

1914 - 1922

1914 - 1922

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extensive with the first, or might—as in the case of
the old Hapsburg Monarchy and Czechoslovakia—in-
clude peoples of different races.

Even this does not exhaust the meaning of Hitler's
belief that Germany's 1914 frontiers were inade-
quate. In the Nazi Party programme, adopted as
early as 1920, is to be found the culmination of
Hitler's foreign policy in the demand for *Lebens-*
raum, living room for the future of the *Volk*. Hitler
advocated a continental policy of territorial expan-
sion eastwards, seeking *Lebensraum* for Germany in
Eastern Europe, in the rich plains of Poland, the
Ukraine, and Russia. Such a policy would mean the
resumption of the ancient struggle against the Slavs,
and its logical consequence was war with Russia.
Hitler faced and accepted this as early as the 1920s,
and when the German armies invaded the Soviet
Union in 1941 it was in execution of a policy whose
outlines are already to be found in *Mein Kampf*.

Hitler looked to the conquest of Eastern Europe
and Russia for the opportunity to build his New
Order, the empire of the *Herrenvolk* based upon the
slave labour of the inferior races. Such plans involved
the movement of populations, the deliberate de-
pression of whole races to a lower standard of life
and civilization, the denial of any chance of educa-
tion or medical facilities, even, in the case of the
Jews, systematic extermination.

In these schemes for redrawing the map of the
world and remodelling the distribution of power upon
biological principles the authentic flavour of Nazi
geopolitics is to be discovered. Hitler's over-inflamed
imagination set no bounds to the expansion of Nazi
power. As Papen remarked after the war: 'It was on
the limitless character of Nazi aims that we ran
aground.' In the early 1930s these appeared no more
than the fantasies with which Hitler beguiled the
early morning hours round the fire in the Berghof;

1920s

of 31 May 1921 for Germany's eastward expansion as well as all his old charges against Jewry except nomadism. And that was no mean feat.

Politics emerged from this theoretical perspective as an ongoing struggle to adjust territory to population in a global economy of scarcity. Statesmanship was accordingly the art of conducting a people's struggle for survival²⁸—of fulfilling that "most exalted mission to guard and protect the mother of all life."²⁹ This formulation betrays the sense behind Hitler's synthesis. Jewry unfitting the nations for their life-and-death struggle to expand: here was, universalized, his view of Germany's experience in World War I. Universalized, it was charged with his traumatic fury of 1907 short of the infinitive "to expand": this was Germany's traumatic input. Beneath the tie between his two political tracks, which balanced them evenly, he gave the edge to his own trauma and hence to the Jewish track. The tie was no less tidy, with a new, perfected triad of antithetical qualities opposing Aryan to Jew: the Aryan's national fiber and spirit, capacity for leadership and followership, and "healthy natural self-preservative instinct," as against Jewish internationalism, egalitarianism, and pacifism.³⁰ Under the third count the Jews wound up where they had started out in 1920: not quite inside or outside the universal law of life—the law of the jungle that Hitler ratified.

The threefold antithesis between Jew and Aryan also went into Hitler's speeches of the late 1920s tending to join his Jewish and expansionist policies in the argument that removing the Jew would, by restoring national unity, ensure German expansion.³¹ He even carried the antithesis along with this means-end conjunction of his anti-Semitism and expansionism into his rhetoric of the 1930s except that he substituted Jewry's instruments, usually Marxism or democracy, for Jewry itself.³² The antithesis reinforced the means-end relationship hyphenated by Germanic strength.³³ Both fell in with the military mood that came over Germany beginning about 1930.³⁴ But coming from Hitler, the call to eradicate Jewry for the sake of German expansion—or, as rephrased in the early 1930s, to eradicate the Weimar system and spirit for the sake of readying Germany militarily—was misleading.

→ *removal from their safe haven — the counter-principle of moderation. The tried was to enslave the believers to feel ready in acts of excess.*

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ing space," if not their "export trade," by the "use of force";⁹² five days later he dropped that export trade and added the aim of "world dominion."⁹³ In January 1932 he told a group of industrialists: "If we want to develop a new domestic market or to solve the space problem: ever and again we shall need the concerted political strength of the nation."⁹⁴ A year later, shortly before being named chancellor, he declared: "Once Germany has been successfully purified and regenerated, it will soon enough be brought home to the outside world that a different people now confronts it. And with that the preconditions will have been created for putting our land and soil in proper order and securing the life of the nation on its own for a long time to come."⁹⁵ Some two weeks after his top-level briefing session of 5 November 1937 on procedures for expanding Germany's living space, he congratulated destiny on having chosen him to serve his people even as he announced: "New tasks await us today. For our people's living space is too narrow. . . . I am convinced that the most difficult preparatory work has been accomplished. . . . If the whole Party and with it the entire nation stand solidly behind the leadership, then it will be possible for the leadership, backed by the collective strength of sixty-eight million people vested in the last resort in their armed forces, to defend the nation's interests and solve the problems facing us."⁹⁶ Two days later he supplied the historic referent for those "new tasks" to a gathering of junior Nazi officials: "We held Europe once already. We lost it only because we lacked that force of leadership which was necessary for us not merely to hold our position, but to extend it."⁹⁷ These were reminders of a purpose once openly defined that completed their meaning. He also evoked the course of conquest through terms long associated with it in his distinctive usage, particularly "freedom" ("to gain freedom, to gain land and soil, that is our goal"⁹⁸). But mainly he suggested it through a proposition previously established as, in his mouth, complementary. Throughout the late 1920s he argued that national unity was necessary for foreign conquest, whereas Jewry in a covert, concerted, parasitic power play had split the nation down the middle by means of Marxism, fragmented both sides by Weimar

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1920s

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out all his anger and remorse of 1907 on Bloch, alias the Jew, with his mother's vicarious blessings while also arousing anew "all my defiance against the thought of capitulating to a seemingly ineluctable fate."¹⁶⁰ It galvanized his full psychic energy,¹⁶¹ transforming him from a marginal loner and underling into a dynamic, demonic mass leader.

At the same time his tie to his mother unsuited Hitler for any normal erotic relationship. Kubizek remembered him in Linz romancing in his fancy with a girl he never dared approach.¹⁶² In Vienna he carried his mother's picture in a locket, and in the army against his heart, while shunning women.¹⁶³ In the early 1920s he explained his continuing bachelorhood by declaring: "My only bride is my motherland"¹⁶⁴—this with his mother's picture now over his bed.¹⁶⁵ He cultivated matronly patronesses in his political beginnings—"motherly lady friends," as he called them.¹⁶⁶ His single approximation to amour-passion was for a half niece, Geli Raubal, whom he took to live in his flat in 1928 and drove to suicide in 1931, when she was twenty-three:¹⁶⁷ their difference in age approached his father's with his mother, who called his father "Uncle" even after their marriage.¹⁶⁸ Eva Braun, one of his photographer's assistants, was the lady of his Berchtesgaden retreat in his years of power. Yet she was rarely there: she held down her job in Munich until March 1945.¹⁶⁹ This itself argues an asceticism on his part that her boss verified through the Berchtesgaden chambermaids.¹⁷⁰ She joined him in his Berlin bunker against his express wish. He married her on resigning as Führer. The marriage was consummated by a double suicide.

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After his gassing, Hitler's 1907 complex surfaced in nonpolitical form as a self-punitive hypochondria that filled his private life increasingly.¹⁷¹ Around 1907 the books said stomach cancer was the typical cancer for men corresponding to breast cancer for women, and after Pasewalk Hitler generated stomach gas that he insisted was cancerous.¹⁷² In 1932 he confided about his hypochondria, cancer foremost, to an astonished Nazi leader in Hamburg named Krebs ("cancer").¹⁷³ As Führer he found a personal physician, Theo Morell, to feed him antigas pills that his two

ish Poison"

60. Hitler once substituted tubercu-
cited pp. 16-17 and nn. 116, 117,
ing around the edges of Germany's
(28 II 26). And in Viereck 237 he
We need violent correctives, strong
in: "We must cut out every cancer
e is in VB 31 I 23 (29 I 23): "Nation-
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a pestilence that has befallen the
zi struggle was for "the cure of the
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18 (letter of 11 V 29), HSTA ASTA

reck 238 quoting Hitler: "One dis-

lenty of Marxists and Marxism for
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and left an absolute anti-Semite, a
philosophy": BAK NS26/1927-1/35.
77; Schott 158-87; Thies 29, 42, 45;
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: cf. Bloch 69-70.

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as always the one he took in 1923
id: "But there are so many decent
ity, the so-called decent. . . Jews are
urther, Hitler in VB 25 22

Briefe 101: see pp. 20-21.

129-30; Jenks 125-42 and passim;
e notion of Jews as poisoners goes
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n" reported by Arends 186.
Hitler's autobiographical letter of 29
ti-Semitic literature then available").

26/65/95. Kurth "Jew" 23 n. 35: "The
chment between mother and son was
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with him."

Notes for I The "Jewish Poison"

147. BAK NS26/54/178 (9 XI 27): "... the source of all life is not the state, but the people in itself. . . The best and greatest in particular . . . are not children of the state, but children of the all-mother, their own nationhood." "Mutter" and "das deutsche Volk" are outright synonyms in Preiss 91 (8 XII 28). The German people is termed "the Germanic mother" in Hitler Kampf 742.
148. Vondung 173 (2 XI 32). Similarly, VB 7 VIII 29 (5 VIII 29: "the people as a body of flesh and blood and bone and spiritual powers").
149. It may also matter that he spent his sixth year with his mother on the German side of the border before they followed his father to Linz.
150. Hitler to Ernst Hepp 5 II 15 in Maser Briefe 101.
151. See p. 17.
152. Hitler Kampf 220.
153. See pp. 5, 17, and 129-30. The German name for the gas—"yellow cross gas"—may have helped the eruption along by association with the yellowness of iodoform or the yellow star of David. 1918
154. BAK NS26/1927-1/36 (Putsch trial).
155. Hitler Kampf 223 re-echoing 221.
156. Ibid. 223.
157. Further, Fest Hitler 115 and n. 125.
158. Except that he came away from Pasewalk with bags under the eyes: Wagner 30.
159. See p. 138.
160. Picker 493-94 (30 V 42).
161. His architectural ambitions, now overridden, had previously bound up the destructive energy unloosed by his 1907 trauma. Later he chose architects —Fritz Todt, then Albert Speer—for his ministers of munitions.
162. Kubizek 72-84 and passim.
163. Ibid. 50; Schirach Hitler 4; Brandmayer 81-82.
164. DNA "Book" 903. Similarly, Hoffmann Friend 141; HSW Hoffmann "Bericht Maraun" 2; Kempner 70 (Walter Buch 16 V 47 quoting Hitler summer 1923: "I can't marry, my wife will be Germania"). Compare Hitler in VB 14 III 25 ("I am so wedded to politics that I cannot think of betrothing myself as well").
165. Krause 35.
166. Picker 193. But see also Tyrell Führer 59, 'Trommler' 40.
167. Perhaps by hard words: see Heiber Lagebesprechungen 124, 130, 134 (130 n. 3 notwithstanding).
168. Rosalia Hörl in BAK NS26/17a. His father was twenty-three years older than his mother, he nineteen years older than Geli. The blood relationship would have been the same had Johann Nepomuk Hiedler been Alois's natural father as Adolf may have imagined: see pp. 53, 133-34. Hugo Blaschke in DNA "Picture" 3: Hitler's conduct toward Eva Braun was strictly avuncular.
169. HSW Hoffmann. But DNA "Picture" 28 (Hasselbach): she gave up her job after meeting Hitler.
170. HSW Hoffmann. But Hoffmann Friend 163: "That Eva became his mistress some time or other before the end is certain."
171. BAK Schramm 65-66 (Karl Brandt); Speer 117-20. But see Müllern-Schönhausen 195.
172. Meyers 609; Schramm Führer 109; Speer 117; Deuerlein Hitler 130, 163-64.

1918

Sept 1919
Oct 1918

is by a thrice-convicted swindler;¹⁵ another is a rewrite by a Nazi;¹⁶ the third is the handiwork of a professional inventor and con man.¹⁷ D

In contrast, Hitler's politics after World War I were actuated by all-out anti-Semitism from the start. His earliest extant political document is a reply dated 16 September 1919, requested of him by the head of the propaganda section of the Reichswehr in Bavaria, to an outside inquiry about the Jewish peril. Depicting Jewry as a race both parasitic and subversive, he urged a "rational" anti-Semitism whereby Jews would be methodically divested of their legal rights with the "final aim" of their "total removal"—this, incidentally, under new, ruthless, national-minded leaders "with an inner sense of responsibility."¹⁸ A month earlier one of his lectures to troops awaiting demobilization had prompted his company commander to order less plain-spokenness from the podium lest the Reichswehr be charged with Jew-baiting.¹⁹ Anti-Semitism reportedly shaped his speech to the soldiers' council the previous spring.²⁰ And his best wartime buddy, Ernst Schmidt, who served with him further in and around Munich for a few months beginning in December 1918, recollected that by this time Hitler was already advancing in private that perception of Germany's defeat which he said in *Mein Kampf* he gained when the news of the revolution reached him in a military infirmary at Pasewalk. This was that the Jews had defeated Germany from within on the basis of the Kaiser's fatal truce with their party, the Socialists, at the start of the war. "There is no dealing with the Jews," he concluded, "but only a hard showdown."²¹ Since he dated his political calling from that moment of truth in Pasewalk, his stay there would seem to have been pivotal for the change he underwent. So a close look at that stay is in order. *scen.*

Hitler was entrained from Flanders for Pasewalk, north of Berlin, after being hit by British mustard gas fired at 4:35 A.M. on 15 October 1918.²² His gassing followed four years of service in Flanders with the front-line, battle-scarred List Regiment. He had been hospitalized once before—on 9 October 1916 in Berlin-

D Beelitz for a shrapnel wound in the left thigh.²³ Reassigned in Munich that 3 December pending full recovery, he sent nostalgic messages back to his regiment,²⁴ then in January an urgent appeal to Wiedemann to reclaim him before he was shipped elsewhere. He had muttered to Wiedemann on being found wounded: "It's not so bad, Lieutenant Sir, right? I can stay with you, with the regiment!" Wiedemann later remarked: "For Private First Class Hitler the List Regiment was home."²⁵ Westenkirchner and Schmidt concurred: the regimental circle "had become his home" even as he had stopped receiving mail from Munich after his first year or so of service.²⁶ He was "home" again on 5 March 1917. Coaxed into taking a first seventeen-day furlough the following October, he spent it with a comrade's parents in Berlin.²⁷ In late August 1918, newly decorated with his Iron Cross First Class, he was sent to Nuremberg for a week with the papers for a depleted regiment that was fusing with his.²⁸ That 10 September he was off on a second seventeen-day furlough, this time with Ernst Schmidt to Schmidt's sisters in Dresden by way of Brussels, Cologne, and Leipzig.²⁹ The war-weariness tempered with cynicism that he encountered inside Germany in 1916-1917 infuriated him.³⁰ "For us the World War cannot be lost," he always insisted.³¹ He insisted all the more as the mood of discouragement spread to the front in the face of the Allies' late-summer offensive of 1918 and turned into defeatism with the government's bid for an armistice in early October. Ernst Schmidt remembered that their new comrades from the depleted Nuremberg regiment "were quite radical and grumbled more than we had ever heard. Hitler could go absolutely wild at such grumbling, and raged and yelled really dreadfully at the pacifists and shirkers who would lose the war yet."³² And Ignaz Westenkirchner recollected: "Toward the end of the war, when to the rest of us the game seemed to be up, he would go wild if anyone expressed doubts about victory. He would stick his hands in his pockets, pace up and down with huge strides, and rage against pessimism. He still believed in victory at the time he was gassed. For him the heavy attack in Flanders by the English in October 1918 was a proof that our submarine campaign was succeeding."³³

D.T. * Like an early conviction of a chess game where the perfection of an arduous defeat is more visible to the experts than the onlookers.

1919

Sept 1919
Oct 1918

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The English mustard gas fired at La Montagne early that 15 October struck Hitler together with several of his comrades. The one of them not totally blinded, Hermann Heer, led the others to safety behind the lines.³⁴ Hitler, after a night in a field station in Oudenaarde, was shipped to Ghent and from there to Pomerania.³⁵ He was checked into the hospital at Pasewalk on 21 October. He was checked out on 19 November as fully cured, but claimed afterward that he could still read only newspaper headlines by then.³⁶ Either way, he had seemingly run the normal course of convalescence from mustard gas poisoning: a gradual recovery beginning after a few days and lasting three or four weeks.³⁷ The official particulars of his recuperation cannot be supplied because the Gestapo seized and destroyed all known copies of his hospital records. A copy of the paper issued for his service file was for years in the hands of a Bavarian anti-Nazi, Wilhelm Hoegner, who recollected: "According to the medical report he was reclassified on 13 November 1918 as fit for active duty; at that time his only remaining complaint was a burning in the mucous membrane."³⁸ This burning too fits the normal syndrome along with an initial swelling that subsides somewhat earlier. Had that "report" contained any visibly embarrassing indications, Hoegner would have spotted them. Why, then, did the Gestapo go after it?

The likeliest answer is that it was signed by Edmund Forster, then the ranking psychiatrist at Pasewalk. A formal case record by Forster—a second hospital paper—evidently also existed once, with copies kept under cover into the early 1940s by Wilhelm Canaris, chief of the Wehrmacht's secret service, and Heinrich Himmler.³⁹ There or elsewhere Forster officially put Hitler's blindness down to psychopathic hysteria.⁴⁰ He could misdiagnose it as hysterical the more readily since in October 1918 the effects of mustard gas were still unfamiliar behind German lines. But his finding of psychopathy suggests that, on the mental side, Hitler's case did not quite run to type after all. So does the fact that he handled the case in the first place. Mustard gas victims are not ordinarily unhinged, but only sink into "a deep apathy. . . . They feel woebegone, miserable; they are despondent and disconsolate. . . . All they want is to lie groaning softly in

1917, 1920

D
utter despair. . . They are not to be dissuaded from imagining that they are permanently blind" until, after a week or two, their eyelids unswell enough to reopen. "And then their spirits also start reviving."⁴¹ *Mein Kampf* tells of a radical departure by Hitler from the subsequent straight course of convalescence: a hysterical relapse at the Pasewalk chaplain's announcement of the revolution and armistice. "It went black around my eyes again," Hitler related. He added that he groped and stumbled back to his ward just as, two pages earlier, he claimed—falsely—to have groped and stumbled back to his field post after being gassed.⁴² But his special pathology is most clear-cut in the hallucination through which he emerged from the two-day⁴³ fit of mortal distress that ensued. The several versions of this hallucination were all derived from him in the early 1920s. In all of them his eyesight is restored as, in an ecstatic trance, he is summoned from on high to deliver Germany from defeat.⁴⁴ Forster's handling of the patient as hysterical must have been material to that relapse and revival. That handling can be reconstructed in some measure from Forster's side.

alone

The 1914 mobilization found Edmund Forster an associate professor of psychiatry at the University of Berlin, practicing in its affiliated Charité clinic. A reserve officer in the navy, Forster donned his uniform at once and served in Kiel until the end of 1914, then in the battle zone of Flanders until he turned forty. On this date—3 September 1918—the head doctor at Forster's command post of Cöpenick attested concerning Forster's hospital work in Bruges: "Himself of an energetic and spirited disposition, he made the treatment and cure of so-called war neurotics his special concern and, in many cases, went about it somewhat roughly in that he applied the standard of his own strength of will to others."⁴⁵ By his own account of 1917, Forster would impress upon war neurotics that they were really only shirking and knew it; that this was an indignity and, if they persisted, a punishable offense; and that their trouble was not a sickness requiring a cure, but a weak will that needed strengthening.⁴⁶ Nine days after leaving the combat zone Forster married a secretary of Matthias Erzberger, the Centrist leader who was to negotiate and sign for Germany the Armistice of 11 November. On

1922, 1925

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duty at Pasewalk at the time of the Armistice, Forster left for Berlin on 14 November to resume his civilian occupations while affiliating with a local military hospital until his discharge on 30 June 1919. One of his postwar assistants recently recollected of him at the Charité: "He took hysteria to be mostly humbug and treated hysterics accordingly: he would shout at them that they ought to be ashamed toward real sufferers. I still well remember such scenes and our annoyance that he should score successes with such a method and that those he 'cured' should even remain devoted to him!"⁴⁷ His elder son remembers that, while never brutal, he "had no use for the hysteric," whom he saw as "a faker out for attention" and "a scoundrel to be treated by Draconian methods."⁴⁸ The director of the Charité in Forster's time declared: "Pure Forster speaks out of his studies of affectivity and of hysteria."⁴⁹ Forster conceived of hysteria as simulation with an emotional charge. He identified a symptom as hysterical

if it advantaged the patient and was played up.⁵⁰ In a publication of 1922 he wrote: "War hysterics would produce every imaginable symptom from fear of the front, get sent by inexpert doctors to hospitals in the rear or even back home, and use their special technique there to lay first claim to supplies meant for the war wounded. At the same time they would speak with indignation about slackers and tell whoever would listen how they could not understand that cowards should exist at such a moment: except that they, alas, were sick they would be reporting for any run of duty up front, however dangerous."⁵¹ The junior faculty of the University of Greifswald, in nominating Forster late in 1924 for a chair there, conceded: "His impulsive formulations, such as his conception of hysteria, have drawn criticism."⁵² The medical faculty, on endorsing the nomination early in 1925, noted darkly: "It is not unknown to the faculty that certain difficulties attach to Mr. Forster's personality."⁵³ About those difficulties a psychiatrist under him and one above him at the Charité remembered: "Forster was inclined to temper tantrums that we would joke about" and "His quick temper often gave him trouble."⁵⁴ His professional files are singed from the heat of his frequent quarrels with colleagues.⁵⁵

Forster was appointed to Greifswald in April 1925. There he

1922

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1925

had a vision of hysteria as the embodiment of pure will

* Dr. A. H. needed it of the ever-forming stranger man. Forster's tongue-lashing actualized Adolf's heart, as a whole, and soul. He

D.T.

HITLER

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PREFACE

Hitler D.T. In 1919, one of the
other artists ~~travels~~ ~~travels~~
travels him on his work.
"an arrière-garde artist." &
It burns forever. In the war,
he repeats it to himself in
order to achieve his goal
and his courage

Adolf Hitler was somewhat an outsider among the Germans he led. A native Austrian born on 20 April 1889, he spent his first six years in the Austro-Bavarian borderland, where his father was a customs official. Then he saw no more of Germany proper until he moved there at age twenty-four. Arriving in Munich on 26 June 1913, he registered as stateless, presumably to avoid being traced from Austria for having evaded conscription. In Munich, as for some years previous in Vienna, he earned a modest living as a self-taught, arrière-garde artist. At the outbreak of war in August 1914, he volunteered for the Bavarian army. He was inducted that 16 August and served until 31 March 1920, nearly seventeen months after Germany surrendered. By then he was in Bavarian politics, having joined the tiny German Workers Party in September 1919 and rapidly become its moving spirit. During his incarceration for his abortive Putsch of 8-9 November 1923, the Bavarian authorities tried to deport him to Austria, but the government in Vienna

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he would wake up in terror that
the Jews who were sent abroad
would enrich ^{xiii} foreign countries
rather than do they them.

1917

also used *Mein Kampf* as a
he asserted, he had a copy of

memoir was published as early
of *My Youth*. The approxi-
writing is far more relaxed and
ently having been thoroughly
es full of admiration for the
es no doubt about his friend-
letter to Jetzinger: "I've only
far as his statements regarding
concerned, Kubizek changed

upon, such as the romance
y reliable, and sometimes his
have entered into the record
his landlady in Vienna, Mrs.
because he cited number 29—
at Stumpergasse where Hitler
ographed as Hitler's home to
His book is a rich and unique
ting the letters and postcards

anti-Semitism are problem-
own anti-Semitic attitude,
in episodes not mentioned
Kubizek tells the story of
the police an Eastern Jewish
a quote from *Mein Kampf*.²⁴²
arly on an anti-Semite who
problem my friend and I had
cause I certainly didn't share

ote himself. The Americans
anti-Semitism, and now he is
is he claims that Hitler had
an application for him, Ku-
is was the high point of the
ally gotten used to with him.
Adolf eagerly avoided joining

However, before 1918 there was no Anti-Semitic League in Austro-Hungary. The Austrian anti-Semites were so at odds with one another, politically as well as ethnically, that an organization similar to the German Anti-Semitic League of 1884 never came about. Kubizek could have only joined the Austrian Anti-Semitic League, which was founded in 1919—and voluntarily at that, without Hitler's help. This issue is important because of all those early eyewitnesses who can be taken seriously, Kubizek is the only one to portray young Hitler as an anti-Semite, and precisely in this respect he is not trustworthy.

Kubizek's book was very successful and found one disdainful critic: Franz Jetzinger. His anger was understandable inasmuch as Kubizek published pictures and documents he had obtained from Jetzinger, for example, the photograph of Stefanie in Linz, and because he used information he had obtained from Jetzinger. Jetzinger's book, *Hitler's Jugend* (Hitler's youth), did not appear until three years later, in 1956. Jetzinger, who had not known Hitler personally, whose information was second-hand, and whose book does not constitute a primary source, found a few as yet unknown documents concerning a biography of young Hitler as well as eyewitnesses, for instance the boarder Hagmüller or schoolmates and neighbors of Hitler. Furthermore, he made a contribution to research by depositing copies of his documents in archives. We know Kubizek's first manuscript only through Jetzinger's copies.

Jetzinger's great weakness is his unfair polemics against the more successful Kubizek, from whose book he nonetheless quotes pages and pages. He erroneously accuses Kubizek of being of Czech origin, writes with contempt about the "grade school pupil of Kubizek's caliber," calls him "such a plain man,"²⁴⁵ and so forth, and claims that virtually all of Kubizek's statements are false, saying that his book contains "at least ninety percent lies and fantastic fairy tales in the service of Hitler's glorification."²⁴⁶

That is clearly false. For Jetzinger also accuses his rival Kubizek of misstating facts that on second examination turn out to be entirely correct. For example, he considers it impossible for Hitler to have been a member of Linz's Museum Association,²⁴⁷ and that Hitler had witnessed a rally during the time he and Kubizek spent in Vienna. Jetzinger details many such instances that are unimportant individually but, taken together, have unjustly shattered Kubizek's overall credibility.

Most historians have believed Jetzinger, not Kubizek. For Jetzinger, who was doubtless against Hitler and thus politically correct, deftly knew how to undermine the credibility of Kubizek, "Hitler's friend," and to make him politically untenable. And because Kubizek died in 1956,

pre-1918

Before 1918 the legal basis for the coexistence of the peoples of the empire's western half was clause nineteen of Cisleithania's national constitution of 1867: "All ethnic groups in the nation have equal rights, and each ethnic group has an inalienable right to preserve and cultivate its nationality and language." Emperor Franz Josef personally guaranteed strict adherence to this law.

Because the emperor considered himself the protector of equal rights for all nations and religions, patriotism was mainly triggered through him personally. Minorities that had been disadvantaged for centuries—for example, the Ruthenians, Slovaks, and Slovenians—were grateful for having equal rights, and therefore were loyal to the state. The Jews particularly looked at strict constitutionality as a safe haven. Looking back, Stefan Zweig glorified pre-1918 Vienna: "Whoever lived and worked there felt free of narrowmindedness and prejudice. Nowhere was it easier to be a European, and I know that I owe it largely to this city . . . that early on I learned to love the concept of community as the loftiest idea I know."¹¹

The idealizing view that a national economist such as Felix Somary passed on as the advice his father had given him is well known in many variants: "This empire is quite different from the rest of the world. Just imagine what would happen if the emperor and his government left for just one year—the various nations would be at each other all over the place. The government forms the fence which separates the zoo of wild animals from the outside world, and nowhere are there as many and dangerous political beasts as here at home."¹²

However, by no means did this patriotic view correspond to everyday reality, especially not in rural areas. There the old power structures of alleged "master" and "slaves" were still valid. To the degree that the authorities could intervene at all, they strictly tried to uphold equal rights in courts of law as well as in the administration. But those nationalities who for centuries had considered themselves to be the "leaders," did not accept the new equality, whether Poles were pitted against Ruthenians, Germans against Slavs, Italians against Slovenians, or other competing ethnic groups against this myth.

However, any opposition against the old, awe-inspiring monarch was useless, as Hitler also stressed in *Mein Kampf*: *In the last few years the state had been so bound up with the person of Franz Josef that the death of this old embodiment of the Empire was felt by the broad masses to be tantamount to the death of the Empire itself. Indeed, it was one of the craftiest artifices, particularly of the Slavic policy, to create the appearance that the Austrian state no longer owed its existence to anything but the miraculous and unique skill of*

MK

1921

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On March 29, 1909, German Reich chancellor Bülow ended the annexation crisis by declaring in Parliament that the German Reich was determined "not to surrender any vital Austro-Hungarian interest." For the first time the expression "loyalty of the Nibelungs" was heard.⁵⁶ In order to consolidate the loyalty among allies, Emperor William II went to Vienna in May 1909 and was as enthusiastically cheered "as no other monarch before him," as the American envoy reported to Washington.⁵⁷

Even though the annexation crisis ended without a disaster, it fundamentally changed European politics: since 1908 a prewar mood was in the air, and there was feverish armament for the great war for the Balkans, which was thought to be inevitable. Austro-Hungary's dependence on the German Reich was obvious. This also increased the non-German Austrian peoples' bitterness.

The anniversary year's intention to display the multiethnic state's political and military strength and the "peoples' love" for the dynasty turned into its opposite. Nationalism was increased rather than decreased, and those voices that perceived Austro-Hungary as outdated became louder. More and more nationalists began to view war as a solution and not only were ready to accept the collapse of the Hapsburg Empire but also desired it. This became palpable with the Czechs and Italians, and more and more so with the Southern Slavs, but also—if only within a tiny minority of the pan-Germans—with the Germans.

Hitler's View of the Hapsburgs

There can be no doubt about Hitler's dislike of the Hapsburg dynasty. Like the pan-Germans, even when he was still in high school he saw no future for the German-Austrians in Hapsburg's multiethnic empire but was hoping for an Anschluss to the German Reich in the near future, which first required that the multinational empire be shattered and the Hapsburg dynasty removed. That was also the reason why, like the Schönerrians, he was in favor a starting a war soon and offering the Hapsburg state political and military support with the "loyalty of the Nibelungs."

In an essay—and frequently quite similarly elsewhere—he wrote in (1921) *Germany's sticking to this ragged Hapsburg state, come what may, was a crime for which the responsible leaders of German politics still should be hanged. . . . There can be a loyalty of the Nibelungs only toward one's own race.* The German Reich, he argued, had had one single task: incorporating the ten million German-Austrians in the Empire and dethroning the Hapsburgs, that most miserable dynasty ever ruling over German lands.⁵⁸ The double alliance had been an absurdity,⁵⁹ advantageous only to the Hapsburgs, but

was no German.⁵⁰ (It should be ten years later, as a politician. Vienna is his constant reviling by anti-Semitic statements about

aders also contain Viennese cliché the "Jewish" character of Social mentioned the names of Adler, the Christian-Social *Brigittenauer* Adler, Austerlitz, Ellenbogen, and from abroad to do their infamous efficiently to support Austria's only Anton David was not included mentions him ten years later must ling role during the 1911 rallies

er mentions was Jewish by faith. Prague in 1852, was from an upper the distinguished Catholic Schot- of medicine he had been a found- Arminia in Vienna and of the along the circle around Schönerer program of 1882, until the Ar- drove him away. A doctor for the ed with the disastrous health and tion for the protection of workers, of a sense of social commitment. of nationalism and international unified the party in 1888 and be- tial Democratic Party into a unit- but was powerless against the na- in his own party as well.

part of Vienna's circle of modern- entists. Their political opponents dle-class lifestyle as if they had e *Brigittenauer Bezirks-Nachrichten* atic Party imposed "party taxes at which allow the leaders to live in the proletariat, but the leaders the fine gentlemen."⁵² And: "It workers who stood at the cradle



Friedrich Austerlitz, editor-in-chief of the *Arbeiterzeitung*



Ottakring labor leader Anton David

of Social Democracy, but the well-to-do offspring of capitalists, none of whom knew 'Mother Worry.' Marx, Engels, and Lassalle, the article read, had not been proletarians, any more than Adler or Ellenbogen.⁵³

The fourth "Jewish" labor leader Hitler mentions in *Mein Kampf* was Friedrich Austerlitz, a pugnacious man with a sharp tongue, editor of the *Arbeiterzeitung*, which Hitler hated ferociously but read nonetheless. Every day Pan-German as well as Christian-Social papers got all flustered about the "Jewish workers' newspaper clique": "If any press is working with sewage and mud, it is the Jewish press, plus the Social Democratic press, which is edited almost exclusively by Jewish greaseballs, for these reptiles stop at nothing, not even at the total destruction of lives, and we can only be sorry about part of the Christian population still buying and reading this printed pest."⁵⁴

Hitler the politician liked to repeat the Viennese anti-Semites' slogans in the attempt to incite the workers against the Social-Democratic party leaders. In 1920 he wrote in an article entitled *Some Questions for the German Worker: How come our German labor leaders belong almost exclusively to a nation one never sees working? What's the percentage of Jews among the total population, what's the percentage of Jews among the manual laborers, locksmiths, smiths, miners, sanitation coachmen, scavengers, cobblers, etc., etc., but what's the percentage of Jews among the labor leaders?*⁵⁵

Hitler conveniently ignored the Jews he knew who were among the poor people—Robinson, the locksmith, Neumann, the copper cleaner,

Hitler and Guido von List

Hitler's personal library, fragments of which have survived, contains a book on nationalism by Tagore, with the dedication in longhand for his birthday in 1921: "To Mr. Adolf Hitler, my dear Arman brother, B. Steininger."²⁸ Babette Steininger was an early party member in Munich.²⁹ This might be an indication that Hitler was in contact with one of the secret associations around List, but probably not until he was in Munich. However, the word "Arman" might also have had a more general meaning, underscoring Hitler's high rank within the "Germanic" hierarchy.

Other statements should be treated even more carefully, if only because they are merely secondhand information. For example, as Hitler later told a List disciple in Munich, he supposedly had a recommendation letter to big businessman Oskar Wannieck, the Munich industrialist, honorary chairman and most important patron of the List Society.³⁰ However, Wannieck died as early as July 6, 1912, and had long been buried in his cairn at Munich's Waldfriedhof when young Hitler arrived in Munich in 1913.³¹ We have to be similarly skeptical with regard to Hitler's alleged statement that upon the recommendation of the "Vienna organization"—apparently the List Association—he had before 1914 worked as a servant at the Soln circle's club in Munich for a short while. According to the rumor, he "soon gave up this inferior position, since he didn't feel comfortable in this circle of college graduates, officers, and businessmen."³² Rudolf Häusler, at any rate, who was extremely close to Hitler during his first years in Munich, did not indicate anything even remotely pointing in that direction.

Yet there can be no doubt that young Hitler was familiar with List's theories while he was in Vienna. Thus in a speech in Munich in 1920 he talked at length about the Aryans from the north as the originators of all human culture: In the incomparable ice deserts of the north, he said, a race of giants in strength and health had grown in ethnic purity. . . . Now that race, which we call the Aryans, was in fact the originator of all major cultures of the future. . . . We know that Egypt reached its high cultural level on account of Aryan immigrants, as did Persia and Greece; the immigrants were blond, blue-eyed Aryans, and we know for a fact that no cultural nation has been founded on earth except for those countries. To be sure, there were mixed races in between the black, dark-eyed and dark-skinned southern race and the immigrants of the northern race, but there were no great independent, creative cultural nations.³³

That is exactly what List wrote in his book *The Names of Germania's Tribes*, where he listed all the cultures who allegedly owed their existence

1918

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1918

*visions while blind—as he enjoys
the simplicity and authority of
their ideas.

The secret of the runes

Germanic heroes and knew from his great deal about Old Germanic. In 1908 in Vienna he carried around in the public library, one con-illustrations of excavations and in the Germanic tribes' level of to me about the two books and members two illustrations: one, a in, "the swastika, really." Adolf ed a symbol, a sort of military cept of 'the German.'"²⁵ The *Armanis der Runen* (The secret of

in 1920 in Munich's Hofbräu- that the Aryans had brought the cold North. They build all their tool for lighting a fire, the whisk, munities once founded by Aryan

confessed his adherence to List's political meaning of the swastika: in our flag. In red we see the social nistic idea, in the swastika the *Aryan man*.²⁷

Germanic heroes of
I and an affinity with
blond and blue-eyed

1923

to Aryan immigrants, from the Chinese to the Persians and Indians, adding "that the Old Egyptian culture too originated under their influence. Buddha, Osiris, and many others, were verifiably Aryans."³⁴

Statements by Hitler such as the following also clearly carry the mark of List: Human culture and civilization on this continent are inseparably bound up with the presence of the Aryan. If he dies out or declines, the dark veils of an age without culture will again descend on this globe.³⁵

Time and time again, one can detect in the Führer's utterances List's ideology of a "cleansing" of the Aryan race so it can once again become a heroic people, for example, in 1935 when he exclaimed in front of 54,000 Hitler Youth: We have to raise a new man lest our people perish of the symptoms of degeneration of our time.³⁶ Or in 1929, in a speech in Munich: Maintaining the purity of one's blood is the first and foremost task. When a people loses its blood value, it perishes. . . . my weltanschauung tells me that I must keep the body of our people free of foreign blood. And: before us there are only Germans, and we know only one border: we won't lift a finger for those who don't belong to our people, let them take care of themselves, may the community of their people use them for its purposes, they have nothing to expect from us.³⁷

And after suggesting that the German people was a people in decay, he offered the following solution: We know only one people for which we fight, and that is our own. Perhaps we are inhuman! Yet if we save Germany, we have accomplished the greatest deed in the world. Perhaps we are unjust! Yet if we save Germany, we have removed the greatest injustice. Perhaps we are immoral! Yet if our people is saved, we have once again paved the way for morality.³⁸ And: In the fight for one's race there is no such thing as making contracts! We cannot accept a lowering of our racial level through bastardization. There is only one question: Who's in charge? There is no room for protest in these matters, there's only revenge and action! If you are finally determined to defend yourself, my German people, then do so ruthlessly!³⁹

Even the NSDAP's party platform of 1920 met the demands of Guido von List and the Schönererians, who were closely connected to him; see in particular clause number four: deprivation of the Jews' civil rights; number five: subjugating them to laws for foreigners; and number six: stripping them of the right to hold public office.

Hitler's solid knowledge of List's writings was also confirmed by his Munich bookseller, List disciple and genealogist Elsa Schmidt-Falk. She testified that Hitler owned a copy of List's *Deutsch-Mythologische Landschaftsbilder* (Images of German mythological landscapes) and was familiar with his main works. Once he told her in jest that when Austria belonged to

Germany, he would have th summer night List and his Vienna from empty wine bottles. Hitler had enjoyed talking to Austria."⁴¹

With all the necessary we can probably believe Elsa cited List's book *Der Unbe* List's prophecy about the "s "The invincible" one was th had allegedly been predicted life's work to make the prep above" and for Germanic w

List's book *The Invincib* peared in Vienna in 1898 in "divine laws," number ten b until you die."⁴³ The book Germanic sense, in brief, co a noble German people co healthy and able to withstan demands, even the highest c

List said in his preface: charge of mankind's educati the individual peoples' basic chasing after the total illusi were led by the horrible inte . . . Blinded by a misunderstc the peoples the absurd misc its pernicious fallacy regardir

However, now that the Germans had to aspire to "d their people." In order to ac with a "people's moral teach of traditional religious instru should educate the childre national sensation . . . as th nation."⁴⁶

These efforts, List prom protects diligent, courageous with prosperity and liberty. I them to power, greatness, an

speech
in
Munich
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Munich
1923

* He begins his speech by listing these accusations against the Dage movement

1900 1920;

as well as Strindberg, Wittgenstein, Robert Musil, Georg Trakl, Arnold Schönberg, Franz Kafka, Elias Canetti, Thomas Bernhard, and others, including of course those who followed contemporary trends, like Lanz von Liebenfels.

On the other hand, Weininger's desperate words about Judaism were highly welcome to anti-Semites, who quoted them a great deal and often misused them. Among Weininger's admirers was Benito Mussolini as well as Hitler. In 1941 the latter approvingly repeated the opinion of his friend Dietrich Eckart, that *he had met only one decent Jew, Otto Weininger, who killed himself when he realized that the Jew lives on the corruption of others' folkdom.*¹¹⁹

Hitler's personal lawyer, Hans Frank, also reported how opportune this Jewish anti-Semitism was for Hitler, and how "particularly happy" he was about it: "The pertinent remarks in the writings of Viennese Jewish philosopher Otto Weininger were important to him as proofs of his own lines of argument. He often talked about these and similar fruits of his nightly reading." Frank revealed that in 1937 Hitler had said: I am an innocent lamb compared to the revelations by Jews about Jews. But they are important, these disclosures of the Jews' most secret, always totally hidden qualities, instincts, and character traits. It isn't I who say this, it is the Jews themselves who say it about themselves, about their greed for money, their fraudulent ways, their immorality, and their sexual perversions.¹²⁰

An allusion during a 1920 speech in Munich reveals at what length Hitler must have studied Weininger: in view of the *Jewish danger*, he said, it was crucial for every individual to start removing the Jew in himself, and *I am very much afraid that this whole line of argument was developed by none other than a Jew himself.* The audience's response in the Hofbräuhaus was one of "amusement."¹²¹ Hardly anybody would have understood that Hitler had alluded to Weininger.

Arthur Trebitsch and Others

Before 1914 Viennese writer Arthur Trebitsch, like his friend and schoolmate Otto Weininger born into a rich Jewish family in 1880, was known only to a small circle of followers in Vienna. As a young man he was, like Weininger, part of the circle around Houston Stewart Chamberlain and dabbled as a writer, always in competition with his successful, older half-brother, Siegfried Trebitsch.

Trebitsch lived in a great style, but was hurt by the fact that his guests appreciated him mainly as a rich man and less as a writer and thinker. To his embarrassment, in March 1910 a lecture of his bombed

in the Philosophical Society. The philosophers and professors and fed systematically destroyed by them.

Two of his books, published well. When he could not find a house, naming it Antaios (Ant Poseidon and Earth Mother Gaia) remained in touch with Mother Earth mentioned in Richard Wagner's an exhortation to produce art that When he was Reich chancellor, Antaeus in passing, who becomes thus displaying before his astonishments.

In January 1909 Trebitsch's community in Vienna, as a "List of Fo Neue National-Zeitung, reveals.¹²² been Jewish: "I am not a Jew, I am To be sure, his great-grandfather of racelessness"—"I, on the other manner born, after three generations earned home soil, have nothing and am as genuine and real a Jew.

Trebitsch's name came up in on account of a number of duels at who called him a Jew. In 1912–13 suing his half-brother Siegfried a District Court: Gregori, Trebitsch "rubbage and garbage." Siegfried read something of his brother's, and he had suggested, was suffering from

During World War I Trebitsch's action," putting himself entirely in he idolized and believed to be the In 1916 his polemic pamphlet "to Thomas Mann" appeared, in Northern German to have travestied and great man."¹²⁷

Trebitsch's 1919 "confession" (mind) contained longwinded variations hardly anything new. The author

1918-19

played aggressive anti-Semitic slogans. Thus this great turning point must have occurred during the years of the World War, and particularly in the years of upheaval, in 1918-19, when Hitler decided to become a politician.

That time was especially susceptible to those theories with which Hitler had become intimately familiar in Vienna. Again the cliché about a "Jewish world revolution" as the beginning of a forthcoming "Jewish world rule," which was set off in Russia, was bandied about. This time, however—in contrast to 1905—the Russian Revolution was victorious: in 1917 the Bolsheviks toppled the czar from his throne and usurped power. One year later the revolution broke out in Germany and Austria-Hungary. The Hohenzollerns as well as the Hapsburgs lost their power. The Social Democrats, the "November criminals," took over the government. This was followed by the "disgraceful victory of Versailles," forced upon the losers of World War I by "international powers"—which, according to anti-Semitic propaganda, was the work of "the Jews" and humiliated Germany. Hunger and despair, rootlessness and lack of orientation ruled. In addition, legions of immigrants and refugees arrived, among them, many Eastern Jews.

As in all times of hardship, anti-Semitism served public speakers as an effective slogan, as it fell on fertile ground. Radical politicians whose roots were "at the bottom," "with the people," recognized their chance. At that time of confusion, Hitler, who was now thirty years old and had nothing to lose since he didn't have anything, not even a job, grasped his opportunity. Now he could apply all that he had learned in Vienna, the motto being: "The Jews are to blame for everything."

He was encouraged and supported mainly by his "paternal friend," the writer Dietrich Eckart, to whom he erected a remarkable monument at the end of *Mein Kampf*.⁸⁹ Eckart was a link to Hitler's Vienna years in that he was a member of the Thule Society, which in turn was connected with the List Society and List's secret order HAO. The early artificial image of Hitler as Germany's future leader who as a modern-day Messiah faced the public at the age of thirty can probably also be attributed to Eckart. Hitler described his decision dramatically in *Mein Kampf*: when he was in the military hospital of Pasewalk in Pomerania, almost blind from a gas injury, the news of the November revolution and Emperor William's abdication arrived. His immediate response was to blame "the Jew": *There is no making pacts with Jews; there can only be the hard: either—or. I, for my part, decided to go into politics.*⁹⁰ *As he saw it, the propaganda by Eckart*

After having become familiar with Hitler's constant efforts at creating an artificial persona after the fact and his persistent obfuscating of

his early biography (where the much less heroically), I would like to add a little more clarity with Guido von List's tale of "see" again after having been told "received" the revelation of the "those in the know," the sudden he wanted to become a politician one, a "man of Providence," a " "

Two

THE JAHODA

In Vienna, Hitler did not merely also had sporadic glimpses into the class Jews. For in 1908, August 1, a viola player at private evening parties to such concerts, for example, to factory owner at Heiligenstädter identify this Dr. Jahoda.⁹¹

To be sure, in Vienna's address book, Jahoda is listed at Heiligenstädter. According to old street numbers Heiligenstädter Strasse.⁹² That it was whom Kubizek mentioned, was Professor Marie Jahoda, born in 1874. She, too, knew the address of her Strasse," where she and her parents lived. Thanks to her, we have the following

The house, a beautiful old, large, parklike area at the lower end on a very small hill. It was inhabited with his family and his mentally ill

Jahoda, director of a chemical factory, forty-six years old in 1908, when he was according to Marie Jahoda's description a quiet man of medium height, with his wife, Pina, was an Italian Catholic with beautiful eyes, and warmhearted who were baptized by the Catholic Church. Adele, born in 1903.

* The Russian Revolution was the real bluffer
A. H. The fear of the German workers
who were nationalistic and the German
capitalists of Communism and Russia
enabled A. H. to focus on the Jews

→ as a result of the

practiced a public cult of his widow Lueger's mother had a socialist's store and that she had a large family.

by of Lueger, which appeared purely familiar, Lueger's mother with maternal tenderness; she with a pride full of hope, and he with her with moving piety to this picture of his mother in the way she shall live on, together with the man who mentions her name, some who he is only under his times, a man of Providence."⁵⁴ Lueger's grave with a large entrance, the impression that no woman could have appeared only in the house he kept for him. When

there were no women in Lueger's background and never appeared married, reasoning with his as pushing him: "I still want women, and you know how they were above all the members of the 'Amazon Corps.'" Marianne Lueger's story to them how supremely a smart woman can achieve influence men, then every man 'handsome Karl' had made a man of ecstasy. Countless gath- ings appeared as the pièce de ré-

the issue of his not being an applauded reply—he had a family. For he only belonged to the public, the astonished public of careful political deliberation and anger about his in a self-published book ambiguous, highly erotic let-

ters by Lueger that left no doubt as to the nature of their relationship. This created a huge scandal, of which Hitler was bound to have taken notice.

In any case, Hitler did witness in Vienna women's euphoric, even hysterical sacrificial acts for a charismatic politician. Later on he was to manage just as brilliantly to assign to women this very same part so they would serve his political purposes. In order to win over "his" women, he flattered them, yet he always accepted them merely as servants, never as partners.

It is impossible to overlook the parallels between Lueger's political style and that of Reich chancellor Hitler. If the former allegedly only belonged to the Viennese, Hitler was later to formulate: My lover is Germany.⁵⁷ And he too would use a sort of Amazon Corps as an argument when he said, jokingly, one couldn't even imagine what the women and girls in the NS movement would do if he got married. He would immediately lose in popularity. And he seriously stressed that he couldn't even think of getting married, because he belonged to the whole people and the reconstruction dedicated to this people. Without a doubt, he said, he was not born to enjoy life, but to shape it.⁵⁸ While he was alive, Germans did not know there was an Eva Braun in his life.

As for Lueger, so for Hitler there was only one woman worthy of his reverence: his mother. She played an important, and even dominating role in his life. During World War I he carried her crumpled little photograph in his chest pocket. Later on he had portraits of her painted in oil after this photo. All eyewitnesses reported that the picture of his mother was the only personal picture that was ever in any of his bedrooms, and it always hung in a prominent place.⁵⁹

Klara Hitler had died shortly before Christmas, and so Hitler made that holiday her annual memorial day. His servant Karl-Wilhelm Krause reported about the years 1934 to 1936 that Hitler did not allow a Christmas tree in his house, would always withdraw from Christmas Eve to Boxing Day, and have food and newspapers put in front of his door, explaining, as Krause probably embellished romantically, and in any case not quite correctly, "My mother died on a Christmas Eve under the Christmas tree."⁶⁰

It is worthy of note that he spent these lonely days of mourning for his mother in the room where his niece Geli Raubal died; she had shot herself in 1931 at the age of twenty-three after a fight with him. Geli (Angelika) was the child with whom Hitler's half-sister Angela Raubal was pregnant when Mother died, and who was born shortly after Klara Hitler's funeral in Linz on January 4, 1908. Hitler the politician took his

1919

A Political Career Considered Impossible

Hausler and Hanisch, Dr. Bloch, Kubizek and Samuel Morgenstern, his former fellow residents in the men's hostel, and his schoolmates in Linz were astonished by Hitler's political career in Germany, which began in 1919. Not one of them would have considered anything like that possible. His former colleagues understood even less why the same person who had once gotten along with Jews especially well was now all of a sudden supposed to be a leading German anti-Semite.

As they knew, Adolf Hitler was not particularly conspicuous in the gray army of casual laborers and the unemployed; he had no special talent, no tendency toward crime or the demonic. Young Hitler was a physically weak eccentric who avoided regular work, became engrossed in strange theories about the creation of the world, and idolized the "German people." He was a "quarrelsome fellow" with a hot temper who always had to be right and during discussions talked until the others were finished off.

What was most conspicuous about him were his mental rigidity, his inflexibility and inhibition, his fear of women, and his inability to be merry and have a good time with others. His admirer Kubizek said: "Being carefree and letting himself go . . . no, he could never do that." And: "He hated the typical Viennese from the bottom of his heart. He couldn't even stand their mellifluous, really very melodious way of speaking. Above all, however, he hated the Viennese way of always yielding and their dull indifference, their way of forever blundering along and living from one day to the next without a care in the world. Personally he was entirely the opposite in that respect."⁷⁶

— If one applies the criteria of the artistic and intellectual Vienna of the turn of the century, a man like Hitler was uninteresting. There was nothing ingenious about him. He was square and had the same common taste as the "little people," boasting that his father had been a civil servant. He had no original ideas, was not creative, not witty, and when he talked, he used phrases he had read elsewhere. Karl Kraus's much-quoted remark that when thinking of Hitler nothing occurred to him illustrates the general complete puzzlement about the career of this Austrian, of all people, in Germany. There were worlds between the Viennese fin-de-siècle and the "artist" Adolf Hitler.

Neither did anyone notice the "compelling force" of Hitler's blue eyes, which later became proverbial, or any other power of suggestion in him. It seems likely that Hitler, who had had oratory training with an actor, who practiced his gestures in front of a mirror and had them pho-

and on the same floor.⁶⁸ He
by doing odd jobs.

to the throne at the end of
ive Hitler's patriotism for Aus-
saying that it was the hand of
tribution which caused Archduke
of Austrian-Germanism, to fall by
mold. For had he not been the patron
lanisch reports that like the Schö-
urg prince, whose succession to
e in Austria.⁷⁰

Austro-Hungary's downfall as the
an nation.⁷¹ And: My own position
was fighting for some Serbian satis-
for her existence, the German nation

a volunteer in the German Army.
I had left Austria primarily for political
now the struggle had begun, I should
ction. I did not want to fight for the
me to die for my people and for the
ver, returned to Vienna on August
Army. This broke off the contact

the army of allied Germany, he did
to the Austrian landsturm a short
chive and other federal authorities
result of the examination was that
aft dodger, inasmuch as he had no

was discussed in 1924, Hitler had
dsberg, October 16, 1924: The loss
to me, as I never felt as an Austrian

It was this mentality that made me
ary service in the German Army.⁷⁵

te thirty-six years old, applied for
which was granted on April 30,
was now a stateless person. Hitler
d 1932, one year before he "took
gal residence certificate, issued in
his old Austrian passport.⁷⁷

1921?

photographed so he could improve them, also practiced the supposedly irresistible suggestive power of his eyes. He wanted his interlocutor to interpret a look into his eyes as a transfer of power and used this quite deliberately as a weapon. It is difficult to decide whether it was pure irony or whether he was also partly serious when he said on January 27, 1945, before a meeting with the Norwegian head of government, *I still have some unpleasant work to do today. I have to "hypnotize" Quisling today.*⁷⁹

To these deliberately developed skills must have been added a considerable degree of autosuggestion, a fanatical belief in himself—plus a perfect, painstakingly practiced way of staging himself within a theatrical set with all the theater magic available, light effects and music, flags and torches, and all of this underscored by and enveloped in a mood of religious solemnity. This must have added up to the impression of Hitler as a man of suggestive power—the German people's savior.

In any case, Hitler's career cannot be derived, let alone understood, from his situation in Vienna. This Austrian had a career only in the Weimar Republic. He returned to Austria in March 1938 as German Reich chancellor.

The "Führer" liked to emphasize with ardor how difficult it had been to set out as a lonesome wanderer on the path from nothing to the top of the German nation—as he put it on September 12, 1936, at a Hitler Youth celebration. The following day, before a combat formation of the NSDAP, he said: *That is the miracle of our time, that you have found me among so many millions! And that I have found you, that is Germany's good fortune!*⁸⁰

Later on Hitler would glorify what he had got out of Vienna and taken with him into his new life: *Yet Vienna was and remained for me the hardest, though most thorough, school of my life. . . . In it I obtained the foundations for a philosophy in general and a political view in particular which later I only needed to supplement in detail, but which never left me.*

Hitler wrote this much-quoted sentence in connection with his sufferings in Vienna: *Only he who has felt in his own skin what it means to be a German, deprived of the right to belong to his cherished fatherland, can measure the deep longing which burns at all times in the hearts of children separated from their mother country.*⁸¹

In addition to his exaggerated, boundless love of "Germandom" and his dismissal of non-German peoples, Hitler also took along his contempt for parliamentarianism, democracy, equality before the law, and international organizations, for none of these could be brought into agreement with Germany's superior rank. He took along all sorts of theories he had

read, which hardly anyone, for example, the theory of the blood that had to be regained, that could only be achieved the identical goal.

He had his decisive political training from the man who taught him the tactics of a man of emotional outbursts, who sacrificed his people, and increases their power, and relinquishing them to success. He is modest, lives simply, and he is entirely to his people.

Georg Schönerer taught Hitler that was finally also to come, that aspired to the annexation of the Sudetenland.

Franz Stein gave him the extraparlimentary opposition, returning German workers away from them, returning them into the "community."

Karl Hermann Wolf taught Hitler that this is also where he must have his power, of power can be in the hands of a man, a warning example of the Hapsburg parties, however, also made Hitler a social as well as political bourgeois, wanted to have any chance of it.

Hitler took along a great deal of whether it was the length and the architects' years of birth and death, with their exact measurements of stagecraft, the battle plans of K. but also the Schönererians' "Heil" Germanic cult, the idea of breeding control the Gypsies by tattooing other things.

Yet it was fragments of his 1913, a grab-bag that was present only in Germany that all these fields, to form a weltanschauung, Hitler the politician appeared

1920

1920

920

Books in this folder .

The German Empire 1870-1918 - Strümpfer

1920

02657+1723

1920-23

Providence MA

627 Commercial St

Norman Wells

De la Foch



11256

Dietrich Eckart



Zum Gedenken an den
nationalsozialistischen
Dichter und Vorkämpfer
anlässlich seines zehn-
jährigen Todestages am
26. Dezember

Geburtshaus von Dietrich Eckart
in Neumarkt mit Gedenktafel



Deutschland erwache! — Wer kennt nicht diesen
Ruf, den der Nationalsozialismus? Hund-
tertauende zünftigschlauer Nationalsozialisten haben
ihn in Stolz und Wut, auf die Strohen, in die Versamm-
lungen und in die Schulen getrieben, bis Deutschland totlich
erwacht und nationalsozialistisch geworden ist! —

Dietrich Eckart aber, der diese unvergleichliche Kampfrare
der nationalsozialistischen Freiheitsbewegung auf ihren Sieges-
zug mitgegeben hat, ruht seit zehn Jahren auf dem Friedhof
in Seelitz. Am 26. Dezember werden sich viele und
Gedenken des nationalsozialistischen Deutschland zu dem
schlichten Grab dieses mit Wut und Heimat zugleich verwar-
zelter, echt deutschen Mannes.

Schon in jungen Jahren — 1895 — gab Dietrich Eckart
seiner Erkenntnis die tiefste Kunde, daß jüdischer Mono-
nismus und Materialismus die gefährlichsten Feinde des
deutschen Volkes seien. Diesen Mächten des Verfalls setzte
er die hochwerte deutsche Seele entgegen, und so ent-
standen neben Karl Lohmeyer, die Zerkersheimungen un-
heimlich geliebten Gedichten solche von starker Inner-
lichkeit und poetischer Feinheit, die ihn in die Reihe der
besten deutschen Dichter stellten. — Im Jahre 1913 gab er
seinem Freunde Reich folgende Verse mit
auf den Weg, die Charakter und Wesen des
Dichters selbst treffend kennzeichneten:

Freund, wo wirte Wiege heht,
Liegt der Erde volles Steine;
Wenn der Winter dort vergeht,
Dorret schon der Herbst das Seine.
Hart die Wunden wie der Boden;
Über auch die steinigen Trübe
Sind dort nicht mehr auszuoben.
Stinner Wurzelwelt nach Liebe.

Dietrich Eckarts Liebe zum deutschen Volke
war unauferstößlich. Als sich im November 1918
das ereignete, was er schon Jahrzehnte vorher
ahnend vorausah, erhob er als einer der
ersten die Fahne der Empörung gegen Selbst-
hüter, Vöge und Verräter. Schon am 7. De-
zember 1918 erschien die erste Folge seines
Kampfblasses „Auf gut Deutsch“, Wochen-
schrift für Ordnung und Recht, zu dessen Mit-
arbeitern bald Alfred Rosenberg und Gott-
fried Feder zählten.

Hüren, Hüren, Hüren,
 Läutet die Glocken von Huren zu Huren,
 Läutet die Männer, die Frauen, die Putzen,
 Läutet die Kellner aus ihren Stuben,
 Läutet die Mädchen fürchter die Hingun,
 Läutet die Mütter fürchter von den Wingen,
 Trösten soll sie, nicht zollen, die Lust,
 Rufen, rufen im Sommer die Rufe,
 Läutet die Toten aus ihren Gräber,
Im Himmel, wasagen!

Dieterich Eckart.

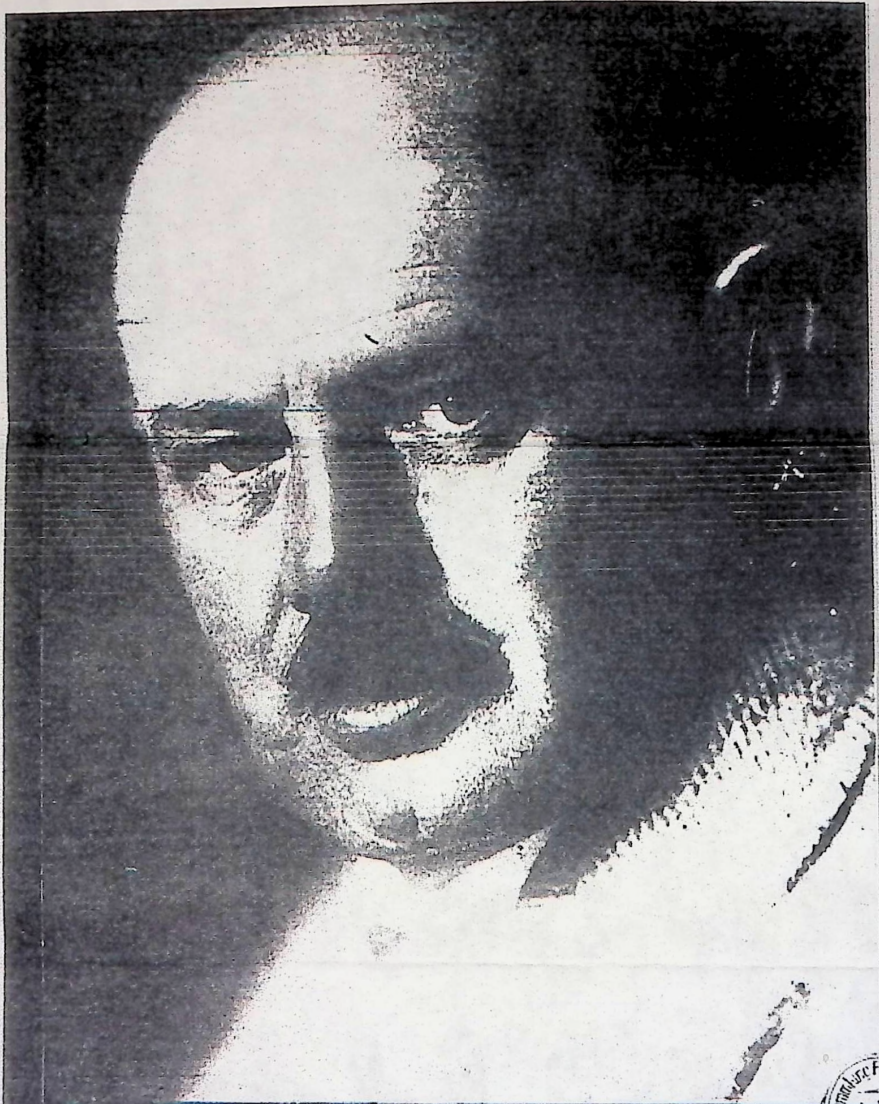
1. Strophe des Stürmliedes

nach der einzigen vorhandenen handschriftlichen Aufzeichnung von Dieterich Eckart

From Patze's files

Poem handwritten by Dieterich Eckart

Rahse Collection, Library of Congress



Dietrich Eckart. T 1923.

1924

1920

OUR DEAD ADMONISH US TO DUTY

687

In view of the great common misfortune of our fatherland
today no longer wish to wound and thus perhaps alienate those who one day in the future will have to form the great united front of those who are really true Germans at heart against the common front of the enemies of our people. For I know that some day the time will come when even those who then faced us with hostility, will think with veneration of those who traveled the bitter road of death for their German people.

I wish at the end of the second volume to remind the supporters and champions of our doctrine of those eighteen ¹ heroes, to whom I have dedicated the first volume of my work, those heroes who sacrificed themselves for us all with the clearest consciousness. They must forever recall the wavering and the weak to the fulfillment of his duty, a duty which they themselves in the best faith carried to its final consequence. And among them I want also to count that man, one of the best, who devoted his life to the awakening of his, our people, in his writings and his thoughts and finally in his deeds:

*Dietrich Eckart*²

¹ Second edition reduces the number of heroes to sixteen. These are the men who fell in the Munich Beer Hall *Putsch* on November 11, 1923.

² Dietrich Eckart was the spiritual founder of the National Socialist Party. He was the type of homespun political philosopher often found in the Schwabing quarter of Munich. He was an habitu  of the Brennessel Cabaret, where Heiden quotes him as saying in 1919: 'We need a fellow at the head who can stand the sound of a machine gun. The rabble need to get fear into their pants. We can't use an officer, because the people don't respect them any more. The best would be a worker who knows how to talk. . . . He doesn't need much brains, politics is the stupidest business in the world, and every marketwoman in Munich knows more than the people in Weimar. I'd rather have a vain monkey who can give the Reds a juicy answer, and doesn't run away when people begin swinging table legs, than a dozen learned professors. He must be a bachelor, then we'll get the women.'

Eckart died from overdrinking in 1923.

Eckart was advancing Hitler with these words chosen for the purpose.

The Life of the Bee

first flight, scare away vagabonds, marauders and loiterers, expel all intruders, attack redoubtable foes in a body, and, if need be, barricade the entrance.

Finally, it is the spirit of the hive that fixes the hour of the great annual sacrifice to the genius of the race: the hour, that is, of the swarm; when we find a whole people, who have attained the topmost pinnacle of prosperity and power, suddenly abandoning to the generation to come their wealth and their palaces, their homes and the fruits of their labour; themselves content to encounter the hardships and perils of a new and distant country. This act, be it conscious or not, undoubtedly passes the limits of human morality. Its result will sometimes be ruin, but poverty always; and the thrice-happy city is scattered abroad in obedience to a law superior to its own happiness,
* Where has this law been decreed, which,

* A.H. in 1920

1920s

D: ADOLF HITLER

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History

t. One member of the
natic leader"; another
derician personality."
ght, displayed a swas-
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identity of *Macht* and

leaders similar praise

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all of the Republic and
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e 1923, Herr Schmidt

receives a note from the local savings bank regretting that his life savings of 60,000 marks is no longer worth carrying on the books. A postage stamp is enclosed to cover the amount of the deposit. Money, the sign, symbol, and guarantee of security, has lost its value. All Herr Schmidt's preachments about moderation, sobriety, hard work, obedience, and thrift are so much *Quatsch*, and his children know it. They demand solutions—immediate solutions. Thus the slogan of German youth in the 1920s: "Radicalism is trumps." By the thousands, as we shall see, they joined Hitler's youth cohort.

Like other Germans, the Schmidt family demanded an explanation for the economic disaster that had engulfed them. The Republic was responsible; more specifically, "the speculators." But those were abstractions. A more tangible villain was needed and found: the Jews were to blame. Pearl Buck reports a conversation with a cultivated German friend who recalled her family's first experience with Hitler's persuasive propaganda. The inflation that had wiped out her father's business was caused by "speculators." But, it was asked,

"Who speculates? The Jews. . . . Mother suddenly made such a clear distinction between the Jews, who knew how to do business, and the Germans, who were not so clever at it. Well, this was the first reflection in our family of this anti-Semitic National Socialist propaganda. It hammered into the heads of millions of people, a combination of words: 'Money—Exchange—Inflation—and the Jews.' . . . When inflation was over, the psychological preparation for Fascism was complete, the minds of the people were prepared for the Nazis."¹⁰¹

Not quite. Germans were to undergo an even greater shock, which increased their feelings of hopelessness and despair and produced a further radicalization of the once stable middle class—the Great Depression of 1930–1933. The Depression was of absolutely basic importance to Hitler's success. Without it, it is unlikely that any amount of demagoguery, however clever or compelling, would have brought him to power. But desperate times demanded desperate measures. To millions of Germans, Hitler's program of National Socialism and authoritarian leadership was far more appealing than either democracy or Marxism. Even those people who could not stomach anti-Semitism supported Hitler after convincing themselves that they need not take some of the "excesses" of his propaganda seriously. The important thing was that he would solve their economic distress.

The Depression in Germany had a particularly telling effect on young people. Partly because their generation had not been slaughtered in the war, there was a higher percentage of young adults in 1930 than at any time before or since in German history. "From a demographic viewpoint," a student of this period has observed, "the economic depression hit Germany at the worst possible time: employment was shrinking

1920

1926

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following Freud's theory or Forster's example. "His blue eyes were fascinating," declared his photographer, adding: "they missed their effect on no one."⁶⁴ "Now I understand why these people speak of his hypnotic eyes," noted an interviewer in June 1931 with reference to "all the interlocutors he wants to win over."⁶⁵ Hitler himself remarked at a military conference of 27 January 1945: "I have another unpleasant job left today. I still must hypnotize Quisling" (his puppet Norwegian ruler).⁶⁶ At least Speer's unbreakable fixation on Hitler would seem not to have been visually induced. For Speer claims that Hitler once tried to stare him down and—though the ordeal seemed unending and the strain unendurable—failed.⁶⁷

However induced, the result was similar all around Hitler's circle.⁶⁸ Hess's bondage to Hitler was "nearly magical" from its inception in 1920.⁶⁹ Goebbels confided to his diary on 19 April 1926: "Adolf Hitler, I love you."⁷⁰ "Hitler had a tremendous power of suggestion over Himmler," asserted Himmler's masseur, adding that the mass executioner, when summoned by Hitler, was subject to seizures of panic—"animal, 'baseless,' nervously determined."⁷¹ Hitler drew Ribbentrop to him "magnetically," as Ribbentrop avowed in Nuremberg.⁷² "Kaltenbrunner," so recollected an assistant of the Security chief's, "was to the last downright spellbound by Hitler's personality."⁷³ "An uncanny magic emanated from him," affirmed his sometime Minister of Finance, Schwerin von Krosigk.⁷⁴ "Even strong intellects and personalities fell under the spell of his mind and will," observed quondam Labor Service leader Konstantin Hierl.⁷⁵ As a non-Nazi visitor to Nazi headquarters put it in 1931, "it is open to no doubt whatsoever that Hitler exerts upon his entourage a power of suggestion the extent of which is difficult to grasp."⁷⁶ Throughout his career non-Nazis noted his "altogether fascinating personality"⁷⁷ or "very remarkable degree of personal power of fascination."⁷⁸ Indeed, German claims to have escaped this fascination in over a brief moment's exposure to him are few enough to look suspicious.⁷⁹ Even mixed reactions were rare, or at all odds the negative component winning out was.⁸⁰ All his non-Nazi associates in running his Reich, from Hindenburg, Papen, Blomberg,

1920

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

dren were taught that the reason the North won was because "the blood of the North came from German stock." They were also encouraged to believe that German emigrants to America in the decades following the Civil War still considered themselves German and "have become more deeply conscious of their Germanism [*Deutschtum*] and of their connection with the Unified Fatherland."¹²³

Of course, not all German youth complacently accepted the social values taught by family, school, and society in Imperial Germany. Indeed, one of the most formative experiences of the generation born in the decade prior to World War I was participation in the youth movement, which was, in many ways, a revolt against traditionally accepted values. But this kind of rebellion did little to support a democratic alternative to dictatorial government. On the contrary, it encouraged belief in mystical nationalism, expectations of a new and racially pure *Volkgemeinschaft*, and faith in the coming of a powerful political Führer.

The youth movement had started obscurely and quietly in 1897 when a schoolteacher named Karl Fischer began taking his pupils on weekly hikes into remote and wild country. Fischer was called the Führer, and his youthful followers greeted him with "Heil!" In 1901 the small group expanded into the *Wandervogel*, and within a decade the movement swept Germany.

The most revealing picture of the German Youth Movement would show a group of suntanned young Nordics wearing leather shorts, tramping through the woods, and singing the "Song of the Freebooters" (*Landshnechtslied*). A popular time for these *Fahrten ins Blaue* (expeditions with no set destination) was the summer solstice. Langbehn, one of the movement's patron saints, sensed peculiarly significant Germanic emanations at that season of the year.

Picture such an exhibition. After tramping all day, the leader gives a signal, and his group stops at dusk to build a great fire. They sit in silence listening for "the messages from the forest" and feeling the mystic stirrings of the *völkisch* soul. Their tense young faces light up as someone recites from a favorite author: Langbehn, Lagarde, Nietzsche, or perhaps Stefan George, who as early as 1907 had pleaded: "Volk and high council yearn for The Man!—The Deed! . . . Perhaps someone who sat for years among your murderers and slept in your prisons will stand up and do the deed." One of the group who has obviously heard the forest message jumps up. Like his comrades, he professes disdain for politics, for he is proudly "nonpolitical," yet his exhortation affirms two essentially political attitudes characteristic both of the youth movement and of Nazism: the eagerness to submit to a leader, and lust for action—action simply for its own sake. He cries out:

Leaders, Leadership, that is our need; and obedience and great wordless activity. . . . Discussion can be left to leaders around the

The Past As Prologue: Hitler

council fire. . . . The victims must be sealed

I want the fight, and in hand; behind, the wind in the grass. I spoken.¹²⁴

Like the Nazis after to articulate the concept of is penetrated in the follow pamphlet:

To be Führer means a way, awakener of the desires.

[Führer sein heisst K des Willens und der

The prewar youth al Volk, as opposed to the r throughout the literature taken up by Hitler's prop the Volk is everything. I evitably led to an attack o gling for expression in Im

The young people w) not very specific about t "New Order" would not b Rather, it would be a kind Führer could bring all G of true socialism"; Jews w

Of all the words that campfires, the most com not want to profane so sa that *Das neue Reich* of God nor a political Germ both; rather it was prim: generation. . . ." After the 1920s one youth organi Another youth group pul in which the author look that was stifling him: "I which we pledge our hea are convinced, even poss will come. . . ." ¹²⁷

Perhaps A.H. in 1920s should go on our map to Dietrich Eckart.

OD: ADOLF HITLER

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History

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council fire. . . . The new religion must be inarticulate. . . . Con-
victions must be sealed in the dark. . . .

I want the fight, and man naked and unashamed with his sword
in hand; behind, the stars sweeping westward, and before, the
wind in the grass. It is enough, Brothers. Action! The word is
spoken.¹²⁴ *Vanguard of Nazism - White*

Like the Nazis after them, the youth movement found it difficult
to articulate the concept of the *Führerprinzip*. But a part of the mystery
is penetrated in the following description, as given in a contemporary
pamphlet:

To be Führer means to be the revealer of the goal, indicator of the
way, awakener of the will, and of the powers, and the ideal of its
desires.

[Führer sein heisst Kinder des Zieles, Weiser des Weges, Wecker
des Willens und der Kräfte und ein Vorbild seines Wollens.]¹²⁵

The prewar youth also emphasized the mystic fellowship of the
Volk, as opposed to the rights of the individual. An incessant refrain
throughout the literature of the movement was one that would be later
taken up by Hitler's propaganda machine: The individual is nothing;
the Volk is everything. This emphasis on the *Volksgemeinschaft* in-
evitably led to an attack on the democratic processes which were strug-
gling for expression in Imperial Germany. It also led to racism.

The young people who longed for a new *Volksgemeinschaft* were
not very specific about the term, but a few things were clear. This
"New Order" would not be liberal-democratic, nor would it be Marxist.
Rather, it would be a kind of German national socialism. Only a mighty
Führer could bring all Germans together into this "racial community
of true socialism"; Jews were not wanted.¹²⁶

Of all the words that echoed with mysterious meaning around the
campfires, the most compelling was "Reich." Youthful worshipers did
not want to profane so sacred a concept with a definition. But it is clear
that *Das neue Reich* of their dreams "was neither Luther's realm of
God nor a political German Empire, though it contained elements of
both; rather it was primarily a symbol of the new attitude of a new
generation. . . ." After the war the word was taken up again, and in the
1920s one youth organization called its periodical *Das dritte Reich*.
Another youth group published a glowing essay with the same title,
in which the author looked forward to deliverance from the democracy
that was stifling him: "The *Reich* we seek with our inner eye and to
which we pledge our hearts and our vows is not of this time. . . . We
are convinced, even possessed, of the certainty that a day of reckoning
will come. . . ." ¹²⁷

1920

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

In all fairness, it must be said that there were other tendencies in the prewar Youth Movement. One was characterized by high idealism and gentle good will, best expressed by the pacifist Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster:

The Youth Movement is the snowdrop on the hard German winter snow. . . . The *Jugendbewegung* is a moral rejuvenation of the German people; the return of the German soul to its best traditions.¹²⁸

In point of historic fact, however, the future would belong to those who pursued power, not to those who formed snowdrops on the hard German snow. It was not the gentle aspects of the movement which conditioned thousands of Germans in the impressionable days of their youth.

One man who was active in the *Wandervogel* and later joined the Nazis has shown the connection between the experience of his boyhood and his subsequent participation in the Nazi Party. "The youth movement which we all knew, the movement to which we all belonged in our time as senior school boys, was the first start of the revolutionary dynamism . . . which culminated in Hitler's more ruthless revolution."¹²⁹

But that brutal revolution awaited Hitler. Meanwhile, members of his generation were to undergo the most shattering experience of their young lives: the trench warfare of World War I.

THE COMING OF THE THIRD REICH, 1918-1933

All who feel Germany's need deep within their hearts await a Savior [*Erlöser*]. With the greatest longing thousands upon thousands of minds imagine him; millions of voices call unto him; one single German soul seeks him.

—Kurt Hesse (1922)

That is the miracle of our time, that you have found me—that among so many millions you have found me! and that I have found you! That is Germany's good fortune!

—Adolf Hitler (1932)

Germany's experiences during World War I and its aftermath were of vital importance to Hitler's rise to power. His ideology of hatred and racist nationalism, germinating since his Vienna days, would find well-fertilized soil in a disordered and embittered postwar society seeking revenge and a savior to replace a republic despised as traitorous and ineffective. The battles of the war and the postwar

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and

years also provided Hitler with guard of Nazism.

Legacies of World War I: Socialism, Totalism, and

Shortly after the death War II, Germany's greatest which attempted to answer ever fully understand the me the twelve years of the Thir key reason for Hitler's succ utilized two legacies of Wor cialism and nationalism, th porary European history.

Socialism in one form or the first third of the 20th cer ing the long war and the soc math posed problems too bi; century laissez-faire economi control increased either in th or some variant of the welfa that had been intensified by of peace shaped the domesti quished alike.

With remarkable insight Hitler offered the distraught (rivals on the left and right were not nationalists; the co Hitler proclaimed that he w postwar Germany which pro bmed socialism with nation radical and conservative, Th measure of his political acum

Incipient totalitarianism Hitler used to his own adv: Twentieth-century totalitaria them is a habit of mind th The habit was well develop came accustomed to thinking tion," which were guarantee vailles Treaty seemed to brin triumph, Germany experien

THE GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History

years also provided Hitler with the "New Men" who formed the van- guard of Nazism.

Legacies of World War I: Nationalism, Socialism, Totalism, and the "New Order"

In the battle for the existence of our Volk, the new idea of 1914 was born, the idea of German Volksgemeinschaft, of a national socialism.

—A German soldier (1918)

Shortly after the death of Hitler and amid the ruins of World War II, Germany's greatest living historian wrote a thoughtful essay which attempted to answer his own poignant question, "Will anyone ever fully understand the monstrous experience which befell us during the twelve years of the Third Reich?"¹³⁰ Meinecke concluded that a key reason for Hitler's success lay in the adroit way in which he utilized two legacies of World War I: he identified himself with so- cialism and nationalism, the two most powerful forces in contem- porary European history.

Socialism in one form or another was on the rise in Europe during the first third of the 20th century. Demands for total mobilization dur- ing the long war and the social and economic dislocations of its after- math posed problems too big and too complex to be solved by 19th- century laissez-faire economics. Everywhere government regulation and control increased either in the name of "war economy" or as socialism or some variant of the welfare state. And everywhere, the nationalism that had been intensified by the passions of war and the frustrations of peace shaped the domestic and foreign policies of victors and van- quished alike.

With remarkable insight into the mood of the historic moment, Hitler offered the distraught German people something that his political rivals on the left and right were unable to provide. The Communists were not nationalists; the conservative nationalists were not socialists. Hitler proclaimed that he was both. His was the only mass party in postwar Germany which promised the best of both worlds. He com- bined socialism with nationalism in a program which was at once radical and conservative. The name he gave to his movement is a measure of his political acumen. He called it National Socialism.

Incipient totalitarianism was another legacy of the war which Hitler used to his own advantage and brought to awful completion. Twentieth-century totalitarianism involves many things, but one of them is a habit of mind that rejects moderation and exalts totality. The habit was well developed during World War I, when people be- came accustomed to thinking in terms of "total war" and "total mobi- lization," which were guaranteed to bring "total victory." When the Ver- sailles Treaty seemed to bring complete disaster instead of the expected triumph, Germany experienced a terrifying emptiness—a vacuum

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* Eckhardt offers this.
A. H. Can they mix?
Eck: Oh, to lose the power to find out.
But it has a pretty ring. And
our attacks on Jews will
distract everyone who's
against us. Puts on moderation
I say, we will strike for all of the
I say, all. He roared w laughter

1920

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1920
Eckhardt
to
Hitler

which totalitarian ideology rushed in to fill. The call for immediate solutions to complex problems was a call to which Hitler, the century's most notable simplificateur terrible, gave brilliant response.

Totalitarianism also specializes in techniques to control the masses through calculated manipulation of their emotions. During the war, nations had discovered anew the ancient wisdom attributed to Thucydides: "In war, reason is the first casualty." All countries experienced on a huge scale the power of the irrational to move men. War propaganda everywhere stressed mass emotional commitment: to love one's country with unquestioning devotion, to hate the enemy passionately.

As the horrendous toll of death and destruction mounted, year after anguished year, each belligerent sought to justify the carnage by proclaiming the complete rectitude of its own cause and the total depravity of the foe. Mankind witnessed a "mobilization of hatred" on a scale never known before. It was "the first modern effort at systematic nation-wide manipulation of collective passions."¹³¹

Hitler was fascinated by this process. In *Mein Kampf* he showed how much he had learned from studying it closely. He devoted a chapter to "War Propaganda" and concluded that "it was shown only during the War to what enormously important results a suitably applied propaganda may lead."¹³² He was to make very effective use of those lessons.

Eckhardt
1920
to
Hitler

Systematic manipulation of collective emotions points to another way in which World War I contributed to totalitarian government. For one of the characteristics of modern totalitarianism is that, unlike older forms of tyranny, it gains legitimacy from mass support and mass approval.¹³³ The war saw the early but clear development of a concept which would be perfected in Hitler's Reich: the "voluntary compulsion" of the masses. In time of war, the phrase was associated with the performance of patriotic duty; under Hitler, it became an ominous euphemism for oppression, as citizens were compelled to volunteer enthusiastic endorsement of a thousand forms of tyranny. As institutionalized by Hitler, "voluntary compulsion" blurred conventional notions of the difference between coercion and consent. Through adroit use of terror coupled with "the high art of propaganda," he gained such control over the masses that they not merely acquiesced to oppression, they roared their approval.

"Total mobilization" was economic as well as psychological, and it led to government regulation of both the public and private sector. Although this was true of all warring countries, nowhere was government intervention so comprehensive and effective as in Germany, where the system was called "war economy" (*Kriegswirtschaft*) or war socialism (*Kriegssozialismus*). "From a relatively free economy in 1914," a distinguished historian has written, "Germany emerged in 1918 with a thoroughly militarized economy of state socialism in which government controls and regulation covered all phases of economic

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life." The precedent was impossible to ignore. The system profited enormously from it.

Thus, during the years from 1914 to 1918, three essentials of Nazi totalitarianism were laid down: the power of the state to coerce a people; and a new form of authority for the masses, which it man-

Moreover, extremism, which had seemed to grow with partiality already shown a tendency to pull of opposites was felt particularly immediately after the war. Feeling impulse to smash all social order, a "New Order" would bring order. Neither attitude was helpful.

After the catastrophic defeat of 1918, the hope that the destruction would be a fresh beginning. They swung from deep depression to a new hope. The tenacious myth of a new beginning was renewed with unusual fervor. The experience of the war had shown the ways. The sheer horror of war had justified only if one could believe in a new beginning—a society that of comradeship sacrifice and cooperation. The war years contributed to the idea that to be expected in the New Order and Volk would form the material edifice of a new Germany.

Life in the trenches—after the war—positive contribution to the hope was called "front socialism." It experienced a "close, warm fellowship of all members of the Volk." Political, religious and cultural or sank into insignificance. "The trenches" a true revolution—a solution of 1789: "In the battle of 1914 was born, the idea of a new society, of national socialism."¹³⁴

Faith in a coming New Order of a *Volks-gemeinschaft* political romantics of 1918—generation—longed for a new nation of the German Volk, of the

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PATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

governments on the eve of revolution. Moreover, German in-
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a. "I want no part of it," he had
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Revolution of 1918. To be sure,
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burg to Munich. Battle-tough veterans and radical youths too young to
fight in the Great War, they had entered the service of the Republic
not because they respected the government—they despised it—but be-
cause they needed money, food, and comradeship and an opportunity
to fight and destroy. Listen to one of them:

People told us that the War was over. That made us laugh. We
ourselves are the War. . . . It envelops our whole being and fasci-
nates us with the enticing urge to destroy. We. . . . marched onto
the battlefields of the postwar world just as we had gone into
battle on the Western Front: singing, reckless and filled with the
joy of adventure as we marched to the attack; silent, deadly,
remorseless in battle. ¹⁴⁹ 1920

The chief characteristics of the Free Corps were, without excep-
tion, those of Hitler's Storm Troopers. First, the *Führerprinzip*, which
had been developing in the prewar youth movements, was now mani-
fested at two levels. The commander of an individual corps was often
called the Führer and idolized as the embodiment of all soldierly virtues.
The leader was also an abstraction, a 20th-century version of the Bar-
barossa legend. Thus, in the black days after defeat in the Baltic in
1919, a *Freikorpskämpfer* wrote to his sister: "Someday a Man will come
to lead us—a Man who unites German spirit and German power! Believe me . . . things will be a little better for us then!" ¹⁵⁰

Second, there was in these men a reckless desire to attack, to
smash the whole philistine middle-class world. The acknowledged
spokesman of the movement gave the clearest statement of this attitude:

"What do we believe in?" you ask. Nothing besides action. . . .
We were a band of fighters drunk with all the passions of the
world; full of lust, exultant in action. What we wanted, we did not
know. And what we knew, we did not want! War and adventure,
excitement and destruction. An indefinable, surging force welled
up from every part of our being and flayed us onward. . . . ¹⁵¹

Third, like the Nazis, Free Corps members were racists who ded-
icated themselves to what they called the "Volk soul of the race." They
were savagely anti-Semitic.

Fourth, like so many of their generation, Free Corps fighters
dreamed of a new Germany, a Third Reich. They had no definite
political program for this government. Indeed, they deliberately
shunned one, for reasons suggested by an admirer:

Nothing is more characteristic of the associative spirit of Ober-
länder than their Idea of the Third Reich . . . the men dreamed
deep dreams of this Mystery—a mystery which would have been

1920

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debased into a concrete political program as soon as one attempted to define it precisely.

The mystery was partially penetrated by the same writer: "Two motifs are constantly repeated in the recitals of the *Oberländer*: the sacredness of the *Volksboden* and the heroic *Führerschicht*, which must be accepted by the *Gemeinschaft* as the force which will achieve the goal of the docile following [*willige Gefolgschaft*] of all."¹⁵²

On a less abstract level, a Free Corps leader set forth his political program in words quoted here not for the delicacy of the language but because they are an honest reflection of the Freebooter mind addressing itself to problems of politics:

1920

We must . . . smash once and for all these damned revolutionary rats and choke them by sticking their heads in their own shit.¹⁵³

The Freebooters made important contributions to the coming of Hitler's Germany. Negatively, they helped mightily to undermine and destroy Germany's first experiment in democracy. Positively, they contributed thousands of their members to positions of power in the Third Reich. Indeed, 48.6 percent of the Party leadership came from veterans who had taken an active part in the battles of the war and postwar years.¹⁵⁴ They also contributed a well-developed leadership principle, racism, the idea of labor camps and youth programs, and the concept of political shock troops.

But their main contribution lay in the realm of the spirit. Their contempt for humane values and their exaltation of power and brutality formed their chief legacy to Hitler's Reich.

A remarkably prophetic poem was written in 1919 by a man who had watched the Free Corps in action. Walther Mehring, who became one of Germany's most effective satirists, wrote the verse in bitter paraphrase of the Freebooter mentality which foretold atrocities to come:

1919

Come on, boys, let's all go . . .
Off to the pogrom with a ho, ho, ho . . .
Pull in your bellies and throw out the Jews
With swastika and poison gas . . .
Let's have a go at murder in the mass.¹⁵⁵

THE ANTIDEMOCRATIC ESTABLISHMENT

Older established institutions also helped clear Hitler's path to power, either by refusing to support the democratic alternative or by contributing in more positive ways.

The Army supported Hitler because it saw in him a useful tool to militarize the masses. One of the more responsible military leaders later spoke quite candidly about the value they had seen in Hitler and

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A. H. Comings *seems* to see
that it is not sympathetic
but satiric.

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suggested that the Nazi idea from the army's:

The Army . . . consider into a fury, passions . . . nothing different from d

There was, of course, no d Command that it could ord bidding.

At lower echelons of tl greater enthusiasm. As note Nazi Party had been vetera missioned officer spoke for reasons for following Hitler:

We . . . did not join tl siderations, or after mu led us to Hitler. What . this: Hitler, you're our at the Front, who's bee like us, an unknown sol

The Navy, if anything, opposition to the Republic. ' ately after the Ehrhardt Fr on their helmets—had marc 1920 to overthrow the repul whole units of the brigade.¹⁵⁶

The civil service, whic Prussian kings and German Republic. In every departme ter nationalist, antidemocrat personnel from Second to 1 Office, for example, of the r, in 1929, only one (London) —all the others had once sw no need for changing the pe cies. In 1939, of nine divis endorsed Hitler's war, only o there any basic change in t all the laws of the empire as on German law during the p lic] and the old Reich the ju but one of identity."¹⁵⁷

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PATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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suggested that the Nazi idea of militarism was not really very different
from the army's:

The Army . . . considered [Hitler] to be the right man to work up
into a fury, passions . . . against Versailles. Actually, he trumpeted
nothing different from their own call for power. . . ¹⁵⁰

There was, of course, no doubt whatever in the mind of the High
Command that it could order the former private first class to do its
bidding.

