

1924-1930s

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Germany's claim to more "land and soil" as its rationale and with the goal of reversing Germany's defeat explicit. He soon came to treat of the "core problem" less and less, and then obliquely and (as in 1913–1918, when his anti-Semitism was latent) through cover terms, particularly "Marxism" and "Bolshevism." Thus the retribution called for in his speech of November 1928 to the Nazi old guard was against the "November criminals," identified with Jewry only deviously through one mention of "our Hebrew poisoners," one of enemy propaganda by "the German Jews," and one each of "the Jewess Rosa Luxemburg" and "the Jew Kurt Eisner" as arch culprits.²³⁸ "From him who cared to hear," Albert Speer affirmed long afterward, "Hitler had never concealed even his intention to exterminate the Jewish people."²³⁹ Even on those who did not care to hear, the message was not lost in being conveyed by hints after *Mein Kampf* of the mid-1920s. On the contrary, it found its own psychic level below that of clear consciousness, as it did formerly through his speeches that had muted it. Besides, his speeches that had not muted it were remembered and reprinted—uncensored in the latter case. And brutal *Mein Kampf* sold over 50,000 copies a year in Germany beginning in 1930 and close to a million a year beginning in 1933.²⁴⁰

The message retained its outward fuzziness for some years after Hitler established his dictatorship—even when he told Nazi district leaders in April 1937, by way of refusing to quicken his moves against the Jews: "The final aim of our whole policy is perfectly clear to all of us."²⁴¹ Joseph Goebbels mistook that final aim when he launched the *Reichskristallnacht*, a huge pogrom of late 9 November 1938 that proved "devastating" for all concerned.²⁴² Reichsbank chief Hjalmar Schacht mistook that aim his own way and a month later began negotiating in London for Jewish emigration from Germany to be financed by an international loan on Jewish properties in Germany. When Schacht came close to succeeding, Hitler fired him from the Reichsbank on 20 January 1939. The conflict between them had broken over Hitler's alternative of a currency issue to be based on those Jewish properties—one of his pre-Putsch schemes.²⁴³ "You don't

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20th
anniversary
of
1918
revolution

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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.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

tionship 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!

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The Intellectual World of Adolf

It is an unusual response to

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 erotically things tremble, quake and gro

Hitler cherished all Wagner Vienna and as chancellor, he it at least ten times in Vienna with the fact that he knew th

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 had respond affirmatively to the role 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 m

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in, with the last name fortuitously misspelled: "Georg Hitler, Cath. religion, resident in Spital." Nepomuk and his relatives carefully made their X's, and the deed was done. The priest, Father Josef Zahnschirm, did not sign the book; but on the basis of comparison with other examples of his handwriting it can be affirmed that he, as the parish priest from 1867 to 1886, did indeed fill out the form.³

We must guess at the reasons why Nepomuk Hiedler made the effort to have his foster son's last name changed. He may simply have decided to comply with the wishes of a boy who had turned out so well; he may have been glad to have him bear his own family's name rather than that of the feckless Schickelgrubers. Nepomuk himself had sired no sons to carry on the name, and the old man may have been more than willing to have the sexually robust Alois assume that pleasant task. Then, too, if Alois's natural father had really been a Jew, as some rumormongers were suggesting, both the proud old farmer and the rising government official might have been anxious to "legitimize" the name in an undeniably Christian record book. At any rate, history was not given the opportunity to turn at this quiet crossroad in rural Austria. If the name had not been changed to Hitler that autumn day, the son of Alois might not have prospered so well politically. It is a bit difficult to cry with fanatic intensity "Heil Schickelgruber!"

A JEWISH GRANDFATHER?

One day toward the end of 1930, Adolf Hitler called in his private lawyer, Hans Frank, for urgent personal consultation.* Hitler had sent for him because he was about to be blackmailed by a relative who claimed to have special information that the Führer had a Jewish grandfather. Hitler was so disturbed by the threat of such a disclosure that he ordered his lawyer to investigate. Frank did so and discovered, he said, that Hitler's father had indeed been the illegitimate son of Maria Anna Schickelgruber, who had worked as a domestic in Graz "in the home of a Jewish family by the name of Frankenger." From the day her baby—Hitler's father, Alois—was born until the boy was 14, Frankenger paid money for the support of the child. According to Frank, when Hitler was confronted with this evidence, he said that the story of a Graz Jew's being his own grandfather was a total and complete lie. He knew it was because his grandmother had told him so.

* Frank would later be given special privileges and power in the Third Reich as president of the Academy of German Law, member of the Reichstag, leader of the National Socialist Lawyer's Association, SS *Obergruppenführer*, and governor-general of Poland. Before he was hanged as a war criminal at Nuremberg, he told this story in his memoirs.

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The Child As Father to the Man

She had accepted the money poor.⁴

Despite Frank's reputation seem to be reason for believing condemned man who had to expiate his sins. He had to or to invent the story. That grandmother assured him that grandmother, Maria Anna Schickelgruber, before he was born—is not is that Hitler made no attention money over many years produced must have been forced Hitler to admit the part involved with his own grandfather. Frank said it was based Schickelgruber and Frankenberg time" in the possession of a riage. But Frank did not say letters, and they have never corroborate Frank's statement servant girl in the household indeed, such a family ever existed.

German historians and Hitler's paternal grandfather Their industry is laudable, but important and it is almost certain we probably never will know father. The more important question

* The research of Nikolaus Preradovic casts further doubt on the story. Ious Jewish grandfather—called Frankenger by Hitler's step-nephew, William J. in 1939. Preradovic discovered that there is no record of either a Frankenger or the Jewish congregation of Hitler's father, Alois, was born in Graz but in the entire province there. The Jews were driven out of Graz until after 1856. The name of Leopold, his nephew, was found. But he was Bavaria, he had moved to Graz, according to one story would be the in the year 1837, when the then lived of a child. If he was indeed, he must have been "a remnant" (Simon Wiesenthal, who knows backgrounds as anyone, says he has found no trace of a Jew named to the editor, *Spiegel*, no. 23, August 1957).

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Georg Hitler, Cath. relatives carefully made father Josef Zahnschirm, Harrison with other exam- he, as the parish priest

omuk Hiedler made the ed. He may simply have had turned out so well; own family's name rather omuk himself had sired man may have been more assume that pleasant really been a Jew, as he proud old farmer and anxious to "legitimize" book. At any rate, history quiet crossroad in rural Hitler that autumn day, well politically. It is a Schickelgruber!"

The Child As Father to the Man

She had accepted the money from the Jew only because she was so poor.*

Despite Frank's reputation as the "Butcher of Poland," there would seem to be reason for believing his story. He wrote his memoirs as a condemned man who had converted to Catholicism. He wrote, in part, to expiate his sins. He had no apparent reason to misrepresent Hitler or to invent the story. That Hitler should have lied when he said his grandmother assured him that his grandfather was not a Jew—Hitler's grandmother, Maria Anna Schickelgruber, had died more than 35 years before he was born—is not particularly unusual. What is noteworthy is that Hitler made no attempt to deny that his grandmother had received money over many years from a Jew. The evidence Hans Frank produced must have been quite impressive; it was good enough to force Hitler to admit the possibility that a Jew had been very much involved with his own grandmother. But the evidence has never surfaced. Frank said it was based on correspondence between Maria Anna Schickelgruber and Frankenberger and that these letters were "for some time" in the possession of a lady related to Adolf Hitler through marriage. But Frank did not say directly whether he had ever seen the letters, and they have never been found. Further, there is nothing to corroborate Frank's statement that Maria Anna actually worked as a servant girl in the household of a family named Frankenberger—if, indeed, such a family ever existed in Graz.*

German historians and journalists have pondered the identity of Hitler's paternal grandfather through dozens of heavily argued pages.⁵ Their industry is laudable, but the question they ask is not really very important and it is almost certainly unanswerable. We do not know, and we probably never will know whether in fact Hitler had a Jewish grandfather. The more important question is a different one: did Hitler think

* The research of Nikolaus Preradovic, a historian at the University of Graz, casts further doubt on the story. Preradovic set his task at finding Hitler's mysterious Jewish grandfather—called Frankenberger by Hans Frank and Frankenreiter by Hitler's step-nephew, William Patrick Hitler—in an exposé article of *Paris Soir* in 1939. Preradovic discovered that in books of the Jewish Kultusgemeinde of Graz there is no record of either a Frankenberger or a Frankenreiter. It is true that the records of the Jewish congregation go back only as far as 1856 and that Adolf Hitler's father, Alois, was born 20 years before. During this time, however, not only in Graz but in the entire province there is no record of one single Jew having lived there. The Jews were driven out of the area in 1496 and were not allowed to return until after 1856. The name of Leopold Frankenreiter, mentioned by Adolf Hitler's nephew, was found. But he was the son of a Catholic cobbler. Born in 1795 in Bavaria, he had moved to Graz, where he became a meat cutter. His son, who according to one story would be the putative grandfather of Hitler, was ten years old in the year 1837, when the then 41-year-old Maria Anna Schickelgruber was delivered of a child. If he was indeed the father, Preradovic has commented laconically, he must have been "a remarkably precocious boy" (*Spiegel*, no. 24, June 12, 1957). Simon Wiesenthal, who knows as much about investigating European family backgrounds as anyone, says he has searched through all the archives of Graz and has found no trace of a Jew named Frankenberger ever having lived there (Letter to the editor, *Spiegel*, no. 23, August 7, 1967).

ler called in his private consultation.* Hitler had sent called by a relative who the Führer had a Jewish threat of such a disclosure nk did so and discovered, en the illegitimate son of as a domestic in Graz "in Frankenberger." From the n until the boy was 14, of the child. According to evidence, he said that the ther was a total and com- mother had told him so.

and power in the Third Reich of the Reichstag, leader of gruppenführer, and governor-iminal at Nuremberg, he told

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approach to an intimate: "When I appeal . . . for sacrifice, the first spark is struck. The humbler the people are, the greater the craving to identify themselves with a cause bigger than themselves . . . [to] become part of an irresistible movement embracing all classes." ²²⁷

He worked out this formula in public speeches of the early 1930s when, over and over again, he sounded the call he knew his audience wanted most to hear:

We are determined to create a new community out of the German peoples—a community formed of men of every status and profession and of every so-called class. . . . All classes must be welded together into a single German nation.

And again a few months later:

You could look upon me as the man who belongs to no class, who belongs to no group, who is above all such considerations. . . . To me, everyone is entirely equal. . . . I am interested only in the German people. I belong exclusively to the German people and I struggle for the German people.

And again, after coming to power:

Only when the entire German people becomes a single community of sacrifice [*Opfergemeinschaft*] can we hope and expect that Providence will stand by us in the future. ²²⁸

By the millions, Germans heard him and believed.

HITLER AS MYTH FULFILLMENT

Political realists have said that Hitler's appeal was an appeal to illusions—the illusion of a nonexistent Jewish menace, the illusion of the infallible Führer. The realists are right. But they have failed to appreciate the power of illusion in human affairs especially when it acquires the force of myth. As Georges Sorel noticed many years ago, illusions are stronger than facts, and myths shape the lives of men and nations. "Guided by the myth," he wrote, a society "is ready for any act of heroic aggressiveness." The psychoanalyst Rollo May agrees; he stresses the power of myth to "give a person the ability to handle anxiety, to face death, to deal with guilt. . . . We don't understand the power of the thirst for myth." ²²⁹

Effective political leaders who do understand either create myths or manipulate them for their own purposes. Charles de Gaulle, for example, in appealing to Frenchmen in 1940 created a myth. When he said, "I in London, you at home are united in resistance in a common cause," there was in fact at that time no such French resistance to the Nazis. But when Frenchmen came to believe that the factually false was sym-

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The Past As Prologue: Hitler

bolically true, the Resi too knew how desperate He articulated them and charisma and the force German history became He was the long-awaited yearnings of the century Nation.

And Hitler offered a new system of v gists would call it "an a as a secular religion, cc trappings of religious anointed elite, excomm lennial promise of the TI

Thus Hitler succe Germans as a godlike humiliation and despair the old. Where Christi sanctified hatred and re be loved with mind as v required that the Führe Christ preached individ provided an escape from appeal was set forth lon; confrontation with the r a mystery, and to teach hearts, not love that m blindly. . . . So we have founded it upon mirac that they were again led

Hitler's "Seizure of Power"

From reading this c of power in 1933 was a t tory had been conspiring logical crisis following magic of his personality savior and swept into pe it did not happen that w many insights into the not even he was inevitab The combination of

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D

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-

forced to choose between
of power by force or the
ambitions. He was saved
by two factors: the di-
of those who opposed him,
German Right to accept
ment.

nan parties to combine in
d bedevilled German poli-
ng had found it no longer
majority in the Reichstag
munists openly announced
see the Nazis in power
save the Republic. Despite
on the streets, the Com-
olicy approved by Moscow
elimination of the Social
king-class party.

though more alive to the
ce become a conservative
a single leader capable of
opposition to the Nazis.
blic, since 1930 they had
been badly shaken by the
trung by the Communists'

ntained its voting strength
riously a Party whose first
commodation with any gov-
r to secure the protection
s. In 1932-3 the Centre
cognizing the danger of a
continued negotiations for
and voted for the Enabling
riding powers on Hitler af-
ellor.

no strong middle-class Lib-
The middle-class parties
such a role—the People's

Party and the Democrats—had suffered a more severe
loss of votes to the Nazis than any other German par-
ties, and this is sufficient comment on the opposition
they were likely to offer.

But the heaviest responsibility of all rests on the
German Right, who not only failed to combine with
the other parties in defence of the Republic but made
Hitler their partner in a coalition government. The
old ruling class of Imperial Germany had never recon-
ciled itself to the loss of the war or to the overthrow
of the monarchy in 1918. They were remarkably well
treated by the Republican régime which followed.
Many of them were left in positions of power and in-
fluence; their wealth and estates remained untouched
by expropriation or nationalization; the Army lead-
ers were allowed to maintain their independent posi-
tion; the industrialists and business men made big
profits out of a weak and complaisant government,
while the help given to the Junkers' estates was one
of the financial scandals of the century. All this won
neither their gratitude nor their loyalty. Whatever
may be said of individuals, as a class they remained
irreconcilable, contemptuous of and hostile to the ré-
gime they continued to exploit. What the German
Right wanted was to regain its old position in Ger-
many as the ruling class; to destroy the hated Repub-
lic and restore the monarchy; to put the working
classes 'in their places'; to rebuild the military power
of Germany; to reverse the decision of 1918 and to
restore Germany—their Germany—to a dominant po-
sition in Europe. Blinded by interest and prejudice,
the Right forsook the role of a true conservatism,
abandoned its own traditions and made the gross
mistake of supposing that in Hitler they had found
a man who would enable them to achieve their ends.
A large section of the German middle class, power-
fully attracted by Hitler's nationalism, and many of
the German Officer Corps followed their lead.

The formation of a Nazi-Right coalition was based

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ous works. Lessing believed that Leisewitz's *Julius von Tarent* was by Goethe, and Wagner's *Kindermörderin* by Lenz; some of Lenz's poems have found a place in almost all editions of Goethe, his *Soldaten* was generally regarded as a work of Klinger, while Klinger's *Leidendes Weib* was still included by Tieck among Lenz's collected works; Klinger's *Neue Arria* was assigned by Gleim and Schubart to Goethe; Lenz's *Hofmeister*, too, was by Klopstock, Voss, and the world generally attributed to Goethe, some even holding it to be his most important drama. As a matter of fact, Lenz is, after Goethe, by far the most interesting poet of the generation; Goethe called him a "rare and indefinable individuality," and Lavater summed up Lenz's strength and weakness admirably: "he spills over with genius." In some ways he reminds us of Wedekind; there is a fierce and yet cold sexuality in his works, an incoherent stream of thought and image to which precisely he owes his highly dramatic atmosphere; there is a naturalism, which is almost pathological and caricaturish and gives his figures a peculiar staring brightness and waxwork fixity; there is a moralism, which has no moral basis and does not shrink from the most repulsive motives: thus in the *Soldaten* the heroine is a harlot, and the *Hofmeister* closes with the hero's self-castration. Lenz's plays, though he himself, in the knowledge that they represented a mixed genre, called them comedies, fully satisfied the demands which he made on the drama in his *Anmerkungen über das Theater* of 1774: namely, that it must be a curio-cupboard. This apt remark actually comes from Goethe, whom Lenz tried to copy in everything. He fell in love with Friederike Brion and Frau von Stein, was a close friend of Schlosser and Cornelia, most successfully imitated the tone of the young Goethe in some of his poems, and wanted to enter, like him, upon a court career — hence Karl August called him the ape of Goethe. But he was diametrically opposite to Goethe, if in nothing else, in his extraordinary lack of human understanding and psychological insight, which, after his brief heyday, plunged him into the obscurity of madness and oblivion.

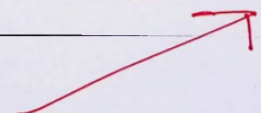
The basic quality of Klinger, too, was an overleaping and yet only artificially induced immoderateness. Wieland called him a drinker of lions' blood, and he himself wrote in a letter of 1775:

"I am torn asunder by passions which would overwhelm anyone

P. J. ... w/o ...

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Hallion Goering - "I like him. He is a drinker of lions' blood."



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—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.

1930s



"Verfolgung"
(Pursuit)



"Das Laster"
(Depravity)



ADOLF HITLER

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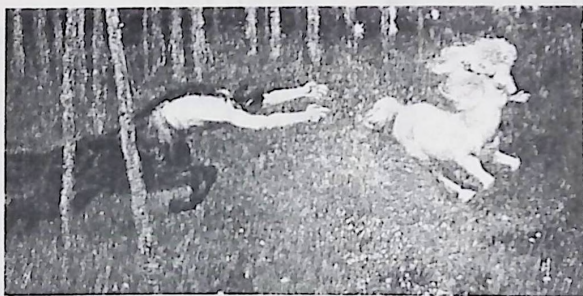
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Paintings by his favorite artist, von Stuck,
on themes that especially appealed to Hitler.



"Sinnlichkeit" (Sensuality)



"Verfolgung"
(Pursuit)



"Das Laster"
(Depravity)



"Das böse Gewissen" (Evil Conscience)

"Die Sünde" (Sin)



"Die Sirene" (The Siren)



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 nature and was immensely excited literally, as the Wild Huntsman, own self-image? It seems likely—ance—forelock, mustache, and party rallies—to conform to this brutality, power, and destruction.

Literary Imagination

I sh
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 back; block surrounded by huge black bull which is to be the beast's mighty head again. Behind them, erect in light holds the sword with which solemn, bearded men leaning are watching the ceremony

When his roommate asked what he replied tersely that it was a play time of the coming of Christianity. Christians did not accept the new sacred oath to kill the Christian. The drama was between Bavarian Munich Hitler's relationship with his father. He have been quite another "central" Chapter 3, p. 134ff).

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

briefly stated. It was Hitler's idea that the Jews were responsible for all the evils in the world. They had polluted the Aryan blood and driven the Germanic people out of their racial Paradise. They were the insidious enemy lurking behind all the dangers that assailed the Motherland: Bolshevism and rapacious capitalism, Freemasonry and democracy. They were responsible for the German defeat in World War I, the inflation of 1923, and the economic depression of the 1930s. They were the force behind prostitution and the cause of decadence that Hitler saw in the whole of modern arts and letters.

The Jew was always a parasite and had never made any contribution to culture or religion. Hitler is clear on these matters: "As now [sic] the Jew . . . was never in the possession of a culture of his own, the basis for his spiritual activity has always been furnished by others. At all times his intellect was developed through the culture that surrounded him. . . . Above all the two queens of all art, architecture and music, owe nothing original to Jewry. What he achieves in the field of art is either bowdlerization or intellectual theft. . . . No, the Jew possesses no culture-creating energy whatever, as the idealism without which there can never exist the genuine development of man towards a higher level does not and never did exist in him."

Not only has the Jew no art or culture; he also has no religion.

The Jews were always a people with definite racial qualities and never a religion, . . . but what would have been more useful and at the same time more harmless than the 'purlaining' of the appearance of being a religious community? For here, too, everything is purloined, or rather, stolen. But resulting from his own original nature the Jew cannot possess a religious institution for the very reason that he lacks all idealism in any form and that he also does not recognize any belief in the hereafter.⁷⁹

The ultimate aim of the Jews, Hitler was convinced, was to conquer the world. In an important pamphlet he wrote with Dietrich Eckart as early as 1924, under the ambitious title *Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin*, he had already concluded: "One can only understand the Jews when one realizes their final purpose: to master the world and then destroy it . . . while they pretend to raise mankind up, actually they contrive to drive mankind to despair, insanity and destruction. If they are not stopped they will destroy us." Hitler's beliefs about the existence of a vast international Jewish conspiracy bent on enslaving mankind were so ridiculous that one must believe in their sincerity. He told a private meeting of his *Gauleiter* at the end of 1939, "The Jews may deceive the world . . . but they cannot deceive me. I know that they are guilty of starting this war—they alone and nobody else." He found Jews lurking in the most unlikely places. He was sure, for example, that a small but highly influential minority of Jews really controlled Sweden and that Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Sir Stafford Cripps

1930s

The Intellectual World of Ad

were both Jews, as were n hand, could not have been

Terror and Propaganda

When Hitler spoke of *Führer* merged into one u in his mind about the ide Both his psychological ne of the *Führerprinzip* obli ple. Indeed, the most basic and his system of govern to force others to do his wi

Hitler relied primarily over others. He had a rer logical mechanism of terrc when it evoked insecurity, feelings could be achieve tional. Uncertainty was e whether they had done so wrong, or failed to do som on the uncertainty and i means of intimidating pe victims tried to reason why very often, there was in f nonvictim, the mere obser sible anxiety. And so too their master's idea of a pra fear that he was in disfav Germany could be brought which anxiety was instituti

Why did Hitler need s it is true that terror is no ships. But Hitler's preocc and his continual need to k gest that with him there w. Later we try to find out wh boy that caused him to seel others had once terrified hi

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1930s

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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were both Jews, as were most of the British nobility. Jesus, on the other
 hand, could not have been Jewish.⁶⁰

Terror and Propaganda

When Hitler spoke of an ideal *Volksgemeinschaft*, with *Volk* and
Führer merged into one union of "sacred egoism," there was no doubt
 in his mind about the identity of the primary force behind the merger.
 Both his psychological needs—as we shall see—and the requirements
 of the *Führerprinzip* obliged him to dominate and control other peo-
 ple. Indeed, the most basic single characteristic of both his personal life
 and his system of government can be reduced to one overriding need:
 to force others to do his will.

Hitler relied primarily upon terror and propaganda to gain control
 over others. He had a remarkably keen understanding of the psycho-
 logical mechanism of terror and realized that it was politically effective
 when it evoked insecurity, fear, and anxiety. These politically desirable
 feelings could be achieved by making terror indiscriminate and irra-
 tional. Uncertainty was essential. Victims should not be able to tell
 whether they had done something wrong, *might* have done something
 wrong, or failed to do something they should have done. Hitler's stress
 on the uncertainty and irrationality of terror was also an effective
 means of intimidating people who were not directly involved: non-
 victims tried to reason *why* a friend or neighbor had disappeared when,
 very often, there was in fact no rational explanation at all. Thus the
 nonvictim, the mere observer, also became a prisoner of incomprehen-
 sible anxiety. And so too did members of Hitler's own entourage. For
 their master's idea of a practical joke was to make an intimate sick with
 fear that he was in disfavor with his Führer. Thus, everyone in Hitler's
 Germany could be brought into Hitler's system of calculated terror, in
 which anxiety was institutionalized.⁶¹

Why did Hitler need so badly to frighten other people? Of course,
 it is true that terror is normal operating procedure in many dictator-
 ships. But Hitler's preoccupation with it, his particular refinements,
 and his continual need to keep even his friends frightened strongly sug-
 gest that with him there was a pressing personal need to terrify others.
 Later we try to find out what there was about his experience as a little
 boy that caused him to seek this kind of revenge: to terrorize others as
 others had once terrified him.

