted, 'It makes you sick!'
- 22 Ibid., Aug 21, 22, 1940.
- 23 See the Political Warfare Executive (PWE) study, Development of German Propaganda, Aug 1940, p. 9 (PRO file FO.898/30).
- 24 Churchill's telephoned directive to Bomber Command of Aug 25 is in Air Ministry papers, PRO file AIR.14/775; the VB headline on Aug 27 read, 'London dresses up attack on Berlin as a "reprisal".'
- 25 Diary, Aug 26, 27, 1940.
- 26 Ibid., Aug 29, 30, 1940.
- 27 Ibid., Aug 31, 1940.
- 28 Titel had organized Goebbels' biggest Berlin displays like the May Day rally of 1933: it was his task to ensure that the columns of marchers converged simultaneously on the stadiums, and that they were not too wide for the bridges en route, etc.
- 29 For the reports to JG on Churchill's air raids on Berlin Sep-Dec 1940, see ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 896.
- 30 MinConf., Sep 8, 1940.
- 31 The real figure was bad enough, 360.
- 32 Diary, Sep 10; on Sep 11, 1940 he added: 'We're hyping up the raid on Berlin; reverse of hitherto.'
- 33 Ibid., Sep 11, 1940.
- 34 MinConf., Sep 11; diary, Sep 12; on Sep 18, 1940 he confirmed: 'After all, we invented the blazing Brandenburg Gate too.'
- 35 MinConf., Sep 15, 1940.
- 36 Diary, Sep 13, 1940.
- 37 Ibid., Sep 12, 1940.
- 38 Ibid., Sep 14, 1940.
- 39 Ibid., Sep 15, 1940.
- 40 Ibid., Sep 17, 1940.
- 41 MinConf., Sep 6, 1940.
- 42 Diary, Sep 15; as Berndt pointed out, this benefited only the BBC. Ibid., Oct 5; MinConf., Oct 7. On Nov 11, JG's diary noted the 'colossal propaganda damage.' Hadamowsky put the RMVP case to Hitler, without success; see diary, Nov 16, and MinConf., Nov 25, 1940.
- 43 MinConf., Sep 17; diary, Sep 18, 1940.
- 44 MinConf. and diary, Sep 17; in general, see the PWE fortnightly survey, Development of German Propaganda, Sep 16-30, 1940 (PRO file FO.898/30).
- 45 MinConf., Sep 20, 1940.

- 46 Milch diary, Sep 14 (author's film DI-59); and diaries of Halder, OKW WFSt, and naval staff, Sep 14, 1940.
- 47 Diary, Sep 24, 1940.
- 48 Ibid., Sep 25; JG used the boxing analogy in his article in *VB*, Dec 28, 1940.
- 49 Oven, 'Jul 6, 1944,' 380f.
- 50 Diary, Sep 26, 1940.
- 51 Ibid., Oct 2, 3, 1940.
- 52 Ibid., Oct 3, 4, 1940.
- 53 MinConf., Oct 9; diary, Oct 5, 1940.
- 54 Diary, Oct 18; diary of General Hoffmann von Waldau, Oct 16, 1940 (author's film DI-75b).
- 55 Diary, Oct 19, 1940.
- 56 Ibid., Oct 20, 1940: 'Göring is running a tight ship.'
- 57 Oven, 'Jul 6, 1944,' 380f: 'I returned from this visit to Deauville with the worst possible impressions.' And see the May 6, 1946 interrogation of Schirmeister, who accompanied JG to France (NA film M.1270, roll 19).
- 58 Diary, Aug 3, Sep 18, 24, 25; Freybe to Mrs Weinhold, Oct 15, 1940 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 2, vol. 3).
- 59 Ritschel to Magda, Oct 16; Magda to Ritschel, telegram, Dec 4, 1940 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 2, vol. 3).
- 60 Diary, Jul 21, Oct 13, 1940.
- 61 Ibid., Jul 24, 1940.
- 62 Ibid., Sep 29, 1940; and cf Nov 19, 1941, and Oven, 230.
- 63 Diary, Oct 15, 1940.
- 64 Note by Schweitzer, Nov 13, 1940 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 5).
- 65 Diary, Oct 29; and Bartels, note on desk cost, Nov 12, 1940 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 5).
- 66 Bartels, note on desk cost, Nov 12, 1940 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 5); and Behrend, No. 19, May 10, 1952.
- 67 Note by Ministerialrat Christian Spieler, Oct 31, 1940 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 5).
- 68 Naumann to adjutants, Aug 6, 1940 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 759).
- 69 Diary, Nov 2, 1940.
- 70 Ibid., Nov 26, 1940; Apr 17, Jun 8, 13, 1941. 'My ministry is gradually turning into a major art collection.'
- 71 Ibid., Nov 2, 5, 23, 1940.
- 72 Speer to Bartels, Sep 9, 1940 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 5).
- 73 Diary, Dec 5, 1940; cf Jan 12, 1941.
- 74 MinConf., Oct 20, 1940.
- 75 Ibid., Oct 9; and see *ibid.*, Oct 24, 1940: London was claiming to have killed 2,871 Berliners in the last raids; the real figure was twelve.
- 76 Diary, Nov 1, 1941.
- 77 Ibid., Nov 2, 1940.
- 78 Speech on occasion of 50th Family Favorites concert (Wunschkonzert), Dec 1, 1940 (publ. in *Zeit ohne Beispiel*, 331f; see chapter, 'The Malodorous Thing,' note 20).
- 79 Diary, Jul 5, 1940.
- 80 Ibid., Jul 30, 1940.

634 SOURCE NOTES FOR PAGES 348 TO 352

- 81 Ibid., Aug 5, 10, 16, 1940.
- 82 Ibid., Aug 9, 1940.
- 83 Ibid., Aug 15, 1940.
- 84 Ibid., Aug 16, 24, 1940.
- 85 Ibid., Sep 14, 19, 1940.
- 86 Ibid., Nov 10, 1940.
- 87 Ibid., Nov 11, 12, 1940.
- 88 Sander; and see JG's Tagesparole (message for the day), Nov 14, 1940, cited in Boelcke, *Kriegspropaganda*, 566.

Notes to Chapter 40

- 1 JG took spiteful disciplinary action against three of Ribbentrop's pet journalists: press conf. of Oct 24, 1940 (BA files, Brammer collection; ND: NG-3870).
- 2 Diary, Dec 4, 1940.
- 3 Ibid., Feb 6, 7, 16, 1940.
- 4 Ibid., Oct 16, 1940.
- 5 Ibid., Mar 30; cf Jun 6, 1940.
- 6 Ibid., May 17, 1940.
- 7 Ibid., Jun 16, Aug 4, 1940.
- 8 JG circular, Sep 2 (Reich chancellery files, ND: NG-4189); diary, Oct 9, 23, Nov 5, Dec 13, 1940.
- 9 MinConf., Oct 22; diary Oct 23, 1940. Hitler often compared Ribbentrop with Bismarck: cf Likus report, Nov 13, 1938 (AA files, Serial 43, 29044ff).
- 10 Diary, Dec 2; Glasmeier to JG, Dec 2, 1940; and letter from Richard Schulze-Kossens to Reinhard Spitzzy, Nov 2, 1986 (author's collection).
- 11 Ribbentrop to JG, Nov 30, and reply, Dec 2 (author's collection); JG diary, Dec 2-5, 1940.
- 12 Diary, Dec 6-7, 1940.
- 13 Ibid., Nov 20, 1940.
- 14 Ibid., Nov 26, 1940.
- 15 Cf diary of Field Marshal von Bock (C-in-C East), Dec 3, 1940 (BA-MA, Bock papers).
- 16 Confirmed by Milch diary, Dec 26, 1940: 'From Dec 24-26 A.M. no raids on Britain on Führer's orders' (author's film DI-59).
- 17 Diary, Dec 4; similar words on Dec 5, 1940.
- 18 'German home morale and neutralizing Italian defeat,' in PWE Analysis of German Propaganda, Dec 1-16, 1940 (PRO file FO.898/30); MinConf., Jun 23, 1940.
- 19 MinConf., Jun 16, 1940.
- 20 Ibid., Jul 15, 1940.
- 21 Diary, Sep 11, and cf *ibid.*, Sep 13, 1940.
- 22 Diary, Dec 11, 1940.
- 23 Ibid., Dec 12, 1940.
- 24 Ibid., Dec 22, 1940.
- 25 Ibid., Dec 31, 1940.
- 26 Script of JG's broadcast, amended by Hitler, in the files of his adjutants (BA file NS.10/37). Hitler also asked JG to shelve an article which he had written attacking the legal profession (diary, Jan 12, 1941).

- 27 Diary, Jan 30, Feb 22, 1941.
- 28 Ibid., Jan 12, 1941.
- 29 JG, 'Winston Churchill,' in *Das Reich*, Feb 5. Cf MinConf., Dec 22; and diary, Dec 22, 1940; Jan 5, 6, 1941.
- 30 Diary, Jan 26, 1941.
- 31 Ibid., Jan 29, 1941.
- 32 Ibid., Feb 14, 1941.
- 33 Ibid., Feb 18, 21, 1941. For the planning of the film *Die Feuertaufe* (Baptism of Fire) and a film on the Wehrmacht against England, see JG to Brauchitsch, May 9, reply May 20, 1940 (NA film T78, roll 295, 4501ff).
- 34 Diary, Feb 25, 1941.
- 35 Ritschel to Magda, Dec 26, 1940, Jan 28, 1941 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90 Go 2, vol. 3); diary, Jan 6, 7, 8, 1941.
- 36 Diary, Apr 4, 5, 1941.
- 37 Ibid., Dec 22, 1940.
- 38 Ibid., Nov 5; cf Nov 10, 1940 for his unconcealed delight.
- 39 Ibid., Dec 27, 1940. Regierungsrat Heiduschke had joined the Fallschirmjäger (paratroops) in May 1940, but JG had retrieved him on Oct 1, 1940 as his adjutant. See *ibid.*, May 13, Oct 2, 31, 1940.
- 40 Ibid., Jan 3, 18, 1941.
- 41 Ibid., Jan 29, 1941.
- 42 Ibid., Apr 24, 1941.
- 43 Ibid., Jun 17, 1941. 'To show an interest in': *mich des Kindes anzunehmen*.
- 44 See the MS by Rittmeister Dr Wilhelm Scheidt (IfZ, Irving collection).
- 45 Diary, Jan 29, 1941; cf. Hanke's biography in *Das Reich* Mar 11, 1945, and JG diary, May 5, 1940: Hanke was with Rommel's division, but 'is heading for Silesia later.'
- 46 Diary, Jan 30. On Feb 9 Hess spoke in Breslau at Hanke's induction as gauleiter (*ibid.*, Feb 10, 1941).
- 47 Ibid., Jan 25, Feb 3, 13, 1941.
- 48 Ibid., Feb 8, 1941.
- 49 Ibid., Mar 25, 1941; JG's New Year's broadcast, 1940/41.
- 50 Diary, Apr 4, 1941.
- 51 Ibid., Feb 8, 11, 13, 14, 1941.
- 52 Ibid., Feb 14-16, 1941.
- 53 Sander; JG diary, Feb 18, 1941.
- 54 Diary, Feb 16, 17, 21, 24, 1941.
- 55 Ibid., Feb 21, 23, 26, 1941.
- 56 Ibid., Mar 3, 1941.
- 57 Ibid., Mar 16, 17, 1941.
- 58 Ibid., Mar 15, 17, 18, 23, 1941.
- 59 Ibid., Mar 29, Apr 11, 20, 21, 1941.
- 60 Ibid., Apr 14, 1941.
- 61 Ibid., May 1-3. Linz Irkonsky had provided the summer house (*ibid.*, Apr 2, 1941).
- 62 Sander.
- 63 JG used the same phrase in his domestic propaganda: PWE Report on Axis Propaganda and Strategic Intentions, No. 25, Jan 6-12, 1941 (PRO file FO.898/30); diary, Jan 10, 1941.
- 64 Diary, Feb 1, 4, 1941.
- 65 Ibid., Feb 7, 1941.

636 SOURCE NOTES FOR PAGES 355 TO 359

- 66 *Das Reich*, Mar 7, 1941.
- 67 MinConf., Mar 14, 1941.
- 68 Undated transcript and Reuters rewrite dated Mar 10 of JG's speech of Mar 7 in PRO file FO.371/26518; PWE Report on Axis Propaganda and Strategic Intentions, No. 33, Mar 3-9 (PRO file FO.898/30); diary, Mar 8, 1941.
- 69 Diary, Mar 11, 1941.
- 70 Ibid., Mar 16, 1941.
- 71 Ibid., Mar 17, 1941.
- 72 Ibid., Mar 3, 1941.
- 73 Ibid., Mar 18, 1941.
- 74 Ibid., Mar 21, 1941.
- 75 MinConf., Mar 21, 1941.
- 76 Diary, Mar 25, 1941.
- 77 Ibid., Mar 29. He added that there were already 300,000 troops in Norway. 'Moscow won't have anything to laugh about when the balloon goes up.' On Mar 30, 1941 he noted that the SD Meldung reported reservations in the public's mood toward Russia; people seemed to have a premonition. 'But this summer will see this problem solved too.'
- 78 Diary, Mar 28, 1941.
- 79 Ibid., Apr 4-6, 1941.
- 80 Ibid., Apr 6, 1941.
- 81 Semler, 'Apr 5, 1941.'
- 82 Diary, Apr 6, 1941.
- 83 Shorthand transcript of MinConf., Apr 6, 1941.
- 84 Lt-Col. Erwin Lahousen diary (author's film DI-43).
- 85 MinConf., Apr 10; diary, Apr 11, 1941.
- 86 Ibid., Apr 20, 21, 1941.
- 87 Ibid., Apr 1, 1941.
- 88 MinConf., Apr 17; diary, Apr 17-19, 23, 1941.
- 89 MinConf., Apr 7, 1941.
- 90 Diary, Apr 13, 1941.
- 91 Shorthand record of MinConf., Apr 15; diary, Apr 16, 1941.
- 92 Diary, Apr 17, 1941.
- 93 Ibid., Apr 8, 9, 1941.
- 94 Ibid., Apr 24, 1941.
- 95 Ibid.
- 96 E. Taubert, 'Der antisowjetische Apparat des deutschen Propaganda-ministeriums' (BA file KI. Erw. 617).
- 97 Interrogation of Fritzsche, Nov 1, 1946 in OMGUS files (NA, RG.250, shipping list 53-3/7, box 16).
- 98 Sander; JG did not visit Lanke between Feb 22 and Apr 11, 1941 (diary).
- 99 Diary, Apr 14, 1941. Semler's account of the Apr 12 Krebs incident, dated 'Apr 1, 1941,' must be discounted.
- 100 Diary, Apr 15, 1941.
- 101 Hans-Leo Martin, 115; JG diary, Apr 19, 1941.
- 102 Diary, May 1, 7; cf Walther Hewel diary, May 1941 (author's film DI-75).
- 103 Diary, May 5, 8, 9, 1941.
- 104 Ibid., May 9, 1941.
- 105 Ibid., May 12, 1941.

Notes to Chapter 41

- 1 For Berlin's announcement of May 14, 1941 see BA, Schumacher collection, file 236; and PRO files PREM.3/219/4 and INF.1/912.
- 2 Semler, 'May 14, 1941.'
- 3 And again: JG diary, May 14, 1941.
- 4 Ibid., May 13, 1941.
- 5 MinConf., May 13; diary, May 14, 1941.
- 6 MinConf., May 15, 1941.
- 7 Diary, May 14, 1941.
- 8 Shorthand record of MinConf., May 15, 1941. Sander quotes him as saying, 'Hess should have fallen into *my* hands!'
- 9 Diary, May 14, 16, 1941; in fact Churchill had expressly forbidden any exploitation of the Hess affair.
- 10 In his memo of May 21 (TWM file AL.2525) Hans Frank said he had never seen him so distressed since the death of Geli Raubal. And see Frank diary May 13, 19, and conference, May 20, 1941; the interrogation of Ernst Bohle, Aug 5/8, 1945; Hewel diary, May 13, 1941.
- 11 Lutze diary, May 13, 14, 1941; he added, 'my views on Hess have been known for years.'
- 12 Diary, May 16; circular by Tiessler to the party (Gauringleiter), Jun 24, 1941 (NA film T581, roll 16; BA file NS.26/291). See the RPL file on combating occultism, containing correspondence with Bormann's chancellery and JG's views, Jun-Jul 1943 (BA file NS.18/211).
- 13 Diary, May 14, 1941.
- 14 Sander.
- 15 MinConf., May 14; diary, May 15, 1941.
- 16 Shorthand record of MinConf., May 15, 1941.
- 17 Diary, May 19, 1941.
- 18 Ebermayer and Meissner, op. cit., *Revue*, Nos. 24-25, May 1952; their source is Ello Quandt.
- 19 Diary, May 24, 25, Jun 1, 1941.
- 20 The book was his anthology, *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel. Reden und Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1939/40/41* (Munich, 1941).
- 21 Diary, May 28, 1941; the entry concludes, 'To bed late, tired, and quite sad'—the latter possibly because of the day's sinking of Bismarck.
- 22 Diary, May 31, 1941: 'particularly since the report of German prisoners being mutilated.'
- 23 Ebermayer and Meissner, No. 25, Jun 21, 1952.
- 24 Diary, May 20, 1941.
- 25 Ibid., May 22, 1941. Tiessler headed the Hauptamt Reichsring in the RPL. For his personal papers see BA file NS.18/5; career to 1934: NS.18/251. His 1941-43 submissions to JG are in file NS.18/194. His MS memoirs are in IZ files. He died in 1984.
- 26 Diary, May 21, Jun 9, 10, 12, 13, 1941.
- 27 MinConf., May 21. In fact Abwehr special forces did wear Polish uniforms in 1939 and Dutch uniforms in 1940.
- 28 Interrogation by Frank Korf, Apr 4, 1948 (Hoover Libr., Korf papers).
- 29 Diary, May 25. For the Barbarossa deception plans (Shark, Mercury) see naval staff war diary May 12, 16, 1941.
- 30 Ibid., Jun 6, 7, 14; Semler, 'Jun 1, 1941.'

31 Diary, Jun 1, 1941. Semler dates this conference 'Jun 5,' as does Borresholm. Schirmeister (IMT, xvii, 277) testifies that it was in May.

32 Memo for Dr Schlegelberger, ministry of justice, BA file R.22/4087; Borresholm, 157.

33 On the Bömer affair see the interrogation of Paul K. ('Presse') Schmidt, Jul 28, 1947 and his affidavit of Dec 1947 (NA film M.1019, roll 64); and of Rolf Hoffmann, PWB/SAIC/22, Jul 12, 1945 (NA file RG.332, entry ETO, Mis-Y, Sect., box 116).

34 Hewel diary, May 25; JG diary, May 26, 1941.

35 Diary, May 23, 31; JG warned his MinConf., May 26, 1941, on the perils of alcohol and bragging.

36 Diary, May 26, 27, 1941.

37 Ibid., May 27, 1941.

38 Schmidt; and Heinz Lorenz, testimony of Dec 3, 1947 (ND: NG-4321; and IfZ, file ZS.266). JG said (diary, Jun 13, 14, 27) he would plead for Bömer, but only after Barbarossa; in fact on Aug 13 he recorded that he had submitted a memo on Bömer's behalf to the public prosecutor and hoped for his release.

39 Diary, May 30, 1941. Bormann to party treasurer Schwarz, Feb 22, 1942 (BDC file, Bömer). Bömer had been press chief in Rosenberg's Ausserpolitisches Amt, 1934-38.

40 Diary, Jun 5, May 28, 1941.

41 Ibid., May 23, 1941.

42 Ibid., Jun 11, 1941.

43 Ibid., Jun 15. On this ploy see *ibid.*, Jun 7, 11, 12, 1941, and Werner Stephan's interrogation of Oct 29, 1947 (NA film M.1019, roll 71). Borresholm, 152f ('May 24'), the OKW Wfst war diary ('Jun 16') and Semler ('Jun 8, 1941') all give the wrong dates.

44 Diary, Jun 15, 1941; Oven, 'Oct 29, 1944,' 507f; Sander.

45 Diary, Jun 14, 1941; Schaub MS (IfZ, Irving collection).

46 Taubert report (Yivo file, G-PA-14).

47 Diary, May 1, 1941.

48 Ibid., May 23, 1941; he added that Koch was to get the Ukraine, and Lohse the Baltic states.

49 Ibid., May 24, 1941.

50 Ibid., Jun 12, 1941.

51 Ibid., Jun 7, 1941.

52 Ibid., Jun 8, 1941.

53 Ibid., Jun 15. That day, Jun 14, JG wrote to Rosenberg to urge the centralization of all eastern propaganda within the RMVP (Rosenberg files, IfZ film MA.803, 277f). On Jun 18, 1941 he noted that Rosenberg also expected a rapid Soviet collapse. For their later squabbles about jurisdiction over propaganda in the eastern territories see Rosenberg's papers, especially BA file R.6/11.

54 Diary, Jun 19, 1941.

55 Ibid., Jun 22, 1941. He issued a photograph of himself broadcasting the proclamation (picture archives, Süddeutscher Verlag). See Hewel and Bormann diaries, Jun 22 (author's films DI-75 and DI-19); and the diary of General Kurt Dittmar, the war department's radio commentator, who said JG's broadcast 'sounded convincing,' but added: 'Less attractive are the consequences, particularly the shooting of [Soviet] commissars.... We obey unwillingly and with considerable misgivings on this point' (author's film DI-60).

Notes to Chapter 42

- 1 Diary, Jun 25, 1941.
- 2 Ibid., Jun 24, 1941.
- 3 JG in VB, Jun 26, 1941.
- 4 JG in *Das Reich*, Jul 6, 1941.
- 5 Capt. Wolf Junge MS (IFZ, Irving collection), 231; Semler, 'Jun 30, 1941.'
- 6 Diary, Jun 30, Jul 3, 5, 6, 1941.
- 7 MinConf., Jun 9, 1940.
- 8 Diary, Jun 30, 1941; in Aug 1941 JG had a 'very heated argument' with the Führer's HQ, which in all seriousness again proposed to broadcast five special communiqués at hourly intervals with the same 'odious consequences' as on Jun 29. Unpubl. diary, Aug 10-12. (For the unpubl. diary of Aug 13-20, 1941 see NA film T84, roll 267.)
- 9 Unpubl. diary, Nov 22, 1941: 'Let's postpone that until the war's over.'
- 10 Diary, Jun 30, 1941.
- 11 Unpubl. diary, Aug 16, 1941; annex to JG's letter to Hitler, May 23, 1943 (BA file R.55/799).
- 12 Diary, Jul 3; Semler, 'Jul 5, 1941.'
- 13 Unpubl. diary, Nov 7, 1941.
- 14 For a Soviet leaflet with the German text see BA file NS.26/vorl.1194.
- 15 Diary, Jul 5, 1941.
- 16 Ibid., Jul 5, 6; unpubl. diary, Aug 13, 1941.
- 17 Heydrich, report, Jul 2; Chef d. SiPo u. SD, 'Durchsuchung sowjetrus-sischer Botschaft,' Jul 23 (Hewel Vorlagen beim Führer); Lahousen, report on official trip to Paris, Jul 7-10 (IWM file AL/1933); Ambassador Karl Ritter, memo of Jul 20, 1941 (Pol. Archiv AA: Ritter, Russland, vol. 1, on NA film T120, roll 764, 8996ff); see Irving, *Hitler's War*, 344f.
- 18 Unpubl. diary fragment, Aug [10-12?], 1941.
- 19 Diary, Jun 5, 13, Jul 8; unpubl. diary, Aug 13, 1941; Semler, 'Apr 9, 1943.'
- 20 H. C. Bartels to JG, Aug 3, 1943 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 4).
- 21 Diary, Mar 29, 30, 1941.
- 22 Author's interview of Richard Otte, Mar 31, 1971; and see *Daily Mail*, London, Jul 9, and *General-Anzeiger*, Bonn, Jul 11, 1992. On Mar 12, 1946 Leo Barten of USFET MISC wrote to Capt. Smith (G-2) that Otte, then living near Minden, 'had sole custody of all the personal documents and manuscripts of Goebbels,' on which see also USFET MISC SIR interrogation of Schwägermann, Jun 20, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, author's film DI-36).
- 23 Diary, Sep 23, 1943.
- 24 Ibid., Jul 9, 1941.
- 25 Ritter, memo, Jul 14, 1941 (Pol. Archiv AA, Serial 1386; NA film T120, roll 764, 359006); Luther, note of Jul 8, 1941 (ibid., 359008f).
- 26 Schmidt-Leonhardt to JG, Oct 19, 1942 (BA file R.55/799).
- 27 Diary, Jun 29. On Jul 3, 1941 however JG noted, 'Rosenberg's stopped making a fuss. He's leaving the propaganda up to us entirely.'
- 28 So JG said to Göring. Unpubl. diary, Mar 21, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 261).
- 29 Diary, Feb 5, 1944.
- 30 Ibid., Jul 13; Semler, 'Sep 24, 1941.'
- 31 Hadamowsky's report from HQ, cited in diary, Aug 1, 1941.
- 32 See e.g. the notes by SA Standartenführer Werner Koeppen, Rosenberg's

persönlicher Referent, on Hitler's table talk with him, especially Sep 18 (NA film T84, roll 387, 0770) and Sep 22, 1941 (ibid., 0784f).

33 For Rosenberg's papers on propaganda in the eastern territories see BA file R.6/192; for Goebbels', BA files R.55/799 and /1436.

34 Interrogation of d'Alquèn, Feb 16, 1948 (NA film M.1019, roll 2).

35 Taubert report; and JG diary, Mar 16, 1942.

36 For JG's propaganda issue of this book with a German commentary see BA file NS.26/42; a 12pp extract by the Reichsring of RMVP is on NA film T81, roll 672, 0606ff. See the SD Meldung of Jul 31 for the public's reactions to these extracts (NA film T175, roll 261, 4438ff) and Oct 2, 1941 (ibid., 4918ff).

37 Theodore N. Kaufman, *Germany Must Perish!* (Newark, NJ, 1941), 7; reprinted as facsimile by Faksimile Verlag, Bremen, 1985.

38 Unpubl. diary, Aug 3, 1941. Adolf Eichmann wrote in his notes in 1956 or 1957, 'Kaufman's plan for the complete Ausrottung of the German people was known to us at the time when the first order was given for the physical destruction of the Jews' (original typescript in the author's possession).

39 See the OSS R&A report No. 695, Jan 14, 1943: 'The Use of Professor Renner's article by Axis propagandists' (USAMHI, Carlisle, Donovan papers, box 35c).

40 Diary, Aug 9; on Aug 29, 1940 he added, 'The Russians ran wild in Kaunas. Anybody who looked a cut above the rest was bumped off.'

41 Ibid., Aug 17, 23, 1940. On the Madagascar plan as a solution of the Jewish problem see note of Jul 2, 1940 (ND: NG-5764).

42 Diary, Sep 2, 1940.

43 Ibid., Nov 5 ('and later on we'll push the Jews out of this region too'). For Hans Frank's version, see his diary, department head conf., Nov 6, 1940.

44 Diary, Dec 22, 1940.

45 MinConf., Apr 26, Jul 8, 15, Sep 12, 24; diary, Sep 25; SD Meldung, Nov 28, 1940 (NA film T175, roll 260, 2860f).

46 Diary, Jan 31, 1941. Heydrich had disassociated himself from Bouhler's euthanasia *Aktion* in a letter to the ministry of justice, Nov 1, 1940 (BA file R.22/5021).

47 Diary, Feb 14, Jun 21, 1941.

48 MinConf., Feb 26, 27, Mar 4, 7; diary Feb 27, Mar 1, 1941.

49 Diary, Mar 19, 1941.

50 See e.g. MinConf., Mar 23, 26; VB, May 24, 1941.

51 *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel*, 319f.

52 MinConf., Sep 6; here he stated 71,800 Jews, but in MinConf., Sep 17, 1940 he stated with perhaps greater precision that 72,327 Jews were in Berlin.

53 Ibid., Sep 17, 1940; testimony of Schirmeister, IMT, xvii, 276.

54 Tiessler, submission to party chancellery, Mar 7, 1941 (NA film T81, roll 676, 5597); cf JG diary, Jun 10, 1941.

55 (Genuine) Speer chronicle, report of Jan 1 to Apr 15, 1941, 21, cited in Matthias Schmidt, *Das Ende eines Mythos* (Munich, 1982), 182f. Speer was general buildings inspector (Generalbauinspekteur) for Berlin.

56 MinConf., Apr 21; diary, Apr 22, 1941

57 Lammers to Schirach (ND: 1950-PS).

58 Diary, Mar 22, 1941. 'Who'd have thought that possible earlier?'

59 *Judenfrei*. 'Bü.', Reichsring Abt. IIg, note on evacuation of Jews from Berlin, Mar 20, 1941 (NA film T81, roll 676, 5604f; diary, Mar 18, 1941).

60 Eichmann was at that time chief of the RSHA Amt.IV B4 (Jewish affairs.) For documents on Eichmann's organization of a 'central émigré agency' (Umwandererzentralstelle) in Posen in Apr 1940 and events thereafter see SS Sturmbannführer Höppner to Eichmann, Sep 3, 1941 (Polish War Crimes Commission archives, courtesy of Dr Gerald Fleming): this speaks of the need to be clear whether the 'undesirable elements' were to survive 'or were to be totally wiped out' (a memorandum dated Sep 2, 1941); evidently no firm decision had been taken by then.

61 On Apr 16 the genuine Speer chronicle had recorded that Hitler had demanded that 1,000 homes be made available to Germans who had lost theirs in the big air raid. On May 31, 1941 the chronicle records, 'As a result of the Jewish eviction Aktion 940 homes were made available.'

62 Diary, Jun 20; Hans Frank diary, Jul 17, 1941.

63 Note by Tiessler, Apr 21 (NA film T81, roll 676, 5642); MinConf., Apr 21; diary, Apr 22, 1941.

64 SS Oberführer Dr Werner Best to Taubert, Dec 1939, cit. in NA film T81, roll 676, 5596.

65 'Pf.' (Abt. II of RPL), note of Dec 5, 1939: *ibid.*

66 Taubert to Tiessler, Apr 22 (*ibid.*, 5641); Tiessler to deputy Führer's staff, Apr 25 (*ibid.*, 5638); the result was a briefing note drafted by Gutterer for JG's next visit to Hitler, Aug 17, 1941, entitled Tagging the Jews (*ibid.*, 5739-56).

67 Diary, Aug 11, 1941.

68 (Genuine) Speer chronicle, 1941, 65f.

69 Tiessler circular to party officers, Jul 4, 1941 (NA film T581, roll 16; BA file NS.26/291).

70 Unpubl. diary, Aug 15, 1941.

71 *Ibid.*, Aug 20, 1941.

72 *Ibid.*, Aug 8, 13, 1941.

73 *Ibid.*, Aug 17, 1941.

74 Propaganda directive No. 11, Sep 21, 1942 (NA film T81, roll 672, 0666f); see Himmler to JG, Aug 11, 1943, complaining about how these voices disturbed him by breaking into his car radio (NA film T120, roll 2474, E255436).

75 According to the chief engineer of a Soviet air fleet quoted by Bodenschatz on Oct 6, 1941 Stalin had 12,000 operational war planes when Barbarossa began (NA film T84, roll 387, 0796).

76 Record of a private talk between Churchill and Stalin at dinner on Jul 18, 1945 at Potsdam (PRO file PREM.3/430/8, 11).

77 He had brought a print of Liebeneiner's pro-euthanasia film *I accuse* to Hitler's HQ. Diary, Aug 15; Hewel diary, Aug 21, 1941.

78 Unpubl. diary, Aug 14, 18; cf Bormann memo, Aug 13 (ND: 3702-PS). On Nov 21 JG again raised the Galen affair. Hitler told him to leave Galen unmolested until the war was over (unpubl. diary, Nov 22); cf *ibid.*, Nov 29, 1941, and Bormann circular, Apr 26, 1943 (NA film T175, roll 68, 1860).

79 Heydrich however told Martin Luther of the foreign ministry's Abt. Inland II that JG had received from Hitler at the Wolf's Lair the decision that the 'the badge will take the form of a white-and-yellow armband.' Luther note for Ribbentrop, Aug 22 (Pol. Archiv AA, Serial 4841H, E247688); Stuckart express letter, Aug 26 (*ibid.*, E247716). Ernst von Weizsäcker maintained in a minute of Sep 15 that his ministry was not consulted beforehand (NA film T120, roll 722, 321630). On Aug 20 JG noted, 'I took up the fight against the Jews in Berlin in 1926 and it is my ambition not to rest until the last Jew has left Berlin.' On which

see Tiessler's circular to gau propaganda officers, Aug 21, referred to in his circular of Oct 8, 1941 (NA film T581, roll 16; BA file NS.26/291).

80 HQ US Seventh Army: PWB report SAIC/16, Jun 6, 1945, on Dr Immanuel Schäffer (NA file RG.332, entry ETO, Mis-Y, Sect., box 116); and author's correspondence with Schäffer.

81 Diary, Sep 16, 1941.

82 Diary, Sep 9, 1941.

83 Berndt to Himmler, Sep 11, 1941 (NA film T175, roll 33, 4467f).

84 PWE progress report for week ending Sep 13, 1941 (PRO file FO.898/67). The Propaganda Research Section of the PWE/PWI Political Intelligence dept (PID) of the British FO issued fortnightly reports 1939-42 with statistical analyses of the shifting theme patterns displayed by broadcasts, press, and Transocean, in an attempt to gain clues to developing Nazi policies (PRO file FO.898/30).

85 Koeppen report, Sep 23 (NA film T84, roll 387, 0786); Bormann diary, Sep 23; JG diary, Sep 24, 1941.

86 Koeppen report, Sep 10; Wolfram von Richthofen diary, Sep 12; JG diary, Nov 30, 1941.

87 Police ordinance on Tagging the Jews, Sep 1, 1941: *RGBL*, 1941, I, 547; and Heydrich, regulations on above, BDC file 240/II, 167ff. Diary, Sep 24, and Tiessler note, Sep 24, 1941 (NA film T81, roll 676, 5682).

88 Tiessler circular No. 127/41, Oct 8, 1941 to all gau propaganda chiefs (NA film T581, roll 16; BA file NS.26/291); Kaufman, *Germany Must Perish!*, 83. Similar problems arose in Holland: See unpubl. diary, May 21, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 262).

89 Photocopy in Yivo file G-156.

90 Fritzsche, interrogation, Nov 1, 1946 (NA film, M.1019, roll 19; StA Nuremberg, F86) and NA file RG.260, OMGUS, box 16; cf SD Meldung, Oct 9, 1941 (NA film T175, roll 261, 4963ff).

91 Diary, Sep 24, 1941. Berlin, he noted, would be first.

92 Himmler to Greiser, Heydrich, *et al.*, Sep 18 (NA film T175, roll 54, 8695); JG noted on Sep 24, 1941 that he hoped the deportation would be achieved 'during the course of this same year.'

93 Himmler to SS Gruppenführer Uebelhör, Oct 10 (NA film T175, roll 54, 8662f); cf Heydrich to Himmler, Oct 19, 1941 (*ibid.*, 8645f).

94 Koeppen, note on lunch talk, Oct 6, 1941 (NA film, T84, roll 387, 0800).

95 Diary, Oct 4; Koeppen note, Oct 3, 4; Hewel diary, Oct 3, 1941.

96 Hewel diary, Oct 7, 1941.

97 *Ibid.*, Oct 8, 1941.

98 Dietrich interrogation, Oct 8, 1947 (NA film M.1019, roll 13); Werner Stephan said Dietrich told him Keitel was the source: interrogation, Oct 29, 1947, and affidavit, Nov 1947 (*ibid.*, roll 71). CSDIC(WEA) BAOR report FIR.28, Oct 29, 1945: 'Otto Dietrich' (NA file RG.219, IRR, XE.003812).

99 Sander. JG diary, Oct 10, 11; Semler 'Oct 9,' VB, Oct 10, 1941.

100 Diary, Oct 11, 1941.

101 Stephan interrogation (NA film M.1019, roll 71); Semler, 'Oct 11, 1941.'

102 VB, Oct 24; *Das Reich*, Nov 9. The latter was circulated by the Sonderdienst of RPL on Nov 4; broadcast on Nov 8, 1941 by Deutschland-Sender (BBC monitoring report, in PRO file FO.371/30928).

Notes to Chapter 43

- 1 Hanfstaengl, report on JG for Pres. Roosevelt, Jul 16, 1943 (FDR Libr., PSF box 126, file 'Source S.');
- 2 Minute by Frank Roberts, FO, Nov 8, 1941 (PRO file FO.371/30928).
- 3 Diary, Feb 1; MinConf., Feb 5; SD Meldung, Feb 7, 1941.
- 4 Diary, Mar 10, 1941.
- 5 Ibid., Feb 21, Apr 1, 2, 5; MinConf., Apr 1, 5, 1941.
- 6 Diary, Feb 21, 22, 28, Mar 8, 1941.
- 7 JG, 'So will Roosevelt das USA-Volk kriegsreif machen,' VB, May 29; diary, May 29, 1941.
- 8 Diary, Jul 24, 1941.
- 9 Briefing by Dr Zapf, in unpubl. JG diary, Aug 13; and cf briefing by Schmitz (Reichsbahn office New York), *ibid.*, Aug 16, 1941. For a similar briefing by Gienanth, JG's press attaché in Washington, see note 17 of chapter titled 'Things Have not Panned Out.'
- 10 JG to Weizsäcker, Nov 18, 1941 (ND: NG-4742).
- 11 PM, New York, Oct 28, 1941. 'Goebbelsgram contest nears end. ...' (FDR Libr., PSF box 44, Germany 1940-41).
- 12 Heydrich to Luther, Nov 29 (Pol. Archiv AA, Abt. Inl. II geh., file Serial 1513; NA film T120, roll 780, 372043f); cf Himmler's phone conversation with Heydrich, Oct 18, 1941: 'No overseas emigration of Jews' (NA film T84, roll 25). The next day Heydrich wrote to Himmler, 'In daily transports of a thousand apiece, 20,000 Jews and 5,000 gypsies are being sent to the Lodz ghetto between Oct 15 and Nov 8' (NA film T175, roll 54, 8645).
- 13 Hildegard Henschel, 'Gemeindearbeit und Evakuierung von Berlin,' Oct 16, 1941-Jun 16, 1943, in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden*, vol. ix, 1972, 34ff. Of the 82,457 Jews registered in Berlin on May 17, 1939, only 5,100 remained on April 1, 1945; 10,351 had been buried in the Jewish cemetery, the Gestapo had deported 50,535. See the tables in Sellenthin, 83.
- 14 (Genuine) Speer chronicle, 1941, 85; Matthias Schmidt, *Das Ende eines Mythos*, 186, 188.
- 15 (Genuine) Speer chronicle, 1941; Speer to Otto Wetzel, Reichstag deputy, Apr 21, 1942 (BA file R.3/1605).
- 16 Heinrich Heim, note on Hitler's (dinner) table talk, Oct 25 (Genoud papers). *Ad hoc* liquidations of Russian Jews had begun on a colossal scale, but Himmler, who had witnessed shootings at Kiev only days earlier, evidently said nothing. On the liquidations, see the report by Canaris or Lahousen, 'Observations made on a trip to the operational area,' Berlin, Oct 23, 1941 (TWM file AL.1933; ND: NOKW.3147).
- 17 Thus Dr Stahlecker, commander of Einsatzgruppe A, reported secretly, 'In the three Baltic states ... the Jews gained the upper hand only after the bolshevik takeover,' thus 'all influential government positions [in Riga] rapidly fell into the hands of the Jews' (ND: 2273-PS).
- 18 According to Dieter Wisliceny, writing in Bratislava, Nov 18, 1946, Eichmann had chosen the destinations on the premise that since Hitler's 'Commissar Order' was in force there it would facilitate liquidating the Jews (IfZ file F71/8).
- 19 Stahlecker report.
- 20 Richard Kube, governor-general of White Russia, report to Himmler, Jul 31, 1942.

21 A report by SS Standartenführer Jäger on the activities of a unit of Einsatzkommando 3 states that 2,934 Jewish 'Umsiedler' (evacuees) from Berlin, Munich, and Frankfurt/Main were killed in Kaunas on Nov 25, 1941 (document courtesy of Gerald Fleming, from Riga state archives).

22 Stahlecker report. This claims that the deportation was based on preparatory work by the Jews. There had been over 150,000 Jews in Lithuania in 1940. On the role of Lithuanian Jews in the NKVD 1940-41 and the resulting anti-Jewish pogroms in Kaunas and elsewhere after Jun 22, 1941, see the frank essay by Aleksandras Shtromas, professor of political science and a Lithuanian Jew himself, in *The World & I* (Washington, DC, 1992), 572ff.

23 Stahlecker (who may be exaggerating) states, 'Altogether 136,421 people were liquidated in many separate operations' in Lithuania.

24 Diary, Nov 2, 1941: briefing by Lt-Col. Zehnpfennig, district commandant of Vilnius. The Soviet secret police, he said, had rounded up the local businessmen one morning in 1940 and shot them. On Jul 5, 1941 Field Marshal von Leeb reported on the Lithuanians' revenge against the Jews to Hitler's HQ; Schmundt told him not to intervene (Army Group North war diary, NA film T311, roll 53). See Hitler's talk with Marshal Kvaternik on Jul 22, and the diary of Otto Bräutigam, Jul 11, 1941: 'While we turn a blind eye, the Lithuanian auxiliary police are carrying out numerous pogroms against the Jews' (author's film DI-97). SS Standartenführer Jäger (see note 21 above) states that in Vilnius from Aug 12-Sep 1, 1941 there were 425 Jews and 19 Jewesses killed, and that on Sep 2 in a *Sonderaktion* (special operation) 864 more Jews, 2,019 Jewesses, and 817 Jewish children were killed 'because Jews had opened fire on German soldiers.'

25 Diary, Nov 2, 1941.

26 (Genuine) Speer chronicle, Nov 27, 1941; it quotes JG as being 'extremely surprised' at the scale of the effort.

27 Stahlecker report.

28 Dr Drechsler, Generalkommissar of Latvia, to Lohse, Oct 20; and unsigned memo, Oct 21, 1941 (Yivo file Occ E3-29).

29 Memo by Lohse's office, Oct 27; and Regierungsrat Trampedach to Ostministerium, Nov 9, 1941 (Yivo, Occ E3-30, 32).

30 Army commander, Baltic, to Lohse, Nov 20, 1941 (Yivo file Occ E3-34).

31 Note by Ministerialdirektor Lutterloh of the ministry of the interior, Nov 21, 1941 (ND: 4055-PS); however a table, 'Distribution of the Jews as of Nov 15, 1941,' puts 65,000 Jews in Berlin (and 50,000 in Vienna, 11,000 in Frankfurt/Main, 8,100 in Breslau) (NA film T81, roll 676, 5695).

32 (Genuine) Speer chronicle, 1941, 87; Matthias Schmidt, *Das Ende eines Mythos*, 188.

33 MinConf., quoted in Willi Krämer to Tiessler, Oct 25, 1941 (NA film T81, roll 676, 5792).

34 Kristina Söderbaum, *Nichts bleibt immer so* (Munich, 1992) 116, 120f. *The Golden City*, premièred Nov 24, 1942, was one of the wartime movie industry's biggest money-spinners.

35 Diary, Nov 7. The Gottschalk family were buried on Nov 6, 1941 in the Stahnsdorf cemetery. Sellenthin, 87f.

36 Undated Propaganda-Parole No. 6, signed by Berndt, No. 413/41g (Yivo file G-44); Berndt's signature places it after Sep 9. And see the proclamation by the Jewish Culture Association, Berlin, Nov 14, 1941 (Yivo file G-229).

37 JG, 'Die Juden sind schuld!' in *Das Reich*, Nov 16; cf *NYT*, Nov 14;

broadcast Nov 14, 1941, 6:45 P.M. (PRO file FO.371/26569).

38 OKW Wi.II, Gruppenleiter, circular, Nov 17 (NA film T77, roll 672, 8117ff): the government had ordered steps to get rid of the Jewish danger 'for all times.' JG wrote in his unpubl. diary Nov 23, 1941, 'My article on the Jews has been applauded particularly by the party membership'; it provided 'the ordinary member' with the arguments he needed.

39 Obviously a reference to the Gottschalk tragedy. Typically, JG began even this entry (diary, Nov 22, 1941) with the words, 'On the Jewish problem too the Führer is totally in agreement with my opinions.' Clearly he was *not*.

