

Fest + Payne Xerox

to be separated by date

~~Extract 1932-1945~~

~~The rest to be sorted
into chrono files
by Eke.~~

~~1907-1945~~

to be sorted out.

1909-1945

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Elke: whose book
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behind the vast recorded outcome. This rule of exclusion held equally for Hitler's constituency, Germany at large. That constituency was susceptible to Hitler at a key psychic sore spot: the German trauma of defeat suffered in 1918. So I could approach that trauma through Hitler's politics pitched to Germans in the mass.

To probe Hitler's politics, I immersed myself in his words and deeds until I could feel out the motive forces behind them. Each successive insight led me to validating material previously unknown or overlooked. Such documentary finds clinched the insights that led to them, but they cannot be made to entail those insights. Indeed, no amount or kind of evidence can turn a psychohistorical insight into an inference. Take this example from the work ahead. Hitler's aim of eastern conquest originated as an aim of reconquest. That is, his arguments for an eastern conquest originated as reasons for regretting that the defeat in the west had undone Ludendorff's eastern conquest of 1917-1918. Yet he disregarded this precedent of 1917-1918 when he propounded his eastern aim. It follows, but not deductively, that for him the eastern conquest he called for was at bottom Ludendorff's lost conquest. This insight actually came to me before, and led me to, the evidence for it—his speech of 31 May 1921 on that lost eastern conquest. But such an insight is not necessitated by any or all of the facts it throws up, or fits, or illuminates. Nor can it be tested: history is once only. Yet it will be as clear as a fact of perception in the present case to anyone who looks psychohistorically—who puts himself in Hitler's place and asks himself what that projected eastern conquest meant to Hitler unconsciously as the idea for it came to him. For this exercise the historic context must and will be supplied.

One kind of unconscious determination behind the Hitler story requires a general word of introduction: the traumatic kind. A traumatic experience is one too painful to be assimilated. It engages the mind at first in a full-time, futile struggle to accommodate or ignore it. Ordinarily a distressing event or circumstance can be "put out of mind"—that is, pushed into the

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unconscious and there construed in some harmless way. If it is too obstreperous or upsetting to be conveniently overlooked, it is denied nonetheless, and strenuously, at the unconscious level. Mental pain is diminished then at the price of mental strain. A trauma, though, is a discomfiture all too drastic and anguishing to be coped with in this way. Attempted unconscious denial avails as little as against an aching physical wound. The struggle of denial intrudes upon consciousness in failing efforts to twist the unwanted experience into tolerable shape, to vitiate its significance, to minimize one's real or felt responsibility for it. I say "failing efforts" because I am considering the normal pattern. Successful conscious denial of an obtrusive fact of experience is insanity. An exact, continual, unbearable remembering is, at the other extreme, the traumatic neurosis. This neurosis is like a first approximation to the normal mode of coming to terms with a traumatic experience, or rather of endeavoring to come to terms with it, which is to relive it—to contrive a new experience that is unconsciously taken to be the old one even while consciously the connections between them go unnoticed. Every emotionally charged component of the old experience enters into the new one vicariously—starkly overdrawn as a rule, and with key relational elements reversed, such as east and west, or before and after. The point of reliving a traumatic experience seems to be to will, to control, to master it after having been overcome by it the first time, and to inure oneself to it so that it will "pass" after all. Traumatic reliving has an imperativeness about it that becomes veritably titanic in the face of outer resistance. All one's instincts, interests, and ideals fall in with it. And all one's inhibitions will fall before it: anyone suitably traumatized can massacre innocents, especially by remote control. The afflicted ego reverts to earliest, purest self-will. A corrective tendency, prominent in traumatic reliving, is to ward off the traumatic blow, which is redelivered nonetheless. But another corrective tendency can win out if enough guilt is felt: to convert the blow into a punishment due, to make the misadventure over into a misdeed that is then expiated. When this succeeds, the whole enterprise of uncon-

scious reliving defeats itself. Otherwise it is commonly just futile, and hence repetitive—a lifelong desperate, senseless routine. D

This traumatic mechanism will be seen to have operated not only with Hitler individually but with Germans collectively. A collective mental process is hard to conceive of, but that is not my fault. So is the individual mind as it is known from psychoanalysis hard to conceive of, with its unconscious perceptions and memory traces and built-in archaic fancies. As a pioneer in the field, Caroline E. Playne, remarked half a century ago (in *The Neuroses of the Nations*, New York 1925, p. 54): "Collective mentality can no more be reached directly than can individual mind." In the one case as in the other, causes are known only from their effects. Yet that is knowledge.

To convey such knowledge of my subject will necessitate jumping back and forth in historic time: reader hold tight. Worse, it will require overquoting Hitler to prove my points. These are largely new. Yet I have leaned heavily on other scholars' works where they have sufficed for my purposes, as in the analysis of Hitler's hopeless foreign program and practice. Familiar matter is barely referenced, although I well realize that straight facts can look crooked when they support unaccustomed interpretations. I have used appendixes for cumbersome technical data, including some previously published in the *History of Childhood Quarterly* (see Sources). I wish to thank this journal for permission to republish, and its editor, Lloyd de Mause, for unfailing encouragement. My thanks are due as well to Brandeis University for supporting my initial research in 1970–1971 (also for a schedule adjustment in 1974–1975 that made the writing possible), and to the Marion and Jasper Whiting Foundation for a grant that covered my final research in Germany and Austria during the summer of 1975. Archivists and librarians eased my way most notably at the Universitäts-Archiv Greifswald, Munich's Institut für Zeitgeschichte, the National Archives, and Boston's Countway Library. The late Ernst Deuerlein assisted my inquiries, as did (to alphabetize) Eberhard Jäckel, John Knodel, Paul Monaco, Robert Murciano,

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The Anatomy of a Dictator

1. Hitler the Man

He fascinated people with his deep blue, slightly protruding, almost radiant eyes. Many who met him were unable to stand up to his gaze; knowing this, Hitler looked people straight in the eye without blinking. Although he had always had good vision, he became increasingly farsighted during the war and was forced to use glasses, particularly while working over situation maps. Care was taken to conceal this fact, but some pictures show Hitler wearing glasses. To facilitate his reading written material that demanded his personal attention, it was transcribed on special typewriters in so-called "Führer script," which had letters about twice normal size.

Hitler had his eyes so well under control that in jest he was able to cross them. He also had keen hearing, and could recognize people by the sound of their footsteps. His nose was ugly, having something of the shape of a pyramid. The unpleasant impression of the large, broad nostrils was minimized, however, by his closely trimmed moustache. His mouth was relatively small, his chin not well developed. His lips were thin and pinched. He had a high forehead but it did not stand out because it was covered by his forelock. He had few lashes on his eyelids, but his eyebrows were thick, and above them slight bulges appeared in his forehead. His cheeks were rela-

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Adolf Hitler

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tively broad, his ears well formed. Hitler's complexion and coloring could be described as almost girl-like. He was sensitive to light and to the sun and would probably have found sunglasses a help, though he chose not to wear them. When a bright light bothered him, he would shade his eyes with his hand. Heat also disturbed him, as did the *Föhn*, that warm, dry Alpine wind often felt in parts of southern Germany.

Toward the end of his life Hitler was evenly grey-haired, though he showed no tendency toward baldness. His beard was not heavy. He did his own shaving, cutting himself only rarely. He cared for his teeth meticulously, but they were poor and a number of them had been replaced by permanent bridges.¹ Hitler must have been instinctively self-conscious about this; when he laughed he held his hand in front of his mouth.

The man's head seemed to dominate his entire body; torso, arms, legs—all seemed to hang down from it. Hitler generally let his arms dangle carelessly, putting his hands in his pockets only when he was in the most intimate circles. His legs were not strong. He strode on his heels and, keeping his knees straight, walked quickly. His other movements were quite deliberate. If something caught his attention, he would stop to investigate whatever it was. When he discovered that he had a tendency toward obesity, he found it sufficiently embarrassing to cut down his eating.

¹In postwar internment I shared a room for a time with Hitler's dentist, a competent man who had gotten the job by accident and had received the SS rank corresponding to major general (anyone without a uniform and a rank around Hitler's headquarters was out of place and would have found himself in an awkward position). The dentist was given plaster and tools by our American captors and reconstructed from memory models of Hitler's upper and lower jaws. They lay for days on our table; thus I know that there were more gaps than teeth. The models were probably turned over by the Americans to the Russians, in order to determine whether the remains discovered near the Reich Chancellery were really those of Hitler; if his jaws were found, positive identification would be possible. (The American writer Cornelius Ryan received, according to *Der Stern*, June 2, 1963, the information from Marshal Sokolovsky "that Hitler's burned body was identified by means of his dental bridges"; for the official Soviet autopsy report, see Lev Bezymenski, *The Death of Adolf Hitler* [New York, 1968].) The dentist reported to me that Hitler maintained his composure while dental work was being performed on him, whereas Himmler had been frightened.

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Hitler kept himself very clean. He washed his hands often. He changed underclothes frequently and made sarcastic remarks about visitors with dirty underwear. He bathed daily, sometimes more than once. After eating, he rinsed out his mouth. Having a good haircut was an important matter to him. He took care to wear gloves outdoors. Yet he never achieved elegance. His jacket hung about him like a sack; his trousers did not sit well; and his coat, which he could not bear to have constrict him in any way, was completely shapeless. He wore his cap pulled down over his eyes. In the matter of caps, he preferred the older fashions, but his entourage discreetly provided him with caps in the new "sharper" style.

In civilian clothes, Hitler always chose double-breasted suits of the same cut. His neckties were selected by Eva Braun, but they had to be inconspicuous, so they were invariably of a subdued, rather dull color. Whenever Hitler wore the National Socialist uniform, he dispensed with the belt. His high double-soled boots, which were made of thick though soft leather, were inelegantly buckled at the top. His riding breeches were cut quite loose at the knees. As far as his uniform was concerned, even his admirers must have felt that their "Leader"—the literal meaning of the word *Führer*—suffered by comparison with many of them.

Hitler required only a minimum of sleep. He attributed this to the fact that when he was a courier in the First World War, the difference between day and night had been gradually lost for him. During the years of his rise to power, he would eat only after making his speeches in the evening and would then go to bed quite late. During the Second World War he would stay up to look at the first reports coming in after midnight and finally retire. Actually this was of no great consequence, for the situation usually was not clarified before noon. Since there would normally be no decisions for him to make until then, he would sleep late in the morning. A mid-day nap was out of the question.

With his excellent memory, Hitler had an uncommon ability to recognize people. He could react quickly under all sorts of circumstances, and thus adjusted himself fairly easily to unexpected situations. He considered himself to be rational, yet able to rely upon his instincts.

the client felt he or she had a superb memory. The same principle applied to lying; always tell the truth, verbatim, don't.

D.T.

→ We gave him our support on matters of memory. An error in memory was one of our tools, and was not used what

Hitler generally weighed important decisions at length, consciously turning them over and over in his mind in rational terms. In the last analysis, however, he invariably depended upon what he called "instinct"—a word synonymous in his mind with political shrewdness. In unimportant matters, when his reason led him to no clear decision, he fell back on the old device of flipping a coin. Yet he was not at all superstitious.

Hitler saw his particular strength in an ability to simplify complex problems and to think consistently. Once he had made a decision, it was difficult to bring him to change it, as he feared that his authority might thereby be compromised. Yet occasionally he could change his course with startling swiftness, without showing the slightest concern about doing something that directly contradicted his previous position.

In conversation, Hitler, especially when talking in private, retained a surprisingly large number of words from his youth. This comes through clearly in the transcripts of the *Table Conversations*, where he speaks of lads and lasses, of fops and churls, and uses any number of similarly old-fashioned expressions. In military situations, however, as we know from the stenographic transcripts of his secret conferences,² this style of diction was replaced by a more casual military and party jargon. Hitler did not hesitate to use foreign words to lend a certain coloring to his speech, and he used them correctly. Contrived Germanizations he ridiculed, having no sympathy for this sort of linguistic chauvinism. "Just imagine," he remarked early in July 1942, "what would happen if we tried to eliminate foreign words! Where would we stop?"

Hitler regarded Schopenhauer as a linguistic model; he mentions him in the *Table Conversations* as the only German capable of making changes in the language. Yet Hitler, who was oblivious to belles lettres, was largely devoid of a genuine feeling for language. In his public speeches he used homely vernacular expressions only for oratorical effect, remaining first and last the propagandist

²For extracts in translation of the stenographic protocols of Hitler's military conferences during the years 1942-1945, see *Hitler Directs His War*, edited and annotated by Felix Gilbert (New York, 1950), pp. 10-11.

* R.T. I encouraged that. I had some imitative power - probably 15 out of 100 coin tosses would go my way, as if aware of such external power. p24

Elhi:
Give me a
choice of German
words here.

19
42

Elhi:
tell Judith
to order
this book.

mis.

12/4/2

reduced
a good way, I feel
that, I think, I
will be able to
write a more
interesting
book

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who knew exactly what the masses wanted to hear and who understood how to move them with stirring slogans. But he never succeeded—as Bismarck, on the basis of his literary culture, was often able to do—in fashioning an enduring phrase or a memorable epigram.

According to the testimony of Dr. Hans Karl von Hasselbach, one of his personal physicians, Hitler regularly had English, American, and French magazines delivered to him. "Apart from some French he had learned in school, he had picked up on his own a working knowledge of the languages. Primarily for this purpose, before the war he often had French and English films shown to him in the original version." This knowledge was naturally far too slight to penetrate the spirit and structure of the foreign languages. But it did not deter Hitler from claiming that the English language was incapable of expressing thoughts which went beyond generally proven ideas and matters of fact—a cliché once popular with the ideologists of German nationalism.

As he explains in one of the *Conversations*, in his youth Hitler was a lonely outsider with no desire for company: "But now I simply cannot stand to be alone. . . ." Even in Munich he had preferred to go to an inn he liked, rather than eat at home alone. During the war he had a particular need for companionship as a means of relaxing, and generally took a full hour for lunch. His evening meal occasionally lasted more than two hours.

Hitler loved jokes. Since he had a phenomenal memory, he was able to tell a great many of them, revealing a striking ability to imitate expressions, voices, and dialects. But he never told off-color stories, let alone dirty jokes. His personal photographer, the south German Heinrich Hoffmann, who occasionally did tell such stories and jokes, was quite an exception in Hitler's circle. Apart from Hoffmann, the restaurateur Kannenberg, who had been brought to the Führer Headquarters on account of his organizational ability, sparkled with native Berlin wit. Hitler also enjoyed the practical

³Hitler could also express himself differently. According to the testimony of Dr. Karl Brandt, one of his personal physicians, he considered the English language as something special—the simplest and clearest in expression and at the same time the most masculine in tone.

major irritant unless it was necessary
to write him which would be in the
English language

to avoid not use the coin too
when important matters were at
stake and I was under the
direction to let him hear this

Amis.

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jokes that his table companions occasionally played on each other; he would slap himself on the thigh as he laughed or hold his hand in front of his eyes or mouth.

Company at meals was the sole "luxury" Hitler allowed himself during the war years, for his style of living was otherwise quite Spartan. In peacetime he had enjoyed visiting the *Skala* and the *Wintergärten*, though he had never had any use for the circus. The cinema had been his chief means of relaxation. After the beginning of the war, he never again visited a theater except for one production of *Die Götterdämmerung* at Bayreuth. As for films, he looked only at newsreels, since he regarded them as an important medium of propaganda and would often give instructions for revising them before distribution. But after the newsreels he would leave the room, preferring not to watch the screenplays shown for the entertainment of his staff. He did not want to be better off than German soldiers on the front. Since he did not smoke, avoided both coffee and alcohol, and subsisted solely on vegetarian fare, he felt he could certainly look any soldier in the eye in respect to diet as well. To this extent Hitler even outdid William II, who in his wartime headquarters at Pless had strictly limited his eating and drinking.

Throughout his life Hitler remained an inland-oriented German, his imagination untouched by the sea. He had never been exposed to the uncanny power of the storm, the pulsing rhythm of the rolling waves with their foam and spray, the shimmering sunlight on the placid surface, or the sun descending into the deep; nor had the struggle of mankind against the primeval element water and the dauntless courage of the mariner ever penetrated the deeper levels of his consciousness. But Hitler was not only inland oriented; he was completely rooted within the cultural boundaries of the old Roman Empire. He clung to the civilization of the Mediterranean world and took no part in his followers' grotesque glorification of the Teutons. He had no use for pine forests, and once even declared, "I would rather walk to Flanders than bicycle to the East. It is only the force of reason which dictates our moving eastward."

Hitler had great plans for Berlin, which, as capital of the "Greater German Empire of the German People," he was planning to rename

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"Germania." But his heart was not in the idea. He thought Berlin unsuited to be a center of the arts: "For this purpose it simply lacks the atmosphere." A grotesque judgment if one thinks of the Reich capital in the twenties—Berlin was the first city of Europe in theater and music, and set the tone for all Germany in every branch of the arts.

Hitler had skied when he was younger, and he continued to love the mountains. But in his mature years he lost the desire to climb them and to be rewarded for his effort by the view. In fact, he ceased to participate actively in any sport, and walking became his sole exercise.

2. Hitler's Ambivalence

Hitler's associates were impressed by how concerned the "Chief"—as they referred to him—was about their welfare and what an active interest he took in their individual joys and sorrows. He would, for example, devote serious thought to what sort of birthday gifts would be particularly appreciated. In this regard, the summaries of Hitler's *Table Conversations* by Dr. Henry Picker, the young lawyer responsible for transcribing them, are quite revealing. Picker, who previously had known Hitler only as a distant political figure, was greatly impressed by the human qualities Hitler revealed in the inner circle of his associates: by the good will he showed the younger among them, by his readiness to laugh, and by the magnanimity he demonstrated when someone committed a faux pas in his presence. Within this circle, in fact, Hitler, the man without family or friends, was a good "comrade." He had learned the meaning of comradeship in the First World War and had never forgotten it.

Hitler's associates also knew how strongly he reacted to beautiful and cultivated women. They knew of his affection for children and for his German shepherds, Blondi and Bella, and what pleasure he got out of watching the animals. In the *Wolfsschanze*, or "Wolf's Lair," as his headquarters near Rastenburg in central East Prussia was called, he had an obstacle course constructed, similar to those

In these years, his human qualities, as situated in Alpbach, matured. His daily face became.

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3. Hitler's Relations with His Associates

During the years before the war, so much information about Hitler's more intimate associates had already become common knowledge that even people who admired the dictator began to question the personalities in his inner circle. How could he tolerate around himself men who clearly were not equal to the responsibilities of the offices they held, or who provoked misgivings on moral grounds, or who were possibly even unsuitable in both respects? One answer to this question was given by Dr. von Hasselbach, Hitler's personal physician, several months after Germany's defeat.²

"Hitler repeatedly asserted," Hasselbach reported, "that one of his essential capacities, which he could depend upon absolutely, was the ability to judge men. Even a brief impression was sufficient for him to be able to say what sort of person a man was and how he could best be used.

"The selection of his associates makes this conviction seem dubious from the very beginning. One would like to assume that a man in Hitler's position would have done his utmost to surround himself with particularly intelligent and experienced men of character who were beyond reproach. Yet, to cite only a few examples, Hitler made Martin Bormann his closest associate, Schaub his chief adjutant, and Morell his personal physician.³ He tolerated people like Heinrich Hoffmann, Hermann Esser, and Adolf Wagner as frequent and welcome guests in his private household. All were men of a kind the German people, insofar as it knew them, would much rather not have seen in the company of their Führer. Often enough Hitler had pointed with pride and satisfaction to the 'Guard' comprised of his *Reichsleiter* and *Gauleiter* [the highest echelons of the

²Hasselbach was "the most critical and reliable of Hitler's doctors," according to H. R. Trevor-Roper, who notes, on the basis of a credible source, that he was "probably one of the few people associated with Hitler who did not fall under his spell" (*The Last Days of Hitler*, p. 120). For their captors, Drs. Brandt and Hasselbach prepared memoranda on Hitler and his associates, of which Schramm acquired mimeograph copies.—ED.

³Hitler had several personal physicians, as Schramm explains later, but most of the others were finally dismissed when they warned Hitler against the strong preparations Dr. Theo Morell was giving him.—ED.

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National Socialist leadership], whom, in terms of personal character and extraordinary ability, he claimed to be virtually without equal in history. He continued to speak this way when the failure of a great number of these men in many different respects, but particularly in their personal style of life, was notoriously clear to the German public. The most important posts of the Reich were occupied by such unsuitable men as Ribbentrop, Hess, Frick, Rust, and Axmann, while Hitler meanwhile underestimated many of his opponents in an ominous fashion.

"If we ask how such blunders were possible," Hasselbach continues, "we can hardly find a single satisfactory answer. In the first place, we must consider that although Hitler was indeed convinced of the reliability and competence of his corps of political leaders, he by no means found the personal composition of the group constituting his immediate environment particularly felicitous. Yet he was not able to bring himself to make any basic changes in these positions.

"Throughout his entire life, and particularly since the First World War, Hitler was dominated by a strong feeling of comradeship, loyalty, and gratitude in his relationship with the men who in the time of his struggle and persecution had been faithful and devoted comrades in arms—even at the cost, in some cases, of serious physical injury and great economic sacrifice. Consequently, he had no sympathy for Mussolini's method of frequently and, so far as he was concerned, faithlessly changing his associates. For his own part, he felt obligated in his relationships with old supporters to put up with a great deal before finally drawing the line, and only very rarely did it come to that.

"Clearly, an important factor in this outlook was Hitler's extreme conservatism in his personal life. He wanted no changes in his daily routine if they could be avoided. He took the same walk every day. He wore the same old-fashioned kind of cap, and held on to his old Munich flat. By the same token, wherever possible he avoided cutting himself off from people he had grown accustomed to. Nevertheless, he would certainly have decided to do so more often had he been capable of making an objective appraisal of those of his associates who were incompetent or had serious character deficiencies.

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Occasionally he in fact acknowledged that he knew his old comrades in arms were not all angels; but he would dismiss these shortcomings as understandable in light of their competitive personalities. The real problem arose when Hitler saw weaknesses which he believed he could accept as the price of having men around him whom he had long been used to, who would be loyal, and with whom he could feel at ease. Yet the all too gross character deficiencies of some of them had the most fateful consequences precisely because of the positions they held. . . . Ribbentrop and Morell in particular, to neither of whom, in view of their background, Hitler had reason to feel obligated, are resounding proof of his poor ability to judge men. Otherwise it would have been impossible for Hitler to call Ribbentrop a second Bismarck and Morell an unusually competent physician and scientist.

"In many cases we do have to assume, however, that Hitler managed to suppress an entirely correct judgment which was congenial in order to justify persons who seemed to him useful and devoted. His attitude toward others was also conditioned by the fact that he had an extraordinarily high estimation of his own capabilities and consequently measured his fellow men by far more modest standards—despite the great demands which he now and again might make. And when he insisted that a great man had to have an insignificant wife because he would not be able to devote himself to her sufficiently, he may also have harbored similar thoughts regarding his immediate associates."

*
Canaris

There is only one point to add to Hasselbach's analysis: Hitler did have an amazing ability to judge people to the extent that he was able to sense immediately whether the person standing in front of him was for him, could be won over, or would be immune to his personal dynamism. In this respect he had a sort of "sixth sense."

There was only one person whom Hitler had not been able to see through, and this was Admiral Canaris, chief of the Wehrmacht intelligence service. Canaris was so perfect an intelligence officer that in his dealings with Hitler he was able to dissimulate successfully enough to deceive Hitler's intuitive sense about people being with him or against him. Consequently, Canaris was arrested only in 1944, when the facts spoke all too clearly against him.

* D.T. They were not at all alike except for one not insignificant similarity.

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It is almost impossible to convey to those who never experienced it the personal impact of Hitler. Such could be its strength that it sometimes seemed a kind of psychological force radiating from him like a magnetic field. It could be so intense as to be almost physically tangible. As widely attested as this strange power of Hitler's was, there were nevertheless many people upon whom it had absolutely no effect. A colonel once described to me how, when he was reporting to Hitler along with several others, he felt a steadily rising aversion to the man as he watched him at close hand. (It is worth noting that Hitler dismissed this colonel and the others very quickly.) The reverse reaction was provoked in a sophisticated lady of aristocratic background and Christian convictions, who abhorred Hitler. By chance she met him on the boardwalk of a Baltic Sea resort, was grazed for a brief moment by his glance, and declared, as though struck by lightning, that while she still did not like him she felt that he was a great man. Those whom Hitler tolerated close to himself were of course more than just grazed by his glance, and they were transformed into his willing satellites.⁴

4. Hitler's Views on Family and Women

Many photographs exist showing Hitler with happy children. These pictures were liberally exploited in party propaganda; they documented for the masses how kind and good the "Führer" really was, and how he had sacrificed any family life of his own to be able to

⁴At the end of the war, an atmosphere developed around Hitler which was described shortly after the catastrophe by an elder General Staff officer. He had experienced it while briefing Hitler during March and April 1945, and found it repulsive. He wrote: "My impression—and as I determined in conversations with others, by no means mine alone—was that a person was not merely spiritually crushed by this atmosphere of servility, nervousness, and untruthfulness, but that one could even sense it as a sort of physical sickness. Nothing was genuine there except the fear. There was fear of all shades and degrees—from being afraid of somehow provoking the displeasure of the 'Führer,' or annoying him by some ill-advised comment, to naked fear for life itself in view of the impending end of the drama. The external forms of life were still scantily preserved, but even they disappeared after the middle of April." [Schramm does not identify the man.—ED.]

D.T. Even without us, he would have had this ability, but we could, when necessary, augment it. Any hypnotist within our working realm became then an ultra-hypnotist, a charismatic touch.

March & April
1945

* D.T. To the degree that they were our people, they would feel under his spell quickly enough.

devote himself night and day to the welfare of the German people. Hitler's joyful expression in these pictures was not a mask put on for the photographers. He truly loved children, and made genuine contact with them as they swarmed about him.

Public welfare support for children, particularly illegitimate children, was a subject to which he gave considerable thought. He was also genuinely concerned with the problem of providing security for the family, which he regarded as the natural unit of social existence, as well as with making it easier for newlyweds to get a start in life.⁵ This was not something he talked about only in his public speeches, but a theme he frequently returned to in his *Table Conversations*. Many of the expressions he used in this connection had something almost homespun about them, and many things he said could be accepted even by those who might otherwise despise him.

Hitler felt that premarital intercourse was not objectionable, but rather that it assured that a man and his "maiden" really belonged together. This no longer provoked much opposition in 1941, particularly as he needed only to cite the customs among the country people of his own homeland, and as there was no denying much of what could be pointed out about the double standards of morality of the "upper ten thousand," Hitler's term for the aristocracy together with the wealthiest members of the upper middle class. On this subject, then, Hitler seems the kind of man who accepts life as it is and merely wishes to replace a crumbling façade with "natural" ethics dictated by reason.

Beneath this, however, lay other thoughts which Hitler did not, and could not, express publicly if he wanted to retain the esteem of the masses. Here the *Table Conversations* give us a deeper insight. In them we see unveiled the conclusions which Hitler drew from the fusion of his basic views with his biologically oriented conception of

Schramm P 37
⁵Schramm could presuppose, on the part of many of his German readers, a certain familiarity with the Nazi policy of granting marriage loans and baby bonuses. Not a few of them, as a matter of fact, could attribute the circumstances of their birth to the calculated largesse of the state during the 1930's. These policies not only had the effect of increasing the birth rate but also of removing women from the labor market, thereby reducing unemployment.—ED.

1942 mis.

the regime itself that in the end the gain of even several thousand "Nordic" children would be outweighed by the bitter alienation of hundreds of thousands. That Hitler somehow was purblind to this is almost certainly in part explained by the fact that he himself had no family and had spent many years of his life in a milieu in which the very structure of family life had seriously disintegrated.

There are a number of statements in the *Table Conversations* regarding the special problem of Hitler's relationship with women.⁷ He occasionally described to his circle how strongly, as a visually minded person, he reacted to beautiful women. Before the war he had found it both delightful and relaxing to chat with a lovely young woman over tea, or to fascinate elegant ladies at a reception with his conversation. Hitler was always unfailingly gracious and correct with women. If he scorned earlier rulers who had exploited their position to indulge themselves with numbers of mistresses, he could do so in good conscience, for his own conduct in this sphere was nearly impeccable. Unnoticed by the public, Eva Braun assumed the role of a housewife at the *Berghof*, Hitler's mountain retreat near Berchtesgaden. During the war, the only other women he saw were the wives occasionally brought by his guests. Not even Eva Braun was admitted to the *Wolfsschanze*, his headquarters in East Prussia, where there were no women at all except secretaries and a cook who prepared Hitler's vegetarian fare. After he stopped taking his meals in a larger group, Hitler let his cook join in the conversation with the small gathering who ate with him, but this was only for the sake of relaxation and distraction.

Only at the very last moment, with his "Thousand-Year Reich"

1942

"During the night of January 25-26, 1942, Hitler reflected on the fact that marriage would have been disastrous for him: 'A woman who loves her husband lives for him alone. . . . Thus she demands that he in turn live for her. But a man is the slave of his thoughts. His tasks and responsibilities are his master. . . . When I consider it, I would have been able to spend only a few days of the year 1932 at home. . . . Marriage would have been a terrible burden to take on, because any man would want to please his wife. For me there would have been her sorrowful, careworn face, or else I would have had to neglect my duties. Thus it is better not to marry. . . . It is much better to have a lover. The burden of responsibility is removed and everything that remains is a gift. Naturally this applies only in the case of outstanding men.'—ED.