Propaganda was a collateral method Hitler used to gain control over
 the German people. In the contemporary world, the word "propaganda"
 is used loosely and indiscriminately. One speaks today of "good propa-
 ganda for the Republican Party"; we are assured by an adman that the
 selling of cigarettes is "just a question of which agency has the best
 propaganda." That is not what Hitler meant by the word. For him it was
 another form of terror. His meaning was best expressed long ago by a
 French historian who, in writing of the reign of Henry VIII, noted that

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Henry was successful in crushing opposition by means of "violence fait aux âmes, c'est à dire, propagande." Hitler's propaganda was—and was intended to be—"violence committed against the soul." An editorial in Hitler's newspaper admitted as much when it noted with remarkable candor that the Führer's purpose was to achieve "complete knowledge of and mastery over the soul and the mind, the bearing and the inner conviction of the people."⁸²

The pages of *Mein Kampf* devoted to propaganda techniques are the most lucid in that turgid work. The methods he sets forth are based on his deep-seated distrust and contempt for the people. He assumes that they are, in his metaphors, animals or women who willingly submit to a man of iron will and brutality. Propaganda must recognize "the importance of physical terror"; it must be radical and violent, creating not mere supporters but fanatics—a favorite word of Hitlers; "always and ever" it must appeal to the emotions and not to reason; repetition is of the essence because the masses "will lend their memories only to the thousandfold repetition of the most simple ideas"; political leaders should understand the technique of the Big Lie. The clearest exposition of this last important principle was given by Hitler himself:

In the size of the lie there is always contained a certain factor of credibility, since the great masses of people will more easily fall victim to a great lie than to a small one, since they themselves . . . lie sometimes in little things. . . . Thus such an untruth will not at all enter their heads . . . therefore, just for this reason, some part of the most impudent lie will remain and stick.

Hitler's next sentence is revealing. Having just endorsed the principle of the Big Lie, he immediately denies responsibility for so immoral a concept and blames the Jews for the idea: "Those who know best this truth about the possibilities of the application of untruth and defamation, however, were at all times the Jews."⁸³

The power of Hitler's propaganda to command popular support is shown clearly in the following three stories, each involving the death of a young Nazi. In the first case, a member of Hitler's *Jungvolk*, a boy of nine who was ill with pneumonia, was required to go on a forced march in order to fulfill his obligation to the Führer. The story of his death is best told by an educator who was the director of an American school in Germany prior to World War II. He accompanied the family doctor as he visited the dying boy:

On a cot lay the restless form of a boy with an emaciated face. The doctor touched the boy's wrist to take his pulse. The boy tore his hand away, shot it high and shouted in a delirious, unnatural voice, "Heil Hitler."

I looked at the mother. "If only they had not made him

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march," she said hoarse said he had to march. It by Kahla, in Thuringia, *Jungvolk*. His father is a He did not want a weak:

From the cot came Hitler. I must die for H beseeching, fighting agai "They told him at tl the mother continued. "A

She broke then, sc pinched face wore the e: the Savior. His right h: yielding. His lips kept for him to utter:

"I must die for Hitle

Dr. Schroeder bent l The cries became moans,

"His father says if mother said tonelessly.

"Now do you see v when we were again in strange ideology that can

During the war, a captu was told by a French doctor th The wounded prisoner replied luted with French blood. I woul

Another mortally wounde priest who was immediately re want anything from your chur my Führer's picture out of m plied, the boy kissed the pictur tributed to saints and marty happy to die for you."⁸⁵

Such, in the main, were l Führer and the degradation o: quest of *Lebensraum* and th Semitism and racism; propaga the will of one man.

In a later chapter we shall person to attract millions of f establish a society dedicated to insight into the intellectual wor minds that attracted him and sh

1925

D

Weiss's A.H. in P., while distinctively Forster's "war neurotic," is also distinctively Schmidt's and Westenkirchner's fellow runner of just before the mustard gassing except that A.H. rages against "the 'Yid.'"⁸⁶ So presumably the mustard gassing itself induced, or released, that rage in Hitler even before his relapse into blindness and reemergence with a mission to restore Germany. Hitler's "miracle" of recuperation (the term "miracle" is from an authorized biography of 1923⁸⁷) as depicted in the several versions derived from him in the early 1920s is strikingly congruent with A.H.'s "miracle cure." Those versions varied in the mode of transmission of the message from on high (voices, images, sixth sense), as might be expected of a remembrance out of a deep hypnotic trance. Forster held that hypnosis was the achievement not of the hypnotizer, but of the hypnotized— which is just what Weiss's narrator tells A.H.⁸⁸ Hypnosis was commonly used by Forster's colleagues for war neuroses.⁸⁹ In 1917 Forster condemned this use—but then, the "miracle cure" is expressly devised for A.H.⁹⁰ Finally, Forster's having issued Hitler's celestial mandate, or drawn it out of him, would help explain the oddity that it did not implicate the Jews; he did in interpreting it. His received charge was to undo the defeat; to him that meant to remove the Jew.

1920

Even if Weiss took his account of A.H. in P. faithfully from Forster's lips and notes,⁹¹ several key questions remain. Why the innervating effect of the mustard gas on Hitler? Why did Hitler relapse into blindness over the German defeat and reemerge with a vengeance as Germany's redeemer? Whence his conception, brought out by the poison gas, of the Jew as Germany's undoing? Here two clues leap to mind. First, Hitler ultimately ordered the Jews gassed. He himself drew this connection in 1925: "Had twelve or fifteen thousand of those Hebraic nation-spoilers been put under poison gas at the start of the war and during the war as hundreds of thousands of our very best German workers from all social and professional ranks had to endure it on the battlefield, then the millionfold sacrifice at the front would not have been in vain."⁹² Viewed in this light, the gassing of the Jews looks like a massive revenge—and a misdi-

1925

off from the Jews, then they themselves have to retreat and Austria will be rid of the disgusting lice infestation." "The Jews" were portrayed as seducers of girls, as a danger to the state, and as Socialists, for "always and everywhere the fellow tribesmen of these workers' tormentors are the tried leaders of Social Democracy."⁹⁸

The *Linzer Fliegenden*, on the other hand, subtitled "Völkisches Witzblatt" (folkish joke journal), propagated ethnic anti-Semitism in the manner of the pan-Germans. The journal was anticlerical, rejected the multinational state, and made propaganda against the Hungarians (the "Huns"), the Czechs, and the Jews. There was a great deal of publicity for the *Alldeutsches Tagblatt*, whose writers, including Guido von List and Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels, were quoted frequently.

The paper distributed pan-German brochures, including the speeches of Schönerer, and "Jew coupons"—sheets of forty couponlike stamps at ten heller each with more or less fabricated anti-Semitic utterances by famous people, such as Helmuth Count of Moltke: "The Jews form a state within the state; following their own laws, they know how to bypass those of the country"; or even Tacitus: "The Jews are the abomination of the human race. Everything that to us is sacrosanct, is contemptible to them; while they are permitted to do anything that is an outrage to us. They are the lowliest of all peoples (*deterrima gens*)."⁹⁹ When these sayings reappeared on doors and windows of Jewish shops in Linz, Linz's Austrian Israelite Union retaliated on October 16, 1907, by pressing criminal charges.¹⁰⁰

One of the readers of the *Linzer Fliegenden* is said to have been young Hitler.¹⁰¹ Even at that early age he had fallen under the influence of the pan-Germans, whose main enemy were the Social Democrats.

In a 1929 speech Hitler would brag about being one of the early fighters against the "Reds": *When I was a boy, I wore the black, red, and gold badge and, like innumerable of my early friends, was seriously beaten up by Marxists. They tore up the black, red, and gold flag and kicked it in the mud.*¹⁰²

Theatre and First Love

In Linz young Hitler discovered his love for the theatre. Linz's regional theatre performed operas, operettas, and plays from the typical repertoire for the educated—from Mozart's *Magic Flute* to Strauss operettas and comedies of manners. Standing room only, in the third gallery, cost just fifty heller, hardly more than a ticket for a concert by the army orchestra or the extremely popular movies.¹⁰³

+ statement before the district court
in Linz on May 7, 1929

In 1905, the hundredth anniversary of Schiller's plays were at the center. Krackowizer wrote on May 4, 1905, "German hearts are beating." The poet Pötsch.

Wagner's oeuvre was also being performed. August Göllerich was old enough. Among the regional theatre's repertoire, 1905, also the early opera *Rienzi*, the town's gymnastics club took part.

Later, Klara Hitler's brother-in-law frequented the regional theatre. According to Hagmüller, Schiller plays and liked to sing "while walking back and forth in front of the NSDAP archive collected in Linz, he learned much to his amusement from the favorite actors in Linz—that is to say, were "almost exclusively Jews."¹⁰⁶

In 1905, in the regional theatre (Gustl) Kubizek, who was almost father was happy that Gustl had succeeded. Adolf Hitler profited from Kubizek's enthusiasm for *Rienzi*, the last of the tribunes; the work required a large orchestra with contained thrilling scenes with large overpowers, and it was full of romance.

In the fourteenth century Cola di Rienzo, a Roman bartender to the people's republic after a classical republic, was killed by the people and died during the age of national unification, his much-read novel by Edward George, the revolution of 1848, was in the hand at this national material. For and liberated the people, in Wagner's opera, a flashing beam of light appears.

* A. H. S. T. will be

the Alois Schicklgruber into legitimacy after his mother's death. This union was arranged by Johann Nepomuk Schicklgruber, a widower and foster father.

He was legally covered. He was premarital, which was signed by three witnesses on 5/6 January 1857... said in his death that it was his last and only child, conceived by him... and his father declared his own legitimate heir and legitimized.¹⁹² These three witnesses were Alois Schicklgruber, Alois Hiedler in Dollersheim and per the reverend. Whereupon the latter changed the name to "Hitler." The change of name was expedient and deemed lawful. According to the law, legitimation could have been granted "that Alois Hitler was not conceived in a way that would have been difficult and, from a legal point of view, the man who was named the father anyway."¹⁹³

From thirteen years later, was very difficult. No step his 'old man' ever took for he found 'Schicklgruber' too complicated and awkward. 'Hiedler' he found sounded good and was easy to

The long procedure remain unclear. The father's death, in March 1889 newly with land in the Waldviertel community of his hometown of Spital for 8,000 to the purchase were indeed from the father that does not necessarily mean that the meantime, the latter had gotten married. Johann Nepomuk's granddaughter, Klara, was in the last trimester of her

informed about the intricacies of his father's life. He had already died before he was

born. His father died when Adolf was thirteen. Thus Hitler's sister Paula's statements ring true: "I didn't hear anything about my father's family. It wasn't customary to pass on one's family history." And: "We considered only our maternal relatives real relatives.... I didn't know any of my father's relatives, so we, my sister Angela and I, frequently said, 'We don't know, but Father must have had relatives too.'"¹⁹⁶

It is likely that Hitler never had to deal with his intricate family relations in Waldviertel until he was a politician: in 1932, to be more exact, when, during the election campaign, they were used to threaten him. His opponents acknowledged the sensible argument that a politician who placed such crucial significance on people's background could not but accept it if inquiries into his own history were made.

Immediately after the first vague hints were dropped in the press about compromising facts in Hitler's family tree, the prestigious and, when it came to business, smart Viennese genealogist Karl Friedrich von Frank offered Hitler his services on February 8, 1932: he said he already had a complete family tree of the Hitler family reaching back four generations—that is to say, to a row of eight ancestors—and that he could create an even more detailed family tree for three hundred marks. In a postscript he added, "You might be interested to learn that during my recent research I noticed that other independent research into your family background has been done at the behest of political authorities in Austria."¹⁹⁷

Hitler retained Frank's services on February 29. The genealogist mailed his report as early as April 8, 1932, on the same day on which the headlines of late newspaper editions announced in huge block letters: "Hitler's Name Is Schicklgruber." In the article the young reporter Hans Bekessi, who later went by the name of Hans Habe, revealed the heretofore unknown history of Hitler's father's late change of name—a revelation that had a spectacular impact.¹⁹⁸ Tens of thousands of copies of the newspaper were hauled into Germany to affect the election campaign.

Frank had properly recorded the Schicklgruber story in his family chart and did not understand all the excitement, inasmuch as illegitimate births were not unusual and not even a handicap in rural areas. In his opinion, Maria Anna Schicklgruber and Georg Hiedler's eventual marriage had legitimized Hitler's father anyway. In May Frank presented his work in print.¹⁹⁹ Hitler thanked the scholar in a letter of June 25, 1932.²⁰⁰

Yet in the summer of 1932 there was an even far greater uproar in the press. First, on June 16, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* published a letter to the editor regarding the topic of "Hitler's Ancestors": the sender ques-

tioned Frank's opinion that "with the exception of the name Wallj [the family chart contained] only German names," and offered that "the family name Salomon, which comes up repeatedly," surely couldn't be "accepted without qualms as a German name. . . . At least, Adolf Hitler and his followers are not in the habit of simply accepting that name as a German name."²⁰¹ In the family tree that Frank published, there appears as a great-great-grandmother, as number forty-five, a Catholic Katharina Salomon from Nieder-Plöttbach, parish of Döllersheim, daughter of the Catholic farmer Johann Salomon in Nieder-Plöttbach. It was the appearance of this Jewish-sounding name that started speculations about Hitler's alleged Jewish background.

Yet here, of all places where the genealogist could have bungled, is where he apparently made a mistake: in point of fact, number forty-five in the family tree was not Katharina Salomon, but Maria Hamberger from Nieder-Plöttbach (1709-1761), whose father was Paul Hamberger from Nieder-Plöttbach (1680-1706). Frank corrected this mistake as early as August 30, 1932. Yet the print run containing the error had already been shipped.²⁰²

Now scores of reporters started searching for Hitler's alleged Jewish relatives. It was discovered that the name Hitler appeared among Jewish families in the small town of Polna in Moravia, in Poland, and that there was a Jewish merchant in the Leopoldstadt district who claimed to be a relative of Hitler via Polna. In Warsaw some Jewish families by the name of Hitler officially applied for a change of name, adverting to the anti-Semitic German politician.

The summer of 1933 brought new headlines. Lidove Noviny in Prague reported on July 6 that in Polna people were mentioning an Abraham Hitler from the eighteenth century as Hitler's ancestor. *Deutsche Freiheit* of Saarbrücken wrote on July 6, "The Jewish Hitler Family—with Sources." *Osterreichisches Morgenblatt* wrote on July 13: "Brown Hitler* with His Yellow Spot." *Vorarlberger Wacht* wrote: "So he did have a Jewish grandmother after all—Mr. Hitler."²⁰³

In the meantime Bekessi had become an editor for the *Osterreichisches Abendblatt* and published new revelations starting on July 12; for example, on July 14, 1933: "Awesome Traces of the Hitler Jews in Vienna," with photographs from Hitler graves in the Jewish section of Vienna's Central Cemetery and a cookbook by one Rosalie Hitler, written in Hebrew. On July 19 Bekessi's newspaper even printed the headline "Hitler's

*Brown was considered the color National Socialists' political color, after the uniforms of the SA. (Translator's note)

Jewishness Officially Confirmed!"²⁰⁴ pedigree of a Jewish Hiedler family 1821, married name Pölzl, Braunament was attached: "There is hardly tree as Adolf Hitler."

To be sure, this Jewish Klara eight years old at the time of Hitler not have fit Hitler's grandmother. the newspaper backed off, stating Hitler's mother nor grandmother, but which was false as well.

This time it was fair game for paper, *Neue Abendzeitung*. On July the "Truth about Hitler's Ancestors" "It would have meant jubilation, anna, for all the Jews in the world example and teachings have become global predominance." What they were was the "most monstrous Talmudic

When Frank's corrected and 1933—without the name Salomon cation for a deliberate hushup. S picked up the story about the alleged his Hitler biography, which was published became part of scholarly literature genealogists set out to research the for names similar to those of Jewish

Hitler changed his genealogy put together by Rudolf Koppens angry protests on the part of Frankfurt the Waldviertel district, was a therefore had easier access to the to handle. He did not mention that took it to be certain that it was in whom the mother later married, Georg Hiedler. Thus Hitler had a

Astonishingly, neither genealogical vious weak spot in Hitler's family who was born out of wedlock and

After the Anschluss Waldviertel district" and paid homage to the

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* how he came
—worthy of it

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district who claimed to be a
some Jewish families by the name
of name, adverting to the anti-

headlines. *Lidove Noviny* in Prague
were mentioning an Abraham
Hitler's ancestor. *Deutsche Freiheit*
the Jewish Hitler Family—with
date on July 13: "Brown Hitler"
wrote: "So he did have a Jewish

an editor for the *Oesterreichisch-*
ons starting on July 12; for ex-
es of the Hitler Jews in Vienna,"
the Jewish section of Vienna's
Rosalie Hitler, written in He-
printed the headline "Hitler's

political color, after the uniforms

Jewishness Officially Confirmed!" This time the newspaper published the pedigree of a Jewish Hiedler family in Polna, with a Klara Hitler, born in 1821, married name Pölzl, Braunau, Austria. An alleged "official" statement was attached: "There is hardly a Jew who has such a beautiful family tree as Adolf Hitler."

To be sure, this Jewish Klara would have been no less than seventy-eight years old at the time of Hitler's birth, and the other details would not have fit Hitler's grandmother. In part of the article in smaller print the newspaper backed off, stating that this Jewish Klara was neither Hitler's mother nor grandmother, but a close relative of the grandmother—which was false as well.

This time it was fair game for Vienna's competing anti-Semitic newspaper, *Neue Abendzeitung*. On July 20 it promised, for its part, to reveal the "Truth about Hitler's Ancestry" and to refute the "myth of Polna": "It would have meant jubilation, would have been like shouting *Hosi-anna*, for all the Jews in the world, to have done in the man whose example and teachings have become the *greatest danger to their dream of global predominance*." What they were dealing with, the newspaper said, was the "most monstrous Talmudic pettifoggery of the century."

When Frank's corrected and extended family tree was published in 1933—without the name Salomon²⁰⁴—this was only viewed as an indication for a deliberate hushup. Soon afterward, writer Konrad Heiden picked up the story about the alleged Jewish grandmother from Polna in his Hitler biography, which was published in Zurich in 1936.²⁰⁵ The myth became part of scholarly literature. Yet even though both reporters and genealogists set out to research the matter, nothing ever turned up except for names similar to those of Jewish families.

Hitler changed his genealogist: a large illustrated genealogical tree, put together by Rudolf Koppensteiner, appeared in Leipzig in 1937, to angry protests on the part of Frank. The new family researcher was from the Waldviertel district, was a distant relation to the Hitlers, and therefore had easier access to the documents, which had become too hot to handle. He did not mention the name Salomon either. And he, too, took it to be certain that it was illegitimate Alois Schicklgruber's father whom the mother later married, in other words, the miller's assistant Georg Hiedler. Thus Hitler had an unblemished "Aryan" pedigree.²⁰⁶

Astonishingly, neither genealogists nor journalists picked on the obvious weak spot in Hitler's family tree, his father Alois Schicklgruber, who was born out of wedlock and whose father uncertain.

After the Anschluss Waldviertel advanced to "the Führer's ancestral district" and paid homage to the Schicklgruber family's famous offspring

1937

* how he cursed the first one
—worthy of to be back.

all this

by way of Hitler oaks and honorary citizenships. Even his ancestors were honored: the church square at Döllersheim was renamed Alois Hitler Place. The alleged—no longer even identifiable—houses in Strones in which Hitler's father and grandmother were born were spruced up as places of pilgrimage. Because graves of Hitler's ancestors could no longer be found at the cemetery of Döllersheim, "the Führer's grandmother"—Maria Anna Schicklgruber—received a belated honorary grave.²⁰⁷

1938
Scores of journalists set out to look for heartrending stories about Hitler's ancestors. When the people in Waldviertel finally competed with one another on being related to the "Führer and Reich chancellor" and exhibited more or less fantastic family trees in all kinds of places, particularly in taverns, Hitler intervened in November 1938: "The Führer does not wish any family trees to be displayed which allegedly have anything to do with himself. Therefore the family trees now put up are to be removed immediately. As a precautionary measure, I furthermore advise you," the Lower Danube district leader told the district captain, "that pursuant to the Führer's decision the display of memorial plaques meant to serve the memory of the Führer's ancestors or places where he stayed is prohibited."²⁰⁸

In contrast to his beloved Linz, Hitler did not grant Waldviertel any privileges. In September 1938 he even forbade the town of Döllersheim to issue a stamp with the addition "the Führer's native town."²⁰⁹

Yet as early as August 1938 troop-training grounds were established in the area around Döllersheim, Zwettl, and Allensteig—of all places!—with over sixty square miles, the largest of their kind in Western Europe.²¹⁰ People living there were transferred, and the villages, destroyed—including Strones, where Hitler's father and grandmother were born (thirty-nine houses), and Klein-Motten (ten houses), where Maria Anna Hiedler, née Schicklgruber, had died, and as late as 1942, Döllersheim (120 houses). This did not exactly attest to Hitler's piety regarding his "ancestral district" and fed rumors that he was embarrassed about his ancestors and wanted to extinguish traces. However, the Döllersheim parish register, the only source for the Schicklgruber's family history, was transferred to the closest parish, Rastendorf, where it has survived intact to this day.²¹¹

Hitler did not want to hear anything about relatives: *I've got no idea about family history. In that area I'm an absolute dunce. Even when I was younger I didn't know I had relatives. I've only learned that since I became Reich chancellor. I am an entirely nonfamilial being, a non-clanning being by nature. That's not my cup of tea. I only belong to my folkish community.*²¹²

Not until after 1945 did Hitler's personal attorney, Hans Frank, for-

mer governor general in Poland shortly before he was executed (Facing the gallows)—a fide scoop: at the end of 1930, I commenting that this was "a dis repulsive relatives, concerning I dropped hints to the effect that the press one would be well advised of our family history." The pe his veins and therefore had scar

Frank claimed that after Hitler into the matter, he found out "not want to divulge, the follow grandmother Schicklgruber had of a Jew by the name of Frank by the son of the house; and the child support payments for little between these Frankenbergs a for years, and whose basic tru nowleged that Schicklgruber's i stances that obliged Frankenbe: his own racial laws, Hitler thus been able to produce the necessa of Aryan descent."