40 Wisliceny report, Bratislava, Nov 18, 1946 (IfZ file F.71/8). For Wisliceny's interrogations see NA file RG.319, XE.3283.

41 Eichmann, MS: 'Deportation aus den baltischen Ländern' (Original in the author's possession).

42 Stahlecker states that 'at the beginning of Dec 1941' 27,800 Jews (possibly an exaggeration) were killed in an *Aktion* by the SS and police chief in Riga; and see the report by the army liaison officer to the foreign ministry in Riga, Apr 5, 1943 (NA film T120, roll 780, 372,208ff). Another report by Einsatzgruppe A (ND: NO-3257) gives the overall total as four thousand Jews from the Riga ghetto 'and from an evacuation transport from the Reich.'

43 Conversation of Lt-Gen. Werner Bruns overheard on Apr 25, 1945, CSDIC(UK) report SRGG.1158 (PRO file WO.208/4169). The two or three pits 25 meters long which he described, with the victims forced to lie down with their heads toward the center 'like sardines,' would have held one or two thousand victims each. See too his interrogation on Feb 13, 1948 (NA film M.1019, roll 20), and the interrogations of Rocques and Elke Sirewitz. Sellenthin, 85, reproduces a Transportliste confirming that 3,715 Berlin Jews left for Minsk (Nov 14), Kaunas (Nov 17), and Riga (Nov 27, 1941), and on pp. 86f a letter written in Feb 1942 from some of their relatives, published in the *Neue Volkszeitung*, New York, Apr 25, 1942.

44 This is a probable interpretation of Himmler's note on his telephone call from Hitler's 'bunker' to Heydrich at 1:30 P.M., Nov 30, 1941: 'Judentransport aus Berlin. Keine Liquidierung' (NA film T84, roll 25).

45 JG's adjutant to Bartels, Nov 13 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 5); on Dec 8, 1941 JG canceled the piano's purchase.

46 Unpubl. diary, Nov 30, 1941.

47 Ibid., Nov 22, 1941.

48 Ibid.; Speer chronicle, Nov 21, 1941.

49 According to JG this was after his visit to HQ on Aug 18, 1941. Boelcke, *Kriegspropaganda*, 195. Semler, writes 'Aug 28, 1941.'

50 Lt-Col. Martin showed him this months later. Unpubl. diary, Feb 6, 1942: Martin had handed in his proposal for a ski collection; Jodl had scribbled on it, 'Our troops have no time for winter sports' (NA film T84, roll 260). Cf Sander.

51 JG, speech to gauleiters, Aug 3, 1944 (IfZ file Fa.35/3).

52 JG to Hitler, Jul 18 (BA file N.118/107); cf Oven, 'Jul 25, 1944,' 434.

53 Eduard Wagner, private letter to his wife, Oct 19, 1941 (BA, Irving collection).

54 Koeppen report on Hitler's table talk, Oct 26 (NA film T84, roll 387, 0830); letter by Wagner, Oct 26, 1941 (BA, Irving collection).

55 JG, speech to gauleiters, Aug 3, 1944 (IfZ file Fa.35/3).

56 Diary, Nov 1; Bormann diary, Nov 1; and letter by Wagner, Nov 1, 1941 (BA, Irving collection).

- 57 Testimonies of Puttkamer, Mar 21, 1953 (IfZ file ZS.285) and Canstein (ZS.345).
- 58 JG, speech to the gauleiters, Aug 3, 1944.
- 59 Lutze diary, Nov 9; JG diary, Nov 10, 1941.
- 60 Ibid., Nov 30, 1941.
- 61 Diary, Nov 22, 1941.
- 62 Ibid., Nov 9, 1941.
- 63 Hewel diary, Dec 7, 1941.
- 64 Unpubl. diary, Dec 10, 1941 (Moscow archives, Goebbels papers).
- 65 Ibid., Dec. 10 1941.
- 66 Ibid., Dec 11, 1941.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Führer's speech in *Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, vol. 460, 93ff; cf diaries of Milch and Schmoldt, Dec 11, and unpubl. JG diary, Dec 12, 1941.
- 69 MinConf., Dec 12, 1941.
- 70 Ambassador Hiroshi Oshima had confided to JG that Japan would capture Singapore shortly. 'He [Oshima] is already forging plans for a joint [Japanese-German] assault on India. But we're some way short of that yet.'
- 71 Unpubl. diary, Dec 13, 1941.
- 72 Ibid., Dec 13; JG had said that such a meeting with the gauleiters was necessary (ibid., Dec 11, 1941).
- 73 Sander.
- 74 Diary, Dec 20, 1941.
- 75 MinConf., Dec 19, 1941.
- 76 Diary, Jan 2, 1942.
- 77 Weizsäcker, note, Jan 6, 1942: Hill, *Die Weizsäcker Papiere*, 284.
- 78 Diary, Jan 7, 1942.

Notes to Chapter 44

- 1 Unpubl. diary, Jan 11, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 267).
- 2 Ibid., Jan 8, 1942.
- 3 MinConf., Dec 12, 1941.
- 4 Ibid., Dec 18, 1941.
- 5 Ibid., Jan 27 (NA film T84, roll 260); and MinConf., Mar 6, 10, 1942.
- 6 Unpubl. diary, Jan 9, 1942.
- 7 MinConf., Dec 7, 11, 1941; for a discussion of JG's tactics after the German winter setbacks see *NYT*, Jan 11, 18 (magazine), 23, Apr 12, 1942.
- 8 Ursula Backe diary, Dec 29, 1941, recording a phone call from Berndt to Backe.
- 9 Diary, Dec 12, 1941; Jan 21, 1942.
- 10 Ibid., Dec 19, 1941.
- 11 Schirmeister interrogation, May 6, 1946 (NA film M.1270, roll 19); and letter to G. Moltmann, 1959, *VfZ*, 1964, 13ff.
- 12 MinConf., Dec 12, 1941.
- 13 Diary, Jan 23, 1942. Most of the women vanished into Russian captivity in 1945 and were not seen again. For the diary of one unnamed nineteen-year-old RMVP secretary from Jan 28, 1942 to 1944 see BA file Kl. Erw. 716.
- 14 Statistics until Jan 20 in MinConf., Feb 4, 1942.
- 15 JG, 'Das neue Jahr,' *Das Reich*, Jan 4, 1942; cf *Das eherne Herz. Reden und Aufsätze* (Munich 1943), 168, and *NYT*, Jan 3, 1942.

- 16 Heinrich Heim, table talk, Jan 18-19, 1941 (Genoud papers).
- 17 Partly unpubl. diary, Jan 20, 1942.
- 18 Unpubl. diary Jan 21, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 260).
- 19 Behrend, No. 21, May 24, 1952. Schirmeister returned from the eastern front to RMVP Jan 20; see unpubl. diary, Jan 21, 1942.
- 20 Diary, Jan 20, 1942.
- 21 Memorandum on the [Wannsee] conference of Jan 20, 1942 in files of Abt. Inland II, geh. (Pol. Archiv AA, Final Solution of the Jewish Problem, Serial 1513; NA film T120, roll 780, 372024ff). Those present included Gauleiter Meyer, Stuckart, Freisler, Bühler, Klopfer, Kritzinger, 'Gestapo' Müller, and Eichmann.
- 22 Heydrich to Luther *et al.*, Nov 29, 1941 (NA film T120, roll 780, 372043; ND: 709-PS). Author's interview of Gutterer, Sep 13, 1992.
- 23 Hans Frank diary, Dec 16, 1941.
- 24 Kempner, 185.
- 25 VB, Munich, Feb 1, 1942.
- 26 Diary, Jan 21, 1942: the Jews were getting insolent again, particularly in Berlin public transport. 'They'll have to be reined in again; I'm already onto it.'
- 27 RMVP-ministry of justice correspondence about Schönwald, Dec 1941 (Yivo file G-72).
- 28 MinConf., Mar 10, 1942; ordinance of Berlin Jewish Cultural Association on the ban, with effect from May 1, 1942 (Yivo file G-16).
- 29 Reich chamber of the press, ordinance of Feb 17, 1942 (Yivo file G-57).
- 30 Unpubl. diary, Feb 18, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 260).
- 31 Eichmann papers, 1956 (in the author's collection).
- 32 Unpubl. diary, Mar 6, 1942, p. 16 (NA film T84, roll 260).
- 33 Diary, Mar 6, 1942.
- 34 Because when Heydrich sent the Wannsee conference minutes to Luther at the foreign ministry on Feb 26, it was date-stamped Mar 2, 1942 (Pol. Archiv AA, Serial 1513; NA film T120, roll 780, 372023).
- 35 Diary, Mar 7, 1942, pp. 17f.
- 36 They were Oberregierungsrat Pay Carstensen of his propaganda division, and Dr Schmidt-Burgk, of its eastern territories sub-section. Minutes of conference at RSHA, Mar 6, 1942, on final solution of the Jewish problem (Pol. Archiv AA, Serial 1513; NA film T120, roll 780, 371962). Carstensen was killed as a fighter pilot at the end of the year (diary, Dec 15, 1942; NA film T84, roll 262).
- 37 Interrogations of the Reich chancellery's Gottfried Boley, Sep 14, 15, 1945 (NA film M.1270, roll 2) and Jun 10, 1947 (M.1019, roll 8); and of the party chancellery's Edinger Ancker, Jun 11, 1947 (M.1019, roll 3).
- 38 Staatssekretär Schlegelberger sent his representative's report to Lammers of the Reich chancellery on Mar 12, and described the decisions taken there as 'for the most part totally impracticable' (ND: 4055-PS; USA Exhibit 923; BA file R.22/52).
- 39 Interrogation of Reich chancellery's Dr Hans Ficker, Jun 11, 1947 (NA film M.1019, roll 17).
- 40 Schlegelberger's undated (but spring 1942) minute on Lammers' reference to Hitler's ruling is in BA file R.22/52; although listed in their Staff Evidence Analysis sheet, this page was removed by American officials at Nuremberg from the exhibit cited above. And see Ficker (note 39 above).—At about the same time JG noted that Hitler was relentless on the Jewish question: 'The Jews must

get out of Europe, if necessary by applying the most brutal means' (unpubl. diary, Mar 20, 1942, NA film T84, roll 261).

41 See Globocnik to Himmler, top secret, Jun 3 (NA film T175, roll 122, 7904) on anti-Jewish operations in Lublin; and Brack to Himmler, Jun 23, 1942 (ND: NO-205), reporting that on Bouhler's instructions he had made men available for 'special duties' and that pursuant to a further request from Globocnik he had detached still more men for the task. 'Brigadeführer Globocnik holds the view that the entire Jew-Aktion should be executed as fast as humanly possible in case it runs into a snag halfway through.' Brack himself argued for keeping back two or three million able-bodied Jews from the ten millions involved. On Globocnik's relationship with Eichmann see Wisliceny (IfZ file F71/8).

42 Diary, Mar 27, 1942, pp. 19-22 (BA file NL.118/42). There is no doubt about these pages' authenticity: the originals are in the Hoover archives' Goebbels collection; the microfilm of them (now NA film T84, roll 261) was made in New York in 1947, and the author also checked the microfiche copy made by the Nazis in 1944, in the Moscow archives where the microfiches have languished since 1945.

43 Diary, Mar 27, 1942.

44 Tiessler, note dated Mar 28, 1942 (NA film T81, roll 676, 5707).

45 Oven, 48.

46 Unpubl. diary, Jan 22, Feb 21, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 260).

47 Ibid., Jan 31, Feb 1, 8, 1942.

48 Ibid., Feb 1, 1942.

49 Ibid., Feb 2, 3, 5, 8, 1942.

50 Ibid., Apr 30, May 1, 5, 8, 17, 1942.

51 Ibid., May 21, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 262). Oswald, age thirty-three, was killed at Cholm in Feb 1942. Annette Castendyk (daughter of Anka Stalherm), interview, Nov 10, 1991, and letter, May 20, 1993.

52 MinConf., Jan 29, 1942.

53 Diary, Jan 27; the High Command listed 4,119 cases of typhus in the eastern armies, causing 685 fatalities (MinConf., Feb 5); the typhus epidemic worsened, with 2,301 new cases in the first ten days of May (unpubl. diary, May 28, 1942).

54 MinConf., Jan 26, 1942; unpubl. diary, Nov 28, 1941.

55 Diary, Feb 11, 1941.

56 MinConf., Apr 24; he wrote similarly in *Das Reich*, May 4, 1941.

57 Diary, May 26, 1941.

58 *Das Reich*, May 4, 1941.

59 Phyllis Moir, *I Was Winston Churchill's Private Secretary* (New York and Toronto, 1941); JG diary, May 3, 1941.

60 MinConf., Feb 19, 1942.

61 Diary, May 7, Jun 13, 1941.

62 Ibid., Jun 18, 1941.

63 Ibid., May 8, 1941.

64 Ibid., May 9, 1941; cf unpubl. diary, Jan 28, 1942: Churchill was a 'first-class go-for-broke gambler,' the gravedigger of the empire.

65 Diary, Jan 30, 1942.

66 Unpubl. diary, Feb 14 (NA film T84, roll 267); MinConf., Feb 13, 1942.

67 MinConf., Feb 14, 1942.

68 Diary, Feb 16; MinConf., Feb 16, 1942.

69 Thus OSS-director William B. Donovan put it in a memo for Roosevelt, Apr 25, 1942 (FDR Libr., PSF box 165, 'OSS Reports').

- 70 Diary, Mar 20; Bormann diary, Mar 19, 1942.
- 71 Unpubl. diary, Mar 21, 26, 1942.
- 72 NS-Parteikorrespondenz, Aug 25, 1942 (BDC file, Bömer).
- 73 Ciano diary, Mar 19, 1942.
- 74 Diary, Mar 20, 1942.
- 75 Gutterer MS, 98f; and interview, Jun 30, 1993. Speer first heard of the Nazi atomic-bomb project at a conference in the Harnack House in June: see Otto Hahn diary, Jun 4; Milch diary, Jun 5, 1942 (both in the author's collection); Prof. Werner Heisenberg, in *Naturwissenschaften*, vol. 33 (1947), 325; and interviews of Heisenberg and Karl-Otto Saur. See too David Irving, *The German Atomic Bomb* (New York) and *The Virus House* (London, 1965); superseded by Thomas Power's excellent study, *Heisenberg's War* (London, 1993).
- 76 Diary, Mar 21, 1942, pp. 25f.
- 77 Speer's conference with Hitler on Jun 23, 1942 is recorded in IWM file FD.3353/45.
- 78 MinConf., Mar 30; diary, Mar 31, 1942.
- 79 Kempner, 185.
- 80 Diary, Apr 27, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 262).
- 81 Unpubl. diary, Mar 29, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 261).
- 82 Diary, May 11, 17, 1942.
- 83 Unpubl. diary, Apr 19, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 262).
- 84 Killed on Apr 30 at Gusevo. Rehbein cavalry brigade to SS cavalry brigade Warsaw, Apr 30, 1942 (BDC file, SS Untersturmführer A. Tonak).
- 85 Unpubl. diary, Apr 29, 1942, p. 10.
- 86 Diary, May 27, 1942.
- 87 Unpubl. diary, May 15, 1942.
- 88 Diary, Jan 24, 1942. ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vols 713, 977-93 and 1008, and Heiber's study in *VfZ*, 1957, 134ff.
- 89 Diary, Apr 3, 5, 14; JG's correspondence with Schlegelberger, Apr 10-15, 1942 (ND: NG-973, NG-1028).
- 90 Gutterer statements Sep 29 and Nov 2, 1953 (IfZ file, ZS.490); Otto Abetz, memo on a talk between Hewel and Bormann, Apr 18 (ND: NG-179); JG diary, May 14, 1942. See Weizsäcker's file on France, vol. 11 (Pol. Archiv AA Serial 110; NA film T120, roll 112, 115113-583).

Notes to Chapter 45

- 1 MinConf., Mar 18; Propaganda Slogan No. 22, Mar 23, and note of Mar 24 (NA film T81, roll 672, 0928ff); see Office of War Information (OWI) confidential report No. 6, Jul 25, 1942 (NA file RG.226, entry 16, box 115, file 18962).
- 2 Propaganda Slogan No. 20, Mar 13, 1942 (NA film T81, roll 672, 0905ff): Germany had to feed 2.5m foreign workers and the occupied territories too now.
- 3 Diary, Apr 5, 13; MinConf., Apr 12; Propaganda slogan Mar 10 (NA film T81, roll 672, 0918ff) and BA file NS.18/43; *NYT*, Apr 17, Jun 22, 1942.
- 4 Führer decree, referred to in JG diary, Mar 28, 1942.
- 5 Diary, May 2, 23, 1942. Included in the 350,000 marks furnishings were 500 phonograph records and silverware for twenty-four guests (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, RMVP, vol. 766).
- 6 MinConf., Apr 11; diary, Apr 14, 1942.
- 7 Note for JG, Jun 10, 1942 (Hoover Libr., Goebbels papers, box 2).

8 Unpubl. diary, Mar 11, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 267).

9 Ibid., May 14; cf Mar 16 and May 28, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 267).

10 Diary, Apr 9, 1942.

11 MinConf., Apr 27, 1942.

12 Diary, Apr 24; 163 people died in Rostock, and the center was seventy percent destroyed. To JG's annoyance the foreign ministry sent Countess (Edda) Ciano and a gaggle of Italian court ladies to visit Rostock (diary, May 4). Foreign ministry official Braun von Stumm coined the phrase 'Bædecker raids,' saying the Germans would now attack anything awarded four stars in the famous guide book to Britain (ibid., May 2-4, 1942).

13 Diary, Apr 27, 1942.

14 Unpubl. diary, Jun 2 (NA film T84, roll 267); at the MinConf., May 26 he announced the arrest of seven Jews for firebombing his anti-Soviet exhibition. Cf MinConf., May 27, 1942.

15 Diary, May 28, 1942. According to *NYT*, 258 Jews were shot at Lichterfelde on that day.

16 Stapo-Leitstelle Berlin to Oberfinanzpräsident, Jun 5, 1942; cit. Gerald Reitlinger, *Die Endlösung. Hitlers Versuch der Ausrottung der Juden Europas, 1939-1945* (Berlin, 1956), 111; Reuth, 502. An Apr 26, 1938 decree had required all Jews to list assets in excess of 5,000 marks to local tax offices and police HQs. Wolfgang Scheffler, *Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich 1933-1945* (Berlin, 1960), 27ff. The author is indebted to Prof Klaus J Herrmann of the Concordia University of Montreal for drawing his attention to the harrowing Deportiertenkartei (deportees' card-index) in the Landesarchiv Berlin, which houses the records of 50,535 Jews expropriated and deported from Berlin during this period. These records had previously been held in the property administration (Vermögensverwaltung) department of the Senator für Finanzen in Fasanenstrasse, and before that they were kept in Tauentzienstraße. Herrmann's cousin Emma Herrmann and her son Peter were among those deported and systematically robbed of their assets by the Berlin finance authorities.

17 See Hitler's table talk, Apr 29, 1942 (Picker edition).

18 Diary, May 30, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 267); Reuth, note 74, makes a brave attempt to reconcile this entry with a Hitler plan to *liquidate* the Jews.

19 Diary, Jan 25-27; JG express circular to ministries, Jan 30: 'I have had the circulation of Seehaus material stopped with immediate effect' (Reich chancellery files, NA film T120, roll 2474, E255399). The other agencies were DNB, Transocean, and Johannsen's service in Hamburg (diary, Jan 30, 1942).

20 Unpubl. diary, Apr 6, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 261). Irving, *Breach of Security and Das Reich hört mit*; JG unpubl. diary, Sep 25, 1942 (IfZ file ED.83/2; author's film DI-52), recording a visit from the FA's Ministerialdirektor Walther Seifert.

21 Unpubl. diary, May 30, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 267); for Severitt's position see the FA phone directory in NA file RG.319, IRR, XE.4986, and interrogations therein of Peipe and Rebien; his predecessors were Dr Schippert and Klaus von Klitzing.

22 Unpubl. diary, May 30, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 267).

23 MinConf., May 29; diary, May 28, 1942.

24 Gutterer MS, and interview, Jun 30, 1993. In his diary, Jun 1, 1942, JG reported Hitler's criticism of the other ministers for not having left contact numbers—he did not mention his own absence.

25 Diary, Jun 2 (NA film T84, roll 267); MinConf., Jun 2; on Jun 14, 1942 he pointed out that every conceivable bomber type had been shot down, proof that Churchill had scraped the bottom of the barrel.

26 Diary, Jun 2, 5; *NYT*, Jun 2, 1942 wrote of twenty thousand dead.

27 Memo by William B. Donovan to Pres. Roosevelt, No. 596, Jun 1942 (FDR Libr., PSF boxes 165-6, 'OSS'); and see JG, 'Der Luft- und Nervenkrieg,' in *Das Reich*, Jun 14, 1942.

28 Memo by William B. Donovan to Pres. Roosevelt, No. 581, Jun 5, 1942 (FDR Libr., PSF boxes 165-6, 'OSS'); and see the PWE analysis of German home propaganda, May 13-20, 1942, No. 528, *ibid.*

29 Diary, Mar 27, 1942.

30 Memo by William B. Donovan to Pres. Roosevelt, No. 359, Mar 27, 1942 (FDR Libr., PSF boxes 165-6, 'OSS')

31 Ditto, No. 319, Mar 9, 1942 (*ibid.*).

32 Ditto, No. 318, Mar 7, 1942 (*ibid.*).

33 OSS R&A Report No. 21, 'Current German Attitudes and the German War Effort,' Mar 19, 1942 (USAMHI, Donovan papers, box 37a).

34 Memo by William B. Donovan to Pres. Roosevelt, No. 563, May 29 (*ibid.*); MinConf., Jun 15, 1942.

35 *Ibid.*, Jul 22; see also *ibid.*, Aug 6, 8, 1942.

36 *Ibid.*, Aug 10, 1942.

37 *Ibid.*, Jul 3, 1942.

38 Diary, Jun 5, 1942.

39 Bormann to JG *et al.*, Jun 8, 1942 (NA film T175, roll 139, 7362f).

40 MinConf., Jul 14, 1942.

41 Diary, May 14, 18; unpubl. diary, May 27, 1942.

42 JG as RPL, guidelines, Feb 15, 1942 (Yivo file Occ. E20).

43 MinConf., Jul 6, 1942.

44 Diary, Feb 24; in general, see the report by Hadamowsky and Taubert on the administration of the east, Sep 17, 1942 (Yivo file Occ. E18).

45 Unpubl. diary, Apr 25, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 261).

46 *Ibid.*, Feb 14; and May 2, 1942.

47 *Ibid.*, May 22, 27, 28, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 267).

48 *Ibid.*, Jun 1, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 267).

49 Diary, Jun 5, 1942.

50 MinConf., Jul 1, 1942.

51 *Ibid.*, Jul 7, 9, 1942.

52 JG, 'Die sogenannte russische Seele,' *Das Reich*, Jul 18; circulated to all Reichsleiter and gauleiters, Jul 14 (NA film T581, roll 16; BA file NS.26/291); and see OWI report No. 6, Jul 6, 1942 (NA film RG.226, entry 16, box 115, 18962).

53 MinConf., Jul 28, 1942.

54 Diary, Jun 5, 1942.

55 MinConf., Jul 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 1942.

56 *Ibid.*, Jul 23, 1942.

57 *Ibid.*, Jul 8; on Aug 3, 1942 he added, 'In particular avoid comments that the air raids will not decide the war.'

58 JG, 'Auch der Versuch ist strafbar,' *Das Reich*, Aug 2; issued as usual by radio and DNB several days ahead. See 'Goebbels über die Zweite Front,' in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Jul 30, and *NYT*, Jul 30, 1942, p. 3. In his diary on Aug 1, 1942, JG wrote, 'Never has an article of mine attracted such lively interest as this

one. It is quoted under banner headlines on the front pages of the entire European press.'

59 MinConf., Aug 18, 22, 1942.

60 Unpubl. diary, Aug 14-15, 1942 (BA file NL.118/125).

61 MinConf., Aug 11, 1942.

62 See MinConf., Aug 19, 1942 (Moscow archives, Goebbels papers).

63 Unpubl. diary, Aug 21, 1942 (Moscow archives, Goebbels papers).

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid., Aug 22, 1942.

66 MinConf., Aug 21, 1942.

Notes to Chapter 46

1 'Vom Sinn des Krieges.' Unpubl. diary, Aug 14-15, 1942 (NA film NL.118/125).

2 Memo Wilson to R. Leeper, Aug 21, 1942 (PRO file FO.898/67).

3 Hans-Leo Martin, 33f.

4 Propaganda Parole No. 33, Jun 2, 1942 (NA film T81, roll 672, 0810ff).

5 MinConf., Aug 15-18; diary, Aug 10, 1942.

6 MinConf., Aug 21; unpubl. diary, Aug 20, 1942 (Moscow archives, Goebbels papers).

7 Diary, Aug 9, 1942.

8 MinConf., Aug 17, 22, 23, 24, 1942.

9 JG, 'Seid nicht allzu gerecht!' in *Das Reich*, Sep 6, 1942.

10 Unpubl. diary, Sep 30, 1942, pp. 30f (author's film DI-52; IfZ).

11 JG referred to his secret speech, delivered to Berlin's editors and foreign press corps, in *ibid.*, Sep 24; see too *VB*, Sep 25, 1942. The text quoted by the author is a 5pp copy typed on flimsy 'Flight Post' stationery on an English typewriter (no Umlaut), evidently obtained by Polish Intelligence; it was forwarded by Mr F. Savery (of the British embassy to the Polish government in exile) to Frank Roberts of the FO: a 'Mr Wznelaki' mailed it to Savery on Feb 25, 1943 (PRO files FO.371/30928, /34454). The forty-nine-year-old Jan Wznelaki was deputy secretary-general of the Polish ministry of foreign affairs in exile; see his correspondence with Savery in the Sikorski Institute archives, Kol. 39.—As for the text's authenticity, attention may be drawn to by JG's similar references to 'exaggerated craze for objectivity' in his speech of Nov 17, 1942, and to the needless 'love of truth' and 'functionalism' of German media reporting, in his secret speech of Jul 17 or 18, 1943 (see *VZ*, 1971, 83ff).

12 However on Jul 22 he had told the People's Court in a speech that there were 'still 40,000 Jews' in Berlin (report by Crohne in Schlegelberger's files, ND: NG-417); he had quoted the same figure in his diary on May 11, 1942.

13 This is very similar to JG's 'Jews who have nothing to lose' argument (cf diary, May 30, 1942; NA film T84, roll 267). At his MinConf. on Dec 8 JG agreed that the 'maltreatment of the Jews in Poland' was a tricky issue, and too hot really to handle; he also discussed the multiplying British and American allegations about 'atrocities against Jews' in the east in his conferences of Dec 12, 14, 16 ('What must happen is that each side accuses the other of atrocities; the general hullabaloo will eventually lead to the topic being removed from the agenda'), and 18, 1942.

14 Diary, Dec 14, 1942.

15 Ibid., Dec 18, 1942.

- 16 MinConf., Aug 13, 1942.
- 17 Kempner, 185.
- 18 Unpubl. diary, Sep 27, 1942 (author's film DI-52).
- 19 Propaganda directive to all gauleiters, No. 12, Oct 2, 1942 (NA film T81, roll 672, 0663f).
- 20 When Fritz Sauckel proposed leaving the Jewish skilled workers in the Government-General (Poland), Hitler agreed but (Sep 20-22) 'reiterated the importance of pulling the Jews out of the munitions plants in the Reich'. (Hitler-Speer conferences, IWM file FD.3353/45). But Himmler noted on Oct 9, 1942 that he was 'collecting the [Jewish] so-called munitions workers' in Poland and replacing them by Poles (NA film T175, roll 22, 7359f).
- 21 Unpubl. diary, Sep 30, 1942.
- 22 Tiessler, note, Oct 5, 1942 (NA film T81, roll 676, 5851).
- 23 Thierack note on discussion with JG, Sep 14, 1942, about 'destruction of anti-social lives' through work, especially Jews, Poles, gypsies, Czechs, and miscellaneous Germans (ND: 682-PS, IMT, vol. v, 496f).
- 24 Tiessler, note, Oct 31; noted by JG on Nov 5, 1942 (ibid., 5845f). Thierack notified Bormann, 'the legal system can be of only limited assistance in disposing of the members of this race' (Reidinger, *Die Endlösung*, 176; Reuth, 507).
- 25 Note on meeting at RSHA on Final Solution of the Jewish Problem, top secret, Oct 27, 1942 (NA film T120, roll 780, 1943ff).
- 26 MinConf., Nov 3, 1942.
- 27 Telex from [Regierungsrat Walter] Koerber [chief of Hauptreferat Schnellendienst in domestic press dept] to Generalgouvernement press office, and RPA in Warsaw, No. 65, Sep 7, 1942 (Yivo file Occ E2-72).
- 28 Schmidt-Leonhardt's report of Nov 11 is in Yivo file Occ E2-107. On Nov 15, 1942 Himmler wrote to Lammers about briefing Hitler on 'the developing situation in the Generalgouvernement' (NA film T175, roll 122, 7770); deputy gauleiter Albert Hoffmann (eastern Upper Silesia) had briefed JG on the disturbances in the Generalgouvernement earlier (unpubl. diary, Sep 25, 1942).
- 29 Prause (Gutterer's pers. Referent) report to JG, Feb 15; identical wording in his report of Feb 22, 1943 (Yivo file Occ E2-12).
- 30 Klimonski (?) to JG, Apr 10, 1943 (NA film T81, roll 671, 9447f).
- 31 Note that Otto Dietrich claimed ignorance of the transportation (interrogation, Oct 1, 1947. NA film M.1019, roll 13).
- 32 Himmler to Müller, Nov 30, 1942 (NA film T175, roll 68, 4325).
- 33 *The Times*, Nov 24, Dec 4, 7, 21, 1942; SS Sturmabführer Brandt to Kaltenbrunner, Feb 22, 1943 and shorthand note (NA film T175, roll 68, 4398; and roll 18, 1550).
- 34 RMVP radio monitoring service, summary on Allied agitation on the Jewish problem in Germany, Dec 18, 1942 (BA file R.55/1270).
- 35 Unpubl. diary, Dec 17, 19, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 262).
- 36 RMVP radio monitoring service, summary on Allied 'crusade' to save the Jews, Dec 22, 1942 (BA file R.55/1270).
- 37 Diary, Dec 8, 1942.
- 38 On the fight between JG and Dietrich, see CSDIC(WEA) BAOR Report PIR.8, Sep 10, 1945, Otto Dietrich (NA file RG.219, IRR, XE.003812); the numerous interrogations of Dietrich in StA Nuremberg, Rep. 502, D36 and lawyer Dr Friedrich Bergold's files (Rep. 501, LV G B). Kurt Dittmar, interrogation, Nuremberg, Oct 14, 1947 (NA file RG.260, box 15); Heinz Lorenz, ND:

NG.4331; Hans Fritzsche stated in interrogation, StA Nuremberg, Sep 27, 1946, F86, that he quit because of Dietrich's dishonest reporting in Oct 1942 and went to the front.

39 Interrogations of Sündermann, NA film M.1019, roll 72; and Nov 10, 1947 (IfZ file ZS.747); Max Amann, testimony of Dec 18, 1947 (IfZ file ZS.809); interrogations of Gutterer on Oct 24 and Dec 12, 1947 (NA film 1019, roll 23); and of Paul K. Schmidt, Oct 28, and Nov 4, 12, and 14, 1947 (NA film M.1019/64).

40 Hitler's thirteen-point decree was dated Aug 23, 1942. Peter Longerich, 'Joseph Goebbels und der totale Krieg,' *VJZ*, 1987, 114.

41 MinConf., Sep 18, 1942.

42 Ibid., Sep 21, 1942.

43 Unpubl. diary, Sep 23, 1942 (author's film, DI-52; original in IfZ).

44 Ibid., Sep 27, 1942.

45 Ibid.

46 See the PWE report of Oct 1 on Hitler's and JG's speeches of Sep 30 (PRO file FO.371/30928) and FO telegram No. 5908 to Washington, Oct 2 (ibid.) and analysis of Oct 19, 1942 (/30927); also the *NYT* report of Oct 1, and the comment in that newspaper by A. O. McCormick, Oct 19, 1942.

47 Unpubl. diary, Sep 29, 1942.

48 Ibid., Sep 28, 1942.

49 Semler, 'Mar 25, 1941.' Dr Rudolf Semler, born in Ulm on Dec 31, 1913, replaced Hallensleben as JG's press officer in Jan 1941 (JG diary, Dec 22, 1940; Jan 5, 1941); according to Semler's 'diary,' he was presented to JG on Dec 31, 1940 and started work two days later. During 1942 he served in the army, and returned from the Stalingrad front to JG's staff in Nov 1942. He went missing in 1945. Dr Helge Knudsen of *Berlingske Tidende*, Copenhagen, obtained the manuscript of the 'diary' from Semler's wife and brought it to London where it was published as Rudolf Semmler [sic], *Goebbels—The Man Next to Hitler* (London, 1947). In correspondence with this author Knudsen has insisted on the diary's authenticity; many misdated entries suggest however that the source should be used with caution. E.g. the diary describes JG as being with his children on 'Mar 25, 1941:' but they had been evacuated to Austria months before (cf JG diary, Mar 23: 'All I miss now is the children'). On 'Apr 1, 1941' Semler records Stalin's embrace of Krebs, which occurred however on Apr 12 (cf JG diary, Apr 14). On 'Aug 28, 1941' Semler refers to a meeting 'yesterday' with Hitler which in fact occurred on Aug 18; Semler puts Mussolini's overthrow on 'Jul 21, 1943,' instead of Jul 25; JG's trip to HQ on 'Jul 27, 1943' instead of Jul 26; the air raid on Berlin on 'Nov 21, 1943,' instead of Nov 22. He describes JG's 'Apr 1944' foreign policy memo to Hitler, which is however none other than JG's memo of Sep 22, 1944 (BA file NL.118/106); he puts the false start of the V-1 attack on London on 'Jun 9, 1944,' instead of Jun 12/16. This author believes that the diary was compiled probably in 1945 from notes or memory.

50 In BA file NL.118/106. See the cartoon series in *NYT*, Oct 25, and the report in *NYT*, Oct 30, 1942.

51 A copy of the film by the Deutsche Wochenschau Gesellschaft is in the author's possession.

52 Behrend, No. 8, Feb 23, 1952.

53 See the private letter by Col. Helmuth Groscurth, Oct 4, 1942.

54 The SD reported on Oct 26, 1942 (NA film T175, roll 24, 7888f) that a majority of Germans favored doing a deal with the Soviet Union.

- 55 Hans-Leo Martin, 34.
- 56 Fritzsche interrogation, Nov 13, 1947 (StA Nuremberg, F86).
- 57 In Jan 1944 the OSS threw these words back at him in a leaflet addressed to German troops (USAMHI, Donovan papers, box 37a).
- 58 *Das Reich*, Oct 25; see the SD report on this, Oct 29, 1942 (NA film T175, roll 264, 7919).
- 59 MinConf., Oct 24; the first meeting of this Arbeitsstab für Rüstungspropaganda was on Nov 5, 1942 (Boelcke, *Wollt Ihr den totalen Krieg?*, 296).
- 60 MinConf., Nov 6, 1942.
- 61 The Italian losses were ninety dead and twenty-three thousand missing (mostly prisoners). JG ordered the German press to ignore the figures (diary, Dec 11, 1942).
- 62 Borresholm, 167ff.
- 63 On Oct 31 the naval staff war diary quoted an Abwehr agent report that the Allies were about to land in north-western France. On Nov 7 and 8, 1942 the same diary commented on the Abwehr's failure.
- 64 Stephan, 287.
- 65 Diary, Nov 9, 1942.
- 66 MinConf., Nov 10, 1942.
- 67 Ibid., Nov 11, 1942.
- 68 Ibid., Nov 12, 1942.
- 69 Ibid., Oct 2, 1942.
- 70 Ibid., Sep 16, 1942.
- 71 Ibid., Oct 22, 1942.
- 72 Ibid., Nov 20; SD report, Aug 13, 1942, on JG's visits to Cologne and Düsseldorf (NA film T175, roll 263, 7352ff).
- 73 PWE discussed JG's Wuppertal speech of Nov 17 in German propaganda analysis dated Nov 20 (PRO file FO.371/30927); cf NYT, Nov 19, 1942.

Notes to Chapter 47

- 1 Schirmeister interrogation, May 6, 1946 (NA film, M.1270, roll 19).
- 2 Unpubl. diary, Dec 12, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 262; BA file NL.118/48).
- 3 *Das Reich*, Sep 25, 1942. Ernst Hanfstaengl quoted this passage in one analysis for the OSS, Dec 21, 1942 (NA file RG.219, IRR, X7141141).
- 4 Paul Anderson, broadcasting on BBC, Nov 26, 3:30 P.M., cited in RMVP monitoring report, Dec 1, 1942 (BA file R.55/1270).
- 5 Wilson (PWE) to Rex Leeper, Notes on Propaganda to Germany, Dec 18-24, and Dec 25-31, 1942 (ibid.).
- 6 Unpubl. diary Dec 19; Semler, 'Dec 19, 21, 1942;' BDC file, People's Court: Hans Kummerow. He was the source of the famous Oslo Report, which gave British Intelligence advance notice of his country's most important secret devices.
- 7 Semler, 'Dec 24, 1942.'
- 8 Unpubl. diary, Dec 7, 13, 20, 1942; Jan 1, 1943.
- 9 Magda to Daluege, Jan 11, 1943; from Daluege's papers (BDC file, JG; author's film DI-81).
- 10 For the BBC monitoring report on JG's speech of Dec 31, 1942, see PRO file FO.371/34454; for the German people's reaction, see NA film T175, roll 264, 8353ff.
- 11 Propaganda directive No.15, Dec 14 (NA film T81, roll 672, 0656f); and see MinConf., Dec 7, 1942.

12 For a report by Herbert Uxküll, United Press correspondent in Stockholm, on JG's propaganda guidelines—e.g. always calling Maxim Litvinov 'Finkelstein,' banning the use of 'Second Front' and 'Russian'—see his dispatch of Jan 15, 1943 in NA file R.226, CRR, entry 16, box 323, file 33393.

13 Propaganda Parole, Nov 21, 1942 (NA film T81, roll 672, 0651f).

14 Propaganda directive No. 15, Dec 14, 1942 (Ibid., 0659ff). Ti[essler] advised Bormann on Jan 6, 1943, 'For the same reason he [JG] now has to insist for the last time that the phrase Fortress Europe disappear once and for all from our vocabulary' (ibid., 0895); and see MinConf., Dec 7, 1942, and Jan 5, 1943, and unpubl. diary, Apr 12, 1943.

15 See unpubl. diary, May 13, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 264).

16 Ibid., May 19, 1942.

17 Diary, Dec 16; Gienanth had briefed JG earlier (unpubl. diary, Jun 3, on NA film T84 roll 267) about the Roosevelts' unpopularity, but also that 'the German people and particularly we Nazis' were hated; he addressed propaganda officials Jul 13-14, 1942 on his impressions of the USA 1937-41 (BA file R.55/606); and see his interrogation of Apr 30, 1946 (NA film M.1270, roll 5).

18 Unpubl. diary, Dec 18, 1942. For the rumors, see Dec 15, and the SD reports of Dec 17 and 21, 1942 (NA film T175, roll 264, 8279ff and 8298ff).

19 Dittmar diary, Dec 21, 1942 (author's film DI-60).

20 Unpubl. diary, Aug 13, 1941 (NA film T84, roll 267).

21 Ibid., Sep 24: a briefing by his former adjutant Günther Wittmütz; and Sep 27, 1942, a similar discussion with Major Ihlefeld.

22 Ibid., Sep 29, 1942.

23 Ibid., Sep 30, 1942.

24 Dittmar records in his diary of Dec 22, 1942 being invited to luncheon at Horcher's with Fritzsche, Luftwaffe general Quade, Transocean's Mr Schneider, and the Berlin correspondent of the Essen *Nationalzeitung*.

25 Unpubl. diary, Mar 8, 1942 (NA film T84, roll 261); already on May 13, 1941 he had noted that Hitler had once more shelved the female labor issue. 'I plead for compulsion.... The fine ladies won't come of their own volition.' On May 23, 1941 he noted that Hitler had rejected compulsion.

26 Ibid., Dec 17, 1942.

27 Kehrl, 249ff.

28 Minutes of Zentrale Planung, Oct 30, 1942 (Milch Documents, vol. 46, 9014f); cf David Irving, *The Rise and Fall of the Luftwaffe* (London, 1967).

29 Bormann diary, Dec 27-28, 1942 (Libr. of Congress); he returned to the Wolf's Lair on Dec 30, and sat alone with Hitler on Dec 31 until 4:15 A.M. next day; cf JG diary, Jan 5, 1943.

30 Oven, 'Jul 25, 1944', 430f.

31 Semler, 'Dec 28, 1942.'

32 Diary, Dec 31, 1942.

33 Ibid., Jan 1; similarly in MinConf., Jan 5, 1943.

34 MinConf., Jan 4; JG diary, Jan 5; Semler, 'Jan 4.' Sauckel spoke in the same vein about an all-out labor effort in Weimar on Jan 6, 1943 (IMT, xli, 225ff).

35 MinConf., Jan 5, 1943.

36 Draft letter from JG to Göring, Jan 12, 1943, in Hoover Libr., Goebbels papers, box 2. 'I am proud to have stood at your side during the hardest times of our movement, and shall always be glad to place myself at your disposal if called upon for advice or assistance.'

- 37 See his remarks at the MinConf. on Jan 6, 1943: reported by Tiessler to Bormann that day (NA film T81, roll 672, 0895).
- 38 Diary, Jan 7, 1943.
- 39 Ibid., Jan 9; Bormann records (Jan 8, 1943) that JG, Bormann, Funk, Sauckel (with Timm), Speer, and Keitel attended, as well no doubt as Lammers.
- 40 Diary, Jan 16, and MinConf., Jan 16, 1943.
- 41 Führer decree on a comprehensive effort of men and women for Reich defense purposes, Jan 13 (BA file R43II/655; IfZ film MA.470, 4910ff); see Himmler's telephone note on a call on Jan 14 to SS Obersturmbannführer With ('Gen. von Unruh's misgivings about the Führer's decree'); and MinConf., Jan 13-14, 1943.
- 42 Lammers to JG, Jan 15, 1943 (BA file R43II/655).
- 43 Diary, Jan 16, 1943.
- 44 Semler, 'Jan 18, 1943.'
- 45 Oven, 'Jul 25, 1944,' 434.
- 46 Diary, Jan 21, 1943. Lammers had brought in besides JG: Sauckel, Funk, and Gen. Walter von Unruh, the army's Sonderbeauftragter für Überprüfung des zweckmässigen Kriegseinsatzes (special manpower commissioner).
- 47 Semler, 'Jan 20, 1943.'
- 48 Dittmar diary, Jan 7, 1943 (a phone conversation with Col. Martin).
- 49 Diary, Jan 7, 1943.
- 50 Dittmar diary, Jan 11, 1943.
- 51 See *ibid.*, Jan 16; for the public shock at this, see SD report, Jan 25, 1943 (NA film T175, roll 264, 8535f). The communiqué referred to German troops in Stalingrad 'who have been fighting a heroic defensive battle against the enemy attacking from all sides.'
- 52 Dittmar diary, Jan 21, 1943.
- 53 So Goebbels later recalled. Oven, 'Jul 25, 1944,' 434.
- 54 Diary, Jan 23; Semler, 'Jan 24, 1943.'
- 55 Diary, Jan 23, 1943.
- 56 Naumann confirmed this to the RMVP department heads on the evening of Jan 23, stating that the Führer was now resolved to implement the total-war measures proposed by JG (MinConf., Jan 24, 1943).
- 57 SS Obergruppenführer Gottlob Berger to Himmler, Jan 29 (NA film T175, roll 124, 9596); see too MinConf., Jan 24, and naval staff war diary, Jan 24, 1943.
- 58 See JG's comments on this in MinConf., Jan 24; in his speech to the gauleiters on Feb 7, 1943 Hitler borrowed JG's comparisons with the winter of 1932/33.
- 59 Diary, Jan 23, 1943.
- 60 Dittmar diary, Jan 23 (Author's film DI-60); at his conference on Jan 27, 1943, JG referred to similar speeches of Caesar and Frederick the Great. 'The few sentences about the saga of Stalingrad must be clear, devoid of pathos, and modest, as though hewn from solid rock.'
- 61 JG to all propaganda agencies, Jan 24, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 24, 1959ff).
- 62 Mallet (Stockholm) to FO, Jan 28, 1943 (PRO file FO.371/34454); Göring had evidently tipped off his Swedish contact Birger Dahlerus.
- 63 Diary, Jan 28; Semler, 'Jan 14, 1943.'
- 64 Press directives in BA, Sängers collection.
- 65 OSS report, Feb 10, 1943 (NA file RG.226, CRR, entry 16, box 2456, file 28480).