At lower echelons of the Army, Hitler was supported with even
greater enthusiasm. As noted, almost one-half of the leadership of the
Nazi Party had been veterans of war or postwar fighting. A noncom-
missioned officer spoke for thousands of his comrades in giving his
reasons for following Hitler:

We . . . did not join the Storm Troopers for many rational con-
siderations, or after much contemplation. It was our feelings that
led us to Hitler. What . . . our hearts compelled us to think was
this: Hitler, you're our man. You talk like [a man] who's been
at the Front, who's been through the same mess we have . . .
like us, an unknown soldier. . . . ¹⁵⁷

The Navy, if anything, was more adamant than the Army in its
opposition to the Republic. One incident reflects its attitude. Immedi-
ately after the Ehrhardt Free Corps Brigade—with swastikas painted
on their helmets—had marched into Berlin during the Kapp Putsch of
1920 to overthrow the republican government, the Navy incorporated
whole units of the brigade. ¹⁵⁸

The civil service, which had proved so sedulous in supporting
Prussian kings and German emperors, showed no such loyalty to the
Republic. In every department of government, officials continued to fos-
ter nationalist, antidemocratic ideas. Continuity in both attitude and
personnel from Second to Third Reich was striking. In the Foreign
Office, for example, of the 15 most important German missions abroad
in 1929, only one (London) was in the hands of a Weimar appointee
—all the others had once sworn allegiance to the emperor. Hitler saw
no need for changing the personnel in carrying out his aggressive poli-
cies. In 1939, of nine divisional chiefs of the diplomatic corps who
endorsed Hitler's war, only one had been a Nazi appointee. ¹⁵⁹ Nor was
there any basic change in the judicial system. The Republic retained
all the laws of the empire as well as its judges. As a leading authority
on German law during the period has noted, "Between the new [repub-
lic] and the old Reich the judicial relationship is not one of succession,
but one of identity." ¹⁶⁰

Documents of the Weimar period show clearly that while some

1920.

referring to the "alliance of the German princes and Free Cities." Prussia was dominant in economic, industrial, financial, administrative and military terms—in fact, two-thirds of the German territory was under the Prussian eagle, and three-fifths of the German population. It was also through the various Prussian ministries in the Wilhelmstrasse that the Reich "offices"—the *Reichsämtler*—were run, legislation was prepared and politics was decided. The state secretaries at the helm of the *Reichsämtler* clearly ranked below the Prussian ministers "with the title Excellency," as the official description went.

But even before Bavaria, Württemberg or Baden were absorbed into Bismarckian Germany—all of them put on the map by Napoleon to suit his strategic priorities—the people thus forcefully incorporated had not forgotten that their grandfathers could run their own affairs, issue their own money, decide their own taxes and had nobody above the city government or the local abbey but the faraway Holy Roman Emperor. The people of Cologne still resented the Prussian occupation that began in 1813, when the French retreated, and ended only in the mid-twentieth century. They poked fun at the Prussian heroes during their annual carnival celebrations. In 1848 the revolution there had a distinct anti-Prussian tone, and again after 1918 there was a strong wave of Rhenish separatism, away from Prussia and Berlin. In the west, where French law had been introduced, the Code Napoléon prevailed until 1900, as did the Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten in the east—a much older, Enlightenment-inspired, pre-revolutionary concept of civil law.

This German diversity was deeply rooted in daily life, in bread and beer, in costume, language and local law. People spoke their local vernacular, except the classes of *Besitz*

* E + A — the problem is Prussia

und Bildung, wealth and education, with among themselves, but had to resort to talking to their servants, or to lowly writers of poetic letters and a great parliamentary rostrum, talked *Plattdeutsch* the Elbe, a language that no one would speak south. The people of Straubing or in Bavaria would have felt on a different level ever traveled to Schleswig-Holstein, which, of course, they saw no need. Different melodies and incompatible regarded as either funny or incomprehensible. The people of Saxony, being blessed with a funny, at worst offensive, were only awe-inspiring intellectual and industrial.

But language was only one expression. way houses were built or villages were different throughout the country, often forms of agriculture or feudal hold eastern Germany, thinly populated and constantly losing people to the big cities. In the south, in Württemberg, for example, and metal trades had allowed people to small cities, which were now almost in thriving industrial centers.

Food, of course, added to the diversity as it could not be stored or transported and consumed locally. Bread and cake in referred to historical or magic origins. The man bread roll came in a form that resembled genitals, leaving no doubt that it was. Bread was mostly of the dark, crusty type so expensive that even for the middle

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writer of poetic letters and a great performer on the par-
liamentary rostrum, talked *Plattdeutsch* to his peasants on
the Elbe, a language that no one would understand in the
south. The people of Straubing on the Danube in Lower
Bavaria would have felt on a different continent if they had
ever traveled to Schleswig-Holstein in the north—for
which, of course, they saw no need. German had many dif-
ferent melodies and incompatible idioms, mutually re-
garded as either funny or incomprehensible, or both. The
people of Saxony, being blessed with a dialect at best
funny, at worst offensive, were only saved through their
awe-inspiring intellectual and industrial achievements.

But language was only one expression of diversity. The
way houses were built or villages were laid out was vastly
different throughout the country, often reflecting ancient
forms of agriculture or feudal holdings. Some parts of
eastern Germany, thinly populated anyway, were con-
stantly losing people to the big cities, most notably Berlin.
In the south, in Württemberg, for many centuries weaving
and metal trades had allowed people a modest living in
small cities, which were now almost invariably turning into
thriving industrial centers.

Food, of course, added to the diversity, especially beer,
as it could not be stored or transported and so had to be
consumed locally. Bread and cake in curious forms often
referred to historical or magic origins. The classical Ger-
man bread roll came in a form that resembled the female
genitals, leaving no doubt that it symbolized fertility.
Bread was mostly of the dark, crusty variety, wheat being
so expensive that even for the middle classes white bread

103, 1927, 1920

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rich. But the King of Saxony
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story of *Heidi*, the innocent
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as for Londoners, Grüne-
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occupation as never before,
and the poor divided: the
a little English, played golf
st the more militant ones,
health reasons as for honor
efully stage-managed duel
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ultivated scars on the face

1893, 1900, 1900 The German Empire · 51

which were worn like a decoration, securing promotion
through the invisible but powerful old boys' network. The
soccer-playing masses also took part in bicycle races and
boxing, the socialists seeing to it that working-class sports
were well organized within their all-encompassing system
of care from the cradle to the grave.

There was no one German society in the strict sense of
the word. Life on an East Prussian estate, small like that of
the average *Rittergut*, or vast like the landholdings of the
Dönhoffs, the Dohnas or the Lehndorffs, remained pretty
much in its traditional mold. But even here the agricultural
depression would be felt, from the mid-1870s on, as com-
petition came from Ukraine's fertile black soil, from the
green pastures of Argentina and from the vast prairies of
the American Midwest. Berlin, by contrast, was a million-
strong metropolis constantly on the move, tearing down
old buildings and building new ones, linking villages
through rapid transit and in turn creating new industrial
centers. It housed not only the power elites of old Prussia,
but also the new banks, modern mass media, organized
interests and political parties. In the west, the Ruhr indus-
tries were expanding rapidly. In the south, with no coal
mines and no steel mills, a different kind of industrializa-
tion was under way, traditionally based on brain power and
attention to detail, on the textile industry and metallurgy.
There were thus many societies, but all of them were on
the move. Emigration, almost exclusively to North Amer-
ica, continued unabated: in fact, after the 1870 war it rose
to new highs. For the next twenty years, an average of
100,000 young men and women left home and family in
Germany each year to seek a better life in the New World.
Most of them had relatives there, who described in glow-
ing terms the land of unlimited opportunity after the

stops in 1893
see next page

1910, 1900

me was true for meat: only on Sundays.
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In the south, such fish as carp, first
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local, smelly varieties were mostly for
the lower classes.

masses: champagne, cognac and wine.
s. The wine was mostly Riesling from
en more sought after, from the Rhein-
sh call Hock after Hochheim. Or else
in the strange Bocksbeutel bottles from
n referring to the magic powers of fer-
stiles. Or again, Riesling from the
Saar and the upper Rhine valley in
en produced in the Elbe valley near
steep and stony slopes of the Saale val-
similar. German champagne had to be
Treaty of Versailles, while the German
gnac consisted of many local spirits:
ned into brandy in the south, potatoes
chnapps in the north

hen people took their meals differed.
day began at sunrise and ended, more
lighting was expensive. Working days
or more hours a day, over fifty hours a
aving time to sleep after sunrise and
d dine into the night were clear signs
en would take some bread and wurst
—canteens came much later. In con-

s lights up 1900
is them off

1900, 1920 The German Empire · 49

trast, the day of the well-to-do would begin with a light
Sattelfrühstück and a ride, followed by déjeuner—the upper-
class term for lunch—and later five o'clock tea in a hotel,
with elegant music, or a visit to friends. Dinner would be
late in the evening: to begin before eight o'clock would
have been seen as distinctly lower-class. To negotiate six
or eight courses would not be regarded as outrageous: in
fact, the host's business standing would be gauged by the
luxuries displayed on his table, whether the Meissen,
Berlin or Nymphenburg porcelain, or the caviar and
champagne, fish, venison and out-of-season fruit.

Piped water was a luxury that began to be introduced
only at the turn of the century, while hot water was
reserved for the well-to-do. Water closets were a sign of a
higher form of living, and certainly costly. Most lavatories
were smelly affairs, often shared by many and usually situ-
ated outside the house in a yard, with a heart (why a heart
remains an enigma) cut out of the wooden door. Bathcubs
were not unknown in the old days, but were regarded as a
luxury. When the old Emperor wanted a bath, he had the
tub brought into the royal palace from a nearby hotel at
Unter den Linden. It was only the wholesale introduction
of electricity during the last years of the nineteenth cen-
tury—electrical bulbs, furnished by Emil Rathenau's AEG
(Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft), lit imperial Berlin
as early as 1876—that made daily life a little brighter, ser-
vants more expendable, conditions healthier.

Modern technology had an egalitarian dimension. The
universe of the poor and the universe of the rich began to
show some overlap. The bicycle allowed speed, until then
an expensive commodity, to the relatively poor, and so did
the railway. There were still four different classes in a pas-
senger train: fourth class for the poor carrying unwieldy

tancy used at friends of E

(1920, 1900)

was a luxury. The same was true for meat: only on Sundays. Fish was the cheap staple in the north; so cheap, indeed, that servants in Cologne, when the Rhine was still a green-and-white river revealing its alpine origins, complained of too much salmon. In the south, such fish as carp, first reared in monastic stew ponds, was popular among the rich and the poor. Cheese was anything but a delicacy. The finer varieties could not be imported from France or Switzerland, and the local, smelly varieties were mostly for the modest tables of the lower classes.

Beer was for the masses: champagne, cognac and wine for the upper classes. The wine was mostly Riesling from the Rheinpfalz or, even more sought after, from the Rheingau—what the British call Hock after Hochheim. Or else there was Silvaner in the strange Bocksbeutel bottles from Franconia, once again referring to the magic powers of fertility in a ram's testicles. Or again, Riesling from the Moselle, the lower Saar and the upper Rhine valley in Baden. Wine was even produced in the Elbe valley near Dresden and on the steep and stony slopes of the Saale valley not far from Weimar. German champagne had to be called Sekt after the Treaty of Versailles, while the German answer to French cognac consisted of many local spirits: plums or cherries turned into brandy in the south, potatoes and rye turned into schnapps in the north.

Even the times when people took their meals differed. For the workers, the day began at sunrise and ended, more or less, with sunset: lighting was expensive. Working days were long, often ten or more hours a day, over fifty hours a week. By contrast, having time to sleep after sunrise and being able to wine and dine into the night were clear signs of high living. Workmen would take some bread and wurst and soup with them—canteens came much later. In con-

* Alois keeps lights up 1900
Klara turns them off

1900)

trast, the day of the well-to-do Sattelfrühstück and a ride, full class term for lunch—and late with elegant music, or a visit late in the evening: to begin have been seen as distinctly or eight courses would not in fact, the host's business stances luxuries displayed on his table in Berlin or Nymphenburg palace champagne, fish, venison and

Piped water was a luxury only at the turn of the century reserved for the well-to-do. A higher form of living, and ceremonies were smelly affairs, often shared outside the house in a yard (it remains an enigma) cut out of were not unknown in the old luxury. When the old Emperor rub brought into the royal palace Unter den Linden. It was only of electricity during the last century—electrical bulbs, furniture (Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft) as early as 1876—that made domestic luxuries more expendable, conditions

Modern technology had an universe of the poor and the upper class show some overlap. The bicycle, an expensive commodity, to the railway. There were still four passenger train: fourth class for the

family meal at

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quest for a unitary doctrine was implicit in his outline for an unwritten work labeled "Volume I. The Germanic Revolution."⁸ This outline certainly predates the Putsch and *Mein Kampf*, as will be seen. It cannot predate August 1920, when the Nazi flag, which dominated Hitler's sketch for a title page, was created.⁹ It also departs too far conceptually from his speech of 13 August 1920 on the Jews, which survives in manuscript (and mentions the new emblem¹⁰), to be from the same period. This speech represented the Aryans as history's only state builders, and the Jews as nomads from way back with attributes the opposite of the instinct for labor, the racial purity, and the artistry required for state-building (the opposite given for "racial purity" was "inbreeding").¹¹ The outline featured the same stock antagonists: "The Jew, the Aryan," and "Germany—An Antipode of the Jew,"¹² and again "2 races. Aryan. Jew." The antithesis was spelled out only in the notation: "2 human types—Toilers and drones—builders and destroyers—children of God and humans." (These were standard epithets of Hitler's for Aryan and Jew except the last, puzzling pair.) Nomadism and artistry were missing—nomadism more significantly, for by 1924 Hitler found that the Aryan rather than the Jew had once been a nomad, defined as a worker who carries his living space around with him.¹³ But the stress fell on racial purity: "Basic racial principle . . . Earliest history of peoples (on the basis of) with clear exposition of the racial law . . . Racial purity Highest basic law . . ." And this time the Jews epitomized racial purity and took a decisive advantage over the Aryans. "Bible: original sin—A dreadful fact—Its consequences, misfortune forever. The Bible teaches two facts: I. All peoples of the Bible (cultural area Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt) perished from it (i.e. racial mixing). One people not: The Jews. Why? Racial purity. Not wars destroy races, only original sin—blood poisoning alone."¹⁴ II. All peoples had states of their own—One people not, the Jews. So: the other peoples (Aryans) had their own 'states' and could not preserve themselves. The Jew had no state of his own and still preserved himself. Only at first sight incomprehensible—why?"¹⁵ The question was left dangling.

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In "The Germanic Revolution" Hitler was after historic laws covering the Jews along with the rest of humankind and featuring continual warfare among peoples, laws from which his anti-Semitism and expansionism would follow as a twin necessity. But until his "Workers and Peace Treaties" speech like the "land and soil" one of 31 May 1921, his only stated generalizations about the human lot were that right is worthless without might¹⁶ and that human solidarity would be against nature.¹⁷ neither afforded sufficient reason for Germany to remove Jews and conquer land. And until that same speech his only admission of the Jews to a universal law of life was a concessive and partial one in a remark of 13 August 1920 about the Jew in the Middle Ages: "Even he gradually had to conduct a struggle for survival against the increasingly wary and angry peoples."¹⁸ (He had begun using the phrases "self-preservative instinct" and "struggle for survival" only a few weeks earlier.¹⁹) The "Workers and Peace Treaties" speech took up this Darwinist notion for a first, false start in the same theoretical direction as "The Germanic Revolution." His notes for the speech read: "The struggle for one's own survival is justified. But the individual's survival requires the nation's political power."²⁰ Putting the individual before the nation, as here, was inimical to his conception of peoples as the stuff of history.²¹ He must have been fishing around in handbooks of political theory for a start. "The Germanic Revolution" marks an advance toward an amalgam of individual and national necessitation: "Nature is relentlessly harsh, which means: victory of the stronger because he has victory coming to him by reason of his strength or his will Prerogative of strength as basis of nature as a whole The man of genius aware of nature does not seek to depart from this basis which is the cause of his favored position in this world but puts his conduct too within the compass of this law". For the rest, this outline for a "monumental history of humankind" dealt only in races or peoples or nations (terms Hitler interchanged).

Hitler's few pre-Putsch texts that link up with distinctive pieces of "The Germanic Revolution" all date from early 1923. That 3 January he called his Party "the bearer of the Germanic

1920, 1926

P21

following Freud's theory or Forster's example. "His blue eyes were fascinating," declared his photographer, adding: "they missed their effect on no one."⁶⁴ "Now I understand why these people speak of his hypnotic eyes," noted an interviewer in June 1931 with reference to "all the interlocutors he wants to win over."⁶⁵ Hitler himself remarked at a military conference of 27 January 1945: "I have another unpleasant job left today. I still must hypnotize Quisling" (his puppet Norwegian ruler).⁶⁶ At least Speer's unbreakable fixation on Hitler would seem not to have been visually induced. For Speer claims that Hitler once tried to stare him down and—though the ordeal seemed unending and the strain unendurable—failed.⁶⁷

However induced, the result was similar all around Hitler's circle.⁶⁸ Hess's bondage to Hitler was "nearly magical" from its inception in 1920.⁶⁹ Goebbels confided to his diary on 19 April 1926: "Adolf Hitler, I love you."⁷⁰ "Hitler had a tremendous power of suggestion over Himmler," asserted Himmler's masseur, adding that the mass executioner, when summoned by Hitler, was subject to seizures of panic—"animal, 'baseless,' nervously determined."⁷¹ Hitler drew Ribbentrop to him "magnetically," as Ribbentrop avowed in Nuremberg.⁷² "Kaltenbrunner," so recollected an assistant of the Security chief's, "was to the last downright spellbound by Hitler's personality."⁷³ "An uncanny magic emanated from him," affirmed his sometime Minister of Finance, Schwerin von Krosigk.⁷⁴ "Even strong intellects and personalities fell under the spell of his mind and will," observed quondam Labor Service leader Konstantin Hierl.⁷⁵ As a non-Nazi visitor to Nazi headquarters put it in 1931, "it is open to no doubt whatsoever that Hitler exerts upon his entourage a power of suggestion the extent of which is difficult to grasp."⁷⁶ Throughout his career non-Nazis noted his "altogether fascinating personality"⁷⁷ or "very remarkable degree of personal power of fascination."⁷⁸ Indeed, German claims to have escaped this fascination in over a brief moment's exposure to him are few enough to look suspicious.⁷⁹ Even mixed reactions were rare, or at all odds the negative component winning out was.⁸⁰ All his non-Nazi associates in running his Reich, from Hindenburg, Papen, Blomberg,

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headquarters in order "to disengage myself from his power of suggestion."⁹¹ Quisling's hypnosis needed periodic renewing. Besides, without such special exertions as on Quisling and such special susceptibility as Quisling's, Hitler produced "next to no impression" on non-Germans.⁹² Keitel's last reckoning mentioned Hitler's "suggestive power of persuasion incomprehensible to outsiders and especially to foreigners."⁹³ In fact the personal magic went with the national message. "On occasion Hitler simply cried out 'Germany! Germany! Germany!' to his audience and drew enthusiastic acclamation."⁹⁴ Who else could ever do that?

To repeat: the magic went with the message. So it was that, as far as the records disclose, Hitler's enthrallments of later co-workers began with him expounding his politics, usually from the rostrum. Speer's devotion was the least political on the surface, yet it started when the then teaching assistant in architecture succumbed to the "suggestive force of conviction" that Hitler conveyed in a speech at the university of Berlin in 1930. "This effect," Speer recollected decades later, "was far deeper than that of the speech itself, not much of which remained in my memory"⁹⁵; the rest had hit home. Hitler's seemingly least charismatized henchman was the deadly cynic Heydrich, yet in 1928 naval careerist Heydrich was enraptured by his first Hitler speech and told his sister: "He alone can save Germany."⁹⁶ Hess's infatuation was the most blatant: in one observer's overdrawn image, "Hess hangs with the eyes of a credulous child on the mouth of his deified leader."⁹⁷ This idolatry was thoroughly political from the outset, when the war veteran brooding over Germany's fate while studying geopolitics in Munich returned "radiant" from a Hitler meeting to his boardinghouse one evening in 1920. "Only the man, the man! He is all!" Hess explained.⁹⁸ That man also overcame Munich law student Hans Frank by "the irresistible power of his oratory" at a public meeting in January 1920: "He spoke everything out of his own soul and out of the soul of us all. . . . From that evening on," Frank related, "I was convinced . . . that Hitler alone, if anyone, could master German fate."⁹⁹ Hitler captivated cosmopolitan adven-

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not quite gaseous; it was not inhaled; it was a spray that liquefied in settling. When it condensed on his skin Hitler associated it with Bloch's iodoform. But then he expanded it to associate it with asphyxiating gas as well. The gas chambers resulted. So did a chimney above the air shaft of his Berlin bunker to keep out poison gas.⁸ Correspondingly, he once held up a military conference to design a tank with an improved exhaust to prevent possible asphyxiation.⁹ And when he read one day in 1941 that in Breslau an elderly Jew named Luftgas ("air gas") had been convicted of hoarding 65,000 eggs in a lime pit and sentenced to two-and-a-half years in prison, he ordered summary execution instead. The memorandum confirming the execution is headed like a hate joke: "Subject: Proceeding against the Jew Luftglass (not Luftgas)." ¹⁰

On to other troubles I skirted. Of Hitler in World War I a trusty witness related that "the British were for him traitors to the great cause."¹¹ That would anticipate a main clause of his program for refighting that war. At the other chronological end of that program, no proof will avail that he simply could not have conquered Russia when he tried. This is the informed consensus. Yet it took his mass executions there to stir up effective resistance to his invasion.¹² And if that was decisive, then his expansionist program did not assure its own failure all the way. By that token, his racial-ideological line would gain new significance for his acceptance as Führer.

The Oedipal-minded will ask where Hitler's father¹³ came into his politics. The answer is: in a bymotive. His pampering at the breast left him especially vulnerable to the classic moment of untruth when, in coming to fear castration by the father,¹⁴ a boy will remember his weaning, construed as a warning. Little Adolf saw his father, then, as the culprit behind his weaning—as liable for the mother's breast having been removed. Bloch threw back to the father once the mother had committed herself to his close care¹⁵ and to the castrating father when he ordered the mother's breast removed, especially as the mother too was thereby castrated after a fashion. Hitler's castration complex was implicated in his blinding because blinding symbolizes castration: witness

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Oedipus. His animus against his father revived against the state he set out to supplant.¹⁶ "For it is no wonder," he explained in 1927, "if precisely the best of such a state begin to turn against it; for precisely the best and greatest are more than all others rooted in their people—are not children of the state, but exclusively children of the all-mother, their own nation. If they issue from; it they serve." The state's "loftiest mission," he pursued, was "to shelter and protect the mother of all life."¹⁷ He eroticized that "loftiest mission" ten years later when, after having destroyed the Weimar state, he blustered to Nazi officials in secret: "We alone are entitled to lead the people as such—the individual man, the individual woman. We regulate living relations between the sexes. We form the child!"¹⁸

Now for the toughest riddle left. Hitler's image of "the Jew" was a self-image over and beyond its distorted reference to Bloch in 1907. More exactly, one part of it was his self-reflection and he aped the other part. Jewish "incest,"¹⁹ "Jewish hate,"²⁰ Jewish "Old Testament vengefulness,"²¹ the Jew "the greatest master of the lie,"²² the Jew who "turns night into day,"²³ the Jews' "all-or-nothing" war on Nazism,²⁴ the Jews "who unscrupulously take over every office, who brutally enslave every people"²⁵: all this hit home. "The Jewish dream of world dominion," "the goal: world dominion," "his final goal is: world dominion":²⁶ so did this incessant imputation.²⁷ Hitler preformulated his eastern policy when, in 1920, he charged the Jew with undertaking "the same predatory campaigns as he undertook of old" and declared: "The Jewish principle is: Divide and rule!"²⁸ He conceived Nazism as a "substitute" for Marxism, itself Christianity's successor as the Jews' instrument for subjugating "racially conscious Europe."²⁹ The Nazi mission, he held, was to counterpose to Marxism "a national movement no less philosophical and no less resolved on brute force."³⁰ After the Putsch he reorganized his Party on the Communist model, calling Munich its Moscow, and adopted the Marxist project of subverting the liberal republic by its own legal devices. Jewry, he insisted, was "never a religious, but only a racial, community,"³¹ with racial purity as the secret of its success.³² "If other peoples debase their worth, taint their

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blood, then that people must necessarily prevail which keeps itself absolutely pure": this accordingly was his prescription for Germany.³³ He called the Jews a "Satanical power which had taken possession of our whole people" before his own takeover.³⁴ He cited Jewish scripture and apocrypha to justify his politics toward the Jews. For years he remained a foreigner in Germany and then stateless, as he said the Jews were.³⁵ He taught himself to speak with his hands as he mocked the Jews for doing.³⁶ He mimicked Jewish inflections until they brushed off on his own.³⁷ He styled himself like a Jewish prophet and then a messiah: solitary and uncompromising; his words impassioned, explosive, magical; divinely appointed to deliver his people from bondage and establish their millennial kingdom, or Thousand Year Reich.³⁸ After establishing his millennial kingdom he remarked that his antagonist had been "that international Jew . . . who believed the time come to establish his millennial kingdom."³⁹ He identified himself outright with Jesus, a "popular orator of genius" who launched a world-historical movement from humble beginnings and, for bad measure, an Aryan who passed himself off on the Jews as one of themselves only to wield his whip against them.⁴⁰

All this deadly self-projecting would make simple psychological sense if Bloch linked up as "the Jew" with the great rival whom little Adolf had wished to destroy and become—if, that is, Adolf suspected his father of Jewish paternity. This was rumored about his father from the early 1920s on. He must have thought the rumor unfounded when, to quash it, he had Party lawyer Hans Frank check it out in late 1930; otherwise he would hardly have trusted Frank that far. Frank recounted his findings in his death cell in Nuremberg: forty-two-year-old Anna Maria Schicklgruber had conceived Alois while a housemaid for a Jewish merchant, who supported the child afterwards.⁴¹ The occasion alleged by Frank for Hitler's ordering the investigation—a sly letter from, "if memory serves," Hitler's half brother's son mentioning the troublesome rumor—can be verified.⁴² This speaks strongly for Frank's account of his findings even if he did misremember the merchant's name and place of residence.⁴³ More

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eloquent on the same score are Hitler's instructions for his blood law of 15 September 1935: Jews (and he refused to restrict this to full Jews) were not to marry Aryans or have sexual relations with them or employ German housemaids aged under forty-five.⁴⁴ Allowing Frank's account, that undid respectively Alois' marriage to Klara, their premarital relations, and his own procreation. But a Hitler so clearly troubled by Frank's findings was a Hitler that clearly surprised by them.

Hitler's mother relived her maternal trauma in nursing him and then relived that reliving—fatally. Hitler himself relived his iodoform-and-poison-gas trauma in installments—"Operation Reinhard," "Euthanasia," "Final Solution"—climaxed by his suicide and Germany's destruction. (His having contracted that trauma in installments—1907, 1918—may be why he relived it in installments, and even why he programmed Germany's traumatic reliving in installments.) He also relived his gas trauma separately through the Putsch, then relived his Putsch trauma with Röhm as fall guy for him and with the merest guilty souvenir left over, the psychomotor disturbance that recurred after Stalingrad. But what about Germany's 1918 trauma of defeat: was it buried with Hitler's Reich? Hardly. It had been relived with a vengeance, but no tragic awakening ensued amid the wreckage wrought (such as did for Pentheus' mother confronting his bleeding limbs reassembled). Instead Germans afterward popularly bracketed Nazism out of their history even while calling their new defeat and forced retirement from *Weltpolitik* "the catastrophe." At the same time, post-Nazi Germans would seem to have lived politically for years out of Hitler's last hope of averting that "catastrophe." In a traumatic repeat, a failing effort to avert the traumatic outcome accompanies the tendency to carry it to a final extreme. Under Hitler, that effort subserved that tendency down to the last-ditch defense of Germany pending a heralded clash between the eastern and western invaders. German postwar politics began as a failing effort to provoke that clash after all and graduated to mutual provocations between a super-Washingtonian West Germany and a super-Muscovite East Germany. Two countries have since emerged—the two most an-

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more than he had lacked the courage to implement radically in practice the conclusions he had theoretically, and again radically, drawn. It is, of course, worth noting that the entire edifice of his ideas was based on a fallacy – the fallacy that the 1918 revolution had been the cause of defeat. In fact it had been its consequence. But then that was a fallacy which Hitler shared with a great many Germans.

His triggering experience of 1918 did not yet provide him with a foreign policy programme. He only developed that during the following six or seven years, but we will briefly deal with it now. Initially there was only the decision at all costs to resume the war which, in Hitler's opinion, had been prematurely discontinued. Then came the idea of planning the new war not simply as a replay of the old one but under new, more favourable constellations, exploiting the conflicts which had torn asunder the enemy coalition during and after the First World War. We shall omit the phases through which the development of this idea ran and the various possibilities with which Hitler toyed during the years 1920 to 1925; they can be found in other books. The final result, at any rate, as laid down in *Mein Kampf*, was a plan which envisaged Britain and Italy as allies or benevolent neutrals, the Austro-Hungarian successor states and also Poland as auxiliary nations, France as a secondary enemy to be eliminated at the start, and Russia as the principal enemy to be conquered and permanently subjected, and to be turned into German living space, 'a German India'. That was the plan underlying the Second World War, though it went wrong right from the start when Britain and Poland did not accept the roles intended for them. We shall come back to this point later, as we are now dealing with Hitler's political development.

We are now at the point of Hitler's entry into politics and public life, in the autumn and winter of 1919/20. This was his breakthrough experience following the awakening experience of November 1918. The breakthrough was not so much the fact that he rapidly became the leading figure in the German Workers' Party (which he presently renamed the National Socialist German Workers' Party). That did not require a lot. The party, when

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THE MEANING OF HITLER 5

Hitler joined it, was an obscure back-room organization with a few hundred members of little importance. The breakthrough experience was his own discovery of his power as an orator, which took place on 24 February 1920, when, with sweeping success, he made his first speech at a mass rally.

Hitler's ability to transform rallies of the most varied individuals—the bigger and the more motley the better—into a homogeneous pliable mass, to put that mass first into a kind of trance and then to give it something like a collective orgasm, is well known. It was based not so much on his skill as a speaker—Hitler's speeches got going slowly and hesitantly, they had little logical structure and at times barely a clear content; moreover, they were delivered in a hoarse, rough, guttural voice—as on a hypnotic ability, the ability of a concentrated willpower to gain control of a collective subconscious wherever it made itself available and at any time. That ability of mass hypnotism was Hitler's first, and for a long time his only, political capital. As to its power, there are countless testimonies from those affected by it.

More important still than the effect on the masses, however, was the effect on Hitler himself. This can only be understood if one tries to imagine a man who had reason to regard himself as impotent suddenly finding himself capable of performing miracles of potency. Even in the past, among his army comrades, Hitler had occasionally switched from his normal reticence to sudden furious talk and heated argument if the conversation turned to what moved him most profoundly—politics and the Jews. Then he had only produced mild astonishment and earned himself the reputation of a 'crank'. Now the 'crank' suddenly discovered himself as one who could move the masses, as the 'drummer', the 'king of Munich'. The quiet bitter pride of the despised man thus turned into the intoxicated self-assurance of the successful.

He now knew that he could do something no one else could. He also knew, at least in domestic politics, exactly what he wanted; and he could not fail to notice that none of the other far more prominent politicians of the Right-wing scene, where he now became a figure, really knew what they wanted. The two discoveries together were bound to give him a sense of uniqueness to

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to be the secret helpmate, as when he acted as clandestine ambassador between Kaethe and Lu at the time of their engagement.¹³ In addition to enjoying the role of one who could get things done he was increasingly attracted by the picture of himself as a person who practiced self-sacrifice for the sake of others. In part, this was a consequence of his family's Catholic piety; he had often been encouraged by his parents to do good deeds for those in need. But when he was in his moods of deepest depression it was the vision of the hero who escaped from his problems through martyrdom which held his imagination. Once, after a long discussion with Gebhard and Lu of the fun they would have had if they had all fought in the army together, he noted morosely in his diary, "Perhaps then I would not exist now—one less fighting heart."¹⁴

His morbid moods were usually shortlived. But the desire to sacrifice himself for a great cause was never far from his thoughts. Increasingly he judged other people by the measure of their devotion and willingness to give of themselves. It was Maja's initial display of self-sacrifice in agreeing to copy some of his zoology notes that touched him most deeply, and in Rudolf Binding's *Der Opfergang* (The way of sacrifice) it was the heroine's "sensitive and all-pervading high ideal of sacrifice" that he found most worthy of comment.¹⁵

The strains of adjustment gradually altered some aspects of his personality and sometimes led him to lose himself in rather wild fantasies. But it would be a mistake to overemphasize the negative features of this process. By and large he adjusted to the life of a student quite well and preserved many of his distinctive personal traits. He was still deeply attracted by his family's secure and stable life and welcomed any opportunity to go home and rejoin that close circle. In part this was due to his overdependence on his parents and his irrepressible urge to look to them for the satisfaction of all his daily wants. Throughout the period he was in Munich his mother kept him supplied with clean laundry. In response to his requests, tobacco, "goodies," and even writing paper were mailed to him from Ingolstadt. He was always sure of a sympathetic hearing at home for his fears about his health, which now included the problem of his heart in addition to the earlier concern about his eyes and stomach. And his periodic outbursts of enthusiasm about a noteworthy meal struck a responsive chord in all the

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Himmlers. But more important than the tangible benefits of family life was the inner peace that he usually enjoyed when he was with his parents. Such family traditions as the lighting of the Christmas tree and the exchange of presents touched him deeply and despite occasional family differences his diary and letters repeatedly speak of the happiness he felt when he could go home.¹⁶

His contentment with the old ways embodied in the life of his family was paralleled by his success in preserving in his daily life as a student many of the traditional relationships and social mores. Besides enjoying the conservative, bourgeois atmosphere of the Loritz home, he sought out and passed many hours with a number of old family friends in Munich. In contrast to most adolescents, he was able to relax in the company of adults; in fact, in many ways he felt more at home with members of the older generation than he did with his own peers. Some of the most enthusiastic comments in his diaries and letters are those connected with social calls on old friends of his father or periodic visits to his former nurse Thilda, who now lived in Munich and could be counted on for happy conversation, large pieces of cake, and a genuine interest in his activities. Well attuned to formal social life by his parents' careful training, he always strove to fulfill all the demands of propriety. When he first arrived in Munich and again when he was temporarily on active duty with the Fourteenth Alarm Company, the first thing he asked his mother to send was an ample supply of visiting cards.¹⁷

He fitted well into the formal routine that still prevailed in most of the social life of university students. Dr. Quenstedt had encouraged him to learn dancing as an activity appropriate to his supposed heart condition, and Heinrich recognized that it was also essential for the social milieu in which he would live. Initially he was apprehensive about revealing his awkwardness and was forced to confess that the first attempts were "disastrous."¹⁸ Prodded on, however, by his own resolve to fight it through and by the careful coaching of his friends (Maja gave him instructions on the proper way to bow) he began to improve, and by the Christmas holidays he felt secure enough to use his new-found skill at parties. In the spring term he frequently went to dances and was pleased by the social assurance he had attained.¹⁹

His adjustment to student life was enhanced also by his

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during his university days and was still an active *Alter Herr*. Heinrich's status as a second-generation member of Apollo and close relations with many of its alumni and senior members facilitated his acceptance and gave him a feeling that in this most traditional of all German academic institutions he really belonged.²²

Outside the *Bund* also the social contacts he made in consequence of his father's past and present positions made his path smoother. He made new contacts through his father's post in Ingolstadt, and the children of many of his father's colleagues were among his fellow students at the university and *Technische Hochschule* in Munich. And over and above all this he had a large number of acquaintances among his own former classmates in Munich and Landshut. Rarely did he go to a party or dance that he did not come upon some former school friend or family acquaintance. His old companion Falk Zipperer was in Munich too, and on occasion the two boys resumed their poetic endeavors. The presence of so many familiar faces made it easier for him to feel at home and to avoid pangs of anxiety and loneliness.²³

Yet there were many evenings when the Loritz family and his brother Gebhard, all of whom were members of another student group, the *Akademischer Gesang Verein*, went off together to a dance or concert and Heinrich was left alone to study and brood about himself and his future. During his whole first year as a student, in the quiet moments that he had to himself he came back again and again to the question of what was to become of him. Despite his general success in keeping his frustrations under control and finding a pleasant social niche, he relapsed repeatedly into anxiety about what lay ahead of him.

One of the major causes of his worry was money. The inflation which had started during the war years progressed by fits and starts, and Professor Himmler's fixed income was beginning to show the strain. Burdened with the expense of putting three boys through a higher education, both the professor and his wife were becoming more exacting about the money that Heinrich and Gebhard spent while away from home. The boys were required to keep detailed records of their expenditures, and their requests for extra money encountered increasing resistance. In spring 1920 Heinrich paid his tuition in six small installments. This may have been due to a shortage of ready cash. At the same time he took a

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part-time job as a teacher's aid in the writing program of the *Akademische Arbeiterkurse*, a special education program which offered secondary school education to members of the lower classes. His need of money may have been as important a motive as the desire to do something for the working class.²⁴

More significant than the temporary inconvenience which resulted from the tightened money situation was his rising apprehension about whether there would be enough money to see him through the next three years of his education. The inflation struck at the heart of the security and self-confidence of members of the professional middle class by revealing how dependent they were on forces they could not control and often did not understand. But if the ground was shaky under the feet of middle-class adults, their adolescent offspring were even more sharply threatened; should the money for their education fail, they ran the risk of falling permanently out of their proper class and finding themselves helpless in an unaccustomed world of impoverishment and uncertainty.

Heinrich's apprehension about the future was indirectly heightened by his worry and confusion regarding sex. Puritanical as he was, he repeatedly voiced his devotion to the ideal of sexual abstinence and ardently sought a formal friendship with a girl in order to mask his own self-doubt. On the one hand he wanted the security of a long, formal courtship, on the other he was afraid that, if he actually became serious about a girl, it might lead to early marriage and thus rule out any possibility of the extended training necessary for a successful career. After his disappointing romances with Luisa Hager and Maja Loritz he was more on guard against close relations with girls. He put on the armor of politeness and avoided going beyond amenities or discussions of the characteristics of the ideal woman or of the differences between males and females.²⁵

Underneath this social veneer he was bothered by his own developing sex drive and his first encounters with people who had a freer attitude toward sexual relations. His ignorance about sex heightened both his interest and his fears. He was inclined to seek enlightenment through books and guarded discussions with his friends. One night he and a fellow student were approached by a prostitute on their way home. The description of the incident given in his diary is quick to

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point out that her efforts were "of course without success" but adds "the incident was very interesting however."²⁶ In his reading he sought examples of chaste relations between young men and women and of models of female virtue. If he found them, he was ready to put aside all doubts in order to draw inspiration from what he read. Ludwig Finckh's *Der Rosendoktor* stressed that the author was a radical democrat, a fact that would usually have called Heinrich's critical faculties into play; but since it painted a picture of a happy young couple who scrupulously avoided any immorality, he was overjoyed by it. "A book full of high ideals," he comments, "great, often only too valid truths. A lofty hymn, a well-warranted lofty hymn to women. I was satisfied as I have not been for a long time."²⁷

Other books disturbed him and inclined him to reexamine some of his attitudes. When he finished Margarete Böhme's *Tagebuch einer Verlorenen* (Diary of a lost soul), a rather farfetched exposé of the plight of a prostitute, his comment shows some doubts about the scorn he usually poured on those who had wandered from the path of virtue. "A book that gives one a glimpse of the frightful fate of people," he writes, "and leads one to look at many prostitutes from a very different point of view."²⁸ Yet it was not to encounter new ideas or fresh doubts that he sought books on sex but to find encouragement in his effort to maintain the established code. His greatest success came when he read Hans Wegener's *Wir jungen Männer, das Sexuelle Problem des gebildeten jungen Mannes vor der Ehe* (We young men: the sexual problem of the educated young man prior to marriage), an appeal for male chastity aimed at young men of Heinrich's class and age. Wegener based his case on the physical and personality damage that allegedly arose from promiscuity rather than on the authority of religious commandments. Heinrich raced through the book in two days and received so much solace from it that he failed to note the absence of his favorite religious and moral arguments. His comments exude pleasure and increased confidence: "A book of the highest ideals. Elevated but rich and surely right. Certainly the most beautiful book that I have read on this question."²⁹

Despite the temporary support that he gained from his reading, he was still plagued by doubts; and when he stumbled on some unfamiliar aspect of sexual life, such as homosexuality, he sank to new depths of confusion and near

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despair. On a Sunday evening in March 1920 he picked up Oscar Wilde's short defense of homosexuality *The Priest and the Acolyte*, and the result was devastating. His brief comment shows his shocked disapproval: "An idealization of homosexual men. Awful pictures." In addition he notes, "10:30 at night, I'm in a dreadful mood."³⁰

In his internal struggle over sex, marriage, and the future he tried to gain security by abiding by the teachings of the church and holding firmly to his religious faith. But here again problems arose from the new situations which he confronted as a student, and he fell into periods of religious doubt. The major threat to his faith did not come from any uncertainties about the compatibility of religion and the scientific lessons he was receiving; far from being tempted by philosophical materialism, he viewed the scientific picture of life in the universe as the detailed record of God's design. It was as a result of his social life that he experienced his first religious uncertainty. He was concerned lest fraternity dueling might conflict with the teachings of the church. Since his membership in Apollo was very important to him, he was seriously troubled. A short sermon he heard on the day after Christmas 1919 during a celebration in a Catholic club in Ingolstadt brought these doubts to a head: "During the sermon I had to endure an inner struggle more serious than any before. The dueling business constantly keeps cropping up. In the evening I prayed. I had, of course, earlier partly overcome it. God will continue to help me to overcome my doubts."³¹

Heinrich's religious struggle over dueling seems inconsistent with some of his other activities. Faced with a similar, if potentially much more serious conflict of belief when he went into the army, he had easily reconciled the demands of war with his religious faith. Moreover a letter to his parents while he was on duty in the Fourteenth Alarm Company in spring 1920, written on his return from a patrol through Munich in an armoured car at the time of the Kapp-Lüttwitz *Putsch** shows that he was still free from religious doubts about his army service. "This morning we had a military church service which was very nice," he writes. "General absolution and the Communion for the three of us [Heinrich, Gebhard, and Lu]."³² On the basis of the available

*An abortive effort by conservative army and civilian groups to overthrow the Weimar Republic.

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(The Crusaders) by Sienkiewicz, a Catholic writer whom he liked, did not escape his wrath; "... seen through the eyes of Polish arrogance and rage," he comments. "The Poles painted in white and the Germans in black."⁴¹

His service with the Fourteenth Alarm Company kept his military enthusiasms alive and sharpened his fears about the internal threats to Germany's future, for whenever the authorities became apprehensive they placed the company on active service. He believed all reports of imminent danger and dutifully passed them on to his parents. In a letter home on March 3 he wrote: "At the start of next week the danger of a general strike is *very great*. * ... The general feeling prevails however that the Bolsheviks, even if they don't rise up this time, will raise their heads in a month or two and then it will come to a bloody and hard struggle."⁴² His belief in an immediate showdown combined with his love of soldiering to lessen his doubts about serving a government which he found too liberal and not sufficiently devoted to the nationalistic cause. On March 24, when the Alarm Company was on duty once more because of the Kapp-Lüttwitz *Putsch*, Gebhard, Heinrich, and Lu wrote a joint letter to the Himmlers in Ingolstadt. Gebhard was at great pains to make clear that he was sorry they were missing Easter at home and explained that the military authorities would not let them go. Lu added a couple of lines, filled with joking thanks for his share of a box of "goodies" that Frau Himmler had sent. But Heinrich, who had virtually no sense of humor, was not about to joke or make others responsible for his situation. His contribution to the joint letter read: "Dearest Parents. I also send you the most loving greetings. I remain here because I believe it is my absolute sacred duty to do so. Your Heinrich."⁴³

His sense of duty and his dislike of the republican regime forced him to walk a narrow path between service and opposition. In January 1920 he took part in a mass demonstration at the University of Munich to protest the death sentence passed on Count Anton Arco-Valley, the rightwing assassin of Kurt Eisner. He was also involved in a nebulous plan for military action if Arco-Valley were not reprieved. To his father he wrote that Professor Himmler would have been proud of the patriotism shown by the student demonstrators, but in his diary, after noting that the

*Underlined in original.

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government had reprieved Arco-Valley and thus eliminated any chance for military action or a coup, he commented sadly, "Well, then some other time."⁴⁴

His military ardor helped to paper over his doubts about serving the regime, but it did not prevent a gradual radicalization of his political ideas. He was convinced of German greatness, present frustrations and humiliations notwithstanding, and he had no patience with peaceful or pacifist sentiments. After reading Bertha von Suttner's pacifist novel *Die Waffen nieder!* (Ground arms!) he describes the heroine as "an hysterical woman" and adds that the book "disgusted" him.⁴⁵ But it was in his attitude to anti-Freemason and anti-Semitic sentiments that the change was most apparent. In December 1919 he read Albert L. Daiber's pamphlet *Elf Jahre Freimaurer!* (Eleven years a Freemason!), hoping apparently to find more evidence of a secret plot involving Masons and Jews. His disappointment when he discovered that Daiber considered the Masons silly rather than dangerous is evident in his comments. "A book that doesn't reveal anything especially new about Masonry and portrays it as frightfully (*furchtbar*) harmless," he writes, and then adds, "I might seriously doubt from which side the book was written."⁴⁶ In his reading of fiction he showed increased receptivity to anti-Semitic stereotypes. Concerning Friedrich Spielhagen's nineteenth-century novel *Ultimo* which featured an unscrupulous and evil Jewish banker he notes: "Certainly not a worthless novel. It shows many experiences of life and characterized the Jews very well."⁴⁷

A discussion about "Jews" is mentioned in Heinrich's diary in December 1919.⁴⁸ And a letter from Lu, written in September 1920, suggests that there were other such incidents. Lu writes that he has obtained a copy of Wilhelm Meister's *Judas Schuldbuch* (Book of Jewish guilt), a chronicle of the supposed racial characteristics and misdeeds of Jews which the anti-Semitic (later Nazi) press *Deutscher Volksverlag* issued in many editions in the immediate postwar years. He also notes that he has "long been interested" in it and that he has "discussed this book with you [Heinrich] once in Munich."⁴⁹ This constitutes a rather important indication of young Himmler's mood and the tone of his discussions at this time. He himself did not read the book until a year and a half later.⁵⁰ He was, however, obviously playing with the idea of a Jewish scapegoat, then very

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popular in young conservative circles, and in the process was absorbing increasingly anti-Semitic attitudes. But he had not yet made the leap to complete acceptance.

Where he stood by April 1920 is revealed most clearly in his comments on Artur Dinter's novel *Die Sünde wider das Blut* (The sin against the blood), a classic of racial anti-Semitism which contained a long appendix of documents for the reader's further enlightenment. Heinrich's notes on the book read: "A book that introduces one to the Jewish question with shocking clarity and causes one to approach this situation with extreme distrust. However, at the same time [it inclines one] to investigate the documents on which the novel is based. Then the middle way may truly be the right one. I believe the author is blinded by his rage against the Jews. The novel is a purely polemical novel, with anti-Semitic lectures."⁵¹ He was held back by his conservatism and his belief in academic caution, although there is no indication that he ever actually investigated Dinter's sources. The appeal of Dinter's message was obviously very strong, and Heinrich's suspicion of fanaticism and vulgarity was a fragile defense against the rising tide of radical anti-Semitism.

In view of his increasingly difficult struggle to maintain an orthodox conservatism in politics, of the pressure on other aspects of his value system, and of his own personal torment, it is not surprising that Heinrich was frequently tempted to throw up his hands and flee. From the time he first arrived in Munich, he had tried to learn the Russian language, not because it was required in his course of study (he had already filled his language requirements) but because he had a plan to emigrate to the East and become a farmer. His study and his eagerness to find a girl friend were intertwined in his mind with the notion of leaving Germany and going to Russia, which, although still in the midst of the Red-White struggle, seemed to offer prospects for a farmer. In one of his early moods of depression he noted in his diary: "At the moment I don't know why I am working. I work because it is my duty, because I find peace in work, and for my German life's companion with whom one day in the East I'll live and fight through my life as a German, far from dear Germany."⁵² A month later, when his chances with Maja looked dim, he wrote: "Today, inside myself, I have cut loose from everyone and now depend on myself alone. If I don't find a girl whose

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Chapter VII

The Young Farmer

Throughout the last weeks of August 1920 Heinrich eagerly prepared for his departure from Munich. He said goodbye to relatives and old friends and visited points of interest in the city, as if he were about to embark upon the Grand Tour. In his eyes, the year of *Praktikum* was no burden, it was an opportunity to escape to high adventure. His excitement was enhanced by the acquisition of a motorbike, of which he was extremely proud. The Himmlers apparently hoped this machine would lessen some of the expense of the *Praktikum*, but Heinrich saw it as a passport to freedom and exploration.¹

In the first week of September he pulled on a heavy pack, mounted his motorbike, and headed for his new life in Fridolfing. Much to his joy, he encountered a severe storm and was forced to fight his way through pounding rain and flooded roads. As he gleefully reported to friends and relatives, he was advised not to travel at night because the flooding was dangerous and he did not know the roads. But he pushed ahead anyway and finally reached Fridolfing, like a motorized Columbus, drenched but happy.²

Once on the farm, he immediately plunged into the role of child of nature. "Realize," states a letter to his parents written soon after his arrival, "that it is a year in which nerves and soul can be rested in nature and in the seriousness and joy of the agricultural life. Where the body will be strengthened by a precious peace and made tougher through hard work. . . ."³ His picture of himself was pretentious, but he wanted to believe it, and with all the enthusiasm of his twenty years he did everything he could to make it true. He liked the work and sent Lu and Kaethe as well as his mother detailed descriptions of his labors. As in the previous year at Oberhaunstadt, he reached Fridolfing during the harvest season, and much of his time was spent shocking and binding grain.⁴

Rehrl's farm comprised a modest 120 acres and required diversified work and much improvisation at this time of year. Heinrich was often busy running farm machinery and in addition had to tackle special tasks such as redirecting an

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Hitler Comes to Power 9 B

were at least tolerated by the Reichstag. This had not been the case since the dismissal of Brüning.

By dismissing Brüning needlessly in May 1932, Hindenburg created the predicament that ultimately led him to appoint Hitler. Hindenburg dismissed Brüning because the president wanted to move away from the parliamentary regime and gradually introduce a more conservative and authoritarian system that might eventually lead to the restoration of the monarchy. We can go further and say that the same intentions guided him when he appointed Brüning. In itself this does not require much of an explanation. The old field marshal was, we repeat, not a democrat but a royalist. What requires an explanation is not his lifelong royalist convictions but the conditions under which he could implement them. This, in turn, raises questions about the basic structural problems of the Weimar Republic.

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20 No political party in the Weimar Republic had ever had an absolute majority; hence all the governments were coalitions and most of them had only minority support in the Reichstag. The first duly constituted German government after the fall of the empire in November 1918 and the national elections of 1919 consisted of Social Democrats, left Liberals, and Catholic Centrists. This so-called Weimar coalition, which then drew up the Weimar constitution, lost its majority in the election of 1920 and never regained it. These three parties were basically the only ones firmly tied to the Weimar constitution, although there are some reservations in the case of the Center party. We can say, therefore, that the parliamentary, democratic, and republican form of government had had no support from the majority of the population since 1920.

Another group of parties, led by the Conservatives and the right Liberals, adhered to the idea of a constitutional monarchy, like the one that had ruled Germany until November 1918. But these parties also failed to win a majority. They

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Hitler Orders the Holocaust

To sum up, my conclusion that the final solution was ordered by Hitler is based on three arguments. First, nobody else had ever advocated systematic killing by the state as a way to solve the Jewish question. That Hitler had done so in the 1920s is not in itself proof that he acted accordingly in the 1940s. But it is a strong indication if taken together with his programmatic consistency in foreign policy and with the position of absolute authority he had acquired in Germany since 1933.

Second, all participants who expressed themselves on the subject testified both during and after the war that the killings were ordered by Hitler. Not one of them has ever suggested that somebody else proposed or initiated them. The widespread assertion that Himmler was the principal driving force is clearly refuted by contemporary evidence. Even if all the postwar testimonies are dismissed as apologetic, the wartime statements are convincing enough.

Third, given the nature of the Nazi state and its ruler, it is difficult to imagine that an act of such scope with such far-reaching consequences, one so compromising, moreover, to the conduct of the war and the chances for victory, should have been initiated by subordinate agencies. Since there is no other case of this kind, it can safely be ruled out.

If, then, we agree that the decision was made by Hitler, we must ask how it was reached and transmitted. I have already eliminated the possibility that a single order was given at a certain date. It is strange that this should ever have been imagined. It is in clear contradiction to most comparable practice and can perhaps be explained only by an arresting horror at crimes unprecedented in human history that has, for a long time, prevented or paralyzed conventional historical research and understanding. In other words, to suppose that Hitler had one day called a conference and given an order to exterminate the Jews, and that this order had been carried

in Germany than anywhere else in the world. "The German preoccupation with astrology at that time was unparalleled in any other country in Europe or the USA," according to Ellic Howe.¹⁵ Its rapid postwar growth moved pioneering psychologist Carl Jung to predict that it would become a subject of serious academic study.¹⁶

The trauma of the war had been the obvious catalyst: suffering military, psychological, and economic defeat, Germans were desperately seeking assurances and signs of hope. Faith in the prewar systems and methods had gone. In the stars many sought not only a better personal future for themselves but for their country as well, often believing that portents would soon show the coming of the German Messiah.

Ebertin (born 14 May 1880) was the author of one of the popular astrological annuals. She skillfully rode the wave of astrology's boom, becoming known as a highly skilled practitioner, in fact the first woman in Germany to make a living from it. She had set out in her occult life as a graphologist. However, she had become impressed by astrology's possibilities after her own horoscope had been read.¹⁷

The first of her many books written in clear, concise terms for the general reader was published during World War I and the first issue of her annual, in the same straightforward language, came out in 1917. It was called *A Glance into the Future*.¹⁸ Early in 1923, as she was preparing the following year's edition, Hitler and his Nazi party were conspicuously active in Bavaria. By coincidence, Ebertin had just begun working on some generalized predictions for people born with their natal Sun in Aries when she received a letter from a woman which contained Hitler's birth date.¹⁹

Some recent accounts do not mention whether Ebertin's correspondent was an admirer and/or a follower of Hitler, or whether she included his name in her letter. The prediction naturally has more weight without Hitler's name being given as a clue.

The 1924 edition of her book went on sale at the end of

War-Lord, 1939-45

Italians was cordial, that Hitler would the French which the war from North on, no less than for solini's annexation-ferred. Hitler pro- of France, to allow :cupied France, to French fleet during colonies untouched. ussolini, but he was agreed not to con- until she had come he declined Musso- -Italian negotiations ntion of sharing his

stice Hitler had ap- forest of Compiègne, ch had dictated the man delegation on 11 ant car in which the as brought out from the identical spot it

when Hitler led his Böring, Keitel, Braud Hess—through the of granite on which here on 11 November pride of the German free peoples which it

legates in silence. He of the preamble, then his outstretched arm, e, left the railway car.

The Inconclusive Victory, 1939-40

As he strode back down the avenue of trees to the waiting cars the German band played *Deutschland über Alles*, and the Nazi Horst Wessel Song. The one-time agitator, who told the Munich crowds in 1920 that he would never rest until he had torn up the Treaty of Versailles, had reached the peak of his career. He had kept his promise: the humiliation of 1918 was avenged.

With France Hitler had every reason to be satisfied. The French Government had been relieved by the comparative moderation of the German demands, and the armistice was signed without further difficulty. But the news which Hitler had been waiting for since the middle of June, a sign for London that the British were willing to consider peace negotiations, still failed to come. Tentative soundings through the neutral capitals produced no result. On 18 June Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons, declared the Government's determination to fight on whatever the odds, 'so that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say: "This was their finest hour".'

Hitler at last summoned the Reichstag for 19 July, more than a month after the collapse of France. The month's silence left little doubt that the British, to Hitler's genuine astonishment and even regret, were resolved to continue the war. After waiting in vain for a move on the part of the British Government Hitler decided to make a last gesture. 'In this hour, I feel it to be my duty before my own conscience to appeal once more to reason and common sense in Great Britain as much as elsewhere. I consider myself in a position to make this appeal since I am not the vanquished begging favours, but the victor speaking in the name of reason. I can see no reason why this war must go on.'

Hitler had already issued the directive for the invasion of Britain three days before his speech. If Britain would not come to terms she must be forced

he sought his fortune in Scandinavia. He demonstrated their latest plane and he could keep the plane as payment. He asked him to recommend his reputation as the Richthofen. His life had an undeniable aim with four former Richthofen Danish pilots paid him twenty-five dollars he could drink for two days liquid portion of the honorarium, guests' shoes outside their rooms and ladies about in a wheelbarrow him from the local police station. He now broke his. At Mainz in March, a young actress appearing on a carbo-like creature would become hers, although she would remain a courtesan rather than for any conventional courtesan, and when she and Harry Liedtke, Göring swore with his bare hands. Käthe's sister, and in the subsequent sad loss of Arc would often turn to him for persecution.

Denmark to Sweden. At Malmö, the embryonic Swedish airline Svenska preferred war veterans as pilots. Swedish license to fly passenger was Göring's prized possessions. At the end of September the German that Lieutenant Hermann Göring was for the post of Reich president. He was, and he soon learned that even society. Writing from Stockholm, mobilization from the army with the to wear the air-corps uniform; if he felt his rights to any pension and title for my further station in life. Five days later, "that my request is possible." In a further letter on April 10, rights, explaining now that the advantage in my civilian career." He later.

and Göring, distinguished German

aviator and knight of the Order of Pour le Mérite, might spend the rest of his life in Sweden. He bought Langenscheidt's dictionary of Swedish, and started to learn the language.

With his dazzling good looks and his courtly manner he was a killer in Swedish society, but he found no woman who could fill the gap left by Käthe Dorsch until February 20, 1920—the night that a young and wealthy Swedish explorer, Count Eric von Rosen, chartered Göring's plane for a flight up to his castle, Rockelstad. After a bumpy, stomach-pitching flight through gathering blizzards, Göring landed expertly on the frozen lake next to the castle and accepted the count's invitation to spend the night. He had always liked castles. Balloons of cognac in their hands, Hermann and Eric strolled through the great structure, pausing once before a giant stuffed bear—the rugged beast reached out stiffly at the Norseman who had slain it with his spear. By coincidence there were several swastika emblems embellishing the castle. The swastika had yet to appear on the flags and armbands in drum-beating parades across Nazi Europe, and Hermann had never seen one before; Count Eric had discovered the swastika emblem on rune stones in Gotland, and had incorporated this harmless Nordic symbol of the rising sun everywhere at Rockelstad—embossed on the hearth and iron firedogs and on one wall of his shooting box in the grounds.

As Göring puzzled at the emblem, he was distracted by a rustling sound, as a statuesque, auburn-haired lady glided down the stairs. This was Carin, Countess von Fock; her sister was Eric's wife. Upright, round-faced, and tenderhearted, Carin was the thirty-one-year-old daughter of a Swedish officer and his Irish wife. She was bored with life in general and her officer husband, Nils von Kantzow, in particular. She was eager for adventure and hungered for romance. It is not impossible that having noticed a prominently featured interview of Göring published in the *Svenska Dagbladet* two weeks before—he had commented on a recent airplane crash—she and Eric had actually plotted to arrange the aviator's enforced sojourn at their castle.

Whatever the origins of their meeting, Göring fell deeply in love with Carin von Fock. She was nearly five years older; she was different from any other woman he had set eyes on. She showed him the tiny chapel of the family's private Edelweiss Order nestling behind the castle, and Hermann detected in her something of the maternal feeling that he had always missed in his own mother. Before flying back to Stockholm the next morning, he wrote in the guest book: "Hermann Göring, Kommandeur, Jagdgeschwader Freiherr von Richthofen, February 21, 1920."

Afterward, he penned these emotional lines, betraying a depth of feeling found scarcely anywhere else in his writings:

I would like to thank you from my heart for the beautiful moment that I was allowed to spend in the Edelweiss chapel. You have no idea how I felt in this wonderful atmosphere. It was so

earthly noise, all my worries,
... I was like a swimmer
new strength before he throws
of life. . . .

er (he had died on the battlefield),
and to marry a German officer too.
von Fock in Stockholm or at the
existence piloting air taxis for Sven-
he wrote in March 1920: "When
there were more requests for round-
ing these on Sundays." He added
n: "There is much confusion about
akes responsibility."
Svenska Dagbladet reported that
months been one of Stockholm's
off his white-cowled wartime Fok-
ver BMW engine at an aerobatics

ried Swedish countess grew into a
anything at all sanctified it then, it
elt for the other. This becomes clear
have surfaced in the United States.
t precious documents, stored in an
at "Carinhall" in February 1944, it
letters to him, as well as his diaries;
in his private train in Berchtesgaden
ing hint at the mounting opposition
ant German aviator had aroused in
father would last until her death.
arin traveled to Germany. (Nils was
Cyr Military Academy.) Hermann's
the Munich railroad station. Carin
d they were both "German to their
d her hotel room with roses, and he
öring (whom the Swedish countess
scolded Hermann like a small boy
d and from her seven-year-old son,
out his jaw, turned on his heel, and
s with him. They spent a few idyllic
the Bavarian mountains. The photo-
towering over her young lover, with
in the background.
Kantzow showed a heroic stoicism,

and even a generosity that Carin surely ill deserved. He wrote to her parents saying that he still loved her; when he met her briefly in Berlin on August 4, she assured him that all she wanted from life was her mother, husband, and little Thomas, but when she returned to Sweden she added Hermann to that list and made it plain she wanted her German lover to come and live with her, even though it meant losing her husband. To her uncomprehending sorrow, Nils declined to let her salvage Thomas from the family collapse along with the other jointly owned property at No. 5, Karlavägen.

She wrote to Göring from that address on December 20, 1920, thanking him for two letters and telegrams from Berlin and Munich:

Darling! You really need not have any concern for me. Nils is so nice to me, and no one else is angry with me. It is so terrible for me without you, my only eternally beloved. I feel more and more how deeply and warmly and sincerely I love you. I don't forget you for a minute. Thomas is my consolation. He is so sweet and dear and loves me so faithfully and deeply. He has gotten so big, and he laughs and kisses me every time he sees me. Today was his last day at school and he got the highest marks in every subject. He was so happy, he had two sweet tears in his blue eyes!

Her mother-in-law, she continued, "that old witch," had phoned Nils two days ago to ask for her address; Nils had said she was back in his home in Karlavägen, and his mother had congratulated him and written Carin a cloying letter reproaching her, which evoked from her only a scornful comment, written to her distant lover, "Isn't she a conceited, idiotic old monkey???"

You asked me [wrote Carin to Hermann] about writing from Bayrischzell. Yes, darling, always write me at Karlavägen. It is after all better to be open about it. I told Nils the whole truth the first day I was back. I told him you were with me at Bayrischzell and that you had rented our house for me. He took it all very calmly and even said he was glad to know I was happy and hadn't been all by myself.

On the following day she wrote more, lamenting that Nils and her own family never left her alone—"Nils always wants to talk to me and in spite of the fact that he is nice and friendly, I am bored to death!" She went on:

Darling, oh, how I long for you! . . .

Moreover Nils still hasn't given me a cent. What a nerve! He knows I don't have anything. Today I told him, "You'll have to

Dec 20, 1920

give me a little money, I want to give Mama and my sisters something for Christmas!"

"No, Carin dear," says he, "no need for you to do that: I'll give presents to your relatives and friends!"

"Have you ever heard anything so dumb? . . . This ignorance makes him seem like a scoundrel, but at the same time like an angel or a child. I get so nervous I can hardly stay in the same room or house with him.

More and more I realize how much you mean to me. I love you so much. You are everything to me. There is no other like you. To me you are really my ideal in everything. You do everything so sweetly . . . You remember me with so many little things and that makes my life so happy. Now, for the first time I realize how accustomed I have become to you. It is difficult for me to say it . . . I want you to feel it in your dear beloved heart! If I could only say that with kisses and embraces, darling! I would like to kiss you from one end to the other without stopping for an hour. Do you really love me as much as you say? Is that possible??

My thoughts are with you. You must feel my love everywhere, in every little corner, table and chair; in my thoughts I kiss everything that is near you—that dear ugly old floor in the kitchen, your bed, your chair. I am crying, I love you so much. I think only of you, and I am true to you in everything.

The remainder of this letter makes plain that her disapproving sister Fanny had chaperoned them in Bavaria. Fanny was scornful. "Look how he's compromised Carin!" she exploded over one meal. "In Germany it's a scandal for a woman to live the way she did and to do the things she did. He was placing her in an impossible position in German eyes, and as a German officer he must have known it."

"Carin is the one you should be angry with," their mother retorted. "Not Göring."

Her cuckolded husband, Nils, continued to support her, but their curly-haired boy, Thomas, was often crying, sleepless, and worried. "Nils could not live without Thomas now," Fanny reproached her sister Carin. "Oh, Nils . . . He is one of the noblest men I know."

Deaf to this reproach, Carin invited Göring to live with her in Stockholm quite openly. He obeyed her call. Heedless of her parents' protests, they took a small apartment in Östermalm. Uneasy at this irregular union, which may have reminded him of his mother's liaison with Von Epenstein in his own childhood, Göring pleaded with her to divorce Nils but she refused, fearful of losing her son. Thomas lived with his father, torn between the two ménages. He slipped off after school to visit his mama and "Uncle Göring."

1920

Nils pleaded with her to ret lunch; young Thomas listen with tales of the "Red Baron" his mother never took his ey.

Unable to take the waggin and his mistress left for Ger little hunting lodge at Hochkn ich. He registered at the uni money with painting and hand a painted cupboard door sign for a retired army captain in fi they were penniless, and whu pay the doctor's bill (Nils he coat—and buy a ticket back home by offering the family' reply, inviting her mama to M surance: "Mama would not fi

"Bavaria," she wrote in thi tryside, so rich, so warm and of Germany. I am very happy feel homesick for Sweden, it little boy, and those I love. B I am nearly always melancholy have such powerful love withi

1920
Catholicism, but one that was far more square-toed, far more local, sectarian, and petty.

Though there were plenty of men, certainly, who like Melancthon would have preferred the vision of the secrets of the Divinity to their intellectual research of them and started from the principle that "to know Christ is to know His deeds, not to reflect on His natures and the manner of His incarnation," yet, taken all in all, the Reformation did not mean the outburst of a purer, deeper, more fundamental relation to the Godhead, but, on the contrary, the victory of knowledge about faith over Faith itself. Theology triumphed at the last over religion.

In practice, too, it was *party* that triumphed. Faith became more and more a matter of community and co-membership. Now, it may be possible to break stones or visit a music-hall in common, or to eat and drink in common, even to murder and take part in politics in common, but one cannot have mass-worship of God any more than one can have mass-love. The characteristic but senseless prejudice of modern man, that all human activities can, nay, must be carried out in common, the ambition of the modern age to make of all humanity a factory, a barrack, a vast hotel, a trust, a reformatory, began to infest religion too. The consequence of this massive mass-religiousness was the Thirty Years' War.

The Reformation was not a creative religious movement. There have been some who quite seriously wished to include Luther among those who have inaugurated new religions, but such men were possible only in the East and in the Classical age — though perhaps again possible in Russia today. The atmosphere of the sixteenth century was not a religious one, it was far too dry, too cool and sharp; it was a world of merchants, diplomats, antiquaries, scribblers, far removed from all craving for eternity, devoted wholly to this world; and even a Luther could not remain uninfluenced by the spirit of the age.

The men of that age almost make us believe the sad words of Goethe: "Men exist only to trouble and kill each other; so was it, so is it, and so shall it ever be." Yet post-Christian humanity has one vast superiority over the man of antiquity — it has a bad conscience. Human beings have not altered; they live for the senses, act for their own advantage, are selfish, use force,

deceit, and injustice; in good faith, but half possess the humour and achievement of Christ.

Here we touch upon an immense question: Is there deniably an evil creature? Why does he do evil? Why does he do good? He is a huge moral scruple, all the angel possesses a corner neither one thing nor another. Thus, it is a grotesquely unique an whole. He is a huge good, why does he do evil? The destiny of every man is a new.

J. V. Jensen, in an illuminating review of classes reminds us that the Chinese might quit the Reformation period but inwardly full of vigour and its covetous traits of the time were preserved for us right in vain to give my though we know for able to see and hear them is possible, for thing of the mask of the Middle Ages, for dawdling wilfully even today and, a time was peasant educated classes, understand that a sure sense of nature

A. H.
The secret
was to
steal
this
power
back
from
the
Churches
to build
new
ways to
mass
people.
D. T. I
kept
telling
him
The
monster
of creation
that this
was the
only way
to change the world
in the long story
a decade rather
than a century

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

this house from May 1920 to 5 October 1920." The main room was about nine by ten feet, the floor was covered with worn linoleum and a few scatter rugs. There were a chair, a table, a makeshift bookcase, and, above the bed, his mother's picture. The room was small, but there was space for him to stride diagonally back and forth in carpet slippers as he solved the problems of the day.

Increasingly, however, Hitler spent his time in the neighborhood of Berchtesgaden in the Bavarian Alps close to the Austrian border. First he stayed at the Pension Moritz, then in Berchtesgaden itself in a hotel, the Deutsches Haus. Here he finished the second volume of Mein Kampf and wrote newspaper articles. As he later recalled, "I lived there like a fighting cock. . . . I wrote the second volume of my book. I was very fond of visiting the Dreimäderlhaus, where there were always pretty girls. This was a great treat for me. There was one of them especially who was a real beauty." ²⁴⁰

In 1928 he began renting a house high in the mountains with a commanding view of the Obersalzberg. A few years later he bought the property, had it completely rebuilt, and called it his Berghof (Mountain Farm). Expensive furnishings were contributed by his motherly benefactors, Frau Hélène Bechstein, widow of the piano manufacturer, and Frau Winifred Wagner. Among the gifts were rare porcelain, books (including the complete works of Richard Wagner), and a manuscript page of Lohengrin.²⁴⁷ During this period he also changed his residence in Munich, moving into an impressive nine-room apartment at 16 Prinzregentenplatz in the fashionable Bogenhausen part of town, a household which he maintained until his death. Here he was near two of his favorite artists. The villa von Stuck was just down the street, as was the Prinzregententheater, built in 1900-1901 especially for Richard Wagner, whose marble statue dominates its gardens.

He could afford these luxuries because his finances had improved, thanks, in large part, to social connections. As Ernst Hanfstaengl recalled with considerable pride, "Mine was the first Munich family of standing into which he was introduced." He brought Hitler into the "best" society—at any rate, people of influence and money. They included the family of Fritz-August von Kaulbach, the Bavarian artist, and the Bruckmanns, wealthy Munich publishers who had among their authors Houston Stewart Chamberlain. Elsa Bruckmann, the former Princess Cantacuzène, a considerably older woman, made something of a protégé of Hitler, as did Gertrude von Seidlitz and yet another older woman, Carola Hoffmann, who called herself "Hitler's Mommy" (*Hitlers Mutti*). Frau Bechstein, who called Hitler "my little wolf," also developed a motherly interest in him. She wanted her daughter Lotte to marry the charming Austrian.

The value of wealthy female admirers is shown graphically in the inventory Hitler used as security for a loan in the summer of 1923. For an undisclosed purpose, he borrowed 60,000 Swiss francs from

1920

The Child As Father to the

the coffee magnate Richlin. The note reads:

As security for th
Richard Frank valu
in Munich . . . the
pendant with platin
platinum ruby ring
inum with diamond
carat gold ring . . .
made, 6½ meters
Spanish piano shaw

Hitler's income tax :
for the years 1925-1935
do, however, reveal som
the return. It is clear,
paraded his patriotism
mandated of his countrym
ment of tax revenue. In
whatever for 1924 and t
he was somehow able t

Hitler tended to l
prostitutes together as t
taxes, he had little to c
actual income and with
tions as valid. Later, th
from sales of *Mein Kam*
taxation.

Hitler's income fror
of the Weimar Republic.
improved; they went up
After Hitler came to pow
the book—if not to read
quite accurate in annou
the Bible in total sales.

Hitler's valets, secre
picture of the daily pai
which did not differ sig
previous decade. Normal
noon. His valet (Karl W
1945) watched for the fi
be seen reaching out to t
newspapers and import
quickly withdraw as its c
would bathe and shave

1920

D

II

TOMORROW THE WORLD

Suddenly the dream of German world
dominion is dreamed out. Maybe it
was not such a lovely dream anyhow.

German lieutenant's diary entry
for 15 October 1918.¹

We'll keep on marching before us
Though everything's shot to hell,
For Germany's ours today and
Tomorrow the world as well.

(Wir werden weiter marschieren
Wenn alles in Scherben fällt,
Denn heute gehört uns Deutschland
Und morgen die ganze Welt.)

Nazi marching song.

1920
Hitler's myth of the toxic Jew amounted to a denial of the 1918 defeat. For the force of it was that there would have been no defeat except for the treachery of Germany's Jews—that is, of un-Germans mistaken for Germans. As Hitler put it: "Heroically our people won the war. It took four-and-a-half years to poison our people to the point that it then defeated itself."² His implied denial of the defeat led straight into his proposal for undoing it: "If we took care of all the trickery and devilry of the outside enemy four-and-a-half years running, we shall take care of the devil on the inside too."³

While such transparency was exceptional even on Hitler's part, denial was a widespread German response to the 1918 defeat. Official welcomes addressed to troops repatriated from France and Belgium were all of a kind with that of the new Socialist chancellor Friedrich Ebert on 10 December 1918: "No enemy vanquished you."⁴ Technically Ebert spoke the truth. The German government had opened armistice negotiations to fore-

early
1920's

D
on
monument
- soul
vibration
1916
at the
+
Omega
D.T. &

early
1916 + 1920's

voice. I had the peculiar feeling that its excitement was his doing and yet was prompting his words at the same time."⁵ The hate and pain that sounded in Hitler's oratory of 1919 and after, its shrill pitch and brutal inflections, were foreign to the prewar artist and wartime dispatch bearer. New too after 1918 was his compelling sense of purpose manifest on the rostrum and off. Earlier he was inward and awkward, bookish and prankish, unassuming and undemanding. "Hitler was then . . . just about the opposite of what he was later," declared his regimental adjutant of World War I, Fritz Wiedemann, in 1948.⁶ Wiedemann well remembered the perennial private first class as "a particularly quiet, modest, dutiful subordinate" with no capacity whatever for leadership.⁷ Encountering Hitler at a regimental reunion in the early 1920s, Wiedemann "could tell at a glance that he had become another man."⁸ Of all his features not in evidence before the postwar period, the most arresting was his hypnotic gaze.⁹

The change in Hitler had an ideological aspect that seemed to govern the rest. Apparently he was not an anti-Semite until the end of World War I despite his subsequent claim to have become one earlier in Vienna.¹⁰ His boyhood friend from Linz, August Kubizek, later described him converting to anti-Semitism when they roomed together in Vienna in the spring of 1908. But Kubizek's account, loosely aligned on Hitler's own in *Mein Kampf*,¹¹ is at odds with the best evidence on the decade that followed. Fritz Wiedemann and Hitler's fellow dispatch bearers Ernst Schmidt and Ignaz Westenkirchner flatly denied his anti-Semitism for 1914-1918.¹² Anti-Semitism is conspicuously unmentioned in the four relevant memoirs on him in the Nazi Archive (one by a cotenant of a men's hostel in Vienna and three by regimental comrades)¹³ and is absent from all his known correspondence predating the 1918 defeat. He had positive relations with a whole run of Jews, from the doctor who treated his mother in Linz until her death in December 1907 to his battalion and, briefly, regimental adjutant who obtained the Iron Cross First Class for him in August 1918.¹⁴ The pretended firsthand accounts besides Kubizek's that accord with Hitler's own dating of his anti-Semitism back to 1908 or 1909 are no evidence. One

Note:
the
framing
concept
could be
made
in 1920
and
called
for in
1944.

* D.T. Often, we are the midwife
to the emergence of an Al & his or
an Omega.

Lehmann

Hill and Herlin

1970/71

respectable.) That complexity was noticed by others. Peter Kleist, one of Ribbentrop's satellites, wrote in his memoirs: "I had the opportunity to study his face carefully. It has always amazed me because of the multiplicity of expressions it contained. . . . Photography, by selecting only a single moment out of context, could show only one aspect, thereby giving a false impression of the duplicity or multiplicity of being which lay behind this image." He added: "I tried to find some explanation for the hypnotic effect of those eyes without arriving at any explanation."*

Hitler was extraordinarily aware of his pictorial image. We have already noted his assiduous interest in his photographic portraits. When at the age of forty-eight (a normal time) he found it necessary to use glasses, he ordered that no picture should be taken showing him wearing spectacles. To Speer he once said that his disciplined eating habits were also the result of his decision to keep his weight down: "Just imagine if I went around with a belly. That would be a political disaster!"† One (if not the best) physical description extant was written by the patrician Schramm: "The man's head seemed to dominate his entire body; torso, arms, legs—all seemed to hang down from it." He also noted Hitler's extreme mania for cleanliness. "Yet he never achieved elegance. His jacket hung about him like a sack; his trousers did not sit well. . . ."‡ More important than these doubtless accurate observations by a Hamburg patrician are Schramm's remarks about the ambivalence of Hitler's expressions:

*Peter Kleist, *Die europäische Tragödie*, Göttingen, 1951, p. 199. About Hitler's physical appearance see Günther Scholdt, *Autoren über Hitler*, Bonn, 1993 (hereafter: *SCHO*), pp. 199–209.

†*SP*, p. 314. One exception to his ascetic habits: his extraordinary fondness for creamy Viennese cakes.

‡*SCH*, pp. 17–18. One important item of Hitler's physiognomy that is rarely noted—and is obscured by the trademarks of his famous mustache and the strand of hair over his forehead—was his nose. It was a very large, almost brutal, perfectly triangular, pyramidlike nose, but this impression of its size was somewhat reduced by the mustache. Whether that mustache was cultivated because of Hitler's consciousness of his nose is questionable; what is not questionable is the existence of this consciousness. In Irving (1/*w*, p. 71), there is one of Hitler's sketches of himself in the 1920s. The emphasis is on that large triangular nose, and not on the determined chin ("from an original in the author's [i.e., Irving's] possession").

Look it up if we have the drawing

and or hear or see reports of what
st. This unwillingness accorded
even to look at photographs of
or at pictures of the German
mutal winter of 1944-45, pictures
pushed aside (and perhaps even
photographs of the July 1944 con-
e faced, again, with a duality in
not wanting to know something
it at all. Within Hitler's person
akness in a man who otherwise
or, at best, a sensitive (and, in a
cter of a man whose brutal ideas
y opposite of sensitive. Hitler
pleasure in the sufferings of his
of the flesh; Hitler's sins were
evidence that his often-stated
s he was acting as an instrument
forced on him by Jews—were

Korherr, a statistician working for the
exact statistical account of the number
in summarized and typed on a special
Schmann (Fl. p. 138). Hitler saw it and

Holocaust-Forschung und Goldhagens
is still not wholly clear whether eco-
noms for work, did not have a consider-
rulers."

remark about Hitler's unwillingness
only, who was of (partly) Jewish origin:
with the killing of Jews he was 'only'
victims."

nection of the Final Solution with his
er be won: He knew not only that he
the world knew this. The perceptive
around the middle of September 1941,
y did not think defeat was inevitable.
take a great deal of luck in the future

to him every day for
must have been
at him. Like devils!

(2)

1919-20

1944, 1942

THERE WERE, as we have seen, a few exceptions to Hitler's categor-
ical condemnation of Jews. There were his exemptions of certain
individuals. There is the statement by his apologist, the architect
Giesler,* who saw Hitler reading, in October 1944, the great biog-
raphy of Emperor Frederick II by the fine German Jewish medie-
valist Ernst Kantorowicz. In one of Hitler's table conversations
(11 December 1941), he asked the rhetorical question: Were there,
are there, any decent Jews? Hardly any. Otto Weininger, perhaps,
"who took his own life as he realized that the Jew lives by the
decomposition of other nations and peoples!"† But on other occa-
sions Hitler mentioned the "Edeljude," the "noble Jew," Dr. Bloch.
Dr. Bloch, as we have seen (in chapter 2), was the Jewish physician

1941

Acem

for him to win; and he saw clearly the price he would have to pay to avoid defeat.
The extermination of the Jews, then, was at once a propitiatory act and an act of
vengeance. By putting to death those he thought of as his archetypal enemies—
little did it matter to his obsessed mind that these were powerless and unarmed
civilians—he was demonstrating his will to fight to the end. By means of the
somehow sacrificial death of the Jews, he was fanatically steeling himself to achieve
victory, to fight on to annihilation. At the same time, and above all, he was expi-
ating spilled German blood, and avenging beforehand a possible defeat. He would
conduct this exercise of vengeance, as it turned out, with mounting determination
as the situation worsened, and as he advanced toward an apocalyptic end."

1941-2

*Giesler, p. 520; about him see chapter 7.

†In *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, ed. H. Picker-A. Hillgruber (M:
1968), p. 36, Dietrich Eckart, Hitler's early mentor, had told Hitler about this only
decent Jew. Lukacs, LEW, pp. 452-53: "Weininger in 1902 wrote an extraordinary
book entitled *Geschlecht und Charakter (Sex and Character)* about women and men,
Jews and Christians, the problem of whose relationship consumed his fiery mind.
[He . . .] was probably right in foreseeing the rise of a tremendous movement of
anti-Semitism. He was wrong in believing that this would be the result of a new,
and rising, Christianity: 'Against this new Jewry a new Christianity comes to light:
Humanity thirsts for the founder of a new religion, and the struggle moves toward
a decision as in the Year One. Between Jewry and Christianity, between commerce
and culture, between woman and man, between earthbound life and a higher life,
between nothingness and Godhead, mankind will again have to choose. These are
the two opposite kingdoms: *There is no Third Reich.*' There was to be a Third Reich,
a Third Reich that was to be ruled not by the religion of Christianity but by the
religion of the folk."

1919-20

discrepancy between his public statements and his private beliefs. Many things—and witnesses—indicate that he not only wanted people to believe what he said, but that he himself believed everything that he said *while he said it*.*

However, there were some differences between his intentions and those of some of his minions. There is evidence that it was not he but Goebbels and others who organized the "Kristallnacht" pogroms, of 9–10 November 1938, and that Hitler ordered their cessation—not, of course, to protect its victims but to protect the reputation of his regime and of Germany.† (At that time, he also rejected Heydrich's proposal to require German Jews to wear a yellow star; he agreed to more restrictions for Jews, but not to all of them.) Yet there is no evidence of the slightest discrepancy between his own convictions and his public statements attributing all of the blame for the coming war to Jewish influences (meaning the decisions of the British and French governments, and of President Roosevelt, to resist him).

We have seen that in the spring of 1941 Hitler was preparing himself, his army, his people, and his propaganda, for a new kind of war—an unrestricted and brutal war, against Russia; that he found it useful to employ the category and the argument describing the enemy as "Jewish-Bolshevism"—but that he did not entirely, or really, believe in the truth of that category. And soon after the beginning of the Russian campaign came the change: the passage from expulsion to extermination, the so-called Final Solution.‡ Evidence that Hitler ordered that, or at least consented to it, is strong—

*In his *Germany 1866–1945* (NY, 1980), Gordon A. Craig puts this well: One of Hitler's psychological principles was "that arguments are weakened by qualifications or concessions to the other side, so that the uncompromising and categorical style tends to be the most convincing." Craig wrote this about Hitler's speeches in the early 1930s, but it is also true of statements made to his circle, including his wartime table conversations.

†Speer (SP, p. 126) recalls "a few words of Hitler, regretting such extremes [*diese Übergriffe*]. He seemed uneasy about them." Other sources confirm this.

‡We must consider that it is only in retrospect—and principally because of the employment of this term at the Wannsee Conference—that we equate "Final Solution" with extermination. Among the frequent instances of the employment of this term (see Lukacs DL, p. 131, note), on 24 June 1940 *re* the plan to deport all Jews of Europe to Madagascar, Heydrich's memorandum to Ribbentrop: The Jewish

in spite of the previous written directive to the sometimes were—madman decisions could be

There are many in August (or early September) war against Russia,† b American connection; then seemingly unavoidable factor. There is a signature 20 September 1941: "T reprisals against German

problem "can no longer be sung becomes therefore necessary time that the ominous phrase generally believed. To this: June and as late as 2 February He has now other ideas, to manches jetzt anders, nicht g of the language of this statement

‡Jäckel, JH, p. 46: "We must caust but whether the Holocaust should prove illuminating since the improvisations may †According to Jäckel (JH, sian Jews, but it is also likely May 1941 he expressed the d future." Yet Hitler did not of mination, JH, p. 53: "According three days before the Russia from [Poland] in the foreseeable camp only. This statement c death, and indeed the killing also be taken literally. On Jul to Siberia. . . ." (He also men In August and September 1 remaining Jews in Germany in the direction.) Uwe-Diet 357: . . . this very possible aim that he tried to achieve." and December 1941. See also *Forschung*, in Uwe Backes, *F Vergangenheit* Impulse zur Hi

on an aspect unaccounted for in the original place and so can be placed in a different context.

dependent on the

tt
 see
 p 192

1920
 *

1938

see p 191

D.T.

* Crucial, absolutely crucial. Most

people are, to a large degree, paralyzed, dead and stupefied by the ab-
 at loggerheads, the situation in which Alpha Omega
 qualifications strengthen both sides and so increase stultification. A strong one-sided attitude, on the contrary, is beneficial when the Alpha or Omega is a person. The leans in such a direction, and the attitude is diminished. The person responsible for the leader. One of, of course,

③

Reactionary and/or Revolutionary? 87

1920, 1930, 1933, 1941

side of his ideology. The most
here was his anticommunism;
sional presentations of himself
antirevolutionary, and even
Christianity.

ism (more precisely, the his-
ment by a master historian. Its
who, no matter how briefly, ex-
of a Soviet-like rule (as had the
1919). Nor was it restricted to
classes, who had much to fear
revolution. The main appeal of
economic. There was the fear
and where the prospects of a
mal, the stronger current was
juding the rejection of an inter-
who seemed to be among its

Socialist; of the two adjectives,
decisive, than the latter. But he
talism, as well as of *international*
ad more of an appreciation of
ocialists than of capitalists and
ments of his in that regard. Not
He knew that in order to come
nticommunism of the German
e told Hindenburg: "The Bol-
apidly." He knew that this was
ad of argument would impress
Unlike nine years before, when

anism among the working classes in
n of Marx. It may also be of interest to
popular not when the power of the
s or Marxists were strongest but when
untries in the 1930s and in the United
McCarthy years.

his revolutionary attempt was shot down in the Munich streets,
he would become the ruler of Germany legally, constitutionally,
democratically, and not against but with the support of the most
respectable people in Germany—at least in part because of their
anticommunism. It is significant that he continued using this theme
even after he became chancellor, and even after the election cam-
paign that finally led to his consolidation of power. On 14 Octo-
ber 1933 (and in a speech justifying Germany's departure from
the League of Nations), he said: "The Red revolt could have spread
across Germany like wildfire. . . . For eight months now we have
been waging a heroic struggle against the Communist threat to our
people. . . ." (This at a time when the Communists in Germany had
been annihilated, their leaders in prison or in exile.) On 27 June
1934 (three days before his move against Röhm, the "Night of the
Long Knives"), he received three Catholic bishops, to whom he
declared: "The defense of Europe against Bolshevism is our task for
the next two or three hundred years."*

He knew how to appeal to the conservatives. Already in *Mein
Kampf* he praised the Christian-populist Karl Lueger, "who knew
how to use the existing structures of power and authority, using
such older elements and institutions to the advantage of his own
movement." We saw that he sought, and gained, entry to conserva-
tive circles in Munich as early as 1920-21. In 1926, he fought and
won against the radical Gregor Strasser within the party, agreeing
to vote in favor of a restitution of properties to the former Ger-
man princes that had been taken from them in 1918—a cause dear
to the older German conservatives. In 1930, he said: "Against us
stands an older Germany. It is no longer our world, but we do not
wish to be torn away from this older Germany, because to it belong

*Cited by Klaus Scholder, *Die Kirchen und das Dritte Reich*, n, 1985, 1, p. 246. He
would, of course, return to such arguments after his invasion of the Soviet Union in
June 1941, but at that time he would no longer do so in the service of domestic
politics but as an instrument of his statesmanship; while at the same time (again,
privately), he often expressed his admiration for Stalin, together with his contemp-
tuous hatred of the reactionary capitalists Churchill and Roosevelt. For more
details about this, see chapter 5.

situation in Germany and do so now, and who for this reason have been the driving forces of the revolution, namely, the Jews. Taking no account of the Jewish peril, which has certainly been recognised by present-day leaders—proof of this is the various statements of present leading figures—they are compelled to accept the support readily offered by the Jews for their own benefit, and therefore to pay the required price. And this price consists not only in giving the Jews every possible encouragement, but above all in hampering the struggle of the duped nation against their brother Jews—in the neutralising of the antisemitic movement.

Apart from antisemitism, extreme nationalism and a form of anti-capitalism predominated in the Party's propaganda at this stage. All these elements were present in the Party programme which was presented on 24 February 1920 to a public meeting in the Hofbräuhaus, a big Munich beer cellar. The programme, often erroneously ascribed to Gottfried Feder who played an influential role in the early years of the Party, was in fact almost certainly composed by Drexler and Hitler and only Point 11 derives from Feder.

3

The Programme of the German Workers' Party is designed to be of limited duration. The leaders have no intention, once the aims announced in it have been achieved, of establishing fresh ones, merely in order to increase, artificially, the discontent of the masses and so ensure the continued existence of the Party.

1. We demand the union of all Germans in a Greater Germany on the basis of the right of national self-determination.
2. We demand equality of rights for the German people in its dealings with other nations, and the revocation of the peace treaties of Versailles and Saint-Germain.
3. We demand land and territory (colonies) to feed our people and to settle our surplus population.
4. Only members of the nation may be citizens of the State. Only those of German blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the nation. Accordingly, no Jew may be a member of the nation.
5. Non-citizens may live in Germany only as guests and must be subject to laws for aliens.
6. The right to vote on the State's government and legislation shall be enjoyed by the citizens of the State alone. We demand therefore that all official appointments, of whatever kind, whether in the Reich, in the states or in the smaller localities, shall be held by none but citizens.
7. We demand the corrupting parliamentary custom of filling posts merely in accordance with party considerations, and without reference to character or abilities.

7. We demand that the State shall make it its primary duty to provide a livelihood for its citizens. If it should prove impossible to feed the entire population, foreign nationals (non-citizens) must be deported from the Reich.

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8. All non-German immigration must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who entered Germany after 2 August 1914 shall be required to leave the Reich forthwith.

9. All citizens shall have equal rights and duties.
10. It must be the first duty of every citizen to perform physical or mental work. The activities of the individual must not clash with the general interest, but must proceed within the framework of the community and be for the general good.