Frank was conspicuously a he did not find this theory imp that he made Hitler's denial so knew "that his father wasn't th the Schicklgruber woman and th father and grandmother had to forty-two years before Hitler wa

However—and at that poi nation, allegedly directly from H support the Jew paid for years wa poor household income. The J because he had money, and he because he feared the outcome c In other words, Maria Anna Sc mysterious employer's son was excuse during the Nazi era, whi serious jeopardy because of an il

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 personal attorney, Hans Frank, for-

mer governor general in Poland, make truly explosive material public:
 shortly before he was executed he wrote his memoirs—*Im Angesicht des
 Galgens* (Facing the gallows)—where he mentioned the following bona-
 fide scoop: at the end of 1930, he wrote, Hitler had shown him a letter,
 commenting that this was "a disgusting blackmail story of one of his most
 repulsive relatives, concerning his, Hitler's, ancestry." The relative had
 dropped hints to the effect that "in connection with certain remarks in
 the press one would be well advised not to broadcast certain circumstanc-
 es of our family history." The point was that "Hitler had Jewish blood in
 his veins and therefore had scant credentials for being anti-Semitic."²¹³

Frank claimed that after Hitler directed him to check confidentially
 into the matter, he found out "from all kinds of sources," which he did
 not want to divulge, the following: Before the child was born, Hitler's
 grandmother Schicklgruber had been a cook in Graz, in the household
 of a Jew by the name of Frankenberger; that she had become pregnant
 by the son of the house; and that for the next fourteen years she received
 child support payments for little Alois. There had been "a correspondence
 between these Frankenbergers and Hitler's grandmother, which went on
 for years, and whose basic thrust it was that everyone had tacitly ack-
 nowledged that Schicklgruber's illegitimate child was born under circum-
 stances that obliged Frankenberger to pay child support." According to
 his own racial laws, Hitler thus would have been a "quarter Jew" and not
 been able to produce the necessary ticket into the Third Reich, the "proof
 of Aryan descent."

Frank was conspicuously ambiguous in leaving the impression that
 he did not find this theory implausible. It is with apparent deliberation
 that he made Hitler's denial sound so extremely feeble: Hitler, he said,
 knew "that his father wasn't the product of sexual intercourse between
 the Schicklgruber woman and the Graz Jew. He knew that from what his
 father and grandmother had told him." Yet his grandmother had died
 forty-two years before Hitler was born.

However—and at that point Frank came up with a confusing expla-
 nation, allegedly directly from Hitler—"the two had no money. The child
 support the Jew paid for years was a highly welcome supplement to meager
 poor household income. The Jew had been declared the child's father
 because he had money, and he did pay without going to court, probably
 because he feared the outcome of a trial and the publicity it would entail."
 In other words, Maria Anna Schicklgruber had only pretended that her
 mysterious employer's son was the father to make him pay—a popular
excuse during the Nazi era when one's "proof of Aryan descent" was in
serious jeopardy because of an illegitimate birth and a Jewish father. With

1957

let's hatred of the Jews as the hatred of one's relatives due to

no Jews living in Graz. After around 1500 under Maximilian new Jewish settlements. Under Jews were again allowed to visit and for no longer than twenty of the basic laws of 1849 were in 1856 on Graz's Jewish com-

question, in 1836-37, there was a member, not even a non-Jewish the name of Schicklgruber, but Maria.²¹⁴ The supposedly compromised and no one ever mentioned it. for child-support payments to a boy to her brother-in-law after he died when Alois was ten. And, the indication that Maria Anna accepting employment in faraway early step, which certainly would the Waldviertel circle of relatives. really went to Vienna, which is closer, but hardly to Graz, which is long. This would have been particularly 1830 traveled on foot.

Maria Anna Schicklgruber was considered rather old in the family what people could afford in considering the danger of infection, who was supposed to introduce who then would not be able to either. Furthermore, Frank distasteful relations that it is hard to on.

ailing relative, who supposedly it happened. This must clearly the son of an Irish mother and the birth of the child, Alois believe for years that he was

dead—and remarried in Germany. In 1924 he was sentenced in court for bigamy.

When Hitler became famous, his poor Irish relatives, whom he did not know, saw their chance to make money and gave interviews to newspapers in England as "Hitler's relatives." Subsequently, in 1930, Hitler had nineteen-year-old Patrick, whom he had never met before, visit him in Munich, where he told him and his half-brother Alois that he forbade them to do things like that. He is supposed to have said that the family should not believe they could become famous at his expense: "You idiots!!" he was quoted to have shouted. "You're going to do me in! . . . How carefully I have always kept my private life and my personal affairs from the press! People must not know who I am. They must not know where I'm from and who my family is. Not even in my book did I allow one word to come out about these things, not one word! And then all of a sudden there's a nephew! A nephew! They will start investigating. They will sic snoopers on the tracks of our past." In a newspaper interview in 1939 Patrick Hitler even said that his uncle had started sobbing and in his anger shed tears.²¹⁵

Later Hitler tried to deny that he was related to Alois, who had quite a criminal record. He said that Alois was not the son of his father but an orphan raised by the family. Yet Alois submitted the certificates of baptism as proof, according to which he was a premarital child of the second wife of Alois Hitler Sr., who had legitimized the boy.²¹⁶

There was no getting rid of Patrick. After 1933, while unemployed, Patrick traveled to Berlin to ask his uncle for support. A hint at his father's certificate of baptism sufficed to make Hitler, who evidently interpreted this as blackmail, pay. He got Patrick a job and occasionally gave him money, but he left no doubt that he was not interested in familial relations.

After almost six years in Berlin, Patrick returned to England in January 1939, shedding any restraint he may have had before. Despite their thin content, his interviews created a sensation: "My Uncle Adolf," "Why I Hate My Uncle,"²¹⁷ and the like. In 1939 he and his mother emigrated to the United States, where he made a living going on lecture tours about his "Uncle Adolf." Patrick's mother Bridget Hitler, too, waged her "private war against the Hitler family" in the newspapers, increasingly so after the war started.²¹⁸

None of these interviews ever mentioned an alleged Jewish grandfather. How much money Patrick and Bridget could have made with that story! In an interview with the Secret Service in New York in 1943 the nephew also vehemently denied that Hitler's godparents, Johann and

** debaters whether to bill him,
to dissuade⁵¹ him*

1933-39

Johanna Prinz, had been Jewish, as had been claimed in a recently published book.²¹⁹ Neither did Bridget Hitler's posthumously published memoirs contain the slightest indication in the direction of any Jewish relations.²²⁰

The writer Franz Jetzinger illustrates how much manipulation went on in that area. He supported the Frankenberger theory by referring to an interview with Patrick Hitler in an issue of *Paris Soir* that was hard to come by—except, Jetzinger said, the nephew had mentioned the name "Frankenreiter" rather than Frankenberger.²²¹ This, however, is pure invention: neither Frankenberger nor Frankenreiter are mentioned, nor were any other allegedly Jewish grandfathers of Hitler.²²² Incidentally, investigations into the name "Frankenreiter" revealed that there was an impoverished Catholic butcher in Graz by that name. His son Franz, under suspicion of being Alois's father, was ten years old at the time.²²³

What needs to be pointed out is that the Frankenberger story has one single source: Hans Frank. In looking for a motive for his equivocal insinuations one cannot but suspect that the raging anti-Semite Frank even wanted to place the responsibility for an allegedly Jewish Hitler on the Jews, or at any rate rattle them by way of rumors.²²⁴

Kubizek and Jetzinger as Sources

Hitler's friend during his youth in Linz, August Kubizek, who was to be his roommate in Vienna for a few months, published his memoirs *Adolf Hitler: Mein Jugendfreund* (Adolf Hitler: The friend of my youth) in 1953. For lack of other eyewitness accounts, this book is the main source for an account of Hitler's early life and therefore needs to be examined critically.

First, some biographical data on Kubizek. After he lost contact with Hitler in July 1908, he continued studying music in Vienna and graduated in 1912. He was hired as second conductor at the city theater at Marburg on the Drau and worked there while the friend of his youth, Hitler, spent indigent years in the men's hostel, without any prospects for a better future. The outbreak of the war kept Kubizek from starting his new job at the city theater at Klagenfurt. On August 1, 1914, he married a violinist from Vienna and became a soldier. During the "Carpathian winter" in Galicia in 1915 he barely survived a serious infectious disease: "I had lost my strength forever." After the war he made do by becoming a private tutor and municipal secretary in Eferding near Linz, "where I organized the musical life of the small town."²²⁵ When in the '20s he happened to recognize the friend of his youth as a political orator in a magazine, his

response was one of pity: "I was to follow through with his arm to make a living as a speaker at

When Hitler became Reich Chancellor, he related him in writing. In his letter of August 4, 1933, Hitler wrote: "Once I would very much like to personally see you years of my life. Perhaps you can give me the time nor the money for the time."

The two former friends met in 1938, for the first time in thirty years, the day before the referendum on Hitler welcomed him by shouting "Heil Hitler" instead of the formal third-person pronoun. Hitler used the name on the Danube, and as in the past, he was as irritating: "This ugly footbridge! You, Kubizek!"

Hitler wanted to know more about his family, asked about his family to finance their education.²²⁶ He asked a servant from Eferding "the man who had invited him to Bayreuth" on August 3, 1939. Hitler too asked about a rather long private talk. A Richard Wagner, whose grandchild was young Wieland Wagner, they looked at Wagner's grandchild of his youth to the mistress of his youth to her the Rienz experience of his youth. "It began in that hour."²³⁰

The two also met in Bayreuth in 1939. After his visit to the pinnacle of his power. In his youth, he seemed so pessimistic, trying to "justify" himself. "The poor students, that's what we were," he said. As in the old days, Kubizek

Immediately after the storming of the Reichstag, he cheered people. When he returned, he stopped the fleet of cars, and

* Frank may have been playing a double game to Hitler.⁵²

claimed in a recently published anonymously published memoir section of any Jewish rela-

much manipulation went on in the theory by referring to the *Paris Soir* that was hard to believe had mentioned the name of Hitler.²²² This, however, is pure invention. Neither are mentioned, nor is the son of Hitler.²²² Incidentally, it was revealed that there was an anti-Semite with that name. His son Franz, then years old at the time.²²³ The Frankenberger story has been a motive for his equivocal and raging anti-Semite Frank Hitler on allegedly Jewish Hitler on rumors.²²⁴

Sources

Kubizek, who was to be published his memoirs *Adolf Hitler (friend of my youth)* in 1953. This book is the main source for an account to be examined critically. After he lost contact with Hitler in Vienna and graduated from the city theater at Marburg and of his youth, Hitler, spent many prospects for a better job from starting his new job. In 1914, he married a violinist in the "Carpathian winter" in an infectious disease: "I had lost my job by becoming a private tutor in Linz, "where I organized a choir in the '20s he happened to be an orator in a magazine, his

response was one of pity: "I was very sorry that he had no more been able to follow through with his artistic career than I had. . . . Now he had to make a living as a speaker at assemblies. Tough job."²²⁶

When Hitler became Reich chancellor in 1933, Kubizek congratulated him in writing. In his response ("My dear Kubizek!") Hitler wrote, on August 4, 1933, *Once the time of my most difficult struggles is over, I would very much like to personally reawaken the memory of those most beautiful years of my life. Perhaps you could visit me.*²²⁷ Yet Kubizek had neither the time nor the money for the trip and was probably too shy to boot.

The two former friends did not see each other again until April 9, 1938, for the first time in thirty years, at Linz's Hotel Weinzing, one day before the referendum on the Anschluss that had already taken place. Hitler welcomed him by shouting, *Gustl!* but addressed him with *Sie*, the formal third-person pronoun. Standing at the window, they looked out on the Danube, and as in the old days, Hitler found the Danube Bridge irritating: *This ugly footbridge! It's still there. But not much longer, I'm telling you, Kubizek!*

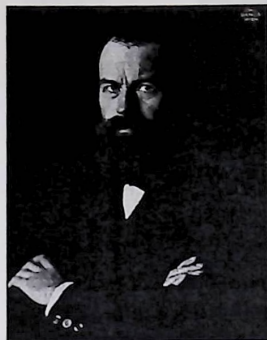
Hitler wanted to know why Kubizek had not become a great conductor, asked about his family, his three sons—and immediately promised to finance their education.²²⁸ In 1939 Hitler gave the modest local civil servant from Eferding "the most blissful hours of my earthly existence": he invited him to Bayreuth.²²⁹ Kubizek attended four productions. On August 3, 1939, Hitler too arrived in Bayreuth and received Kubizek for a rather long private talk. As in the old days, they talked only about Richard Wagner, whose grave they went to see. Accompanied by the young Wieland Wagner, they visited Wahnfried, Wagner's house, where they looked at Wagner's grand piano. Finally Hitler introduced the friend of his youth to the mistress of Bayreuth, Winifred Wagner, and related to her the *Rienzi* experience of his youth, commenting on it momentarily, *It began in that hour.*²³⁰

The two also met in Bayreuth in 1940, during the intermission of *Götterdämmerung*. After his victories over Poland and France Hitler was at the pinnacle of his power. Confronting the fifty-two-year-old friend of his youth, he seemed so pensive that Kubizek had the impression he was trying to "justify" himself. They then talked about old times. Hitler said: *Poor students, that's what we were. And we were hungry, God knows. And so on. As in the old days, Kubizek patiently listened to everything.*

Immediately after the opera Hitler left Bayreuth through a lane of cheering people. When he recognized Kubizek at the edge of the road, he stopped the fleet of cars, rode in his direction, shook his hand, and,

1939

Modern Era



Alfred Roller around 1910

Opera after the Mahler Era

in Vienna, at any rate some time later set out for the opera to introduce. What happened then he would not say. Vienna's district leader Eduard Wagner went to the building once, then after some inner turmoil he overcame his time, went all the way to the opera and failed as well. Some "person" said, "Muttering an excuse, he fled from constant agitation destroyed the

as an artist by Roller had evaporated and all his life could harbor the memory of Roller's support in February. Without a recommendation from me, I arrived in Vienna, I had a recommendation of it. If I had given it to him at once, immediately. But I don't know if that

would have been better for me: everything would have been much easier!¹² Another time, he says, without mentioning Roller's name, "How shy he had been during that time in Vienna, although he had been quite knowledgeable in the most different areas even then. He hadn't dared approach a great man any more than to talk in front of, say, five people."¹³

Only many years later, on February 26, 1934, upon his invitation to the Chancellor's office, did Hitler, now Reich chancellor, meet the seventy-year-old, ill Professor Roller for the first time. According to the latter, Hitler talked about "his impressions in 1907 of my *Tristan* production in Vienna: 'In the second act, the tower to the left with the pale light.' 'And then you also did *Walküre*. In the second act the steep slopes . . . and *Rosenkavalier* and other works by Strauss, *Egyptian Helena*, I believe, and whatever else you produced as well'." Then, Roller recalls, Hitler laughingly talked about the episode "when he had wanted to show me his drawings and stage designs, had gotten himself a recommendation letter from a relative for that purpose . . . but at the last moment hadn't dared to call on me after all."¹⁴

On Hitler's recommendation, Roller staged *Parsifal* in Bayreuth in 1934. Richard Strauss conducted. During the opening Hitler sat next to Roller. And again he told the story "about the young student from Linz who so much would have liked to become an artist and didn't find the courage to knock on Professor Roller's door."¹⁵

Only a few days after Hitler's failed call on Roller, Hitler Linzer friend August Kubizek arrived in Vienna. His first impression of the accommodation at Sumpergasse was this: "I was struck by a nasty smell of kerosene. . . . Everything looked wretched and shabby." And: "From our

In the dispute over Mahler's concept of Wagner, the two young Wagnerians Hitler and Kubizek were clearly not on the side of the anti-Semites. Kubizek assures us that Hitler had had "the greatest admiration" for Mahler.²¹ Even in the unpublished part of his memoirs, which were commissioned by the NSDAP, Kubizek says that Mahler "was probably a Jew too, but was still respected by Adolf Hitler, because Gustav Mahler concerned himself with the music dramas of Richard Wagner and produced them with a perfection that for its time literally shone."²² With their admiration for Mahler and Roller, Hitler and Kubizek were on the side of the "crooked-nosed Mahlerians" and "Hebrews."

Despite all protests, however, the cut versions persevered even at the Opera in Vienna. In other houses they were the rule anyway. Winifred Wagner tells us that during a *Lohengrin* performance in Bayreuth in 1936, Hitler, who had been sitting next to her, became excited when the tenor surprised everyone by singing a passage in the story about the Grail that was usually cut.²³ Only those who knew the work well noticed that Hitler was entirely familiar with the uncut Wagner productions he saw during his period in Vienna.

Inspired by Roller, whom he revered from a distance, and perhaps still intending to call on him, Hitler familiarized himself with details about stage techniques during that time. According to Kubizek, he wrote plays and dramas about stories from German heroic myths and drew set and costume designs. The high point of these endeavors was the dogged attempt to "complete" the Germanic mythic play that Wagner had only outlined: *Wieland der Schmied* (Wieland the smith). In the myth, captured Wieland forges wings for himself to fly to freedom. Wagner's essay "The Work of Art of the Future" ends with the words: "O you one, magnificent people! You have written this poem, you yourself are Wieland; Forge your Wings and soar!"

According to Kubizek, nineteen-year-old Hitler had tackled not only text and stage design for *Wieland*, but also wanted to compose the music for it. He had wanted to prove to Kubizek "that even without attending the conservatory he was able musically to create the same as and even more than I could, for, he said, it was not the wisdom of the professors that counted but the ingenious idea."²⁴ Because Hitler neither had the slightest idea about harmonics nor was proficient in reading music, Kubizek had to write down his friend's "ideas" and—after Hitler had clumsily played them on the piano—then orchestrate them.

The obedient Kubizek would later euphemistically talk about the composition's "widely extended polyphony" and complain about Hit-

* D.T. comment on the scene I of the second act
which, without me, he was to perform on the
some species of middle-class musical
workshop, with building and highly colorful
a really disturbing, and a wholly unrefined



Adolf Hitler's sketch

ler's idiosyncrasies: in the furthermore, there was "worked" feverishly, as if a too close a deadline and hands in installments."²⁶ as presumptuousness of consisted of four months

During these endeavors later astonished experts. "interest for revolving particularly for the various control systems and was for certain scenes." According to the chancellor, Hitler still suggested them to his favored been "clearly executed for all the acts of *Tristan* scene in *Ring of the Nibel* the dinner table how he during a period in which ended.²⁷

The knowledge he stage-production like Nur

not based on not so. From individualities in whole, being can not.

generate artist," "terror of burghers," "spoiler of youth," the "prison plant." At the ministry's direction Kokoschka had to leave the School of Crafts and Design.

Viennese modernism loved what was exotic and strange, above all that which was primitive and unadulterated. It was enthusiastic about Gauguin paintings at the art show in 1909. When an Abyssinian village was shown at the Prater in 1910 and an Ashanti family exhibited the way it "really" lived, the Prater regulars were delighted at seeing "the blacks'" family life and the bodies of those half-naked attractions. So were the artists.

The modernists certainly meant all this as a protest against nationalistic and "clerical" narrowmindedness—and their antagonists angrily understood it that way too. They called the artists of Expressionism "degenerate" and liked to refer to Richard Wagner as their spiritual ancestor. In his essay "The Work of Art of the Future" Wagner had complained about the "frequent, restless change" of fashions and the inclusion of extra-European motifs and elements of style and argued that true art could flourish only after overcoming modernism. "True," national art, he said, was what would remain, and the "moderns" would always be but a temporary aberration.

His youthful experience with Viennese Expressionism may have helped to mold Hitler's disgust at modern art, which in 1942, for example, he called *nothing but crippled daubing*.⁵⁷ And at the 1935 party convention he said: *It is not the function of art to wallow in filth for filth's sake, to paint man only in the state of decay, to draw cretins as a symbol of becoming a mother and to portray crooked morons as models of virility*.⁵⁸

Literature

Young Hitler remained a stranger to literature. That he—as Kubizek noted, full of admiration—read Goethe, Schiller, Dante, Lessing, and Stifter, is utterly doubtful, as is the claim that in Vienna he was "always surrounded" by Schopenhauer and Nietzsche.⁵⁹ However, it is possible, even likely, that Hitler knew a great number of quotations from the works of those masters, from which Kubizek deduced that Hitler read them diligently. The German-national newspapers were full of quotes by famous "German men" around that time. Particularly the pan-Germans loved corroborating their arguments by hard-to-check quotes, on stickers as well as postcards and calendars. With the aid of such quotes Hitler did not

have to read a single book of literature.

Even during Hitler's "scout" honor to be familiar with *William Tell*, and always to classical manner, for example that doesn't gladly put ever of owning it for a thousand who does not want to be ex will win."

What is left as a source of novels printed in newspaper tended. Kubizek relates that *II* together—it must have been the Burgtheater with Josef Albach-Retty as Ariel.⁶⁰ The buying standing room tickets. After the box office opened struggle for the best seats. TI tells us that Hitler was "ver long afterward.

According to Kubizek, for whose eightieth birthday Ibsen cycle, nor did he care two certainly went to see so they could get upset about a scandal on account of its 1891, had its premiere in 1 a few arguments with the critics, that the word "intelligent performance in the Dater) in Vienna. Wedekind

Wedekind was an artist. The puritans found him off other hand, were enthusiastic composer Alban Berg, who into an opera, exclaimed, "stress on sensual moments reached the conclusion that to one's own will, but a tremendous point of all being and thinking

* D.T. instructed him in the art of quotation. (CK with Hans Jauschek who then was a term of the century master of quotations in German but was used by many.)

* D.T. Omedid with the oppos was not a weak power indeed re of will - it

different contexts, for example, in 1941 at table in connection with bad nutrition; he also said, *A toad is a degenerate frog*; and finally, he called hunters *degenerate farmers*.⁹⁶

In reference to art, he also used the term "degenerate" in the sense of primitive-backward and of being too unconnected with the people, for example in 1937: *The miserable, confused artists of modernism created works which maybe ten or twenty thousand years ago could have been made by someone from the Stone Age. They talk about how primitive art is, all the while totally forgetting that it is not the purpose of art to move backward from a people's developmental stage. . . . From now on we will wage a merciless cleansing war against the last remaining elements of our cultural disintegration.*⁹⁷

1937

the pan-Germans
rally, we have de-
in the blood and
self-preservation is
into one's own
ion; these instances
ion, that is to say,

ssed a hierarchy of
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ing" toward the im-

the "modernists"
science: "otherwise
is sacrosanct to us,
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mean to him [the
ows, rustling trees?
old as interest."⁹⁴
e Worte, this time
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onger; neither per-
One is well advised
must be careful to
o are rotten to the

brings of Hitler the
requently in quite

1938

*The Berliners don't really know the Hungarians very well. Now that's an area right near us. We liberated them from the Turks. There won't be peace until we have liberated them again. Why aren't we taking them? The Slovaks too—yes, it's great that they are independent, but ultimately they belong to us! In that regard the Viennese will be more greater-German than anybody else. The sense of having a mission to accomplish stimulates them.*⁶⁶

Now it seemed to him that even the Hungarians, whom he hated so much while he lived in Vienna, were nostalgically seeking a joint German Reich: today, when there is talk about the monarchy, the Hungarian is all of a sudden terribly moved. They still believe to this day that they are the tail end of the old German Empire's magnificence!⁶⁷ To be sure: Hungary was never part of the "First" German Empire but only one of Hapsburg's crown provinces between 1526 and 1918—a difference for which Hitler had no use in this connection.