66 JG, 'Die harte Stunde,' in *Das Reich*, Feb 7; public reaction to it in SD report, Feb 11, 1943 (NA film T175, roll 264, 8686f).

67 Regulations on male and female recruiting for Reich defense duties, Jan 27, in *RGBl.*, I, 1943, 67; JG's commentary on this in MinConf., Jan 29, 1943.

68 JG to Hitler, Jul 18, 1944 (BA file NL.118/107); see his diary, Jan 26, 29, 1943.

69 Diary, Jan 28; and see Semler, 'Jan 29, 1943.'

70 Frölich (RPL), circular No. 179 to all gau propaganda officers, Jan 30, 1943 (NA film T81, roll 24, 1960f).

71 Diary, Feb 1, 1943.

72 FO (Bruce-Lockhart) to Cairo and Bowes-Lyon to Washington, Feb 1 (PRO file FO.371/34454). The former considered that Göring spoke effectively to the younger generation, the latter commented that Hitler, Göring, and JG refrained from attacking the USA and harped instead on the bolshevik menace. Dittmar (diary, Jan 30, 1943) rated JG's speech as the better.

73 Diary, Dec 7, 12, 1942.

74 BBC Monitoring Report, transcript of JG's speech, Jan 30, 1943 (PRO file FO.371/34454).

75 US Federal Communications Commission, Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, Special Report No. 49, Feb 1, 1943: 'The Nazi anniversary speeches of Jan 30, 1943,' 16pp (NA file R.226, entry 16, box 234, file 27843).

76 Borresholm, 9.

77 In a useful analysis of the speech's defensive utterances the Americans also found that 27 percent were appeals to nostalgia (past anniversaries, trials, successes), 18 percent were praise of Nazi reconstruction, 14 percent were exculpatory statements about Versailles, Hitler having sought peace, etc., 9 percent were protestations of faith in the Führer and his mission, 9 percent were taunts, 7 percent were admissions ('this is a crisis'), 7 percent were glorification of the troops, 5 percent were quasi-mystical (Providence etc), 2 percent were exhortations (must try harder), and 2 percent were promises of future rewards. For the German public's response see SD report, Feb 1, 1943 (NA film T175, roll 264, 8587ff). It is worth commenting that in his MinConf on Dec 22, 1942 JG had forbidden the use of words like *grave* and *critical* 'since if we use the word *grave* in our propaganda the enemy will make *catastrophic* out of it.'

78 Diary, Feb 1, 1943.

79 Willi Krämer, *Vom Stab Heß zu Dr. Goebbels* (Vlotho, 1979), 210f.

80 MinConf., Feb 1-2; diary, Feb 2; Dittmar wrote on Feb 2, 1943, 'Went at noon to Fritzsche's conf. in propaganda ministry. I've never seen him so upset as today. The Russian report has put the cat among the pigeons... Obviously we can't check if it's true. General indignation that P. didn't commit suicide. All well and good, but what do we know of the final dramatic hours?'

81 Diary, Feb 4, 1943. Dittmar: 'Now even the dullest among us can see what's up.'—Hinkel to JG, Feb 3, 1943 (BA file R.55/1254).

82 Hitler's speech is summarized in Ursula Backe's diary, Feb 8, 1943. The Russian official historians state that more than one million Soviet soldiers were killed during the Stalingrad battle, with 13,500 executed for cowardice.

83 Diary, Feb 8, 1943.

Notes to Chapter 48

- 1 Schirmeister interrogation, May 6, 1946 (NA film M.1270, roll 19).
- 2 Unpubl. diary, Feb 1, 1943 (author's film DI-52; IfZ).
- 3 Ibid., Feb 16, 1943; Gutterer interrogation, Oct 24, 1947 (NA film M.1019, roll 23).
- 4 Ernst von Weizsäcker to his mother, Feb 21, 1943 (Hill, *Die Weizsäcker Papiere*, 325).
- 5 Generalluftzeugmeister conference, Feb 16, 1943 (Milch Documents, vol. 18, 4461, 4481); JG diary, Feb 16, 22 (p. 19); and Milch diary, Feb 15, 1943 (author's film DI-59).
- 6 Göring diary, Feb 1943 (author's film DI-171).
- 7 With to Himmler, Feb 11 (NA film T175, roll 124, 9607f); and see too the diary of Col. Gerhard Kühne, chief of staff of the Allgemeines Heeresamt (general army office), Feb 9, 1943: '[JG] felt himself under attack, turned nasty, and went over to the counter-attack. ...' (IfZ archives).
- 8 On this speech see in general Helmut Heiber's text in *Goebbels Reden* (Düsseldorf, 1972), vol. ii, 172ff; Willi Boelcke, 'Goebbels und die Kundgebung im Berliner Sportpalast vom 18. Februar 1943,' in *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands*, 1970, 19; Tiessler's file on the propaganda background of total war in BA file NS.18/26, and above all Günter Moltmann's paper, 'Goebbels Rede zum totalen Krieg am 18. Februar 1943,' in *VfZ*, 1964, 13ff.
- 9 Diary, Feb 13, 1943.
- 10 Ibid., Feb 14, 15, 18, 1943.
- 11 Semler. Hitler had certainly endorsed JG's total-war policies (see MinConf., Feb 8); but although both Werner Stephan and Moritz von Schirmeister told Moltmann in 1959 that they believed JG had first obtained Hitler's approval for the speech, see JG's own diary for Feb 18: it was difficult to contact the Führer as he was at the Werewolf HQ—but they 'thought alike.' And Feb 25, 1943: a proclamation by the Führer was very much in line with his speech, 'So there's no danger of my being disowned in any way. ... From this one again sees that it's best to create *faits accomplis*.'
- 12 Edward L. Deuss, 'The Effect of Total Mobilization on German Morale,' Feb 22, 1943 (NA file R.226, entry 16, box 0354, file 35653).
- 13 BA, Fritz Sänger collection.
- 14 In his diary on Jun 6, 1943 JG would however write, 'While on Feb 18 it was mainly the party, this time it is Berlin's munitions workers. ...' Walter Hagemann, writing in *Publizistik im Dritten Reich. Ein Beitrag zur Methodik der Massenföhrung* (Hamburg, 1948) suggested that the audience had been bussed in and instructed how to act. Not so. Hagemann judged that the radio audience found the 'hysterical screaming' of the audience irritating. The Allies were however deeply impressed by the broadcast. See Alexander L. George, *Propaganda Analysis. A Study of Inferences Made from Nazi Propaganda in World War II* (Evanston, Illinois, 1959).
- 15 Moltmann paper.
- 16 Dr Hans Joachim Kausch, 1962, to Moltmann.
- 17 Diary, Feb 19, 1943. A photo in the *Hamburger Tageblatt* also showed the popular actors Eugen Klöpfer, Theodor Loos, and Franz Grothe.
- 18 At his MinConf. on Feb 8, 1943 he directed his staff to keep secret the fact that the 300-mile-wide breach in their front had begun with the failure of a certain ally.
- 19 For the text of his speech see the newspapers of Feb 19, 1943; and A. I.

Berndt and H. von Wedel (eds) *Deutschland im Kampf*, Nos 83–4, Berlin, Feb 1943, 80ff; and A. I. Berndt (ed.), *Das Archiv. Nachschlagewerk für Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur* (Berlin, 1942–43), 975ff. It was issued as a brochure, *Nun Volk steh' auf und Sturm brich los!*, though belatedly because JG kept altering the title and planned a foreword describing the atmosphere in the Sport Palace (Scheffler to gau propaganda officials, May 28, 1943, on NA film T84, roll 24, 1878). A partial audio recording is in the German radio archives, Frankfurt (No. 53 A 688); a complete recording is in BA, No. 650/1943.

20 Diary, Feb 19; Milch diary, Feb 18 (author's film DI–59) and Speer chronicle, 1943 (IWM file FD.3049/49).

21 Göring diary, Feb 18, 1943 (author's film DI–171).

22 See CSDIC(UK) report SIR.1025, the interrogation of Grenadier Kieburg, an agent of the Gestapo Leitstelle in Posen since Jan 10, 1943 (NA file RG.332, Mis-Y, box 5).

23 Summary of RPÄ reports, Feb 19, 1943, in BA file R.55/612.

24 Diary, Feb 21; see SD report, Feb 22, 1943 (NA film T175, roll 264, 8775f). Ribbentrop was shown a letter from Oberveterinär Dr Michael which doubted the propaganda effects of the speech. Lammers felt it would be 'unwise' to forward the letter to JG (NA film T120, roll 2474, E.255481).

25 Dittmar diary, Feb 18, 1943: 'Barely satisfactory, very coarse, typical Sport Palace rhetoric. G. may well have had his reasons to speak like this, but many of his arguments were too cheap to generate more than frenzy.'

26 Diary, Feb 19, 1943.

27 MinConf., Feb 22, 25; diary, Feb 18, Mar 1, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 263; BA file NL.118/54).

28 MinConf., Mar 12. He had to defend himself against the charge that he dealt in 'studied pessimism' (*Zweckpessimismus*). FCC Foreign Broadcast Service, Special Report No. 84, 'Nazi Predictions and the Present Propaganda Crisis,' Jun 26, 1943 (NA file RG.226, entry 16, box 0384, 37319).

29 MinConf., Feb 22, 1943.

30 JG to Hitler, Jul 18, 1944 (BA file NL.118/107).

31 Berndt, Propaganda Parole No. 55, May 7, 1943: as point 16 of the party program proved, he said, it had always supported a strong middle class (NA film T81, roll 672, 0761f).

32 MinConf., Feb 8; Hitler regarded much of this as over-zealous (diary, May 10, 1943).

33 Diary, Feb 28, 1943.

34 Unpubl. diary, Feb 14, 1943; Oven, 'Jul 25, 1944,' 437.

35 Note scribbled by Morell on Stadtkrug's menu, Feb 10, 1943 (Morell papers, NA film T253, roll 39).

36 Author's interviews of Otto Horcher, and of Speer, Dec 7, 1968; Semler, 'Mar 18, 1943,' Oven, 162.

37 Diary, Mar 1–2, and Speer chronicle, 1943. JG was careful to end his diary account of these three-way dialogues with suitably loyal remarks about their complete solidarity with the Führer.

38 Diary, Mar 2, 1943; the quotation is from Shakespeare, *Richard III*, act IV, scene ii.

39 Diary, Mar 7, 10, 12, 1943.

40 MinConf., Mar 10, 1943. Later he regretted the executions as they created the impression that looting was rife. But see too his remarks (diary, Apr 3, 1943) about the death sentence passed on the RPL's Mr Ostholt: 'This sleaze bag deserves only to have his block knocked off.'

- 41 Eichmann MS, ca. 1956 (BA, Irving collection).
- 42 Diary, Mar 9, 1943. For further papers on this trip see Hoover Libr., Goebbels papers, box 2.
- 43 For JG's anti-communist tactics see his MinConf., Feb 12; his Propaganda Parole No. 49 of Feb 17 laid down the new theme of 'Victory or Bolshevik Chaos!' (NA film T81, roll 672, 0688ff), and Parole No. 50 of Feb 23 (ibid., 0686f) noted the success of this new tactic: Churchill and Eden were warning against allowing JG to drive a wedge between the Allies. See General Dittmar's diary of Mar 1 and MinConf., Mar 10, and the OSS report on JG's foreign press briefing of Mar 15 (see diary, Mar 13-16, 18, 1943) in NA file RG.226, entry 16, box 0290, 31183.
- 44 Diary, Mar 17; Speer chronicle, 1943.
- 45 Diary, Mar 18, 1943.
- 46 Ibid., Mar 20, 1943.
- 47 Helldorff to Himmler, and reply Jul 8, 1943 (BDC file, Helldorff).
- 48 SS Obergruppenführer Heissmeyer to Himmler, Jan 14, 1943 (ibid.).
- 49 US FCC, Special Report No.49, op. cit.
- 50 Wächter, Propaganda Parole No. 48, Feb 9, 1943 (NA film T81, roll 672, 0690f).
- 51 Diary, Feb 18, 1943.
- 52 Ibid., Mar 1, 1943.
- 53 Ibid., Mar 11, 1943.
- 54 Unpubl. diary, Mar 11, 1943.
- 55 Diary, Mar 6, 1943.
- 56 Dittmar diary, Mar 8, 1943 (author's film DI-60); JG was away at Führer's HQ.
- 57 MinConf., Feb 26, 1943.
- 58 Semler, 'Aug 16, 1943;' Semler reported that out of 150 letters received in the second week of Aug 1943 sixteen protested at reviving the Jewish problem. 'Antisemitism,' he noted, 'is as unpopular as ever among the mass of the people.'
- 59 Diary, Mar 9, 15, 20, 1943.
- 60 Ibid., Apr 18, 1943.
- 61 Ibid., Mar 3, 5, 7, 8, 10-12, 15, 17, 18, Apr 9, 1943.
- 62 Ibid., Mar 10, Apr 2, 4, 5; Weber to Morell, Jan 25 (NA film T253, roll R45, 8901) and May 25, 1943 (NA film T253, roll 34, 3460), and interview of Jul 21, 1989.
- 63 JG circular No. 126 to gauleiters, Mar 17, 1943 (NA film T81, roll 24, 1920).
- 64 Diary, Jan 16, 21, 1943; Oven, 84.
- 65 Diary, Jan 21, 1943. Churchill had awarded the George Cross to Malta.
- 66 MinConf., reported by Tiessler to Bormann, Mar 24, and note, Mar 25, 1943 (NA film T81, roll 671, 9792ff).
- 67 Diary, Apr 12; SD report, Münster, Apr 21, 1943, in PID report DE.63/DIS.202 of Jul 21, 1945 (Hoover Libr., Lerner papers).
- 68 Diary, Apr 9-10; Milch diary, Apr 8-10, 1943 (author's film DI-59). For JG's speech in Essen see e.g. *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Apr 11, 1943.
- 69 Diary, Apr 11, 1943.
- 70 Ibid., Apr 4, 5, 13, 1943.
- 71 Ibid., Apr 12; Speer chronicle, 1943.
- 72 Apart from dinner with Antonescu, Hitler's appointment calendar was in fact wide open (diary of SS Untersturmführer Hans Junge/SS Obersturmführer Heinz Linge, Hoover Libr.).

73 Diary, Apr 13-14, 1943.

74 See his directives on NA film T81, roll 24, 1903, 1906.

75 Diary, Apr 15-16, 24, 30, 1943.

76 Semler, 'Nov 20, 21, 1943.'

Notes to Chapter 49

1 See unpubl. diary, Apr 3, 1943: 'Both antisemitism and anti-bolshevism are currently our best propaganda weapons' (NA film T84, roll 265).

2 Fritzsche interrogation, Sep 29, 1947 (StA Nuremberg, F86).

3 Diary, Feb 17, 1943.

4 Ibid., Mar 1, 3-6, 20, Apr 1, 1943; for further sources see David Irving, *Accident. The Death of General Sikorski* (London, 1967), which draws on the Polish records of the Sikorski Institute in London.

5 Diary, Apr 9, 1943 (from French files, on NA film T84, roll 272).

6 Tel. from Smolensk to RSHA dept III C, Apr 4, 1943; forwarded to Gutterer (BA file R.55/115).

7 Ibid., Apr 16, 1943; the former NKVD officer Petr Soprunenko, who signed the Katyn death warrant, lives in Moscow as an old-age pensioner (1995).

8 MinConf., Apr 8, 1943 (BA file R.55/115).

9 Diary, Apr 14; Semler, 'Apr 12, 1943.' For MinConfs and further RMVP documents on Katyn see BA file R.55/115.

10 Unpubl. diary, Apr 16, 1943.

11 Ibid., Apr 17, 1943. On the Soviets' insistence Katyn was added into the indictment at the Nuremberg trials and they executed several German officers after a trial in Leningrad in 1945.

12 Ibid., Apr 17, 28; Dittmar records on Apr 19, 1943 a 'very good Goebbels speech' on Katyn at a conference in the ministry.

13 Unpubl. diary, Apr 9, 1943.

14 Dittmar entered in his Jul 5, 1943 diary: 'To the propaganda ministry. Big event of the day: Polish émigré leader Sikorski killed at Gibraltar—by [British] Secret Service?' (author's film DI-60).

15 SD report No. 377, Apr 19, 1943.

16 JG ordered it kept secret (diary, May 8, 1943).

17 SD report, Jul 26, 1943 (NA film T175, roll 265, 9996ff).

18 Schmidt-Leonhardt report, Nov 11, 1942 (Yivo file Occ E2-107); the draft of an agreement between JG and Frank was ready on Jan 25, 1943. Report to JG, Apr 10, 1943 (NA film T81, roll 671, 9447ff).

19 Diary, May 10; Hans Junge diary and Bormann diary, May 9, and note of May 11, 1943 (BA, Schumacher collection, 371).

20 Diary, May 22. Himmler to Frank, May 26 (NA film T175, roll 128, 4157ff); see Himmler note, Jun 19 (NA film T175, roll 94, 0506ff), and the final report of the SS and police chief (HSSuPf) in Galicia, Jun 30, 1943 (Hoover Libr., MS DS.135 G2G37).

21 Unpubl. diary, Jun 25, 1943 (author's film DI-52; IfZ).

22 Ibid., Apr 15, 17, 1943.

23 For the statistics on Jews in the Russian communist party see Korherr to Himmler, Apr 28, 1943 (NA film T175, roll 54, 6439).

24 JG, 'Der Krieg und die Juden,' in *Das Reich*, May 9, previewed in *Frankfurter Zeitung* and other journals on May 8, issued by the RPL to all party orators and propagandists on May 4, and as a special edition by the

AO, the party's overseas organization, in Jun 1943 (NA film T81, roll 134, 8933a). See Berndt's Propaganda Parole on this, Apr 30, 1943 (NA film T81, roll 672, 0754ff).

25 Diary, May 8; *The Times*, May 8, and *NYT*, May 9, 1943.

26 Semler, 'Jan 10, 1944.'

27 Bormann circular No. 33/43, Jul 11, 1943 (BDC file 238/II); it is pertinent to note that this was classified only *geheim* (secret), not *gRs* (top state secret).

28 Actually: 31,283. See the table in Kempner, 186.

29 Heinz Lorenz interrogation, Dec 3, 1947 (IfZ file ZS.266).

30 Fritzsche interrogation, Nov 1, 1946 (StA Nuremberg, F86).

31 See unpubl. diary, Sep 27, 1942; and the JG-Rosenberg correspondence, Feb 1943-Feb 1944 (Yivo file Occ E19; and diary, Apr 6, 16, May 19, 20, 1943.

32 *Ibid.*, Jan 14, 21, Feb 10, 14, 16, Mar 2, 8, 9, and *passim*, 1943.

33 *Ibid.*, Feb 10, 1943.

34 *Ibid.*, Jan 7, Mar 2, Apr 16, 1943.

35 E.g. *ibid.*, Jan 21, 1943.

36 Correspondence in Yivo file Occ E12.

37 JG submission to Hitler, May 22 '1942' (read: 1943) (Yivo file Occ E18-19).

38 Naumann to Bormann, Jun 12, 1943 (Yivo file Occ E12).

39 Unpubl. diary, Jun 25; Führer decree of Aug 15 (Yivo file Occ E19; BA file R.55/799); and see Taubert (Leiter Ost), proposal for erection of propaganda apparatus in the eastern region on the basis of the Führer's decision, Aug 21, 1943 (Hoover Libr., Fritzsche papers).

40 Taubert report (Yivo file G-PA-14).

41 Diary, Feb 5, 1944.

42 Himmler to Struckart, Jul 16, 1943 (NA film T175, roll 33, 2113).

43 Führer conf. with Keitel and Zeitler, Jun 8 (shorthand record on NA film T78, roll 788, ND: 1384-PS); and see Heinz Danko-Herre (Foreign Armies East) diary (IfZ file ZS.406), and Etzdorf to German foreign ministry, Jun 17, 1943 (Pol. Archiv AA, Etzdorf papers).

44 Himmler to Gunter d'Alquén, Jul 11, 1943 (BDC file, d'Alquén).

45 On this committee see Gutterer's files in ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 799 and Yivo files Occ E-FD-1 and 4.

46 On whom see JG's diary, Sep 23-24, 1943 and Feb 5, 1944 ('a swine without a fatherland'). Yivo also has good files of the League's publications (Occ E-FD-9, 10, and 13).

47 The problem of the prisoners' letters now arriving was dealt with by Wächter and Berndt in Propaganda Parole No. 57, May 26, 1943 (NA film T81, roll 672, 0773ff).

48 Unpubl. diary, May 1, 14, 16, 27, 1943.

49 *Ibid.*, May 22, 1943.

50 Dr Immanuel Schäffer, interrogation, PWB report SAIC.16, Jun 6, 1945 (NA file RG.332, entry ETO, Mis-Y, Sect., box 116). See too the FCC Foreign Broadcast Intelligence special report No. 84, Jun 26, 1943: 'Nazi Predictions and the Present Propaganda Crisis' (NA file RG.226, entry 16, box 384, OSS file 37319). The SD also reported on May 28, 1943 that the public were baffled by the war and were growing apathetic (NA film T175, roll 265, 0543ff).

51 Diary, May 7, 1943.

52 Unpubl. diary, Apr 9, 11, 14, 19; diary, May 8, 1943.

53 Unpubl. diary, May 10 (NA film T84, roll 264); Hans Junge diary, May 9, 1943.

54 'That's not going to be easy.' Unpubl. diary, May 9, 10, 11 (NA film T84, roll 264); Rommel diary, May 10 (author's film DI-160), and letter to his wife, May 10, 1943 (NA film T84, roll R274, 1099).

55 Unpubl. diary, May 25, 1943. On the 'corpse' see naval staff archives, PG.33216, and NA film T78, roll 343.

56 Hans-Leo Martin, 142ff; diary, Apr 9, 1943.

57 Unpubl. diary, Apr 11, 16, 1943. The naval staff war diary shows that the Abwehr had got every prediction about Torch wrong. As for the Soviet armor, see Col. Lahousen's note of Jul 20, 1941 (TWM file AL/1933).

58 Diary, May 14, 22, 1943.

59 JG, 'Mit souveräner Ruhe,' in *Das Reich*, May 23, 1943.

60 Diary, May 16, 17, 1945.

61 See the final report of the SS Führungshauptamt, Jun 10 (NA film T611, roll 16); naval staff war diary, May 20, 22; report by deputy gauleiter Albert Hoffmann, BA file Kl. Erw. 854; Speer chronicle, May 17; Hitler's war conference, May 22 (Heiber, 238ff); and reports of the operations of the NSV on reel 6 of the microfilm files of the NSDAP archives.

62 Diary, May 19, 20, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 265). There is no truth in the claim: the reference was perhaps to Churchill's advisor Professor Friedrich Lindemann (Lord Cherwell), but he was not Jewish.

63 JG, 'Vom Wesen der Krise,' in *Das Reich*, May 30; diary, May 17, 1943.

64 JG's speech draft for Jun 5 with Hitler's handwritten amendments is in BA file NS.6/129. Hitler also deleted three whole pages referring to North Africa. See the analysis of the speech by the British air ministry director of Intelligence (Ops), Jun 6, 1943 in NA file RG.226, entry 16, box 417, file 3610.

65 For the public's reaction to this speech, see SD report of Jun 10 (NA film T175, roll 265, 9632ff); to Allied air raids, Jun 28 (9758ff); to rumors of new weapons, Jul 1, 1943 (9750ff.)

66 Unpubl. diary, May 21, 22; Sep 10, 1943.

67 Morell-Weber correspondence, Jun, Jul 1943 (Morell papers on NA film T253, roll R34, 3552ff); Naumann note, and Weber to JG, Sep 22, 1943 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 1, vol. 3)

68 Unpubl. diary, Jul 25-28, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 265).

69 Oven, 32ff. On Jul 8, 1943 the SD report mentioned that the public was beginning to bandy around spiteful jokes about Hitler and other bigwigs (NA film T175, roll 265, 9821ff).

70 Semler, 'Jun 14, 15, 1943.'

71 Oven, 43, 'Jun 27, 1943.' Gutterer independently recalled the taunt, in interviews of Sep 1992 and Jun 30, 1993.

72 Hans-Leo Martin, 42f.

73 JG circular to gauleiters, Jun 14, 1943 (NA film T81, roll 322, 1076ff).

74 Index of these circulars on NA film T81, roll 322, 1070ff.

75 Berndt, circular to gauleiters, Jun 19, 1943 (NA film T81, roll 322, 1083ff).

76 JG's speech in Wuppertal, 'In vorderster Reihe,' text in *Der steile Aufstieg* (Munich, 1944), 323ff. On Jul 1 the SD reported rumors about the new 'revenge' weapons (NA film T175, roll 265, 9758ff); on Jul 2 Tiessler circularized gau propaganda officials on this point, and reminded them that in the Sport Palace (on Jun 5, 1943) JG had referred to it as a 'scientific race,' i.e. a question of time (NA film T58, roll 16; BA file NS.26/291).

77 Oven, 'Jun 23, 1943.'

78 Unpubl. diary, Jun 25, 1943 (author's film DI-52; IFZ); on Mar 14, 1944 JG noted the same arguments from Hitler. On Apr 27, 1944 however JG noted that the Führer was 'suffering enormously under the heavy losses being inflicted, particularly on our population and on our cultural artifacts.'

79 Unpubl. diary, Jun 25, 1943 (author's film DI-52; IFZ).

Notes to Chapter 50

1 Oven, 43.

2 For the public's reaction to the 'rain of phosphorus' bombs, see SD report Jul 5, 1943 (NA film T175, roll 265, 9810f).

3 Unpubl. diary, Jul 25 (NA film T84, roll 265); RMVP air war notice No.13, Jul 27, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 322, 1121f.)

4 Semler, 'Jul 10'; Oven, 55, 'Jul 10.' JG's speech of Jul 9 at Heidelberg university was published as *Der geistige Arbeiter im Schicksalskampf des Reiches* (Munich, 1943); see too *NYT*, Jul 10, 1943.

5 Semler, 'Jul 10.'

6 Diary, Jun 5, 1943.

7 Remark by Col. Pasewaldt (Reich air ministry, technical department) on May 2, 1945: CSDIC(UK) report SRGG.1187 (PRO file WO.208/4169); Milch diary, Jul 15 and 20, 1943 (Author's film DI-59); on the latter date all ministers, state-secretaries and gauleiters were at Rechlin.

8 Diary, Mar 25, Jun 5, 1943. JG to Harlan, Jun 1, 1943; quoted in Söderbaum, 191ff.

9 Remark by Major Baron von Blanckart, Aug 25, 1944, in CSDIC(UK) report SRM.831 (PRO file WO.208/4462). The speech was probably on Jul 18, 1943. Oven, who puts it on 'Jun 28', also records the light gray trousers and navy blue jacket.—There is no corresponding entry in Schmudt's war diary (BA-MA file H4/12).

10 The RPL discs of JG's speech in the ministry's Throne Room, which internal evidence suggests was held on Jul 17 or 18, were found after the war in the mountains at Rottach on the Tegernsee. See Krausnick, Kotze, *Es spricht der Führer* (Gütersloh, 1966), 369ff and Hildegard von Kotze, 'Goebbels vor Offizieren im Juli 1943,' *VfZ*, 1971, 83ff.

11 RMVP air war notice No.13, Jul 27, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 322, 1121f).

12 Unpubl. diary, Jul 25, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 265); so the entry was less prophetic than would appear.

13 Oven, 'Jul 27,' 81ff; JG diary, Jul 26, 1943.

14 Diary, Jul 28, 1943: 'More and more urgent are the calls to HQ that some man in authority, preferably the Führer himself, should speak out . . . We're doing too much warring and too little jawing. In the present situation, in which our military successes are not all that impressive, it would be a good thing if we polished up the art of politics a bit.'

15 Diary, Jul 27, 1943; describing these deliberations I have also used the diaries of Rommel, Richthofen, the naval staff war diary, and the Führer's naval conferences.

16 For Canaris' faulty intelligence on Italy, see OKW war diary, Jul 30–31, Aug 3, 5; naval staff war diary, Jul 29; Lahousen diary, Jul 29–Aug 3, 1943.

17 Diary, Jul 28, 1943.

18 *Ibid.*, Jul 29, 1943.

19 Speer at a meeting of Central Planning on Jul 29, 1943 (Milch Documents, vol.48, 10,443ff.)

20 Speer, 297; cf. Milch diary, Jul 31, 1943 (author's film DI-59).

21 Milch at a Generalluftzeugmeister conference on Aug 3 (Milch Documents, vol.23, 6607f).—The SD's morale report of Aug 2, 1943 analyzed the German public's reaction to the dissolution of fascism in Italy; it referred to an increase in anti-Nazi remarks, the smashing of leading Nazis' windows, and the shock about Hamburg as 'November-feelings' (NA film T175, roll 265, 0045ff.)

22 Werner Girbig, *Im Anflug auf die Reichshauptstadt* (Stuttgart, 1977), 69f.—NYT, and Anneliese Schmundt diary, Aug 2, 1943.

23 Oven, 'Aug 4,' Speer chronicle, 1943. To this author, Milch denied the episode in 1967. Semler, under 'Jul 26, 1943' attributes similar defeatist sentiments to a non-officer, the minister of the interior Frick. According to an affidavit by the High Command's liaison officer to Dietrich, Martin Sommerfeldt, Jun 4, 1948, JG had him charged with defeatism for stating in the ministry that the war could no longer be won (StA Nuremberg, G15).

24 Lammers to JG, Aug 18, 1943 (Chancellery files, NA film T120, roll 2474, E255432).

25 Ibid., 119; and Semler, 'Aug 7, 1943.'

26 Semler, 'Aug 10, 1943.'

27 Dittmar diary, Aug 2; Propaganda directive, signed by Berndt and Wächter, Aug 10, 1943, about rumor-mongering and the British 'black' transmitter Deutscher Atlantik Sender (NA film T81, roll 672, 0882ff).

28 Circular by Gau Hessen-Nassau, No.44/43, Aug 10 (NA film, T81, roll 168, 7579f); based on Propaganda Parole No.59, signed Berndt and Wächter, Aug 7, 1943 (NA film T81, roll 672, 0890f).

29 Dittmar diary, Aug 2, 1943.

30 JG circular to Bormann, Speer, Ley, et al., Jul 29 (NA film T84, roll 322, 1123f).—See SD report of Aug 5, 1943 on the Berliners' reaction to evacuation propaganda (NA film T175, roll 265, 0055ff).

31 JG to all gauleiters, air war notice No.21, Aug 15 (NA film T84, roll 322, 1147f.); and unpubl. diary, Sep 8, 1943.

32 Oven, 'Aug 22, 1943', 110; and similar in Hildegard Springer, *Es sprach Hans Fritzsche. Nach Gesprächen, Briefen und Dokumenten* (Stuttgart, 1949), 17.

33 JG to Hitler, Jul 18, 1944 (BA file NL.118/107).

34 Circular dated Sep 1943 (NA film T84, roll 322, 1203); and diary, Sep 12, 1943.

35 Note to JG's office, Aug 6, 1943, with a 67-line inventory of items to be evacuated (BA file R.55/1392; and Hoover Libr., JG papers, box 2).

36 Bartels note, Aug 14, 1943 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep.50.01, vol.759).

37 Published inter alia in *Börsenzeitung*, Aug 4, 1943.

38 Bartels to JG, Aug 3, 1943 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep.50.01, vol.4).

39 Notice of Aug 6, 1943 (Hoover Libr., JG papers, box 2).

40 Oven, 108f.

41 JG, report to all gauleiters on this raid, Aug 27 (ADI[K] report 158a/1945); Milch conference with Speer, Sep 1 (Milch Documents, vol.30, 377) and night fighter conf., Aug 31, 1943 (ibid., 206).

42 114 more bombers were damaged including eleven beyond repair: Webster & Frankland, *The Strategic Air Offensive against Germany* (London, 1961), vol. ii, 165n.

43 Unpubl. diary, Sep 8, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 265); Dr Immanuel Schäffer, interrogation, PWB report SAIC.16, Jun 6, 1945 (NA file RG.332, entry ETO, Mis-Y, Sect., box 116).

- 44 Gutterer note on talk with Milch, Sep 1, and letter, Sep 9, 1943 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep.50.01, vol.935).
- 45 Schnauff (RMVP) to Frankfurt gau, Jan 20, 1944 (NA film T84, roll 169, 6337).
- 46 Unpubl. diary, Sep 9, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 265); Oven, 128ff.
- 47 Unpubl. diary, Sep 10, 1943.
- 48 See Bormann's letter to his wife, Sep 9, 1943.
- 49 Diary, Sep 10. When Moscow now upgraded its embassy in Stockholm JG noted foreign speculation about the Soviet ambassador Madame Kollontai becoming a mediator between Berlin and Moscow. Unpubl. diary, Sep 21, 1943.
- 50 Diary, Sep 15, 17, 18, 1943.
- 51 Diary, Sep 28, 1943; Webster & Frankland, vol. ii, 165.
- 52 Diary, Sep 12, 13, 16, 17, 20, 1943; and note on a meeting about organization at Lanke with Naumann and Schwägermann (Hoover Libr., JG papers, box 2; and BA file R.55/1392).
- 53 Diary, Sep 16, 18, 23, 1943.
- 54 Ibid., Sep 15, 1943.
- 55 Unpubl. diary, Sep 25, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 265); the anthology was *Der steile Aufstieg. Reden und Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1942-1943* (Munich, 1944); on which see the records of the party's censorship bureau (PPK) in ZStA Potsdam, Rep.62, Ka 1, Kanzlei des Führers, vol. 206.

Notes to Chapter 51

- 1 Diary, Sep 13. He explained in *Das Reich*, Sep 19, why 'JG' had published no article after the Duce's overthrow. 'A few spiteful people believed that events ... had taken his breath away,' he wrote. 'There's probably no need for any further proof now that this was not so.' In his diary on Sep 25, 1943 he added: 'People now understand why I had to hold my tongue for a while.' In fact he had known nothing of the plans to free Mussolini (NA film T84, roll 265).
- 2 SD report Sep 16, 1943 (NA film T175, roll 265, 0456ff).
- 3 RPÄ reports summarized in diary, Sep 17; mail analysis, in Sep 18, 1943.
- 4 Kurt Lange, vice-president of Reichsbank, to JG, Mar 16, 1944. The ministry of the interior had stated that air raids had destroyed 58,500 residential buildings in Hamburg by Nov 1, 1943; Lange gave a figure of 324,351 for the Reich as a whole (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 5).
- 5 Diary, Sep 17, 1943.
- 6 Ibid., Sep 14, 1943.
- 7 Unpubl. diary, Sep 18, 19, 21, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 265).
- 8 Ibid., Sep 23; Heinz Linge, Hitler's appointments register, Sep 22, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 387).
- 9 Diary, Sep 23, 1943.
- 10 Linge, Oct 26, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 387).
- 11 Rosenberg's note on the meeting, Nov 17 (NA film T120, roll 2474, E255448); Linge, Nov 17, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 387).
- 12 Note by his adjutant, Oct 29, 1943. The three were Countess 'Sigi' Welczek, the actress Käthe Haack, and her daughter.
- 13 Interrogation of soldier Kloss, Sep 1, 1944: 'Goebbels' Estate on the Bogensee nr Berlin,' CSDIC(UK) report SIR.1008 (NA file RG.332, Mis-Y, box 5; also RG.165, entry 79, box 773); and see Oven, 171.
- 14 Diary, Sep 21, 1943.

- 15 Semler, 'Oct 15, 1943.'
- 16 Speer chronicle, Nov 4, 1943 (TWM file FD.3949/49).
- 17 Diary, Sep 2, 1943.
- 18 Ibid., Nov 2; and police reports by Prince zu Waldeck, Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer, Kassel, Nov 30 and Dec 6, 1943 (IfZ, Irving collection).
- 19 Diary, Nov 6; Oven, 184f; VB, Nov 7, 1943.
- 20 Gutterer MS, and interview, Jun 30, 1993.
- 21 Police reports by Prince zu Waldeck, Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer, Kassel, Nov 30 and Dec 6, 1943 (IfZ, Irving collection).
- 22 Ibid.; and JG diary, Nov 19, 1943.
- 23 Diary, Nov 6, 1943.
- 24 Berndt, air war notice No. 62, Nov 11, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 322, 1254f).
- 25 Ditto (ibid., 1257ff).
- 26 Unpubl. diary, Sep 29, 1943.
- 27 Fritzsche testimony, IMT, xvii, 181 (Jun 28, 1946).
- 28 Diary, Nov 16, 1943.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Unpubl. diary, Nov 11, 1943.
- 31 Diary, Nov 4, 1943.
- 32 Speer chronicle, Nov 4, 1943.
- 33 Jodl's lecture is printed in OKW war diary, vol. iv, 1534ff.
- 34 Diary, Nov 8; and Himmler diary, Nov 7 (NA film T84, roll 25). Himmler had telephoned JG's ministry and Bormann several times on Sep 1, 1943, about the gau's planned swoop on defeatists (ibid.).
- 35 Unpubl. diary, Nov 16, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 266).
- 36 As of Sep 1943. United States Strategic Bombing Survey, *A Brief Study of the Effects of Area Bombing on Berlin* (Washington, DC), No. 39, 12a.
- 37 Webster and Frankland, vol. ii, 190ff. The average load of each bomber was about 7,500lb.
- 38 Semler, 'Nov 24; JG diary, Nov 20, 1943.
- 39 I rely on Semler, 'Nov 22, 1943,' Speer's chronicle, and other sources.
- 40 Diary, Nov 24, 1943.
- 41 VB, Nov 24, 1943.
- 42 Diary, Nov 25, 1943.
- 43 See SD report, Dec 20, on the Berliners' morale during and after the Nov 1943 raids (NA film T175, roll 265, 1196ff).
- 44 Diary, Nov 25; the result was a Führer decree of Dec 22, 1943, setting up a Reich Inspectorate for Civil Defense under JG with Gauleiter Albert Hoffmann as his deputy (BA file, R.43II/669d; IfZ film MA.795, 4890ff). Hoffmann's papers are in BA. Under BAOR interrogation (032/Case No. 0164) Hoffmann said, 'Goebbels was undoubtedly one of the best National Socialist ministers; sober, precise, and very ambitious ... [and] remarkably industrious and was at all times during the day and night at the disposal of the gauleiters or any other important people' (NA file RG.332, entry ETO, Mis-Y, Sect., box 50).
- 45 Diary, Nov 27, 1943.
- 46 Unpubl. diary, Nov 28 (NA film T84, roll 266); Oven, 'Dec 20, 1943,' 196.
- 47 Unpubl. diary, Dec 4, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 266); the British could not get good aerial photos that winter (Webster and Frankland, vol. ii, 264).
- 48 Diary, Dec 4, 7; on Nov 24, 1943 JG complained to Hitler, 'Despite the

directive you have several times issued that matters in dispute were only to be put jointly to you, Reichsminister von Ribbentrop has appealed directly to you, mein Führer, without bringing me in and with inadequate information on this matter'—namely JG's propaganda work in occupied France (BA file NL.118/106).

49 Linge diary, Dec 19, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 387).

50 JG to Hitler, Dec 1943 (BA file NL.118/106); Oven, 'Jan 25, 1944,' 208, also draws attention to the increasing frequency of JG's visits to HQ.

51 ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 2, Magda Goebbels correspondence with the public, 1933–45, vol. 2.

52 JG's speech, 'Ganz Deutschland ruft nach Rachel,' in VB, Nov 29; translation of the DAZ summary in OSS file 52614; see SD report, Dec 3, 1943, for the public's reaction (NA film T175, roll 265, 1057ff).

53 Milch diary, Dec 8, 1943; Maj. Karl von Winterfeld, report dated Aug 24, 1945, in Milch papers (author's film DI-59).

54 JG, 'Die Lehren des Krieges,' in *Das Reich*, Dec 5. 'This,' commented an OSS report from Switzerland on Dec 22, 1943, 'is Goebbels in his mystic strain. There is no cry of victory, but a stress on the uncertainties of war, and the expression of a plaintive hope that will-power will win over material force' (NA file RG.226, file 58658).

55 JG to Keitel, Dec 9, 1943 (Hoover Libr., Lerner papers, file S.115). JG had the offending word *Katastropheneinsatz* changed to *Soforthilfe*.

56 Semler, 'Dec 24, 1943.'

57 Unpubl. diary, Dec 30, 1943 (NA film T84, roll 266).

58 CSDIC(UK) survey dated Feb 24, 1944 of German prisoner-of-war opinion, Nov 1943–Jan 1944 (NA file RG.165, entry 79, box 765; and RG.332, entry ETO, Mis-Y, Sect., box 11).

59 Webster and Frankland, vol. ii, 267. Kurt Lange, vice-president of the Reichsbank, told JG on Mar 16, 1944 that one-third of Berlin's 200,000 homes had been destroyed or damaged (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 5); for statistics on destruction as of Mar 1944 see Gutterer's file (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 865).

Notes to Chapter 52

1 JG speech, Dec 31, 1943. BBC monitoring report, text and commentary (PRO file FO.371/34454); NYT, Jan 1; SD report on, Jan 3 (NA film T175, roll 265, 1265ff) and Jan 6, 1944 (ibid., 1286ff).

2 RPL leaflet, weekly slogan of NSDAP, Jan 2–8, 1944 (Yivo file, G-169).

3 Jay W. Baird, MS, 'The Memoirs of Goebbels' Deputy, Dr Werner Nauemann,' 2 vols. Quoted by Elke Fröhlich of IfZ. In his speech on Hitler's birthday JG said much the same, that Hitler always had an instinct for the right and necessary course of action (DAZ, Jan 21, 1944).

4 Oven, 'Jan 5, 1944.'

5 Circular No. 158 to all RPÄ, Jan 22, 1944 (NA film T84, roll 169, 6299).

6 JG speech, 'Der Krieg als Weltanschauungskampf,' Jan 25, 1944 (NA film T77, roll 852, 8135ff).

7 Circular No. 202, Jan 27 (NA film T84, roll 169, 6250). In his diary, Feb 10, 1944, JG estimated that Berlin had suffered 10,000 dead and missing from the air war. I am indebted to Dr R. G. Reuth for the 1944 diary, obtained from ZStA Potsdam files via the IfZ.