*
D.T.
His gifts for
concealing
his real terror
of carnal women
were, if not
wholly concealed,
nevertheless
convincing
to him.

Mis.

crumbling before his eyes, when he was prepared to accept the consequences of his annihilating defeat by taking his life, did Hitler finally give undivided attention to Eva Braun. His formal civil marriage to her was perhaps the only humane scene in the inferno of the concluding act of the Third Reich. Yet it, too, was grotesque—finding the proper official to perform the ceremony was understandably very difficult at that point—and had something petty and provincial about it. With everything crashing down in ruins, it hardly mattered what posterity thought about Eva Braun.

1945

What role did Hitler assign women in his view of the world? From the *Table Conversations* it is evident that for him woman was still the creature who wanted to be protected by man and to look up to him: "The world of the woman is the man. Only now and then does she think of anything else." She was not suitable for politics, Hitler asserted, because of her inability to discriminate between reason and emotion. She should be as attractive as she could, and might also be jealous, but she should not concern herself with philosophical questions. It was essential for her to bear children: "If a woman does not have a child, she will become hysterical or sick."

As a basis of comparison with Hitler's ideas, we can take the middle-class ideal of woman during the period before the war, when the intellectual equality of the educated woman was already a generally accepted fact and the relationship between man and wife had accordingly become far more complicated than during earlier generations. By this standard, what Hitler had to say sounds extremely reactionary: "A man has to be able to stamp his imprint on any woman. As a matter of fact, a wife does not want anything else!" Hitler simply was not aware of what had been going on during the past decades. As we shall see, this was not the only respect in which he was behind the times.

5. Hitler's Social and Philosophical Resentments

Anyone whose rise in the world had been as hard as Hitler's would perforce have been marked with strong affinities and bitter hostilities. The *Table Conversations* clearly demonstrate the extent to

* D. T. When they pressed himself
as himself
which was often enough he was
such a bore

mis.

1942

"It is possible that he felt the need, in his conversations, for a sounding board so uncritical and unpretentious that he could freely pour out his thoughts 'in rough draft' in order to reach the goal of clarifying them." This would account for Hitler's not wanting to have representatives of the educated middle classes and the intelligentsia around him but rather people, as Dr. Brandt suggests, "whose lives had somehow been disturbed or whose background as self-made men was similar to his own."

Hitler criticized secondary school teachers for failing to make clear to pupils in their history classes the broad relationships between events, and for laying stress instead on the biographies of individual monarchs and insignificant dates. In doing so, he thereby overlooked all the reforms which, at least since 1919, had successfully improved the instruction of history. Hitler had a particular distaste for elementary school teachers, most of whom, in Germany, even up to the Second World War, were men. He had a completely stereotyped conception of them, as expressed in April 1942: dirty, tainted with socialism, a "stupid and un-self-sufficient intellectual proletariat." Hitler wanted to replace these teachers with women, thereby freeing the men for the war effort. He also felt that the discharged noncommissioned officers who were entitled to civil service positions should be brought into the teaching profession, since they had been drilled in both cleanliness and leadership. If education were carried too far, Hitler felt, it would simply drive the children to idiocy by brain massage. Consequently, elementary school teachers should learn only what was absolutely necessary for elementary instruction—and nothing more. A teacher who planned to spend his whole life in a country village would not need academic preparation. Hitler found himself repeatedly angered "that in the teacher training schools a tremendous amount of material is funneled into future elementary school teachers, although afterward their only job will be to teach the elementary principles of reading, writing, and arithmetic. How much does a person need to know from every possible branch of knowledge in order to teach six-year-olds the correct pronunciation of *a, a, a . . . b, b, b!* It is sheer insanity to try to pound everything possible into the children in school. If you ask them a year or two after they have left school about all these things, they

mis.

hardly know anything about them any longer. It should therefore be the responsibility of the school administration to set up curricula so that children will be taught only what they actually need to know in order to measure up later in life. Incidentally, it would also be a lot smarter to have them spend as much time as possible out in the fresh air. That way we would get a healthy younger generation which would be able, when the time came, to endure physical exertion without taking sick right away."

see
p 39

If these intentions of Hitler had actually been realized, it would have meant the reversal of the epoch-making reforms of Dr. Carl Heinrich Becker, the Prussian Minister of Culture from 1925 to 1930, who had established respectable educational standards for elementary school teachers, comparable to the requirement of bachelor's degrees in America, instead of the once acceptable certificates from two-year normal schools. But beyond that, Hitler's ideas would actually have set back the development of the elementary school system by still another generation, for the assignment of veteran non-commissioned officers to the schools was an old Prussian policy.

Hitler could hold such convictions because he simply did not take cognizance of the generally accepted modern pedagogical theory that no person can discover and develop his talents fully without the benefit of as comprehensive an education as possible. "Why does a boy who wants to study music," he once asked, "need geometry, physics, and chemistry? What does he remember about them later on? Nothing!"

see
p 39

1945

It goes without saying that Hitler hated lawyers. After all, they had made it very difficult for him during the long years of his rise to power. Lawyers had also created all sorts of problems for him after he had come to power, constraining him again and again to hew to the letter of the law. The only really surprising thing about Hitler's attacks on lawyers is the degree of bitterness in his remarks. The expressions which he used, and which were accepted without question by his companions during the *Table Conversations*, today seem almost embarrassing, even to those willing to acknowledge that there may have been an element of truth in them. So far as Hitler was concerned, every lawyer was either defective by birth or would have to become so in the course of time. The law was not a re-

spectable profession and led, in trying a case before court, to mere play-acting. There was, moreover, a kinship between lawyers and criminals, Hitler asserted, and "also in their internationality there is no difference between the two." Contrary to accepted legal teaching he claimed that lawyers systematically denied the concept of responsibility. To him they were simply irresponsible and useless.

From the beginning, Hitler had been inclined to regard financial experts as rogues and villains, for whenever he let them get a word in edgewise they presented him with uncongenial facts. He was similarly prejudiced against administrative officials. In his eyes they were petty and egotistical, lacking in sound common sense, men ignorant of the exigencies of daily life who thought only in abstract terms. A number of different experiences helped form Hitler's distaste for administrative officials. Until 1914, after all, he had only passive contact with the bureaucracy, insofar as he received instructions to report here or there, or when his personal life was interfered with in some minor way. After 1918, as he set out to build his party and began holding mass meetings, he had repeated collisions with "the authorities." Then, after 1933, his own bureaucracy seemed to be throwing one obstacle after another in his way by insisting that his plans violated the law or ran counter to established administrative practice in one respect or another.

The Prussian reformer Baron vom Stein had thundered against the bureaucracy early in the nineteenth century, and toward the end of the century Otto von Bismarck had also done so, but their rage stemmed from lifelong experience in administrative matters. Until he came to power, Hitler never spent a single day in a government office, and was in fact completely foreign to bureaucracy and administration.

Now and then the Freemasons are mentioned in the *Table Conversations*. Hitler was absolutely convinced that behind the scenes the Masons played a vitally important role in world affairs. For example, that Franco did not accept his bid to bring Spain into the war when they met at Hendaye on October 23, 1940, was attributed by Hitler, in the last analysis, to the "fact" that the Caudillo was a Freemason. After the SS had confiscated the records of the German Freemasons and brought them all together in Berlin, the Nazi party

discovered to its great surprise that in all of Germany there were only sixty thousand fraternal members and that their political activity was absolutely harmless. Here was an instance of fighting a phantom built up by the polemics of the nineteenth century which he uncritically assumed.

The situation is much more complicated in the case of Hitler's animosity against the Church. He himself pointed out how abiding were the impressions he received in his early youth when he had been made to serve as an altar boy and a singer in the choir. In school he had been struck by the way in which the teachings of the Church and of natural science conflicted. The more he had concerned himself with the matter, the more alienated he had found himself, not only from the Catholic Church but from Christianity altogether. In a secret speech which he made in October 1937, Hitler declared that he had freed himself, "after a hard inner struggle, from the remnants of the religious conceptions of his childhood," adding, "I now feel as fresh as a foal in the pasture." With whatever religious feeling remained, he built his own creed, which was essentially a variant of the monism so common before the First World War.³

Once in power, Hitler decisively opposed everything connected with the Church. He spoke of its promoting religious insanity and of its intellectually crippling effect on Christians. Impelled by his belief in the idea of progress, he represented the Church as a backward, spiritually archaic opponent whose teachings were a cultural outrage which, like the persecution of witches, simply had to be done away with. He said in November 1941, "Today no one who is conversant with scientific research can take the teachings of the Church seriously anymore." At the same time he acknowledged that the problem could not be solved simply by the stroke of a pen. The Church would have to "rot away like a gangrenous limb."

³Monism, teaching that there is only one ultimate reality, took the form of a dynamic (rather than naive mechanical) materialism, as represented by the famous biologist Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919), whose *Welträtsel* (*The Riddle of the Universe*, 1899) was an international best-seller, and by the physicist Wilhelm Ostwald (1853-1932), who published five volumes of monistic Sunday sermons between 1911 and 1916. The ethical and moral teachings of this "religion" had a very strong current of social Darwinism.—ED.

mis.

since 1903, made a deep impression on him. There it was in black and white—the Jews were out to destroy existing states in order to rule the world! Hitler never seems to have taken cognizance of the fact that *The Protocols* had been discredited time and again as a crude falsification whose origins had been fully accounted for by serious scholarship.

Many different factors help to explain Hitler's anti-Semitism, but no matter how far one goes to account for it, something darkly inexplicable always remains. There were many people before Hitler and during his own lifetime who did not like the Jews, or who hated them, or who even despised them, but no one has ever surpassed him in the extent to which he allowed anti-Semitism to grow into so intensive a mania that it completely shattered the faculty of reason. Where has there ever been anyone who let himself be driven by his hatred to such gigantic crimes?

The attempt has been made to explain Hitler's anti-Semitism by demonstrating that there were Jews among his own ancestors. According to this theory, the church records where Hitler's family originated are supposed to have been falsified to cover up the fact that a Jewish master who took advantage of a young girl in his employ should actually be listed as one of Hitler's immediate forebears. It may sound plausible that Hitler, enraged about this illegitimate strain in himself, turned his hatred outward and took revenge on the Jews in general as scapegoats for the ancestor who escaped punishment. But when subjected to close examination this explanation has turned out to be highly questionable, especially since the chronology is dubious.⁶ In the end, all attempts to explain the unprecedented and immeasurable intensity of Hitler's anti-Semitism finally founder on the inexplicable.

⁶Schramm refers to the suspicion that Hitler's paternal grandfather was Jewish. It has been discredited. For an account of the tale and its flaws, see "Appendix I: The Alteration of the Name and the Jewish Grandfather Story," in Bradley F. Smith, *Adolf Hitler: His Family, Childhood and Youth* (Stanford, 1967), pp. 157-160. According to Dr. Werner Maser, author of serious studies of the early history of the Nazi party and of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, his "missing" paternal grandfather probably was Johann Nepomuk Hüttler, his mother's grandfather.—ED.

(1923?)

→ R.T. His
anti-Semitism
as I learned
over and over
from the C.O.
was the most
central of my
interest in
him.

→ E.H.S.
book starts
up in
Maser's
book.

Klaus
Albin

and following. But it would very
ical grouping within the context of
on it was that unique mixture of
as we shall see, to a large extent
of Gregor Strasser or Goebbels
action of the existing rules of the
validity of those rules by the very
alism, on the other hand, annulled
ed a novel element into the game.
s of the period would have led to
never have come to those inten-
tial witness. From the first party
ast few days of April, 1945, when
Hitler held a wholly unchallenged
y principle, any doctrine, to hold
ade history with a highhandedness
chronistic. It is unimaginable that
ite the same fashion—a succession
surprising coups and veerings,
-betrayals, but with a tenaciously
mething of his singular character,
ed upon the course of history,
favored by Marxist theoreticians
Socialism has quite rightly been

Hitler was not the last politician
ight of conditions and interests;
rs has not grown visibly stronger,
ossibility of a great doer has not
bly, historical rank is dependent
acts maintains in the face of cir-
ed in the early summer of 1939,
reptance of the principle of evade-
ment to circumstances. Rather,
requirements."¹⁰ Following this
in *imitatio* of the great man; the
st extreme, and ultimately failed.
nded with him—just as so much

y that traditional hero-worshipping
aller extent, Hitler certainly made
but at the same time history made
agree. Nothing entered into this

"unperson," as he is defined in one of the following chapters, that was
not already present; but whatever did enter acquired a tremendous
dynamic. Hitler's biography is the story of an incessant, intensive
process of interchange.

We are still asking, however, whether historical greatness can be as-
sociated with a hollow individuality. It is challenging to imagine what
Hitler's fate would have been had history not produced the circum-
stances that first awakened him and made him the mouthpiece of mil-
lions of defense complexes. It is easy to picture his ignored existence on
the fringes of society, to see him embittered and misanthropic, longing
for a great destiny and unable to forgive life for having refused him the
heroic role he craved. "For the oppressive thing was . . . the complete
lack of attention we found in those days from which I suffered most,"
Hitler wrote concerning the period of his entry into politics.¹¹ The
collapse of order, the age's anxieties and climate of change, played into
his hands by giving him the chance to emerge from the shadow of ano-
nymity. Great men, in Burckhardt's judgment, are needed specifically in
times of terror.¹²

The phenomenon of Hitler demonstrates, to an extent surpassing all
previous experience, that historical greatness can be linked with paltri-
ness on the part of the individual concerned. For considerable periods
his personality seemed disintegrated, as if it had evaporated into un-
reality; and it was this seemingly fictitious character of the man that
misled so many conservative politicians and Marxist historians—in curi-
ous agreement—to regard Hitler as the instrument for the ends of others.
Far from possessing any greatness and any political, let alone historical,
stature, he seemed to embody the very type of the "agent," one who
acts for others. But both the conservatives and the Marxists were de-
ceiving themselves. It was actually an ingredient in Hitler's recipe for
tactical success that he made political capital out of this mistake, in
which class resentment against the petty bourgeois was then, and still
is, expressed. His biography includes, among other things, the story of
a gradual disillusionment. In his day he excited a good deal of ironic
contempt, and that attitude persists, though kept in check by the mem-
ory of the toll of lives he took. But it was, and still is, a misreading of
his character.

The course of this life, and the pattern of events themselves, will
throw light upon the whole matter. Yet here we may well ask ourselves
a few pertinent questions. If Hitler had succumbed to an assassination
or an accident at the end of 1938, few would hesitate to call him one of
the greatest of German statesmen, the consummator of Germany's history.
The aggressive speeches and *Mein Kampf*, the anti-Semitism and
the design for world dominion, would presumably have fallen into
oblivion, dismissed as the man's youthful fantasies, and only occasion-

Chapter 1

The need to magnify themselves, to bestir themselves, is characteristic of all illegitimates.

Jacob Burckhardt

BACKGROUND AND DEPARTURE

All through his life he made the strongest efforts to conceal as well as to glorify his own personality. Hardly any other prominent figure in history so covered his tracks, as far as his personal life was concerned. With a carefulness verging on pedantry, he stylized his persona. The concept he had of himself was more like a monument than like a man. From the start he endeavored to hide behind it. Rigid in expression, early conscious of his calling, at the age of thirty-five he had already withdrawn into the concentrated, frozen inapproachability of the Great Leader. In obscurity legends form; in obscurity the aura of being one of the elect can grow. But that obscurity which cloaks the early history of his life also accounted for the anxieties, the secrecy, and the curiously histrionic character of his existence.

Even as leader of the struggling young NSDAP (National Socialist Workers' Party) he regarded interest in his private life as insulting. As Chancellor he forbade all publicity about it.¹ The statements of all those who knew him more than casually, from a friend of his youth to the members of his intimate dinner circle, stress how he liked to keep his distance and preserve his privacy. "Throughout his life he had an indescribable aloofness about him."² He spent several years in a "home for men"; but of all the many people who met him there, few could recall him later. He moved about among them as a permanent stranger, attracting no attention. At the beginning of his political career he jealously took care that no pictures of him were published. Some have explained this obsession as the strategy of a born propagandist; it has

Dr. T's coaching

been argued that as a man of mystery he deliberately aroused interest in himself.

1933? But even if this is so, his efforts at concealment did not spring entirely from the desire to introduce a note of allure into his portrait. Rather, we have here the anxieties of a constricted nature overwhelmed by a sense of its own ambiguousness. He was forever bent on muddying still further the opaque background of his origins and family. When, in 1942, he was informed that a plaque had been set up for him in the village of Spital, he flew into one of his violent rages. He transformed his ancestors into "poor cottagers." He falsified his father's occupation, changing him from a customs official to a postal official. He curtly repulsed the relatives who tried to approach him. For a time his younger sister Paula ran his household at Obersalzberg, but he made her take another name. After the invasion of Austria he forbade Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels to publish; he owed some vague, early suggestions to this man, the eccentric exponent of a racist philosophy. Reinhold Hanisch was his onetime chum from his days in the home for men; he had Hanisch murdered. He insisted that he was no one's disciple. All knowledge had come to him from his own inspiration, by the grace of Providence and out of his dialogues with the Spirit. Similarly, he would be no one's son. The picture of his parents emerges in the dimmest of outlines from the autobiographical chapters of his book, *Mein Kampf*, and only to the extent that it supported the legend of his life.

His efforts to muddy the waters were favored by the fact that he came from across the border. Like many of the revolutionaries and conquerors of history, from Alexander to Napoleon to Stalin, he was a foreigner among his countrymen. There is surely a psychological link between this sense of being an outsider and the readiness to employ a whole nation as material for wild and expansive projects, even to the point of destroying the nation. At the turning point of the war, during one of the bloody battles of attrition, when his attention was called to the tremendous losses among newly commissioned officers, he replied with surprised incomprehension: "But that's what the young men are there for."

1941 But foreignness did not sufficiently conceal him. His feeling for order, rules, and respectability was always at variance with his rather unsavory family history, and evidently he never lost a sense of the distance between his origins and his claims on the world. His own past always stirred his anxieties. In 1930, when rumors arose that his enemies were preparing to throw light on his family background, Hitler appeared very upset: "These people must not be allowed to find out who I am. They must not know where I come from and who my family is."

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1937 et seq BACI

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These two brothers are two Schicklgruber. The third possibility that nevertheless comes from one Jew named Frankenberger in Waldgruber is said to have been work at any rate, is the testimony of a lawyer, later Governor General of Nuremberg Frank reported that from a son of his half-brother Alois was blackmail. It indulged in darkness in our family history." Frank was confidentially. He found some indication that Frank's findings formed however, makes this thesis appear may also wonder what had prompted Jewish ancestor to Hitler. Recalling the credibility of his statement, so the serious investigation. In any case, its being true or false. What is the fact that Frank's findings formed renewed investigation undertaken orders from Heinrich Himmler, other theories about Hitler's grandfather some ambitious combinational in

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1937 et seq

BACKGROUND AND DEPARTURE

1930

Pre-birth in 1939

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At House No. 13 in Strones, the home of Johann Trummelschlager, an unmarried servant girl by the name of Maria Anna Schicklgruber gave birth to a child on June 7, 1837. That same day the child was baptized Alois. In the registry of births in Döllersheim parish the space for the name of the child's father was left blank. Nor was this changed five years later when the mother married the unemployed journeyman miller Johann Georg Hiedler. That same year she turned her son over to her husband's brother, Johann Nepomuk Hüttler, a Spital farmer—presumably because she thought she could not raise the child properly. At any rate the Hiedlers, the story has it, were so impoverished that "ultimately they did not even have a bed left and slept in a cattle trough."

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190 of the depression at the beginning of the 1870's. This emerged afresh when the stream of immigrants from Galicia, Hungary, and Bukovina increased. In the temperate atmosphere of the Hapsburg metropolis, Jews had made considerable progress toward emancipation. But for that very reason the Jews in the East flocked in greater numbers to the more liberal zones of the West. In the interval from 1857 to 1910 their proportion of the population of Vienna rose from 2 per cent to more than 8.5 per cent, higher than in any other city of Central Europe. There were some districts of Vienna where Jews formed about a third of the population. The new immigrants retained both their customs and their style of dress. In long black caftans, tall hats on their heads, their odd and alien-seeming presence strikingly affected the street scene in the capital.

Historical circumstances had confined the Jews to specific roles and specific economic activities. These same circumstances had also bred in them a freedom from bias, an uncommon flexibility and mobility. Representatives of the old bourgeois Europe were still caught up in their traditions, their sentiments and their despair, and hence were far more apprehensive about the future. The type of personality the Jews had developed corresponded better to the urban, rationalistic style of the age. That, as much as the fact that they had thronged into the academic professions in disproportionate numbers, exerted a dominant influence upon the press, and controlled virtually all the major banks in Vienna and a considerable portion of local industry¹⁸—produced in the Germans a sense of danger and of being overwhelmed. Generalized anxiety condensed into the charge that the Jews were rootless, seditious, revolutionary, that nothing was sacred to them, that their "cold" intellectuality was opposed to German "inwardness" and German sentiment. In support of this idea anti-Semites could point to the many Jewish intellectuals prominent in the working-class movement. It is characteristic of a minority outcast for generations that it will incline toward rebellion and dreaming of utopias. Thus Jewish intellectuals had indeed flung themselves into the socialist movement and become its leaders. Thus there arose that fateful picture of a grand conspiracy with parts carefully assigned, some to work within capitalism, some within the coming revolution. The small tradesman confusedly feared that both his business and his bourgeois status were being menaced by the Jews in a kind of two-pronged attack. And his racial uniqueness was under assault as well. In the 1890's one Hermann Ahlwardt wrote a book with the significant title, *Der Verzweiflungskampf der arischen Völker mit dem Judentum* ("The Desperate Struggle of the Aryan Peoples with Jewry"). Ahlwardt drew the materials for its "documentation" from events and conditions in Germany. Yet, in the Berlin of the nineties, despite all the fashionable currents of anti-Semitism, this book sounded like the

crochet of a pathological crank. In imagination of wide strata of the popu

In this city of Vienna, against this next six years. He had come to Vienna impressions and intending to continue more brilliant, more urban setting, than port. Nor did he have any doubts of himself wrote, full of "confident self-he applied for the drawing examination list contains the entry: "The following satisfactory drawings or were not ad: Adolf Hitler, Braunau a. Inn, April 20 civil servant, upper rank, four grades of drawing unsatisfactory."

It was a cruel shock. In his position director of the Academy, who suggested architecture, at the same time repeatedly showed my unfitness for painting experience as an "abrupt blow," a "he was being punished for having quite have needed to have passed the final in a school of architecture. But his regular study was so great that it did make up for this omission by working a grown man he called this requirement education "incredibly difficult" and judgment, then, fulfillment of my dream possible."¹⁹

It is probable that after such a humiliation of going home to Linz, former school, the scene of his previous in Vienna for the present and evidence about his not being accepted. Even and lay dying, he did not venture to return until after his mother's death on December who had treated his mother in her "never seen a young man so crushed. According to his own testimony, his hopes shattered, but he had now to face of disenchantment. The experience of tendency to keep to himself and to the of his mother whatever affection he had

the theater, and the coffeehouses of
 aks, he continued, by careful speech
 up his sense of bourgeois superiority
 believe a somewhat dubious source on
 with him an envelope of photographs
 rm and would smugly inform people
 as a higher official in his Imperial

ous gestures, such behavior reveals
 for approval and for a sense of be-
 ois personality. It is in this light that
 m early on he was a "revolutionary"
 s. In fact, the twenty-year-old Hitler
 d and its values. Rather, he moved
 , dazzled by its brilliance and its
 's son from Linz, full of sentimental
 . He craved a share in it. His re-
 ois world was an intensified longing
 l this, perhaps, is one of the more
 al in many other respects. Europe,
 nunciations of bourgeois sham for
 d easily have picked up arguments
 iliation, and exonerate himself by
 l, worsted and submissive, he held
 rage for total unmasking had no
 ic excitement and clash of ideas so
 on him—as well as its intellectual

the turn of the century was one of
 astonishingly, remained unaware
 any reasons for protest, for whom
 erating experiences of his youth,
 reverberations of the "greatest
 s in the memory of man" which
 n Weber and Alban Berg, had
 have reached his ears. Nor did
 nler or Richard Strauss, whose
 in 1907 the "hurricane center of
 ung man from Linz relived in
 his parents' generation. Kubizek
 whose *Book of Hours* had been
 had "never reached" either of
 d to the Academy of Fine Arts,
 secessionists and was in no way

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stirred by the sensations that Gustav Klimt, Egon Schiele or Oskar
 Kokoschka were provoking. Instead, he batted on the works of
 the mid-nineteenth century, venerating Anselm Feuerbach, Ferdinand
 Waldmüller, Karl Rottmann or Rudolf von Alt. And this future archi-
 tect, with his soaring visions stood enthralled before the classicistic
 façades of the Ringstrasse, unaware of the proximity of the revolution-
 ary leaders of a new architecture: Otto Wagner, Josef Hoffman, and
 Adolf Loos. In 1911 a heated controversy had flared over the flat un-
 ornamented façade of Loos's commercial building on Michaeler Platz,
 directly opposite one of the baroque portals of the Hofburg. Moreover,
 Loos had written an article maintaining that there was an inner link
 between "ornament and crime"—a scandalous thing to say. But Hitler
 consistently directed his naïve enthusiasm toward the fulsome style ac-
 cepted by Viennese salons and respectable society. Here, too, he proved
 himself reactionary. In everything new he seemed to sense a tendency
 toward the debasement of sublimity, the emergence of something alien
 and unknown. And with his bourgeois instincts he shrank back from
 anything of that sort.

His first brush with political reality took a similar course. Once again,
 despite his feelings of alienation, revolutionary ideas had no attraction
 for him. Instead he once again revealed himself a partisan of the es-
 tablishment, paradoxically defending a reality that he simultaneously
 repudiated. Rejected himself, he seemingly canceled the humiliation by
 taking over the cause of the society that had rejected him. Beneath this
 psychological mechanism was concealed one of the lines of fracture in
 Hitler's character. He himself has related how as a construction worker
 he would go off to one side during the noon lunch break to drink his
 bottle of milk and eat his piece of bread. And whatever we may or may
 not believe in this story, his "extremely" irritated reaction to the attitude
 of his fellow workers was consonant with a basic element in his per-
 sonality: "They rejected everything: the nation as an invention of the
 'capitalistic' . . . classes; the Fatherland as an instrument of the
 bourgeoisie for the exploitation of the working class; the authority of
 the law as a means for the repression of the proletariat; school as an
 institution for breeding slave material, but also for training the slave-
 drivers; religion as a means for stupefying the people intended for
 exploitation; morality as a sign of stupid, sheeplike patience, etc. There
 was absolutely nothing at all that was not dragged through the mire
 of horrible depths."²⁴

Significantly, the series of ideas that he defended against the construc-
 tion workers—nation, fatherland, authority of the law, school, religion,
 and morality—contains virtually the complete catalogue of standards for
 bourgeois society, against which he himself was at this time conceiving

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 his first resentments. It is precisely this divided relationship that will come to the fore repeatedly on the most diverse planes throughout his life. It will reappear in the political tactics of constantly seeking alliances with the despised bourgeois, and in the ritualistic formality—~~verging on the ridiculous—that prompted him to greet his secretaries by kissing their hands, or at the afternoon teas in the Führer's headquarters to serve them personally their cream cake.~~ In all vulgarity he cultivated the airs of a "gentleman of the old school." His manners were his way of demonstrating that he had achieved a desired social affinity; and if there is anything in the picture of young Hitler that betrays specifically Austrian traits, it must be this special status consciousness with which he defended the privilege of being bourgeois. In a society whose craze for titles tended to assign a social ranking to every activity, he wanted at least to be a *Herr*, a gentleman. It did not matter that his life was narrow and gloomy as long as he could claim this distinction. This was why he stayed away from the artistic and political oppositions of the period. Much of his outward behavior, his language and his clothing, and his ideological and aesthetic choices as well can be most plausibly explained as the effort to conform to the bourgeois world, which he admired uncritically, even to its presumptions. Social disdain he felt to be far more painful than social wretchedness; and if he despaired, it was not from the flawed order of the world, but from the insufficient part granted to him to play in it. He was therefore very careful to avoid any dispute with society; he wanted only to be reconciled to it. Staggered by the grandeur and glamour of the metropolis, wistfully standing outside locked gates, he was not revolutionary. He was merely lonely. No one seemed less destined to be a rebel than he.