As Reich chancellor, Hitler never tired of attempting to legitimize his "Third Reich" by way of the Holy Roman Empire of German history. In 1935 in Nuremberg he let himself be presented with the gift of a copy of the German Reich sword, expressing his gratitude for the symbol of the German Reich's strength.⁶⁸ In 1938, by now "Führer of the Greater German Empire," he ordered that the old imperial insignia—the so-called crown of Charlemagne, imperial cross, orb, sword, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen's sacramental cloak, the holy lance, and other items, down to the coronation stockings—be transferred from Vienna's public treasury to Nuremberg.

This too was supposed to be justified with a reference to history. Since the days of old, the insignia were kept in the Free Reich City of Nuremberg and always sent to Aachen or Frankfurt for the coronations. They were not taken to Vienna, the Roman-German emperors' residence, until the Napoleonic era, so they would be protected from the French army. When the "first" imperial Reich was dissolved in 1806, the insignia stayed in Vienna as museum pieces.

Hitler adopted the idea of moving the imperial treasures from Vienna to Nuremberg from the pan-Germans of his years in Vienna as well. As early as 1906 they had provoked the Austrian government in Parliament with the motion to return the imperial treasures back to Nuremberg on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the dissolution of the Roman-German Reich.⁶⁹ This motion was instigated by pan-German author Harald Arjune Grävell von Jostenode and his article "The Imperial Insignia Back to the Reich," published in Vienna in 1906 as part of the series of booklets *Ostara*, with which Hitler was well familiar.

In bathetic sentences, this article conjures up the magnificence of

3/15/38

of the Neue Hofburg, which was conceived by Semper, and proclaimed during the "demonstration for the liberation": This country is German, and therefore, in this hour I can report to the German people the greatest accomplishment of my life. As Führer and Reich chancellor of the German nation and the Reich I am announcing to history my homeland's entrance into the German Reich.⁸⁰

He played the piano of historic symbolism like a virtuoso, using history to legitimize his rule and enthralling many Austrians conscious of their German connection. Very deliberately he stylized Emperor Franz Josef II, the Liberation Wars, 1848, and Bismarck into his predecessors, and himself into the one who was "fulfilling" German-national longings. *

* D.T. And this, he did on his own.
I had already noticed - the
more power he acquired, the
more perceptive he became.

ony of the New
in the back,

in Napoleonic rule and
German" nationalism.
taste that it looks like
thirties. To be sure, the
d, not even to mention
anz Josef's motto, *Iustitia*
on of governments."

was very attracted to the
drawings for expanding
w in the huge square a
"not only because the
r the masses of people
nsations left a mark on
people, no matter where
xtensively on the young
ately discusses. They did
e copied Gottfried Sem-
as never realized. At any
ave studied this concept

enplatz was no doubt an
he stood on the balcony

universal remedy that was the Voting Rights Reform. Reasonable people in this collaboration with the should have eliminated the gentlemen are in out of it!"³⁰

Mein Kampf: With the for-
out the previous establish-
the cornerstone had been
richy. From this moment on
by the historic liquidation of
as heartrending as it was
total collapse was averted
every extortion, for which
newly established suffrage
can hodgepodge with a par-

familiarize northern Ger-
g soliloquy in 1942: The
ined—and still! The central
universal suffrage. . . . Until
rely that you may not say,
naged to do that as well.³⁴
ment's failure was by no
e principle of equality, as
ed parliamentary standing
lling to accomplish some-
terrorist minorities, above
and the Pan-Germans on
have studied the power of
e organization better than

mentary speeches were al-
Alld deutsches Tagblatt, for
is title, "O Lord, Save Us
d "the new people's house"
ate, the freedom fighters of
tic institution, for whose
eir liberty, blood, and life,
tually is today." He raised

the specter "of complete Slavic predominance in Austria where the Germans would have to function as mere tax slaves."

The Pan-Germans, he said, were determined "to rigorously fight against the Austrian system which is inimical to Germans and . . . amidst this Austrian turbulence, for which we are not to blame but which owes its existence to a greedy marriage policy, to hold up the Pan-German idea until other, active times will realize them."³⁵

The Pan-German papers had a small print run and were distributed only among the innermost circle of party members and sympathizers. The public took hardly any notice of them, and the large Viennese newspapers mentioned them only to hold them to ridicule. Thus all the numerous urgent motions by the Pan-Germans evaporated in a puff, which only exacerbated this sectarian minority's aggressiveness.

In Mein Kampf Hitler is excited about the Viennese Jewish press killing the Pan-German representatives with silence: But to speak of such a "forum" is really to cast pearls before the well-known domestic beasts. It is truly not worthwhile. . . . The Pan-German deputies could talk their throats hoarse: the effect was practically nil. The press either killed them with silence or mutilated their speeches in such a way that any coherence, and often even the sense, was twisted or entirely lost, and public opinion received a very poor picture of the aims of the new movement. What the various gentlemen said was quite unimportant; the important thing was what people read about them.³⁶

According to Hitler, the Pan-Germans would have been better off acting as a nonparliamentary opposition rather than sending their three deputies into Parliament—a question heatedly discussed after 1907: Should (the movement's) members go into Parliament to destroy Parliament, in order to—as people used to say—"bore from within," or should they carry on the struggle from outside by attacking this institution? They went in, and they came out defeated.³⁷

Hitler saw the only positive element of democratic suffrage in its finalizing the end of the Hapsburg Empire: The more the linguistic Babel corroded and disorganized parliament, the closer drew the inevitable hour of the disintegration of this Babylonian Empire, and with it the hour of freedom for my German-Austrian people. Only in this way could the Anschluss with the old mother country be restored.³⁸ These entire passages could have been copied from the Alld deutsches Tagblatt.

The Example of the Gypsies

The degree to which the Pan-Germans influenced Reich chancellor Hitler's policy can be illustrated by the following example, which I am citing

1924

1928

uments indicating that he went to Parliament during his years at the men's hostel, which is unlikely anyway. Thus these visits were limited to the period between February 1908 and no later than summer 1909, which is in accord with what Hitler said in *Mein Kampf*: A year of this tranquil observation sufficed totally to change or eliminate my former view of the nature of this institution. . . . By now I could no longer accept the parliament as such. A few pages later he mentioned two years' attendance at the Vienna parliament, adding, *After that I never went back.*⁴¹ Yet as a diligent newspaper reader he continued to be informed about the chaos in Parliament.

His opinion about parliamentarianism was not going to change for the rest of his life. The theory of parliamentarianism, which at first sight seemed seductive to so many . . . none the less must be counted among the symptoms of human degeneration, he wrote in *Mein Kampf*.⁴² There is no principle which, objectively considered, is as false as that of parliamentarianism.⁴³ Carry(ing) out the momentary will of the majority, government sinks from the heights of real government to the level of a beggar confronting the momentary majority.⁴⁴ The ability of a statesman in modern democracy, he wrote, was only in the art of making the brilliance of his projects intelligible to a herd of sheep and blockheads, and subsequently begging for their kind approval.⁴⁵

He called parliamentarians a band of mentally dependent nonentities and dilettantes as limited as they are conceited and inflated, intellectual demimonde of the worst sort. . . . Measures of the gravest significance for the future of a whole state, yes, of a nation, are passed as though a game of schafkopf or tarock*, which would certainly be better suited to their abilities, lay on the table before them and not the fate of a race.⁴⁶

The fact that later on the NSDAP was going to walk into Parliament on its way to power does not imply that its party chairman had changed his opinion. On the contrary, Hitler said that in 1928 he had not sent his twelve deputies into the Reichstag so they could be functioning members, they only were directed to accelerate the end of parliamentarianism.⁴⁷

*Card games, the latter usually spelled "tarok." (Translator's note)

The :

Separat

After the spring term, in early for the summer. The friends again Kubizek continued to pay his sl and by August had written no f three postcards to Kubizek. He with Mrs. Zakreys, the weather, parents, and asked him to bring k rather a lot, usually in the afternoon about Linz's decision not to build which he had been making design postmarked August 19 he mention Nothing indicates an argument b Hitler also announced to Kul viertel and mentioned tensions w no desire to go if my sister comes along the orphan's allowance. For Ange year-old brother finally look for w ance for the benefit of his twelve-

* O.T. He A.H
money and
idea com!

at the public library and booklets published by political parties and associations. Above all, he studied newspapers, which he read voraciously and would later praise as a sort of school for grown-ups: By far the greatest share in the political "education," which in this case is most aptly designated by the word "propaganda," falls to the account of the press.³

1930

Otto Wagener, Hitler's confidant at the time, conveys a similar picture of the period around 1930 as Kubizek and Reinhold Hanisch did for the years in Vienna. "He didn't care who had written [an article], or what newspaper had published it, he simply took in whatever interested him and assigned it to the place in his brain where it fit in, where it either confirmed his own ideas or opinion or perhaps even gave it a foundation. Whatever ran contrary to his own ideas, he rejected and didn't even take in to begin with."⁴

Hitler developed this method of appropriating knowledge and what he called *weltanschauung* by memorizing other sources word for word and internalizing them as his own opinion when he was still young, during his period in Vienna. Reading supplied him with tools and building materials, as he said in *Mein Kampf*. Like a stone of a mosaic, this material should fit into the general world picture in its proper place.⁵

He would memorize what he had read by extensively talking about it over and over again. Kubizek, who at Stumpergasse in 1908 had to endure hour-long monologues at night, reports: "as soon as a book took hold of him, he started talking about it. Then I had to listen patiently, whether the topic interested me or not."⁶ Rudolf Häusler made similar statements regarding the years 1913 and 1914. Clearly Hitler used his audience for his purposes, allowing neither objections nor discussion about what he said.

His secretary Christa Schroeder also reported about Hitler's "mental calisthenics," his habit of "talking several times about a topic which he remembered from his reading in order to imprint it ever more firmly in his memory" during the nightly tea by the open fireplace. As messy as Hitler was otherwise, Schroeder said, "his memory certainly was in perfect order, a bona fide mental chest of drawers from which he knew how to profit optimally."⁷

According to Schroeder, he never quoted the sources of his knowledge but always gave the impression "that everything he said was the result of his own ruminations, his own critical thinking. He could cite whole book pages, leaving the impression that what he said was the result of his own understanding." That was the reason why many people were convinced that Hitler had an "exquisitely astute and analytical mind."

* Again - I would lay claim to fortifying these habits in him.
H and these. Indeed you can detect that we are under an influence of your power just as much in them

Race
the World

er before, Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*. "All the free time my way I forged in a few years' I still draw nourishment today." Most of his knowledge of certain people later on, during his time in architecture, German history and politics. "He never read books was dead-serious work and had appropriated something of its place in his memory. He was as handy, as fresh as if he had kept improving, the

rection, utterly contemptuous of a fraternity, a workers' his information from books

to do with that.
that is long
Dr K.

lehre ruht nun in der
 erbumsprache unseres
 mit vorliegendem
 Schlüssel. Wer diesen zu
 steht der Hehre Tempel zu
 offen und er trete ein als

im Werke das Höchste,
 den Jahrhunderten ge-
 üdigung der ario-ger-
 uren-Dämmerung; —
 er ist im Heraufstieg!

Wolfgang 111

ascending!" From the preface
 Aryo-Germans

for popular Germanic leader, the
 as a god-man, without being subject
 be recognized by leaving each battle
 above" was always right, for he was
 appeared even in old legends as the
 wrong. He was sure to attain the

about the "strong man from above"
 understands Hitler's seemingly absurd
 the great man as whom history portrays
 Mongol!⁴⁸ This remark alone proves
 about List's theory regarding an infal-

refusal ever to admit a mistake, his con-
 be traced back to this belief. In *Mein*
 no recognizes his weltanschauung to
 exercise of any further political activity.
 he has once succumbed to an error,
 on a second time.⁴⁹ According to List,
 is not the "strong man from above,"

in Aryo-Germanic leader, the "invin-
 old, was probably at least an early
 In *Mein Kampf* he construed the
 ally grown and never contradictory

"weltanschauung" early on—that of a "strong one from above." Trying
 to maintain this claim was part of the reason why he had to extinguish
 his traces in Vienna. His friendly relations with Jews in the men's hostel,
 for example, would have contradicted his assertion that his development
 had been straightforward, which would have weakened his claim to be
 the "strong one from above."

After 1933 and his government's numerous initial successes, which
 had been considered inconceivable before, Hitler's belief in his being
 chosen must have been strengthened until he virtually identified himself
 with this "strong man from above." In 1936 he said, *I am walking with the*
*confidence of a sleepwalker the path Providence tells me to walk.*⁵⁰ In 1937: *If*
this omnipotent power has blessed a work the way it has blessed ours, then
*human beings can no longer destroy it.*⁵¹ And: *If I look back at the past five*
years, I believe I can say: That was no mere human accomplishment. If Prov-
*idence hadn't guided us, I often wouldn't have found those dizzying paths.*⁵²

The self-assurance with which Hitler conducted his daring political
 adventures in the thirties might be linked to this belief—as well as to his
 being removed from reality. His Reich press spokesman Otto Dietrich
 later wrote about the years leading up to the war: "He was like a gambler
 winning in roulette who can't stop because he believes he possesses a
 system which allows him to make back everything he has lost and to
 break the bank."⁵³ Apparently his conviction to be invincible also fed
 into his certainty in April 1945 to be saved at the last minute—similar
 to Frederick the Great's conviction in the Seven Years' War.

List may have given additional support to Hitler's belief in being
 chosen. He suggested that remnants of the pure Aryo-Germanic race had
 been preserved in faraway areas, "in Old Saxony, in the Elbe lowlands,
 in Lower Austria, in the valleys of the Krems, the Kamp, and the Isper."⁵⁴
The Kamp flows through Waldviertel, where all of Hitler's ancestors were
from.

Yet this illusion or this autosuggestion to be the national savior and
 unifier such as had been prophesied was partly also political calculation.
 The teachings of Gustave Le Bon, whose book *The Psychology of the Masses*
 Hitler had perused during his years in Vienna, might also have played
 a role. Le Bon wrote about the "great leaders" of the masses: "Creating
belief, that is the special task of the great leaders. They don't create until
they themselves have become fascinated with a belief. The strength of
their belief lends their words great suggestive power."⁵⁵ According to this,
 such a charismatic leader would first have to get worked up about his own
 belief before he could dare move the "masses" to believe in him.

* These problems come up in the
 writing of *Mein Kampf*.

not simply adopt the radical the-
 tactics, particularly as far as the
 Jewish sectarians threatened to turn
 on he shook free of them. In *Mein*
... about those antiquated folkish
... scholars, and folkish Methusalah[s]
... For the same people who brandish
... and wear a dressed bearskin with
... run away as fast as they can from
 Hitler maintains, was taking them
 at them. And: *They are not only*
*... and do-nothings.*⁸⁶ In March
 an official article on "The Falsifi-
 cation of Doctrines."⁸⁷

reported that Hitler had little pa-
 preferred script to Gothic writ-
 some overly eager man gave him
... Flute to replace "Schikaneder's
 the Jewish mindset," Hitler rejected
 intention to make himself look
 In a small circle, the eyewitness
 "Himmler's Germanic home-made

Goldzier

as a top-ranking party functionary
 in 1929 and 1933, that during his
 writings of Vienna engineer Hans
... have been a Jew, which may be the
Th. Newert initially. Goldzier's ideas
... heard about him or his theories later
... an engineer during the construction
... Newert must be a mistake made
 under the pseudonym Th. Newert.

a number of pamphlets in Vienna
 "ems of the World." He posited a
 tually all the world's problems at
 e, Goldzier's great enemy: "Good
 igh, and prove! And yet, all that

1929?

rubbish which was so carefully figured out fell apart when someone ca-
 pable of judgment looked at the whole thing from the right angle or when
 a new discovery revealed the real facts."⁹⁰

Goldzier particularly targeted Newton's law of gravity: "The Theory
 of Gravitation—False!" He polemicized "Against the Chimera of the Hot
 Center of the Earth," supposedly solved conundrums of astronomy—
 "From the Illusion of Comets to the Reality of the Last Things"—and
 unraveled all laws regarding origin, life, and death of the universe, from
 the Milky Way to the deluge, ice ages, prehistory, and the future. He
 elaborated on the location of paradise, which like Guido von List he
 believed to be near the North Pole. In his opinion the moon was made
 of iron, and the lunar craters were iron bubbles, like the air bubbles in
 bread dough.

And so forth: electricity was the primary force and the motor of all
 life; it governed people, who were "basically marionettes . . . which are
 wriggling on invisible threads, exactly like . . . electric fish, which pursue
 or abandon their goals according to the direction of electric currents."⁹¹
 He also argued that it was electricity that "decides on the individual's
 happiness or misfortune."

Goldzier offered some guidelines for effectively dealing with this cru-
 cial force. For example, he exhorted parents "not to tempestuously kiss
 their children, because repeating such caresses will frequently withdraw
 life current from the child."⁹² Here is what Hitler told Wagener for com-
 parison: *That's why a child screams and rejects a grandmother who doesn't*
stop trying to hug him; he doesn't want to waste his strength on someone who
is dying. And Grandmother takes the child into her arms only because she wants
*to seize his surplus powers—subconsciously, of course.*⁹³

Goldzier also applied this theory to entire peoples and "races," always
 using the Darwinist principle of "the strong ones" triumphing over "the
 weak ones." He argued that those short of life breath and "overly culti-
 vated" were declining, approaching distinction, and were therefore eager
 to rob the healthy of their life current, thus destroying them. In short,
 Goldzier suggested, the weak, who were not able to live independently,
 represented a parasitic life form. His conclusion was: "Every people has
 the right vigorously to fight the willful and deliberate deterioration of its
 race." And: "If the individual's or society's way of life preserves and im-
 proves the species, it is good. Everything that doesn't, is bad."⁹⁴

Little can be uncovered about Goldzier's life. Vienna's registration office
 has an entry on a "book printing shop owner" by the name of Hans
 Goldzier who is probably identical with the writer. Born in Vienna on

Union of German Railway Workers (Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, DAP) and Social Democrats and Czechs. They exhausted themselves in ending their followers. Even party historians rarely in the tumultuous history movement, which could instantly destroy, the middle class, and work-

into independence, but continued to be very much involved: in 1910 the Social Democrats to the DAP in the struggle against the Czechs in the first time in 1911, obtained Sch and Riehl were among them. From Hitler's generation who fought the struggle in Northern Bohemia, they became Czechoslovakia, and connection to Hitler's party in Munich that young Hitler knew these in the land while he lived in Vienna. He repeated the Pan-Germans' slogan of all the former Dual Monarchy's in his NSDAP and to quench old grudges to Schönerer as well as Wolf, the new generation in the successor Austria—which was now part of members of his party. Knirsch as well as their claim to have been predestined in the land. When Hitler took power in the early days of the DAP, in which the use of the swastika, Reich Chancellor of July 1933 by his faithful 'Jo-

seph Schönerer beyond the latter's 'Germanians,' which shrank down to the corporative state of Austria Stein took an anti-Austrian stand, and after-

ward he confessed to be an admirer of and received great honors. As early as

1937 Hitler granted the old Schönererian financial support.⁷² Before the referendum in April 1938 Stein made a reappearance as party speaker, and his name was on the ballot for the Greater German Reichstag. In 1938 Hitler invited Stein to a four-week vacation to Germany. On his seventieth birthday in 1939 he sent him a "Führer portrait" in a silver frame, with a cordial dedication. From June 1, 1939, on Stein received a lifelong, tax-free honorarium in the considerable amount of three hundred marks.⁷³ During the festivities for Schönerer's hundredth birthday in 1942 Stein appeared as a ceremonial speaker and also organized the Schönerer exhibit in Vienna.

Stein's funeral—he was interred in an honorary grave in Vienna in 1943—turned into a momentous party event. The NSDAP's top brass appeared, led by Reich Director Baldur von Schirach. The coffin was covered by a swastika flag; Hitler's wreath consisted of "oak leaves, fir sprigs, and gladioles." The police band played Beethoven.⁷⁴ "On towering pylons the sacrificial bowls were burning," the newspapers wrote.

Karl Hermann Wolf: The German-Radical

Karl Hermann Wolf, the leader of the German-Radical Party, was probably the only one of Hitler's political models in Vienna to whom he could personally convey his appreciation when he had become a politician himself. The meeting took place at the 1937 party convention in Nuremberg. After returning from a spa in Bavaria at the NSDAP's expense, seventy-five-year-old Wolf, who was very ill, almost deaf, and walked on two crutches, was invited as Hitler's guest of honor. The newspapers reported that at the end of the party convention, Hitler, as usual, received a few important people, "some of them from the circle of Germans living abroad and ethnic Germans." "Among them was a somewhat frail old gentleman dressed in a rather old-fashioned way. When district leader Hans Krebs introduced him to the Führer, Adolf Hitler stepped right up to him, took both his hands, and shook them for a long time. Then he immediately began to talk very animatedly about how during his Vienna years he used to attend meetings with Karl Hermann Wolf—for that's who the old man was—at the Wimberger tavern and other halls in Vienna, commended Wolf on his accomplishments, and promised to take special care of him."⁷⁵ That young Hitler did indeed revere this politician was no secret in the men's hostel. Reinhold Hanisch stated that apart from Georg Schönerer, "Karl Hermann Wolf too was his [Hitler's] man."⁷⁶

After the Anschluss Wolf's name, like that of his old enemy Franz Stein, was on the Führer's list for the referendum and the election to the

Hitler's enthusiastic verdict was in agreement with the general opinion than Lueger was in community politics, the most ingenious mayor who has ever lived among us.¹¹¹ And: Under the rule of a truly gifted mayor, the venerable residence of the Emperors of the old régime awoke once more to a miraculous youth. Lueger, Hitler wrote, was the last great German to be born in the ranks of the people who had colonized the Ostmark.¹¹² And: If Dr. Karl Lueger had lived in Germany, he would have been ranked among the great minds of our people; that he lived and worked in this impossible state was the misfortune of his work and of himself.¹¹³ And: Whenever Lueger gave a party at city hall, it was absolutely magnificent; he was a sovereign king. I have never seen him ride by in Vienna without everybody in the street stopping to greet him.¹¹⁴ Hitler is said to have revered Vienna's mayor so much that even "during the time of the Kampf" he had carried a small Lueger medal in his wallet as a good-luck charm.¹¹⁵

Lueger loved to appear in public as "handsome Karl" with his golden mayor's chain, surrounded by a throng of public-sector workers and municipal civil servants, particularly by priests in their vestments and altar boys, who during all inauguration ceremonies waved holy-water containers, whether it was the opening of a utilities factory or Vienna's Public School 85. Those closest to him wore a special "court uniform," consisting of a green tailcoat with black velvet cuffs and yellow coat-of-arms buttons.¹¹⁶ Military bands played the *Lueger March*.