- 8 Dr Scharping, radio slogan, Jan 29, 1944 (NA film T84, roll 169, 6228).
- 9 Only two days earlier JG had asked the armed forces and party to provide men on standby in his remaining theaters to help fight any fires. JG, air war notice No. 84, Jan 26, 1944 (NA film T84, roll 322, 1287f).
- 10 Oven, 'Feb 2, 1944,' 229.
- 11 He quoted the SD report in his diary, Feb 5. For a discussion of his campaign to repair morale, see *NYT*, Feb 6, 1944.
- 12 JG to Hitler, Feb 4, 1944 (BA file NL.118/106).
- 13 Diary, Feb 10, 1944.
- 14 *Ibid.*, Feb 16; the *NYT* reported, falsely, on Mar 13, 1944 that JG had escaped death in the hotel only by minutes.
- 15 Diary, Feb 23, 24, 1944.
- 16 JG, 'Der Krieg als Weltanschauungskampf,' Jan 25, 1944 (NA film T77, roll 852, 8135ff).
- 17 The transcript is not found, but see Himmler's handwritten speech notes for Jan 26, 1944: 'Race struggle. Total solution. Don't let avengers emerge against our children ...' (NA film T175, roll 94, 4836). The wording was similar in Himmler's speeches of Oct 6, 1943 (BDC file 238/III) and May 5, 1944 (NA film T175, roll 92, 3476ff).
- 18 So Col. Rudolf-Christoph Baron von Gersdorff recalled in *Soldat im Unter-gang* (Munich, 1977); Bodo Scheurig quoted the colonel's original MS in *FAZ*, Jul 21, 1993.
- 19 Remark by Rear-Adm. Engel, CSDIC(UK) report SRGG.1167(C) in PRO file WO.208/4169.
- 20 Hitler's speech of Jan 27, 1944 is recorded in BA files, Schumacher collection, file 365. Cf. Irving, *Hitler's War*, 606; the diaries of the naval staff, Jodl, Maximilian von Weichs (Mar 3, 1944), and Salmuth (Mar 27, 1946); and the remarks of Generals von Rothkirch in CSDIC(UK) report SRGG.1135 and Veith, SRGG.1149 (PRO file WO.208/4169). The note in Reuth edition of the diaries, p. 1981, relies on the inadequate version in Manstein's memoirs, *Verlorene Siege* (Bonn, 1955), 579ff.
- 21 Diary, Feb 6, 1944.
- 22 *Ibid.*, Feb 29, 1944.
- 23 Oven, 'Nov 1943,' 176f.
- 24 JG, secret speech to the Reichsleiter and gauleiters on the political and military situation, Feb 23, 1944. Printed text on NA film T175, roll 145, 3659ff. Reuth, p. 1991, wrongly states that the speech's text is unknown.
- 25 Diary, Feb 10, 1944.
- 26 Schmundt collected all the signatures by Mar 10, and the field marshals ceremonially read it out to Hitler at Schloss Klessheim on Mar 19 (diary, Mar 11, 14, 20, 1944); see too the diaries of Schmundt (BA-MA: H.4/12) and Weichs.
- 27 JG, 'In Neunzig Tagen,' in *Das Reich*, Jan 20; circulated by RPL (NA film T81, roll 69, 6415f); *NYT*, Jan 20; analyzed by the OSS on Mar 4, 1944 (NA file RG.226, entry 16, box 706, file 60777).
- 28 Diary, Mar 4, 1944.
- 29 *Ibid.*, Mar 16, 1944.
- 30 *Ibid.*, Mar 4; Oven, 'Apr 2, 1944,' 268.
- 31 Oven, 'Mar 16, 1944,' 251, 256.
- 32 Two photos of such airmen were issued by the DNB agency on Dec 23, 1943 (BA, Oberheitmann collection; ND: NG.3800).
- 33 Roger Freeman, *The Mighty Eighth* (New York, 1970) (hereafter Freeman),

114f; Oven, 'Mar 8, 1944,' 248ff. By the end of March the US Eighth Air Force had carried out four missions to Berlin: 600 bombers on Mar 8 against Erkner; on Mar 9 four-mile-high clouds over Berlin prevented the mission; on Mar 22, 800 bombers attacked, dropping 40 percent incendiaries.

34 Diary, Mar 11, 1944.

35 Ibid., Mar 14, 1944.

36 Ibid., Mar 9, 1944.

37 The *NYT* interpreted it on Mar 10, 1944 as 'one of the most open appeals to British Conservative circles ever to come out of Berlin.'

38 Diary, Mar 15, 1944.

39 Ibid., Mar 28; Hans-Leo Martin, 148f, gets it wrong, stating that JG wanted to persuade Hitler to send the divisions east. Not so.

40 SD report, Mar 30, 1944 (NA film T175, roll 265, 1858ff); Dr Immanuel Schäffer, interrogation, PWB report SAIC.16, Jun 6, 1945 (NA file RG.332, entry ETO, Mis-Y, Sect., box 116).

41 Hans-Leo Martin, 151.

42 Gutterer MS; Wolfenbüttel; Muhs affidavit (Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Wolfenbüttel); and interview of Gutterer, Jun 30, 1993.

43 Diary, Apr 18, 1944. On the scandal, which involved the SS swindler, Oberfähnrich der Reserve, and 'Count' Monti, see Helmuth Rosencrantz, 'Büsum diary,' Jul 1945 (see note 2 to chapter entitled 'Valkyrie') and SS-Gruppenführer Ohlendorf, CSDIC(UK) PW paper No.133, Aug 11, 1945: 'Notes on Corruption and Corrupt Personalities in Germany' (PRO file WO.208/4175).

44 On Apr 25, 1944. Oven, 'Apr 29, 1944,' BDC file, Naumann.

45 Diary, Apr 17, 1944.

46 Ibid., Mar 31; Oven, 'Apr 2, 1944,' 266f.

47 *NYT*, Apr 8, 1944.

48 Statement of Oberzahlmeister Olbrich, Feb 5, 1945, in CSDIC(UK) report SIR.1434. JG to Hitler, Jul 18, 1944 (BA file NL.118/107).

49 Circular to gauleiters, Apr 5, 1944 (NA film T581, roll 16; BA file NS.26/291).

50 JG to Hitler, Apr 20, 1944 (BA file NL.118/106); Oven, 'Apr 20, 1944,' 276, cites a different text. The Bundesarchiv would not permit me to recheck the file. See author's acknowledgments, page viii.

51 Oven, 'Apr 20, 1944,' 276.

52 Morell diary, May 9; JG diary, Apr 18, 1944.

53 Oven, 'Apr 12, 1944,' 272f.

54 Diary, Apr 18, 1944.

55 Ibid., May 13; his RPÄ (field agencies) reported that people were actively looking forward to the invasion, though depressed about the ongoing 'air terror' (ibid., May 12, 1944).

56 SD report, May 25 (NA film T175, roll 265, 2049ff, 2052ff) and Jun 1 (2062ff); JG diary, May 16, 1944.

57 Freeman, 136, 140.

58 Oven, 'May 9, 1944.'

59 Ibid., 'May 7;' Morell diary, May 8-9, 1944.

60 Diary, May 18; JG to General Heidrich, Apr 28, 1944 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 1, vol. 3).

61 Morell diary, May 19, 1944.

62 Freeman, 126f, states that the US 8th Fighter Command had flown six

strafing missions from Mar 26–Apr 12, shooting up thirty-six trains.

63 The RMVP announced at a press conf. the next day that lynchings of captured American pilots had been prevented only with difficulty: *NYT*, May 24. The Swedish *Aftonbladet* reported that six American aviators had recently been lynched: Reuters, May 30, 1944 (PRO file FO.371/38995).

64 Diary, May 24, 1944.

65 Brandt to Klopfer, Jul 26, 1944 (NA film T175, roll 33, 1405); Staff Evidence Analysis, Aug 21, 1947, in OMGUS files, NA, RG.260, shipping list 53–3/7, box 15; BDC file, Berndt (his enemies wanted him prosecuted for the act); and note by Keitel, in IMT, v, 20.

66 Diary, May 25; JG article, 'Ein Wort zum feindlichen Luftterror,' *VB*, May 27 and 28/29, 1944; ND: 1676–PS; DNB, May 26; *The Times*, May 27; *NYT*, May 27–29. On May 29, 1944 Berlin radio commented that German police would 'refrain from interfering with German mobs who attempt to lynch American aviators.'

67 For obvious reasons Allied military censorship requested that Goebbels' implicit threat *not* be reported in the British media. Memo, Nash to F. K. Roberts (FO), May 30; Ottawa to Morley-Scott, Canadian high commissioner in London, May 27, and letter from him to Roberts, May 31; Roberts replied that the British government would not ask Berlin for an explanation unless 'information reaches us that any of our airmen have been lynched.' The FO explained to Ottawa on Jun 1, 1944 that they 'wish to avoid all publicity, as likely to have [an] unsettling effect [on] Allied airmen taking part in operations over Germany.' The British press agreed to suppress all such stories along with the report that six American aviators had been lynched (PRO file FO.371/38995).

68 Paul K. Schmidt, interrogation, Nov 4, 1947 (NA film M.1019, roll 64).

69 JG's travel file, 'Trip to Sonthofen (political–ideological course for active front-line army and corps commanders) and briefing stop at Augsburg' is in ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01.

70 Himmler speech, May 24, 1944 (NA film T175, roll 94, 4609ff): The Jewish problem had been, he said, 'solved uncompromisingly—on orders and at the dictate of sound common sense.' He again hinted that Jewish women and children had been killed too.

71 Interrogation of Obergrenadier Sanktjohanser, a waiter at Sonthofen: CSDIC(UK) report SIR.1324 (NA file RG.332, Mis-Y, box 6; RG.165, entry 79, box 775).

72 Oven, 'May 24, 1944,' 315f.

73 Berndt to Hinkel, Nov 9, 1943 (BDC file, Berndt).

74 Rosenberg briefing of Hitler, Nov 17, 1943 (NA film T120, roll 2474, E255448): he suggested distributing half a million copies of his antisemitic fortnightly magazine *Weltdienst* to the foreigners. For correspondence Rosenberg–Hitler–Lammers–JG, Dec 1943 see ND: NG–1062.

75 JG to Ribbentrop, Jan 27 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 791); Oven, 'Feb 27,' 239f; JG diary, Mar 4, 1944.

76 Diary, Mar 13, 1944; on the Nazis' deportation of the Jews from Hungary, see SS Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann's MS (in author's collection).

77 Diary, Apr 22, 1944.

78 Ibid., Apr 27, 1944.

79 Ibid., May 4; a Jun 1944 memorandum by Dr Wolf Meyer-Christian on the treatment of the Jewish problem in the German press is in Yivo file G–117.

80 An OSS report of Jul 10, 1944 (via US naval attaché, Istanbul) stated that JG 'thinks of everyone, and his talks and writing show that he has the welfare of all classes at heart' (NA file RG.226, entry 16, box 0975, report 87179).

81 Hassell diary, Jun 8, 1944. Most of his listeners had been impressed by JG's 'great intellect,' observed Hassell. 'Only a few noticed that when all is said and done it was the speech of a man who had shot his bolt.'

Notes to Chapter 53

1 Diary, May 25, 1944. 'I can not share that view,' he noted.

2 Speech text in *VöB*, Jun 6, 1944; cf Heiber, *Goebbels-Reden*, vol. ii, 323ff.

3 Oven, 322f; JG had also seen her in Feb 1944 (*ibid.*, 'Feb 10, 1944,' 230).

4 Schäffer proposed to JG on May 25, 1944 printing propaganda on the aluminum foil anti-radar strips ('chaff') dropped on Britain (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 813).

5 Berndt to JG, Jun 3; one copy found in Sep 1964 concealed in the Black Lake, Czechoslovakia (Hoover Libr., TS Germany P96 B531); another in ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 816.—JG dismissed Berndt for an indiscretion at this time (diary, Jun 7); Berndt to Himmler, Jul 11 (T175, roll 33, 1405) and notes (1399, 1402), and Aug 2 (BDC file, Berndt). Promoted to SS Brigadeführer on Apr 30, 1943, Berndt joined the 5th SS Pz. Div. Wiking on Jan 19, 1945, and died in action at the end of the war in Hungary.

6 Rommel left for Germany on Jun 4, 1944 to visit his wife (Rommel diary, and David Irving, *Trail of the Fox* [London & New York], 1977, 361).

7 Oven, 'Jun 5, 1944,' 336.

8 Diary, Jun 6, 1944.

9 See Bormann's note on the table talk on Jun 5, 1944 (BA file NS.6/166).

10 JG had first met Hase on Dec 11, 1940, when he adjudged the new city commandant 'a magnificent officer with a very positive attitude toward the party.' By 1941 this honeymoon was over. Hase threatened to place the Frasquita bar off-limits to the troops; JG suggested he ask his permission first (MinConf., Mar 3, 1941).

11 Since Jun 1 the SD had been aware of certain BBC messages whose broadcast would presage the invasion. See Kaltenbrunner's telex to the OKW, Jun 1, and OKW to Foreign Armies West, Jun 2 (NA film T78, roll 451, 6880f); Army Group B war diary, Jun 5 (NA film T311, roll 3, 2156ff); and Irving, *Hitler's War*, 633. At 9:15 P.M. on Jun 5, 1944 the Fifteenth Army had intercepted the first such BBC messages. Oven, 336f, says he tried to phone JG with news of this.

12 Milch diary, May 7, 1947 (author's film DI-59).

13 Diary, Jun 6; Semler, 'Jun 6,' 127f; and Oven, 'Jun 6, 1944,' 336f.

14 Karl Koller diary, Jun 6, 1944 (author's film DI-17).

15 Diary, Jun 7, 1944.

16 JG in *Das Reich*, Jun 11; OSS report, Jun 16, 1944 (NA file RG.226, entry 16, box 0877, file 76692).

17 Diary, Jun 16, 1944.

18 Oven, 'Jun 13, 1944,' 352f.

19 George Axelsson in *NYT*, Jun 11, 1944.

20 Diary, Jun 17, 1944.

- 21 Oven, 357f.
- 22 NYT, Jun 18; war diary, 'Flak Regiment 155(W),' Jun 17, 1944.
- 23 Diary, Jun 20, 1944.
- 24 Ibid., Jun 14, 1944.
- 25 Ibid., Jun 16, 1944.
- 26 JG, 'Führen wir einen totalen Krieg?' in *Das Reich*, Jul 2; diary, Jun 20, 1944.
- 27 Koller diary, Jun 21, 1944; Freeman, 158. On Jun 26 JG wrote Hitler recommending the Swords to the Knight's Cross for Emil Beck and Johannes Engel for heroism during the raid (BA file NL.118/106).
- 28 Diary, Jun 22, 1944.
- 29 Ibid., Jun 20, 1944: Kaltenbrunner had furnished him with an SD monograph on 'Stalin and total war.'
- 30 Ibid., Jun 26, 28, 1944.
- 31 JG, air war notice No. 151, Jul 14, 1944 (NA film T84, roll 322, 1419f).
- 32 Oven, 'Jul 1, 1944,' 377.
- 33 As JG himself noted, diary, Jul 8, 1944.
- 34 Hanke married Freda Baroness von Fircks (formerly married to von Johnston), daughter of a landowner, on Nov 25, 1944 (Dr Bernhard Kortüm to Milch, Mar 6, 1950, in Milch papers; and author's interview with the late Freda Rössler).
- 35 Ebermayer and Meissner, No. 20, May 17, and No.25, Jun 21, 1952.
- 36 JG's speech, 'Das Vaterland ist in Gefahr,' in VB, Jul 8, NYT, Jul 9, 1944.
- 37 JG, 'Der Krieg in der Sackgasse,' *Das Reich*, Jul 9, 1944.
- 38 W. J. Donovan to FDR, Jul 15, 1944 (FDR Libr., PSF box 168).
- 39 Ditto, Jul 12 (ibid.); cf Oven, 'Jul 4,' 378, and JG diary, Jul 23, 1944.
- 40 Ibid., Jul 11; Oven, 390ff. Speer suggested the committee might comprise Himmler, Lammers, Keitel, Sauckel, JG, and himself, but not Bormann. On Jul 6-8 Speer had drawn Hitler's attention to the under-utilized manpower still latent in the domestic economy and the armed forces. Speer's notes, Jul 10, 1944. See too JG's correspondence with Unruh at this time (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 862).
- 41 Oven, 'Jun 23,' 368. In NYT on Jul 16, 1944, George Axelsson mocked that the current rumor of a twelve-ton rocket 'smacks of Jules Verne.'
- 42 Oven, 'Jul 11, 1944,' 390.
- 43 Diary, Jul 11; Speer had received a letter from his chief economist Kehrl, dated Jul 10, 1944, drawing attention to under-utilized manpower in the cities. Cf Peter Longerich, 'Joseph Goebbels und der totale Krieg,' *VJZ*, 1987, 289ff.
- 44 Speer to Hitler, Jul 12; Speer chronicle, Jul 1944.
- 45 Diary, Jul 15, 1944.
- 46 Schmundt suggested Manstein as Zeitzler's successor. Dr Weber confirmed in an interview with the author that he had signed a sick-note for Zeitzler to cover his 'retreat'.
- 47 JG to Hitler, Jul 18, 1944 (BA file NL.118/107); Longerich, writing in 1987, is incorrect in calling this 'an unknown memorandum.' Oven's 'diaries,' published in Buenos Aires, 1950, vol. ii, 89, refer to it, and this author used the actual text in *Hitler's War* (New York and London, 1977), based on the French version on NA film T84, roll 272.
- 48 They were certainly not filmed: The Nazi microfiche camera-operator

assigned a serial number to each glass fiche (plate), and wrote this number also on the top left corner of the first diary page filmed on that plate. For example page 55 of the entry for Sep 10, 1943 is the first page filmed on fiche 118 of 1943, and the page is endorsed *118* and *mikrokopiert* as well (NA film T84, roll 265). In box No. 72 of the Moscow collection ('Fond 1477') are twenty complete fiches, serial numbers 121-27 and 129-40, covering the period from mid-June to Jul 18 and Jul 23-24, 1944 (fiche 128 is for Jul 15); the period Jul 25-31, 1944 is covered on the fiches 141-144 in box No. 73.

49 At 4:55 P.M. on Jul 19; see W. J. Donovan to FDR, Jul 22, 1944 (FDR Libr., PSF box 168).

50 The page for Jul 20, 1944 is also missing from the Milch diary.

51 He confirmed this to Luftwaffe General Barsewisch, whose MS is in the Irving collection (IfZ). Guderian confirmed to Milch (diary, Oct 28, 1945) that he had known of the bomb plot as early as Jul 18, 1944 (author's film, DI-59).

Notes to Chapter 54

1 RMVP circular; in files of Propaganda-Staffel north-west, Jul 24, 1944 (Hoover Libr., Lerner papers).

2 Generalrichter Dr Helmuth Rosencrantz, MS ('Büsum diary, Jul 1945'), BAOR Counter-Intelligence Bureau report CIB/INT/B5/2908/1/0/D, Sep 29, 1945 (NA file RG.407, entry 427, box 1954m). Rosencrantz had had the trial delayed from Jul 17 to 20 so that his deputy judge Gen. Baron von Thüngen would be available to try it. Hase attended the morning session. Sentence, announced at 2 P.M., was nine months' prison; JG and Naumann interceded for Martin, and it was reduced to five months' fortress confinement.

3 Speer chronicle, Jul 20; Sündermann, 'Jul 21, 1944,' 62.

4 JG confirmed this in his broadcast of Jul 26.

5 One item concerned an article in the mass circulation *Front und Heimat*, No. 22, Jul 1944, which was considered too flattering about conditions in Soviet-occupied Romania. Hadamowsky to JG, Jul 21, 1944 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 62, Re 3, Hadamowsky papers, vol. 1).

6 OCMH interrogation of Gen. Wilhelm Arnold, chief of army signals, Aug 25, 1945 (IfZ, Irving collection). Peter Hoffmann, *Widerstand, Staatsstreich, Attentat*, 852. Dr Richard Arnhold, Bömer's PA, confirmed that the RMVP's domestic and foreign press departments had direct telephone and telex links to Dr Dietrich's office at Führer's HQ. PW paper 80 (NA file RG.165, entry 79, box 766).

7 Oven, 'Jul 23, 1944,' 398f. His recollection was that he told Lorenz that JG was asleep, whereupon Lorenz dictated it to him. And see Oven, 'Der 20. Juli 1944—erlebt im Hause Goebbels,' in *Verrat und Widerstand im Dritten Reich* (Coburg, 1978), 43.

8 Morell treated the ear-ache (diary, Jul 23, 1944).

9 JG to Leni Riefenstahl-Jacob, Jul 20, 1944, 2 P.M.; he deleted the 'Jacob' and a second, over-fulsome, sentence from the draft (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 1, vol. 3).

10 BAOR interrogation of Col. Nicolaus von Below, Jan 23, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

11 On Dec 22, 1944 he wrote to the Führer that 'in a dark hour' he had trembled for Hitler's life (BA file NL.118/106).

12 Otto Ernst Remer's report on the events, Jul 22, 1944, is in BA file

EAP.105/32; publ. by Hans-Adolf Jacobsen (ed.), *Spiegelbild einer Verschwörung. Die Opposition gegen Hitler und der Staatsstreich vom 20. Juli 1944 in der SD-Berichterstattung* (Stuttgart, 1984), vol. i, 12ff; cf Hoffmann, *Widerstand, Staatsstreich, Attentat*, 460f. The author also interviewed Remer.

13 Dr Hans W. Hagen's report on Jul 22, dated Oct 16, 1944 (NA film T84, roll 19, 0022ff); *Spiegelbild*, vol. ii, 637ff.—Hans W. Hagen, *Zwischen Eid und Befehl* (Munich, 1959). Semler, 132ff.

14 Oven, 398f.

15 Speer's dramatic and self-serving published 'memoirs' are based more on secondary works than on his memory; he was not ushered out by JG at midnight, as he claims, but left with Himmler around 4:30 A.M., as Balzer's report makes clear.

16 From his perch at the absent Schwägermann's desk, outside JG's room, Speer tried to reach his friend Fromm without success. He did speak with Olbricht and complain that he and JG were being 'detained' by soldiers; Speer reported only the latter conversation to JG.

17 Albrecht to his wife, Jul 22, 1944 (IfZ, Irving collection).

18 Schaub MS (IfZ, Irving collection).

19 BBC monitoring report; see the FO's printed summary of the putsch in PRO file FO.371/39062.

20 Remer report.

21 Hoffmann suggests the colonel may have been Lt-Col. Walter Horstmann.

22 The times are from Remer's and Hagen's testimonies. For what follows we also have JG's version in his broadcast of Jul 26, text in *Zürcher Zeitung*, Jul 27; *Front und Heimat*, No. 13, Juni [sic] (BA file NS.6/28); *VB*, Jul 27, 1944.

23 Remer's loyalty to Hitler endured to the end. Aged eighty-two, he was sentenced in 1994 to two years in prison for doubting the authenticity of the 'gas chambers' at Auschwitz—such doubts are a criminal offense in modern Germany; he was granted political asylum in Spain.

24 Hitler told ENT-specialist Erwin Giesing on Jul 26, 'The loyal chap [Remer] recognized my voice at once on the phone and confirmed my orders to him by repeating them to the letter' (Giesing MS, in IfZ, Irving collection).

25 Maj.-Gen. Helmuth Schwierz, CO of No. 1 Army Bomb Disposal School, Lichtenfelde, undated report in IfZ, Irving collection. A Capt. Messing from the same school had a similar mission: letter intercept, [Horst] von Buttlar to Herbert Steinert, Mar 27, 1947 ('... Messing had orders to arrest Dr Goebbels dead or alive'). CCD report, in NA file RG.407, entry 427, box 1954a.

26 Oven, 'Jul 23, 1944'; Hoffmann, *Widerstand, Staatsstreich, Attentat*, 855; Speer memoirs.

27 Kehrl, 398.

28 Dr Immanuel Schäffer, interrogation, PWB report SAIC.16, Jun 6, 1945 (NA file RG.332, entry ETO, Mis-Y, Sect., box 116).

29 Balzer, liaison officer between OKW/WPr and RMVP, report to chief of WPr (Hasso von Wedel), 'Jun 21' [sic: read Jul 21] 1944 (NA film T84, roll 16, 6614; BA file NS.6/31).

30 Hoffmann, *Widerstand, Staatsstreich, Attentat*, citing Hase's testimony to the People's Court, trial vol. xxxiii, 488ff; and *Spiegelbild einer Verschwörung*, 45.

31 Hadamowsky to JG, Aug 3, 1944 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 62, Re 3, vol. 1); he named the lieutenant-colonels Pridun, Herber, von der Heyd[t]e, and Kuban, and suggested that JG receive them together with the panzer colonels Bolbrinker and Glaesemer for drinks one day.

32 Hadamowsky to JG, Aug 1 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 62, Re 3, vol. 1); JG referred to this incident in his broadcast of Jul 26, 1944.

33 Remer's report.

34 JG's text is repeated in the KR-Fschr. from Höherer S.S.- und Polizeiführer Stuttgart to Gauleiter Wagner (Karlsruhe), Jul 20, 1944, 9:16 P.M. (Records of the Annexed Territory of Alsace, NA film T81, roll 179, 7965f).

35 Bormann to all gauleiters, Jul 20, 1944, nine P.M. and 9:40 P.M. (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

36 Bearer of the Knight's Cross and a veteran Nazi, Bolbrinker commanded an SA brigade in Styria during the failed 1934 putsch in Austria, and had to flee to Germany.

37 Remer stated in his Jul 22, 1944 report: 'I was unsure of Colonel-General Guderian's attitude.'

38 On the role of the Panzer Reserve Brigade at Cottbus, see Peter Hoffmann, *Claus Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg und seine Brüder* (Stuttgart, 1992), 400-7, 421, 432-4. There is evidence, states Hoffmann on p. 421, that upon Mertz von Quirnheim's intervention Guderian had agreed on Jul 19, 1944 to delay the removal of the Krampnitz armor to East Prussia by a few days.

39 Rosencrantz. And see his British interrogation, Nov 16, 1945 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

40 Rosencrantz.

41 Balzer report. Fromm was court-martialed and shot for cowardice in Mar 1945.

42 Himmler also emphasized the delicacy of his position in speeches on Jul 21 and 26, 1944 (NA film T175, roll 93, 3904ff, 4146ff).

43 Bormann to the gauleiters, Jul 21, 1944, 3:40 A.M. (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

44 Balzer report.

45 Diary, Dec 4, 1944.

46 Balzer report.—Himmler's remark does not bear closer scrutiny.

47 Dr Immanuel Schäffer, interrogation, PWB report SAIC.16, Jun 6, 1945 (NA file RG.332, entry ETO, Mis-Y, Sect., box 116).

48 JG circulars to all RPÄ, Jul 21, 12:31 and 2:20 P.M. (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection). The next day Hitler directed him to organize nationwide rallies to demand an end to the treacheries of the generals and to insist that the Führer punish the guilty so severely that there would never be a repetition (diary, Jul 23). On Jul 22, 1944 JG issued Propaganda Parole No. 68 ordering all gauleiters to stage mass meetings (BA file R.55/614).

49 The OSS in Berne (Allen Dulles) reported to FDR on Jan 27, 1945 that Stauffenberg had planned to make peace with the Soviets and establish a workers' and peasants' regime in Germany; the generals had disliked this plan, but Stauffenberg was the only officer willing to risk his life by planting the bomb. One of Dulles' sources who was 'with Helldorff when he heard of the fiasco' (probably the Abwehr traitor Hans-Bernd Gisevius) blamed it on the failure of General Fellgiebel to destroy the communications center at the Wolf's Lair, and on 'the defection of Major Remer at the last minute.' Dulles also reported, Feb 1, 1945, that Stauffenberg favored the *Ostlösung* and was in touch with Seydlitz and the National-Komitee Freies Deutschland in Moscow through Stockholm (FDR Libr., PSF box 170). Gisevius confirmed in *Bis zum bitteren Ende* (Darmstadt, 1947), vol. ii, 255f, that he was with Helldorff at police HQ at 11 A.M. on Jul 20, 1944, but Peter Hoffmann has

exposed his canard about Stauffenberg's eastern alignment in the appendix to his *Stauffenberg*, 472-4.

50 Dr Immanuel Schäffer, interrogation, PWB report SAIC.16, Jun 6, 1945 (NA file RG.332, entry ETO, Mis-Y, Sect., box 116). For an RMVP analysis on Jul 24, 1944 summarizing RPÄ reports on the universal public condemnation of the plot, see BA file R.55/601.

Notes to Chapter 55

1 Sündermann, 'Jul 26, 1944,' 76f.

2 Diary, Jul 23; Oven, 'Jul 25, 1944,' 432ff.

3 Diary, Jul 24, 1944: a fragment of the original pages, pp. 27-52, is also in Hoover Libr., Korf papers, box 1.

4 Cf Lammers to Keitel, Jul 17, 1944 (NA film T175, roll 71, 0772f).

5 Minutes of the staff conference on total war, Jul 22, 1944 (BA file R.43II/664a, 82-91). Those present were JG, Bormann, Keitel, Speer, Funk, Sauckel, Boley, and Dr Fricker of the chancellery. Interrogation of Gottfried Boley, Sep 15, 1945 (NA film M.1270, roll 2).

6 Diary, Jul 23, 1944 (the diary on microfiche resumes after the unexplained four-day break).

7 See JG's speech to the gauleiters on the morning of Aug 3, 1944 (IfZ file Fa.35/3).

8 Sündermann, 'Jul 26, 28, Aug 1, 1944,' 76ff.

9 Diary, Jul 23, 1944.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Lammers' briefing of Hitler, Jul 23, 1944, with Göring, Keitel, Lammers, Bormann, Funk, Speer, Sauckel, Klopfer, Naumann (BA file R.43II/664a); for the resulting inter-departmental disputes see R.43II/665, /666a, b, c. This was Göring's last visit to HQ for several weeks.

13 Führer decree on total mobilization, Jul 25, signed Hitler, Göring, Lammers (BA file NL.118/106); published in *RGBL*, I, 1944, No. 34, 161f; *VB* and *NYT*, Jul 26. The British FO was impressed: 'He [JG] and Himmler between them now seem to hold all the reins of power' (PRO file FO.371/39062). But the Americans were not: 'The crucial question for Germany is combat manpower, and this cannot be provided by decree.' OSS R&A Report No. 2456, 'An Evaluation of the Goebbels Program for Total Mobilization in Germany,' Sep 1, 1944 (USAMHI, Donovan papers, box 35a).

14 JG to Lammers, Jul 27, 1944 (BA file R.43II/664a).

15 Note on a conference held by Lammers, Jul 31 (IfZ, F82, Heiber collection); Milch diary, Jul 31 (author's film DJ-59); Sündermann, 'Aug 1, 1944,' 82f.

16 These two committees were coordinated by a secretariat under Regierungspräsident Dr Faust of the ministry of the interior.

17 JG's speech to the gauleiters on the morning of Aug 3, 1944 (IfZ, Fa.35/3). 18 Oven, 'Aug 5,' 445f; *NYT*, Jul 28. And JG, broadcast script, 'The first steps,' Jul 1944 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 761).

19 As the Speer chronicle, Jul 24, 1944, makes plain.

20 Ibid., Aug 1, 1944.

21 JG's speech to the gauleiters on the morning of Aug 3, 1944 (IfZ file Fa.35/3).

22 Hadamowsky to JG, Aug 31 and Sep 7, 1944 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 62, Re 3, vol. 1)

23 NYT, Aug 11; diary, Sep 2 ('Berlin's entire stage has now been put to work on munitions'); circular to gauleiters, Aug 3, 1944 (NA film T81, roll 154, 8506).

24 JG, information for Führer, Aug 9 (published in H. A. Jacobsen, *Dokumente*, No. 144); Sündermann, 'Aug 11, 1944,' 100.

25 NYT, Aug 25, 1944.

26 Hierl to JG, Aug 13, 1944 (IfZ film MA.356).

27 Directive by JG and Bormann, Aug 18, 1944 (IfZ film MA.434, 3552ff).

28 NYT, Aug 25, 1944.

29 Oven, 'Aug 16, 1944;' the figures are broadly confirmed by JG diary, Sep 2, 1944.

30 Jodl diary, Aug 1, 5 P.M. (author's film DI-84); see the JG diary fragment, Aug 1(?), 1944, p. 22, published in *Der Spiegel*, Jan 24, 1951, p. 9, and the entry for Aug 31, 1944 on the People's Court trial of Strülpnagel and his liaison officer Cäsar von Hofacker: 'In all these testimonies Field Marshal Kluge and, in part, even Rommel are gravely implicated.'

31 Kaltenbrunner to Bormann, Jul 24, 1944 (NA film T84, roll 19, 0153, 0159); Helldorff was interrogated by the Gestapo on Jul 27, 1944 (*ibid.*, 0269); his last letter before execution will be found quoted in BA file NS.6/44.

32 Dr Immanuel Schäffer, interrogation, PWB report SAIC.16, Jun 6, 1945 (NA file RG.332, entry ETO, Mis-Y, Sect., box 116).

33 Oven, 'Aug 5,' 448; Giesing MS; Dr Georg Kiessel, 'The Plot of July 20, 1944, and its Origins,' Aug 6, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection); and CSDIC interrogation of SS Hauptsturmführer Otto Prochnow (*ibid.*).

34 Transcripts in Trevor Roper papers (IfZ, Irving collection).

35 Diary, Aug 31, 1944 (fragments).

36 Hadamowsky to JG, Aug 11 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 62, Re 3, vol. 1). In Jun 1944 the German officers Seydlitz, Daniels, Schlömer, Lattmann, Lenski, Korfes, etc, had signed a declaration 'to the generals of the German Wehrmacht' (Yivo file Occ E-FD-6); about fifty captured German generals also signed a 'declaration to the people and Wehrmacht' (*ibid.*, FD-7). Diary, May 18, 1944: The SD had asked JG to discuss the matter in public, but JG declined.

37 See Hitler's conference with Jodl, Jul 31, 1944. Helmut Heiber (ed.), *Hitlers Lagebesprechungen. Die Protokollfragmente seiner militärischen Konferenzen, 1942-1945* (Stuttgart, 1962).

38 JG's speech to the gauleiters on the morning of Aug 3, 1944 (IfZ file Fa.35/3).

39 *Ibid.*; Sündermann, 'Aug 3, 5, 1944,' 87ff.

40 Monitoring reports on broadcasts of the Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland, Aug 1944-Jan 1945 are in ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vols 1210 and 1205.

41 E.g. Aug 23, 1944 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep.50.01, vol. 956).

42 On this network Aug 1944-Jan 1945 see ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 826; Oven, 'Aug 16,' 460f; and Sündermann, 'Aug 11, 1944,' 100.

43 Darré diary, Aug 28; Milch diary, Aug 28, 1944 (author's film DI-59).

44 Diary, Sep 19, 1944: 'I get a real headache when I try to finish off my twenty pages of typescript. But the public awaits the Friday evening broadcast of my leading article like its daily bread ration.'

45 JG, 'In den Stürmen der Zeit,' *Das Reich*, Aug 20, 1944.

46 Kaltenbrunner to JG, Aug 26, 1944 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 1052).

47 Magda Goebbels to Alwin-Broder Albrecht, Nov 18, 1944 (Albrecht papers).

48 Speer chronicle, Aug 11; on Aug 28, 1944 Milch noted after one JG speech at the chancellery, 'Speer doesn't like my conciliatory manner!'

49 Oven, 'Sep 1,' 463ff; JG circular to gauleiters, Aug 11; Speer to JG, Aug 31, 1944; Speer chronicle.

50 Oven, 'Sep 1, 1944,' 463ff.

51 Diary, Sep 2 ('Speer... spielt die gekränkte Leberwurst'); Oven, 'Sep 3, 1944,' 467f.

52 Itinerary, Sep 13, 1944 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 956).

53 Diary, Sep 2, 1944.

54 Afterwards JG wrote that Speer already regretted his mulish stand on Sep 2. 'He... finds now that the party regards him to a degree as an outsider if not indeed as an enemy' (diary, Sep 8, 1944).

55 Hadamowsky to JG, Sep 3 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 62, Re 3, vol. 1); JG quoted this dictum to Oven, 'Dec 3, 1944,' 518.

56 On which see Keitel's circular, Aug 31; Bormann's circular, Sep 4; and Hadamowsky to JG, Sep 3 and 14, 1944 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 863).

57 Diary, Sep 2, 1944.

58 Ibid., Sep 19, 1944.

59 Forschungsamt monitoring report RW.29107, Sep 6; telex from Hauptabteilung Propaganda, Kraków, to Immanuel Schäffer (RMVP), Sep 7, 1944 (Yivo file Occ E2-68); *Freies Deutschland* (Moscow) No. 37, Sep 10, 1944.

60 JG's name appeared in the preamble to the United Nations War Crimes Commission's first list of major war criminals, who were to be punished 'by joint decision of the Allies,' whatever form that decision might take (PRO file FO.371/51013).

61 Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Oct 4; NYT, Oct 5, 1944. Churchill sent a memo after Quebec to Stalin urging the execution of the top Nazis without trial; Stalin rejected it.

62 Diary, Sep 20, 1944.

63 Ibid., Sep 23, 1944.

64 Interview of Max Winkler by Frank Korf, May 1, 1948. Korf established that no Goebbels testament was filed with the Amtsgericht either in Berlin-Mitte or in Rheydt, nor did his lawyer Dr Alfons Knetsch know of one. Korf to Harold Lee, US Dept of Justice, May 29, 1948 (Hoover Libr., Korf papers).

65 NYT, Sep 8, 9, 1944.

66 Diary, Sep 8, 19, 24; Speer chronicle; Speer to JG, Sep 15; JG briefing for Führer, Sep 25; Speer's comments on this, Sep 26; Speer to Bormann, disowning responsibility for arms production, Oct 1; Speer to Hitler, Oct 3, 1944.

67 Diary, Sep 20, 1944.

68 Ibid., Sep 23, 1944.

69 Kaltenbrunner to JG, Aug 26, 1944 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 1052).

70 Diary, Sep 24, 1944.

71 Ibid., Sep 23, 1944.

72 Berger to Himmler, Sep 26, 1944 (Hallein files: OMGUS report, Nov 8, 1945: NA file RG.407, entry 427, box 1954k).

73 Diary, Sep 23; Oven, 'Sep 25,' 483. On Nov 17, 1944 they heard that Harald was in British captivity (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 1, vol. 4).

74 Oven, 'Sep 20, 1944,' 479.

75 Diary, Sep 19, 1944.

76 JG was in fact Oshima's last, not first, port of call. Japanese offers to mediate had been reaching Berlin since Aug 25 (see Irving, *Hitler's War*, 685), and on Sep 4 Oshima personally put similar proposals to Hitler (see Ribbentrop to Stahmer, Sep 6, in Pol. Archiv AA, Ritter papers, Serial 1436). See naval staff war diary, Sep 5, 1944 too.

77 Diary, Sep 20, 1944.

78 Ibid., Sep 23, 1944. Ley's mistress Madeleine Wanderer wrote (SAIC.40) that, after Aachen fell to the Americans, he became silent and depressed. 'Goebbels,' Ley said, 'was of the same opinion' (NA file RG.332, box 73).

79 See diary, Jul 23, 1944.

80 JG to Hitler, Sep [22] (BA file NL.118/107); Oven, 'Sep 22,' 479ff; Semler wrongly dates this important memorandum months earlier ('Apr 10, 12, 20; May 2, 1944').

81 Diary, Sep 23-24, 1944.

82 Oven, 'Sep 28, 1944,' 483ff; Steengracht conversation, Jun 27, 1945. CCPWE No. 32, X-P.18 (NA file RG.332, ETO G-2 Sect., box 97).

83 Diary, Sep 24; Oven, 'Sep 22, 1944,' 480ff.

84 Diary, Sep 25, 1944.

Notes to Chapter 56

1 Diary, Oct 7; Oven, 'Oct 2, Nov 11, 1944.'

2 Diary, Oct 12, 1944.

3 NYT, Oct 5, 1944.

4 Oven, 'Oct 4, 1944,' 490f. Ohlendorf confirmed to Milch after the war that Speer approved the falsification of arms-production figures (Milch diary, Aug 28, 1945). United States Strategic Bombing Survey report No. 59, *The Defeat of the German Air Force*, 37ff, came to the same conclusion.

5 Letter intercepted by ABP (foreign letter intercept office) from Justizrat Victor Fränkl, Locarno, to H. R. Morgenthau, Oct 4, 1944 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 796).

6 On which see VB, Sep 26, 1944. See PID analysis of JG's usage of the Morgenthau plan, DE.2/DIS.202 (Hoover Lib., Lerner papers); *Der politische Soldat*, No. 14, Oct 1944 quoted the Swiss journal *Vaterland* as predicting a 'field of death from Kiel to Konstanz.' Willi Krämer, circular No. 66, Dec 8, 1944 (NA film T84, roll 169, 6532f).

7 W. J. Donovan to FDR, Oct 17 and 25, 1944 (FDR Lib., PSF box 169). The controversy was too juicy for even Goebbels' opponents in Moscow to eschew and the next issue of *Freies Deutschland*, No. 9-10, Moscow, Oct/Nov 1944 also polemicized against Morgenthau & Co., 'the representatives of millions in Gold' (Yivo file Occ E-FD-2).

8 Oven, 'Oct 11, 1944,' 493.

9 Diary, Dec 2; Heinz Linge, Hitler's appointments register, Oct 15-16, 1944 (NA film T84, roll 387).

10 JG reported the 'Bismarck' remark to Speer. FIAT interrogation of Speer, Jun/Jul 1945, pt. ii, No. 19.

11 Oven, 'Oct 15, 1944,' 500ff.

12 On Oct 29, 1944 (diary) JG would write: 'Of course, the Führer set out this operation in detail to me on my last visit to Führer's HQ. It's been gone over quite adequately in these pages too.'

13 Diary, Oct 24, 1944.

14 Führer decree on the formation of a German Volkssturm, Sep 25, 1944 (*RGBl.*, 1944, I, 72f).

15 JG broadcast, Oct 27: *MNN*, Oct 28; *NYT*, Oct 28. Donovan to FDR, Nov 1, 1944 (FDR Libr., PSF box 170).

16 Albrecht to his wife, Oct 27 (IfZ, Irving collection); JG diary, Oct 29, 1944.

17 Corporal Felix to Mrs [Anneliese] von Ribbentrop, Nov 11, 1944. Ribbentrop initialed its first page and sent it over to the Gestapo (NA film T120, roll 4673, 4788ff).

18 Diary, Oct 29, 1944.

19 Sündermann, 'Aug 6, 1944,' 93.

20 Hadamowsky to JG, Aug 7, 1944 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 62, Re 3, vol. 1); Sündermann, 'Aug 7, 1944,' 97.

21 The film was *Verräter vor dem Volksgericht*. The first part, five acts, ran for 105 minutes; the second, also five acts, also for 105 minutes; a silent reel showing the hanging of Witzleben *et al.* in four acts ran for 20–25 minutes. Their current location is unknown. Reichsfilmintendant (Hinkel) to Naumann, Aug 31, 1944 (BA file R.55/664); and Lindenborn to JG, Jan 17, 1945 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 831).

22 Note by Leiter F. (of Hinkel's staff), Oct 21, 1944 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 831). The film shown at the Nuremberg trials, *Proceedings against the Criminals of Jul 20, 1944*, was edited from unreleased Deutsche Wochenschau newsreel footage confiscated by OMGUS at the offices of AFIFA in Tempelhof.

23 SS Sturmabführer Ulenberg (RMVP) to Hinkel, Mar 5 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 50.01, vol. 831). *Die Nation*, Feb 14, 1945 published an alleged photo of Witzleben and Hoepner hanging.

24 JG to Hitler, draft, Oct 25 (BA film NL.118/106); diary, Oct 29. He named Dr Hermann Kappner (envoy in Stockholm), Miss Schacht (a niece of Dr Hjalmar Schacht), envoy Dr Zechlin, Consul Schwinner, Dr Wilhelm Klein, and Bruno Fiebinger. He heard (diary, Oct 30, 1944) that Hitler had read the letter out approvingly at his next war conference.

25 Diary, Oct 30, 1944. Taubert however said the material hardened the will to resist and helped 'the worldwide defamation of bolshevism' (Taubert report, Yivo file G-PA-14).

26 Albrecht, private letter to his wife, Nov 12; see too Dittmar's diary, Nov 12; *NYT*, Nov 13; and Donovan to FDR, Nov 15, 1944 (FDR Libr., PSF box 170). For the day's Volkssturm ceremonies see BA file R.55/1287.

27 Willi Krämer, circular, Nov 1944 (NA film T84, roll 169, 6550f).

28 *NYT*, Nov 24, 1944.

29 JG, in *Das Reich*, Dec 2; cited in Donovan to FDR, Dec 4, 1944 (FDR Libr., PSF box 170).

30 Morell diary, Nov 30, 1944.

31 Diary, Dec 2, 1944.

32 *Ibid.*, Dec 7, 1944.

33 Behrend, No. 22, May 31, 1952.

34 Diary, Dec 2, 1944.

35 *Ibid.*, Dec 4, 1944.

36 Heinz Linge, Hitler's appointments register, Dec 3, 1944 (NA film T84, roll 387).

37 Interrogation of Schaumburg-Lippe, Apr 1947, in Kempner, *Das Dritte Reich im Kreuzverhör*.

38 Stated by Arnim confidentially to Hans Meier, the last office chief of the ministry's Room 24. She died in Russian captivity. *Der Spiegel*, Jan 24, 1951.

39 Ebermayer and Meissner, No. 26, Jun 28, 1952; their source was Ello Quandt.

40 Diary, Dec 17; and see Wächter's circular No. 150, Dec 19, 1944 (NA film T84, roll 169, 6526ff).

41 Diary, Dec 18, 1944.

42 Ibid., Dec 20, 1944.

43 JG circular to all Reichsleiter and gauleiters, Dec 21, 1944 (NA film T120, roll 2474, E255458).

44 JG to Hitler, Dec 22; similar to Göring, Dec 22, and Göring's reply, Dec 27, 1944 (all in BA file BL.118/106).

45 Behrend, No. 22, May 31, 1952.

46 Interrogations of Maria Kimmich née Goebbels and Katharina Goebbels née Odenhausen, Mar 25, 1948 (Hoover Libr., Korf papers).