We demand therefore:

11. The abolition of incomes unearned by work.
The breaking of the slavery of interest
12. In view of the enormous sacrifices of life and property demanded of a nation by any war, personal enrichment from war must be regarded as a crime against the nation. We demand therefore the ruthless confiscation of all war profits.
13. We demand the nationalisation of all businesses which have been formed into corporations (trusts).
14. We demand profit-sharing in large industrial enterprises.
15. We demand the extensive development of insurance for old age.
16. We demand the creation and maintenance of a healthy middle class, the immediate communalising of big department stores, and their lease at a cheap rate to small traders, and that the utmost consideration shall be shown to all small traders in the placing of State and municipal orders.
17. We demand a land reform suitable to our national requirements, the passing of a law for the expropriation of land for communal purposes without compensation; the abolition of ground rent, and the prohibition of all speculation in land.
18. We demand the ruthless prosecution of those whose activities are injurious to the common interest. Common criminals, usurers, profiteers, etc., must be punished with death, whatever their creed or race.
19. We demand that Roman Law, which serves a materialistic world order, be replaced by a German common law.
20. The State must consider a thorough reconstruction of our national system of education (with the aim of opening up to every able and hard-working German the possibility of higher education and of thus obtaining advancement). The curricula of all educational establishments must be brought into line with the requirements of practical life. The aim of the school must be to give the pupil, beginning with the first sign of intelligence, a grasp of the notion of the State (through the study of civic affairs). We demand the education of gifted children of poor parents, whatever their class or occupation, at the expense of the State.
21. The State must ensure that the nation's health standards are raised by protecting mothers and infants, by prohibiting child labour, by promoting physical strength through legislation providing for compulsory gymnastics and sports, and by the extensive support of clubs engaged in the physical training of youth.
22. We demand the abolition of the mercenary [i.e. professional] army and the formation of a people's army.
23. We demand legal warfare on deliberate political mendacity and its dissemination in the press. To facilitate the creation of a German national press we demand:
 - (a) that all editors of, and contributors to newspapers appearing in the German language must be members of the nation;

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(b) that no non-German newspapers may appear without the express permission of the State. They must not be printed in the German language;

(c) that non-Germans shall be prohibited by law from participating financially in or influencing German newspapers, and that the penalty for contravening such a law shall be the suppression of any such newspaper, and the immediate deportation of the non-Germans involved.

The publishing of papers which are not conducive to the national welfare must be forbidden. We demand the legal prosecution of all those tendencies in art and literature which corrupt our national life, and the suppression of cultural events which violate this demand.

24. We demand freedom for all religious denominations in the State, provided they do not threaten its existence nor offend the moral feelings of the German race.

The Party, as such, stands for positive Christianity, but does not commit itself to any particular denomination. It combats the Jewish-materialist spirit within and without us, and is convinced that our nation can achieve permanent health only from within on the basis of the principle: *The common interest before self-interest.*

25. To put the whole of this programme into effect, we demand the creation of a strong central state power for the Reich; the unconditional authority of the political central Parliament over the entire Reich and its organisations; and the formation of Corporations based on estate and occupation for the purpose of carrying out the general legislation passed by the Reich in the various German states.

The leaders of the Party promise to work ruthlessly—if need be to sacrifice their very lives—to translate this programme into action.

When Hitler joined the DAP the Party was small and insignificant. No doubt he later exaggerated its weakness in order to emphasise his own impact upon it, but the following description, written in a newspaper article in 1929, is probably fairly accurate, at least for the very early period up to about October 1919:

4

Our little committee, which with its seven members in reality represented the whole party, was nothing but the managing committee of a small whist [*Skat*] club. The procedure was very simple. Every Wednesday a committee meeting took place. To start with, we met in a pathetic little room in a small pub, 'Rosenbad', in the Herrenstrasse.... In 1919, Munich was still in a bad way. Not much light, a good deal of dirt, refuse, shabby people, down-at-heel soldiers, in short the sort of picture which could be expected after four-and-a-half years of war, especially if, as in the case of Germany, the war had been followed by a shocking revolution. So it was a very poor 'committee room' in which we met.... The committee's proceedings consisted in reading out letters received, discussing replies to them, and registering the letters that were sent off following this discussion, i.e., reading them out also. Since that time I have developed a deadly hatred of writing letters and of letter writers.

It was always the same people, probably the chairmen of associations similar in

size. We were sent comradely greetings, we were told that in their particular place the seed had been sown or had even sprouted. We were asked if we could say the same of ourselves and the necessity of joint action was stressed.

We had also 'association funds'. These consisted of material goods and cash. The cash fluctuated around 5 marks, and when times were good it rose to 12, 13, 15, and once, I remember, even to 17 marks. The material goods consisted of a cigar box in which the money was kept, notepaper, envelopes, a few stamps and the 'statutes' of the association.

Hitler's main contribution to the Party in this early period was his ability as a political speaker and his drive and energy. The following excerpt from a speech by Hitler on 26 October 1920, based on notes taken by a member of the Bavarian political police, indicates some of the main themes which he emphasised during this period. The speech, entitled 'National Welfare and Nationalist Idea' was given in the Kindlkeller, a Munich beer cellar:

5

We need some national pride again. But who can the nation be proud of these days? Of Ebert¹ perhaps? (*laughter*) Of the Government? We need a national will just as much. We must not always say: We can't do that. We must be able to do it. In order to smash this disgraceful peace treaty, we must regard every means as justified (*loud applause*). First, there must be a nationalist mood and then will come the economic prosperity of the nation. We must have blind faith in our future, in our recovery.

Now Hitler turned to deal with the Right and the Left. The Nationalists on the Right lack a social sense, the Socialists on the Left a nationalist one. He appeals to the parties on the Right: If you want to be nationalist then come down among your people and put away all your class pride. To the Left he appeals: You who proclaim your solidarity with the whole world, first show your solidarity with your own compatriots, be Germans first and foremost. Do they look like heroes who want to smash the world and yet crawl before foreigners for fear they might not like something they see here? (*applause*) You who are real revolutionaries, come over to us and fight with us for our whole nation (*loud applause*). Your place is not over there with the procurers of international capital, but with us, with your own people!! (*stormy applause*).

Then Hitler turned to the future of Germany, to the youth of Germany, and, in particular, with warm words for their intellectual leaders, the German students. Your place is with us, with the people. You who are still young and still have the fire of enthusiasm in your veins, come over to us, join our fighting party, which pursues its aims ruthlessly, with every means, even with force! (*loud applause*) We are not a class party, but the party of honest producers (*Schaffenden*). Our strength does not lie in the International but in our own strength, that is to say in our people! (*long and stormy applause*)

¹Friedrich Ebert, Social Democrat President of the Weimar Republic, 1919-25.

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the German Workers' Party (sub-
 or than it is clarified by his own
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 hip forms, no printed matter, not
 y meetings were handwritten or
 people turned up.³⁰ Eventually, a
 modest rise in numbers attending,
 r advertisement in the *Münchener*
 1919 which attracted 111 people
 loon attached to one of Munich's
 the east of the city centre (and
 Hofbräuhaus, located in the city
 Munich professor, but Hitler –
 for the first time in public (apart
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 ng much-needed new life into it.
 ere in his view uninspiring: they
 served in the war. Hitler and the

behaving this,

party leadership were at odds about future strategy. On the basis of his
 initial success, Hitler insisted on more frequent and larger meetings. He got
 his way, and these took place in the Eberlbräukeller and the 'Gasthaus Zum
 Deutschen Reich', on Dachauerstraße near the barracks area, with Hitler
 speaking to bigger audiences and with great success.³¹ By the seventh meeting,
 a few weeks later, the attendance had swollen to over 400 people. Hitler's
 star was now in the ascendant within the party. Early in 1920, his account
 went on, he urged the staging of the first great mass meeting. Again there
 were major differences of opinion within the party leadership, doubters
 arguing that it was premature and would be a disastrous failure. The cautious
 Harrer, the party's first chairman, resigned because of his disagreement with
 Hitler, and was replaced by Drexler. Again, Hitler prevailed. The mass
 meeting was organized for 24 February 1920 in the Festsaal of the Hofbräu-
 haus in the centre of Munich. The big, noisy hall on the first floor – above
 the even rougher and rowdier 'Schwemme' down below – had, like all the
 city's numerous big drinking establishments, rows of tables stacked with
 the stone beer mugs and benches groaning under the weight of thick-set men
 in Bavarian short leather trousers while hefty waitresses bustled between
 the tables delivering foaming litres of beer. When it was not hired out, as
 it frequently was, for large political meetings, the beer-swilling crowds
 would sway merrily to drinking songs played by a Bavarian brass band.
 At political meetings, heavy drinking, prompting verbal interjections and
 sometimes brawls, was commonplace. Moving to such a venue – a far
 bigger hall than the infant party had so far used – was risky, courting the
 embarrassment of a small turn-out.

A good deal of effort was put into designing striking red posters and
 leaflets advertising the meeting. The party's programme, to be announced
 at the meeting, was also printed and distributed. The publicity worked. The
 huge hall was packed when Hitler arrived at quarter past seven that evening.
 Still according to his own account, after a first speaker, whose name he does
 not mention, had spoken, Hitler – chairing the meeting in the absence of
 Drexler, who had apparently suffered some sort of nervous collapse – took
 the floor. Clashes between his supporters and those trying to heckle the
 speaker took place, but Hitler continued speaking, to mounting applause,
 and expounded the programme, swaying his audience to rapturous and
 unanimous acclamation of its twenty-five points.³² Finally, declares Hitler
 in his *Mein Kampf* version, 'there stood before me a hall full of people
 united by a new conviction, a new faith, a new will'. The German hero was
 setting out on his quest: 'A fire was kindled from whose flame one day the

* what fear he felt!

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sword must come which would regain freedom for the Germanic Siegfried and life for the German nation . . . Thus slowly the hall emptied. The movement took its course.³³

The story has been aptly described as 'a heroic legend in half-naturalistic style, young Siegfried warbling his wood-notes wild in Munich beer halls'.³⁴ The legend was framed to portray the beginnings of the Führer figure, Germany's coming great leader and saviour, as it had emerged by the writing of the first volume of *Mein Kampf* in 1924. Towering over the weak and vacillating early leaders of the party, certain of himself and of the coming to fruition of his mighty vision, proven successful in his methods, his greatness – so his account was designed to illustrate – was apparent even in these first months after joining the movement. There could be no doubt about his claim to supremacy in the *völkisch* movement against all pretenders.

After dealing with subsequent successes in building up the party's following, Hitler returned to the early party history in a later passage in *Mein Kampf* when, surprisingly briefly and remarkably vaguely, he described his takeover of the party leadership in mid-1921. His terse summary simply indicates that after intrigues against him and 'the attempt of a group of *völkisch* lunatics', supported by the party chairman (Drexler), to obtain the leadership of the party had collapsed, a general membership meeting unanimously gave him leadership over the whole movement. His reorganization of the movement on 1 August 1921 swept away the old, ineffectual quasi-parliamentary way of running party matters by committee and internal democracy, and substituted for it the leadership principle as the organizational basis of the party. His own absolute supremacy was thereby assured.³⁵

Here, it seems, embodied in the description in *Mein Kampf*, is the realization of Hitler's ambition for dictatorial power in the movement – subsequently in the German state – which could be witnessed in his early conflicts with Harrer and Drexler, and his rejection of the initial inner-party democratic style. The weakness of lesser mortals, their inability to see the light, the certainty with which he went his own way, and the need to follow a supreme leader who alone could ensure ultimate triumph – these, from the outset, are the dominant themes. The beginning of his claim to leadership can thus be located in the earliest phase of his activity within the party. In turn, this suggests that the self-awareness of political genius was present from the beginning.

Little wonder that, on the basis of this story, the enigma of Hitler is profound. The 'nobody of Vienna', the corporal who is not even promoted to sergeant, now appears with a full-blown political philosophy, a strategy

for success, and a burning will to lead his coming great leader. However puzzling thrust of Hitler's self-depiction has four But, though not inaccurate in all respect and qualification.

III

The break with Karl Harrer soon came as an indicator of Hitler's relentless striving for power. Nor was it simply a matter of whether there was or a type of closed *völkisch* debating organizations at the time faced the same, but an appeal to a mass audience with regularity. Harrer tended strongly towards a 'Workers' Circle', which he himself controlled as a 'Working Committee', where he was simply found himself increasingly isolated. Drexler, the party's message to the masses. He had proposed announcing the party's programme at the Hofbräuhausfestsaal, and that Hitler had prospects of filling the hall.³⁶ As long as Hitler had control of the 'Workers' Circle', the question of strategy would remain unresolved. It was the role of the Committee, which Drexler controlled, that they drew up in December, giving it the appearance of any 'superior or side government, without draft regulations – bearing Hitler's clear authority. The Committee's members and its chairman should ensure their unity, it went on, would be ensured by the programme of the party (which Hitler and Drexler). The new regulations were plainly directed at the party, not devised as a stepping-stone on the way to the party. Evidently, he had no notion of a break. He was ready to accept the corporate leadership. Decisions to stage mass meetings in the name of the Committee as a whole, approved by Hitler's alone, though, once Harrer had d

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for success, and a burning will to lead his party, and sees himself as Germany's coming great leader. However puzzling and extraordinary, the underlying thrust of Hitler's self-depiction has found a surprising degree of acceptance.³⁶ But, though not inaccurate in all respects, it requires substantial modification and qualification.

III

The break with Karl Harrer soon came. It was not, however, an early indicator of Hitler's relentless striving for dictatorial power in the movement. Nor was it simply a matter of whether the party should be a mass movement or a type of closed *völkisch* debating society.³⁷ A number of *völkisch* organizations at the time faced the same problem, and attempted to combine an appeal to a mass audience with regular meetings of an exclusive 'inner circle'. Harrer tended strongly towards the latter, represented by the 'Workers' Circle', which he himself controlled, in contrast to the party's 'Working Committee', where he was simply an ordinary member. But Harrer found himself increasingly isolated. Drexler was as keen as Hitler to take the party's message to the masses. He later claimed that he, and not Hitler, had proposed announcing the party's programme at a mass meeting in the Hofbräuhausfestsaal, and that Hitler had initially been sceptical about the prospects of filling the hall.³⁸ As long as Harrer directed the party through his control of the 'Workers' Circle', the question of the more viable propaganda strategy would remain unresolved. It was necessary, therefore, to enhance the role of the Committee, which Drexler and Hitler did in draft regulations that they drew up in December, giving it complete authority and ruling out any 'superior or side government, whether as a circle or lodge'.³⁹ The draft regulations – bearing Hitler's clear imprint – determined that the Committee's members and its chairman should be elected in an open meeting. Their unity, it went on, would be ensured through strict adherence to the programme of the party (which Hitler and Drexler were already preparing). The new regulations were plainly directed against Harrer. But they were not devised as a stepping-stone on the way to Hitler's supreme power in the party. Evidently, he had no notion of dictatorial party rule at the time. He was ready to accept the corporate leadership of an elected committee. Decisions to stage mass meetings in the next months were, it seems, those of the Committee as a whole, approved by a majority of its members, not Hitler's alone, though, once Harrer had departed and in view of Hitler's

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increasing success in drawing the crowds to listen to his speeches, it is hard to believe that there was any dissension. Harrer alone, it appears, opposed the staging of an ambitious mass meeting in early 1920, and accepted the consequences of his defeat by resigning. Personal animosity also played a role. Harrer, remarkably, thought little of Hitler as a speaker. Hitler was in turn contemptuous of Harrer.⁴⁰

The party's first mass meeting was initially planned to take place in the Bürgerbräukeller (another large beerhall, on Rosenheimerstraße, just over the river Isar about half a mile south-east of the city centre) in January 1920, but had to be postponed because of a general ban on public meetings at the time.⁴¹ It was rescheduled for the Hofbräuhaus on 24 February. The fear that the meeting would be broken up through planned disturbances by political opponents, anxious to disrupt the first big meeting of a party calling itself a 'workers' party', was probably exaggerated at this early stage in the party's development. Large antisemitic meetings were nothing new in Munich at the time. Disturbances had to be reckoned with. A high-point of the antisemitic wave of agitation that had begun in Munich in summer 1919 had already taken place: a huge meeting of the Schutz- und Trutzbund on 7 January 1920, attended by 7,000 people, had provoked scenes of uproar.⁴²

Corporal Hitler, who made a brief contribution to the 'discussion', cannot fail to have been impressed by the resonance of antisemitic agitation – or by the mark on public opinion in Munich made by such a piece of political theatre.⁴³ The main worry of Hitler, as of Drexler, was not that there would be disruption, but that the attendance would be embarrassingly small. This was why, since Drexler recognized that neither he nor Hitler had any public profile, he approached Dr Johannes Dingfelder, not even a party member but well known in Munich *völkisch* circles, to deliver the main speech, on 'What We Are Needing' (*Was uns not tut*). Hitler's name was not even mentioned in any of the publicity. Nor was there any hint that the party's programme would be proclaimed at the meeting.⁴⁴

The twenty-five points of this programme – which would in the course of time be declared 'unalterable' and be in practice largely ignored – had been worked out and drafted over the previous weeks by Drexler and Hitler. Discussion was already under way in mid-November 1919; Drexler had a draft ready a month later, and produced a further draft by 9 February, before the final version was produced in time for the Hofbräuhaus meeting.⁴⁵ The content had much in common with the programme of the DSP.⁴⁶ Its points – among them, demands for a Greater Germany, land and colonies, discrimination against Jews and denial of citizenship to them, breaking

'interest slavery', confiscation of middle class, persecution of proletarians contained little or nothing that was new. Religious neutrality was included because the church-going population in Bavaria was an unobjectionable banality. The same in the Reich, and 'the unconditional' though clearly implying authoritarianism was an indication that Hitler envisaged a personalized regime. There are so many references to Bolshevism mentioned. The overall, apart from the brief reference to the programme cannot fully be clarified from several sources among the party's 'slavery' obviously drew on Gottfried Drexler's favourite idea of Drexler. The forty-word DSP programme, sounds certainly worked on it.⁴⁰ But probably Certainly, Drexler himself claimed Hitler (though did not send) in January 'following all the basic points already composed with me – and with me Socialism, in long nights in the work

Despite worries about the attendance of 2,000 people (perhaps a fifth of the total) into the Festsaal of the Hofbräuhaus chairman, opened the meeting.³² Drexler Certainly, it was un-Hitler like in style mentioned. He blamed Germany's religion, and the rise of selfish materialism, 'order, work, and dutiful sacrifice for speech was well received and unimpaired when Hitler came to speak. Far less academic, than Dingfelder's. The direct, coarse, earthy – that used and – his sentences short and punchy. He the leading Centre Party politician a Erzberger (who had signed the Armistice) acceptance of the detested Versailles

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 citizenship to them, breaking

'interest slavery', confiscation of war profits, land reform, protection of the
 middle class, persecution of profiteers, and tight regulation of the press –
 contained little or nothing that was original or novel on the *völkisch* Right.⁴⁷
 Religious neutrality was included in the attempt to avoid alienating a large
 church-going population in Bavaria. 'Common good before individual good'
 was an unobjectionable banality. The demand for 'a strong central power'
 in the Reich, and 'the unconditional authority' of a 'central parliament',
 though clearly implying authoritarian, not pluralistic, government, gives no
 indication that Hitler envisaged himself at this stage as the head of a
 personalized regime. There are some striking omissions. Neither Marxism
nor Bolshevism is mentioned. The entire question of agriculture is passed
 over, apart from the brief reference to land reform. The authorship of the
 programme cannot fully be clarified.⁴⁸ Probably, the individual points derived
 from several sources among the party's leading figures. The attack on 'interest
 slavery' obviously drew on Gottfried Feder's pet theme. Profit-sharing was
 a favourite idea of Drexler. The forceful style, in comparison with the more
 wordy DSP programme, sounds like Hitler's.⁴⁹ As he later asserted, he
 certainly worked on it.⁵⁰ But probably the main author was Drexler himself.
 Certainly, Drexler himself claimed this in the private letter he wrote to
 Hitler (though did not send) in January 1940. In this letter, he stated that
 'following all the basic points already written down by me, Adolf Hitler
 composed *with* me – and with no one else – the 25 theses of National
 Socialism, in long nights in the workers' canteen at Burghausenerstraße 6'.⁵¹

Despite worries about the attendance at the party's first big meeting, some
 2,000 people (perhaps a fifth of them socialist opponents) were crammed
 into the Festsaal of the Hofbräuhaus on 24 February when Hitler, as
 chairman, opened the meeting.⁵² Dingfelder's speech was unremarkable.
 Certainly, it was un-Hitler like in style and tone. The word 'Jew' was never
 mentioned. He blamed Germany's fate on the decline of morality and
 religion, and the rise of selfish, material values. His recipe for recovery was
 'order, work, and dutiful sacrifice for the salvation of the Fatherland'. The
 speech was well received and uninterrupted.⁵³ The atmosphere suddenly
 livened when Hitler came to speak. His tone was harsher, more aggressive,
 less academic, than Dingfelder's. The language he used was expressive,
 direct, coarse, earthy – that used and understood by most of his audience
 – his sentences short and punchy. He heaped insults on target-figures like
 the leading Centre Party politician and Reich Finance Minister Matthias
 Erzberger (who had signed the Armistice in 1918 and strongly advocated
 acceptance of the detested Versailles Treaty the following summer) or the

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Munich capitalist Isidor Bach, sure of the enthusiastic applause of his audience. Verbal assaults on the Jews brought new cheers from the audience, while shrill attacks on profiteers produced cries of 'Flog them! Hang them!' When he came to read out the party programme, there was much applause for the individual points. But there were interruptions, too, from left-wing opponents, who had already been getting restless, and the police reporter of the meeting spoke of scenes of 'great tumult so that I often thought it would come to brawling at any minute'. Hitler announced, to storms of applause, what would remain the party's slogan: 'Our motto is only struggle. We will go our way unshakably to our goal.' The end of Hitler's speech, in which he read out a protest at an alleged decision to provide 40,000 hundredweight of flour for the Jewish community, again erupted into uproar following further opposition heckling, with people standing on tables and chairs yelling at each other. In the subsequent 'discussion', four others spoke briefly, two of them opponents. Remarks from the last speaker that a dictatorship from the Right would be met with a dictatorship from the Left were the signal for a further uproar, such that Hitler's words closing the meeting were drowned. Around 100 Independent Socialists and Communists poured out of the Hofbräuhaus on to the streets cheering for the International and the Räterepublik and booing the war-heroes Hindenburg and Ludendorff, and the German Nationalists.⁵⁴ The meeting had not exactly produced the 'hall full of people united by a new conviction, a new faith, a new will' that Hitler was later to describe.⁵⁵

Nor would anyone reading Munich newspapers in the days following the meeting have gained the impression that it was a landmark heralding the arrival of a new, dynamic party and a new political hero. The press's reaction was muted, to say the least. The newspapers concentrated in their brief reports on Dingfelder's speech and paid little attention to Hitler.⁵⁶ Even the *Völkischer Beobachter*, not yet under party control but sympathetic, was surprisingly low-key. It reported the meeting in a single column in an inside page four days later. Most of the report dealt with Dingfelder's speech. Hitler's contribution was summarized in a single sentence: 'Herr Hitler (DAP) presented some striking political points (*entwickelte einige treffende politische Bilder*) which evoked spirited applause, but also roused the numerous already prejudiced opponents present to contradiction; and he gave a survey of the party's programme, which in its basic features comes close to that of the Deutschsozialistische Partei.'⁵⁷

Despite this initial modest impact, it was already apparent that Hitler meetings meant political fireworks. Even in the hothouse of Munich politics,

the big meetings of the National Socialist movement henceforth called wanted above all else to make his pa-
'It makes no difference whatever w-
later wrote, 'whether they represen-
thing is that they mention us, that
and again . . .'⁵⁸ He observed the du-
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they were orchestrated, the value of
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Posters were drafted in vivid red to p-
Hitler personally designed the party
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was potentially explosive.⁶² To con-
(Saalschutz) was fully organized by
Sports Section' in August 1921, and
Section' (Sturmabteilung, or SA).⁶³

Only Hitler could bring in the cre-
his self-centred account in *Mein Kampf*,
after feeling provoked into joining i-
on 12 September 1919 before his fir-
the Hofbräukeller on 16 October 1919
have seen, lasted with him. In *Mein*,
phrase with which he had already
Lechfeld Camp: 'What before I had
way knowing it, was now proved by r-
stylized, as the double rendition of d-
no doubting the self-confidence that f-
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In the company of an individual,
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the big meetings of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP),
as the movement henceforth called itself, were something different.⁵⁸ Hitler
wanted above all else to make his party noticed. In this he rapidly succeeded.
'It makes no difference whatever whether they laugh at us or revile us,' he
later wrote, 'whether they represent us as clowns or criminals; the main
thing is that they mention us, that they concern themselves with us again
and again . . .'⁵⁹ He observed the dull, lifeless meetings of bourgeois parties,
the deadening effect of speeches read out like academic lectures by dignified,
elderly gentlemen. Nazi meetings, he recorded with pride, were, by contrast,
not peaceful. He learnt from the organization of meetings by the Left, how
they were orchestrated, the value of intimidation of opponents, techniques
of disruption, and how to deal with disturbances. The NSDAP's meetings
aimed to attract confrontation, and as a result to make the party noticed.

Posters were drafted in vivid red to provoke the Left to attend.⁶⁰ In mid-1920
Hitler personally designed the party's banner with the swastika in a white
circle on a red background devised to make as striking a visual impact as
possible.⁶¹ The result was that meetings were packed long before the start,
and the numbers of opponents present guaranteed that the atmosphere
was potentially explosive.⁶² To combat trouble, a 'hall protection' squad
(Saalschutz) was fully organized by mid-1920, became the 'Gymnastic and
Sports Section' in August 1921, and eventually developed into the 'Storm
Section' (Sturmabteilung, or SA).⁶³

Only Hitler could bring in the crowds for the NSDAP. To this extent,
his self-centred account in *Mein Kampf* was perfectly correct. It was a month
after feeling provoked into joining in the discussion at the DAP meeting
on 12 September 1919 before his first 'performance' as a party speaker in
the Hofbräukeller on 16 October 1919.⁶⁴ The memory of his success, as we
have seen, lasted with him. In *Mein Kampf* he used the almost identical
phrase with which he had already described his 'self-discovery' in the
Lechfeld Camp: 'What before I had simply felt within me, without in any
way knowing it, was now proved by reality: I could speak!'⁶⁵ Though plainly
stylized, as the double rendition of this phrase demonstrates, there can be
no doubting the self-confidence that flowed through Hitler as a result of the
confirmation, for the first time before a non-captive audience, that the way
he spoke could stir his audience.

In the company of an individual, Hitler's egocentric manner could be
totally off-putting. An acquaintance at the time, contemptuous of Hitler's
activity as a Reichswehr spy, but forced to suffer an involuntary lecture on
the future mission of German artists, could eventually stand no more of the

* D.T. I hardly had to teach him -
He was a brilliant pupil. In his sleep
he kept saying to me: "I know that. I know
that already."

*a former sergeant acquaintance
(this is not factual?) 1920
but May, America?)*

peroration: 'Tell me, have they shit in your brain and forgotten to flush it?' he asked, leaving Hitler speechless.⁶⁶ But in front of a beerhall audience Hitler's style was electrifying.

While in his Nuremberg cell awaiting the hangman, Hans Frank, the ex-Governor General of Poland, recalled the moment, in January 1920, while he was still only nineteen years old (though already committed to the *völkisch* cause), that he had first heard Hitler speak. The large room was bursting at the seams. Middle-class citizens rubbed shoulders with workers, soldiers, and students. Whether old or young, the state of the nation weighed heavily on people. Germany's plight polarized opinions, but left few unmoved or disinterested. Most political meetings were packed. But, to Frank – young, idealistic, fervently anti-Marxist and nationalistic – speakers were generally disappointing, had little to offer. Hitler, in stark contrast, set him alight.

The man with whom Hans Frank's fate would be bound for the next quarter of a century was dressed in a shabby blue suit, his tie loosely fastened. He spoke clearly, in impassioned but not shrill tones, his blue eyes flashing, occasionally pushing back his hair with his right hand. Frank's most immediate feeling was how sincere Hitler was, how the words came from the heart and were not just a rhetorical device. 'He was at that time simply the grandiose popular speaker without precedent – and, for me, incomparable,' wrote Frank.

I was strongly impressed straight away. It was totally different from what was otherwise to be heard in meetings. His method was completely clear and simple. He took the overwhelmingly dominant topic of the day, the Versailles Diktat, and posed the question of all questions: What now German people? What's the true situation? What alone is now possible? He spoke for over two-and-a-half hours, often interrupted by frenetic torrents of applause – and one could have listened to him for much, much longer. Everything came from the heart, and he struck a chord with all of us . . . He uttered what was in the consciousness of all those present and linked general experiences to clear understanding and the common wishes of those who were suffering and hoping for a programme. In the matter itself he was certainly not original . . . but he was the one called to act as spokesman of the people . . . He concealed nothing . . . of the horror, the distress, the despair facing Germany. But not only that. He showed a way, the only way left to all ruined peoples in history, that of the grim new beginning from the most profound depths through courage, faith, readiness for action, hard work, and devotion to a great, shining, common goal . . . He placed before the protection of the Almighty in the most serious and

solemn exhortation the salvation of as his life-task . . . When he finished this evening onwards, though not a p could do it, Hitler alone would be c

Whatever the pathos of these cor ability, singling him out from oth speak in the language of his lister and – however strange it might n his idealism.

Rising attendances, as he not weeks, between his first appearan topics, 'Brest-Litovsk and Versai 1919, and the big Hofbräuhaus r a prelude to Hitler's growing suc star speaker. By the end of 1920) – mostly of between 800 and 2, internal party gatherings.⁶⁸ In e biggest meeting so far – over 6,0 accommodate the biggest indoo to the west of the city centre.⁶⁹ I where the propaganda and org satisfactory turn-out, and wher not counting the speeches made October, he held ten speeches Rosenheim where the first local been founded. It was largely ov membership increased sharply f of the year and 3,300 by Aug indispensable to the movement

Hitler spoke from rough notes words underlined.⁷¹ As a rule more.⁷² In the Festsaal of the the long sides of the hall as hi crowd – a novel technique fo

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(seen as superior but heavily threatened particularly Slavs and Jews), with a gle for survival, imperialist notions east in order to safeguard national about racial purity and a new élite of Germandom, the spirit of Jewry. as in the last two years of the war semitism and *völkisch* nationalism, sive political upheaval and disarray ive even greater sustenance to the as were represented in a variety of al groups and movements. But of ces, was that *völkisch* nationalism, more mainstream nationalist forces f democracy and the Weimar state. nocratic ideology, an antithesis to primitive beer-table discussions of but by neo-conservative writers, elm Stapel, Max Hildebert Boehm, and Edgar Jung. Ideas of an organic ce, forming a national community ach individual within it, producing nti-liberal as it was anti-capitalist dual at the same time to service to leaders of notable ability, wisdom, of this ideology.¹³

s ideas of this ensemble naturally rvative nationalists in the German mainstream nationalist party which man Conservative Party.¹⁴ And the Nazis were vulgar and primitive. lishment of democracy had fostered nary set of ideas could gain wide r forms of conservative nationalism arized brands of *völkisch* national- hout Germany at the humiliating id reflected in the Versailles Treaty :ation of territory and, even more on of a mood in which such ideas

were certain of a hearing. The first Reichstag election in June the following year, in its calamitous losses for the parties supportive of the new democracy, revealed, as is often said, that Weimar was now 'a Republic without republicans' – a notable exaggeration, but expressive of the state's low esteem in the eyes of a majority of its citizens (including many of its most powerful).¹⁵ The potential was thus provided for extreme nationalism to move from the fringes of politics towards the centre ground.

The crowds that began to flock in 1919 and 1920 to Hitler's speeches were not motivated by refined theories. For them, simple slogans, kindling the fires of anger, resentment, and hatred, were what worked. But what they were offered in the Munich beerhalls was nevertheless a vulgarized version of ideas which were in far wider circulation. Hitler acknowledged in *Mein Kampf* that there was no essential distinction between the ideas of the *völkisch* movement and those of National Socialism.¹⁶ He had little interest in clarifying or systematizing these ideas. Of course, he had his own obsessions – a few basic notions which never left him after 1919, became formed into a rounded 'world-view' in the mid-1920s, and provided the driving-force of his 'mission' to 'rescue' Germany. But ideas held no interest for Hitler as abstractions. They were important to him only as tools of mobilization.

When Hitler joined the German Workers' Party, it was one of some seventy-three *völkisch* groups in Germany, most of them founded since the end of the war.¹⁷ In Munich alone there were at least fifteen in 1920.¹⁸ Like the DAP, most of these were small, insignificant organizations. An exception, however, and an important bridge to the early following of the Nazi Party, was the German Nationalist Protection and Defiance Federation (Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutz-Bund), founded at the beginning of 1919 on an initiative of the Pan-German League to amalgamate a number of smaller *völkisch* associations into an organization capable of winning the masses to the antisemitic movement.¹⁹ Though its headquarters were located in Hamburg, where *völkisch* ideas were already widespread in the white-collar workers' union, the Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfenverband, it found significant resonance in the heated antisemitic climate in Munich. Its propaganda output was formidable. In 1920 alone it distributed 7.6 million pamphlets, 4.7 million handbills, and 7.8 million stickers.²⁰ As the symbol of the *völkisch* struggle it chose the swastika. Some of its early membership had drained into it from the short-lived Fatherland Party. Within a year it had expanded from 30,000 to 100,000 members and went on to more than double this to over 200,000 members in the three years of

its existence. Prominent among them were former soldiers angered at their treatment after a war allegedly lost through a 'stab-in-the-back', artisans feeling their status under threat from the proletariat, teachers attracted to pan-German ideology, and students resentful at their own altered prospects and insulted by national humiliation.²¹ Many of its members later found their way into the NSDAP.²² The fact that the Schutz- und Trutzbund was a purely agitational organization, not allied to any political party, and had no clear political aims hampered its effectiveness. But its rapid expansion was an indication of the growing potential for *völkisch* ideas – and particularly for the mobilizing force of antisemitism – if they could be 'marketed' effectively.

Within the *völkisch* pool of ideas, the notion of a specifically German or national socialism, tied in with an onslaught on 'Jewish' capitalism, had gained ground in the last phase of the war, and spawned both Drexler's German Workers' Party and what was soon to become its arch-rival, the German-Socialist Party (Deutschsozialistische Partei).²³ The latter's founder, Alfred Brunner, a Düsseldorf engineer, had been involved in *völkisch* politics since 1904. Radical land and finance reform featured in a programme that had many close affinities with the Nazi Party Programme of 1920. By the end of 1919 the DSP had sizeable branches in Düsseldorf, Kiel, Frankfurt am Main, Dresden, Nuremberg, and Munich. Other branches were set up elsewhere, including Berlin, during 1920. By the middle of the year, the party had thirty-five branches and approaching 2,000 members. The organizational spread eventually proved a weakness compared with the regional concentration of the Nazi Party. And attempts to merge the DSP with the Nazi Party in 1920 and 1921 were to form the backcloth to the bitter conflict in the party in summer 1921 that culminated in Hitler taking over the leadership.

Already during the war, Munich had been a major centre of anti-government nationalist agitation by the Pan-Germans, who found a valuable outlet for their propaganda in the publishing house of Julius F. Lehmann – a prominent Munich member of the Fatherland Party – otherwise renowned for the publication of texts on medicine.²⁴ Lehmann was also a member of the Thule Society, a *völkisch* club of a few hundred well-heeled members, run like a masonic lodge, that had been founded in Munich at the turn of the year 1917–18 out of the pre-war Germanen-Orden, set up in Leipzig in 1912 to bring together a variety of minor antisemitic groups and organizations.²⁵ Its membership list, including alongside Lehmann the 'economics expert' Gottfried Feder, the publicist Dietrich Eckart, the journalist and co-founder of the DAP Karl Harrer, and the young nationalists Hans Frank, Rudolf Heß, and Alfred Rosenberg, reads like a *Who's Who* of early Nazi

sympathizers and leading figures in of the Thule Society, Rudolf Freihe adventurer and a self-styled aristocr driver and had made his fortune t opportune marriage to a rich heiress in Munich's best hotel, the 'Vier Ja movement in Munich with its own (renamed in August 1919 as the V bought by the Nazis in December 15 the initiative arose towards the er working class in Munich. Karl Har and made contact with a railway Having been found unfit for military found an expression of his nationalist Party. Then, in March 1918, he had Good Peace' in an effort to stir enthus working class. He combined his extre demanding draconian action again a sports-reporter on the right-wing persuaded Drexler and a few others (Politischer Arbeiterzirkel). The 'Cir members, met periodically for about to discuss nationalist and racist the enemy, or responsibility for the wa Harrer.²⁶ Whereas Harrer preferred Drexler thought discussing recipes f group had scant value, and wanted to in December the setting up of a 'Ger 'free of Jews (*judenrein*)'.²⁷ The idea 1919, at a small gathering – mainly cc Fürstenfelder Hof in Munich, the C Drexler was elected chairman of th existed), while Harrer was given the Only in the more favourable climate was the infant party able to stage its sparse. Ten members were present o Eckart spoke in August, and forty-c occasion on which Hitler attended for

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former soldiers angered at their high a 'stab-in-the-back', artisans proletarian, teachers attracted to fulfil at their own altered prospects many of its members later found the Schutz- und Trutzbund was loyal to any political party, and had success. But its rapid expansion was *volkisch* ideas – and particularly for it could be 'marketed' effectively. Creation of a specifically German or fight on 'Jewish' capitalism, had war, and spawned both Drexler's son to become its arch-rival, the (the Partei).²³ The latter's founder, been involved in *volkisch* politics in featured in a programme that Party Programme of 1920. By the 1920s in Düsseldorf, Kiel, Frankfurt and Munich. Other branches were set up by the middle of the year, the party had 100 members. The organizational compared with the regional concentration to merge the DSP with the Nazi movement backcloth to the bitter conflict in Hitler taking over the leadership. It had been a major centre of anti-Semitic Germans, who found a valuable meeting house of Julius F. Lehmann – the Land Party – otherwise renowned. Lehmann was also a member of over a hundred well-heeled members, founded in Munich at the turn of the century. The *Landes-Orden*, set up in Leipzig in 1900, antisemitic groups and organizations. Alongside Lehmann the 'economics' Dietrich Eckart, the journalist and the young nationalists Hans Frank, like a *Who's Who* of early Nazi

sympathizers and leading figures in Munich. The colourful and rich head of the Thule Society, Rudolf Freiherr von Sebottendorff – a cosmopolitan adventurer and a self-styled aristocrat who was actually the son of a train-driver and had made his fortune through shady deals in Turkey and an opportune marriage to a rich heiress – ensured that meetings could be held in Munich's best hotel, the 'Vier Jahreszeiten', and provided the *volkisch* movement in Munich with its own newspaper, the *Münchener Beobachter* (renamed in August 1919 as the *Völkischer Beobachter*, and eventually bought by the Nazis in December 1920). It was from the Thule Society that the initiative arose towards the end of the war to try to influence the working class in Munich. Karl Harrer was commissioned to attempt this, and made contact with a railway workshop locksmith, Anton Drexler. Having been found unfit for military service, Drexler had in 1917 temporarily found an expression of his nationalist and racist sentiments in the Fatherland Party. Then, in March 1918, he had founded a 'Workers' Committee for a Good Peace' in an effort to stir enthusiasm for the war effort among Munich's working class. He combined his extreme nationalism with an anti-capitalism demanding draconian action against profiteers and speculators. Harrer, a sports-reporter on the right-wing *Münchner-Augsburger Abendzeitung*, persuaded Drexler and a few others to set up a 'Political Workers' Circle' (*Politischer Arbeiterzirkel*). The 'Circle', a group of usually three to seven members, met periodically for about a year from November 1918 onwards to discuss nationalist and racist themes – such as the Jews as Germany's enemy, or responsibility for the war and defeat – usually introduced by Harrer.²⁶ Whereas Harrer preferred the semi-secretive *volkisch* 'club', Drexler thought discussing recipes for Germany's salvation in such a tiny group had scant value, and wanted to found a political party. He proposed in December the setting up of a 'German Workers' Party' which would be 'free of Jews (*judenrein*)'.²⁷ The idea was well received, and, on 5 January 1919, at a small gathering – mainly contacts from the railway yards – in the Fürstenfelder Hof in Munich, the German Workers' Party was formed. Drexler was elected chairman of the Munich branch (the only one that existed), while Harrer was given the honorary title of 'Reich Chairman'.²⁸ Only in the more favourable climate after the crushing of the Räterepublik was the infant party able to stage its first public meetings. Attendance was sparse. Ten members were present on 17 May, thirty-eight when Dietrich Eckart spoke in August, and forty-one on 12 September. This was the occasion on which Hitler attended for the first time.²⁹

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after March 1920, when the leaders and their paramilitary organizations in. These were the conditions in which he place.

the history of the Bavarian revolution propaganda. Not just the legend of the of an international Jewish conspiracy the light of the Munich Räterepublik. o stronger traditions in Bavaria than rate provided it with unique opportunist-establishment. Many of Hitler's early he experience of the turbulent months Hitler himself, the significance of the k in Munich can hardly be overrated. decide to become a politician; rather, of the Councils, politics came to him, ore the truth of that assertion.

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ember 1918, Hitler had been assigned Battalion of the 2nd Infantry Regiment, gain with several wartime comrades. A comrades, Ernst Schmidt, were among and 140 men in all) assigned to guard -war camp. Probably, as Schmidt later their names go forward when volunteers tation.²³ Hitler, remarked Schmidt, did lution, 'but it was plain enough to see Schmidt, were repelled by the changed s, now in the hands of the Soldiers' authority, discipline, and morale had ion for volunteering, Hitler and Schmidt on reaching Traunstein. The camp, it much overcrowded, was also run by allegedly so detested. Discipline was one source, included some of the worst like Hitler - saw the army 'as a means

of maintaining a carefree existence at the expense of the state'.²³ Hitler and Schmidt had an easy time of things, mainly on gate-duty, at Traunstein. They were there in all for almost two months, during which time the prisoners-of-war, mainly Russians, were transported elsewhere. By the beginning of February the camp was completely cleared and disbanded. Probably in late January, as Schmidt hinted, Hitler returned to Munich.²⁴ He certainly returned no later than mid-February (not March, as he himself stated), since, on 12 February, his own military record shows that he was assigned to the 2nd Demobilization Company to await discharge.²⁵

In general, as we have noted, the demobilization of the German army was carried out remarkably swiftly and efficiently.²⁶ All Hitler's close wartime comrades, including Ernst Schmidt, were discharged well before he was.²⁹ That Hitler himself was able to avoid discharge until March 1920 owed everything to his increasing involvement, from the late spring of 1919, in political work for the Reichswehr, out of which his entry into politics was to emerge. Meanwhile, he was keen to take whatever opportunity presented itself to stay in the army as long as possible.

For just over two weeks, beginning on 20 February, he was assigned to guard duty at the Hauptbahnhof, where a unit of his company was responsible for maintaining order, particularly among the many soldiers travelling to and from Munich. During this period the guard command at the station was the subject of an investigatory commission examining numerous instances of maltreatment of persons arrested. Whether Hitler was involved is not known, though he cannot fail to have been a witness to the violence and brutality.³⁰ Beyond guard duties, Hitler, Schmidt, and the others in their demobilization company had as good as nothing to do. They were able to earn 3 Marks a day testing old gas-masks, which gave them enough money for the occasional visit to the opera.³¹ Normal earnings appear to have been about 40 Marks a month - with food and accommodation provided, certainly enough to keep body and soul together.³² The future outside the army looked distinctively less rosy.

As we have noted, Hitler spoke of his involvement in the investigatory commission following the suppression of the Räterepublik as his first political activity. Evidence recently come to light of Hitler's actions during the revolutionary era does not accord with this assertion. It also helps to suggest why Hitler was so reticent about his behaviour during the months that the 'November criminals', as he later repeatedly called them, ruled Munich.

A routine order of the demobilization battalion on 3 April 1919 referred to Hitler by name as the representative (*Vertrauensmann*) of his company.

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The strong likelihood is, in fact, that he had held this position since 15 February. The duties of the representatives (*Vertrauensleute*) included cooperation with the propaganda department of the socialist government in order to convey 'educational' material to the troops.³³ Hitler's first political duties took place, therefore, in the service of the revolutionary regime run by the SPD and USPD. It is little wonder that he later wished to say little of his actions at this time.

In fact, he would have had to explain away the even more embarrassing fact of his continued involvement at the very height of Munich's 'red dictatorship'. On 14 April, the day after the Communist Räterepublik had been proclaimed, the Munich Soldiers' Councils approved fresh elections of all barrack representatives to ensure that the Munich garrison stood loyally behind the new regime. In the elections the following day Hitler was chosen as Deputy Battalion Representative.³⁴ Not only, then, did Hitler do nothing to assist in the crushing of Munich's 'Red Republic'; he was an elected representative of his battalion during the whole period of its existence.

How to interpret this evidence is, nevertheless, not altogether clear. Since the Munich garrison had firmly backed the revolution since November, and again in April supported the radical move to the Räterepublik, the obvious implication must be that Hitler, in order to have been elected as a soldiers' representative, voiced in these months the views of the socialist governments he later denounced with every fibre of his body as 'criminal'. At the very least it would appear that he could not have put forward strongly opposed views. Already in the 1920s, and continuing into the 1930s, there were rumours, never fully countered, that Hitler had initially sympathized with the Majority SPD following the revolution. Since the rumours tended to come from left-wing journalists, seeking to discredit Hitler, they were presumably not taken too seriously. But comments, for example, in the socialist *Münchener Post* in March 1923 that Hitler had assisted in the indoctrination of troops in favour of the democratic-republican state match the evidence, which we have noted, that he served, probably from February 1919 onwards, in such a capacity as *Vertrauensmann* of his company.³⁵ Similar rumours circulated in the socialist press in the early 1930s.³⁶ Ernst Toller reported that a fellow-prisoner also interned for involvement in the Räterepublik had met Hitler in a Munich barracks during the first months after the revolution, and that the latter had then been calling himself a Social Democrat.³⁷ Konrad Heiden remarked that, during the time of the Councils Republic, Hitler had, in heated discussions among his comrades, voiced support for the Social Democratic government against that of the

Communists. There were even supportive evidence – that Hitler pointed remark when defending the party, Hitler commented: 'I

In itself, Hitler's possible support of the revolutionary upheaval is likely. The political situation was extremely strange bedfellows, including entourage, initially found them Dietrich, later a general in Leibstandarte, was elected in 1918. Hitler's long-time chauffeur at the end of April 1919: supporters, who became the main force for a while a journalist of Feder, whose views on 'interests' summer 1919, had sent a statement headed by Kurt Eisner the previous one of Hitler's closest wartime recounted how he at first welcomed a republic, and the onset was all the greater. 'Unfortunately', while the people continued a councils government (Räterepublik), he concluded bitterly case with Brandmayer, aggressive with a form of radicalism born switched from the old monarchy widespread following the war confusion and opportunism shifting allegiances.

That, as has been implied, Democracy and formed his concept of *Schauung* only following an ideological 'schooling' in the Reichswehr however, harder to believe.⁴⁴ monarchies through the revolution to determine when, precisely evidence of his early pan-Ger

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marked that, during the time of the
d discussions among his comrades,
ic government against that of the

Communists. There were even reported rumours – though without any
supportive evidence – that Hitler had spoken of joining the SPD.³⁸ In a
pointed remark when defending Esser in 1921 against attacks from within
the party, Hitler commented: 'Everyone was at one time a Social Democrat.'³⁹

In itself, Hitler's possible support for the Majority Social Democrats in
the revolutionary upheaval is less unlikely than it might at first sight appear.
The political situation was extremely confused and uncertain. A number of
strange bedfellows, including several who later came to belong to Hitler's
entourage, initially found themselves on the Left during the revolution. Sepp
Dietrich, later a general in the Waffen-SS and head of Hitler's SS-
Leibstandarte, was elected chairman of a Soldiers' Council in November
1918. Hitler's long-time chauffeur Julius Schreck had served in the 'Red
Army' at the end of April 1919.⁴⁰ Hermann Esser, one of Hitler's earliest
supporters, who became the first propaganda chief of the NSDAP, had
been for a while a journalist on a Social Democratic newspaper.⁴¹ Gottfried
Feder, whose views on 'interest slavery' so gripped Hitler's imagination in
summer 1919, had sent a statement of his position to the socialist government
headed by Kurt Eisner the previous November.⁴² And Balthasar Brändmayer,
one of Hitler's closest wartime comrades and a later fervent supporter,
recounted how he at first welcomed the end of the monarchies, the establish-
ment of a republic, and the onset of a new era. His subsequent disillusionment
was all the greater. 'Unfortunately,' he added, 'we only changed the marion-
ettes,' while the people continued to slave and starve. 'We hadn't bled for
a councils government (*Räteregierung*); 'the thanks of the Fatherland were
missing,' he concluded bitterly.⁴³ Similar sentiments, in which, as was the
case with Brändmayer, aggressive nationalism and antisemitism intermingled
with a form of radicalism born of a sense of social grievance that was rapidly
switched from the old monarchical regime to the new republic itself, were
widespread following the war. Ideological muddle-headedness, political
confusion and opportunism combined frequently to produce fickle and
shifting allegiances.

That, as has been implied, Hitler was inwardly sympathetic to Social
Democracy and formed his own characteristic racist-nationalist *Weltan-
schauung* only following an ideological volte-face under the influence of his
'schooling' in the Reichswehr after the collapse of the Räterepublik is,
however, harder to believe.⁴⁴ Certainly, he welcomed the removal of the
monarchies through the revolution.⁴⁵ But even accepting that it is difficult
to determine when, precisely, he became a pathological antisemite, the
evidence of his early pan-German sympathies, antagonism towards Social

lover from the Vienna years were now
 ge about the collapse of the war effort –
 in his life, he had totally bound himself,
 lieved in. But they had not yet been fully
 irts of a political ideology. That would
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'asewalk played in the shaping of Hitler's
 or the shaping of the future party leader
 ed and, in truth, is not easy to evaluate.
 tal place. Recovering from his temporary
 apers, so he wrote, Hitler heard rumours
 fully comprehend them. The arrival of
 irst tangible sign of serious disturbance,
 i Bavaria presumed the unrest would be
 er, it became clear – 'the most terrible
 al revolution had taken place.'¹⁸¹ On 10
 : patients in sorrowful terms about the
 them that Germany was now a republic,
 ians had to place themselves at the mercy
 y could be expected.¹⁸² At this, Hitler

possible for me to sit still one minute more.
 y eyes; I tottered and groped my way back
 y bunk, and dug my burning head into my

my mother's grave, I had not wept . . . But

Did all this happen only so that a gang of
 i the fatherland? . . .

n the monstrous event in this hour, the more
 burned my brow. What was all the pain in

in worse nights – I knew that all was lost . . .
 red for those responsible for this deed.

'are became known to me.

ought of my own future which only a short
 concern . . .

He drew, according to his own account, the conclusion that: 'There is no
 making pacts with Jews; there can only be the hard: either-or.' And he made
 the decision that changed his life: 'I, for my part, decided to go into politics.'¹⁸³

Hitler referred to his Pasewalk experience on a number of occasions in
 the early 1920s. There were even embellishments to the story which was to
 appear in *Mein Kampf*. He told a variety of associates that as he lay blinded
 in Pasewalk he received a type of vision, message, or inspiration to liberate
 the German people and make Germany great again.¹⁸⁴ This highly unlikely,
 purported quasi-religious experience was part of the mystification of his
 own person which Hitler encouraged as a key component of the Führer
 myth that was already embryonically present among many of his followers
 in the two years leading up to the putsch attempt. At his subsequent trial,
 Hitler played down the vision story, which would have invited ridicule, and
 stated only that hearing in Pasewalk of the revolution had made him resolve
 to enter politics.¹⁸⁵ A year and a half earlier, in December 1922, he had
 offered another gloss on his reactions in Pasewalk: 'By his own account, he
 thought over all his experiences at the front and in the rear while hospitalized
 for a severe injury and came to the conclusion that Marxism and Jewry are
 the German people's worst enemies. From personal experience it has become
 a certainty for him that wherever misfortune or harm befalls the German
 nation, a Jew is the culprit behind it.'¹⁸⁶

Some have been tempted to read into Hitler's colourful accounts of his
 Pasewalk experience an hallucination, which holds the key to his manic
 ideological obsessions, his 'mission' to save Germany, and his rapport with
 a German people themselves traumatized by defeat and national humili-
 ation.¹⁸⁷ Still recovering from being blinded by mustard gas poisoning, the
 traumatic shock of hearing of defeat and revolution – it has been suggested
 – was subliminally associated in Hitler's mind with the idioform 'poisoning'
 of his mother at the hands of the Jewish Dr Bloch in 1907, accounting for
 the sudden dominance of a pathological antisemitism that had not been
 present before and for the ever-present drive to poison the Jews through
 gassing them, since he saw them as responsible for his mother's death.¹⁸⁸
 Apart from seemingly reducing the complex developments that were to lead
 to the mass murder of the Jews during the Second World War to the alleged
 trauma of a single person in 1918, the interpretation remains speculative
 and lacks persuasion. The balance of probabilities suggests a less dramatic
 process of ideological development and political awareness.

Whatever Hitler's state of shock and anxiety over his temporary and
 partial blinding (from which he was beginning to recover), it is unlikely

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NALS"

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particular kind of per-
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no was soon to die at
his family:

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My dear ones, be proud
a nation and that you
u love into so glorious

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nees and thanked God
German youth by the
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of the *Pour le Mérite*, the commander of a Storm Battalion. He now wrote in memoirs which sold tens of thousands of copies in the postwar period:

The turmoil of our feelings was called forth by rage, alcohol, and thirst for blood. . . . I was boiling over with a fury which gripped me—it gripped us all—in an inexplicable way. The overpowering desire to kill gave me wings. Rage squeezed bitter tears from my eyes. . . . Only the spell of primeval instincts remained.

And he acclaimed what he called the "New Man" born in battle on the Western Front. Since we shall meet him again in the Free Corps and among the Nazis, we had better be introduced:

This is the New Man, the storm soldier, the elite of Central Europe. A completely new race, cunning, strong, and packed with purpose. Far behind them awaits . . . the nations whose inner foundations will be torn asunder by the attacks of this New Man—of the audacious, the battle-proven, the man merciless both to himself and to others. This war is not the end. It is only the call to power. It is the forge in which the world will be beaten into new shapes and new associations. New forms must be molded with blood, and power must be seized with a hard fist.¹⁴⁰

Of course, it should not be suggested that the attitude of these "New Men" is typical of all German soldiers in World War I. A convenient antidote to Jünger can be found in Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*. But the popularity of Remarque belongs to a later era. He was no spokesman for the war veterans of the immediate postwar years. His was a statement of a humane spirit looking back from the relative peace of 1928.¹⁴¹

Germans were totally unprepared for the sudden news of defeat in 1918. Patriots spread the story that the army had never really been defeated in the field. Rather, like Wagner's Siegfried, the Fatherland had been betrayed and given a stab in the back (*Dolchstoß*) by the "November Criminals"—that is, by traitorous Jews and other revolutionaries at home. The story was a myth. Time and again it has been pointed out that the Supreme Command threw in the towel well before the revolution; that during the war years it had exercised military, political, and economic control over the civilian government; and finally, that it was General Ludendorff who forced an unwilling civilian government to sue for peace. Yet the historical importance of the legend is not that it was false but that it was *believed to be true*. By a process of rationalization born of humiliation and wounded pride, German patriots believed, or came to believe, completely and thoroughly, that the army had never been defeated after all. Apart from the very real fact that the soldiers wanted desperately to believe it, the patriotic myth-makers were aided by two other factors: effective and

1920s

employment

THE GOD: ADOLF HITLER

there were other tendencies in characterized by high idealism the pacifist Friedrich Wilhelm

op on the hard German winter s a moral rejuvenation of the German soul to its best tra-

ture would belong to those who d snowdrops on the hard Ger- s of the movement which con- impressionable days of their

undervogel and later joined the the experience of his boyhood Nazi Party. "The youth move- t to which we all belonged in first start of the revolutionary Hitler's more ruthless revolu-

Hitler. Meanwhile, members of shattering experience of their War I.

ICH, 1918-1933

Germany's need deep within their . Savior [Erlöser]. With the greatest nds upon thousands of minds imag- ions of voices call unto him; one soul seeks him.

—Kurt Hesse (1922)

miracle of our time, that you have t among so many millions you have d that I have found you! That is d fortune!

—Adolf Hitler (1932)

ld War I and its aftermath e to power. His ideology of ting since his Vienna days, ered and embittered postwar o replace a republic despised s of the war and the postwar

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years also provided Hitler with the "New Men" who formed the van- guard of Nazism.

Legacies of World War I: Nationalism, Socialism, Totalism, and the "New Order"

In the battle for the existence of our Volk, the new idea of 1914 was born, the idea of German Volksgemeinschaft, of a national socialism.

—A German soldier (1918)

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Shortly after the death of Hitler and amid the ruins of World War II, Germany's greatest living historian wrote a thoughtful essay which attempted to answer his own poignant question, "Will anyone ever fully understand the monstrous experience which befell us during the twelve years of the Third Reich?"¹³⁰ Meinecke concluded that a key reason for Hitler's success lay in the adroit way in which he utilized two legacies of World War I: he identified himself with so- cialism and nationalism, the two most powerful forces in contem- porary European history.

Socialism in one form or another was on the rise in Europe during the first third of the 20th century. Demands for total mobilization dur- ing the long war and the social and economic dislocations of its after- math posed problems too big and too complex to be solved by 19th- century laissez-faire economics. Everywhere government regulation and control increased either in the name of "war economy" or as socialism or some variant of the welfare state. And everywhere, the nationalism that had been intensified by the passions of war and the frustrations of peace shaped the domestic and foreign policies of victors and van- quished alike.

With remarkable insight into the mood of the historic moment, Hitler offered the distraught German people something that his political rivals on the left and right were unable to provide. The Communists were not nationalists; the conservative nationalists were not socialists. Hitler proclaimed that he was both. His was the only mass party in postwar Germany which promised the best of both worlds. He com- bined socialism with nationalism in a program which was at once radical and conservative. The name he gave to his movement is a measure of his political acumen. He called it National Socialism.

Incipient totalitarianism was another legacy of the war which Hitler used to his own advantage and brought to awful completion. Twentieth-century totalitarianism involves many things, but one of them is a habit of mind that rejects moderation and exalts totality. The habit was well developed during World War I, when people be- came accustomed to thinking in terms of "total war" and "total mobiliza- tion," which were guaranteed to bring "total victory." When the Ver- sailles Treaty seemed to bring complete disaster instead of the expected triumph, Germany experienced a terrifying emptiness—a vacuum

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

which totalitarian ideology rushed in to fill. The call for immediate solutions to complex problems was a call to which Hitler, the century's most notable simplificateur terrible, gave brilliant response.

Totalitarianism also specializes in techniques to control the masses through calculated manipulation of their emotions. During the war, nations had discovered anew the ancient wisdom attributed to Thucydides: "In war, reason is the first casualty." All countries experienced on a huge scale the power of the irrational to move men. War propaganda everywhere stressed mass emotional commitment: to love one's country with unquestioning devotion, to hate the enemy passionately.

As the horrendous toll of death and destruction mounted, year after anguished year, each belligerent sought to justify the carnage by proclaiming the complete rectitude of its own cause and the total depravity of the foe. Mankind witnessed a "mobilization of hatred" on a scale never known before. It was "the first modern effort at systematic nation-wide manipulation of collective passions."¹³¹

Hitler was fascinated by this process. In *Mein Kampf* he showed how much he had learned from studying it closely. He devoted a chapter to "War Propaganda" and concluded that "it was shown only during the War to what enormously important results a suitably applied propaganda may lead."¹³² He was to make very effective use of those lessons.

Systematic manipulation of collective emotions points to another way in which World War I contributed to totalitarian government. For one of the characteristics of modern totalitarianism is that, unlike older forms of tyranny, it gains legitimacy from mass support and mass approval.¹³³ The war saw the early but clear development of a concept which would be perfected in Hitler's Reich: the "voluntary compulsion" of the masses. In time of war, the phrase was associated with the performance of patriotic duty; under Hitler, it became an ominous euphemism for oppression, as citizens were compelled to volunteer enthusiastic endorsement of a thousand forms of tyranny. As institutionalized by Hitler, "voluntary compulsion" blurred conventional notions of the difference between coercion and consent. Through adroit use of terror coupled with "the high art of propaganda," he gained such control over the masses that they not merely acquiesced to oppression, they roared their approval.

"Total mobilization" was economic as well as psychological, and it led to government regulation of both the public and private sector. Although this was true of all warring countries, nowhere was government intervention so comprehensive and effective as in Germany, where the system was called "war economy" (*Kriegswirtschaft*) or war socialism (*Kriegssozialismus*). "From a relatively free economy in 1914," a distinguished historian has written, "Germany emerged in 1918 with a thoroughly militarized economy of state socialism in which government controls and regulation covered all phases of economic

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and I

life." The precedent was imposed system profited enormously from

Thus, during the years from three essentials of Nazi totalitarian power of the state to coerce a people; and a new form of authority of the masses, which it manipulated.

Moreover, extremism, which tried, seemed to grow with particularly already shown a tendency to pull of opposites was felt particularly its immediate aftermath. Feeling impulse to smash all social order a "New Order" would bring collapse. Neither attitude was helpful.

After the catastrophic defeat, hope that the destruction promised. They swung from deep revolution would establish their dreams. The tenacious myth of renewed with unusual fervor persisted. And the experience of the ways. The sheer horror of war be justified only if one could believe come into being—a society that of comradesly sacrifice and cooperation war years contributed to the idea to be expected in the New Order and Volk would form the material edifice of a new Germany."

Life in the trenches—attributed positive contribution to the hope was called "front socialism." experienced a "close, warm solidarity of all members of the Volk political, religious and cultural or sank into insignificance." "The trenches" a true revolution—a evolution of 1789: "In the battle of 1914 was born, the idea of schaft, of national socialism."¹³⁴

Faith in a coming New Order ment of a Volksgemeinschaft political romanticism of 1918—generation—longed for a new nation of the German Volk, of the

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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Marching." A Party propagandist in 1935 triumphantly announced the progress of the idea of a nation drilled like a battalion to follow their Führer's command and to ask no questions about destination:

The German nation is on the way finally to finding its life-style. . . . It is the style of a marching column regardless of where and for what purpose this marching column is employed.⁵⁷

To Adolf Hitler there was something deeply personal about conflict. Exaltation of war was not mere rhetorical bombast and it was not merely a diplomatic ploy; it was a personal necessity. Hitler needed war in a literal sense. He had always needed war. "I did not establish the *Wehrmacht* in order not to strike," he once said. "The decision to strike was always in me [*war immer in mir*]." ⁵⁸

Lebensraum

All his life, Adolf Hitler had been fascinated by space. He loved to shape and control it in colossal domed and long-columned buildings; he wanted to bind it together by superhighways and gigantic canals; he liked to travel through it in his open Mercedes. The vast spaces of Eastern Europe constantly beckoned him.

Since, with Hitler, personal feelings often became public policy, the demand for *Lebensraum* became a guiding principle of Nazi military planning. That Germany's destiny lay in the East and that its pursuit would mean war with Russia was a promise made as early as *Mein Kampf* and repeated in many public and private speeches. So clear and explicit was the promise that it seems best to quote Hitler directly and at some length on this matter:

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The demand for the reestablishment of the frontiers of the year 1914 is political nonsense of such a degree and consequence as to look like a crime. . . . The frontiers of the year 1914 signify nothing at all for the future of the German nation. . . . They would lead to an additional bleeding of our national body. . . . As opposed to this we National Socialists must cling unflinchingly to our foreign policy aims, that is, to guarantee the German nation the soil and territory to which it is entitled on this earth.

We terminate the endless German drive to the South and West of Europe and direct our gaze towards the land of the East. We finally terminate the colonial and trade policy of the pre-war period and proceed to the territorial policy of the future. But if we talk about new soil and territory in Europe today we can think primarily only of Russia and its vassal border states.⁵⁹

In a dozen public speeches of the 1920s and in his second, "Secret Book" of 1928 he repeated the demands and gave warning of his

The Intellectual World of Adolf Hitler

intent: "When nations are in There is then only one ques acquire the soil and territory cry of our forefathers has rung

Hitler's long dreams of *Le* fulfilled during the first month again, as his Table Conversati grandeur of the open spaces" sands of square miles of land. cient to set his frontier at the enough. . . . He envisaged stretching to the Crimea ("our Danube—the river of his boyho be connected by an enormo Rhine, and the Main to the I Sea. The highways and canals with German towns and arou Germans would live grandly in in "handsome, spacious farms to local population, "the ridicu live in "pig-pens" without ve might teach them enough to who "talks about cherishing th goes straight off into a conceit

The Concept of the Führer

In Nazi party headquarter: One was of Hitler's personal l of himself. Under his picture of the *Führerprinzip* and set fo Reich: "Nothing happens in i respected historian of Nazi Ge no National Socialism without thing else is simply a misunder

The leadership principle detail by Nazi writers. It was faith, not reason. Ultimately rationally, the Nazis often res Alfred Rosenberg, for examp ultimate essence of the dynam could be as meaningfully rendi ness and the Whole Works." about the concept, preferring t be: "I never felt myself as a di their Führer." And again: "I a of either being dictator or mon

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The Intellectual World of Adolf Hitler

intent: "When nations are in need, they do not ask about legal rights. There is then only one question. Does a people have the power to acquire the soil and territory which it needs? . . . For centuries the cry of our forefathers has rung out: Give us space!"⁶⁰

Hitler's long dreams of *Lebensraum* in the East seemed about to be fulfilled during the first months of his war against Russia. Again and again, as his Table Conversations show, he talked excitedly about "the grandeur of the open spaces" and planned how he would settle thousands of square miles of land. To those who asked if it would be sufficient to set his frontier at the Urals he replied, "For the present it is enough. . . ." He envisaged vast spaces connected by an *Autobahn* stretching to the Crimea ("*our Bismera*") and the Caucasus. He saw the Danube—the river of his boyhood—as "the river of the future." It would be connected by an enormous system of canals from the Moselle, Rhine, and the Main to the Dniester, Dnieper, and Don to the Black Sea. The highways and canals "will be studded along their whole length with German towns and around these towns our colonists will settle." Germans would live grandly in "marvelous buildings and palaces" and in "handsome, spacious farms." He left no doubt what would happen to local population, "the ridiculous hundred million Slavs." They would live in "pig-pens" without vaccination or "hygiene cleanliness." He might teach them enough to read German road signs, but anyone who "talks about cherishing the local inhabitant and civilizing him . . . goes straight off into a concentration camp!"⁶¹

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The Concept of the Führer

In Nazi party headquarters in Munich, two portraits were displayed. One was of Hitler's personal hero, Frederick the Great; the other was of himself. Under his picture was a caption which caught the essence of the *Führerprinzip* and set forth a political act of faith in the Third Reich: "Nothing happens in this Movement, except what I wish." A respected historian of Nazi Germany concurs: "There was and there is no National Socialism without Hitler. The two are identical . . . everything else is simply a misunderstanding."⁶²

The leadership principle was actually never articulated in any detail by Nazi writers. It was not possible to do so, for it rested on faith, not reason. Ultimately it was a mystery. Unable to discuss it rationally, the Nazis often resorted to mysticism and bad metaphysics. Alfred Rosenberg, for example, assures us that "the Führer is the ultimate essence of the dynamic and *völkisch* being"—a construct that could be as meaningfully rendered, "The Führer is the Ultimate Whichness and the Whole Works." Hitler himself tended to speak obliquely about the concept, preferring to say what he considered himself *not* to be: "I never felt myself as a dictator of my people, but only and always their Führer." And again: "I am not the Head of the State in the sense of either being dictator or monarch. I am now the Führer of the German

l army, which still was too closely
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hopeless. On May 10, 1921, Simons
l. A new government, led by Reich
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e horrified at the illegal army, and for
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government looked on in silence. This
Premier Kahr; he finally resigned on

Civil government was trying to take over, even in Bavaria. It strove to exclude the Reichswehr from power; disbanded the armed parties and patriotic murder clubs. On the surface, it seemed to have succeeded, but not in actuality. This secret army fighting for its existence could not be destroyed by decrees; such a force can be destroyed only by force. Up to this point, Hitler had been the secret army's spokesman, its attorney before the public; the crisis made him one of its leaders.

Thus far, we have viewed Hitler as a piece of his element, a part of the German counter-revolution, a flake amid a mighty foam, a bubble that slowly swells up and becomes strangely iridescent. But to regard him only as the political *enfant terrible* of our epoch, as merely a great adventurer, a great demagogue, or a great dictator would be to underestimate the significance of the man. He is something much more basic. In his qualities, in his destiny, and in his acts he is an image, a product, and an executant of a social revolution, which has spread in great waves throughout the globe; the greatest probably since the fall of the Roman Empire. In terms of modern sociology we have attempted to interpret this revolution as the organization of modern society by the intellectual. This new social type has a different face in every country; in the lands of Europe, broken by the First World War, his face is always topped by a soldier's cap.

In the maelstrom of the German counter-revolution, dozens of hitherto nameless figures suddenly rose to the surface, founded and led so-called defense leagues, and with them conquered cities and provinces. Hitler started out as one of these, but soon distinguished himself from all the others. All of them strove to gain control of the key points of power. But Hitler recognized more clearly than any other that in time of disorganization the true source of power lies in public opinion. 'Only a man of the people can create authority,' says Hess. No one has better understood the advice of the Wise Men of Zion to speak with the people 'in the streets and squares' than this man from the Viennese lodging-house. None took so much pleasure in just that. Others had friends, a wife, profession; he had only the mass to talk to. Silent in a circle of three, sullen and sluggish in conversation, without interest

* He; therefore, will be the
last decreed.

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*1920

in his own private life, this miserable human nothing could think only in public terms, feel only the feeling of the mass, and when the nothing spoke with the people, it was as though the voice of the people were speaking.

What Hitler told the people about the depravity of the Jews, he could say just as effectively about the Prussian junkers, the Pope in Rome, or the high English nobility. His revelation of a world conspiracy of Jews achieved its extraordinary effect, not because of the Jews, but because of the world conspiracy. The sentiment that our modern society had arrived at a breaking point, that millions and millions would be crushed in the impending collapse, tormented every man's soul. With unerring sureness Hitler expressed the speechless panic of the masses faced by an invisible enemy and gave the nameless specter a name. He was a pure fragment of the modern mass soul, unclouded by any personal qualities. One scarcely need ask with what arts he conquered the masses; he did not conquer them, he portrayed and represented them. His speeches are day-dreams of this mass soul; they are chaotic, full of contradictions, if their words are taken literally, often senseless, as dreams are, and yet charged with deeper meaning. Vulgar vilification, flat jokes alternate with ringing, sometimes exalted, phrases. The speeches begin always with deep pessimism and end in overjoyed redemption, a triumphant happy ending; often they can be refuted by reason, but they follow the far mightier logic of the subconscious, which no refutation can touch. Hitler has given speech to the speechless terror of the modern mass, and to the nameless fear he has given a name. That makes him the greatest mass orator of the mass age.

He grew in the decay of his own cause. Röhm set out to reorganize the suddenly broken army with the greatest possible speed. Things had to be done less openly than before. Clubs with harmless names were founded; they were all private armies of varying sizes. Hitler himself was given a private band, Röhm producing the personnel, the arms, the officers. In place of the little group of soldiers from the Hofbräuhaus, Hitler could soon muster companies and even regiments. The troop was given (August, 1921) the supposedly harmless but quite transparent name of 'Gymnastics and Sports Division.' Its first recruiting proclamation said:

The N.S.D.A.P. (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*) National Socialist German Workers' Party) gymnastics and sport division within the fraternal organization. It will embody and propagate the fraternalization of the nation. . . . It will instill a boundless desire for the future of our young members, hammer and burn in their history does not make men, but men history which lends himself defenseless to the chains of a slave's yoke. In it, we will continue to cultivate comrade and comrade, and joyful obedience to

It was at this time that the corporal from the first met the man who one day should be his. This occurred in the thick of the struggle over the defense, at one of those great demonstrations which raise passions to fever heat but lead only to the captain of the *Luftwaffe*, at that time a private with politics, was an onlooker. Hitler, by this time a center of much controversy, was leaning on a pillar, not far from the former captain. The drawing to an end. Voices arose: Let Hitler step up and asked Hitler if he would like to say a few words. Then did Göring see who was standing next to him, a good deal about Hitler. Hitler said in his first speech, 'If I spoke, I would destroy the unity of the movement to do that!' That was all. But the captain went home with his wife that he had seen and heard this man for the first time. This was a later story, perhaps somewhat exaggerated. Hermann Wilhelm Göring was neither the first nor the last. Hitler's astonishing voice had hypnotized with its remark.

Göring, born January 12, 1893, in Rosenheim, a German diplomat at that time consul-general in Berlin, was called a foster-child of the Prussian Army. He spent his youth in the house of a Jewish friend of his father. Later he grew up, far from home and family living in boarding-schools; finally in the officers' school of Linz.

D.T. Democracy +
in action

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Poland could quiet his
this of victory were again
ation. As his propaganda
of triumph, Joseph Goeb-
is touching to hear the
alleged to live to see the

ely divided that he often
impotent and vulnerable,
active, pragmatic and fa-
industrious, rigid and mal-

shall return to the prob-

Hitler. Motherly types such
and Frau Bechstein, widow
woman in her 60s, a retired
and feed him his favorite
and call him: "My little wolf"
found himself alone with
head in her lap and mur-
of me!" When Hitler made
May 1932, the wives of in-
mark each for the privilege
anted to him upon entering
that they could actually

was also observable in his
In 1908, women stopped
as he and his friend took
want handed Adolf a note.
"Another one." Years later,
found him "quietly charm-
with this strange tenderness
and Olga, on a state visit
able charm despite all the
the impression of being
mentioned . . . tears would

tract women and enjoyed
women that he was a

The Image and the Man

man of overpowering virility. On one occasion, he had invited a young woman, Pauline Kohler, to the Obersalzberg to see his books. She recalled that during the course of a dull perusal in which she was losing interest, her host sought to gain her attention by suddenly stretching out his hand in the Nazi salute. He affected a deep voice and roared, "I can hold my arm like that for two solid hours. I never feel tired when my storm troopers and soldiers march past me and I stand at this salute. I never move. My arm is like granite—rigid and unbending. But Göring can't stand it. He has to drop his hand after half an hour of this salute. He's flabby. But I am hard. For two hours I can keep my arm stretched out in the salute. That is four times as long as Göring. That means I'm four times stronger than Göring. It's an amazing feat. I marvel at my own power."¹⁴¹

Hitler's dualities are particularly apparent in his attitude toward women. He revered and idealized them; he also treated them with contempt and sought to degrade them. As Erik Erikson was first to notice, Hitler showed his ambivalence in the way he talked about abstract forces that controlled his life. He made these forces into contradictory female images who were sometimes generous and kind but also capriciously cruel and treacherous. All his life he seemed surrounded by unpredictable supernatural female beings: Dame Sorrow, the Goddess of Fate, Lady Care, the Goddess of Misery. Thus, in the opening sentence of *Mein Kampf* we are told that the hero was born in Braunau because a kindly Fate designated that town to be the place of his birth. But it was "an unmerited, mean trick of Fate" that he was "born in a period of peace between two wars." This was the same "inexorable hand of the Goddess of Fate" which decides the destiny of nations. Here Hitler reveals his concern about the power of women by changing the neuter German noun *das Schicksal* to the feminine, *die Göttin*. In a letter of 1914 he makes another special grammatical point in order to feminize a noun. In lamenting his life spent with "Friend Care and Want," he chooses the feminine form and writes that he had *keine andere Freundin als Sorge und Not*.

And in a speech of 13 August 1920 in the Hofbräuhaus in Munich, he speaks of "the greatest goddess on earth, who oppresses man the most: the goddess called Misery" [*Die Göttin der Not*]. Years later, in a May Day speech in Berlin in 1927, this goddess was still preying on his mind:

In spite of all Party dogmas and Party principles, the Goddess of Misery will come and beat on the door of a people which feel more and more the pain of want. A people slowly perishes if this want is not satisfied.

And again—we are back to his memoirs—when he was poor, "Poverty clasped me in her arms." When he felt depressed: "Dame Sorrow was my foster mother." To Hitler, misery was a female. In hearing about

The Intellectual World of Adolf Hitler

1920
(see 1940 on plates)

Palace until the fire of 1931. It was later transferred to the Lenbach House. It is also known that Hitler was a habitué of art galleries, that he was in Munich during this period, and that he was an avid admirer of Stuck. He was also a person who took coincidence of dates as more than coincidental, seeing in them some secret meaning.

Is it not possible that Hitler, sometime in the 1920s, saw the picture and was immensely excited by it; that he pictured himself, very literally, as the Wild Huntsman, and adopted von Stuck's figure as his own self-image? It seems likely that he adjusted his personal appearance—forelock, mustache, and the red cape he affected at Nuremberg party rallies—to conform to this image of the hard-riding apotheosis of brutality, power, and destruction.

Literary Imagination

I should like to write. . . . Wars pass by. The only things that exist are the works of human genius.

—Adolf Hitler

As a youth, Hitler toyed with the idea of becoming a dramatist. Night after night in his walk-up room in the Stumpergasse of Vienna he stayed up long after midnight working over plays and operas under a smoking kerosene lamp. His grandiose projects required elaborate settings ranging from Hell to Heaven, with forests, mountains, and lakes in between. He was furious when his roommate suggested that he might begin his career with more modest productions. He never seems to have finished any of his projects, but we do have a prospectus for one of his plays:

Holy Mountain in the background, before it the mighty sacrificial block surrounded by huge oaks; two powerful warriors hold the black bull which is to be sacrificed, firmly by the horns, and press the beast's mighty head against the hollow in the sacrificial block. Behind them, erect in light-colored robes, stands the priest. He holds the sword with which he will slaughter the bull. All around solemn, bearded men leaning on their shields, their lances ready, are watching the ceremony intently.

When his roommate asked what it was all supposed to mean, Adolf replied tersely that it was a play set in the Bavarian Mountains at the time of the coming of Christianity. The men who lived in the mountains did not accept the new faith and had bound themselves by a sacred oath to kill the Christian missionaries. The central conflict of the drama was between Bavarian Mountain men and Christianity.³⁹ Given Hitler's relationship with his father, it seems likely that there may have been quite another "central conflict" in this drama (see below, Chapter 3, p. 134ff).

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"Die Sirene" (The Siren)



THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Hitler's memoirs and speeches are virtually unreadable. Wagner's German is so convoluted and awkward that his long-suffering translator and admirer felt repeatedly obliged to explain why his English translation sounded so infelicitous. He wrote despairingly in one footnote:

I have thought it best to quote the German of these last two sentences, as their construction presents peculiar difficulties to the translator; a remark that applies, in fact, to almost all the remainder of this article.¹¹⁰

Like Hitler, Wagner considered himself an authority on a great number of subjects. The ten volumes of his tortuous prose set forth major pronouncements on Shakespeare and American prisons; Spanish poetry and vegetable diets; the philosophy of Leibniz, Hegel, and Schopenhauer; the habits of wolves; Chinese art; the physical training of athletes; the tactics of the Turkish army; the foreign policy of Richelieu; Greek poetry; the medieval papacy; and contemporary American theatre.

An American critic has given a graphic picture of an evening's conversation with Wagner. His account would apply equally well to a night spent listening to Hitler's monologues in the Berghof or in his "Wolf's Lair" during World War II. One needs to keep remembering that the writer is talking about Richard Wagner and not Adolf Hitler:

He was one of the most exhausting conversationalists that ever lived. An evening with him was an evening spent in listening to a monologue. Sometimes he was brilliant; sometimes he was maddeningly tiresome. But whether he was being brilliant or dull, he had one sole topic of conversation: himself. What *he* thought and what *he* did.

He had a mania for being in the right. The slightest hint of disagreement, from anyone, on the most trivial point, was enough to set him off on a harangue that might last for hours, in which he proved himself right in so many ways, and with such exhausting volubility, that in the end his hearer, stunned and deafened, would agree with him, for the sake of peace.

It never occurred to him that he and his doings were not of the most intense and fascinating interest to anyone with whom he came in contact. He had theories about almost any subject under the sun . . . and in support of these theories he wrote pamphlets, letters, books . . . thousands upon thousands of words, hundreds and hundreds of pages.¹¹⁷

That Wagner's opinion of his own talents was scarcely less exalted than Hitler's is suggested in a diary entry of September 1865: "I am the most German of beings [*der deutscheste Mensch*]; I am the German spirit. Consider the incomparable magic of my works."¹¹⁸

The Intellectual World of Ad

The favorite personal the projection onto others for example, was notably perfumes, lush pink-colors and he did much of his and incense as he lounged tough man and exalted a the French and the Jews for such "luxury cravers" in life.

As with Hitler, Wagner's expression of his personal in continually addressed compared. Also like Hitler, his letters sound this leitmotif. I suffer the "bare-faced imp" to whom "I have shown perilous; I balance on the razor's edge. . . . Someone will be sorry flames of Valhalla."¹¹⁹

Wagner could tolerate a mistress remembered himself most to despair; the slightest

Hitler's lack of humor shared by the man who himself ever accuses me of insincerity: God—but whosoever accuses

Hitler was incapable of the most intimate trust. Wagner, friendship had one genius deserved and his tenuous as his promises, and tried to seduce the wives of his own wife when she was mad King Ludwig, he spent and desperately ill, was forced Wagner ridiculed. He was the of an infected finger.¹²²

Both Hitler and Wagner denied to human beings. Hitters in the cooking pots of others to protect ravens; Wagner against vivisection of frogs and anathemas at those—most of "truss and torture them."¹²³

Like Hitler, Wagner renounced little capacity for emotional triumphs when thwarted. He was

* Hitler may have read this essay

1930?

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

fortas and Guernemanz
aves the Grail in blessing
ights.)

ly.)
once does a white dove
ead of only one person:

rsifal are not symbols of
mankind; they are signs
y, the racist symbolism,
whatever to do with the
of Nazareth.¹⁴³ Wagner
writing *Parsifal* was to
lished in the *Bayreuther*
lained that in this opera
dite of the race, "a race

he message of *Parsifal*,
very poetic element," he
newal are possible only
gle."¹⁴⁵

cy
liamentary government
f constitutions and had
it in quotation marks or
emocracy."

h? (What is German?),
hich sought to establish
ave no hesitation about
ly un-German"; and he
nouthed movement of

r continued to denigrate
article which appeared
mented, "Where our un-
ors of something called
ent that knows every-

democracy was that it
itler, believed that war
ads is sanctioned by the
ords that *Mein Kampf*
ey, developing through
countries, founds great

The Intellectual World of Adolf Hitler

realms by the subjugation of other subjugators, forms states and or-
ganizes civilizations, in order to enjoy his booty in peace. . . . Attack
and defense, suffering and struggle, victory and defeat, domination and
servitude, all sealed with blood; this is the entire history of the human
race. . . ." ¹⁴⁸

Wagner called for an end to "the French and English nonsense"
of parliaments and constitutions and demanded the establishment of a
dictatorship under a heroic leader. Thus he endorsed the *Führerprinzip*
without actually using the word. He preferred to talk of a "Hero" or a
"Volk-King" or a new "Barbarossa." He had a theory that the medieval
Barbarossa was a sort of spiritual reincarnation of Siegfried or Parsifal,
and he helped to popularize the ancient German hope that in times of
deepest distress a magnificent hero would come to save the German
people. In an effort to convey all the mystery, awe, and reverence due to
this "Hero wonderously become divine," Wagner created a new word
—*Wahn*. As the English translator of Wagner notes, the word is
"absolutely untranslatable, I shall mostly retain it as it stands. It does
not so much mean an 'illusion' or 'delusion' in general as . . . a 'symbol-
ical aspiration.'" ¹⁴⁹ Like Hitler's Führer concept, the idea of *Wahn*
is a political principle beyond explanation and beyond reason. Wagner
tried and failed to give a rational explanation: "This symbol is the King.
In him the citizen honors unaware the visible representative, nay the
live embodiment, of that same *Wahn* which, already bearing him beyond
and above his common notions of the nature of things, inspires and
ennobles him. . . ." ¹⁵⁰ Whatever this prose might have meant to
other readers, it meant to Adolf Hitler a confirmation of his faith in the
Führerprinzip: the principle that the only form of government suitable
for German society was a dictatorship under a leader with godlike
powers, beyond the ken or control of men or institutions.

Chamberlain, Drexler, and Eckart

HOUSTON STEWART CHAMBERLAIN

A contributor to Hitler's racial thinking and an important bridge
between Wagner and Hitler was Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855–
1927). This peculiar Englishman came to worship at the shrine in
Bayreuth; there he embraced—along with Wagner's political thinking
—one of the master's daughters, whom he married. Chamberlain de-
clared that the three greatest poets of humanity were Homer, Shake-
speare, and Wagner, but the greatest of these was his father-in-law.
In 1899 he produced his chief work, *Grundlagen des XIX. Jahrhunderts*
(Foundations of the 19th Century). This ponderous and virtually un-
readable tome somehow went through ten editions in a dozen years.

The thesis of the book is familiar to readers of Lanz, List, Fritsch,
Wagner, and Hitler. There are shades of difference, but basically Cham-
berlain too believed in the racial theory of history and extolled the
creativity of the Aryans: "Physically and spiritually they stand out

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and military and diplomatic insignias employing six-pointed stars as parts of their devices. He even collected several pairs of galoshes—presumably because a Triangle Rubber Company had emblazoned its ominous trademark on the soles of its products. The picture of Nilus apprehensively tracking down old Jews who were making subversive footprints in the snow as they sloshed about hatching nefarious schemes for world domination is—as an English investigator has noted—delightful.¹⁶⁵

The results of Nilus's publication of the forgery, however, were less amusing. The *Protocols* as used by the Okhrana were instrumental in fomenting pogroms which murdered thousands of Jews. A 1905 edition prepared by Nilus was published by the Imperial State Printing Shop at Tsarskoye Selo. When the forgery left Russia in 1918 it was extraordinarily successful in promoting worldwide anti-Semitism. During the 1920s, Nilus's edition was translated into 16 languages. The bishop of Warsaw officially endorsed it; in Great Britain the penny-awfuls took it up, and even the *Times* was tempted to believe in it. On 8 May 1920 the *Times* asked some worried questions:

What are these *Protocols*? Are they authentic? If so, what malevolent assembly concocted these plans, and gloated over their exposition? Are they a forgery? If so, whence comes the uncanny note of prophecy. . . ? Have we been struggling these tragic years to blow up and extirpate the secret organization of German world dominion only to find beneath it another, more dangerous because more secret? . . . The "Elders of Zion" as represented in their *Protocols*, are by no means kinder task masters than William II and his henchmen have been.

A year later, however, in August 1921, the *Times* published the first positive proof that the *Protocols* were in fact a forgery and, in hopes of finally burying the matter, an editorial entitled "The End of the *Protocols*." But the *Times*'s expectations were premature. Throughout the 1920s the virulent message of the *Protocols* continued to spread throughout the world.¹⁶⁶

In America, Henry Ford's publishing company accepted the *Protocols* as genuine and incorporated them in a widely disseminated volume, *The International Jew: The World's Foremost Problem*, some 3 million copies of which were sold or given away as a public service to high school, municipal, and college libraries. Mr. Ford later regretted publicly that he had been duped by the forgery. But the book he sponsored "probably did more than any other work to make the *Protocols* world famous."¹⁶⁷

The actual courier who brought the forgery from Moscow to Munich and Hitler after World War I seems to have been Alfred Rosenberg, the man who later had some importance in formulating Nazi ideas.

But Walter Laqueur gives him chief ideologist of National and Hitler alone.

In 1917, Rosenberg had reer not in politics but in a Reich Minister for the Occupate that the design he submitted was one for a tremendous. Shortly after fleeing Russia Thule Society, and from the directly to Hitler. The *Protocols* and as documentary treason. They would serve of Germany. Two years after *Elders of Zion* became requir

Later, Adolf Hitler would cruel than even the author *Protocols* is the Old Jewish C diabolical "Elders of Zion" the world. Some 40 years a Hitler occupied the city; on from the 15th century, with anonymous tombstones, because could go for their walks and parks and playgrounds were they crowded in among the g deaths. From time to time St Dr. Tobias Jakobovic, and oment of the Nazis. Next to gogue. After the Holocaust, meticulous and tender care i men, women, and children o the man who had adopted th

Other Influences

Other racist writers supplied and embroidered the basic idea. He must surely have read, for let's of Adolf Harpf, who so Hagen, and was a co-worker 1905-1910, Harpf, like his c and demanded that Germany, inate all Europe. What was Aryan super race [*Führer der Teutonic battle against the f*

27 April 1920

The themes of his speeches varied in a glorious past with its current ick state in the hands of traitors rland to its powerful enemies; the shed by these enemies, and behind brought about by criminals and destroying Germany, as shown in me', the instrument of Germany's rmans by Jewish racketeers and ment and party system presiding tical conflict, and ethical collapse; points of the party's programme es and build-up of national con- l strength and eventual restored l Bavarian dislike of the Prussians in Munich meant that Hitler's rnement in Berlin was certain to g the still small minority of the

ive feelings – anger, resentment, it in the proposed remedy to the e appeal to restoration of liberty ogether of 'workers of the brain und Handarbeiters'),⁷⁶ the social he protection of the 'little man' were, to go from the applause ractive propositions to Hitler's d fervour successfully conveyed d to it – that no other way was id could be brought about; and ans to make it happen through The effect was more than of a political gathering.⁷⁹

ed to the standard repertoire of good as indistinguishable from g for years. And though Hitler rgets in the daily politics of the re rediously repetitive. Some, in f Hitler's allegedly unchanging

ideology were missing altogether at this stage. There was, for example, not a single mention of the need for 'living-space' (*Lebensraum*) in eastern Europe.⁸⁰ Britain and France were the foreign-policy targets at this time. Indeed, Hitler jotted among the notes of one of his speeches, in August 1920, 'brotherhood towards the east' (*Verbrüderung nach Osten*).⁸¹ Nor did he clamour for a dictatorship. Such a demand occurs in only one speech in 1920, on 27 April, in which Hitler declared that Germany needed 'a dictator who is a genius' if it were to rise up again.⁸² There was no implication that he himself was that person.⁸³ Surprisingly, too, his first outright public assault on Marxism did not occur before his speech at Rosenheim on 21 July 1920 (though he had spoken on a number of occasions before this of the catastrophic effects of Bolshevism in Russia, for which he blamed the Jews).⁸⁴ And, remarkably, even race theory – where Hitler drew heavily for his ideas from well-known antisemitic tracts such as those of Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Adolf Wahrmund, and, especially, the arch-popularizer Theodor Fritsch (one of whose emphases was the alleged sexual abuse of women by Jews) – was explicitly treated in only one speech by Hitler during 1920.⁸⁵

This scarcely meant, however, that Hitler neglected to attack the Jews. On the contrary: the all-devouring manic obsession with the Jews to which all else is subordinated – not observable before 1919, never absent thereafter – courses through almost every Hitler speech at this time. Behind all evil that had befallen or was threatening Germany stood the figure of the Jew.⁸⁶ In speech after speech he lashed the Jews in the most vicious and barbaric language imaginable.