1929
He had words of praise engraved for posterity in hundreds of stone plaques, which still exist in Vienna, reading "Constructed under Mayor Dr. Karl Lueger." Hitler was well familiar with this custom, which he mentioned as late as 1929 at an NSDAP gathering in Munich: *These show us how in Austria Mayor Dr. Lueger came to power in Vienna and how he then tried to solidify and immortalize the power of his movement through magnificent buildings, according to the idea that if words no longer speak, then the stones must speak. They chiseled in everywhere: Built under Dr. Karl Lueger.*¹¹⁷

Vienna tended to smile benevolently on Lueger's vanity. Thus a comic paper published the photograph of an elephant baby from Schönbrunn Zoo with the caption: "Born under Mayor Dr. Karl Lueger."¹¹⁸ Even Lueger's fellow party member Prelate Josef Scheicher attested to Lueger's "touch of Caesarean madness and cynicism."¹¹⁹ He said that Lueger had felt "an almost childlike joy when the potentates of this world hanged as many of those toy bands and ribbons as possible on him."¹²⁰ There had been many people "who lay before him on their bellies and, wielding the holy-water barrels on their knees, murmured: You are great, magnificent Fo!"¹²¹

Lueger's opponent Austerli enjoys is not at all something \ life was consumed by one single i and party," he continued, had ha and it had been the "pathologi great city degenerate into the pe

Lueger had earned his pe achievements. His tenure, which gularly clear and defined picture a policies. No doubt he was a strong and was a politician who listene ergetically fought for his "people ward the city's welfare. In the fact for the "Lord God of Vienna," th this day, is certainly understand

Part of the reason why Lueger political surroundings looked so gl equipped with little political taler the advice of mediocre ministers a the proverbial policy of "blunderit lical leadership. Governments ch: alized by the battle between the di beset by social misery, unemployme controversies, and declining loyalty

The large, crumbling empire h policies: the City of Vienna under M Kampf was that of the majority in monarchy; from this city the last flush of the crumbling empire.¹²³

Vienna, the Me

In 1908 Vienna had two million pe in the world. The three next-largest Prague, and Lemberg, had only so each.¹²⁴ Between 1880 and 1910 Vie part because of vast floods of immigr. tion, and in part because of the incor of the large area on the opposite sic 1904, the latter a natural area of ext

agreement with the general opinion, the most ingenious mayor who the rule of a truly gifted mayor, the old régime awoke once more to a last great German to be born in the Ostmark.¹¹² And: If Dr. Karl have been ranked among the great and in this impossible state was the end: Whenever Lueger gave a party was a sovereign king. I have never body in the street stopping to greet Vienna's mayor so much that even carried a small Lueger medal in

"handsome Karl" with his golden public-sector workers and musicians in their vestments and altars waves holy-water containments factory or Vienna's Public special "court uniform," consisting of black and yellow coat-of-arms buttons. March.

posterity in hundreds of stone building "Constructed under Mayor war with this custom, which he gathering in Munich: These show to power in Vienna and how he per of his movement through magat if words no longer speak, then everywhere: Built under Dr. Karl

tly on Lueger's vanity. Thus a fan elephant baby from Schöneder Mayor Dr. Karl Lueger."¹¹⁸ Late Josef Scheicher attested to and cynicism."¹¹⁹ He said that then the potentates of this world ribbons as possible on him."¹²⁰ before him on their bellies and, sneers, murmured: You are great,

Lueger's opponent Austerlitz wrote, "Perhaps the popularity Lueger enjoys is not at all something Vienna should be proud of. For Lueger's life was consumed by one single idea: the quest for power." "State, people, and party," he continued, had had "their focal point only in his own ego," and it had been the "pathological power of suggestion . . . which let a great city degenerate into the pedestal of one person's ambition."¹²²

Lueger had earned his popularity by way of indubitably great achievements. His tenure, which lasted from 1897 to 1910, forms a singularly clear and defined picture amid the confusion of Austro-Hungarian policies. No doubt he was a strong leader. He possessed political charisma and was a politician who listened to constituents, passionately and energetically fought for his "people of Vienna," and vigorously worked toward the city's welfare. In the face of his accomplishments, the reverence for the "Lord God of Vienna," the "citizen mayor," which has lasted to this day, is certainly understandable.

Part of the reason why Lueger's light shone so brightly was that his political surroundings looked so gloomy: an old, depressed emperor who, equipped with little political talent to begin with, entirely depended on the advice of mediocre ministers and court dignitaries, and who practiced the proverbial policy of "blundering along," without any concept or political leadership. Governments changed all the time. Parliament was paralyzed by the battle between the different nationalities. The country was beset by social misery, unemployment, inflation, lack of social protection, controversies, and declining loyalty to the multiethnic empire.

The large, crumbling empire had only one bastion of clear, successful policies: the City of Vienna under Mayor Lueger. Hitler's opinion in *Mein Kampf* was that of the majority in Vienna: Vienna was the heart of the monarchy; from this city the last flush of life flowed out into the sickly, old body of the crumbling empire.¹²³

1924

Vienna, the Modern Metropolis

In 1908 Vienna had two million people, making it the sixth largest city in the world. The three next-largest cities in the Dual Monarchy, Trieste, Prague, and Lemberg, had only some two hundred thousand people each.¹²⁴ Between 1880 and 1910 Vienna's population almost doubled, in part because of vast floods of immigrants at a time of rapid industrialization, and in part because of the incorporation of the suburbs in 1890 and of the large area on the opposite side of the Danube—Floridsdorf—in 1904, the latter a natural area of extension toward the fulfilment of the

Jewish acquaintance in the
 Austria. It would be erroneous
 of men at the hostel had
 percent were Jewish—which
 in Vienna. From Hitler's
 conclude that Hanisch was not
 with whom he had associated,

ively to Jewish dealers: Mor-
 anisch writes: "The Christian
 es. Besides, they only bought
 the first shipment, while the
 they had sold anything or not."
 Early Hitler paintings in 1938,
 Morgenstern's and Altenberg's
 Hanisch writes: "Hitler often
 he could do business, because
 frame manufacturer Jakob Al-
 anti-Semitic statements by
 with Samuel Morgenstern,
 young man, for example, Jewish
 endorsed Hitler.

with Jews may also be an indi-
 something better." As Kubizek
 had the opportunity to observe
 at Hitler was familiar with the
 students at the universities, as
 "gent," "intellectual" Jews who
 in.

approval of Jewish tradition,
 unity of the "Jewish race" for
 red that in the work of List and
 that is dangerous and ruinous,
 creases the value of the Aryan
 avoided at all cost. As late as
 Jews' ability to preserve their
 among them, the prohibition of
 continued List's theories when
 ish people received a rule for life
 religion which was entirely tailored
 and clearly, without dogmas and

*dubious rules of faith, soberly and absolutely realistically contains what served
 the future and self-preservation of the children of Israel. Everything is geared
 toward the well-being of one's own people, nothing toward consideration of
 others. After further explanations, Hitler arrived at the conclusion that
 we . . . no doubt have to recognize with admiration this incredible strength of
 the Jews' preservation of their race.⁸⁴*

Hitler adopted Jewish "purity of race" as nothing less than a model
 for his own weltanschauung regarding the necessity of the racial purity of
 Aryans.

It was only as a politician that Hitler portrayed the Jews as "parasites"
 who robbed Aryans of their strength through their intellectual impact,
 democracy, Social Democracy, the press, capital, parliamentarianism,
 modern art, pornography, pacifism, and much more. Around 1930 Hitler
 said to Wagener: *This is precisely the parasitic instinct, which nonparasitic
 plants don't have. A special talent! A sixth sense! A business sense—of sadistic
 origin, to be sure, but the superiority of parasites!*⁸⁵ If the "host people" didn't
 put up a sufficient defense, Hitler said, the Jews would survive as the
 fittest: *And the last ones, alas, who will still practice usury when the end has
 come for mankind, will be the Jews, despite everything. And: Was it possible
 that the earth had been promised as a reward to that people?*⁸⁶ In Hitler the
 politician, who liked to present himself as the savior of the German peo-
 ple, all the theories of a duel between races about "to be or not to be,"
 which he had read and took for the truth, became an anti-Semitic syn-
 drome.

Only in his Spandau diaries does Speer reach the conclusion that
 "the hatred of the Jews was Hitler's motor and core," "sometimes it now
 even seems to me as if everything else had only been garnish for this, the
 actual driving force." One argument for this theory would be that toward
 the end of the war, Hitler "was ready even to risk his plans of conquest
 for the sake of his extermination mania."⁸⁷

How much all of Hitler's thinking circled around "the Jews," is re-
 vealed in his "Political Testament," dictated on April 29, 1945, at 4:00
 A.M., shortly before his suicide. It ends with the order to *painstakingly
 follow the racial laws and to mercilessly resist the global poisoner of all peoples,
 international Jewry.*⁸⁸

However, the crucial question as to when anti-Semitism became
 Hitler's central issue and core of his weltanschauung cannot be an-
 swered by looking at his years in Linz and Vienna. This development
 took place in later years. At any rate, when Hitler became a politician
 and started addressing the public in Munich in 1919, he already em-

1930

*

1945

*DcT. & the core of the book, the core of the
 351
 00's purpose*

MR. AND MRS. MORGENSTERN

The Jewish glazier Samuel Morgenstern was the most loyal buyer of Hitler's paintings. In this case, Hitler did not rely on an agent but always delivered his paintings personally. Peter Jahn, who called on Morgenstern between 1937 and 1939 to search for Hitler paintings at the NSDAP's direction, stresses that their relationship was extremely friendly and Morgenstern certainly did not cheat the poor painter. In his deposition he said: "Morgenstern was the first person to pay a good price for the paintings, which is how their business contact was established."⁹⁸

Samuel Morgenstern was born in Budapest in 1875. In 1903 he opened his glazier store with a workshop in the back at 4 Liechtensteinstrasse near downtown Vienna, quite close to Sigmund Freud's practice and apartment. In 1904 he married Emma Pragan, a Jew from Vienna four years his junior. In 1911 their only child, a son, was born. That same year Morgenstern bought an estate in Strebersdorf near Vienna for five thousand kronen, and in May 1914 another piece of land, in Groß Jedlersdorf, for ten times that amount.⁹⁹ Within a few years he worked his way up from nothing.

In a deposition he made from memory in 1937, Morgenstern stated that Hitler had come to his store for the first time in 1911 or 1912, offering him three paintings, historical views in the style of Rudolf von Alt. Morgenstern had also sold pictures in his frame and glazier store, "since in my experience it is easier to sell frames if they contain pictures."¹⁰⁰

Thanks to Morgenstern's fastidiously kept customer database, many owners of Hitler's paintings could later be located. It turned out that most of them were Jewish—in other words, Morgenstern's regular clientele—and lived in the elegant new tenement buildings around Liechtensteinstrasse.¹⁰¹ One of Morgenstern's main customers was the lawyer Dr. Josef Feingold, according to the person who interviewed him in May 1938, "apparently not entirely Aryan, but certainly leaving the impression of being respectable, a war veteran."¹⁰² He had his law offices downtown, near Stephansplatz, and supported a number of young painters sent by Morgenstern. He bought a series of old views of Vienna by Hitler, which he had framed by Morgenstern in the style of Biedermeier.¹⁰³

When the former postcard painter took possession of Austria in March 1938 as leader of the "Greater German Empire," Mr. and Mrs. Morgenstern's destiny made an about-face too. In the fall of 1938 their stores, fully stocked warehouse, and workshop were "Aryanized" and taken over by a National Socialist. The "purchase price," which was set at 620 marks, was never paid.¹⁰⁴ Because Morgenstern also lost his com-

mercial license, he was no longer sixty-three and fifty-nine years ever, and what is more: they did not have the money either for the "flight tax," or for the required

In this desperate situation out: asking the Führer personally around that time. Considering Bloch's request, Morgenstern's life was certainly not absurd.

Morgenstern wrote his cry "His Excellency the Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler" in Berchtesgaden

Excellency!

I humbly ask your indulgence, Chancellor, and submitting

For thirty-five years, I have been a frame manufacturer in Vienna for the years before the war and had the opportunity to

I have no police record, I am a commissioned officer in the Austrian Army, plus my industrial activity, running an exemplary company

On November 10 my property was seized twice; in the margin there is a note "Jew!" in the course of the seizure since to this day I have not received the slightest compensation. Reichsmark 7,000 and was for

I am sixty-four, my wife is sixty-two, for months depended on well-paid work abroad.

It is my most humble request to the Department of Property to the State my unmortgaged property according to an official estimate small compensation in the future

1939

MORGENSTERN

was the most loyal buyer of Hitler paintings at the NSDAP's extremely friendly and Mor- painter. In his deposition he pay a good price for the paint- was established."⁹⁸

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took possession of Austria in German Empire," Mr. and Mrs. a too. In the fall of 1938 their shop were "Aryanized" and tak- purchase price," which was set at Morgenstern also lost his com-

mercial license, he was no longer allowed to work. Thus the couple— sixty-three and fifty-nine years old, respectively—had no income what- ever, and what is more: they could not leave the country, because they did not have the money either for the trip or for the obligatory "Reich flight tax," or for the required visa.

In this desperate situation Samuel Morgenstern saw only one way out: asking the Führer personally for help, just as Dr. Bloch in Linz did around that time. Considering that Hitler immediately responded to Bloch's request, Morgenstern's hope for the Führer to intervene and save his life was certainly not absurd, as long as the letter reached Hitler.

Morgenstern wrote his cry for help on a typewriter, addressing it to "His Excellency the Reich Chancellor and Führer of the German Reich Adolf Hitler" in Berchtesgaden:

Vienna, 10 August 1939

Excellency!

I humbly ask your indulgence for daring to write to you, Mr. Reich Chancellor, and submitting a request.

For thirty-five years, I had my own business as a glazier and frame manufacturer in Vienna, at 9 Liechtensteinerstrasse, and in the years before the war Mr. Chancellor was frequently in my store and had the opportunity to judge me to be a correct and honest man.

I have no police record and for eight years served as a noncom- missioned officer in the Austrian army and was on the Romanian front, plus my industrial association twice gave me a diploma for running an exemplary company.

On November 10 my store was closed [this word is underlined twice; in the margin there is a remark in a different handwriting: "Jew!"] in the course of the legal measures and my commercial li- cense was revoked at the same time which made me totally indigent since to this day I have not received from the Department of Prop- erty the slightest compensation for my store which was worth Reichsmark 7,000 and was Aryanized on 24 November 1938.

I am sixty-four, my wife is sixty years old, we have for many months depended on welfare and intend to emigrate and to look for work abroad.

It is my most humble request to Your Excellency to please direct the Department of Property to give me in return for handing over to the State my unmortgaged estate in the XXIst District which according to an official estimate is valued at Reichsmark 4,000, a small compensation in the form of foreign currency so I have the

women of their duties, a "period of service for young girls" should be established, "where they learn how to conform to others, be quiet, and obey." "Man should stop seeing in woman only the animal of the opposite sex and practicing double standards. . . . We have to stop over-emphasizing sexuality."³²

1935
The basic message was to preserve the old-established gender roles at any cost: man was supposed to be sensible and strong, and woman weak, devoted, and emotional. In 1935 Hitler said before the NS Women's Organization: *There used to be a time when Liberalism fought for the "emancipation" of women, yet the faces of German women and German girls were without hope, dispirited, and sad. And today? Today we see innumerable beaming and laughing faces.* National Socialism, he continued, had given woman the real man, the brave, courageous, and determined man. . . . *No German generation will ultimately be happier than ours.*³³

However, there was one issue on which the Pan-Germans and the women's lib movement did agree on and on which both disagreed with the "Clericals" and conservatives: they promoted a healthy, natural way of living for women, approved of women going into sports—which the Catholic church still largely rejected as unchaste—particularly gymnastics, and they opposed the women's fashion of the day, because it was constraining and unhealthy, especially corsets. To quote the Pan-German "Yearbook for German Women and Girls": "Away with corset, knitted stockings, and embroidery frame, and out into the open air so you can steel your body by moving about. . . . A short walk when the body is squeezed together and absurd shoes cripple your feet is enough only to keep a doll healthy."³⁴

Lanz von Liebenfels recommended for every "blonde" "a loose hair-do falling across the forehead, with a knot down by the lower neck," so she could "show the beauty of her long wavy hair, her long head, and her long face to their best advantage. . . . Especially if she is forced to be in dubious company, she shouldn't be shy about fitting cut and color of her clothes to her tall body, full bust, and supple hips and thighs."³⁵

D.T.
* In this very vein—"German" also having to imply "beautiful" and "healthy"—Hitler berates in *Mein Kampf* our foppish fashions and demands physical beauty not only of girls, but also young men, saying the most beautiful bodies should find one another, and so help to give the nation new beauty.³⁶

Women at Universities and Women's Suffrage

According to the *Unadulterated German Words*, everything was sacrificed to the "modern education craze," even "familial happiness and the welfare

of the entire people." Women "We have put the health of and pans than is generally housewives."³⁷

What was entirely ignored was the fact that a large percent of all women were working in home and factory workers. To consider motherhood as the only duty of women made very little money brooding, and sewing. Lack of and moral obstacles made it profession commensurate with

The Dual Monarchy was open to women to universities. For women as early as 1863, this was the case in Vienna, Graz, Innsbruck, and Prague. Cracow, Lemberg, and then it applied only to the higher education. Law in higher school was not established until 1909. College only very gradually: earning their high school diploma.

From the beginning there was a higher educational levels. In the 1920s at secondary schools for girls 44.5 percent were Catholic—share of approximately 80 percent Protestants, which was almost share of the population; 40.7 percent were "Israelites,"³⁸ which was share of the population. This put it came to high schools and Catholic women tried to get a

The figures for Cisleithania were altogether thirty-two high schools in Austria including Vienna, for provinces, twenty-one (the school students were not Polish but Jewish). In their thirst for an education

* D.T.'s disquisition on beauty.
370



Here you can see the woman athlete, the first lady without belly!" the cashier. (Kikeriki)

medical students in Vienna were percent.⁴⁰

Opposition to education plays a role in objections to the study of medicine. After all, a woman student of medicine, which was bound to deter poor circumstances, a young woman from a family wanting to go to school, she was. In Jewish families, however, it has been considered very important. In going to school but were instead poor, no matter how poor they were. They were typically allowed to get an equal-

men became more involved in women's education. The Social Democrats, who supported education, were neither anti-Semitic nor in favor of women's rights was considered a bad, and degenerate battle.

for German Women and Girls" conservative traditional female virtues: "The father's stronghold. Yet many an inimical

power is fighting for it; admittance is denied the fresh Jew, but not Jewish freshness; its words find admittance via the press, and drop by drop the poison penetrates the hearts, the poison of a non-German outlook on life."⁴¹ *Der Hammer*, the periodical whose purpose it was to fight Social Democracy, viewed the women's movement as part of "Jewish modernism": "Social Democracy uses the women's movement to more effectively fight the national state and bourgeois culture."⁴²

For the sake of comparison, here is what Reich chancellor Hitler said at the conference of the NS Women's Organization in Nuremberg in 1934: *The term women's liberation is only a term invented by the Jewish intellect, and its content is characterized by the same spirit. In the truly good times of German life German woman never had to liberate herself.*⁴³ Among women there was a need for fighters who don't look at the rights some Jewish intellectualism is deceptively suggesting to them, but who look at the duties which nature burdens all of us.⁴⁴

When the Social Democrats held a "Woman's Day" in Vienna in 1912, where they called for women's suffrage, the Christian Social *Brigittenauer Bezirks-Nachrichten* derided them by saying that more than half of the "woman proletarians" represented there had been "older and younger Jewesses who looked quite unproletarian." Neither did one have to look far to encounter the charge of "immorality" and "free love." The newspaper proceeded to prove the absurdity of women's rights by mentioning none other than "the used-up female individuals whom you run into in the labor districts wherever you go. In eighty out of one hundred cases these are the victims of the 'more sublime relationship between the two sexes' which Marx predicted and which assigns women the role of the working animals' slaves."⁴⁵

In 1912 Stein's *Hammer* challenged its readers to join the "German League Against Women's Liberation" and called for "keeping traditional order and tried and true customs, according to which the active and the passive right to vote for state assemblies as well as communities and legislatures have to remain restricted to men. We believe that according to their entire nature, women are not destined to fight those fights that today automatically accompany the right to vote." Women's suffrage would not result in anything but "even more political parties, even more candidates, and more election abuses" anyway. Again the *Hammer* charged that feminists were largely members of the chosen people, "which isn't aiming for equal rights but for predominance." The conclusion: "German woman is too good for this."⁴⁶

Jokes about feminists pepped up the atmosphere during political

Socialist state at the time, as a statesman I would have dropped Austria. I would not have led millions into battle in order to save a political cadaver.³⁷ He believed that the war should have taken place much sooner: But this was the curse of German as well as Austrian diplomacy, that it had always striven to postpone the inevitable reckoning, until it was forced to strike at the most unfavorable hour.³⁸

What with all his criticism of the Hapsburg monarchy, Hitler always made one exception, a general for whom he expressed his respect: Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf—clearly in part because of the latter's plans for a preventive war and the termination of Austro-Hungary's allegiance in the Triple Alliance in favor of strict power policies. In 1941 Hitler said in a monologue about commanding the army in World War I: *The most sophisticated military leader in the World War was perhaps Conrad von Hötzendorf. He clearly recognized what was politically and militarily necessary, all he was lacking was the proper instrument.*³⁹ The "instrument" Hitler was referring to was the Austro-Hungarian army.

On March 12, 1939, Hero Memorial Day, the Führer of the Greater German Empire put down three wreaths as a sign of his admiration: at Hindenburg's grave in Tannenberg, at Ludendorff's grave in Tuting, and at Conrad von Hötzendorf's grave in Hietzing Cemetery in Vienna.⁴⁰

In view of his thorough knowledge of military history, we may believe Hitler when he wrote in a letter in 1921, *Since my twenty-second year I most eagerly devoured writings on military history, and through all those years never failed to study very intensively general world history.*⁴¹

His knowledge distinctly reveals Pan-German writings. It was mainly in the field of German and German-Austrian history, as Professor Poetsch had taught it in his Linz high school, but also in what was dealt with in Pan-German history groups in Vienna: battles and strategies, from the Cherusci to the Liberation Wars, from 1848 to the culmination of German-national military history, the German army's victory over France in 1870-71, the necessary basis for the foundation of the "Second" German Empire.

According to Anonymous from Brunn, Hitler owned only a single book in 1912: the two-volume *History of the Franco-German War of 1870-1871*, presumably a "faithfully guarded treasure" mainly because as his father's favorite book it was a memento and a symbol of father and son's joint admiration for the German national Reich as created by Bismarck.

Anonymous writes: "Hitler very much liked to talk about that war's people and issues, and exhibited extensive knowledge. He had the same

admiration and knowledge of the war and most. The latter was his. Hitler only excluded one accordance with the Sch. fire Bismarck! Yet all his power Hitler dismissed Wilhelm

Later on Hitler liked what he wanted to prove with Hungary's government after Stalingrad he said, one always knew how enemy's situation was. . . . was, it would have persevered saying that in Königgrätz I ation around 4:00 P.M. But so ultimately the Prussians' Moltke could light his famous tions, Hitler said, were also I

Yet as we can see from Buch, Hitler was thorough but also with the content of the Triple Alliance. To him, a moral issue, but always men

Atten

In order to increase the strain of the constant danger of new draft laws in 19 by shortening the period of reserve duty. However, the 1 Until then, 103,100 men had 136,000 men; in 1913, 154,1 them from the empire's west months of debates—in the n

*The war between the Prussian-Italian German Confederation. The battle (Translator's note)

Church
+ Choir 20

1897 and 1924
School The Young Hitler

at Fischlham, and because the farm was not paying its way. In July, 1897, he sold the property, which was to exchange hands a dozen times in the next twenty years.