47 Dittmar diary, Dec 31, 1944 (author's film DI-60).

48 SD Leitabschnitt Stuttgart, morale report, Jan 12, 1945. DE.415/DIS.202 (Hoover Libr., Lerner papers).

49 Bormann to his wife, Jan 2 (Genoud papers; *The Bormann Letters* [London, 1954], 158); JG's unpublished Jan 1945 diary is BA file NL.118/124.

50 Speer, *Erinnerungen*, 427. Those attending the main 3:30 P.M. conference were JG, Speer, Keitel, Bormann, Ganzenmüller, Buhle, and Hitler. Heinz Linge, Hitler's appointments register (NA film T84, roll 387).

51 Of glucose and other substances. Morell's diary, Jan 5, 1945, one P.M., specifically refers to these 'strenuous talks' as the cause.

52 On Mar 30, 1945 the general army office (AHA) noted that by Mar 25 only ninety-five thousand men had been forthcoming (NA film T84, roll 174, 3363ff).

53 Diary, Mar 18, 1945.

54 JG to Hitler, Jan 26, 1945 (BA file NL.118/106).

55 Ditto, Mar 20, 1945 (ibid.).

56 Hinkel to JG, Jan 4; Oberregierungsrat Bacmeister to JG, Feb 1, 1945 (BA file R.55/664).

57 Albrecht to his wife, Jan 31, 1945 (IfZ, Irving collection).

58 Bacmeister to JG, Feb 25, 1945 (BA file R.55/664).

Notes to Chapter 57

1 E.g. Heinz Linge, Hitler's appointments register, Jan 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 1945 (NA film T84, roll 387).

2 Diary, Jan 29; Linge, appointments register, Jan 28, 1945 (NA film T84, roll 387).

3 JG, circular propaganda directive, Feb 5, 1945. DE.53/DIS.202 (Hoover Libr., Lerner papers).

4 Diary, Jan 1945, passim (BA file NL.118/124).

5 By Zdenko von Kraft, *Alexanderzug*; JG to Hitler, Jan 10, 1945 (NL.118/107). The passage begins: 'Death, said Philippos [the king's doctor], had already been quite close for the king....'

- 6 Diary, Jan 14, 1930.
- 7 Diary, Feb 28, Mar 5, 22, 24, 1945. Published as Joseph Goebbels, *Tagebücher 1945. Die letzten Aufzeichnungen 1945* (Hamburg 1977).
- 8 Ministerialrat Dr Fries (of Hippler's office) to JG, Dec 12, 1944; with note, 'The Minister has refused.' DE.492/DIS.202 (Hoover Libr., Lerner papers).
- 9 RMVP air war notice No. 178, Jan 18, 1945 (NA film T84, roll 322, 1469ff).
- 10 JG (as RPL) circular to all gau propaganda officials, Jan 15, 1945 DE.331/DIS.202 (Hoover Libr., Lerner papers).
- 11 Freeman, 208.
- 12 Heinz Linge, Hitler's appointments register, Feb 2, 5, 7, 11, 12, 14, 1945 (NA film T84, roll 387).
- 13 Freybe to Salon Berthe, Feb 1, 1945 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 2, vol. 2).
- 14 Magda to Harald Quandt, Feb 10, 1945: facsimile in Behrend, No. 8., Feb 23, 1952.
- 15 Hanke to his wife, Feb 13, 1945 (Hanke papers; by kind permission of the late Freda Rössler).
- 16 JG to Streicher, Feb 12, 1945 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90 Go 1, vol. 3).
- 17 Sündermann, 'Feb 17,' 273; interrogation of Steengracht, CCPWE No. 32, DI-19, Jul 2; and by US State dept, Sep 4, 1945.
- 18 A news item in *Basler Zeitung*, Feb 19, 1949. This adds that JG abandoned the plan because the BBC revealed details on Feb 22; at the MinConf. he threatened to strangle with his bare hands the culprit (who had deliberately revealed it to a Swedish journalist).
- 19 Steengracht's remarks of Jul 2, 1945 in CCPWE No. 32 report X-P.21 (PRO file WO.208/3438).
- 20 Diary, Mar 30, 1945. On this subject see Ribbentrop, 266f; Jodl to Hitler, Feb 21, 1945 (ND: 606-D) and notes, Jan 15, 1946 (Jodl papers); William Scheidt's notes in *Echo der Woche*, Oct 28, 1949; and the testimonies of Helmut Sündermann, Baron Steengracht, and Hitler's stenographer Ludwig Krieger (IfZ, Irving collection). Kaltenbrunner also claimed credit for thwarting JG, in conversation with Dr Hermann Neubacher. USFET MISC CI-RIR/4, Feb 1, 1946 (NA file RG.407, entry 427, box 1954b).
- 21 NYT, Jun 29, 1946.
- 22 Diary, Feb 28; Heinz Linge, Hitler's appointments register, Feb 27, 1945 (NA film T84, roll 387).
- 23 JG speech, Feb 28, in *DAZ*, Berlin, and *NYT*, Mar 1; the *Daily Herald*, London, Mar 1, 1945 headlined its report 'GOEBBELS PLEDGED TO DIE.'
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Remarks overheard on Feb 28, 1945. CSDIC(UK) report GRGG.265. Maj.-Gen. Bruhn was heard telling Lt-Gen. von Schlieben, 'According to what Goebbels said ... pure murder is going on in the east of Germany, on a large scale. That's the first I've heard of it. ... One must assume that that's *another* lie. ... I suspect him of possessing so devilish a nature that he upholds all those things which appeal to the soul of the people without acknowledging their application to himself.' Bruhn then described what Lt-Gen. Kittel had told him about mass shootings which the Nazis had carried out in the east (PRO file WO.208/4177).
- 26 'Robert Ley as described by his mistress,' SAIC.40, Jun 4, 1945 (NA file RG.165, entry 79, box 756).

- 27 Diary, Mar 5, 1945.
- 28 Ibid., Mar 8, 1945.
- 29 Dittmar diary, Feb 27. JG at first accepted Dittmar's script, with its hidden appeal to the western powers in general (Mar 22) and the Americans as the strongest partner in particular (Apr 7); on Apr 10, 1945 however he banned it (author's film DI-60).
- 30 Diary, Mar 12, 1945.
- 31 Sündermann, 'Mar 10, 1945,' 303.
- 32 Diary, Mar 9. JG's speech in *Hamburger Zeitung*, Mar 10, *VB* and *NYT*, Mar 11. The European Political Report, Mar 16, 1945, vol. ii, No. 11, commented: 'German propaganda this week devoted an extraordinary amount of newspaper and radio output to lurid tales of Allied atrocities' (USAMHI, Donovan papers, box 37b).
- 33 JG, 'Der Zeitpunkt, der die Wende bringt,' in *Das Reich*, Mar 11, 1945.
- 34 Diary, Mar 13, 1945.
- 35 Albrecht to his wife, Mar 14; there were no casualties (IfZ, Irving collection); Sündermann, 'Mar 14, 1945,' 309.
- 36 Diary, Mar 14, 1945.
- 37 Sündermann, 'Mar 16, 1945,' 310f.
- 38 Diary, Mar 17; cf Sündermann, 'Mar 18, 1945,' 311f.
- 39 Diary, Mar 19, 1945.
- 40 Ibid., Mar 21, 1945.
- 41 Ibid., Mar 30. Magda Goebbels to Zeller (for Hanke), Apr 9, 1945 (ZStA Potsdam, Rep. 90, Go 2, vol. 2).
- 42 Diary, Mar 22, 1945.
- 43 Ebermayer and Meissner, No. 26, Jun 28, 1952.
- 44 Naumann testimony, May 18, 1950 (IfZ file ZS.1134).
- 45 Hitler's war conference, Mar 23 (Heiber, *Hitlers Lagebesprechungen*); JG diary, Mar 27; Sündermann, 'Mar 24, 1945,' 322.

Notes to Chapter 58

- 1 Diary, Apr 1, 1945.
- 2 Ibid., Mar 27, 1945.
- 3 Ibid., Mar 30, 1945.
- 4 Ibid., Apr 1, 1945.
- 5 Ibid., Mar 30. On this episode see too JG's conversation with Schwerin von Krosigk on Apr 9: Krosigk diary, Apr 13, 1945. USFET document DE.443/DIS.202 (Hoover Libr., Lerner papers; and Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).
- 6 Diary, Mar 30, 1945.
- 7 So he told Krosigk; and see *ibid.*, Mar 24, 1945.
- 8 Ibid., Mar 31, 1945.
- 9 See *ibid.*, Mar 27. As it was set up under SS Obergruppenführer Hans-Adolf Prützmann, JG refused to have anything to do with it. See the interrogation of SS Obergruppenführer Ohlendorf, Jul 7: CSDIC(UK) report, SRGG.1322. The RMVP had set up its own 'Werwolf' Referat (section) under Hitler Jugend Bannführer (colonel) Dietrich, aged thirty-one, a radical Nazi in Berlin. See US Seventh Army report SAIC/CIR/4, 'Propaganda Organization RMVP and RPL,' Jul 10, 1945 (NA file RG.332, entry ETO, Mis-Y, Sect., box 116).
- 10 Diary, Mar 31; he had begun plotting Vogelsang's assassination by depend-

able Berlin Nazis soon after Rheydt was captured. Ibid., Mar 11, 1945.

11 Ibid., Mar 11, 1945.

12 NYT, Mar 31. "'It is retribution come home,'" said First Lieut. Joseph Shubow of Boston who presided over the service.' And see NYT, Mar 2, 18, 1945.

13 Cf Sündermann, 'Mar 30, 1945,' 328ff.

14 On the dismissal of Guderian: Oven, 'Apr 2, 1945,' and the Guderian papers (IfZ, Irving collection).

15 Diary, Mar 31, 1945.

16 Ibid., Apr 4, 1945.

17 Ibid., Apr 8, 1945.

18 For the preparations of this *Totaleinsatz* see the Koller diary (author's film DI-17); the war diary of the Luftwaffe High Command, entries for Mar 18, Apr 3, 6, 7, 1945 (NA film T321, roll 10); and ADI(K) reports 294/1945 and 373/1945.

19 Diary, Apr 9, 1945 (the final published entry).

20 JG, 'Kämpfer für das ewige Reich,' in *Das Reich*, Apr 8, 1945.

21 Diary, Apr 8, 1945.

22 SS Hauptsturmführer Alfred Rach, interview publ. in *Penguin* (Rowohlt Verlag, Hamburg), May 1949 (in IfZ archives).

23 Diary, Apr 8, 1945.

24 Rach interview.

25 Bormann's diary, Feb 14, shows Funk discussing with Hitler the evacuation of the precious metal from Berlin. Funk told Ohlendorf afterward that Hitler was 'completely mad' (it was the day after Dresden). CSDIC(UK) report SRGG.1322, Jul 7, 1945.

26 Diary, Apr 9, 1945.

27 Conversation on Apr 9. See Krosigk diary, Apr 13, 1945. USFET document DE.443/DIS.202 (Hoover Libr. Lerner papers; and Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

28 By Fritz Hesse. Diary, Mar 17, 18; and Oven, 'Apr 2, 1945.'

29 Oven, 'Apr 12, 1945' and the Krosigk diary.

30 DNB quoted at 00:08 A.M. the BBC news item: BBC monitoring report, Apr 13, 1945 (IWM archives).

31 Heinz Lorenz, interview, Mar 22, 1967; Werner Naumann, testimony, May 18, 1950 (IfZ file ZS.274); and see Frau Inge Haberzettel's statement to Leslie Randall in *Evening Standard*, London, Feb 16, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection). She was a member of JG's office.

Notes to Chapter 59

1 The remark was provoked by the behavior of the congregation who had chattered during the eulogy at Justice Minister Gürtner's state funeral (diary, Feb 2, 1941).

2 Diary, Mar 30, 1945.

3 Ibid., Jan 16, 1940.

4 'Robert Ley as described by his mistress,' SAIC.40, Jun 4, 1945 (NA file RG.165, entry 79, box 756). Ley had obtained seven envelopes with cyanide crystals from Prof. Bockacker, chief of the Labour Front's health department. And see NYT, Oct 27, 1945.

5 Diary, Feb 1; and similar on Feb 2, 1943.

- 6 Oven, 'Oct 3, 1943,' Willy Krämer, 229.
- 7 Semler, 'Nov 16, 1943.'
- 8 JG to Hitler, Jul 18, 1944 (BA file NL.118/107).
- 9 E.g. in JG's speech to officers, Jul 17 or 18, 1943: 'You only have to read the correspondence of Frederick the Great and you'll find that, uh, he, uh, rolled that poison phial to and fro in his pocket, and was strongly tempted to drink that draught' (IfZ, 1971, 83ff).
- 10 Diary, Mar 3, 1945.
- 11 SS Gruppenführer Gottlob Berger, Chef des SS Hauptamtes, remarks on Jun 13, 1945, reported in CSDIC(UK) report SRGG.1299C (PRO file WO.208/4170).
- 12 Bella Fromm diary, May 6, 1933 (Fromm papers, box 1).
- 13 Naumann interrogation, Nuremberg, Oct 10, 1947 (IfZ file ZS.361).
- 14 Hausintendant Rohrsen, aged fifty-nine, had trained at the court of first the Kaiser, then the Duke of Dessau. Leo Barton to Capt. Smith, G-2, USFET MISC, Mar 12, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection); interview with Gault McGowan, in *New York Sun*, Aug 4, 1947 (Hoover Libr., Julius Epstein papers, box 26). The story reappears in Behrend, No. 22, May 31, 1952.
- 15 Krosigk diary, Apr 13, 1945. USFET document DE.443/DIS.202 (Hoover Libr., Lerner papers; and Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).
- 16 Krosigk to JG, Apr 14, 1945, in PID report No. 34 (Hoover Libr., Lerner papers, box 5).
- 17 By their ignoble allegation on Jul 3, 1992 that I had stolen items from the Moscow microfiche collection the Munich institute of contemporary history (IfZ) achieved its premature closure before I could put this theory to the test. See author's acknowledgments, page xi.
- 18 Hitler's desk diary, Apr 1945, was found in his bunker's ruins by British Intelligence officers in Sep 1945. It is now in the Cabinet Office Historical Section, London (Transcript in IfZ, Irving collection).
- 19 Baur, lecture, ca. 1950 (IfZ file ZS.683).
- 20 JG, 'Der Einsatz des eigenen Lebens,' in *Das Reich*, No. 15, Apr 15, 1945.
- 21 Oven, 'Apr 19, 1945.'
- 22 Naumann testimony, May 18, 1950 (IfZ file ZS.274).
- 23 Oven, 'Apr 18, 1945.'
- 24 BBC Monitoring Report, Apr 19 (TWM archives); DNB text of broadcast in *Hamburger Zeitung*, No. 92, Apr 20, 1945.
- 25 US Seventh Army interrogation of Dr Robert Ley, SAIC.30, May 29, 1945 (NA file RG.332, Mis-Y, box 73).
- 26 Ibid., and Else Krüger (Bormann's secretary) MS, 'Die letzten Tage ... im Führerbunker der Reichskanzlei,' written in British captivity, Itzehoe, Jul 22, 1945 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).
- 27 Hans-Leo Martin, 157ff.
- 28 JG told this to Krosigk on Apr 24. Krosigk diary, Apr 24, 1945. USFET document DE.443/DIS.202 (Hoover Libr., Lerner papers; and Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection). Kritzinger's own report on the evacuation of the ministries is in Jodl's papers, captured in Flensburg (British FO Libr.).
- 29 From an MS of Fritzsche's 'Notes on Hitler's last days' in the papers of Field Marshal Erhard Milch (IfZ, Irving collection).
- 30 Otto Günsche, Soviet interrogation (IfZ, Irving collection); and see Koller diary, Apr 21, 1945. ADI(K) report 348/1945, Jul 12, 1945 (ibid.; and author's film DI-39).

31 Fritzsche (see note 29 above); Oven, 'Apr 21, 1945,' 650f.

32 Borresholm, 187f.

33 Naumann testimony, May 18, 1950 (IfZ file ZS.274). Dr Schultz von Dratzig of the RMVP's personnel dept committed suicide that same Saturday.

34 Author's interviews of Curt Gasper, who accompanied the 'burial party,' Jul 1, 1970, and Otte, Mar 31, 1971; Otte was also interviewed by the *Generalanzeiger*, Bonn, Jul 11, 1972: he says they met the rest of the RMVP *Prominenz* in Hamburg's five-star Hotel Atlantic.

35 Frau Inge Haberzettel's statement to Leslie Randall in *Evening Standard*, London, Feb 16, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

36 JG, 'Widerstand um jeden Preis,' in *Das Reich*, Apr 22, 1945.

37 The events of Apr 22 are based on the diaries of Koller and Jodl, Apr 22-23; memos of Koller and Lieutenant Volck, Apr 25, 1945; interrogations of Keitel, Jodl, Christian, Freytag von Loringhoven, Below, Bernd von Brauchitsch, and the duty stenographers Hagen and Herrgesell; and the written testimonies of Keitel, Günse, Linge, Else Krüger, and Traudl Junge (IfZ, Irving collection).

38 Oven, 'Apr 22, 1945,' Magda's silver toilet accessories are much sought-after items on the memorabilia auction circuit.

39 British interrogations of Else Krüger, Sep 19, Mar 27, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

40 Jodl told Russian interrogators on Jun 18, 1945 that it was plain to JG that he neither could nor should survive the destruction of the Nazi system. *Wehrwissenschaftlicher Rundschau*, 1961, 535ff.

41 *Der Panzer-Bär*, Apr 23, 1945.

42 British interrogation of General Eckhard Christian, Oct 15, 1945 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

43 Rach, interview publ. in *Penguin* (Rowohlt Verlag, Hamburg), May 1949 (in IfZ archives); and Behrend, No. 22, May 31, 1952.

44 USFET CIC interrogation of Gertrud Junge, Aug 30, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

45 Magda to Harald Quandt, Apr 28, 1945. Interrogation report of Hanna Reitsch, AIU/IS/5, British Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee, Oct 5, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

46 Ebermayer and Meissner, No. 26, Jun 28, 1952.

47 Trevor-Roper's interrogation of Gebhardt, Mar 27, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection); and USFET MISC special interrogation of SS Hauptsturmführer Günther Schwägermann, Jun 20, 1946 (ibid.; and NA file RG.332, Mis-Y). Ohlendorf confirmed this in CSDIC(UK) interrogation report SRGG.1322, Jul 7, 1945.

48 BBC Monitoring Report, Apr 23 (IWM archives); for Radio Werewolf's similar bulletin see *NYT*, Apr 24, 1945.

49 News bulletin issued by propaganda officer attached to Army Group Vistula, Apr 23, 1945: war diary, annexes (NA film T311, roll 170, 2211).

50 At 9:29 P.M. EST, America. JG had operated more than thirty powerful transmitters, which dominated the shortwave bands for twelve years and twenty-four days; the broadcasts to the USA were from 6 P.M. to 1:15 A.M. each night, featuring the antisemitic Robert Best (once a Press Association stringer in Vienna), Douglas Chandler ('Paul Revere') of Baltimore, Jane Anderson, the wisecracking Edward Delaney, and Donald Day. *NYT*, May 6, 1945.

51 Traudl Junge, unpubl. MS (IfZ, Irving collection).

52 Soviet interrogation of SS Sturmbannführer Helmut Kunz, reproduced in Lev Bezymenski, *Der Tod des Adolf Hitler* (Hamburg, 1968). The physical data on JG's children are extracted from the autopsies reproduced in this book.

53 The Göring telegram and Bormann's handwritten responses were found by a US officer, Capt. John Bradin, in the bunker in Jul 1945 (IfZ, Irving collection).

54 Junge, interrogation, Aug 30, 1946, and MS (IfZ, Irving collection).

55 Heinz Lorenz, verbatim shorthand notes on Hitler's final war conferences, first published in *Der Spiegel*, No. 3, Jan 10, 1966. Authenticated by the author's interview of Lorenz; by a letter of Capt. H. Searle of British Intelligence to CI War Room, London, Mar 5, 1946; and by CSDIC(WEA) interrogation of Lorenz, Nov 30, 1945 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

56 Interrogation report of Hanna Reitsch, AIU/IS/5, British Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee, Oct 5, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection); and Korf's interrogation of Reitsch, Apr 28, 1945 (Hoover Libr., Korf papers).

57 Diary, Nov 2, 1940.

58 Traudl Junge MS.

59 Magda to Harald Quandt, Apr 28, 1945.

60 Judge Michael A. Musmanno's interrogation of Gertrud (Traudl) Junge, Jan 26, 1948 (transcript from Musmanno papers in IfZ, Irving collection).

61 Lorenz, conference transcript, Apr 27, 1945.

62 Soviet interrogation of SS Sturmbannführer Helmut Kunz. Kunz, born 1910 in Ettingen, Baden, was in May 1945 adjutant of the chief physician of the SS Health dept.

63 Harald Quandt, now twenty-three, was held prisoner in Egypt from Nov 4, 1944 to Mar 10, 1947. He was killed after the war in an automobile accident.

64 JG to Harald Quandt, Apr 28, 1945. Interrogation report of Hanna Reitsch, AIU/IS/5, British Intelligence Objectives Sub-Committee, Oct 5, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

65 BBC Monitoring Report, Apr 28, 1945, 1:55 P.M. (IWM archives).

66 USFET MISC special interrogation of SS Hauptsturmführer Günther Schwägermann, Jun 20, 1946 (NA file RG.332, Mis-Y; and Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

67 USFET special interrogation of Gerda Christian, Apr 25, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection; and NA file RG.319, IRR, XE.009487); and BAOR interrogation of Nicolaus von Below, Jan 23, 1946 (ibid.; and NA file RG.332, Mis-Y).

68 Adolf Hitler, political testament, Apr 28, 1945 (Hoover Libr., special collection).

69 This was Gau-Inspekteur Walther Wagner. BAOR interrogation of Nicolaus von Below, Jan 23, 1946 (NA file RG.332, Mis-Y; and Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

70 USFET CIC interrogation of Gertrud (Traudl) Junge, Aug 30, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

71 The original wedding certificate, Apr 29, 1945, is in the Hoover Libr., special collection.

72 British interrogation of Else Krüger, Sep 25, 1945, and USFET interrogation of Gertrud Junge, Aug 30, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

73 USFET special interrogation of Gerda Christian, Apr 25, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection; and NA file RG.319, IRR, XE.009487).

74 USFET CIC interrogation of Gertrud Junge, Aug 30, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection). Gen. Wilhelm Burgdorf wrote to Schöner on Apr 29, 1945 enclosing Hitler's political testament and confirming that 'he wrote it today after the crushing news of the Reichsführer's act of disloyalty.'

75 Diary, Feb 28, Mar 14, 21, 22, 1945.

76 USFET CIC interrogation of Gertrud Junge, Aug 30, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection); and Junge MS.

77 Cf BBC Monitoring Report, Apr 29, 1945 (IWM archives)

78 *Der Spiegel*, Jan 24, 1951.

79 CSDIC(WEA) interrogation of Heinz Lorenz, Nov 30, 1945 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

80 Walter Rapp, interrogation of Axmann, Oct 16, 1947 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection); author's interview of Axmann, May 7, 1991.

81 USFET CIC interrogation of Gertrud Junge, Aug 30, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection); and Junge MS.

82 Author's interview of Otto Günsche, Mar 20, 1967; report by HQ tailor Willi Müller, Nov 9, 1945 (NA file RG.319, IRR, XE.009487).

Notes to Epilogue

1 Author's interview of Günsche, and letter, Oct 16, 1968; and statement by Erich Kempka, chauffeur, on Hitler's last days, Berchtesgaden, Jun 20, 1945 (Pennsylvania univ. Libr., No.46M-15).

2 USFET MISC special interrogation of SS Hauptsturmführer Günter Schwägermann, Jun 20, 1946 (NA file RG.332, Mis-Y; and Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

3 Interrogation of Axmann, Apr 27, 1948 (Hoover Libr., Korf papers).

4 USFET special interrogation of Gerda Christian, Apr 25, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection; and NA file RG.319, IRR, XE.009487).

5 The Krebs-Chuikov-JG negotiations are well researched in Erich Kuby, *Die Russen in Berlin, 1945* (Munich, 1965); *Der Spiegel*, No. 24, 1965; there is further detail on them in Bezymenski. On Krebs, formally Chef der Führungsgruppe des Generalstabs des Heeres, see CSDIC(UK) report SIR.1593, Apr 1, 1945. On May 12, 1945 'Franz' stated that 'Pfiffi' Krebs spoke fluent Russian and 'has been received by Stalin personally umpteen times' (CSDIC(UK) report, GRGG.292).

6 British interrogations of Else Krüger Sep 19, 1945 and Mar 27, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

7 Statement by Erich Kempka, chauffeur, on Hitler's last days, Berchtesgaden, Jun 20, 1945 (Pennsylvania univ. Libr., No. 46M-15); SS Brigadeführer Johann Rattenhuber, chief of Hitler's security, told Hugh Trevor-Roper on Oct 30, 1955 that SS Sturmbannführer Franz Schädle had buried the bodies of Hitler and Eva Braun (IfZ file ZS.637). Schädle, injured in one foot, killed himself soon after.

8 Axmann.

9 Kempka.

10 USFET CIC interrogation of Gertrud Junge, Aug 30, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

11 Originals and code-strips of these telegrams are in BA file R.62/8, and see NA film T77, roll 867. Cf Walther Lüdde-Neurath, *Regierung Dönitz. Die letzten Tage des Dritten Reiches* (Göttingen, 1964), 130.

12 The clothing was listed in the Soviet autopsy report on JG, May 9, 1945; Bezymenski, 111ff.

13 Else Krüger, cited by Associated Press, Jun 1, 1946, and British interrogations of Sep 19, 1945 and Mar 27, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection); USFET special interrogation of Gerda Christian, Apr 25, 1946 (ibid.; and NA file RG.319, IRR, XE.009487).

14 Interview of Axmann, May 7, 1991.

15 JG to Dönitz, May 1, 1945, received 3:18 P.M. Dönitz's file copy is in BA file R.62/8, and see PRO file FO.371/46914.

16 British interrogations of Else Krüger Sep 19, 1945 and Mar 27, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection); and statement of General Antonov, commanding 301st Guards division, publ. in *Der Spiegel*, No. 24, 1965.

17 Soviet interrogation of SS Sturmabführer Helmut Kunz, May 7, 1945. Hans Bauer, in *Ich flog Mächtige der Erde* (Kempten, 1956), 273, wrote that Magda had told him she had selected a dentist to give her children the fatal injections.

18 At the time that Gerda Christian left, 5 P.M., the children were dead but JG still alive.

19 Soviet interrogation of SS Sturmabführer Helmut Kunz.

20 Bezymenski published the autopsy reports (with details of the nightdresses, etc.).

21 In his first interrogation Kunz was less specific than in his second (on May 19) about Stumpfegger's role as the actual killer, not wanting to incriminate him; Stumpfegger had however killed himself on May 2, 1945 (the next day). An indirect version of Kunz's testimony was given by Soviet colonel Ivan Klimenko, who interrogated him, in *Der Spiegel*, No. 19, May 5, 1965.

22 Autopsy report on Hellmut.

23 Heinz Linge, interrogated at Hamburg magistrates' court, May 31, 1956 (IfZ file F82, Heiber papers).

24 SS Hauptsturmführer Alfred Rach, interview publ. in *Pinguin* (Rowohlt Verlag, Hamburg) May 1949 (in IfZ archives).

25 Statement by Erich Kempka, chauffeur, on Hitler's last days, Berchtesgaden, Jun 20, 1945 (Pennsylvania univ. Libr., No. 46M-15); USFET CIC interrogation of Gertrud Junge, Aug 30, 1946 (Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection); and USFET special interrogation of Gerda Christian, Apr 25, 1946 (ibid.; and NA file RG.319, IRR, XE.009487).

26 USFET MISC special interrogation of SS Hauptsturmführer Günther Schwägermann, Jun 20, 1946 (NA file RG.332, Mis-Y; and Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection).

27 Korf interrogation of Axmann, Apr 27 (Hoover Libr., Korf papers); and Nuremberg interrogation of Naumann, Oct 10, 1947 (IfZ file ZS.361).

28 Fritzsche is certain about the time. Interrogation of Sep 17, 1946 (StA Nuremberg, F86).

29 USFET MISC special interrogation of SS Hauptsturmführer Günther Schwägermann, Jun 20, 1946 (NA file RG.332, Mis-Y; and Trevor-Roper papers, IfZ, Irving collection); and testimony of Feb 16, 1948 (IfZ file F82, Heiber papers).

30 Bezymenski later admitted that he had faked parts of the autopsies that he published, e.g. to conceal that Hitler *had* shot himself.

31 The photos of JG's corpse being viewed by Klimenko appear to show a bullet wound in the right neck. Schwägermann told Kempka (*Ich habe Adolf*

Hitler verbrannt [Munich, 1948], 127) that JG shot himself, and Magda took poison.

32 In fact this is known to pathologists as the 'pugilist' position, common in fire victims in consequence of the shrinking and tautening of muscles in the heat.

Abbreviations

AA	Auswärtiges Amt, German foreign ministry.
ADI(K)	British Air Ministry's Assistant Directorate of Intelligence: interrogation and captured documents section
AL/	File numbers assigned by CO Enemy Documents Sections; documents now in IWM
ARP	Air Raid Precautions
BA	Bundesarchiv, the German federal archives
BAOR	British Army on the Rhine
BDC	Berlin Document Center (of U.S. Mission, Berlin)
-C	A Nuremberg Document Series (<i>e.g.</i> 100-C)
CAB	Cabinet File (in the PRO)
CCPWE	U.S. Army Interrogation series (now in NA)
CIC	Counter Intelligence Corps of the U.S. Army
CIR	Consolidated Interrogation Report (U.S. Army)
CO	Cabinet Office file
CSDIC	Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Center
D-	Nuremberg document series
DAZ	<i>Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
DBFP	<i>Documents on British Foreign Policy</i>
DDI	<i>Documenti Diplomatici Italiani</i>
DGFP	<i>Documents on German Foreign Policy</i>
DI-	Film in author's personal microfilm collection (see page ix).
DIC	Detailed Interrogation Center (<i>see</i> CSDIC)
DIS	Detailed Interrogation Summary (US Army)
DNB	Deutsche Nachrichten-Büro
EC-	A Nuremberg Document series
ED-	An IfZ document series
F-	An IfZ document series
FA	Forschungsamt, literally Research Office: Göring's wiretap agency
FAZ	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
FCC	Federal Communications Commission
FD-	Foreign Documents, a British series of unpublished captured documents, currently held by Imperial War Museum, London
FDR	Franklin D. Roosevelt
FIR	Final Interrogation Report (U.S. Army Interrogation)
FO	Foreign Office, London
FRUS	Foreign Relations of the United States
G-	A file in the Yivo archives, New York.
GB-	British documentary exhibit at Nuremberg

694 ABBREVIATIONS

GRGG	CSDIC document series
II H—	German army file, in BA, Freiburg
IZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Institute of Contemporary History, Munich
IIR	Interim Interrogation Report (U.S. Army interrogation)
IMT	International Military Tribunal: Trial of the Major German War Criminals at Nuremberg
IWM	Imperial War Museum, London
JG	Joseph Goebbels
Kl. Erw.	Kleine Erwerbung, a minor accession by BA, Koblenz
L—	A Nuremberg document series
46-M	Interrogations at Berchtesgaden, 1945, now in library of University of Pennsylvania
MA—	IZ microfilm series
MD	Milch Documents, original RLM files now restituted by the British government to BA, Freiburg; microfilms of them are available from the NA and the Imperial War Museum, London.
MGFA	Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, German defense ministry historical research section in Freiburg
MI	Military Intelligence branch (British)
MISC	Military Intelligence Service Center (U.S. Army interrogations)
ML—	NA microfilm service
MNN	<i>Münchner Neueste Nachrichten</i>
MS	Unpublished manuscript or typescript
NL	<i>Nachlass</i> , the papers of a German personage, now held by BA
NA	National Archives, Washington, DC
ND	Nuremberg Document
NG—	A Nuremberg document series
NO—	A Nuremberg document series
NOKW—	A Nuremberg document series
NS.	Collection of Nazi documents in BA, Koblenz; e.g. NS.10
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei
NYT	<i>New York Times</i>
OCMH	Office of the Chief of Military History, Washington, DC
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht
OMGUS	Office of Military Government of the United States
O.Qu.	<i>Oberquartiermeister</i> , Quartermaster
OWI	Office of War Information
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
PG/	Files of German admiralty, now held by BA, Freiburg
PID	Political Intelligence Division of the FO
PRO	Public Record Office, London
—PS	A Nuremberg document series
PSF	President's Safe File, in FDR Library
PWE	Political Warfare Executive
R—	A Nuremberg document series (e.g. R-100)
RG	Record Group
RGBI.	<i>Reichsgesetzblatt</i>
RIR	Reinterrogation Report (US Army)

RMVP	Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda
RPA	Reichspropaganda-Amt
RPL	Reichspropagandaleitung
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshaupt-Amt
SA	Sturm-Abteilung
SAIC	US Seventh Army interrogation
SD	Sicherheitsdienst
SIR	CSDIC document series
SRGG	CSDIC document series
SS	Schutz-Staffel
StA	Staatsarchiv
T	NA microfilm series, e.g. T78 refers to Microcopy T78.
USAMHI	U.S. Army Military History Institute (Carlisle, Pa.)
USFET	U.S. Forces, European Theatre
USSBS	U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey
VB	<i>Völkischer Beobachter</i>
VfZ	<i>Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte</i> , quarterly published by IfZ
X-	OCHM documents series, now in NA
X-P	DIC interrogation series (prisoner's conversation recorded by hidden microphones, as at CSDIC)
YIVO	Yivo Archives for Jewish research (New York, NY)
ZS	<i>Zeugenschrift</i> , collection by IfZ of written and oral testimonies
ZSg	<i>Zeitschriftensammlung</i> , newspaper cuttings collection in BA, Koblenz
ZStA	Zentrales Staatsarchiv (Potsdam, Germany); its records have now been taken over by the BA

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NOTES
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Fest

Notes

On the whole, German language material has been newly translated for the purposes of this book, even when the reference is to an original English publication (such as Alan Bullock's *Hitler*). *Mein Kampf*, however, is uniformly quoted in Ralph Manheim's translation (with some emendations approved by him), currently available in paperback (Sentry Edition), published by Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. Short references, consisting of author's name and page number only, are fully listed in the bibliography.

The notes are not restricted solely to sources but frequently develop various subjects discussed in the text; therefore, proper names of people appearing in expository sections of the notes will be found in the index.

Where English translations of foreign works have been published, they are mentioned in the bibliography following the entry for the original work.

For this edition the author has cut the notes by about half; readers interested in the full apparatus are referred to the German edition.

PROLOGUE

1. This Ranke quotation is cited in one of Konrad Heiden's books. The author is aware of his indebtedness to Heiden in many respects. His was the earliest historical study of the phenomena of Hitler and National Socialism, and in the boldness of its inquiry and the freedom of its judgment it remains exemplary to the present day.
2. Speech of February 24, 1937, in the Munich Hofbräuhaus; see Kotze and Krausnick, p. 107.
3. Trevor-Roper, ed., Foreword to *Le Testament politique de Hitler*, p. 13.
4. Speech of May 20, 1937; see Kotze and Krausnick, p. 223.
5. Jacob Burckhardt, *Force and Freedom: Reflections on History*, pp. 313 ff. With Hitler in mind, Gottfried Benn in a famous letter to Klaus Mann specifically referred to Burckhardt's observation. Benn wrote: "But here and now you may constantly hear the question: did Hitler create the Movement or did the Movement create him? This question is significant; the two cannot be distinguished because they are both identical. What is really in-

involved here is that mysterious coincidence of the individual and the communal that Burckhardt speaks of in his *Reflections on History*, when he describes the great men who have moved history. Great men—it is all there: the dangers of the beginning, their appearance almost always in times of terror, the enormous perseverance, the abnormal facility in all things, especially in organic functions; but then also the premonition of all thinking persons that he is the one to accomplish things that are essential and that only he can accomplish." Gottfried Benn, *Gesammelte Werke* IV, pp. 246 f.

6. Jacob Burckhardt, p. 339.
7. Thomas Mann, "Bruder Hitler," in: *Gesammelte Werke* XII, p. 778.
8. Kühn, "Der deutsche Faschismus," in: *Neue politische Literatur*, 1970:1, p. 13.
9. Jacob Burckhardt, p. 325.
10. Hitler speaking to the chiefs of the Wehrmacht in the chancellery on May 23, 1939; see Domarus, p. 1197.
11. *Mein Kampf*, p. 353.
12. Jacob Burckhardt, p. 325.

BOOK I

1. Cf. Dietrich, *Zwölf Jahre*, p. 149. See also Heiden, *Geschichte*, p. 75.
2. Ribbentrop, p. 45.
3. Maser, *Hitler*, p. 34. For Frank's story see Frank, *Im Angesicht des Galgens*, pp. 320 f.; also Maser, *Hitler*, pp. 26 f. Maser cannot, of course, prove his thesis. Nevertheless, he advances his argument as if it were conclusive. Even the fact that Hüttler waited until after his wife's death to legitimize Alois is, to Maser, in favor of his argument, although that fact suggests just the opposite of his conclusion. It is reasonable to assume that Hüttler would have been prompted to such an act of consideration only if he wished to admit that he himself was the father and had legitimized Alois as his own son. All the other arguments are equally dubious. In general, Maser cannot suggest any plausible motive for Hüttler's conduct. It is a very old assumption that Hüttler insisted on the change of name as a condition for appointing Alois Schicklgruber his heir; cf., for instance, Kubizek, p. 59. We must add that the question of who Hitler's grandfather was is really of secondary importance. Only Hans Frank's version could have given it a new psychological dimension; aside from that, it is merely a matter of minor interest.
4. *Mein Kampf*, p. 6.
5. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 8, 10.
6. *Mein Kampf*, p. 10.
7. *Mein Kampf*, p. 18. Hitler alleged a "serious lung ailment," but the assertion will not hold water. Cf. Jetzinger, p. 148; also Heiden, *Hitler* I, p. 28. The episode is also reported in Zoller, p. 49, where Hitler traces his dislike for alcohol back to it. On the incident of the discarded report card cf. Maser, *Hitler*, pp. 68 ff.
8. Kubizek repeatedly stresses Hitler's striking tendency to confound dream

and reality. See, for example, pp. 100 f. For the episode of the lottery ticket (which follows here), see pp. 127 ff.

9. Kubizek, p. 79.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 140 ff. However, the scene appears to have been exaggerated and retouched. On the whole, Kubizek's credibility is suspect. His memoirs were conceived with the intention of glorifying Hitler. The value of the book consists less in demonstrable facts than in the descriptions and character judgments that quite often emerge against the author's will.
11. *Mein Kampf*, p. 5. Hitler speaks of the "lovely dream" on p. 18. Cf. the letter to Kubizek dated August 4, 1933, in which Hitler speaks of the "best years of my life"; facsimile in Kubizek, p. 32.
12. Oral communication from Albert Speer. On Hitler's fantasy of withdrawing from politics see *Tischgespräche*, pp. 167 f.
13. Cf. Andics, p. 192. Also, for this and the previously mentioned facts and statistics: Jenks, pp. 113 ff. In 1913, 29 per cent of the students in the Faculty of Medicine were Jews, 20.5 per cent in the Faculty of Law, and 16.3 per cent in the Faculty of Philosophy. By contrast, the Jewish proportion among criminals was 6.3 per cent, considerably lower than the Jewish proportion in the population at large. Cf. Jenks, pp. 121 f.
14. *Mein Kampf*, p. 19. The following "classification list" is printed in Heiden, *Hitler* I, p. 30 (*Der Führer*, p. 52).
15. *Mein Kampf*, p. 20.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
17. Quoted in Maser, *Hitler*, pp. 82 ff. Cf. also the report of the Vienna Gestapo dated December 30, 1941, quoted in Smith, p. 113.
18. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 21 f.
19. We owe the precise calculation of Hitler's monthly income to Franz Jetzinger, who with pedantic ingenuity has tracked down all the sources of such income. The comparison to the earnings of a junior magistrate is also his. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that at this time Mussolini was employed in Austrian Trent as editor-in-chief of *L'Avvenire del Lavoratore* and secretary of the socialist Labor Bureau. For these two jobs he received a total income of 120 crowns—not much more than Hitler's income as one of the unemployed. See Kirkpatrick, *Mussolini*.
20. Kubizek, pp. 126, 210–20, 256 f., 307. Also Jetzinger, pp. 194 ff. For Hitler's remark that he heard *Tristan* in Vienna thirty or forty times, see Cameron and Stevens, *Hitler's Secret Conversations*, pp. 270 f. Jenks, p. 202, has shown that during Hitler's years in Vienna Richard Wagner was incontestably the most popular operatic composer; at the Hofoper alone Wagner operas were given on at least 426 evenings during that period.
21. *Tischgespräche*, pp. 275, 323, 422. Also Kubizek, p. 199, describes Hitler venting his anger upon the Academy. This must refer to his first rejection, since Kubizek was not in Vienna at the time of the second rejection and saw nothing of Hitler again after he returned.
22. *Mein Kampf*, p. 23. In much the same sense Stefan Zweig notes in *Die Welt von gestern*, p. 50, "the worst threat that existed in the bourgeois world was falling back into the proletariat." See also Heiden, *Geschichte*, p. 16.

23. Greiner, p. 25. Greiner's memories of Hitler raise many questions. In contrast to Kubizek he has no proof of the close acquaintanceship that he claims to have had with Hitler. Nevertheless, his work does contain a number of hints that increase our knowledge. His evidence can be used, however, only to the extent that it is supported by other accounts, or by other examples of similar behavior on Hitler's part.
24. *Mein Kampf*, p. 40.
25. Cf. Wilfried Daim, *Der Mann, der Hitler die Ideen gab*. Lanz considered Hitler his disciple; he named, among other disciples who had early seen the importance of his doctrines, Lord Kitchener and Lenin! This fact sheds considerable light on Lanz himself and the pathological structure of his thought. His principal work, published in 1905, bore the illuminating title: *Theozöologie oder die Kunde von den Sodoms-Afflingen und dem Götter-Elektron. Eine Einführung in die älteste und neueste Weltanschauung und eine Rechtfertigung des Fürstentumes und des Adels* ("Theo-zoology or the Lore of the Sodom-Apelings and the Electron of the Gods. An Introduction into the Oldest and Newest Philosophy and a Justification of Royalty and Nobility"). The blue-blond "Arioheroicans" were in his view "master-pieces of the gods," equipped with electric organs and even transmitters. By eugenic concentration and breeding for purity the Arioheroic race was to be redeveloped and once again provided with the divine electromagnetic-radiological organs and powers it had lost. The age's anxiety feelings, elitist leanings toward secret societies, fashionable idolization of Science by dabblers in the sciences, all tied together by a considerable dose of intellectual and personal fraud, combined to shape this doctrine.
- Daim surely overestimates Lanz's influence on Hitler; it seems certain that this influence did not extend beyond the limits described in the text. The situation is obviously different in regard to several other Nazi leaders, such as Darré and above all Heinrich Himmler. Directly or indirectly, in both the breeding catalogues of the SS Race and Settlement Bureau and in the practice of exterminating "unfit" lives, or Jews, Slavs, and gypsies, the weird and murderous notions of Lanz von Liebenfels in a way persisted.
26. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 56 ff.
27. Greiner, p. 110. Cf. Bullock, *Hitler*, p. 39; but see also Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, p. 26.
28. *Mein Kampf*, p. 325. The assurance, urged as "a certainty," that Hitler had no relations with women in Linz or Vienna, comes from Kubizek and of course applies only to the time Kubizek spent with Hitler (Kubizek, p. 276).
29. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 55, 69.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
31. Maser, *Frühgeschichte*, p. 92, has a different opinion; he maintains that Kubizek was in the right as against Hitler, but adduces no evidence to justify his view. For the cited phrases from Hitler see *Mein Kampf*, pp. 39 f., where Hitler also admits that his knowledge of union organization at the time he began work at the building site was still "practically non-existent." There is no reason to doubt this assertion. Hitler's anti-Semitism

- at this time was not yet thoroughgoing or consistent. As late as 1936 Hanisch, his companion from the home for men, insisted that Hitler in Vienna had not been an anti-Semite. Hanisch presented an extensive list of Jews with whom Hitler had allegedly maintained cordial relations. Cf. Smith, p. 149.
32. Cf. *Jahrbuch der KK Zentralanstalt für Meteorologie*, 1909, pp. A 108, A 118, cited in Smith, p. 127. Werner Maser (*Frühgeschichte*, p. 77) has challenged Konrad Heiden and the historians deriving from him. Making downright assertions on a flimsy foundation, Maser argues that financial reasons would "with certainty" not have forced Hitler to seek shelter in a doss-house. But in calculating Hitler's financial situation Maser has assumed that Hitler's inheritance from his father was available to him as a permanent annuity. In reality it amounted to about 700 crowns and, depending on how quickly Hitler spent it, was bound to be used up sooner or later. Maser is so bent on showing that Hitler had financial security that he even suggests the possibility (and in a later passage terms it a probability) that Hitler lived in the doss-house "because he wanted to study the conditions there."
33. Heiden, *Hitler I*, p. 43. Some interesting details on the home for men are to be found in Jenks, pp. 26 ff. According to Jenks, the home was restricted to persons with an income of under 1,500 crowns per year. It had 544 beds and was the fourth project of this type built by a foundation committed to alleviating the housing shortage. From 1860 to 1900 the population of Vienna had risen by 259 per cent; after Berlin (281 per cent) this was the steepest increase in Europe. Paris, for example, showed a population increase of only 60 per cent during the same period. The statistics obtained by Jenks show that in the eight predominantly proletarian districts of Vienna there was an average of 4.0 to 5.2 persons per room.
34. *Mein Kampf*, p. 34.
35. Thomas Mann, "Sufferings and Greatness of Richard Wagner," in: *Essays of Three Decades.*
36. *Rauschning, Gespräche*, pp. 215 f. Also Albert Speer in a note to the author dated September 15, 1969.
37. Thomas Mann, *Gesammelte Werke* 12, pp. 775 f.
38. Friedrich Percyval Reck-Malleczewski, *Diary of a Man in Despair*, p. 24.
39. *Mein Kampf*, p. 41; also Kubizek, p. 220.
40. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 42 ff.
41. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, I, p. 352.
42. Bullock, p. 36; for this whole context cf. also Hans-Günter Zmarzlik, "Social Darwinism as a Historical Problem," in: Hajo Holborn, ed., *Republik to Reich*.
43. *Tischgespräche*, pp. 179, 226, 245, 361, 447; many other similar phrases may be found in the table talk and in the wartime speeches.
44. Robert W. Gutman, *Richard Wagner*, p. 309.
45. *Mein Kampf*, p. 128.
46. Thomas Mann, *Gesammelte Werke* 9, p. 176.

47. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 123 f.
48. For the complex of motives governing his departure from Vienna cf. *Mein Kampf*, p. 123.
49. The description of this affair of the call-up follows the conclusions of Jetzinger, pp. 253 ff. He also deserves the credit for having uncovered the circumstances.
50. *Mein Kampf*, p. 158.
51. Thomas Mann, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, p. 461.
52. Around the turn of the century Georges Sorel popularized this remark of Proudhon's. The quotation reads in full: "War is the orgasm of universal life which fructifies and moves chaos, the prelude for all creations, and which like Christ the Saviour triumphs beyond death through death itself." Quoted in Freund, *Abendglanz Europas*, p. 9. "Sacred Hymns" was the title Gabriele d'Annunzio gave to the collection of his poems pleading for Italy's entry into the war (*Gli inni sacri della guerra giusta*).
53. *Mein Kampf*, p. 163.
54. *Mein Kampf*, p. 164.
55. Hitler's letter to Justizassessor Hepp in February, 1915; photocopy in the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich. The previous remark is quoted from Fritz Wiedemann, *Der Mann der Feldherr werden wollte*, p. 29. The cited letter indicates that it deserves credence even in this somewhat deprecatory phrasing; it is the more credible because it trenchantly characterizes Hitler's general manner of expressing his ideas, right down to the table talk of later years. Cf. also Wiedemann, p. 24, and *Mein Kampf*, pp. 166 f.
56. *Mein Kampf*, p. 190.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
58. All these quotations *ibid.*, pp. 182 ff.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
60. Regrettably, Hitler's medical file disappeared even before 1933, and has not been recovered. Hitler's military papers merely note tersely that he was "gassed." The chemical in question was mustard gas, the effects of which generally did not blind, but greatly reduced sight and sometimes occasioned temporary blindness.
61. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 202 f.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 204.
63. Communication from Speer to the author. The remark was made on the occasion of Hitler's visit to Speer's sickbed in Klessheim Palace. See Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, p. 335. The above-mentioned speech is that of February 15, 1942. In context the passage reads: "How important is a world that I myself can see if it is repressive, if my own people are enslaved? In that case, what can I see worth seeing?" The text is cited from Kotze and Krausnick, p. 322. See also Maser, *Frühgeschichte*, p. 127. Maser quotes a personal communication from General Vincenz Müller, who allegedly informed General von Bredow, on orders from Schleicher, that Hitler's blindness had been solely "hysterical in nature." But on the wartime personnel roster Hitler was recorded as wounded, "gassed."
64. *Mein Kampf*, p. 293.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 204 f.
66. Kessler, *Tagebücher 1918-1937*, p. 173.
67. Preiss, p. 38 (speech of March 23, 1927).
68. Kessler, p. 206.
69. Winston Churchill, as quoted in Deuerlein, *Aufstieg*, p. 23 (without source).
70. *Mein Kampf*, p. 207. On the question of the red armband see Maser, *Frühgeschichte*, p. 132. Ernst Deuerlein has even argued that in the winter of 1918-19 Hitler entertained the notion of joining the Social Democratic Party. See Deuerlein, *Aufstieg*, p. 80.
71. *Mein Kampf*, p. 208.
72. *Mein Kampf*, p. 206.

INTERPOLATION I

1. Ernest Niekisch in: *Widerstand* III, 11, issue of November, 1928. See also Hitler in the special issue of the *VB* (*Völkischer Beobachter*) of January 3, 1921, and in the speech of September 22, 1920, also of April 12, 1922, which show broad variations on the same theme. The *VB* of July 19, 1922, for example, called Germany the "ideological training ground for international finance," a "colony" of the victorious powers. Hitler sometimes denounced the Reich government as a "bailiff for the Allies" and the Weimar Constitution as the "law for enforcing the Treaty of Versailles"; cf. also Hitler's speech of November 30, 1922 (this speech, as well as those mentioned in the following notes for which no other source is given, will be found in the corresponding issue of the *VB*).
2. *Münchener Beobachter*, October 4, 1919. This is the sheet from which the *Völkische Beobachter* later emerged; the quoted article purports to be a missive from an unnamed Catholic clergyman of Basel.
3. "Krasnij Terror," October 1, 1918, quoted by Nolte, *Faschismus*, p. 24.
4. Hitler's memorandum on the expansion of the NSDAP of October 22, 1922, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Abt. 1, 1509. The proclamation of the National Socialist Party headquarters cited earlier is printed in *VB*, July 19, 1922.
5. See the speech of April 12, 1922. For Hitler's other assertions see the speeches of July 28, 1922; April 27, 1920; September 22, 1920; April 21, 1922; and the article in *VB* for January 1, 1921. Rosenberg, who obviously helped to shape the notions about atrocities in Russia, wrote in the *VB* of April 15, 1922, that Russia had "during Lenin's 'government' become a battered strewn with corpses, an inferno in which millions upon millions of persons wander about famished, where millions are diseased, starved, and have died a miserable death on deserted roads." The following quotation is taken from Hitler's Reichstag speech of March 7, 1936. See Domarus, p. 587.
6. Karl Jaspers, *Man in the Modern Age*, p. 10.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
8. Bertolt Brecht, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main, 1967, pp. 561 ff.

9. Thorstein Veblen, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*, p. 86.
10. Julien Benda, *The Betrayal of the Intellectuals*, p. 135.
11. Friedrich Nietzsche, "The Dawn," in: Walter Kaufmann, ed. and trans., *The Portable Nietzsche*, p. 84.
12. Hermann Bahr, *Der Antisemitismus. Ein internationales Interview*. Bahr's publication was based on conversations with many German and European writers and people in public life.
13. Werner Sombart, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, pp. 140 f. See also the thoughtful comments on it in Eva G. Reichmann, *Flucht in den Hass*, pp. 82 ff. But cf. also Franz Neumann, *Behemoth*, p. 121. Neumann argued that anti-Semitism in Germany was extremely feeble and that the German people were "the least anti-Semitic"; this very fact, he held, was what made anti-Semitism a suitable weapon for Hitler.
14. *VB*, April 6, 1920. Arthur Moeller van den Bruck spoke of the "German mania for taking over all the ideas of the Westerners," as though it were an honor to be received into the circle of the liberal nations.
15. *Libres propos*, p. 225. After eating, Hitler regularly rinsed his mouth; out of doors he almost always wore gloves, at least in his later years. Cf. also Kubizek, p. 286. The fear of venereal infection was, it is true, the prevailing anxiety of that whole generation. Zweig, *Die Welt von gestern*, pp. 105 ff., speaks of the extent to which it dominated people's minds in Vienna.
16. The quotations and references are taken from, in order, *VB* of March 3, 1920, September 12, 1920, January 10, 1923, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 233 ff. and 257 ff. For this whole context cf. Nolte, *Epoche*, pp. 480 ff., where the central importance of anxiety as a factor in Hitler's conduct as a whole is discussed. Similarly, Franz Neumann in his "Notizen zur Theorie der Diktatur" has pointed out the function of anxiety in the totalitarian state. See his *Demokratischer und autoritärer Staat*, pp. 242 ff. and 261 ff., where the verdict is rendered that Germany in that phase of its history was "the land of alienation and anxiety."
17. *Tischgespräche*, p. 471.
18. Preiss, p. 152; also *VB* of January 1, 1921, and March 10, 1920—which, incidentally, appeared under the banner headline of: "Clean Out the Jews!" The article demanded immediate expulsion of all Jews who had immigrated after August 1, 1914, and the removal of all others from "all government posts, newspapers, theaters, and motion picture houses." Special "collection camps" were to be set up to receive them.
19. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 65, 247, 249.
20. Stefan George, "Das Neue Reich," in: *Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 9.
21. George L. Mosse, "Die Entstehung des Faschismus," in: *Internationaler Faschismus 1920–1945*, p. 29.

BOOK II

1. In the proclamations of the Bavarian People's Party (April 9, 1919), of the Bavarian Landtag (April 19), and in a report of the Bavarian

- Gruppenkommando* on "The Bolshevik Danger and Ways of Fighting It" (July 15, 1919), the new men were indiscriminately equated with "elements alien to country and race," "foreign, politicizing Jews," "unscrupulous alien scoundrels" from the prisons and penitentiaries, "Jewish rascals," and "misleaders of labor." See Franz-Willing, *Die Hitlerbewegung*, pp. 32 ff. This crude propaganda always put Eisner on a par with the Communist leaders Lewien, Leviné, and Axelrod, all of whom were in fact Russian *émigrés*. The influence of that association has persisted to this day.
2. Josef Hofmiller, "Revolutionstagebuch 1918/1919," in *Schriften* 2, Leipzig, 1938, p. 211. As for the number of victims, the extremely bitter fighting between April 30 and May 8, 1919, took a total of 557 lives, according to the police inquiry. In a report of the army's Military History Research Institute on "The Repression of Soviet Rule in Bavaria in 1919," published in 1939, the total is subjected to analysis. Of these 557 persons "38 White and 93 Red soldiers, 7 citizens and 7 Russians, fell in battle. In summary executions under martial law 42 members of the Red Army and 144 civilians were shot. No fewer than 184 innocent persons were killed either because of their own foolishness or unfortunate mischance. In forty-two cases the cause of death could not be ascertained. Three hundred and three wounded persons were reported." Different figures are given by Maser, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 40 f. Cf. also Emil Gumbel, *Verräter verfallen der Feme*, p. 36 *passim*.
 3. *Mein Kampf*, p. 208. The reference is to Feder's crackpot idea of "smashing interest slavery"; as one of the lecturers he was trying to popularize this notion in his talks.
 4. See Ernst Deuerlein, "Hitlers Eintritt in die Politik und die Reichswehr," in *VJHfZ* 1959: 2, p. 179. Incidentally, Hitler was not, as he puts it in *Mein Kampf*, p. 215, appointed as an "educational officer," but was carried on the roster as a "liaison man." It is a moot question whether his motive in covering up his real activity was a desire to share in the prestige of bourgeois education or in that of officer's rank, or whether he merely wanted to avoid the dubious repute of liaison man, which implied "informer."
 5. The full text of Hitler's letter, which is dated September 16, 1919, is printed by Deuerlein, "Hitlers Eintritt in die Politik und die Reichswehr," pp. 201 ff.
 6. In order to lessen Drexler's importance, Hitler does not give his name ("I had not quite understood his name"). Instead, he repeatedly speaks of him as "that worker," or uses similar phrases. When at last he has to mention Drexler as the chairman, he does so without indicating that it was Drexler who pressed the pamphlet on him. See *Mein Kampf*, pp. 219 ff.
 7. *Mein Kampf*, p. 224. Also Adolf Hitler, "10 Jahre Kampf," in: *Illustrierter Beobachter*, IV:31 (August 3, 1929).
 8. *Mein Kampf*, p. 355.
 9. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 293, 353.
 10. Cf. the record of the Munich Political Intelligence Service in Reginald

- H. Phelps, "Hitler als Parteiredner im Jahre 1920," in: *VJHFZ* 1963:3, pp. 292 ff. Phelps also relates the story of the finding of the documents he reproduces. Hitler's romanticizing, exaggerated account of the meeting may be found in *Mein Kampf*, pp. 365 ff.
11. The importance of the program was long underestimated, and it was often dismissed as a mere opportunistic propaganda trick. That opinion overlooks the seriousness and the anxious sincerity of those who drafted the program. Hitler himself, moreover, was at that time not playing the kind of part that this interpretation assumes. Recently, more balanced evaluations of the party program have begun to appear; cf., for example, Jacobsen and Jochmann, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, p. 24, or Nolte, *Epoche*, p. 392. A different view is taken by Bracher, *Diktatur*, p. 98.
 12. On the "Protocols" see Günter Schubert, *Anfänge nationalsozialistischer Aussenpolitik*, pp. 33 ff. In the first Hitler speech for which the full text is available, the speech of August 13, 1920, Hitler used many themes from the "Protocols." Cf. Phelps, "Hitlers grundlegende Rede über den Antisemitismus," *VJHFZ*, 1968:4, p. 398.
 13. Cf. *Mein Kampf*, p. 170, where Hitler states that "movements with a definite spiritual foundation . . . can . . . only be broken with technical instruments of power if these physical weapons are at the same time the support of a new thought, idea or philosophy." Two pages further on he writes: "Any attempt to combat a philosophy with methods of violence will fail in the end, unless the fight takes the form of attack for a new spiritual attitude." Similar statements may be found in Hitler's speech of August 13, 1920, *VJHFZ*, 1968:4, pp. 415, 417.
 14. Rauschning, *Gespräche*, pp. 174 f.
 15. *Mein Kampf*, p. 485.
 16. Deuerlein, "Eintritt," p. 211 (Doc. 19) and p. 215 (Doc. 24).
 17. Dietrich Eckart admitted in *VB*, July 15, 1922, that he had personally received 60,000 marks from General von Epp. The newspaper cost 120,000 marks, and in addition had debts amounting to 250,000 marks. This liability was also assumed by the NSDAP. Hitler himself declared that he "paid a heavy price" for his foolishness at the time; and it appears that the party had to bear the burden of these debts until 1933. As one method of supporting the newspaper, every party member undertook to subscribe to the *VB*; from January, 1921, on the membership dues of .50 mark were supplemented by an equal sum for the support of the party newspaper. The circulation remained static at first, then dropped to almost 8,000 before rising, in the spring of 1922, to 17,500 subscribers. Cf. Dietrich Orlow, *The History of the Nazi Party 1919-1933*, p. 22.
 18. Report by Heinrich Derbacher of a meeting with Dietrich Eckart in January, 1920. From the posthumous papers of Anton Drexler, quoted in Deuerlein, *Aufstieg*, p. 104; also, with further quotations, Nolte, *Epoche*, p. 403.
 19. Konrad Heiden, *Hitler, a Biography*, cited by Bullock, p. 81.
 20. Karl Alexander von Müller, *Im Wandel einer Welt*, p. 129.
 21. *Libres propos*, p. 151.

22. Cf. especially the speeches in *VJHFZ* 1963:3, pp. 289 ff. and *VJHFZ* 1968:4, pp. 412 ff.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 107 ff. The party committee's reply is also printed here.
24. Quoted in: Rudolf Hess, *der Stellvertreter des Führers*, no author indicated; published in the series *Zeitungsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1933, pp. 9 ff.
25. Rauschning, *Gespräche*, p. 81.
26. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 504-06.
27. Speech of August 1, 1923, quoted in Boepple, p. 72.
28. Hitler in *VB*, August 30, 1922; also *Mein Kampf*, p. 100. In the party of the early period small craftsmen and small businessmen were distinctly overrepresented—187 per cent in proportion to their numbers in the general population. On this subject cf. Iring Fetcher, "Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus," p. 53.
29. *Mein Kampf*, p. 470.
30. *Tischgespräche*, pp. 261 f.; here Hitler mentions a whole list of his tactics and tricks; cf. also *Mein Kampf*, pp. 504 f., and Heiden, *Geschichte*, p. 28.
31. K. A. v. Müller, pp. 144 f.
32. Norman H. Baynes, *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler*, vol. I, p. 107; also R. H. Phelps in: *VJHFZ* 1963:3, p. 299.
33. *Tischgespräche*, p. 451; also Heiden, *Geschichte*, p. 109. For the following remark of Hitler, see *Mein Kampf*, p. 467.
34. Kurt G. W. Luedecke, *I Knew Hitler*, pp. 22 f.; also Ernst Hanfstaengl, *Zwischen Weissem und Braunem Haus*, p. 43.
35. Cf. *Tischgespräche*, p. 224.
36. Communicated to the author by Albert Speer. Speer was present at this scene; "Wolfsburg" was the name of an estate in the vicinity.
37. According to Hitler's statement; cf. Görlitz and Quint, *Adolf Hitler*, p. 185.
38. Boepple, p. 118.
39. Cf. Maser, *Hitler*, p. 405, for many details. Further references in Heiden, *Geschichte*, pp. 143 ff.; Franz-Willing, p. 177, and Bullock, pp. 84 f. Bullock underestimates the importance of foreign financial backers, probably because the sources of support have been only recently uncovered.
40. Franz-Willing, p. 182. Cf. also Luedecke, p. 99. Luedecke speaks of a woman of some fifty-odd years who called at the business office after a Hitler speech and spontaneously gave the party an inheritance she had just received. On this and related matters see also Orlow, pp. 108 ff., which contains further references.
41. According to a speech in the Reichstag by Helmut von Mücke, a former naval officer who originally counted among the leaders of the NSDAP. In July, 1929, he had discussed the party's methods of financing itself in an open letter. See *Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, vol. 444, pp. 138 f.
42. Cf. Maser, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 410 f.; also Heiden, *Geschichte*, p. 46, and Walter Laqueur, *Deutschland und Russland*, pp. 76 f.
43. Heiden, *Hitler I*, p. 162.
44. Boepple, p. 87.

45. Hitler spoke these words as early as September 12, 1923; see Boepple, p. 91.
46. Quoted in Heiden, *Geschichte*, p. 143.
47. The letter is printed in *Illustrierter Beobachter*, 1926:2, p. 6.
48. As the meeting was breaking up, Interior Minister Schweyer stepped up to Hitler, who was feeling himself the victor of the evening, tapped him on the chest "like an angry schoolmaster," and said that this victory had been "nothing but a breach of faith." This is the incident referred to in the quoted remark by Heiden in *Hitler I*, p. 181.
49. Statement by Julius Streicher at the Nuremberg trial, IMT VII, p. 340.
50. Cf., for example, Maser, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 453 f.; Maser even charges Hitler with having sued for the favor of the monarchist generals. See also Heiden, *Geschichte*, pp. 162 f. Bullock, pp. 113 f., straddles the fence; on the one hand he charges Hitler with incompetence as a revolutionary and on the other hand denies that Hitler intended a revolutionary uprising.
51. *Der Hitlerprozess*, p. 28. The previous quotation, in which Hitler contrasts his conduct with that of the Kapp putschists, is taken from his speech of November 8, 1934. Hans von Hülsen characterized the trial as a "political carnival"; quoted in Deuerlein, *Aufstieg*, p. 205.
52. This reprimand to the court was pronounced by Minister of State von Meinel; cf. Deuerlein, *Hitler-Putsch*, p. 216; *ibid.*, pp. 221 f. for the remarks of Pöhner.

BOOK III

1. Bracher, *Diktatur*, p. 139. Hitler's assertion that he first developed the idea of the autobahnen and of a cheap "people's car" is reported by Frank, p. 47. Hanfstaengl, p. 114, declares that Hitler's cell looked like a delicatessen store. He says that Hitler found the surplus useful for inducing the guards to be even more favorably inclined to him than they already were. On the horde of visitors, their requests, concerns, and intentions, cf. the report of the prison director dated September 18, 1924, BHStA I, p. 1501.
2. Hitler on February 3, 1942, to a group of Old Fighters; cf. Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, p. 90n.
3. *Mein Kampf*, p. 36.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 212 f.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 154 f.
6. Olden, *Hitler*, p. 140, and *Mein Kampf*, pp. 24, 31, 493. According to various sources, among those who worked on correcting and editing the manuscript were Stolzinger-Cerny, the music critic of the *Völkische Beobachter*; Bernhard Stempfle, the former monk and priest as well as editor of the anti-Semitic *Miesbacher Anzeiger*; and, though with limited success, Ernst Hanfstaengl. However, Ilse Hess, Rudolf Hess's wife, has disputed all allegations of editorial assistance by others and also denied that Hitler dictated the book to her husband. Instead, she maintained, Hitler "himself typed the manuscript with two fingers on an ancient typewriter during his imprisonment in Landsberg." Cf. Maser, *Hitlers "Mein Kampf"*, p. 20; also Frank, p. 39.

7. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 325, 412, 562; also *Hitlers Zweites Buch*, p. 221.
8. Rauschning, *Gespräche*, p. 5; also his *Revolution des Nihilismus*, p. 53.
9. Trevor-Roper, "The Mind of Adolf Hitler." Preface to *Hitler's Table Talk*, p. xxxv. Heiden, *Geschichte*, p. 11, spoke of Hitler's having a "distinct talent for combination." Cf. also R. H. Phelps, "Hitlers grundlegende Rede über den Antisemitismus," in: VJHfZ, 1968:4, pp. 395 ff.
10. Preiss, pp. 39 f. It may be pointed out here that this attempt to present Hitler's *Weltanschauung* coherently cannot be based exclusively upon *Mein Kampf*; earlier and later utterances must be taken into account. There is all the more justification for this approach because Hitler's ideology in essentials did not change after 1924.
11. *Mein Kampf*, p. 662.
12. *Tischgespräche*, p. 346; also p. 321 and Domarus, p. 647.
13. *Mein Kampf*, p. 296.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 383, 290.
15. Cf. Ernst Nolte, *Eine frühe Quelle*, p. 590. Nolte deserves much credit for having unearthed this half-forgotten and at any rate largely ignored publication, *Der Bolschewismus von Moses bis Lenin. Zwiegespräche zwischen Adolf Hitler und mir*, and subjecting it to analysis. Cf. also Nolte, *Epoche*, pp. 404 ff. The identity of Christianity and Bolshevism, he comments, was also "the central thesis of the table talk," although Hitler even at the height of his power would never have dared to say so bluntly. On the 30 million victims, cf. Hitler's speech of July 28, 1922, quoted in Boepple, p. 30.
16. Printed in: *Der Nationalsozialist*, 1:29 (August 17, 1924), quoted from Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitlers Weltanschauung*, p. 73.
17. Trevor-Roper, *op. cit.*, p. xxv, n. 9.
18. *Ibid.*; for the preceding quotation cf. *Libres propos*, p. 321.
19. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 138 ff.
20. Our approach here owes a good deal to the summing-up presented by H. R. Trevor-Roper in his fundamental lecture on "Hitler's War Aims," given at the 1959 congress of historians in Munich; cf. VJHfZ 1960:2, pp. 121 ff.
21. *Mein Kampf*, p. 649, 652.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 654.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 654 f.
24. Nolte, *Faschismus*, pp. 135 f.
25. Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, p. 440: Speer's letter to Hitler of March 29, 1945. Also IMT XLI, pp. 425 ff. Hitler's speech at Erlangen is printed in Preiss, p. 171.
26. VB of March 7, 1925; also Heiden, *Geschichte*, p. 190.
27. Luedecke, p. 234.
28. Otto Strasser, *Hitler und Ich*, p. 113. According to this account, Goebbels made the demand in a speech that he delivered standing on a chair. With good reason doubts have been expressed about this scene; all the same, Gregor Strasser, who is more credible than his brother, confirmed it. Helmut Heiber may therefore be right in his conjecture that Goebbels actually uttered the words in dispute, but not under the dramatic cir-

- circumstances described by Otto Strasser; rather, that he spoke in these terms to a small group, in conversation. Cf. *Goebbels-Tagebuch 1925-26*, p. 369.
29. These drawings cannot be definitely dated. According to Albert Speer, who bases his opinion on remarks by Hitler, the sketches date from this period. On the other hand, Speer's office manager, Apel, who drew up a list of the Hitler sketches in the architect's possession, assigns the date "about 1924" to the drawing of the "Grand Triumphal Arch," the "Great Hall," the "Berlin South Station," and the "Berlin State Library." Some of the sketches are reproduced in Speer's *Inside the Third Reich*.
 30. Cf. *Goebbels-Tagebuch 1925-26*, p. 60; also Hinrich Lohse, *Der Fall Strasser*, p. 5.
 31. Sir Neville Henderson, *The Failure of a Mission, Berlin 1937-1939*, p. 282.
 32. *Goebbels-Tagebuch*, pp. 92 ff.
 33. The report also states: "Violently firing their revolvers and employing iron flagpoles like lances, the National Socialists penetrated the ranks of the Communists. Nine lightly injured and five gravely injured persons were removed from the scene of the battle." A month before, a battle in the Pharus Halls in Berlin's North End had ended with ninety-eight serious casualties. After it Goebbels wrote triumphantly: "Since this day they know us in Berlin. We are not so naïve as to believe that now everything has been done. Pharus is only a beginning." See *Goebbels-Tagebuch*, p. 119n.
 34. Quoted in Heiden, *Hitler*, I, p. 242; see also Goebbels, "Der Führer als Staatsmann," p. 51.
 35. Sales began to rise significantly only after the NSDAP made its breakthrough and became a mass party. Wider distribution was helped by the issuance of a cheap edition costing eight marks for both volumes. In 1930, 54,086 copies were sold, in 1931, 50,808, and in 1932, 90,351; the following year the annual sale passed the 200,000 mark, and thereafter repeatedly exceeded it. In 1943, total sales of the book were alleged to be 9,840,000; cf. Hermann Hammer, "Die deutschen Ausgaben von Hitlers 'Mein Kampf,'" in: *VJHfZ* 1956:2, pp. 161 ff.
 36. Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, p. 134; Shirer refers to a study by Professor Oron James Hale in *The American Historical Review*, July, 1955.
 37. Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Munich, quoted in Tyrell, *Führer befiehlt . . .*, pp. 269 ff. In this speech, also, Hitler referred, by way of comparison, to primitive Christianity.
 38. Quoted in Tyrell, pp. 211 ff., also p. 196; see also Heinrich Hoffmann, *Hitler Was My Friend*, pp. 151 ff.
 39. Preiss, p. 81.

BOOK IV

1. Bracher, *Auflösung*, p. 291.
2. Heiden, *Hitler I*, p. 268.

3. Quoted from Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, p. 136. ←
4. A study by S. M. Lipset defines the typical Nazi voter as follows: "An independent Protestant member of the middle class who lived either on a farm or in a very small town and who formerly had voted for a centrist party or a regional party that opposed the power and influence of big industry and the unions"; cf. Nolte, *Theorien*, p. 463.
5. Frank, p. 58.
6. Quoted in Heiden, *Hitler I*, p. 275, and in Kühnl, *Die nationalsozialistische Linke*, p. 374.
7. Cf. Albert Krebs, *Tendenzen und Gestalten der NSDAP*, pp. 138 f.
8. The *Daily Mail* of September 24, 1930, quoted according to the *VB* of September 25. Lord Rothermere's article began significantly by calling on Englishmen to change their conception of Germany which, he said, they remembered chiefly as prisoners of war. He pointed out that Germany was not free as other nations were, that the Allies had made the regaining of her full national freedom dependent upon payments and conditions imposed upon her against her will. And he asked whether it was wise to insist upon the ultimate letter of the law. It would be best for the welfare of Western civilization, he concluded, if there came to the helm in Germany a government permeated by the same healthy principles with which Mussolini had renewed Italy in the last eight years.
9. Quoted from Bullock, p. 163, and *Frankfurter Zeitung*, September 26, 1930. Cf. also *Mein Kampf*, p. 345: "The movement is anti-parliamentarian, and even its participation in a parliamentary institution can only imply activity for its destruction, for eliminating an institution in which we must see one of the gravest symptoms of mankind's decay."
10. Hitler's statement is not complete and not recorded in the transcript of the trial; the quotations given here sum up the substance of different texts. See the attempt to reconstruct the exact wording on the basis of press reports in Peter Bucher, *Der Reichswehrprozess*, pp. 237 ff.
11. Willi Veller's letter of August 16, 1930, abridged, quoted from Tyrell, pp. 297 f.
12. A. François-Poncet, *The Fateful Years*, pp. 5 ff.
13. J. Curtius, *Sechs Jahre Minister der deutschen Republik*, p. 217.
14. Report of the British ambassador for July 16, 1931, cited from Bullock, pp. 177 f.
15. The meeting was continued in Berlin shortly afterward. According to the testimony of Ernst Poensgen, Hitler pleaded with the captains of industry to withdraw their support for Brüning, but without success. See Poensgen's *Erinnerungen*, p. 4; also Dietrich, *Mit Hitler in die Macht*, p. 45.
16. Ernst von Weizsäcker, *Erinnerungen*, p. 103, adds to the remark on the postmaster generalship the anecdotal phrase: "Then he can lick my ass on the stamps." Hindenburg habitually called Hitler the "Bohemian corporal" because he mistakenly assumed that Hitler came from Braunau in Bohemia. But it is also possible that he intended simultaneously to stress a certain foreignness and un-Germanness in Hitler, who struck him as "bohemian" in both senses of the word.

17. Carl J. Burckhardt, *Meine Danziger Mission*, pp. 340, 346. Hitler made it clear that he could not be considered bourgeois in an interview with Hanns Johst published in *Frankfurter Volksblatt*, January 26, 1934. Cf. also *Tischgespräche*, p. 170.
18. Cf. G. W. F. Hallgarten, *Hitler, Reichswehr und Industrie*, p. 120. Hallgarten gives details on the expenses of the NSDAP and the amount of support contributed by industry. See also Heiden, *Hitler*, vol. I, pp. 313 f. Some emendations may be found in Henry A. Turner, "Fritz Thyssen und 'I Paid Hitler'" in: *Faschismus und Kapitalismus in Deutschland*, pp. 87 ff. The magnitude of the sums and the difficulties involved are illuminated by Thyssen's unsuccessful attempt to withdraw 100,000 marks for the benefit of the NSDAP from the strike fund of the Northwest Group of the Association of German Iron and Steel Industrialists. When Ludwig Grauert, then business manager of the association, undertook the transaction without obtaining Chairman Ernst Poensgen's consent, Poensgen rebuked him sharply. Krupp actually demanded Grauert's dismissal, and Grauert was saved only when Thyssen came forward asserting that the 100,000 marks had merely been a loan—which he promptly paid back out of his own pocket. Cf. Turner, "Thyssen," pp. 101 ff.

According to partially supported testimony given in court by Friedrich Flick, the Nazis received only 2.8 per cent of the money he spent for political purposes; cf. *ibid.*, p. 20. Partly because of the altogether inadequate source materials, the question of how much financial support Hitler received from industry has become a broad field for speculation colored by ideology. Franz Xaver Schwarz, treasurer of the NSDAP, by his own testimony burned in the spring of 1945 all the documents in the Brown House in order to save them from confiscation by the advancing American troops. In addition, the source most frequently cited—Fritz Thyssen's *I Paid Hitler*—has proved to be highly unreliable. Thyssen himself has contested the book's authenticity. In Monte Carlo, where he was living in exile, he had granted several interviews to the editor, Emery Reves, in the spring of 1940. These interviews were to provide material for a volume of memoirs. The rapid advance of the German armies in France put an abrupt end to the undertaking. Reves fled to England with the documents and later published the interviews, considerably expanded. Reves tells another story which, however, seems a good deal less credible since it was not even accepted by the denazification tribunal in Königstein/Taunus.

In the above-mentioned study H. A. Turner has demonstrated that the very passages historians have hitherto regarded as especially relevant are among those parts of the book that Fritz Thyssen, the putative author, never saw, a fact Reves himself has confirmed. It further reduces the book's value as a source that, for example, the passage in which Thyssen speaks of the "deep impression" Hitler's Düsseldorf speech made upon the industrialists present does not appear in the stenographic record of the interview; thus it is obviously a later addition; moreover, Thyssen explicitly objected to it after the war. The other so frequently cited passage, in which

Thyssen gives a figure of 2 million marks as the size of the Nazi party's annual subsidy, was likewise more or less pulled out of a hat, as Turner convincingly demonstrates. Concerning the size of the actual payments, cf. Turner's conclusions: "After weighing all the facts we must recognize that the financial subsidies from industry were overwhelmingly directed against the Nazis" (p. 25). We are still justified in assuming that the greater part of the funds available to the NSDAP came from membership dues. According to a police report, these were so high that they kept a good many persons from joining the party; see F. J. Heyen, *Nationalsozialismus im Alltag*, pp. 22 and 63.

19. Thus Eberhard Czichon, *Wer verhalf Hitler zur Macht?* as one example among many similar writers on the subject; see also the review by Eike Henning, "Industrie und Faschismus," in: *Neue politische Literatur*, 1970:4, pp. 432 ff., with many other citations and references. Czichon tends to prefer general references and unpublished documents, so that his sources in many cases can scarcely be checked. Frequently, too, he indulges in apparently deliberate deceptions, inaccuracies, and faulty references. Ernst Nolte has shown that Czichon reports a payment from IG Farben to the NSDAP in such a way that the reader would think the payment had been made before the seizure of power, whereas the document itself shows that the money was paid in 1944 (Ernst Nolte, *Der Nationalsozialismus*, p. 190). Czichon also asserts, referring to Bracher, *Auflösung*, p. 695, that after talking with Papen in Cologne on January 4, 1933, Hitler met with Kirdorf and Thyssen; but this passage is not to be found in Bracher. There is a similar misleading reference on Czichon's part to *Die Machtergreifung* by H. O. Meissner and H. Wilde. More examples are given by Eike Henning, *op. cit.*, p. 439.
20. The speech was given on January 26, not, as is usually stated, on January 27. Cf. Otto Dietrich, *Mit Hitler in die Macht*, pp. 44, 46. G. W. F. Hallgarten also stresses the differing attitudes among various branches of industry; see his *Hitler*; also his *Dämonen oder Retter*, pp. 215 f.; also Fetcher, "Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus: Zur Kritik des sowjet-marxistischen Faschismusbegriffs," *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 1962:1, p. 55.
21. R. Dahrendorf, *Gesellschaft und Demokratie in Deutschland*, p. 424. Dahrendorf argues—and he is surely right about the motives—that the big businessmen supported Hitler in the same way that they granted financial aid to every right-wing party that had prospects of coming to power, not at all as part of a plot. Their attitude, that is, was largely defensive; they were thinking only of reinsurance or, to quote a famous remark by Hugo Stinnes in 1919, they were paying "a social-insurance premium against uprisings." Hallgarten, too, concludes that although Hitler was vigorously supported by industry's funds, this by no means signified that he was "made" by industry; Hallgarten, cf. *Dämonen*, p. 113. We might say, then, that although "industry" did not put Hitler in power, he would scarcely have attained power against its declared will.
22. The full text of the speech is given in Domarus, pp. 68 ff.

23. Speech to the Hamburg Nationalist Club in the ballroom of the Hotel Atlantic, February 28, 1926. The transcript notes at this point "tempestuous applause"; cf. Werner Jochmann, *Im Kampf um die Macht*, pp. 103, 114.
24. Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919-1939, 2nd series, vol. I, p. 512, n. 2.
25. Arnold Brecht, *Vorspiel zum Schweigen*, p. 180, points out that the authors of the Constitution deliberately renounced taking over the provision in the American Constitution that only native-born citizens can become candidates for the highest office in the land. Ironically, they did so in order not to exclude their Austrian brothers. Incidentally, the efforts to obtain citizenship for Hitler began as early as the autumn of 1929. At that time Frick unsuccessfully attempted to have him naturalized in Munich. Six months later, by which time Frick had advanced to the position of a Minister in Thuringia, Frick tried to obtain German citizenship for Hitler by appointing him to a civil-service post. The post Frick had in mind was that of a police inspector in Hildburghausen, which happened to be vacant. But the situation seemed a bit ludicrous, and Hitler called off the effort. Next Klagges tried to have Hitler appointed to a teaching post at the technical college in Brunswick, but this too failed. A solution was finally found: Hitler was appointed Regierungsrat with the Berlin delegation from Brunswick.
26. Goebbels, *Kaiserhof*, pp. 22 ff.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 120 f.
28. On this whole subject cf. Frank, pp. 90 f.; Hanfstaengl, pp. 231 ff. The reference to the unwritten law that no one must mention his niece's name in Hitler's presence is based on information from Albert Speer.
29. For the different versions cf. Hanfstaengl, pp. 231 ff.; Heiden, Hitler I, p. 371; Görlitz and Quint, pp. 322 ff.; Frank, p. 90. The complaints by Gauleiter Munder of Württemberg that Hitler was being excessively diverted by the company of his niece from his political duties were certainly a significant factor in Munder's removal.
30. Cf. on this and what followed: Frank, p. 90. Ernst Hanfstaengl (p. 242) relates a story that he alleges was bandied about in the Hitler family, to the effect that Geli had been made pregnant by a Jewish drawing master from Linz. Hanfstaengl also reports that Geli's body was found with a broken nose, but he gives no supporting evidence. In response to an inquiry Hanfstaengl informed the author that this had been generally known at the time, but so far as I know the fact appears nowhere in the scholarly literature.
31. *The Dual State* is the title of a study by Ernst Fraenkel (London and New York, 1941).
32. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 474 ff.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 478 f.
34. Krebs, *Tendenzen*, p. 154; also Preiss, pp. 45 f.
35. *Mein Kampf*, p. 473.
36. H. R. Knickerbocker, *The German Crisis*, p. 227.

37. Heinrich Brüning, *Memoiren 1918-1934*, p. 195.
38. Harry Graf Kessler, *In the Twenties*, p. 426; also Werner Jochmann, *Nationalsozialismus und Revolution*, p. 405; and Helmut Heiber, *Joseph Goebbels*, p. 65.
39. Preiss, p. 179 (speech of March 7, 1932).
40. Harold Nicolson, *Diaries and Letters 1930-1939*, English ed., entry for January 24, 1932.
41. Goebbels, *Kaiserhof*, p. 87. The make-up of the Nazi Reichstag faction after the July elections is quite interesting. There were 230 Nazi deputies altogether. Of these, fifty-five were blue-collar and white-collar workers, fifty peasants, forty-three independent representatives of commerce, the crafts and industry, twenty-nine functionaries, twenty civil servants, twelve teachers, and nine former army officers. Cf. *Reichstags-Handbuch*, 6. Wahlperiode, Berlin 1932, p. 270.
42. For details cf. Bracher, *Auflösung*, pp. 522 ff.; also W. Conze, "Zum Sturz Brünings," in *VJHfZ* 1952:3, pp. 261 ff.; also H. Brüning, *Memoiren*, pp. 273 and 597 ff. The importance of the information on the favorable turn in the disarmament negotiations has been challenged by historians; there are indications that Brüning overestimated it. For a characterization of the pressures on Hindenburg at Gut Neudeck cf. Theodor Eschenburg, "The Role of the Personality in the Crisis of the German Republic" in Holborn, ed., *Republic to Reich*, pp. 43 f.
43. The statistics on the dead and wounded in the bloody weeks after the lifting of the ban on the SA differ greatly. Cf., for example, Wilhelm Hoegner, *Die verratene Republik*, pp. 312 f.; also Friedrich Stampfer, *Die vierzehn Jahre der ersten deutschen Republik*, p. 629, and Bullock, pp. 213 f., who refers to the account given by Albert Grzesinski. Reliable figures on the victims have not been drawn up to this day. The "Roll of Honor of Those Killed for the Movement," which was later published by H. Volz, gives the following figures for the Nazis: 1929, eleven dead; 1930, seventeen; 1931, forty-three; 1932, eighty-seven.
44. Preiss, p. 194.
45. *Völkischer Beobachter*, August 21-22, 1932. Hitler's scornful reference to Hindenburg's age was made in the speech of September 4, 1932. In context it went: "When today the President of the Reich is presented to me as an opponent, it makes me laugh. I will endure the struggle longer than the President." Preiss, p. 189.
46. Cf. the statistics in Bracher, *Auflösung*, pp. 645 ff.; also the evidence bearing chiefly on the social situation (unemployment) in H. Bennecke, *Wirtschaftliche Depression*, pp. 158 ff. Bennecke's statistics likewise bring to light the remarkable fact that there was no direct, at best an indirect connection between unemployment and voting for the NSDAP. The percentage of votes netted by Hitler's party was much greater in the rural areas, which did not suffer nearly so severely from the effects of the Depression, than in, say, the Ruhr district or even Berlin, where the Nazi percentage of the vote did not reach as much as 25 per cent—approximately half that of the NSDAP vote in Schleswig-Holstein.

45. According to Wheeler-Bennett, *The Nemesis of Power*, p. 256. For the precedents of the planned constitutional reform, cf. Bracher, *Auflösung*, pp. 337 ff. and 608 ff.
46. Cited in Bernhard Schwertfeger, *Rätsel um Deutschland*, p. 173. Hitler's letter, mentioned in the next paragraph, was called a "masterpiece" by Goebbels and is in fact a good example of Hitler's tactics, psychology, and faculty for hair-splitting; it is printed in Domarus, pp. 154 ff. According to Brüning, *Memorien*, p. 634, however, the letter was ghosted in the Hotel Künethof by Hjalmar Schacht.
47. Franz von Papen, *Der Wahrheit eine Gasse*, p. 250. Here, too, on page 248, are details about the war-games study as given by then Lieutenant Colonel Oll.
48. Rauehuug, *Gespriiche*, p. 254. The following remark of Hitler's may be found in the *Tischgespriche*, p. 364. On the resigned attitude of his antagonists, see also Eschenburg, in Holborn, *Republic to Reich*, pp. 47 ff.
49. Harold Laski, in the *Daily Herald*, November 21, 1931, as quoted in Viscount Templewood, *Nine Troubled Years*, p. 121.
50. Bullock, p. 343.
51. Bracher, *Auflösung*, p. 691. Hitler himself conceded that the Cologne meeting had been a turning point; at the time, he commented, he had "gathered the impression that his affairs stood very well." Cf. *Tischgespriche*, p. 365.

The version of the meeting presented here has, incidentally, not gone unchallenged. Papen, in particular, has vigorously denounced it (see his letter to *Das Parlament*, III:14, April 2, 1953). However, the account given in his self-justificatory *Memorien* makes considerable demands upon the reader's credulity. Among other things, he tries to make the meeting appear quite accidental and casual; he repeatedly stresses that its sole purpose was to obtain information. This version contradicts Schneider's declaration, in a sworn affidavit, that only a few weeks before Hitler had refused to negotiate with Papen. Even if Papen's later assertion is correct that no offer was made, the fact remains that Hitler felt himself to have been directly addressed by Hindenburg through Papen. At the very least the offer existed in the person of Papen; as a diplomat he should have known this, and undoubtedly did know it. Furthermore, Papen alleges that he conducted the conversation in the interests of Schleicher, and for the sake of supporting Schleicher. Moreover, Papen further alleges, the plan for a duumvirate referred not to Hitler and himself, but to Hitler and Schleicher. If nothing else, then, the anxious secrecy surrounding the meeting reveals the absurdity of this version.