THE GRANITE FO

Near his room on Felberstrasse there periodicals, including one highly popular anthropology. Its title page carried the you are a creator and preserver of civil are threatened by perils. Read the *Lib Male Rights*.* Its editor was a def name of Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels. *Die Ostara* after the Germanic goddess of deranged as it was dangerous, of the s he called Asings or Heldings, and c Affings or Schrättings. Some wealthy possible for Lanz von Liebenfels to Lower Austria. From this headquart a heroic Aryan league that was to for and blue-eyed master race in the com inferior mixed races. Under the swa raised over his castle in 1907, he p class struggle by race struggle "to t Thus early he called for a systematic nation: "For the extirpation of the an the higher new man." Along with ger measures, his platform included steril jungle," and liquidations by forced lat Frauja, you sons of the gods!" he wr

* *Mannesrechtler*—a coinage based on *Fr* might be "Men's Lib."—TRANS.

h (i.e., racial and nationalistic), was still described as the "fire myth, had twirled the primal sub-Hitler also seems to have read—following aimless years—the Pan-sheet *Linz* *Fliegende Blätter*. Semitism formed a component of hor of *Mein Kampf* would have long in the provinces.

inner struggle" lasting two years, sisted the inexorable commands efore he completed his meta-politan" to a "fanatical anti-reatest spiritual upheaval" was s and almost elusive dislike to logy. The anti-Semitism of Linz ward neighborly compromises; It focused on a well-defined Vienna Hitler had sent "respect-loch, his parents' Jewish family , and Morgenstern, the picture rtist by buying his small water mpanion at the home for men, of obligation. Now, during the veral years, all these marginal to the background. Their place quired an almost mythological nd black hair locks" which once the Inner City." He forcefully twisted" in his brain and grad-t dominated all his thinking:

th this question and to take cog-e in a different light than before. the more I saw the more sharply the rest of humanity. Particularly e Danube Canal swarmed with a esemblance to Germans. . . . All but it became positively repulsive iliness, you discovered the moral here any form of filth or proflit-at least one Jew involved in it? If ss, you found, like a maggot in a light—a kike! . . . Gradually I

would continue
y.

We can probably no longer plumb the real cause of this ever-growing hatred, which lasted literally to the last hour of Hitler's life. One of his dubious cronies of those years attributed the hatred to sexual envy on the part of a dropout from the middle class. This crony has described an incident involving a model, the essence of Germanic femininity, a half-Jewish rival, and an attempt on Hitler's part to rape the girl while she was posing. The story is as grotesque as it is stupidly plausible.²⁷ The theory that Hitler's anti-Semitism was connected with pathological sexual fixations is supported by the whole uneven pattern of Hitler's ideas about sexual relations, which from his boyhood oscillated remarkably between strained idealism and obscure anxiety feelings. It is supported likewise by the language and argumentation of his own account wherever the figure of a Jew enters the story. The scent of obscenity, which can be detected in all the pages of *Mein Kampf* in which he attempts to deal with his repugnance for Jews, is surely not an accidental and superficial characteristic. Nor is it merely an echo of the trashy pamphlets and periodicals to which he owed the unforgotten "illuminations" of his youth. Rather, in that obscenity his own personality and the inner nature of his resentment is revealed.

After the war a member of the dictator's entourage published an extensive list of the women in Adolf Hitler's life. Characteristically, the beautiful Jewish girl from a wealthy family figures in the list. It is far more likely that he had no "actual encounter with the girl," either in Linz or in Vienna. Or, if so, the affair would have been lacking the kind of passion that might have liberated the young man from his theatrical egocentrism.

Contrasting with this lack is a significant dream, the—in his own words—"nightmare vision of the seduction of hundreds and thousands of girls by repulsive, bandy-legged Jew bastards." Lanz, too, had been tormented by the recurrent bugbear of blonde noblewomen in the arms of dark, hairy seducers. His race theory was permeated by sexual-envy complexes and deep-seated antifemale emotions; woman, he maintained, had brought sin into the world, and her susceptibility to the lecherous wiles of bestial submen was the chief cause for the infection of Nordic blood. The same obsession, expressing the toils of a delayed and inhibited masculinity, emerges in a similar vision of Hitler's: "With satanic joy in his face, the black-haired Jewish youth lurks in wait for the unsuspecting girl whom he defiles with his blood, thus stealing her from her people." In both cases we have the fetid, insipid imagery of the sex-starved daydreamer; and it may well be that the peculiarly nasty vapors that rise from large tracts of National Socialist ideology derive from the phenomenon of repressed sexuality within the bourgeois world.²⁸

Kubizek, Hitler's boyhood friend, and other companions from the dim

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1924 * twilight of underground Vienna, have pointed out that Hitler had early on fallen out with everybody, that his hatred lashed out in all directions. It is conceivable, therefore, that his anti-Semitism was merely the concentrated form of his hitherto general and undirected hatred, which finally found its object in the Jews. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler argued that the masses must never be shown more than one enemy, because to be aware of several enemies would only arouse doubts. This principle, a number of writers have pointed out, applied to him even more than to the masses. He always concentrated his feelings with undivided intensity upon a single phenomenon as the presumptive cause of the evils in the world. And that phenomenon was always a specifically imaginable figure, never any elusive cluster of causes.

1929 Perhaps we may never be able to trace Hitler's overwhelming Jewish phobia down to its roots. But on the whole we may say that an ambitious and desperate loner was finding a formula for politicizing his personal problems. For he saw himself bit by bit going downhill and was forced to fend off his terror of being declassed. The apparition of the Jew helped to support his self-esteem; he could draw the conclusion that he had the laws of history and of nature on his side. Hitler's own account, incidentally, sustains the view that he became a full-fledged anti-Semite at the time he had used up his inheritance. Although he never suffered the utter destitution he later described, he was under some financial pressure, and at any rate had socially fallen much lower than he could bear, given his dreams of being an artist, a genius, the object of public adulation.

Vienna, the German bourgeois Vienna of the turn of the century, may be regarded as under the aegis of three men. Politically, it was the city of Georg Ritter von Schönerer and Karl Lueger. But in that peculiarly iridescent area where politics and art meet—that border region that so significantly determined Hitler's career—the overwhelmingly dominant figure was Richard Wagner. Ideologically, these three were the key personalities of his formative years.

We are told that in Vienna Hitler appeared as a disciple of Georg von Schönerer, that he had framed mottos by this man hanging over his bed: *Ohne Juda, ohne Rom/ wird gebaut Germaniens Dom. Heil!* And: *Wir schauen frei und offen, wir schauen unverwandt/ wir schauen froh hinüber ins deutsche Vaterland. Heil!*

These rhymed maxims gave the gist of von Schönerer's program. His Pan-German movement, unlike the association of the same name in Ger-

* We will build Germania's cathedral without the Jews and without Rome. *Heil!*

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He R.T. He was writing about himself. He could change any tactical opinion in an instant, but he

many, did not pursue expansionist imperialism for the union of all Germans in one national for the Pan-German Association of Germany non-German lands of the Danube Monarchy. existence of the multinational state. The movement, Georg von Schönerer was a Waldviertel, which was also the native soil begun his career as a radical democrat, but subordinated ideas of political and social reform by fears of drowning in a sea of threats to his Germanism all around him: from Roman Catholicism, from Slavs and Social monarchy and every type of internationalism. German greetings"; he launched all sorts of ancient Germanic customs; he recommended to begin with 113 B.C., date of the Battle of Marston and the Teutons won a decisive victory over the Saxons.

Schönerer was a difficult personality, deep principles. He organized the Away-from-Rome hostility of the Catholic Church. He was hatred for the Jews, hitherto mostly religious variations, the twist that turned it into formal and above all, biological basis. A desire for the effectiveness of primitive emotions, the trend toward Jewish assimilation. "Religion blood the foulness lies," ran one of his slogans which he regarded the Jews as agents of the world, and in the radicality of his declaration can be recognized as Hitler's forerunner. In the atmosphere of old Austria, he was the first abilities inherent in organizing racial and national saw the day coming when the German man and "slaughtered." To ward off that day, Jewish laws. His followers wore on their the anti-Semite: a hanged Jew. There were Parliament at Vienna, calling for bounties to lured Jew, either as a set payment of a political Dr. Karl Lueger, the other spokesman Semitism, evidently made an even more la Lueger was the mayor of Vienna and the Christian Social Party. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler admiration for Lueger, hailing him as "truly the mayor of all times," and "the last great the Ostmark."²⁰ It is true that Hitler sh

could now have a chance

1924, 1909
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Schönerer was a difficult personality, deep principles. He organized the Away-from-Rome hostility of the Catholic Church. He was hated for the Jews, hitherto mostly religious variations, the twist that turned it into formal a social, and above all, biological basis. A desire for the effectiveness of primitive emotions, the trend toward Jewish assimilation. "Religion blood the foulness lies," ran one of his slogans which he regarded the Jews as agents of the world, and in the radicality of his decision can be recognized as Hitler's forerunner. V atmosphere of old Austria, he was the possibilities inherent in organizing racial and saw the day coming when the German mind and "slaughtered." To ward off that day, Jewish laws. His followers wore on their the anti-Semite: a hanged Jew. There were Parliament at Vienna, calling for bounties to dered Jew, either as a set payment or a prize.

Dr. Karl Lueger, the other spokesman of anti-Semitism, evidently made an even more laudation for Lueger, hailing him as "truly, mayor of all times," and "the last great the Ostmark."²⁰ It is true that Hitler sh

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many, did not pursue expansionist imperialistic goals but worked instead
for the union of all Germans in one national state. In marked contrast
to the Pan-German Association of Germany, it was for giving up the
non-German lands of the Danube Monarchy. In general it opposed the
existence of the multinational state. The founder and leader of this
movement, Georg von Schönerer was a landowner of the frontier
Waldviertel, which was also the native soil of Hitler's family. He had
begun his career as a radical democrat, but subsequently more and more
subordinated ideas of political and social reform to extreme nationalism.
Obsessed by fears of drowning in a sea of foreignness, he saw deadly
threats to his Germanism all around him: from the Jews and equally
from Roman Catholicism, from Slavs and Socialists, from the Hapsburg
monarchy and every type of internationalism. He signed his letters "with
German greetings"; he launched all sorts of proposals for reviving an-
cient Germanic customs; he recommended that German chronology be-
gin with 113 B.C., date of the Battle of Noreia at which the Cimbri
and the Teutons won a decisive victory over the Roman legions.

Schönerer was a difficult personality, deeply embittered, rigid in his
principles. He organized the Away-from-Rome Movement, incurring the
hostility of the Catholic Church. He was the first to give European
hatred for the Jews, hitherto mostly religious and economic in its moti-
vations, the twist that turned it into formal anti-Semitism with a political,
social, and above all, biological basis. A demagogue with a keen sense
for the effectiveness of primitive emotions, he led a general fight against
the trend toward Jewish assimilation. "Religion's only a disguise, in the
blood the foulness lies," ran one of his slogans. In the monomania with
which he regarded the Jews as agents of all the evils and troubles of
the world, and in the radicality of his declaration of war on them, he
can be recognized as Hitler's forerunner. Within the tepid and tolerant
atmosphere of old Austria, he was the first to demonstrate the possi-
bilities inherent in organizing racial and national fears. Anxiously, he
saw the day coming when the German minority would be overwhelmed
and "slaughtered." To ward off that day, he demanded special anti-
Jewish laws. His followers wore on their watch chains the insigne of
the anti-Semite: a hanged Jew. There were some who spoke up in the
Parliament at Vienna, calling for bounties to be awarded for every mur-
dered Jew, either as a set payment or a portion of the victim's property.
Dr. Karl Lueger, the other spokesman for petty bourgeois anti-
Semitism, evidently made an even more lasting impression upon Hitler.
Lueger was the mayor of Vienna and the eloquent leader of the Chris-
tian Social Party. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler expressed his unequivocal ad-
miration for Lueger, hailing him as "truly gifted," "the greatest German
mayor of all times," and "the last great German to be born in . . .
the Ostmark."²⁰ It is true that Hitler sharply criticized his program,

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especially his casual and opportunistic anti-Semitism and his faith in the multinational state. But Lueger's demagogic talent impressed him all the more, as did the mayor's adeptness at making use, for his own purposes, of the prevailing socialistic, Christian, and anti-Jewish impulses of the people.

Unlike Schönerer, whose arrogance and fixation aroused strong opposition and thus condemned him to ineffectiveness, Lueger was conciliatory, skillful, and popular. He merely exploited ideologies; privately, he despised them. His thinking was tactical and pragmatic; accomplishment meant more to him than ideas. In his fifteen years in office the transportation network of Vienna was modernized, the educational system extended, social welfare improved, green belts laid out, and almost a million jobs created. Lueger based his power on the Catholic working class and the petty bourgeoisie: white-collar workers and lower-rank government officials, small shopkeepers, the concierges and lower clergy, all of whom industrialization and changing times threatened with social downgrading or poverty. He, too—in this resembling Schönerer—profited by the widespread feelings of anxiety, but he exploited these feelings only against select and defeatable opponents. Moreover, he did not arouse more anxiety by painting the future in gloomy colors. Instead, he won support with infallibly effective humanitarian platitudes, vividly expressed in his recurrent phrase: "We must do something for the little man!"

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But Hitler admired Lueger for more than his Machiavellian qualities. He believed he had discovered a deeper concord between the mayor and himself. Certainly Lueger had things to teach him; but beyond that, Hitler regarded the man as a kindred soul. Like himself the son of simple folk, Lueger had made his way against all obstacles, all slurs and social disparagement. He had prevailed over even the objections of the Emperor, who three times refused to confirm him as mayor, and had won that recognition from society which Hitler, too, was bent on having. While Schönerer scotched his chances by making enemies, Lueger had worked his way up by continuously seeking and cementing alliances with the ruling groups. He had known how—as Hitler in his homage described the well-remembered lesson—"to make use of all existing implements of power, to incline mighty existing institutions in his favor, drawing from these old sources of power the greatest possible profit for his own movement."

The mass party Lueger formed with the aid of emotional slogans was living proof that anxiety was—as happiness had been a century before—a new idea in Europe, powerful enough to bridge even class interests. For the time being, the idea of a nationalistic socialism took much the same course. The Bohemian and Moravian regions of the Danube Monarchy were rapidly becoming industrialized. In 1904 a congress in

Trautenuau founded the German Workers' (Deutsche Arbeiterpartei). Its aim was to defend the interests of the German worker against cheap Czech labor pouring into the country and frequently acting as strikebreaker. There would be others throughout Europe—toward meeting a key weakness of Marxism—to overcome national antagonisms and to give the German worker a sense of security. For there was no room for the struggle for the German worker's sense of security. In fact, the adherents of the new German Workers' Party were largely from among former members of the Social Democratic Party. They had turned away from their previous concern that the policy of proletarian solidarity was a dead end. That policy, formulated it, was "misguided and immeasurable." "The German Workers' Party of Central Europe."

To these Germans the inseparability of interests seemed to be an obvious and universal truth. They turned to the high-flown and imprecise internationalism of the Social Democrats, thought they would find the reconciliation in the idea of a "national community"—a program of their party united, in somewhat concrete ideas answered their craving for self-defense. The goals of the party were predominantly anti-liberalism, anti-libertarian, and democratic; but from the very beginning with authoritarian and irrational notions, as toward Czechs, Jews, and other so-called "enemies of the people." The followers of the party were workers from small industry; there were also some railroad workers who regarded themselves as closer to the German workers. The industrialist, the high official, or the unskilled Czech workers. Soon they took to Socialists.

In later life Hitler did not like to recall his ties with them, especially in the immediate aftermath of the World War, were for a time very close. The Socialists obviously cast doubt upon his claim, as did the German Workers' Party (NSDAP), to determine the fate of the century. He was tempted to derive this idea from his comparison of Schönerer, and to represent it as his personal discovery.

If, in addition to its enlightened knowledge of the German Social Party had had a correct idea of the

ment had achieved; and if, finally, it had a Jewish question, had adopted the practical Party, especially in its attitude towards a movement which even then intervened in German destiny.³⁰

He was restrained from joining either of these movements. But it would be more accurate to say that he had no independently thought-out position with inchoate emotions of hatred or sympathy which Schönerer appealed. Alongside his opposition to Jews and other minorities, he was in some way. He grasped what was at stake for him more by instinct than by reason. His interest in public affairs at this time was not political. Rather, he was still being "politically" at the time he was so filled with a kind of "incidentally" interested in politics in his eyes. Proof of this is the tale of a young worker deeply disliked by his family and his way into all German schoolbooks. But, for us, the significant detail is that when he refused, giving as his reason "I am a writer." It would seem that for a long time he had been principally a means for unburdening his mind on the world, to explain his system, and finally, also, to find specific organization he joined was the League

of German Writers on Felberstrasse that he had joined. Up to November, 1909, he changed his listed occupation as "writer." He wanted to avoid registering for military service and to throw the authorities off his back. His constant moving reflected both his restlessness and aimlessness of his life. In this period have described him as pale, with a low brow over his forehead, his movements awkward. At that stage of his life he had been content to venture to approach a great man or two.

From which he continued to draw by attending the Academy. His inheri-

ance from his father, however, as well as his share in the sale of his parents' home—which for so long had provided him with the means for a carefree and untrammelled existence—appear to have been used up by the end of 1909. At any rate, he gave up the room on Simon Denk Gasse which he had sublet from September to November. Konrad Heiden, the author of the first important biography of Hitler, relates that at this time Hitler "sank into bitterest misery" and spent a few nights without shelter, sleeping on park benches and in cafés, until the advanced season forced him to seek shelter. November, 1908, was unusually cold; there was much rain, often mixed with snow.³² Sometime during this month Hitler queued up in front of the home for men in Meidling, a Vienna suburb. Here he met a vagabond named Reinhold Hanisch, who in an account he wrote in later years described how "after long wanderings on the roads of Germany and Austria I came to the Refuge for the Homeless in Meidling. On the wire cot to my left was a gaunt young man whose feet were quite sore from tramping the streets. Since I still had some bread that peasants had given me, I shared it with him. At that time I spoke a heavy Berlin dialect; he was enthusiastic about Germany. I had passed through his home town of Braunau on the Inn, so I could easily follow his stories."

For about seven months, until the summer of 1910, Hitler and Hanisch spent their time together in close friendship and joint business affairs. To be sure, this witness is not much more credible than all the others from this early phase of Hitler's life. Nevertheless, there are bits of Hanisch's story which ring true: that Hitler had the tendency to sit idly brooding, and that nothing would persuade him to go job hunting with his pal Hanisch. The contradiction between Hitler's longing for middle-class respectability and his real situation certainly never appeared more plainly than during those weeks in the flophouse, surrounded by broken-down derelicts, befriended by no one but the crudely cunning Reinhold Hanisch. In 1938, when he could do so, he had Hanisch tracked down and killed. At the height of his career, still needing to drown out the humiliating memory of those years, he insisted: "But in imagination I lived in palaces!"

The enterprising Hanisch, wise in the ways of the world, familiar with all the miseries and shifts open to his class, one day asked Hitler about his occupation. Hitler replied that he was a painter. Assuming that Hitler meant a house painter, Hanisch said that he certainly should be able to earn money at such a trade. And, despite all our suspicions of Hanisch's reliability, we cannot help recognizing the young Hitler in the phrases that follow: "He was insulted and replied that he was not that kind of painter, but an academician and an artist." The two men eventually went into partnership—the idea seems to have come from Hanisch. Shortly before Christmas they moved into a kind of hostel, the

1910, 1944

home for men on Meldemann Strasse, in the Twentieth District of Vienna. By day, when regulations forbade staying in the tiny bedrooms, Hitler sat in the reading room perusing the newspapers or popular-science journals, or else copying postcards and lithographs of Viennese scenes. Hanisch sold these careful water colors to picture dealers, framers, and sometimes to upholsterers who, in the fashion of the day, "worked them into the high backs of easy chairs or sofas." The proceeds were shared on a fifty-fifty basis. Hitler himself felt that he would not be able to sell his works since he "could not be seen in his bedraggled clothes." Hanisch, however, maintains that he managed "sometimes to get a very good order, so that we could live fairly well."

The inhabitants of the home for men came from all classes; the largest group consisted of young workers, both blue- and white-collar, with jobs in nearby factories and shops. In addition there were some solid, industrious small craftsmen. Hanisch mentions music copyists, sign painters, and monogram carvers. But more characteristic of the place and the neighborhood were the shipwrecked of various kinds, adventurers, bankrupt businessmen, gamblers, beggars, moneylenders, discharged army officers—flotsam and jetsam from all provinces of the multinational state. There were also the Jews from the eastern regions of the monarchy who, as door-to-door salesmen, peddlers, or knitware dealers were trying to rise. What linked them all was common wretchedness; what separated them was the desperate determination to escape from that world, to scramble out even at the expense of all others. "The lack of solidarity is the supreme characteristic of the great class of the declassed."³⁸

Again, in the home for men Hitler had no friends aside from Hanisch. Those who knew him there remembered him as a fanatic; on the other hand, he himself spoke of his dislike for the Viennese personality, which he felt to be "obnoxious." Possibly he avoided friendships; intimacies of any kind irritated and exhausted him. What he became acquainted with, on the other hand, was that sort of camaraderie among ordinary people which simultaneously affords contact and anonymity, and offers a kind of loyalty that can be canceled at any time. This was an experience he was never to forget, and in the following years he repeatedly renewed it on the most varied social planes, with virtually unchanging personnel: in the trenches during the war; in the midst of his orderlies and chauffeurs, whose company he preferred as a party leader and later as Chancellor; and finally in the underground bunker of the Führer's headquarters. He always seemed to be repeating the life style of the home for men, which provided only distant forms of social life and in general neatly fitted into his concept of human relations. The management of the home considered him difficult, a political troublemaker.

"Temper often rose," Hanisch later recalls looks made the atmosphere distinctly uncomfortable.

Hitler evidently argued his views sharply. In Vienna years he was in a constant state of contrast to the famous lightheartedness of the keeping with the temper of the times. He and Slavs, hated the House of Hapsburg Party, and envisioned the doom of Germany for men did not share his paranoid.

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Meanwhile, reputedly through Greiner's poster advertising a hair tonic, another poster for another for an antiperspirant sold under the copy of this last poster, with Hitler's signature found. It shows two rather stiff, clumsily drawn one has sat down in exhaustion wringing the of his sock; the other is informing his "dear a day are "a pleasure with Teddy powder," come down to us the tower of St. Stephen's above a mountain of soap. What Hitler himself about this period of his life was that he was time. During the long hours he spent over the cafés, he read by preference the Anti-Semite.

If we were to define the characteristic quality of this eccentric, solitary twenty-year-old (I as having been "eccentric" at this time),³⁴ essentially unpolitical nature of his interest in idol during those years, not only "in music," early disappointments, lack of recognition, avocation, a "life flowing into the glory of war

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1910, 1944

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1910

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"Temper often rose," Hanisch later recalled. "The exchanges of hostile looks made the atmosphere distinctly uncomfortable."

Hitler evidently argued his views sharply and consistently. During the Vienna years he was in a constant state of perturbation, in strong contrast to the famous lightheartedness of the city but in fact far more in keeping with the temper of the times. He was obsessed by fears of Jews and Slavs, hated the House of Hapsburg and the Social Democratic Party, and envisioned the doom of Germanism. His fellows in the home for men did not share his paranoid emotions.

Radical alternatives, wild exaggerations formed the pattern of his thinking. His hate-filled mind pushed everything to extremes, magnified events of minor importance into metaphysical catastrophes. From early on only grandiose themes had attracted him. This tendency was one of the reasons for his naive and reactionary leaning toward the heroic, the nobly decorative, the idealizing elements in art. Gods and heroes, gigantic aspirations, or horrendous superlatives stimulated him and helped to mask the banality of his circumstances. "In music Richard Wagner brought him to bright flames," Hanisch writes clumsily but vividly. Hitler himself later claimed that as far back as this he began sketching his first plans for the reconstruction of Berlin. His bent for grandiose projects fits into this context. A job in the office of a construction company instantly awoke his old dreams of being an architect; and after a few experiments with model planes he already saw himself as the owner of a great airplane factory and "rich, very rich."

Meanwhile, reputedly through Greiner's mediation, he produced a poster advertising a hair tonic, another poster for a bed-feathers shop, another for an antiperspirant sold under the brand name "Teddy." A copy of this last poster, with Hitler's signature in a corner, has been found. It shows two rather stiff, clumsily drawn figures of letter carriers; one has sat down in exhaustion wringing heavy blue drops of sweat out of his sock; the other is informing his "dear brother" that 10,000 steps a day are "a pleasure with Teddy powder." In another poster that has come down to us the tower of St. Stephan's cathedral rises majestically above a mountain of soap. What Hitler himself considered noteworthy about this period of his life was that he was at last master of his own time. During the long hours he spent over the newspapers in cheap little cafés, he read by preference the anti-Semitic *Deutsches Volksblatt*.

If we were to define the characteristic quality of that period in the life of this eccentric, solitary twenty-year-old (Hitler, too, spoke of himself as having been "eccentric" at this time),⁸⁴ we should have to stress the essentially unpolitical nature of his interests. Richard Wagner was his idol during those years, not only "in music." In fact, Hitler saw Wagner's early disappointments, lack of recognition, and obstinate faith in his own vocation, a "life flowing into the glory of world fame,"⁸⁵ as a prototype

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The boy who fled the disciplines of school and then fell prey to the delusive promises of the big city found his idol in the Master of Bayreuth. Many young men of his generation followed the same course, and with similarly exalted expectations. It was a way with great appeal to gifted "outsiders" who otherwise would have no choice but to sink into mediocrity. It may surprise us to find that this unprepossessing son of a Linz customs official represents so typical a phenomenon. With the turn of the century legions of these sons of the nineteenth-century middle class made their appearance. In 1906 Hermann Hesse, in *Under the Wheel*, vividly described the sufferings of one such youth under contemporary conditions and gave a dismal forecast of his future. Robert Musil, in *Young Törless*, and Frank Wedekind, in *The Awakening of Spring*, were among the many writers who dealt with the same theme. Whether these heroes sought escape from the toils of the world or went down to destruction, all of them opposed to the bourgeois world a wild enthusiasm for the arts. They despised their fathers' mean accomplishments and felt only contempt for their values. By contrast, an artist's existence was noble, precisely because it was socially unfruitful. Everything that stood for order, duty, endurance, they dismissed as "bourgeois." The bourgeois mentality, they maintained, promoted efficiency but did not tolerate the extraordinary. The tremendous intensifications of true culture, on the other hand, the glories of the "spirit," could be achieved only in isolation, in extreme human and social aloofness. The artist, the genius, the complex personality in general, was bound to be utterly out of place in the bourgeois world. His true locale was far out on the fringes of society, where the morgue for suicides and the pantheon for immortals were both situated—as Henn Murger, the first analyst of this type bathetically observed. Though the lodging-houses to which Hitler betook himself were squalid, though his notion of being an artist was ridiculously highflown; though no one so far had acknowledged his talent; though his actual life in the home for men was marked by deceit, parasitism, and asociality—all this could be secretly justified in terms of the prevailing concept of genius. And Richard Wagner was the supreme example of the validity of that concept.

1910

Must we not, even against our will, recognize the artist's character? We are ashamed if there is the recalcitrance, sluggishness, youth; the dimness of purpose, the what-d-dating like a semi-idiot in the lowest social the arrogant rejection of any sensible and the basic feeling that he is too good for the feeling based? On a vague sense of being indefinable. To name it, if it could be named laughing. Along with that, the uneasy consciousness at the world, the revolutionary instinct, the explosive cravings for compensation, the challenge, self, to prove oneself. . . . It is a thorough all. I would not want to close my eyes to

But there are other striking parallels to the uncertainty about ancestry, the failure at service, the morbid hatred of Jews, even Wagner ultimately developed into the vegetarian diet. Also a quality of their moods: the abrupt alternations, triumphs and disasters. In many of the themes is the classic conflict between the laws, and a rigid social order governing Lohengrin or Tannhäuser, Hitler, the sitting over his water colors in the reading room, recognized magnified aspects of his own. Both Wagner and Hitler, moreover, possessed a basically despotic tendency. All of Richard Wagner was able to conceal to what extent it was his need to dominate. From this impulse, effects, for pomposity, for overwhelming composition after *Rienzi* was a choral work for an orchestra of one hundred. This blatant

1910, 1938

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be political," and on one occasion admitted that a "literally hysterical
excitement" overcame him when he recognized his own psychological
kinship with this great man.⁸⁰

The parallels are, in fact, not at all hard to detect. The points of con-
tact between the two temperaments—all the more marked because the
young postcard painter consciously modeled himself after his hero—
produce a curious sense of family resemblance, which Thomas Mann
first pointed out in his disturbing essay *Brother Hitler*. In (1938) when
Hitler was at the height of his peacetime triumphs, Mann wrote:

Must we not, even against our will, recognize in this phenomenon an aspect
of the artist's character? We are ashamed to admit it, but the whole pattern
is there: the recalcitrance, sluggishness and miserable indefiniteness of his
youth; the dimness of purpose, the what-do-you-really-want-to-be, the vege-
tating like a semi-idiot in the lowest social and psychological bohemianism,
the arrogant rejection of any sensible and honorable occupation because of
the basic feeling that he is too good for that sort of thing. On what is this
feeling based? On a vague sense of being reserved for something entirely
indefinable. To name it, if it could be named, would make people burst out
laughing. Along with that, the uneasy conscience, the sense of guilt, the rage
at the world, the revolutionary instinct, the subconscious storing up of ex-
plosive cravings for compensation, the churning determination to justify one-
self, to prove oneself. . . . It is a thoroughly embarrassing kinship. Still and
all, I would not want to close my eyes to it.⁸⁷

But there are other striking parallels between Hitler and Wagner: the
uncertainty about ancestry, the failure at school, the flight from military
service, the morbid hatred of Jews, even the vegetarianism, which in
Wagner ultimately developed into the ludicrous delusion that humanity
must be saved by vegetarian diet. Also common to both was the violent
quality of their moods: the abrupt alternation of depressions and exalta-
tions, triumphs and disasters. In many of Richard Wagner's operas the
theme is the classic conflict between the outsider, subject only to his own
laws, and a rigid social order governed by tradition. In *Rienzi* or
Lohengrin or *Tannhäuser*, Hitler, the rejected Academy candidate
sitting over his water colors in the reading room of the home for men,
recognized magnified aspects of his own confrontation with the world.
Both Wagner and Hitler, moreover, possessed a furious will to power,
a basically despotic tendency. All of Richard Wagner's art has never
been able to conceal to what extent its underlying urge was the bound-
less need to dominate. From this impulse sprang the taste for massive
effects, for pomposity, for overwhelming hugeness. Wagner's first major
composition after *Rienzi* was a choral work for 1,200 male voices and
an orchestra of one hundred. This blatant reliance on mass effects, em-

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bol and then fell prey to the his idol in the Master of on followed the same course, was a way with great appeal have no choice but to sink that this unprepossessing son tical a phenomenon. With the the nineteenth-century mid-ermann Hesse, in *Under the* one such youth under con-forecast of his future. Robert kind, in *The Awakening of* dealt with the same theme. the toils of the world or went the bourgeois world a wild r fathers' mean accomplish-ues. By contrast, an artist's it was socially unfruitful. durance, they dismissed as y maintained, promoted ef-ry. The tremendous intensi- the glories of the "spirit," me human and social aloof- personality in general, was reois world. His true locale the morgue for suicides and ed—as Henri Murger, the rved. Though the lodging- squalid, though his notion at though no one so far had life in the home for men was y—all this could be secretly t of genius. And Richard city of that concept. hat with the exception of nd by Wagner he meant not city, "the greatest prophetic his favorite ideas, to which wowering importance "for

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played to cover up basic weaknesses, this medley of pagan, ritual and music-hall elements anticipated the era of mass hypnosis. The style of public ceremonies in the Third Reich is inconceivable without this operatic tradition, without the essentially demagogical art of Richard Wagner.