As soon as the farm was sold, the whole family went into lodgings at Lambach, the nearest town of any size. Lambach was halfway between Linz and Salzburg, and like Passau it had an ancient and distinguished history. There was a great Benedictine monastery, which had been founded in the eleventh century. Byzantine frescoes and many paintings by medieval masters were still preserved in the monastery. Lambach had many other churches, including the famous Paura Church, built in the form of a triangle with three towers, three gates, three windows, and three altars.

Adolf was admitted to the school attached to the Benedictine monastery and was immediately fascinated by the new world of church ritual, the black-robed monks, the abbot ruling his flock with all the authority of an earthly king. He did well in the school and was overwhelmed by the beauty of the services. Ecclesiastical music fascinated him, and in his spare time he took singing lessons so that he could sing in the choir. "Again and again I enjoyed the best possibility of intoxicating myself with the solemn splendor of the dazzling festivals of the Church," he wrote later. "It seemed to me perfectly natural to regard the abbot as the highest and most desirable ideal, just as my father regarded the village priest as his ideal." There was thus no trace of anticlericalism in the family. For two years Adolf contemplated the possibility of one day joining the community of monks, eventually rising to the position of abbot, with supreme authority over all the monks. But while he enjoyed the church ceremonies and looked upon the abbot with awe and veneration, he remained a quite normal schoolboy with a schoolboy's capacity for mischief. One day, when he was about nine years old, a priest caught him smoking a cigarette. This was a serious matter, and for a while he was receiving exemplary punishment. The danger passed, for the priest quickly forgave him, and he resumed his schooling as though nothing had happened.

Visitors to the monastery have observed one curious and memorable detail. In six or seven places—over the ornamental gateway, over a stone well, and over some of the stalls in the abbey—a swastika appears. The swastika was included in the coat of arms of Abbot Theodorich von Hagen, who ruled over the monastery in the fifties and sixties of the last century. In German a swastika is a Hakenkreuz, and evidently the abbot regarded it as a pun on his own name, the difference between Haken and Hagen being so small that it might pass unobserved. The abbot's swastika inspires no fear: it was carved delicately and simply, and the only emotion it conveys is one of surprise that an abbot should

amuse himself with such in a well-designed building in Kirchengasse, could select apartment, and he saw it Theodorich von Hagen's Hakenkreuz.

About this time Alois roof. He was the black came from him. In 1900 imprisonment for theft, sentence, this time of eight many, and France; pract him in Dublin, and in a small restaurant in Livery Dowling, and fathered a World War I, he abandoned he was sentenced to six of Hamburg for bigamy, opened a bar and restaurant much frequented by Nazi closely related to the di called Gate Alois, prospered. By one of his Russia, and was taken prisoner, years later. In 1945 and nothing more was ever

Although Alois was member of the family women, and lived by his getting rich quickly and poverty soured him. He when he was about to be his latest wife. He was The unhappiest member January 21, 1896. She was called Quiet and easily the day of her birth and married, and died in 1960.

The family at Lambach children: Angela (Adolf) lodging house in the ten apartment on the second smith's shop. The child

* Obviously from Mein Kampf. He doesn't miss a political trap.

1924 - pub in 1924

III-5

plimentary, more insult than description, representing a free-loader living off the labors of others.

Worker bees apparently feel that drones can be produced when needed and disposed of when no longer wanted. It is a cynical attitude, at best. I find it one of the most unattractive qualities about bees; nothing must get in the way of the advancement of the race, the "state" above all.

Drones seem to live more by sufferance than any value placed upon their services. They are, from the beginning, a book-keeping liability by measurable criteria. The larger drone cradles take more wax and time to build than normal worker cells, and then the dull-witted drone needs help chewing his way free. He eats three times as much as an ordinary worker and can't perform sexually for the first three weeks of his life. A sizable number of a hive's productive workers are kept busy just feeding and caring for their hulking, hungry, boorish brothers.

For the drone, summer must be a time of ecstasy. Long golden days beckon, hours spent languishing among the blossoms while his industrious sisters extract the flowers' juices to support him in his indolence. He is a voluptuary, living a self-indulgent existence, strutting across the combs, too lazy to feed himself getting in the way of the workers, taking frequent naps, and leaving his droppings for others to clean up. He ventures out only on warm, sunny days, and then about noon, to sport among the flowers, or to join other fine fellows like himself, rakes and rouses all, in the staging area where they await virgin queens to fertilize and their reward, instant death for the fleetest and fittest.

Feasting ravenously, he is unaware of his shortcomings; he is defenseless, without domestic skills or social graces, obvious that he, too, like his queen mother, is a tool of the hive to be tolerated while useful, sacrificed in the nuptial flight, proved worthy, otherwise superfluous, and, come fall, ruthlessly dispatched.

Albis + the Hafslung
Alois + the Hafslung
Alois + the Hafslung
Alois + the Hafslung

1934

FIFTY-NINE



1934

AH see

Ruler as

the wall

And yet, are we not too harsh on the drone, assigning him such a limited role, such meanness of spirit?

Is it not we who are at fault if we expect from others more than they are capable of being or giving? Is it not unfair to present him only as a spendthrift of time, a shiftless freeloader, a debauched rouse-duped by his own lust and appetites? Is he not, like his queen mother and worker sisters, indispensable to the colony's existence, a pawn of nature, given a job to do and fulfilling it the best he knows how?

The drone may play a more complex and subtle role than that of just procreator. Studies suggest that colonies with a larger drone population gather more honey than those with fewer drones. Why? Who knows? Could it be that drones, like certain individuals in the workplace, contribute more by their presence than any job description or time-motion study could indicate, raising morale and encouraging others to produce beyond their normal capacity, another of those mysterious forces that defy scientific proof?

While no fixed formula exists for the number of drones a colony maintains, if it is preparing to supersede the old queen or to swarm it will produce large numbers, timing their emergence so they will be at the peak of their sexual prowess at the same time the virgin princesses sleeping in their cradles are ready to mate.

If the bees change their minds about superseding the old queen or swarming is postponed or abandoned altogether, the drones are not kicked out or eliminated at once. The workers seem to take a charitable, almost philosophical, view, as if to say, "Well, now that they're here they might as well stay." Are

a drone (in 1902) in 1910 AH dream
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at 17 he saw his father as the spirit of official authority, in will tremble inside on being presented at last to his father and the old goat, all but sense, nonetheless causes his fear. Adolf is in a sick rage, clearing

for which he is actual - like and his language

1894

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also 1931 or 1932 1900-02 Adolf Hitler

of guilt engendered by his wish to destroy his father. He may have tried to justify to others and to himself his bitter hatred by insisting that Alois was a cruel and vicious man who deserved a son's animosity. It may be objected that even if young Hitler was beaten by his father, many other children in Austria were certainly whipped without, apparently, receiving the psychic scars that Hitler suffered. "Well," one might say, "all boys in Austria were beaten on their backsides, so what's the difference?" The difference, as Erik Erikson has noted in his study of Luther, is this: with Hitler, as with Luther, a sensitive man remembered those punishments and talked bitterly about them later, showing that the whippings had indeed have an effect on his development. Erikson wrote: "The assertion that the cause was too common to have an uncommon effect on one individual is neither clinically nor biographically valid. We must try to ascertain the relationship of cause and effect and see if a unique element may have given the common event a specific meaning." In Hitler's case, as in Luther's, the fact that the whippings were remembered and resented, and that he hated his father for giving them, indicates that they had an uncommon effect upon him.

The workings of hatred and love, of pleasure and pain, are complex. Hatred may be a distortion of love: pleasure may be sought through pain. Consciously, Adolf certainly resented the beatings and hated his father for hurting him; unconsciously, he may have desired the punishment as a way of winning his father's attention and love. We are suggesting the possibility that the sadomasochism we shall observe in the adult Hitler had its beginnings here. Clinical studies have shown that often, as children, people with masochistic tendencies baited their fathers into whipping them. "The desire to be punished or humiliated," a specialist in the pathology of masochism has written, is another way of "wanting to be loved . . . being beaten and being loved are fused into one single masochistic expression."

As with all little boys, Adolf's image of his father was heavily influenced by the picture he had of his father's sexual relations with his mother. For Hitler this memory was traumatic because, as we shall soon see, Adolf at the age of three had seen—or imagined that he had seen—his drunken father rape his beloved young mother.

(He still is the pain & excitement of thinking of Alois on Klara.)

THE MOTHER: KLARA POLZL HITLER

Unhappiness was the lot of Klara Polzl, the woman who was to become Adolf Hitler's mother. All her life she was pushed about to accommodate the wishes of others.

At the age of 16 she left the family farm to become a member of

Shon 1893

The Child As Father to the Men

Alois's household. Then she demanded of her employer's son was stricken with tuberculosis small children who belonged to her. "Strangely enough," one does not seem to have aroused Fanni in Ranshofen and joined to nurse her back to health."

Rather than proving that saintly kindness and endurance strated her capacity to suppress refusal to help her rival and to have been the more direct as she had received." It is of course peasant culture dominated by natural behavior what a more tolerated. But there is no indication of this. She was not a saintly woman; she was a woman of control and subtle complex of not only resentment and rage but also had been living with him before pregnancy by him in before marriage. She was carefully instructed in the catechisms of the little community of opportunity to forget her sins. Klara, the devoted Catholic, felt her transgressions against both younger second wife, Fanni. A woman had been stuck down on living with her husband a life of penance and atone double acceptance of her lot: in children and absolute obedience to tress to bear gossip and scandal tured into the streets of the town.

Klara began her married life Fanni's children, Alois Jr., age 17, was added the care of her mother his birth, a second child, Otto, who died within a few days surviving children contracted di

The interpretation of Klara Hi Bromberg, M.D., "Hitler's Childhood, (1974). I have also profited from Hitler's childhood and family life.

In a certain real sense—that is, of psychological reality, AH does see official authority as having some distant power, when he came to power, transfer in known ways

1931 1932? to have pre- sense the weight of official authority

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and the father-son
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also (931) or (932) 7460-02
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THE PSYCHOLOGICAL GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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IV-8

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Shon (1373)

The Child As Father to The Man

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1893 American Civil War was over and the Wild West had been opened. This stream of emigrants continued until the great crash of 1893 occurred in North America, when the free distribution of land by the railways ended and economic prospects at home looked brighter.

Numbers emigrating were small compared to the quantity of people migrating from east to west, from Upper and Lower Silesia and the Poznan province, West Prussia and East Prussia to Berlin and beyond. Unabated population growth on the land not only created a vast reservoir of consumption, but also supplied the workforce for industry. The number of the Kaiser's subjects grew by more than 1 percent a year, from 41 million in 1871 to no fewer than 68 million in 1913. The increase in population, steady only during the recession years 1906–7, meant that around the turn of the century the Germans were, on average, the youngest nation in Europe, with the sole exception of Russia. France's population, by contrast, had been stagnating ever since the bloodletting of the Napoleonic Wars.

Much of the youthful energy and the spirit of enterprise in Germany, but also the lack of experience, can probably be explained by this volcanic upheaval. In the cities, families tended to be smaller due to high rents and, since the 1880s, the introduction of collective systems of old-age insurance. On the land, parents still wanted many children. But the land could not accommodate them, and wages remained a pittance compared to what industry paid in the cities. So the east-west drift was complemented by a constant movement from the land to the urban agglomerations of Berlin and of the Ruhr, around Frankfurt and Stuttgart, Munich and Nuremberg, Hamburg and Bremen. Cities would soon tear down their ancient walls and develop one ring of industrial estates and housing after

1902 another, incorporating nearby village public transport and encouraging industries where the workforce was to hand: ing cities, the sons of lowly peasants, sholdings for building plots for the future millionaires overnight and in their investments. Population growth, rising technology and the unbridled forces of what economic historians call self-sustaining

As everything and everybody was barriers were no longer insurmountable. Migration must be added moving the social ladder, but mostly up. Down trades to do with horses and road haulage overtaken by the railway. Many shoemakers by the wayside when modern manufacturing the sewing machine replaced the work of today's Germany, Schneider, Schuhmacher. Schmidt are the commonest of surnames—strength of such trades before the industrial revolution. But as some avenues were closed, others opened. The rapid expansion both of higher education and scientific training, through universities and technical schools—*Technische Hochschulen*. In addition, institutions where middle management and technical training in either technology or accounting were many more than in most European countries. Many educational ladders to higher education provided by the State. The respect for the broad population, particularly toward the "Frau Doktor," his wife, who have set foot in a university—was a power of higher education.

1883

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1902

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1893, 1927, 1920 The German Empire - 51

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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-
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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

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also? see next page

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*wild west stops in 1893
also? see next page*

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Dwayne
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1891 Record

HITLER'S YOUTH
By his second wife, Franziska née Matzelsberger:

1. Alois Hitler (born 13.1.1882)

from the family in 1896. At the time of Frau Klara's death (1907) is described in a document as '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 1939-41 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?

note in passing in 1936 Martin she was married to Herr Martin Hammitzsch (etc.) in Dresden and as to the ceremony concerning the death of Geli.

D. T. Record / 1892

ALOIS SCHICKELGRUBER / HITLER AND HIS FAMILY

By his third wife, Klara née Polzl:

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).

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1894

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42 1891 Record HITLER'S YOUTH F. J. Zinger
by his second wife, Franziska née Matzelsberger.

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ALOIS SCHICKELGRUBER/HITLER AND HIS FAMILY 43

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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 'Zwayer 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 28.7.1881)

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 1939-43 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.

Dwayne-Cohy put in 1936 D. T. and Angela? A notice in passing in 1936 Martin Hammitzsch (etc.) in Dresden and a photograph of the death of Geli.

By his third wife, Klara née Polz:

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).

ADOLF HITLER (born 20.4.1889. Shot himself, 30.4.1945).

4. Edmund Hitler (born 24.5.1894 in Passau. Died of measles, 29.7.1900, in Leonding).

5. 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.

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Godsche's text was childish and none too convincing. But sup-
pose you take these rabbis conspiring in their cemetery and give
them the worldly wisdom, the contempt for humanity, the seduc-
tive power of Joly's tyrant. Don't just make them avaricious
braggarts; make them subtle and crafty; make them speak the
accursed satirical wisdom of Machiavelli, but in deadly earnest;
finally, confound the fabulous nocturnal conspiracy with an inter-
national Jewish congress which actually did convene to discuss such
sober matters as the problem of emigration. Then we have before
us, in all its bloody romantic horror, the demon of Jewish world
domination gathered in a congress and fixed in a protocol.

That is what happened. The group of Russian conspirators dug
up Joly's forgotten book; they were also familiar with the horror
story about the Jewish cemetery in Prague; they knew by the news-
papers that in 1897 the Jewish Zionist Movement had very publicly
been founded at a congress in Basel; finally, they knew only too
well the golden awe emanating from the ancient fame of the
Rothschilds. The ingredients of a magnificent conspiracy lay at
hand, requiring only to be mixed.

The Ochrana, the tsarist secret police, furnished the means and
the brains. First General Oryevsky, one of its heads, had a pamphlet
prepared, based on the rabbis' conspiracy in Godsche's story. The
novelty was that the pamphlet was written in the form of protocols;
this gave it a much more serious look. The pamphlet served as a
frame to which Joly's ideas were embroidered in glowing colors.
This was the work of General Ratchkovsky, the leader of the
French division of the Ochrana. For the Ochrana had divisions for
all countries. Everywhere it tracked down the activities of Russian,
and not only Russian, revolutionaries. It was a kind of world con-
spiracy; a net of spies, intriguers, bribe-givers, and political agi-
tators, which Russian tsarism had cast over the world.

With his eye for conspiracy, Ratchkovsky saw the explosive
power inherent in Joly's timeworn and seemingly harmless work.
It described modern dictatorship, its secret and yet so open methods;
laid bare its cogs and springs. A real tyrant would never have
spoken so self-revealingly; only a hostile satirist could have put
such words of braggadocio into his mouth. The effect was a terrible

Move to 1920
+ Dieter Eckhardt

ADOLF HITLER

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ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

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The Child As Father to the Man

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The Child As Father to the Man

doubts and feelings of guilt—indeed, because of them. As a German psychiatrist has noted, by loving Adolf so thoroughly, Klara could combat resentments she may have unconsciously felt toward a child who "enslaved her, sucked her dry and crippled her with never-ending demands." Through Adolf, she could numb her feelings of shame and guilt for having yielded to her "Uncle's" sexual demands at the very time his wife was living and dying in the same house. Constant expressions of love for her little boy could also assuage the fear of God's wrath she must have felt had been visited upon her by the early deaths of her first three children. "No wonder that Klara not only over-fed Adolf, but anxiously hovered over him, desperately needing him as living proof of her being a good, giving, non-destructive mother whom God still loved." 33a

Throughout his life, Hitler proclaimed his love for his mother. Indeed, the family doctor reported that many of the neighbors believed his love for her "verged on the pathological." While the doctor personally did not believe that the relationship was abnormal, he did say that, in a long practice, "I have never witnessed a closer attachment between mother and son." 34 All his life Hitler carried his mother's picture in his pocket. In all his bedrooms—in Munich, the Berlin Chancellery, the Obersalzberg—her portrait hung over the head of his bed 35

Hitler always prided himself on being as "hard as steel" and "cold as ice," a person who showed no emotion in adversity. He confessed, however, to having wept twice in his life: once when he stood at the grave of his mother in December 1907; the other time at the death of his Motherland during the defeat of 1918. 36 On the evening that his mother died, during Christmas week of 1907, a neighbor reported that Adolf sat in the twilight, staring at her dead body. He lingered in the death room a long time, carefully drawing a picture of his beloved mother as she appeared in death, ravaged by cancer. 37

A curious poem he wrote in 1923 testifies to one aspect of his love—and to the limits of his literary talent. After he came to power in 1933 he was able to have it published in an edition of a Nazi paper largely devoted to extolling motherhood.

BE REMINDED!

- 1 When your mother has grown old
And you have older grown,
When things she once did e'er so lightly,
Are now a burden, heavy borne,
- 5 When her eyes so dear and trusting
No more, as once, look forward brightly,
When her weary, falt'ring feet
No longer carry her step lightly—
Then give to her a helping hand,
- 10 Accompany her with gladsome smile—

cont on p 142
this is p 141

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p 142 should be reversed.

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More this page 1923

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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Although it is obviously risky to generalize about life-styles in the homes of any country, two observations about the German family can be made. Students of comparative family life have shown that German families tended to be more authoritarian than those of other countries and that authoritarian values were maintained over a longer period of time. A careful sociological study based on interviews with many different age groups of Germans who spent their childhood, variously, under the Empire, the Republic, and the Nazis concluded that "the basic premises of German family life show no significant difference during these 76 years [1870-1946]. . . ." 110

Ehrfurcht, the German word used to express the proper and traditional attitude towards the father of the family, is normally translated "respect." But it connotes far more than that, for it combines, quite literally, "honor-fear." The continuing force of the idea is suggested by the fact that even after the collapse of Hitler's dictatorship, 73 percent of the 2,000 Germans questioned in 1946 agreed with the following statement: "The word of the father has to be an inflexible law in the family."

The passive mother was expected to devote her life to her "three K's." She should show affection and concern for her children, but she was not to interfere with the father's prerogative of determining family policy and dominating the group. After World War II, 70 percent of German women chose the words "a bad wife" as the best way of completing the sentence "A mother who interferes when a father is punishing his son is . . . a bad wife."

Additional features of German family life should be noted. There was a tendency to adhere to set patterns and to feel uncomfortable when obliged to deviate from a position once taken. The German father found it very difficult to admit mistakes or to yield a point in discussion. To do so was generally considered weiblich (effeminate). The father also asserted his masculine power by insisting that the children live up to his demanding expectations. Since the child was afraid of failure, he tried to avoid mistakes by constant repetition and compulsive thoroughness in performing household tasks.

Obedience was the greatest virtue in the family, but it was also a defense. From his earliest years, the German child learned that compliance was the key to safe relationships with his parents. Hence he tended to feel comfortable in yielding to authority and uneasy when given too much freedom. The importance of obedience in family training was emphasized by Rudolf Hoess, who, under Hitler, became commandant of the death camp at Auschwitz. He also spoke for many of his generation in emphasizing the virtues of cleanliness:

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→ Hoess

→ Klara GPH

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The Best As Prologue: Hitler

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The Past As Prologue: Hitler

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D: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

The child must have been confused by conflicting impressions. He was required to obey and revere the old man, and there was much to admire. In the carefully brushed and burnished uniform of the Imperial Customs Service, Alois Hitler was the personification of the dedicated civil servant, a very pillar of the Empire, the most prestigious father in the village. He was a man of substance and position who provided his family with economic security, material comfort, and social status. But this arbitrary and ferocious man also lived up to a little boy's dread Oedipal fantasy of a powerful and avenging enemy who launched sudden thunderbolts of terror, pain, and punishment.

In short, Hitler's attitude toward his father was one of such ambivalence that it could serve as a textbook description of Oedipal conflict. In young Adolf, as in the little boys described by Sigmund Freud, there was conflict between two opposing attitudes: the desire to emulate and to be loved by his father vied with the desire to be different from his father and to destroy him.

The ambivalence remained throughout Hitler's life. His boyhood friend recalled that "Adolf spoke of his father with great respect. I never heard him say anything against him, in spite of their differences of opinion about his career." And in his memoirs Hitler invariably talks respectfully of his father, characterizing him as a "faithful civil servant." He dwells on the parallels between their lives (both went off to Vienna) and draws a sympathetic and sentimental picture of his father leaving home to seek his fortune in the imperial capital.

Not yet thirteen years old, the little boy he then was buttoned up his things and ran away from his homeland, the *Waldviertel*. . . . A bitter resolve it must have been to take to the road into the unknown and with only three guilders for travelling money. But by the time the thirteen-year-old lad was seventeen he had passed his apprentice's examination . . . the long time of hardship through which he had passed, of endless poverty and misery, strengthened his resolve. . . . With all the tenacity of one who had grown "old" through want and sorrow while still half a child, the seventeen-year-old youth clung to his decision . . . and became a civil servant . . . now there has been realized the promise of the vow that the poor boy once had sworn not to return to his dear native village before he had become something.²⁴

The ambivalence he felt toward his father is revealed in a garbled passage of a nocturnal monologue during World War II. In one brief outburst he manages to pay tribute to his father, apparently bestow upon him an unearned title, and roundly damn him. During a violent attack upon bureaucrats and judges he says—or seems to say—". . . at one time, I regarded jurors as men set apart for a higher life! Indeed I looked at all such state officials that way! My old father was an honorable man. A chairman of the *Assizes* and *Justizrat*! I had no idea

** And for the length of time 135
that I wrote about his father,
he loved him, and it was a
love as real as most of the
loves which men can carry
of warm air and sink with
the bill — balloons.
But he certainly knew how to work
on the need for love in others*

1924

D: ADOLF HITLER

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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the M

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- Of course, it is not always traumatic for a child to see parents engaged in sex. If it were, thousands upon thousands of Eskimos and Bedouins would, presumably, be a great deal more neurotic than they seem to be. The experience is traumatic only, as in little Adolf's case, if it reinforces other deeply disturbing childhood experiences.

In the midst of describing other dreadful incidents involving drunken husbands who are attacking their passive wives, Hitler stops to make a very important statement: "I witnessed all this personally in hundreds of scenes . . . with both disgust and indignation." ¹⁰ We must ask *where* young Adolf had ever personally witnessed such intimate and, to him, disgusting scenes. Certainly he had never seen them outside his own home. And he never showed any interest whatever in observing the workings of a three-year-old mind as it developed to the age of six and on to fifteen—that is, no such mind except his own. Then how could he have viewed these things himself "hundreds" of times?