52. The estate, purchased principally with funds supplied by industry, was not given formally to Hindenburg, but to his son, in order to evade the inheritance tax. Hindenburg also worried a good deal about Papen's coup of July 20, 1932. Brüning has recorded: "Erwin Planck, who visited me in the hospital one evening four days before Schleicher's resignation from the chancellorship, told me about the difficulties the administration was encountering because of Hindenburg's fear of indifference, and I have been

- told that this was one reason for Hindenburg's finally consenting to appoint Hitler Chancellor." Cf. H. Brüning, "Ein Brief," in: *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1947, p. 15. In the summer of 1935 Brüning added, in conversation with Count Kessler, that Oskar von Hindenburg "slithered into all sorts of murky stock exchange dealings and consequently found himself in a position where he was constantly afraid of 'revelations.'" Count Kessler, *In the Twenties*, p. 469.
55. According to Brüning, *Memoiren*, p. 645, who had his information from Schleicher, Hindenburg allegedly said: "Thank you, Herr General, for everything you have done for the Fatherland. Now, with God's help, let us see how the cat jumps."
56. ~~Kessler, *In the Twenties*, p. 443.~~
57. Thomas Mann, "Bruder Hitler," in: *Gesammelte Werke* 12, p. 774.
58. Report of Police Detective Feil, HStA Munich, Allgemeine Sonderausgabe I, No. 1475.
59. Hitler to Schleicher, beginning of February, 1933. Cf. Brüning, *Memoiren*, p. 648.
60. Cf. Frank, pp. 121 f. In the published version of his book, however, Frank does not quote the eschatological passage cited here; cf. on this Görlitz and Quint, p. 367.

INTERPOLATION II

1. Gottfried Benn, "Doppelleben," *Gesammelte Werke* IV, p. 89.
2. G. A. Borgese, *Goliath: The March of Fascism*, p. 361.
3. Friedrich Franz von Unruh in a series of articles, "Nationalsozialismus," which was published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* between February 22 and March 3, 1931.
4. E. Vermeil, "The Origin, Nature and Development of German Nationalist Ideology in the 19th and 20th Centuries," in: *The Third Reich*, p. 6. Cf. also Rohan D'O. Butler, *The Roots of National Socialism*, W. M. Govern, *From Luther to Hitler*, and W. Steed, "From Frederick the Great to Hitler. The Consistency of German Aims," in: *International Affairs*, 1938:17.
5. Friedrich Meinecke, *The German Catastrophe*.

In spite of many accurate observations on single items, all historians who have tried to assess Hitler as the focal point of centuries of history run one great risk: they come dangerously close to the Nazis' own interpretations of their movement. For that is what the Nazis were claiming when they usurped the Hansa, mysticism, Prussianism and Romanticism, and hailed their Third Reich as the fulfillment of German history. But there is something equally dubious about the opposing school, which seeks to represent National Socialism, and totalitarianism in general, as aspects of the crisis of the democratic era, flowing out of its rebellion against tradition and its petrified systems, its social antagonisms and economic weaknesses. For this school Nazism is the consequence of the modern rather than the German character; it is the negative utopia of the total state, such as was evoked

in many pessimistic prophecies of the nineteenth century. For National Socialism viewed itself precisely as the world-historical corrective of that crisis. In the German accounts that posit this interpretation, Hitler frequently appears as an overwhelming foreign influence, a "counterpoise to tradition, especially to the Prusso-German and Bismarckian tradition," as Gerhard Ritter puts it in his contribution to the collection of essays in *The Third Reich* (pp. 381 ff.), in which he consistently takes a stand diametrically opposite to that of E. Vermeil. Ritter argues that even the wrongheaded attitudes of which the Germans have been accused were on the whole characteristic of the age: "It is astonishing how many expressions of nationalistic ambition, militaristic principles, racist pride and anti-democratic criticism can be found in the intellectual and political literature of all European countries."

None of these excessively one-sided interpretations can possibly grasp the nature of the phenomenon; the standard Marxist interpretation makes that crystal clear. Constantly hampered by their own actions and by piety toward their comrades who went down to defeat, the Marxist spokesmen have basically never been able to free themselves from the well-known, officially proclaimed definition of National Socialism as a manifestation of the "open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, chauvinistic and imperialistic elements of finance capital." Consequently, if this thought is followed to its logical conclusion, the key personalities of National Socialism must have been not Hitler, Goebbels, and Streicher, but Hugenberg, Krupp, and Thyssen. Such a view is in fact actually taken by, for example, Czichon, in *Wer verhalf Hitler zur Macht?* and by many others. Cf. for this whole subject the instructive survey in Bracher, *Diktatur*, pp. 6 ff.

6. Cf. Note 13 to Interpolation I. During a stay in Germany in the early twenties the Rumanian Fascist leader Codreanu complained, significantly, that there was no visceral, consistent anti-Semitism in that country; cf. Nolte, *Krise*, p. 263.
7. Rudolf Höss, at one time commandant of Auschwitz; see Gustave Mark Gilbert, *The Psychology of Dictatorship*, p. 250.
8. Harold J. Laski, "The Meaning of Fascism" in: *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, p. 106.
9. *Die Herrschaft der Minderwertigen* was the title of an embittered criticism of democracy by Edgar J. Jung, who later became Papen's assistant and was killed during the purge of June 30, 1934.
10. Thomas Mann, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, p. 113.
11. Pierre Viénot, *Is Germany Finished?*, p. 97.
12. Domarus, p. 226.
13. Albert Speer, in a memo to the author; for Hitler's rejection of Hess or Himmler as his successor, cf. Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, pp. 137, 276.
14. G. Ritter asserts in *Carl Goerdeler*, p. 109, that the idea of having fallen into the hands of an unscrupulous adventurer would have seemed absolutely grotesque to the majority of the German bourgeoisie. Rudolf Breitscheid's reaction is reported by Fabian von Schlabrendorff, *Offiziere gegen Hitler*, p.

12; Julius Leber's comment on the lack of an intellectual foundation comes from a diary entry; see his *Ein Mann geht seinen Weg*, pp. 123 f. Many Social Democrats secretly expected that Hitler would quickly tangle with Papen and Hugenberg, and they would reap the benefit. "Then there will be a settlement of accounts, and very different it will be from 1918," Prussian ex-State Secretary Abegg threatened in conversation with Count Kessler; see Kessler, *In the Twenties*, p. 447.

15. Kessler, p. 428.

BOOK V

1. What went on at this meeting and how important it proved to be was first revealed during the Nuremberg trial; see IMT XXXV, pp. 42 ff.; also IMT V, pp. 177 ff., XII, pp. 497 ff., and XXXVI, pp. 520 ff.
2. See Domarus, pp. 207, 209, 211, 214; also Baynes, I, pp. 238, 252.
3. Hans Mommsen, "The Reichstag Fire and Its Political Consequences," in Holborn, ed., *Republic to Reich*, pp. 129 ff.
4. Cf. IMT IX, pp. 481 f. and PS-3593. To the very end, incidentally, Göring vigorously denied having participated in any way in setting the fire. He remarked—quite believably—he would not have needed any pretexts to strike against the Communists. "Their debt was so heavy, their crime so tremendous, that without any further prompting I was determined to begin the most ruthless war of extermination with all the instruments of power at my command against this plague. On the contrary, as I testified at the Reichstag Fire trial, the fire which forced me to take measures so rapidly was actually extremely awkward for me, since it forced me to act faster than I intended and to strike before I had made all my thorough preparations." Hermann Göring, *Aufbau einer Nation*, pp. 93 f.
5. Brecht, *Vorspiel*, pp. 125 f. The emergency decree of February 28, 1933, read: "Articles 114, 115, 117, 118, 123, 124 and 153 of the Constitution of the German Reich are for the time being nullified. Consequently, curbs on personal liberty, on the right of free expression of opinion, including freedom of the press, of association, and of assembly, surveillance over letters, telegrams and telephone communications, searches of homes and confiscations of as well as restrictions on property, are hereby permissible beyond the limits hitherto established by law."
6. Goebbels, *Kaiserhof*, p. 271, and Bullock, p. 264.
7. Proclamation by Hitler of March 10, 1933, cited in Domarus, p. 219. On the other hand cf. Hitler's anger when faced with a complaint by von Winterfeld, Deputy Chairman of the German National People's Party, of March 10, 1933, in: BAK Reel 43 II, 1263. Concerning Hitler's letter to Papen, copies of which were sent to Hindenburg and to the Defense Minister, see Martin Broszat, *Der Staat Hitlers*, p. 111. From January 31 to August 23, 1933, the German newspapers reported the following violent deaths: 196 enemies of National Socialism and 24 followers of Hitler. During the period up to the March elections 51 opponents and 18 Nazis were killed.

8. Bracher, Sauer, Schulz, *Machtergreifung*, p. 158. As early as March 17, the *VB* triumphantly calculated that merely by excluding the eighty-one Communist deputies the NSDAP would have ten seats over an absolute majority.
9. *Berliner Börsenzeitung* of March 22, 1933, quoted from Horkenbach, p. 127.
10. The speech is printed in Domarus, pp. 229 ff.
11. Quoted from Philipp W. Fabry, *Mutmassungen über Hitler*, p. 91; for the following quotation, which evidently reproduces the sense of remarks made in the President's entourage, see Brüning, *Memoiren*, p. 650.
12. Rauschning, *Gespräche*, pp. 78 ff. For Carl Goerdeler's assertion see Edouard Calic, *Ohne Maske*, p. 171.
13. Speech to the Reichsstatthalters of July 6; cf. *VB* of July 8, 1933.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Rauschning, *Gespräche*, p. 96; also Luedecke, *I Knew Hitler*, p. 518.
16. Thus in the above-mentioned speech to the Reichsstatthalters on July 6.
17. Heyen, *Alltag*, p. 134; report of the district magistrate of Bad Kreuznach.
18. François-Poncet, *The Fateful Years*, pp. 67 f.
19. Golo Mann, *Deutsche Geschichte*, p. 804.
20. Gottfried Benn, "Antwort an die literarischen Emigranten," *Gesammelte Werke* IV, p. 245.
21. Bracher, *Diktatur*, p. 271.
22. Edgar J. Jung, "Neubelebung von Weimar?" in: *Deutsche Rundschau*, June, 1932. For the remark of Paul Valéry, see Thomas Mann, *Nachlese. Prosa 1951-55*, p. 196.
23. Gottfried Benn, in the letter mentioned in note 20.
24. Rauschning, *Gespräche*, pp. 151, 179 f.
25. David Schoenbaum, *Die braune Revolution*, p. 150; also T. Eschenburg, "Dokumentation," in: *VJHfZ* 1955:3, pp. 314 ff; also Historikus, *Der Faschismus als Massenbewegung*, p. 7.
26. Thus to Mayor Krogmann of Hamburg on March 15, 1933; cf. Jacobsen, *Aussenpolitik*, p. 395; here, too, on p. 25, illuminating information on the shifts in personnel that took place in the course of the seizure of power. In the Foreign Service, for example, "at most six per cent were replaced for political reasons," and only a single diplomat, von Prittwitz-Gaffron, the German ambassador to Washington, quit the service because he had political reservations. For Hitler's opinion of the Foreign Office see Rauschning, *Gespräche*, p. 250.
27. See Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, p. 210, for the foreign reaction.
28. IMT XXXIV, C-140.
29. Nolte, *Krise*, p. 138.
30. Thus the British journalist G. Ward Price in the course of an interview with Hitler on October 18, 1933. See *VB* of October 20, 1933; also Horkenbach, p. 479.
31. Hermann Rauschning, *Gespräche*, pp. 101 ff.
32. Cf. report of the British ambassador of November 15, 1933, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919-1939*, 2nd Series, vol. VI (1933-34),

- London, 1957, pp. 38 ff. Cf. also the telegram that Martin Niemöller and other clergymen addressed to Hitler on this occasion: "In this hour of decision for the people and the Fatherland we salute our Führer. We thank him for the valiant action and the clear speech that have preserved Germany's honor. In the name of more than 2,500 Protestant pastors who do not belong to the German Christian religious movement we pledge loyal obedience and intercessory remembrances." Quoted from Fabry, *Mutmassungen*, p. 123.
33. *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, 2nd series, vol. IV, report of January 30, 1934.
 34. Thus Arnold Toynbee in 1937; quoted in M. Gilbert and R. Gott, *The Appeasers*, p. 82. See also Karl Lange, *Hitlers unbeachtete Maximen*, pp. 113 f. Similarly, Sumner Welles remarked that American attention concentrated chiefly on Hitler's idiosyncrasies and on the resemblance of his mustache to Charlie Chaplin's; Gilbert and Gott, pp. 125 f.
 35. Many further references in Jacobsen, *Aussenpolitik*, pp. 369 ff. The episode with Sir John Simon is reported by Ivone Kirkpatrick, *The Inner Circle*, p. 68.
 36. Cf. Anton M. Koktanek, *Oswald Spengler in seiner Zeit*, p. 458. On Hitler's reading of Karl May, see *Libres propos*, p. 306; also Otto Dietrich, *Zwölf Jahre*, p. 164.
 37. Rauschning, *Gespräche*, pp. 143 f. There are, however, two differing versions of Röhm's intentions. According to one, he wanted to organize the SA as a kind of militia alongside the army; according to the other, he wanted to see the SA declared the official armed force, and the army incorporated into it. The documents, and a number of different indications, suggest strongly that Röhm advocated both ideas, depending on whom he was talking to, and conceived of the first version as a transition to the second.
 38. Görlitz and Quint, p. 440.
 39. Rudolf Diels, *Lucifer ante portas*, p. 278. On von Blomberg's and von Reichenau's personalities see also Hermann Foertsch, *Schuld und Verhängnis*, pp. 30 ff.; also Friedrich Hossbach, *Zwischen Wehrmacht und Hitler 1934-1938*, p. 76, and VJHfZ 1959:4, pp. 429 ff.
 40. Conference of commanders of February 2-3, 1934, quoted from the notes of General Liebmann in the IfZ, Munich, Blatt 76 ff. The "Aryan clause" was a provision in the law for the restoration of the civil service dated April 7, 1933; it stated that all Jews who had not been employed in the civil service before the First World War, or who could not prove that they had fought at the front, must be dismissed from the civil service.
 41. NSDAP principal archives, Hoover Institute, Reel 54, Folder 1290; cf. also Jacobsen and Jochmann, under date of February 2, 1934.
 42. *The Brutal Friendship* is the title of F. W. Deakin's book on Mussolini, Hitler, and the fall of Italian Fascism, taken from a remark made by Hitler in April, 1945.
 43. Cf. Helmut Krausnick, *Der 30. Juni 1934. Bedeutung, Hintergründe, Verlauf*, supplement to *Das Parlament*, June 30, 1954, p. 321. In this case

the managers in the background fumbled the ball and for a moment permitted a glimpse of what the strategy really was. For Kleist and Heines met to have a candid confrontation, in the course of which, as Kleist later remarked, they came to the joint suspicion "that we . . . were being incited against one another by a third party—I thought of Himmler—and that many of the reports came from him." Kleist made this statement before the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg; it is quoted here from Heinrich Bennecke, *Die Reichswehr und der "Röhm-Putsch,"* p. 85.

44. The question of the individual who initiated the Munich "mutiny" remains somewhat obscure to this day. In addition to Himmler some evidence points to Gauleiter Wagner of Munich, who, however, probably would not have taken any action without prompting from Himmler.
45. Hans Bernd Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, p. 160.
46. Heyen, *Alltag*, p. 129. The total number of victims during those two days has not been established to this day. The official figures spoke of seventy-seven, but probably twice that number would be more realistic. The estimates that ranged from 400 to as many as 1,000 dead were unquestionably exaggerated. In this connection cf. the "Official List of the Dead of June 30, 1934," IfZ, Munich, Sign. MA-131, Bl. 103458-64.
47. Cf., for example, Otto Strasser, *Mein Kampf*, p. 98; according to this account Hitler waxed enthusiastic over Cesare Borgia and occasionally related with pleasure how Cesare had invited his *condottieri* to a reconciliation feast: "They all arrived, those lords of the leading noble families, and sat down at the table to celebrate their reconciliation. At twelve Cesare Borgia rose and declared that now all contention was over. Whereupon two black-clad men stepped behind each of the guests and tied the *condottieri* leaders to their chairs. Then Borgia, going from one of the bound men to the next, killed them all one by one." Thus Strasser concludes his account of Hitler's remarks; but this bit of sensationalism scarcely deserves credence. At best it may be imagined as a tale told in a particular mood, on a special occasion. But in that case it would not have the value as characterization that Strasser wishes to ascribe to it.
48. Cf. Hermann Mau, "The Second Revolution," in: Holborn, ed., *Republic to Reich*, pp. 223 ff.
49. W. Sauer, in: Bracher, Sauer, Schulz, *Machtergreifung*, pp. 934 f.; Sauer also argues that Hitler, given his premises, had no choice but to kill Röhm.
50. Bracher, *Diktatur*, p. 268. In context von Blomberg's ghastly remark was to the effect that the Prussian officer's honor had consisted in being stringently proper; henceforth the German officer's honor must consist in being cunning. Cf. Görlitz, ed., *Der deutsche Generalstab*, p. 348.
51. Rauschning, *Gespräche*, pp. 161 ff.
52. Domarus, p. 433.
53. Thus David Schoenbaum, *op. cit.*, who has contributed a mass of evidence to support this thesis; see especially pp. 196 ff. and 226 ff. On the revolutionary nature of National Socialism and of the Third Reich as a whole cf. also Dahrendorf, *Gesellschaft und Demokratie*, pp. 431 ff. and

H. A. Turner, Jr., "Faschismus und Antimodernismus in Deutschland," in: *Faschismus und Kapitalismus in Deutschland*, pp. 157 ff.

54. Jacobsen and Jochmann, under date of January 25, 1939, p. 9. Cf. also Hitler's speech of June 27, 1937, in Würzburg, in which he said that never in history had "this painful process been completed more prudently, sensibly, cautiously and with greater sensitivity than in Germany"; see Domarus, p. 703.
55. The Jewish emigration from Germany amounted to:

1933	63,400
1934	45,000
1935	35,500
1936	34,000
1937	25,000
1938	49,000
1939	68,000

Cf. the documents of the Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland, Deutsches Zentralarchiv Potsdam, Rep. 97.

BOOK VI

1. *Mein Kampf*, p. 682; similarly, pp. 334 f.
2. Speech of January 30, 1941; see *My New Order*, pp. 912 f.
3. Nolte, *Faschismus*, pp. 189 f.
4. Rauschnig, *Gespräche*, p. 255.
5. Paul Valéry, cited in Ignazio Silone, *The School for Dictators*. For Hitler's statements on the "crisis of democracy" cf. the speech (remarkable in other respects also) at the Vogelsang Ordensburg of April 29, 1937, in Kotze and Krausnick, pp. 111 ff.
6. Arnold Spencer Leese, quoted in Nolte, *Krise*, p. 332.
7. Wing Commander Archie Boyle to Navy Lieutenant Obermüller; cf. letter from Rosenberg to Hitler dated March 15, 1935, quoted in Jacobsen, *Aussenpolitik*, p. 78. For the *Times* quotation from Lord Lothian cf. Robert Ingram, *Von Talleyrand zu Molotov*, p. 153.
8. Speech of March 22, 1936, quoted in Domarus, p. 610.
9. Thomas Mann, "Dieser Friede."
10. Robert Ingram, *Hitlers glücklichster Tag*, p. 107.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
12. Paul Schmidt, *Statist*, p. 292.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 301. However, Phipps changed his view of Hitler during his spell of duty. Soon afterward, he told the American ambassador in Paris that he regarded Hitler as a fanatic who would be content with nothing less than ruling all Europe. He informed his American colleague in Berlin that Germany would not wage war before 1938 but that war was the goal; cf. Gilbert and Gott, pp. 26 ff.

14. Quoted in Ingram, *Hitlers glücklichster Tag*, p. 133; see also Erich Raeder, *Mein Leben*, I, pp. 298 ff.
15. Joachim von Ribbentrop, *Zwischen London und Moskau*, p. 64.
16. Bracher, *Diktatur*, p. 323. The following remark of Hitler's is quoted in Erich Kordt, *Nicht aus den Akten*, p. 109.
 For the British justification of appeasement, cf., for example, the speech in the House of Commons given by Sir Samuel Hoare on July 11, 1935, quoted in Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*, I, p. 141. At the time Churchill objected to the government's policy, but voted for it with the majority of 247 to 44.
17. Nolte, *Epoche*, p. 288.
18. Nolte, *Krise*, p. 162.
19. Schmidt, *Statist*, p. 320. The probably exaggerated statement that Hitler was for a time close to a nervous breakdown comes from Kordt, *Nicht aus den Akten*, p. 134; it is supported by no other source.
20. Bracher, *Diktatur*, p. 325. In the *Tischgespräche*, p. 169, Hitler admitted that he had "called an election after every coup; that is enormously effective at home and abroad."
21. Heinrich Hoffmann, *Hitler Was My Friend*, p. 82; also *Tischgespräche*, pp. 155, 169. Ciano spoke in the same sense of the "fascistic rule" of accomplished facts: *Cosa fatta capo ha*. See *Ciano's Hidden Diary 1937-1938*, p. 9.
22. Anthony Eden, *Facing the Dictators*, p. 407.
23. Frank, *Im Angesicht des Galgens*, pp. 204 f.
24. Cf. ADAP, Series D, vol. III. The Italian fighting forces in Spain amounted to more than 50,000 men, whereas the Germans had approximately 6,000—who, however, were constantly rotated. Hitler forbade official recruiting of volunteers for Spain. In keeping with this policy, the German commitment was not publicized, but kept strictly secret.
25. Fritz Wiedemann, *Der Mann, der Feldherr werden wollte*, p. 150. For the episode of the nocturnal conversation with Baldwin, see *Gilbert and Gott*, p. 34.
26. T. Jones, *A Diary with Letters 1931-1950*, p. 251. On Ribbentrop's assignment cf. his remark to Premier Kiosseiwanoft of Bulgaria on July 5, 1939, in ADAP VI, p. 714; see also C. J. Burckhardt, pp. 285, 295.
27. Cf. on this Axel Kuhn, *Hitlers aussenpolitisches Programm*, pp. 198 ff. But remarkably, for the time being, military planning remained largely uninfluenced by the new attitude.
28. Cf. James R. M. Butler, *Lord Lothian*, p. 337.
29. Bullock, p. 355.
30. François-Poncet, p. 114.
31. Kirkpatrick, *The Inner Circle*, p. 81.
32. Letter of May 23, 1936, BAK, Reel 43 II, 1495.
33. Quoted in Bullock, p. 379.
34. Theodor W. Adorno, *Versuch über Wagner*, p. 155. This cult of death can be found in all Fascist movements; it was most elaborated in the Rumanian Iron Guard and would surely be worth a detailed study.

35. Karlheinz Schmeer, *Die Regie des öffentlichen Lebens im Dritten Reich*, p. 113; here, too, are to be found elaborate descriptions and analyses of the staging of party rallies.
36. Cf. Robert Coulondre, *De Staline à Hitler*, p. 246, and Paul Stehlin, *Auftrag in Berlin*, p. 56. The remark about "mystical ecstasy" was made by François-Poncet, Coulondre's predecessor in Berlin, who continues: "Seven days yearly Nuremberg was a city devoted to revelry and madness, almost a city of convulsionaries, Holy Rollers, and the like. The surroundings, the beauty of the spectacles presented, and the luxury of the hospitality offered exerted a strong influence upon the foreigners whom the Nazi Government was careful to invite annually. Many visitors, dazzled by Nazi display, were infected by the virus of Nazism. They returned home convinced by the doctrine and filled with admiration for the performance." (*The Fateful Years*, p. 209.)
37. January 30 was followed in the year's calendar of ceremonies by Memorial Day (middle of March), then the Führer's Birthday (April 20), Labor Day (May 1), Mother's Day (beginning of May), Reich Party Day (beginning of September), Harvest Thanksgiving (end of September, beginning of October), and finally November 9.
38. Thus, for example, Paul Stehlin, p. 53, and François-Poncet, p. 205, who even provides a description of this salute (which had never been used before and was never used again). Incidentally, most of the teams offered this salute as they marched in; the British and Japanese were the exceptions that attracted the most attention.
39. Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, p. 58.
40. *Tischgespräche*, p. 433 f.; also Heinrich Hoffmann, pp. 196 f. On Hitler's constant fear of a *faux pas*, cf. Albert Zoller, *Hitler privat*, p. 126. Hitler once expressed his dismay that Mussolini let himself be photographed in bathing trunks: "A really great statesman would not do that."
41. Bullock, p. 376.
42. Krebs, *Tendenzen*, pp. 128 f.
43. Cf. for example Hans Severus Ziegler, *Hitler aus dem Erleben dargestellt*, pp. 54, 57, 58, 64, 67, 70, etc. All the remarks and behavior noted in these pages have also been heard or observed by Albert Speer, as he has informed the author.
44. Communication from Albert Speer, who usually sat on the other side of Frau Wagner and so could not miss observing this little scene.
45. C. J. Burckhardt, p. 340.
46. *Tischgespräche*, p. 227. The reference to the symbolic meaning of the Untersberg for Hitler is based on information from Speer; cf. also *Inside the Third Reich*, p. 86.
47. Domarus, p. 704 (speech of June 27, 1937, in Würzburg).
48. Hermann Rauschning, *The Voice of Destruction*, p. 255. Chapter XVIII ("Hitler Himself") from which this passage is taken was omitted in the German edition of the *Gespräche*; it has now been printed in Theodor Schieder, *Hermann Rauschnings "Gespräche mit Hitler" als Geschichtsquelle*, p. 80. The passage is here retranslated from the original German text.

49. Rauschning, *Gespräche*, p. 162. Elsewhere (p. 104) Rauschning comments that Hitler's eloquence seemed like a "physical excess."
50. Speer, p. 92; there, too, further references to the relationship between Hitler and Eva Braun. See also p. 130.
51. Speer, p. 94; similarly, Zoller, p. 21. The characterizations of the entourage come from Hitler's personal physician, Professor Karl Brandt; cf. *Tischgespräche*, p. 47.
52. Zoller, p. 21; for the remark cited above see Luedecke, p. 459. The reference to the films Hitler preferred I owe to Regierungsrat Barkhausen, Bundesarchiv Koblenz, who was charged with providing the films for Hitler during the thirties. The catalogue containing some 2,000 titles which could not be shown publicly in Germany can be seen at the Bundesarchiv.
53. Speer, p. 159.
54. Speer in a communication to the author; Hitler, Speer says, considered Pericles "a kind of parallel" to himself.
55. Speer in a communication to the author; Speer adds that Hitler's rejection of the works of Lucas Cranach, for example, was due to the fact that Cranach's female figures did not correspond to his own plumper ideal. Cranach's women were "unaesthetic," Hitler said to Speer.
56. See the illustration between pages 144 and 145.
57. For this whole subject see Hildegard Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik des Nationalsozialismus*, especially the chapter headed "Der Führerauftrag Linz," pp. 154 ff.
58. Speer, p. 230.
59. Cf. Nolte, *Epoche*, p. 500.
60. *Tischgespräche*, p. 186; the following remark *ibid.*, p. 171.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 446.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 173; see also Speer, pp. 94 ff.
63. *Libres propos*, p. 253. In *Mein Kampf* he commented: Blood purity "is a thing that the Jew preserves better than any other people on earth. And so he advances on his fatal road until another force comes forth to oppose him, and in a mighty struggle hurls the heaven-stormer back to Lucifer." *Mein Kampf*, p. 662.
64. Klaus Dörner, "Nationalsozialismus und Lebensvernichtung," in: *VJHfZ* 1967:2, p. 131; also Domarus, p. 717, where Hitler declares in the course of a party rally proclamation: "But Germany has experienced her greatest revolution as a consequence of the first policy of racial hygiene ever systematically undertaken in this country. The results of this German racial policy will be more decisive for the future of our nation than the effects of all other laws. For they create the new man."
65. *Mein Kampf*, p. 688. The speech to the officers is printed in Jacobsen and Jochmann, under the date of January 25, 1939.
66. Speer, p. 138.
67. Domarus, p. 974.
68. Cf. Jacobsen, *Aussenpolitik*, p. 435. For Hitler's attacks on the intellectuals cf. the speeches of April 29, 1937, and May 20, 1937, printed in Kotze and Krausnick, pp. 149 f. and 241 f.

69. Nolte, *Faschismus*, p. 325.
70. Situation report by the district magistrate of Bad Kreuznach, quoted in Heyen, pp. 290 f., with further such references.
71. Heiden, *Hitler II*, pp. 215, 251.
72. Italian Ambassador Attolico in conversation with Carl Jacob Burckhardt. See C. J. Burckhardt, p. 307. Cf. also Hitler's remark in *Tischgespräche*, p. 341, that the Foreign Office was "a hodgepodge of nobodies." For the remark on the generals cf. Fabian von Schlabrendorff, *Offiziere gegen Hitler*, p. 60; for the remark on the diplomats, H. Rauschning, *Gespräche*, pp. 249 ff.
73. IMT XXXI, 2949-PS, pp. 368 ff.
74. Seyss-Inquart's memorandum of September 9, 1945, IMT XXXII, 3254-PS, p. 70.
75. *Neue Basler Zeitung*, March 16, 1938, quoted in M. Domarus, p. 822.
76. Cf. Bracher, *Diktatur*, p. 338.
77. Stefan Zweig, *Die Welt von gestern*, pp. 446 f.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 448.
79. C. J. Burckhardt, p. 157; for Chamberlain's remark see Bernd-Jürgen Wandt, *München 1938*, p. 26.
80. *Ciano's Hidden Diary 1937-1938*, p. 114. See also Kirkpatrick, *Mussolini*.
81. Henderson to Ribbentrop on May 21, 1938, ADAP II, No. 184. Similarly, on April 22, Undersecretary Butler told a representative of the German Embassy in London that England was aware that Germany would reach her next goal (he mentioned the Czechoslovak question); *ibid.*, I, No. 750.
82. IMT XXV, 388-PS, pp. 422, 434.
83. Cf. Gilbert and Gott, p. 99, also p. 89. Chamberlain made his remark in his radio address of September 27, 1938; *London Times* of September 28, 1938. At this time the Czech ambassador in Rome, F. K. Chvalkovsky, commented to Mussolini that "Bohemia is completely unknown in England. Once, when he was a student in London, he was given a violin to play at a party, simply because it was known that he was a Czech. There was a confusion of thought between Bohemians and gypsies." *Ciano's Hidden Diary 1937-1938*, p. 174.
84. Duff Cooper, *Old Men Forget*, p. 229. The account of the meeting is based upon Paul Schmidt, *Statist*, pp. 395 ff., on the minutes of the meeting, and on a letter of Chamberlain's, both reprinted in Freund, *Weltgeschichte I*, pp. 133 ff.
85. Notes by Ivone Kirkpatrick, quoted in Bullock, p. 461.
86. Cf. Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, p. 398. Hitler's speech is printed in *My New Order*, pp. 517 ff.
87. Kirkpatrick's notes, quoted by Bullock, p. 461; see also Paul Schmidt, *Statist*, p. 409.
88. Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, p. 399. The same behavior has been recorded by many other observers; cf., for example, P. Schmidt, *Statist*, p. 410; Fritz Wiedemann, pp. 176 f.; Kordt, *Nicht aus den Akten*, pp. 259 f., 265 ff. C. J. Burckhardt wrote to a friend at the end of August that it was impossible to imagine "the horror, the despair of the masses when the talk of war

- began again. . . . Never have I so keenly felt that the peoples are no responsible for the crimes of their leaders." *Meine Danziger Mission* p. 188.
89. Cf. Peter Hoffmann, *Widerstand, Staatsstreich, Attentat*, p. 79. In Paris in the course of his visits there that spring, Goerdeler met chiefly with Pierre Bertaux and Alexis Léger (who as a poet uses the pseudonym St. John Perse), then the highest-ranking official at the Quai d'Orsay.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 83. Beck would have considered a public statement of readiness to aid Czechoslovakia and a demonstration of military firmness "certain proof."
91. On Halder's relationship to Hitler cf. Helmut Krausnick, "Vorgeschichte und Beginn des militärischen Widerstandes gegen Hitler," in: *Die Vollmacht des Gewissens*, p. 338, and H. B. Gisevius, *To the Bitter End*, pp. 288 f. Gisevius's account carries special weight since he was among the sharpest critics of Halder. Also Gerhard Ritter, *Carl Goerdeler*, p. 184.
92. It appears that Canaris and Oster were informed of this plan and approved it—in large part on the grounds that only in this way could the problem of the oath of loyalty to Hitler personally be abruptly eliminated—that problem which had so fateful an effect right up to the twentieth of July.
93. Hans Rothfels, *Opposition gegen Hitler*, p. 68; also Helmuth K. G. Rönnefarth, *Die Sudetenkrise I*, p. 506.
94. Ritter, *Goerdeler*, pp. 198 f. Shortly after the Munich conference Neville Henderson wrote to the same effect: "As things stand, by preserving peace we have saved Hitler and his regime." Klaus-Jürgen Müller, *Das Heer und Hitler*, p. 378. Here once again, incidentally, Hitler followed up on his success by promptly dismissing a number of army officers, such as Général Adam, who had emerged as oppositionists, thus snatching important key positions from the Opposition.
95. *Ciano's Hidden Diary 1937–1938*, p. 166.
96. *Ibid.*, pp. 166–68. All the concomitant circumstances make it plain that the only question at issue was how to set forth in a treaty the actual existing agreement. Of course, in the eyes of the two Western government heads, the conference also aimed at pinning Hitler down and thus making further expansion more difficult for him; but it is significant that all guarantees were merely set forth in supplementary agreements not signed by all the participants.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 167. For the course of the Munich conference cf. Stehlin, pp. 125 f.; Schmidt, *Statist*, pp. 415 f.; and François-Poncet, pp. 269 ff.
98. *Ciano's Hidden Diary 1937–1938*, p. 168.
99. Nolte, *Faschismus*, p. 281.
100. *Le Testament politique de Hitler*, pp. 118 f. The original text of the notes (the "Bormann Vermerke") published in this book have not yet been made available. This, in part, may be the reason that the language and thought have a pithiness hardly characteristic of Hitler. We must also consider that the manuscript undoubtedly was revised and that the passages cited here represent a concentrate from a long-winded text full of outbursts and digressions. Albert Speer, in conversation with the author,

has argued that Goebbels must have edited the text extensively, and perhaps written some of it himself; the diction on the whole, Speer points out, is much more in keeping with the Propaganda Minister's style than with Hitler's. For Schacht's testimony cf. IMT XIII, p. 4. A similar remark of Hitler's is recorded for September, 1938, in the diaries of Helmuth Groscurth: "He [Hitler] said he had been forced to draw back in September and had not reached his goal. He would have to wage war during his lifetime, he went on, for never again would a German enjoy such unlimited trust; he alone could do it. War aims: a) Dominion in Europe b) Domination of the world for centuries to come. The war would have to be launched soon because the others were rearming." Helmuth Groscurth, *Tagebücher eines Abwehroffiziers 1938-1940*, p. 166.

101. Cf. the speech of August 22, 1939, Domarus, pp. 1234 f.
102. IMT XX, p. 397. Keitel declared in Nuremberg that the German offensive capacity would not even have sufficed to break through Czechoslovakia's border fortifications; IMT X, p. 582.
103. Cf. Gilbert and Gott, pp. 144 ff.
104. See, for example, the report of the British chargé d'affaires in Berlin, *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, 2nd Series III, p. 277. For the quotation from *Das Schwarze Korps*, see Bracher, *Diktatur*, p. 399. Details on reactions to the pogrom in various parts of the Reich in Marlis Steinert, *Hitlers Krieg*, p. 75.
105. The speech, a key document to the understanding of Hitler's mentality, is printed in: VJHfZ 1958:2, pp. 181 ff.
106. Notes by Legation Councillor Hewel, ADAP IV, No. 228.
107. Zoller, p. 84; the following quotation is taken from the Proclamation to the German People of March 15, which had evidently been framed before the conversation with Hácha; cf. Domarus, p. 1095.
108. Quoted in Nolte, *Faschismus*, p. 330; on Chamberlain's speech in Birmingham cf. Michaelis and Schraepler, XIII, pp. 95 ff.; also Gilbert and Gott, p. 164; and Shirer, p. 454.
109. Erich Kordt, *Wahn und Wirklichkeit*, p. 153. For Hitler's later criticism of the operation against Prague, cf. *Le Testament politique de Hitler*, pp. 119 f. For the instructions to the press of March 16, 1939, cf. Hillgruber, *Strategie*, p. 15.
110. Sebastian Haffner, *Der Teufelspakt* (p. 92), a very stimulating, sharply expressed study, which also contains the reference to the three possible courses open to Hitler.
111. C. J. Burckhardt, p. 157.
112. Thus the record of the conversation among Beck, Chamberlain, and Halifax on April 4, 1939, quoted in Freund, *Weltgeschichte* II, p. 122.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
114. Shirer, p. 454.
115. Gisevius, p. 363.
116. Domarus, pp. 1119 f.
117. Cf., for example, François-Poncet, p. 282; also Grigore Gafencu, *Derniers Jours de l'Europe*, pp. 98 ff. For the following cf. Michaelis and Schraepler, XIII, pp. 211 f., 214 f.

118. IMT XXXIV, pp. 380 ff. (120-C).
119. Shirer, p. 471; Bullock (p. 504) expresses a similar opinion.
120. *My New Order*, 674 ff.
121. Quoted in Freund, *Weltgeschichte* II, pp. 373 f.
122. Notes of Embassy secretary Julius Schnurre on a conversation with Georgi Astachov, the Soviet chargé d'affaires in Berlin, on May 5, 1939; cf. ADAP VI, p. 355; also notes of von Weizsäcker on a conversation with Soviet Ambassador Merekalov on April 17, 1939; *ibid.*, No. 215.
123. C. J. Burckhardt, p. 348. On Hitler's hesitation and his wavering attitude, cf. p. 325 f.; also Bullock, pp. 515 f. The remark on the "pact with Satan" was made in a conference on August 28; cf. Halder, *Kriegstagebuch* I, p. 38.
124. ADAP VI, pp. 514 ff.
125. IMT XXXVII, pp. 546 ff.
126. C. J. Burckhardt, pp. 341 ff.
127. ADAP VI, No. 729.
128. Ernst von Weizsäcker, *Erinnerungen*, p. 235.
129. Georges Bonnet, *Avant la catastrophe*.
130. Freund, *Weltgeschichte* III, p. 124; here, too, p. 123, the Polish Foreign Minister's declaration of August 23, 1939, and, p. 165, the exchange of telegrams between Ribbentrop and Hitler.
131. The Soviet judges succeeded, however, in preventing the admission of the supplementary protocol as evidence, so that it played no further part in the trial.
132. Nolte, *Krise*, p. 204.
133. Hans-Günther Seraphim, ed., *Das politische Tagebuch Alfred Rosenbergs*, p. 82. "That is," Rosenberg commented indignantly, "about the most brazen insult that can be inflicted upon National Socialism."
134. Report of the secretary, Hencke, dated August 24, 1939, cited in Freund, *Weltgeschichte* III, pp. 166 ff.
135. Hoffmann, *Hitler Was My Friend*, p. 103. For the remark on unused historic moments cf. Hillgruber, *Staatsmänner* I, p. 122.
136. Six separate versions of this address have been preserved, each differing from the others in its stresses. Cf. the comparative analysis by Winfried Baumgart in *VJHfZ* 1968:2, pp. 120 ff. The version cited here is to be found in: IMT XXVI, 798-PS (first part) and 1014-PS (second part). Concerning the impression the speech made on its audience cf. Erich Raeder, *Mein Leben* II, pp. 165 ff. and Erich von Manstein, *Verlorene Siege*, pp. 19 f.
137. W. L. Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, p. 545.
138. From notes by Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, Sir Orme Sargent, and Lord Halifax, cited in Gilbert and Gott, pp. 320 ff.
139. Birger Dahlerus, *The Last Attempt*, pp. 104-05; also notes by Sir Nevile Henderson dated August 31, 1939, quoted in Freund, *Weltgeschichte* III, pp. 372 f.
140. Note by Paul Schmidt concerning a conversation between Hitler and Attolico on August 31, 1939, 7 P.M., cited in Freund, *Weltgeschichte* III, p. 391. For Directive Number 1 see ADAP VII, pp. 397 ff.

141. In the negotiations with England France expressed the desire not to begin military operations until September 4: to be precise, as Bonnet stressed to Halifax, on Monday evening; cf. M. Freund, *Weltgeschichte* III, pp. 412 f.
142. Speech of September 1, 1939, *The New York Times*, September 3, 1939, p. 3.
143. Schmidt, *Statist*, pp. 463 f.
144. Stehlin, *Auftrag*, p. 234; also ADAP VII, p. 445. Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, p. 617, points out this noteworthy difference.
145. Gilbert and Gott, pp. 284 f.; see also p. 274 for the following episode.
146. IMT XV, pp. 385 f.
147. Nolte, *Krise*, p. 205.
148. C. J. Burckhardt, p. 351.
149. Karl Dönitz, *Zehn Jahre und zwanzig Tage*, p. 45.

INTERPOLATION III

1. *Hitler's Table Talk*, p. 661; also Hillgruber, *Staatsmänner* I, p. 388.
2. Rauschning, *Gespräche*, p. 12; also *Tischgespräche*, p. 172.
3. Rauschning, *Gespräche*, p. 16.
4. Hillgruber, *Staatsmänner* I, pp. 102 f. In the same conversation Hitler remarked that he would wait until the fall of 1940 before committing the U-boats "with full energy," but that he hoped "by then to have finished with his enemies" (pp. 92 f.).
5. Thus in a strategy conference of July 31, 1944; cf. Heiber, *Lagebesprechungen*, p. 587; also Ernst von Weizsäcker, *Erinnerungen*, p. 258.
6. Thus to the members of the Bulgarian regency council during a conversation at Klessheim Palace on March 16, 1944, cited by Hillgruber, *Staatsmänner* II, p. 377. In the same conversation Hitler remarked that "this war can be waged all the more resolutely the less we imagine that there are any other ways to end it"; *ibid.*, p. 376.
7. The order was couched in the form of a letter that read as follows: "Reichsleiter Bouhler and Dr. Brandt are charged with the responsibility of extending the authorization of physicians to be specified by name so that patients reasonably considered to be incurably ill may, after the most serious consideration of the state of their sickness, be granted a mercy death. Adolf Hitler." Cf. IMT XXVI, p. 169. However, the euthanasia program could not be carried out to the extent intended, chiefly because of the protests from the churches that soon began.
8. Report of the Security Service (SD) for Domestic Questions dated January 8, 1940, cited in Heinz Boberach, ed., *Meldungen aus dem Reich*, pp. 34 f.
9. Address to the divisional commanders, December 12, 1944; cf. Heiber, *Lagebesprechungen*, p. 718. Also *Hitlers zweites Buch*, p. 138. Hitler's various efforts before the outbreak of the war to provide himself with an alibi against the charge of war guilt were so transparent that they proved worthless. Later, explaining his offers for a solution to the questions of Danzig and the Polish Corridor during the last days of August, Hitler

himself said bluntly: "I needed an alibi, especially for the German people, to show them that I had done everything possible to preserve peace." Cf. Schmidt, *Statist*, p. 469.