Another point in common was a kind of cunning knowledge of the popular mind along with a remarkable insensitivity to banality. This combination resulted in an air of plebeian pretentiousness in which again they were remarkably similar. Gottfried Keller once called the composer a "barber and charlatan"; similarly, a contemporary observer described Hitler, with the acuteness born of hatred, as having "the aura of a head-waiter"; another spoke of him as a speechmaking sex murderer.⁸⁸ The element of vulgarity and unsavoriness that phrases of this sort tried to catch was present in both Hitler and Wagner. They were masters of the art of brilliant fraudulence, of inspired swindling. And just as Richard Wagner could call himself a revolutionary yet pride himself on his friendship with a king ("Wagner, the government bandleader," Karl Marx said scornfully), so Hitler, in his vague dreams of mounting the social ladder, reconciled his hatred of society with his opportunistic instincts. Wagner dismissed the patent contradictions in his views by declaring that art was the goal of life and that the artist made the ultimate decisions. It was the artist who would intervene to save the situation wherever "the statesman despairs, the politician gives up, the socialist vexes himself with fruitless systems, and even the philosopher can only interpret but cannot prophesy." His doctrine then was that of the aesthete who would subordinate life entirely to the dictates of the artist. The state was to be raised to the heights of a work of art; politics would be renewed and perfected by the spirit inherent in art. Elements of this program are clearly visible in the theatricalization of public life in the Third Reich, the regime's passion for histrionics, the staginess of its practical politics—a staginess that often appeared to be the sole end of the politics.

There are still other parallels. The innate tendency toward "dilettantism," which Friedrich Nietzsche noted even while Wagner was still his admired friend, was likewise a trait of Hitler's. In both men there was the same striking need to intervene officiously in all sorts of spheres; both had to be forever proving themselves, dazzling the world with their many talents. Yesterday's glory rapidly turned stale for both of them; they had constantly to be surpassing themselves. In both cases we find an outrageous pettiness side by side with far-ranging inspiration; this very conjunction seems to have defined their peculiar mentality.

Hitler, to be sure, entirely lacked the self-discipline and the artist's capacity for taking pains that distinguished Wagner. Hitler's lethargy, his almost narcotized dullness, are his alone. But at bottom we find in

both men a horror of proletarianization, fend off at any cost. Their struggle to ra which they felt themselves destined rep: ment of the will. That sense of destiny w by their premonitions that some time i change for them, and all the humiliatio wretchedness of years in the lower depth

Hitler's theatrical, essentially unpolitic the vein of Richard Wagner, emerges fr lates. Once, after days of "musing and br demonstration of Viennese workers. His recollected fifteen years later, still vibr those "endless columns four abreast" ma hours, he says, he stood "watching with b dragon slowly winding by," before he anxiety" and went home. What had chie ances, was the theatrical effect of the par: a word about the background or the poli onstration. Evidently these concerned hin of how to achieve such effects upon r brooded on theatrical problems; as he sa politician were matters of staging. Kubiz the importance his friend, in his occasiona to "the most magnificent possible stagin, admirer of Hitler could not recall afterwar he never forgot the "enormous pomp" l anything Richard Wagner had ever de pletely in the shade."⁸⁹

In retrospect, Hitler laid claim to an int During the approximately five years he sp he read "enormously and thoroughly." visiting the opera, he wrote, he "had but would probably be more accurate to say: phase of his life stemmed not so much f from that of demagogu and political tacti a declassed bourgeois filled equally with fear of intimacy, he kept carefully to one their lunch. Nevertheless, he eventuall wrangles. When his fellows threatened, ac him off the scaffolding, he learned som later put it, with an undertone of admirat simple method existed to deal with argum anybody who dared to oppose." The pag

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with his political awakening are extremely scanty on theory; they do not suggest that grappling with the ideas of the time which he claims to have engaged in. Rather, he uncritically followed the existing, widespread ideology of the German bourgeoisie. On the other hand, questions of the manipulation of ideas, of their power over the masses, aroused his eager interest and produced his first flashes of insight.

In the Vienna period we can already see those themes emerging which haunt many of his later utterances: the persistent search for "those who are behind it," the "secret wirepuller" who makes a dupe of the masses. Hanisch tells how one day Hitler emerged "altogether overwhelmed" from a movie based on the novel *The Tunnel (Der Tunnel)*, by Bernhard Kellermann, in which one of the chief characters was a popular orator. "Henceforth there were eloquent speeches in the Home for Men," Hanisch reports. And Josef Greiner tells of having once referred Hitler to a woman named Anna Csillag who sold a hair-growing lotion by means of false testimonials. For almost an hour, Greiner's story goes, Hitler waxed enthusiastic about the woman's skill and the vast potentialities of psychological persuasion. "Propaganda, propaganda!" he is supposed to have raved. "You must keep it up until it creates a faith and people no longer know what is imagination and what reality." Propaganda, he is quoted as saying, is "the fundamental essence of every religion . . . whether of heaven or hair tonic."

These accounts are dubious. We are on firmer ground when we read what Hitler himself had to say about his study of Social Democratic practice: its propaganda, its demonstrations, and its speeches. The lessons he derived were to shape his own approach:

The psyche of the great masses is not receptive to anything that is half-hearted or weak.

Like a woman, whose psychic state is determined less by grounds of abstract reason than by an indefinable emotional longing for a force which will complement her nature, and who, consequently, would rather bow to a strong man than dominate a weakling, likewise the masses love a commander more than a petitioner and feel inwardly more satisfied by a doctrine tolerating no other beside itself than by the granting of liberalistic freedom with which, as a rule, they can do little, and are prone to feel that they have been abandoned. They are equally unaware of their shameless spiritual terrorization and the hidden abuse of their human freedom, for they absolutely fail to suspect the inner insanity of the whole doctrine. All they see is the ruthless force and brutality of its calculated manifestations, to which they always submit in the end. . . . I achieved an equal understanding of the importance of physical terror toward the individual and the masses.

Here, too, the psychological effect can be calculated with precision.

Terror at the place of employment, in the factory, in the meeting hall, and on the occasion of mass demonstrations will always be successful unless opposed by equal terror.⁴⁰

At the beginning of August Hitler and I spent several days painting a view of the Vienna style of a classical temple, which he hoped to place on German soil." His admiration evinced itself. At any rate, he thought the picture. Hanisch claimed he had sold it for only ten crowns. His partner then stayed away for some time, arrested and instituted legal proceedings. In 1910, Hanisch was sentenced to seven days' imprisonment for having testified against Hitler. He testified that the court was prejudiced against Hitler at the home for men under the false buyer's widow subsequently declared that he had only about ten crowns for the picture; but I was not a witness.

Subsequently, a Jewish companion named [name] in the home for men hawked Hitler's picture. Hitler himself conquered his embarrassment himself.

Hitler spent three and a half of his formative years in Vienna. He can well understand how repellent it would be to an inclined young man full of high-flown ambitions. In his own testimony, he shuddered with horror at the scenes of garbage, repulsive filth, and worse, and without compassion.

His experiences and circumstances during his Vienna years arrive at that philosophy of struggle which became the basis of his view of the world, its "granite foundation." He had no need of ever again changing. His contacts with the inmates in the home for men, and again in later years, whenever he participated in the struggle, in harshness, cruelty, destruction, as he did in countless speeches and discussions, and in his table talk at the Führer's head, he never forgot the lessons he had learned in Vienna.

Nevertheless, the component of Social Darwinism cannot be attributed solely to his personal experiences. He was really reflecting the tendency of the time to come the one truly unchallenged authority. The selection put forth by Charles Darwin, which was popularized in numerous pseudoscientific publications, soon came to know that the "struggle for survival" was the mental principle of life, the "survival of the fittest."

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He already sees those themes emerging in his utterances: the persistent search for the "secret wirepuller" who makes a dupe of one day Hitler emerged "altogether new" in the novel *The Tunnel* (Der Tunnel) in which one of the chief characters there were eloquent speeches in the And Josef Greiner tells of having met Anna Csillag who sold a hair-testimonial. For almost an hour, he was enthusiastic about the woman's skill in logical persuasion. "Propaganda," he raved. "You must keep it up or you no longer know what is imagination." He is quoted as saying, is "the foundation, whether of heaven or hair tonic." He is on firmer ground when we read of his study of Social Democratic utterances, and its speeches. The own approach:

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At the beginning of August Hitler and Hanisch quarreled. Hitler had spent several days painting a view of the Vienna Parliament, a building in the style of a classical temple, which he had called "a Hellenic masterpiece on German soil." His admiration evidently led him to outdo himself. At any rate, he thought the picture was worth fifty crowns, but Hanisch claimed he had sold it for only ten. They quarreled, and when his partner then stayed away for some time, Hitler abruptly had him arrested and instituted legal proceedings. At the trial, on August 11, 1910, Hanisch was sentenced to seven days in jail. He subsequently asserted that the court was prejudiced against him because he was registered at the home for men under the false name of Fritz Walter. The buyer's widow subsequently declared that her husband had indeed paid only about ten crowns for the picture; but Hanisch did not call him as a witness.

Subsequently, a Jewish companion named Neumann, who also lived in the home for men hawked Hitler's pictures, and on occasion even Hitler himself conquered his embarrassment and went after his customers himself.

Hitler spent three and a half of his formative years in this setting. We can well understand how repellent it would all have been to an artistically inclined young man full of high-flown ambitions. Even years later, by his own testimony, he shuddered with horror at the memory of the "sordid scenes of garbage, repulsive filth, and worse." Characteristically, he felt no compassion.

His experiences and circumstances during this phase of his life helped Hitler arrive at that philosophy of struggle that became the central core of his view of the world, its "granite foundation," as he stressed, which he had no need of ever again changing. The views he formed from his contacts with the inmates in the home for men came to the fore again and again in later years, whenever he professed his belief in brutal struggle, in harshness, cruelty, destruction, the rights of the stronger—as he did in countless speeches and discussions, in the pages of his book, and in his table talk at the Führer's headquarters during the war. He never forgot the lessons he had learned in that school for meanness in Vienna.

Nevertheless, the component of Social Darwinism in Hitler's thought cannot be attributed solely to his personal experiences in the home for men. He was really reflecting the tendency of the age. Science had become the one truly unchallenged authority. As the laws of evolution and selection put forth by Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer were popularized in numerous pseudoscientific publications, the average man soon came to know that the "struggle for existence" was the fundamental principle of life, the "survival of the fittest" the basic law govern-

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underlay his racial theory of history from the Hapsburg multinational
state. In his best known work, *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*
(1899), he interpreted European history—in a series of bold hypotheses
—as the history of racial struggle. He regarded the decline of the Roman
Empire as the classical model of historical decadence resulting from
contamination of blood lines. Like declining Rome, he posited, the
Dual Monarchy was being swamped by the admixture of Oriental races;
the "disease" was advancing at a furious pace. In both cases "not one
specific nation, not just one people or one race" was causing disintegra-
tion, but "a motley agglomeration" of races who in their turn were the
consequence of multiple mixings. "Easy talents, and also, peculiar
beauty, what the French call *un charme troublant*, is frequently charac-
teristic of bastards. Nowadays this can daily be observed in cities
where, as in Vienna, a wide variety of races meet. But at the same time
one can also perceive the peculiar spinelessness, the low resistance, the
lack of character, in short, the moral degeneration of such people."⁴¹

Chamberlain carried the parallel even further, comparing the Teutons
thronging to the gates of Rome with the noble race of Prussians who had
rightly been victorious in their clash with the racially chaotic Austro-
Hungarian monarchy. But the mood of this elitist individualism was far
from being cocky, was rather one of anxiety and defensiveness. In recur-
rent pessimistic visions he saw the Teutons "on the brink of the racial
abyss," engaged "in a mute life-and-death struggle." He was tormented
by fantasies of bastardization: "It is still morning, but again and again
the powers of darkness stretch out their octopus arms, fasten their suck-
ing cups on us in a hundred places and try to draw us back into the
darkness."

Hitler's Social Darwinist views, therefore, were not simply the
"philosophy of the doss-house."⁴² Rather, they show him once again
in harmony with the bourgeois age, whose product and destroyer he
was. He merely picked up the kind of ideas current in the newspapers
he found in cheap cafés, in the books and pamphlets on newsstands, in
operas, and in the speechifying of cynical politicians. His experiences in
the home for men were reflected only in the whiff of corruption that
rises like a penetrating stench from his theories. Of similar origin was
the ugly vocabulary that came to his lips, even when he was a statesman
and master of a continent, so that he would speak of the "filthy trash
from the East," the "swinish pack of parsons," the "crippled dung art,"
or would characterize Churchill as a "hopeless square-snout," and the
Jews as "this vilest sow's brood that ought to be beaten to a pulp."⁴³

Hitler absorbed the complex notions that gave his period its mood
and peculiar coloration, absorbed them with that heightened sensitivity
which was in fact the only quality he shared with the artist. Along with
anti-Semitism and Social Darwinism, the age passed on to him the

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nationalistic missionary faith that was the obverse of pessimistic anxiety dreams. His views, highly confused and haphazardly arranged, also contained scraps drawn from the broader intellectual fads of the turn of the century: skepticism about reason and humanity, romantic glorification of blood and instinct. Oversimplified interpretations of Nietzsche's sermons about the strength and radiant amorality of the superman also formed part of this stock of ideas. It is worth noting, however, that it was Nietzsche who remarked that the nineteenth century took over from Schopenhauer not his desire for clarity and rationality, or his doctrine of the intellectual nature of intuition, but—"determined to be barbarously fascinated and seduced"—his unprovable doctrine of the will, his denial of the individual, his ravings about genius, his hatred of the Jews, and his hostility to science.

Once again Richard Wagner enters the picture—Nietzsche used the example of Wagner to illustrate this misunderstanding of Schopenhauer. For the Master of Bayreuth was not only Hitler's great exemplar; he was also the young man's ideological mentor. Wagner's political writings were Hitler's favorite reading, and the sprawling pomposity of his style unmistakably influenced Hitler's own grammar and syntax. Those political writings, together with the operas, form the entire framework for Hitler's ideology: Darwinism and anti-Semitism ("I hold the Jewish race to be the born enemy of pure humanity and everything noble in man"), the adoration of barbarism and Germanic might, the mystique of blood purification expressed in *Parsifal*, and the general histrionic view in which good and evil, purity and corruption, rulers and the ruled, stand opposed in black and white contrasts. The curse of gold, the inferior race grubbing underground, the conflict between Siegfried and Hagen, the tragic genius of Wotan—this strange brew compounded of bloody vapors, dragon slaying, mania for domination, treachery, sexuality, elitism, paganism, and ultimately salvation and tolling bells on a theatrical Good Friday were the perfect ideological match for Hitler's anxieties and needs. Here he found the "granite foundations" for his view of the world.

Hitler called the Vienna years "the hardest, though most thorough school of my life"; when he left it, he declared, he had "grown quiet and serious." He hated the city ever after for the rejection and insults he had suffered there—in this, too, resembling his model, Richard Wagner, who never overcame his grudge against Paris for the disappointments of his youth and had visions of the city going down to destruction in smoke and flames.⁴⁴ It is not far-fetched to suspect that Hitler's subsequent plans for turning Linz into a cultural metropolis on the Danube were inspired by resentment toward Vienna. Although he may not have gone so far as to wish the city burned to the ground, the fact is that in Decem-

ber, 1944, he refused a request for additional funds, remarking that Vienna might just as well have been like.

His uncertainty about his future increased at the end of 1910 and the beginning of 1911. He had received a considerable sum of money from his aunt, but no additional funds produced in him no initiation into a new beginning. He continued to dream, but he passed by. He still pretended that he was a member of the proletariat. He went on cherishing vague hopes of a better life. He did nothing to make a reality of any of his dreams. His dreams were ambitious, directed toward a life with which he continued to dream in the of his life, confers upon this period a striking character. He avoided being pinned down by anything in his relationships tentative. His refusal to be identified as a member of the proletariat was on to his claim to middle-class status. Similarly, he was in the home for men and did nothing in his own promise of genius and future fame.

His principal fear was that the circumstances of his dream. He was afraid of an uneventful life. He declared, he had "indulged in angry thoughts of a pilgrimage, which . . . had begun too late. . . . period 'of law and order' ahead . . . as a fate."⁴⁵ This much he sensed: that only a great upheaval could close the gap that separated him from his dreams, he was one of those who were to a life of disillusionment.

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city, remarking that Vienna might just as well find out what bomb war-
fare was like.

His uncertainty about his future increasingly depressed him. At the
end of 1910 and the beginning of 1911 he appears to have received a
considerable sum of money from his aunt, Johanna Pölzl. But these
additional funds produced in him no initiative, no effort to make a seri-
ous new beginning. He continued to drift aimlessly: "So the weeks
passed by." He still pretended that he was a student, painter, or writer.
He went on cherishing vague hopes of a career in architecture. But he
did nothing to make a reality of any of these pretensions. Only his
dreams were ambitious, directed toward a great destiny. The persistence
with which he continued to dream in the face of the actual conditions
of his life, confers upon this period a striking note of inner consistency.
He avoided being pinned down by anything, persisted in keeping all
his relationships tentative. His refusal to enter the union saved him from
being identified as a member of the proletariat and allowed him to hang
on to his claim to middle-class status. Similarly, as long as he remained
in the home for men and did nothing in particular, he could believe his
own promise of genius and future fame.

His principal fear was that the circumstances of the times might block
his dream. He was afraid of an uneventful era. Even as a boy, he later
declared, he had "indulged in angry thoughts concerning my earthly
pilgrimage, which . . . had begun too late" and had "regarded the
period 'of law and order' ahead . . . as a mean and undeserved trick of
fate."⁴⁵ This much he sensed: that only a chaotic future and social
upheaval could close the gap that separated him from reality. Wedded
to his dreams, he was one of those who would prefer a life of disaster
to a life of disillusionment.

Chapter 4

I had to get out into the great Reich,
the land of my dreams and my longing.

Adolf Hitler

THE FLIGHT TO MUNICH

On May 24, 1913, Hitler left Vienna and moved to Munich. He was twenty-four years old, a despondent young man who gazed out upon an uncomprehending world with a mixture of yearning and bitterness. The disappointments of the preceding years had reinforced the brooding, withdrawn strain in his nature. He left no friends behind. In keeping with his antirealistic temperament, he tended to feel closest to those who were beyond reach: Richard Wagner, Ritter von Schönerer, Lueger. That "foundation" of his "personal views," acquired "under the pressure of fate," consisted of an assortment of prejudices which from time to time, after periods of vague brooding, were discharged in passionate outbursts. He left Vienna, as he later remarked, "a confirmed anti-Semite, a deadly foe of the whole Marxist world outlook, and pan-German."

Like all such self-descriptions, this one has plainly been tailored so that Hitler can pretend to early judgment in political matters. He practiced the same kind of tailoring in writing *Mein Kampf*. In fact, his moving to Munich, rather than Berlin, the capital of the Reich, is rather plain proof of his continuing unpolitical disposition. Or perhaps we should say that he was guided by romantic and artistic impulses far more than political motives. For prewar Munich had the reputation of being a city of the Muses, a charming, humanely sensual, lighthearted center of art and science. The "life style of the painter was regarded here as the most legitimate of all."⁴⁰ This picture of the city stemmed precisely from the contrast it made to noisily modern, proletarian Berlin. The latter city was a Babylon, in which social questions took precedence over aesthetics, ideologies over culture—or, in sum, politics over art. The atmosphere of Munich was more like that of Vienna, which again suggests that Hitler was drawn there by a general feeling rather than by

any specific reasons that would have made reference to Berlin—if, indeed, he felt comfort. In the *Reich Handbook of German Society* for 1931 he explained that he had moved to Munich for political activity. "He would have found his place in the capital of the Reich."

The same torpor and friendlessness that Vienna continued in Munich. It rather seemed like a great hollow space. He made no contacts; and ideologically, too, he remained intellectually restive, a city whose whole air was one of obsessions. Here even obsessions were highly original. Yet even here the young Hitler found no place. He could have found his way to those who for even the most bizarre variants of *völkisch* thought. Anti-Semitism also flourished, especially among the petty bourgeoisie. There were also widely differing characters. It is true that the softened by the climate of Munich and its rhetorical, neighborly forms. In the then socialists, bohemians, reformers, artists, and various principles mingled easily. Pale young geniuses of the world, of redemptions, cataclysmic rejuvenation cures for degenerate mankind.

At the center of one of the most important at café tables around individuals or ideas were gathered around him a band of followers. He had gathered around him a band of followers, imitated him in his contempt for bourgeois youth and of instinct, faith in the superman, life as art and the life of the artist. One of his had rediscovered the forgotten swastika. Lud was close to George, proclaimed "mind as it is."

Oswald Spengler, at that period, was settling in the West and announcing a line, of for a time, stem the tide. Lenin had lived at, and at number 34 on the same street, only Hitler now took a room as a tenant in the apartment of Popp.

The intellectual ferment, like the artistic ferment, passed Hitler by in Munich as it had in Franz Marc, or Paul Klee, who also lived in Munich and were opening new dimensions in art. Hitler. Throughout all the months he lived in Munich, a modest postcard copyist who had his vision

Chapter 4

I had to get out into the great Reich,
the land of my dreams and my longing.

Adolf Hitler

TO MUNICH

Vienna and moved to Munich. He was a young man who gazed out upon a mixture of yearning and bitterness. His years had reinforced the brooding. He left no friends behind. In keeping it, he tended to feel closest to those who, like Wagner, Ritter von Schönerer, Lueger, and others, acquired "under the pressure of prejudices which from time to time, were discharged in passionate outbursts," remarked, "a confirmed anti-Semite, a racist world outlook, and pan-German." This one has plainly been tailored so to fit in writing *Mein Kampf*. In fact, his Berlin, the capital of the Reich, is rather unpolitical disposition. Or perhaps we romantic and artistic impulses far more than Munich had the reputation of being a humanely sensual, lighthearted center of the painter was regarded here as a picture of the city stemmed precisely from its modern, proletarian Berlin. The high social questions took precedence over art. The future—or, in sum, politics over art. The like that of Vienna, which again suggests by a general feeling rather than by

any specific reasons that would have made him choose it in preference to Berlin—if, indeed, he felt confronted with any choice at all. In the *Reich Handbook of German Society* (a kind of *Who's Who*) for 1931 he explained that he had moved to Munich to find "a wider field for political activity." He would have found, however, better conditions in the capital of the Reich.

The same torpor and friendlessness that had marked the years in Vienna continued in Munich. It rather seems as if he spent his youth in a great hollow space. He made no contacts with parties or political factions; and ideologically, too, he remained solitary. Munich was an intellectually restive city, whose whole aura favored human relationships. Here even obsessions were highly thought of, for they betokened originality. Yet even here the young Hitler formed ties with nobody. He could have found his way to those who shared his racist notions, for even the most bizarre variants of *völkisch* ideas had their place in the city. Anti-Semitism also flourished, especially in the economically dislocated petty bourgeoisie. There were also radical leftist movements of widely differing character. It is true that all these tendencies were softened by the climate of Munich and usually expressed in sociable, rhetorical, neighborly forms. In the then suburb of Schwabing anarchists, bohemians, reformers, artists, and various apostles of new principles mingled easily. Pale young geniuses dreamed of an elitist renewal of the world, of redemptions, cataclysmic purgations, and barbarous rejuvenation cures for degenerate mankind.

At the center of one of the most important of those circles that formed at café tables around individuals or ideas was the poet Stefan George. He had gathered around him a band of highly talented disciples who imitated him in his contempt for bourgeois morality, glorification of youth and of instinct, faith in the superman, and an austere ideal of life as art and the life of the artist. One of his disciples, Alfred Schuler, had rediscovered the forgotten swastika. Ludwig Klages, who for a time was close to George, proclaimed "mind as the antagonist of the soul."

Oswald Spengler, at that period, was setting out to proclaim the decline of the West and announcing a line of new Caesars who would, for a time, stem the tide. Lenin had lived at 106 Schleissheimer Strasse, and at number 34 on the same street, only a few blocks away, Adolf Hitler now took a room as a tenant in the apartment of a tailor named Popp.

The intellectual ferment, like the artistic experimentation of the period, passed Hitler by in Munich as it had in Vienna. Vassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc, or Paul Klee, who also lived in the Schwabing neighborhood and were opening new dimensions in painting, meant nothing to Hitler. Throughout all the months he lived in Munich he remained the modest postcard copyist who had his visions, his nightmares, and his

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the large or small scale which Fate would allot me, to dedicate my sincere services to the nation.

But finally I wanted to enjoy the happiness of living and working in the place which some day would inevitably bring about the fulfillment of my most ardent and heartfelt wish: the union of my beloved homeland with the common fatherland, the German Reich.⁴⁷

It is possible that he did have some such yearnings. Other factors of greater or lesser weight conceivably contributed to the decision. He himself later confessed that he had never been able "to learn the Viennese jargon." He had also decided that the city and Austria as a whole "in the field of cultural and artistic matters . . . showed all symptoms of degeneration." Thus there were no opportunities for him as an aspiring architect, and he was simply wasting his time. "The new architecture could achieve no special successes in Austria, if for no other reason because since the completion of the Ring its tasks, in Vienna at least, had become insignificant. . . ."⁴⁸

But all these reasons were not the decisive ones. What actuated him was once again his repugnance toward normality, his horror of the rules and obligations to which everyone else was subject. In the 1950's the military records pertaining to Adolf Hitler came to light again; in March, 1938, immediately after the invasion of Austria, he had ordered a feverish search for these papers. The documents make it plain beyond a doubt that in moving to Munich he was determined to escape his military obligations. In order to conceal the facts, he registered with the police in Munich as stateless. In *Mein Kampf* he also falsified the date of his departure from Vienna. Actually he left the city not in the spring of 1912, as he maintained, but in May of the following year.

For a time the Austrian authorities searched for him fruitlessly. On August 22, 1913, a Constable Zauner of Linz, who was conducting the investigation, noted: "Adolf Hietler [sic] appears to be registered with the police neither in this city nor in Urfahr, nor can he be located in other places." Hitler's former guardian, Josef Mayrhofer, could provide no information about his whereabouts; and the two sisters, Angela and Paula, when queried about their brother, declared that they had "known nothing about him since 1908." Inquiries in Vienna, however, disclosed that he had moved to Munich and was registered there at 34 Schleissheimer Strasse. On the afternoon of January 18, 1914, an official of the criminal police suddenly turned up at this address, arrested the wanted man, and the following day took him to the Austrian consulate.

The charge he faced was serious, and Hitler, after having imagined himself quite safe, was in imminent danger of a prison sentence. This was one of those prosaic incidents which, like so many later ones, might have changed the whole direction of his career. For with the disgrace of draft dodging on his record it was scarcely likely that Hitler could

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have mobilized a following of millions and created his paramilitary forces.

But again, as was to happen repeatedly, chance came to his aid. The Linz authorities had given him so little time to report that it was impossible for him to obey the summons. A postponement afforded him the opportunity to draw up a carefully calculated written statement. In a letter of several pages to the Linz Magistracy, Section II—the most voluminous and important document of his youth—he attempted to justify his conduct. The letter shows that his spelling and command of German were still deficient. Beyond that, it reveals that his life in Munich had remained as irregular and aimless as it was during his Vienna years.

In the summons I am called an artist. Although I am rightly accorded this title, it is nevertheless only conditionally correct. It is true that I earn my living as a free-lance painter, but only, since I am entirely without property (my father was a government official), in order to further my education. I am able to devote only a fraction of my time to earning a living, since I am still training myself as an architectural painter. Therefore my income is a very modest one, just large enough for me to get along.

I submit as evidence of this my tax statement and request you kindly to return this document to me. My income is estimated as 1200 marks, rather too much than too little, and does not mean that I make exactly 100 marks a month. Oh no. My monthly income is extremely variable, but certainly very bad right now, since the art trade sort of goes into its winter sleep around this time in Munich.