Genuine socialism, declared Hitler, meant to be an antisemite.⁸⁷ Germans should be ready to enter into a pact with the devil to eradicate the evil of Jewry.⁸⁸ But, as in his letter to Gemlich the previous autumn, he did not see emotional antisemitism as the answer.⁸⁹ He demanded internment in concentration camps to prevent 'Jewish undermining of our people',⁹⁰ hanging for racketeers,⁹¹ but ultimately, as the only solution – similar to the Gemlich letter – the 'removal of the Jews from our people'.⁹² The implication, as in his explicit demands with regard to *Ostjuden*,⁹³ was their expulsion from Germany. This was undoubtedly how it was understood. But, as with some pre-war antisemites, the language itself was both terrible and implicitly genocidal in its biological similes.⁹⁴ 'You don't talk about what to do with parasites (*Trichinen*) and bacilli. Parasites and bacilli are also not reared. They are as quickly and fully as possible destroyed (*vernichtet*).' This was not Hitler. It was Paul de Lagarde, leading oriental scholar and specialist in semitic languages, in 1887, writing of how, in his view, Jews should

1920

be treated.⁹⁵ The atmosphere had become immeasurably more menacing towards the Jews when Hitler deployed similar terminology over thirty years later. 'Don't think that you can combat racial tuberculosis,' he declared in August 1920, 'without seeing to it that the people is freed from the causative organ of racial tuberculosis. The impact of Jewry will never pass away, and the poisoning of the people will not end, as long as the causal agent, the Jew, is not removed from our midst.'⁹⁶

His audiences loved it. More than anything else, these attacks evoked torrents of applause and cheering.⁹⁷ His technique – beginning slowly, plenty of sarcasm, personalized attacks on named targets, then a gradual crescendo to a climax – whipped his audiences into a frenzy.⁹⁸ His speech in the Festsaal of the Hofbräuhaus on 13 August 1920 on 'Why Are We Antisemites?' – his only speech that year *solely* relating to the Jews and probably intended as a basic statement on the topic – was interrupted fifty-eight times during its two hours' duration by ever wilder cheering from the 2,000 strong audience.⁹⁹ To go from a report on another Hitler speech a few weeks later, the audience would have been mainly drawn from white-collar workers, the lower-middle class, and better-off workers, with around a quarter women.¹⁰⁰

At first, Hitler's antisemitic tirades were invariably linked to anti-capitalism and attacks on 'Jewish' war profiteers and racketeers, whom he blamed for exploiting the German people and causing the loss of the war and the German war dead. He later claimed, in a horrific passage of *Mein Kampf*, that a million German lives lost at the front would have been saved if 'twelve to fifteen thousand of these Hebrew corrupters of the people had been held under poison gas'.¹⁰¹ The influence of Gottfried Feder can be seen in the distinction Hitler drew between essentially healthy 'industrial capital' and the real evil of 'Jewish finance capital'.¹⁰²

There was no link with Marxism or Bolshevism at this stage. Contrary to what is sometimes claimed, Hitler's antisemitism was not prompted by his anti-Bolshevism; it long predated it.¹⁰³ There was no mention of Bolshevism in the Gemlich letter of September 1919, where the 'Jewish Question' is related to the rapacious nature of finance capital.¹⁰⁴ Hitler spoke in April and again in June 1920 of Russia being destroyed by the Jews, but it was only in his Rosenheim speech on 21 July that he explicitly married the images of Marxism, Bolshevism, and the Soviet system in Russia to the brutality of Jewish rule, for which he saw Social Democracy preparing the ground in Germany.¹⁰⁵ Hitler admitted in August 1920 that he knew little of the real situation in Russia.¹⁰⁶ But – perhaps influenced above all by Alfred Rosenberg,

who came from the Baltic and hand,¹⁰⁷ but probably also so a civil war which were filtering became preoccupied with Bols! The dissemination of the *Proto* Jewish world domination, wide the time – probably also helped images appear to have provided anti-Marxism in his 'world-vie disappeared.

Hitler's speeches put him on the very much a local taste. And was still insignificant compared parties. Moreover, though it is the tool of powerful vested interest backers and the 'connections' that would not have got him very far.

Though Hitler had already as a political speaker, he was, in fact from the army. His first patron interest in him and, if his later funding towards the staging of was still serving both the party and Mayr had 'Herr Hittler' lecturing their Significance' in the company Alexander von Müller and Paul taking 'citizenship education course when a short-lived armed coup had forcing it to flee from the Reich to Berlin to instruct Wolfgang arrived too late. The Right's first collapsed. But Mayr was under Kapp and his interest in Hitler. months later, that the NSDAP – would become the 'organization

of a future, more successful, putsch.¹¹³ He wrote to Kapp, now exiled in Sweden:

The national workers' party must provide the basis for the strong assault-force (*Stoßtrupp*) that we are hoping for. The programme is still somewhat clumsy and also perhaps incomplete. We'll have to supplement it. Only one thing is certain: that under this banner we've already won a good number of supporters. Since July of last year I've been looking . . . to strengthen the movement . . . I've set up very capable young people. A Herr Hitler, for example, has become a motive force, a popular speaker (*Volksredner*) of the first rank. In the Munich branch we have over 2,000 members, compared with under 100 in summer 1919.¹¹⁴

Early in 1920, before Hitler had left the Reichswehr, Mayr had taken him along to meetings of the 'Iron Fist' club for radical nationalist officers, founded by Captain Ernst Röhm. Hitler had been introduced to Röhm by Mayr, probably the previous autumn.¹¹⁵ Interested in a variety of nationalist parties, particularly with a view to winning the workers to the nationalist cause, Röhm had attended the first meeting of the DAP addressed by Hitler on 16 October 1919 and had joined the party shortly afterwards. Now Hitler came into far closer contact with Röhm, who rapidly came to replace Mayr as the key link with the Reichswehr. Röhm had been responsible for arming the volunteers and 'civil defence' (*Einwohnerwehr*) units in Bavaria and had in the meantime become an important player in paramilitary politics, with excellent connections in the army, the 'patriotic associations', and throughout the *völkisch* Right. He was, in fact, at this time, along with his fellow officers on the Right, far more interested in the massive *Einwohnerwehren*, with a membership of over quarter of a million men, than he was in the tiny NSDAP. Even so, he provided the key contact between the NSDAP and the far larger 'patriotic associations' and offered avenues to funding which the constantly hard-up party desperately needed.¹¹⁶ His connections proved invaluable – increasingly so from 1921 onwards, when his interest in Hitler's party grew.

Another important patron at this time was the *völkisch* poet and publicist Dietrich Eckart.¹¹⁷ More than twenty years older than Hitler, Eckart, who had initially made his name with a translation of *Peer Gynt*, had not been notably successful before the war as a poet and critic. Possibly this stimulated his intense antisemitism. He became politically active in December 1918 with the publication of his antisemitic weekly *Auf gut deutsch* (*In Plain German*), which also featured contributions from Gottfried Feder and the young emigré from the Baltic, Alfred Rosenberg. He spoke at DAP meetings

in the summer of 1919, before the party's new recruit as his the attention paid to him by circles. In the early years, relations. But for Hitler, as ever, it was self-importance grew, his need Eckart's death, the two had b

At first, however, there could the NSDAP. Through his va beerhall demagogue an entrée i to the salons of wealthy and inf through his financial support, vital assistance to the financial fees did not remotely cover o from outside. It came in part fr including the publisher Lehmann Reichswehr. Mayr's office p detested Versailles Treaty (see punitive and humiliating for C the party in June 1920.¹²⁰ But example, the funding from hi owner Dr Gottfried Grandel, w for the plane that took him : Putsch. Grandel later served a the *Völkischer Beobachter* an December 1920.¹²¹

The party leadership had l *bachter* since the summer to j But it was only in mid-Decem emerged, that Hitler moved. J party-chairman Oskar Körner flat at two o'clock in the morn was 'in danger', that it was a Drexler's mother was wakene table it was decided that Drex Eckart to persuade him to er financial backing to acquire tl out Dr Grandel in Augsburg irritable Eckart out of bed, d

early 1920

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White
Haupt
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Books in this file

The German Empire ~~1871~~ 1870-1918 Sturmer

Ailing Empire - Haffner

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Lenin, for example, that imperialism represents the highest form of capitalism, then capitalism must of course be held responsible for Germany's turn toward imperialism and for her ultimate collapse. I have never found this line of reasoning convincing, possibly because I am not a Marxist. But even if I were to accept the Marxist position, I would still have to admit that many capitalist states have never become imperialistic—not Switzerland, that bastion of capitalism, to name but one. Why? I have an altogether different explanation, and I believe a far more compelling one.

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Switzerland is a minor state. Small powers do not have the same foreign-policy agendas as do big powers. The minor state seeks rapprochement or neutrality. It cannot hope to improve its position through independent power politics. Not so the major players. When they find an opening they move in, strengthening and expanding their power, the very basis of their existence. Unlike the earlier German governmental structures, the German Reich was a major power, and that essentially defined the difference between it and its past. However, it found very few areas open to penetration and expansion.

According to David Calleo, a young American historian, the German Reich was surrounded from birth. That is true insofar as that all along it was encircled by other major powers. To the west it bordered on France and England, to the south and southeast on Austria-Hungary, then still a signif-

icant power, and empire.

The geographic advantageous. Ietration. This d France, nor even Portugal, all of v Russia, with Asi. Germany had b other such pow come bigger still at birth. And the ward shape. Even it was probably European power of some of these alition of *all* its i it always feared *cause* France, fo perhaps even Ru. Reich, these cot and form coalitie the German Rei coalitions, to pr if necessary. We time the great po tima ratio, the i instrument. As e here and subsequ detail that they Reich's founde-

* He could expound this to the liberal internationalists could argue as the U.S.

that imperialism represents capitalism, then capitalism is responsible for Germany's ruin and for her ultimate collapse. This line of reasoning is wrong because I am not a Marxist. I accept the Marxist position, I admit that many capitalist countries become imperialistic—not a function of capitalism, to name an altogether different example—a far more compelling one. The small state. Small powers do not have a policy agenda as do big powers. They seek rapprochement or war to improve their position in world politics. Not so the great powers. They find an opening they exploit and expand their power at their expense. Unlike the imperial structures, the great power, and that difference between it and its rivals. Very few areas open to it.

Altogether, a young American nation was surrounded from all sides by great powers. To the west it was England, to the south and east, then still a signif-

icant power, and to the east on the huge Russian empire.

The geographic situation of the Reich was not advantageous. There were no areas open to penetration. This did not hold true for England and France, nor even for Belgium, Holland, Spain, and Portugal, all of which bordered on oceans, nor for Russia, with Asia to its east. Yet on the other hand, Germany had become a major power, and like other such powers it instinctively sought to become bigger still, an instinct apparently bestowed at birth. And there was yet another factor: its awkward shape. Even though from the very beginning it was probably stronger than any single major European power, it was weaker than a coalition of some of these, and certainly weaker than a coalition of *all* its immediate neighbors. That is why it always feared such arrangements. Precisely *because* France, for example, or Austria or Italy, or perhaps even Russia, felt weaker than the German Reich, these countries tended to invite alliances and form coalitions. And again, *because* they did, the German Reich always tried to prevent such coalitions, to pry connecting links loose, by war if necessary. We must keep in mind that at the time the great powers still considered war the ultima ratio, the ultimate and weightiest political instrument. As a result, the Germans—I repeat it here and subsequently will demonstrate in greater detail that they did so against the wishes of the Reich's founder—tended to consider the founding

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1903, 1927, 1920

luggage, third for the middle class of modest means, second for ladies, and first for the rich. But the King of Saxony complained about the equalizing effect of railway travel, as the king and the laborer would start, and arrive, on the same train and at the same time. Time was also a great equalizer. The railways and industry required standard time, not something to be found in the old days. This and the spread of pocket watches at reasonable prices meant that the measurement of time was no longer a privilege, but a condition of daily life. *Alois plus watches*

Of course, holidays were only for the affluent, greatly facilitated by the speed and safety of the railways. From Berlin, one would take the train northwards to Heiligendamm to spend a weekend on the Baltic coast in elegant neoclassical surroundings. To the south there was the French Riviera, and in between the Swiss Alps, which lost their awesome terror and began to attract the urban middle classes. Johanna Spyri's popular story of *Heidi*, the innocent and healthy little girl from the mountains near the ancient spa of Ragaz, promised health for body and soul alike. Trains and trams enabled suburbs to spread, realizing the idea of the garden city, or even a house in the country at weekends. What Hampstead was for Londoners, Grünewald and Wannsee were for Berliners, and Ebenhausen for the rich nature-lovers in Munich.

Health became a serious preoccupation as never before, and so did sport. Again, the rich and the poor divided: the upper classes proudly displayed a little English, played golf and rode horses. Students, at least the more militant ones, learned fencing, not so much for health reasons as for honor and prestige. The occasional carefully stage-managed duel was seen as a distinction of social status and would, it was hoped, result in some carefully cultivated scars on the face

1893, 1900, 1900

which were worn like a decoration, so through the invisible but powerful old soccer-playing masses also took part in boxing, the socialists seeing to it that we were well organized within their all-en of care from the cradle to the grave.

There was no one German society in the word. Life on an East Prussian estate the average *Rittergut*, or vast like the *l. Dönhoffs*, the *Dohnas* or the *Lehndorf* much in its traditional mold. But even here depression would be felt, from the mid petition came from Ukraine's fertile green pastures of Argentina and from the American Midwest. Berlin, by contrast strong metropolis constantly on the old buildings and building new one through rapid transit and in turn creating centers. It housed not only the power elite but also the new banks, modern mass interests and political parties. In the cities were expanding rapidly. In the mines and no steel mills, a different kind of attention was under way, traditionally based on attention to detail, on the textile industry. There were thus many societies, but a the move. Emigration, almost exclusive ica, continued unabated: in fact, after the to new highs. For the next twenty years 100,000 young men and women left Germany each year to seek a better life. Most of them had relatives there, who ing terms the land of unlimited opportunity.

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parliamentarianism, and atomized the fragments by democratic liberalism. He would heal the multiple cleavage for the sake of national survival, meaning world power and ultimately world dominion. He even tied together the three stages of the proposed operation by the fall of 1928: he would cleanse Germany racially to restore German unity for the necessary war ahead.⁹⁹ This treble project was inchoately his in the early 1920s—not so schematically, that is, and with only a revisionist war foreseen. "What can help us now?" he asked in March 1920, while raging against the victors' peace. "Only the greatest unity of all breeds of Germans," he answered.¹⁰⁰ And a month later he cried out: "Merciless war on those drones who brought us to grief! We want a single German people back however much the whole Jew pack kicks."¹⁰¹ He struck a long familiar stance in the Ruhr crisis of 1923: "Do we want to restore Germany's freedom and power? Then let us first rescue it from its spoiler!"¹⁰² His call for a racial housecleaning was toned down in his post-Putsch oratory earlier than was his cry for feeding ground—possibly in the first instance to oblige the Bavarian government when it provisionally lifted the ban on his public speaking in March 1927.¹⁰³ Even muted, the racial housecleaning remained more than a mere means to national unity in his political discourse, whereas national unity figured from first to last as merely the means of conquering feeding ground. Take his presentation of 26 March 1927. "Even the beaten Communist," it ran, "is my compatriot as soon as he is down. I want nothing more than for civil strife to stop for Germans to stop being two classes, for a new army to form out of both classes and, bridging the gap, plant above and beyond it a new banner that is both national and social, so everyone can see that in fighting for the idea I am fighting for each of my compatriots to get bread for life, for them each someday to get the proud feeling of being German." In this isolated passage, the gap-bridging can look like an end in itself—army, bread, and all. But this clarion call for unity followed up a bugle call for the eastern land grab: "To conquer land and soil, strength is needed. That lies in unity. That is, if a people sees the necessity for being able to preserve its life only through a policy

1927, 1928, 1932

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of expansion, then it must put all its vital energy into such a policy. And it may not be distracted by other problems. It must have a single goal. If it pursues other goals, then it lacks the strength to fight outwardly." The clarion call led up to a recall besides: "We [National Socialists] are convinced of the necessity for struggle. The peoples of this world have to struggle for their existence. If a people no longer does so, then history takes no further notice of it. History does not say: 'All right, if you won't have it that way, then have it some other way.' It says: 'Then you drop out.' Every creature that stops defending itself goes under." (Through all this, Hitler reminded his listeners only in passing that "the international Jew has become master.")¹⁰⁴ Never did Hitler invert his means and his end by promoting the foreign land grab in order to drain domestic tension. He came closest once in his fever year for theory, 1928, when, bypassing the Jews, he blamed Germany's civil strife on the shortage of land and soil: "Social diseases appear that then gradually assume an ideological character, until at length bloody civil strife erupts internally, a consequence of the disproportion between people and area."¹⁰⁵ But after September 1930 he evoked the end as a rule by citing the means only—intoning the first bars of his familiar refrain and leaving the rest to be hummed unthinkingly. That is, he sounded the aim of conquering feeding ground through the theme of terminating social and political divisions. And this pitch to heal the civil rifts and restore a "community of fate"¹⁰⁶ became his basic, constant pitch in the two years before he took office. As he put it on 31 July 1932, the issue was "whether Germany is to keep these twenty-five and thirty or forty parties, or whether Germany is to be pulled back together once and for all into a single formative will."¹⁰⁷ Or again on 23 January 1933: "If we succeed in turning proletarian and bourgeois back into Germans, the German future is ours."¹⁰⁸ This was his set piece in office too while public life was Nazified.¹⁰⁹ The sequence was the same in his politics as previously in his rhetoric: first came the Nazification, then—and all Germany felt it coming—the expansionist war. The Nazification began, moreover, with the exclusion of the Jews from public life and the

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masses,"⁵² and another declared it "incontestable that some-
thing radiated from him which affected individuals and espe-
cially the great masses as well."⁵³ "Especially" here ties in with
this observation by one of his generals: "In order to achieve the
greatest possible effects of his own suggestive power, and possi-
bly in order to increase his self-confidence, Hitler preferred a
not too small audience."⁵⁴ This is as far as Hitler's suggestive
effect on individuals and groups differed between the two: in
degree.⁵⁵ A frequent term for that effect was "hypnotic" or "hyp-
noid," even in the collective case. "Flaming, steel-blue eyes," or
again "strangely compelling eyes," dominated Kurt Lüdecke's
sense of the "hypnotic spell" that Hitler cast over an entire au-
dience at once: "the whole man," Lüdecke found, "was concen-
trated in his eyes, his clear, straightforward, domineering, bright
blue eyes."⁵⁶ Other witnesses attested to his power of "rhetorical
hypnosis" or of talking an audience into "a mass psychosis bor-
dering on hypnosis."⁵⁷ "The Führer had such a power of hyp-
notic suggestion that the entire people believed in him," de-
clared his Nuremberg apostle, Julius Streicher, from the prison-
ers' dock there in 1946.⁵⁸ Only the term "hypnotic" is missing
from this account of 1934 by a lowly follower: "In 1927 I and my
comrades had a chance to look into the eyes of our Führer and to
hear from his mouth how Germany could be saved. I shall never
forget this, for I think that our Führer radiates a power which
makes us all strong."⁵⁹ "Mass hypnosis—that hardly explains
it," sneered Hans Frank in his death cell,⁶⁰ and again: "That so-
called fascinating look of his was nothing but the stare of an
insensitive psychopath!"⁶¹ But then Frank cited Hitler's "lovely
grey eyes" in explaining how Hitler had "lured workers, law-
yers, scientists, women and children—everything—to destruc-
tion!"⁶² Most revealing was the mad "revelation" whereby pris-
oner Rudolf Hess emerged from amnesia on 4 February 1945:
that the atrocities committed by his countrymen were due to
world Jewry's hypnotic influence reaching "up to the Führer
himself" and evidenced by the glassy, dreamlike eyes of those
affected.⁶³

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Hitler may have practiced deliberate hypnosis at close range,

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arrelling, slander, and

intrigue over the most petty and squalid issues
seemed to be endemic in the Party.

To keep these quarrels within bounds, Hitler set
up a Party court in 1926, the *Uschla* (Committee for
Investigation and Settlement), which became an ef-
fective instrument for his tighter control over the
Party.

In July 1926, Hitler felt strong enough to hold a
mass rally of the Party at Weimar, in Thuringia, one
of the few States in which he was still allowed to
speak. Five thousand men took part in the march past,
with Hitler standing in his car and returning their
salute, for the first time, with outstretched arm. Hoff-
man's photographs made it all look highly impressive,
and a hundred thousand copies of the *Völkischer
Beobachter* were distributed throughout the country.
It was the first of the *Reichsparteitage* later to be
staged, year after year, at Nuremberg.

Goebbels was now whole-heartedly Hitler's man. In
November Hitler appointed him as *Gauleiter* of 'Red'
Berlin, an assignment which was to stretch to the full
his remarkable powers as an agitator. Thus Hitler
not only strengthened the movement in a key position,
but provided another check against the independence
of the Strassers, who had kept their own press and
publishing house in Berlin. Goebbels, whose desertion
to Hitler was regarded as rank treachery by the
Strasser group, employed every means in his power
to reduce their influence and following. In 1927 he
founded *Der Angriff* as a rival to the Strassers' pa-
per, and used the S.A. to beat up their most loyal sup-
porters. Appeals to Hitler by Gregor and Otto Stras-
ser produced no effect: he declared he had no control
over what Goebbels did.

The old trouble with the S.A. soon reappeared. In
November 1926, Hitler reformed the S.A. and found
a new commander in Captain Pfeffer von Salomon,
but the ex-officers still thought only in military terms.

Jan 1927

hard times that neither of them would ever forget, and the old craving gradually overwhelmed Göring again.

Occasionally a thin, pathetic voice came from the Stockholm sanatorium where Carin had piously placed herself in God's hands. The doctors had now told her that her condition was hopeless, and she wrote and told Göring that on January 26, 1927, soon after he left. "You have a right to know the truth," she wrote, "because you love me and have always done everything for me."

I have no fear of death . . . I want only that His will be done, because I know that what He wills is for the best for everyone. And, darling, if there is no God, then death is only rest, like an eternal sleep—one knows no more of anything. But I firmly believe that there is a God, and then we shall see each other once more up there.

Naturally I should like to live so that you have no sorrow and for Thomas's sake, and because I love you and Thomas above everything else and want—yes, I want it terribly—to stay with both of you.

Without her rapturous love, sensed by Göring from afar, he would probably have foundered forever in the twilight Berlin world of addicts and down-and-outs. But she threw her fragile weight into the battle for his survival, writing letters that are among the most moving documents in the Hermann Göring story.

My darling's health is my greatest concern [she pleaded]. It is in far, far greater danger than my own. Darling, darling, I think of you all the time! You are all I have, and I beg you, make a really mighty effort to liberate yourself before it is too late. I understand full well that you can't break free all at once, particularly now when everything depends on you and you are hounded and harassed from all sides. But set yourself limits. Abstain from taking it for just as long as you can stand it.

Make the interval as long as possible. You must suffer, you must be uncomfortable—but for my sake, because I love you so endlessly.

I want so much to be with you when the time comes that you quit altogether . . . And after that, place your trust in me. This time tell me if you feel the craving coming back. Don't keep it from me. This time tell me, "I can't hold out—I want to take it again."

Then we can talk with the doctor or go away for a few days or you can go alone to the mountains so that you escape the urge.

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e and penniless, Hermann Göring did not find it easy to rebuild his career in Germany. The Richters hated him—their own last commander about his war record. For Carin's cousin Hans Streck to give the Görings settled down on the Streck's' each morning to put on his black manicure his hands, and then sally forth. The Führer coldly recommended that the Görings' accomplishment would be if he could get obediently rented a room in a ruck up a friendship with Paul Körner would become like a son to him: a red-dot bow tie and single-medal himself to Göring as unpaid secretaryship—he had some money but his own Mercedes, Körner drove it. There were, Körner later said,

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You are a great spirit and fine man, you dare not succumb. I love you so strongly, with my whole body and soul, that I could not bear to lose you: to be a morphinist is to commit suicide—day after day you lose a small part of your body and soul. . . . You are ruled by an evil spirit or force, and your body gradually wastes away. . . .

Save yourself and with you, me!

Despite all his efforts, Göring was again losing the battle. Under interrogation eighteen years later he would hint at otherwise unexplained excursions he made to Turkey in 1927 and to Britain in the same year or the next. It is fair to comment that Turkey was one of the leading opium-producing nations. The Swedish record shows that from September 7 to 26, 1927, Göring was again admitted to Långbro Mental Hospital for "abuse of morphine, dosage of 40 to 50 cgm per diem."

The story of Göring's struggle to overcome his accidental morphine addiction remained a closed book for some years. Then, in June 1933, at a wedding dinner at Rockelstad Castle, Göring, by then a powerful German minister, boasted to Count Eric von Rosen's new son-in-law, Dr. Nils Silfverskjöld, that the Nazis would "gradually destroy" (*vernichten*) the Communists in Germany. Silfverskjöld, himself a Communist, laid hands on the Långbro dossier and publicized it in the Communist newspaper *Folkets Dagblad* on November 18, 1933; the left-wing newspaper *Social-Demokraten* also published references to Göring's hospital treatments. The war between Göring and the Communists was by then one in which neither side gave quarter.

Göring spent Christmas with Carin in Sweden but left her still on her sickbed in January 1928 to return to Berlin. He now shared an office in Geisberg Strasse with Fritz Siebel, who was also in the aviation business. Parachute sales were slow, but Göring had his eye on bigger game. On May 20, the all-important elections to the Reichstag (Parliament) would be held. With the recklessness of a man with little more to lose, Göring blackmailed the Nazi leadership into including him among their candidates. Secret backers had provided the funds that enabled Hitler to enlarge his party to a membership of millions. Göring bluntly threatened to sue the party otherwise for every pfennig it had owed him since 1922. Hitler capitulated, promising him a seat if more than seven Nazis were elected. Göring rushed around to his friend "Putzi" Hanfstaengl, whooping with glee. To be a Nazi candidate under these circumstances was like money in the bank.

Suddenly Göring was no longer a pariah. He brashly looked around for a more imposing apartment, and begged Carin to travel to Berlin in time for the elections. She arrived in mid-May, a few days before the poll. By that time he had rented a little apartment at No. 16, Berchtesgadener Strasse. On the seventeenth, three days before the election, he carried Carin into the

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large corner room he had prepared smothered with white lilac. Siebel with him again.

"I had a bath," she wrote to me, I rested an hour, then three us to a fine, stylish luncheon with

They lunched with the "revolting Jews!" They lunched with "slant-eyed" waitresses in kim excitedly about Sunday's polling

They've already begun communists parade with their Star of David . . . and meet with swastikas (but with a pitched battle, with dead for Hermann, we would have just think!!!

She followed this letter with a te

HERMANN ELECTED YESTER

Hitler's party had attracted enough to be returned to the Reichstag. So influence—and friends. "It is awfully see how all those who kept away and assure him that they always be he was in difficulties?"

He was overwhelmed with commotion five hundred Reichsmarks per more as a party orator—and that finally at an end: They could begin bills, redeem the things they had little white harmonium and all the hocked was carried up to their third indulgently. He was looking forward around.

"In the Reichstag," he told his Twelve Black Sheep."

He took Carin along to the ceremony

"It was quite uncanny," she wrote gang. They throw their weight at uniforms adorned with the Star of

May 1928

every form of Christianity, no matter what confession.

No movement has fought harder against the Centre Party and its supporting groups than our own, not for religious reasons but solely from political considerations. And so from now onwards we must fight the Centre not because it claims to be 'Christian' or 'Catholic' but solely because a party which has allied itself with atheistic Marxism for the suppression of its own people is neither Christian nor Catholic.

We do not declare war on the Centre for religious reasons, but solely for national-political ones.

History will pass judgement on who will be successful, we or the advocates of a cultural struggle.

Finally, I demand of the movement's supporters that from now onwards they direct all their energies outwards and do not weaken themselves in a fratricidal struggle.

The best local branch leadership is not the one which 'unites' the other nationalist organisations or 'wins them over' to the movement, but the one which wins antinationalists back to the German people.

The success of our movement must be measured not by the number of Reichstag or Landtag seats we win, but by the extent to which Marxism is destroyed and by the degree of enlightenment about its originator, the Jews.

Let those who wish to join in this struggle do so; let those who do not, stay away.

(ii) The assertion of the primacy of the 'Führer'

After the refounding of the Party, Hitler, soon banned from public speaking in Bavaria and many other states, concentrated on writing the second volume of *Mein Kampf*. During the summer of 1925, the Munich branch of the Party became involved in bitter factional squabbles in which personalities played a major part. Hitler had left the day-to-day running of the Party in the hands of the Party officials—Bouhler (the secretary), Schwarz (the treasurer), Amann (the head of the publishing house) and Esser (the propaganda chief). In addition, Julius Streicher, the branch leader of Nuremberg, and Artur Dinter, Gauleiter or regional leader of Thuringia, were influential. This group had fought a bitter feud with other Bavarian antisemites and former Nazis during 1924 and this feud now broke out again. But Esser, Streicher and Dinter were also extremely unpopular among many Party members throughout Germany and particularly in the north and west. Some of the Gauleiters here, where the Party was now growing more rapidly than in Bavaria, resented the authority of what they regarded as an unsavoury Munich clique. This conflict dated back to the previous year when Esser's abrasive personality had alienated many Nazis, particularly when he committed the cardinal sin of washing

the Party's dirty linen in the pages of the influential 'Jewish' newspaper, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.

But apart from questions of personality, important issues of principle now emerged. Some leading members of the Party outside Bavaria disagreed on aspects of Party policy. In the first place, the Party leaders in Göttingen and Hanover disagreed with participation in elections. This represented a challenge to the new parliamentary tactics now being followed by the Party. Secondly, Gregor Strasser, the Gauleiter of Lower Bavaria, who had met many of the north and west German Party leaders while acting as Hitler's deputy in the refounding of the Party there, felt that the Party programme was too vague and should be defined more concretely in a 'Socialist' direction. He was supported by some of the local Party leaders in the industrial areas of north and west Germany who wanted to compete with the Left for the support of the workers.

The 'Socialism' of Gregor Strasser was in fact typical of that of most racialists—a determination to try to win the workers for nationalism by giving them a greater sense of belonging to the nation. It sprang from his experience in the trenches during the war, as he told a meeting in 1927:

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...How did all those tens of thousands in all parts of Germany become National Socialist? Perhaps I may be allowed to recall how I became one...because I am a test case here! Before the war we did not bother with politics. I grew up the son of a low-ranking civil servant. I had no ambition other than to get on through hard work. In the war we became Nationalists, that is to say, out of that vague feeling that the fatherland had to be defended, that it was something great and sacred, the protector of the existence of the individual, out of this vague notion which for many of us was not clear, we became nationalists on the battlefield. When I saw all the nations of the earth rushing against the German trenches with bloodthirsty destruction, when the international stock exchange armed one country after another and set them going against the single German nation in the trenches—Americans, Portuguese, Blacks, Yellows, against the little group of Germans fighting for their existence, it became clear to me: if Germany wants to survive, every German must know what it means to be a German and must defend this idea to the limits of self-sacrifice. Companies and batteries reduced from 250 to 60 men did not have to be told about the *community of need*; they knew: if we do not stand together the Blacks will be on us. We knew that the first priority of manhood is to defend oneself, and the second, all who speak the same language must stick together, must organise themselves to be strong by being united!

And why did we become Socialists?

This notion was still as far from many who today stand in our ranks as the notion of nationalism in terms of its real significance. We learnt all sorts of things at school. But nobody told us that half the German people were hostile to the nation

because they had been denied the most basic needs of life by the other half. Not a word were we told about that tragic hour for the German people when the growing German workers' movement was nothing but the cry of millions of German fellow countrymen for acceptance into the nation on equal terms (loud applause). So these millions of people were left to the Jew Marx who created Marxism out of the German workers' movement, who intended to do nothing but destroy the German nation with the strength of these millions and to make it a colony of world capital.

We must always regard one principle as fundamental: to be ready to recognise mistakes, to see that when a nation goes under, it is mainly the fault of the rulers of that nation. They had the power to prevent everything which in the long run forced people to become hostile to the nation and state.

This person, whom the Jew Marx had perverted into a 'Social Democrat', a Marxist, was suddenly found standing next one in the platoon, in the battery, by the guns. During the long hours of sentry duty there would be discussion: What are you? A mechanic. Politically? A red, a Marxist. And we who came from the bourgeoisie, we who had been told nothing, were surprised.

Why am I a Marxist? Because you have never bothered with us! Then one started thinking, then came the great realisation how brave the man is, and how well he does his duty! It was my experience that the best soldiers were frequently those who had least to defend at home (applause). He cooperated, he did his duty unflinching, and from conversations with him we understood the mistakes of our great-grandfathers. Because we had become nationalists in the trenches we could not help becoming Socialists in the trenches, we could not help coming home with the brutal intention of gathering the whole nation round us and teaching them that the greatness of a nation depends on the willingness of the individual to stand up for this nation and say to it: Your fate is indissolubly linked with the fate of your people, with the fate and greatness of your nation. We could not help coming home from this war with this resolve: Those who have fought together with us and who are hostile towards the nation because it has not bothered with them must be emancipated so that Germany will in future be strong and the master of her enemies! (loud applause).

In order to further his attempt to change the programme and as a counterweight to the Party bureaucracy in Munich, Strasser now took the initiative in establishing a so-called 'working group' (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft*) of the Gauleiters in north and west Germany. In fact, however, as is clear from the following report, written by Fobke, a Göttingen leader, of the first meeting, held at Hagen in Westphalia on 10 September, there were deep disagreements between these Gauleiters over the various points at issue, particularly over the question of elections which was the main issue for the Göttingen leaders. The only aim on which most of them were agreed was cooperation in matters of organisation among regions with similar problems and the development of new ideas appropriate to their needs which the bureaucrats in the Munich headquarters 'Esser & Co' were apparently incapable of doing. These would, it was hoped, meet with Hitler's approval and it is significant that Point 4 of the statutes of the

working group shows that they had been careful to gain Hitler's general approval for the organisation:

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...The movement is at the moment undergoing a crisis associated mainly with the name of Hermann Esser. This extremely dubious character, of obscure political as well as moral background, is at the moment absolute boss in the Party leadership. The result is a continual diminution of all the good elements in the movement, which today, for example, in the city of Munich only comprises 700 members. Thousands stand aside without joining any group, others—the smaller part—have joined together in the National Socialist People's League [*Nationalsozialistische Volksbund*] under the leadership of Dörfner and Anton Drechsler [*sic*], which parted from the NSDAP some time ago under the slogan 'With Hitler but without Esser!' when Hitler did not do without Esser. In the last few days, an open conflict has developed between Alfred Rosenberg, editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter* and publisher of the *Weltkampf*, and Adolf Hitler, the origin of which must be sought in the prominent position in the Party of Esser, Amann and Streicher. Of my personal acquaintances with me in the prison in Landsberg, the best are standing aside in convinced opposition.

Hitler himself, whom I met on 26 and 27 August, adopts a completely passive attitude towards the business; this, under the circumstances, is equivalent to supporting Esser. At the moment his activity is entirely confined to the completion of the second volume of his book, *Mein Kampf*. Any suggestion of getting rid at last of Esser & Co., including above all Streicher and Dinter, he counters with the insubstantial objection that for him their usefulness is the decisive factor. He overlooks the fact that the total rejection of them throughout the Reich is being outweighed by their theoretical usefulness within a limited area. Outside Bavaria too the movement is in my opinion in a stagnant condition, which, apart from the general political indifference, has its origin in the sorry state of things at the Munich headquarters.

Opposition to the Esser dictatorship is naturally making itself evident. To create a counterbalance to this dictatorship was the purpose of a meeting which Gregor Strasser, Hitler's honest and extremely hard-working, even if not exactly inspired colleague, summoned for 10 September at Hagen in Westphalia. Strasser himself was prevented from attending, with the result that the discussion was perhaps not as far-reaching as it would have been had he been there...

As convener, Herr Strasser originally intended to use the negotiations at the meeting to play off the block formed by those invited against the pernicious Munich line. Of this plan, apart from Haase [Gauleiter] of Göttingen, only Dr Goebbels^a and a man unknown to us by name who chaired the meeting,^b were aware. Since Strasser did not attend, the real purpose of the meeting was not touched on; instead, to begin with, the only decision reached was the setting up of a close

^a A party activist in Elberfeld.

^b Dr Hellmuth Elbrechter, a Nazi from Elberfeld.

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Thus Goebbels had a highly visible opponent. Besides, he would be doing battle for the first time with the Jews. 'Berlin,' Muchow observed, 'is Red and Jewish in equal measure.'²¹ In 1816 there had been only 3,400 Jews, but this figure had swollen to 36,500 by 1871, and to one hundred thousand at the turn of the century. By the time of Goebbels' arrival, one-third of Germany's half-million Jews were concentrated in the city.²² They made up 4.3 percent of its population; but they provided over half Berlin's lawyers, 15 percent of the real estate agents, and nearly 11 percent of the doctors; they dominated the wealthy ranks of Berlin's dentists, pharmacists, judges, public prosecutors, and academics, and maintained a near stranglehold on the world of the arts. While Mosse's *Berliner Tageblatt* would become one of Goebbels' principal enemies—the newspaper had been founded in 1871 specifically for the protection of Jewish interests in Germany—he would arbitrarily lump all the bourgeois newspapers into the general category of 'Judenpresse.'

When he said that the real power in Berlin was in Jewish hands there was a grain of truth in it. Dr Heinrich Brüning, chancellor of the Reich from 1930 to 1932, could find only one bank not so controlled. After ordering a government inquiry, he directed that its findings be kept secret for fear of provoking antisemitic riots.²³ A series of scandals surrounding Jewish swindlers like Kutisker, Sklarek, and the Barmat brothers paraded through the courts.²⁴ Many of the public prosecutors in Berlin were Jewish. Goebbels would portray the Berlin police as largely Jewish controlled; in fact of the top officials only the powerful deputy chief (Vize-Polizeipräsident) who directed section Ia, the three-hundred-man political police force, forerunner of the Gestapo, was a Jew.

He was not just any Jew. Forty-six years old, the son of a millionaire grain merchant, Dr Bernhard Weiss had served like his three brothers with distinction in the war, won the Iron Cross, and become the first Jew ever to be accepted for the Prussian higher civil service.²⁵ His army personnel file speaks of his highly developed sense of honour but also of his over-developed ambition, conceit, and immodesty, and of a 'powerful over-sensitivity tending to cloud his clarity of judgment.'²⁶ Appointed deputy police chief on March 17, 1927 in the redbrick police HQ on Alexander Platz, the diminutive (five-foot-four) Bernhard Weiss would become Goebbels' sworn enemy—not just because of the rigor with which he deployed his fourteen thousand truncheon-wielding uniformed police in the struggle for the streets of Berlin, but because he was a Jew and even his best friends said he looked like a caricature of one.²⁷

Dr Goebbels would shun no libel to blacken his name. Instinctively carrying on an ancient tradition of name-calling, he seized on Dr Weiss' nickname of 'Isidor' and commissioned a scurrilous Nazi marching song about him.²⁸ He would highlight every malfeasance of the criminal *démimonde* and identify it as Jewish. In these closing years of the Weimar republic, he was unfortunately not always wrong. In 1930 Jews would be convicted in forty-two of 210 known narcotics smuggling cases; in 1932 sixty-nine of the 272 known international narcotics dealers were Jewish.

Elber see p 547 - Translato, please

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Jews were arrested in over sixty percent of the cases concerning the running of illegal gambling dens; 193 of the 411 pickpockets arrested in 1932 were Jews. In 1932 no fewer than thirty-one thousand cases of fraud, mainly insurance swindles, would be committed by Jews.²⁹

Statistical comparisons are of course usually odious, but it was against this background that Goebbels now started his campaign. He would concentrate initially on the western boroughs of Charlottenburg, Wilmersdorf, Schöneberg, and Tiergarten, where over half Berlin's Jews had settled. They had originally populated the disheveled streets around the railroad termini of central and north-western Berlin where they had arrived from the east and from Galicia, but as they had prospered they had descended on the leafier western boroughs. Over 13 percent of Wilmersdorf's 196,000 inhabitants were Jews.³⁰

The sheer scale of the battle fought between Dr Goebbels and 'Isidor' Weiss can be judged from the court records. The police targeted the Nazi gauleiter with no fewer than forty court actions; Weiss himself was involved in twenty-three cases; Hitler came only eighth, with sixteen. Goebbels and Weiss would clash head on in four groups of trials, involving ten specific charges against Goebbels and a score more against his editors and journalists. In addition Weiss started nine other court actions, including three against Gregor Strasser, for calling him Isidor. Nearly all of these immensely complex cases were appealed all the way up the German legal system, but Weiss secured sixty convictions (including nineteen against Dr Goebbels). To non-Germans unfamiliar with the stiffness of Prussia, the pomposity of a civil servant like Weiss resorting to such legal sanctions seems breathtakingly pointless and even self-defeating. His first action, in May 1927, was against a Berlin newsvendor who had displayed on his newsstand a *Völkischer Beobachter* featuring a competent and by no means hostile sketch of Dr Weiss; the unfortunate newsvendor went to jail for a month.³¹ 'The mere application of the name Isidor, whereas the police vice-president's first name is in reality Bernhard, was a deliberate and purposeful insult,' argued Weiss's superior, Karl Zörgiebel, on June 1, demanding the prosecution of the *Völkischer Beobachter*'s editor too.³² In a telling *lapsus linguae* police chief Zörgiebel's indictment of Goebbels dated March 2, 1928 actually accused him of libeling 'the Polizeipräsident Dr. Weiss'—thus accidentally conceding what all Berlin already knew, that it was his deputy who called the shots, and not he.³³

Tirelessly and at taxpayers' expense Weiss fought the battles against Goebbels and his newspaper: the court dockets ooze with the cold fury aroused in him by irreverent cartoons (Weiss asking a policeman who demands the arrest of a communist thug: 'Ban them? Why—did he attack a Jew?'); by caricatures (a bespectacled, big-nosed donkey splay-legged on thin ice),³⁴ and even by a crossword puzzle.³⁵

It was November 7, 1926 before Goebbels actually arrived in Berlin.³⁶ Dr. Otto Strasser met him at the station.

Goebbels' own legend, written up as *Battle for Berlin*, would have

1927 Goebbels had sent five truckloads of S.A. men to Cottbus to boost the puny local contingent during a two-day Nazi 'freedom rally.' It was an icy January night, and at dawn the men drove into Cottbus, where the local S.A. provided billets. 'We wanted to show them,' wrote Muchow, 'that the Berlin S.A. turned up everywhere we were needed.' The march through Cottbus began: 'Our Doctor [Goebbels] was with Daluge at Kaiser-Wilhelm Platz, taking the salute.'⁴⁵ As Goebbels delivered an impromptu speech there were already taunts of 'long live the communist Internationale!' A pitched battle broke out. The police and soldiers waded in with truncheons and rifle butts. The S.A. had two seriously injured, the police four. But the blood had been shed for naught: 'The entire Berlin "Judenpresse",' lamented Muchow, 'breathed not a word about our Cottbus demonstration.'

The Strassers' *Arbeiterzeitung* (masthead slogan: 'The workers' only newspaper in Berlin not beholden to loan-capital') published Goebbels' appeal for funds for 'our wounded S.A. comrades.' Seven hundred marks flowed in.

Goebbels owed a lot to the Strasser brothers.⁴⁶ Otto had also arranged for Hans Steiger, an editor on a bourgeois Berlin newspaper, to provide cheap lodgings in the rooming house run by Frau Steiger at No. 5, Am Karlsbad. No doubt he wanted to keep an eye on Goebbels. Mrs Steiger provided a full-length mirror to enable him to practice public-speaking postures; but her husband erred badly, trespassing on Goebbels' feelings by circulating a ballad that touched upon the gauleiter's private life and using a limping, lop-sided rhythm designed, Goebbels felt sure, to mock his disability.⁴⁷ The gauleiter, it turned out, could stand any amount of satire so long as it was not leveled at him.

The second great battle happened in the rundown Pharus Rooms, a traditional communist meeting place behind No. 124 Müller Strasse in Berlin's working-class suburb of Wedding, on February 11. There were two hundred communists among Goebbels' thousand-strong audience. As he spoke on 'The collapse of the bourgeois class state' disturbances broke out and Daluge sent in the S.A. to evict the first troublemakers. The communists retreated, and the Nazis held the high ground, the gallery. In the few minutes before the police could intervene, the S.A. had roughed up eighty-three communists. When Goebbels resumed speaking, the platform was littered with bleeding men on stretchers.⁴⁸ One man, Albert Tonak, aged twenty-one, was hospitalized with concussion.⁴⁹ In the VB report Goebbels described how he had learned that a surgeon called Levy was planning to delve into Tonak's skull; one hundred of his S.A. men, 'unemployed proletarians in brown shirts,' had stormed the hospital and rescued him. Goebbels added an appeal for funds to establish a party clinic of seven or eight rooms to treat their own emergency cases.⁵⁰ Tonak became the little Doctor's chauffeur, and later died on Hitler's eastern battlefields.

Goebbels had found the right formula. After this battle the press howled with rage—and more funds flowed in. He got the big car he

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coveted. He claimed that anonymous benefactors had donated the four-seater Benz motor car to the gau, but 'Isidor' Weiss determined that the vehicle, license tag 26637-IA, had previously belonged to a merchant bank, Grundman & Co., that the two-thousand-marks *purchase* price had come from the Freedom League, and that it was registered in Goebbels' own name.⁵¹ By late February treasurer Franz Wilke could report that the gau now had eight to ten thousand marks in cash and assets.⁵² Lecturing the Freedom League, his cash cows, on 'My political awakening' on the fifteenth the gauleiter again claimed to have been plotting clandestinely with Hitler in Munich as early as 1919, and to have fought in the resistance against the French and Belgians occupying the Ruhr.⁵³

Just four days after the Pharus Rooms fight, Goebbels and his S.A. hooligans filled all fifteen hundred seats at a hall in Spandau. The left, still reeling, stayed away. Their newspapers uttered dire warnings to the workers to keep their eyes on this unexpected 'fascist menace.' The police watched with mounting fury as control of the streets passed into the hands of the political mobs.

A perverted sense of pride seized the Berlin S.A. Their young chronicler Reinhold Muchow doubted that their brother Brownshirts of Stuttgart, Weimar, or Hamburg could have survived such battles. Now, he observed, the Berlin Jews saw the writing on the wall. More printing ink would flow against the party during February 1927 than in all the preceding three months.

A high-water mark in this carnage came in March, just three days after 'Isidor's' appointment. Goebbels had ordered a nighttime function of the Berlin S.A. to be staged at Trebbin, a little town twenty miles away. About seven hundred S.A. men proudly wearing their uniform of jackboots, flat caps, breeches, and brown shirts made their way there: a bonfire blazed on the hillside, the flags and standards foregathered, and Goebbels played organ music to them before speaking. 'These sons of the Brandenburg countryside,' reported Muchow in purple prose, 'hung on every word of this man, their appointed leader in life and death. . . .'⁵⁴

The trouble began as the seven hundred Nazis piled into the train back to Berlin. Sitting near the front, they found twenty-three bandsmen of the Red Front's Seventh District (Brandenburg) and a communist member of the provincial parliament, Paul Hoffmann. By the time the train pulled into East Lichterfelde station every window had been shattered. As the Nazis jumped out a shot rang out and one S.A. leader was hit in the stomach. Another S.A. man was grazed on the head by a bullet. The police stormed the platform and arrested several Nazis. They found the communist bandsmen cowering on the floor surrounded by shattered glass, splintered wood, and rocks; eighteen of them were injured, twelve seriously. Hoffmann was barely recognizable, his face smeared with blood. A thousand more Nazis had meanwhile arrived outside the station to join the S.A. for a march through Berlin's bourgeois western suburbs. The gunfire caused uproar. Goebbels, Daluge, and gau manager Dagobert Dürr arrived in their limousine, to storms of applause. 'Where the

Scene

road curved,' wrote one S.A. man, 'there stood our Doctor in his car. . . . Standing with arm raised he saluted us and looked into our faces.' Goebbels would claim at the resulting court hearings to have called for discipline and calm as his injured comrades were carried out of the station.⁵⁵ The owner of a neighboring soap-store testified however that after an injured thirty-five-year old communist had been carried into a taxi two Nazis had torn its door open: one, a thin young man, pulled a pistol out of his pants pocket, and shouted, 'I'm going to shoot the dog dead!' The other, a little man with a right club foot that turned inwards, had dissuaded him.⁵⁶ 'The National Socialists,' reported the police, 'charged into the communists with a fusillade of revolver shots and wielding steel flagpoles like lances, leaving nine slightly and five seriously injured on the battlefield.'⁵⁷ (Goebbels' version in the *Völkischer Beobachter* differed. 'The first shot fired by the Red assassins,' he claimed, 'hit one of the two police constables in the forearm. He appealed to our S.A. for help, shouting: "Guys, help us, we can't handle it on our own!"')⁵⁸

They marched past Steglitz city hall and on through west Berlin. Wherever Jews were spotted they were set upon and bludgeoned to the ground.⁵⁹ At Wittenberg Platz, where eight thousand people had gathered, Goebbels made a speech. 'The Reds have spilled our blood,' he shrieked. 'We're not going to allow ourselves to be treated as second-class citizens any more.' He ended with a transparent hint: 'Now don't all go chasing off massacring those Jews down Kurfürstendamm!'⁶⁰ 'Deutschland—awake!' came the response—the battle-cry of the S.A.

Those were his methods. Horst Wessel, soon to become commander of No. 5 Sturm based on the communist-infested Alexander Platz area, was in the thick of it all. 'Gunfight on East Lichterfelde station, three injured but victory. Victory everywhere the S.A. goes into action.' 'We accomplished what no other movement had in Germany,' he wrote with heavy irony in 1929, 'namely to unite the entire people: Because they were all united against us—incredibly united.'⁶¹

Goebbels now had two more men in the hospital. Eight had been arrested, several would draw prison sentences. 'Isidor' Weiss ordered the Nazis' Charlottenburg and Moabit section HQs ransacked for weapons, and for several days the Red Front exacted revenge on any Nazis caught alone in the streets. They had captured the party ID of one Nazi, and splashed its photograph on placards all over Berlin two days later: WANTED—DEAD OR ALIVE.⁶² Goebbels however judged only by results: four hundred more Berliners joined the party, bringing its membership to three thousand.

The Strasser brothers despaired, preferring reason and logic to brute force. The 'Judenpresse' seized upon the differences between them and articles appeared in the communist *Welt am Abend*, the *Berliner Tageblatt*, and the equally Jewish *Vössische Zeitung* gloating over a 'feud in the house of Hitler.'⁶³

STILL perfecting his techniques, Goebbels stood in front of the folding

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triptych mirror in Mrs Steiger's drawing room practicing each pose and gesture.⁶⁴ His oratory drew audiences of thousands. He rode their mood, leading them on a tide of invective to a hysterical, cheering, table-rattling finale. He had instinctively developed the art of ceremonial too, to bring audiences to fever pitch—the flags, the bands, the deliberately delayed arrival. He spoke at locations from Weinheim in the south to Hamburg in the north.⁶⁵ Writing in the *Letters* on April 1 he prescribed how to deal with hecklers. 'You don't seem to realize that you're at a National Socialist meeting,' the speaker was to shout at the unfortunate interrupter. 'I'll not be able to guarantee that you won't be made into a useful member of the human race by a suitable head massage.'

When I speak in Essen or in Düsseldorf or in Elberfeld [Goebbels had written once] it's like a holiday for me. . . . We don't have to search for the enemy, he's in our midst, lurking in the audience ready to pounce. When I come into the hall a thousand voices shout Down With Him, there's a hooting and a screeching. Then the struggle begins—two, three hours, sometimes longer. . . . And the miracle happens. What was a wild, howling mob turns into human beings of flesh and blood who think and feel just as we do, only more tormented, more trampled on, with an immense hunger for light and succor. . . . And gradually the people are re-created before my very eyes. I see just fists and eyes, and there is a holy fire in those eyes.⁶⁶

The Ruhr gau held its annual rally on Sunday April 25. Here too the party's ranks were swelling. 'Essen is dominated by the swastika & our flag!' Rudolf Hess boasted to his fiancée Ilse.⁶⁷ Goebbels mailed a picture postcard of the huge assembly to Anka Stalherm. While he and Hitler addressed the fourteen thousand invited party members however Goebbels was seething with rage: people had drawn his attention to a scurrilous article published anonymously in the Strassers' newspapers on April 23, entitled 'Results of Race Mixing.' (Its anonymous author was Erich Koch.)

'It is well known [this venomous piece began] that miscegenation results in mental disequilibria. . . . Physical equilibrium is disturbed, either by disease or by the stunted growth of individual limbs or by other physical defects.'

Goebbels took this as a wounding reference to his physical disability. The writer adduced various unflattering examples from history, like the murderous Richard III, who was also 'a dwarf who limped!', and Talleyrand, who 'possessed a club foot. . . . The word "character" could not be applied to him.'⁶⁸

Goebbels complained to Hitler that same afternoon. Hitler agreed that coupled with the Kampf Verlag's other recent irruptions against Goebbels this article was clearly actionable; he warned against litigating, but promised to tackle the Strassers himself. Erich Koch wrote to Goebbels admitting (or claiming) authorship, but could not resist rubbing salt in

James
(Strassers
feud)

* an index card note has been written. Holy Fire is a possible title

the wounds by stating that his article was no more than an exposition of 'the racial theories our party stands for'.⁶⁹

THE article brought the Goebbels-Strasser feud to boiling point. The Strassers had by now learned that he was raising finance to launch a rival Nazi tabloid in Berlin called *Angriff* (Attack).⁷⁰ Although the Strassers had earlier provided his gau with every facility in their *Arbeiterzeitung* and the *N.S. Letters*, of which he was still editor, Goebbels had determined to smash their monopoly. The *Arbeiterzeitung* was still the official organ of the Berlin gau and by September 1926 it was already printing a national weekly, the *Nationalsozialist*, for northern Germany (which had also printed the libelous article). Expanding in 1927, the Strassers had persuaded the tall, flabby twenty-six-year-old Hans Hinkel, editor of a local southern newspaper, to invest heavily in their concern; the brothers George, Otto, and Franz Strasser still controlled 51 percent. The firm was thus comparable with the party's Franz Eher Verlag in the south.⁷¹ But the Strasser publications were less heathen and antisemitic than the Hitler-Rosenberg newspapers like the *Völkischer Beobachter*.

Goebbels undoubtedly nursed an unhealthy complex about the ~~wealthy Strasser family~~, although his diaries show that he privately respected Gregor more than his later public remarks would allow. Gregor was a ~~member of the Reichstag, which provided him with free first-class travel and immunity from arrest~~. But Goebbels could call upon the talents of his gifted caricaturist Hans Schweitzer ('Mjölnir'), and through him he ~~spread the corrosive rumor that Otto had Jewish blood~~. Gregor riposted that both he and Otto had at least served in the Great War and in the Free Corps after that, 'unlike Dr Goebbels or Mr Schweitzer,' and there the matter, for the time being, rested.

MAY 1927 brought first triumph, then disaster. On May Day Hitler himself spoke in Berlin for the first time—before a private audience because the Prussian minister of the interior Albert Grzesinski had banned him from speaking in public. The five thousand listeners packing into the Clou, a well-known dance hall in Mauer Strasse, still made an impressive audience. Unaware that the police were now just waiting for a pretext to clamp down on him, Goebbels arranged a further mass meeting at the Veterans' Building for May 4, where he delivered a poisonous ninety-minute tirade against the press, infuriated by its spiteful coverage of Hitler's speech at the Clou.⁷² Singling out one journalist, he told his two thousand listeners to note down the home address of Dr Otto Kriegk of the *Lokal-Anzeiger* (who was present)—a typically Nazi trick—and suggested they find out where others lived and administer 'a National Socialist head massage' to them too.⁷³ The olive-complexioned Goebbels had just recommended his audience to display their 'forceful gratitude' to a journalist on *Germania* who boasted the suspiciously Germanic name of Karl-Otto Graetz but was really, he said, a 'swine of a Jew' (*Judensau*)⁷⁴ when Fritz Stucke, an elderly but politically active

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parson, exclaimed sarcastically, 'A fine image of Germanic youth *you* ~~junk!~~⁷⁵ 'I take it,' shouted Goebbels, breaking the pained silence that followed and pointing to the doors, 'that you're keen to get flung out on your ear!'⁷⁶ When Stucke taunted Goebbels again, burly young men bundled him downstairs, dragging him the last few yards by his feet.

This time Goebbels had gone too far. By the time his guest, leader of Sweden's Nazis, had also spoken, hundreds of police were cordoning the building. A police major closed the meeting down. He ordered the audience to file out singly and be searched for weapons. The police haul was a veritable arsenal of blackjacks, knuckle-dusters, knives, and revolvers;⁷⁷ eighteen Nazis were arrested for resisting the search. The press smelt blood and tasted revenge. Their lurid reports had S.A. thugs battering the parson with beer mugs and kicking him; doctors, they said, marveled that his skull was not fractured.⁷⁸

Twenty-four hours later Dr Bernhard Weiss served a restraining order on Dr Goebbels, banning him from speaking in Berlin, and dissolving his gau.⁷⁹ They also charged him with incitement to violence.⁸⁰ After just six months in Berlin the unstoppable gauleiter seemed to have run into an immovable object: the police vice-president of Berlin.

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7 : Fighting the Ugly Dragon

THE ban would stay in force for eleven months. It was the work of the Social Democratic politician Albert Grzesinski, the minister of the interior in Prussia. The illegitimate son of a servant girl, Grzesinski was a year older than Dr Weiss and a former metal worker and trade union leader.¹ He had previously been Berlin's police chief himself. The communist *Red Flag* accused him of hating the revolutionary working class; the conservative right wing feared that he would use his power to consolidate the Social Democratic position; the Nazis would fight him tooth and claw. Goebbels would claim that Grzesinski's natural father was not the butcher's boy named in the files but one Ernst Cohn, a Jewish merchant in whose service his mother had been employed. No matter that Cohn was only seventeen at the time in question, the legend persisted—resulting in one of the many libel actions that Goebbels would soon face.

The banning document signed by police chief Karl Zörgiebel on May 5, 1927 alleged a catalogue of misdemeanors—assaults, criminal damage, and firearms offenses—perpetrated by the gau since mid-October. 'In the "Ten Commandments" issued by Goebbels [to the S.A.],' the document read, 'the ninth reads: "Resistance to police and state authority today is always stupid, because you will always come off worse. . . . The state will take revenge on you and on us with prison sentences and steep fines. So, if there is no other way, comply with the state authority, but console yourself: we shall square accounts later!"' The ban also quoted from Goebbels' pamphlet *Ways to the Third Reich*:

'Domination of the street is the first step to state power. He who purveys his Weltanschauung with terror and brute force will one day possess the power, and thus the right, to overthrow the state.' 'As such aims of association are incompatible with the criminal law,' Zörgiebel concluded, 'disbandment is justified.'²

Goebbels was mortified. He refused to sign a form acknowledging receipt of the ban, stating that it was written in unintelligible German.³ Writing to Grzesinski, he pointed out that his gau embraced the whole province of Brandenburg, not just Berlin: 'The ban is therefore null and void,' he argued. He also claimed that Berlin's 'gutter press' (*Asphaltresse*, another invented Goebbels word) had deliberately distorted the Pastor

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Stucke business. He made no apologies for having publicly identified the journalists who dared to jibe at Hitler, 'a German front-line soldier.' As for Stucke, he said, the clergyman had called out 'du Hund!' (you dog), whereupon members of his audience had 'slowly ushered him out.' He blamed the weapons arsenal on *agents provocateurs* and added that his gau had appealed in writing to Dr Weiss for police protection after individual members had been attacked by 'Red mobs.' 'Your police president,' he lectured Grzesinski, 'is being praised by the entire press of the international money-capital. This proves that it is not the German people, only a clique of international moneybags, who had an interest in seeing the German freedom movement banned.' If Grzesinski still refused to lift the ban, history would prove him wrong since he did not possess the power to kill an idea.

Still smoldering, Goebbels spoke to a provincial Nazi rally in Stuttgart with Hitler on May 7, seizing the opportunity to accuse Weiss, Zörgiebel, and Grzesinski of stage-managing the incident with Pastor Stucke, a parson unfrocked for morals offenses.⁴ On his arrival back in Berlin his fans rioted at the Anhalt station, and he was taken off for questioning.⁵ He hired a lawyer and appealed, using the gau's headed notepaper; Zörgiebel silkily advised him to refrain from using the banned Nazi notepaper or rubber stamp again.⁶ A great silence now overcame the party organization in Berlin.

One fact buoyed Goebbels at this dark hour, the knowledge that he would soon found a weekly newspaper of his own in Berlin, *Angriff*. He announced his plan at a secret meeting in his apartment. But raising the finance was not easy.⁷ Gregor Strasser was furious at the plan, and tackled Hitler at his favorite Munich restaurant about rumors that he had agreed to write a regular leading article; Hitler assured him the rumors were not true.⁸

Goebbels had no time for the Strassers since their newspapers had lampooned him and his club foot. A homeopath, Dr Steintel, had told him in a Berlin pub how the Strasser brothers, especially Otto, had plotted to ruin the gauleiter by highlighting his 'racial defect.' There was enough circumstantial detail to make it seem plausible. When Steintel asked the truth about the club foot, Goebbels declared that he had had an accident as a teenager, which ruled out the racially 'otherwise permissible' inference. Armed with this new information Goebbels dictated a furious letter to Hitler: Neither Jews nor marxists had, he said, stooped so low to get at him. 'He has to be destroyed,' the Strassers seemed to have said, 'because he is inconvenient for Kampf Verlag, a private enterprise.' Hinting at resignation, he warned Hitler that he would never succeed without 'eradicating' personalities like these.⁹ When Hitler, in a quandary, did not reply, Goebbels nagged Hess, Hitler's secretary, to issue a statement backing him.¹⁰ At a private meeting of the Berlin gau's officers on June 10 attended by Steintel he asked for a vote of confidence. He pointed out that Erich Koch, a humble railroad official, could not possibly have authored such a venomously clever article; the

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club foot, he again insisted, was not congenital but the consequence of a teenage mishap.¹¹

The split widened, as Goebbels stepped up the pressure on his rivals. When Gregor Strasser spoke in Berlin he had a member of the audience ask about his lucrative pharmaceutical practice and fat Reichstag paycheck.¹² By mid-June the bickering was so bad that Emil Holtz, the gau's legal arbitrator, appealed to Hitler to settle it in person. Holtz sided with the Strassers, while conceding that Goebbels had succeeded in spurring the Berliners on. 'He has made the movement famous,' he told Hitler. 'But he lacks inner stability and attention to detail.'¹³ Since Goebbels was calling on his members to buy only *Angriff*—it was now due to appear on July 4—Holtz feared irreparable damage to Strasser's publications (which was just what Goebbels desired). Nobody, Holtz pointed out, could tell how long *Angriff* would survive.

Goebbels hurried off to see Hitler in Munich. He wanted both Strassers evicted from the Nazi party. The party's chief arbitrator ruled that the Führer would settle the whole matter at some major Berlin function later on.¹⁴ While still in Munich on the evening of June 20, Goebbels addressed 450 people on his first six months as Berlin's gauleiter—and the ban.

He claimed to have added six hundred new members during April. 'Let the gentlemen in Berlin,' he added, 'take note that the time will come when the National Socialists will pay them back in the same coin and with interest. Nothing will be forgotten.'¹⁵

The fight against 'Isidor' Weiss went on. 'He who has the police HQ in Berlin has Prussia,' Goebbels would pronounce. 'He who has Prussia, has the Reich.'¹⁶ Justifying his rowdy methods in a speech on July 10 at Potsdam, just outside Weiss's fief, he said, 'A movement which means to smash the old State cannot march in bedroom slippers. We may not have won the affections of this city of four million, but we have earned its hatred, and hatred can turn to affection.'¹⁷

Even more seditious in police eyes was Goebbels' now widely disseminated fifteen-page brochure *The Nazi* which clearly spoke of plans to overthrow the state.¹⁸ 'History,' he had written, 'has seen repeatedly how a young, determined minority has overthrown the rule of a corrupt and rotten majority, and then used for a time the state and its means of power in order to bring about by dictatorship . . . and force the conditions necessary to complete the conquest and to impose new ideas.' So too, wrote Goebbels, it would be with the Nazi party. 'And then we, the responsible minority, will enforce our will upon a flabby, lazy, supine, and stupid majority lurking behind which the Jew prosecutes his dark plans.' All of this was noted in Dr Weiss's police files, and more. 'If the German people does not want to be liberated,' Goebbels had written, 'then we shall act without their consent.'

Then [continued Goebbels] we march against this State, we take one last great risk for Germany; from revolutionaries by word we become revolutionaries by deed.

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Then we stage a revolution! ... The *will* to power will procure the *means* to power. The others may have the weapons but we have what they do not: the willingness to use force, and this willingness will procure the weapons that we need.¹⁹

Speaking in Düsseldorf that summer he reiterated: 'Without weapons we'll get nowhere.'²⁰

FOR the moment Goebbels' only weapon was the printed word. During the last days of June 1927 he rained a carefully timed series of blood-red posters on Berlin. The first read simply, 'Attack!' The second, 'Attack is coming.' The third, 'The attack will come on July 4.'

To edit *Angriff* he had picked Dr Julius Lippert; Lippert was imprisoned shortly before the first issue, and Dagobert Dürr, a former meteorologist, stood in for him. But the first edition squibbed. The badly designed, anemic sheet sold only twelve hundred copies, the next only nine hundred. With the newspaper losing money and morale, several of his staff walked out.

Goebbels was no quitter. His street salesmen adopted ruthless tactics. *Angriff's* circulation staggered upward to around two thousand. Its style was soapbox oratory in print. With a Jesuit's sure instinct for the niceties of the law he defamed without libeling; his pen dipped, thrust, parried, then dipped again. It was more anti-capitalist than Hitler approved of, but the Berlin working classes lapped up the subtle antisemitism of Mjölnir's caricatures. Goebbels contributed a venomous diary column and a weekly leading article ripe with lush verbal raspberries about 'the reader-rabble of the gutter press.' The newspaper would develop a sarcastic, irreverent, scurrilous, mocking style of its own, not unlike the satirical newssheets of later decades: written partly in a well-captured Berlin dialect, its humor was a mixture of sophomoric poetry, puns, innuendoes, and insider-jokes for the entertainment of a very few. The chief butt of its humor was of course the unfortunate Dr Bernhard Weiss, the self-important, horseback-riding, bespectacled Jewish ex-cavalry officer. Each week *Angriff* carried a regular column mocking the police force, entitled 'Watch that truncheon!' The paper's pages were strewn with puns on the name Weiss, with both blatant and surreptitious antisemitism, with unflattering comments on the deputy chief's riding and driving skills and on the shape of his nose, and with assertions that of course his real name was Bernhard—was it not illegal now to suggest anything else?²¹ Soon it was enough for Goebbels to paint a word picture of Him, motoring in a princely limousine down Kurfürstendamm, for every reader to know who was meant.²²

He seized upon his opponents' more cherished slogans. If enemies called him a Bandit, his next posters announced him as the Arch Bandit of Berlin. A politician of the Weimar republic had spoken of providing Germans with a 'life of beauty and dignity.' Goebbels rode that phrase into the ground over the next six years. He began an article on the

* To mock his riding was what hurt Weiss the most. He had always felt he was one of the best Jewish horsemen in Berlin

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mounting suicide rate with the ironic comment, 'The following were unable to endure any longer the happiness of this Life of Beauty and Dignity.' He recognized that the target must always be an identifiable individual, like 'Isidor,' rather than an idea or group. Humorless, dedicated, and self-important, Dr Weiss made the perfect butt.²³ Goebbels used that 'Isidor' with such a thudding regularity that all Berlin came to assume it was Weiss's real name, as did some of his own officers, whom he then also prosecuted. Weiss had enjoyed a high profile until Goebbels' debut in Berlin: the papers carried many pictures of this diminutive, self-important official at public functions sporting a silk hat, tailcoat, and striped pants. Mounting a campaign brilliantly designed to undermine his authority, Goebbels published no fewer than six leader articles about him.²⁴ In every issue of *Angriff* until No. 44 there was an attack on Weiss; its cartoons depicted him as a flatfooted Jew with bow legs, thick-lensed pince-nez, mustache, and jug ears. Undaunted by the laws of libel Goebbels accused Weiss in effect of being a Jew and trying to conceal it. When Weiss sued, again and again, the courts decided that 'Isidor' alone was not libelous.

The supreme court in Leipzig found with Goebbels that to call a Jew a Jew was no more defamatory than to call a catholic a catholic.

At the end of the third week in August 1927 the Nazis staged their third national rally, this time in Nuremberg. One hundred thousand people poured into the city: with unemployment rising, curiosity about Hitler's party was increasing. Berlin's forbidden S.A. turned out in force, eager to wear their uniforms; fifty of them had marched all the way to Nuremberg and Goebbels sent hundreds more in chartered trains. On their return 'Isidor' Weiss ordered the trains stopped at Teltow and his police arrested 435 Nazis.²⁵ They were detained in police cells all day, and seventy lost their jobs in consequence: Goebbels did not care, because martyrs were more useful to his gau. As Schweitzer's banners for the Nuremberg rally had said, 'Ours is the future.' In northern Germany, in Hamburg and Brunswick, the National Socialists were now winning electoral seats. By the end of the year the party would have 72,590 registered members.

Of these however only some four thousand were in Berlin. Still banned, the gau was not finding the struggle easy.

On October 29, 1927 Goebbels was thirty. At a small party his office staff handed him an envelope containing torn-up notes for the loans used to launch *Angriff* and two thousand marks in cash, and gave him the news that they had collected 2,500 new subscriptions to the weekly. It was about to break even. In February 1928 it would be selling 31,000 copies each week.²⁶ Powered by his articles, the newspaper would appear twice weekly from September 30, 1929 and daily from November 1, 1930, increasing its daily circulation from an average 68,600 in 1931 to a peak of 119,000 just after the seizure of power in 1933.²⁷

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on his birthday the Berlin political police lifted the speaking ban on Goebbels; but he was still on probation. The posters announced that he was to speak on Tuesday November 8 in the working-class suburb of Neukölln on 'The German people's dance of death.' Even without the swastika, Goebbels' hand was unmistakable. Addressed to 'Men of the fist and brow, proletarians of the factory bench and study cubicle,' the posters heaped ironic praise on the grandiose achievements of the Social Democrats since 1918. 'Peace, freedom, work, and bread! All of these Social Democracy has given to the German working man, plus'—in large letters—'A LIFE OF BEAUTY AND DIGNITY.' Tickets were fifty pfennigs (only ten pfennigs for the unemployed). Thus the battlewagon was rolling again, and on November 6 he had the pleasure of seeing his semi-religious play *The Wanderer* premièred in a matinee by the 'National Socialist Experimental Theatre Company' too.

At the end of 1927 Dr Joseph Goebbels, agitator, streetfighter, and journalist, received a letter from Cologne, as though from another world: the Catholic charity there was still trying to recover its student loan to him.²⁸ It had reduced its claim to four hundred marks. Goebbels tossed the letter away.

seen

Permitted to speak but with his party still banned in Berlin, he was careful to flatter Hitler to people with close ties to Munich.²⁹ He particularly befriended Rudolf Hess, Hitler's private secretary, favored Hess's fiancée Ilse with flowers and wrote to her praising the Führer in the sure knowledge that his words would be passed on. 'I was with the chief in Nuremberg on Sunday and Monday [the 14th and 15th],' he wrote to Ilse on November 16. 'What a guy he is! I could almost envy you for being around him the whole time. We can all be downright proud of him. Now,' he continued, 'I have barricaded myself back into this omnibus-ridden asphalt desert. . . . Meanwhile we're back in combat with this magnificent ugly dragon, Berlin. We're at each other's throats again and that's why things are looking up again. Thank God, they've started cursing at us again.'³⁰

These Goebbels methods worked.

THE propaganda [he explained in a speech] which produces the desired results is good, and all other propaganda is bad. . . . Therefore it is meaningless to say your propaganda is too crude, too cruel, too brutal, or too unfair, for none of those terms matter. . . . Propaganda is always a means to an end. It is an art which can be taught to the average person like playing the violin. But there comes a point when you say, 'You're on your own now. What remains to be learned can only be accomplished by a genius.' If people say, 'But you are only propagandists,' then you should answer, 'And what else was Jesus Christ? Did he not make propaganda? . . . Is Mussolini a scribbler or is he a great speaker? When Lenin went from Zürich to Saint Petersburg did he rush from the station into his study to write a book or did he speak before a multitude?'

** One could have a key to him at the office, and thereby cover much of this*

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CHASTE YOUTH

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him'. On 6 July, 'ride on the motor-bike with Himmler'; and, on 30 October, 'Zwickau. Himmler, gossip, slept.'¹² Goebbels, aged twenty-eight and eaten up with vanity, regarded Himmler as the local manager of his star speaking tours.

He did, however, travel to Berlin, and it was during one of these visits to the capital in 1927 that he finally became involved with the woman whom he was later to marry. She was a nurse seven years older than himself; she was of Polish origin and her name was Margarete Concerzowo. Marga, as she was called, owned a small nursing-home in Berlin, and had unorthodox ideas about medicine which appealed to Himmler and excited afresh the discussions of his student days. She was interested in herbal cures and homoeopathic treatments, and their discussions set up a longing in Himmler to work once more in the open air. These two seemed at this stage in their relationship to be made for each other, in spite of the difference in their ages. Both worshipped efficiency, thrift and the rigorous neatness of a parsimonious life. Both felt they needed the comforts of marriage and domesticity, and both believed that their common interests in such matters as medicine and herbs amounted to love. Marga sold her nursing-home and decided to use the money to acquire a property in the country.

They married early in July 1928. One of Marga's coy and excited letters, written eight days before their marriage, survives in Himmler's carefully preserved files, and relates to the house and smallholding they bought with her money in Waltrudering, some ten miles outside Munich. In her joy at the thought of marriage, she hastily calculates what they are spending and whether or not they can avoid taking out a mortgage. In the margin Himmler coldly notes that her totalling is out by 60 marks. Nevertheless, Himmler, her 'naughty darling', will soon be hers, as she goes on to remind him.¹³

The smallholding at Waltrudering became a modest enterprise and was left largely in the hands of Marga Himmler. They kept about fifty hens, and they marketed produce and agricultural implements; it made a little money over and above Himmler's salary, which stood now at around 200 marks a month. The following year Marga gave birth to her only child, their daughter Gudrun.

This year, 1929, became the turning-point in Himmler's life. On 6 January Hitler issued an order appointing him Reichsführer S.S. in place of the commander Erhard Heiden, whose deputy he had been. It was a far-seeing appointment. Something in this clerk-like

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HEINRICH HIMMLER

man with his military ambitions and scrupulous self-discipline must have revealed to Hitler that he had in him the kind of perfectionism necessary to create a reliable counter-force to the undisciplined mob of storm-troopers who roamed the streets in the name of the Nazis.¹⁴

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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

same events from his past in a monologue which was virtually programmed. His press chief of a decade described the paralyzing repetition: "He remained perpetually in the same company, among the same faces, in the same atmosphere and, I may also say, in the same state of monotony and boredom, producing eternally the same speeches and declarations."

Hitler's last will and testament of April 1945 contains not one new idea. Line for line, and virtually word for word, his last official statement is a repetition of the program he had set forth in *Mein Kampf* and in any one of his earlier speeches. And at the end, with his Reich crashing down upon him, when an aide suggested that perhaps some things might possibly have been done differently, Adolf Hitler cried out in baffled anguish, "But don't you see, I can not change!"³¹

Feelings of Unworthiness

One of history's most ruthless rulers was beset by feelings of guilt and unworthiness. His written and spoken words reveal a preoccupation with his problem—and manage to convey at the same time that he was the special object of the Almighty's concern. He sought, for example, to quiet any doubts about his worthiness as the chosen one of God or of History by insisting that he really *was* worthy. In a speech in Munich on 22 April 1927: "The Lord gave us His blessing because we *deserved* it. . . ." Or again at Nuremberg on 16 September 1935: "God continues to bestow His Grace only on him who continues to *merit* it." And years later in the New Year's Proclamation of 1 January 1944: "The great Judge of all time . . . will always give victory to those who are the most *worthy*." And the proclamation of the next year: "I carry my heavy burdens with dutiful thanks to Providence which has deemed me *worthy*."³²

He was often disturbed by qualms of conscience and sought to dull its demands. The only possible way "to find internal peace," he said, was to "rid the race of the *consciousness of its own guilt*." He concluded on another occasion that "conscience is a Jewish invention. It is a blamish like circumcision." His task was "freeing men from . . . the dirty and degrading [ideas of] conscience and morality." He insisted that Germans must learn to "distrust the intelligence and the conscience." His preoccupation with conscience was not limited to human beings, he was convinced that dogs too suffer from a "bad conscience."³³

Hitler prided himself on being a hard and utterly ruthless man. Yet he worried about sin and guilt, and found that "the feeling of being guilty . . . paralyzes every sincere and firm decision." He fretted over "a little sinner, conscious of his *guilt*." In this respect, his memory of his trial for treason following his abortive attempt to seize power in Germany during the Beer Hall Putsch of 1923 is revealing. This political revolutionary who had sought to overthrow the Weimar Republic

The Image and the Man

did not, as might be expected, rec his enemies or summoning his cou cal order. His mind was on somethi a higher truth and better law, will tear up this verdict and *acquit us al*

Personal worries about unwor projected onto the nation. Thus, H for Germany's defeat in 1918 was many was defeated because of h military defeat of the German peop but rather a *deserved punishment* b *deserved* this defeat."³⁵

The concerns that bothered h career were with him at the end. I to the German soldiers, on 1 January humble thanks to Providence which I on. . . . this decisive work in the histo

FEARS AND OBSESSIONS

Time As an Enemy

Hitler distrusted time and tri did not want to know about its pas day. With lights ablaze, he would even on lovely days of brilliant : the lines in his special train durin curtains and turning on the lights

There was one clock in his which had apparently belonged to it to be wound up. Hitler never wo old-fashioned gold watch in his which concealed the face. He alv that when he needed to know the was.³⁶

Time was an enemy he offer idea of his or a building he desig was the greatest "of all time." W famous sobriquet "The Greatest grösste Feldherr *aller Zeiten*", he grinned like a schoolboy when h

*Lawrence of the
Arab himself. He
did not disab*

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D.T. My brainwashing, taken young to reveal
that powerful force, was interested in him
but by the time I came along, he was

and psychically equal living
as first the racial stock."
had either about economic or
other revolution but a racial
political, no social revolution.
against the dominant, higher

talked about the international
filled, "Everything you say only
art. There is in art absolutely
art. . . Dutch art, Italian art.
ly Greco-Nordic Art." ⁷⁴
Nazi practice—was his con-
[*Volksgemeinschaft*] which ab-
ity of the *Volk*, like the idea
When Hitler tried to talk about
the sacred union of *Führer* and
Nuremberg rally on 7 September
Once again he evoked his per-
mystery:

who gave us that command [to
by the God Who created our

a mystery—this force that ever
that gives them the strength to
They can conceive of this only
the State. They are wrong! It is
to us, but we who give orders to
has created us; but we fashion
we may appear to be a Party; to
find something else. But in truth
us pledge ourselves at every hour,
many, of *Volk* and *Reich*, of our
Heil! ⁷⁵

eyes aflame with passion, roared
all *Ein Volk! Ein Reich! Ein*

on the theory that there was only
in history: the Aryan race. This
hundred speeches and public state-
man culture today, the results of
exclusively the creative product
of the not unfounded conclusion

that he alone was the founder of higher humanity as a whole, thus the
prototype of what we understand by the word 'man.' Hitler's propen-
sity to play variations on this theme was shown in a speech of 2 April
1927 in Munich:

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We see before us the Aryan race which is manifestly the bearer of
all culture, the true representative of all humanity. All inventions
in the field of transportation must be credited to the members of a
particular race. Our entire industrial science is without exception
the work of the Nordics. All great composers from Beethoven to
Richard Wagner are Aryans, even though they were born in Italy or
France. Do not say that art is international. The tango, the shimmy
and the jazz band are international but they are not art. Man owes
everything that is of any importance to the principle of struggle
and to one race which has carried itself forward successfully.
Take away the Nordic Germans and nothing remains but the
dance of apes. ⁷⁶

As there was only one heroic, creative people, so there had to be (in
Hitler's disjunctive way of looking at things) one completely decadent
and destructive race: the Jewish people. It is both symbolically and
actually true that his political career began and ended with a warning
against the "Jewish Peril," which, he was absolutely convinced, threat-
ened all civilization.

In a letter dated 16 September 1919, called by a German historian
"the first piece of writing of Hitler's political career," Hitler stated his
goal as "ruthless intervention" against the Jews and their "removal"
from Europe. ⁷⁷ In this important early statement, Hitler is careful to
emphasize that his commitment to anti-Semitism is not based on emo-
tion or sentiment. Rather, it is the result of a cold intellectual decision.
Hatred of the Jews is a part of his ideology. He writes, "Anti-Semitism
based on purely emotional grounds will always find its ultimate expres-
sion in the form of pogroms [sic]. A rational anti-Semitism, however,
must lead to the systematic legal fight. . . . Its ultimate goal however
must unalterably be the elimination of the Jews altogether." At the end
of his career, when he wrote his political testament to the German
people, the last word of the last sentence should be noted: "Above all
else I charge the leaders of this nation . . . to a scrupulous maintenance
of the racial laws and to the merciless opposition to the universal
poisoner of all nations, international Jewry." ⁷⁸ A man who is about to
die does not dissimulate. Hitler meant what he said about the Jews; he
had meant it all along.

The psychological factors which contributed to Hitler's personal
anti-Semitism will be discussed later (see Chapter 3, pp. 186-191).
Here we must examine the political theory which raised anti-Semitism
to state policy and the *raison d'être* of a government. The theory can be

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part of the underlying complex in his physical relations, which was compensated for by the terrifying urge for domination expressed in the field of politics. This fear of the water must also have played its part in his total incomprehension of naval matters and anything to do with the sea. Looking back it all makes sense.

Hermann Esser had his faults and lived a pretty Bohemian sort of life, but at least he shared my dislike of Rosenberg, whom he would have consigned cheerfully to a dung heap. But with Rosenberg installed again in the *Beobachter*, which was still the only printed outlet for the Nazi programme, there was nothing Esser or I could do. My own personal problems had grown in the meantime. Our little daughter was sick, the start of a distressing illness, during which she wasted away for nearly four years and I was faced by the first mountain of doctors' bills. I had made up my mind to study for a doctor's degree in history and start paying more attention to my obligations to the family firm, and I was really very short of money. The same could not be said of Hitler and his immediate clique. Wherever it came from, they were still tearing round Munich in big cars and their Hofgarten café sessions were certainly not run on credit. I thought well, I helped them out of a hole once over the *Beobachter*, which after all was only ever a loan. I will see if I can get at least some of it back.

I went down to Amann and explained the position, but he was first stupid and then obstinate and then rude. To give an example: I had Egon with me and he looked at the boy and said: "Well he does look nice and tidy, has he just had his hair cut?" So I said yes, he had just been to the barber, whereupon Amann commented: "I have to cut my boy's hair myself you know, to save money. You could do the same if you tried, it is quite easy to learn." That was his tone, and when I said that was neither here nor there and that I needed the money he just turned obstinate again, the Party had no funds and so on and so forth. I was not even asking for the dollars back, although they had represented a fortune at the time. I was perfectly prepared to accept the equivalent in new marks.

The thing went on for months. My wife even brought up the subject once with Hitler himself in Berchtesgaden, where we happened to be early in 1926. He was complaining about our not coming

to the meetings and our gen what to expect when he still influence and then taxed his loan. He tried to talk his way told him nothing of my situation at its wits' end for finance and

In the end I lost patience at the tough, brawling horse-deposition in the Hitler circle started to see through his character his book *My Struggle*," I asked least he could have done worse. Weber gave his great beer-b *Krampf*," he said. He was so criticisms. He was an old bore respectability. We had always thought I was being scurvily was, he agreed to take over and paid me the balance in cash of course got the whole amount how to deal with Amann, very furious. Hitler was no better above such petty considerations us were more or less broken of

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e even brought up the gaden, where we hap- g about our not coming

to the meetings and our general aloofness. So my wife asked him what to expect when he still allowed a man like Rosenberg so much influence and then taxed him about Amann's behaviour over the loan. He tried to talk his way out of it by saying that Amann had told him nothing of my situation. He contended that the Party was at its wits' end for finance and used more arguments of the same sort.

In the end I lost patience and went along to see Christian Weber, the tough, brawling horse-dealer who had still managed to keep his position in the Hitler circle, although in his rough way he had started to see through his chief. "What does Hitler mean by calling his book *My Struggle*," I asked him once. "I should have thought the least he could have done would have been to call it *Our Struggle*." Weber gave his great beer-belly laugh: "He ought to call it *Mein Krampt*," he said. He was still loyal but did not mind roaring his criticisms. He was an old bandit with an underlying yearning for respectability. We had always got on very well together and he thought I was being scurvily treated so, good horse-dealer that he was, he agreed to take over my claims at a 20 per cent discount and paid me the balance in cash. He had made a good bargain and of course got the whole amount back in no time. He knew exactly how to deal with Amann, who was, needless to state, absolutely furious. Hitler was no better pleased, although he pretended to be above such petty considerations and for some time relations between us were more or less broken off.

Krampt

1926-7

CHAPTER VIII

THE BOHEMIAN AT THE BROWN HOUSE

Art versus politics—The return of Goering—A red ground for the Swastika—The radicalism of Goebbels—Appearance of a Hohenzollern—An electoral triumph—Picking the first team—Interlude with the Press—A letter from the Kaiser—Committed to the Nazis.

FOR THE next couple of years or so, my contact with Hitler was more or less spasmodic. I immersed myself in my history books again and in February 1928 obtained a rather belated Dr. Phil. from Munich University with a thesis on the problem of Bavaria and the Austrian Netherlands in the eighteenth century. It was still very much a sign of respectability in Germany to be able to call yourself 'Herr Doktor', and I thought the least I could do was to conform. My wife and I had also spent some time abroad the previous year, chiefly as a respite to her from the continued and harrowing illness of our little daughter. We stayed in Paris and London and I had a good look at all the art galleries, making notes for possible new reproductions for the family firm. It all seemed so much more civilized and satisfying than the rowdy complications of life with Hitler.

These of course were the years of his political eclipse. He was not allowed to speak anywhere and although he was slowly reorganizing the Party it was a very gradual process and he was making little real impact. Economic conditions were improving out of all recognition with the flood of American capital which was streaming into the country and the apparent stabilizing of the Central Government. As a result his programme and slogans lost much of their impact. He was spending most of his time out in Berchtesgaden, but we were in touch in a desultory fashion through Hermann Esser, who still kept in with him and seemed to have been deputed by Hitler to render occasional reports of our attitude. Quite apart from the fact that I was now fully occupied in other directions, I let him know that as

THE BOHEMIAN

long as the Rosenberg and H I was not particularly interes

Nevertheless, we continued I cannot say it was an unmiti truculence and impatience al I had not remembered. His slightly nightmarish tinge. F Munich one day in his car : what brought up the subject judging a man's character; b he dies." That sounds a littl was worse: "Politics is like a she bites your head off." It wondered in what directions h his general attitude to politics were having lunch together a with some others, and the con five point programme, which long since been declared imm it should be modified and pr Hitler did not agree: "What c "The New Testament is ful prevent the spread of Christia

In public he was professir political legality and parliar reassured me as it was a poin the collapse of the Putsch. Th and failed even to draw any c whose march on Rome had al electoral success. Hitler appea and earned a nickname in pre by a Swiss journalist who hac but he was a tall, pleasant described Hitler to me as a Conservative and the ultra-ra Philippe Egalité, or should we

There was no sign of Hitler

Never was it
D.T. He would
behave as the

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long as the Rosenberg and Hess factions maintained their influence, I was not particularly interested in associating with him further.

Nevertheless, we continued to see him from time to time, although I cannot say it was an unmitigated pleasure. There was a new air of truculence and impatience about him in his private manner, which I had not remembered. His *obiter dicta* were somehow acquiring a slightly nightmarish tinge. He gave my wife and me a lift across Munich one day in his car and I remember him saying, although what brought up the subject I cannot recall: "There are two ways of judging a man's character; by the woman he marries and by the way he dies." That sounds a little morbid I thought, but the next one was worse: "Politics is like a harlot; if you love her unsuccessfully she bites your head off." It seemed a lurid turn of phrase and I wondered in what directions his thoughts were running. However, in his general attitude to politics he seemed reasonably conciliatory. We were having lunch together at a little wine pub in the Sonnenstrasse with some others, and the conversation turned to the Party's twenty-five point programme, which was an awful hodge-podge, but had long since been declared immutable. Somebody was suggesting that it should be modified and pruned of some of its contradictions, but Hitler did not agree: "What do the contradictions matter?" he said. "The New Testament is full of contradictions but that did not prevent the spread of Christianity."

D.T.

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In public he was professing himself a convert to the tenets of political legality and parliamentary processes, which somewhat reassured me as it was a point I had advocated very strongly after the collapse of the Putsch. The Party diehards were dead against it and failed even to draw any conclusions from the rise of Mussolini, whose march on Rome had after all only been made possible by an electoral success. Hitler appeared to have overcome their objections and earned a nickname in press circles in the process. It was coined by a Swiss journalist who had interviewed him. I forget his name, but he was a tall, pleasant fellow with a very white face, who described Hitler to me as a baffling combination of the ultra-Conservative and the ultra-radical, "in that respect he is very like Philippe Egalité, or should we perhaps call him Prince Legalité".

There was no sign of Hitler's private life becoming normal. For a

*Never was it gradual.
D.T. He would change by shifts,
each one a step toward becoming
more resolute*

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time he was occasionally seen in the company of Henny, the pretty little blonde daughter of Heinrich Hoffmann. He always used to call her '*mein Sonnenschein*', but I never heard it seriously maintained that they were having an affair. Apparently he had also taken advantage of Hermann Esser's absence on one occasion to make passionate declarations to his by no means unattractive first wife. Again it was all rhetoric and was followed by a flaming row with the husband, as a result of which Esser was never offered a position of importance when ultimate Nazi success brought the distribution of lucrative jobs for the boys.

It was not until the end of 1927 that I started getting slightly more involved again with the Nazis' affairs, and the occasion for it was the return to Germany of Goering. A general amnesty had been declared in the autumn and he came back first to Berlin, where as far as I could make out he was living on his wits and making a certain amount of money representing a couple of Swedish firms making aircraft components and parachutes. He soon turned up in Munich and I was genuinely pleased to see him. In fact I am not at all sure that he did not come and stay with us. He certainly did so frequently over the next few months and if he was not with us he lived with Captain Streck, who had been Ludendorff's adjutant at the time of the Putsch and was now successfully established in, of all professions, that of a music teacher. Goering was fatter, more business-like and materialistic and concerned chiefly with the Babbitt aim of life.