It is possible that he may never actually have seen them at all, that it was "only a fantasy." But it seems more likely—given the specific details and turns of phrase in his description—that he did witness such a scene, and that he had relived the terrifying event hundreds of times in his imagination. Every psychoanalyst knows from clinical experience that when a patient constantly repeats an image or an association or has the same dream again and again, it is an "indication of

1902

164 p163 preceding this is relevant.
Elke - x-ray p163 important.

the depth an impression h
to communicate." 21

The professional literature, but a few recurring symptoms by itself is decisive, but emotional problems in mind Adolf Hitler. All patients is an established principle is a common sequel to the stances that are traumatic. Illustrations of this symptom: castration in general and (1, p. 211). To decapitate which the Medusa's head also of castration²². The a primal scene trauma we Adolf because of his climax in reality of fright. Thus, Hitler's anxiety damage intensified castration the primal scene experience

Primal scene exposure to have done in Adolt, incest repelled and attracted by his mother's sexual paffatuation—in many ways, that he himself had any s. He insisted, for example, guilty of incest³⁶³. Or he cation of incest (die Verh his sexual affairs in later lie evidence of incestuous feel

There is other indirect evidence about his mother. He harbored a death wish toward his mother, a theme of adolescent drama about the head of a sacrificial family. He was a traditional symbol of aggression, a symbol in this context. Since he was a Messiah, he may, unconsciously, be sacrificing his father to his own

We have seen that H. He had written about Dan him. During one of his last interesting turn of phrase, that nightmares about strangu

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(177)

I: ADOLF HITLER

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him for life. And, as
he had done to him

The Child As Father to the Man

The best historical source for the incident is Hitler himself. For quite unintentionally in his memoirs he has given us an eyewitness account of his own harrowing experience. Dr. Walter Langer and his psychoanalytical colleagues were the first to notice, in an OSS report of 1943, that a peculiar passage in *Mein Kampf* which ostensibly describes what happened to the little son of a "worker" is, in all probability, a thinly disguised autobiographical memoir. (For purposes of later discussion, some key phrases in the passage have been italicized and numbered.)

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Let us imagine the following: In a basement apartment of two stuffy rooms lives a worker's family. . . . Among the (1) *five children there is a boy, let us say, of three*. This is the age at which a child becomes conscious of his first impressions. (2) *In gifted people [bei Begabten]*, traces of these early memories are found even in old age. The (3) *smallness and overcrowding of the rooms* do not create favorable conditions. Quarreling and nagging often arise because of this. In such circumstances people do not live with one another, but (4) *push down on top of one another [drücken aufeinander]*. Every argument . . . leads to a never-ending, disgusting quarrel. . . . But when the parents fight almost daily, their brutality leaves nothing to the imagination; then the results of such (5) *visual education* must slowly but inevitably become apparent in the little ones . . . especially when the mutual differences express themselves (6) *in the form of brutal attacks on the part of the father towards the mother or to assaults due to drunkenness*. The poor little boy (7) *at the age of six*, senses things which would (8) *make even a grown-up shudder*. (9) *Morally infected* . . . the young "citizen" wanders off to elementary school. . . .

The three year old has now become a (10) *youth of fifteen* who [has been dismissed from school and] despises all authority. . . . Now he loiters about and God only knows when he comes home. . . .⁵⁰

he remembers Alois + Clara when he was three
The scene at the age of three does not seem at all improbable when one considers how little concerned Alois Hitler was about anybody's knowledge of his sexual life. He was unlikely to be embarrassed by the presence of a little child in the crowded living quarters, particularly if he thought the child was asleep.

The description as given by Hitler contains numerous phrases which reinforce the conclusion that the passage is autobiographical:

- (1) *Five children*. For several years as a young boy, Adolf was one of five children, along with Paula and Edmund and his stepbrother and stepsister, Alois Jr. and Angela.

1929

1894 Record

ADOLPH HITLER'S YOUTH

F. J. Zinger

By his second wife, Franziska nee 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 '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 1939-40 war, released December 1951.

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 Herr Martin
Hammitzsch (etc) in Dresden
then later married

D.T. Record / 1892

ALOIS SCHICKELGRUBER / HITLER AND HIS FAMILY

By his third wife, Klara nee Polz:

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 24.1.1894 in Passau. Died of measles, 29.2.1900 in Leonding).

Paula Hitler (born 27.1.1896 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).

Leo Raubal
the family
marriage record
of the death of Geli.

or rather, rather
Alois tells the
job about
medieval
quest.

22a

1929

42

1891 Record

HITLER'S YOUTH

F. J. Zingler

By his second wife, Franziska nee Matzelsberger:

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Shot herself with Adolf's revolver, 1931.

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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 1916 she married Herr Martin Hammitzsch, who was then the Director of the State School of Building Construction in Dresden.

R.T. and Angela? A

note in passing - 1931
she was married to Herr Martin
(etc) in Dresden
then later

D.T. Record / 1892

ALOIS HITLER / HITLER AND HIS FAMILY (4)

By his third wife, Klara nee Polz:

1. Gustav Hitler (born 17.5.1885, five months after his parents' wedding. Died in his second year).
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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 24.1.1894 in Passau. Died of measles, 29.2.1900 in Leonding).
6. Paula Hitler (born 21.1.1896 in Hafeld (Fischlam)).

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The sole source of information concerning this child is a statement by his sister Paula (still living).

See too high
the source
marriage record
of the death of Geli.

or rather, taking
Alois took the
job about
address
quest.

At his 3.

1929

1929

1891 Record

HITLER'S YOUTH

F. J. Zinger

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D. T. - we need copies for each year card

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Leo Raubal (born 1906) became a school-master.

Captured by Russians in 1939-41 war, released December 1955.

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D. T. and Angela? A

note in passing - 1936 she was married to Herr Martin Hammitzsch in Dresden then later ceremony

D. T. Record / 1892

ALOIS SCHICKELGRUBER/HITLER AND HIS FAMILY

1894

By his third wife, Klara nee Polz:

1. Gustav Hitler (born 17.5.1885, five months after his parents' wedding. Died in his second year).
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3. Otto Hitler¹ (born in Vienna. Died when a few days old).
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5. Edmund Hitler (born 24.1.1891 in Passau. Died of measles, 29.2.1900 in Leonding).
6. Paula Hitler (born 21.1.1896 in Hafeld (Fischlam)).

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The sole source of information concerning this child is a statement by his sister Paula (still living).

or, rather, jokes about the death of Geli.
 also tells the joke about the death of Geli.
 note in passing - 1936 she was married to Herr Martin Hammitzsch in Dresden then later ceremony

Ida and Otto and Edmund.

1892-1895 1 year see P47 of this memo

AH is 3.

1920

1979

1991 record

42 1944 HITLER'S YOUTH

By his second wife, Frankiska nee Matzelsberger

1. *Alois Hitler* (born 13.1.1882)

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.

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Q T, and Angela? A

note in passing - In 1936
she was married to Hans Moulton
with (etc) in Dresden
then later

D.T. [Record / 21892

ALLOIS SCHICKLGRUBER/HITLER AND HIS FAMILY 42

By his third wife, Klara nee Polz!

1. Gustav Hitler (born 17.5.1835, five months after his parents' wedding. Died in his second year).
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marriage freedom
- of the death

again tells the
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At 3

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1890 (2)

1890

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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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."

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 heavily forced into the baby's mouth whenever he screams, regardless of what is troubling him."

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 her son) 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-

prove Adolf's health by: throughout his childhood Aunt Klara, after her husband's death, obliged to work in the when he did not feel well, cow's milk into his room drink it."

Hitler's oral habits at that there were serious which the well-meaning adult Hitler's inordinate crisis; the sucking of his rages, his poor appetite, his constant comment on basic mistrust of others.

Adolf was a compulsive boyhood friend recall he could dominate verbal

Soon I came to un for the reason that TALK and needed so startled when he vivid gestures, for by the fact that I usually delivered so can erupting

A close associate of his aggression. The Fuhrer, literally to destroy opposi

The fury raged its contradiction only it would crush all obje scenes occurred over

During one of his be to embarrass him by aski he had over joined the ci of the Municherwe (Mit dem Mein Mann the classic account c lem during the oral stag

that prayer look to get and force on what is missing in one's own life.

146 Her heart-felt prayers are pecked up by D.T. who was out that night on prayer-patrol. Very heavily into just a bit—then were so pure, "take my life, ready if it will help to save his."

→ must be rewritten for Hitler.

His later career for a complete & soft picture 5 ft

1890

the victimhood of pushing & struggling into him.

IA

Karlson
Uncle Alois + 1890
1896
Uncle

Though he sold this three years later, he went on to buy two further plots.⁵¹ At home, Alois was an authoritarian, overbearing, domineering husband and a stern, distant, masterful, and often irritable father. For long after their marriage, Klara could not get out of the habit of calling him 'Uncle'.⁵² And even after his death, she kept a rack of his pipes in the kitchen and would point to them on occasion when he was referred to, as if to invoke his authority.⁵³

What affection the young children missed in their father was more than recompensed by their mother. According to the description given much later by her Jewish doctor, Eduard Bloch, after his own forced emigration from Nazi Germany, Klara Hitler was 'a simple, modest, kindly woman. She was tall, had brownish hair which she kept neatly plaited, and a long, oval face with beautifully expressive grey-blue eyes.'⁵⁴ In personality, she was submissive, retiring, quiet, a pious churchgoer, taken up in the running of the household, and above all absorbed in the care of her children and stepchildren. The deaths within weeks of each other of her first three children in infancy in 1887-8, and the subsequent death of her fifth child, Edmund, under the age of six in 1900, must have been hammer blows for her.⁵⁵ Her sorrows can only have been compounded by living with an irascible, unfeeling, overbearing husband. It is scarcely surprising that she made an impression of a saddened, careworn woman. Nor is it any wonder that she bestowed a smothering, protective love and devotion on her two surviving children, Adolf and Paula.⁵⁶ Klara was in turn held in love and affection by her children and stepchildren, by Adolf quite especially. 'Outwardly, his love for his mother was his most striking feature,' Dr Bloch later wrote. 'While he was not a "mother's boy" in the usual sense,' he added, 'I have never witnessed a closer attachment.' In one of the few signs of human affection recorded in *Mein Kampf*, Adolf wrote 'I had honoured my father, but loved my mother.'⁵⁸ He carried her picture with him down to the last days in the bunker. Her portrait stood in his rooms in Munich, Berlin, and at the Obersalzberg (his alpine residence near Berchtesgaden). 'His mother may well, in fact, have been the only person he genuinely loved in his entire life.

Adolf's early years were spent, then, under the smothering protectiveness of an over-anxious mother in a household dominated by the threatening presence of a disciplinarian father, against whose wrath the submissive Klara was helpless to protect her offspring. Adolf's younger sister, Paula, spoke after the war of her mother as 'a very soft and tender person, the compensatory element between the almost too harsh father and the very

(83)
we have been
lively children who perhaps s
ever [children] or differences of opin
for was a reason on account of the chil
who challenged my father to extr
tyrannical every day. How often
him and try to obtain with her kind
*ness [obtaining] with harshness!*⁶⁰ Hit
most [of them] in the 1940s, often rec
of temper and would then immedia
he said, but instead feared him all t
ed to remark to whom he was
about the beatings he had to take,
he was thrashed.⁶¹

Quite possibly, Alois's violence was in *Mein Kampf*, in which Hitler o: world precisely where the children their mother by their father, may childhood experiences.⁶² What the le character developed must remain a n was profound and hard to doubt.

Beneath the surface, the later Hit Speculation though it must remain, patronizing contempt for the submis: nance (and imagery of the Leader the inability to form deep personal brutality towards humankind, and - profound that it must have reflect self-hatred concealed in the extreme must surely have had roots in the sub family circumstances. But assumption traces of Adolf's early life, so far as t of what would emerge. Attempts to fi within the murderous dictator' have our knowledge of what was to come the most part sympathy for the child

** Perhaps a scene*
too afraid to att
while he is ber

Nov to 1914-1918
when divorced 1900

Revision
 Onkel Alois + 1896
 1896 Onkel
 (83)
 we have been
 lively children who perhaps s
 our quarrel[s] or differences of opi
 sit via also on account of the chi
 who challenged my father to ext
 thrashing every day. How often
 him and try to obtain with her kin
 [obtaining] with harshness! His
 mood together in the 1940s, often rec
 of temperance would then immedia
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1562?
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* Perhaps a scene too afraid to attack while he is less

→ Nov 1914-1918

Whendances 1880

1924

1924

the life & death of A.H. - Payne

Q.M.D. - Bess

1924

1924

1924

~~Wants~~

Wants

Kushaw

Luhacs

Hauptstempel

Heiden

G. J. S. auf dem Jungs, Smith

1920

1924

OUR DEAD ADMONISH US TO DUTY

In view of the great common misfortune of our fathers⁶⁸⁷ 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 eighteen¹ 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 Eckart²

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.

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

1-102; *Jelzinger* (E), pp. 65-66.
(E), p. 66.

44 Huemer's case is complex. In 1924 he wrote a very unfavorable summary of Hitler which he sent to Hitler's lawyer during the treason trial. *Jetzinger* (G), pp. 104-106; *Jetzinger* (E), pp. 68-69. After Hitler triumphed in Germany, he backtracked and said polite but empty things about him. Huemer letter, NA, T-84, Roll 4, File 4. Finally he resorted to the most fawning and humiliating glorification of the Fuehrer. *Rabitsch*, pp. 58-65. On the other

The Foundation of the City

will spring with incredible fury on any living thing, ant or lion or man, that dares to profane the sacred ark. This we may term anger, ridiculous obstinacy, or heroism, according as our mind be disposed.

But of their want of solidarity outside the hive, and even of sympathy within it, I can find nothing to say. Are we to believe that each form of intellect possesses its own strange limitation, and that the tiny flame which with so much difficulty at last burns its way through inert matter and issues forth from the brain, is still so uncertain that if it illumine one point more strongly the others are forced into blacker darkness? Here we find that the bees (or nature acting within them) have organised work in common, the love and cult of the future, in a manner more perfect than can elsewhere be discovered. Is it for this reason that they have lost sight of all the

* Patriotism.

Patriotism
*
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1936

120 • WILLIAM LONGGOOD

Even discounting the number of eggs laid, it is still a torrent of fecundity. As eggs are released through the tubelike oviduct, the queen can, by relaxing or contracting certain muscles, control whether sperm brushes the egg or is withheld, the choice determined by the size of the crib in which the egg is laid. The queen is able to use her front legs, like tiny callipers, to measure the size of the cell in the darkness.

As previously pointed out, an egg fertilized with male sperm becomes a female worker, while those not touched with sperm become drones. Thus, female qualities are provided by the male element, and male qualities by the female, a curious reversal found commonly in nature. A worker bee has a mother and father, while a drone has a mother and no father, making him not subject to the same double-parent genetic influences as his sisters.

All of this is quite complicated, and the process of bee reproduction was misunderstood for many years, despite a correct explanation as early as 1845 by an astute German beekeeper, the Reverend John Dzierzon, whose theory laid the foundation for the scientific study of bees. For another half-century it was commonly believed that the sex of a bee was determined by the size of the cell in which the egg was deposited, rather than vice versa, a conclusion based on the fact that the queen almost invariably laid worker eggs in smaller cells and drone eggs in the larger cribs.

The theory supporting this false conclusion was that the smaller cells pressed upon the queen's oviduct, forcing out sperm that fertilized the egg, and since no pressure was exerted by a larger drone cell she was therefore able to deposit egg unfertilized by sperm. "I see, therefore I believe!"—a problem Galileo ran into on a more cosmic scale. Humans have always had a talent for believing what they want to believe.

In a series of experiments in 1895 it was proved that the queen controls the sex of her offspring in the manner described, although some diehards still held that the sex was determined

THE QUEEN MUST DIE • 121

by secretions of worker bees. Finally, however, Rev. Dzierzon's theory prevailed, and it was recognized that the queen is merely an order taker, depositing fertilized or unfertilized eggs according to cell size, as dictated by the higher authority that rules such matters.

FORTY-FOUR



The queen strides regally over the honeycomb, picks a cell, inspects it briefly, and backs herself over it to deposit a single egg in the bottom. The pose would seem awkward, less than majestic, but she performs it with grace and dignity. She goes about her work methodically, inspecting each cradle and laying an egg or passing by those cells that do not measure up, hurrying on to the next. This, at least, is what we perceive.

Beyond that we have no insight into the level of insect consciousness, if it exists. There is no evidence that the queen takes pleasure in her work, or that she looks upon it as a necessary task and makes the best of her lot. She goes about her business as diligently as any housewife doing domestic chores. The process appears to be completely mechanical. But can we not believe that at least one part of her small brain is making small decisions as she inspects the individual cells, laying an egg or rejecting the crib as unfit?

One wonders. Is this the whole of it for her? Is there no other dimension for this mechanized, driven little creature? Is she, like most inhabitants of the earth, merely performing an imposed task with no comprehension of the grand scheme? Does man alone ponder the unfathomable riddle of existence?

Why do we dismiss other creatures with such cavalier indifference?

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60 HITLER'S YOUTH

Most of us got sick of it, but Hitler always managed to find some who would play with him, usually younger boys.

In this period, as Hitler himself recorded in *Mein Kampf*, he came upon a number of military books in his father's library, among them two bound volumes of an illustrated magazine published during the Franco-Prussian War. I can remember these books myself. Large numbers were sold in Austria about that time and before I was twelve years old I had pored over them and pestered my grandfather with questions. The illustrations, I remember, were swarming with German spiked helmets and littered with dead Frenchmen. These books, wrote Hitler, 'now became my favourite reading. I seemed to experience the titanic battle in my innermost being. More and more my enthusiasms were drawn towards war and soldiering.'

Adolf and his father

In his book, *At the Gallows-Foot*, which Hans Frank, the former Reich Minister of Justice, wrote while under sentence of death in Nürnnberg prison, there occurs the following passage:

'Many a time the boy Adolf had to fetch his father from the inn at a late hour after the latter's evening indulgence! In 1930, in course of a conversation about his family in general, Hitler himself told me: "When I was ten or twelve I had to go late at night to this stinking, smoke-filled tavern. I made no attempt to spare his feelings. I went straight up to the table where my father sat, staring at me dolishly, and shook him. 'Father,' I would say, 'it's time for you to come home! Up you get!' And often I had to stand for a quarter of an hour or more, pleading and scolding before I could get him to his legs. Then I supported him home. I have never felt so horribly ashamed. Oh Frank! I know what a demon alcohol can be! Because of my father, it was the bane of my youth.'"

Even if Hitler said this, it cannot have been true. Firstly, it is in complete contradiction with his own statement in *Mein Kampf* that he respected his father. Secondly, it contradicts the known facts about Alois Hitler's mode of life. Five individuals with

It dislikes toward younger boys after the tough kids begin to abuse him hard.

18

whom I have spoken, who knew him well, have each assured me that he never got drunk. And a habitual drunkard of the kind Frank portrays would hardly have received the eulogistic obituary which was printed in the Linz *Tagespost*, nor would he have left—as Alois Hitler did—both unencumbered real property and a fair sum in ready cash. Moreover, we know that every evening, for as long as he was in Leonding, Alois Hitler went to one of the four inns there to attend a so-called *Bürgerabend*, an informal social gathering of respectable citizens, held, then as now, in each of the inns in turn for the purpose of good talk and good company, but certainly not with the object of getting drunk. If Alois Hitler had been a notorious drunkard, he would sooner or later have been asked to leave.

As a corrective to this story, there is the far more plausible assertion of Adolf's guardian, Mayrhofer, that Alois Hitler was often obliged to go out and look for his son in the evenings, when the latter had stayed out too late with his playfellows.

It is also said that Adolf used to get merciless beatings from his father. This is based on an alleged remark of Angela's to her half-brother, 'Adolf, do you remember how mother and I used to hang on to father's uniform coat tails when he was trying to hit you?' But Alois Hitler ceased to wear uniform when he retired in June 1893, and during the year preceding his retirement he had been living away from his family. The 'beatings' must then have taken place when Adolf was only five, or even younger—in other words, they never took place at all.

It is true that the Führer himself once told his secretaries that his father had given him thirty stripes in the small of the back, but that, like a Red Indian under torture, he had never made the smallest sound. Apart from the fact that Hitler related this in the same breath as other fabulous Red Indian stories, we know that he was addicted to acting the hero before the young ladies of his entourage and there is no reason whatever to believe this improbable story. For one thing, his father was far too responsible a man to have administered so savage a punishment, and moreover in the Leonding period, to which the tale refers, he was in his sixties and past caring much about young Adolf's misdemeanours.

Karl May

1902

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HK 1924 bar * S.D.T.H. had learned to lie in two opposite directions

Earlier he stands then side a foot. When his father continues to talk. He was himself very much his mother.

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1897 1924

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The Early Years

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amuse himself with such an obvious pun. Adolf, who was now living in a well-designed building at the corner of the Linzerstrasse and the Kirchengasse, could see the swastika from the window of his father's apartment, and he saw it more clearly when he went to school. About Theodor von Hagen's swastika was probably the ancestor of the Nazi Hakenkreuz.

1897

About this time Alois Hitler's eldest son, Alois Jr., left the family roof. He was the black sheep of the family, and no good news ever came from him. In 1900 he was arrested and sentenced to five months' imprisonment for theft, and two years later he received another sentence, this time of eight months' imprisonment. He wandered to Germany and France, practicing the trade of a waiter. In 1909 we find him in Dublin, and in the following year he became the owner of a small restaurant in Liverpool, where he married an Irish girl, Elizabeth Dowling, and fathered a son, William Patrick Hitler. Shortly before World War I he abandoned his wife and settled in Germany. In 1924 he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in the provincial court of Hamburg for bigamy, and when his half-brother came to power he opened a bar and restaurant in Berlin on the Wittenbergplatz. It was much frequented by Nazi officers, who were not unaware that Alois was closely related to the dictator of Germany. The restaurant and bar, called Café Alois, prospered, and Alois himself survived the war. A son, Heinz, by one of his many marriages, fought in the war against Russia and was taken prisoner. He, too, survived, returning to Germany many years later. In 1945 Alois Hitler changed his name to Hans Hiller, and nothing more was ever heard of him.

→ new time as AT

Although Alois Jr. was the black sheep, he was probably the happiest member of the family. He had an earthy robust character, charmed women, and lived by his wits. He was always inventing schemes for getting rich quickly, and most of them came to grief. Neither prison nor poverty soured him. He was unfailingly good-humored and polite, even when he was about to be sentenced by a judge or when he was abandoning his latest wife. He was one of those who enjoy life to the full.

The unhappiest member of the family was Paula, who was born on January 21, 1896. She was the last of Klara's six children, and the most docile. Quiet and easily led, she faded into the background almost from the day of her birth and spent most of her life in obscurity. She never married, and died in 1960 as quietly as she had lived.

The family at Lambach now consisted of Alois, Klara, and the four children, Angela, Adolf, Edmund, and Paula. At first they lived in a lodging house in the center of the town, but later they moved into an apartment on the second floor of a mill, where there was also a blacksmith's shop. The children appear to have enjoyed the move, but Alois

the fight with his father.
"You find them, you fuck them,
and then you forget them.
Maybe I am the same as you."
the father then hit him hard
enough to knock him down.