The explanation he offered for his conduct was extremely flimsy. He had missed his first notice to report but shortly afterward had reported of his own accord, only to have his documents lost in the bureaucratic channels. In lachrymose accents, full of self-pity and a servile cunning, he attempted to excuse the omission on the grounds of his desperate circumstances during his years in Vienna:

As far as my sin of omission in the autumn of 1909 is concerned, this was a terribly bitter time for me. I was an inexperienced young man, without any financial aid and also too proud to accept any from anyone, let alone ask for it. Without any support, dependent on myself alone, the few crowns or often coppers I earned from my works were scarcely sufficient to provide me with a bed. For two years I had no other friend but care and need, no other companion but eternally gnawing hunger. I never knew the beautiful word youth. Today, even after five years, I have the mementos in the form of chilblain sores on my fingers, hands and feet. And yet I cannot recall this period without a certain rejoicing, now that I am after all over the worst. In spite of the greatest misery, in the midst of often more than dubious surroundings, I have always preserved my name unsullied, am altogether blameless before the law, and pure before my own conscience.

Some two weeks later, on February 5, 1914, Hitler appeared before

the draft board in Salzburg. The record of which the candidate had to sign, and which "Unfit for military and auxiliary service; too arms."⁴⁰ He immediately returned to Munich.

By all indications, Hitler was not altogether later spoke of the "heartfelt love" this city his first moment there. This was a phrase in his vocabulary. He applied it above all to of rustic strength and fine artistic mood, Hofbräuhaus to the Odeon, from the October. Significantly, he does not adduce any political fection. He continued to be solitary, holding up but he seems to have been as unaware as e relationships. Actually, he did form a rather his landlord, the tailor Popp, and with the latter and engaged in a certain amount of socializing with them. For the rest, he evidently found where origins and status counted for nothing, acceptable—the kind of human contact that we stand because it afforded him closeness and in the loose, chance acquaintanceships over a glass and easily lost. These were those "small circles he was considered "educated." Here, for the encountered more agreement than disagree the shakiness of the Dual Monarchy, the German-Austrian Alliance, the anti-German, Hapsburgs, the Jews, or the salvation of the favored outsiders and assumed that eccentric of a sign of genius, such views did not seem peculiar to him, he frequently began to shout; but what excessively he behaved, struck his listeners as to predict political developments in prophetic. Later, he declared that by this time he had come a painter and that he painted only because that he would be able to pursue his studies. Newspapers in cafés or in the Hofbräuhaus, irritated. Sometimes, amid the fumes of beer, of the scene around him, or a rendering of pad he carried with him. Josef Greiner claim Munich at that time and to have asked what in the future. Hitler answered, Greiner says, "I shortly in any case so that it did not matter a profession beforehand, because in the army a no more important than a dog barber."

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eadedly, chance came to his aid. The little time to report that it was impossible. A postponement afforded him the calculated written statement. In a Magistracy, Section II—the most vocal of his youth—he attempted to justify his spelling and command of German reveals that his life in Munich had as it was during his Vienna years.

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conduct was extremely flimsy. He but shortly afterward had reported documents lost in the bureaucratic labyrinth of self-pity and a servile cunning, on the grounds of his desperate Vienna:

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May 5, 1914, Hitler appeared before

the draft-board in Salzburg. The record of his physical examination, which the candidate had to sign, and which bears his signature, read: "Unfit for military and auxiliary service; too weak. Incapable of bearing arms."⁴⁰ He immediately returned to Munich.

By all indications, Hitler was not altogether unhappy in Munich. He later spoke of the "heartfelt love" this city had inspired in him from his first moment there. This was a phrase that did not normally occur in his vocabulary. He applied it above all to "the wonderful marriage of rustic strength and fine artistic mood, this unique line from the Hofbräuhaus to the Odeon, from the October Fest to the Pinakothek." Significantly, he does not adduce any political motive to explain his affection. He continued to be solitary, holing up on Schleissheimer Strasse; but he seems to have been as unaware as ever of his lack of human relationships. Actually, he did form a rather tenuous connection with his landlord, the tailor Popp, and with the latter's neighbors and friends, and engaged in a certain amount of socializing and political discussion with them. For the rest, he evidently found in the Schwabing taverns—where origins and status counted for nothing and everyone was socially acceptable—the kind of human contact that was the only kind he could stand because it afforded him closeness and strangeness simultaneously: the loose, chance acquaintanceships over a glass of beer, easily formed and easily lost. These were those "small circles" he later spoke of, where he was considered "educated." Here, for the first time, he apparently encountered more agreement than disagreement when he expatiated on the shakiness of the Dual Monarchy, the dire potentialities of the German-Austrian Alliance, the anti-German, pro-Slavic policy of the Hapsburgs, the Jews, or the salvation of the nation. In a milieu that favored outsiders and assumed that eccentric opinions and manners were a sign of genius, such views did not seem peculiar. If a question excited him, he frequently began to shout; but what he said, no matter how excessively he behaved, struck his listeners as consistent. He also liked to predict political developments in prophetic tones.

Later, he declared that by this time he had given up all plans to become a painter and that he painted only enough to earn a living so that he would be able to pursue his studies. For hours he sat over the newspapers in cafés or in the Hofbräuhaus, brooding, sallow, easily irritated. Sometimes, amid the fumes of beer, he dashed down vignettes of the scene around him, or a rendering of an interior in the sketch pad he carried with him. Josef Greiner claims to have met him in Munich at that time and to have asked what he had in mind to do in the future. Hitler answered, Greiner says, "that there would be a war, shortly in any case so that it did not matter whether or not he had a profession beforehand, because in the army a corporation director was no more important than a dog barber."

Hitler's premonition—if Greiner has reported it accurately—was not mistaken. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler has impressively described the earthquake atmosphere of the prewar years, the intangible, almost unendurable feeling of tension on the verge of discharge. It is surely not accidental that these sentences stand out as among the most successful passages in the book, as writing:

As early as my Vienna period, the Balkans were immersed in that livid, sultriness which customarily announces the hurricane, and from time to time a beam of brighter light flared up, only to vanish again in the spectral darkness. But then came the Balkan War and with it the first gust of wind swept across a Europe grown nervous. The time which now followed lay on the chests of men like a heavy nightmare, sultry as feverish tropic heat, so that due to constant anxiety the sense of the approaching catastrophe turned at last to longing: let Heaven at last give free rein to the fate which could no longer be thwarted. And then the first mighty lightning flash struck the earth; the storm was unleashed and with the thunder of Heaven there mingled the roar of the World War batteries.⁶⁰

By chance a photograph has been preserved in which Adolf Hitler can be seen in the cheering crowd on the Odeonsplatz in Munich when the state of war was proclaimed on August 1, 1914. His face is plainly recognizable: the half-open mouth, the burning eyes, which at last have a goal and see a future. For this day liberated him from all the embarrassments, the perplexities, and the loneliness of failure. Describing his own emotions in *Mein Kampf*, he wrote:

To me those hours seemed like a release from the painful feelings of my youth. Even today I am not ashamed to say that, overpowered by stormy enthusiasm, I fell down on my knees and thanked Heaven from an overflowing heart.

Virtually the whole era shared this emotion; seldom had Europe seemed more unified than it was in the martial frenzy of those August days in 1914. One did not have to be an artistic wastrel with no prospects to regard the day on which the war "broke out and swept away the peace" . . . as "beautiful for a sacred moment" and even to feel that it satisfied an "ethical yearning."⁶¹ The whole European world, including Germany, was suffering from profound ennui. The war seemed an opportunity to escape from the miseries of normality. Here again we may see Hitler's intense attunement to his time. He shared its needs and longings, but more sharply, more radically; whereas his contemporaries felt mere discontent, he felt desperation. He hoped that the war would overturn all relationships, all starting points. And wherever the resort to arms was cheered, people sensed, at bottom, that an age was at last coming to its end and a new one was in the making. *Fin de siècle*—that was the formula in which the bourgeois age, with more than

a touch of melancholy complacency. In keeping with the romanticizing viewed as a purification process, the ocrity, weariness with life, and self in "sacred hymns"; it was described creating chaos and fructifying it so t Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign of the war that the lights were going ing at the end of civilization as he exulted at this end.

Photographs taken during those ea served the hectic air of festivity, the entered the phase of its decline; mol cheering crowds on the sidewalks, l the balconies. It was as though fat a game that had grown monotonous. toris they would never win.

In Germany those days brought a experience, almost religious in its n: up spontaneously in the streets and s Deutschland über Alles," which, controversial, liberal revolutionary o real national anthem. On the evenir proclaimed to tens of thousands assen that he no longer recognized "pari German brothers." Those were undoi ever spoke. In a traditionally deeply away, for one unforgettable moment unity, attained, barely fifty years bef come a reality.

This feeling of unity was an illusio behind the image of a nation reconci the surge of rejoicing: personal and tionary impulses, antisocial rebellion ways, the yearning of adventurous s of the bourgeois order. But for that, or into a storm of self-sacrifice on behalf c

Hitler's own feelings had their quot heart, like that of a million others, c he wrote and attributed his enthusias have a chance to prove by deeds the victions. On August 3 he addressed Bavaria requesting permission, in spi volunteer for a Bavarian regiment. Ti

* *He was right*
* D.T. The century did not end in 1900 but in 1914

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much of melancholy complacency, summed up this mood of farewell. keeping with the romanticizing tendencies of the age, the war was viewed as a purification process, the great hope of liberation from medi- crity, weariness with life, and self-disgust. And so the war was hailed in "sacred hymns"; it was described as "the orgasm of universal life," creating chaos and fructifying it so that the new might be born.⁵² When Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Minister, declared at the outbreak of the war that the lights were going out all over Europe, he was sorrow- ing at the end of civilization as he knew it. But there were many who exulted at this end.

Photographs taken during those early days of August, 1914, have pre- served the hectic air of festivity, the gay expectancy, with which Europe entered the phase of its decline: mobilizing soldiers pelted with flowers, cheering crowds on the sidewalks, ladies in bright summer dresses on the balconies. It was as though fate were mixing the cards afresh in a game that had grown monotonous. The nations of Europe hailed vic- tories they would never win.

In Germany those days brought an unparalleled sense of community- experience, almost religious in its nature. The expression of it, struck up spontaneously in the streets and squares, was the song "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles," which had been written by a long- controversial, liberal revolutionary of 1848 and only now became the real national anthem. On the evening of August 1, Kaiser Wilhelm II proclaimed to tens of thousands assembled in the palace square in Berlin that he no longer recognized "parties or denominations" but "only German brothers." Those were undoubtedly the most popular words he ever spoke. In a traditionally deeply divided nation that statement swept away, for one unforgettable moment, a multitude of barriers. German unity, attained barely fifty years before, seemed only how to have be- come a reality.

This feeling of unity was an illusion. The old contradictions survived behind the image of a nation reconciled. A welter of motives underlay the surge of rejoicing: personal and patriotic wishful thinking, revolu- tionary impulses, antisocial rebellions, dreams of hegemony, and, al- ways, the yearning of adventurous spirits to break out of the routine of the bourgeois order. But for that one sublime moment it all combined into a storm of self-sacrifice on behalf of the threatened fatherland.

Hitler's own feelings had their quota of spurious elements: "Thus my heart, like that of a million others, overflowed with proud joy. . . ." he wrote and attributed his enthusiasm to the fact that he would now have a chance to prove by deeds the strength of his nationalistic con- victions. On August 3 he addressed a petition directly to the King of Bavaria requesting permission, in spite of his 'Austrian' citizenship, to volunteer for a Bavarian regiment. The contradiction between his draft

*Hitler not under-
1914*

a real one. For peacetime military service
a coercion he regarded as pointless. The
liberation from the conflicts and miseries
the aimless emptiness of his life. In his
about the Franco-Prussian War, of 1870-71,
the powerful German army. Now he was
imbued of childhood reading. The past few
feelings of belonging and union with
acknowledged for so long. Now, for the first time
to share in the prestige of a great and

submitted the petition, the answer arrived,
ended the document," he relates. It sum-
6th Bavarian Reserve Infantry Regiment,
his name as the List Regiment. There now
and most unforgettable time of my earthly

*come peace. Def
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1914

Chapter 5

Without the army we would all not
be here; all of us once came out of
that school. Adolf Hitler

REDEMPTION BY WAR

In the second half of October, after a training period of barely ten weeks, the List Regiment was sent to the Western front. Hitler had waited impatiently for shipment; he was afraid the war might be over before he saw action. But what was then called the baptism of fire—on October 29, in the first battle of Ypres, one of the bloodiest clashes of the first phase of the war—made him aware of the realities. The British units on this section doggedly and at last successfully opposed the massive German efforts to break through to the Channel coast. The German General Staff regarded this breakthrough as vital to its war plans. For four days the fighting raged. Hitler himself, in a letter to his Munich landlord, reported that in this battle the regiment was reduced by half, from 3,500 to about 1,700 men. Shortly afterward, near the village of Becelaere, it lost its commander; it acquired, partly as the result of stupid orders, a "mournful popularity."

The description given by Hitler of his first war experience in *Mein Kampf* will not stand close examination of the details. But the unusual care he devoted to the literary shaping of this passage, his efforts at poetic elevation, show how much the experience meant to him:

And then came a damp, cold night in Flanders, through which we marched in silence, and when the day began to emerge from the mists, suddenly an iron greeting came whizzing at us over our heads, and with a sharp report sent the little pellets flying between our ranks, ripping up the wet ground; but even before the little cloud had passed, from two hundred throats the first hurrah rose to meet the first messenger of death. Then a crackling and a roaring, a singing and a howling began, and with feverish eyes each one of us was drawn forward, faster and faster, until suddenly past turnip fields and

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of man against man. And from the distance our ears, coming closer and closer, leaping just as Death plunged a busy hand into our so and we passed it along: *Deutschland, lles in der Welt!*¹⁵⁴

erved as a courier between the regimental is. This mission, in which he was dependent his solitary temperament. One of his a "quiet, rather unmilitary looking man way from his fellows." He was reliable, same source, of rather sober disposition, dered eccentric; the members of his coming him a "pipe-dreamer." He often sat er, lost in thought, and none of us were np." Although impressions of Hitler the late from different periods in nearly four e same. None of them really brings him evidently is in keeping with the subject. he displayed have an oddly impersonal s when he would break out of his brood- this would not be the normal soldier's ie bothers of a soldier's life. Rather, he; story would be lost, his suspicions of be- le foes. Not a single episode brings him, anecdote that was told about him—one erman school readers—is in fact nothing, While carrying dispatches, the story goes, fifteen Frenchmen in a trench near e of mind, his courage, and his skillful, n overpowering the enemy soldiers and is commander.

d the man behind a picture cut out of other way of escaping from the world, ol, enemy machine guns suddenly began der out of the way, took up "a protective egged the officer "to preserve the regi- twice in so short a time." rave soldier; the charges of cowardice tivated. As early as December, 1914, id Class; in May, 1918, he was awarded ery in the face of the enemy; and on eived the Iron Cross First Class, seldom

seen impossible to discover the specific

grounds for these decorations. Hitler himself gives no clues, possibly because he had been proposed for the decorations by the Jewish regimental adjutant Hugo Gutmann. The history of the regiment does not mention them; the accounts that exist differ sharply. They report, apparently on the basis of the above-mentioned anecdote, that Hitler took a fifteen-man English patrol captive, or they describe the dramatic capture of ten, twelve, and even twenty Frenchmen. Some of the stories even endow Hitler with a knowledge of French that he did not have. Still another account claims that he fought his way through the heaviest fire to an artillery unit and in this way prevented the threatening shelling of his regiment's position. But whatever he won them for, those wartime decorations proved of inestimable value for Hitler's future. They gave him, although an Austrian, a kind of spiritual claim to citizenship in Germany. Thus they provided a prerequisite for the beginning of his career. They lent a degree of legitimacy to his claim to participate in German politics and to his demand for loyalty from his followers.

In the field, however, among his fellow soldiers, his exalted sense of responsibility, his anxiety over the total military picture were not appreciated. "We all used to yell at him," one of his fellows later recalled. Others said, "That fellow is bucking for stripes." Others noted that he always looked under some sort of strain. Yet he was, apparently, not distinctly unpopular. Rather, he merely let them see the distance that separated him from them. In contrast to the others, he had no family; he scarcely received or wrote letters, and he did not share in their commonplace worries, amusements, and laughter. "I hated nothing so much as that trash," he later recalled. Instead, he said, he meditated a great deal on the problems of life, and read Homer, the Gospels, and Schopenhauer. The war did for him what thirty years at the university might have done, he alleged. He thought he alone knew what the war was about, and from his isolation he derived a sense of being specially elect. Strictly speaking, what he was defending was not his homeland but the country he was proud of. The photographs taken of Hitler as a soldier suggest something of his peculiarly alienated relationship toward his fellows. Hitler sits beside them with a fixed expression, obviously sharing not at all in their viewpoint.

This complex incapacity for human relationships may be the reason why in four years at the front he never won promotion beyond the rank of private, first class. At the Nuremberg trial the adjutant of the List Regiment recounted that the question of promoting Hitler to the rank of noncommissioned officer had occasionally arisen but had always been decided in the negative "because we could discover no leadership qualities in him." Moreover, the adjutant added, Hitler himself had not wanted to be proposed for promotion.

What Hitler found in the billets and dugouts of wartime was the kind

(*) D. ... he was a ... real career could begin

of human relationship that suited his nature. In its impersonality it was the life style of the home for men, but with the difference that the army satisfied his cravings for prestige, his inner restiveness, and his sense of solemnity. Here was the social framework that corresponded both to his misanthropic withdrawnness and his longing for contact. On the battlefield Hitler found the native land he did not possess. In no man's land he felt at home.

One of his former superiors has said this very thing and in much the same language: "For Pfc. Hitler the List Regiment was his homeland." When we understand this, we need no longer be puzzled by the contradiction between his determined desire for subordination in wartime and his lone-wolf asociality in the preceding years. Not since his mother's death had he felt as much at home anywhere, and never afterward was his simultaneous need for adventurousness and order, for unconstraint and discipline fulfilled as it was in the command headquarters, the trenches, and the dugouts at the front. In contrast to the humiliations of the preceding years, the war was Adolf Hitler's great affirmative educational experience, the one to which he exuberantly applied such phrases as "mighty impression," "overwhelming," "so happy."

Hitler himself declared that the war had transformed him. It hardened his touchy and sentimental young man and gave him a sense of his own worth. Caught up in the machinery of war, he learned toughness, the uses of solidarity, and self-discipline. He acquired that belief in fate which was one component of his generation's high-flown irrationality. The coolness with which he moved in the fiercest fire earned him, among his fellows, a reputation for invulnerability. If Hitler was around, they told one another, "nothing will happen." His luck seems to have made the deepest impression on Hitler himself and to have reinforced his faith in his special mission. Through all the years of failure and misery he had clung and continued obstinately to cling to that faith.

But the war also magnified Hitler's tendency to brooding. Like many of his fellow soldiers, he became convinced that the old leadership of society had failed, that the very social order he had marched to war to defend was perishing of internal exhaustion. "I would make the leaders responsible for these men who have fallen," he once declared to an astonished comrade. Hitler's generation, obsessed with its own idiosyncrasies and wrestling with its problems in a literary output of vast dimensions, was searching for a new meaning to life. Basically, this signified, it was searching for a meaningful social order. Hitler himself decided that he wanted "to know nothing about politics at that time." But his need to communicate, his unquenchable craving for speculative thinking, ran counter to such resolves. Soon he was attracting attention by "philosophizing about political and ideological questions in the crude manner of ordinary folk." From the early phase of the war we have

a twelve-page letter of his to a Munich acquaintance. After giving a detailed description of his participation, Hitler concludes the letter:⁶²

"I think about Munich so often, and each of the final settlement with that gang will soon come to them, no matter what the cost, and that those of us who have to see our homeland again will find it a punishment, so that by the sacrifices and suffering thousands of us are undergoing daily, by the fighting out here day after day against an international Germany's enemies outside will be shattered nationalism. That would be worth more than all it will turn out as I have always said."

Politically, this letter carries on the ideas of the Vienna years: the fear of overwhelming forces together with a defensive reaction against them, the borrowings, also, from the Pan-Germans to his thesis of the primacy of domestic order and racial unity took precedence over territorial claims. Many were first to be German and only subjects. At the beginning of October, 1916, at Leutitz, he was wounded in the left thigh and sent to Beelitz, where he stayed in Germany until March, 1917, and was when there arose in him the first, still unfulfilled, "which two years later prompted him to

August, 1914, and his experiences at the front pressed upon him the inner unity of the nation. He basked in this new-found sense of togetherness which could affect. Having no family, no home, whatsoever, he had renounced his right to feel troubled, he stayed on in his unreal world of the old, glorious army of heroes," he later wrote. The shock was all the harsher when, in Beelitz, Berlin, he encountered the political, social, and economic life of the past. With deep distress he realized that the early phase of the war had drained away. He replaced that exalted sense of sharing a common future with resentment toward the city of Berlin. He saw discontent, hunger, and rage at meeting slackers who boasted of their experience. He saw hypocrisy, egotism, war profiteering, and, he decided, he dated back to his days in Vienna; the decided festivity was the work of the Jew.

It was the same when, nearly cured, he was

* P.R. we certainly had our role in that. "But - flies ears"

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his nature. In its impersonality it was not, but with the difference that the army, his inner restiveness, and his sense of a framework that corresponded both to his needs and his longing for contact. On the land he did not possess. In no man's

has said this very thing and in much of the List Regiment was his home. We need no longer be puzzled by the defined desire for subordination in war in the preceding years. Not since his death at home anywhere, and never after, or adventurousness and order, for unless it was in the command headquarters, the front. In contrast to the humiliations of Adolf Hitler's great affirmative education which he exuberantly applied such an "overwhelming," "so happy." The war had transformed him. It hardened a man and gave him a sense of his duty. In the shyness of war, he learned toughness, discipline. He acquired that belief in fate, in the generation's high-flown irrationality. In the fiercest fire earned him, among the irreparable. If Hitler was around, they were "open." His luck seems to have made itself and to have reinforced his faith in the years of failure and misery he was able to cling to that faith.

His tendency to brooding. Like many convinced that the old leadership of the social order he had marched to war with exhaustion. "I would make the leader have fallen," he once declared to a generation, obsessed with its own idiosyncrasies in a literary output of vast new meaning to life. Basically, this meaningful social order. Hitler himself nothing about politics at that time." An unquenchable craving for speculative ideas. Soon he was attracting attention to ideological questions in the crude early phase of the war we have

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A twelve-page letter of his to a Munich acquaintance which bears this out. After giving a detailed description of a frontal attack in which he participated, Hitler concludes the letter:⁶⁶

I think about Munich so often, and each of us has only this one wish, that the final settlement with that gang will soon come, that we'll be able to go at them, no matter what the cost, and that those of us who have the good fortune to see our homeland again will find it purer and more purified of foreignness, so that by the sacrifices and sufferings which so many hundreds of thousands of us are undergoing daily, by the torrent of blood which is pouring out here day after day against an international world of enemies, not only Germany's enemies outside will be shattered, but also our inner internationalism. That would be worth more than all territorial gains. With Austria it will turn out as I have always said.

Politically, this letter carries on the ideological obsessions of Hitler's Vienna years: the fear of overwhelming foreign elements in the nation, together with a defensive reaction against a world of enemies. There were borrowings, also, from the Pan-German teachings, which later led to his thesis of the primacy of domestic over foreign affairs. National and racial unity took precedence over territorial expansion. Greater Germany was first to be German and only subsequently great.

At the beginning of October, 1916, at Le Barqu , Hitler was lightly wounded in the left thigh and sent to Beelitz Hospital near Berlin. He stayed in Germany until March, 1917, and it would appear that this was when there arose in him the first, still unclear signs of that "awakening" which two years later prompted him to enter politics.

August, 1914, and his experiences at the front had above all impressed upon him the inner unity of the nation. For two years he had basked in this new-found sense of togetherness, which he was sure nothing could affect. Having no family, no home address, no destination whatsoever, he had renounced his right to furloughs. His supererogatory, troubled, he stayed on in his unreal world. "It was still the front of the old, glorious army of heroes," he later nostalgically recalled.⁶⁶ The shock was all the harsher when, in Beelitz and during a first visit to Berlin, he encountered the political, social, and national contradictions of the past. With deep distress he realized that the enthusiasm of the early phase of the war had drained away. Parties and factionalism had replaced that exalted sense of sharing a common destiny. It may be that his future resentment toward the city of Berlin had its origins in this experience. He saw discontent, hunger, and resignation. He was outraged at meeting slackers who boasted of their shrewdness; he noted hypocrisy, egotism, war profiteering, and, faithful to the obsession that dated back to his days in Vienna, he decided that behind all these manifestations was the work of the Jew.

It was the same when, nearly cured, he was sent to a reserve battalion

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the civilian world to which he had
documents indicate that he partici-
enrich Flanders, in the spring Battle
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ss letters of thoughtful females" the
the mood of resignation that pre-
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dt: "Now at last have opportunity
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According to his argument, Germany lost the war because "the form was inadequate, the substance was psychologically wrong: a careful examination of German war propaganda can lead to no other diagnosis." Because Germany's leaders did not recognize the true power of this weapon, they were incapable of creating propaganda worthy of the name. Instead, Germany produced only "insipid pacifistic bilge" that could never "fire men's spirits till they were willing to die." Although "the most brilliant psychologists would have been none too good" for this task, the Germans employed aesthetes and half-hearted failures, with the result that the country derived no advantage and sometimes actual harm from its propaganda.

The enemy, Hitler argued, had done it differently. Their atrocity propaganda, "as ruthless as it was brilliant," had made a deep impression upon Hitler, and he repeatedly extolled its psychological acumen and boldness. He admired the "rabid, impudent bias" and "indefatigable persistence" of the enemy lies,⁶⁸ and said that he "learned enormously" from them. In general, Hitler tended to illustrate his own ideas by pointing to what the enemy had done. There is no doubt that he drew his belief in the effectiveness of psychological influence from the example of enemy propaganda of the World War. It must be recognized, however, that a large part of the German public was convinced of the enemy's superiority in psychological warfare. This was actually just one more of those legends with which a nation proud of its military strength attempted to explain on nonmilitary grounds what otherwise seemed inexplicable: that after so many victories on all the battlefields and after so many efforts and sacrifices Germany had nevertheless lost the war. But Hitler, with that characteristic mixture of insight and vapidity that made him wise in his mistakes, used this transparent rationalization as the starting point for his views on the nature and power of propaganda. Propaganda must above all be popular, he argued; it must not be aimed toward the intelligentsia but "always and exclusively to the masses," and its level "must be adjusted to the most limited intelligence among those it is addressed to." Furthermore, effective propaganda must concentrate on a few plausible points and hammer away at these in the form of slogans. It must always appeal to the emotions, never to the intellect, and must eschew any attempt at objectivity. Not even the shadow of a doubt in the rightness of one's own cause is permissible; propaganda must present "love or hate, right or wrong, truth or lie, never half this way and half that way." Again these were not original ideas. But the

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energy with which Hitler framed them and the frankness with which he viewed the masses—without contempt but recognizing their limitations, their apathy and resistance to change—would soon put him far ahead of every rival for the favor of those same masses.

Even now he began to have intimations of this superiority. For he regarded his experiences in this late phase of the war as confirmation of the opinion he had formed during his Vienna years: that without the masses, without knowledge of their weaknesses, virtues and sensitivities, politics was no longer possible. In his mind the great democratic demagogues, Lloyd George and Clemenceau, joined his idol Karl Lueger. Later he added to these President Wilson—even though the American President was sicklied over by the pale cast of thought. One of the principal reasons for the ever more obvious German inferiority was, Hitler believed, that there was no convincing opponent in the Reich to these Allied populist leaders. Isolated from the common people and incapable of recognizing their growing importance, the German-ruling class remained frozen in stubborn conservatism. Arrogant and unimaginative, it clung to its traditional positions. Recognition of its failures was one of the major perceptions Hitler drew from this period in German history. Free of those class prejudices and the self-centeredness that was the characteristic sign of weakness in an abdicating ruling class. Hitler thought only in terms of effects. Hence he admired the stale fables of enemy propaganda when it portrayed German soldiers as butchers hacking off the hands of children or slitting the bellies of pregnant women. For such images exploited the special spell of fear, the mechanism by which atrocities are magnified in the fantasies of the masses.

Again he was deeply struck by the mobilizing power of ideas. He appreciated the crusading formulas with which the Allies decked their cause and made it seem that they were defending the world and its most sacred values against the onslaught of barbarism. The German side had scarcely anything to oppose to this missionary *élan*. The Allied line proved to be all the more telling because the Germans, in the pride of their early military successes, had abandoned the thesis that they were fighting a purely defensive war. More and more boldly they had been announcing the aim of a peace with victory and wholesale annexations—failing to realize that the world might look askance on such ambitions. Some better reason would have had to be found than what Germany offered: that she had come too late to the distribution of the world's lands and so had to make up for it now by territorial aggrandizement. Meanwhile, at the end of 1917, defeated Russia in the fervor of social redemptionism was calling for a "just and democratic peace without annexations based on the right of self-determination of peoples, such as the exhausted and tormented classes of the workers and laborers of all countries long for." And, on the other side, Woodrow Wilson, at the

beginning of 1918, presented to the Congress a peace that was to refashion the world on new held out the promise of an order based on justice self-determination, of a world without force and a table that these proposals, contrasting with the a by the Reich, should have had a strong effect up try. A significant anecdote of the autumn of 1917 General Staff officer who in a moment of sudden hand to his brow and exclaimed, "To think that to fight against and that we are losing the war t anything about these ideas!"