It seemed to me an entirely good thing that his wider knowledge of the world should be brought to bear on Hitler again, but he did not find the going at all easy. We had corresponded while he was in exile and in the early stages I had helped him from time to time with money, so he rather turned to me as a confidant. The Party hacks were still suspicious of him and Hitler's reception was distinctly cool. General elections were due in the spring of 1928 and Goering wanted to stand high up on the Party list as one of the candidates, partly from ulterior motives I suspect, as it would not only give him a position and a useful income in Berlin but also the protection of parliamentary immunity should opponents in the Government care to rake up any of his past misdeeds. Hitler put him off and sought

excuses and in the end Goering or March. I remember there together to the Thierschstrasse little flat, for the crucial talk. him, but I preferred not to. had had a shouting match, "This is no way to treat a man at the Feldherrnhalle. Either shall part for ever as enemies although it caused much bad went round saying Goering had

The election results gave obtained twelve seats in the a million votes. Goering, as and just above him was Goebbels himself with Hitler and resigned nearly four years' work, the new was still local in its appeal, on nationalist fringe in most of dishonours I had taken no part shaky for quite a time. He years of exile and the old habit of tismement for a working-class about his capacity. "I don't make it," he used to say to me ing as a speaker, although all phrases. For some reason Hitler of fidelity, in contradistinction exactly the same, but with me

Goering, of course, was dead. I saw him off at the station all self out with a showy great air with one of those mountaineer enamel tokens and a great show been elected in Bavaria, perhaps "Why don't you make it up win through in the end and he

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concealed their own names. The S.A., for instance, denied that they were a 'storm section' (*Sturm Abteilung*), pretending to be merely a 'security section' (*Sicherheits Abteilung*); the initials S.A. stood for both. They boasted of their old Prussian discipline, but disobeyed their leader to his face. Edmund Heines, a choice example of the armed bohemian and political murderer, was the leader of these malcontents in Munich; and, what really made him dangerous, led them in the name of Röhm, who stood aside. Heines was a born ruffian, tall and broad as a barn door, yet as agile as a greyhound; his mighty form was graced by a repulsively girlish face. He would sit with Röhm and other friends in the Bratwurstglöckl, a tavern in the inner city; the host, a certain Zentner, also an S.A. man, was one of the group. They accused Hitler of letting the S.A. go to ruin, not training it in sufficiently military style, giving the soldiers in it unworthy jobs to do. With a heavy heart, Hitler had to intervene — with a heavy heart, because he regretted the loss of a single man; but his personal authority came first. At the end of May, 1927, he called the Munich S.A. together in the 'Hirschbräu-Keller' beer hall; the public was strictly excluded. Hitler shouted at the crushed assemblage: 'The clique from the Bratwurstglöckl are all fairies: Heines, Röhm, Zentner, and the rest. Am I expected to take accusations from such people!'

A serious matter, worse than a scandal. The perversion was widespread in the secret murderers' army of the post-war period, and its devotees denied that it was a perversion. They were proud, regarded themselves as 'different from the others,' meaning better. They boasted about their superiority in more or less the same terms which Plato had coined in his *Banquet*:

They [the homosexuals] are the best among the boys and young men because they are the most valiant of them. This is strikingly demonstrated by the fact that, after growing up, they — and they alone — are fit for ruling the state.

Röhm said that the misfortune of the present age was domination by women; he praised the epochs that had been dominated by figures like Alexander the Great, Caesar, Charles XII of Sweden, Prince Eugene of Savoy, and Frederick the Great — five great war-

riors and five homosexuals. Alfred Baumler, philosopher, whom his comrades in 1933 at the University of Berlin, wrote a whole book about the 'young man': 'Everywhere the relation between degenerates,' he lamented . . . 'there is no place beside man, where men come together, the young or the young with their elders, for no other purpose must be so . . . The modern world is a world . . . ' With the pervert's arrogance, he went on to say that a woman has the peculiarity that both contemned and feared, for the victor like the vanquished loses his nature . . . are ruined in erotic relationships gave expression to the idea whereon this whole special pride: 'The friendship relation has a state, the erotic relation has not . . . Because it is essentially a warlike nature, because he is a man, for friendship — democracy, which, in its ultimate leads to the right of women to judge over me in Germany.'

Here we intend no moral judgment. Yet assessment of public censure has distorted more character than moral resistance, created more dishonesty toward among modern homosexuals than among other. Rossbach's troop, roaring, brawling, carousing, shedding blood, and nevertheless seeking the light, especially proud to be 'different from the others: longed to it before joining Hitler; then Rossbach formed a center with Röhm; it led the S.A. while arrest. According to his own indications, Röhm the other two. In 1924, his suitcase and papers found him in the lowest Berlin surroundings, and thus came known to the police. After his break with the destitute; he peddled books, and for a long time with wealthy homosexual friends. In Berlin for a time the homosexual dregs; he admitted that he had 'where the good citizen blushes and shudders.'

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Here we intend no moral judgment. Yet assuredly the pressure of public censure has distorted more characters, weakened more moral resistance, created more dishonesty toward oneself and others among modern homosexuals than among other people. Lieutenant Rossbach's troop, roaring, brawling, carousing, smashing windows, shedding blood, and nevertheless seeking the light of freedom, was especially proud to be 'different from the others.' Heines had belonged to it before joining Hitler; then Rossbach and Heines had formed a center with Röhm; it led the S.A. while Hitler was under arrest. According to his own indications, Röhm was perverted by the other two. In 1924, his suitcase and papers were stolen from him in the lowest Berlin surroundings, and thus his private life became known to the police. After his break with Hitler, he was destitute; he peddled books, and for a long time lived as a guest of wealthy homosexual friends. In Berlin for a time he frequented the homosexual dregs; he admitted that he had moved in circles 'where the good citizen blushes and shudders.'

Hitler had erroneously been counted among these men. But he

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 unscrupulously used the forces of perversion, just as he used murder and lies. A heart-broken father from the little town of Uffenheim in Franconia whose son had been perverted by Heines in the S.A., complained to him; he replied that the young men must take care of themselves, the S.A. was no kindergarten. A delegation led by Count Ernst zu Reventlow, an elderly party comrade, brought him a message from Ludendorff: the general viewed the activities of the homosexuals in the S.A. with great misgivings. Hitler told Reventlow to tell General Ludendorff that all this was a matter of total indifference to him, Hitler; his actual words were unprintable. When in May, 1927, he finally threw Heines out of the party, it was not for his loose morals, but because Heines had called his Führer a dishrag and was stirring up the S.A. against him.

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 He might have thrown half of the S.A. after him. While Röhm peddled his books or sat around with his friends, the S.A. was led by a man who at heart was no National Socialist at all, Captain Pfeffer von Salomon. He used his power like a hired captain in the Renaissance; he had exacted the condition that Hitler should have no right to interfere. Pfeffer knew that he could not, on Sundays and Saturday afternoons, make a serviceable military troop out of these students, white-collar workers, and sons of peasants. But the S.A. could be a preparatory school for the army; as many S.A. men as possible should enter the Reichswehr and flood it with rebellion. Hitler trembled at the slightest thought of illegality; they would deport him at once, of that he was certain. Pfeffer ordered the S.A. to engage in military maneuvers; Hitler issued counter-orders. Pfeffer's orders were not valid, he declared, unless countersigned by him, Hitler. Violent scenes ensued; masklike and immobile behind his pince-nez, Pfeffer listened to Hitler's violent outbursts. Afterward he said to others, 'you can't take orders from this slovenly, terrified Austrian!' It was impossible to make those S.A. captains understand that the purpose of the S.A. was expressly not military. They held to a statement Hitler once had made himself: that 'An army cannot be trained and taught the highest self-respect unless the function of its existence is preparation for warfare. There are no armies for the preservation of peace, but only for the victorious waging of war.'

In the eyes of these former lieutenants an troops were a piece of the future army 'wag. They must be ready to slip into uniform at on when the Reichswehr called them. The S.A. their views about Seeckt's army. Rossbach, f previously been so skeptical, said: 'The Re human struggle of infinite perseverance has : an inner elevation, as we old soldiers today car eyes.' Consequently, the old soldiers must fo and revise their faulty judgments. Pfeffer d and would have liked best to hand over th Reichswehr, calculating that he himself woul eral, and Hitler, if necessary, could go to the d back to the drill grounds of the Reichswehr bear arms; it was beginning to be a repetition ler recalled with horror. That must not happ wehr must not be allowed to take 'his' S.A. o perhaps look on smiling while the bourgeois s cuted Hitler for illegal military drilling and t of the Interior ordered the foreigner deported. any connection with the Reichswehr, on gr high treason: 'The National Socialist, and fir S.A. man, has no call to stir so much as a fi state, which has no understanding of our outlo petuate the misfortune of our people. . . . Th which we are struggling alone obligates us to s

The Reichswehr Ministry on the other side accept National Socialists as soldiers, and even and other supply establishments to employ Nat ers, 'since this party has set itself the aim of ov situational state form' of the German Reich' (1

Rebuffed by the Reichswehr, uncertain of his by his old friends, surrounded by unreliable ne like a modest dwarf beneath the wall of his g his personal relations with the leading circ counter-revolution he lacked the right introducti lin, despite his firm will to live in that worl

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In the eyes of these former lieutenants and captains, the storm troops were a piece of the future army 'waging a victorious war.' They must be ready to slip into uniform at once and shoulder arms when the Reichswehr called them. The S.A. leaders had changed their views about Seeckt's army. Rossbach, for example, who had previously been so skeptical, said: 'The Reichswehr in a super-human struggle of infinite perseverance has step by step achieved an inner elevation, as we old soldiers today can perceive with seeing eyes.' Consequently, the old soldiers must forget their old rancor and revise their faulty judgments. Pfeffer desired nothing more and would have liked best to hand over the whole S.A. to the Reichswehr, calculating that he himself would then become a general, and Hitler, if necessary, could go to the devil. He led the S.A. back to the drill grounds of the Reichswehr and trained them to bear arms; it was beginning to be a repetition of 1923, which Hitler recalled with horror. That must not happen again. The Reichswehr must not be allowed to take 'his' S.A. out of his hands, and perhaps look on smiling while the bourgeois state's attorney prosecuted Hitler for illegal military drilling and the Socialist Minister of the Interior ordered the foreigner deported. He forbade his troop any connection with the Reichswehr, on grounds amounting to high treason: 'The National Socialist, and first and foremost the S.A. man, has no call to stir so much as a finger for the present state, which has no understanding of our outlook and can only perpetuate the misfortune of our people. . . . The coming Reich for which we are struggling alone obligates us to stake our persons.'

The Reichswehr Ministry on the other side forbade the army to accept National Socialists as soldiers, and even forbade the arsenals and other supply establishments to employ National Socialist workers, 'since this party has set itself the aim of overthrowing the constitutional state form of the German Reich' (1927).

Rebuffed by the Reichswehr, uncertain of his own troop, deserted by his old friends, surrounded by unreliable new ones, Hitler stood like a modest dwarf beneath the wall of his great plans. Even in his personal relations with the leading circles of reaction and counter-revolution he lacked the right introduction; Goebbels in Berlin, despite his firm will to live in that world "where life is not

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dull, was not the right man. But then Hitler had an unexpected stroke of luck: Göring came back. Hitler never had a better contact man than this old friend of the former German crown prince. During Göring's exile his old friend Prince Philipp of Hesse had married the Princess Mafalda, daughter of the king of Italy; thus Göring was introduced to the Italian court, and his own person became the strongest cornerstone in the beginning of personal relations between Mussolini and Hitler. This Italian introduction may not have meant much so long as Göring was living in poverty in Sweden, broken down by morphine, at times in a sanatorium, and declared by the courts unable to bring up his adopted son. But Göring became a great help to Hitler when, in 1927, the German parties of the Right, supported by the Communists, put through a political amnesty and he returned home.

Göring brought with him a Swedish invention, the Tornblad parachute; with his friend Wilhelm Körner, like him a former war aviator, he manufactured under the Swedish patent in Germany. Other old friends, fliers and administrators in Germany's modest commercial aviation, had to buy the product. One of these friends was Erhard Milch, technical director of the Lufthansa, a monopolistic concern, half controlled by the state. Milch was the son of a Jewish father and bore a Jewish name, but that did not disturb Göring. Milch was an excellent flier and organizer, a staunch patriot—hence an armed intellectual of the best class; besides, he was a helpful friend to Göring. Like other large enterprises, the Lufthansa had a slush fund, from which men with political influence were bribed in a refined way. With a straight face the company representatives would approach them for technical advice and even pay for so-called affidavits, while in reality expecting them to use their influence with the authorities.

Göring, too, delivered his affidavits, and in his case the corruption was twofold; for everyone knew that he had far too little influence to earn his money honestly—that is, through successful conning. To be sure, Hitler had sent him to the Reichstag with eleven other National Socialists in May, 1928, but the twelve lonely Brown Shirts were helpless and almost ignored. Göring's old friend, the former German crown prince, had written him a letter

congratulating him on his election with thanks to his physical strength, he would be representative of the people. Goebbels: National Socialists needed no more than that; ten would have to be experts at expert boxers. However, there were a twelve, and Göring, despite his furious the Reichstag vote the Lufthansa more could not very well say publicly that the secret preparation of the future G could only hint that German aviation fulfill; if challenged, he could not have patriotic tasks enabled certain people of these people was Camillo Castiglion Trieste; by a bold financial coup this session of a factory in which one of motors was manufactured, the Bavarian Unprejudiced, he employed Göring as he ously paid him advances and when Gör back the advances, Castiglioni silently c

Göring must have made money in never sufficient. He spent it in the gay while lived in Sweden with her mother. I ment in the Badische Strasse in Berlin, both in work and pleasure; in this resen ler. There sat Göring, preferably by cand him a picture of Napoleon; behind him, headsman's sword which he regarded as work was often devoted to the constantly to pay the next note that was due, how to was deeply in debt.

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Göring must have made money in these affairs—but it was never sufficient. He spent it in the gay world; his sick wife meanwhile lived in Sweden with her mother. In his small bachelor apartment in the Badische Strasse in Berlin, he turned night into day, both in work and pleasure; in this resembling the insomniac Hitler. There sat Göring, preferably by candlelight; on the wall before him a picture of Napoleon; behind him, over his head, a medieval headsman's sword which he regarded as a special ornament. His work was often devoted to the constantly arising problem of how to pay the next note that was due, how to avoid the pawnshop. He was deeply in debt.

His political task also required hard work. The friend of the German and Italian princes, frequenting good society as an equal among equals, had to represent the still half-nameless Reichswehr spy; he had to raise the party of Julius Streicher and Hermann Esser from notorious insignificance to notorious greatness. The resistance in Germany's leading social strata was strong. There

were plenty of people who would have agreed to dictatorship, to a sharp policy against France, even to a little war against Poland; but when the dictatorship of Hitler, the 'Bohemian corporal' as Hindenburg later called him, was suggested, the answer was laughter at best. No, no leadership of the nation by the disinherited, uprooted — and unsuccessful! There were other formations, organized and armed along the same lines as the National Socialist S.A.; above all the Stahlhelm, an organization of several hundred thousand members, with a nucleus of some hundred thousand former soldiers; well-disciplined, prepared for civil war, and, in case of a small frontier war, serviceable as a reserve army. It was on the 'green' Stahlhelm and not on the brown S.A. that the leading classes pinned their hopes when things again began to look like civil war in Germany.

While Göring was seeking approval for his party in his circles, Goebbels was noisily making the party known, and himself even more. He thought up tricks that would have occurred to no one else. He made his S.A. men wear white bandages colored with a red liquid round their heads; thus they appeared as 'heroes' who had bled for their party; their club-footed doctor, looking like a wounded World War lieutenant, marched at their head. To the *Völkischer Beobachter* Goebbels sent articles, apparently written by others, in reality by himself, reporting Doctor Goebbels's amazing deeds of heroism, always in the third person. One article related that Doctor Goebbels, riding in a motor-car with comrades, suddenly sensed with vibrant nerves that an unknown danger was threatening: 'Suddenly Goebbels stood up from his seat. Halt, Comrade Chauffeur, halt! The car stops. What's the matter, doctor? — I don't know, but we're in danger. We reach for our guns and jump out. Nothing to be seen or heard. All four tires are hard and firm. But holla, what is that! On the left hind wheel four nuts are missing. Four nuts out of five. Diabolical treachery. Traces of clumsy violence tell the rest. That is how the Jews and their servants fight.' The loudest noise came from a nature essentially timid. For Goebbels has admitted that, alone among strangers, he preferred not to be recognized as a Nationalist Socialist: 'I travel without party insignia; I seldom feel the expediency or necessity of

getting mixed up in political discussions.' In public he had to grow up from a human not size; Goebbels, too, had to overcome his nature could become incisive and unforgettable.

Between his most talented pupil and spiritual intimacy which permitted Hitler to think tool; in 1928, he appointed him par and that he has remained ever since. The y become an echo and a complement for Hitler's perfectly functioning executive organ; Goebbels slogans thrown out by his leader, and developing form to Hitler's original ideas. It can be copied many of his ideas and phrases from Hitler to be Hitler's mouthpiece. Hitler had given h flag; in 1932, Goebbels had millions of swastika and strewn on the streets — this characterizes it between the two.

Hitler distributed his creatures throughout ically set rivals beside his rivals, fomented quar tenants over whom he remained the unassailable the work of party building up to 1930. The end his faithful enabled him to build a new organ c the party apparatus. To deal with the interna sorts and keep public justice away from the ma of his élite band, he established in 1926 a party *Untersuchungs- und Schlichtungs-Ausschuss* (C amination and Adjustment), popularly known l abbreviation: Uschla. The Uschla in a sense is strong-box of the party, in which the National S best and strongest possession, their cynicism, safe Its first leader was a former general by the nam he took his job too seriously, failing to understand of the institution, and had to be dismissed. His su Walter Buch, a discharged Reichswehr officer w conspicuous in the party up till then; his assist Graf, the loyal henchman wounded at the Feld the lawyer Hans Frank, a human instrument bl

would have agreed to dictatorship, to a even to a little war against Poland; but ler, the 'Bohemian corporal' as Hinden- suggested, the answer was laughter at : nation by the disinherited, uprooted — vere other formations, organized and : as the National Socialist S.A.; above nization of several hundred thousand me hundred thousand former soldiers; r civil war, and, in case of a small fron- erve army. It was on the 'green' Stahl- n S.A. that the leading classes pinned gain began to look like civil war in

g approval for his party in his circles, ag the party known, and himself even s that would have occurred to no one n wear white bandages colored with a ds; thus they appeared as 'heroes' who heir club-footed doctor, looking like a enant, marched at their head. To the obels sent articles, apparently written by f, reporting Doctor Goebbels's amazing n the third person. One article related ag in a motor-car with comrades, sud- nerves that an unknown danger was ebbels stood up from his seat. Halt, The car stops. What's the matter, doc- e're in danger. We reach for our guns be seen or heard. All four tires are hard s that! On the left hind wheel four nuts of five. Diabolical treachery. Traces of est. That is how the Jews and their it noise came from a nature essentially dmitted that, alone among strangers, he ized as a Nationalist Socialist: 'I travel ldom feel the expediency or necessity of

getting mixed up in political discussions.' When Hitler spoke in public he had to grow up from a human nonentity to monumental size; Goebbels, too, had to overcome his natural timidity before he could become incisive and unforgettable.

Between his most talented pupil and Hitler there arose a spiritual intimacy which permitted Hitler to use Goebbels as a thinking tool; in 1928, he appointed him party propaganda leader, and that he has remained ever since. The younger man did not become an echo and a complement for Hitler like Hess, but a perfectly functioning executive organ; Goebbels avidly seized on the slogans thrown out by his leader, and developed an artistry in giving form to Hitler's original ideas. It can be shown that Goebbels copied many of his ideas and phrases from Hitler; his life's aim was to be Hitler's mouthpiece. Hitler had given his party the swastika flag; in 1932, Goebbels had millions of swastikas cut out of paper and strewn on the streets — this characterizes the collaboration between the two.

1932

Hitler distributed his creatures throughout the party, systematically set rivals beside his rivals, fomented quarrels among his lieutenants over whom he remained the unassailable leader — such was the work of party building up to 1930. The endless quarrels among his faithful enabled him to build a new organ of his authority into the party apparatus. To deal with the internal accusations of all sorts and keep public justice away from the many shady members of his élite band, he established in 1926 a party court, the so-called *Untersuchungs- und Schlichtungs-Ausschuss* (Committee for Examination and Adjustment), popularly known by the unbeautiful abbreviation: *Uschla*. The *Uschla* in a sense is the secret moral strong-box of the party, in which the National Socialists keep their best and strongest possession, their cynicism, safe from the world. Its first leader was a former general by the name of Heinemann; he took his job too seriously, failing to understand the real purpose of the institution, and had to be dismissed. His successor was Major Walter Buch, a discharged Reichswehr officer who had not been conspicuous in the party up till then; his assistants were Ulrich Graf, the loyal henchman wounded at the Feldherrn Halle, and the lawyer Hans Frank, a human instrument blindly devoted to

Hitler. The Uschla pursued a simple and brutal method. Offenses against party discipline, disobedience to a leader or lack of respect toward the Führer, were examined and punished, in grave cases with what these men feared as much as death: expulsion from the party. Transgressions of a different sort, slander, even criminal offenses, in so far as they were not directed against the leadership, were on principle ignored, unless they had become known or threatened to become known outside the party. It was a party precept that one comrade must simply not believe accusations of this sort against another comrade. 'Always believe the party comrade and never the enemy!' said Hitler in 1931 in a New Year's proclamation, 'and raise this faith to a mighty conviction, not only of the right of the individual, but of the right of the party, and beyond that of the right of our people in this world.'

If a party member was proved guilty of private immorality, dishonest business conduct, exploitation of employees, Buch had a standing formula: 'Well, what of it?' One S.A. leader was a bigamist, another a gambler and drunkard, a third a homosexual, a fourth discharged from his position for robbing the cash register: 'Well, what of it? The party had no use for 'moral frills.'

The Uschla expressed Hitler's unlimited power in the party — like a provisional symbol which slowly was becoming a reality. In order to secure his absolute domination over the party, Hitler had half-destroyed it, letting Röhm go, dismissing Drexler, throwing Heines out. But that he had the clearer plans and the firmer will in the long run, now was proved by success. The old deserters came back; not quite beaten, not without making conditions — but they came back.

Röhm came again. The ghost of the secret army of murderers had to rise from its grave to bring this about. In a common proclamation for the murderers' army they made their peace. The immediate cause of the *rapprochement* was Edmund Heines, whom Hitler, as an open insult to Röhm, had thrown out of the party. In 1928, Heines was brought to trial for a murder he had committed eight years previous as a member of the murderers' army. 'Heines,' runs the court sentence, 'thrust his pistol into Schmidt's [the victim's] face and fired twice.' The sentence was as characteristic as

the crime: only five years in prison. At the end the condemned man was freed by a new amnesties' army had expected more: complete acquittal were suddenly united in angry protest. Gen. demonstratively joined the party of the man who he had accused of breaking his word of honor draw the accusation, but merely stated that quickly passed off; in return, Hitler offered Reichstag. Röhm appeared on the platform with his closest friends, the homosexuals so often, and cried out that the sentence of his friend was a lack of formal justice on the soldier's right to

Röhm returned to Hitler with great plans. He looked threadbare and hopeless from without that Hitler would become Reich Chancellor would build up Hitler's army. He resumed his broad, systematic style as in 1920 and 1923. Outside the party, he formed an officers' club, neither political nor professional aims; but was the theoretical study of military questions and the title of *Wehrpolitische Vereinigung* (Policy). This private military academy had locations in cities of Bavaria. Röhm traveled around his old comrades in all the garrisons, some of them, and, as 'Adolf Hitler's envoy,' revealed to them that Hitler had conceived for the German army a *Wehrpolitische Vereinigung* conducted itself like that of a future army. The importance of this was estimated; and Hitler, who felt perfectly at home hoped the old friend would now take over the S.A.

It seems that a purely external reason unhappily suddenly disappeared. A quarrel with his former friend Neunzert, seems to have been one of the main threatened revelations, and Röhm suddenly found put an ocean between himself and Europe. The man was trained by a German general named Kunze

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Röhm returned to Hitler with great plans. While the party still
looked threadbare and hopeless from without, he assured friends
that Hitler would become Reich Chancellor and that he, Röhm,
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his old comrades in all the garrisons, some of them in high posts,
and, as 'Adolf Hitler's envoy,' revealed to them the future that
Hitler had conceived for the German army and its officers. The
Wehrpolitische Vereinigung conducted itself like the general staff
of a future army. The importance of this contact cannot be over-
estimated; and Hitler, who felt perfectly at home again with Röhm,
hoped the old friend would now take over the leadership of
the S.A.

It seems that a purely external reason unhinged this plan. Röhm
suddenly disappeared. A quarrel with his former friend, Lieutenant
Neunzert, seems to have been one of the main reasons. Neunzert
threatened revelations, and Röhm suddenly found it advisable to
put an ocean between himself and Europe. The Bolivian Army, led
and trained by a German general named Kundt, was seeking Ger-

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cling about the hive or indecision. This is, for her, the supreme moment.

She flies swift and high, soon joined by hundreds or even thousands of drones. Their own built-in sensing system tells them the virgin queen is ready for mating. Now the drone's special tracking equipment serves him well, the powerful wings, the wide range of sight, the keen sense of smell, the mighty instinct to mate. Nature mobilizes all forces in this drama of reproduction.

The virgin queen is pursued not only by drones from her own hive, her brothers, but also by those from neighboring hives, all drawn by her scent and signals. Often the drones gather in a common congregating area, spending their days in idleness, like so many loafers in a neighborhood park or pool-hall, perhaps boasting of their prowess, but certainly not of past conquests. They engage in daily reconnaissance flights, a kind of cruising, to sniff out receptive females.

The queen passes over this sexual staging area, alerting the lusty drones. The diversity of males helps prevent inbreeding, but the fastest and fittest will prevail. Today the drone is no longer a greedy buffoon. He is all grace, power, and determination, fired by his own ardor and life's mission.

The virgin queen usually goes on her mating flight alone, although she may be accompanied by a few bridesmaids from her hive. If she comes from a weak hive, and possibly is the only princess, the sole hope for a marginal community, the entire colony may accompany her.

Quickly the virgin queen and her suitors outdistance any escorts or bodyguards. She and the drones fly faster and higher than the workers. Nature has given the queen powerful wings and a streamlined body to outdistance all but the swiftest drones.

Before her mating flight, the virgin princess passed among the drones in the hive without causing the least excitement or arousing passion. Until the mating flight there can be no union of drone and queen. Copulation can take place only in the air:

The mating flight is brief, usually lasting less than twenty minutes and averaging about thirteen. No facet of a bee's life is private; her most intimate secrets have been documented and timed.

Queen and drones fly higher and faster. Soon only the most stalwart suitors are left: the feeble, sick, old, malnourished, and uninterested and those from inactive or impoverished hives have given up the pursuit. Finally one remains. Because of the intricacies of his anatomy, the drone can mate only when the rush of air forces open the lower part of his abdomen, freeing his genitals to enter the queen's open vulva.

His organ enters the queen, ejecting his sperm. There is a pop, resembling an explosion or cracking sound. The successful drone pays dearly for victory over his less fit rivals. In the instant of copulation his genitals are torn from him, his abdomen ruptured; he falls to earth paralyzed, to die, his male organ left behind dangling from the queen like a trophy. It seems a rather high price for success, even by nature's standards, a cruel and lethal jest. Is it altogether chance that the mating pair outraces the other drones, who do not see what befalls the victor?

We know the mechanics of this sex act but nothing of its emotional state. I like to think there is an instant of pleasure or rapture for these pawns of nature before the drone is struck down. Is the queen briefly a voluptuary, taking pleasure in her body and its fulfillment, or only mechanically obeying a biological drive with no sensual satisfaction?

In any case, there you have the sex life of the bees, a rather grim ending for the lecherous drone who gives his all for survival of the fittest, his fit progeny surviving as he perishes. How did bees ever become equated with sex? They do not live a riotous sex life themselves, and are mere agents in pollinating plants. A hive suggests the cloister more than the bordello. All but the queen and the condemned drones who mate are chaste from beginning to end.

* A.H.'s fears in 1928 with Celi.

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~~Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page, including "A.H." and "Celi."~~

able sums of money. Since there was no writing paper at the Asylum, he accompanied Hanisch and a friendly salesman from Silesia to the Café Arthabar nearby and wrote a letter to Angela, asking for money to be sent to him *poste restante*. Angela sent fifty kronen, which arrived shortly before Christmas. The money probably saved his life, for it gave him renewed hope at a time when he had little to hope for. For twelve kronen he bought a winter overcoat at the Dorotheum and could now walk out in the street without danger of dying of influenza.

When he arrived at the Asylum, he had no possessions. His collection of books, manuscripts, sketches, and architectural drawings had all vanished. It is possible, of course, that they were sequestered by unfriendly landladies for nonpayment of rent, but it is more likely that he simply lost them or abandoned them while drifting helplessly around Vienna. He had possessed an overcoat when he was living with Kubizek: this too was lost, or perhaps it had been taken to the pawnshop. His ivory-handled walking stick had suffered the same fate. He had cultivated the appearance of a bohemian, but by the time he arrived at the Asylum, all the traces of Bohemia had vanished. He had apparently forgotten his pension of 25 kronen a month, which would at the very least have permitted him to eat regularly. His mind was paralyzed, and he had reached that mindless state in which a man is completely incapable of ordering his own life.

Hitler never forgot those months of horror. In a statement drawn up in 1914 to explain why he had not registered for military service he wrote: "The autumn of 1909 was for me an interminably bitter time. I was a young man with no experience, without financial assistance, and too proud to accept it from just anyone, let alone beg for it." In *Mein Kampf* he remembered those months as "the most miserable time of my life."

The experience of destitution left its mark on his character. Kubizek convincingly described a strange, awkward, violent youth brimming with ideas, composing an opera, stories, and poems, reading voluminously, and studying architecture with a frightening intensity. A year later the eagerness had gone out of him, and he was little more than the husk of himself. His brilliance, such as it was, died away, to flare up again at long intervals. What he needed now, at any cost, was a sense of security, a regular income, friends or at least acquaintances. Providentially, all these were granted to him a few weeks later when he left the Asylum and went to live in the Männerheim, the Home for Men, at 27 Meldemannstrasse, which was near the Jewish quarter known as Leopoldstadt. His friend Reinhold Hanisch went to live there at the same time. The Asylum was for the desperately poor, while the Männerheim was intended for single men who could make a bare living.

* D.F. It could be said that only relations Geli came eventually out of this.

The life & death of A.H.
Pg



Adolf Hitler.

1909, 1928

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Adolf Hitler.

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bureaucrats who accepted his money
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warmth of his feelings and lead him to
understand that bureaucracies was not to be
seen as a bond between strangers, but as a machine

1928-31

activity. So he kept her and held her at arms' length, afraid to advance and afraid to retreat.

Geli Raubal was the only woman he had ever loved, and inevitably the one-sided love affair proceeded stormily. While she enjoyed the attention she received when in his company, she appears to have been less happy with his private attentions. According to Ernst Hanfstaengl, who knew Hitler well but was never among his intimates, the love affair took on pathological forms. As an artist, Hitler claimed the right to draw her in the nude and produced a number of obscene drawings, which were later stolen and bought back from a blackmailer, and it was said that he whipped her with his bull-hide whip. Hanfstaengl disliked Geli Raubal from the moment he set eyes on her, and the stories he tells about her are not entirely trustworthy. He reports at second or third hand that she once said: "My uncle is a monster. You would never believe the things he makes me do." It is possible that she once said these words: so might any ward bothered by her guardian's attentions. Whatever demands he made on her, she almost certainly accommodated herself to them, for she lived in his apartment for two years. What she seems to have feared most of all were not his sexual advances and bull-hide whip so much as his jealous rages, his screams and denunciations.

She had a soft, pleasant singing voice and a ringing laugh, and it was not long before she began to take singing lessons. Hitler approved, hoping that she would develop into a professional singer. She studied first under Adolf Vogel, an early party member who enjoyed much success as a teacher, and then under Hans Streck, who had once been Ludendorff's adjutant and was famous in Munich because at the time of the 1923 putsch he walked boldly toward the police with Ludendorff, while the others were running for cover. Neither Vogel nor Streck found any great talent in her. Streck, whose studio was in the nearby Gedonstrasse, gave her three lessons a week and was paid 100 marks a month. Hanfstaengl, whose wife also took lessons under Streck, reports that the teacher complained of her laziness. "Half the time she rings up to say that she can't come," he complained, "and when she does come, she learns very little."

The truth was that Geli Raubal was as self-indulgent as her famous uncle, but unlike him she was totally without ambition. She was also hot-headed, unpredictable, and jealous of the attentions he paid to other women. Inevitably there would come a time when she would have to choose between being a free agent and being a helpless prisoner. The storm had been brewing for two years. It ended on the evening of September 18, 1931.

There had been words between them during the afternoon, while

Hitler was preparing to take him to Hamburg. He heard confusedly she gave it to her. It was something more than to go to Vienna. They were and jumpy. Their unusually prolonged stay in the black Mercedes delivered that evening control of himself down the stairs to overlooking the street. Then the autumn.

Although full of despair after Hitler's death, Annie Winter she was quiet in her bedroom and visiting her mother. The reason for Annie Winter there had been would be many more.

Geli shut herself out of a girl friend, who, as a consequence, and one of Hitler's wives was shot, and Hitler is that she had wrapped sound. She was dead.

The next morning received no answer. She broke down the door in her blue nightdress at had been dead for years.

Annie Winter was to be done. She telephoned, and Hess, as in Hitler's good grace. A scandal was uncovered. The police would soon find clues and collect many scores to set only to discover that

1925, 1928

D had torn up all class lines and social barriers forever."⁷⁴ Hitlerism was that very feeling rearoused. "In kindling the national fighting spirit and refashioning first the Party, then the state and society, into an all-inclusive fighting community, National Socialism unfolded its true force and skill. . . . War was in this more than a mere pragmatic means. National Socialism therewith returned to itself, so to say—back to its proper element."⁷⁵

It is also true that Hitler's foreign aims won little clear understanding, let alone consequent acceptance, from Germans individually.⁷⁶ He did call for the conquest of "living space" baldly enough throughout Germany beginning in 1927–1928, as the speaking bans imposed on him regionally after he left Landsberg were lifted one by one. His call was well reported too. To illustrate at random: the local press in Dingolfing summarized point for point a stock speech he delivered there on 30 September 1928, culminating in the "power concept, to which the German people must rally, for life is combat and will remain so as long as the world lasts. Without combat, no victory. There is only one right in this world, and that right is might. There is only one aim: honor, freedom, and bread for the German people. And the way to this is combat. Therefore the German people should close ranks to become a power factor in world history fit to gain the feeding ground necessary for its growth."⁷⁷ Again, the folkic weekly *Deutscher Michel* gave just as straight a synopsis of his speech of 23 October 1928 in Augsburg: "The law of force will always determine a people's chance to survive. . . . The German people have more space and soil coming. Therefore they must solve their land problem to assure their nutrition. . . . Only through combat will the German people rise again. That is our wish and aim."⁷⁸ No jaws dropped when he forecast that combat to Reichswehr chiefs in closed sessions hard upon his accession.⁷⁹ Even so, when he briefed his foreign minister, his war minister, and the heads of the army, navy, and air force on 5 November 1937 on the practicalities of "gaining a larger living space,"⁸⁰ he nonplussed at least four of the five. The fifth, air force chief Hermann Göring, himself stood for a no-risk power play in central Europe.⁸¹ Joachim von Ribbentrop, who took over

1927, (1928)

parliamentarianism, and atomized the fragments by democratic liberalism. He would heal the multiple cleavage for the sake of national survival, meaning world power and ultimately world dominion. He even tied together the three stages of the proposed operation by the fall of 1928: he would cleanse Germany racially to restore German unity for the necessary war ahead.⁹⁹ This treble project was inchoately his in the early 1920s—not so schematically, that is, and with only a revisionist war foreseen. "What can help us now?" he asked in March 1920, while raging against the victors' peace. "Only the greatest unity of all breeds of Germans," he answered.¹⁰⁰ And a month later he cried out: "Merciless war on those drones who brought us to grief! We want a single German people back however much the whole Jew pack kicks."¹⁰¹ He struck a long familiar stance in the Ruhr crisis of 1923: "Do we want to restore Germany's freedom and power? Then let us first rescue it from its spoiler!"¹⁰² His call for a racial housecleaning was toned down in his post-Putsch oratory earlier than was his cry for feeding ground—possibly in the first instance to oblige the Bavarian government when it provisionally lifted the ban on his public speaking in March 1927.¹⁰³ Even muted, the racial housecleaning remained more than a mere means to national unity in his political discourse, whereas national unity figured from first to last as merely the means of conquering feeding ground. Take his presentation of 26 March 1927. "Even the beaten Communist," it ran, "is my compatriot as soon as he is down. I want nothing more than for civil strife to stop for Germans to stop being two classes, for a new army to form out of both classes and, bridging the gap, plant above and beyond it a new banner that is both national and social, so everyone can see that in fighting for the idea I am fighting for each of my compatriots to get bread for life, for them each someday to get the proud feeling of being German." In this isolated passage, the gap-bridging can look like an end in itself—army, bread, and all. But this clarion call for unity followed up a bugle call for the eastern land grab: "To conquer land and soil, strength is needed. That lies in unity. That is, if a people sees the necessity for being able to preserve its life only through a policy

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of expansion, then it must put all its vital energy into such a policy. And it may not be distracted by other problems. It must have a single goal. If it pursues other goals, then it lacks the strength to fight outwardly." The clarion call led up to a recall besides: "We [National Socialists] are convinced of the necessity for struggle. The peoples of this world have to struggle for their existence. If a people no longer does so, then history takes no further notice of it. History does not say: 'All right, if you won't have it that way, then have it some other way.' It says: 'Then you drop out.' Every creature that stops defending itself goes under." (Through all this, Hitler reminded his listeners only in passing that "the international Jew has become master.")¹⁰⁴ Never did Hitler invert his means and his end by promoting the foreign land grab in order to drain domestic tension. He came closest once in his fever year for theory, 1928, when, bypassing the Jews, he blamed Germany's civil strife on the shortage of land and soil: "Social diseases appear that then gradually assume an ideological character, until at length bloody civil strife erupts internally, a consequence of the disproportion between people and area."¹⁰⁵ But after September 1930 he evoked the end as a rule by citing the means only—intoning the first bars of his familiar refrain and leaving the rest to be hummed unthinkingly. That is, he sounded the aim of conquering feeding ground through the theme of terminating social and political divisions. And this pitch to heal the civil rifts and restore a "community of fate"¹⁰⁶ became his basic, constant pitch in the two years before he took office. As he put it on 31 July 1932, the issue was "whether Germany is to keep these twenty-five and thirty or forty parties, or whether Germany is to be pulled back together once and for all into a single formative will."¹⁰⁷ Or again on 23 January 1933: "If we succeed in turning proletarian and bourgeois back into Germans, the German future is ours."¹⁰⁸ This was his set piece in office too while public life was Nazified.¹⁰⁹ The sequence was the same in his politics as previously in his rhetoric: first came the Nazification, then—and all Germany felt it coming—the expansionist war. The Nazification began, moreover, with the exclusion of the Jews from public life and the

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1920, 1928, 1930

headquarters in order "to disengage myself from his power of suggestion."⁹¹ Quisling's hypnosis needed periodic renewing. Besides, without such special exertions as on Quisling and such special susceptibility as Quisling's, Hitler produced "next to no impression" on non-Germans.⁹² Keitel's last reckoning mentioned Hitler's "suggestive power of persuasion incomprehensible to outsiders and especially to foreigners."⁹³ In fact the personal magic went with the national message. "On occasion Hitler simply cried out 'Germany! Germany! Germany!' to his audience and drew enthusiastic acclamation."⁹⁴ Who else could ever do that?

To repeat: the magic went with the message. So it was that, as far as the records disclose, Hitler's enthrallments of later co-workers began with him expounding his politics, usually from the rostrum. Speer's devotion was the least political on the surface, yet it started when the then teaching assistant in architecture succumbed to the "suggestive force of conviction" that Hitler conveyed in a speech at the university of Berlin in 1930. "This effect," Speer recollected decades later, "was far deeper than that of the speech itself, not much of which remained in my memory"⁹⁵; the rest had hit home. Hitler's seemingly least charismatized henchman was the deadly cynic Heydrich, yet in 1928 naval careerist Heydrich was enraptured by his first Hitler speech and told his sister: "He alone can save Germany."⁹⁶ Hess's infatuation was the most blatant: in one observer's overdrawn image, "Hess hangs with the eyes of a credulous child on the mouth of his deified leader."⁹⁷ This idolatry was thoroughly political from the outset, when the war veteran brooding over Germany's fate while studying geopolitics in Munich returned "radiant" from a Hitler meeting to his boardinghouse one evening in 1920. "Only the man, the man! He is all!" Hess explained.⁹⁸ That man also overcame Munich law student Hans Frank by "the irresistible power of his oratory" at a public meeting in January 1920: "He spoke everything out of his own soul and out of the soul of us all. . . . From that evening on," Frank related, "I was convinced . . . that Hitler alone, if anyone, could master German fate."⁹⁹ Hitler captivated cosmopolitan adven-

Speer
1930
Communist
war

1928

1920

1925, 1928, 1930

R 10 Hitler Comes to Power

could govern only in partnership with at least one party from the Weimar coalition.

The situation in the Weimar Republic in the 1920s had reached a stalemate. Neither of the two leading groups in German society was strong enough to govern the state alone, but each was strong enough to prevent the other from doing so. Since their differences stemmed from their principles, compromises were difficult. They recognized no common ground on which they could explain and settle normal conflicting interests. The stalemate, with its roots deep in German history, came to a head after the First World War. The Conservatives scored a victory in 1925 when Hindenburg was elected president. The Republicans, in turn, scored a victory in 1928 when they almost regained the majority in the Reichstag and a Social Democrat became chancellor once again.

None of these victories was decisive or broke the stalemate. But the Conservatives were alarmed at the success of the Left in 1928 and thereupon tried, with the help of the president, to regain the position they had held until 1918. Their chance came in March 1930 when the Social Democratic chancellor Hermann Müller and, with him, the last majority government of the Weimar Republic resigned.³ Hindenburg seized this opportunity to become independent of parliamentary majorities and to appoint Brüning. If we say that the downhill course that led to Hitler's appointment in January 1933 began with Brüning's appointment in March 1930, then we can also say that Hindenburg's undemocratic attitude contributed strongly to this development. Had Hindenburg been a convinced supporter of the parliamentary system of government he would have negotiated another majority government. Since he was not a supporter but an opponent of the parliamentary system, and since he particularly disliked the Social Democrats, he snatched the opportunity to get rid of them when it arose in March 1930.

1928

political activity, is a letter dated September 16, 1919, in which he wrote that the ultimate goal of anti-Semitism must unalterably be the elimination of the Jews altogether.⁵ The context as well as his anti-Jewish pronouncements of the following years demonstrate with sufficient clarity what he primarily meant: The Jews living in Germany were to be removed from Germany to other countries.

After 1924 the term *elimination* sometimes took on the meaning of killing, although certain formulations of his suggest that he had had this solution in mind even before 1924. In the second volume of *Mein Kampf* he wrote that the elimination could only be achieved "by the sword" and called the needful procedure "bloody."⁶ He now also elaborated at length on his belief that the Jewish question had an importance for the whole world, and he complained that the opportunity had not been taken to kill about twelve thousand Jews by poison gas at the beginning of and during World War I.⁷ If this is taken literally, he meant that killing a part of the Jewish community in Germany during the First World War (twelve thousand out of a total that he estimated at six hundred thousand) would have been a means to win that war.⁸ There was also a vague suggestion that it was desirable that other nations eliminate their Jews as well.

In his books, particularly the one written in 1928 but not published until 1961, Hitler explained in detail why he wanted the Jews to be eliminated.⁹ It must not be overlooked that his hatred was certainly irrational but specific as well. In his view, the Jews were a people or race, not a religious community. Being a people, they participated in the general struggle among peoples for power. But having no territorial state, they could not participate in the normal form of that struggle, which was the struggle for territorial living space. Thus they fought for power by other means. The adversary in their struggle was not this or that nation but all nations—the principle of nation as such, the law of nature and history. Hence the

* Hitler's Secret Book.

1928, 1941, 1938

B 48

Hitler Orders the Holocaust

Jews were not an enemy of the German nation alone but of all mankind, and their elimination was not only a national but a universal task.

If we pursue this reasoning a bit further we may say that the elimination of the German Jews was in the interest of Germany, since they undermined Germany's capacity to struggle for living space. Consequently, their transfer into countries that were Germany's actual or potential opponents in the struggle for living space meant a weakening of these countries and was thus an advantage to Germany. But Hitler did not say so explicitly. He wished other countries to eliminate their Jews as well. This is the basic contradiction of Hitler's anti-Semitism. As a German he wanted the elimination of the German Jews before all others. But as far as the Jews were concerned, he felt that he could not afford to be a German alone. The Jewish question was so important to him that he sought the elimination of all Jews. In July 1941 he declared to a foreign statesman that he would confront each state with the demand to eliminate its Jews.¹⁰ In October of the same decisive year he said that he was doing humanity a service by exterminating this pest.¹¹

Rudolph Binion has convincingly demonstrated that Hitler did not succeed in solving this contradiction.¹² Thus in principle and from the outset his racial policy was less clear than his foreign policy. As for the war of conquest, he was to pursue the interests of Germany exclusively; hence his task was easy. As for the Jews, he had to pursue the interests of both Germany and humanity at once; hence this task was difficult. At times he set his priorities, at times he did not, and this confusion marked his acts.

Immediately after he came to power his task was easy. He had to remove the German Jews from political standing and if possible from Germany. His policy pursued these goals. By 1938 approximately 150,000 Jews or almost one third of the country's total Jewish population had left Germany. But with

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he never let go, never
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and evacuation, and in
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ld begin in September,
be completed by the end

3 October 1929, he had
he French, but the Ger-
vinced. On 9 July 1929,
en formed to organize a
jecting the new repara-
of Germany's war-guilt
asis of the Allies' claims.
e German Right united
o defeat the Government
reign policy and repara-
pose of overthrowing, or
ed Republic. It was by
Hitler first made his ap-
ge of German politics.

n was Alfred Hugenberg,
ist. An ambitious, domi-

neering and unscrupulous man of sixty-three, Hugen-
berg had made a fortune out of the inflation and with
it bought up a propaganda empire, a whole network
of newspapers and news agencies, and a controlling
interest in the big U.F.A. film trust. These he used
not so much to make money as to push his own views.
In 1928 he took over the leadership of the German
National Party.

Hugenberg could count on the support of the Stahl-
helm, by far the largest of the German ex-service-
men's organizations, under the leadership of Franz
Seldte; of the Pan-German League, and of powerful
industrial and financial interests, represented by Dr
Albert Voegler, General Director of the big United
Steel, and later by the President of the Reichsbank,
Dr. Hjalmar Schacht. What they lacked was mass
support, someone to go out and rouse the mob. Hitler
and Hugenberg met, but Hitler was not easily per-
suaded to come in, partly because of the opposition
which he could expect to meet from the radical Stras-
ser group. But the advantages of being able to draw
on the big political funds at the disposal of Hugen-
berg converted him. He put his price high: complete
independence in waging the campaign and a large
share of the Committee's resources to enable him to
do it. For his representative on the Joint Finance
Committee Hitler deliberately chose Gregor Strasser:
when others in the Party complained, he laughed and
told them to wait until he had finished with his al-
lies.

In September 1929, Hugenberg and Hitler pub-
lished a draft 'Law against the Enslavement of the
German People'. After repudiating Germany's re-
sponsibility for the war, it demanded the end of all
reparations, and the punishment of the Chancellor,
the Cabinet, and their representatives for high trea-
son if they agreed to new financial commitments. The
bill was sharply defeated, and on 13 March 1930
President Hindenburg put his signature to the Young

Jan 1927 / May 1928

You are a great spirit and fine man, you dare not succumb. I love you so strongly, with my whole body and soul, that I could not bear to lose you: to be a morphinist is to commit suicide—day after day you lose a small part of your body and soul. . . . You are ruled by an evil spirit or force, and your body gradually wastes away. . . .

Save yourself and with you, me!

Despite all his efforts, Göring was again losing the battle. Under interrogation eighteen years later he would hint at otherwise unexplained excursions he made to Turkey in 1927 and to Britain in the same year or the next. It is fair to comment that Turkey was one of the leading opium-producing nations. The Swedish record shows that from September 7 to 26, 1927, Göring was again admitted to Långbro Mental Hospital for "abuse of morphine, dosage of 40 to 50 cgm per diem."

The story of Göring's struggle to overcome his accidental morphine addiction remained a closed book for some years. Then, in June 1933, at a wedding dinner at Rockelstad Castle, Göring, by then a powerful German minister, boasted to Count Eric von Rosen's new son-in-law, Dr. Nils Silfverskjöld, that the Nazis would "gradually destroy" (*vernichten*) the Communists in Germany. Silfverskjöld, himself a Communist, laid hands on the Långbro dossier and publicized it in the Communist newspaper *Folkets Dagblad* on November 18, 1933; the left-wing newspaper *Social-Demokraten* also published references to Göring's hospital treatments. The war between Göring and the Communists was by then one in which neither side gave quarter.

Göring spent Christmas with Carin in Sweden but left her still on her sickbed in January 1928 to return to Berlin. He now shared an office in Geisberg Strasse with Fritz Siebel, who was also in the aviation business. Parachute sales were slow, but Göring had his eye on bigger game. On May 20, the all-important elections to the Reichstag (Parliament) would be held. With the recklessness of a man with little more to lose, Göring blackmailed the Nazi leadership into including him among their candidates. Secret backers had provided the funds that enabled Hitler to enlarge his party to a membership of millions. Göring bluntly threatened to sue the party otherwise for every pfennig it had owed him since 1922. Hitler capitulated, promising him a seat if more than seven Nazis were elected. Göring rushed around to his friend "Putzi" Hanfstaengl, whooping with glee. To be a Nazi candidate under these circumstances was like money in the bank.

Suddenly Göring was no longer a pariah. He brashly looked around for a more imposing apartment, and begged Carin to travel to Berlin in time for the elections. She arrived in mid-May, a few days before the poll. By that time he had rented a little apartment at No. 16, Berchtesgadener Strasse. On the seventeenth, three days before the election, he carried Carin into the

1927/28

large corner room he had prep-
smothered with white lilac. Six
with him again.

"I had a bath," she wrote
me, I rested an hour, then three
us to a fine, stylish luncheon.

They dined at sunset on the
revolting Jews! They lunched
"slant-eyed" waitresses in kir-
excitedly about Sunday's poll.

They've already begun
munists parade with their
Star of David . . . and me-
ners with swastikas (but w-
a pitched battle, with dead
for Hermann, we would f-
just think!!!

She followed this letter with a t-

HERMANN ELECTED YESTERDAY

Hitler's party had attracted enou-
be returned to the Reichstag. So
influence—and friends. "It is av-
see how all those who kept away
and assure him that they always t-
he was in difficulties?"

He was overwhelmed with con-
earn five hundred Reichsmarks. I
more as a party orator—and that
finally at an end: They could beg-
bills, redeem the things they had
little white harmonium and all th-
hooked was carried up to their th-
indulgently. He was looking for
around.

"In the Reichstag," he told
Twelve Black Sheep."

He took Carin along to the cen-
"It was quite uncanny," she w-
gang. They throw their weight
uniforms adorned with the Star

May 1928

May 1928

man, you dare not succumb. I
hole body and soul, that I could
robinist is to commit suicide—
art of your body and soul. . . .
force, and your body gradually

in losing the battle. Under interrogation
otherwise unexplained excursions he
in the same year or the next. It is
the leading opium-producing nations.
September 7 to 26, 1927, Göring was
hospital for "abuse of morphine, dosage

overcome his accidental morphine ad-
dome years. Then, in June 1933, at a
Göring, by then a powerful German
sen's new son-in-law, Dr. Nils Silfver-
ually destroy" (*vernichten*) the Com-
himself a Communist, laid hands on
in the Communist newspaper *Folkets*
ft-wing newspaper *Social-Demokraten*
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ay, a few days before the poll. By that
at No. 16, Berchtesgadener Strasse. On
the election, he carried Carin into the

large corner room he had prepared for her, with its sun-drenched balcony
smothered with white lilac. Sick though she was, she was in ecstasy to be
with him again.

"I had a bath," she wrote to her mother, "and Hermann unpacked for
me, I rested an hour, then three of Hermann's best friends came and invited
us to a fine, stylish luncheon with champagne and *Schwedische platte*."

They dined at sunset on the shores of a Berlin lake, "amid the most
revolting Jews!" They lunched with chopsticks at a Chinese restaurant where
"slant-eyed" waitresses in kimonos served strawberries, and they talked
excitedly about Sunday's polling day:

They've already begun shooting it out. Every day the Com-
munists parade with their crooked noses and red flags with the
Star of David . . . and meet Hitler's men carrying their red ban-
ners with swastikas (but without the crooked noses). Then there's
a pitched battle, with dead and injured. Oh, if only things go well
for Hermann, we would have some peace for a long time . . .
just think!!!

She followed this letter with a telegram on the twenty-first:

HERMANN ELECTED YESTERDAY: MOTHER, YOU UNDERSTAND.

Hitler's party had attracted enough votes nationwide for twelve deputies to
be returned to the Reichstag. So Göring was in, with a guaranteed income,
influence—and friends. "It is awful," Carin wrote on the twenty-third, "to
see how all those who kept away while he was having a hard time now come
and assure him that they always believed in him, and why didn't he tell them
he was in difficulties?"

He was overwhelmed with commissions for newspaper articles: He would
earn five hundred Reichsmarks per month as a deputy, and eight hundred
more as a party orator—and that was just the beginning. Their poverty was
finally at an end: They could begin to pay off ancient debts, settle doctors'
bills, redeem the things they had pledged at the pawnbrokers. As Carin's
little white harmonium and all the other furniture that had been discreetly
hocked was carried up to their third-floor apartment again, Hermann smiled
indulgently. He was looking forward to a general settling of accounts all
around.

"In the Reichstag," he told historian George Shuster, "we were the
Twelve Black Sheep."

He took Carin along to the ceremonial opening on June 13, 1928.

"It was quite uncanny," she wrote the next day, "to see the Red Guard
gang. They throw their weight about colossally. They were all wearing
uniforms adorned with the Star of David—that is, the Soviet star—red

June 1928

June 1928

armbands, etc. Young, most of them, and just raring for a fight. And some of them downright criminal types. How many in all these parties except Hitler's are Jews!"

Göring immediately claimed the Nazi party's transport "portfolio." It was no secret that since 1924 the general staff had been nurturing an embryonic aviation effort despite Versailles, and that the government's subsidies to the Lufthansa Airline played no small part in this. Captain Ernst Brandenburg, the ex-bomber pilot who was looking after this concealed army aviation effort, advised Lufthansa's director, Erhard Milch, as the subsidies came under increasing Communist attack, to "fix" a few gentlemen in the Reichstag. "They're all wide open to bribery," said Brandenburg. "Send for one man from every leading party, give them some cash, and they'll authorize the full subsidy the next time."

Milch evidently acted immediately, because Carin Göring was already mentioning "a contract with the Reich Transport Ministry" (i.e., Brandenburg) in a letter dated June 17, adding in the same letter that Hermann had already received the first payment under it and the thirty-four hundred marks that he wanted as a down payment on an even grander apartment in a new building at No. 7, Badensche Strasse, in Berlin's select Schöneberg district. Milch confirmed (to this author) that Lufthansa was bribing Göring and a handful of other deputies (Cremer, Quaat, and Keil) with one thousand marks per month; only the Communists refused to accept Lufthansa money. It became common knowledge. "Milch," suggested one lieutenant colonel later, "had Göring in his pocket because he could have blown the whistle on him at any time." The record shows that in the next two years Göring addressed the Reichstag only once—and then it was to demand higher subsidies for civil aviation, and to ask why Germany had no aviation minister, a post that he clearly coveted for himself.

After the election Hermann and Carin flew to Zurich, Switzerland, to lecture and demonstrate parachutes. But he now had far better sources of income. The funds were beginning to flow to him from German industry. He was shortly retained as a "consultant" by BMW and by Heinkel, and the records of young Willi Messerschmitt's Bavarian aircraft company would show at least one payment by a director, Fritz Hiller, entered as "one-time dispensation to G." Steel magnate Fritz Thyssen donated to him the decor and furnishings for the new apartment.

Greedy for more, Göring shortly asked Lufthansa for funds to set up an office, to pay Pili Körner's wages, and to hire a first-rate secretary too. Soon the airline found it was paying him fifty thousand Reichsmarks a year.

I hardly ever see Hermann [lamented Carin that summer]. He goes to the office [on the corner of Friedrich Strasse and Tauben Strasse] early each morning and we usually lunch together, but mostly with a lot of other people who are invited or invite them-

1928

selves. Then Hermann himself [Fair] or committees, and

He is rarely ever home! starts at eight in the morning and his interest in everything tag session hasn't even begun.

He has an excellent staff help. Today he got seventy And yet he always has time

Hitler is coming here on old days [1925]. I'm afraid

She became an excellent society health only with difficulty. In 1921 in Badensche Strasse was ready the carpet wine red. The building influential could be transported in a motor car. Among their regular guests who now studiously entered Göring's diaries. By December Milch was at the swank Kaiserhof Hotel garage, bringing the money Göring present," he has told this author see that at heart he was a soft bluster."

Relieved momentarily of financial the party's recruiting campaign. 21, 1929, "he's speaking to students than half of them are Nazis and the rest. Tomorrow he's speaking ten-day, twelve-lecture tour of politicians . . ."

He learned a lot about parliamentarism was dominated by the Social Democrats to Germany grew, Göring found industrialists willingly paid it with heart. It was coal magnate Wilhelm to the steel king Thyssen, to the

This new source of funds was begun to squirm. The Deutsche Bank check in Göring's favor in the bank explaining, "As far as the day before the election was one of ad consultant in the American sense.

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

it is small wonder that attributes of statescraft. those he ignored, and those story, yet in the records we and many pages of his political leaders of the past, of Henry II or Elizabeth I; none of Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, two Anglo-Saxons is any Roosevelt, what impostors! political issues and in his petty-fogging Jew, himself blood in his veins. The is also a clear indication Winston Churchill as "the uncouth of every twenty-four." out roots, a demagogue and

hip came from the East. He kings Ferdinand and Boris of son Boris himself became a out of the complicated tangle of Jerusalem, ah, there his quite exceptional with the Japanese. And what Rasputin he attributed a Slav element a healthy reserved for Joseph Stalin admiringly of "the cunning respect," who was indeed, he knows his models Genghis he repeatedly said, was one old history." The reason for Stalin, Bolshevism is only a manic and Latin people." 53

it was distilled in one speech thousands upon thousands merely an elaboration of these

Weltanschauung is the fact alone is decisive. Whatever originality plus his brutality.

Whatever man possesses today in the field of culture is the culture of the Aryan race. The Aryan has stamped his character on the whole world. The basis for all development is the creative urge of the individual, not the vote of majorities. The genius of the individual is decisive, not the spirit of the masses. All life is bound up in three theses: struggle is the father of all things, virtue lies in blood, leadership is primary and decisive. 54

Struggle was indeed "the father of all things." His memoirs repeat the refrain: "He who wants to live should fight, therefore, and he who does not want to battle in this world of eternal struggle does not deserve to be alive. Even if this were hard, this is the way things are . . . victory is forever contained only in attack." 55

Public speeches of the 1920s trumpeted the same message and gave the German people a clear picture of the kind of government they would get under Hitler. Seldom has a man aspiring for public office been so explicit in his purposes and so open in his promises. In an early and important speech at Essen on 22 November 1926, he said: "Force is the first law. . . . Only through fighting have states and the world become great. If one should ask whether this struggle is gruesome, then the only answer could be: for the weak, yes, for humanity as a whole, no. . . ." Subsequent speeches emphasized and reemphasized the same points. One more example, from a speech in Munich on 21 November 1927, must suffice: "Politics is nothing else than the struggle of a people for its existence in this world; it is the eternal battle of a people, for better or for worse, for its existence on this planet. . . . Man [is] the most brutal, the most resolute creature on earth. He knows nothing but the extermination of his enemies in the world."

That the idea of "battle" was not mere metaphor was made clear on several occasions. From the beginning, Hitler promised war—as he did in Munich as early as 1928 and 1929: "There is no distinction between war and peace. . . . One is either a free lord or a slave. The final decision lies with the sword. . . . The battlefield is the final test of the foreign policy of a people. . . ."

It is not accurate to speak of the wars Hitler had in mind as mere acts of aggression. As his policy in Eastern Europe would make manifest, he wanted wars of pillage and annihilation. Such warfare was for Hitler the highest form of human endeavor, the greatest expression of life's purposes, the fate of all being: "One creature drinks the blood of another. The death of one nourishes the other. One should not dribble about humane feelings . . . the struggle goes on." 56

Struggle and battle also dominated the domestic scene in Nazi Germany, as Hitler infused society with martial terminology and values. He spoke of the "battle for culture . . . a front-line spirit in the arts . . . the battle for population . . . the battle for the cradle." The symbol of his Reich was a line from his Party's anthem: "brown battalions

THIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History

ger of Hitler, their superiors re-
1924, for example, the Bavar-
deported as a dangerous alien.

r will . . . again become the
public riots and a continual

state attorney filed formal com-
e Bavarian minister of justice,
d the withdrawal of all com-
nd was not deported. Guertner
in 1933 and served until his

Hitler into power proved indis-
p. He could never have con-
out the technical help of tens
acquiescence of millions . . .
dissent" characterized the Ger-
ears of Hitler's dictatorship.¹⁰²

pful to Hitler. The Protestant
epublic, and its pastors thun-
he "Treaty of Shame," which
ader could abolish. With the
tradition of limiting religious
faith, with emphasis on the
their inspiration from Luther's
olitics are not the concern of
cept without question Hitler's
alternative to Communism.
thren in Christ when he said
the Church needed a powerful
aterialism," and that he "sup-
3—that is, until the defeat at
it difficult to take exception
led so closely Martin Luther's

Catholic leaders were also ba-
and distrustful of liberal de-
were unable to recognize the
dealing with him. Let Father
his colleagues:

the Nazis come into power,
er as a Catholic was a God-

fearing individual who could battle Communism for the Church.
... The anti-Semitism of the Nazis, as well as their anti-Marxism,
appealed to the Church . . . as a counterpoise to the paganism which
had developed after 1920.¹⁰⁴

It must be emphasized that after Hitler's dictatorship was estab-
lished many individual Christian clergymen—Protestant and Catholic
alike—opposed Nazi barbarities and were martyred for their convictions.
But the role played by the Christian churches in Hitler's advent and
consolidation of power forms one of the most deplorable pages in the
history of religion.

With a few notable exceptions, the news media opposed the Re-
public and welcomed Hitler. This was most strikingly true of the man
who by all odds was the most powerful publicist in Weimar Germany,
Alfred Hugenberg, who kept up a sustained, vitriolic, and effective at-
tack on every position taken by the democratic government. Hugenberg
had been Krupp's general manager and one of the founders of the Pan-
German League. During the war he had endorsed Germany's most ag-
gressive war plans; after the defeat he dedicated his fortune and
organizational ability to the task of subverting democracy. He pur-
chased a leading Berlin newspaper, newsreel rights, and a press service
which sent out stories and set editorial policy for the provincial press.
In one way or another, he gained control over some 1,600 newspapers
with millions of readers. He also owned Germany's largest and most
influential film corporation, UFA (*Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft*),
which controlled distribution of films to scores of theaters. In 1928,
when Hitler's fortunes were faltering, Hugenberg came to his assist-
ance. In the crisis of 1933, he helped tip the scales in Hitler's favor.
His promise to serve in a cabinet under Hitler made the idea of govern-
ment by the "Bohemian corporal" more palatable to the establishment
and a reluctant President Hindenburg.¹⁰⁵

Other influential journalists were also helpful. The editor and
publisher of the *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten* were both enormously
impressed with Hitler after long interviews with him. They were con-
fident that any "rough edges" could easily be rubbed off, and that "men
like Hindenburg, von Papen and Hugenberg will be able to bring him to
reason." The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* agreed, endorsed Hitler as
a foe of socialism, and urged that he be "brought into the team because
of his energy and enthusiasm. . . ." All thought it was unwise to take
his anti-Semitism too seriously, and all found in him a very healthy
alternative to the Weimar Republic, which they called "the loathsome
rule by party bosses."¹⁰⁶

Germany's educational system remained authoritarian, nationalist,
and unreconciled to democracy. The attitudes schoolteachers must

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Past As Prologue: Hitler

have taken into the classrooms of the republic can be inferred from the alacrity with which they welcomed and supported Hitler. Of all the professions represented in the Nazi party, teachers—particularly in elementary schools—formed by far the largest group. About 97 percent of all schoolteachers became members of the Party or its affiliates, and many of them rose to positions of influence in the Third Reich, including Heinrich Himmler and Julius Streicher, along with some 3,000 local leaders of the Party. Altogether, more than 30 percent of the total leadership of the Party had been schoolteachers in the Weimar Republic.¹⁶⁷

During the Republic, schoolchildren were reminded in many visible ways of past glories and present shame: pictures of the emperor, famous generals, and Bismarck still looked grimly down on classrooms where imperial flags hung and imperial stencils decorated the *Herr Lehrers* chair. As late as 1926 it was necessary for a member of the Reichstag to defend the motion that the republican colors of black, red, and gold be permitted to fly over the schools of Germany. There was no holiday associated with the Republic or the liberal tradition. Neither of the two most memorable days in the school year was designed to foster democratic attitudes. On Versailles Day, 28 June, schools and universities were draped in black. The Founding Day of Bismarck's Reich continued to be celebrated on 18 January with stirring displays of military pomp. The establishment of the Republic was not celebrated. Indeed, in one Founding Day address the director of the University of Freiburg used the occasion to accuse the "usurper" President Ebert of "high treason."¹⁶⁸ Meanwhile, undergraduate social life in the universities continued to be dominated by dueling societies. Students joined patriotic professors in ridiculing the Republic and cultivating a spirit of radical racial nationalism, often coupled with anti-Semitism.

On the eve of an important national election, during the Nazis' final bid for power, a declaration was signed by 300 professors from all the universities of Germany expressing confidence in Adolf Hitler and promising him their support. It is true that the signators were of no great academic distinction, but it is also true that respected names of German intellectual life set forth no counterdeclaration. They were silent, for they did not wish to become involved in anything so sordid as politics. As a common saying in university circles had it, "Whoever is concerned with politics, has no culture; whoever has culture, has no concern for politics."¹⁶⁹

CONTRIBUTIONS OF WEIMAR INTELLECTUALS

Cultural life during the Weimar Republic produced a fascinating anomaly: dangerously destructive forces were at work at the very time that Germany was enjoying the most creative cultural flowering in its history. Creativity in all fields of human endeavor was simply astounding, as a few representative names attest: in architecture, Walter Gropius and the Bauhaus; in social studies, Max Weber, Karl Mannheim,

Friedrich Meinecke, and Paul Hindemith, and Kurt Hiller, Karl Barth, Ernst Cassirer; in science, Max Planck, Reimann and Leopold J. Papst; in literature, Theodor Däubler, Gottfried Benn, along with Hermann Hesse, Hermann Mannsthal, and Rainer Maria Rilke.

Yet all these cultural figures, in their own way, were products of the freedom or democratic enthusiasm for the Revolution. They have been expected to see the future, but Ernst Cassirer, the influence of which was great, was a swindler. In literature, Friedrich Meinecke, calling themselves "ratio without enthusiasm or a rational necessity. The comment to a friend: "parliamentary democracy is a failure. I said that to Disdain for the revolution into a single phrase. In the fall of 1917,

had participated in the New York to reflect on it out melancholy. Hannah she had felt a "complete" that something new produce optimism: "We! She and her friends all. She then added one of her a potent revolutionary force agreed that "a feeling of a fascination of his general popularity of Thomas Mann. Magician. Leo Loewenthal: a government or as a social form away from outdated new ones to accept." Germany to give order and direction be a model to follow."¹⁷¹

It has become a popular "the roots of Nazism" in it certainly can be found. Parliamentary institutions are the antidemocratic attitude

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(he had sent the original to Hitler in 1938).¹⁰⁹ The photostat did not survive him.¹¹⁰ Clearly the treatment was on his conscience—and with good cause. It was potentially ruinous at about seven crowns a day. And it was worse than futile. Several decades of medical warnings were defied as iodoform gauze was packed onto the suppurating wound at an unexampled, intolerable rate (about a meter of fresh gauze containing some five grams of iodoform daily). Why did not Bloch, a compassionate "poor folks' doctor" and "benefactor of the indigent,"¹¹¹ kill the pain with morphine instead at small cost? For he recollected that Klara Hitler's sufferings "seemed to torture her son. An anguished grimace would come over him whenever he saw pain contract her face."¹¹² And again: "His eyes, otherwise gazing sadly into the distance, would light up whenever his mother felt free of pain."¹¹³ Kubizek's memoirs suggest an answer. According to Kubizek, Hitler stopped by after his first consultation with Bloch following his return from Vienna and blurted straight out to the friend who had been without news from him since his departure: "'Incurable, the doctor says.' . . . Fire came into his eyes. Anger flared. 'Incurable—what does that mean?' he exclaimed. 'Not that the illness is incurable, but only that the doctors are unable to cure it. . . . Whenever doctors' wisdom runs out, their next word is: incurable. . . . Never before had he spoken with such bitterness, such impassioned involvement, as now.'" ¹¹⁴ Such a Hitler would have urged upon Bloch the drastic treatment that followed, iodoform being chosen because it was advocated here and there as a cure-all and did soothe wounds unless and until poisoning ensued. Such urging was the evident source of Hitler's saying later that it would be folly not to apply a desperate remedy, however risky, to a cancer patient who is dying anyhow, and much worse folly for the doctor to apply it only halfheartedly just because of the gloomy outlook.¹¹⁵ He said this in 1928 by way of justifying his drastic program for Germany. "To cure the national body of deep and grave illnesses," he explained, "is not a matter of finding a prescription that is itself completely nontoxic, but frequently of fighting one poison with another. To remove a condition recognized as deadly, one

must have a good, beautiful woman!' he writes in his unpublished diary at the start of 1928.¹⁸ Göring has come back from Sweden married to a beautiful Swedish countess; Hess is marrying his Ilse.¹⁹

His *cri de cœur* seems answered by a teenaged girl working at headquarters, a girl of, he writes, almost Asiatic submissiveness.²⁰ 'I love Tamara von Heede,' he records. 'Wonder if she loves me? Hardly. That's how it always is: what you get, you don't want; and what you want, you don't get.'²¹ Tamara puzzles the naïve and sexually innocent gauleiter by being off color at monthly intervals.²² One evening canoodling with him in the park she freezes him with a thoughtless remark, perhaps about his foot. She makes up the next day with a basket of fruit and other delights.²³ Their friendship causes the usual tensions at HQ.²⁴ Meanwhile Anka abruptly returns to his life: there she is, standing in the doorway of the hotel foyer at Weimar after a renewed staging of his play *The Wanderer*. By his own account Goebbels trembles and stammers with joy at seeing his long-lost love.

For half an hour Anka pours out her heart about her joyless marriage: Mumme has concealed from her until after the marriage that he is infertile from syphilis; her four-month-old son Christian is by another man. Goebbels is under her spell again, it is as though they never parted. 'O, l'amour!' his pen exclaims after he has lain awake all night. 'I am like a child!'²⁵ Tamara is disconsolate that Anka has surfaced again from his past; nevertheless he phones Anka from Berlin and they agree to meet again.²⁶ A few days later she phones him twice, weeping, in the middle of the night, saying she wants to come to Berlin; divorcing Mumme, he suggests, is her only escape. She arrives at his apartment but receives only coffee and sympathy as she rehearses her entire tragic life once more for him.²⁷

'I have kissed her,' he writes afterward, 'and a lucky star has crossed from her to me.' After Anka departs, Tamara phones. 'Poor Tamara!' he writes, and: 'Poor Anka!'—and many a reader of his diary will agree.

He spends another day with his goddess in Weimar soon after. 'I love her, she loves me, neither of us says it but we both know it.'²⁸ At Easter however there is an awkward scene when her husband shows up. Goebbels capitulates. 'I'm off. Curtly and formally took leave of them both. . . . I'm shutting off my heart. For good! Great tasks wait upon me. . . . Before me stands a nation! Germany!'²⁹

A few days later, great task or no, he phones her Weimar number. Dr Mumme answers and Dr Goebbels hangs up. 'God only helps those,' he writes on a bouquet of flowers for her, 'who help themselves. Farewell. ULEX.'³⁰

He is not blind to the rest of the fairer sex. There is a Dora, a 'hysterical lover' who puts a letter through his door threatening to poison herself ('Doesn't know me too good,' he comments callously. 'I've already yielded far too much to this hussy. Let her do it if she really must. I can't say anything but no').³¹ 'Since I have set eyes again on Anka,' he sighs, justifying his sexual inactivity, 'all female beauty pales.'³² It is therefore

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no surprise to see him shortly alighting from a train at Weimar on the way home from Wiesbaden, embracing Anka on the platform and sharing a compartment for a few minutes until the next halt at Weissenfels. An icy hand may well have clutched at his heart as she chatters away, because she now hints at leaving Mumme for Goebbels in Berlin. The ardent suitor takes refuge in the language of a cheap novel. 'Farewell, farewell!' he writes in the diary. 'She waves until we are out of sight of each other.'³³ He spends the next days in a guilty panic. No word comes from Weimar.³⁴ Will she really leave her Georg? And what then?

Dr Goebbels appraises the alternatives: there is 'a pretty Miss Böhm' at Schweinfurt; there is Willi Hess's little sister ('a darling thing, unfortunately not good looking'; he will find the same trouble with a Miss Bettge on Borkum island too—'Pity she's not prettier.'³⁵) He has to speak at Weimar late in May, and diffidently phones the Mumme household. A voice tells him that Madam is away.³⁶ Back in Berlin the next day he bumps into Dora, who has not poisoned herself after all: few girls do nowadays. 'Anka is to blame for all this,' he writes helplessly. 'She's brought me to the point where women are just playthings. The revenge of a creature spurned.'³⁷

She is soon forgotten in Berlin. He is overhauling his gau, appointing Reinhold Muchow his chief of organization on July 1, 1928.³⁸ He has resumed work on 'Michael,' rewriting, dictating, proof-reading, and mailing it for Franz Eher Verlag to publish that autumn. He goes on a chaotic gau outing down Brandenburg's waterways, a wasted day were it not for one beautiful girl. 'Without a word,' he romanticizes again, 'we are in love. Neither of us betrays this by the slightest sign, but it is so.'³⁹ Chemicals are brewing within the crippled, now thirty-year old Dr Joseph Goebbels which he still does not care to test. 'I'll go to pot altogether,' he fears, 'if I can't get together with women.' They are out there, besieging him, but he is searching for a woman that he does not know. Two days later at Bayreuth, as the curtain goes up on the last act of 'Tristan' he finds a stunning beauty next to him: 'We partake of a little feast of love, without a word between us—just two glances, two sighs. And then she's gone. . . . The whole evening I am at my wit's end.'⁴⁰

Matrimony is claiming all his friends. Even Karlheinz Kölsch, 'Pille,' his closest friend and rival from those Freiburg days, gets married this August. Tipsy and reeking of liquor he throws his arms around the little gauleiter and kisses him; Goebbels recoils, fearful that they might be seen. 'Ghastly,' he exclaims in his diary. 'Kölsch always was an asshole.' Together they pen a postcard to Anka at Weimar.⁴¹

So it goes on: his roving eye feasts on every female, spinster or spoken for, and ravishes or rejects them all—the arrestingly beautiful wife of Dr Robert Ley, and a pompous editor's wife with whom he falls deeply in love for, probably, hours at a time.⁴² Each time his train passes through Weimar he peers out, hoping for a glimpse of Anka.⁴³

In September the chase is suddenly on again. This time, his quarry is young Hannah Schneider, a true Germanic beauty from Mecklenburg.

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She is a member of the party's Women's Order. After a hard day's work at his desk, Goebbels begin to look forward to negotiations with the order which he previously hated. He adores Hannah's natural childishness (she is in her late teens). She is pretty and clever, and another virgin. It is surely interesting that he writes of her as this 'glisteningly clean maiden.'⁴⁴ Let no careless biographer maintain that he has advanced far with the fairer sex even now: strolling in the Tiergarten after taking her to her first movie, he steals a chaste kiss from Hannah. 'She blushed like a child when I kissed her neck,' he writes, rejoicing in his adventure.⁴⁵ He delights in her innocent chatter and writes more than once approvingly of her *Jungfräulichkeit*, her chastity.⁴⁶ But he is aware of her limitations. He needs a more mature woman, while Hannah is 'a totally innocent child.'

A little bombshell comes from Weimar. Anka writes that she is indeed divorcing Mumme and coming to work in Berlin.⁴⁷ Goebbels reflects how much women have hurt him, and how much they have hurt for him too. 'Is this to be a new tragedy,' he wonders, 'in which I am to be cast in the leading role?' He tells little Hannah none of this. He writes cautiously back to Anka: Perhaps they might meet on Tuesday October 2 in Weimar? The next day, speaking at Hasenheide, he sights Hannah sitting reverently as though in a church pew, smiling with childlike attentiveness. A telegram comes from Anka: yes, Tuesday. In Weimar, they sit up late together. She tells him that she is now in two minds again. Meanwhile, should she come to Berlin for a month or two? 'That might well be ticklish,' senses Goebbels in his diary.

Hannah falls silent. 'She loves me, she loves me not?' wonders Goebbels. 'I'm damned if I can tell.'⁴⁸ Shortly a letter comes, spelling out the answer: she does not. Goebbels limps around baffled, groping for an explanation. 'Okay. So I shall have to stay lonely. To be famous or to be loved? That is the question.'⁴⁹ On October 12 Hannah reappears at gau HQ. 'Suddenly the hour is filled with lustrous happiness,' writes Goebbels, extracting much pathos from a scene which must have cruelly punctured his male vanity. 'I kiss her squarely on her full red lips. And then she confesses to me that she loves another. She only came to me because I was so lonely. A terrible discovery. From a thousand heavens I plummet to the depths of a thousand hells.'⁵⁰ Innocently twisting her teenaged knife, Hannah writes asking if she can be a good sister to him instead. 'Always the same,' fulminates Goebbels hopefully. 'First these women just want to be your sister. Then whoopee, it's mistress instead.'

'Unhappy love,' he summarizes tersely on October 17, 1928: 'There can be no such thing for a Man with a Mission.'⁵¹

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9: Conjuring up Spirits

THERE was a side to Dr Goebbels which few suspected. He half believed in the occult. At the very end of his life he would have horoscopes cast for himself, for Hitler, and for the Third Reich; scattered through the earlier diaries are references to seances at which dark forces were consulted. On leave in Bavaria in 1928 he was to be found conjuring up the spirit of Leo Schlageter. The great martyr of the Ruhr resistance 'appeared' and, when asked Who Shall Save Germany?, replied with a tact that was commendable under the circumstances, 'Vest Your Hopes Only in Hitler.'¹ In 1929 Goebbels and his friends again conjured up the spirits. 'I don't really believe in such frauds,' he noted airily, 'but it's usually quite amusing.'² Visiting Princess Wied in August 1930 he found an astrologer there who 'conjured forth from the stars precisely what we would expect to happen anyway.' Goebbels' own apparent cynicism was belied however by the diary passage that followed. 'Auwi [Prince August-Wilhelm] is very skeptical, but I am flabbergasted.'³ He unquestioningly accepted the mystic powers of graphology. He allowed the party lawyer Ludwig Weissauer to read his hand; Weissauer told him that it betrayed sensitivity and a determination to fight on.

Weissauer found one line to be flawed. That, guessed Goebbels, must be Anka. Since losing her he had had nothing but a sense of loneliness.⁴

AIDED by young Horst Wessel, he had spent the summer of 1928 organizing a Hitler Youth detachment and a Nazi student association in Berlin. But those months saw the first problems with the brownshirted S.A. battalions of party stormtroopers. They had believed his earlier talk of revolution; but with Hitler's newfound belief in the legal approach to power they saw the day when they might storm the Reichstag receding. Friction with their commander Captain Stennes grew.⁵

Goebbels was in two minds. Unlike Hitler, he never wholly abandoned the idea of a putsch. He spent much of the summer organizing an S.A. march on Berlin, to culminate in a mass rally in Berlin's largest hall. It would be a show of power. In mid-August Stennes threatened to quit, taking several of his commanders with him.⁶ Goebbels told him of the planned 'rally.' 'We can do without a crisis at this moment,' he notified his diary. 'We must keep the peace. I convince [Stennes], against my own convictions.'⁷ At the party's annual general meeting in Munich at the end of August Hitler directed him to concentrate his efforts now on Berlin,

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while Brandenburg would be detached to form a separate gau.⁸

Hitherto Goebbels had merely reacted to political events. Now he seized the political initiative. He proclaimed the last week of September 1928 'Dawes Week,' seven days of intense campaigning in Berlin against the pact obliging Germany to pay her war reparations bill regardless of her economic plight. He printed a special issue of *Angriff* which sold sixty thousand copies.⁹ Growing bolder, he risked hiring for the first time the Sport Palace in Potsdamer Strasse for the third Brandenburg Rally (Märkertag); to fill the cavernous building, which could seat fifteen thousand people, he placarded the city with lurid posters announcing: 'On Saturday September 30 Adolf Hitler's Brownshirts will march into Berlin.'¹⁰ That day he drove out to Teltow to watch his brown army assemble. Four thousand S.A. men marched into the capital. At Steglitz town hall the immense throng, which Goebbels put at 'tens of thousands,' paused, bared their heads, and roared the national anthem before marching on through the city's frightened, wealthy West End to the Sport Palace building. With thousands of communists massing threateningly outside a riot began and the police opened fire. Four Nazis were seriously injured. Goebbels left under a barrage of rocks, jeers, and catcalls—'Hatred and love,' he philosophized. The next day's 'non-Jewish' press was largely sympathetic, the rest less so.¹¹

'A day of triumph,' he concluded in his diary: he had Anka sending him telegrams from Weimar; he had young Hannah; he had fifteen thousand Berliners hanging on his every word.¹² A letter of congratulations came from Hitler.¹³ A few days later the Führer appeared unannounced at gau HQ in Berliner Strasse and repeated his congratulations in person. He reiterated that Goebbels alone had his confidence in Berlin, and he spoke harshly about Dr Otto Strasser. The gauleiter could now afford to give his staff, over twenty strong, a substantial pay rise.

DECIDING to move into larger lodgings, he finds just what he needs in Württembergische Strasse in west Berlin, closer to gau HQ. His landlady is a Miss Grothe, an elderly spinster, as he is careful to record.¹⁴ The apartment has a pleasant drawing room. He feels entitled to some luxury—I have naught else, neither wife nor child, and only seldom a lover.' He uses the word *Geliebte*, although 'girlfriend' would seem more justified. Most are passing fancies, like one Eva Otto—she donates a piano to the new apartment.¹⁵ On October 31, 1928, the day before he moves in, his secretary circulates the new address, requesting it be kept secret 'for obvious reasons.' A copy goes to Anka.¹⁶

He is still terrified of any hint of homosexuality, a criminal perversion which seems particularly prevalent in the Nazi party. Unable to form lasting relationships with women, he loiters in cafés or haunts movie theatres with his chauffeur Tonak or cartoonist Schweitzer, his only friends.¹⁷ After major events he returns to his empty apartment and mopes. He needs a woman, as 'a starter-motor,' but the malicious gossip

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will not go away. 'It's too filthy even to think about without being ashamed,' he insists to his diary the day after moving into his new bachelor apartment. 'Decay! Decay! It must be expunged, radically and ruthlessly.'¹⁸ His reasoning is odd, however—'Because if the enemy ever learns something like that, we shall be finished.' Is homosexuality for Goebbels, this 'immoral vice,' a crime in the detection rather than in the commission? 'It's got to be stamped out radically,' he writes on November 4. 'It's all so dirty'—again, an interesting choice of word—'It's all so dirty that it would be preferable not to hear or see it at all.' Several of his officials are unmasked as homosexuals, and Goebbels does not know whom to trust.¹⁹ 'It's so alien to my own nature,' he writes, 'that I can't work up for them even the vestigial sympathy that I do for any common murderer.'²⁰

Over the next months Goebbels, now thirty-one, tries relationships with half a dozen teenage girls but his eye soon roves on. Talking with Josef Terboven his eye lights upon the Essen gauleiter's attractive, 'but unfortunately rather aging,' sister.²¹ When Hitler visits Berlin with niece Geli Raubal in mid-November, Goebbels again finds her 'almost lovable' but wisely smites from his mind the horrendous idea of cuckolding the Führer.²² He visits the party's Woman's Order, despite their harridan Elsbeth Zander, and spends an evening watching the healthy young girls dance and sing: surely a sign that he is desperate for female company.

IN 1928 alone he spoke at 188 meetings. He seemed not to know fear. On November 3 that year he led the S.A. into one of Berlin's Reddest suburbs. 'A lot of blood will flow,' he accepted. 'But I shall be with them.'²³

His *Book of Isidor* had sold out and was reprinting. Dr Weiss unsuccessfully canvassed his prosecution for felonious remarks about the Rathenau murder.²⁴ When the Reichstag reconvened in November there were immediate moves to strip Goebbels of his immunity. He hated the 'rotten' parliamentary system; he behaved outrageously during the debates, and attracted several reprimands.²⁵ The ban on Hitler speaking publicly in Prussia had been lifted. On November 16 Goebbels presented him with an overflowing Sport palace, martial music, and the ceremonial entry of Berlin's Nazi standards as a visible sign of the Party's growing might. As Hitler spoke eight hundred police protected the hall and its audience.²⁶ The two men sat far into the night with Hess; Goebbels could not help noticing that Adolf now had his Geli, and Hess his Ilse, while he was still alone.