10. According to *Statistisches Handbuch des Deutschen Reiches* the expenditures for armaments during the years of Nazi rule in peacetime were as follows:

<i>Fiscal Year</i>	<i>Arms Budget</i> (billions of marks)	<i>Total Budget</i> (billions of marks)
1933-34	1.9	8.1
1934-35	1.9	10.4
1935-36	4.0	12.8
1936-37	5.8	15.8
1937-38	8.2	20.1
1938-39	18.4	31.8

11. Cf. IMT XV, pp. 385 f. (General Jodl's testimony, with the remark about the "ridiculous" reserves; in the same context Jodl also stated that "actual rearmament had to be carried out after the war began.") Also Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, *Fall Gelb*, pp. 4 ff. On the munitions situation cf. i.a. Halder, *Kriegstagebuch* I, p. 99. On September 1, 1939, the strength of the Luftwaffe was: 1,180 bomber planes, 771 single-engine fighter planes, 336 dive bombers, 408 twin-engine fighters, 40 ground attack planes, 552 transport planes, 379 reconnaissance planes, and 240 naval aircraft. By the end of 1939 an additional 2,518 aircraft were built; in 1940, 10,392; in 1941, 12,392; in 1942, 15,497; in 1943, 24,795; in 1944, 40,953; and even in 1945, 7,541 planes were produced. See Hillgruber, *Strategie*, p. 38n.
12. Alan S. Milward, in his *German Economy at War*, was the first to show that the concept of blitzkrieg arose out of more than merely tactical considerations, that it was a method of waging modern war that took account of Germany's specific situation. Cf. also *Le Testament politique de Hitler*, pp. 106 ff.
13. This is the explicit or implicit thesis of Fritz Fischer and his school; see particularly Fischer, *Griff nach der Weltmacht* and *Krieg der Illusionen*; Helmut Böhme, *Deutschlands Weg zur Grossmacht*; Klaus Wernecke, *Der Wille zur Weltgeltung*. But see also, for in some cases highly controversial views: Egmont Zechlin, "Die Illusion vom begrenzten Krieg," in: *Die Zeit*, September 17, 1965; Fritz Stern, "Bethmann Hollweg und der Krieg," in: *Recht und Staat*, Heft 351/352; Wolfgang J. Mommsen, "Die deutsche Kriegszielpolitik 1914-1918," in *Juli 1914*, the German edition of the *Journal of Contemporary History*, Munich, 1967; and, above all, Karl Dietrich Erdmann in the introduction to: Kurt Riezler, *Tagebücher, Aufsätze, Dokumente*, pp. 17 ff.
14. Heinrich Himmler in one of his speeches in Posen (October 4, 1943); Himmler was unquestionably reflecting Hitler's view as it emerged around this time in, for example, the table talk, and was expressing it in concentrated form; IMT XXIX, p. 172 (1919-PS).
15. Otto Hintze to Friedrich Meinecke; cf. *Die deutsche Katastrophe*, p. 89.

BOOK VII

1. IMT XXXVII, pp. 466 ff. (052-L).
2. Franz Halder, *Kriegstagebuch* I, p. 98; cf. also pp. 93 ff. General von Leeb, commander of an army group, spoke of the "insanity of an attack." See Jacobsen, *Fall Gelb*, pp. 50 f. Von Leeb also commented on Hitler's "appeal for peace": "So the Führer's speech in the Reichstag was only lying to the German people." For the alternative of "putting the war to sleep," cf. the sketch that General Jodl wrote in Nuremberg on "Hitler as a Strategist," printed in: *Kriegstagebuch des OKW* (KTB/OKW) IV, 2, p. 1717. For the officers' opposition during this period as a whole cf. Harold C. Deutsch, *Verschwörung gegen den Krieg*, pp. 71 ff.
3. Heinz Guderian, *Erinnerungen eines Soldaten*, p. 76. The Hitler speech cited here has been preserved in several largely consonant versions. One of the two versions used here is Nuremberg Document PS-789 (IMT XXVI, pp. 327 ff.); the other is N 104/3 in the Freiburg im Breisgau military archives; its probable author is Helmuth Groscurth.
4. Churchill, *The Second World War* II, p. 74.
5. F. Halder, *Kriegstagebuch* I, p. 302.
6. Lieutenant General Alan Brooke, quoted in Arthur Bryant, *The Turn of the Tide*, p. 147.
7. Cf. Gibson, *The Ciano Diaries*, pp. 191, 192, 225, 332. For the following letter from Mussolini to Hitler see *Hitler e Mussolini, Lettere e Documenti*, p. 35.
8. Gibson, *The Ciano Diaries*, pp. 235-36.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 267. The preceding remark is cited in Raymond Cartier, *La seconde guerre mondiale* I, p. 137; cf. also Michaelis and Schraepfer, XV, p. 150.
10. So Albert Speer has informed the author; cf. also the above-mentioned sketch by Jodl in KTB/OKW IV, 2, pp. 1718 f., who also, incidentally, credits Hitler with the timely development of a 7.5-centimeter antitank gun.
11. Heiber, *Lagebesprechungen*, p. 30.
12. Gibson, *The Ciano Diaries*, p. 266.
13. Cf. the description in Shirer, *Berlin Diary*, p. 331.
14. Nolte, *Epoche*, p. 435.
15. Meinecke, *Briefwechsel*, pp. 363 f. The Opposition went into a deep depression. Ulrich von Hassell's diary (*Vom anderen Deutschland*, pp. 156 ff.) speaks of "badly shaken minds" among Oster, Dohnanyi, Guttenberg, and also Goerdeler. Von Kessel, he says, was "wholly resigned and would like to study archaeology." An anonymous acquaintance in the Opposition camp proved to be representative of a widespread mood: he was "inclined to believe that a man who achieved such successes must be walking with God." Von Hassell himself summed up the inner conflict of many conservative Oppositionists in the phrase: "One might feel desperate under the tragic burden of being unable to rejoice in such successes." For the following episode at Bruly-le-Pêche see Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, pp. 170 f.

16. This was Article 8 of the agreement, stating: "The German government solemnly declares to the French government that it does not intend to employ for its purposes those vessels of the French navy now in ports under German control."
17. Winston Churchill, speech in House of Commons, May 13, 1940.
18. Winston Churchill, *Blood, Sweat and Tears*, p. 334 (speech of July 14, 1940).
19. Hitler, *My New Order*, pp. 836 ff.
20. Karl Klee, *Dokumente zum Unternehmen 'Seelöwe'*, pp. 441 f. For Admiral Raeder's report—which, however, gave the navy a chance for a successful landing "only on the assumption that command of the air is achieved"—see KTB/OKW I, p. 63.
21. Speaking on June 6, 1940, to Sir Edward Spears; quoted in Michaelis and Schraepfer XV, p. 261. On November 28, 1940, in a speech to the French Chamber of Deputies, Alfred Rosenberg attempted to interpret what had happened in the same light: "The decadent successors of the French Revolution have clashed with the first troops of the great German Revolution. With that . . . this era of 1789 is now approaching its end. In a triumphal victory it has been . . . crushed when, already rotten, it still arrogantly attempted to go on dominating the destiny of Europe in the twentieth century as well." Rosenberg, *Gold und Blut*, p. 7.
22. This fear of American intervention, always present, had been given renewed impetus by Roosevelt's tough speech of July 19, 1940, which could only be interpreted as a resolute challenge; cf. the notes of Dieckhoff, the German ambassador in Washington, of July 21, 1940, in: ADAP X, pp. 213 f.; also Halder, KTB II, p. 30 (July 22, 1940). From that moment on this fear affected almost all discussions on strategy; cf., for example, Raeder, *Mein Leben* II, pp. 246 f.; also KTB/OKW I, pp. 88 ff. For an overall view see Friedländer, *Prelude to Downfall*.
23. Tagebuch Engel, November 4, 1940, quoted in Hillgruber, *Strategie*, p. 354n.
24. Thus at the headquarters of Army Group A (von Rundstedt's) in Charleville; cf. Klee, *Das Unternehmen "Seelöwe"*, pp. 189 f.
25. KTB/OKW I, p. 996. There is a great deal of controversy on the question of when Hitler definitively decided to attack the Soviet Union; cf. particularly Gerhard L. Weinberg, "Der deutsche Entschluss zum Angriff auf die Sowjetunion," in: *VJHfZ* 1953:2, pp. 301 ff., and the replies of H. G. Seraphim and A. Hillgruber, *ibid.*, 1954:2, pp. 240 ff.
26. *Le Testament politique de Hitler*, pp. 93 ff. In conclusion Hitler also cited Germany's dependence on deliveries of Russian goods, which Stalin could at any time use for purposes of blackmail, especially in regard to Finland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Hitler then continued: "It would not have been fitting for the Third Reich, as the representative and protector of Europe, to sacrifice these friendly countries on the altar of Communism. That would have dishonored us, and moreover we would have been punished for it. From the moral as well as from the strategic point of view it would therefore have been a wrong decision." *Ibid.*, p. 96. On June 12,

- 1941, Hitler gave a similar justification in speaking to Marshal Antonescu, the Rumanian Chief of State; cf. Hillgruber, *Staatsmänner* I, pp. 588 ff. Another indication that the war against the Soviet Union was Hitler's "real" war may be found in his remark of July, 1940, that he must fight the war in the East before finishing the war in the West because he could "hardly ask the people to undertake a new war against Russia, given the mood that would prevail after a victory over England." Cf. Bernhard von Lossberg, *Im Wehrmachtsführungsstab*.
27. The men involved were chiefly Admiral Raeder, General Rommel, Baron von Weizsäcker, Count von der Schulenburg, the German Ambassador in Moscow, and General Köstring, the military attaché at the Embassy in Moscow. On the idea of the offensive in the Near East cf. Bullock, p. 639. Bullock believes that barely a fourth of the forces provided for the attack on the Soviet Union would probably have sufficed to deliver a fateful blow to British rule in the Near East.
 28. ADAP XII, 2, p. 892.
 29. Gisevius, *Adolf Hitler*, p. 471. On Hitler's depressed mood during the period before the beginning of the campaign, which was in such striking contrast to the optimism of the military leaders, see, for example, Walter Schellenberg, *Memoiren*, pp. 179 f.
 30. Thus to the British ambassador, cited in Jacobsen, *Aussenpolitik*, p. 377.
 31. KTB/OKW I, p. 341.
 32. Halder, *Kriegstagebuch* II, pp. 335 ff.
 33. Cf. Krausnick, "Judenverfolgung," in: *Anatomie des SS-Staates* II, pp. 363 ff., with further references to sources. Hitler personally edited the text of the assignment for Himmler and ordered it included in the High Command of the armed forces directive for March 13, 1941; cf. KTB/OKW I, pp. 340 ff. Further to that assignment see Walter Warlimont, *Im Hauptquartier der Wehrmacht*, pp. 167 ff.
 34. Cf. Nuremberg Document NOKW-1692, reprinted in Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, "Kommissarbefehl und Massenexekutionen sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener," in: *Anatomie des SS-Staates* II, pp. 223 f. The "commissar order" is printed *ibid.*, pp. 225 ff. See also the testimonies of the generals at Nuremberg, IMT XX, pp. 635, 663; IMT XXVI, pp. 406 ff., and XXXIV, pp. 252 ff., 191 ff.
 35. IMT XXXVIII, pp. 86 ff. (221-L). Along the same lines Rosenberg informed the "most intimate participants in the Eastern problem" on June 20, 1941: "From today on we are not waging a crusade against Bolshevism solely to save the poor Russians from this Bolshevism for all time to come, but rather we are doing so in order to further German world policy and to secure the German Reich." Cf. IMT XXVI, p. 614 (1058-PS).
 36. Affidavit of Otto Ohlendorf, Nuremberg Documents IV, pp. 312 ff.; further data in Helmut Krausnick, "Judenverfolgung," pp. 367 f.
 37. Thus to Japanese Ambassador Oshima on July 15, 1941; cited in Hillgruber, *Staatsmänner* I, pp. 600 ff. For Halder's note see his *Kriegstagebuch* III, p. 38.
 38. See Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia 1941-1945*, p. 62. For the

shift in emphasis in the armaments program and for the planning of the return march from the Soviet Union, cf. Directive 32 b of July 14, 1941, printed in Walther Hubatsch, *Hitlers Weisungen*, pp. 136 ff., and KTB/OKW I, pp. 1022 ff.

39. *Hitler's Table Talk*, p. 44. For the intended fate of Leningrad and Moscow, see Halder, *Kriegstagebuch* III, p. 53; *Tischgespräche*, p. 251; Hillgruber, *Staatsmänner* I, p. 643; KTB/OKW I, pp. 1021, 1070; Zoller, *Hitler privat*, p. 143. In his speech of November 8, 1941, Hitler also declared that Leningrad would not be captured, but starved out; see Domarus, p. 1775. A detailed prognosis for the annihilation of the city was elaborated in an order issued by Admiral Kurt Fricke, naval chief of staff, dated September 29, 1941: "It is planned to surround the city in a close encirclement and level it to the ground by bombardment with artillery of all calibers and by continual bombing from the air. Pleas for surrender resulting from the city's predicament will be rejected, since the problem of sheltering and feeding the population cannot and should not be solved by us. In this war for our existence we can have no interest in preserving even a part of this urban population." Cited in: Michaelis and Schraepfer XVII, pp. 380 ff.
40. Cf., for example, the references in various conversations in Hillgruber, *Staatsmänner* I, pp. 64, 594, 619, 628. According to Halder, Marshal Coulaincourt's memoirs of the campaign of 1812 were withdrawn from circulation in the winter of 1941-42. See Dallin, *German Rule in Russia, 1941-1945*.
41. Halder, *Kriegstagebuch* III, p. 295; also Hillgruber, *Strategie*, pp. 551 f. The following spring Hitler once more declared that he would have "gladly waged this war against Bolshevism with the British navy and air force as partners." See *Tischgespräche*, p. 244.
42. KTB/OKW IV, 2, p. 1503.
43. In conversations with Swedish Foreign Minister Scavenius and with Croatian Foreign Minister Lorković. Cited in Hillgruber, *Staatsmänner* I, pp. 657, 661.
44. To Ambassador Oshima on July 15, 1941, cited in *ibid.*, p. 605. For the opinion of Brauchitsch see Goebbels, *Tagebücher 1942-43*, p. 132. Hitler did commute General von Sponeck's death sentence to imprisonment, but two and a half years later, after the attempted assassination of July 20, 1944, the Gestapo turned up at Germersheim Fortress and made short work of shooting the general.
45. Goebbels, *Tagebücher 1942-43*, p. 133.
46. Franz Halder, *Hitler als Feldherr*, pp. 50, 52. As Speer (p. 239) reports, the ascent of Mount Elbrus was one cause of Hitler's vexation. He took a characteristically exaggerated view: "For hours he raged as if his entire plan of campaign had been ruined by this bit of sport."
47. See Speer, p. 287. In a personal communication Speer has informed the author: "As I have now learned from a member of the RAF staff, there were technical obstacles to carrying out the concept of paralyzing vital segments of industry. There was, for example, the impossibility of finding the target at night, over great distances, by electronic means, and of course

- there was the inadequate range of the fighter escorts for the American daylight bombers. These bombers had tried to attack Schweinfurt by day without escort, but had to take excessively heavy losses. All that changed in 1944." About one-third of the German capacity to wage war was dependent on the production of synthetic gasoline; the air force relied on that source for all its fuel. See Hillgruber, *Strategie*, pp. 420 f.
48. Churchill, speech at the Mansion House, November 10, 1942.
 49. See Domarus, pp. 1935, 1937 f., 1941.
 50. *Ibid.*, p. 1937.
 51. Speer, pp. 245 f.; also Warlimont, pp. 284 f.
 52. Heiber, *Lagebesprechungen*, pp. 126 ff.
 53. Gibson, *The Ciano Diaries*, p. 556; also Goebbels, *Tagebücher 1942-43*, p. 126, and Speer, p. 302.
 54. Goebbels, *Tagebücher 1942-43*, p. 241. For the preceding remark see Speer, p. 249.
 55. These phrases may be found, in the order given, in *Tischgespräche*, pp. 210, 212, 303, 348, 171, 181.
 56. See, in the order given, *Tischgespräche*, pp. 355, 351, 361, 468, 258, and Zoller, p. 174.
 57. *Tischgespräche*, p. 465. The parallel to the "period of struggle" first comes up in the speech of November 8, 1942, where it is promptly used several times; see Domarus, pp. 1935, 1936, 1937, 1941, 1943, 2085; also *Tischgespräche*, p. 364, i.a.
 58. Heiber, *Lagebesprechungen*, pp. 779 f.; cf. also Henry Picker in: *Tischgespräche*, pp. 128, 130; also Speer, p. 243.
 59. Ribbentrop to the Nuremberg tribunal psychiatrist Douglas M. Kelley, cited from Hans-Dietrich Röhrs, *Hitler. Die Zerstörung einer Persönlichkeit*, pp. 53 f.
 60. See the extensive references to Hitler's health in Maser, *Hitler*, pp. 332 f.
 61. Morell log, cited *ibid.*, p. 339; the drug was prostacrinum, an extract of seminal vesicles and prostate glands. On Morell and his methods of treatment, cf. Trevor-Roper, *The Last Days of Hitler*, pp. 59 ff.
 62. Report of Dr. Erwin Giesing of June 12, 1945, cited in Maser, *Hitler*, p. 429.
 63. This is Röhrs's (*Hitler*, p. 121) wholly erroneous view. On the question of whether Hitler was suffering from one of the forms of Parkinson's disease, or only from what is called the Parkinson syndrome, see *ibid.*, pp. 43 ff. and 101 f.; also the study by Johann Recktenwald, *Woran hat Adolf Hitler gelitten?* which assumes a Parkinson syndrome caused by encephalitis. See also Maser, *Hitler*, pp. 326 ff. and Bullock, pp. 717 f. Probably the exact nature of Hitler's illness can no longer be determined, since no examination with a specific investigatory aim was ever undertaken. Because of the extremely inadequate documentation, none of the various diagnoses can be persuasively supported or rejected; the principal symptom of both Parkinson's disease and the Parkinson syndrome, namely the shaking arm or leg, can also be caused by many other diseases.

64. See Heiber, *Lagebesprechungen*, p. 608, and the speech of November 8, 1942, Domarus, p. 1944.
65. A variety of interpretations has been offered for the motives and the background of this speech. Some see it in connection with the demand for "unconditional surrender" formulated in Casablanca a good three weeks earlier (see, for example, Werner Stephan, *Joseph Goebbels*, pp. 256 f.), some as an attempt by the Propaganda Minister to enhance his personal position and announce his claims to the position of second in command, for with the disintegration of Hitler's personality and Göring's simultaneous loss of prestige, that position had become crucial. Cf. Rudolf Semler, *Goebbels—the Man Next to Hitler*, pp. 68 f., also Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel, *Doctor Goebbels*, pp. 245 f., Heiber, *Joseph Goebbels*, pp. 328 ff., and the balanced summing-up by Günter Moltmann, "Goebbels' Speech on Total War, Feb. 18, 1943," *Republic to Reich*, pp. 298 ff. On the initiative of the Goebbels-Speer-Ley-Funk combination see also Speer, pp. 254 ff.
66. In England, for example, the number of servants in private households was reduced to one-third of what it had been before the war, whereas in Germany the figure actually increased; cf. Speer, pp. 220, 540. The number of women employed in industry rose only slightly during the war, from 2,620,000 on July 31, 1939, to 2,808,000 on July 31, 1943; a year later it had dropped again to 2,678,000. See USSBS, *The Effects of Strategic Bombing on the German Economy*. Also confidential report of the Economic Conference of February 26, 1943, BAK 115/1942; see also BAK NS 19/1963. For the preceding remark of Hitler, see Rauschnig, *Gespräche*, p. 22.
67. This was a visit to Army Group South (von Manstein). Earlier that year there had been a total of two visits to front-line headquarters: on February 17 to Army Group South and on March 13 to Army Group Center (von Kluge). A visit was planned for June 19, 1944, to the invasion front, that is, to Rommel's headquarters in Roche-Guyon Palace, but this plan was canceled at short notice. See Hans Speidel, *Invasion 1944*, pp. 112 ff.
68. Speer, pp. 245, 295 f., 299 f.
69. Krebs, *Tendenzen und Gestalten*, pp. 124 ff.
70. Hans Buchheim, "Befehl und Gehorsam," in: *Anatomie des SS-Staates I*, pp. 338 f.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 329.
72. Rauschnig, *Gespräche*, p. 129. For the remark of Goebbels see *Tagebücher 1942–43*, date of March 27, 1942.
73. *Mein Kampf*, p. 679.
74. IMT XXVI, p. 266 (710-PS). Rosenberg's remark is cited from Robert M. W. Kempner, *Eichmann und Komplizen*, p. 97. On the question of the specific decision for the "final solution" see Krausnick, "Judenverfolgung," pp. 360 ff. The concept "final solution" first appeared around the same time, in a decree of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* dated May 20, 1941; see IMT NG-3104.

75. See the report of SS Obergruppenführer Erich v.d. Bach-Zelewski, ND, NO-2653.
76. Part of the statement of the engineer Hermann Friedrich Gräbe on the mass shooting of some 5,000 Jews in Dubno (Ukraine) on October 5, 1942, by SS and Ukrainian militiamen; see IMT XXXI, pp. 446 ff. (2992-PS).
77. Cited from Bracher, *Diktatur*, p. 463. On the number of Jews killed in the big extermination camps of the East, see Heinz Höhne, *Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf*, p. 349. The remark of Rudolf Höss is quoted in his autobiographical account, *Kommandant in Auschwitz*, p. 120—where, incidentally, in a curious perversion of ambition he claims some 3 million victims for Auschwitz alone.
78. *Hitler's Table Talk*, p. 426.
79. *Tischgespräche*, pp. 190, 271 f., 469. In the same spirit Himmler, in a memorandum on the General Plan for the East dated April 27, 1942, suggested retraining the midwives in the Eastern territories as abortionists. See Heiber, "Der Generalplan Ost," in: *VJHfZ* 1958:3, p. 292.
80. Cf. the document in *VJHfZ* 1958:3, p. 299. For Otto Hofmann's statement see ND, NO-4113.
81. IMT XXXVII, p. 517; also *Tischgespräche*, p. 253.
82. *Mein Kampf*, p. 383.
83. *Tischgespräche*, p. 288, and Zoller, p. 105.
84. A statement by Kaltenbrunner, who was echoing similar ideas in the top leadership of the SS; cf. IMT XXXII, p. 297 (3462-PS). For this context cf. Martin Bormann's memorandum of January 29, 1944, cited in Jacobsen and Jochmann, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, under that date.
85. *Hitler's Table Talk*, pp. 110, 621. See also the note on Rosenberg's conversation with Hitler of December 14, 1941, in: IMT XXVII, p. 272 (1517-PS). The name "Tauria" was Rosenberg's idea; Hitler preferred "Gotenland."
86. Dallin, pp. 281 f.
87. *Tischgespräche*, p. 320. The metaphor of the "trophy cup" bobbed up elsewhere, for example, in the course of Hitler's nocturnal monologue on January 30, 1933. See Görlitz and Quint, *Adolf Hitler*, p. 367.
88. From the draft by State Secretary Stuckart; see the records of the interrogation of Stuckart's associate H. Globke on September 25, 1945, RF-602, IMT IV, pp. 472 ff.; also ND, NG-3572, NG-3455, and the file notation on the predatory discussion in Göring's headquarters on June 19, 1940, printed in IMT XXVII, pp. 29 ff. (1155-PS). According to Erich Kordt, *Nicht aus den Akten*, p. 393, Calais and Boulogne were to remain in German possession as bases. For Hitler's comment on the Channel positions see *Tischgespräche*, p. 336.
89. Ever since 1940 a National Planning Commission for the Design of German Soldiers' Cemeteries had been at work under the direction of Professor Wilhelm Kreis. The Commission's assignment was defined as follows: "Facing westward on the cliffs of the Atlantic coast magnificent structures will rise as an eternal memorial to the liberation of the Continent from dependency on the British and to the unification of Europe

under the leadership of her German heartland nation. The austere, noble beauty of the soldiers' cemetery at Thermopylae serves as symbol for the German inheritance of the spirit of Hellas's classical culture. Towers soaring massively over the plains of the East will rise as symbols of the taming of the chaotic powers of the eastern steppes by the disciplined might of Teutonic forces for order—surrounded by the graves of the warrior generation of German blood who, as so often for the past two thousand years, saved the existence of Occidental civilization from the destructive tidal waves out of Central Asia." Cited in Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik des Nationalsozialismus*, pp. 128 f.

90. These examples are taken from the collection of Himmler's letters by Helmut Heiber, *Reichsführer!* . . . and in order of quotation may be found on pp. 194, 222 f., 251, 145, 95. See also Heiber's foreword, especially pp. 22 f.
91. Zoller, p. 73, and *Libres propos*, p. 123. On Hitler's superstitiousness see *Tischgespräche*, pp. 166 f. and 333.
92. *Hitler e Mussolini*, pp. 165 f., cited from Bullock, p. 706. Schmidt, *Statist*, relates that Hitler gave Mussolini "a regular tongue-lashing." Mussolini, Schmidt wrote, had been "so excited by the news of the air raid on Rome that after his return from Rome he urgently requested my notes on the conversations. He had not been able to follow them, we were told."
93. Heiber, *Lagebesprechungen*, p. 231 (on May 20, 1943).
94. Speer, p. 301.
95. Goebbels, *Tagebücher 1942-43*, pp. 392 ff. For Hitler's remark to Ribbentrop see *Zwischen London und Moskau*, p. 265.

BOOK VIII

1. Himmler, referring to Hitler's orders. What must be achieved, he stated in a letter to SS leader and Police Chief Prützmann dated September 7, 1943, was a situation in which "no human being, no cattle, not a bag of grain, not a railroad track remains behind; not a house remains standing, not a mine exists that has not been wrecked for years to come, not a well that has not been poisoned. The enemy must really find a totally scorched and destroyed country. . . . Do everything that is humanly possible." Quoted from Heiber, *Reichsführer!* . . . , p. 233.
2. For example, Helmuth James Graf von Moltke and the majority of his friends belonging to the Kreisau Circle. George F. Kennan called Count von Moltke "the greatest person, morally, and the largest and most enlightened in his concepts, that I met on either side of the battle lines"; George F. Kennan, *Memoirs 1925-1950*, p. 121.
3. See Schellenberg, pp. 279 ff. On Himmler's affidavit, see Felix Kersten, *Totenkopf und Treue*, pp. 209 ff. After reading this medical report (which, however, was prepared without an examination of the patient), Kersten concluded that Hitler belonged in a mental hospital, not in the Führer's

- headquarters. For the entire subject of the "resistance" within the SS, its motives and its various initiatives, see *Höhne*, pp. 448 ff.
4. Cited in Dietrich Ehlers, *Technik und Moral einer Verschwörung*, p. 102. It is a common misunderstanding, probably first voiced by Bullock, p. 736 f., that the Kreisau Circle consisted merely of thinkers and that its members were even proud of their contempt for all action; cf. especially Ger van Roon, *Neuordnung im Widerstand*, where ample evidence is presented to refute this notion.
 5. See Ehlers, p. 93. For the principle arguments against the German nationalist conspirators see Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, pp. 98 ff.
 6. Inquiries among the workers, inspired by the Jesuit priest Alfred Delp, who belonged to the Kreisau Circle, yielded rather discouraging results. Von Trotts's memoranda also speak of widespread passivity in the working class; cf. Hans Mommsen, "Gesellschaftsbild und Verfassungspläne des deutschen Widerstands," in Schmitthenner and Buchheim, ed., *Der Deutsche Widerstand gegen Hitler*, p. 75. A Social Democratic opinion poll taken in 1942 came to the conclusion: "We will not be able to bring the masses out into the streets"; see Emil Henk, *Die Tragödie des 20. Juli 1944*, pp. 21 ff., and Allen Welsh Dulles, *Germany's Underground*, p. 108. During the war significant resistance by the radical Left existed only after the beginning of the attack on the Soviet Union. That resistance came to a focus in the "Rote Kapelle" headed by Lieutenant Harro Schulze-Boysen and Administrative Secretary (Oberregierungsrat) Arvid Harnack; some of the members engaged in espionage for the Soviet Union. In August, 1942, some one hundred persons were arrested in connection with these activities; many of them were executed shortly afterward. Another group around Anton Saefkow was caught early in July, 1944; its fate, as we shall see below, played a part in precipitating Stauffenberg's decision to act.
 7. Ehlers, p. 143. For the biography of Stauffenberg see now Christian Müller, *Oberst i.G. Stauffenberg*. Incidentally, when Stefan George died in Minusio near Locarno on December 4, 1933, Stauffenberg with his two brothers and eight other friends of George were at his bedside.
 8. Fabian von Schlabrendorff, *Offiziere gegen Hitler*, p. 138.
 9. Speidel, pp. 113 ff. Characteristically, Hitler had waited until a few hours before the meeting to inform the two field marshals that it would take place, and where.
 10. A specific motive for Hitler's sudden departure has been occasionally mentioned. It is said that shortly after Rundstedt and Rommel left, a V-1 that had veered off course struck in the vicinity of the Führer's headquarters. Actually, we can regard this only as the pretext that Hitler used to avoid the confrontation; for why should a rocket accidentally striking in Margival have made a meeting in distant Roche-Guyon any more dangerous. On the incident itself see Speidel, p. 119.
 11. Speidel, pp. 155 ff.
 12. Communication to the author from Baroness von Below.
 13. Zoller, p. 184. Hitler requested that the clothes "be sent to Fräulein Braun at the Berghof with instructions that she is to preserve them carefully."

14. Schmidt, *Statist*, p. 582.
15. Domarus, p. 2127 f.
16. Operation Thunderstorm was initiated abruptly on August 22, 1944, and resulted in the arrest of some 5,000 deputies and functionaries of the former political parties, including such persons as Konrad Adenauer and Kurt Schumacher. See Walter Hammer, "Die Gewitteraktion vom 22. 8. 1944," in *Freiheit und Recht*, 1959:8-9, pp. 15 ff.
17. W. Scheidt, *Gespräche mit Hitler*, cited from Eberhard Zeller, *Geist der Freiheit*, p. 538; also Heiber, *Lagebesprechungen*, p. 588.
18. Quoted in Ehlers, p. 113; see also Zeller, p. 461.
19. The speech is printed in: *VJHfZ* 1953:4, pp. 357 ff.; the passage quoted is on pp. 384 f.
20. Domarus, p. 2127.
21. Sebastian Haffner in a review in the magazine *Konkret*, 1964:2 of Kunrat von Hammerstein's book *Spähtrupp*.
22. Adolf Heusinger, *Befehl im Widerstreit*, p. 367.
23. Schlabrendorff, p. 154.
24. Cited in Bullock, p. 757, n. 1.
25. Speer, p. 406.
26. Heiber, *Lagebesprechungen*, pp. 615, 620 (August 31, 1944).
27. Radio address of January 30, cited in Domarus, p. 2083.
28. *Tischgespräche*, p. 468; see also p. 376.
29. General Bayerlein, cited in Cartier, Vol. II, p. 274. The description of Hitler is General von Manteuffel's, cited from Shirer, p. 1091.
30. Heiber, *Lagebesprechungen*, pp. 721 ff.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 740.
32. Domarus, p. 2198.
33. Rauschning, *Gespräche*, p. 115.
34. *Le Testament politique de Hitler*, p. 67. The preceding quotation is based on a memo to the author from Otto Remer. Remer, in conversation, had reminded Hitler that a few weeks earlier he had called the Ardennes offensive the last chance in this war, and had said that if it failed the whole war was lost.
35. "Lagebesprechung" of April 27, 1945, printed in *Der Spiegel* 1966:3, p. 42. On planning destruction see Speer, p. 403.
36. Cited in Trevor-Roper, *The Last Days of Hitler*, p. 72.
37. Cf. Speer, p. 425. On July 20, 1944, Hitler had told Mussolini that he was "determined to level London completely" by bombardment with V-2 rockets. They would "keep firing at London until the entire city is destroyed." See Hillgruber, *Staatsmänner* II, pp. 470 f. The order to defend Paris or reduce it to ashes was issued on August 23, 1944, but was disobeyed by General von Choltitz; see the account by Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Is Paris Burning?* The order itself is printed in Jacobsen, 1939-1945, pp. 587 f.
38. Goebbels, cited in Trevor-Roper, *The Last Days of Hitler*, p. 51.
39. Printed in KTB/OKW IV, 2, pp. 1701 ff. Cf. the description in Gerhard Boldt, *Die letzten Tage*, p. 15.

40. Zoller, p. 150.
41. Guderian, p. 376; also Boldt, pp. 26 f. The doctor mentioned was Dr. Giesing; cf. the account in Maser, *Hitler*, pp. 350 f.
42. Zoller, p. 230. "From time to time," the report continues, "he raised his eyes to the portrait of Frederick the Great that hung above his desk and repeated his saying: 'Ever since I have come to know men, I love dogs.'"
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 232.
44. Speer, p. 399.
45. Zoller, pp. 29 f. During a military conference in January Hitler wondered "whether a new shell ought not to be made now, after all" (Heiber, *Lagebesprechungen*, p. 867), and when General Karl Wolff visited him on April 18, Hitler elaborated on his "plans for the near future." See Eugen Dollmann, *Dolmetscher der Diktatoren*, p. 235.
46. Cited in Görnitz and Quint, p. 616; see also Domarus, pp. 2202 ff.
47. Speer, p. 426.
48. The "flag order" is printed in Jacobsen, 1939-1945, pp. 591 f. The so-called Nero Command is printed in KTB/OKW IV, 2, pp. 1580 f.
49. Trevor-Roper, ed., *The Bormann Letters*, p. 198.
50. Speer, p. 440.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 453.
52. Bullock, pp. 780 f.
53. Statement by Frau Inge Haberzettel, one of the Propaganda Minister's secretaries. Cf. the description in Trevor-Roper, *Last Days*, p. 100. For Ley's death rays see Speer, p. 464.
54. Speer, p. 463. For the following description of Hitler, see p. 464.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 474. There are many witnesses to the attitude of Goebbels; the remark quoted here is taken from the "Lagebesprechung" of April 23, 1945; see *Der Spiegel*, 1966:3, p. 34.
56. Speer, p. 475.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 459.
58. Karl Koller, *Der letzte Monat*, pp. 19 ff.
59. The witnesses to the course of events are chiefly: Keitel, Jodl, General Christian, Colonel von Freytag-Loringhoven, Lorenz, Colonel von Below, and Fräulein Krüger, who was Bormann's secretary. Our account largely follows that of Trevor-Roper, who checked the statements of these witnesses and extracted the points of essential agreement; see *Last Days*, pp. 118 f.; also the statement of Gerhard Herrgesell, one of the stenographers, in: KTB/OKW IV, 2, pp. 1696 f.
60. See the transcript of this account in Koller, p. 31.
61. Quoted by Trevor-Roper, *Last Days*, p. 127.
62. Speer, p. 480; but see also p. 485.
63. Quoted in Trevor-Roper, *Last Days*, p. 128.
64. Speer, p. 483.
65. *Le Testament politique de Hitler*, p. 61 (February 4, 1945).
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 57 ff. (February 4, 1945).
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 87 ff.; 129 ff. (February 14 and 25, 1945). Hitler made very similar remarks in a military conference of March 5, 1943; see Heiber,

Lagebesprechungen, p. 171; see also the comparable early comment in Rauschnig, *Gespräche*, p. 115.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 101 ff. (February 17, 1945). The opening of the campaign in the East actually was postponed for a few weeks, but this decision was not due solely to Mussolini's invasion of Greece. Questions of weather, of time for the deployment of allies, and so on, played a part. Cf. the study "Hat das britische Eingreifen in Griechenland den deutschen Angriff auf Russland verzögert oder nicht?" (on file at the Militärgeschichtliche Forschungsamt Freiburg im Breisgau). See also Hillgruber, *Strategie*, p. 506. Hitler himself, moreover, sometimes said just the opposite, at least to Mussolini; cf. the reference in Nolte, *Epoche*, p. 586.
69. *Le Testament politique de Hitler*, p. 78.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 108 (February 17, 1945). For Trevor-Roper's comment see pp. 46 f. Hitler's opinion agrees amazingly with a remark of the French writer Drieu la Rochelle, who toward the end of 1944, shortly before his suicide, explained the defeat as follows: "The reason for the collapse of German policy lies not in its lack of moderation, but in its lack of decisiveness. In no field was the German revolution pushed ahead far enough. . . . The German revolution dealt far too circumspectly with the old men in business and in the army; it spared too much of the old bureaucracy. This double mistake was exposed on July 20. Hitler should have struck harshly at the disloyal Left, but also shown no mercy to the disloyal Right. Because he did not strike, or did not strike hard enough, the irreparable consequences emerged, with an increasingly dire effect, in the course of the war. In all the occupied countries of Europe German policy proved to be burdened by all the prejudices of superannuated rules of warfare and outmoded diplomacy; it was unable to exploit the novelty and breadth of the magnificent mission that had been offered to it; it proved incapable of transforming an old-fashioned war of conquest into a revolutionary war. It believed it would be able to reduce the violence of warfare to a minimum in order to win over European public opinion—and was forced to see this opinion turning against itself because it was offering the European public nothing new and compelling." Cited in Nolte, *Faschismus*, p. 380.
71. Cf. Trevor-Roper, *Last Days*, p. 175.
72. Hitler's political and personal testaments are both printed in: N.B. 3569-PS.
73. The original text of this document was destroyed; it is given here in von Below's reconstruction as cited by Trevor-Roper, *Last Days*, pp. 194 f.
74. See Lev Bezymenski, *The Death of Adolf Hitler*, p. 72; cf. also Trevor-Roper, *Last Days*, p. 196.
75. Trevor-Roper, *Last Days*, p. 198.
76. The Russian commission's autopsy report, Document 12, claims that remains of a crushed ampoule of poison were found in the mouth of the corpse, which it believed to be Hitler. But the report does not mention the distinct odor of bitter almonds given off by cyanide compounds, which was observed in the other bodies. German participants have denied that any

fragments of skull could have been found, given the degree to which the flames consumed the body; cf. Maser, *Hitler*, pp. 432 f. Given Hitler's fear that his suicide might be unsuccessful, it is not out of the question that he may have bitten a poison capsule and simultaneously pressed the trigger of his gun. Bezymenski's effort (p. 72) to exclude this possibility by referring to the "foremost Soviet forensic scientist" is not convincing, not even in the manner of presentation. For the statements of eyewitnesses see Trevor-Roper, *Last Days*, p. 201.

77. Statement of Otto Günsche, cited in Maser, *Hitler*, p. 432. The previous statement was made by the guard Hermann Karnau; see the detailed quotation in Fest, *The Face of the Third Reich*, p. 324, n. 40.
78. Bezymenski alleges (pp. 66 f.) as the motive for Soviet secrecy that the results of the medical investigation were being withheld in case "someone might try to slip into the role of the Führer saved by a miracle." Also, the aim was to exclude all possibility of error. There is no need to comment on the first argument, since silence could only give support to the claim that the Führer was still alive, and in fact did. The second argument is also scarcely convincing, since the credibility of the autopsy record could not increase in the course of years. For the various rumors see Trevor-Roper, *Last Days*, Preface; he also gives an illuminating account of his vain efforts to obtain information or co-operation from the Russians.

CONCLUSION

1. Trevor-Roper, *Last Days*, p. 45.
2. Rauschning, *Gespräche*, p. 212.
3. Photo in the author's possession.
4. *Hitlers Zweites Buch*, p. 174, and *Mein Kampf*, p. 646. Cf. also *Le Testament politique de Hitler*, pp. 62 f. (February 4, 1945): "Germany had no choice. . . . We could not rest content with a sham independence. That might be enough for Swedes or the Swiss, who are always willing to be put off with empty promises so long as their pockets are filled. The Weimar Republic asked for nothing more. But the Third Reich could not be content with such a modest claim. We were condemned to wage war."
5. *Tischgespräche*, p. 273; also Rauschning, *Gespräche*, p. 105.
6. Best known, and frequently cited in German apologetic works, is Winston Churchill's statement in *Great Contemporaries*, p. 226: "Whatever else may be thought about these exploits, they are certainly among the most remarkable in the whole history of the world."
7. *Le Testament politique de Hitler*, p. 139 (February 26, 1945).
8. *Tischgespräche*, p. 489.
9. Hitler to the Munich court during his trial, February 26, 1924. See Boepple, p. 110.
10. Cf. Minutes of the Conference of the Expanded Executive Committee of the Communist International, Moscow, June 12-13, 1923, cited in Nolte,

- Theorien*, p. 92. The speech is highly interesting because, contrary to all the conspiratorial theories that circulated later, it takes seriously the idea of Fascism as a catch-all for the masses disappointed with socialism.
11. Nietzsche, *The Dawn* (*Morgenröte*), aphorism 534.
 12. Speech of January 25, 1939, cited in Jacobsen and Jochmann, *Ausgewählte Dokumente*, p. 9. For the remark on German Social Democracy, cf. *Libres propos*, p. 36. American social scientists, in order to avoid the peculiar moral problems of terminology, have introduced the concept of "modernization" into the discussion. The Fascist systems in Italy or Germany, it is argued, represent above all stages in the process of repressing traditional social structures. Much of this argument fails to consider adequately that "modernization" can be only one interpretative aspect and that Fascism cannot be defined exclusively by its attitude toward the process of industrialization, urbanization, and rationalization. A detailed and satisfying study remains to be published. Cf. David Apter, *The Politics of Modernization*; H. A. Turner, Jr., "Faschismus und Anti-Modernismus," in: *Faschismus und Kapitalismus in Deutschland*, pp. 157 ff., with further references.
 13. At the beginning was the celebrated article in the *New York Post* of December 20, 1941, on the gassing of a thousand Warsaw Jews.
 14. Bertolt Brecht, "An die Nachgeborenen" ("To Posterity"), in: *Selected Poems*, trans. H. R. Hays, New York, 1947, p. 173.
 15. Carlo Sforza, *European Dictatorships*, pp. 138 f.
 16. Cf. Nolte, *Theorien*, p. 71.
 17. Rauschning, *Gespräche*, p. 212.
 18. *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 262, 264.

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(with Abbreviations)

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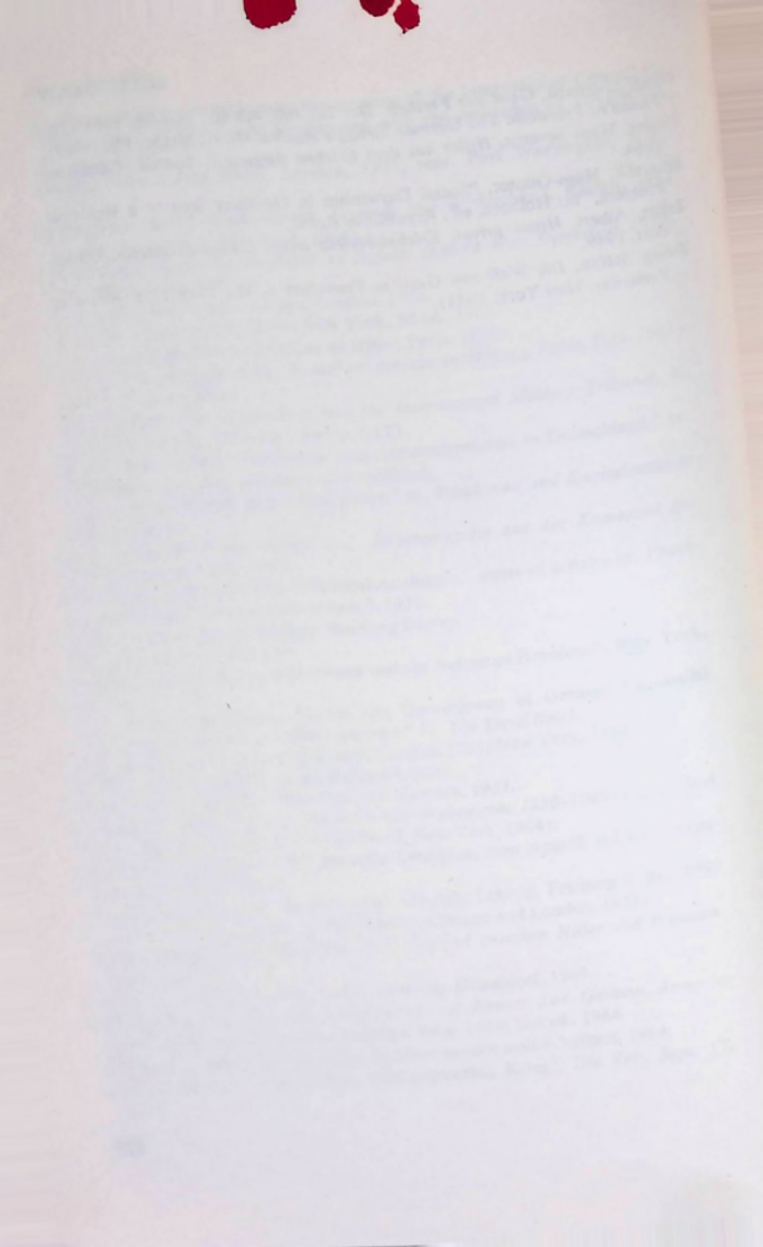
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HITLER

JOACHIM C. FEST

Translated by Richard and Clara Winston

A best-seller in its original German edition and subsequently translated into more than a dozen languages, Joachim Fest's Hitler has become a classic portrait of a man, a nation, and an era. "Place Hitler along with William Shirer's The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich and Albert Speer's memoirs Inside the Third Reich as the final volume in a definitive trilogy" (King Features Syndicate).

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JOACHIM C. FEST, born in 1926, is one of Germany's leading journalists and a member of the editorial board of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.

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