To this extent, then, there is something to the causes for the German defeat. It cannot be laid complex of a nation that preferred to think it cunning and treachery than in open battle. That tions, later became a staple item in the repertoire contained a kernel of truth. For in fact Germany on fields other than the battlefields, although in spokesmen did not mean. An outmoded, anach had proved itself inferior to a democratic order the needs of the age. For Hitler's part, he was by the thought that an idea can never be successful force but only with the aid of another and more attempt to combat a philosophy with methods the end, unless the fight takes the form of attitude. Only in the struggle between two philosophies of brutal force, persistently and ruthlessly applied for the sake of the side it supports.¹⁷⁵⁰ It may reflections, set down in *Mein Kampf*, were still at the time of the war. But, even so, they rep from the war years.

In the summer of 1918, however, a German more within grasp. A few months earlier the Reiching success, not just one more of those tempor that were bleeding it to death. Early in March upon Russia the peace of Brest-Litovsk, and a demonstrated to Rumania, in the Treaty of B was still formidable. The two-front war had cc German army of the West, with 200 divisions million men had been brought up to the manpov In equipment and arms, however, it remained c enemy's 18,000 artillery pieces the Germans he High Command, supported by a new although n feeling of public confidence, had at the end of 19

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giving importance, the German ruling conservatism. Arrogant and unimaginative positions. Recognition of its failures Hitler drew from this period in Germany's judgments and the self-centeredness that sickness in an abdicating ruling class. Hence he admired the stale fables portrayed German soldiers as butchers or slitting the bellies of pregnant the special spell of fear, the mechanical in the fantasies of the masses.

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beginning of 1918, presented to the Congress a comprehensive draft of a peace that was to refashion the world on new and better lines. He held out the promise of an order based on justice, of political and moral self-determination, of a world without force and aggression. It was inevitable that these proposals, contrasting with the assertion of sheer might by the Reich, should have had a strong effect upon the exhausted country. A significant anecdote of the autumn of 1918 tells of a German General Staff officer who in a moment of sudden insight clapped his hand to his brow and exclaimed, "To think that there are ideas we have to fight against and that we are losing the war because we didn't know anything about these ideas!"

To this extent, then, there is something to the thesis of extramilitary causes for the German defeat. It cannot be laid solely to the Siegfried complex of a nation that preferred to think it had been defeated by cunning and treachery than in open battle. That thesis, in endless variations, later became a staple item in the repertory of the Right. But it contained a kernel of truth. For in fact Germany had also been defeated on fields other than the battlefields, although in a sense the nationalistic spokesmen did not mean. An outmoded, anachronistic political system had proved itself inferior to a democratic order more in keeping with the needs of the age. For Hitler's part, he was for the first time seized by the thought that an idea can never be successfully combatted by sheer force but only with the aid of another and more suggestive idea. "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. Only in the struggle between two philosophies can the weapon of brutal force, persistently and ruthlessly applied, lead to a decision for the sake of the side it supports."¹⁵⁰ It may very well be that these reflections, set down in *Mein Kampf*, were still vague in Hitler's mind at the time of the war. But, even so, they represent his lasting profit from the war years.

In the summer of 1918, however, a German victory seemed once more within grasp. A few months earlier the Reich had won a resounding success, not just one more of those temporary victories in battles that were bleeding it to death. Early in March Germany had imposed upon Russia the peace of Brest-Litovsk, and a month or so later had demonstrated to Rumania, in the Treaty of Bucharest, that its power was still formidable. The two-front war had come to an end, and the German army of the West, with 200 divisions and approximately 3.5 million men had been brought up to the manpower of the Allied armies. In equipment and arms, however, it remained distinctly inferior; to the enemy's 18,000 artillery pieces the Germans had only 14,000. But the High Command, supported by a new although not entirely wholehearted feeling of public confidence, had at the end of March launched the first

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of five offensives intended to force a decision before American troops could arrive. Now the German people had only the choice between victory or doom, Ludendorff declared in a statement that rang with the same passion for a great gamble that in later years possessed Hitler.

Throwing their last remaining forces into the fight, determined after so many fruitless successes and vain exertions to win victory at last by breaking through on a broad front, the German units went over to the attack. Hitler participated in these battles as a soldier in the List Regiment; he was in the pursuit after the breakthrough at Montdidier-Noyons and later took part in the battles of Soissons and Reims. During the early part of the summer the German formations actually succeeded in throwing the British and French armies back to within nearly forty miles of Paris.

But then the offensive ground to a halt. Once again the German armies had displayed that fatefully limited power which enabled them to win only sham victories. The toll of lives that their gains had cost, the desperate shortage of reserves, the effectiveness of the enemy in stabilizing the front after each of the German breakthroughs—all this was in part concealed from the German public, in part repressed by that public as it exulted over the good news from the front. The German operations came to a standstill, and the Allies passed over to counterattack on a broad front. Yet Hindenburg and Ludendorff continued their policy of systematic deception. A Privy Council meeting was held at army headquarters on August 14, long after the German lines had broken. The army leaders presented such an illusory picture of the military situation to Chancellor Hertling and Foreign Minister Hintze that both men went away completely unaware of the gravity of the military collapse. To be sure, Hertling himself was largely responsible for the policy of bowing to the military authorities. But since the High Command itself had staked everything on the radical alternative of victory or defeat, it was obliged by its own premise to admit defeat, since victory had not been won. Instead, it continued its deceptions into September—purportedly in order not to dishearten the people. It took into account the obvious hopelessness of the situation only by sounding its claims of German invulnerability in a somewhat more muted key.

The consequence was that the German public regarded victory and the longed-for end of the war as closer than ever before—in this summer of 1918 when the country was on the verge of defeat. This state of affairs completely refutes Hitler's arguments about the weakness of German propaganda—although he drew accurate conclusions from his inaccurate premises. Even responsible politicians, even high army officers with a broad view of conditions, were prone to the most amazing delusions. Very few among those who should have known better were able to find their way in the fog of misguided hopes.

The majority were therefore all the more plunged into reality. On September 29, 1918, the political leaders and demanded for an armistice. His nerves were at breaking point, and he had launched the new offensive in the face of the possible consequences of its failure. I even developed a clear strategic goal. At a Prince questioned him on that, he replied, with "We're going to chop a hole. Then we'll see when the new Chancellor, Prince Max von Ba would happen in case of failure, Ludendorff is done for, that's all."

As things stood, the last card had actually been played in the spring of 1918. The initial counterattack had had a daunting effect on the German troops. The men were exhausted, "dull and apathetic," as reported. For the operations of the spring months, they had used up the soldiers' last physical reserves. Winston Churchill's remark that it was the German that of the Allies, that devoured the forces of the front. Ludendorff, that is, not Joffre or Haig, but the Germans. Nevertheless, the troops held their ground in an amazing fashion. The defensive battles of that military and human terms, among the most in the war, and paradoxically they added to the war. Once again Ludendorff, who had daily expected a breakthrough by the Allies, found that he was

Unprepared politically and psychologically a contemporary phrase had believed in the war in a gospel," was plunged into an abyss. An most unbelievable remark of Hindenburg's showed the illusion died. Immediately after Ludendorff's arrest, old Hindenburg in all seriousness asked to do everything possible in the impending negotiation of the mines of Lorraine. Here was a first trick of denying reality to which growing numb throughout the postwar years to help them in times. They continued to do so right up to Spring, 1933. The shock effect of this alternative victory to the dirge of defeat" strongly colored so much so that we may say the period can scarcely be taken out of taking that disenchantment into consideration.

to force a decision before American troops. German people had only the choice between victory or defeat, declared in a statement that rang with the truth. The gamble that in later years possessed Hitler, of committing his forces into the fight, determined after long and vain exertions to win victory at last on a broad front, the German units went over to the offensive in these battles as a soldier in the List Division pursued after the breakthrough at Montdidier in the battles of Soissons and Reims. During the German formations actually succeeded in driving the French armies back to within nearly forty

miles from a halt. Once again the German army, with its seemingly limited power which enabled them to win the toll of lives that their gains had cost, the effectiveness of the enemy in stabilizing the German breakthroughs—all this was in the eyes of the German public, in part repressed by that public opinion from the front. The German operations were now passing over to counterattack on a broad front, and Ludendorff continued their policy of offensive. A Council meeting was held at army headquarters after the German lines had broken. The picture of the military situation was an illusory picture of the military situation. Foreign Minister Hintze that both men went to the gravity of the military collapse. To be held responsible for the policy of bowing out. But since the High Command itself had been an alternative of victory or defeat, it was to admit defeat, since victory had not been won. Its deceptions into September—purportedly to deceive a people. It took into account the obvious only by sounding its claims of German in-neglect of the key.

The German public regarded victory and defeat as closer than ever before—in this summer of 1918, as on the verge of defeat. This state of mind was the result of the arguments about the weakness of Germany. It drew accurate conclusions from his irresponsible politicians, even high army officers, who were prone to the most amazing delusions, who should have known better were able to misguide hopes.

The majority were therefore all the more stunned by the sudden change into reality. On September 29, 1918, Ludendorff hastily summoned the political leaders and demanded that they immediately ask for an armistice. His nerves were at breaking point; he would not hear of any tactical safeguards. Significantly, in spite of his talk about victory or doom he had launched the new offensive without giving any thought to the possible consequences of its failure. He does not seem to have even developed a clear strategic goal. At any rate, when the Crown Prince questioned him on that, he replied, with characteristic irritability: "We're going to chop a hole. Then we'll see what comes next." And when the new Chancellor, Prince Max von Baden, wanted to know what would happen in case of failure, Ludendorff snarled: "Then Germany is done for, that's all."

As things stood, the last card had actually been played with the great offensive in the spring of 1918. The increasingly vigorous Allied counterattack had had a daunting effect on German troops everywhere. The men were exhausted, "dull and apathetic," as an army commander reported. For the operations of the spring months, with their heavy casualties, had used up the soldiers' last physical strength. Failure had consumed their remaining psychological reserves. There is much truth in Winston Churchill's remark that it was the Germans' own offensive, not that of the Allies, that devoured the forces of the army on the Western front. Ludendorff, that is, not Joffre or Haig, brought defeat to the Germans. Nevertheless, the troops held their ground on the whole in an amazing fashion. The defensive battles of that final phase were, in both military and human terms, among the most impressive achievements of the war, and paradoxically they added to the myth of the German army. Once again Ludendorff, who had daily expected a vast catastrophic breakthrough by the Allies, found that he was mistaken.

Unprepared politically and psychologically, the nation, which in a contemporary phrase had believed in the superiority of its arms "as in a gospel," was plunged into an abyss. An illuminating although almost unbelievable remark of Hindenburg's shows how hard the national illusion died. Immediately after Ludendorff's admission that the war was lost, old Hindenburg in all seriousness asked the Foreign Minister to do everything possible in the impending negotiations to obtain annexation of the mines of Lorraine. Here was a first example of that peculiar trick of denying reality to which growing numbers of Germans resorted throughout the postwar years to help them through the misery of the times. They continued to do so right up to the intoxicating days of Spring, 1933. The shock effect of this alternation "from the fanfare of victory to the dirge of defeat" strongly colored the history of the period—so much so that we may say the period can scarcely be understood without taking that disenchantment into consideration.

1918

It was a particular shock to the brooding, overtense private, first class of the List Regiment who had surveyed the war in the sweeping terms of a general. His regiment had been thrown into the defensive battle in Flanders in October, 1918. On the night of October 13, south of Ypres, the British launched a gas attack. On a hill near Wervick, Hitler came into several hours of drumfire with gas shells. Toward morning he felt violent pain, and when he arrived at the regimental command post around seven o'clock, he could barely see. A few hours later he went blind: "My eyes had turned into glowing coals," he afterward wrote. He was shipped back to the Pasewalk hospital in Pomerania.⁶⁰

In the hospital a curious excitement prevailed. Confusing rumors went the rounds—that the monarchy was about to fall, that the war would soon be over. Hitler—characteristically as if he bore larger responsibilities—feared local unrest, strikes, insubordination, even though these rumors seemed to him "more the product of the imagination of individual scoundrels"; strangely, he noticed nothing of the discontent and exhaustion so widespread among the people. At the beginning of November the condition of his eyes began to improve, but he still could not read newspapers and expressed his fears to fellow patients that he would never be able to draw again. The revolution came, for him, "suddenly and unexpectedly"; it was led, he thought, by "a few Jewish youths" who had "not been at the front" but had come "by way of a so-called 'clap hospital' and 'raised the red rag.'" Hitler believed that what he was seeing was "a more or less local affair."⁶¹

On November 10, 1918, however, the truth was brought home to him, "the most terrible certainty of my life." Summoned to a meeting by the hospital pastor, the patients learned that a revolution had broken out, that the House of Hohenzollern had fallen and a republic had been proclaimed in Germany. Sobbing gently to himself—thus Hitler described the "old gentleman"—the pastor recalled the merits of the ruling house, and "not an eye was able to restrain its tears." But when the pastor began to tell them that the war was now lost and that the Reich was throwing itself unconditionally upon the mercy of its previous enemies—"I could stand it no longer. It became impossible for me to sit still one minute more. Again everything went black before my eyes; I tottered and groped my way back to the dormitory, threw myself on my bunk, and dug my burning head into my blanket and pillow. Since the day I had stood at my mother's grave, I had not wept. . . . But now I could not help it."⁶²

To Hitler the disillusionment was as sudden and incomprehensible as had been his failure to win acceptance into the Academy. He magnified it into a legend and made it one of the basic themes of his career. Later he ascribed his resolve to enter politics to this moment. In virtually every major speech Hitler would ritualistically refer to the November

revolution. He would speak of it as if his event. This obsession has led some analysts to trigger the great political awakening of his gested that his going blind in October, 1918, was a hysterical symptom, precipitated by the sudden change in the course of the war. Hitler himself has offered some support for such theories. In a speech to the candidates in February, 1942, for example, he had faced of going completely blind, and nothing if all one could see was a world in slaved. "In that case what can I see worth of 1944, faced with approaching defeat, he that he had reason to fear that once again First World War, he would go blind."⁶³

Similarly, there is a passage in *Mein Kampf* in which Hitler had been roused from his inconspicuous life summons resounding in his ears:

"In daily life the so-called genius requires a positive impetus, to make him shine. . . . In the eyes of even significant men often seem insignificant, I am aware of their environment; as soon, however, as I find myself in a situation in which others lose hope or go astray from the inconspicuous average child, not seldom those who had hitherto seen him in the petting this hour of trial had not come, hardly anyone a young hero was hidden in this beardless boy. Fate which throws one man to the ground and another."⁶⁴

We may assume, however, that such remarks explain the transition between the preceding apathy, and vague reveries and the phase of the November days had numbed him and he knew that everything was lost." The requirements of the bourgeois world, those requirements that four were confronting him once more. He was not the problems of vocation and earning his livelihood, no work, no goal, no place to stay, no friend, no despair, when he wept into his pillow at the November revolution, he was expressing more of a personal loss.

For the end of the war deprived the sergeant found at the front, and he lost his homeland and was dismissed for home. In shocked surprise he noted the much-vaunted discipline of the German army.

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some support for such theories. In a speech to army officers and officer
candidates in February, 1942, for example, he referred to the danger
he had faced of going completely blind, and declared that eyesight meant
nothing if all one could see was a world in which the nation was en-
slaved. "In that case what can I see worth seeing?" And at the end
of 1944, faced with approaching defeat, he gloomily told Albert Speer
that he had reason to fear that once again, as toward the end of the
First World War, he would go blind.⁶³

Similarly, there is a passage in *Mein Kampf* confirming the idea that
Hitler had been roused from his inconspicuous existence by an inexora-
ble summons resounding in his ears:

In daily life the so-called genius requires a special cause, indeed, often a
positive impetus, to make him shine. . . . In the monotony of everyday life
even significant men often seem insignificant, hardly rising above the aver-
age of their environment; as soon, however, as they are approached by a
situation in which others lose hope or go astray, the genius rises manifestly
from the inconspicuous average child, not seldom to the amazement of all
those who had hitherto seen him in the pettiness of bourgeois life. . . . If
this hour of trial had not come, hardly anyone would ever have guessed that
a young hero was hidden in this beardless boy. . . . The hammer-stroke of
Fate which throws one man to the ground suddenly strikes steel in an-
other.⁶⁴

We may assume, however, that such remarks were merely meant to
explain the transition between the preceding years of bohemianism,
apathy, and vague reveries and the phase of revealed genius. In reality,
the November days had numbed him and left him in a quandary. "I
knew that everything was lost." The requirements imposed by the hated
bourgeois world, those requirements that four years of war had set aside,
were confronting him once more. He was no further along in meeting
the problems of vocation and earning his livelihood. He had no training,
no work, no goal, no place to stay, no friends. In that outburst of de-
spair, when he wept into his pillow at the news of the defeat and the
revolution, he was expressing more of a personal than a national sense
of loss.

For the end of the war deprived the sergeant Hitler of a role he had
found at the front, and he lost his homeland at the moment he was
dismissed for home. In shocked surprise he noted that at the home front
the much-vaunted discipline of the German army collapsed as if on cue.

1942

1944

1919

For the bedeviled and directionless public soon blamed the battles and controversies of that period on the republic, which was only defending itself. Everything was equated with "the revolution," and the political form that finally emerged from these troubled times was in the common mind obscurely connected with mutiny, defeat, national humiliation, street battles, chaos, and public disorder. Nothing so damaged the prospects of the republic as the fact that the public associated its very beginnings with a "dirty" revolution. Much of the population, including even the political moderates, remembered the inception of the republic with shame, sorrow, and disgust.

The terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty increased the resentment. The public statements of President Wilson had fostered the illusion that overthrow of the monarchy and the adoption of Western constitutional principles would soften the wrath of the victors and cause them to adopt a milder tone toward men who, after all, were only acting as executors of the legacy of a deceased regime. Many Germans also believed that the "order of world peace," for which the discussions at Versailles were ostensibly laying the groundwork, excluded punishment, injustices, and any kind of coercion. This period of understandable but unrealistic hopes has been called "the dreamland of the Armistice period." The country's reaction at the beginning of May, 1919, when the peace terms were presented to it, was all the more dumfounded. There was a great outcry. The public consternation was expressed politically by the resignations of Chancellor Philipp Scheidemann and of Foreign Minister Count Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau.

One thing is certain: the victorious powers arranged the surrounding circumstances with deliberate desire to harass and insult the Germans. They had opened the peace conference on January 18, 1919, the anniversary of the day the German Empire had been proclaimed barely fifty years before; and they chose as the place for signing the treaty the same Hall of Mirrors in which that proclamation had been issued. Perhaps that could be borne with. But their choosing for the signing date June 28, the fifth anniversary of the assassination of Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Sarajevo, stood in what was felt to be cynical contrast to the altruism of Wilsonian pledges.

In general, the psychological affronts rather than the material exactions were what produced the extraordinarily traumatic effects of the Treaty of Versailles, so that from Right to Left, running across all factions and parties, it produced a sense of unforgettable humiliation. The territorial demands, the requirements for compensation and reparations, which at first dominated public discussion, certainly did not have that "Carthaginian harshness" which was so much talked about. The terms in fact could stand comparison with the conditions Germany had imposed on Russia in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and on Rumania in the

Treaty of Bucharest. But certain clauses seen soon figured in rightist agitation as the "dirty" were the clauses that struck at German honor which provided for the handing over of certain Allied military tribunals, and the placed sole moral guilt for the outbreak of the

The contradictions and hypocrisies in them were all too evident. The victors assumed that on the Germans' confessing their sins, where purely material. The pointless vengeful much hatred and ridicule. Even in the Allied criticism of this hypocritical tone. The right example, which in President Wilson's proclamation the height of a sacred principle, was quietly have worked to the advantage of the German of the German remnant of the shattered part of the Reich. Supranational states were triumphantly confirmed; but, paradoxically, created, whose essence was the denial of a

The treaty solved scarcely any of the present hostilities. Instead, it all but destroyed solidarity and common tradition that had wars and angry passions of centuries. The peace treaty did little to restore this sense. Germany remained excluded, seemingly a community. This discrimination turned the European co-operation. In challenging the build on this feeling. Actually, a large part in foreign affairs were gained by his posing row Wilson's principles and the maxims of the Treaty with regard to the self-determining groups. "A terrible time is dawning for Europe observer on the day the peace treaty was signed before the storm which will probably end in sion than the World War."⁶⁸

Within Germany, the bitterness over it increased the resentment against the repugnant of sparing the country the distresses of a full dictated peace." How unwanted the peace became evident. It had been merely the chance, craving for peace, and weariness. The faith had already lost it much credit. The added its weakness in foreign affairs. To a the very term "republic" seemed synonymous

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Treaty of Bucharest. But certain clauses seemed intolerably insulting and
soon figured in rightist agitation as the "disgrace" of Versailles. These
were the clauses that struck at German honor: above all Article 228,
which provided for the handing over of certain German officers for judg-
ment by Allied military tribunals, and the celebrated Article 231, which
placed sole moral guilt for the outbreak of the war upon Germany.

The contradictions and hypocrisies in the 440 articles of the treaty
were all too evident. The victors assumed the pose of judges and insisted
on the Germans' confessing their sins, where in fact their interests were
purely material. The pointless vengeful moralism was what awoke so
much hatred and ridicule. Even in the Allied countries there was strong
criticism of this hypocritical tone. The right of self-determination, for
example, which in President Wilson's proclamations had been raised to
the height of a sacred principle, was quietly dropped whenever it might
have worked to the advantage of the Germans. There was no question
of the German remnant of the shattered Hapsburg monarchy becoming
part of the Reich. Supranational states were destroyed and nationalism
triumphantly confirmed; but, paradoxically, the League of Nations was
created, whose essence was the denial of nationalism.

The treaty solved scarcely any of the problems that had led to the
recent hostilities. Instead, it all but destroyed the sense of European
solidarity and common tradition that had survived so long, despite the
wars and angry passions of centuries. The new order imposed by the
peace treaty did little to restore this sense. For all intents and purposes,
Germany remained excluded, seemingly forever, from the European
community. This discrimination turned the Germans decisively against
European co-operation. In challenging the victors, Hitler was able to
build on this feeling. Actually, a large part of Hitler's early successes
in foreign affairs were gained by his posing as a firm adherent of Wood-
row Wilson's principles and the maxims posited by the Versailles Peace
Treaty with regard to the self-determination of national and ethnic
groups. "A terrible time is dawning for Europe," wrote one clear-sighted
observer on the day the peace treaty was ratified in Paris, "a sultriness
before the storm which will probably end in an even more terrible explo-
sion than the World War."⁶⁸

Within Germany, the bitterness over the terms of the peace treaty
increased the resentment against the republic, for it had proved inca-
pable of sparing the country the distresses and privations of this "shame-
ful dictated peace." How unwanted the republic really had been now
became evident. It had been merely the product of embarrassment,
chance, craving for peace, and weariness. Its impotence in domestic af-
fairs had already lost it much credit. To this bad record was now
added its weakness in foreign affairs. To a growing number of Germans
the very term "republic" seemed synonymous with disgrace, dishonor,

→ people working overtime
on the punitive reparations
of the Allied leaders.

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and powerlessness. The feeling persisted that the republic had been imposed on the Germans by deception and coercion, that it was something altogether alien to their nature. It is true that in spite of all its drawbacks it held a certain promise; but even in its few fortunate years it was "unable to arouse either the loyalty or the political imagination of the people."⁶⁹

These developments led to a surge of political consciousness. Large segments of the population, who previously had lived in a political limbo, abruptly and violently found themselves caught up in events that aroused in them political passions, hopes, and despairs.

Adolf Hitler, now some thirty years old, was seized by this general mood in the hospital at Pasewalk. A vague but furious sense of misfortune and betrayal swept over him. It brought him a step closer to politics, but his decision to go actively into politics, which in *Mein Kampf* is linked to the events of November, 1918, actually was made a year later, when he discovered his oratorical gifts. The overwhelming moment came to him in the haze of a small meeting; in a burst of rapture he suddenly saw a way out of a hopelessly blocked life and found that he had prospects for a future.

Certainly his behavior during the following months suggests this interpretation. For when he was discharged from Pasewalk hospital at the end of November, he went to Munich and reported to the reserve battalion of his regiment. Munich had played an important part in the November events and had led the way in the overthrow of the German ruling houses. But although the city was vibrating with political excitement, Hitler remained indifferent. In spite of his alleged decision to go into politics, he neither joined nor opposed the political currents. Rather tersely, he comments that Red rule was repugnant to him. But since by his own contention the "Reds" were in power basically throughout the period of the republic, such an observation scarcely justifies the meager interest he took in politics at this period.

At the beginning of February, craving something to do, he volunteered for guard duty in a prisoner-of-war camp at Traunstein, near the Austrian border. But about a month later the few hundred French and Russian soldiers were released, and both camp and guard detail were dissolved. Once more, Hitler was left at loose ends. He returned to Munich.

Since he did not know where else to go, he took up quarters in the barracks in Oberwiesefeld. Presumably, the decision did not come easily to him, for it meant he had to subordinate himself to the dominant Red Army and don its red armband. Nevertheless, he put up with taking orders from the revolutionary Left at a time when he might have joined units of the Right, a fact revelatory of his underdeveloped political instincts and lack of discrimination at the time. Later, the mere mention

of the word "Bolshevism" would drive him into vision of the facts to the contrary, at this stage was obviously stronger than any horror he counted a soldier of the world revolution.

It is true that he also had no choice. The framework in which he could feel sheltered. To the realm of the shipwrecked. Hitler was dislessness of his personal predicament: "At that one another through my head. For days I would but the end of every meditation was the sober less as I was, did not possess the least basis Plainly, he was as far as ever from thinking of and achieving bourgeois status. Instead, he his insignificance. According to his story, his time had incurred "the disapproval of the Central Soviet government in Munich, so that at the to arrest him. "Faced with my leveled carbine the necessary courage and marched off as they the Central Council was no longer in existence a

It is much more likely that his behavior at of embarrassment, passivity, and opportunistic noticeable part even in the turbulent events troops of Colonel von Epp's Free Corps, a together with other formations, overthrew the nich. Otto Strasser, who for a time was one of publicly: "Where was Hitler on that day? It was the soldier hiding who ought to have fought Red Army man Adolf Hitler was arrested and ing troops; some officers who knew him intervened again. Possibly the story of the attempted arrest is the retouched version of this incident.

Afterward, a commission was set up to look soviet rule, and there has been much speculation have played in conjunction with these investigations however, is that he offered his services to the lished by the Second Infantry Regiment. He the tribunals, which often handed down very the bitterness of the recent struggle. He located taken part in the soviet regime, and seems to have ment so well that he was soon sent to a thinking."

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It is true that he also had no choice. The army was the only social
framework in which he could feel sheltered. To leave it meant returning
to the realm of the shipwrecked. Hitler was distinctly aware of the hope-
lessness of his personal predicament: "At that time endless plans chased
one another through my head. For days I wondered what could be done,
but the end of every meditation was the sober realization that I, name-
less as I was, did not possess the least basis for any useful action."⁷⁰
Plainly, he was as far as ever from thinking of a job, of earning a living,
and achieving bourgeois status. Instead, he was agonizingly aware of
his insignificance. According to his story, his political activity at that
time had incurred "the disapproval of the Central Council" of the new
soviet government in Munich, so that at the end of April they came
to arrest him. "Faced with my leveled carbine, the scoundrels lacked
the necessary courage and marched off as they had come." But in reality
the Central Council was no longer in existence at the time he gives.

It is much more likely that his behavior at this time was a mixture
of embarrassment, passivity, and opportunistic adjustment. He took no
noticeable part even in the turbulent events of early May, when the
troops of Colonel von Epp's Free Corps, a paramilitary organization,
together with other formations, overthrew the soviet government in Mu-
nich. Otto Strasser, who for a time was one of his followers, later asked
publicly: "Where was Hitler on that day? In what corner of Munich
was the soldier hiding who ought to have fought in our ranks?" In fact
Red Army man Adolf Hitler was arrested and questioned by the invad-
ing troops; some officers who knew him intervened, and he was released
again. Possibly the story of the attempted arrest by the Central Council
is the retouched version of this incident.

Afterward, a commission was set up to look into events during the
soviet rule, and there has been much speculation on the role Hitler may
have played in conjunction with these investigations. All that is certain,
however, is that he offered his services to the board of inquiry estab-
lished by the Second Infantry Regiment. He supplied information for
the tribunals, which often handed down very harsh sentences reflecting
the bitterness of the recent struggle. He located fellow soldiers who had
taken part in the soviet regime, and seems to have carried out his assign-
ment so well that he was soon sent to a training course in "civic
thinking."

Now for the first time he was beginning to attract attention, to emerge
from the anonymity that had so long concealed and depressed him. He

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himself called his work for the investigating commission his "first more or less purely political activity."⁷¹ He was still letting himself drift; but the direction in which he now floated rapidly brought him to the end of his formative years, which were compounded of asocial apathy and a messianic sense of vocation.

Looking back over this period, it is astonishing to see that Adolf Hitler, who was to become the century's political phenomenon, did not feel tempted by politics until his thirtieth year. At a comparable age, Napoleon was already First Consul, Lenin in exile after years of persecution, Mussolini editor in chief of the socialist paper *Avanti*. Hitler, however, had not been impelled to take a single step in behalf of any of those ideas that would soon send him forth on a mission of world conquest. He had not entered a single party, had not joined any of the numerous associations of the period, with the exception of the Viennese League of Anti-Semites. There is nothing betokening any impulse toward political action, no sign of anything more than a stammering participation in the platitudes of the era.