The next day the body of Hans-Georg Küttemeyer, a Scharführer in No. 15 Sturm of the Berlin S.A., was fished out of the Landwehr canal. What Goebbels called the 'Judenpresse' scoffed that Küttemeyer had killed himself, and there was report of a morose letter to his wife about their poverty. Goebbels was not going to lose his first major martyr that easily ('Never have liars stooped so low!'); he wrote a eulogy in *Angriff* and began a noisy propaganda campaign.²⁷ The party buried Küttemeyer

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with full honors on November 21. Thousands gathered at the graveside. 'Marxists' Goebbels' street placards challenged. 'Why did you murder the worker Kütemeyer?'²⁸ The police hefted into his dossier a note that he had propagated 'untrue statements' on the case. But the S.A. man's two killers were caught and given suspended sentences of two and four months for manslaughter in June 1929. 'Three Jews as judges,' observed Dr Goebbels, and vowed hatred, vengeance, and retribution against the system.²⁹

As the appointed 'minister of culture' of the little National Socialist faction he went more often to the theatre and the movies, which were still silent. He took Schweitzer to a love film, only to walk out before the end, but he found the romantic scenes in *Anna Karenina* a delight.³⁰ Once he went to an all-Negro revue; he sniffed at their 'silly doo-dah'ing and dancing' and was annoyed when the public roared applause.³¹ He found Buster Keaton unfunny and incomprehensible. After seeing his first Hollywood movie, again with Schweitzer, he recorded: 'Sheer hell. Jewish kitsch. Virtually all you saw were Hebrews.'³² The dominance of the Jews in this relatively new industry did not elude him.³³ They were everywhere. He heard Offenbach's opera *The Tales of Hoffmann* on the radio and dismissed it in his diary as Jewish music. 'The Jewish question,' he added intensely, 'is the question of all questions.'³⁴

His enthusiasm for the Russian cinema, like much else from Moscow, was undeniable. He viewed Soviet film director Sergei Eisenstein's silent epic *Ten Days That Shook the World*, and found its crowd scenes good but overburdened with party politics. 'We have a lot to learn from the bolsheviks,' he readily conceded, 'particularly in the fields of agitation and propaganda.'³⁵ He was thrilled by any film accompanied by Russian music.³⁶ Seeing Eisenstein's famous *Battleship Potemkin*, he rejoiced in this spectacle. The sub-titles were so cunningly phrased that they defied contradiction. 'That is what is really dangerous about this film,' he concluded. 'I wish we had such a film.'³⁷

Thus the power of the film as political propaganda dawned on him. He began to take an interest in the party's own film production efforts. He supervised the cutting of the film of his September 1928 rally in the Sport Palace, and helped with a little production called *Fight for Berlin*—his diary shows him driving out to Bernau to direct scenes involving three hundred S.A. men.³⁸ As the genre got into his blood, he produced a second Nazi movie, *With the Berlin S.A. to Nuremberg*.³⁹ At its premiere, he introduced it with a little homily on cinema as a propaganda weapon.⁴⁰

DECEMBER 1928 finds Joseph Goebbels tired but increasingly fulfilled. He spends hours orating to the Reichstag. He has his own newspaper. He has a piano. He has at last perfected his autobiographical drama *Michael* and is about to rewrite his working-class one-acter *Blood Seed* for the party's Wallner Theater.⁴¹ He will finish it in the Reichstag under the droning voice of some despised democrat. He sends copies to Ilse Hess

Jan 20, 1929

and all his other friends—but even now Anka's is the only opinion he cares about.⁴²

On December 9 we locate him, heart thumping, in a train steaming into Weimar's station. He finds her waiting on the platform, and lends her the first proof copy of *Michael* (in which she is of course herself the heroine) to come off the presses. 'We love each other as though but a day separates 1920 from now,' he writes afterwards. 'She buries her head in my chest and weeps.' He misses two trains in his distraction.⁴³ A letter comes, returning the play: she is enthusiastic about it. 'She loves me,' swoons Goebbels in his notes, 'and I her.'⁴⁴ 'I had awaited your letter with trepidation,' he replies, asking to see her again. He suggests Halle on Wednesday ('at 10:20 A.M.') or Erfurt ('at 11:51'). Something about these deliberately Brief Encounters pleases him: perhaps it is the reassuring knowledge that any demands she makes on him will perforce be limited to the short journey between two stations. 'I would like to talk things over with you,' he writes her alluringly. 'I have got to do something about rearranging my life now that I have put much of the past behind me with *Michael*.'⁴⁵

No sooner has he lit this fresh candle for Anka in his heart than it is snuffed out by the breezy debut of a young Berlin girl on his staff, Jutta Lehmann. She claims she's eighteen—a slender, gracious, roccoco little doll who chatters and giggles all afternoon with that infuriating mixture of brightness and inanity that females have long monopolized. She pretends to be engaged to another, but folds into the little gauleiter's arms nonetheless and allows herself to be kissed before agreeing that she is not engaged at all. 'So that's Jutta Lehmann,' he muses, captivated: 'This spotless, gracious girl.'⁴⁶ He wallows in feelings of spurious guilt, knowing that sooner or later he must sacrifice her too on the altar of his Mission.⁴⁷ He lies awake, thinking of her tiny hand waving as he drives away, the tears in her eyes when he leaves for his own family fold at Christmas. She is silent on his return and he sees her as 'a child, a lover, a comrade.' He is lucky to possess her, he decides. 'She's a good listener. She sits as quiet as a mouse just listening.'⁴⁸ One day she comes in floods of tears because she thinks he's leaving; the next the sweet little schemer turns up with a basket of things for his apartment like a coffee machine and silverware, so that he can stay home of an evening. But he realizes that she is 'pure' and must stay that way. By mid-January 1929 he is back, in soul and body, in Weimar with Anka.⁴⁹

Her husband Mumme is now ingratiating and servile to the gauleiter; Goebbels despises him. She comes on January 19 to his Weimar hotel and they sit talking until two-thirty A.M. on upturned crates at the railroad station. He decides that Anka loves him. 'And I?' his asks his diary: 'I love her, uh, quite differently.'⁵⁰

THE Nazi party nationwide now numbered over one hundred thousand members. Its leaders met at Weimar on January 20, 1929 to discuss the coming year. Young Heinrich Himmler, Hitler's bespectacled deputy

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by early 1928 Hitler confided in him intimately. In January he told Goebbels he was planning shortly to meet 'Benito'.³¹ (Evidently nothing came of it.) In February he promised Goebbels that if the Nazis secured enough seats in the forthcoming Prussian election, Goebbels would be their bloc leader; and that he would also be a Reichstag candidate like Gregor Strasser.³² A month later Hitler dangled the latter promise over him anew. 'The Chief,' Goebbels recorded smugly, 'used very bitter language about Dr [Otto] Strasser.' Strasser had founded a newspaper in Essen competing with the local gauleiter's. 'Now they all see how right I was in my fight against this loathsome swine,' wrote Goebbels; he would take pleasure in helping the gauleiter, Joseph Terboven, to smash this Strasser brother. 'That's what you get for heaping filth on me month after month,' he remarked in his unpublished diary. 'Revenge is a repast best savored cold' (it was to become one of his favorite aphorisms).³³

His speeches were now one of Berlin's top attractions. '[Goebbels] spoke on March 23 in the Swiss Gardens at Friedrichshain,' the political police solemnly reported, opening yet another dossier. 'Poked fun at Mr Polizeivizepräsident Weiss.'³⁴ Weiss had twenty-one thousand officials, fourteen thousand uniformed police, three thousand detectives, and four thousand full-blown civil servants; there were forty-seven thousand photos and half a million fingerprints in his Rogues' Gallery; his museum even had the original uniform of the Captain of Köpenick.³⁵ Yet he could not keep down this poisonous dwarf limping at the head of his Nazis in Berlin. Indeed, in March Goebbels sent off to the printers his 168-page lampoon of Weiss, *The Book of Isidor*, sub-titled 'A Portrait of Our Times, Packed with Laughter and Hate'.³⁶

The entertaining public face-off between the pompous police chief and the propagandist continued throughout the year. One beerhall battle on February 23 ended with Goebbels' driver Tonak again injured on this occasion, stabbed three times in the back dangerously close to the heart.³⁷

Those were hectic weeks.³⁸ The next morning Goebbels was arrested at six A.M. That evening he was heading for Cottbus with his S.A. 'lads.' On March 12 he wrote to the courts asking to be excused from testifying in the trial of Nazis involved in the gun battle at Lichterfelde station.³⁹ But the political police would not brook any delays, and he had to testify.⁴⁰ 'He is in fact the leading personality,' they pointed out, 'in the fight against the police headquarters.'⁴¹ Six of his men involved in the gun battle were sentenced to a total of three years and seven months in prison. On March 24 he was back in court. 'Today I have six hearings,' he recorded. Four were for slandering 'Isidor,' one for high treason, and one for causing bodily harm.⁴² The courts fixed April 28 for the case against Goebbels and Dürr for libeling Dr Weiss in *Angriff*. Goebbels did his damndest to wriggle off the hook, filing several applications for postponements.⁴³ Weiss's deputy Wündisch, head of the Berlin political police, demanded that Goebbels be arrested if he failed to show up, as they fully expected him to keep spinning things out until he won immunity in the forthcoming election.⁴⁴ Midday on the twenty-eighth found the

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gauleiter duly in court with his editor Dürr. 'Before German judges,' he seethed in his diary. 'A ridiculous farce. Prosecutor demanded two months for Dürr and myself.' The sentence was three weeks. 'I just kept silent,' he added. 'Once I'm immune I will accept full blame to spare Dürr.'⁴⁵ The judgment concluded that the newspaper had published wicked and deliberate libels on the worthy Dr Weiss: 'By calling him "Isidor" and publishing the comment, "How dare you kick me with your flat little feet" they were underlining Dr Weiss's Jewish origins.' Revenge in this case was both sweet and cold: in May he received the printers' proofs of *Isidor*.⁴⁶ As for the cartoon of the donkey with all four legs splayed on the ice, Goebbels allowed *Angriff* to publish it again with this solemn caption: 'In convicting our editor Dürr the judge stipulated *inter alia*, "This donkey does bear the face of Vice Police President Dr Weiss."⁴⁷

How he hated that man, and how the Nazis and communists alike laughed when truncheon-wielding police officers accidentally thrashed Weiss as well.⁴⁸ The Brownshirts added a new verse to their marching song on 'Isidor' and Goebbels composed an unsympathetic leader for *Angriff* about 'the story of a Jew who didn't want to look like one,' who 'forbade people to call him Isidor because his name was Bernhard—"Bear's Heart,"' and who in broad daylight was 'thrashed by his own police officers with their rubber truncheons because they couldn't believe they could possibly have a chief who looked like that.' The result was yet another prosecution for libeling the humorless Dr Weiss.⁴⁹

THE Reichstag dissolved in March 1928. On the last day of the month Dr Weiss lifted the ban on the Nazis, because the elections would be held in May. Goebbels formally relaunched the party in Berlin at a ceremony on April 13, then sent long columns of Brownshirts to march defiantly through the streets again.⁵⁰ 'We marched,' wrote one of his S.A. men, 'and we marched. We marched although people bombarded us with every conceivable projectile and missile.'⁵¹

The five weeks of electioneering were crippled by lack of funds.⁵² Goebbels sat in street cafés with his artist Schweitzer, suggesting poster themes.⁵³ In the evenings he patrolled the section headquarters at Alexander Platz, Tempelhof, Friedenau, and elsewhere. Experimenting with propaganda techniques, he dictated one speech onto phonograph discs.⁵⁴ He spent his spare time tinkering with *Michael*, inserting new vitriolic lines attacking the Jews, and *Blood Seed*.⁵⁵ May Day found him in a grubby Polish international train heading for Düsseldorf; sitting in the audience there he glimpsed his mother, brothers, and little sister Maria; he only rarely saw them nowadays. On May 17 he hobbled at the head of 250 S.A. men marching through Spandau and Tegel and into working-class Wedding, heedless of the screeches and whistles of their baffled enemies—'chinstraps tightened,' he recorded proudly afterwards, 'With these lads we'll conquer the world.'⁵⁶

In the final weeks before the election he detected signs of unrest among

these 'lads.' Munich had appointed Walther Stennes, a former police captain aged thirty-three, to command the S.A. in this part of Germany: 'a regular chap!' Goebbels had written in February, and 'a splendid fellow' in April.⁵⁷ But he was soon keeping Stennes at a distance. He was independently wealthy, and had only joined the Party in December when Goebbels insisted. Stennes had found in the Berlin S.A. an undisciplined rabble which goaded the police to no real purpose.⁵⁸ He had introduced Prussian discipline, and now he began asking for a larger slice of the cake—more Reichstag candidates should be from the S.A. To Goebbels it was the old story, of 'soldiers' meddling in politics. 'The military should sharpen the sword,' he decided, 'and leave it to us politicians to decide when it has to be used.'⁵⁹

That he was now fighting with the ballot box rather than by revolution seemed a total betrayal of his own teachings. It was expediency. Besides, he intended to raid the Reichstag as the 'arsenal of democracy' and seize its weapons. 'If,' he wrote, 'we succeed in planting in the Reichstag sixty or seventy of our own agitators and organizers, then the state itself will equip and pay for our fighting machine.'

IT was streaming with rain as Germany went to the polls on May 20. Nationwide, the Nazi party had finished tenth in 1924; it now did rather better, though its share of the vote in Berlin was still unimpressive (only 1.5 percent). Over eight hundred thousand voted for the Hitler movement, but only thirty-nine thousand Berliners. The party increased its representation in the Reichstag from seven to twelve. Goebbels heard the results at a jam-packed election bash at the Victoria Gardens. They shouldered him around the hall with whoops of triumph. He would now be a Reichstag deputy: The other eleven lucky Nazis would include Gregor Strasser, Wilhelm Frick, and Hermann Göring.⁶⁰

As the specter of prison faded, he wrote cynically in *Angriff*: 'I am an I.d.I. and an I.d.F.: Inhaber der Immunität und Inhaber der Freifahrkarte,' possessed of immunity and a free travel pass. 'The I.d.I.,' he continued, 'can call a dungheap a dungheap. He doesn't have to mince his language by calling it a state.' And he added: 'This is but a prelude. You're going to have a lot of fun with us. It's showtime!'

June 19, 1928

8: Anka is to Blame

THERE WERE disadvantages in having such a high profile. On June 19, 1928 the catholic charity again wrote to Goebbels from Cologne, suggesting now that he pay off his ten-year-old debt at fifty marks per month. Their letter was returned endorsed 'delivery refused.'

He had resumed the feud with Dr Weiss at once. 'DO YOU BELIEVE THAT ISIDOR IS BEHAVING HIMSELF?' his newspaper headlined. 'Yes, indeed: Isidor,' Goebbels repeated. 'I'll defy the ban. Under the cowardly protection of immunity I'll name names. Isidor! The *o* must be long drawn out, and the *r* rolled until this name reverberates with inexpressible sweetness and power. The Gift of the East!'¹

Try as he could, Dr Weiss could not nail him. His prey always dodged in time. More items were clipped into the police dossier: Munich police were charging Goebbels with illegal fund raising; Berlin police heard him announce on May 13, 'The present state is a dunghill and the police president a Jew;' an action was pending for 'incitement to class war;' and there were countless breaches of press regulations.² The court hearing of the Pastor Stucke case in June lasted all day. Goebbels spoke for two hours; the six-week sentence was reduced to a fine of six hundred marks. 'A Jew, Löwenstein, sat on the judge's bench,' he observed, 'otherwise we should probably have got off scot free. . . . Not a penny shall I pay anyway.'³ He continued to run rings round the courts; his supporters packing the public galleries hooted and jeered as he and his lawyers made monkeys out of police witnesses, prosecutors, and the bench.⁴ The fines were derisory. 'Two hundred marks or twenty days,' he recorded, 'for libeling Ia,' Weiss's political police.'

He received his free travel pass. 'Let my voyaging now commence,' he wrote, 'at the Republic's expense!'⁶ The new Reichstag opened on June 13. The twelve Nazis marched in wearing uniform. Meeting afterward, the Nazi bloc assigned to him the portfolios of culture and internal affairs.⁷ The Strassers blamed him in their publications for the party's poor showing in Berlin.⁸ He sensed Gregor's hostility, but decided he could live with it. They were equals now. As he limped down the steps there was a ripple of applause that he recorded for posterity in his diary.

After a month the Reichstag, under joint pressure from its communist and Nazi members, approved an amnesty for all political crimes committed before 1928. Dr Weiss saw his tormentor's slate suddenly wiped

July 14, 1928

all but clean. A year later Berlin police headquarters would endorse his file, 'All judgments and outstanding cases against Dr Goebbels have been quashed or annulled on the basis of the Law of Amnesty passed on July 14, 1928.'

LATE in June 1928 he transferred the gau HQ to No. 77 Berliner Strasse in Charlottenburg—fourteen newly furnished rooms on one floor, 'not bad going for eighteen months,' he reflected.⁹

His health, never robust, had suffered in the election campaign.¹⁰ He now felt perpetually tired; overshadowing the head- and backaches, which he attributed to nervous problems, was the permanent agony of his steel-encased lame leg—'chronic pains and unpleasantness,' he would write that autumn, before a phrase which suggests he was beginning to doubt his own sexuality: 'plus the malicious gossip that I'm a homosexual.'¹¹ Such gossip was inevitable. Here he was, a young man of thirty, of brains, courage, and notoriety, and yet: a bachelor. Seeking company he was as likely to pick Tonak or Schweitzer for a walk *à deux* around the park at Wannsee or a visit to the lofty new Radio Tower as to scoop up two or three of his female staff for a stroll in Potsdam.¹² 'I am sick in mind and body,' he would confess.¹³ Since doctors found nothing wrong, he resorted to that most German of remedies, a *Kur*; that did help him, or so he imagined, which was what mattered.¹⁴ His club foot never ceased hurting—'for weeks on end now,' he would write early in 1929. 'Sometimes it just blights my whole day.'¹⁵

His worries had been magnified by the onset of his father's last illness in the late spring of 1928. Laden with filial remorse Joseph Goebbels visited the paternal home as often as he could, sat silently watching the gray-bearded old man, wept as he felt the thin, bony fingers, and romanticized each farewell wave in his diary in case it was the last.

IN July 1928 Adolf Hitler came to Berlin. Goebbels wrote that he was fond of him as a son is of his father, and staged a huge private meeting for him at Friedrichshain. 'Although it was the summer silly season,' wrote young Horst Wessel admiringly, 'the hall was packed out. Who else could do that in high summer?' New members flooded in after Hitler's speech.¹⁶ Before Hitler left, Goebbels vented his anger about Dr Otto Strasser, and the Führer waffled reassuringly about winding up the Strassers' publishing house in Berlin. He mentioned that he and his stepsister Angela Raubal would be taking a trip to the island of Heligoland with Angela's daughter 'Geli'—would Dr Goebbels like to join them? Knowing Geli already, Goebbels jumped at the chance.¹⁷

See note 17

HE has met Geli Raubal, Hitler's barely nineteen-year-old niece, in Munich four months before. Unaware of the nearly forty-year-old Hitler's proprietary interest in her, he has hatched plans to bring her to Berlin.

He is still pining for Anka Stalherm. But married to the humdrum Georg Mumme she lives in Weimar and he has not seen her for years. 'I

1928

was a good deal of continuity in government coalitions.² In the economy, after a sharp but short-lived recession in 1926, industrial production for the first time came to surpass the pre-war level. Real wages did the same. The welfare state made impressive progress. Health provision was far superior to the pre-war period. Public spending on housing increased massively. By the later 1920s, over 300,000 new houses a year were being built – a level to be reached in only two years during the Third Reich. Industrial disturbances fell. So did crime levels. The first glimmers of a mass-consumer society were visible. More people had radios, telephones, even cars.³ Shopping was increasingly carried out in big department stores. In all this, Germany in the mid-1920s followed patterns recognizable in much of Europe. America was the model, though Germany lagged far behind. These years also marked the high-point of Weimar culture, of *neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity) and the thriving of an extraordinary cultural avant-garde. The modernist architectural experiments of the Bauhaus, the Expressionist painting of leading artists such as Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky, the biting social commentaries in the pictures of Otto Dix and caricatures of Georg Grosz, the bold new musical forms attained by Arnold Schönberg and Paul Hindemith, the cynical genius of Bertolt Brecht's plays: all became synonymous with Germany's cultural pre-eminence in the 1920s.⁴ Mass entertainment also flourished. Sporting events drew increasing numbers of spectators. Boxing, football, and motor-sports were especially popular.⁵ Cinemas and dance-halls sprouted up on urban street-corners. The Charleston, shimmy and jitterbug were the rage. Young people in big cities were more likely to be attracted to hot jazz than to *Heimatlieder*.⁶ In the countryside, life continued at a more leisurely pace. 'Apart from a few cases of fire, there are no notable disturbances of public safety to report,' began the sleepy half-monthly dispatch of the Government President of Upper Bavaria in February 1928.⁷ Five years earlier, his reports had been dominated by the activities of Hitler and his Movement. It was as if a storm had burst in 1923. The calm that followed held out little hope of future success for the Nazi Party.

The *völkisch* Right's residual support had dwindled to around 3 per cent of the population by late 1924. In the 1928 Reichstag election this fell still further: the NSDAP (campaigning in a Reichstag election for the first time under its own name) gained a mere 2.6 per cent of the vote. Over 97 per cent of the electorate did not want Hitler. Under the present-day constitution of the Federal Republic, the Nazis' percentage of the vote would have gained them no seats at all. Even under the Weimar electoral system, only twelve

Nazis took their seats among growing unrest in farming. The Young Plan helped the NSDAP in regional elections in 1925, a calamitous effect upon Germany may well have broken up and as a passing phenomenon of have been recalled as a one-tin putsch attempt and never again.

As long as the German economy prospered, the fragile political situation. Without such a collapse, and leverage on power – particularly landowners, many of the civil service – retained their little or nothing that Hitler and the mainstream of politics, let alone as well not to be dismissive between 1924 and 1929 in lay of Hitler and the Nazi Party. Established as the leader of it was transformed into a 'leader' it was to retain, and later to it was no conventional party, *primus inter pares*. He was first with some difficulty, he over his movement.

By 1929, the organization accompanied its nationwide expansion little comparison with the Nazi party, and placed it in a far descended on Germany from had also grown in strength. The party's own figures of 100,000 as high as the membership rolls were still few in number, the relatively large.¹⁰ Finally, those movements still simmered just through into open conflict, the

See Pöhl
Gay
on
Weimar

Ali Paulson in 1929

1928

ment coalitions.² In the economy, 1926, industrial production for the real. Real wages did the same. The health provision was far superior and housing increased massively. By 1927 a year were being built – a year in the Third Reich. Industrial first glimmers of a mass-consumer society, telephones, even cars.³ Shopping department stores. In all this, the new Germany was recognizable in much of Europe. It lagged far behind. These years were a culture, of *neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity), of the Bauhaus, the Expressionist movement, of Klee and Wassily Kandinsky, the works of Otto Dix and caricatures of the times attained by Arnold Schönberg and Bertolt Brecht's plays: all became pre-eminent in the 1920s.⁴ Mass sports drew increasing numbers of people to urban street-corners. The Charles-Louis young people in big cities were more *imratlied*.⁶ In the countryside, life was not free from a few cases of fire, there was safety to report, began the sleepy President of Upper Bavaria in 1923. Sports had been dominated by the Nazis as if a storm had burst in 1923. Hope of future success for the Nazi

and dwindled to around 3 per cent in the Reichstag election this fell still in the Reichstag election for the first time per cent of the vote. Over 97 per cent under the present-day constitution of the vote would have gained in the electoral system, only twelve

12. Nazis took their seats among the 491 deputies returned to the Reichstag.⁸

Growing unrest in farming communities and agitation surrounding the Young Plan helped the NSDAP to improve on this disastrous performance in regional elections in 1929. Even so, without the Depression and the calamitous effect upon Germany from the end of that year, the Nazi Party may well have broken up and faded into oblivion, remembered essentially as a passing phenomenon of the post-war upheaval. Hitler himself would have been recalled as a one-time firebrand who burnt his fingers in an absurd putsch attempt and never again became a force in German politics.

D.T.

As long as the German economy offered prospects of recovery and future prosperity, the fragile political fabric of the new democracy did not collapse. Without such a collapse, and as long as the anti-democratic élites with a leverage on power – particularly the army leadership, but also the big landowners, many of the captains of industry, and the top echelon of the civil service – retained their detached loyalty to the Republic, there was little or nothing that Hitler and his party could do to gain a foothold in the mainstream of politics, let alone to stake a claim to power. However, it is as well not to be dismissive of the importance of these 'wilderness years' between 1924 and 1929 in laying the platform for the later triumphant rise of Hitler and the Nazi Party. During this period, Hitler became incontestably established as the leader of the radical Right. In the process, the NSDAP was transformed into a 'leader party' of a unique kind, with the character it was to retain, and later to impart to the German state. Hitler by this time was no conventional party chairman, nor even a leader among others, *primus inter pares*. He was now 'the Leader'. Between 1925 and 1929, at first with some difficulty, he had established outright and complete mastery over his movement.

By 1929, the organization of the party, which had been built up to accompany its nationwide expansion (however thinly spread at first), bore little comparison with the hand-to-mouth administration of the pre-putsch party, and placed it in a far stronger position to exploit the new crises that descended on Germany from the autumn of that year. The activist cadres had also grown in strength. Despite its miserable showing at the polls, the party's own figures of 100,000 members in October 1928 were almost twice as high as the membership rolls on the eve of the putsch.⁹ Though the voters were still few in number, the activist core of mainly dedicated fanatics was relatively large.¹⁰ Finally, though the factionalism inherent in radical rightist movements still simmered just below the surface, not infrequently breaking through into open conflict, the NSDAP was a far more cohesive force by

D.T. It is moments of despair in 1928. Such sentiments seemed to lead Hitler to his skin, eating it away as if he was suffering leprosy.

1929

1929 than it had been before the putsch. And by then, its rivals on the extreme Right had disappeared, lost all significance, or been absorbed into the Nazi Movement.

These developments were strongly influenced by Hitler's changed leadership position. As we have noted, Hitler was before the putsch only one of the leaders of the Right, and, with the main emphasis in 1923 on paramilitary politics, heavily dependent upon forces outside his own movement. Despite the beginnings of the leadership cult which some of his followers attached to him, he was still regarded at that time as merely one exponent – however important – of National Socialism (with its myriad forms of emphasis and interpretation). By 1929, his dominance in the movement was absolute, the 'idea' now as good as inseparable from the Leader. The Hitler cult had caught hold among the party faithful in ways scarcely imaginable before 1923, and was now well on the way to elevating the Leader above the party. For some leading figures in the party, the cult was encouraged, or at least tolerated, because it served successfully as the focus of growing support. Above all, it was accepted because it was a crucial adhesive, alone capable of holding together the party which otherwise, as 1924 had shown, was likely to splinter into feuding factions. But for opponents and for supporters alike, National Socialism came in these years to mean exclusively 'the Hitler Movement'. The platform was created for the subsequent rapid spread of the Leader cult, once the breakthrough of popular support had been attained in 1930, and for the later near deification of Hitler in the Third Reich itself.

Hitler's own contribution to the transformation of the NSDAP in these years should not be exaggerated. What is remarkable, indeed, is not how much, but how little, Hitler personally had to do to bring about the restructuring of the NSDAP in these years so that it was in a position to challenge for power once circumstances again began to favour it.

In essence, Hitler's crude scheme of the path to national redemption and rebirth remained as it had been since his entry into politics: mobilization of the masses, takeover of the state, destruction of internal enemies, preparation for external conquest.¹¹ His ideological 'vision' was, at this stage at least, of importance mainly in further 'rationalizing' to himself the prejudices and phobias he had long carried with him, and in conveying a compelling image of a political 'visionary' to his followers. His sole recipe, as always, was to work for the 'nationalization' of the masses through ceaseless propaganda and agitation, and to wait for events to turn in his favour. The certainty that they would do so – the certainty of the fanatic – impressed those drawn to his message. It helped to shape the aura around Hitler, the 'messianic',

'visionary' image. However, that did nothing to prevent it, other – was brought about by his fol the party's organization was la indispensability to the völkisch I grated during his time in Landsl it together as he could. And no s Beyond that, his main contributi in this period amounted to an – towards all potential threats unique leadership position to b: the single-minded pursuit of po Despite the modest growth (neither Hitler nor any other leadi which the political breakthrough came, the party was, following in a position to exploit the new c

Hitler spent Christmas Eve 192 new villa in Munich's Herzogp: in prison, and looked a little flab on the collar and shoulders. Fo see his 'Uncle Dolf' again.¹² Wit Isolde's 'Liebestod' on Hanfstaen music, as Hanfstaengl had ofte His initial nervousness and ten cheerful. He admired the new ho glanced over his shoulder, and e: prison of imagining he was bein: Hanfstaengl realized, a pathetic in Landsberg, relaxed and comfo his room. He noticed that Hitl: turkey followed by his favourite' touched the wine. Hitler subse leaving Landsberg to cut out me: had convinced himself that mea

* It was as definite in his mind as an exercise in four steps.

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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The Child As Father to the Man

earliest years. The combination of monorchism and primal scene trauma had given Adolf Hitler a lifelong fear and abhorrence of genital sexual intercourse. He saw it as dangerous, evil, depraved, something that must be avoided. He could avoid genital intercourse by redirecting his sexual energies in deviate ways.³²²

As with other issues raised in this book, we cannot be absolutely certain that Hitler had the perversion described here. It must be admitted that traditional historians who reject this hypothesis are correct in saying that they can find evidence to support their assertions that he was sexually normal. But that conclusion is also based on fragmentary evidence of uncertain reliability. And it simply does not fit the psychological data.

In short, we conclude that Adolf Hitler, upon occasion, had young ladies urinate or defecate on his head. We are persuaded that he had this perversion not because the traditional type of evidence is completely convincing but because it is reinforced by psychological evidence. The perversion fits all that we know about Hitler's private life and public performance. It was an expression of the fetid underside of his grandiose, moralistic public image, it expressed the degraded, guilt-ridden self which pleaded for punishment and humiliation. This impulse for self-punishment, we shall suggest in the concluding chapter, was to have historic consequences.

Thus did the evils done in childhood visit themselves upon the man. We leave him now to look at the larger historical picture, the conditions which helped bring him to power. For no historical leader can achieve a political goal without the assistance of forces congenial to his personality, time, and place. No man or nation can escape history, and none can be understood apart from it.

In following the course of German history as it moved toward its fateful meeting with Adolf Hitler in 1933, we shall want to know what there was in the past that he could bend to his purposes; and how, in the context of his times, the very pathology of this flawed and unbalanced man became a political asset.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

but he knew that when he reached maturity he could treat his children just as his authoritarian father had treated him. Thus was the system perpetuated. Attitudes initially developed in the family reflected one of the striking qualities of German life and letters, a kind of tension between extremes. A word often used in essays on German character is *Zerrissenheit*, the sense of being torn apart by conflicting values. Many leaders of German thought have been intrigued by this conflict of opposites. Goethe spoke of "two souls, alas, within my breast"; Hegel's system moved by the clash of thesis against antithesis; Nietzsche thought in terms of Apollonian harmony versus Dionysian frenzy, and he hailed "the magic power of extremes." German political theory tended to deride moderation and call either for complete obedience to the state or for revolution to overthrow it. In the popular stereotypes, Germans have been noted for both sentimental romanticism and cold efficiency. It seems likely that early family experience contributed to these attitudes by emphasizing the great difference in the treatment the child received from the father and the mother; their behaviors diverged so sharply that it was difficult for the youngster to identify with both parents. Yet to choose one and not the other was to invite further conflict. One unsatisfactory solution was to alternate between them, so that "at one time [the child] will behave like his aggressive, dominating father; at others like his submissive, loving . . . mother." ¹¹⁸

1928 *

Hitler appealed to the Germans in part because he appealed to values that were deep-rooted in the traditional authoritarian family. Specifically, he promised an orderly government that would be a model of the same principles that the Germans were accustomed to find in proper family life. He promised security, work, food, and clothing if they granted him authority. He offered himself as a German father figure who inspired *Ehrfurcht* and obedience; he promised to provide a clean and racially pure family, a *Volksgemeinschaft*; he would reunite all Germans and bring them back into the family fold. Hence the particular appeal of his slogan: *Heim ins Reich*. In contrast to the freedom which was uncomfortable to many Germans and associated with the failures of the Weimar Republic, Hitler offered the security of authority: "To a large percentage of Germans this was neither absurd nor dangerous, but a natural arrangement between a leader and his subjects; a situation to which they had become accustomed from infancy on in their home life, schools, work experience, and military service." ¹¹⁹

Emphasis on the appeal of the father image has not been confined to sociological studies. The political historian Wolfgang Sauer has noticed how much his fellow Germans have been attracted by the idea of a paterfamilias for their country: "From Bismarck to Adenauer, the Germans have always sought a father, indeed it appears as if the German conception of the State is generally patterned after the model of the family." ¹²⁰

The German educational system reinforced the basic system of values first learned in the family. Training tended to be specialized, with

The Past As Prologue: Hitler

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in Schenk-Koch's widely i-

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* Prussian had to be eliminated.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

responsible officials recognized the danger of Hitler, their superiors refused to take any action against him. In 1924, for example, the Bavarian police recommended that Hitler be deported as a dangerous alien. Their report was prophetic:

The moment he is set free, Hitler will . . . again become the driving force of the new, serious public riots and a continual menace to the security of the State.

As a result of this report, the Bavarian state attorney filed formal complaints protesting Hitler's parole, but the Bavarian minister of justice, Franz Guertner, intervened and ordered the withdrawal of all complaints. Hitler was released on parole and was not deported. Guertner was later made Reichminister of Justice in 1933 and served until his death in 1942.¹⁰¹

The bureaucracy that had helped Hitler into power proved indispensable in establishing his dictatorship. He could never have consolidated his control over Germany "without the technical help of tens of thousands of civil servants and the acquiescence of millions . . . complicity and silence, not refusal and dissent" characterized the German bureaucracy in the crucial early years of Hitler's dictatorship.¹⁰²

Religious institutions were also helpful to Hitler. The Protestant hierarchy was generally hostile to the Republic, and its pastors thundered from a thousand pulpits against the "Treaty of Shame," which only the coming of a strong national leader could abolish. With the advent of Hitler, they continued their tradition of limiting religious statements to narrowly defined personal faith, with emphasis on the obligations of the "inner man," drawing their inspiration from Luther's famous, and fateful, pronouncement, "Politics are not the concern of the Church." Many Protestants came to accept without question Hitler's claim that his movement was the only alternative to Communism. Pastor Breuer spoke for many of his brethren in Christ when he said that he had joined the Nazi Party because the Church needed a powerful ally against "atheistic Communism and materialism," and that he "supported Nazism wholeheartedly" until 1943—that is, until the defeat at Stalingrad.¹⁰³ Lutherans generally found it difficult to take exception to Hitler's anti-Semitism, since it paralleled so closely Martin Luther's explicit statements about the Jews.

Like their Protestant counterparts, Catholic leaders were also basically conservative, largely monarchist, and distrustful of liberal democracy. And like the Protestants, they were unable to recognize the menace of Hitler and were ineffective in dealing with him. Let Father Falken, a Catholic parish priest, speak for his colleagues:

I must admit that I was glad to see the Nazis come into power, because at that time I felt that Hitler as a Catholic was a God-

The Past As Prologue: Hitler a

fearing individual who . . . The anti-Semitism appealed to the Church had developed after 19

It must be emphasized that many individual Christians—opposed Nazi barbarism. But the role played by the consolidation of power forms the history of religion.

With a few notable exceptions, the public and welcomed Hitler who by all odds was the most influential. Alfred Hugenberg, who kept tight control on every position taken had been Krupp's general manager in the German League. During the aggressive war plans; after the organizational ability to chase a leading Berlin newspaper which sent out stories and in one way or another, he gathered with millions of readers. His influential film corporation, which controlled distribution when Hitler's fortunes were at their peak. In the crisis of 1933, his promise to serve in a cabinet by the "Bohemian coronation" and a reluctant President Hitler.

Other influential journalists, publisher of the *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* impressed with Hitler after his visit that any "rough edges" like Hindenburg, von Papen, or Brüning, "reason." The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* a foe of socialism, and urged of his energy and enthusiasm. His anti-Semitism too serious alternative to the Weimar Republic rule by party bosses." ¹⁰⁶

Germany's educational system and unreconciled to democracy.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

precisely at a time when the employable population reached its postwar peak." The German apprenticeship system contributed further to youthful frustration and fury. The number who could enter many trades was radically reduced. In metalworking, to take one example, there had been 132,000 openings for young apprentices in 1925; in 1932 there were a scant 1,900. University graduates were no better off. Indeed, the Depression produced "an underemployed intellectual proletariat that looked to National Socialism for relief and status."¹⁹²

The effects of the Great Depression went far beyond economics. Indeed, its most important consequence was to accelerate the radicalization of the middle class, which must be considered one of the essential causes of Hitler's success. The Reichstag elections of September 1930 demonstrated unmistakably the connection between economic crisis and political radicalization. They showed, as Chancellor Philipp Scheidemann said in an unforgettable metaphor, that the Weimar Republic was "a candle burning at both ends." In the balloting, the moderate political parties, which relied on middle-class votes, lost more than half their support. By 1932 these parties altogether received only 11 percent of the total vote. The Communists gained on the left, but it was Hitler who registered one of the most dramatic advances in the history of electoral democracy. In 1928 his party had been a minor splinter group with 2.6 percent of the total vote; in 1932, it had won 37.4 percent and had become the largest party in the country.¹⁹³

HITLER'S APPEAL TO THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS

Nazism was not a class movement. It succeeded because it was "the first genuinely integrative movement in modern German history," the first political party to attract support from all levels of society.¹⁹⁴ Yet it depended particularly on the lower middle class both for votes and for leaders. Germans like Herr Schmidt and his children would comprise almost 60 percent of the total Party membership.

Why did so many average German citizens desert Weimar and turn to a political party which openly and clearly promised to kill democracy? An important part of the answer lies in the psychological condition of the German middle class which has been well-described in one of Erich Fromm's most valuable books, whose thesis is contained in its title: *Escape from Freedom*. Fromm believes that historians have put too much stress on Western man's desire for freedom, in-

* Never had a political movement given so flat a promise. An editorial in Goebbels's newspaper *Der Angriff* (The Attack) of 30 May 1928 answered its own question "What do we want in the Reichstag?" with brutal frankness which left no doubt about Nazi intentions: "We are the enemies . . . of this democracy . . . so why do we want to get into the Reichstag? We are going there in order to destroy the arsenal of democracy with its own weapons. . . . We come not as friends and not as neutrals, we come as enemies! [wir kommen als Feinde!] As the wolf breaks into the sheepfold, so are we coming."

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* D.T. I convinced Hitler to go to Goebbels at "his instigation" (Goebbels's "instigation") as "a friend" actually, I thought

of this way to
we were in

The Past As Prologue: Hitler

dividuality, and liberty. (modern world, people desirous of escaping from the burden of escape from the burden: largely true of the German Bismarck's Reich the responsibility of making: associated themselves with the With the collapse of the Empire run their own government humiliation: the democracy had ruined itself through Depression.

The despair and bewilderment of men of letters: in *Kleiner Mann—Was Nun* Hauptmann's plaintive creations from us!" There was they could get it vicariously illusion that merely by a "a kind of magical participation

The "little man" subordinated a posture of power denied 1920s, Fromm believes, developed: the "little man" was to dominate others, to hate Adolf Hitler, whose own way, the mood of the times

Hitler also offered a burden of individual opinion he was joining a community shouting the mindless *Ein Führer!* which in the Second, "Ein Volk! Ein Reich

By the thousands, they escape from a burden of sought the security of authoritarian Traditional conservatism

for it demanded that the that feelings of nationalism

sive nationalism was appealing the idea of personal responsibility onto the nation their own failures and default but were part of a nation be solved only when the needed nationalism, and since

→ they were as a leader would then

This was the center of all slogans. By
we were moving the Mystery from
The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History God to the Foreman

The despair and bewilderment of the middle class was caught by two men of letters: in the title of Hans Fallada's 1932 best-seller, *kleiner Mann—Was Nun?* (Little Man—What Now?), and in Gerhart Hauptmann's plaintive cry, "If only life would demand no more solutions from us!" There was one way the powerless could gain power: they could get it vicariously. Hitler's system fostered the heartening illusion that merely by accepting him as Führer, there was conferred "a kind of magical participation in the source of all power."¹⁹⁵

The "little man" submitted because he wanted desperately to attain a posture of power denied to him as an individual. In Germany by the 1920s, Fromm believes, something akin to group sadomasochism developed: the "little man" wanted to be dominated, but he also wanted to dominate others, to hate and destroy. He could identify very closely with Adolf Hitler, whose own sadomasochistic impulses fit, in a remarkable way, the mood of the times.

Hitler also offered salvation based upon faith, not reason. The burden of individual opinion was thus lifted from the "little man," for he was joining a community of faith in which he could participate by shouting the mindless confession of faith, "Ein Volk! Ein Reich! Ein Führer!" which in the Third Reich replaced the slogan of the Second, "Ein Volk! Ein Reich! Ein Gott!"

By the thousands, the Schmidt families of Germany longed to escape from a burden of freedom that had become unbearable. They sought the security of authority—but authority of a particular kind. Traditional conservatism was dead; Communism offered little comfort, for it demanded that the lower middle class sink into the proletariat and that feelings of nationalism give way to international solidarity. Aggressive nationalism was appealing to postwar Germans because they found the idea of personal defeat so traumatic. They were happy to shift responsibility onto the nation. In effect, they assured themselves that their own failures and damaged self-esteem were not really their own fault but were part of a national disaster. Hence, their problems would be solved only when the nation was redeemed. Psychologically they needed nationalism, and since Hitler's system was nationalism incarnate,

[illegible]

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at a promise. An editorial in May 1928 answered its own brutal frankness which left no doubt of this democracy . . . so long there in order to destroy it. We come not as friends and neighbors but as *Feinde!* As the wolf breaks

→ they were better, just Goobles 329
as a Reading Club ~~was~~ even
worse than Hitler's ~~worse~~ mustache

Oh those woeful big designing mortals of colleges. He was so
sensitive to that — he even knew that Virgil took poetry hard
under his nose — to make them.

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1928

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scarcely at all, economic. What came to the fore in 1930 and after was a tremendous surge of German nationalism*—among all classes, and significantly among those who were worst affected by unemployment and other economic woes. "The workingmen have no country," Marx wrote. He could not have been more wrong—something that was already evident in 1914, and even more in the 1930s. Haffner is especially commendable for having recognized this. German nationalism "now suddenly became part of everyday political discourse. Even the Communists began to speak in nationalistic tones. . . ."† And what happened in Germany in 1933 and after proves again the superior quality of Proudhon's insight

Green 1929

"A very telling description of a significant episode in Heiden, HD, pp. 231–32. In April 1928 Stresemann spoke in the Bürgerbraukeller in Munich, a good speech. A group of young National Socialists entered, shouting, and then began to sing "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles!"—and the chairman of the meeting stood up and sang with them. Stresemann was white with fury at the cowardice of this man. That night he had a kidney attack; a year later he died. "The meeting was destroyed—thanks to the cowardice of its organizers. . . . When Stresemann confronted them later, one of them answered: 'Herr Minister, one had to show these boys that we are just as good Germans as they!' Instead of having shown them the door. Afraid not to look sufficiently 'national' to a ruffian, they abandoned their dignity. What more remains to be said? Thus would Hitler come to power."

THE/AL, pp. 169–70. As late as 17 May 1933 there were still some Social Democratic deputies sitting in the Reichstag who applauded Hitler's foreign-policy speech, about greatness coming to Germany—probably sincerely, and not because of mere opportunism.

In a thoughtful article P. Stadler, in HZ, 1988, p. 25: Germany was different from other countries; Hitler rose to power by largely democratic means. "Historical research, in masterful analyses—as in Bracher's seminal work—worked out and reconstructed the events leading to January 1933, illuminating the responsibility of people [around Hindenburg] and thus contributing essentially to [the historical recognition] of important factors. . . . On the other hand it did not emphasize that the main responsibility is not to be found among the Papens, etc., but with the average German voter."

To this let me add: To what extent are people responsible for their regimes? In 1792–93, in France, the Jacobins were not a majority. In 1917, the Bolsheviks in Russia were not. In 1922, the Fascists in Italy were not. But Hitler had a large plurality, a near-majority, behind him in 1933—as a matter of fact, the July 1932 elections should have made him chancellor then, except for Hindenburg's temporary reluctance.

over that of Marx—that p to realities of power.*

Hitler understood that the four general plebiscites not follow a major foreign-powers had not merely expansion: they had to win [the Rhineland occupation—should not, blame the Ge how foreign statesmen treat the same time their mute Hitler's brutal mass execution As Haffner put it, "if one German people, then perhaps "What kind of state was widely held beliefs, it was n Democratic Republic or th structured political party. T tral Committee, no Politbu committee meetings. . . . In state but Hitler who domin

Again Haffner, HF/AL, pp. 18: politically unified nation. It is a p because people like to forget that thing like a national coming together the National Socialist Party, but beginning to be called." Also M. B ünserer Geschichte (M, 1986), p. 16. ism was more important than its ide

"Or consider that Ferdinand I Bismarck in 1863: "a secret . . . d tion to accept dictatorship." In Re p. 120: "an insight of immense sig years. . . ." Or Julius Fröbel, a Ger enough of principles and doctrine theory. What it wants is power, I revered, more than it dreams of."

†KER, p. 105. This was already League of Nations, or the Saar plet

Hitler didn't have to create by force & terror, even German policy & foreign policy. He just had to have the support of the German people. He didn't have to create by force & terror, even German policy & foreign policy. He just had to have the support of the German people.

D.T.

* Again the basis of his economics.

If people gain energy, then economy takes care of itself. But, again, for people to gain energy, it is necessary to find an outlet for their hatred. Only countries like the America with its great spaces can afford the luxury of communitarianism to do without a scapegoat. Of course, for two centuries they had their Niggers—a wonderful source of energy for slaves.

* D.T. I did not that the moment Hitler and went

But, again, for people to gain energy, it is necessary to find an outlet for their hatred. Only countries like the America with its great spaces can afford the luxury of communitarianism to do without a scapegoat. Of course, for two centuries they had their Niggers—a wonderful source of energy for slaves.

1928-1933

nationalists, the army—indeed, But he never denied—either himself and his conviction of his the fulfiller of a national revolution was not. As he himself said on all as Communists or Marxists in Germany as well as abroad. Germany the reactionaries were well-known line in the “Horst- fighting and marching song, Kameraden, die Redfront und ed by the Red Front and by the

understand him. At the same to its meaning. A revolutionary action of the ship of state; he no evidence that before 1919 on with the order of German to see certain elements (Social- from influential positions within desires for revenge erupted in against the enemies of Ger- thought were within: not only, Versailles Treaty but against a ay that he saw as destructive, he found that he had many ne nationalist and conservative

ive” we must add “counter- eptable and logical term then, ver the deeper roots of nation- Marxism, and anti-Semitism in then-present convictions were air reactions against the leftist here in Germany in 1918–19. ounterrevolutionary” in Bavaria r places in Europe, was almost

identical with the Radical Right. Almost: but not quite.* Hitler, as we saw in chapter 2, knew that he could profit from his alliance with the counterrevolutionaries, and from his acceptance by certain social circles in Munich. But soon—latest after 1920—he began to have reservations; indeed, he began to despise many of his potential (and even some of his actual) allies. This happened even before his failed putsch in November 1923: a rising that failed because of the—at first reluctant, then, in the last moment, determined—decision of the counterrevolutionary and the traditionalist elements of the German state and social order to reject him. Or, rather: his leadership of a national revolution. After that came the next turning point of his life and career: his decision to achieve power in Germany not through an armed revolution but by acceptable (and, in the broadest sense of the word, democratic) means; not by a dramatic uprising against the state and the social order but by convincing the masses of the German people, reminding them that in their hearts they would know that he was right.

He achieved this. As many of the electoral and sociographical studies of the 1928–33 period show, the novelty of his National Socialist Party did not reside only in its organization and propaganda. Unlike all other political parties in Weimar Germany, the National Socialists were a true people’s party, a Volkspartei, since they gained adherents across the board, from all elements of Ger- man society. They were neither a typically lower-middle-class nor a predominantly Protestant or decisively capitalist-supported party (the latter, the explication of Marxist historians and political scientists, was insubstantial and has largely been disproved). As a matter of fact, the general tendency and result of research of the last fifteen years at least indicate that, surely after 1928, a significant movement toward the Hitler camp came from the German working classes. Hitler realized this long before 1930. More important: true to him-

*Within Germany (and Austria), the positive meaning of “counterrevolutionary” had largely disappeared by 1933; in some other European nations (Hungary, Spain, the Baltics), it lingered on until about 1938. But there, too (as indeed in Austria after 1930), the main struggle developed between the two “Rights”—between a conservative and a populist one, between a traditionalist and a radical Right.

Q ①

1928-33

standesmenschen") typical of the older, anti-Enlightenment traditions of German thinking. It was post- (if not anti-) -conservative, -populist, and -modern. In his mind, at least, there was no conflict between the older and the newer elements at hand. To the contrary, he thought that he represented and incarnated a new kind of German unity. He showed respect for some of the old things; but a conservative he was not, and a reactionary not at all.*

1928-33

ADOLF HITLER was not the inventor of National Socialism, but he recognized the compatibility—indeed, the marriageability—of two great movements. This was a worldwide phenomenon. For a long time, nationalism and socialism seemed to be incompatible, indeed hostile to each other. Socialism was, after all, international, given its belief that entire classes, rather than entire nations, mattered and that the struggle of classes carried history forward. What happened in many places after about 1870 was that the nineteenth-century antithesis and debate between conservatives and liberals had begun to lose its meaning. For two reasons: Because of the developing democratization of societies, conservatives were becoming more liberal, while some liberals were becoming more conservative. But what was at work here wasn't the development of some kind of a transcendent Hegelian solution. The alternatives were not about to be superseded by a synthesis. They were increasingly overshadowed by two new forces on other planes: by nationalism and socialism. Throughout the twentieth century the relationship (or the compound or mixture) of nationalism and socialism would

*Contrary to the famous "Is Paris Burning?" idea in 1944, he did not order Paris to be destroyed. At the time of the German retreat from Rome that year, he also ordered Rome to remain unharmed and untouched; but that order of his was made public for propaganda purposes, to impress some people worldwide, including Catholics. On the other hand, the destruction of London or Budapest did not bother him at all. He did not, of course, order the destruction of the great cities of Germany—the air war of his "barbaric" Anglo-American enemies was doing that—but he rigidly refused to visit or even look at the destroyed cities. He sympathized with Goebbels's argument, according to which this may have had a positive side—i.e., the destruction of the last remnants of an old bourgeois order. On one occasion he also said that in less than thirty years the destroyed cities would be rebuilt.

1942-3

1942-3

prove to be the dominant world.*

Of course the German almost sui generis. It was dominant partner in the populist nationalism that was also the condition deeper roots in Germany and at least some later on. A Germany that was born in a particularly German native political thinkers. Oswald Spengler's *Preuss*, even more trenchant than book in 1932.† Yet these and sometimes (but only one thing; Hitler the revolution

In Germany the failure came already in 1914. Within 2 August, calling for German Socialist deputies war credits. In the hot international socialism movement (And this happened elsewhere of the democratization of more than it internationalism already had more in common

*About this see chapter 9. (A logical Problem," in *The American point in Mussolini's life*. Unlike movement of "Fascism." Yet early was a nationalist Socialist. Mutatis (one of the reasons that, about 1913, "insisting that Communism

†"Der Arbeiter [the worker] is at a century of German history, was (reprinted in Jünger, *Essays*, II, 1, Armin Mohler, *Die konservative Revolution*

1928

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out him off and sought

excuses and in the end Goering lost his temper. It was in February
or March. I remember there was snow on the ground as we walked
together to the Thierschstrasse, where Hitler still maintained his
little flat, for the crucial talk. Goering kept asking me to go up with
him, but I preferred not to. I only heard afterwards that the two
had had a shouting match, with Goering delivering an ultimatum:
"This is no way to treat a man who got two bullets in his stomach
at the Feldherrnhalle. Either you put me up for the *Reichstag* or we
shall part for ever as enemies." It worked, and Hitler gave way,
although it caused much bad blood in the Party and a lot of them
went round saying Goering had blackmailed Hitler.

The election results gave little cause for rejoicing. The Nazis
obtained twelve seats in the *Reichstag* and considerably less than
a million votes. Goering, as I recall, was number seven on the list
and just above him was General von Epp, who had now reconciled
himself with Hitler and resigned from the Army to stand. In spite of
nearly four years' work, the movement had made little headway and
was still local in its appeal, only attracting the support of the ultra-
nationalist fringe in most of Germany. In spite of Goering's bland-
ishments I had taken no part. His own position in the Party was
shaky for quite a time. He had grown enormously fat during his
years of exile and the old hands considered that this was no adver-
tisement for a working-class party. Even Hitler expressed doubts
about his capacity. "I don't know whether Goering is going to
make it," he used to say to me. But Goering fooled them all, develop-
ing as a speaker, although all he did was to ape Hitler's style and
phrases. For some reason Hitler took this as a compliment, a sign
of fidelity, in contradistinction to his attitude to Esser, who did
exactly the same, but with more intelligence and independence.

Goering, of course, was delighted with his new-found eminence.
I saw him off at the station after the election and he had fitted him-
self out with a showy great aviation overcoat, made out of leather,
with one of those mountaineers' hats, covered with edelweiss and
enamel tokens and a great shaving-brush stuck at the back. Having
been elected in Bavaria, perhaps he thought he should play the part.
"Why don't you make it up with Hitler?" he asked me. "We shall
win through in the end and he would certainly put you on the Party

1929

list next time. As an M.d.R. you would travel everywhere first-class like me"—waving his free ticket in my face. "What is an M.d.R.?" I asked foolishly. "*Mitglied des Reichstags* [Member of the Reichstag]," he said. "Surely you know that." He kept up his business interests and became known as the wonder of the Nazi Party—the only man who had risen by means of a parachute.

I was far more pleased with a private triumph which had resulted from a second visit to Paris before the elections, where I had gone to stay with an old college-friend, Seymour Blair. I had sent in my card at the Louvre to the director, Henri Verne, who I found was a nephew of the famous novelist. He greeted me with open arms—he knew the name of the family firm well—and when I asked, rather diffidently whether it would be possible to photograph part of the collection for reproduction purposes he immediately promised his full co-operation. I almost fell out of the chair. In my grandfather's day, under Napoleon III, the French authorities had flatly refused such facilities and we had always assumed the request was hopeless. Now not only could I pick whatever I chose, but I was permitted to use our own photographer in a studio at the top of the museum and was promised further facilities in every museum in France. It was a major coup and for some months my time was taken up with little else. I spent two or three lengthy periods in Paris supervising the work and through Verne and his friends met several of the leading French artists—Picasso, Derain, Marie Laurencin and others.

Hitler's, and even Germany's, problems seemed far away, although they were brought home to me once by the odd behaviour of the French workmen who were helping me move the massive canvases from their place on the walls up to the studio where I was working. They were splendid fellows, most of them ex-soldiers. I always had my pocket full of good cigars and we got on famously. One day I felt they were dragging their heels and not displaying their usual cheerful energy, so in the end I ventured to ask if anything was wrong. One of them produced a crumpled copy of a French newspaper from his pocket with the headline, '*Docteur Schacht dit non*', with a furious story about how Schacht, in an interview in the Hotel Georges V, had said that Germany was unable to continue making any reparations payments. It was around the

time of the negotiations on the cigar ration and order up a personal relations were re-established in full cry with the same what a good thing it would of this sort of propaganda abroad.

I still saw Hitler occasion Munich and tried to interest in developed a habit of dropping when he saw me approaching "I am no longer really in the entitled to keep some things together he was always per gossip, and on one occasion in buildings there he had seen sketched the Opéra, Notre-D pushed over for my approval was also a man of the world done. It was an odd, childish back of menu-cards, with so fancy borders, or scenes out of mann usually used to collect once, only to have them stolen

We got talking once about great care to design himself. I for the swastika, which was a we did that I could not use red in the Berlin Lustgarten years I tell you there is only one colour and that is red." I then suggested swastika in the corner of the even if we used the red background a peace flag with a white background a white background we are going to change it," he said. "This is the red change it."

I also had occasion to go up

1928

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It was around the

time of the negotiations on the Young Plan. So I had to double my
cigar ration and order up a crate of Munich Spaten beer before
personal relations were re-established. At home, of course, the Nazis
were in full cry with the same slogan and I could not help feeling
what a good thing it would have been if they had seen the effect
of this sort of propaganda abroad.

I still saw Hitler occasionally in his café when I was back in
Munich and tried to interest him in my accounts of France. He had
developed a habit of dropping his voice and changing the subject
when he saw me approaching his table, but I did not take it too ill.
"I am no longer really in his confidence," I thought, "and he is
entitled to keep some things to himself." When we had a few minutes
together he was always perfectly pleasant, listening to my Paris
gossip, and on one occasion pulled his little trick of drawing public
buildings there he had seen illustrated. In ten minutes he had
sketched the Opéra, Notre-Dame and the Eiffel Tower, which he
pushed over for my approbation with an air as if to prove that he
was also a man of the world, and in fact they were perfectly well
done. It was an odd, childish quirk. He was always doodling on the
back of menu-cards, with squares and circles and swastikas and
fancy borders, or scenes out of the Wagner operas. Heinrich Hoff-
mann usually used to collect them, but I picked up three or four
once, only to have them stolen later by a maid.

We got talking once about the Party flag, which he had taken
great care to design himself. I told him I did not like the use of black
for the swastika, which was a sun symbol and should be in red. "If
we did that I could not use red for the background," he said. "I was
in the Berlin Lustgarten years ago at a big Socialist demonstration,
I tell you there is only one colour with which to attract the masses
and that is red." I then suggested that it might be better to put the
swastika in the corner of the old black, white and red flag and that
even if we used the red background as a war ensign, we should have
a peace flag with a white background. "If I put the swastika against
a white background we are going to look like a charitable organiza-
tion," he said. "This is the right thing and I am not going to
change it."

I also had occasion to go up to Berlin later in 1928 and went

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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for "degenerate atonal
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disciples, we are told, had
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tual proof" of the Jewish
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nti-Semitism died in 1934,
us Streicher, the notorious
eriodical *Stürmer*, Hitler's
that when he first read the
is life was changed, and he
heodor Fritsch, he intoned,
God of whom little children
edem the German people
anity." 104

h made a particularly deep
the beliefs of his greatest

The Intellectual World of Adolf Hitler

Hitler and Wagner

My baton will yet become the scepter of the future.

—Richard Wagner (c. 1880)

Whoever wants to understand National Socialist Germany must first know Wagner.

—Adolf Hitler

It is very difficult to exaggerate the importance of Wagner in Hitler's life and thought. He himself best summarized that influence when he said that anyone who sought to understand him and his movement should first understand Richard Wagner.¹⁰⁵

Adolf's boyhood swung around the pole of Wagner. "My youthful enthusiasm for the Master of Bayreuth," he recalled later, "knew no bounds." As his only friend of those years noted, "Listening to Wagner meant to him not a visit to the theatre, but the opportunity of being transported into the extraordinary state which Wagner's music produced in him, that escape into a mystical dream world which he needed in order to endure the tensions of his turbulent nature. . . . He was intoxicated and bewitched. . . ." 106

His need for Wagner did not abate in manhood. "For me, Wagner is something Godly and his music is my religion," he told an American correspondent in the 1930s. "I go to his concerts as others go to church." 107

There was one particular dimension of Wagner that Hitler found irresistible: the forbidden passions of incest and Oedipal sex which Wagner discussed more daringly than any dramatist of his time. As we shall soon see, Hitler was terribly concerned about his own incestuous desires. So was Wagner, as his operas testify.¹⁰⁸ It seems likely that only he could have gotten away with the first act of *Walküre*. The opera begins, it will be recalled, with Siegmund, a warrior in flight, taking refuge one stormy night in the house of a man whose wife, Sieglinde, arouses the hero's passion. She reciprocates even though both lovers are aware that they are twin brother and sister, the children of Wotan. Brother and sister plan to elope; they kiss passionately, and only the fast curtain prevents the audience from seeing the consummation of their love. Later, Sieglinde, made pregnant by her own brother, gives birth to Siegfried, one of Wagner's and Hitler's favorite heroes. Thus, like Hitler, Siegfried was the product of an incestuous relationship.* And he too saw himself as a wolf—actually, in his case, "Wolf-Son."

In a later chapter we shall note Hitler's extraordinarily close rela-

* See below, Chapter 3, p. 132. The blood relationship between Siegfried's parents was closer than Hitler's. Since Siegfried's mother was his father's sister, she was also his aunt and his father was his uncle. Thus, as Barbara Stoddard has pointed out, Siegfried was his own cousin.

Alfred Harbage 1928 Gals 1928

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

relationship with his mother. Here we should note the important role that Oedipal themes play in Wagner's operas, especially in *Siegfried* and *Parsifal*.

The hero of *Siegfried* spends a great deal of his waking day thinking of his mother. When in Act III, Scene 3, for example, he comes upon the beautiful Brünnhilde sleeping in the forest, he is struck by "the wildest emotion." But his thoughts immediately turn to his mother. His first impulse is to call for his mother's help; his second is to bury his face in the breast of this mother-substitute (stage instructions are Wagner's):

(He stares at the slumbering form in the wildest emotion.)

Burning enchantment
glows in my breast;
anguish and awe
flame through my being:
my senses falter and swoon!

(He becomes greatly distressed.)

On whom shall I call
that he may help me?
Mother! Mother!
Remember me!

(He sinks, as if fainting, with his face on Brünnhilde's bosom. He rises with a sigh.)

He is then torn by self-doubt, lacking the courage to awaken the sleeping beauty, he chastizes himself for being so cowardly and again identifies his "fiercest longings" with his mother. He calls to her:

Fiercest longing
sears all my senses;
my heart pulses wildly,
trembleth my hand!
What ails thee, craven?
Can this be fearing?
O mother! mother!
Thy valorous child!

When Brünnhilde finally awakens, she hails Siegfried in passionate song as her long-awaited lover. Siegfried's answer is addressed, not to her, but to his mother:

(Breaks forth in extremest ecstasy.)

O hail to her
who gave me my birth!

The Intellectual World of Adolf

It is an unusual response!

Parsifal, like Siegfried—image—is a handsome, dashing tendency to be trapped by invariably remind him of his life was devoted to young v. The wild and wily Kundry Parsifal's sexual interests is Then, winding her arms around mother in a passionate scene bestows his "mother's blessing kiss. Parsifal responds erotic things tremble, quake and gro

Hitler cherished all Wagner Vienna and as chancellor, hit it at least ten times in Vienna with the fact that he knew the

Why was Hitler so excited opera? The music is of course interest in the story—suffice the long text. It will be recalled who is falsely accused and Frederick of Telramund. To silver-armored knight Lohengrin Holy Grail.

There are several things found appealing. He could *deutsches Land das deutsche sword!*). But more specifically Lohengrin. For Hitler too has respond affirmatively to the him as leader and ask his *Mannen! O bleib' und zieh'* cannot stay with them, nor could Hitler), for he has a high to serve the Holy Grail (we are Grail of German blood"). Thus wife, farewell! Henceforth the

Let it be suggested here (preferred *Lohengrin* to all of self as the immaculate knight (both Klara Hitler and the German race-contaminating old father legal guardian of Klara before coincidence that in 1938, Hitler Adolf, a flashing-eyed, stern-vis Chaplin mustache astride a man

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

this house from May 1920 to 5 October 1929. The main room was about nine by ten feet, the floor was covered with worn linoleum and a few scatter rugs. There were a chair, a table, a makeshift bookcase, and, above the bed, his mother's picture. The room was small, but there was space for him to stride diagonally back and forth in carpet slippers as he solved the problems of the day.

Increasingly, however, Hitler spent his time in the neighborhood of Berchtesgaden in the Bavarian Alps close to the Austrian border. First he stayed at the Pension Moritz, then in Berchtesgaden itself in a hotel, the Deutsches Haus. Here he finished the second volume of *Mein Kampf* and wrote newspaper articles. As he later recalled, "I lived there like a fighting cock. . . . I wrote the second volume of my book. I was very fond of visiting the Dreimäderhaus, where there were always pretty girls. This was a great treat for me. There was one of them especially who was a real beauty."²⁴⁰

In 1928 he began renting a house high in the mountains with a commanding view of the Obersalzberg. A few years later he bought the property, had it completely rebuilt, and called it his *Berghof* (Mountain Farm). Expensive furnishings were contributed by his motherly benefactors, Frau Hélène Bechstein, widow of the piano manufacturer, and Frau Winifred Wagner. Among the gifts were rare porcelain, books (including the complete works of Richard Wagner), and a manuscript page of *Lohengrin*.²⁴⁷ During this period he also changed his residence in Munich, moving into an impressive nine-room apartment at 16 Prinzregentenplatz in the fashionable Bogenhausen part of town, a household which he maintained until his death. Here he was near two of his favorite artists. The villa von Struck was just down the street as was the Prinzregententheater, built in 1900-1901 especially for Richard Wagner, whose marble statue dominates its gardens.

He could afford these luxuries because his finances had improved, thanks, in large part, to social connections. As Ernst Hanfstaengl recalled with considerable pride, "Mine was the first Munich family of standing into which he was introduced." He brought Hitler into the "best" society—at any rate, people of influence and money. They included the family of Fritz-August von Kaulbach, the Bavarian artist, and the Bruckmanns, wealthy Munich publishers who had among their authors Houston Stewart Chamberlain. Elsa Bruckmann, the former Princess Cantacuzène, a considerably older woman, made something of a protégé of Hitler, as did Gertrude von Seidlitz and yet another older woman, Carola Hoffmann, who called herself "Hitler's Mommy" (*Hitlers Mutti*). Frau Bechstein, who called Hitler "my little wolf," also developed a motherly interest in him. She wanted her daughter Lotte to marry the charming Austrian.

The value of wealthy female admirers is shown graphically in the inventory Hitler used as security for a loan in the summer of 1923. For an undisclosed purpose, he borrowed 60,000 Swiss francs from

The Child As Father to the

the coffee magnate Richard Lin. The note reads:

As security for th
Richard Frank valu
in Munich . . . the
pendant with platin
platinum ruby ring
inum with diamond
carat gold ring . . .
made, 6½ meters l
Spanish piano shaw

Hitler's income tax s
for the years 1925-1935
do, however, reveal som
the return. It is clear,
paraded his patriotism
manded of his countrym
ment of tax revenue. In
whatever for 1924 and t
he was somehow able t

Hitler tended to l
prostitutes together as t
taxes, he had little to c
actual income and with
tions as valid. Later, th
from sales of *Mein Kam*
taxation.

Hitler's income fror
of the Weimar Republic
improved; they went up
After Hitler came to pow
the book—if not to read
quite accurate in annou
the Bible in total sales, 1

Hitler's valets, secre
picture of the daily pa
which did not differ sig
previous decade. Normal
noon. His valet (Karl W
1945) watched for the f
be seen reaching out to t
newspapers and import
quickly withdraw as its c
would bathe and shave

1928

HIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

ld lie down on the floor. Then
e where he could examine her
y excited. When the excite-
l that she urinate on him and
Geli said the whole perform-
her and . . . it gave her no

about the reliability of Otto
cular, one might well wonder
him over such intimate mat-
reported that other informants
ave similar testimony about

agues drew up their report, a
ends to support their findings.
had befriended Hitler and
le asserted that in 1929 Hitler
g letter which explicitly men-
inations. Geli no doubt would
never received it. It fell into
n named Rudolph. Hitler was
ably from political disaster—
entric named J. F. M. Rehse.
o was a close friend and con-
d political memorabilia. His
cartons containing copies of
tisements, and thousands of
the Party treasurer, Franz X.
y Hitler's incriminating letter
eded if for his collection. But
saw an opportunity to profit
ded that the Nazi leader as-
ved collection. Hitler yielded
to underwrite the Rehse col-
chives of the Nazi Party, now
ditation and in the National

atter—which probably never
elivered by Father Stempfle to
l be that this service to Hitler
influential though publicly ob-
further testified to his confi-
executor of his personal will
would seem to support Father

Stempfle's story of Hitler's perversion. In June 1934, during the so-
called Blood Purge, when Hitler settled his accounts with people who
were in a position to embarrass him politically, Father Stempfle was
found dead in the forest of Herlaching near Munich, with three shots
through his heart.³⁰¹

The idea that Hitler had a sexual perversion particularly abhor-
rent to women is further supported by a statistic: of the seven women
who we can be reasonably sure, had intimate relations with Hitler, six
committed suicide or seriously attempted to do so. Mimi Reiter tried to
hang herself in 1928; Geli Raubal shot herself in 1931; Eva Braun at-
tempted suicide in 1932 and again in 1935; Frau Inge Ley was a suc-
cessful suicide, as were Renaté Mueller and Suzi Liptauer. Unity
Mitford's attempted suicide seems clearly to have been prompted by
political reasons.

But these are only shreds of evidence, insufficient in themselves to
support a conclusion that Hitler had a masochistic, coprophilic perva-
sion. Equally important to this conclusion is a different kind of historic
fact: he displayed other behavior patterns thoroughly consistent
with this kind of perversion, which is quite well reported in the
literature.³⁰²

Specialists in these matters have shown, first, that sadomasochistic
traits are a prerequisite for such a perversion. Indeed Phyllis Green-
acre has concluded that they "are characteristic of all perversions."³⁰³
Hitler's sadism scarcely requires further documentation. What is less
widely recognized is that from adolescence on he displayed moods of
deep depression and self-loathing which indicate masochistic feelings.
As his worried friend August Kubizek noted, he would "torment himself"
and wallow "deeper and deeper in self-criticism . . . and self-accusa-
tion," until finally, after his mother's funeral, he lacerated himself with
the most awful punishment he could devise: he said that he would "give
up Stefanie!"—that is, he would give up his fantasies about her.³⁰⁴

As we noted in discussing his latent homosexuality, Hitler showed
a tendency to stereotype male and female traits which is a complement
of sadomasochistic impulses. In private conversation and public
speeches he revealed how constantly his mind swung between mas-
ochism (weakness, submission) and sadism (brutality, strength, mas-
tery). He would speak, typically, of the necessity to exalt "the victory
of the better and the stronger and to demand the submission of the
worse and weaker."³⁰⁵

When told of Hitler's infatuation with the movie *King Kong*, an
experienced analyst found that fact to be a revealing expression of
Hitler's sadomasochism: "The image for me that is the most startling is
King Kong. It's easy to read Hitler as the huge gorilla—but he was only
that in part. He was also, at the same time, the helpless, sweet little
blonde. He was so infatuated with the image because he yearned to be
helpless (masochistic), to be overwhelmed by the powerful (sadistic) ape

Germans in foreign countries. In Czechoslovakia: Germans, revolt against the state. It is an auxiliary troop of France. In South Tyrol: Germans, comply with the state. You are the bridge between Germany and Italy; train your sentiments for the great mission that is yours. Not your destiny is the primary matter, but the destiny of a great people which you must serve.'

1928
The day of the young faces, the day of a new Ypres will come soon: When the German youth, 'driven by the boyish instincts that make them search for new forces, embodying in themselves ninety-nine per cent of the best Aryan blood, led upward to the leadership of the German people'—when this youth gets its great day, 'the world will see with admiration that the German people, even externally, will assume those traits of character again which justify us in saying that our history is the world's history.' Then the leadership of Fascism will no longer be in Italy, but in National Socialist Germany, and a new reality will rise up beside which even the reality of the most realistic alliance pales: the reality of the inner German revolution.

'Then reality will keep step with this iron revolutionary process, then the hour will come in which world history will again be weighed to see whether the weights have not changed. Then France will be set into one side of the scale, while the new Germany steps into the other, and by the force of her own worth she will lower the tray. Our prayer to the Lord is only this: Lord, we do not ask you to help us, only watch to see that the weighing is done fairly, and the sword is our weight.' (1928.)

There was hardly a doubt that the German weight would be the heavier one. In March, 1928, France reduced military service to one year, lower than it had ever been before. Then the country began to build that supposedly impregnable defensive line, named after André Maginot, Minister of War. A war-weary nation wanted to shut itself off securely from war. But in March, 1929, an unnamed French general wrote in a Swiss newspaper:

Demagogic madness has led us to the absurd conception of defensive war. During the World War we had to promise parliament never again to take the offensive. As far as results, that is,

losses are concerned, there is no difference between defense and offense. In defending Verdun, we lost just as many Germans attacking us. But the Germans lost the war by taking Verdun, while our only loss was it. . . . Hence: offensive, offensive, and again offensive must in no case be regarded as the basic principle to accomplish is to cause the adversary loss or when we are enabled to attack. . . . With a few cannon and barracks, with an army in five years, split, disorganized, badly trained, nothing can be accomplished. We must have a new army. . . . will flee, it will be defeated.

Hitler's learned friend, General and Professor Haushofer, had developed a new type of military science: the world into great land and sea masses. The sea had dominated the world, dominating the sea had dominated the world. Haushofer, himself a pupil of Rudolf Kjellgren, taught that this condition had been after the World War he had been of the battle fleets would gradually be transformed into growing swarms of U-boats and airplanes. The marines depended for their power on land could not stay away for any protracted period. The chief reason for the rising importance of politics. Through the development of the world, the great inner spaces have become 'coast'; in modern world politics, domination of the land is decisive, no longer domination of the sea.

Haushofer took for granted the decline of the world based on English domination of trade routes, based only on trade and especially maritime power soon be broken. This would first happen in the land blocks of China and Russia, and Japan would be the winner in the 'Eurasian space catastrophe'. A power based on sea lanes; but today we stand at the great turning-point in the favorability of the land.

oming catastrophe he saw but one help, the
tal Europe. As late as 1932 he could con-
reluctantly, only under the leadership of
at least the approval of the British: 'Either
create a sort of United States of Europe by
Eurasian space catastrophe will inevitably
form of a retrogressive small-spaced dis-
so-called colonial powers.' The great land
sea, is today the aim of high politics.
uch of this doctrine as was possible for a
wart Chamberlain. For the really decisive
ains man, and not numbers but quality. He

rdly small, for a plane can cross our German
our hours. That is no longer a land surface
in itself, as is the case with Russia whose land
nts a power, a coefficient of security. . . . Sixty-
lion people, four hundred and thirty-six thou-
ers of land surface! This land surface does not
rish our population. . . . German foreign policy,
ned not only with liquidating the Versailles
e condition of August, 1914, would be restored,
basically the life-possibility of the nation would
n barely a hundred years there will be two hun-
on Germans living on this continent. . . . It is
a nation grows in numbers, the more its soil is
become too narrow; that such a nation must
cumb to this restriction of its soil and collapse,
this restriction and acquire new soil somewhere.

e one of the most important phenomena of
a simple-minded audience: that new, large-
rging ahead of the old-style great powers.
only 94,000 square miles, and a white popu-
000, England dominated a quarter of the in-
imately 500,000,000 people; France with a
g 212,000 square miles, but a population of
governed an empire of 4,600,000 square miles

and almost 70,000,000 people. These space-systems are confronted by the new great space-blocks, which seem to be developing their full force only today: the United States, the Soviet Union, and perhaps China. Why they did not enter world history with full force until today can be explained by Haushofer's theory that sea transport loses its dominant rôle only in the present era. Hitler's sermon on space meant that at this crossroads of history Germany must not choose the false road and attempt the conquest of an old-style colonial empire on the English or French pattern. Germany must become another land-block.

But for the moment she was nothing but a land-based island, so to speak; a small territory swimming amidst other territories. Germany did not feed herself from her own soil; like England, but without the overseas resources of that country, she exported industrial products, buying raw materials and foodstuffs in return. Thus she was, too, a country relying on trade lanes. 'I protest against the German people working as the industrial coolie of the world,' said Hitler, grossly exaggerating, 'while other peoples live on its sweat, some of them with an excess of land and soil. Who gave the Russians their land and soil?'

The land and soil of the Russians . . . ! That was what he wanted for Germany: 'We shall take the soil — on the strength of a natural right — in places where it is not tilled as we shall till it. . . . The earth belongs to him who tills it industriously. Nations which are lazy, which are incompetent, which are stupid, have no right to possess soil of the earth that they cannot make useful, while at the same time other nations starve through lack of soil. It is criminal to ask an intelligent people to limit its children in order that a lazy and stupid people next door can literally abuse a gigantic surface of the earth.'

Hitler viewed Russia with desire and contempt. Russia, to him, was an empty space full of people who do not count, and one day will be an easy prey; but Germany must be on her guard against a much stronger power — the second great land-space of the white race. America is for Hitler an object of terror. America, to his mind, mustered every hostile power against Europe; in America space and race joined forces against the Old World. Hitler's view of

1928

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America has developed with the years and has grown more serious. The land of 'Jewish domination, stock-exchange dictatorship, and the crassest capitalism' has become, in his eyes, a land of magnificent national planning; a land with an alarming headstart over Germany on the road to the mechanized nation. America sucks the whole world dry; she can do this because she possesses the space which Europe, and particularly Germany, lacks. 'Every emigration,' says Hitler sadly, 'will lead to a loss of energetic, bold men. The coward never leaves his home. The little proletarian must have self-confidence when he says: Now I'm going to Argentina. That is Vikingism, a voyage of the Argonauts that is not sung, but which should be sung, as the most terrible catastrophe that has struck our nation. It accumulated through the decades and centuries and gave a new continent a highly valuable human content. We came face to face with it in 1918 on the Western Front.'

1928
Respect for the American menace, fear of American strength, and envy of American space—all this is, for Hitler, an entirely new conception of America; it has developed slowly, in conflict with his original idea of American 'barbarism.' He describes the American menace in the same admiring tone which, at times, he adopts for Communism, and again the enemy becomes his model. The creeping American menace has transformed itself into a stormy catastrophe for all Europe and particularly for Germany, since the United States has begun to subject its immigrants to a strict physical examination, rejecting the sick and defective. Germany, says Hitler, could do no better than imitate the catastrophe.

Emigration to America [he says] has been brought into a form constructively dangerous for us, in so far as the human material which we deliver to America is not picked out by poverty alone. No, the receiver himself picks out this material and examines it to see if it is suitable for his own racial aims. . . . The natural process of selection has become an artificial one. The American Union strictly prescribes how a man must be constituted if he is to be admitted. What our bourgeois democracy does not want to understand is there prescribed by law. Health, a certain stature, are demanded; no one may have hereditary taints, etc. From a multitude of men, they seek the most highly valued individuals. This

process must bring about a shift of force: Europe. Our official science acts as if this meant. But it is a power problem for the infinite danger for old Europe. Not in the nation lies the worth or worthlessness of the qualities of the individual; not the sum but specific value. If you want to mobilize Europe you will not do it by a mingling of value under the leadership of a state which acts on racial laws.

Since Hitler, when he speaks of force, value really means murder and homicide, if possible adds nonchalantly: 'If Germany should get a year and eliminate seven to eight hundred thousand, in the end the result would be an increase of eight hundred thousand murders a year—this by 'in accordance with racial laws'; he was indeed found the omission of these murders criminal state of history, Sparta, carried out these racial. In our country the opposite is done systematic humanitarian drive, we strive to preserve the of the healthy. . . . We slowly cultivate the strong.' And the whole far-reaching import power and race is summed up in one sentence: more blood to win the land that we need for removed from life and suppressed by artificial.

The opportunity to spend blood for land he the shape of a war in which at least England, allied with Japan, would march against the This American war would give Germany an decisive action.

At the beginning of 1930, the Washington Naval Conference convened again, this time in London, attended by the great naval powers. Its purpose might have been domination, or rather, distribution of world cost. All the armament and disarmament conference aim of upholding the existing distribution of power.

th the years and has grown more serious. ination, stock-exchange dictatorship, and become, in his eyes, a land of magnificent d with an alarming headstart over Ger- mechanized nation. America sucks the 1 do this because she possesses the space cularly Germany, lacks. 'Every emigra- ill lead to a loss of energetic, bold men. i his home. The little proletarian must i he says: Now I'm going to Argentina. ge of the Argonauts that is not sung, but s the most terrible catastrophe that has umulated through the decades and cent- nent a highly valuable human content. h it in 1918 on the Western Front.' an menace, fear of American strength, ace—all this is, for Hitler, an entirely ica; it has developed slowly, in conflict American 'barbarism.' He describes the same admiring tone which, at times, he ind again the enemy becomes his model. menace has transformed itself into a l Europe and particularly for Germany, as begun to subject its immigrants to a n, rejecting the sick and defective. Ger- do no better than imitate the catastrophe.

ica [he says] has been brought into a form as for us, in so far as the human material .merica is not picked out by poverty alone. elf picks out this material and examines it for his own racial aims. . . . The natural s become an artificial one. The American es how a man must be constituted if he is our bourgeois democracy does not want to scribed by law. Health, a certain stature, are y have hereditary taints, etc. From a multi- k the most highly valued individuals. This

process must bring about a shift of forces between America and Europe. Our official science acts as if this were a statistical experiment. But it is a power problem for the American Union and an infinite danger for old Europe. Not in the number of the population lies the worth or worthlessness of the whole mass, but in the qualities of the individual; not the sum value is decisive, but the specific value. If you want to mobilize Europe against this danger, you will not do it by a mingling of valuable and inferior, but only under the leadership of a state which acts consciously according to racial laws.

Since Hitler, when he speaks of force, value, and higher culture, really means murder and homicide, if possible on a mass basis, he adds nonchalantly: 'If Germany should get a million children each year and eliminate seven to eight hundred thousand of the weakest, in the end the result would be an increase of power.' Seven to eight hundred thousand murders a year—that is what he means by 'in accordance with racial laws'; he was in deadly earnest and found the omission of these murders criminal: 'The clearest racial state of history, Sparta, carried out these racial laws systematically. In our country the opposite is done systematically. By our modern humanitarian drivel, we strive to preserve the weak at the expense of the healthy. . . . We slowly cultivate the weak and kill the strong.' And the whole far-reaching import of these speeches on power and race is summed up in one sentence: 'It does not cost more blood to win the land that we need for bread than is now removed from life and suppressed by artificial reduction of birth.'

The opportunity to spend blood for land he saw approaching in the shape of a war in which at least England, perhaps all Europe, allied with Japan, would march against the American menace. This American war would give Germany an opportunity for decisive action.

At the beginning of 1930, the Washington Naval Conference convened again, this time in London, attended by the five first naval powers. Its purpose might have been called cheap world domination, or rather, distribution of world domination at low cost. All the armament and disarmament conferences have the aim of upholding the existing distribution of military power, while

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garded the English capitalists, in so far as they were not Jews, as the born Aryan rulers of colored 'sub-humanity.' With these rulers, the German master-men must systematically and peaceably share Aryan world domination, each in the corner allotted to him by Fate. 'England, Germany, Italy,' wrote Rosenberg in July, 1930, 'stand as though back to back. The stronger they become, the more dependent they are on one another. England's task is the protection of the white race in Africa and West Asia; Germany's task is to safeguard Germanic Europe against the chaotic Mongolian flood and to hold down France, which has already become an advance guard of Africa. (Take a look at the French colonial army and bear in mind that even now a Negro represents the French Government in the Geneva League of Nations.) Italy as a growing nation has a claim to Corsica, Tunis, Dalmatia, in order to prevent the destruction of Europe by French Negro armies. None of the three states can solve the task of destiny alone. . . .' In the *Völkischer Beobachter*, Rosenberg ran pictures of the Viceroy of India and Mahatma Gandhi with his thick lips and protruding ears. And the question was, whether a race-conscious National Socialist could doubt for a moment on which side he belonged?

Aryan Europe! Hitler looked confidently around the modest offices he had rented beside the studio of his friend, Heinrich Hoffmann, the photographer, in Schelling Strasse. When his glance fell on the wall map, he could say: Half of this Europe already belongs to dictatorship, and the section that is still free in the heart of the continent will be bent to dictatorship by me.

Chapter XI

FIRST TRIUMPH

IN THE SPRING OF 1928, GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Foreign Minister, went to Munich to deliver the same *Bürgerbräu* Keller where Hitler had given his first personal speech. For the first time Hitler had a leader of his own personal reach. Five hundred of his élite attended the meeting, taking the seats near the dark days of the Ruhr War, Stresemann: seeing 'a small silver stripe on the horizon.' fastened glittering strips of stanniol paper to the tonholes, some even to the seats of their personal chorus: 'Where is the silver stripe, Herr St. managed to shout down the five hundred of their wits' end they suddenly stood up at a national anthem: *Deutschland über Alles*. their feet, also singing, and the gentlemen on too. Stresemann's party associates, a former manufacturer, a banker, joined obediently in the national hymn and they were patriots. 'served no other purpose than to break up their party's leader, to make the German ridiculous in the eyes of the world—nevertheless the speaker's face had a new attack of a malignant kidney constantly ill after that. But in the same election beaten; in the Reichstag his party got only

family life. It is true that Hitler does
does consume immense quantities of
ained a child in matters of taste and
ery pleasure that might appeal to a
en the mood takes him; abandons all
/ at the movies whenever he happens
t his fill of light music and operettas
ison, for that matter. According to
: *Meistersingers* more than a hundred
ner's sermon which finally induced
which did not greatly appeal to his
he greatest childhood pleasures, stay-
n time an ingrained habit; even as a
he had difficulty finding sleep, which
nts of human routine and hence in
undisciplined character. He lies awake
blems, turning them over and over
sleepless pondering, often after weeks
e those so-called lightning decisions
with better sleep. And then he speaks
! The only element of truth in this
dictates of his mood, seldom forcing
ce of his inclination. This is not lack
: most astounding physical and emo-
sensitivity of a Simeon Stylites. But
time to time—he works restlessly, it
laying child.

cal source of energy in his cause and
ility is a serious obstacle to regular
one and the responsibility for getting
rs of such men as Goebbels; for Hitler
happens to feel like doing. He does
nditure of force, but often he cannot
gth to do what is uncomfortable, to
ake a difficult decision; for at the bot-
t a difficulty will be canceled out by a
mber of his staff presses him for some

unpleasant decision, he often escapes by embarking on a speech
about art and race, until an adjutant comes in to announce that
the car is waiting. He can then abandon himself to the pleasant
experience of being driven, which presents a certain aspect of activity.
These pleasure trips are 'tours of inspection.' They frequently end
among crowds shouting with enthusiasm, young girls presenting
flowers, children who let themselves be caressed—they end in tri-
umph, which he can never get enough of; one more experience of
greatness.

And then he may escape into total obscurity; as though seeking
the illusion of being dead. For many years he was in the habit of
disappearing on Christmas Eve, leaving even his family, his sister
and nieces to their own resources. It is said that he regularly spent
this most solemn night of the German year in the stable of the
Munich Reichswehr Barracks, for a few hours recapturing the
Christmas mood of his soldier days; this cannot be checked, but his
disappearances have been confirmed by several sources.

He is a restless and indefatigable consumer of men, provided
they are served up in the proper way, compliant and giving the
desired answers. Goebbels, who had learned this conduct so well,
had to let himself be questioned well into the dawn about irrelevant
things. With questions Hitler replaced reading, he used people
instead of books; he knew what he wanted and would coax from
obedient men the desired answers, which could not have been ob-
tained from silent, stubborn books. By his questions he endeavored
not only to learn, but to influence and mold the people he ques-
tioned. A young diplomat from the German Embassy in Paris,
London, or Washington happens to be in Berlin and is invited to
one of Hitler's banquets; Der Führer draws him into a long and
strange conversation: 'From the Arc de Triomphe, as you know,'
says Hitler, 'twelve streets run in all directions. In which streets
are there gardens in front of the houses, in which streets not?' The
answer is by no means perfect. Next Hitler wants to know in
which streets there are shops, in which purely residential buildings.
Some are definitely residential streets for rich people—which
ones? What sort of people frequent the shops in the other streets?
The answers are all unsatisfactory, and the dismayed attaché gets

1928

7

the friendly advice to pay more attention to such things in the future, as they are important. He supposes that Hitler is possessed by a frenzy for municipal building and gewgaws. Perhaps it does not dawn on him until years later that Hitler was questioning him on military matters.

1928
7
The consumption of human beings in large quantities is Hitler's real private pleasure. A penchant for using and abusing people made Hitler the archetype of politician who uses men only as a means to an end, whether the end be business, war, or even what he calls love. From this cruel, ultimately useless wallowing in human material, unsatisfactory both for himself and others, he gathers again and again the plaintive conviction that he is the unhappiest of all men. And assuredly he is unhappy, for what torments him and causes him to torment others is in the last analysis his fear of men, acquired in his youth and never overcome. He cannot meet his fellow man naturally, on an equal level; he can only do him violence, or himself suffer violence—and here we have touched his secret wound, from which probably most of his inadequacies arise. This is the source of his concealment, his vagueness; his nature is always faced with the terroristic command: do not betray yourself. It was this part of his nature that taught him his profound contempt of men; and this is his secret that must not be betrayed. Hence the vagueness of presentation in his speeches, hence his avoidance of facts and arguments. It is the same fear of providing a window into himself that makes him so careful to keep any specimen of his handwriting away from the public. With this—obviously unconscious—resistance, he shelters and protects a nature which feels that, exposed to the light of public scrutiny, it must wither in shame. It is the same resistance which makes him try to appear so abnormally virtuous in his relations with women. In this connection many false conjectures have been circulated.

For a time he was accused of homosexual tendencies; such accusations, in view of his friendship with Röhm and the composition of the S.A., were natural but false. However, we can sense that here, too, in his convulsive, exaggerated way, he is hiding something. Here we shall deal with this subject only as much as is necessary to cast a little more light on the contradiction between the private individual and the public picture.

It has been observed that, having attained power, he commuted the death penalty to imprisonment for by erotic motives. Exponents of the psycho-analysis diagnosed a 'castration complex,' a pathological virility. His strange, furious discourse against *Kampf* might support such a theory. A more realistic fact that both in his speeches and writings he relates the presentation of killing, especially the death of his father to the courthouse in the Upper Austria his father showed him all sorts of instruments the police had taken away from brawling peasants—revolvers, knives, blackjacks; and Hitler owned all these implements of murder had put him in his early speeches he liked to describe how the victors, after their victory, would hang the lamp-posts with the heads of their enemies would roll. beheading is one of his favorite ideas. In the movement he had 'promissory notes' printed to: a loan floated by the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the victory of the movement. These notes were Hitler himself. The note was a rectangle the size of a bank-note and was intended to look like a bank-note. The maze of swastikas, obligated the N.S.D.A.P. to pay. The left quarter of the note was taken up by a picture! A young man with an open shirt, his face not clearly recognizable (though the mustache, grave, threatening face had the features of an idealized youth) held by the right hand a sword dripping with blood, grasped the curls of a severed female head. He appeared to lie on the page of a newspaper, perhaps the *Beobachter*. In the background a banner with the words of the picture in Gothic letters: 'Warriors of truth and honor, stand up in battle, to struggle against its embrace—there is no peace, dreamed of beheading a defenseless woman.'

Is this, then, the true picture? A Bluebeard?

Kriegsminister von Wahlenberg

to pay more attention to such things in the important. He supposes that Hitler is possessed by municipal building and gewgaws. Perhaps it does until years later that Hitler was questioning him.

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It has been observed that, having attained power, he frequently commuted the death penalty to imprisonment for murder inspired by erotic motives. Exponents of the psycho-analytical school have diagnosed a 'castration complex,' a pathological fear of losing his virility. His strange, furious discourse against syphilis in *Mein Kampf* might support such a theory. A more reliable indication is the fact that both in his speeches and writings he likes to linger on the presentation of killing, especially the death penalty. Hanisch relates that young Hitler once told him of a visit he had made with his father to the courthouse in the Upper Austrian town of Ried; his father showed him all sorts of instruments of murder which the police had taken away from brawling peasants or real criminals—revolvers, knives, blackjacks; and Hitler owned that the sight of all these implements of murder had put him in high spirits. In his early speeches he liked to describe how the National Socialists, after their victory, would hang the lamp-posts full of their adversaries; the heads of their enemies would roll. And, in general, beheading is one of his favorite ideas. In the early years of his movement he had 'promissory notes' printed to serve as receipts for a loan floated by the *Völkischer Beobachter*, redeemable after the victory of the movement. These notes were designed by Adolf Hitler himself. The note was a rectangle the size of a dollar bill, and was intended to look like a bank-note. The text, framed in a maze of swastikas, obligated the N.S.D.A.P. to pay back ten marks. The left quarter of the note was taken up by a little picture—and what a picture! A young man with an open shirt and a head covering not clearly recognizable (though the mustache was lacking, the grave, threatening face had the features of an idealized self-portrait) held by the right hand a sword dripping with blood; the left hand grasped the curls of a severed female head. Head and sword seemed to lie on the page of a newspaper, perhaps the *Völkischer Beobachter*. In the background a banner with the swastika; beneath the picture in Gothic letters: 'Warriors of truth, behead the lie!' A warrior of truth might have been expected to pierce the lie, to face it in battle, to struggle against its embrace—the artist Hitler, however, dreamed of beheading a defenseless woman.

Is this, then, the true picture? A Bluebeard, a murderer of

1928
?

the
suicide

Kriegs- von Wahlschmerzhaft. das Lüge

1928
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Contemptuously Hitler replied: 'This nation of sixty-two millions must advance its claims to the globe. . . . Germany will not be saved by men who fall a victim to universal world love, but by those who direct universal hatred to themselves.' Seeckt, the specialist, regarded the people's war of millions as a useless bloody drama of the past: 'Perhaps the principle of the mass army, of national mobilization, is already on the wane; the *furor du nombre* is at an end. The mass becomes immobile. It cannot maneuver, hence cannot win; it can only crush.' But Hitler: 'The basic idea of National Socialism, in its striving to create a strong race, is that an entire people must enter the lists and fight for its life. If it succumbs, that is right. The earth is not for cowardly peoples!' And: 'The earth is our football; in this game we do not for a moment renounce staking our whole people.' In Seeckt's eyes the World War confused itself; Hitler by contrast: 'For the National Socialists the World War has not ended. We have not disarmed. As soldiers we do not weep and complain, we do not rack our brains whether we may not have done the enemy an injustice.' Seeckt uttered the obvious, 'Precisely the soldier will greet all efforts to lessen the possibilities of war,' and Hitler replied with the cannibalistic wisdom which he held to be obvious, 'All the nations which have surrendered to peace have not only ceased to dominate the world, but have slowly rotted.' Seeckt, following the doctrine of Clausewitz, the German philosopher of war, declared peace to be the aim of every war, but Hitler knew better: 'There is no differentiation between war and peace. There is always struggle.'

These were not clever speeches. With his strident battle-cry Hitler did not sweep millions off their feet; he only expressed the sentiment of his group of uprooted men who in 1928 were still a small circle around their little-regarded Führer. Himself uprooted, he screamed out his nostalgia for war, his lost home: 'I was a dispatch carrier at Arras,' he related, 'in the night when the roaring twenty-one-centimeter cannons suddenly began to speak and illumine the horizon with lightnings. Then I had the ecstatic feeling: Here stands Germany, that is our language — over there they know this language and hide from it!' He was speaking to two thousand people, and the reports tell of 'stormy, continuous applause.' On

the night before the German Reichstag election he promised five thousand listeners: 'If Fate should will it, we shall use it to cleanse the nation of its ene God gives us strength to march to the ult earth. It will not be spared us. . . . We sha army of termites, before the final hour come destiny,' the 'hour': these, of course, are the its coming. The national elections of May 2 speech, brought Hitler twelve seats out of six — it was a grave defeat.

Despite such disappointments the war spee They were addressed to a type of man who, fatherland in war; to this type Hitler prom home with boots, spurs, gold epaulets, and ti month. He wanted this kind of men becaus he called the 'sense of struggle.' The type i including the working class; he must only be ceptions, his faith in economics and work ('i dustry a people has never grown free, only i the Social Democrats preach the love of j masses. Perhaps they will have success for a a plain ordinary military band comes by; th from his dream state, suddenly he begins to the nation that is marching, and he joins in. is this one example — one, two, three, we are derous cries of "Heil!" . . . There was one which there was no class division. That wa pany. There no one ever heard of a bourge platoon; there was just the company and th And there has to be a way of creating this un Therefore, we must wage war at home: 'If I w into unity, I must first form a new front, faci Then each man will know that we must enemy is the enemy of us all.' To that end v battles and war on the open highway — asse which no longer believes in work ('by work v Frenchmen out of the country'); which does i

plied: 'This nation of sixty-two millions o the globe. . . . Germany will not be tim to universal world love, but by those d to themselves.' Seeckt, the specialist, of millions as a useless bloody drama of inciple of the mass army, of national the wane; the *fureur du nombre* is at an mobile. It cannot maneuver, hence cannot But Hitler: 'The basic idea of National o create a strong race, is that an entire and fight for its life. If it succumbs, that for cowardly peoples!' And: 'The earth me we do not for a moment renounce.' In Seeckt's eyes the World War contrast: 'For the National Socialists the . We have not disarmed. As soldiers we , we do not rack our brains whether we emy an injustice.' Seeckt uttered the ob- r will greet all efforts to lessen the pos- ler replied with the cannibalistic wisdom vious, 'All the nations which have sur- t only ceased to dominate the world, but kt, following the doctrine of Clausewitz, of war, declared peace to be the aim of ew better: 'There is no differentiation There is always struggle.'