On November 23, 1939, when his faith in his own power was at its height, he himself made the astonishing remark to his military commanders that in 1919 he had entered politics only after a long struggle with himself. That had been, he said, "the most difficult decision of all." And although this was said to emphasize that beginnings are always the hardest part of a venture, it also reveals his strong inner reservations about a political career. One element may have been the traditional German contempt for politics as something by nature lower than creative activity. He would have thought a political career demeaning by comparison with his unattainable youthful dream of becoming "one of the foremost architects of Germany, if not the foremost architect." Even at the climax of the war he remarked that he would far sooner have gone to Italy as an "unknown painter" and that only the deadly menace to his own race had forced him on to the road of politics, which was fundamentally alien to him.

If this was so, we can understand why not even the revolution drove him to enter the fray on one side or the other. The November events, the collapse of all authority, the downfall of the dynasties and the prevailing chaos had certainly challenged his conservative instincts. But even these violent changes did not rouse him to active protest. Even stronger than his contempt for political affairs was his repugnance for riot and rebellion. Bourgeois that he was, he was not one to go into the streets. Even twenty-five years later, he told his dinner companions, referring to his experiences at the time of the November revolution, that rebels were no more or less than criminals. He could see in them nothing but an "asocial lot"; the best thing to do with them was to kill them.

Only when he discovered his own oratorical powers did he overcome

his qualms against the political life and his fear of public order. Even so, when he leaped on to the stage of public life, he became, as he justified himself in his trial before the Munich People's Court, a revolution. But was he any the less an unsocial personality whom the peculiar circumstance with a monstrous special gift, had propelled was never intended? The question will arise in this biography, and repeatedly we will be asking: politics ever meant more to him than the music of his rhetoric: rhetorical overpowering of his enemies by the trionics of processions, parades, and Party military force applied in war.

There is no denying that the collapse of the old order was a way for him to enter politics. As long as the old order and politics was a bourgeois career, he had a name in it. The formal strictures of that sphere were against him.

The year 1918 brought down the barriers. 'At the thought of my own future which is given me such bitter concern,' Hitler wrote.

And so he set foot on the political stage.

* D. T. I was an in
of this "monstrous"

investigating commission his "first more". He was still letting himself drift; but floated rapidly brought him to the end ere compounded of asocial apathy and

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qualms against the political life and his fear of odium as a disturber of public order. Even so, when he leaped on the stage as a revolutionary personality, he became, as he justified himself four years later in his trial before the Munich People's Court, a revolutionary against the revolution. But was he any the less an unsociable, easily depressed artist personality whom the peculiar circumstances of the times, together with a monstrous special gift, had propelled into a realm for which he was never intended? The question will arise repeatedly in the course of this biography, and repeatedly we will be tempted to ask whether politics ever meant more to him than the means he employed to practice it; rhetorical overpowering of his enemies, for example; the histrionics of processions, parades, and Party Days; the spectacle of military force applied in war.

There is no denying that the collapse of the old order opened the way for him to enter politics. As long as the bourgeois world persisted and politics was a bourgeois career, he had few prospects of winning a name in it. The formal strictures of that sphere would all have operated against him.

The year 1918 brought down the barriers. "I could not help but laugh at the thought of my own future which only a short time ago had given me such bitter concern," Hitler wrote.¹² And so he set foot on the political stage.

* D. T. I was an integral part of this "monstrous" special gift

1919

investigating commission his "first more". He was still letting himself drift; but he was rapidly brought him to the end of the road by the compounding of asocial apathy and indifference.

It is astonishing to see that Adolf Hitler's political phenomenon, did not feel the same year. At a comparable age, Napoleon in exile after years of persecution, the socialist paper *Avanti!*. Hitler, however, made a single step in behalf of any of his kind, on a mission of world con- quering party, had not joined any of the kind, with the exception of the Viennese kind; nothing betokening any impulse to anything more than a stammering para- cetera.

his faith in his own power was at its height. His remark to his military com- mander politics only after a long struggle said, "the most difficult decision of my life was to emphasize that beginnings are always slow." It reveals his strong inner reservations that he may have been the traditional Ger- man thing by nature lower than creative. His political career demeaning by com- ing dream of becoming "one of the kind" not the foremost architect." Even- ing that he would far sooner have "worked" and that only the deadly menace to the road of politics, which was

why not even the revolution drove him or the other. The November events, the downfall of the dynasties and the pre- pared his conservative instincts. But it aroused him to active protest. Even in political affairs was his repugnance for he was, he was not one to go into the matter, he told his dinner companions, none of the November revolution, that he would. He could see in them nothing to do with them was to kill them. His oratorical powers did he overcome

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betrayed deep insecurity. It com-
ing of being a Rienz with touches
the result was something preposi-
interpreted in a number of ways,
trying to exploit his insecurity and
a means of self-dramatization. At
with making his appearance attrac-

can be seen in the following thumb-
stander von Müller, who met Hitler.
s, Ernst's sister. Also present was
curious to meet the rising politician.
decor. The four of us were already
ble by the window when the bell
ld see him in the narrow hallway
g our hostess, laying aside riding
nally unbuckling his cartridge belt
hanging it on the clothes hook. [It
Karl May's American Indian nov-
precisely each of these trivialities
then calculated for effect, as were
which was narrower than the un-
The look in his eyes already ex-
success; but something curiously
e had the uneasy feeling that he
ing it. His face, too, was still thin
pression of suffering. But the pro-
tared with inflexible hardness, and
the turye of the thick eyebrows,
ill. This time, too, he spoke very
marked attentiveness.¹²⁰
women began to take an interest
dies who sensed problems behind
magnetic young orator, tensions
d release. Hitler himself later com-
e women who thronged so eagerly
one, he remarked, "whose voice
I exchanged so much as a few
of them. Carola Hoffmann, widow
ed in the Munich suburb of Solln,
arned herself the title of "Hitler-
ure stories highly popular among young
in the Orient.—TRANS.

Muttl"—Hitler's Mom! Frau Bruckmann, wife of the publisher of
Houston Stewart Chamberlain and a lady descended from an ancient
noble line, also took him under her wing. So did the wife of Bechstein,
the piano manufacturer; "I wished he were my son," she said, and later,
in order to be allowed to visit him in prison, she alleged that she was
his adoptive mother. All of them taken together, their houses, their
parties, widened the area around him and helped to make his name
known.

Within the party, on the other hand, he continued to remain within
a circle comprising middle-class philistines and semicriminal bullies who
answered his need for aggression and physical violence. Among his rare
close friends were Emil Maurice, a typical barroom and meeting-hall
brawler, and Christian Weber, a hulking, paunchy former horse dealer
who had worked as a bouncer in a notorious taproom and regularly
carried a riding whip, as Hitler did. Ulrich Graf, a butcher's apprentice,
also belonged to his immediate following, which served as a kind of
bodyguard. So also did Max Amann, Hitler's former sergeant, a blunt,
capable businessman, who became business manager for the party and
the party's publishing house. Noisy and sedulously attentive, these men
surrounded Hitler all the time. Evenings after meetings the troop of
them would drop in at the Osteria Bavaria or the Bratwurstglockl near
the Frauenkirche, or talk for hours over coffee and cake at the Café
Heck on Galeriestrasse, where a table was permanently reserved for
Hitler in the dusky back of the room, from which he could watch what
went on in the restaurant without being observed himself. He was al-
ready beginning to find solitude painful; he constantly needed people
around him—audience, guards, servants, drivers, but also entertainers,
art lovers and storytellers like the photographer Heinrich Hoffmann or
Ernst Hanfstaengl. These were the people who gave to his "court" its
special coloration compounded of "the bohemian world and the condot-
tiere style." He was not averse to having himself referred to as the "King
of Munich." It would be the small hours of the morning before he would
return to his furnished room on Thierschstrasse.

The dominant figure in the entourage that formed so early around
Hitler was young Hermann Esser. He had done some newspaper work
and been a press secretary for the Reichswehr District Headquarters.
Aside from Hitler, he was the only person in the party at that time
with a talent for demagoguery. He was "a noisemaker who is almost better
at that business than Hitler," a demon speechmaker, though from
a lower circle of hell. He was intelligent, cunning, with a knack for
vivid and popular phrases. As a yellow journalist he could invent endless
stories about Jews and profiteers. The decent petty bourgeois members
of the party were soon objecting to the "swineherd tone" of his publicity
campaigns. But he clung to his simple-minded radicalism; while still a

1924

Chapter 1

They had better realize that we see events
in terms of a historical vision.

Adolf Hitler

THE VISION

The laurel wreath Hitler hung on his wall in the Landsberg fortress-prison was more than a token that his spirit was unbroken. The forced isolation from political activity was of benefit to him politically and personally. For one thing, it permitted him to escape the aftermath of the disaster of November 9. He could follow the wrangles of his embittered and scattered adherents from the sidelines, while remaining the untarnished martyr of the nationalist cause. It also gave him time for introspection after years of almost mindless unrest and excitement. He recovered his faith in himself and in his mission. And, as his turbulent emotions died down, he felt himself strengthened in his role as leader of the *völkisch* right wing. He had at first claimed this role hesitantly, but in the course of the trial he became more confident, and finally he boldly came forth as the divinely appointed one and only Führer. Filled with this consciousness, Hitler managed to impress this image of himself upon his fellow prisoners. From this time on, the sense of mission never left him. It froze his features in that mask which no smile, no altruistic gesture, no moment of spontaneity ever softened. Even before the November putsch Dietrich Eckart had complained of Hitler's delusions of grandeur, his "messiah complex." Now Hitler hardened more and more into the monument that corresponded to his notions of what a great man and a Führer would be like.

Thus his imprisonment in no way hampered the process of self-stylization. In a subsequent trial some forty more participants in the putsch were convicted and sent to Landsberg. They included members of the "Hitler shock troop," Berchtold, Haug, Maurice, Amann, Hess, Heines, Schreck, and the student Walter Hewel. Hitler now had what amounted to an entourage. The prison authorities were highly accom-

might for the second time arrive too late
 ld's goods. When he considered the powers
 many for future mastery, his thoughts re-
 Racial, political, geographic, and historical
 hing pointed to the East.²⁰

ishment, Hitler had begun as a revisionist,
 Versailles Treaty, restoration of the borders
 ry, and the joining of all Germans in one
 school of thought the main enemy was
 opes lay in exploiting the difficulties France
 aving with Italy and England. But Hitler
 ue to his bent for thinking in larger terms,
 the Continent as a whole, and replacing
 tics.

that Germany, in her militarily, politically,
 l middle position, could survive "only by
 tics in the foreground." In an earlier dis-
 policy in the age of Kaiser Wilhelm, Hitler
 ld either have renounced sea trade and
 and against Russia or, alternatively, if she
 ade, she should have joined Russia against
 es Hitler favored the second course. He
 : "principal" opponents of the Reich, and
 ked pro-Russian bias. Under the influence
 Scheubner-Richter and Rosenberg, he
 h a "nationalistic" Russia, one "restored
 e "Jewish-Bolshevik yoke." Teamed with
 ld confront the West. Neither the concept
 rity of the Slavic race—which later was to
 ist Eastern policy—seems to have entered
 t until the beginning of 1923, probably in
 : Soviet regime, that he began to think of
 d forming a pact with England against
 suggest that Hitler weighed this idea for
 its ramifications, its consequences, and
 The fruit of this thinking appears in the
 n *Kampf*, where he speaks of a war for
 ssia.

Hitler certainly had not abandoned the

That remained one of the primary points

n to the last monologues in the bunker.

character. Just as Italy was to be placated

outh Tyrol and England was to be wooed

dropping all colonial demands, war with

France became simply another step that would allow Germany a free
 hand in the East. By the time he was writing the second volume of *Mein
 Kampf* in the course of 1925 Hitler forcefully assailed the revisionist
 approach; it aimed, he argued, at the restoration of wholly illogical, ac-
 cidental, far too constricted borders, which, moreover, made no sense
 in terms of military geography. Worse still, such demands would stir
 up all of Germany's former wartime foes and lead them to revive their
 crumbling alliance. "*The demand for restoration of the frontiers of 1914*
is a political absurdity of such proportions and consequences as to
make it seem a crime," Hitler declared in italics. National Socialism,
 on the contrary, aimed at securing land and soil for the German people.
 "This action is the only one which, before God and our German poster-
 ity, would make any sacrifice of blood seem justified." Such broad gains
 would "some day acquit the responsible statesmen of blood-guilt and
 sacrifice of the people."²¹

Henceforth, the idea of attacking Russia, of a mighty Teutonic ex-
 pedition to establish a vast continental empire in the old "German area
 of command in the East," became the central tenet of Hitler's foreign
 policy. He assigned it epoch-making importance:

And so we National Socialists consciously draw a line beneath the foreign
 policy tendency of our pre-War period. We take up where we broke off
 six hundred years ago. We stop the endless German movement to the south
 and west, and turn our gaze toward the land in the east. At long last we
 break off the colonial and commercial policy of the pre-War period and
 shift to the soil policy of the future.²²

How he arrived at this concept, as logical as it was monstrous, really
 does not matter. Some of it was original, some of it an extension of
 current theories. The notion of living space seems to have been a bor-
 rowing from Rudolf Hess. Thanks to his adulation of "the man," as he
 called Hitler, Hess had gradually won himself an important place among
 the group at the Landsberg prison. In particular, he replaced Emil
 Maurice in the position of Hitler's secretary. Hess also brought Hitler
 into personal contact with his teacher, Karl Haushofer, who had taken
 the highly suggestive subject of political geography, the "geopolitics"
 expounded by Sir Halford Mackinder, and shaped it into a philosophy
 of imperialistic expansion.

Mackinder had already drawn attention to the basic strength of what
 he called "the heartland": Eastern Europe and European Russia, pro-
 tected by huge land masses, were destined to be the "citadel of world
 rule." The founder of geopolitics had decreed: "Whoever rules the heart-
 land rules the world." As we have seen, such pseudoscientific formulas
 had a special appeal to Hitler's mind. But with all due credit to outside
 influences, Hitler's version of these ideas was distinctively his own.

That Hitler could speak again did not remove the difficulties of the party. Yet Hitler himself, it now appeared, had gained rather than lost by the ban. For he had been tided over the period of general amused indifference, when meeting halls would have remained empty and his name and message would have only become a bore. He soon realized this and behaved accordingly. In 1927 he spoke in public fifty-six times; two years later he had reduced his public appearances to twenty-nine. There are indications that at this period he began to see the advantages of living in semidivine remoteness. The moment he returned to the masses, he was competing with the overpowering force of unfavorable circumstances. Failures began to pile up, and with this came criticism from within the party. It was directed equally against his style of leadership and against the stringently maintained policy of legality. Even Goebbels, so embarrassingly subservient to Hitler and one of the prophets of the Führer cult, assailed the strictly legal course in his 1927 pamphlet, *Der Nazi-Sozi*. Answering the question of what the party should do if its efforts to obtain a majority failed, Goebbels broke out with: "What then? Then we'll clench our teeth and get ready. Then we'll march against this government; then we'll dare the last great coup for Germany; then revolutionaries of the word will become revolutionaries of the deed. Then we'll make a revolution!"

Hitler's personal conduct also met with criticism, particularly his arrogance toward tried-and-true party comrades. One old party man objected to "the much-discussed wall around Herr Hitler." There were murmurings about Hitler's negligent conduct of party business and his jealousy complex in regard to his niece. In the early summer of 1928, when his chauffeur Emil Maurice surprised him in Geli Raubal's room, Hitler raised his riding whip in such threatening fury that Maurice saved himself only by leaping out the window. With "unconditional devotion" the chairman of the Investigation and Mediation Committee, Walter Buch finally felt compelled to express his view "that you, Herr Hitler, are gradually falling into a degree of misanthropy that causes me worry."³⁸

Faced with these rumblings within the party, Hitler canceled the planned party rally for 1928 and instead convoked a meeting of the leaders in Munich. He forbade all preparatory local meetings, and when he opened the session on August 31 he delivered a highly charged speech in praise of obedience and discipline. Only totally committed elites could constitute a "historic minority," he declared, and thus shape history. To remain operative, the NSDAP must have at most 100,000 members: "That is a number to work with!" All the rest must be followers, rallying around and serving the purposes of the party only in specific cases. Scornfully, he dismissed a motion to elect a "senate" to aid him. He did not think much of advisers, he said. The motion had

been offered by Gauleiter Artur Din moved from his post and soon after had, it is true, been some background. Hitler had previously had a correspondence which he announced that as a politician "had the blind faith that he would make history."

Shortly afterward, a meeting was held in the form by then becoming which Hitler simply issued commands silent, with a markedly bored or saying such a sense of paralysis and futility in general resignation. One of that Hitler had permitted the meeting how his indifference could ruin it.

Hitler felt his chance would come rigorously organized party. Personally, for in establishing his hold over progress. Henceforth, the party some the "Hitler movement." Without supporters and powerful institutions, though if it could not win, it could at least survive.

On May 20, 1928, a new Reichstag election, with 2.6 per cent of the vote; deputies were Gregor Strasser, Gottfried Hermann Göring, who in the interval bringing with him a wealthy wife and self, being "stateless," had not been remarkable capacity for turning his advantage, he used this circumstance as a leader who refused to make any contrary system and stood far above the daily life. If he had decided to let that—a decision taken only after long vacillation—the desire to get a share in the privilege, enough, a week after the elections (quite another light on the party's pretensions of the Reichstag. I am an HOI. A Holder of a Railroad Pass. What I have been elected against the Reich's date in the interests of our employer a dungheap a dungheap and does it as 'government.'" Goebbels concluded "This startles you. does it? But do

1931

ological, and aesthetic evaluations and held on to them for a long time. But in the meantime that world had declared its bankruptcy, and Hitler—unlike the representatives of the bourgeois world—never forgot that fact. In Hugenberg he was meeting a replica of the cunning, arrogant, and feeble Bavarian Prime Minister, Herr von Kahr, who had for him become the prototype of bourgeois notables. He now regarded them as a group who claimed to rule, yet had the souls of lackeys. "Cowardly," "stupid," "idiotic," and "rotten," were the adjectives he now attached to the mention of any member of this group. "No class of the population is stupider in political matters than this so-called bourgeoisie," he would often remark. Once he said that he had for a long time deliberately tried, by strident propaganda and improper manners, to keep bourgeois people from joining the party.

In May, 1931, Richard Breiting, editor in chief of the *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, asked Hitler for an interview. Hitler began the conversation by remarking, "You are a representative of the bourgeoisie which we are fighting." He stressed that he had no intention of rescuing the dying bourgeoisie; on the contrary, he would eliminate it and would, at any rate, find it much easier to handle than Marxism. Hitler openly flaunted his present aloofness from bourgeois culture: "If a proletarian brutally tells me what he thinks, I can cherish the hope that some day this brutality can be turned toward the enemy. When a bourgeois indulges in daydreams of culture, civilization and aesthetic joys for the world, I say to him: 'You are lost to the German nation! You belong in Berlin's West End! Go there, dance your nigger dances till you're worn out, and croak!'"

He occasionally referred to himself as a "proletarian," but with an emphasis that made it appear as though he were talking not so much of his social status but of a social renunciation. "I can never be understood in terms of the bourgeoisie," he declared. Even in his hope of winning over the working class—to which he referred occasionally as a class of "true nobility"—he seemed to be agitated not so much by any fondness for the workers than by his abiding hatred of the bourgeoisie, which had rejected him. There was an incestuous element in his hatred of the bourgeoisie, with the resentment of a would-be bourgeois who had been first rejected, then deceived, constantly erupting. The type of low-class bully he preferred for his immediate personal entourage, the crude "chauffeur types" like Schaub, Schreck, Graf, and Maurice, reflected in an extreme fashion this prejudice, which could be overcome only temporarily by a few individuals: by Ernst Hanfstaengl, for example, or by Albert Speer, or by Carl Jacob Burckhardt, League of Nations commissioner for Danzig, to whom Hitler said "sadly" in 1939: "You come from a world that is foreign to me."¹⁷

No genuine bond with this foreign world was possible; as the meeting

at Harzburg had demonstrated, no could be established. Nothing came of the previously made agreement on a common candid election.

Much has been made of the "I see history in terms of conspiracies convenient proof of their thesis of finance capital. However, a closer opposite. Far from lending himself to manipulators, Hitler treated these people their hopes. It might be more correct to see the independence of these interests

Undeniably, there did exist a real leader of the Nazi party and a party actually obtained considerable connections. But it was had gone earlier, and in consideration of the Center. Neither the gains in view of the Center parties can be as wealthy patronage. As late as April, the shrunken Deutsche Volk receiving larger sums from industrialists, toward the end of the Ruhr district, all he came back with 20,000 marks. The total of such high. Some 6 million marks is precisely the gifts to the Nazi party up consider such a figure too low it that sum could not have financed local groups, with a large corps of half a million men, and twelve expended in 1932. In fact, the annual budget discovered, amounted at this time marks. Conscious that he was dead would sometimes refer to himself as man captains of industry.¹⁸

It suits the purposes of pseudo-precision concerning the links between. According to this school of thought, isolated and dearly paid political influence that needed him for "public relations"

But the very categories are mis-

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at work: "Our whole life is now a frantic chase after success and after power."

For long stretches of his life, therefore, the personality of this man, elusive in any case, evaporates, slips from the biographer's grasp. Hitler's entourage tried in vain to give color, individuality, and a human aura to the phenomenon. Even the masters of propaganda, who could command almost any effect, found themselves at a loss here. The diaries and accounts of Goebbels or Otto Dietrich are prime examples of that failure. The anecdotes his publicists endlessly circulated about Hitler the lover of children, the navigator with an infallible sense of direction in the lost airplane, the "dead shot" with a pistol, the hero with remarkable presence of mind in the midst of the "Red rabble"—all these tales sounded strained and added to the impression they were trying to dispel: remoteness from real life. Only the props he had gradually acquired gave him a certain individual outline: the raincoat, the felt hat or leather cap, the snapping whip, the intensely black mustache, and the way his hair was brushed down over his forehead. But because these items always remained the same, they, too, depersonalized him.

Goebbels has vividly described the restiveness that gripped the leading members of the party at this time:

This endless traveling begins again. Work must be taken care of standing, walking, driving and flying. You hold your most important conversations on stairs, in hallways, at the door, or on the drive to the railroad station. You scarcely have time to think. By train, car and plane you're carried back and forth across Germany. You turn up in a city a half hour before your speech is scheduled, sometimes with even less time to spare; you climb to the speaker's platform and speak. . . . By the time you're done you're in a state as if you'd just been pulled out of a hot bath fully dressed. Then you get into the car and drive another two hours. . . .²⁷

Only a few times during this year and a half of nonstop electioneering did circumstances jolt Hitler out of his impersonality and for brief moments offer a glimpse of his real character.

On September 18, 1931, just as the frantic chase across Germany was beginning and while he was setting out on an election campaign visit to Hamburg, word reached him that his niece Geli Raubal had committed suicide in the apartment they shared on Prinzregentenstrasse in Munich. According to the accounts, Hitler, stunned and horrified, abruptly turned about; and unless all the indications are deceptive, no other event in his personal life affected him as strongly as did this one. For weeks he seemed close to a nervous breakdown and repeatedly swore to give up politics. In his fits of gloom he spoke of suicide; this was, once again, the mood of total capitulation into which he recurrently fell when mis-

fortune struck. This melancholia testi- of his life, demanding constant effort c wanted to seem to be. The energy tha exuberance of a vigorous man but tl keeping with his belief that the great i away for several days in a house on th According to his intimates, tears wou spoke of his niece in later years; it was he might mention her name. Her me of cult. Her room at the Berghof was of her was set up in the room at Prin her body had been found. There, year her death, Hitler would lock himself i for hours.²⁸

There was a strangely exaggerate Hitler's reactions to his niece's death coldness and inability to relate to oth he was not putting on a performance, t the key events in his personal life. I relationship to the opposite sex, which

If our evidence is to be believed, death, women had played only the m men's home, chance acquaintanceships the barracks, the male circles of politic world. The realm that complemented which, however, he found despicable but these were not easy for him to for The shy inhibited attitude he had tow his youthful crush on Stefanie. His fell him a "woman hater." Though later o social relationships, always surrounde raphy is eerily empty of other human attitudes included, according to a rem constant anxiety about "having his nam

His complexes seemed to loosen up with her sentimental and at first, evi "Uncle Alf." It may be that he could his own blood. In fact, his feelings fo very incestuous factor. There is a j family. His father had taken a niece in and made her his mistress. Among Hitler's path—from Jenny Haug, the Helena Hanfstaengl, the first wif Riefenstahl, and all those he address

a frantic chase after success and

re, the personality of this man, from the biographer's grasp. Hitler's individuality, and a human aura of propaganda, who could come to a loss here. The diaries of Dietrich are prime examples of that endlessly circulated about Hitler the infallible sense of direction in a pistol, the hero with remarkable the "Red rabble"—all these tales of repression they were trying to dispel: props he had gradually acquired the raincoat, the felt hat or leather black mustache, and the way his head. But because these items alienated him.

restiveness that gripped the lead-

work must be taken care of standing, your most important conversations on the drive to the railroad station. In car and plane you're carried back in a city a half hour before your even less time to spare; you climb . . . By the time you're done you're out of a hot bath fully dressed. Then two hours. . . .²⁷

d a half of nonstop electioneering is impersonality and for brief moments.

frantic chase across Germany was it on an election campaign visit to niece Geli Raubal had committed in Prinzregentenstrasse in Munich. Shocked and horrified, abruptly turned to be deceptive, no other event in his life as did this one. For weeks he and repeatedly swore to give up of suicide; this was, once again, which he recurrently fell when mis-

fortune struck. This melancholia testified to the highly charged quality of his life, demanding constant effort of will in order to be the person he wanted to seem to be. The energy that emanated from him was not the exuberance of a vigorous man but the forced product of neurosis. In keeping with his belief that the great man must have no feelings, he hid away for several days in a house on the Tegernsee, in southern Bavaria. According to his intimates, tears would come to his eyes whenever he spoke of his niece in later years; it was an unwritten rule that no one but he might mention her name. Her memory was surrounded with a kind of cult. Her room at the Berghof was kept just as she had left it; a bust of her was set up in the room at Prinzregentenstrasse in Munich, where her body had been found. There, year after year, on the anniversary of her death, Hitler would lock himself in for a meditation that might last for hours.²⁸

There was a strangely exaggerated, idolizing quality about all of Hitler's reactions to his niece's death—in strong contrast to his usual coldness and inability to relate to others. We have reason to think that he was not putting on a performance, that in fact the incident was one of the key events in his personal life. It seems to have fixed forever his relationship to the opposite sex, which was curious enough in any case.

If our evidence is to be believed, for some time after his mother's death, women had played only the most peripheral part in his life. The men's home, chance acquaintanceships in Munich beer halls, the dugout, the barracks, the male circles of politics and the party—these had been his world. The realm that complemented them tended to be the brothel, which, however, he found despicable, or light, casual relationships—but these were not easy for him to form, with his stiff unyielding nature. The shy inhibited attitude he had toward women was early expressed in his youthful crush on Stefanie. His fellow soldiers in the field considered him a "woman hater." Though later on he was always involved in close social relationships, always surrounded by a host of people, his biography is eerily empty of other human beings. His fear of all undignified attitudes included, according to a remark by a member of his entourage, constant anxiety about "having his name linked with a woman."

His complexes seemed to loosen up only after Geli Raubal appeared with her sentimental and at first, evidently, half-childish fondness for "Uncle Alf." It may be that he could be more relaxed with someone of his own blood. In fact, his feelings for Geli may have sprung from this very incestuous factor. There is a precedent in his own immediate family. His father had taken a niece into his house when she was sixteen and made her his mistress. Among the many women who crossed Hitler's path—from Jenny Haug, the sister of his first chauffeur, to Helena Hanfstaengl, the first wife of Ernst Hanfstaengl, Leni Riefenstahl, and all those he addressed or referred to in the Austrian

intimate style as "Mein Prinzesschen," "Meine kleine Gräfin," "Tschaperl," or "Flietscherl," and up to Eva Braun—none meant as much to him as Geli Raubal. She was, oddly inappropriate though the phrase sounds, his great love, a tabooed love of Tristan moods and tragic sentimentality.

One must wonder at Hitler's obtuseness in regard to Geli, for he could be acute enough psychologically where others were concerned. Did he not see that the situation was becoming impossible for this impulsive and unbalanced girl? It has never been established that she was Hitler's mistress. Some informants claim to know she was, and explain the suicide as a desperate escape from what had become the unendurably oppressive relationship with her uncle. Another story is that certain abnormal acts demanded of her by a perverted Hitler drove the girl to suicide. Still a third version denies that there was any sexual relation between the two, but lays stress on Geli Raubal's promiscuity with the men of Hitler's uniformed staff.²⁹

It is fairly certain that she enjoyed her uncle's fame and naively participated in his celebrity. But the relationship, which for years had been sustained by joint enthusiasms, by love for the opera and the pleasures of coffeehouses and country outings, had gradually developed oppressive aspects. Hitler's shadow fell heavily upon his niece. He was given to furious jealousy, and to making inordinate demands upon her. Though she had only a moderate gift and scarcely any ambition, he insisted on sending her to famous singing teachers so that she could be trained as a Wagnerian heroine. And his tyranny cut her off from any opportunity to lead a life of her own. Members of his entourage reported that immediately before his departure for Hamburg there had been a loud, violent scene between them, triggered by the girl's wish to go to Vienna for a while. It seems probable that all these complex and seemingly hopeless circumstances finally sent her over the brink. Less plausible is the story popular among his political enemies that the girl shot herself because she was expecting a child by Hitler. Still others held that Hitler himself ordered her murdered, or purported to know that the SS had passed a *Feme* (vigilante) sentence on Geli because she had distracted her uncle from his historic mission. Hitler himself occasionally grumbled that all this "terrible filth" was killing him. He also declared darkly that he would never forgive his enemies for the nasty gossip of those weeks.³⁰

As soon as he had recovered his composure, he continued on to Hamburg after all. There, amid the cheers of thousands, he delivered one of his passionate speeches that whipped the audience into a kind of collective orgy, all waiting tensely for the moment of release, the orgasm that manifested itself in a wild outcry. The parallel is too patent to be passed

over; it lets us see Hitler's oratorical triu churning sexuality unable to find its object meaning to Hitler's frequent comparison. And we need only look at the correspondence at the wholly erotic fervor that the idea aroused in him, to see what he sought platform high above the masses filling it unable to make contact, he more and more. In a revealing turn of phrase (if we may call the masses his "only bride." His or instinctual, and his audience, unnerved duced to a few elemental needs, reacted length. The sound recordings of the peric obscene, copulatory character of mass n ginning, as of a whole multitude holdi yappings; the minor climaxes and first s of the crowd; finally the frenzy, more c released by the finally unblocked oratori Schickele once spoke of Hitler's speech. And many other contemporary observe sensually charged liquescence of these d of diabolism.

Nevertheless, anyone who thought the as an orator lay in this use of speech a making a serious mistake. Rather, once a of delirium and rationality that character in the glare of spotlights, pale, his voice b tirades, and outbursts of hatred, he remai his emotions. For all his seeming abandon dealing here with the same ambiguity th and was one of the basic facts of his char was as tangibly marked by it as his m methodology of his conquest of power policy. The very regime he set up as actually been defined as a "dual state."³¹

In fact, the triumphs of this phase we earlier years by the greater planning that well as the elaborated stagecraft. Essenti depended upon his always going to the ut more radical not only in his emotions b long ago as August, 1920, he had, in a "to arouse and whip up and incite . . . t sober understanding. He had, it would these basic principles right from the start

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1920

over; it lets us see Hitler's oratorical triumphs as surrogate actions of a
churning sexuality unable to find its object. No doubt there was a deeper
meaning to Hitler's frequent comparison of the masses to "woman."
And we need only look at the corresponding pages in *Mein Kampf*,
at the wholly erotic fervor that the idea and the image of the masses
aroused in him, to see what he sought and found as he stood on the
platform high above the masses filling the arena—his masses. Solitary,
unable to make contact, he more and more craved such collective unions.
In a revealing turn of phrase (if we may believe the source) he once
called the masses his "only bride." His oratorical discharges were largely
instinctual, and his audience, unnerved by prolonged distress and re-
duced to a few elemental needs, reacted on the same instinctual wave
length. The sound recordings of the period clearly convey the peculiarly
obscene, copulatory character of mass meetings: the silence at the be-
ginning, as of a whole multitude holding its breath; the short, shrill
yappings; the minor climaxes and first sounds of liberation on the part
of the crowd; finally the frenzy, more climaxes, and then the ecstasies
released by the finally unblocked oratorical orgasms. The writer René
Schickele once spoke of Hitler's speeches as being "like sex murders."
And many other contemporary observers have tried to describe the
sensually charged liquescence of these demonstrations in the language
of diabolism.

Nevertheless, anyone who thought the entire secret of Hitler's success
as an orator lay in this use of speech as a sexual surrogate would be
making a serious mistake. Rather, once again it was the curious coupling
of delirium and rationality that characterized his oratory. Gesticulating
in the glare of spotlights, pale, his voice hoarse as he hurled his charges,
tirades, and outbursts of hatred, he remained always the alert master of
his emotions. For all his seeming abandon, he never lost control. We are
dealing here with the same ambiguity that governed his entire behavior
and was one of the basic facts of his character. His oratorical technique
was as tangibly marked by it as his tactic of legality and later the
methodology of his conquest of power or his maneuvers in foreign
policy. The very regime he set up assumed this character and has
actually been defined as a "dual state."³¹

In fact, the triumphs of this phase were distinguished from those of
earlier years by the greater planning that went into his performances, as
well as the elaborated stagecraft. Essentially, Hitler's effectiveness still
depended upon his always going to the utmost extreme; but he was now
more radical not only in his emotions but also in his calculations. As
long ago as August, 1920, he had, in a speech, described his task as
"to arouse and whip up and incite . . . the instinctive" on the basis of
sober understanding. He had, it would seem, a fairly good grasp of
these basic principles right from the start. But only now, under the im-

cess of social impoverishment. Either Hitler listened, or all the others talked and betic, locked away from the world around cking at his teeth in a frightful way," as "Or else he paced restlessly. He did not ie interrupted one constantly; he jumped / from one subject to another."⁴⁸ His in- at he could not even follow the speeches dio; having lost the habit of being contra- minded or indulged in monologues. Since and tolerated only yes men or admirers to an intellectual isolation that deepened ind became fixed on his early convictions, s he neither expanded nor modified, but edge.

e, as if intoxicated by his own voice. The mann Rauschning, from the early thirties, the self-important intonation of a man des. There is a similar note, though with atraction, in the table talk recorded in the word," Hitler declared, could build as." When Mussolini was in Germany on n with a one-and-a-half-hour monologue ving his impatient guest the opportunity ; and associates had similar experiences, n the torrent of words stretched on into g more excessive as the hour advanced. perately struggling with their sleepiness, solemn cosmic blather" about art, philo- sory, and had to listen with defenseless aers, although they, too, were only extras, e he could whip up the excitement that server commented that he would dismiss "a person who has just given himself a terlocutor managed an occasional objec- ulus to further, boundlessly wild associa- der, without end.

h isolated him humanly, benefited him ily pieces in a game. No one could cross se who approached most closely to him educed distance. Characteristically, his d for a few dead persons. In his private ng a portrait of his mother, and one of who died in 1936. None of his father. ly closer to him than the living girl had

1932
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ever been. "In a sense Hitler is simply not human—unreachable and un- touchable," Magda Goebbels had already said in the early thirties. While still at the peak of his power, the cynosure of millions, he yet had some- thing about him that belonged to the forgotten young man of the Vienna or early Munich years; he was a stranger even to his closest relatives. Albert Speer, whom for a time he regarded with some sentimentality as the embodiment of his youthful dream of brilliance and distinction, told the Nuremberg tribunal: "If Hitler had had any friends, I would have been his friend." But he, too, did not cross the gulf. In spite of many days and nights of joint planning, when both men would lose themselves in their colossal projects, Speer was never more than Hitler's preferred architect. It is true that Hider, in an unusual tribute, spoke of his "genius," but the dictator did not trust him in matters that went beyond technical problems.

What was lacking from this one relationship with traces of an erotic element was also lacking in the other: in contrast to Geli Raubal, Eva Braun was merely Hitler's mistress, with all the anxieties, secrecies, and humiliations involved in such a position. She related that at a dinner in the Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten in Munich Hitler sat beside her for three hours, not allowing her to address him; shortly before everyone rose from the table he thrust into her hand "an envelope with money." He had met her at the end of the twenties in Heinrich Hoffmann's photo- graphic studio, and possibly this acquaintanceship was one of the factors that drove Geli Raubal to suicide. Some time after his niece's death Hider made Eva his mistress. She was a simple, moderately attractive girl with unpretentious dreams and thoughts that were dominated by love, fashion, movies, and gossip, by the constant fear of being thrown over, and by Hitler's egocentric whims and his manner of a petty do- mestic tyrant. With his craving for regimentation he had forbidden her sun-bathing, dancing, and smoking. ("If I were ever to see Eva smoking, I'd break off at once.") He was quite jealous, and yet he neglected her in an offensive way. In order "not to be so alone" she had several times asked him for a dog ("that would be lovely"), but Hitler had simply passed over the request without comment. For a long time he kept her in almost insultingly mean circumstances. Her diary has been found, and the notes illuminate her unhappy situation. A characteristic passage runs:

There's only one thing I wish, to get very sick and know no more about him for at least a week. Why is nothing happening to me, why must I go through all this? If only I'd never seen him. I'm in despair. Now I'll buy sleeping powder again, then I'll be in a half trance and stop thinking so much about it.

Why doesn't the devil come and take me. It's certainly better with him than it is here.

For three hours I waited in front of the Carlton and had to watch him

D. T. So often people would speak of me as if I weren't real, but I'm merely a presence in a way.

1940

ilarly, the center of the Belgian system of defense collapsed when Fort Eben Emael, the key to the system of fortifications guarding Liège, was eliminated by one such unit, which landed inside the fort area in gliders. Meanwhile, the advance through Luxembourg and the Ardennes, again a complete surprise to the enemy, made rapid progress. By May 13 the tank formations were able to cross the Meuse at Dinant and Sedan. On May 16 Laon fell, on May 20 Amiens; and that same night the first formations reached the Channel coast. At times the advance proceeded so rapidly that the main units lost contact with the vanguard, and Hitler, suspicious as always, distrusted his own triumph. "The Führer is frightfully nervous," Halder noted on May 17. "He is alarmed by his own success, doesn't want to risk anything, and consequently would prefer to stop us." And on the following day: "The Führer is unaccountably fearful about the southern flank. He rages and shouts that we are on the point of ruining the whole operation and exposing ourselves to the dangers of defeat."⁶

In fact there was no danger. When Britain's new Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, alarmed by the situation at the front, flew to Paris, General Gamelin admitted to him that the majority of his mobile forces had already fallen into the German trap. Gamelin, commander in chief of the Allied armies, tried to conjure up memories of past glories. In an Order of the Day for May 17 he repeated word for word General Joffre's proclamation before the first Battle of the Marne in September, 1914, calling upon the soldiers not to yield a foot of soil. But the Allied leaders did not succeed in collecting their retreating armies, building new lines, and organizing a counterattack. The Allied defeat would have been complete if General Guderian's tank spearhead had not received the order, on May 24, to stop in its tracks. It was at this time only a few miles south of Dunkirk and not in contact with the enemy. The German slowdown for forty-eight hours left the Allies a port and thus the chance to escape. Within a week, in one of the most daring improvisations of the war, with the aid of some 900 largely small ships, fishing boats, excursion steamers, and private yachts, nearly 340,000 men—the greater part of the Allied formations—were ferried to England.

The responsibility for the order to halt before Dunkirk has since been the object of extensive investigation. Some have held that Hitler himself deliberately let the majority of the British Expeditionary Corps escape in order to keep open the way for the compromise with England that he continued to hope for. But such a decision would have contradicted the war aim formulated in his memorandum. It would also have contradicted Directive Number 13 of May 24, which began: "Next goal of operations is the annihilation of the French, British and Belgian forces encircled in Artois and in Flanders by the concentric attack of our northern wing. . . . During this operation the task of the Air Force

is to break all enemy resistance, the escape of the British forces halt met with vehement opposition but was approved by General Group A. Its underlying intention: tank formations, exhausted by to recoup their strength for the boasts that his Luftwaffe would sea of flames and sink every Hitler in his decision. When within Guderian's reach ten d on June 4, Halder noted tersely the French are gone."

Yet the superior operations German successes. When Hitler the encirclement maneuver at discouraged, broken enemy will by the debacle in the north. Tank formations that had already been dispersed, had deserted, or had as the end of May a British without the slightest discipline the roads, dragging carts head movements of their own troops overtaken by German tanks, screams of the Stukas. Every was submerged in the indescribable for defeat but not for in Briare there was only a sin the outside world, and that was two o'clock in the afternoon by this time. When General Broc Expeditionary Force, asked about of "Fortress Brittany," General commander, shrugged resignedly: "imagination." Many commanders these were a blank wall. It was upon France.

Although the German planners for scarcely any reactions on the tives seemed to suggest extensive Hitler was nevertheless surprised. 14 his troops marched through the tricolor from the Eiffel Tower

*D.T.: I convinced him to stop. The order came to me from the main and suggested to me that my

pleaded had to about Hitler

a system of defense collapsed when Fort Eben-Emael, a system of fortifications guarding Liège, was captured, which landed inside the fort area in advance through Luxembourg and the surprise to the enemy, made rapid progress. The British were able to cross the Meuse at Dinant, and on May 20 Amiens; and that same day they reached the Channel coast. At times the advance units lost contact with the main units, as always, distrusted his own triumph. Halder noted on May 17. "He is not going to risk anything, and consequently." And on the following day: "The situation about the southern flank. He rages and threatens of ruining the whole operation and of defeat."⁵

When Britain's new Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, the situation at the front, flew to Paris, to inform that the majority of his mobile forces were in a trap. Gamelin, commander in chief of the French army, conjured up memories of past glories. In 1917 he repeated word for word General Foch's first Battle of the Marne in September, not to yield a foot of soil. But the Allied strategy of retreating armies, building a defensive line. The Allied defeat would have been a disaster. The tank spearhead had not received orders in its tracks. It was at this time only and not in contact with the enemy. The next hours left the Allies a port and thus a week, in one of the most daring improvisations of some 900 largely small ships, fishing boats and private yachts, nearly 340,000 men—military and civilians—were ferried to England.

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is to break all enemy resistance in the encircled parts and to prevent the escape of the British forces across the Channel." Hitler's order to halt met with vehement opposition within the army High Command, but was approved by General von Rundstedt, the commander of Army Group A. Its underlying intention was rather to give a respite to the tank formations, exhausted by two weeks of fighting, and enable them to recoup their strength for the impending battle for France. Göring's boasts that his Luftwaffe would transform the port of Dunkirk into a sea of flames and sink every ship that tried to dock there reinforced Hitler in his decision. When the city, which had been undefended and within Guderian's reach ten days earlier, at last fell into German hands on June 4, Halder noted tersely: "Dunkirk taken, coast reached. Even the French are gone."

Yet the superior operational plan was not alone responsible for the German successes. When Hitler's armies turned south, after completing the encirclement maneuver at the Channel coast, they encountered a discouraged, broken enemy whose defeatism had been only magnified by the debacle in the north. The French command was operating with formations that had already been beaten, with divisions that had been dispersed, had deserted, or had simply passed into dissolution. As early as the end of May a British general called the French army a rabble without the slightest discipline.⁶ Millions of refugees aimlessly tramped the roads, dragging carts heaped high with possessions, blocking the movements of their own troops, carrying them along into the confusion, overtaken by German tanks, driven into panic by the bombs and the screams of the Stukas. Every step toward organized military resistance was submerged in the indescribable chaos. The country had been prepared for defeat but not for collapse. From the French headquarters in Briare there was only a single telephone link to the troops and to the outside world, and that was not in operation between twelve and two o'clock in the afternoon because the postmistress went to lunch at this time. When General Brooke, commander in chief of the British Expeditionary Force, asked about the divisions assigned for the defense of "Fortress Brittany," General Weyand, the newly appointed supreme commander, shrugged resignedly: "I know they're a pure figment of the imagination." Many commanding generals stared at their maps as if these were a blank wall. It was in fact as if the sky were falling down upon France.

Although the German planning for the Battle of France had provided for scarcely any reactions on the enemy's part, and although the directives seemed to suggest extensive marching drills rather than a campaign, Hitler was nevertheless surprised by the speed of the advance. On June 14 his troops marched through the Porte Maillot into Paris and lowered the tricolor from the Eiffel Tower. Three days later Rommel covered

pleads had some major feeling about Hitler's decision to leave France and move to Germany

how to fix matters up. . . . For five years I have been cut off from the outer world; I have not gone to the theater, not heard a concert, no longer see any movies. I live solely for the task of leading this struggle because I know that unless a person of iron will stands in the background, the struggle cannot be won." The question remains, however, whether the very sacrifices he imposed on himself in his maniacal insistence on the exercise of will, whether this single-minded concentration upon the war, did not constrict his mind and rob him of all inner freedom.

The tensions he underwent were discharged, more powerfully than ever before, in an unquenchable urge to launch into tirades. He found a new audience in his secretaries, for whom he tried in vain to provide a "congenial atmosphere" by offerings of cake and a fireplace fire. Sometimes he had his adjutants, his doctors, Bormann, or some chance guest join them. As his insomnia grew worse, he steadily extended his monologues. By 1944 the members of the circle would be desperately forcing their eyes to stay open until the graying dawn. Only then, as Guderian reports, would Hitler "lie down for a brief slumber, from which the pushing brooms of the scrubwomen at his bedroom door would awaken him by nine o'clock at the latest."

He continued to stick to the themes which had been part of the repertory of earlier years, and which are recorded in the table talk: his youth in Vienna, the First World War and the years of struggle, history, prehistory, nutrition, women, art, the fight for survival. He grew exercised over the "hopping around" of the dancer Gret Palucca, over the "stunted smears" of modern art, over Conductor Knappertsbusch's fortissimi, which forced opera singers to shriek so that they "looked like tadpoles." He spoke of his disgust with the "idiotic bourgeoisie," with the "herd of swine" in the Vatican or with the "insipid Christian heaven." Along with ruminations about the imperial racial state, Hannibal's elephants, Ice Age catastrophes, Caesar's wife, or "the gang of jurists" came recommendations for a vegetarian diet, a prospectus for a popular Sunday newspaper that would carry "lots of pictures," and serialized fiction "so that the gals can get something out of it."⁵⁵ Stunned by the unending torrent of words, the Italian Foreign Minister commented that Hitler was probably very happy to be Hitler because it permitted him to talk eternally.

More striking than the endless flow of his monologues was, at least in the recorded material, the crudity of expression, in which he unmistakably relapsed back to his origins. The ideas themselves, the anxieties, wishes and aims, were unchanged from his early days. What is more, he now laid aside all the disguises and statesmanlike poses, and fell back on the vehement and vulgar phrases of the beer-hall demagogue, not to say the denizen of the flophouse. With a good deal

of zest he discussed cannibalism in Leningrad. He called Roosevelt "a souse's bullshit," and irritably "strategist." He praised the Soviet "Soviet blather," and imagined how by "shooting a batch of a few I favorite, 'constantly repeated' m can no longer put up a fight."⁵⁶

Among those symptoms of de narrowing that threw him back to From the third winter on, he co that of a "seizure of power" e "period of struggle," too, he c overwhelmingly superior forces—"a lowers." The war was nothing experiences. The record of one o the chief pointed out that this wa of the period of struggle. What t of parties in the domestic realm i nations in the foreign realm."⁵⁷

In keeping with the precipitate ally complained that the years v pleasure in taking risks. Intellect the past. The garrulous reviews filled his nocturnal monologues nostalgias. In his military decisions of the First World War, w more and more restricted to the t grasped the crucial importance c nor the value of a heat-seeking g torpedo. He also blocked the l plane, the Messerschmitt 262. W fetched objections, reversed or c tourage with hastily reeled-off psychological generalizations. Wh of British experiments with jet p in 1944 to permit the manufactu ordering that the plane not be b raiders. Instead, contrary to the a ployed as a fast bomber. The p intolerable, he decided, and als really slower in air combat. In fac ment; and while Germany's citie

1944

ANQUISHED

five years I have been cut off from the theater, not heard a concert, not for the task of leading this struggle person of iron will stands in the background." The question remains, however, posed on himself in his maniacal insistence: whether this single-minded concentration cut his mind and rob him of all inner

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flow of his monologues was, at least idity of expression, in which he un- origins. The ideas themselves, the unchanged from his early days. What ic disguises and statesmanlike poses, and vulgar phrases of the beer-hall n of the flophouse. With a good deal

of zest he discussed cannibalism among the partisans or in besieged Leningrad. He called Roosevelt a "cracked fool," Churchill's speeches "a souse's bullshit," and irritably denounced von Manstein as a "pisspot strategist." He praised the Soviet system for forgoing all the "humanitarian blather," and imagined how he would meet a mutiny in Germany by "shooting a batch of a few hundred thousand people." One of his favorite, "constantly repeated" maxims was the sentence: "A dead man can no longer put up a fight."⁵⁶

Among those symptoms of decline must be included the intellectual narrowing that threw him back to the viewpoint of a local party leader. From the third winter on, he could see the war in no other light than that of a "seizure of power" expanded to global dimensions. In the "period of struggle," too, he comforted himself, he had faced overwhelming superior forces—"a single man with a small band of followers." The war was nothing but a "gigantic repetition" of earlier experiences. The record of one of the table talks reads: "At lunch . . . the chief pointed out that this war was a faithful copy of the conditions of the period of struggle. What took place among us then as a struggle of parties in the domestic realm is taking place today as the struggle of nations in the foreign realm."⁵⁷

In keeping with the precipitate aging of his appearance, he occasionally complained that the years were robbing him of all his gambler's pleasure in taking risks. Intellectually, too, he more and more lived in the past. The garrulous reviews of matters long past, with which he filled his nocturnal monologues, had the sound of an old man's nostalgias. In his military decisions he frequently referred to the experiences of the First World War, while his interest in armaments became more and more restricted to the traditional weapons systems. He neither grasped the crucial importance of radar and the splitting of the atom nor the value of a heat-seeking ground-to-air rocket or a sound-guided torpedo. He also blocked the large-scale production of the first jet plane, the Messerschmitt 262. With senile obstinacy he insisted on far-fetched objections, reversed or changed decisions, confounded his entourage with hastily reeled-off statistics, or took refuge in broad psychological generalizations. When on the basis of a newspaper report of British experiments with jet planes he was at last persuaded early in 1944 to permit the manufacture of the Me 262, he tried to hedge by ordering that the plane not be built as a fighter against the Allied air raiders. Instead, contrary to the advice of the experts, it was to be employed as a fast bomber. The physical strain on the pilots would be intolerable, he decided, and also argued that the faster planes were really slower in air combat. In fact, he snatched at anything for an argument; and while Germany's cities were reduced to rubble, he refused

Kubizek was not in Vienna at the time of the second nothing of Hitler again after he returned.

23. In much the same sense Stefan Zweig notes in *Die* p. 50, "the worst threat that existed in the bourgeois back into the proletariat." See also Heiden, *Geschichte*,

reiner's memories of Hitler raise many questions. In k he has no proof of the close acquaintanceship that had with Hitler. Nevertheless, his work does contain : that increase our knowledge. His evidence can be y to the extent that it is supported by other accounts, es of similar behavior on Hitler's part.

0.
Der Mann, der Hitler die Ideen gab. Lanz consid-
iple; he named, among other disciples who had early
e of his doctrines, Lord Kitchener and Lenin! This
ble light on Lanz himself and the pathological struc-
His principal work, published in 1905, bore the title
zoologie oder die Kunde von den Sodoms-Afflingen
elektron. Eine Einführung in die älteste und neueste
d eine Rechtfertigung des Fürstentums und des
y or the Lore of the Sodom-Apelings and the Elec-
n Introduction into the Oldest and Newest Philoso-
of Royalty and Nobility"). The blue-blond
e in his view "masterpieces of the gods," equipped
nd even transmitters. By eugenic concentration and
the Arioheroic race was to be redeveloped
ded with the divine electromagnetic-radiological ord-
ad lost. The age's anxiety feelings, elitist leanings
s, fashionable idolization of Science by dabblers in
together by a considerable dose of intellectual and
ined to shape this doctrine.

imates Lanz's influence on Hitler; it seems certain
not extend beyond the limits described in the text.
usly different in regard to several other Nazi lead-
nd above all Heinrich Himmler. Directly or indi-
ceding catalogues of the SS Race and Settlement
ctice of exterminating "unfit" lives, or Jews, Slavs,
and murderous notions of Lanz von Liebenfels

f.
Bullock, *Hitler*, p. 39; but see also Shirer, *Rise*

the assurance, urged as "a certainty," that Hitler
women in Linz or Vienna, comes from Kubizek
nly to the time Kubizek spent with Hitler (Kub-

9.

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 organiza- tion at the time he began work at the building site was still "practically nonexistent." 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 ex- tensive 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 founda- tion 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 pe- riod. The statistics obtained by Jenks show that in the eight predomi- nantly 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: *Es- says of Three Decades*.

36. Rauschnig, *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-Malleczewen, *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.

Put all notes in a
special folder

- Hallgarten also stresses the differing attitudes among various branches of industry; see his *Hitler*; also his *Dämonen oder Retter*, pp. 215 f.; also Fletcher, "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

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 31. *The Dual State* is the title of a study by
New York, 1941).
 32. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 474 ff.
 33. *Ibid.*, pp. 478 f.
 34. Krebs, *Tendenzen*, p. 154; also Preiss, p
35. *Mein Kampf*, p. 473.
 36. H. R. Knickerbocker, *The German Cris*
 37. Heinrich Brüning, *Memoiren 1918–1934*
 38. Harry Graf Kessler, *In the Twenties*, p
Nationalsozialismus und Revolution, p. 4
Goebbels, p. 65.
 39. Preiss, p. 179 (speech of March 7, 193
 40. Harold Nicolson, *Diaries and Letters* 15
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 41. Goebbels, *Kaiserhof*, p. 87. The make-u
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workers, fifty peasants, forty-three inde
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Handbuch, 6. Wahlperiode, Berlin, 193
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Begriffs," *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*,

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Hanfstaengl, pp. 231 ff.; Heiden, *Hitler I*,
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Gauleiter Munder of Württemberg that Hitler was being excessively di-
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tainly 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 gen-
erally 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 depu-
ties altogether. Of these, fifty-five were blue-collar and white-collar
workers, fifty peasants, forty-three independent representatives of com-
merce, 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 Brünnings," in *VJHfZ* 1952:3, pp. 261 ff.; also H. Brüning, *Mem-
oires*, 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 verrätene 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

* Her life was built upon her beauty

smay that Mussolini let himself be photographed really great statesman would not do that."

128 f.

ans Severus Ziegler, *Hitler aus dem Erleben* 58, 64, 67, 70, etc. All the remarks and behavior have also been heard or observed by Albert Speer, the author.

Albert Speer, who usually sat on the other side could not miss observing this little scene.

140.

7. The reference to the symbolic meaning of the based on information from Speer; cf. also *Inside* 5.

ech of June 27, 1937, in Würzburg).

The Voice of Destruction, p. 255. Chapter XVIII from which this passage is taken was omitted in the *Gespräche*; it has now been printed in Theodor Rauschnings "Gespräche mit Hitler" also. The passage is here retranslated from the orig-

e, p. 162. Elsewhere (p. 104) Rauschning's comment seemed like a "physical excess." So, further references to the relationship between See also p. 130.

8. Zoller, p. 21. The characterizations of the author's personal physician, Professor Karl Brandt; 47.

remark cited above see Luedecke, p. 459. The Hitler preferred I owe to Regierungsrat Bark-Koblenz, who was charged with providing the the thirties. The catalogue containing some 2,000 be shown publicly in Germany can be seen at

tion to the author; Hitler, Speer says, considered "alle" to himself.

tion to the author; Speer adds that Hitler's rejection to the author, for example, was due to the fact figures did not correspond to his own plumper a were "unaesthetic," Hitler said to Speer.

ween pages 132 and 133. see Hildegard Brenner, *Die Kunstpolitik des Nationalsozialismus*, the chapter headed "Der Führerauftrag

500.

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 f. 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 not responsible for the crimes of their leaders." *Meine Danziger Mission*, p. 155.
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 of 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 Helmut 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, up on his success by promptly dismissing such as General Adam, who had emerged as important key positions from the Opp.
95. *Ciano's Hidden Diary 1937-1938*, p. 166.
96. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-68. All the concomitant circumstances of the only question at issue was how to set existing agreement. Of course, in the eyes of the participants, the conference also aimed at making further expansion more difficult for all guarantees were merely set forth in a signed by all the participants.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 167. For the course of the Munich Conference, see Schmidt, *Statist*, pp. 415 f.; and Fra.
98. *Ciano's Hidden Diary 1937-1938*, p. 168.
99. Nolte, *Faschismus*, p. 281.
100. *Le Testament politique de Hitler*, pp. 1 notes (the "Bormann Vermerke") published been made available. This, in part, may be and thought have a pithiness hardly chaotic also consider that the manuscript under the passages cited here represent a concealment of outbursts and digressions. Although the author, has argued that Goebbels miserably, and perhaps written some of it Hitler's style than with Hitler's. For Schmidt, p. 4. A similar remark of Hitler's is found in the diaries of Helmut Groscurth: "I was forced to draw back in September and would have to wage war during his lifetime again would a German enjoy such unlimited. War aims: a) Dominion in Europe for centuries to come. The war would have the others were rearming." Helmut Abwehroffiziers 1938-1940, p. 166.
101. Cf. the speech of August 22, 1939, Doc.
102. IMT XX, p. 397. Keitel declared in his defense that the German army's offensive capacity would not even have been sufficient to occupy Czechoslovakia's border fortifications; IMT XX, p. 397.
103. Cf. Gilbert and Gott, pp. 144 ff.
104. See, for example, the report of the British Foreign Office, *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1918-1966*, quotation from *Das Schwarze Korps*, Details on reactions to the pogrom in Marlis Steinert, *Hitlers Krieg*, p. 75.
105. The speech, a key document to the understanding of Hitler's policy, is printed in: VJHZ 1958:2, pp. 181