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the night before the German Reichstag elections of 1928. Hitler promised five thousand listeners: 'If Fate should give us the power, we shall use it to cleanse the nation of its enemies and we hope that God gives us strength to march to the ultimate destiny on this earth. It will not be spared us. . . . We shall grow into a mighty army of termites, before the final hour comes. . . .' The 'ultimate destiny,' the 'hour': these, of course, are the war, and 'we hope' for its coming. The national elections of May 20, 1928, following this speech, brought Hitler twelve seats out of six hundred in parliament — it was a grave defeat.

Despite such disappointments the war speeches served a purpose. They were addressed to a type of man who, like Hitler, found his fatherland in war; to this type Hitler promised a new home—a home with boots, spurs, gold epaulets, and three hundred marks a month. He wanted this kind of men because they possessed what he called the 'sense of struggle.' The type is found in all classes, including the working class; he must only be freed of his class conceptions, his faith in economics and work ('through work and industry a people has never grown free, only through hatred'). Let the Social Democrats preach the love of peace to the German masses. Perhaps they will have success for a time, 'until suddenly a plain ordinary military band comes by; then the man awakens from his dream state, suddenly he begins to feel like a member of the nation that is marching, and he joins in. All our people need is this one example—one, two, three, we are on the march. [Thunderous cries of "Heil!"] . . . There was one place in Germany in which there was no class division. That was the front-line company. There no one ever heard of a bourgeois and a proletarian platoon; there was just the company and that was the end of it. And there has to be a way of creating this unity at home too. . . . Therefore, we must wage war at home: 'If I want to weld the people into unity, I must first form a new front, facing a common enemy. Then each man will know that we must be one, because this enemy is the enemy of us all.' To that end we wage meeting-hall battles and war on the open highway—assemble the human type which no longer believes in work ('by work we shall never get the Frenchmen out of the country'); which does not believe in equality

1928

1928 ('equality and freedom cannot exist side by side, democracy is the eternal conspiracy of twerps against the outstanding head'); which does not believe in justice ('justice is what benefits my people, injustice what harms my people').

In September, 1928, Hitler assembled his sub-leaders in Munich for a working session. The future of the movement did not look very hopeful. The elections had brought failure. At the end of the session, Hitler rose to the platform and declared that to him it seemed necessary 'to strengthen the individual party comrades' confidence in the victory of the movement.' This victory, he continued, must come with mathematical certainty. And for this he found a reason which lifted the hearts of the small, rather depressed band:

1928 It does not require much courage to do silent service in an existing organization. It requires more courage to fight against an existing political régime. As soon as a man engages in offensive opposition to an existing régime, he will have to summon up more courage than the man who defends it. The movement requires more courage than naked tenacity. Attack attracts the personalities which possess more courage. Thus a condition containing danger within itself becomes a magnet for men who seek danger. A program with radical ideas will attract radical men, a program with a cowardly tendency will attract cowardly men. And then there is the reaction of the existing order. Furthermore, the resistance of the masses sifts even this small number once again. What remains is a minority of determined, hard men. It is this process which alone makes history explicable: the fact that certain revolutions, emanating from very few men and giving the world a new face, have actually taken place. And now, finally, comes the active resistance of the existing state. All parties, public opinion, take a position against us. But therein lies the unconditional, I might say the mathematical, reason for the future success of our movement. As long as we are the radical movement, as long as public opinion shuns us, as long as the existing factors of the state oppose us—we shall continue to assemble the most valuable human material around us, even at times when, as they say, all factors of human reason argue against it!

A noteworthy theory of the *coup d'état*, not devised at the writing desk, but gathered entirely from experience. If the party's propa-

ganda for long years hardly kindled a flame, beatings and defeats, the leader of the beaten with the thought that such bitter trials would new nobility from nature's mass production.'

It will always remain one of Hitler's strongest how to learn from his enemy: 'Let us glance at Marxism in Germany!' he cried out a year later Nuremberg Party Days. 'Wherever a revolt tal against weakness and never against strength. community of force-filled men. . . . Where boldness, ruthlessness—where these qualities : service of a bad cause, they can overthrow the st tion is a demand which itself in turn demar dividual. . . . For the individual is eager to quite regardless where he is placed. That is w in world history have been able to conquer d superable obstacles, despite economic interests, of public opinion, even despite reason if it is fa

That is the secret. 'Therein lies the future of cries out, confident of victory, 'that slowly, im process we assemble the historic minority whic haps will constitute six to eight hundred tho have these men united as the membership of a r created the center of gravity of the state. If I ment up to now, I note the following: First, as radical, and weak men are afraid to come t radicalism of our ideas. Second, the régime of the means at its disposal, for it sees the danger that the human material assembling with us is many possesses. As long as this continues, a courageous espouse our cause, we are on the marching toward victory with an iron firmness

A confident prophecy, yet heavy with anxiety Hitler continued: 'If the great mass were to jo hurrah, we should be in a sad state. That is v between members and supporters. The suppo German people, the members six to eight hundi

not exist side by side, democracy is the s against the outstanding head'); which ('justice is what benefits my people, in-ple').

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he *coup d'état*, not devised at the writing , from experience. If the party's propa-

ganda for long years hardly kindled a flame, if it netted plenty of beatings and defeats, the leader of the beaten men consoled himself with the thought that such bitter trials would separate 'the nation's new nobility from nature's mass production.'

It will always remain one of Hitler's strongest gifts that he knew how to learn from his enemy: 'Let us glance at the development of Marxism in Germany!' he cried out a year later at the second of the Nuremberg Party Days. 'Wherever a revolt takes place, it is always against weakness and never against strength. Marxism created a community of force-filled men. . . . Where force, determination, boldness, ruthlessness — where these qualities are harnessed to the service of a bad cause, they can overthrow the state. The presupposition is a demand which itself in turn demands force of the individual. . . . For the individual is eager to prove his strength, quite regardless where he is placed. That is why great movements in world history have been able to conquer despite apparently insuperable obstacles, despite economic interests, despite the pressure of public opinion, even despite reason if it is feebly represented.'

That is the secret. 'Therein lies the future of our movement,' he cries out, confident of victory, 'that slowly, imperturbably, by this process we assemble the historic minority which in Germany perhaps will constitute six to eight hundred thousand men. If you have these men united as the membership of a movement, you have created the center of gravity of the state. If I regard our development up to now, I note the following: First, our program passes as radical, and weak men are afraid to come to us because of the radicalism of our ideas. Second, the régime oppresses us with all the means at its disposal, for it sees the danger inherent in the fact that the human material assembling with us is the best that Germany possesses. As long as this continues, and only the more courageous espouse our cause, we are on the right track and are marching toward victory with an iron firmness. . . .'

A confident prophecy, yet heavy with anxious foreboding. For Hitler continued: 'If the great mass were to join us with cries of hurrah, we should be in a sad state. That is why we distinguish between members and supporters. The supporters are the entire German people, the members six to eight hundred thousand. That

1928

1929

1929 + part of 1930-31
(Geli Rauland)

Luhers
Hanfst.
Waite
Heiden

1929

ADOLF HITLER

than later historians
Führer was never re-

er suspected his own
curiously aggressive
with his parents' lives
reacted so violently
2, Speer mentioned to
of Spital a sign on
in His Youth" Speer

for Bormann, who hur-
him, how many times
be mentioned. But that
up a plaque there. It

because he was usually
of his boyhood in Linz
be that while Hitler had
Spital, it was associated
when he had lived there
his father's home and
otional outburst.

lage associated with Hit-
in 1938, almost directly
made of the lovely little
ere his father had been
eys made to record the
Hitler's survey of 1938
village as an artillery
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ers directly from Hitler
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oved Round after round
olishing its buildings and
oizable Why was Dollers-
pty acres in this part of
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against Hitler, as is sometimes
embers of the Gestapo would
object as Hitler's own ancestry
conclude that Hitler himself
ve to himself what he desper-
- or at least as Aryan as his

1939 The Child As Father to the Man 6 1939

unlikely that Hitler chose this particular village at random. He seems to have had a compulsion to wipe out—quite literally—the suspicion of his own Jewish blood by obliterating the birthplace of his father and the grave of his grandmother.

Hitler's uneasiness about his ancestors is suggested in a remark he made in 1930 when reporters were trying to get information about his family. "These people," he said, "must never find out who I am. They mustn't know where I come from or my family background."¹³ As we have noted, he felt it necessary to lie about his ancestors, saying for example, that they had come from Lower Saxony.

There is other evidence that Hitler worried about his own "Jewishness." The two physical characteristics he associated with Jews—body odors and large noses—were two things that bothered him about himself. Hitler's obsessive concern with personal cleanliness and his abhorrence of perfume and aftershave lotion was so great, one suspects, because he was afraid that either the smell of body odor or the use of perfume to cover it up might make people think he was a Jew. When one of his colleagues asked why Jews "always remain strangers in the nation," Hitler had a ready answer: "The Jews [have] a different smell." He expressed his repugnance for both odor and perfume publicly in a Munich speech of 29 November 1939:

Racial instinct protected the people; the odor of that race deterred Gentiles from marrying Jews. At present in these days of perfume, where any dandy can assume the same odor as anyone else, the feeling for these finer distinctions between peoples is being lost. The Jew counts on that.¹⁴

Those who have commented on Hitler's physical characteristics have all said that his least attractive feature was his grossly shaped nose and unusually large nostrils—hence the bushy little mustache grown just wide enough to help conceal them. With this in mind, it is worth noting Hitler's pointed observation about the Jewish people: they have, he said, a characteristic which is "permanently common to all Jews from the ghetto of Warsaw to the bazaars of Morocco: the offensive nose, the cruel, vicious nostrils. . . ."¹⁵

THE FATHER: ALOIS (SCHICKELGRUBER) HITLER

Alois Hitler's career in the Austrian bureaucracy had been eminently respectable. After nine years of service he had achieved the title of senior assistant customs official and by 1892 he had been promoted to higher collector, the highest rank open to a man of only an ele-

military school education.

131

An outsize
anxiety
about the
return of
the father.

1929 Scene in Haeufstange
The anxiety of his childhood
was such that he could hardly
breathe in many a situation.
So the order came from the
inner designer of the body—enlarge the
aperture.

D.T.

1945

1945

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

9a

The Child As Father to the I

based. Phyllis Greenacre has studied closely the role of trauma in the infancy of people who later manifested traits strikingly similar to Hitler's. She stresses the particular importance of the very early years. "The existence of any conditions which seriously impair the mother-infant relationship at this time . . . increases and prolongs primary narcissism and tends to damage the early ego. . . . such fundamental disturbances may arise either through pathological conditions in the infant . . . or they may arise through a maternal disturbance of any sort that alienates the mother from emotional and bodily contact with her baby in the first months of life." 44

We may assume that some sort of basic psychological difficulty developed in the infant Adolf, since there is evidence both of unhealthy conditions in the child and of emotional disturbances experienced by the mother. Working together, the two conditions would have impaired the vitally important mother-infant relationship. We know that at birth, and for some time thereafter, Adolf was a "sickly baby." No further details have been given, but his ailments seem to have been sufficient to cause his mother to fear that he would die in infancy, as his brother and sister had done. Worries about Adolf's health helped produce the excessive maternal solicitude which Klara showered upon her son until she died. Hitler himself confirms this overprotectiveness and indulgence when he refers to himself in his memoirs as a "mother's darling" who lived a comfortable life in his "soft, downy bed" until his mother's death. As we have noted, Hitler's family doctor reported that several of the neighbors found the mother's love for her son verged on the pathological.

The special nature of the mother-child relationship, as well as the troubled history of the relationship between Adolf's parents, suggests strongly that Klara transferred her libidinal interest from her unresponsive uncle-husband to her little son. Anxiety about Adolf's health and survival certainly would have played a part in reinforcing the displacement. There is evidence that Klara's response to her baby's sickness was to nurse him for an excessive length of time—perhaps as long as two years. A psychoanalyst has suggested that she may have done so as a way of quieting her guilt feelings and restoring her self-esteem as a mother: "In this kind of situation, the nipple is nearly forced into the baby's mouth whenever he screams, regardless of what is troubling him." 45

Klara may have continued to force-feed Adolf because, as a peasant daughter, she believed that good food was the best medicine for any childhood complaint. As a rigorously disciplined person herself, she might well have compelled her little boy (as she often forced herself) to do what was "good for him"—in this instance, to eat food whether he wanted it or not.

A boyhood memory of a farmer, Johann Schmidt, who was an older cousin of Adolf's, supports the hypothesis that Klara tried to im-

146. Her heartiest prayers are pecked up by D.T. who was out that night on prayer. Father, very heartily was just a bit—then were so pure. "Take my life, send it if it will help to save his."

prove Adolf's health by it throughout his childhood Aunt Klara, after her hi summers on the farm it obliged to work in the when he did not feel w cow's milk into his roor drink it." 46

Hitler's oral habits a that there were serious which the well-meaning adult Hitler's inordinate crisis; the sucking of hi rages; his poor appetite; his constant comment al basic mistrust of others

Adolf was a compul his boyhood friend recall he could dominate verbal

Soon I came to un for the reason that I TALK and needed s startled when he w vivid gestures, for i by the fact that I usually delivered so cano erupting. . . .

A close associate of his aggression. The Führer, literally to destroy opposi

The fury raged itse contradiction only k would crush all obje scenes occurred over

During one of his be to embarrass him by aski he had ever joined the ci of the Führerwew. (Mit dem Maat he n man on classic account o lem during the oral stag

shot prayers look to grab and come on what is missing much own life.

must be rewritten for Dieter.

His later career for cream puffs & soft pastries & etc

1945

the milkmaid used to put in & struggle into him.

IA

By his second wife, Franziska née Matzelsberger:

1. Alois Hitler (born 13.1.1882)

Left the family in 1896. At the time of Frau Klara's death (1907) is described in a document as 'a waiter in Paris'. The 'black sheep' of the family. Disinherited, i.e. received only the legal minimum of his inheritance. Married an Irish girl by whom a son, William Patrick Hitler, who wrote to Adolf in 1930 concerning his allegedly Jewish ancestry (see Chapter One). Alois had no relations with Adolf, the political leader.

2. Angela Hitler (born 28.7.1883)

Until her marriage in 1903 lived with the family, being treated by her step-mother, Klara, as her own child. The two were much attached to one another. At the age of twenty married Leo Raubal (1879-1910), a tax official in Linz (from the town of Ried, in Upper Austria, not a Czech as has been suggested). Her children:

Leo Raubal (born 1906). Became a school-master. Captured by Russians in 1939-45 war, released December 1955.

Angela Maria ('Geli') Raubal (born 1908, committed suicide, 1931). As a school-girl greatly admired her 'Uncle Adolf'. At her own request went to live in his flat in Munich, late 1920s. Shot herself with Adolf's revolver, 1931.

Elfriede Raubal (born 1910).

After her husband's death in 1910 Angela was left in very meagre circumstances. Nevertheless, all three of her children received their proper schooling and she managed to provide for her half-sister, Paula, as well, who had become Angela's responsibility after the death of Frau Klara Hitler in 1907. Angela was, in fact, an efficient and practical-minded woman, all in the domestic sphere that her father had been in his professional career. In 1936 she married Herr Martin Hammitzsch, who was then the Director of the State School of Building Construction in Dresden.

D. T. And Angela? A

note in passing - 1936
she was married to (then Martin)
Hammitzsch (etc) in Dresden
and as the ceremony climbing of the death of Geli.

By his third wife, Klara née Pölzl:

1. Gustav Hitler (born 17.5.1885, five months after his parents' wedding. Died in his second year.)
2. Ida Hitler (born 23.9.1886. Died in her second year.)
3. Otto Hitler¹ (born in Vienna. Died when a few days old.)
4. ADOLF HITLER (born 20.4.1889. Shot himself, 30.4.1945).
5. Edmund Hitler (born 24.3.1894 in Passau. Died of measles, 29.2.1900, in Leonding.)
6. Paula Hitler (born 21.1.1896 in Hafeld (Fischlam)).

Twenty months in Passau

On his promotion to Higher Collector in August 1892, Alois Hitler was posted to Passau in Bavaria, the Austrian Customs post being then, as now, maintained on German soil. He remained there with his family for twenty months, until April 1894, when he was posted to Linz, his family staying on in Passau until April 1895, when they moved into their own home in Hafeld.

I have been able to obtain a first-hand account of this period in Alois Hitler's life from a former colleague of his who later stood sponsor for Adolf at his confirmation, Regierungsrat Emanuel Lugert. During a four-hour conversation, supplemented by later correspondence, Lugert gave me much information of unquestionable authenticity. Our conversation proceeded as follows:

J: 'I believe you knew Alois Hitler personally?'

Lugert: 'Yes. My first post as a Customs official was in the village of Haibach near Passau. It was there, in 1892, that I met Alois Hitler—Higher Collector as he then was. I was twenty and he was fifty-five. He had his beehives in Haibach and he used to do the half-hour's walk from Passau ending up at the inn. We used to sit there every evening, at the table by the stove—a few farmers, the Mayor, and once a week the Parish priest from Freinberg.'

The sole source of information concerning this child is a statement by his sister Paula (still living).

Less to suggest
the precise
marriage record

on, rather, takes
Alois tells the
Joke about
address
quest
(Friedrich)

Atkin 3.

Nov 1929

E

class-conscious family background may have played some part in heightening his receptivity to elitist doctrines; certainly the period he spent as a member of the small band of professional Nazis fostered his differentiation from the common herd. As early as 1924 he envisioned a future dominated by an elite band of the racially pure. Commenting on Tacitus, *Germania* in September of that year he wrote: "How morally pure and elevated our forefathers were. So shall we be again, or at least some of us will."² After finishing Franz Haiser's *Freimaurer und Gegenmaurer im Kampf um die Weltherrschaft* (Freemasons and anti-Freemasons in a fight for world domination) in March 1925 he exclaimed, "We must become a Kshatriya caste!"^{*3}

His period of service under Röhm in the *Reichsflagge* and *Reichskriegsflagge* may also have helped to shape the ideas he used in the SS. In November 1929, while his former chief was still in Bolivia, Heinrich wrote him, "Many SS leaders have felt the effect of the training I received from you."⁴ In a second letter of the same period he told Röhm, "When the organization [the SS] is at its peak you'll have great joy when I give you a complete report including pictures of this organization which is a successor of the *Reichskriegsflagge*."⁵ One must be cautious about accepting these remarks at face value, because in 1929 Heinrich was trying to get Röhm to raise money for the SS, and a touch of flattery may have been involved. However, there is probably a kernel of truth in his assertion that the style of the *Reichskriegsflagge* was carried over into the SS.

Yet none of these hints and foreshadowings get to the root of what perplexes us about Heinrich Himmler and the later SS. What disturbs us so profoundly is not the organization of the SS nor Himmler's ultimate position as Reich police chief, but the torture of millions of human beings and the extermination of millions more. No direct answer to these questions is to be found in Himmler's childhood and youth; the twentieth century cannot escape from its monstrosities by uncovering a mark of Cain or a Mephistophelean pact with the devil. Nazi ruthlessness and mass-extermination policies were the result of an intertwining of social forces and personal idiosyncracies. Like other cataclysms of our age, they defy simple explanation and seem to have evolved over

*An ancient Aryan warrior caste which has been carried over into modern India.

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long periods of time. There is no doubt, however, that when the time came Heinrich Himmler accepted the role of remote-control torturer and mass murderer and carried out these tasks with organizations that he had helped to form.

E

Again, all the influences that inclined Himmler toward elitism and toward devotion to the Nazi party and its ideology may have contributed to his ultimate willingness to carry out torture and mass murder. Even in 1924 his extreme partisanship bore the marks of fanaticism, and his ability to carry out a protracted campaign of harassment and vilification against his prospective sister-in-law indicates that, once aroused, he recognized no limits. A more direct connection between his early ideas and his later activities is to be found in his concept of *Treue* or loyalty. Praise of company or party loyalty is common in organizations, but *völkisch* writers and speakers in the early 1920s elevated it to the paramount position in their value system. Loyalty became the bedrock of the *völkisch* faith. Heinrich went even further and made the vague notion of *Treue* synonymous with the upholding of all his likes and dislikes. *Treue* came to mean consistency with his beliefs on sexual behavior and political activity, regardless of the social consequences or the opinions of others. Gradually *Treue* came to be focused on the absolute necessity of carrying out the wishes of the party and its *Führer*, Adolf Hitler. The slogan of the SS, *Meine Ehre heisst Treue*, marked the institutionalization of this concept inside the Nazi system. But if the heart of one's value system is party *Treue*, then what actions are to be regarded as proof of one's virtue? Certainly not the actions performed in obedience to orders of the kind that most men are willing to obey. Only by the willing execution of orders and the assumption of responsibilities that others find immoral or distasteful can one truly demonstrate the highest commitment to *Treue*. The youthful devotion to *Treue* as solving the problems of conflicting values ultimately placed Himmler in a position where he could rationalize as a demonstration of virtue his assumption of responsibility for evil.

The idea of *Treue* would not have had the murderous consequences it did if Himmler had been in a position to exercise his judgment in detachment from his party commitment. Any opportunity to look at the situation from another point of view would have given him some means of

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⊆ grappling with the moral and social implications of his actions. But for him no such opportunity was possible. For Heinrich Himmler was not an adult convert to Nazism; it was through his commitment to the party and its ideology that he became an adult. It was his role as a professional party worker which allowed him to overcome his problems of identity and become a man. An adult Heinrich Himmler separate from the party and its ideology never existed. Himmler was Nazism. Short of death he could draw no line between the party and himself.

Die alten Burschen leben noch,
Noch lebt die alte Treue,
Noch lebt die alte Treue.*

*Refrain of "O alte Burschenherrlichkeit," a German fraternity song of the mid-nineteenth century.

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Hitler Comes to Power 3 B

toral successes are one condition that led to Hitler's appointment as chancellor. This leads us to our third question: Why and how did this party come into being? This question must be clearly separated from that regarding the party's electoral successes. For the successes began only after 1929, whereas the party was founded in 1919.

Thus we have arrived at the triple question. It concerns first of all Hindenburg, who appointed Hitler; second, the voters who made Hitler a political factor; and third, the party that attracted the voters. All three questions have to be raised together. Whoever asks only about Hindenburg neglects the electorate, without which he would not have appointed Hitler. Again, whoever asks only about the electorate overlooks the fact that it did not give the Nazi party a majority. And whoever asks only about the party needs reminding that it would not have come to power without the electorate and without Hindenburg. Let us begin, therefore, at the logical beginning, with the question why Hindenburg appointed Hitler.

THE ROLE OF HINDENBURG

Although in appointing Hitler chancellor Hindenburg acted within the framework of the constitution, he was not required to appoint him at any time. Article 53 of the Weimar constitution empowered the president to appoint the chancellor of his choice.¹ This freedom was restricted only by Article 54, which stipulated that the chancellor and the ministers must command the confidence of the Reichstag.

Thus, Hitler or any would-be chancellor could not simply concern himself with his own appointment; he needed the backing of a majority in the Reichstag. This meant 293 votes of the then 584 members. The Nazis numbered only 196. They were 97 seats short of a majority, thus Hitler formed a coalition cabinet. His coalition partner, the Conservative party, however, had only 52 members in parliament, leav-

Plan laws, which provided that Germany would pay reparations for a further fifty-nine years. The fury of the Hugenberg and Nazi Press and their open attacks on the President revealed the bitterness of their defeat.

But the defeat for Hugenberg and his 'Freedom Law' was no defeat for Hitler. In the preceding six months he had succeeded for the first time in breaking into national politics and showing something of his ability as a propagandist. To millions of Germans who had scarcely ever heard of him before, Hitler had now become a familiar figure, thanks to a publicity campaign entirely paid for by Hugenberg's rival party.

More important still, he had attracted the attention of those who controlled the political funds of heavy industry and big business to his remarkable gifts as an agitator. From now on Hitler could count upon increasing interest and support from at least some of those who had money to invest in nationalist, anti-democratic and anti-working-class politics.

With this money Hitler began to put the Party on a new footing. He took over the Barlow Palace, an old mansion on the Briennerstrasse in Munich, and had it remodelled as the Brown House. A grand staircase led up to a conference chamber, furnished in red leather, and a large corner room in which Hitler received his visitors beneath a portrait of Frederick the Great.

Hitler himself had moved to a large nine-roomed flat on Prinzregentenstrasse, one of Munich's fashionable streets, and he was now seen more frequently in Munich, occasionally in the company of his favourite niece, Geli Raubal, who had a room in the new flat. At this time Hitler enjoyed more private life than at any other, and he was often to refer to it nostalgically. 'In the evening I would put on a dinner jacket or tails to go to the opera. We made excursions by car. . . . My super-charged Mercedes was a joy to

The Years of Waiting,
all. Afterwards, we would
company of the actors. .
those were marvellous c

At the Party conference with Hugenberg Hitler dealt of criticism, voiced dangers of being tarred and losing support by to 'old gang', the old ruling the industrialists, the Junkers and higher officials who were national Party. His critics of unscrupulousness, that Hitler first exhibited on this score he turned his futile campaign against the Young Plan to for himself and the Party alliance with Hugenberg, expectedly as he had made them.

The astonishing recovery the ending of 1923 was about the impact of the World War also the year in which Hitler the first time became a major politics is not fortuitous. Exile from prison at the end of 1924, disaster, only to see the Reputation. Those who had ever held him a fool. Now disaster land again, and the despised inheritance.

Hitler neither understood economics, but he was alive to the consequences of events which every family in Germany. of these social consequences

own party; many were attracted to it by the promise of violence and hoped for a March on Berlin to seize power. This very threat in itself was a useful lever in persuading those who controlled access to power—the Army and the President's advisers—to cooperate with him. To repudiate revolution altogether was to throw away his best chance of coming to power legally. Finally, if the tactics of legality failed, he might be faced with the alternatives of political decline or making a putsch in earnest.

Two particular problems were bound up with the question of legality in the National Socialist movement up to 1934: the relations of the Nazi Party and the Army, and the role to be played by the S.A. The two questions are in fact only different sides of the same penny, but it will be easier to deal with them separately.

Since Röhm's resignation, relations between the Nazis and the Army had been bad. In an effort to control the S.A., Hitler had forbidden them in 1927 to have any connexion with the Army, and the Ministry of Defence had retorted by forbidding the Army to accept National Socialists as recruits or to employ them in arsenals and supply depots.

Yet Hitler was very much aware that the Army's support, or at least its neutrality, was the essential key to his success. In March 1929, he delivered a speech at Munich on the subject of National Socialism and the Armed Forces which was both a challenge to the Army and a bid for its favour. Hitler began by attacking the idea which General von Seeckt had made the guiding principle of the new Army—that the Army must stand apart from politics. This, Hitler declared, was simply to put the Army at the service of the Republican régime, which had stabbed the old Army in the back in 1918 and betrayed Germany to her enemies.

Hitler's speech was published verbatim in a special

Army issue of the *Völkis* followed it up by articles *Deutscher Wehrgeist* (The German Fighting Spirit) in which he argued that towards nationalist movement the Army was betraying its duty by the ground away from its arguments, which showed penetrating the minds of the officers, were not without effect on the younger officers, who saw in an army limited by the hands of the men, and who were sure that he would at once turn the Army to its old position of power.

Three such young officers spreading Nazi propaganda in the Supreme Court at Leipzig. Since Hitler was now the most powerful Party in the country, they were extremely interested in the attitude towards the Army. Hitler did not miss his opportunity on the Army. He went on to tell them about the S.A. Storm Battalion, its legal function, and insisted that every attempt to limit its power was madness. He promised that the formation of a new Army by constitutional means. Hitler's trial provided the basis for negotiations with the Army leading to his assumption of power.

Hitler's talk of legality, to persuade the generals and the State to hand over power to him, to seize it, for everything

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A. H. W.
D. T. *

and when Leo X became
to, *quod Dio ce l'ha dato*
(has given it to us)." This
is expressing the uni-
ties. A passionate
entirely by art and intel-
insatiable hunger for
ful fillings and writings,
and exits, beau-
and scandals — for
individual details,
all existence a work
on with the secrets

the Geist, which is
writes: "Here a
fully, according to a
es God say to it?"
is an open question;
ans. The question:
found and indeed
never any inter-
ited in the world
and amusement

greatest of all rifts
consists in the ter-
of life — beauty or
s that they usually
beauty desires itself,
s itself and always
only form; good-
eals to the senses,
ful and noble task
able and precious,
and brilliance? Or
asing simply to be
erve them and be
earthly pilgrimage?

Is it the unlimited affirmation of this world's power and beauty?
But that can only be done at the cost of our purity. Or is it the
saving of the soul entrusted to us by God, its purification and
liberation from the earthly? But then we should not perhaps have
lived life in full. Who, then, is right? Artist or saint? Creator or
conqueror?

This conflict is displayed in the life of Tolstoi, that mighty
dreamer and creator, who suddenly conceived an ardent hatred
for art and became a peasant and a hermit. Its dark traces are
visible in Shakspeare's last works; its anxious voice is heard in
Ibsen as he grows old, and rings stridently, like the beats of a brass
gong, through the whole of Strindberg. Bernard Shaw, the strong-
est and warmest brain of our own times, tries to formulate it in
The Doctor's Dilemma, one of his finest, richest, and most out-
spoken comedies, and Oscar Wilde puts it before us with over-
whelming plastic effect in his novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray*.
Dorian Gray is a man for whom the dream of eternal beauty is
fulfilled. No wickedness, no age, no filth can touch his body; but
the body is only the shadow of the soul, and the soul can only be
beautiful through purity and goodness, and so Dorian Gray is
nothing but a deceived deceiver: the world sees him in his incor-
ruptible youth and charm, but the invisible picture in the locked
attic records none the less, trait by trait, every step which his soul
has taken towards ugliness.

The Renaissance was the second and true Fall of man, as the
Reformation was his second and perhaps definitive exclusion from
paradise. The Reformation engendered the dogma of the *sacred-*
ness of work; the Renaissance produced the man *who enjoys*,
and ends by worshipping, *himself*. And the two together, working
with a good conscience and a narcissist self-regarding and self-
glorification, are responsible for the modern boredom under which
the earth is gradually congealing. And the correlative of this
boredom is the "interestingness" (or otherwise) of objects —
a conception as unknown to the Classical as to the mediæval
age.

The second
Fall of man

Dante's divine poem hangs like a blazing danger-signal at the
entrance to the Renaissance. In describing the fate of those who
were condemned to live at the greatest distance from God, he was
describing the future of his own country. Held in the eternal ice,

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* However, A. H. is haunted because
he has not lived life in full. (Geli Roubal)

irring — Diderot
much for petty
rk to the whole
e the siècle des
ucts were charm-
co whispered and
oque the flourish
co changed into

yrant and abnor-
host. Now, on the
to a bizarre and
vereign measure
y: for the genre
ay a caprice, for
l set the current
possibly only half-
mplete atheists in
e variant, the dis-
lady once said as
ity it is not a sin!"
l not infrequently
ps, was flagellant-
in this; it had de-
e should remember
t all high and late
hat indeed an ele-
e. Culture — as we
ion with the wig —
t ageing Culture of
degree, for the cycle
gination soars over
ew Empire, nor the
ans of the Empire
" of ancient Rome
a long time I have
o find a woman who
haste, then? Thou-
then? They do not

say yes; but neither do they say no." Juvenal declared that some women had themselves divorced before the green boughs which welcomed them to their homes as brides had faded. And Voltaire wrote to the same effect in his article *Divorce*: "Divorce probably arose in the same period as marriage. I believe nevertheless that marriage is the older by a few weeks." Even the sadistic circus-enjoyments of the Romans find their pendant in the fact that in Paris members of the highest circles liked to go to an execution by way of a society sensation, and that, as witnesses assure us, many women became on these occasions sheer orgiasts.

Boredom had to be avoided at all costs. Accordingly in the eighteenth century French culture received a new fillip. *Esprit* was born, the spirit of champagne, which is froth and wine in one. But with this almost morbid straining to be, under all circumstances, stimulating and brilliant, aromatic and effervescent, the old monumental air, the dignity, seriousness, and depth disappeared. Great tracts of the soul wholly withered, were contemptuously avoided or flippantly ignored. The glitter which streams from the departing Baroque is the phosphorescence of corruption.

Men thought, no longer in laboriously built-up and compartmented systems or heavy drugging syllogistic chains, but in close piquant polemics, faceted epigrams, time-killing satires, peppered pamphlets, and razor-edged aphorisms; or, again, in *poésies fugitives*, lyric-epigrammatic *maïseries* that had only a shimmering streak of any train of thought in them. Dialogue, novel, short story, all became vessels for philosophy. Even the conscientious and profound Montesquieu draws the coloured ribbon of a scandalous harem adventure through his *Lettres persanes*. It was essential to be understood by everyone, even the half-educated, the society man, the public, and, above all, the ladies.

This speaks out of the portraits too. Scholars are no longer painted with book, pen, and spectacles, but as smiling, nonchalant men of the world. Nothing is allowed to disillusion us by suggesting the technical aids to their work; nor indeed must this work itself smell of oil, ink, and work-room, for it would have you believe that it is nothing more than a light, tasteful, and pleasant article of luxury, one of the many indispensable superfluities of the self-indulgent life of society. The gardens of science, guarded from the eyes of the profane as holy ground in the Middle Ages, hedged

* His affair with her begins after she
years of murders he has sanctioned.

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Do. ?

Esprit

the last
the last

essentially a business-
eral Jewish social and
Hotel Adlon. He was
um there, and Hitler
ffense." Von Ribben-

wer, von Ribbentrop
and professionally, so
nd and now a Nazi
uld not do so without
discovered the thrilling
in his own words, was

aching a crisis. The
right. Gold reserves
re were millions of
By 1930 it looked as
convinced that only
collapse of the mod-
where without force.
ssions. I did not wish
o help in forming a
ewing National Party
DAP [the Nazi Party,

If the von Ribbentrops'
part it was a matter of
officer, the son of an
rial officer, and he re-
international prestige.
otion. By touting anti-
tention of the "best"
of their former neigh-
minent Berliners, some
casual acquaintances,
ahlem, where they met
is of all shadings who
Germany, a strong and
honor" restored. Their
irs of submission, com-
gent penalties. The war
back," or *Dolchstoß*, a

favorite nationalist explanation for Germany's seemingly inexplicable
collapse in 1918, although it is generally acknowledged that Germany
was near bankruptcy and unable to continue more than two weeks
when it agreed to the Armistice. This new Germany would regain its
rightful place among Europe's great powers. Most of all: beware of
the Bolshevik plague!

The von Ribbentrops became important hosts. They offered their
guests, along with a serving of right-wing politics, an attractive eve-
ning in a civilized household.

Meanwhile, the wine business prospered, the two von Ribbentrop
children were a joy, the house was filled with interesting guests, and if
the family in Wiesbaden was still aloof, that could not be helped.
Annelies had proved her point. Joachim and she had made their life a
success. It was not the first nor the last time that insecure *arrivistes*
had used political radicalism to further their social ambitions.

On the twenty-ninth of October 1929, the *New York Times's* front
page read: EUROPE IS DISTURBED BY AMERICAN ACTION ON
OCCUPATION DEBT; immediately to the right of that headline:

STOCK PRICES SLUMP 14,000,000,000 IN
NATION-WIDE STAMPEDE TO UNLOAD.
BANKERS TO SUPPORT MARKET TODAY.

Other stories that day: "French troops withdraw from the Rhineland
after a settlement in the Hague."

"Arabs attack Jews in Palestine after an argument over use of the
Wailing Wall."

"Hitler appoints Heinrich Himmler to head the SS."

"Russia, Poland, Romania, Estonia, and Latvia sign a pact con-
demning war . . ."

A few months later, in 1930, Germany suffered the consequences
of the disaster on New York's Wall Street. The American bill would
have to be paid, and all the world's countries rowed on the same
monetary lake. The wave set off by the New York stock market crash
upset the precarious financial balance of war-battered Europe. That
included the struggling, vulnerable new Republic of Germany.

In the 1930 parliamentary elections, Hitler's NSDAP won 107
seats, the largest single bloc, though not a majority. To control them,
President von Hindenburg chose the conservative Heinrich Brüning as
chancellor, in the hope that he could form a coalition government of
the right.

German patience was wearing thin. After years of upheaval, every-

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German Army and the Bolshevik precedent before the latter incident of the 'sealed train' was to cross Germany from west to east to assume leadership of the Reich. This move was Colonel Reich of the Intelligence Service, who had close relations between the Reichswehr and the Red Army. Indeed, his may be seen in this direction. He was a man of political ambitions, who, with his background, preferring to maintain connections with the Reichswehr to recognize his small, insignificant position as one of the most important figures for Soviet Intelligence. During the agreement from my time, he was placed under observation as head of the Gestapo) properly. Later, when I discovered I understood why he had

cooperation with the Red Army, Gessler, and General von Reich Colonel Nicolai. The first trained in Russia in the use of the Versailles Treaty, they passed on to the Red Army experience and the great storehouse of armaments. In return Germany was allowed to build a Soviet Union, in particular by the armaments. Certain German war materiel was integrated with those of the Red Army operating in Samara and in the East under the *Gesellschaft der Freunde*, the Company for the

*from
interviews*

Promotion of Industrial Enterprises. This rather comprehensive title masked a cartel whose branches were chiefly engaged in arms production, heavily subsidized by state funds. This was part of the programme for the illegal rearming of Germany after the First World War, another phase of which was the organization of the 'Black Reichswehr'.

Though in the years after 1918 the Soviet government failed in their aim of achieving a Russo-German alliance in Europe, and a similar Russo-Chinese alliance in Asia, they continued to support German nationalism.

Karl Radek—tried and sentenced during the Moscow purge of 1936-1937—was the director and chief exponent of Communist propaganda along this line. His theme was: 'The Struggle of the Comintern against the Versailles Treaty and against the Capitalist Offensive'.

From 1929 Stalin directed the German Communist Party to regard not the National Socialist Party of Hitler but the Social Democrats as their chief enemy, and Party strategy was conducted accordingly. Whether under a nationalist or under a socialist leadership, Stalin's chief aim was to mobilize Germany against the West. And when Schleicher, then Chancellor of Germany, secretly advanced Hitler forty-two million Reichsmarks, at a decisive point in the rise of the Nationalist Socialist movement, it is quite certain that he did this under the influence of Colonel Nicolai, who in this was surely acting again as Stalin's instrument, for Stalin hoped that Hitler would turn Germany against the Western bourgeoisie.

The chief centre of opposition to the pro-Russian party of the German General Staff was among the German industrialists. The chief supporter of Western orientation within the Reichswehr in the years after the War was General Hoffmann, who had headed the German delegation at Brest-Litovsk and had negotiated the armistice of 1918 with the Bolsheviks headed by Trotsky.

General Hoffmann's political adviser was Arnold Rechberg, one of the leading German industrialists. Rechberg's aim was a union of the civilized powers against the danger of Bolshevism. Only thus could Europe be saved. He sought a unification of France, Britain and Germany based on the fusion of their political.

industrial and military interests—this grand alliance to be supported by the financial power of the United States, which, incidentally, by helping the great powers of Europe to regain their prosperity, would be creating better markets for American products.

In the early 'twenties General Ludendorff, too, lent his support to the Rechberg plan. The three of them, Ludendorff, Hoffmann and Rechberg, established contact with several leading French and British politicians, among them General Malcolm, the British *chargé d'affaires* in Berlin, Haguenin and Hesnard on the French side, and later also General Nollet, head of the French Control Commission. Though these men declared themselves ready to support the Hoffmann-Rechberg policy, their governments were not sufficiently aware of the Bolshevik danger, and in the end nothing came of their conversations.

Rechberg's plans for the fusion of European industry met with better success. Discussions were initiated among industrial leaders—M. Mayrisch, of the *Arbed* of Luxembourg, M. Duchemin, of the *Etablissement Kuhlmann*, Sir Alfred Mond and Sir Harry MacGowan (as they then were) of Imperial Chemical Industries, Sir Henri Deterding, and many others. At first the industrial leaders of France and England proved rather reluctant. Rechberg, Hoffmann and Ludendorff, realizing that international measures affecting such giant industries could not be undertaken without the approval of leading statesmen, began conversations with British and French politicians.

In 1926 the first agreement was signed between the German potash industry, in which Rechberg had a decisive influence, and the French potash industry. After this had proved highly advantageous to both parties, the heavy industries of Germany and France followed suit, and were soon joined by those of Belgium and Luxembourg, to be united under the International *Rohstahl Gemeinschaft*—the Raw Steel Union. Similar agreements were arranged between the chemical industries of France and Germany. After 1929, large British concerns also joined the Franco-German industrial alliances.

Such large-scale industrial collaboration could not remain without political and also military consequences. Through Poincaré, Rechberg was able to establish contact with Marshal Foch.

Rechberg himself declared: 'Marshal Foch was the outspoken enemy of Germany. But in 1923, the great French soldier showed a change of heart, recognizing the danger of the Bolshevik danger. He had cast aside the old antagonisms of the European war and that industrial co-operation between Germany and France was guaranteed by military agreements.'

Between them Rechberg and Foch made a proposal:

'A ratio of 5 to 3 be established between the German and French Armies. A Supreme Command of the two armies to be created, giving each general the right to inspect both armies, in times of peace, to inspect both armies, and in times of war. To every German divisional level up, a French staff division should be invited. Once in force, Britain should be invited to join with the strength of the British force to maintain British themselves.'

A naval agreement between the three

However, this policy met with strong opposition from the leadership of the Reichswehr. Both General Schleicher were against breaking the alliance established with the Red Army. To carry this out against the opposition of the German government was clearly impossible.

General Hoffmann had never sought to be convinced that Russian Bolshevism was a German invasion, penetrating at the front. He was convinced, furthermore, that Germany was strong enough to undertake such an invasion, assured of the full support of France, Britain and the United States.

In the midst of his efforts to bring about a new General Hoffmann died, somewhat mysteriously. Ludendorff lost faith in the Western Allies, and the extreme wing of nationalism and to

Arnold Rechberg was arrested on suspicion of being involved in the non-aggression pact with Soviet Russia.

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(and many he had not), trying to get the party banned again.²⁵ But there was no going back.

His courage, or bravado, was nearly his undoing. One Sunday in September 1929 he took two thousand S.A. marchers into proletarian Neukölln. He expected blood to flow, and it was nearly his own. Standing in his open car he took the salute at Wiener Strasse, then ordered Tonak to drive on and park near the Görlitz station. Here a burly communist called Hans Krause shouted, 'It's Goebbels, the assassin of the workers! Let him have it!' 'Before my very eyes,' recorded Goebbels, 'there appear blackjacks, knives, and knuckle-dusters.... A communist hurls himself at me. A shot rings out.' The shots were answered from his car, a pistol loaded with blanks. His chauffeur was injured yet again. 'I staunch Tonak's bleeding. He accelerates away, bouncing the car off street signs and curbstones. A hail of rocks follows us, and more shots are fired.'²⁶ Tonak got them to a police station, but the police arrested them both for using a firearm. It was seven P.M. before they were released.

The ill-conceived campaign for a referendum on the Young Plan, which would ask voters among other things to approve the incarceration of any minister guilty of 'enslaving' the German people, occupied him throughout that month.²⁷ He wrote privately however that nothing was to be achieved by parliamentary means: 'The revolution must march.'²⁸ By midday on November 2 it was plain that the Nazis and D.N.V.P. combined had collected signatures from more than the requisite ten percent of the electorate, some 4,135,000 names. The government however blocked the referendum and the campaign collapsed.²⁹

Goebbels' next campaign was for the communal elections in Prussia. He ordered every man and implement into the fray. 'Our Doctor,' wrote one, 'was everywhere.'³⁰ He spoke in Berlin and in other cities too. At Weimar he met Anka for five minutes in November; she suddenly kissed him with tears in her eyes.³¹ But these women were now history—he was impressed by the sudden firmness of his own resolve.³²

His HQ was like a warehouse with bales of printed propaganda being moved in and out. Fighting on a shoestring the Nazis could not match their rivals' expenditure, but Goebbels' campaign was not without effect. While in May 1928 thirty-nine thousand Berliners had voted the Nazi ticket, on November 17, 1929, his campaign attracted 132,097 votes—or 5.8 percent of the total. Twice during the night he gleefully phoned Hitler. There would now be twenty-three National Socialist deputies in Prussia, with Goebbels at their head.

'The next task,' he declared the day after the election: 'Our own daily paper.'³³ The problem of financing this leap forward had troubled him all year. *Angriff's* street sales were soaring. He hoped to go daily with it from January 1930. But they would need at least eight thousand new subscribers and massive extra capital. Swallowing his pride he asked Elsbeth Zander to get the Women's Order to raise the forty thousand marks, and five thousand new subscribers too.³⁴ After he addressed a giggling meeting of six hundred women on November 7 they collected

in protecting him, don't think the O had yet determined how important it was to give him the kind of whole protection he must for Adolf. He was Goebbels' man, after all.

As such he was a tremendous asset for us provided we did not have to spend undue energies

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4,500 marks on the spot. Police agents learned that Helene Bechstein had donated five thousand. As another woman, of the old Russian Potempa family, handed over five thousand marks Goebbels could not help noticing her pretty twin daughters.³⁵

Party HQ in Munich was unenthusiastic about his publishing plans. His politics were still radically different from Hitler's. For a while Rosenberg talked of bringing out a Berlin edition of his stupendously boring VB, with *Angriff* as a local supplement. But the latter's war chest was expanding. A Mr Heidenreich donated ten thousand marks, 'trusting,' as he said, 'in our victory.' By early January the Women's Order had amassed twenty-six thousand marks and two thousand new subscribers' names.³⁶

Geli
Gross

THREE days after the November 1929 election Goebbels had traveled down to Munich for planning talks on *Angriff*. After an evening of speeches he stayed up talking with Karl Kaufmann, Göring, and Wilhelm Kube, another gauleiter. They shared his view of Hitler's beer-hall milieu. Hitler again promised to relinquish control of national propaganda to Goebbels, if he would spend more of his time in Munich. Goebbels was appreciative but critical: 'I am not overlooking his failings,' he wrote privately about Hitler. 'He's too soft and he works too little.' 'I suspect,' he continued primly in his diary, 'that he indulges in too much womanizing too.' Lying awake pondering these failings in his adopted father-figure, Goebbels charitably concluded that Hitler was different and that he had a right therefore to be judged on a different scale. 'Hitler the Myth must stand, like a *rocher de bronze*.'³⁷

In Rheydt, he was losing his real father. The Goebbels family doctor pronounced the old man's condition as beyond hope. Ashen and gaunt, his face streaked by tears of pain, his father had lain on a sofa in their spotlessly tidy kitchen when he last saw him at Rheydt, surrounded by his family. ('There we are,' Paul Joseph had soliloquized in his diary, 'the Goebbels family: Of diverse character every one of us, but all of the same blood. Soft as children, and hard as nails.')³⁸ He wrote a long last letter to the pious old man and traveled to Rheydt again. A living skeleton, whimpering with pain, his father asked only that they all pray for him.³⁹ On December 7 he died. What person does not suffer pangs of remorse upon a parent's death? 'Without his children,' Goebbels reflected, 'and all alone, he crossed to the wilderness of Nirvana.'⁴⁰ Tonak chauffeured the Goebbels brothers up to the church where the body of their father lay surrounded by flickering candles; helpless tears trickling down his cheeks, Joseph stroked the waxy hands and face of the man who would now never know to what heights his own sacrifices had propelled his son.

A letter of condolence came from Anka. 'It will be my endeavor,' he solemnly replied, 'to equal my late father's fanaticism and devotion to a cause, with the difference that his was for his family, whereas mine shall be for my people and fatherland.' 'I should be glad,' he mechanically concluded, 'to hear again from you soon.'⁴¹

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In Rheydt he had run into Else Janke. She pinked, turned pale, and asked if he ever thought of her. 'What should I reply?' he reflected, and answered with a lie.

All of these events unsettled him. A week before Christmas he had a grotesque nightmare. He dreamed he was back at school being pursued along echoing corridors by rabbis from eastern Galicia. The Jews were chanting as they ran, screaming *Hate, hate, hate!* He always kept a few limping strides ahead of them, and answered with the same taunt. In his dream it seemed as though the pursuit lasted for hours, but they never caught up with him.⁴²

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propaganda chief, reported on his efforts to develop their film and press propaganda.⁵¹ The only decisions which Goebbels recorded in Weimar were that the S.A. was to be more firmly anchored to the political leadership, and that the party was to adhere henceforth slavishly to the legal paths to power. 'Take note, Berlin!' noted Goebbels.⁵²

Hitler had every reason to counsel restraint. Confronted with the growing Nazi and communist lawlessness in Prussia, Albert Grzesinski had appealed to the Reich minister of the interior, Severing, for a permanent nationwide ban on these parties and their paramilitary formations. The terms imposed on defeated Germany by the peace treaty of 1921 provided adequate legal grounds.⁵³

Goebbels reluctantly bowed to Hitler's dictate. Issue No. 32 of *Angriff* portrayed a communist Red Front streetfighter and his Nazi counterpart, both bandaged and bleeding, shaking hands over the crumpled body of a Jew. 'The Day of Realization,' Schweitzer's prophetic caricature was captioned: 'The Dawn of the Third Reich.'⁵⁴

Since January 5, 1929 his newspaper had twelve pages.⁵⁵ Meanwhile he methodically built up the infrastructure of the gau. It helped that he had a brand-new limousine, a bright-blue open seven-seater landau built by Opel; its license tag was IA-53398—Goebbels claimed that a German idealist living in Argentina had just donated it to the gau.⁵⁶ The big car gave the crippled gauleiter power, authority, and mobility. Taking his burly escort with him he used it to tour the sections in red-hot areas like Prenzlauer Berg, Friedrichshain, Alexander Platz, and Kreuzberg.⁵⁷ Muchow was doing fine work on the factory floor, establishing cells in big plants like Knorr Brake at Lichterfelde. Too late the marxists woke up to this danger. Goebbels' schools of speaking and politics were also improving. Once he even let Gregor Strasser address a course.⁵⁸ Standards here were often higher than in the Reichstag where, as Goebbels himself put it, listening to long boring speakers was like being a fine pianist and having to hear some lout grinding away on a magnificent grand piano.⁵⁹

Great though his conceit about his own oratory was, Goebbels conceded that Hitler's was better. In fact their styles were different. Hitler's speeches were predictable and repetitious; Goebbels' were more analytical, executed with a thrilling elocution and clarity. Albert Krebs later stated that his Nazis in Hamburg often debated which was better; those who opted for Goebbels sometimes indicated that he would make a better party leader too.⁶⁰ The two men were in equal demand all over Germany. 'We lead real gypsy lives,' Hitler had commiserated with him a few days after Weimar.⁶¹

On character, however, Goebbels found serious fault with Hitler at this time, a tendency to let things slide. He felt that the Führer should get his other men boning up already on their later duties. ('My task,' he already knew in 1929, 'is to be Propaganda and Public Enlightenment'.)⁶² Only Alfred Rosenberg towered above the 'beerhall' milieu of Hitler's Munich cronies.

Geli
Paula

March 9, 1929

76 II: THE GAULEITER OF BERLIN

BACK in Berlin after Weimar, Goebbels is subjected to a scene by Tamara. He feels sorry for her, but she has lost the submissive 'Asian' quality he valued before in her. What else is he looking for? It is not sex. Later the 'sweet chatterbox' Jutta Lehmann, still one week shy of eighteen, turns up and keeps him 'tempestuous' company—*stürmisch*, evidently another diary buzzword—until eleven P.M. 'How Jutta will weep,' he notes, almost sadistically, 'when the time comes for us to part!'⁶³ He is addicted to the company of teenage girls, but prefers them perhaps to bare anything except their intellects. When Kütemeyer's widow turns out to have opinions of her own he shrieks in his diary, 'For God's sake let's keep women out of politics.'⁶⁴ In fact, he hates most if not all of the human race except for Jutta and Anka, both of whom know how to mother him.⁶⁵

He yearns for Anka, the forbidden passion of his life. On February 25, 1929 he takes a sheet of Reichstag notepaper and tries to set up another tryst: 'It would be glorious if you could come to Berlin for a few days. On Friday March 8 there is an important and sensational session in the Reichstag . and on Sunday the tenth my new drama [*Blood Seed*] is being premièred at the Wallner Theatre. It's sold out already.' He signs off as ULEX, just as in the old days.⁶⁶

MARCH 9, 1929. Anka phones. She's coming this afternoon for two days' visit. . . . In the afternoon worked at home. Frightful news: communists have stabbed two S.A. men to death in Schleswig-Holstein [Hermann Schmidt and Otto Streib]. The first storm cones! Blood seed, from which the new Reich shall grow.

Anka arrives looking the picture of a cultured lady. He shows her over the Reichstag, then takes her to a patriotic movie starring the swashbuckling Emil Jannings with a powerful plot about a man giving his life for his people. In the Rheingold bar afterwards she yet again pours out her heart about her unhappy marriage, until two A.M. They sit side by side at Sunday's première of his play, which events in Schleswig-Holstein have suddenly rendered so topical. Over a meal at Kempinski's he has one unexpected difference with Anka, on the Jewish problem: now it is she who does not grasp it. Privately he reflects on the happiness that might have been. 'But,' he adds, priggishly distorting history, 'I had to choose: her, or something greater, my Mission.' Then, 'Leave-taking! Farewell,' he writes, slipping effortlessly into the role of scriptwriter again. 'She smiles.'⁶⁷

His private life is becoming more dishonest. While he writes, and his teenaged Jutta cooks for him, he is agonizing over the married Anka returning to her worthless Georg. A few days later his diary encodes him as gossiping with 'the Gypsy'—Anneliese Haegert, another 'darling child.' 'Most women are boring,' he concludes, 'particularly the good lookers. But I suppose it's enough that they do look good.'⁶⁸

After he sees Anka again at Weimar on March 19, her husband comes to fetch her. It is the first time Goebbels has seen Mummé, and she seems ashamed of him. 'That is her husband?' sympathizes Goebbels.

March 24, 1929

CONJURING UP SPIRITS 77

'Oh, Anka!' Georg Mumme civilly invites him to lunch the next day at their little household at No. 14 Johann-Albrecht Strasse; Goebbels has so often tried to visualize their home. Her baby Christian is a stubborn little boy; seeing the child hurts Goebbels more than he expects. 'That was some situation you snared me in,' he reproaches her in a letter. 'I felt like a fifth wheel on the wagon.' Later he invites her to join the gau's Easter outing to the Harz mountains ('The car's at the doctor's,' he writes with a levity that belies his nervousness, 'but will be discharged at the weekend'). He adds that she must of course invite her Georg along too. 'Pity you can't see from the letter how I stammer out those words.'⁶⁹

Goebbels has the dull but comforting sensation that perhaps he can never marry, because there are so many women that he is fond of.⁷⁰

MARCH 24, 1929. Afternoon at home. Anneliese Haegert is coming round. How am I to meet her? Anka, sweet woman!

Evidently he comes clean about Anka because the Gypsy leaves in tears. Women, he ruminates, have only one real use—as moles planted inside hostile agencies like police HQ or the League of Human Rights.⁷¹

On the Easter outing Anka arrives wearing a costly leather coat, of the same gray-green hue as her eyes. She has brought Georg Mumme along but pointedly ignores him throughout, although he continues to sing the gauleiter's praises to her. Goebbels finds him insufferable: Mumme gulps down his beer and cracks painfully pointless jokes; but it is Georg who shares Anka's bed each night and not the gauleiter. 'Thus,' writes Goebbels, 'vengeance exacts a belated, but infinitely crueler, revenge.' Georg utters not a murmur of protest as Goebbels squeezes into the back seat next to Anka and, Goebbels silently asks himself, staring at the husband, why should he? 'Don't I have a greater right to this woman than you, you ignoramus?' In ancient Goslar Georg tactfully lets them stroll off together like lovers and returns that evening reeking of lust and liquor. Goebbels spends another sleepless night elsewhere under the same roof.

At daybreak they drive off through the rain, snow, and ice. Beneath the warming travel rug Goebbels feels Anka's hand seeking his. Unseen, she slips onto his finger the ring her widowed mother gave her.⁷²

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10: A Rather Obstinate Gentleman

He had the uneasy feeling that he was leading a charmed life. He wrote to Anka that he would actually welcome some setback, preferably a minor one, to help break the spell. 'I have liquidated everything ugly from the past,' he wrote, referring perhaps to *Michael* and *Blood Seed*, 'and can now contemplate the future with greater fortitude.'¹

One ugly item from the past still haunted him: The catholic charity in Cologne now instructed lawyers in Berlin to extract from him the four hundred marks still unpaid from his student loan twelve years before. The lawyers served a writ.² The court awarded judgment in default on April 6, 1929. A few days later the bailiffs called and glued their traditional paper cuckoo to his radio set, the only item of value in his apartment. Still he did not pay up. 'We are evidently dealing,' the lawyers reported to Cologne, 'with a rather obstinate gentleman. . . . It is to be hoped that this spokesman of the National Socialist party will fight shy of declaring bankruptcy.'³ The charity calmly ordered the lawyers to have him bankrupted. On May 16 the bailiffs removed his beloved radio—with his piano, the only instrument he had wherewith to amuse his girlfriends—and sent it to be auctioned.⁴ When he appealed, the Catholics claimed they acted repressively only when there was evidence of a 'ruthless' attitude on the debtor's part. Not until February 1930 would he make the final payment, closing the ledgers on a rather puzzling episode.

True, he had weightier matters on his mind. 'Sunday morning,' he jotted on April 15, 'We march, right into the communist districts. I stand in the thick of the mêlée and am recognized. Our men march unflinching through the catcalls and whistles of the Reds.'⁵ He was planning ahead for the Nuremberg rally in August and for an open-air rally in Berlin in September as a prelude to the important November municipal elections.

Constantly expanding his horizons, on May 10 he launched a National Socialist League of Schoolchildren at a jamboree of one thousand eager girls and boys. Cash was always a problem however.⁶ He pleaded with *Angriff* not to court a renewed prohibition. Finding in one issue a blatant libel on their foreign minister Gustav Stresemann he himself ordered all unsold copies recalled—not that he was loath to wound the statesman.⁷ 'This plenipotentiary of German democracy,' he called him, 'somewhat fat, jaundice-hued, perspiring, his little tricky eyes bedded carefully in cushions of fat, a smooth, rectangular forehead topped by an enormous expanse of bald head, there he stands, in the midst of his beloved Jews.'

1930 1929

SUDDENLY there is Xenia. Her name means 'Stranger'; she is another teenaged girl, and Goebbels risks a first letter to her just after writing to Anka.⁸ Xenia von Engelhardt's unexpected visit to Dr Goebbels is the start of a platonic friendship which endures almost to the end of his bachelor days. She wangles her way past the sentinels posted on his heart by the usual wiles, pouring out her woes about her unfaithful boyfriend, laughing, blushing, and instinctively gauging his needs.⁹ Once she stages a scene and turns on her heel; then stalks back and spends a night with him which he describes as *glückdurchbebt*, quaking with happiness. By May 4 they have captured each other, each presuming victory. They take in a Greta Garbo movie (another 'divine woman,' sighs Goebbels). After another tiff, Xenia storms off, returns, knocks on his door. He does not open—he is reading the Sunday papers and, yet again, Moeller van den Bruck's *The Third Reich*. That afternoon they go for a row, and make up again. 'And then,' records Goebbels, picking his words carefully, 'comes a long, blessed night, filled with silence. Xenia is all modesty and sacrifice.'¹⁰

Back at his lodgings he finds a letter from the eternal temptress, Anka. She hopes to see him at Weimar. 'Poor Anka,' he notes, 'but she wants it no other way.' When he reaches Weimar Anka realizes that Xenia was coming between them, and bursts into tears. He returns to Berlin early. Here Xenia phones him, fearful on account of Weimar and Anka, as the smug gauleiter records.¹¹ Vacillating between the two women, he writes back in Berlin, 'I love Xenia a lot, because she is so young and *unberührt* [sexually innocent] and all self sacrifice and goodness. Anka is too scatterbrained.'¹² A letter comes from Anka with her photograph. He writes back proposing that he returns to Weimar on Sunday week? 'But then we'll probably have to hang around with G. all day and can't talk about the things we're interested in.'

At this instant in his complex epistolical devotions, Xenia arrives. Goebbels concludes his letter to Anka with a hurried evasion: 'Sorry can't write much today. . . . I'm about to fly to Dortmund.' But just as he is, in fact, dining at his lodgings with Xenia, the phone rings. A voice announces, 'Hitler here;' he is in Berlin. Unable to conceal his joy, Goebbels dashes off the last line of the letter to Anka: 'Life is beautiful, O Queen! Yours, ULEX,' and, abandoning Xenia, he hurries off to Hitler. There is no doubting his order of priorities now.¹³

GOEBBELS sat with Hitler and Hess that night until two A.M. Hitler asked if he would take over the Reichspropagandaleitung, propaganda at national level, traveling down to Munich every fortnight for this with a second home there. Goebbels was uncertain, and Hitler tried to tempt him. 'After the party rally,' the gauleiter noted, 'we shall all motor down to Italy for study purposes. . . . I am to get a new Mercedes just for this.' The question was left unresolved¹⁴ and in July Hitler again failed to lure Goebbels down to Munich to this end.¹⁵

In Berlin, he felt he was somebody. His S.A. was growing fast. On May

June 8, 1929

26, at Frankfurt-on-Oder, he took the salute at a parade of two thousand S.A. men and heard the bands play a stirring new march with words written by Horst Wessel, 'Die Fahne Hoch!' (Hold the Flag High). Later it would become a second national anthem.

He itched to use the S.A. to seize power, although Hitler had told him, 'We must now learn to wait and above all avoid a ban.'¹⁶ Hitler had good reason to fear a ban. The communists had begun violent disturbances in Berlin; in fighting after they threw up barricades on May Day nine people were killed and one thousand arrested.¹⁷ To Goebbels' disappointment Grzesinski banned his main opponent, the militant Red Front. In the resulting debate demanded by the communists on June 8 Goebbels spoke for forty minutes using language that differed little from theirs. The essence of the government's policy must be foreign, not domestic policy. 'They brandish the palm frond abroad,' he scoffed, 'and the police truncheon at home. They are skulking pacifists abroad, but bloodthirsty militarists at home, determined to choke any nationalist resistance at birth.... They sign slave-diktats abroad and enact a Law for the Protection of the Republic at home!' Recalling that it was Severing who had banned Hitler from speaking, Goebbels mocked: 'Every Jew, international pacifist, and traitor has the right of free speech but not a German soldier four times wounded on the battlefield, on the pretext that he is a foreigner.' The Nazi party had, he recalled, been dissolved in Berlin, although it had erected no barricades. 'We just tossed a lush out of a public meeting after boxing his ears.' The Reichstag itself had annulled Gregor Strasser's immunity because he had dared to call the Republic a 'moneybags-colony.' Countless civil servants had been disciplined for joining the National Socialists.

Goebbels teasingly added that he had no intention of mentioning the private affairs of the Prussian minister of the interior—'Whether or not for instance Mr Grzesinski travels with his "lovely wife" to Vienna and it turns out the lady's not his "lovely wife" at all'—such things were purely a question of taste.¹⁸ Nor would he dwell upon the fact that their police president had been chief carnival clown of Mainz before the war ('Don't get me wrong. We're not complaining that he was chief carnival clown. Merely that he still is'). As for Dr Weiss ('whom we must not call Isidor') he had now sued Goebbels and his men twenty-eight times for calling him a Jew. 'So this police chief has himself recognized how demeaning it is to be a Jew, and he considers it a libel to be properly identified by what we would call his religion or what he would call his race.' 'The time will come,' he shrilled in his peroration, 'when it will not be our party which brings this system crashing down, but the people itself.'¹⁹

Once more that month, June 1929, he addressed the Reichstag, on the suffocating Law for the Protection of the Republic. After blandly reading out, to loud protests, a letter written by 'the Jewish mega-swindler' Julius Barmat to the former chancellor Heinrich Bauer promising him 'another thousand or fifteen hundred U.S. dollars' if needed, Goebbels snapped that in forty years their former Kaiser had not had so many people

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charged with *lèse-majesté* as often as Prussia's prime minister Otto Braun had wielded the hated law. He hurled this parting shot at the protesters: 'Once we have [the absolute majority] in the Reich, we shan't need a Law for the Protection of the Republic. We'll hang the lot of you!'²⁰ He happily noted afterward: 'The Reds foam with rage.'²¹ The Reichstag adjourned for the summer amid satisfying scenes of tumult.

THE stage was gradually filling with the characters who would dominate this, already the last one-third of Joseph Goebbels' life. He knew young Heinrich Himmler, Hitler's deputy chief of propaganda, as 'a small, fine man, good natured but perhaps a bit indecisive; a Strasser product.'²² On Hermann Göring he was ambivalent: he had got to know the overweight, bemedalled aviator better after sharing a platform with him in communist-dominated Friedrichshain in May. Göring bragged of having known Mussolini intimately while in Italian exile (in fact they had not met).²³ Partying with his eleven fellow Reichstag deputies at Göring's luxurious apartment in Badensche Strasse, the gauleiter envied his style of life. Six weeks later he recorded that Göring was 'as thick as two planks and lazy as a tortoise,' but it was the former air force captain who introduced him to Berlin's high society.²⁴ The princes, dukes, and counts foregathered in the Göring apartment, and Goebbels gradually acquired a proclivity for having blue-blooded men around him too. His opinions on the Baltic-born Alfred Rosenberg, cold, arrogant, and unapproachable, varied sharply; he feared that Rosenberg's opaque treatise, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, would cause friction with the church.²⁵ Surprisingly, he also disapproved of Julius Streicher's 'Jew mania.' 'This naked anti-semitism,' he recorded, 'is too primitive. The Jew can't be blamed for everything. We are as much to blame as anybody, and until we accept that we'll never find our way.'²⁶ But by 1930 he had a soft spot even for Streicher, probably because Hitler did too. 'I like him a lot,' he noted, 'he's a real [*knorke*] guy!'²⁷

Hitler towered over them all; but the picture of him, still only forty and unmarried, that is presented by the early Goebbels Diaries is an unfamiliar one—the Great Cunctator, taking refuge in the comforting milieu of his beer-bench pals in Munich, squandering the party's money, and for ever chasing young women, of whom Geli was, in Goebbels' despairing estimate, only the latest example.²⁸ But he had an instinctive, engaging manner. Meeting Goebbels' mother for the first time, Hitler remarked: 'She's just like my own.'²⁹

THE summer of 1929, a real tar-boiler in Berlin, sees Dr Goebbels still fighting shy of sexual relations. He observes his caricaturist Hans Schweitzer, whose drawing pen is the scourge of the highest officers of the Republic, living in mortal terror of his new wife. True, in her temporary absences Schweitzer briefly flutters his clipped wings, but she always returns wielding the clippers afresh.³⁰ Goebbels prefers to shuffle the pack—Xenia, Jutta, Anneliese, and occasionally a glimpse of Anka in

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Weimar. The kindly and submissive Xenia, now on school vacation, tries in vain to dominate him: she sulks for hours, then capitulates and returns for a night which the gauleiter mechanically logs as *selig*, 'blessed,' though with no supporting details. He serenades her on the piano, but has no intention of letting any woman capture him.³¹ He has witnessed too Tonak's fate, totally ensnared by 'the hysterical females' of the Nazi Women's Order ('now the silly lad's gone and got engaged'). So Xenia runs the whole gamut of female trickery from flouncing and huffs to affectionate letters, in vain.³² 'She is too easygoing and fluttery,' he reports to his diary. 'I don't think it'll last much longer.'³³ Setting off on vacation to Prerow, on a Baltic peninsula, that July he takes his secretary Josephine von Behr and does not invite Xenia, despite her tearful entreaties.

Too late, on July 5, Anka phones from Weimar—she has a sudden chance to visit Berlin for several days. Has the Great Moment finally arrived? Goebbels responds: 'I have thought about it all night. I can't stay in Berlin; I would never get away from work. . . . I can't cancel Prerow, and I'm fed up with Berlin.'³⁴ He suggests an alternative plan: that Anka come to a town fifty miles from Berlin and he will come over and spend one or two days with her there. He even spells out the train times and connections. But at Prerow his little fantasy is dashed. She telegraphs that she cannot come.

How about this plan [Goebbels then suggests]. I'll come down for a week to Weimar. Can you get me that room in your building again? I hope it won't be too expensive, as I want to go to England in August and to Italy in September. [In fact he undertakes neither foreign trip]. . . . Is it okay by you and Georg if I come on Saturday [July 20]? You'll have to leave me to myself a bit as I've a new book in my pen. And don't tell anyone I'm coming to Weimar.

He begs her to cable her agreement—'Otherwise I may go up to Sweden for a week.'³⁵

The book is his drama *The Wanderer*, which he has begun to rework at Prerow. Walking along the rainsoaked beaches he contemplates the placid, gray-green Baltic and reflects how different it is from the wind-whipped North Sea—the one a gentle mistress, the other a diabolical old maid.³⁶ The Great Moment in any young man's life is, it seems, drawing nigh.

But there is an unscheduled interlude. At a seaside concert he sits next to Erika Chulius, teenaged daughter of a local forester. Not good looking, he concedes, but provocative.³⁷ Is the chase on again? She presses a posy of flowers into his hand and for several days goes out with him and Josephine. Together they all go on a moonlight sail, and Erika talks and flirts and asks bright questions. He suddenly realizes that it is the young Anka that she reminds him of.³⁸

Back in Berlin, Xenia comes round for the evening; then it is on to Weimar for the great, week-long adventure with Anka. Georg Mumme carries their self-invited guest's baggage to the apartment just above their own in Johann-Albrecht Strasse. 'I am torn many ways,' confesses

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A RATHER OBSTINATE GENTLEMAN 83

Goebbels in his diary that night. Something—is it fear?—is clutching at his vitals. He thinks a lot about Erika Chulius, and suddenly misses Prerow after all. But here he is, at last, only one floor above his dream woman. 'Anka,' he writes, 'is waiting downstairs for me.'³⁹

One day that week Georg goes off to Leipzig. Anka bustles happily around her old friend, cooking meals and looking after him, but nothing happens. Neither makes a move. The last day comes, July 25, 1929. Dr Mumme has again gone away, and Goebbels and Anka spend a blissful afternoon out together. Even at two A.M. Georg is still not back. Cursing himself, Goebbels is upstairs, standing irresolutely in the middle of his room when he hears a soft tap at the door. He opens: it is Anka, trembling with so far unrequited passion.

'Georg just phoned,' she announces. 'He can't get back tonight.'

Seized by panic, Goebbels firmly closes the door on her. Perhaps he has smelt an ambush; or just possibly he may have been motivated by those loftier emotions which he carefully sets down for posterity in his diary afterward:

No! I cannot abuse the hospitality and trust of Georg. Wretched though he is in my esteem: and though mine be far the greater right to this beloved woman standing before me in all her wondrous loveliness: Anka must leave the room.

I am trembling in every limb. I lie awake for a long, long time. But this morning I shall be able to look Georg squarely in the eye.⁴⁰

Their paths cross briefly at Weimar station—Goebbels and Mumme. 'Fare thee well, the both of you,' he writes. 'I'll have to leave you to your wretchedness and nothingness. . . . Greater missions await.'⁴¹

11: The Nightmare

JOSEPH Goebbels' obsessive devotion to Hitler was illustrated by an incident in September 1929. He was about to speak at Breslau when a telegram signed 'Rosenberg' arrived: 'ADOLF HITLER KILLED IN ACCIDENT.' Goebbels swayed on his feet and nearly fainted. The telegram, a fake, left him a sobbing, nervous wreck. 'Only now,' he wrote afterward, 'do I realize what Hitler means to me and to the movement: Everything! Everything!'

The latter part of the year was dominated by the final illness of his father and his campaign against the new Young Plan for the payment of reparations.² He embarked on the latter unwillingly, as it had been initiated by their 'reactionary' rivals the Stahlhelm and the D.N.V.P. (German National People's Party), who were demanding a referendum (*Völkbegehren*); but Hitler gave him no choice. Visiting Berlin on July 4 the Führer told him he was meeting Alfred Hugenberg, chairman of the Deutsch-Nationale Volkspartei (D.N.V.P.), to discuss a joint campaign against the iniquitous diktat of Versailles and the Young Plan. The prospect of Hitler among these moth-eaten reactionaries alarmed the radical Goebbels.³ In Nuremberg on the eve of the annual Party rally, however, Hitler invited him to dine in his suite with him and Geli—a 'pretty child,' noticed Goebbels again, and managed to get close to him in the group photographs later. He addressed the rally on propaganda and politics.⁴ With their great fireworks displays, concerts by the S.A.'s massed bands and torchlight marches, the famous Nuremberg rallies were beginning to take shape—though Goebbels could not help noticing with vexation the Stahlhelm dignitaries lined up on Hitler's platform. Three chartered trains had brought his men from Berlin. Erika Chulius stepped out of the first. The Berlin stormtroopers marched snappily into the city center with Horst Wessel at the head of his *Sturm*.⁵ The S.A. contingent from the Palatinate wore white shirts; the French occupation authorities had banned the brown. 'The time will come,' Hitler promised them to cheers, 'when we'll have the shirts off the French!'

There was one episode with the S.A. that forewarned of trouble to come with them. Hitler was in mid-speech when the heavy doors burst open. Several hundred communists had arrived from Berlin under the leadership of Max Höltz, bent on staging a blood bath. The S.A. dealt with them roughly and, their bloodlust aroused, rampaged through the streets of Nuremberg afterwards leaving two dead and many injured.

1929 (1928) #

Hitler sent a chalk-faced Goebbels out by car to call the stormtroopers to order. Horst Wessel showed particular bravery in reining in his young toughs. Walter Stennes, his S.A. commander, later said that the Brown-shirts would have taken over the city there and then had he and their national commander Franz von Pfeffer not headed off the catastrophe.⁶

THE evening after the riot Erika Chulius joins Goebbels, brimming with coy aspirations. She mentions that she has a twin sister: double-delight! To Goebbels' dismay Xenia von Engelhardt also suddenly appears, furious at his romantic foray to Weimar. Hoping no doubt to escape her, he drives with Erika over to picturesque Rothenburg. Downstairs the next morning he finds the importunate Xenia again. But as suddenly as this tearful apparition appears, it melts away.⁷ Back in Berlin he broods all day on the fair sex. 'Women!' he exclaims. 'Women are to blame for almost everything.'⁸

For Anka, of course, he will always make an exception. Twice after the two A.M. Weimar fiasco, which must have wounded her deeply, he writes to her and cannot understand why she makes no reply. Twice he asks chattily if she has the 'time and inclination' to see him on his way through Weimar. Again no reply. 'How lazy you are at writing!' he chides her.⁹

'Here in Berlin all hell is loose,' he adds. And in a sense it is, because Erika and her twin Traute have come to drive him out to their forest home. He takes the 'insufferably jealous' Josephine von Behr along too. On September 29 he writes again to Anka. 'The Reichstag is meeting on important matters,' he explains, and suggests she ask Georg's permission to come to Berlin. 'You'd get to see all sorts of things.'¹⁰ She makes an excuse—she is not well. Goebbels apologizes that he cannot come to Weimar because of his parliamentary duties. 'It is just frightful,' he continues, writing from the Reichstag. 'In the long run one has to dispense with every friendship for the good of the cause.' He might be able, he adds, to fit in Weimar on Sunday. 'But ... I've also got to go home as my father is gravely ill.' 'Fare well!' he concludes. 'The division bell is ringing. It's showtime.'¹¹

None of these letters has been published before. He makes no mention of them in his diary. Anka has defeated him.

NOTIONS of nationalism had stirred only infrequently in his diaries until now. In October 1928 he had thrilled at the majestic airship Graf Zeppelin cruising over Berlin on her 112-hour flight to New Jersey; four weeks later, he and Schweitzer had watched the newsreel report on the voyage, furious at the unpatriotic jeers from an audience who only a few minutes later fiercely applauded a Soviet film.¹² In August 1929 he copied down the inscription on the Brandenburg Gate—'To all the World War dead'—and made the acid comment that they had forgotten to add: '—except the German.' The idea of taking over national propaganda began to appeal to him.¹³

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Aug 25, 1929

Staying at Anka's house he had read Erich Maria Remarque's classic anti-war book, *All Quiet on the Western Front*. He had found it a mean-spirited and even seditious work, and ventured the prediction: 'Two years from now nobody will talk about this book any more.'¹⁴ Nature documentaries like *With Amundsen to the North Pole*, or the mountaineering movie starring the delectable Leni Riefenstahl, enthralled him.¹⁵ He fully recognized the subtle persuasive power of the cinema. At the advertising exhibition in Berlin he lingered at the movie section, and a few days later he took his editor Dagobert Dürr to see the latest sensation, a talking film. He dismissed the production, *The Singing Fool*, as kitsch, but the technological advance itself impressed him. 'Here lies the future,' he wrote, 'and we should be wrong to dismiss all this as American gimmickry. Join it! Beat it!'¹⁶ He wanted to use sound films for propaganda. 'Here,' he repeated in November 1929, 'lies a gigantic future, particularly for us orators. The more the movement grows, the more we must exploit technology.'¹⁷

In the approach to the city elections that month he was already using new techniques. He had posed for a propaganda film in his office. Their amateurish film *Struggle for Berlin* and two documentaries on the Nuremberg rally were already circulating. Taking control of their propaganda in Berlin, he composed twenty placards. In the evenings he held training courses to ensure that all candidates emphasized their 'socialist' policies. After a bloc meeting in October he noted with approval that all his fellow Reichstag deputies had come down firmly against the right wing.¹⁸

With himself at their head, constantly aware of his own dwarflike shortcomings, he led the S.A. and its battle standards on violent marches through the communist strongholds of Berlin.¹⁹ He hammered into his S.A. that attack was the only sure defense against being overwhelmed by the communists. Gatecrashing a communist rally in Charlottenburg on August 25 he demanded permission to speak and, when this was refused, turned 150 of his toughs loose on the audience.²⁰ A few days later Horst Wessel's No. 5 Sturm launched a violent attack on the communist headquarters in Berlin-Kiez, injuring several Reds.²¹ It was open war. Goebbels called the Reds 'roaring, raging sub-humans,' and the women worst of all—'They scream, they shriek, they bare themselves to us quite shamelessly.' The communists referred to him as 'Goebbels the workers' assassin.'²²

Police chief 'Isidor' Weiss too went onto the counter-attack. Gregor Strasser, his immunity revoked, was sentenced to six months' jail.²³ In September Weiss seized one entire issue of *Angriff*, charging it with incitement to treason. *Angriff* developed an iconoclastic style of its own, making fun of people's names and lampooning the Central-Verein, the pompous Jewish Central Board which had protested at a spate of Nazi attacks on 'harmless passers-by,' by calling it henceforth the 'Central-Board of Harmless Passers-By.'²⁴ To Goebbels' discomfiture, the 'Jud-enpresse' struck back by printing every truly seditious word he had said

* No fear of death - great desire
for martyrdom (we did not yet
achieve in the eventual victory.)

1929

REICHSFÜHRER S.S.

31

of Himmler in Munich. Roehm appointed his own director of training for the S.S. in his area, Friedrich Krueger, but on public occasions Roehm and Himmler appeared together in apparent harmony. Himmler was in no position to press openly for power; he was forced to play the part of the subordinate, while at the same time he studied the opportunities which the work of Heydrich and his S.D. agents were so diligently compiling. He was well satisfied with the rapid growth of the S.S. directly under his control, and with the carefully planned organization and training which had been achieved.

A description of the S.S. formations during the period 1933-4 was given before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg by von Eberstein, the man who had introduced Heydrich to Himmler; Eberstein was an ex-officer and civil servant who had joined the S.S. in 1928 and was typical of its aristocratic leanings. 'Before 1933', he said at Nuremberg, 'a great number of aristocrats and members of German princely houses joined the S.S.'¹² He mentioned, for example, the Prince von Waldeck, and the Prince von Mecklenburg, and after 1932 the Prince Lippe-Biesterfeld, General Graf von Schulenburg, Archbishop Groeber of Freiburg, the Archbishop of Brunswick and the Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. When Himmler took over in 1929, there had been, according to Eberstein, only about fifty S.S. men in the district of Thuringia, where he was acting for the S.S. in Weimar, but after the seizure of power he had charge of some 15,000 S.S. men in the area covering Saxony and Thuringia. The elegant S.S. uniform attracted recruits and added to their social prestige. As Eberstein said at Nuremberg:

'The increase can be explained first by the fact that the National Socialist government had come to power, and a large number of people wanted to show their loyalty to the new State. Secondly, after the Party in May 1933 ordered that no more members should be taken, many wanted to become members of the semi-military formations such as the S.S. and S.A., and through them to become members of the Party later. But then again there were also others who sought the pleasures of sport and the comradeship of young men and were less politically interested . . . From about February or March 1934, Himmler ordered an investigation of all those S.S. members who had joined in 1933, a thorough re-investigation which lasted until 1935, and at that time about fifty to sixty thousand members throughout the entire Reich were

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(3)

1929 33, 130, 144

er 1934: "In Germany bayo-
government is supported by
I have not been imposed by
ople I have grown up, in the
I return. My pride is that I
with greater right than I can
le."* Fest's insight is consid-
lish a tyranny [Gewaltherr-
wer is insufficient to explain
be studied as [yet] another
seen that Hitler himself said
it wish to be one. Kershaw
: "To suggest that Hitler's
eaving aside difficulties with
ate only a partial truth."† In
tion that at least until 1938
but an authoritarian state,
orships in the Europe of the

urse, a difference between
es, between, say, Hitler's on
or Pilsudski's or Metaxas's
than one of nuances. Most
tain total control over per-
ir attention on the state, we
ites Hitler's vision—and his
emporary dictators, including

w it, was a creation of the
Renaissance Italy and then
years ago; in an age marked
onarchy, aristocracy, democ-

racy—and that Hitler's vision of history and of the future entailed a radical break with the institutions of the Modern Age. He would have agreed with Tocqueville on one thing: that the age of democracy was now irreversible. One hundred years before Hitler's assumption of power, Tocqueville projected a new kind of tyranny, peculiar to the democratic age: the tyranny of a majority. What was perhaps peculiar to Hitler was his establishment of a tyranny not so much of but through a majority.* "The state"—i.e., state interests, the security of the state—was a sacrosanct term in the modern world, even in Stalin's Soviet Russia, at the latest by 1939.† But already in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler had written that "the state is but a means to the end" ["Der Staat ist ein Mittel zum Zweck"]. And—with all of the compromises he had to make for the sake of the state—he remained consistent about this priority till the end. In March 1929, he said: "For us the idea of the Volk is higher than the idea of the state." On 10 May 1933: "It is not an accident that reli-
gions are more stable than forms of states." On 6 April 1938, he put it tersely in a speech in Salzburg: "In the beginning was the Volk, and only then came the Reich." Or, in his significant speech to officers in the Platterhof in May 1944: "The state is only an enforced frame-
work" [eine Zwangsform].‡ On 5 September 1934, in Nuremberg:

*Zitelmann (ZIT/B, p. 85) cites Haffner: In 1933, among the German majority there existed a widespread feeling of freedom, of being "relieved of [parliamentary] democracy." He adds: "Hopes for a revival of national greatness were joined with utopian aspirations for a better, more socially minded society. It may sound paradoxical: but the end of [parliamentary] democracy seemed to mean to many the beginning of true popular rule."

†The term *the state*, originally anathema not only to Marx but also to Lenin, had become sacrosanct in the Soviet Union by 1939. (It may even be argued that Stalin's 1936–39 purges signified in large part the transformation of a party bureaucracy into a state bureaucracy.) In any event, Stalin (who, the very opposite of Lenin, was not a revolutionary but a statesman) discovered the supreme importance of the state at the very time when Hitler found that supreme importance to be outdated—another example of the backwardness of Stalin's Communism compared with Hitler's National Socialism.

‡Jäckel (JHW, p. 99) also cites MK: "The question of the external structure of the state . . . is not of principal importance, it only serves certain practical purposes." Haffner (HF/AN, p. 86) goes further—in my opinion, correctly—recognizing the significance that "in Hitler's political system the state plays an entirely subordinate part."

beliefs; but none of this meant that he had changed his own radical and revolutionary views. He was more than a demagogue; he was a populist. Often Hitler insisted that he was not a dictator. Dictators were petty tyrants,* often dependent on small coteries supporting them by force. He saw himself as the leader not of a determined minority but of a majority. "We National Socialists are the better democrats," he said several times during the years 1933-1935.† He agreed with Goebbels when the latter pronounced (in 1934) the existence of a "new Germanic democracy." While he was contemptuous and dismissive of parliamentary democracy and of the democratic "pretensions" of Great Britain and the United States during the war, in his speech on 30 January 1941 he said that "the National Socialist Revolution defeated democracy through democracy!"

Shocked and stunned as he was in 1918 by witnessing and living through the collapse of the German empire, Hitler was not a monarchist—even though before 1918 we have no evidence of his hostility to the Hohenzollerns (as contrasted with his consistent hostility to the Habsburgs). Because of his need for conservative support there were few—if any—antimonarchical statements by Hitler during the period 1929-33, or until well after his assumption of the chancellorship. There were German (especially North German) conservatives who as late as 1934 hoped that Hitler would consent to a restoration of the monarchy in Germany. But after Hindenburg's death, with his consolidation of the chancellorship and the presidency, his dismissals of the—for him long-antiquated—hereditary idea and the monarchical principle (and not only in Germany) began to accumulate. A significant—and, for him, revelatory—event was his state visit to Italy in May 1938. He was repelled by what he saw as the creaking ceremonials of the Italian royal house, the precedences of court society, the corruptions of the Roman aristocracy, the personal weaknesses of the Italian king. By having

"I am not a dictator and will never be one . . . any popinjay can rule as a dictator." Cited by Fest, F, p. 572.

†Zittr/A gives many instances of such Hitler statements: p. 569, note 189. See also BU, p. 191, Hitler's "open letter" to Brüning, 13 December 1931: "You refuse, as a 'statesman', to admit that if we come to power legally we could then break through legality. Herr Chancellor, the fundamental thesis of democracy runs: 'All Power From The People.'"

allowed its continued existence, his friend Mussolini, what Hitler saw, and thought many of his confidants. The merits of the surviving Social period; it had, after all, been Germany from the Hohenzollerns.

The Kaiser, William II, when the German army in offered him refuge in England (or word) did he demonstrate under the German occupation a congratulatory telegraphic phrase that his great Wendung durch Gottes Fügung (by God!) Hitler was content to him?† As far as he was Germany if he so wished. In a special train with the imperial Kaiser's funeral.

IN THE PREFACE OF HIS speculated: had Hitler suddenly and would perhaps still be men in history.‡ Such a statement but the reality of it would achievements—domestic and of his leadership of Germany

*HR, p. 417. In I/W, p. 65, Irviches are at most capable of having empires are won only by revolution.

†Hermann Giesler, *Ein andere* after: GR), p. 393.

‡F, p. 25.

**Especially by a German generally addressed, but also by Deuerlein, and others); by Haffner

1929-33

1933-1935
1941

1938

1941

D. T. By now he knew enough to react vocally on his own

1938

along to have lunch with Goering in the *Reichstag*. He introduced me to Goebbels, whom I met for the first time. I had heard a lot about him; how he had started as a secretary to Gregor Strasser and then switched to profuse support of Hitler when Strasser had tried to make his North German Nazi group too independent. In fact, Strasser was also in the restaurant, but sitting at another table. Goebbels always had a fine nose for which way the wind was blowing and in two or three further Party splits always switched at the last moment to Hitler's side, which, as it turned out, was a great pity.

Goebbels was an odd little narrow-gutted fellow, with his club-footed limp, but he had a beautiful articulate voice and very large brown, intelligent, almost doe-like eyes. He remained a Strasser radical in his political views and talked a lot about the *Bonzen* and the need for helping the unemployed and badly paid. I started on my hobby-horse about soup kitchens à la Count Rumford and he said yes, not only for the poorer people, but for everybody. "When we get to power they will all get Spartan soup, for young and old, high and low. We will show them that the German people is really unified in its needs and happiness. We will give our ministers 1,000 marks a month, and if anyone in the country thinks he has a right to make more we will deal with him." That from a man who thought nothing when he came to power of spending 100,000 marks on some Byzantian bacchanal in his *Schwanenwerder* house on the Wannsee.

My connexion with Hitler and the Party remained vicarious. I had started writing a book on the eighteenth century, which I finally called *From Marlborough to Mirabeau*, and paid, I think, one more visit to Paris to round off the colour photographs for the firm. In fact I was there again at the end of July 1929 and was just returning home when a telegram was handed on board the train at Baden-Baden, to say that our daughter Hertha had died. It was a merciful release; she was five years old and weighed 21 lb. It was probably only superstition on our part, but we felt that we had been partly responsible for her death by giving her a name beginning with an 'H'. There was an old story in the family dating back to my grandfather's time that a gipsy woman in Coburg had told him that any member of the family whose Christian name did not begin with 'E' would have bad luck. With this one exception, we had always

kept to it—we were Edgar, I was never anything wrong with. I sent my wife up to her room and when I had got over the shock I had a look at the annual Party instituted two years earlier. The lifting of the ban on Hitler for a year he had been free pulse of the movement was quite a thing of an obligation to keep my own in civilian clothes at Hitler and Goebbels to greet their arrival. I got a fairly perfunctory was already engaged in his household man and shared, like his wife who seemed to have an unusually typical half-malicious remark. He had a phenomenal memory for the multitude in people, on which he was astonished years later when he was gesting that I had shown little interest only then that I told him I had a daughter, which at least should have impressed with the marching course it had not in any way a proportion which were soon to be a weapon.

It was, I think, at Nuremberg Wilhelm of Prussia—'Auwi'. He was taking an interest in the Hohenzollerns and it was reconciled again with the movement former royal family was preparing was more hope of keeping it. I was Auwi started to use my home for a brief meeting with Hitler although I remember nothing of

* Dr. T. I adored Goebbels. He was an epitome of the hypocritical which is to say that his primary concern entirely at the service of his ego. When he came to power, etc. (100,000 marks for the bacchanal)

shots, money

1929

YEARS

Reichstag. He introduced
time. I had heard a lot
etary to Gregor Strasser
Hitler when Strasser had
oup too independent. In
t sitting at another table.
way the wind was blow-
always switched at the last
out, was a great pity.
ped fellow, with his club-
ate voice and very large
He remained a Strasser
ot about the *Bonzen* and
badly paid. I started on
Count Rumford and he
t for everybody. "When
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German people is really
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July 1929 and was just
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ertha had died. It was
Yd weighed 21 lb. It was
e felt that we had been
a a name beginning with
aily dating back to my
enburg had told him that
ename did not begin with
ception, we had always

kept to it—we were Edgar, Egon, Ernst, Erna, and certainly there was never anything wrong with our health.

I sent my wife up to her relatives in Pomerania for a long holiday and when I had got over the misfortune a little I decided to go and have a look at the annual Party rally in Nuremberg, which had been instituted two years earlier. The first one had coincided with the lifting of the ban on Hitler making public speeches in Bavaria, and for a year he had been free to speak anywhere in Germany. The pulse of the movement was quickening again and I felt under something of an obligation to keep an eye on developments. I travelled on my own in civilian clothes and there on the station platform were Hitler and Goebbels to greet the mass of brown-shirted delegates on their arrival. I got a fairly perfunctory welcome, and Goebbels, who was already engaged in his long campaign to become Hitler's right-hand man and shared, like his rivals, a cankerous jealousy of anyone who seemed to have an unusual *entrée* to him, made one of his typical half-malicious remarks about how glum I was looking. He had a phenomenal memory for small faults of behaviour and attitude in people, on which he would then enlarge to Hitler, and I was astonished years later when he referred again to the incident, suggesting that I had shown little enthusiasm for the Party rally. It was only then that I told him I had just come from the cremation of my daughter, which at least shut him up. I remember being quite impressed with the marching and the bands at the rally, but of course it had not in any way acquired the mammoth, Hollywoodian proportions which were soon to make it such an effective propaganda weapon.

It was, I think, at Nuremberg that I first met Prince August Wilhelm of Prussia—'Auwi'. We came to like each other very well. He was taking an interest in the Nazi Party's activities on behalf of the Hohenzollerns and it was largely through him that I became reconciled again with the movement. I felt that if a member of the former royal family was prepared to identify himself with it, there was more hope of keeping it within bounds. From the end of 1929 Auwi started to use my home as his Munich headquarters and he had a brief meeting with Hitler there at the end of November, although I remember nothing of the details.

1930

At this time also, the Nazis made considerable gains in the provincial elections, especially in Thuringia, where Frick even became the Minister of the Interior. This had largely been the result of a temporary alliance between Hitler and Hugenberg, who had taken over the leadership of the German Nationalist Party, in a campaign to defeat the continuation of reparations and the German signature of the Young Plan. Although the agitation, which had included a national plebiscite, was totally unsuccessful, Hitler had succeeded in impressing his abilities as propagandist and politician on several of the Ruhr magnates, who had previously confined their support to Hugenberg. Through a young man named Otto Dietrich, who had family connexions in the Ruhr and had become Hitler's press relations officer, Hitler met Emil Kirdorf, who, with Fritz Thyssen, started paying the Nazis quite large subsidies. It was certainly a larger and more regular income than they had ever had, but as I have no intimate knowledge of these transactions there is no point in my enlarging on them.

Needless to say, this gave a great fillip to the Party organization, and, with political success and an appeal which was now for the first time national rather than regional, Hitler and his supporters started to blossom visibly. A large mansion on the Brienerstrasse was purchased as Party headquarters and became the famous Brown House. It was the turning-point, and with the spread to Europe in general and Germany in particular of the consequences of the economic crash in America, Hitler once more had fertile ground in which to sow his seeds. I was still bound up in my literary and artistic work, but recognized that things were on the move again and that Hitler had not only re-emerged as the man to be watched, but that unless influences other than those of his immediate entourage were brought to bear on him anything might happen. This was something I felt more or less subconsciously, and for some time yet did nothing really practical about it.

It was only at the beginning of 1930 that I really found myself being sucked in to the Nazi maelstrom again. Both Auwi and Goering found my house a convenient centre, Auwi because he wished to keep a reasonable distance between himself and the Party offices, and Goering because he had by no means rehabilitated

himself as yet with the old stab book for February 24, the brawl of Horst Wessel, which were in the Pienzenauerstrasse the event. The leadership was taken, and, on the initiative of at my house to thrash things out

The argument was about w a funeral oration at the service i to do it, but Goering said no, th and the Party could not guarant wrong it would be a catastroph all, there are still only twelve of haven't enough strength to mak to Berlin it will be a red rag to t afford to take the consequences. did not go in the end, but it c opinion of Goering as a moderati

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himself as yet with the old stalwarts. This is an entry in my guest-
book for February 24, the day after the murder in a Berlin street
brawl of Horst Wessel, which shows that both Auwi and Goering
were in the Pienzenauerstrasse with Hitler and Goebbels to discuss
the event. The leadership was divided on what action should be
taken, and, on the initiative of Goering as I remember, they all met
at my house to thrash things out. scan

The argument was about whether Hitler should go and make
a funeral oration at the service in Berlin. Goebbels was wanting him
to do it, but Goering said no, the situation was already tense enough
and the Party could not guarantee Hitler's safety. "If anything goes
wrong it would be a catastrophe," I remember him saying. "After
all, there are still only twelve of us in the *Reichstag*, and we simply
haven't enough strength to make capital out of this. If Hitler comes
to Berlin it will be a red rag to the Communist bulls and we cannot
afford to take the consequences." That was conclusive and Hitler
did not go in the end, but it certainly did not detract from my
opinion of Goering as a moderating influence.

It is probably not generally known that the famous *Horst Wessel
Lied*, which became the Nazi anthem and had been composed by
the victim, was not original at all. The tune is exactly that of
a Vienna cabaret song at the turn of the century, from the Franz
Wedekind *Überbrettl* period, although I do not think that Wedekind
wrote it himself, to which the words originally ran more or less like
this:

Und als dein Aug' das meine einst erblicket " to see
Und als mein Mund den deinen einst geküsst
Da hat die Liebe uns umstricket. . .

which became '*Marschieren im Geist in unseren Reihen mit.*'* 12

Wessel certainly wrote the new words and hotted up the tune to
march time, but that is where it comes from.

My main interest still lay in my book, which finally came out in
September 1930. The chief reward was the nicest possible letter

* And as your eye met mine
And as my lips kissed yours
Then did love enshroud us . . .

[which became] Walk in spirit within our ranks.

1930

y met in Munich and for very unprofessorial type, n in all directions in his with his incredible know- spots about England and detail the sort of history it even his mind had not s.

and one day on the hall I thought at first was a pened it only later in the me very flattering things eaching study he had ever eighteenth century, all in think it was the happiest Louvre had been accom- engl family, but here was ething which was entirely spectives opened up and g I can really set to work aria and make my reputa-

prising that the political y in another world. New being held. The measures had riven the *Reichstag* hallenged the emergency obtained from President d dissolved the chamber. h throes of parliamentary ch were to bring Hitler to er party, were throwing ign.

which way the wind was Seymour Blair, who had ial friend, Anton Pfeiffer, ian People's Party, at the

Four Seasons Hotel. Pfeiffer was quite a figure and one of his interests was a big German-American boys' school at Nymphenburg. I had told Blair that I would find some excuse to leave the table for a few minutes and go and telephone, and wanted him to ask Pfeiffer, as a foreigner, which way he thought the elections would go. Goering had been on at me to make it up with Hitler and get my name put on the Party list, but I had done nothing about it. Blair told me later that Pfeiffer had said the Nazis would be lucky to get six people in the *Reichstag*, half their 1928 representation. This I felt was unduly pessimistic, or optimistic, depending on which way you looked at it, and thought that in the situation the Nazis might conceivably win thirty to forty seats, but nobody was more staggered than I was to learn that they had obtained nearly 6½ million votes and increased their representation to 107.

This, of course, was a political sensation of the first order, and we were all still digesting its implications when, a day or two later, the telephone rang at my home and there was Rudolf Hess on the line: "Herr Hanfstaengl, the Führer is very anxious to talk to you. When would it be convenient for us to call on you?" All very polite and courteous. "What can I lose?" I thought, and said, "Yes, certainly, come along whenever you like." In half an hour they were knocking at the door, Hitler very authoritative and staccato and Hess providing silent support. I sat them down and said how pleased I was to see them and what an astonishing success it had been, which Hitler all regarded as self-evident and promptly came to the point: "Herr Hanfstaengl, I have come to ask you to take over the post of foreign press chief of the Party. Great things are before us. In a few months, or at the most in a couple of years, we must irresistibly sweep to power. You have all the connexions and could render us a great service."

I knew what was in his mind. Munich was being flooded with foreign correspondents who had come down to interview this renascent phenomenon and he simply did not know how to deal with them or talk to them. He never had, and in spite of our years of semi-estrangement I was the only person he knew who had the whole background of the Party in his mind and could deal with the problem. In a way I was flattered, but not to be hustled. At least it

1930

would give me a position, I hoped of influence, near him, but I had serious reservations. My arch-allergy, Rosenberg, had, of course, also been swept into the *Reichstag* on Hitler's coat-tails, and I felt this would give him an even bigger field for his nefarious theories. I produced all my standing objections, which Hitler tried to counter by saying that if the Party really came to power, Rosenberg and the *Beobachter* would have much less importance.

Then he tried to bribe me by saying that at the next elections he would certainly put me up for the Bavarian *Landtag* or the *Reichstag*, whichever I preferred, and that I could look forward to an important position in the Foreign Office and that now was my chance. It was certainly clear that this was my best opportunity of entering on the ground floor on equal terms with the wild men of the Party whose influence I had always feared, so in the end I agreed. I told him that I had developed a great many other interests, but that I would undertake this liaison work in a voluntary capacity and we would see how it worked out. He left with profuse thanks and spacious phrases: "Hanfstaengl, *Sie gehören in meine nächste Umgebung*" ["You will form part of my immediate entourage"]. But, of course, with no hint of practical arrangements, or where I was to have an office, or how I was to work. Those were the details he could never be bothered with.

If I was to be closely identified with him again, the best thing seemed to collect a small group of advisers with whom I could work out arguments to counteract the wilder aberrations of the Party extremists. I held a whole series of meetings and conferences and dinners at my house in the Pienzenauerstrasse. There was a Major Gramaccini, who had been for many years the Italian member of the Disarmament Commission resident in Munich, who not only briefed me about what was still the relatively moderate Fascist régime in Italy under Mussolini, but reinforced my anti-Rosenberg arguments of the potential danger of offending Catholic opinion and allowing illegal methods to gain the upper hand in the Party. He also warned me that if Hitler thought that future friendship between the two régimes was going to be automatic he was going to be severely disillusioned.

I also called in General von Biskupsky, who was a very presentable

former Czarist officer and had at with Rosenberg, but had fallen to convincing arguments of the new Poland and Russia. I even went at to the house and when I found it mania, turned to a Munich physician spent long years in the Far East a much more balanced view of political *fantaisiste*. The trouble to listen to him. In an attempt to wing of the Party I started to see was still very much alive and in remained true to his solid trade un

My first official appearance with when he asked me to travel to Le young officers who stood accused the Army. Hitler had been called further indication of his ability to ordinary hold over a growing sect it. He finished by turning the corner a two-hour speech which was not the sympathies of the Army but constant National-Socialist programme, with tremendous headlines in every (phrase to which I must say I did value at the time, which was that would roll'. 'Yes,' I thought, 'as Germany's interests must obviously stand trial if necessary', but to meaning, and it was to take years he meant exactly what he said.

The effect on the audience with press representatives galloped out to speech. One of the correspondents was the chief European representative wanted Hitler to write two or three some sum, three or four thousand

1930

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former Czarist officer and had at one time formed a brief friendship with Rosenberg, but had fallen out with him. I relied on him for convincing arguments of the necessity of friendly relations with Poland and Russia. I even went as far as inviting General Haushofer to the house and when I found it was impossible to shake his nippomania, turned to a Munich physician named Dr. von Schab, who had spent long years in the Far East in senior medical posts and had a much more balanced view of the Asian people than this geopolitical *fantaisiste*. The trouble was I could never really get Hitler to listen to him. In an attempt to revive the old, more conservative wing of the Party I started to see a lot again of Toni Drexler. He was still very much alive and in fact did not die until 1943 and remained true to his solid trade union background.

My first official appearance with Hitler came almost immediately, when he asked me to travel to Leipzig with him for the trial of two young officers who stood accused of spreading Nazi propaganda in the Army. Hitler had been called as a witness and if I needed any further indication of his ability to rise to an occasion and his extraordinary hold over a growing section of public opinion this provided it. He finished by turning the court into a political forum and gave a two-hour speech which was not only cunningly devised to enlist the sympathies of the Army but constituted a complete summary of the National-Socialist programme, which was, of course, printed under tremendous headlines in every German newspaper. He used one phrase to which I must say I did not attach more than rhetorical value at the time, which was that when he came to power 'heads would roll'. 'Yes,' I thought, 'anyone who has been a traitor to Germany's interests must obviously be dismissed from office and stand trial if necessary', but to Hitler the phrase had a physical meaning, and it was to take years for a lot of people to realize that he meant exactly what he said.

The effect on the audience was, of course, enormous and the press representatives galloped out in a body to send full reports of his speech. One of the correspondents there was Karl von Wiegand, who was the chief European representative of the Hearst group. He wanted Hitler to write two or three articles for the chain for a handsome sum, three or four thousand marks each, which in due course

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I arranged. Hitler gave me a 30 per cent cut, which I must say was by no means unwelcome. However, the arrangement leaked out to the Party and the radicals took a very displeased view of this surrender of Hitler to the mighty dollar.

He was certainly beginning to give himself airs in financial matters at the time, and at the Hotel Hauffe, where we were staying, when I thought I was being particularly generous in giving the maidservant a 20 per cent tip of about three marks, I saw him giving her ten marks. In my travels with him he always gave three or four times the amount that was necessary, and claimed that it had a very good effect, as the staff showed the notes around in the kitchen and sometimes even got him to autograph them. It was also at Leipzig that I realized for the first time that he had acquired quite a following among the German aristocracy. If I remember correctly, Prince zu Wied and his charming wife were there, together with several others, for the late-evening conversation sessions, and in this I saw nothing but good. These were people from the right sort of society, and if the political situation developed they would provide a useful restraining influence.

With his power and position suddenly increased beyond measure, Hitler was picking his first team for the struggle that lay ahead. For two or three years the S.A. had been under the command of a Captain Pfeffer, but Hitler was not satisfied with the way in which it was being run. In all conscience it was military enough, with the old *Freikorps* hands in the subordinate ranks still thinking that all they had to do was to keep alive the spirit and comradeship they had developed in the trenches. There had even been a movement at one time to replace their Austrian ski-cap with the round Prussian soldiers' headgear, but this had been turned down for the curious compromise of something which looked uncommonly like a French Army *képi*. Pfeffer had been a soldier in Alsace-Lorraine and this was his idea. However, Hitler wanted the S.A. developed on a national scale as a political weapon, and turned again to one of the best organizers he had, Ernst Roehm, by then serving as a mercenary in the Bolivian army.

By this time his sexual perversion was complete, although to what extent Hitler was aware of this when he sent for him I do not know.

Fellow-officers who had known Roehm maintained that he had been compelled to take part in the orgies in which he had taken part, and certainly acquired a syphilitic infection. This may have had some effect on him, but the scandal started soon after he had parted from his male companions in Bohemia. The accusation of third parties and the accusation that he had held a high opinion of Roehm during the Ludendorff Putsch, even taken an early stage and received Roehm's honour that they were not true. When this became public, and although it was quite openly admitted his aberration, he passed it on to me. Hitler can have his mock horror when he found it was, of course, pure invention.

On January 1, 1931, the Brown Party headquarters. A tiny room on the third floor, which seemed a very small place, meant that the foreign correspondents had to wander all over the building on the first floor. My immediate neighbour was Heinrich Himmler. He had only been a shadowy member of the Nazi Party, but Hitler had at last entrusted him with the formation of a special force for the protection of Hitler's person. Some time before the membership of the party in the end, it staffed the concentration camps with five Waffen S.S. divisions. But if it had been that I would have sent them to have.

It was in Himmler's office that I met him for the first time. What persuaded him to take the operative name I cannot think. It was on the head to last a lifetime. He came and lounged into my office one day as my secretary, or adjutant, as it

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Fellow-officers who had known Roehm during the war always maintained that he had been completely normal and even described orgies in which he had taken part in the Army brothels. He had certainly acquired a syphilitic infection during this period and this may have had some effect on his subsequent development. The scandal started soon after he had returned in October 1930. Letters from his male companions in Bolivia somehow came into the hands of third parties and the accusations started. General von Epp, who had held a high opinion of Roehm's organizational abilities before the Ludendorff Putsch, even taxed him with the rumours at quite an early stage and received Roehm's completely false word of honour that they were not true. Later, about 1932, the scandal became public, and although it was somehow glossed over, Roehm quite openly admitted his aberration to Toni Drexler, because he passed it on to me. Hitler can have had no illusions at any time and his mock horror when he found it necessary to shoot Roehm in 1934 was, of course, pure invention.

On January 1, 1931, the Brown House was formally opened as Party headquarters. A tiny room had been reserved for me on the third floor, which seemed a very unsatisfactory arrangement, as it meant that the foreign correspondents who came to visit us could wander all over the building on the pretence of trying to find me. My immediate neighbour was Heinrich Himmler. Until the 'thirties he had only been a shadowy hanger-on of the inner group of the Nazi Party, but Hitler had at last found him a niche and had entrusted him with the formation of a special bodyguard responsible for the protection of Hitler's person. Its growth was slow and it was some time before the membership even reached three figures, yet, in the end, it staffed the concentration camps and provided thirty-five Waffen S.S. divisions. But if anyone had asked me to foresee that I would have sent them to have their head examined.

It was in Himmler's office that I saw young Baldur von Schirach for the first time. What persuaded his parents to give him such an operatic name I cannot think. It was enough to give him a knock on the head to last a lifetime. He spoke really quite good English and lounged into my office one day to see if I would take him on as my secretary, or adjutant, as the Nazi phraseology had it. He

slouched on the other side of the desk and picked up a pen and played with it and shifted other things around as he talked, so that I got pretty sharp with him and asked where he had learnt his manners. This was a bad start to our relationship and he never liked me, but he ended by marrying Henny Hoffmann and at one time was regarded as the golden boy of the Party and almost the crown prince.

As far as my nominal duties were concerned, I derived little satisfaction. Hitler had never grown out of his café habits and his congenital inability to keep to an orderly daily time-table. I would make appointments with journalists and he would never keep them, or have to spend the whole day hunting him down in one of his public haunts. His whole life was lived in this impromptu Bohemian style. He would turn up at the Brown House at eleven or at twelve as it suited him. He would come announced and unannounced and would keep people waiting for hours.

The only place where you could be reasonably sure of catching him was still the Café Heck, where he used to hold court from about four o'clock in the afternoon onwards. He hated any sort of gathering where he could be pinned down, and preferred his informal *Stammtisch* which gave him unlimited occasion to talk and expatiate without being contradicted. He usually had people listening to him spellbound and it was very hard to get anything out of him, as everyone there hung on his words and it took hours to get him alone. In due course he realized that I had not come to hear the same repeated stories of the Party's history for the fiftieth time and that I had something particular to say to him, but that time was not yet.

I did what I could. There was a not unfriendly journalist in Paris named Gustave Hervé, who was the editor of *La Victoire*, with whom I arranged an exchange of open letters advocating Franco-German understanding. Then there was old Hermann Bahr, the very respectable Austrian feuilletonist and author. He was a staunch Catholic, but had written an article somewhere not unfavourable to the Nazi movement and I persuaded Hitler to take advantage of his prestige and print an article by him in the illustrated *Beobachter*. Rosenberg slashed it to pieces and Bahr, very put out, would have nothing further to do with us. There was a Portuguese journalist

from *Diário de Notícias* in Lisbon words with him in the Café Faria. I had no idea what to talk to foreign journalists about, to be converted to Nazism in the eyes of his passionate admirers. He had no doubts about with which a true politician could win. A Portuguese visitor was very anxious to see the expensive Regina Hotel to which he had written an unfavourable article. This caused me to go to Bouhler, one of Hitler's adjutants, who was on a result of long residing in Lisbon. He told me for not doing my job properly.

I see from a letter I wrote reservations were being reinforced. Hamm had approached me through in Berlin to ask if some employment Party organization. He cannot have. "The foreign and internal policy Russified German Alfred Rosenberg say criminal, that at the moment looming for the Party. The anti-Mythos of his can only lead to no people in the Party leadership can come from their continued it to be grateful if I dissuade you from to have to write you this, but unless all his incredible powers as an or drummer-boy for the rest. As this the qualities for a leader of Germany

Nevertheless, I still found myself involved in the Party's internal squabbles. I was in April 1931, when the S.A. formed a new leadership. They had not been properly elected, prevented from playing their true colours. I had to go round from suburb to suburb, trying to win in his eyes to rely on him to see that the Party was He managed to restore order and

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from *Diario de Noticias* in Lisbon. I tried to get Hitler to have a few words with him in the Café Heck, but the trouble was he had no idea what to talk to foreign journalists about. He either wanted them to be converted to Nazism in advance or expected them to become passionate admirers. He had no command of the amiable banalities with which a true politician can fob off the press. In this case our Portuguese visitor was very annoyed. He had spent several days at the expensive Regina Hotel to no purpose and, of course, wrote a very unfavourable article. This came back into the hands of Philip Bouhler, one of Hitler's adjutants, who spoke excellent Portuguese as a result of long residing in Brazil. So of course they all rounded on me for not doing my job properly.

I see from a letter I wrote on February 9, 1931, that all my reservations were being reinforced. Someone named Maximilian von Hamm had approached me through my friend Karl Oskar Bertling in Berlin to ask if some employment could be found for him in the Party organization. He cannot have found my advice encouraging: "The foreign and internal policies of the N.S.D.A.P. under that Russified German Alfred Rosenberg are so incredibly clumsy, not to say criminal, that at the moment I can only see a second disaster looming for the Party. The anti-clerical agitation furthered by this Mythos of his can only lead to national Bolshevism. . . . Most of the people in the Party leadership are second-raters and nothing good can come from their continued influence. . . . You will have cause to be grateful if I dissuade you from joining us. . . . It is very sad to have to write you this, but unless he mends his ways, Hitler, for all his incredible powers as an orator, will never be more than the drummer-boy for the rest. As things are he simply does not possess the qualities for a leader of Germany."

Nevertheless, I still found myself being caught up willy-nilly in the Party's internal squabbles. I was dragged up to Berlin by Hitler in April 1931, when the S.A. formations there revolted against the leadership. They had not been paid and thought they were being prevented from playing their true part in the political struggle. Hitler had to go round from suburb to suburb and beseech them with tears in his eyes to rely on him to see that their interests were protected. He managed to restore order and we all sat around the next day in

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a sort of commercial travellers' hotel called the Herzog von Coburg, opposite the Anhalter Station, Goebbels, Hitler and Walter Stennes, who was usually referred to as the leader of the revolt, but was in fact much more the victim. I found him a very decent fellow, a nephew of Cardinal Schulte of Cologne, and he took me over to one of the open windows, where our conversation was drowned by the noise of traffic, and said: "Does Hitler realize that the real instigator of this revolt is standing by him?"—and that was Goebbels. "He has been egging them on to demonstrate in the streets in spite of Hitler's orders that we were not to get into fights, and now they blame it all on me." Part of the trouble was that some of the money they should have been receiving had been pocketed by Goebbels to set himself up in luxury. He was in the middle of his affair with his future wife Magda, who at that time was still married to a Herr Quandt, and needed presumably to impress her with his power and affluence. Stennes, in fact, came to no harm and eventually made his way to China, where he became an adviser to Chang Kai-shek.

A much more significant meeting occurred shortly after our return to Munich, when Auwi was again my guest with Goering and brought a letter from his father, the Kaiser, to Hitler, which, although phrased in very general terms, more or less formally appointed Auwi as his representative with the Nazi movement and promising support and benevolent interest. I did not see the text myself. I was standing two or three yards away when the letter was handed over and Hitler read it through silently and folded it away in his pocket with an approving grunt. Afterwards Auwi said to me: "Hitler ought to be very pleased with that. My father has given him a pretty open undertaking to give what help he can and I shall make a point of keeping in with Hitler as much as possible myself." And then with the possibility of a restoration running through his mind, he added: "After all, I am the best horse in the Hohenzollern stable."

In fact Auwi stayed on for several weeks as my guest and the telephone was always humming to Doorn and Potsdam. It cost me a fortune. Hitler was shrewd enough to realize that monarchist support could be a very important factor and, in fact, he played on the German royal families' hopes of a restoration for years, at least

as long as it suited him. "I con of State organization, particul and, of course, he talked in believe it. "The problem has accept the Hohenzollerns again we would probably have to pu prince." When the time came l ing a number of people as Re Epp in Bavaria was the best k of the Crown Prince, whom he only in horses and women, and for his brother Auwi, he had r haps the next Kaiser is already S.A. man," he once said to me, in mind was Alexander, who w.

It was Auwi as much as an Party's future. He took a much it was largely his example whi membership. Sometime about A *Stahlhelm* and joined the N.S.I and, as a result of one of the m which were always going on, we numbers of 68 and 69.

Another factor had also inter with Hitler. The economic crisis German life and our family firm with my brother Edgar to see if a whole-time working director, bi serious trouble and there was n thing of a cleft stick. I could cert for nothing if that was the case. I what should best be done and w: one day when Hitler came in.

I was sitting with Otto Gebüf Hitler, so I introduced them. I re his portrayal of Frederick the G Majesty the King of Prussia'. Th

the Herzog von Coburg, and Walter Stennes, the revolt, but was in every decent fellow, a he took me over to one was drowned by the that the real instigator was Goebbels. "He has sets in spite of Hitler's now they blame it all he money they should Goebbels to set himself with his future wife a Herr Quandt, and power and affluence. ally made his way to ai-shek.

Shortly after our return it with Goering and r, to Hitler, which, ore or less formally Nazi movement and did not see the text y when the letter was y and folded it away rds Auwi said to me: father has given him can and I shall make possible myself." And ag through his mind, in the Hohenzollern

as my guest and the Potsdam. It cost me lize that monarchist in fact, he played on on for years, at least

as long as it suited him. "I consider a monarchy a very suitable form of State organization, particularly in Germany," he said to me once, and, of course, he talked in similar terms to whoever wanted to believe it. "The problem has to be studied very carefully. I would accept the Hohenzollerns again at any time, but in the other States we would probably have to put in a regent until we found a suitable prince." When the time came he maintained the illusion by appointing a number of people as *Reichstatthalter*, of whom General von Epp in Bavaria was the best known. Hitler had a very low opinion of the Crown Prince, whom he regarded as a light-weight interested only in horses and women, and although he had a certain affection for his brother Auwi, he had no illusions about his capacity. "Perhaps the next Kaiser is already marching in our ranks as a simple S.A. man," he once said to me, and I knew that the prince he had in mind was Alexander, who was Auwi's son by his first marriage.

It was Auwi as much as anybody who revived my hope in the Party's future. He took a much more optimistic view than I did and it was largely his example which prompted me to accept formal membership. Sometime about August of 1931 he resigned from the *Stahlhelm* and joined the N.S.D.A.P. We registered the same day and, as a result of one of the many reclassifications of membership which were always going on, we received the adjacent membership numbers of 68 and 69.

Another factor had also intervened to cement my relationship with Hitler. The economic crisis was by now affecting every facet of German life and our family firm was not spared. I had a long talk with my brother Edgar to see if he was prepared to take me in as a whole-time working director, but he told me that we were in quite serious trouble and there was no question of it. I was in something of a cleft stick. I could certainly not go on working for Hitler for nothing if that was the case. I was trying to sort out in my mind what should best be done and was having lunch at the Café Heck one day when Hitler came in.

I was sitting with Otto Gebühr, the actor, who had never met Hitler, so I introduced them. I remember how Hitler had admired his portrayal of Frederick the Great, so I introduced him as 'His Majesty the King of Prussia'. This amused Hitler and they got on

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1929

CHAPTER IX

GELI RAUBAL

*Hitler takes a luxury flat—The amours of his niece—Porno-
 graphic drawings and blackmail—Soprano without talent—
 The unwilling sub-tenant—Suicide—Corpse without inquest—
 Hara-kiri and a pregnancy—The impotent Herostratus.*

WITH THE advent of money from the Ruhr, Hitler had at long last given up his little flat in the Thierschstrasse and abandoned his pretension of being the leader of a working-class party. Some time before the end of 1929 he had moved into a handsome nine-roomed apartment at 16 Prinz Regentenplatz, in one of the most expensive parts of the city. He took with him Frau Reichert, his landlady in the Thierschstrasse, together with her mother, Frau Dachs. He then took into his employment as manservant a former non-commissioned officer named Winter, who had been the valet of General von Epp. In due course Winter married the lady's maid of Countess Toerring, and the pair became the principal servants in the flat. Angela Raubal, the half-sister Hitler had brought from Vienna, remained in charge of his house at Berchtesgaden.

Her daughter Geli was by then a buxom young woman of twenty-one. A couple of years earlier she had taken a bed-sitting-room in Munich not far from Hitler's old flat, and had, I think, made a pretence of starting some course of study at the university. She completed one aspect of her education pretty quickly, and was soon having an affair with Emil Maurice, Hitler's driver. Nor did she keep her sentiments exclusive. Maurice was furious one day to find her flagrante delicto with a student, whom he threw out of the room neck and crop.

Hitler came to hear of this liaison, but at first his reaction did not seem to go beyond anger with Maurice. In his usual fashion he did not sack him directly, the man was an old faithful Party hack, but he gradually started to freeze him out, fell behind in paying his

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wages, and in the end Maurice himself made the break. There was, I believe, a minor lawsuit about money, and his job was taken over by Julius Schreck.

Geli went to live with the Bruckmanns for a while to keep her out of temptation's way, but as soon as Hitler moved into his new apartment, she was given a room there. She and her mother were, of course, completely dependent on Hitler, but what particular combination of arguments her uncle used to bend her to his will, presumably with the tacit acquiescence of his half-sister, we shall probably never know. Whether he assumed that a young woman who was already no saint might be brought fairly easily to submit to his peculiar tastes, or whether in fact she was the one woman in his life who went some way towards curing his impotence and half making a man out of him, again we shall never know with certainty. On the evidence available I incline to the former view. What is certain is that the services she was prepared to render had the effect of making him behave like a man in love. She went round very well dressed at his expense, or, more probably, at the Party's expense, as a lot of resentment was expressed, and he hovered at her elbow with a moon-calf look in his eyes in a very plausible imitation of adolescent infatuation.

She was an empty-headed little slut, with the coarse bloom of a servant-girl, without either brains or character. She was perfectly content to preen herself in her fine clothes, and certainly never gave any impression of reciprocating Hitler's twisted tenderesses. I only got the story at third hand, it was not the sort of thing you could expect a young woman to talk to a man about, but she is supposed to have remarked to a girl friend, who passed it on to one of the wives in the Party, that her uncle was a "monster. You would never believe the things he makes me do." In addition, there was, of course, an unpleasant suggestion of incest about the affair, which I can only assume harked back to their in-bred peasant family. Hitler's parents were cousins, and if you look at his genealogical tree there are several marriages between blood relations. It was yet another facet of the darker side of his character.

My first indication that there was something wrong with the relationship came, as I recall, fairly early in 1930 from Franz Xaver

Schwarz, who was the Party He was a qualified accounts finance section of the City C he told me the Nazis wanted I encouraged him. Their financial disorder, with everyone making them and it seemed to me he and stability.

I met him on the street or mouth. I was pretty pessimistic we exchanged our woes and cup of coffee with us. My wife can have a talk." He had Schwabing. His wife greets kitchen again, and Schwarz had just had to buy off some Hitler, but the worst part of had somehow come into the drawings Hitler had made. Perhaps they were stolen or intimate sketches of Geli R. sort of thing only a pervert less oblige a woman to move "Heaven help us, man," I "No," said Schwarz, "Hitler them in the Brown House speaks about cleaning up G. deutsche Frau and all that reform Hitler carried a lot of

At some time during 19 Hitler had some idea she represented her first to an early dated back to the Café Ne his early pupils became a view of Bertha Morena. In fact a full Jewess. Hitler had a believe it when I told him

Continued in 1930
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1929 or 1930 - again perhaps later in 1944.
1888

HIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History

ociated with the memory of

creative minds of the 19th century grossly distorted his thought. One may well agree with the reparation for the injustice years heavy responsibility for the monstrosity he would have eminently distortable.

as he said, "hidden behind a ages. There are parts of his a glaring clarity. In particular for. In a work he gloried in Christianity the one great curse, the one immortal blemish of loves when reading the New dth almost forces one to do fatal, seductive lie that has kind of defense mechanism who, in their weakness, prod, the means by which "the orality of slaves." It is not the is the powerful, the ruthless, rality of Christianity, he also doctrine of human equality in

d sustained attack on many leed, his was the heaviest as- within the gates of Western cked those who believed that ns and the rule of law: "The s on the contemptible type of Christians, cows, females, man is a warrior."⁶⁰

democracy was a disaster. It to everyone else," and that seeking cattle and mob." He decadence of man consumed iocrity (*Vermittelmässigniedrigung*). Over and over drivel" (*Blödsinn*).⁶¹ many to surpass the demonen (*Übermenschen*). Since the concept, many different is elite. In one regrettable had talked of "the magnifi- search of prey and victory."

Nietzsche's defenders have been quick to emphasize he did not mean the concept as racial, and the victories were cultural, not military. Nevertheless, the words easily lent themselves to misinterpretation.

Though he almost certainly did not intend it, Nietzsche provided an ethic for aggression and exploitation. His tirades against softness and pity, as well as his call for hardness and brutality, served as the rationale for aggression in both the Second and the Third Reich. Nietzsche should not be maligned or misquoted; but as Georg Lukács has written, neither should he be bowdlerized and prettified. "He was an honorable thinker, neither hypocrite nor pussy-footer [*Schleicher*]," and he sometimes meant precisely what he said. Read in context, Lukács argued, Nietzsche gave direct and explicit endorsement for exploitation and ruthless brutality. The point can be illustrated from Nietzsche:

The beast of prey and the jungle prove that evil [*Bösheit*] can be very healthy and develop the body magnificently. . . .

They shall become better beasts of prey, finer, slyer, more like humans [*Menschen-ähnlicher*]; for men are the best predators.⁶²

Hitler's New Order would make passages in Nietzsche ring with prophecy fulfilled. In place of "parliamentary drivel," Nietzsche had called explicitly for a

New Order . . . One Will to dominate and rule Europe—a frightening individual Will . . . [that] will bring an end to the long spunout comedy of little states . . . as well as democratic many-willedness [*Vielwollerei*]. The time for petty politics is past: the next century will bring the battle for the domination of the earth [*Erd-Herrschaft*]; the urge for politics on the grand scale [*den Zwang zur grossen Politik*].⁶³

Nietzsche longed for the coming of a powerful leader who would be the "Master of the Masses" (*Herr der Herden*) and who would set forth "new philosophies" of power and control. "For that purpose," Nietzsche concluded, "a new kind of philosopher and commander [*Befehlshaber*] will be required."⁶⁴

Walter Kaufmann and many other defenders of Nietzsche have rightly emphasized that he would have been adamantly opposed to Nazi ideology. He despised the anti-Semitism and racism of his own day and excoriated both Treitschke and Wagner for their Jew-baiting. He had high praise for the Jews and only one major criticism: they produced Christianity. His notebooks show his feelings with unmistakable clarity:

Maxim. associate with no man who is a part of the lying race-swindle.

↓ (Venezianer)
the Jewish concentration camp
tended often of Nietzsche - he argues
w Celi Raubal in 1929? 1930? (before
the suicide over Hitler
the next day

Whereas Adolf Hitler, now living as an artist at Vienna XX, Meldemannstrasse 27, has formally stated before the district court Leopoldstadt I that he is able to maintain himself and that he is agreeable that the full amount of the orphan's pension should be put to the use of his sister and moreover whereas enquiries have revealed that Adolf has received considerable sums of money for the purpose of his training as an artist from his aunt, Johanna Pölzl, and thereby he appears to have been accorded preferential treatment, therefore this court as the court supervisory to the guardianship of the minors Adolf and Paula Hitler has no objection to the orphan's pension of 600 kronen being now used in whole to pay for the upbringing of the minor, Paula Hitler.

Frau Angela Raubal and the guardian Herr Josef Mayrhofer shall be informed accordingly, the latter with the further notification that he is empowered to put that portion of the monthly pension hitherto retained by him for Adolf Hitler to the use of his sister Paula.

Imperial Sub-area Court Linz, Dept. 5, dated this 4th May 1911.

What had happened? Had Adolf at last come to realize that he had been grossly inconsiderate to his two sisters and had he therefore gone to the district court at Leopoldstadt to make a voluntary declaration of renouncement? No. If it had been a question of voluntarily forgoing his share of the pension he need never have gone to the court at all; he could have written direct to his guardian, or signed a short statement and sent it to Angela, asking her to pass it on. His guardian would then have gone to the court in Linz and the whole matter would have been settled inside five minutes. But enquiries were made and Angela, with whom normally the court was not concerned, was officially informed of its decision. These two facts leave no room for doubt that Adolf did not go to the court in Vienna on his own initiative but was summoned to appear before it, at the request of the court in Linz. The instigator of the enquiries could only have been

Angela and that was why the decision of the court was communicated to her as well as to the guardian. Apart from that, the expression 'is agreeable' shows that Hitler did not volunteer to renounce his share of the pension, but was persuaded by the court to do so.

There remains the question of why Angela raised the whole matter of the orphans' pension at this time. There is no doubt she had every reason to do so. Her husband had died in August 1910, that is, in the previous year, and her pension as the widow of a tax official was very low, particularly as he had completed only ten years' service. She had three children: a five-year-old boy, Leo, and two girls, one of them three years and the other only twelve months old. Finally, she had to feed and clothe her fifteen-year-old half-sister, Paula, who was attending the local grammar school, on 25 kronen a month, a sum which could barely have sufficed for clothes and school extras. But Angela had no dealings with Adolf and knew nothing of his life and it was not until their Aunt Johanna died that Angela discovered he had been receiving considerable sums of money from her. Johanna died in Spital near Weitra on 29th March 1911. Whether or not Angela went to the funeral—she probably did—it must have been at this time that she realized the full extent of Adolf's swindle: not only did he pocket his full share of the monthly pension, but he tricked his aunt of her money, possibly even persuaded her to make him her sole heir on the pretence that he was training to become an artist. To Angela this was the last straw and she applied to the guardians' court in Linz with the request that, as Adolf was now aged twenty-two and old enough to earn his own living, his share of the orphan's pension be re-allocated to Paula. The court then made enquiries through the police and when it had been found that Adolf was not attending any school of art, but had received sums of money from his aunt, the competent court in Vienna was requested to summon him to renounce, or failing that, to deprive him of his share of the pension.

It is easy to see how the story of Adolf's brotherly love leading him to renounce his share of the pension in favour of his

all of this is Angela could be background for 1929-31 as Col.

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Schwarz, who was the Party treasurer. I had known him for years. He was a qualified accountant and had been a senior official of the finance section of the City Council. He may even have run it. When he told me the Nazis wanted him to take over their book-keeping, I encouraged him. Their financial affairs were obviously in hopeless disorder, with everyone making pickings wherever they could find them and it seemed to me he would introduce a measure of integrity and stability.

I met him on the street one day, and he looked very down-in-the-mouth. I was pretty pessimistic about the Party outlook myself, so we exchanged our woes and Schwarz said, "Come up and have a cup of coffee with us. My wife would like to see you again and we can have a talk." He had a little flat in the shabbier part of Schwabing. His wife greeted me, gave us our coffee, retired to the kitchen again, and Schwarz poured out what was on his mind. He had just had to buy off someone who had been trying to blackmail Hitler, but the worst part of the story was the reason for it. This man had somehow come into the possession of a folio of pornographic drawings Hitler had made. How he came by them I never heard. Perhaps they were stolen out of Hitler's car. They were depraved, intimate sketches of Geli Raubal, with every anatomical detail, the sort of thing only a perverted voyeur would commit to paper, much less oblige a woman to model for, Schwarz had bought them back. "Heaven help us, man," I said, "why don't you tear the filth up?" "No," said Schwarz, "Hitler wants them back. He wants me to keep them in the Brown House safe." So this is the man, I thought, who prates about cleaning up Germany, the dignity of conjugal life, *die deutsche Frau* and all that. Anyone who thought he was going to reform Hitler carried a lot of millstones round his neck.

At some time during 1930 Geli started to take singing-lessons. Hitler had some idea she might develop into a Wagner heroine and sent her first to an early Party member named Adolf Vogel. He dated back to the Café Neumaier days in the 'twenties and one of his early pupils became a well-known opera singer under the name of Bertha Morena. In fact her real name was Meyer and she was a full Jewess. Hitler had admired her voice and simply would not believe it when I told him about her background. I did it only to

1930-31

make his anti-Semitic prejudices look foolish, and it goes to show how skin-deep they were.

Vogel did not find Geli a very apt pupil. Her voice was indifferent, her theatrical gifts precisely nil, and the possibilities of an operatic career began to fade. Hitler was going to be compelled to fulfil his Lohengrin rôle in real life only. The next teacher appointed was Hans Streck, the Ludendorff adjutant of the Putsch days, who persuaded Hitler that perhaps the girl could be taught to sing *Lieder*. Streck had built up quite a clientele and had a studio in the Gedonstrasse, near the English Garden. It was arranged that he would give Geli twelve lessons a month and be paid 100 marks. "Geli is the laziest pupil I have ever had," he used to complain. "Half the time she rings up to say that she can't come and she learns very little when she does." She never practised at home and the main impression Streck derived was of Hitler's boundless tolerance of the waste of his money. He used sometimes to come and call for her before the lesson was over, and would creep in and listen from the hall.

My wife also used to keep her voice in trim with Streck and occasionally used to see Geli there, although our contact with her was very limited. We saw her on one occasion with Hitler at the Residenz Theatre, where we had gone to see a Bavarian piece by Ludwig Thoma. They were standing in one of the side galleries during an interval, with Hitler mooning at her, thinking he was unobserved, but as soon as he saw me he switched his face to the Napoleonic look. However, he was perfectly friendly and when we suggested that they should join us for supper at the Schwarzwälder Café he agreed. We got a quiet table up on the first floor and chatted amiably about the play we had just seen. I was furious because three of the actors had Berlin accents, which for me had completely spoilt its regional character, but Hitler couldn't see this, which surprised me in a man who in politics and music had such a highly developed sensitivity.

When we left we walked part of the way together, by which time Hitler was back on to politics again and emphasized some threat against his opponents by cracking the heavy dog whip he still affected. I happened to catch a glimpse of Geli's face as he did it and

The handle was - a - vis Geli.

there was on it such a mixture caught my breath. Whips as we the girl. She had displayed n restaurant and seemed bored, l tables and I could not help feel was under compulsion.

On the evening of September flat. Winter found the door of the next morning, burst it open couch in a beige dress with a Hitler's revolver. They had her shot had probably gone unnoticed streets of Munich which preceded

Hitler was away. He had led some Party tour to Nuremberg had rung up the Brown House tried to get Hitler on the telephone had already left and a hotel pay Schreck drove him back at breath that Gregor Strasser and Schwab had the situation under control. Hitler the same day to stay with the M Tegern Lake. Not, it will be no Berchtesgaden.

The whole affair was hushable possible. At first an attempt was an accident. During the day Schirach got on to the Brown Front Adolf Dresler in the press department Hitler having gone into deep mourning. Then the group at the flat met twenty-five minutes later von Schleicher if the communiqué had gone out. They should announce that the But by then it was too late. The 21st, all the opposition papers called

The *Münchener Post*, a Social

1931

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there was on it such a mixture of fear and contempt that I almost caught my breath. Whips as well, I thought, and really felt sorry for the girl. She had displayed no sign of affection for him in the restaurant and seemed bored, looking over her shoulder at the other tables and I could not help feeling that her share in the relationship was under compulsion.

On the evening of September 18, 1931, she shot herself in Hitler's flat. Winter found the door of Geli's room locked from the inside the next morning, burst it open and discovered the girl lying on the couch in a beige dress with a bullet in her lung. In her hand was Hitler's revolver. They had heard nothing the evening before. The shot had probably gone unnoticed amid the general tumult in the streets of Munich which precedes the famous *Oktober Fest*.

Hitler was away. He had left in the afternoon of the 18th on some Party tour to Nuremberg and points north. After Frau Winter had rung up the Brown House with the news of the tragedy, Hess tried to get Hitler on the telephone at his Nuremberg hotel, but he had already left and a hotel page had to chase the column in a taxi. Schreck drove him back at breakneck speed and he arrived to find that Gregor Strasser and Schwarz had been in the flat and had the situation under control. Hitler was in a state of hysteria, and left the same day to stay with the Müllers, the *Beobachter* printer, on the Tegern Lake. Not, it will be noted, with his bereaved half-sister at Berchtesgaden.

The whole affair was hushed up and glossed over as much as possible. At first an attempt was made to suggest that there had been an accident. During the day of Saturday, the 19th, Baldur von Schirach got on to the Brown House from the apartment to tell Dr. Adolf Dresler in the press department to issue a communiqué about Hitler having gone into deep mourning after the suicide of his niece. Then the group at the flat must have got into a panic, because twenty-five minutes later von Schirach was on the phone again asking if the communiqué had gone out and that it was the wrong wording. They should announce that there had been a lamentable accident. But by then it was too late. The word was out, and by Monday, the 21st, all the opposition papers carried the news.

The *Münchener Post*, a Socialist daily, was the most explicit. Its

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long account was full of circumstantial detail and alleged that Hitler and his niece had been having frequent arguments of late, culminating in a final row over the breakfast table on the morning of the 18th. Geli had long expressed the wish to return to Austria, where she intended to become engaged. An unposted letter to a girl friend in Vienna had been found in the flat saying that she hoped to leave soon. The report also alleged that when the corpse was found, the bridge of the nose was broken and the body showed other signs of maltreatment.

Two days later, on the Wednesday, the *Völkische Beobachter* carried on an inside page a denial by Hitler of all these allegations, threatening the *Münchener Post* with legal proceedings if it did not publish a withdrawal. In the meantime, so I learnt from acquaintances in the Party, the corpse had been smuggled down the back stairs of the block of flats and placed in a lead coffin in the mortuary of the Munich East Cemetery. After that a veil was drawn over the whole affair, and apart from one further broadside in the *Münchener Post*, disappeared from the newspapers for sheer lack of further information. The opposition paper made the telling point that the death of a Nazi street fighter would be made the basis in the *Völkische Beobachter* of leading articles and a campaign lasting several days, while the death in the cause of Hitler's niece was passed over in silence.

After that no further details were announced. The Party high-ups had got hold of Gürtner, who was still Bavarian Minister of Justice, and persuaded him to dispense with the formalities of an inquest and a coroner's verdict. This was of course highly improper, but Gürtner had long been a sympathizer and may have thought it worth his while to keep his political fences in repair. If so he was handsomely paid off, as within a year they had lobbied his appointment as Reich Minister of Justice in the von Papen cabinet, even before they came to power and he retained the post well into the 'thirties. Gürtner also gave authority for her body to be transported to Vienna, where she was buried in the Central Cemetery. Himmler and Roehm were there to represent Hitler. Perhaps he thought the scandal would die down more quickly if there was no grave in Munich to remind people of what had happened.

Apart from the fact that Hitler's reaction was one of emotion, exaltation or some darker emotion, a few facts, but much room for conjecture. One eye-witness of the scene is Frau Winter, who was made worth her while for the official version of an inexplicable fortnight later but gave us a purely Hitler was apparently furious at the fact that it was a suicide. He was weeping with gratitude when he was likely to have been an accident. "I think it was part. He wanted to eliminate St. Circumstances never healed these

It was months before I learnt that two days before she died to say lessons in September, was leaving when she returned. The story that Hitler and his niece had had the 18th. Even Frau Winter admitted of some sort, but tries to emotional crisis of some sort. I met Anton Reichel, one of the closest friends. He told me that Hitler had written to Geli at Berchtesgaden, anatomical terms and could only a letter of some sort. Its most extraordinary drawing which Reichel could only Why on earth he should have imagine, but he was not the man to

It was not until the autumn in London, that I was given another the change in Hitler's attitude between the morning row on the day told by Mrs. Brigid Hitler, an Irish woman brother Alois, the full brother of Adolf when he was studying the hotel in

1931, 1937

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Apart from the fact that Hitler was prostrate with grief or frustra-
tion or some darker emotion, exactly what had happened? There are
few facts, but much room for conjecture. One of the few surviving
eye-witnesses of the scene is Frau Winter and I strongly suspect it
was made worth her while for the rest of her life to adhere to the
official version of an inexplicable accident. Goering came to see us a
fortnight later but gave us a purely romanticized version of the affair.
Hitler was apparently furious at Strasser for maintaining and pub-
lishing the fact that it was a suicide and had fallen on Goering's neck
weeping with gratitude when Hermann suggested that it was just as
likely to have been an accident. "Now I know who is my real friend,"
Hitler had sobbed. I think it was pure opportunism on Goering's
part. He wanted to eliminate Strasser as a rival in Hitler's favour.
Circumstances never healed these eternal jealousies in the Party.

It was months before I learnt from Streck that Geli had rung up
two days before she died to say that she would be taking no more
lessons in September, was leaving for Vienna and would let him
know when she returned. The story gained currency in Party circles
that Hitler and his niece had had a flaming row at breakfast on
the 18th. Even Frau Winter admits that they were having an argu-
ment of some sort, but tries to minimize it. Clearly there was an
emotional crisis of some sort. I talked at some later period to Karl
Anton Reichel, one of the closest intimates at the Café Heck *Stamm-
tisch*. He told me that Hitler had shown him a letter he had
written to Geli at Berchtesgaden. It was couched in romantic, even
anatomical terms and could only be read in the context of a farewell
letter of some sort. Its most extraordinary aspect was a pornographic
drawing which Reichel could only describe as a symbol of impotence.
Why on earth he should have been shown this letter I cannot
imagine, but he was not the man to make up such a story.

It was not until the autumn of 1937, when I was in exile in
London, that I was given another leading clue which might explain
the change in Hitler's attitude between the time he wrote that letter
and the morning row on the day that Geli Raubal died. I was visited
by Mrs. Brigid Hitler, an Irish woman, who had met Hitler's half-
brother Alois, the full brother of Angela Raubal, in Dublin in 1909,
when he was studying the hotel business as a waiter. She married

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last year of the World War as an ensign (aspirant to the officer's career) in a Bavarian regiment, but never reached the front. Defeat and revolution put an end to his dream of becoming an officer, and a dull, gray life began. Himmler chose a simple and practical course of study. He wanted to become a farmer but with an academic title; from 1919 to 1922, he studied agriculture at the *Technische Hochschule* in Munich, and, on passing the easiest of all academic examinations, won a diploma for agronomy. Off and on, he was active with Röhm in the secret murderers' army and stood beside him on November 9, 1923, when he delivered the Munich District Military Command to General von Epp. After the *putsch* he led a hard life; for a time he served as private secretary to Gregor Strasser, succeeding Goebbels. In 1928, he made himself independent in a modest way by acquiring a poultry farm in Waldtrudering.

1929? Himmler is an excellent example of what a task can make of a man. He had a task of the first order to solve, and the task made him; to a nature mediocre at best it gave a weightiness which the apparatus that grew up around him helped him to bear. Men who combine the gift of creation or leadership with deep insight or independent judgment are always rare; in the National Socialist Movement they can be counted on the fingers; Himmler in any case is not one of them. His great qualities, infrequent in his milieu, are industry, precision, thoroughness. It is a quality inherent in a body of men working for a common purpose that great results can be achieved by the men who are not great. A preponderance of strong personalities can even force a split, and only through the addition of average qualities can an efficient machine be built up. Himmler is the living, actual proof of Hitler's thesis, 'that the strength of a political party lies, not in having single adherents of outstanding intelligence, but in disciplined obedience. A company of two hundred men of equal capabilities would in the long run be more difficult to discipline than a group in which one hundred and ninety are less capable and ten are of greater abilities.'

In the National Socialist machine Himmler is a wire activated by the electric current, connecting important parts. He looks like the caricature of a sadistic school-teacher, and this caricature conceals the man like a mask. If one takes away the pince-nez and uniform,

there is revealed, under a narrow forehead, a tivity. Apart from pose and calling, he gives certain courtesy—even modesty. But this frightful sort that can look unmoved on the 1 A demonic will to power has been attributed more than any other of the first rank of his 1 by devotion to the cause, and compared to ot sidered a model of personal selflessness. He life is unassuming. He loves flowers and bi contradiction to his political rôle; personally demands. More than anyone else in this cir only a part of the whole embodied in the 1 leader; his passion for race and race-buildir contempt of the individual, including his classic formulas for the creed of the armed state is all, the individual nothing. He take are nothing, your people are everything,' m most anyone else in the movement, and for t this man more seriously than many others w gent.

Himmler understood with his heart when that the party must become the racial élite c of the ruling minority. But by the party wa which grew out of the unbridled National So itself above the mass; Himmler saw his ov force of this special party. 'We are not mor thousand years ago,' he said to his men in history of antiquity, the history of the Prussi: hundred years ago—again and again we see with men, but that every leader surrounds him tion of men of special quality when things : hardest; that is the guard. There has alwa Persians, the Greeks, Caesar, Old Fritz,' Nap and so on up to the World War; and t Germany will be the S.S. The guard is an él men.'

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Himmler understood with his heart when that the party must become the racial élite of the ruling minority. But by the party was which grew out of the unbridled National Socialism itself above the mass; Himmler saw his own force of this special party. 'We are not more than a thousand years ago,' he said to his men in the history of antiquity, the history of the Prussians: hundred years ago—again and again we see with men, but that every leader surrounds him with a selection of men of special quality when things are hardest; that is the guard. There has always been Persians, the Greeks, Caesar, Old Fritz, Napoleon and so on up to the World War; and that Germany will be the S.S. The guard is an élite of men.'

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more than any other of the first rank of his party, has been guided
by devotion to the cause, and compared to others he might be con-
sidered a model of personal selflessness. He is married, his private
life is unassuming. He loves flowers and birds, yet this offers no
contradiction to his political rôle; personally he is almost without
demands. More than anyone else in this circle, he feels that he is
only a part of the whole embodied in the person of his supreme
leader; his passion for race and race-building arises from a deep
contempt of the individual, including his own. He has found
classic formulas for the creed of the armed intellectual—that the
state is all, the individual nothing. He takes the doctrine of 'you
are nothing, your people are everything,' more seriously than al-
most anyone else in the movement, and for that reason Hitler took
this man more seriously than many others who were more intelli-
gent.

Himmler understood with his heart when his Führer demanded
that the party must become the racial élite of Germany, the party
of the ruling minority. But by the party was meant Hitler's party
which grew out of the unbridled National Socialist mass and raised
itself above the mass; Himmler saw his own S.S. as the motive
force of this special party. 'We are not more intelligent than two
thousand years ago,' he said to his men in 1931. 'The military
history of antiquity, the history of the Prussian Army two or three
hundred years ago—again and again we see that wars are waged
with men, but that every leader surrounds himself with an organiza-
tion of men of special quality when things are at their worst and
hardest; that is the guard. There has always been a guard; the
Persians, the Greeks, Caesar, Old Fritz,' Napoleon, all had a guard,
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¹ Frederick II, the Great.

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Chosen average men in positions of mastery. That is the meaning of the S.S., which represents the model of National Socialist education. These men are not—and are not supposed to be—great individuals, but 'good material' for the fabrication of a race, as Chamberlain put it. Therefore, their 'honor is loyalty'; that is, obedience toward the few who really rule and lead. 'Few flames burn in Germany,' Goebbels once said of these top personalities, naturally counting himself among them; 'the rest are only illumined by their glow'—he wrote these words of contempt in his diary after returning from a meeting of party officials (1932), where he had seen the good material assembled.

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7.
The S.S. was stamped forever by the reason for its founding: Hitler's need to control an undisciplined party by founding a new party. The National Socialist despises his fellow-Germans, the S.A. man the other National Socialists, the S.S. man the S.A. men. His task is to supervise and spy on the whole party for his leader. The first service code of the S.S. lists among its tasks, protection of the Führer, a promotion of understanding within the ranks; information service. The last two terms mean espionage within and outside the party.

In 1930, Hitler surprised a circle of his friends by asking them if they had read the just-published autobiography of Leon Trotzky, the great Jewish leader of the Russian Revolution, and what they thought of it. As might have been expected, the answer was: 'Yes . . . loathsome book . . . memoirs of Satan. . . .' To which Hitler replied: 'Loathsome? Brilliant! I have learned a great deal from it, and so can you.' Himmler, however, remarked that he had not only read Trotzky but studied all available literature about the political police in Russia, the Tsarist Ochrana, the Bolshevik Cheka and G.P.U.; and he believed that if such a task should ever fall to his lot, he could perform it better than the Russians.

With this in mind he drilled his troop, imbued it with his Führer's arrogance and contempt of humanity, thus arming its men with the moral force to massacre their own people as well as foreigners, and to regard this as absolutely necessary. At a time when the party still meant nothing, Himmler's service regulations ordered that once a month at least the men must attend a confi-

dential local party meeting; at these meetings nor leave the room like common mortals, and part in the discussion; for 'the nobility keep material does not discuss, but only obeys and c sibility upward, in command downward,' as finest and most venomous flower of his cont the contempt of their own person that is e material: not only ruthless struggle to the d grave failure, suicide.

is the number which alone is worth anything. All the others only come along when we line up in march columns. This principle of selection, which takes place through eternal struggle, is the guaranty of the future success of our movement. First we shall draw their valuable men from all the national parties, and finally from the international [Marxist] ones as well. What then remains is the crowd; not persons but numbers that hand in a ballot. That is the great mass. . . .'

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In 1929, when he held the second Nuremberg Party Day, Hitler had already assembled a tenth of his historical minority. Sixty thousand of the elect marched in columns. A foreigner, bewitched by the stiff arms and thundering boots, said to Hitler: How wonderful; it seems as though all these sixty thousand men had the same face. This remark was more accurate than the foreign guest suspected, for the same column passed the spot three or four times to indicate a greater mass. Even so there was deep truth in the words; the same uniform, the same cap, the same step, the same cry, the same song, the same simple thought, end by making almost identical men. 'That is the great thing about our movement . . . that these men have outwardly become almost a unit, that actually these members are uniform not only in ideas, but that even the facial expression is almost the same. Look at these laughing eyes, this fanatical enthusiasm, and you will discover how in these faces the same expression has formed, how a hundred thousand men in a movement become a single type.'

The type for whom the World War was not over. Staring into a bloody distance, Hitler continued: 'Today when I saw these boys passing by me, suddenly I thought: how would it be if two more years passed and these boys were to don our old steel helmets, if they were volunteer regiments at Ypres again — the same face, the same expression, the same life in these men? We saw heads of boys in which was already imprinted the proud man to be, which the people needs as a leader if it is not to be destroyed. That is what this movement wants.' (Loud applause.)

The dream of a future hecatomb of Ypres was exactly what scared a man like Seeckt; but the professional soldier would not have understood that the real purpose of a coming mass war was the

opportunity it gave for selecting a minor As a matter of fact only from this minority standing be expected. The really important minority was not to be found in Germany philosophy was based on this.

The idea of a German-Italian front against both countries immediately after the World War appeared too: in Germany the secret Free Corps, in Italy the much openier murder under Gabriele d'Annunzio and the Fascist line. In 1919, Houston Stewart Chamberlain brother-in-law, Count Manfred Gröner: Italy and Germany, in consequence of their as well as the nature of their population, are and I believe that Germany has greater a great and strong than in the contrary. France will never be your true friend, and never hates you as a neighbor and rival and has hence it is in no way to your interest to see (alone destroyed.)

True, between Germany and Italy lay in 1925 that Italy could not *Anschluss*, since it would destroy all Italy's South Tyrol annexed by Italy; but Hitler came and offered himself to me as an ally and give him my hand. . . . It was a happy day that Mussolini meant to renew the old Roman Empire (for practical was in Hitler's eyes a struggle of races. Italy to settle her surplus population; France never supplement her own population from there

To this vanishing French national force, security by a net of artificial and unreliable: ing German national forces must be counter bloodshed if necessary. Hitler demands 'dis

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After the World War was not over. Staring into a mirror he continued: 'Today when I saw these boys in uniform I thought: how would it be if two more of these boys were to don our old steel helmets, if they were to march at Ypres again — the same face, the same life in these men? We saw heads of boys in uniform imprinted the proud man to be, which the soldier is if it is not to be destroyed. That is what I want.' (Loud applause.)

The hecatomb of Ypres was exactly what scared Hitler. He thought the professional soldier would not have understood the purpose of a coming mass war was the

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~~opportunity it gave for selecting a minority of rulers or leaders.~~ As a matter of fact only from this minority itself could an understanding be expected. The really important thing was that this minority was not to be found in Germany alone; the whole war philosophy was based on this.

The idea of a German-Italian front against France appeared in both countries immediately after the World War; the same political forces appeared too: in Germany the secret murderers' army of the Free Corps, in Italy the much open murderers' army of the *Arditi* under Gabriele d'Annunzio and the Fascisti under Benito Mussolini. In 1919, Houston Stewart Chamberlain wrote to his Italian brother-in-law, Count Manfred Gravina: 'It is my opinion that Italy and Germany, in consequence of their geographical position as well as the nature of their population, are destined to be friends, and I believe that Germany has greater interest in seeing Italy great and strong than in the contrary. France, on the other hand, will never be your true friend, and never has been in the past: she hates you as a neighbor and rival and has always deceived you; hence it is in no way to your interest to see Germany weakened, let alone destroyed.'

True, between Germany and Italy lay independent Austria, and Mussolini declared in 1925 that Italy could never tolerate the *Anschluss*, since it would destroy all Italy's World War gains. Then there were the two hundred and thirty thousand Germans in the South Tyrol annexed by Italy; but Hitler stated: 'If today Satan came and offered himself to me as an ally against France, I would give him my hand. . . . It was a happy day for me when I heard that Mussolini meant to renew the old Roman Empire. For that meant that some day Italy will have to march against France.' The struggle for a Roman Empire (for practical purposes North Africa) was in Hitler's eyes a struggle of races. 'Italy needs Africa in order to settle her surplus population; France needs Africa in order to supplement her own population from there.'

To this vanishing French national force, maintaining a shaky security by a net of artificial and unreliable alliances, the overflowing German national forces must be counterposed in all Europe by bloodshed if necessary. Hitler demands 'different slogans for the

woman, who must exercise the greatest self-control to avoid committing a crime, or at least to avoid creating a scandal? His psychology has been interpreted in this way, and inventive informants have even told stories to this effect with full details. The truth is that in private relations as well as in public life he much too easily falls into a seeming brutality which does not exactly indicate strength, and which makes no distinction between man and woman. But he is not in the least ashamed of this brutality; he is proud of it. He publicly declares that the woman longs for domination by man, and hints that this is his own insight gathered from a wealth of experience. With these utterances he adds a harsh and jarring splotch of color to the public picture which he has made of himself, and which he himself admires and worships. Behind it is concealed the realm of his most private experience: Hitler feels that his inner life is a humiliating, embarrassing contradiction to his public image; he feels that this contradiction fills his whole life with untruth. He longs for humiliation—but no one must know this. *

In his most intimate private life he is not a sadist, but the contrary. Here it is not intended to describe his various experiences, with names and addresses; but there is one case worth reporting because it really sheds some light on the human figure behind the gigantic image, and because it plunged Hitler the man into a real catastrophe and may perhaps be called *the* tragedy of his private life.

One day his parental relations to his niece Geli ceased to be parental. Geli was a beauty on the majestic side, with an abundance of blond hair, simple in her thoughts and emotions, fascinating to many men, well aware of her electric effect and delighting in it. She looked forward to a brilliant career as a singer, and expected 'Uncle Alf' to make things easy for her. She, her mother, and a less conspicuous younger sister, named Friedli, lived with Hitler in his mountain house at Berchtesgaden, and after 1929 often shared his Munich dwelling. Her uncle's affection, which in the end assumed the most serious form, seems like an echo of the many marriages among relatives in Hitler's ancestry.

At the beginning of 1929, Hitler wrote the young girl a letter couched in the most unmistakable terms. It was a letter in which

the uncle and lover gave himself complete feelings which could be expected from a *prophyl* inclinations, bordering on what 'undinism.' (Who wishes to do so may find author's *Psychology of Sex*, 1936 edition, vc 60/61.) The letter probably would have been she had received it. But she never did. Hidden around, and it fell into the hands of his *lan* Doctor Rudolph; perhaps this was one of the change of lodgings. The letter was in no way; it was bound to debase Hitler and make eyes of anyone who might see it. For some have feared that it was Rudolph's intention to

With the help of a remarkable human in saved from disgrace. In Munich lived a dwarf J. F. M. Rehse, who for years collected so-called with an almost pathological ardor. Rehse, was a photographer by profession, but he had and lived only for his collector's frenzy. In quarters he collected all the official decrees, leaflets he could lay hands on; at night he crept boards, tore down posters, and took them home the years he had collected such a mass of papers his apartment was beginning to buckle. The person who was bound to become a Nation: he first heard about it, and so he was among friends. He was friend and partner of a different sort, but equally a close acquaintance Hitler: Father Bernhard Stempfle. This *Ster* Catholic order of Saint Jerome; by profession Semitic journalist, a political conspirator—bohemian in priest's robes.

Rehse and Stempfle now were approaching Schwarz, the party treasurer, who asked them from Rudolph on the pretext that they must document for their collection. They seemed opportunity: in return they demanded that Hitler

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* *Hitler D. T. writes Martin Bormann
It is as if they made a place for me.*

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the uncle and lover gave himself completely away; it expressed feelings which could be expected from a man with masochistic-coprophil inclinations, bordering on what Havelock Ellis calls 'undinism.' (Who wishes to do so may find some samples in this author's *Psychology of Sex*, 1936 edition, vol. III, pp. 56/57 and 60/61.) The letter probably would have been repulsive to Geli if she had received it. But she never did. Hitler left the letter lying around, and it fell into the hands of his landlady's son, a certain Doctor Rudolph; perhaps this was one of the reasons for Hitler's change of lodgings. The letter was in no way suited for publication; it was bound to debase Hitler and make him ridiculous in the eyes of anyone who might see it. For some reason Hitler seems to have feared that it was Rudolph's intention to make it public.

With the help of a remarkable human instrument, Hitler was saved from disgrace. In Munich lived a dwarf-like eccentric named J. F. M. Rehse, who for years collected so-called political documents with an almost pathological ardor. Rehse, the son of an officer, was a photographer by profession, but he had given up his trade and lived only for his collector's frenzy. In his extremely modest quarters he collected all the official decrees, political posters and leaflets he could lay hands on; at night he crept to the public billboards, tore down posters, and took them home. In the course of the years he had collected such a mass of paper that the floor of his apartment was beginning to buckle. Rehse was the type of person who was bound to become a National Socialist as soon as he first heard about it, and so he was among Hitler's early acquaintances. He was friend and partner of a strange fellow of a very different sort, but equally a close acquaintance and almost friend of Hitler: Father Bernhard Stempfle. This Stempfle belonged to the Catholic order of Saint Jerome; by profession he was an anti-Semitic journalist, a political conspirator—all in all, an armed bohemian in priest's robes.

Rehse and Stempfle now were approached by Franz Xaver Schwarz, the party treasurer, who asked them to buy Hitler's letter from Rudolph on the pretext that they must have such a precious document for their collection. They seemed to have scented the opportunity: in return they demanded that Hitler assume financial

*Hitler's master plan
they made a plan to make.*

responsibility for the collection. The deal was concluded, Hitler and Schwarz acquired the collection for the party and employed Rehse and Stempfle as curators. This was in April, 1929; the National Socialist Party was still insignificant, it was sorely in need of money, and when highly deserving party comrades of the old guard came to the offices of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, begging for ten marks in payment for an article they had contributed, Rosenberg was perfectly capable of kicking them downstairs. While the editors of his paper were still running about ragged and threadbare, Hitler spent good money, ostensibly for a collection of dusty old posters. He went so far as to boast that National Socialism had saved a valuable cultural undertaking. His most devoted followers shook their heads at this new whim; even the best-informed did not suspect its true motives.

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Stempfle, who was wonderfully gifted for haggling and intriguing, then bought the letter from Rudolph—under exactly what conditions is not known. The sum of money does not seem to have been small. Presumably Schwarz advanced it from the party treasury in order to save Der Führer's reputation; in any case it was he who provided the money. The letter probably did not go through Rehse's hands, and in this he may have been fortunate. Stempfle gave it to Schwarz and he to Hitler. It is perhaps this service that later made Schwarz one of the most powerful, though publicly obscure, figures of the Third Reich.

Relations between Hitler and his niece became troubled as time went on; the incident of the lost and recovered letter perhaps contributed to the final catastrophe. For a time, at least, the strange lover seems to have grown rather repugnant to the young girl. But surely Hitler's almost pathological inconstancy had something to do with this. Hitler thought himself entitled to extend his affections on all sides; and all the stories which he assiduously spread about his unworldliness and aloofness had their basis in the fact that he knew no constancy or fidelity in any human relationship. Nature gave him the faculties and instincts of a great egoist and devourer of people, but denied him the hardness which might have enabled him to bear such a lot without pain. His loveless core is covered over with a thick foam of sentimentality and self-pity; he demands

pity of his victims. He not only expected I tolerate competitors; he also claimed the r families at once. His sister and nieces had to leave him at home in the family of Richard W Wagner, in Bayreuth—after Siegfried's death. Here he spent most of his time, and rumors intended to marry Frau Winifred Wagner, S regarded and treated the children of the family. And this was by no means the only case of i Geli could complain. When she protested, he devoted chivalry with which he treated the lady: he fumed and cursed like a truck-driver and child up in the house. She made other friends with Emil Maurice, the man to whom Hitler ginning of *Mein Kampf*; by profession a clock armed bohemian of the lowest order. In the end mind to end her whole life with Hitler, and go

Hitler resisted violently. During this quarrel seems to have told outsiders about her relation about the dangerous letter. Hitler was beside had been betrayed as a man. Geli was detected in Vienna where a friend was awaiting her. He One day he went to Hamburg; as he was setting permission for the last time to leave Munich, him from a window in the house on the Prii 'Then you won't let me go to Vienna?' And called up, 'No!' According to the testimony of not especially dejected. In a tone of indifference that next day she was going to Berchtesgaden who was living in the mountain house on the went about the apartment with a little box bedded in cotton; she sang to herself and wept meant to bury poor dead 'Hansi' near the hotel berg. She began a letter to a friend in Linz—without special content. That was her last knowing she was found shot to death. It was September Raubal was twenty-three years of age.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

1929
There is almost universal agreement about Geli's personal qualities. The leader of the Nazi Youth Movement and his wife, who knew her well, found her to be sweet, unaffected, "irresistibly charming." Hitler's chauffeur said she was "a princess . . . people in the street would turn around to take another look at her—though people don't do that in Munich." Hitler's close associate and official photographer remembered her as "an enchantress":

In her artless way and without the slightest suspicion of coquetry she succeeded by her mere presence in putting everybody in the best of good spirits. . . . Geli was deeply revered, indeed worshipped, by her uncle. . . . To him she was the personification of perfect young womanhood—beautiful, fresh and unspoiled, gay, intelligent, as clean and straight as God had made her. He watched and gloated over her like some servant with a rare and lovely bloom, and to cherish and protect her was his one and only concern.²⁵⁰

The one jarring note in this symphony of praise is struck by Hanfstaengl. For some reason he despised her:

She was an empty-headed little slut, with the coarse sort of bloom of a servant girl without either brains or character. She was perfectly content to preen herself in her fine clothes, and certainly never gave any impression of reciprocating Hitler's twisted tenderness.²⁵⁷

Everyone, including Hanfstaengl, agreed that Hitler was completely captivated by the girl. He became irrationally jealous and watched over her constantly, regulating her life, choosing her clothes and the company she could keep. He went everywhere with her, accompanying her on window-shopping trips, excursions, and picnics, and to movies and the opera. When he was with her, one observer noted, he became a different person, invariably happy, relaxed, gentle; another found that "she made him act like a seventeen year old." Geli became for him—as Stefanie had once been—"the complete embodiment of his ideal of womanhood."²⁵⁸

It seems clear, however, that Geli did not reciprocate her famous uncle's feelings. A close observer admitted that he was baffled by the relationship, but there was "something very unusual about it which made a life together unbearable for her." Another, who claimed to have been her confidant, testified that she was desperately unhappy because she could not bring herself to do "what he wants me to."²⁵⁹ That life with Hitler had become quite literally unbearable to her became apparent in late afternoon of 18 September 1931; Geli shot herself with Hitler's 6.35 Walther pistol. The wound was near her heart; she slowly bled to death.

The Child As Father to the M

To all her friends, it not a brooding, remorseful young woman who was, to Vienna where her uncle lessons. The note she left of her death. It was addressed

When I come to Vienna to Semmering, an . . .

She never added the final

Geli's sudden and abrupt imagination of contemporary stop some of the ugly rum *Münchener Post* reported had received the following: that I and my niece had a that I was violently opposed my niece was engaged to

Hanfstaengl claimed with Hitler after he dismissed Jewish art teacher from Lent story. He testified that she had died a virgin.²⁶²

Others darkly suspect most popular account, but reasons—saw Geli as a threat others, including the re Nuremberg at the time—apartment to pull the trigger

All responsible evidence own hand. While historians there can be no doubt what. As soon as he heard it, Nuremberg and spent two went to a Party member's as he would do in moment floor:

In my own room I rhythmic sound of th ceaselessly and without could hear him, pacing continued, hour after He spent another

* Could be a scene of her blood + what he does

1929

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

*the
reasons
of his
face.
She does
not tell
them
the
very
best
the
observer.*

Hitler made her undress. . . . He would lie down on the floor. Then she would have to squat over his face where he could examine her at close range and this made him very excited. When the excitement reached its peak, he demanded that she urinate on him and that gave him his sexual pleasure. Geli said the whole performance was extremely disgusting to her and . . . it gave her no gratification.²⁹⁰

One might well raise questions about the reliability of Otto Strasser's testimony on anything. In particular, one might well wonder whether Geli would be likely to confide in him over such intimate matters. Langer and his associates, however, reported that other informants—whose names are not mentioned—gave similar testimony about Hitler's perversion.³⁰⁰

Long before Dr. Langer and his colleagues drew up their report, a Catholic priest provided evidence which tends to support their findings. This priest, Father Bernhard Stempfle, had befriended Hitler and helped edit *Mein Kampf* for publication. He asserted that in 1929 Hitler had written Geli a shockingly compromising letter which explicitly mentioned his masochistic and coprophilic inclinations. Geli no doubt would have been repelled by the letter, but she never received it. It fell into the hands of Hitler's landlady's son, a man named Rudolph. Hitler was saved from embarrassment—and conceivably from political disaster—by a remarkable person, a gnomelike eccentric named J. F. M. Rehse. For years this indefatigable little man, who was a close friend and confidant of Father Stempfle, had collected political memorabilia. His rooms were packed to the ceiling with cartons containing copies of official decrees, pictures, political advertisements, and thousands of newspaper clippings. One day Hitler sent the Party treasurer, Franz X. Schwarz, to Rehse and asked him to buy Hitler's incriminating letter from Rudolph with the excuse that he needed it for his collection. But Rehse, on the advice of Father Stempfle, saw an opportunity to profit from Hitler's embarrassment. He demanded that the Nazi leader assume financial responsibility for his beloved collection. Hitler yielded to this extortion and found the money to underwrite the Rehse collection, which still may be found in the archives of the Nazi Party, now largely on microfilm in the Hoover Institution and in the National Archives.

At any rate, the compromising letter—which probably never went through Rehse's hands at all—was delivered by Father Stempfle to Schwarz, who gave it to Hitler. It may well be that this service to Hitler helped make Schwarz one of the more influential though publicly obscure figures within the Nazi Party. Hitler further testified to his confidence in Schwarz when he made him sole executor of his personal will of 2 May 1938.

There is another bit of evidence that would seem to support Father

The Child As Father to the

Stempfle's story of Hitler called Blood Purge, who were in a position to be found dead in the forest through his heart.³⁰¹

The idea that Hitler's rent to women is further who, we can be reasonably committed suicide or self-hang herself in 1928; G. attempted suicide in 1932; successful suicide, as we Mitford's attempted sui political reasons.

But these are only support a conclusion this sion. Equally important fact: he displayed ot with this kind of per literature.³⁰²

Specialists in these traits are a prerequisite acre has concluded that Hitler's sadism scarcely widely recognized is the: deep depression and self. As his worried friend Au and wallow "deeper an tion," until finally, after the most awful punishm up Stefanie!"—that is, h

As we noted in dis a tendency to stereotype of sadomasochistic in speeches he revealed h ochism (weakness, sub: tery). He would speak, of the better and the s worse and weaker." ³⁰³

When told of Hitler experienced analyst for Hitler's sadomasochism King Kong. It's easy to that in part. He was al blonde. He was so infat helpless (masochistic), t

(1931)?

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

—a favorite theme of Stuck's—chases a well-breasted blonde; and *Das Laster* (*Depravity*), depicting a nude lying on the floor laughing as a black snake moves slowly through her thighs.*

Four other pictures by von Stuck were particularly important to Hitler. One was the Medusa head in which von Stuck catches brilliantly the fascinating eyes which turned man to stone and impotence. Hitler was so fond of another painting, *Siren with Harp*—a wild-eyed nude with snakelike tail—that he acquired it in the fall of 1940 for his Linz collection. The theme and title of a third picture had obvious appeal for Hitler. It was called *Die Sünde* (*Sin*) and again shows a nude of flashing eyes with the apparently inevitable python undulating around her body. Hitler acquired it in the 1930s and hung it in his apartment in the Prinzregentenstrasse in Munich. It is now exhibited in the Neue Pinakothek.³⁷

Hitler's intimate association with the fourth painting by von Stuck is best told as a personal memoir. One day in Munich during the summer of 1967, one of our sons burst into our apartment, asking excitedly, "Do you know that there is a portrait of Hitler in the Municipal Gallery at the Lenbach House?" I replied with paternal condescension that that was not possible. He asked if I would just come and take a look. Together we saw what indeed appeared to be a portrait of the Führer under the title *Die wilde Jagd* (*Wild Chase*). In this terrifying picture, von Stuck has caught the spirit of the Teutonic legend of Wotan the mad hunter, the personification of death and destruction, who rides forth at night leaving horror in his wake.³⁸ The huntsman in von Stuck's picture bears an uncanny likeness to Adolf Hitler. There is the dark brown hair with the famous forelock over the left temple, the brooding eyes, the large nose, the memorable little mustache. A blood-red cape swirls in the wind, and he brandishes a bloody sword. Hitler's favorite images are also pictured: decapitation, wolves, and death. At the tip of the sword there seems to dangle a human head; wolflike animals howl at the horse; hollow-eyed little creatures yell soundlessly; and ravished women and corpses are left in the path of the galloping horseman.

To the student of Hitler, however, the most arresting thing about this portrait of rampaging destruction is the inscription in the lower left-hand corner. It reads: "*Franz Stuck, Mein erstes Olgemälde, 1889.*" That was the year in which Adolf Hitler was born.

How shall one interpret these historical facts? What is their meaning? It is known that the picture was acquired (inventory #G1405) in 1929 and exhibited in the Public Gallery in Munich at the old Glass

* The leading authority on von Stuck has catalogued the following themes; Women as the personification of sin, evil, or depravity: 23 paintings (with 10 listed under the title of "sin"). Pursuit and possession of women: 14 paintings. Men dueling over women: 25. Centaurs: 29. Women dominating men: 23. Sensuality, temptation, or women as seducers of men: 26. See Heinrich Voss, *Franz von Stuck, 1863-1928. Werkkatalog der Gemälde* . . . (Munich, n.d.), 251ff.



"Verfolgung"
(Pursuit)



"Das Laster"
(Depravity)



ADOLF HITLER

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floor laughing as a

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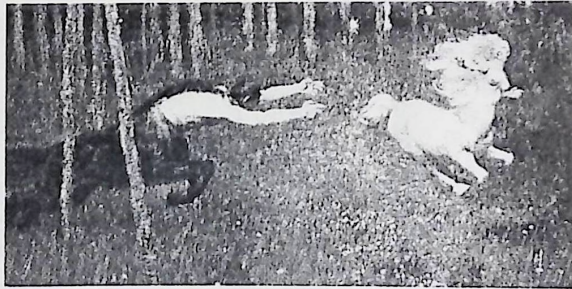
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d.), 251ff.



1940

"Sinnlichkeit" (Sensuality)



"Verfolgung"
(Pursuit)



"Das Laster"
(Depravity)



"Das böse Gewissen" (Evil Conscience)

"Die Sünde" (Sin)



30's

"Die Sirene" (The Siren)



Fall of 1940
Berlinsky collection

The Intellectual World of Adolf Hitler

Palace until the fire of 1931. It House. It is also known that Hitler was in Munich during this period of Stuck. He was also a person more than coincidental, seeing in them

Is it not possible that Hitler's culture and was immensely excited literally, as the Wild Huntsman, own self-image? It seems likely ancestor—forelock, mustache, and party rallies—to conform to this brutality, power, and destruction.

Literary Imagination

I should only geni

As a youth, Hitler toyed with Night after night in his walk-up he stayed up long after midnight a smoking kerosene lamp. His settings ranging from Hell to lakes in between. He was furious he might begin his career with seems to have finished any of his for one of his plays:

Holy Mountain in the background, surrounded by huge black bull which is to be sacrificed the beast's mighty head against. Behind them, erect in light holds the sword with which solemn, bearded men leaning are watching the ceremony

When his roommate asked who replied tersely that it was a play time of the coming of Christianity. Christians did not accept the new sacred oath to kill the Christians. The drama was between Bavarian and Hitler's relationship with his father have been quite another "center." Chapter 3, p. 134ff).

... it, it is small wonder that the attributes of statescraft, those he ignored, and those history, yet in the records we find many pages of his political leaders of the past, of Henry II or Elizabeth I; of George Washington, Jefferson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. The two Anglo-Saxons is any of Roosevelt, what impostors! of political issues and in his petty-fogging Jew, himself with blood in his veins. The life is also a clear indication of Winston Churchill as "the un-ours of every twenty-four." about roots, a demagogue and

... came from the East. He kings Ferdinand and Boris of on Boris himself became a out of the complicated tangle of Jerusalem, ah, there ... his quite exceptional with the Japanese. And what Rasputin he attributed a Slavic element a healthy reserved for Joseph Stalin admiringly of "the cunning respect," who was indeed, he knows his models Genghis he repeatedly said, was one old history." The reason for Stalin, Bolshevism is only a Germanic and Latin people."⁵³

... was distilled in one speech thousands upon thousands merely an elaboration of these

Weltanschauung is the fact alone is decisive. Whatever originality plus his brutality.

Whatever man possesses today in the field of culture is the culture of the Aryan race. The Aryan has stamped his character on the whole world. The basis for all development is the creative urge of the individual, not the vote of majorities. The genius of the individual is decisive, not the spirit of the masses. All life is bound up in three theses: struggle is the father of all things, virtue lies in blood, leadership is primary and decisive.⁵⁴

Struggle was indeed "the father of all things." His memoirs repeat the refrain: "He who wants to live should fight, therefore, and he who does not want to battle in this world of eternal struggle does not deserve to be alive. Even if this were hard, this is the way things are ... victory is forever contained only in attack."⁵⁵

Public speeches of the 1920s trumpeted the same message and gave the German people a clear picture of the kind of government they would get under Hitler. Seldom has a man aspiring for public office been so explicit in his purposes and so open in his promises. In an early and important speech at Essen on 22 November 1926, he said: "Force is the first law. . . . Only through fighting have states and the world become great. If one should ask whether this struggle is gruesome, then the only answer could be: for the weak, yes, for humanity as a whole, no. . . ." Subsequent speeches emphasized and reemphasized the same points. One more example, from a speech in Munich on 21 November 1927, must suffice: "Politics is nothing else than the struggle of a people for its existence in this world; it is the eternal battle of a people, for better or for worse, for its existence on this planet. . . . Man [is] the most brutal, the most resolute creature on earth. He knows nothing but the extermination of his enemies in the world."

That the idea of "battle" was not mere metaphor was made clear on several occasions. From the beginning, Hitler promised war—as he did in Munich as early as 1928 and 1929: "There is no distinction between war and peace. . . . One is either a free lord or a slave. The final decision lies with the sword. . . . The battlefield is the final test of the foreign policy of a people. . . ."

It is not accurate to speak of the wars Hitler had in mind as mere acts of aggression. As his policy in Eastern Europe would make manifest, he wanted wars of pillage and annihilation. Such warfare was for Hitler the highest form of human endeavor, the greatest expression of life's purposes, the fate of all being: "One creature drinks the blood of another. The death of one nourishes the other. One should not dribble about humane feelings. . . the struggle goes on."⁵⁶

Struggle and battle also dominated the domestic scene in Nazi Germany, as Hitler infused society with martial terminology and values. He spoke of the "battle for culture . . . a front-line spirit in the arts . . . the battle for population . . . the battle for the cradle." The symbol of his Reich was a line from his Party's anthem: "brown battalions

1929

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

"reaction formation," masking voyeurism and perverse sexual interests behind ostentatiously prudish behavior. His scrupulous personal cleanliness and compulsive handwashing indicates unconscious guilt feelings and the desire to wash away "dirtiness." He also sought to dull feelings of unworthiness by a kind of "introjection" in which he took unto himself the role of moral and religious leader. He could not possibly be guilt-ridden because he was the chosen instrument of God Almighty, the Messiah who spoke the words of Jesus, proclaimed himself as infallible as the Pope, and established his Reich upon patterns perverted from the Catholic Church.

His many references to other people as being "unworthy" indicate continuing concern about his own worth. One way he found to reassure himself was to put the onus of unworthiness onto others and then have them destroyed. In 1929, at the conclusion of an early Nuremberg rally, he declared that if a million children were born in a year and 800,000 of the weakest and most "unworthy" were killed, the end result would be a strengthening of the population. In his decree of September 1939 which called for the "Destruction of Lives which Are Unworthy of Being Lived," he said that as "the father of his people" he had the responsibility of making sure that unworthy members of his family were destroyed.¹²⁰ In the late stages of the war, as his difficulties and self-doubts increased, so did his list of those who were "unworthy" to live. By the spring of 1945 he had reached the conclusion that the entire German people had proved unworthy of him. They all must perish.¹²¹

In addition to punishing others, he may also have tried to lessen feelings of guilt by punishing himself. As a young man he stayed on for years in Vienna, a city he detested, when he could easily have moved to the Germany he loved; he suffered needlessly from hunger and privation; his reported perversion was monstrously masochistic; and he talked repeatedly of killing himself, the ultimate masochistic act. There is strong evidence to support a German psychiatrist's conclusion that as a personality Hitler was "massively self-destructive." One form of self-punishment can be seen in a curious pattern in Hitler's life. Time after time he seemed to cultivate difficulties for himself and to court disaster. "Many of Hitler's actions," an observer has written, "remain inexplicable unless we assume that he did not (either consciously or unconsciously) always intend to succeed . . . Hitler was . . . a man bent on doing injury to himself."¹²²

This suggestion needs to be investigated, for if Hitler had an impulse for self-injury and an unconscious desire for defeat, it would help to explain some surprising facts about his career.

Of course, Hitler's life can be read as a remarkable success story. The unlikely hero is played by a neurotic dropout from Linz and Vienna who, though he had failed in all his previous undertakings and had been jailed at the start of his political career, became master of Germany and arbiter of Europe within a decade. Surely biographers are justified in dwelling on Hitler's remarkable successes: his skill in pulling the Party

From Private Neurosis to Pu

together after the disaster severance during the pol coups and smashing milit.

And yet another, very istic of this complex and Adolf Hitler flirted with triumph, and repeatedly that were fraught with da think of himself as a ruti very bad odds. He once court disaster: "You know abyss on the edge of a kni

Declined Opportunities

Even though he had Adolf was still given a ma in 1908 to enter the artis his mother's had connecti rector of scenery at the Im ing backdrops for the Vier loves, painting and Wagne sor Roller offered to help vantage of his opportunity into the Viennese Academ then, when given a second true that he took a few ; Vienna. But there is no ba pher, that after failing l had failed to do in scl purposefully."¹²³

On the contrary, his Hitler did no serious pair night; he spent hours wal buildings; he set forth : sketches for dramas and c tics by the hour. Indeed, effectively and purposefull not even admitted to the October 1908.¹²⁴

The Fiasco of 1923

Hitler's first try for choosing alternatives least that he planned not merel to overthrow the "Weima

392 * The Jewish doctor keep too many alive. They do not believe in a pauper's death - so they value life and

at all costs, c

THE GOD: ADOLF HITLER

and perverse sexual interests. His scrupulous personal cleanliness unconsciously indicates unconscious guilt feelings. He also sought to dull feelings of "guilt" in which he took unto himself. He could not possibly be the instrument of God Almighty, the one who proclaimed himself as infallible upon patterns perverted from the

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He may also have tried to lessen. As a young man he stayed on for ten he could easily have moved to endlessly from hunger and privation masochistic; and he talked intimate masochistic act. There is a psychiatrist's conclusion that as a self-destructive." One form of self-pattern in Hitler's life. Time after for himself and to court disaster. has written, "remain inexplicable (either consciously or unconsciously) s... a man bent on doing injury

stigated, for if Hitler had an insatiable desire for defeat, it would help his career.

It is as a remarkable success story. Hitler's drop out from Linz and Vienna various undertakings and had been to become master of Germany and rely biographers are justified in saying: his skill in pulling the Party

to keep too many
charts in a power
only value like and

From Private Neurosis to Public Policy

together after the disaster of the Beer Hall Putsch; his insight and perseverance during the political crisis of 1932; his brilliant diplomatic coups and smashing military victories at the start of the war.

And yet another, very different pattern of behavior also is characteristic of this complex and deeply divided personality: throughout his life, Adolf Hitler flirted with failure, talked of defeat even in moments of triumph, and repeatedly involved himself unnecessarily in situations that were fraught with danger to himself and his movement. He liked to think of himself as a ruthless and ice-cold gambler, but he gambled at very bad odds. He once confessed that somehow he felt compelled to court disaster: "You know, I am like a wanderer who must cross an abyss on the edge of a knife. But I must, I just must cross."¹²³

Declined Opportunities of Youth

Even though he had contrived to drop out of *Realschule*, young Adolf was still given a marvelous opportunity when he arrived in Vienna in 1908 to enter the artistic world he had set his heart on. A friend of his mother's had connections with Alfred Roller, a noted artist and director of scenery at the Imperial Opera. Adolf could have had a job painting backdrops for the Vienna Opera, thus combining two of his greatest loves, painting and Wagner. A friend wrote in Hitler's behalf, and Professor Roller offered to help the young man. But Adolf refused to take advantage of his opportunity.¹²⁴ Instead, quite on his own, he tried to get into the Viennese Academy of Art. He failed his first examination and then, when given a second chance, refused to apply himself. It may be true that he took a few art lessons from a man named Panholzer in Vienna. But there is no basis for the conclusion, reached by one biographer, that after failing his first examination he "now did what he had failed to do in school: worked industriously, effectively and purposefully."¹²⁵

On the contrary, his roommate during these months reported that Hitler did no serious painting at all. He went to operas almost every night; he spent hours walking around the Ring; he designed grandiose buildings; he set forth schemes for traveling orchestras; he wrote sketches for dramas and operas; he chattered about life, sex, and politics by the hour. Indeed, he did almost everything but apply himself effectively and purposefully to his painting. The result was that he was not even admitted to the entrance examination when he reapplied in October 1908.¹²⁶

The Fiasco of 1923

Hitler's first try for political power also illustrates the pattern of choosing alternatives least likely to succeed. In 1923 he had proclaimed that he planned not merely a *Putsch* in Bavaria, but a march on Berlin to overthrow the "Weimar traitors." Openly and explicitly promising

at all costs, at all cowardly costs