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Alois Jr. is much
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small detachment guarded the courtyard. The soldiers could be seen boil-
ing coffee beside their stacked rifles, for it was a miserably cold winter.

In the silence of his cell Hitler could reflect that all the bad things
that happened to him took place in winter. His mother, father, and
younger brother had all died in winter, and fifteen years before he had
wandered like a mindless derelict through a winter of Vienna. He hated
all winters and sometimes dreamed of spending his remaining days in
an imaginary Italy, in an eternal summer.

The Bavarian Government was half-heartedly rounding up other
members of the National Socialist Party. Anton Drexler and Dietrich
Eckart were both sent to the Landsberg Prison. Eckart, a morphine
addict, was a sick man, obviously in no state to stand trial. He was
released ten days later and died before Christmas. When he heard the
news, Hitler was grief-stricken and fell into another prolonged fit of
depression.

Behind the scenes Franz Guertner was working to arrange a trial
that would not deal too harshly with the National Socialist movement.
As Minister of Justice, he could use his influence to ensure that justice
was tempered with an exquisite mercy. Everything would be done to
ensure that the prisoners were given ample opportunities to interfere
with the due process of law, but in such a way that the outward forms
of a trial were maintained. The charge was a serious one: the punish-
ment was death, or at the very least five years' imprisonment. If Hitler
wished for a martyr's death, it was within his reach.

Franz Guertner was an astute man who delighted in playing behind
the scenes and moving people around like puppets. He succeeded in
dominating the trial while remaining totally invisible. Although more
than a hundred had been arrested for taking part in the putsch, he
decided that only ten should stand trial. They were Ludendorff, Hitler,
Ernst Poehner, Wilhelm Frick (the former head of the political divi-
sion of the Munich police administration), Ernst Roehm, Friedrich
Weber, Hermann Kriebel, and three storm troopers, Brueckner,
Wagner, and Pernet. These last were merely spear-carriers, per-
mitted to appear on the stage for decorative purposes. Frick had been
one of Hitler's secret agents within the police department, supplying
him with a constant stream of information that enabled him to defy
the police and escape arrest on countless occasions. Kriebel com-
manded the Kampfbund, the amalgamation of the Reich War Flag,
Oberland Bund, and National Socialist storm troopers, and Weber was
the former commander of the Oberland Bund. They were all men prac-
ticed in conspiracy, and in any conventional law court they would all
have been found guilty.

The trial, which took place in the Munich Infantry School on the

The Life & Death of A.H. - Payne

[924]

Blütenburgstrasse, lasted from February 16, 1924, to March 27, 1924, and there were twenty-four days of testimony, interrogation, and speeches for the defense and the prosecution. Three lackluster judges presided. They were especially solicitous of Ludendorff and Hitler, and permitted them to interrupt whenever they pleased.

Although he looked pale and anxious, Hitler gave the impression of a man exulting in his destiny and his genius. When he spoke, it was as though a furnace door had opened and the flames roared out. He was not addressing the judge or the court reporters; he was addressing posterity. His speeches from the dock were manifestoes and revolutionary tracts. Since he was almost incapable of any reasoned utterance, he was able to confuse the judges to a quite extraordinary degree. Sometimes he was able to half-convince them that he was the judge and they were the accused.

Inevitably *Generalkommissar* von Kahr, General von Lossow, and Colonel von Seisser gave their testimony. They were easy bait, and only Lossow showed any spirit. All three of them had been compromised by their behavior at gunpoint on the platform of the Bürgerbräukeller. Three thousand people had heard them speak in favor of an insurrection; they could not deny that they had spoken, but they could deny that their words meant what they seemed to mean. Lossow, giving his testimony on the eleventh day of the trial, complained bitterly about Hitler's capacity for intrigue and deception. While Kahr spoke listlessly, reading from a prepared manuscript, scarcely caring whether anyone heard him, Lossow spoke loudly and clearly, and on the whole honestly, about the strange traps into which he had fallen. He had known Hitler well, there had been many meetings in his office in the War Ministry, and he was perfectly aware why Hitler came to see him. Hitler wanted arms and money, an alliance with the military, the protection afforded by the regular army. From the very beginning Hitler had hinted at a putsch, and he said he had always refused to take the hints seriously even when Hitler offered him the post of Minister of the Reichswehr. "Ludendorff and Hitler were like children playing at 'You be the Emperor, and you be the Pope,'" he declared.

All this was true, but it was not the whole truth. In various ways Lossow had helped the party with money and arms, because the army had a settled policy of supporting extreme right-wing movements. In Lossow's eyes there was a healthy element in the Hitler movement, because it was helping to win over the working classes for the national cause. There was also an unhealthy element: Hitler's driving ambition to become the dictator of Germany. There was the "brutal Hitler" who would stop at nothing to achieve his ambition and the "sentimental Hitler" who could woo the masses and play upon them to his heart's

content. They times Hitler w position in the He was merely new age. But) There was no divine status.

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von Lossow, and easy bait, and only been compromised the Bürgerbräukeller. favor of an insurrection they could deny Lossow, giving his gained bitterly about Kahr spoke listlessly, ing whether anyone and on the whole had fallen. He had in his office in the Hitler came to see with the military, the the very beginning and always refused to ed him the post of er were like children Pope," he declared. uth. In various ways ms, because the army wing movements. In the Hitler movement, asses for the national ler's driving ambition e "brutal Hitler" who and the "sentimental in them to his heart's

content. They seemed to be two different people, irreconcilable. Sometimes Hitler would announce that he wanted nothing for himself, no position in the state, no reward for his ceaseless efforts of propaganda. He was merely the John the Baptist, the precursor, the drummer of a new age. But John the Baptist merged imperceptibly into the Messiah. There was no escaping from Hitler's arrogant assumption of quasi-divine status.

Lossow's interpretation of Hitler's character was psychologically convincing, but it left him open to Hitler's barbs. Lossow was describing what happened in the small back room.

Lossow: At the very beginning von Seisser reproached him, saying: "You promised on your honor that you would not embark on a putsch," and then Hitler said: "Forgive me, I have to do it for the sake of the fatherland." However many times Hitler says this did not happen, it remains a fact.

HITLER: Was it the brutal or sentimental Hitler who asked for forgiveness?

Lossow: It was neither the sentimental nor the brutal Hitler. It was the Hitler with a bad conscience.

In this way Lossow won his temporary victory, but there were few other victories. They now hated each other with a venomous hatred, engaged in shouting matches, and threw the court into an uproar. Retired from the army, in disgrace, and disgusted with himself because he had fallen into so many traps, Lossow offered his testimony and walked out of history.

Hitler gave his opening speech on February 26, 1924, and it was a month later before he delivered his closing speech. The opening speech began haltingly with the inevitable recital of his own career as a revolutionary in the service of a fanatical idealism. He had been the seventh member of an obscure political party, which had grown into a movement embracing millions dedicated to implacable war against Marxism, "a movement distinguished by incredible terror which is based on a knowledge of mass psychology." He had fought the Marxists, but he had also fought the Berlin government with its incompetent parliamentarians. He had hoped to bring into existence an antiparlamentarian government capable of uniting the country by means of a fierce blaze of revolutionary energy, and he thought he had discovered in Kahr, Lossow, and Seisser his hoped-for allies. Had not Kahr and Lossow both declared for the putsch? As for Ludendorff, he had never been part of the conspiracy and had been informed about it only at the last moment. Ludendorff was innocent; the guilty men were the trium-

L924

virate ruling over Bavaria, who had failed to see that it was in their power to march on Berlin and destroy the government.

Hitler then gave his own version of the events leading up to the putsch. At eight o'clock he arrived at the Bürgerbräukeller and sent a message to tell the three most powerful men in Bavaria that he needed to see them on urgent business. They did not come out, and therefore at exactly 8:34 P.M. he had pushed his way into the hall accompanied by his permanent bodyguard. There were three men in the bodyguard. They were carrying revolvers because they were afraid they would be shot from behind. He fired the shot at the ceiling to command attention. "It was in the nature of this whole affair that I had to fire this shot," he explained. "Only someone who mouths the words of others would fail to understand this." It was a very odd explanation, and there were odder things to come. A Major Hunglinger, attached to General von Lossow's staff, had accompanied Hitler and the triumvirate into the small back room. There was a moment when the major reached in his pocket for something, and Hitler, thinking it was a revolver, sprang at him and pressed his own revolver against the major's forehead. Yes, that was quite true, Hitler admitted, but afterward everyone began to talk gravely and sensibly, for they all agreed that the time had come to strike, that the march on Berlin would be crowned with success, and that Hitler should be the dictator of Germany. They were all profoundly moved by the experience, and Hitler distinctly remembered that the members of the triumvirate had tears in their eyes.

The scenario was being rewritten by a man who had every reason to rewrite it. At all costs, he had to establish that the meeting in the back room had been friendly. It was perfectly true that he had drunk some beer. "Some people have described the situation as though I were jumping from the revolver to the beer mug," he said. "Well, I am almost an anti-alcoholic, and when I suffer from a dry throat, I occasionally drink water or beer." Those who thought he was behaving drunkenly were out of their minds. Kahr had said he had behaved with extreme brutality, and Hitler answered: "He gripped my hand, and I trusted him like a brother."

He described the confrontation with the police in the narrow Residenzstrasse in a manner characteristically his own:

At the Residenz we were held up by a strong cordon of police. We were in civilian clothes, and not one of us had so much as a revolver in his hand. There came a rifle shot and then a salvo. Scheubner fell and pulled me down, and I had the feeling I had received a flesh wound. I tried to get up. The shooting stopped. All around me I saw nothing but dead men. On the ground lay a tall man streaming with blood. He wore a dark coat, and I was sure it was Ludendorff.

He was speaking with emotion. Then for the first time alone bear the responsibility of the revolutionary, it is a

On March 27, 1919, he would be handed down

In his closing speech to his accusers with a said he was riddled with bullets the entire nation. Hitler was spellbound, a man who could bring government officials who had

How small are the the acquisition of a not hold it worthy just by becoming beside other ministers times greater than I of Marxism. I was title of minister was absurdity.

When I stood before my heart flowed out of whom it was for Director. His Excellency man and so many their names to post I wished at that time The rest is but a trial

With these fiery words ambitious for a title the nation in the view could have no meaning celebrating his own went on:

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He was speaking now as he spoke at mass meetings, his voice throbbing with emotion, and soon there came the inevitable peroration. Then for the first time during that long afternoon he told the truth. "I alone bear the responsibility," he declared. "If today I stand here as a revolutionary, it is as a revolutionary against the revolution."

On March 27, 1924, he spoke again. In a few hours the verdict would be handed down, and he was fighting for his life.

In his closing speech, the best he ever delivered, Hitler turned against his accusers with an astonishing bravado performance. Lossow had said he was riddled with violent ambition and was a danger to the entire nation. Hitler replied in a long, ringing speech that held the court spellbound, portraying himself as the destined leader, the one man who could break through the inane circle of pettyfogging government officials who held Germany in their power. He said:

How small are the thoughts of small men! Believe me, I do not regard the acquisition of a minister's portfolio as a thing worth striving for. I do not hold it worthy of a great man to endeavor to go down in history just by becoming a minister. One might run the risk of being buried beside other ministers. My aim, from the very first day, was a thousand times greater than becoming a minister. I wanted to become the destroyer of Marxism. I wanted to solve this task, and if I succeeded, then the title of minister would have been, as far as I was concerned, a rank absurdity.

When I stood beside the grave of Richard Wagner for the first time, my heart flowed over with pride at the thought that a man rested here of whom it was forbidden to write: "Here rests Privy Councillor, Music Director, His Excellency Baron Richard Wagner." I was proud that this man and so many men in German history were content to hand down their names to posterity, without any titles. It was not from modesty that I wished at that time to be a drummer. This was my highest aspiration. The rest is but a trifle.

With these fireworks he rid himself of the accusation that he was ambitious for a title. On the contrary, he wanted to be the leader of the nation in the war against Marxism, and for such a man a title could have no meaning. He was not answering Lossow's attack: he was celebrating his own glory, and doing it with extraordinary verve. He went on:

My standpoint is that a bird must sing because he is a bird, and a man who is born for politics must engage in politics whether he is free or in prison, whether he is sitting in a silken chair or contents himself with a hard bench. The fate of his people will absorb him from early morning to late at night. Von Kahr may even become a dictator one day. I ask that

1924

two of his phrases be remembered. He said he certainly did not want to become a dictator, but he could be compelled. A second statement of his was that he had not pushed himself forward, but had been compelled.

The man who is born to be a dictator is not compelled; he wills it; he is not driven forward; he drives himself forward. There is nothing immodest in him. Is it immodest for a laborer to drive himself to hard work? Is it presumptuous of a man with the high forehead of a thinker to meditate until at last he offers his intellectual discoveries to mankind? A man who feels called upon to govern a people has no right to say: If you need me or call for me, I will go with you. No, he has the duty to step forward.

Do you imagine that von Kahr is our German Scharnhorst, Yorck, or Gneisenau, or the Freiherr von Stein who, his heart seething with hatred, cried out: "I shall destroy Napoleon!" What I missed in von Kahr was precisely those characteristics which in my eyes make a great man.

Hitler had no intention of making a reasoned defense of his actions, perhaps because a reasoned defense was impossible. His plan was to go over to the attack, to show that Lossow and Kahr and all those who opposed him were men of straw, unworthy of the German people at a time of revolution. He admitted that Kahr was popular but complained that he lacked backbone and the "power to endure hate." Hitler reveled in hate and compared himself to Mussolini, who said: "I would not want to live in the world if I did not know I was surrounded by thickets of love and hate."

In Hitler's eyes the putsch was not a failure but a massive success. He was already seeing himself as some sort of guardian angel superintending German destinies, but sometimes, as though from a great distance, there would come to him the memory of the days immediately after the putsch when he could think only of failure and suicide. He declared:

The putsch of November 8 did not fail. Yet it might very well have failed if some mother had come and said to me, "Herr Hitler, you have my child on your conscience." But I can give you my assurance on this. No mother came to me. On the contrary, thousands more came and joined our ranks. Of the young men who fell, may it be said: "They too died for the Fatherland." Therein lies the visible sign of the triumph of November 8 —our youth in their full flood-tide aroused themselves and fought together. This is the achievement of November 8, which did not bring us to a pit of misery but on the contrary raised the people to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. I believe that the hour will come when the masses who stand today in the streets under our swastika flag will unite with those who fired at us on November 8. When I heard that it was the Green Police who did the shooting, I was happy that it was not the

Reichswehr that remains untarnished by our side, officer

At this point the Hitler, you say that cannot permit this.

Hitler brushed the presiding judge was had been carefully the peroration. He

The army we have and faster. Especially the hour will talions, the battalions old cockade will be and there will be prepared to face. I from our bones announce judgment history will pronounce against us. As for you not ask us: "Did judge us, the Quar soldiers, as German Fatherland, who w thousand times over tear to tatters the b For she acquits us!

In the stunned down, and the president whether he had any rhetoric, said he had by his friend Adolf whether they had ar Then the presiding judge pleads. The sentences

The court had listed the accused, and read conclusions of the Court responsible for the seized with Franz C behind the scenes, do

Reichswehr that had besmirched its honor; the honor of the Reichswehr remains untarnished. The day will come when the Reichswehr will stand by our side, officers and men—

At this point the presiding judge interrupted sharply, saying: "Herr Hitler, you say that the honor of the Green Police was besmirched. I cannot permit this."

Hitler brushed the interruption aside, and continued as though the presiding judge was no more than a fly buzzing in the air. The speech had been carefully prepared, and no part of it more carefully than the peroration. He went on:

The army we have formed is growing from day to day, from hour to hour, and faster. Especially in these days I nourish the proud hope that one day the hour will come when those rough companies will grow to battalions, the battalions to regiments, the regiments to divisions, and the old cockade will be taken out of the filth, and the old flag will wave again, and there will be a reconciliation at the Last Judgment, which we are prepared to face. Then will the voice of the real Court of Justice speak from our bones and our graves. For it is not you, gentlemen, who pronounce judgment upon us. Instead, the judgment of the eternal court of history will pronounce against this prosecution which has been raised against us. As for your verdict—I know it already. The eternal court will not ask us: "Did you commit high treason, or not?" That court will judge us, the Quartermaster-General of the old Army, his officers and soldiers, as Germans who wanted the good of their own people and Fatherland, who wanted to fight and die. You may judge us guilty a thousand times over, but the Goddess of Eternal Justice will smile and tear to tatters the brief of the state's attorney and the verdict of this court. For she acquits us!

In the stunned silence that enveloped the courtroom, Hitler sat down, and the presiding judge turned to Captain Roehm, who had no command of rhetoric, said he had nothing to say because everything had been said by his friend Adolf Hitler. Brueckner and Wagner were also asked whether they had anything to say, and they too had nothing to say. Then the presiding judge said: "The high court will receive no more pleas. The sentences will be handed down at 10:00 A.M. on April 1."

The court had listened to the pleas, taken note of the behavior of the accused, and reached its own conclusions. They were not the conclusions of the Goddess of Eternal Justice, nor were the judges responsible for the sentences that were handed down. The responsibility rested with Franz Guertner, the Minister of Justice, who worked behind the scenes, dominating the trial, although invisible.

1924

Against all the evidence Ludendorff was acquitted and walked out of the court a free man. Hitler was given the minimum sentence of five years' imprisonment. Poehner, Kriebel, and Dr. Weber received the same punishment. Roehm, Frick, Brueckner, Pernet, and Wagner were each sentenced to one year and three months of imprisonment and immediately released on their promise of good behavior. "Never before," wrote the *Berliner Tageblatt*, "has a court more openly denied the foundation upon which it rests and upon which every modern state is built."

The chief victim of the trial was the National Socialist German Workers' Party, which was banned, and all its possessions, including its newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, were confiscated. The principle beneficiary was Hitler, who could look forward to a restful stay in prison while he deliberated on the next step of his march to power.

The sentence came as no surprise. It would be, as everyone would expect, an opportunity to serve the full term. It might be all that had been in the air. It was general all the other selves without.

When he was a minor politician, a national figure, papers all over the National Socialist put him in a formless but party fell into was the part absolute detestable aware of his prison.

Although Hitler and that it was people, this was feared prison. arrived at the

1924

hour journey from Munich he was in a state of collapse. It was as though quite suddenly the full force of the verdict had been revealed to him. He was now at the mercy of prison regulations and the caprices of the prison governor.

During the following weeks Hitler contrived to disobey nearly all the prison regulations. He made the life of the prison governor very nearly intolerable by demanding special privileges and services. All lights in the cells were supposed to be out by ten o'clock: he was permitted to keep his light on until midnight. Prisoners could receive visitors only at stated hours; he was permitted to receive visitors virtually at any hour. Soon the life of the prison began to revolve around its most distinguished prisoner.

If he wanted anyone, the person would appear. Thus it was arranged that his chauffeur, Emil Maurice, was allowed to live in the prison, and later Rudolf Hess was conveniently sentenced to a term of imprisonment. Maurice acted as his valet, Hess as his secretary. Hitler was given a pleasant sunlit cell on the first floor; later he acquired other cells for his library of books and for receiving visitors. His letters were uncensored, and he could order anything he wished from the Landsberg shops.

He spent his days exactly as he would have spent them had he been living in a hotel. In the summer he arose at six, took a bath, breakfasted, usually with his close friends but sometimes alone, at seven, and then walked in the garden or dealt with his correspondence. At ten there was often a general meeting of the National Socialists in the prison, and he might give a brief address or he would read aloud a chapter from the book he was writing. Lunch took place in the communal dining hall, with Hitler sitting at the head of the table. In the afternoon there was more mail to be attended to, visitors came, he worked on his book, and there would be another walk in the garden. His favorite walk was along a narrow gravel pathway under the twenty-foot wall, which came to be known as "Hitler's Walk." Alone or in the company of Rudolf Hess, he walked up and down this gravel path until the guards grew dizzy watching him.

Hitler was *der Chef* or *der Fuehrer*, never permitting anyone to doubt that he was in supreme authority. When he appeared in the communal dining hall he found the National Socialist prisoners standing erect behind their chairs, waiting for him. When he came through the doorway, someone shouted "Attention," and they all stiffened as he strode to his place at the head of the table. Then each man in turn greeted him, and they sat down only when he was seated. He was the feudal lord whose whispers were immediately obeyed, whose wishes were immediately fulfilled. At these lunches he talked to his right- and left-hand neighbors about art, the theater, automobiles, personalities—

rarely about politics—he would announce: "as a waiter, would conversation would be was possible to engage fruit, tea leaves, flow about a quarter of an watch him silently as

This was the only n others were taken in l

At a quarter to four quarter to five the cot to take their second a sisting of a herring o: mitted to buy a half-l Supper was merely at mitted to return to 1 o'clock they were exp

Hitler gained an e were obsequious in d entered his cell. This of the abortive putscl habit, when he encour penetrating gaze, a recesses of the soul, whenever he desired liance, so that flames his eyes could be very suffered his penetrati

Every day the mail for him. Fruit, flowe hams, even paintings visited him at the Li said: "You could hav with all the stuff stack warders with a dazzlin Many of the presents that they could not s suffering terrible disc less discomfort.

Franz Hemmrich w where all the prisoner some curious observa

[1922] 1924

Colonel Kriebel, a good soldier, attacked each parcel as though it were an enemy, wrenching off the string and wrapping by main force. Dr. Friedrich Weber had an intricate and leisurely mind, and he undid every knot with the utmost care and patience. If there were only a few knots Hitler untied them carefully; if there were many he cut through them with scissors.

So, too, when he sat down to write his autobiography, which he had begun in 1922, then abandoned, and now resumed in prison, he dealt very intricately with small knotty problems, while larger and more complex problems were dealt with in the style of someone slashing with a broadsword. Originally he intended to call the autobiography *A Reckoning*. He would tell the story of his life from his obscure origins to his emergence as a prominent political figure at the time of the putsch. By "a reckoning" he meant a settling of accounts, a balance sheet of all his affairs. While in prison, he changed the title to *Four and a Half Years of Struggle Against Lies, Stupidity, and Cowardice*. Instead of a reasonably straightforward and factual account of his life, he was now writing a political tract, fiercely partisan, with the facts bent to whatever purpose he desired, the book of a man consumed with anger. The final version of the book combined both an autobiography and a political tract. On the advice of Max Amann the long unwieldy title was changed to *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle, or My Battle) with the subtitle *A Reckoning*, thus combining the two elements that went into the making of the book.

Hitler dictated some of the opening chapters to his chauffeur, Emil Maurice, who had first come to his attention as a successful brawler in the early beer hall meetings. Maurice was a watchmaker by trade, a cutthroat by profession. He had a long, lean, narrow face with a wide mouth and deep-set eyes, and from a distance he could be taken for Hitler, for they had very much the same build and Maurice sported a small Hitler mustache. He played the guitar, drove Hitler's automobile at a ferocious speed, and was an excellent mechanic, but he had none of the makings of a good secretary. His position was taken over by Rudolf Hess. A volunteer during World War I, he later became a student at Munich University, where he fell under the influence of Karl Haushofer, a Professor of Geopolitics. Hess regarded Hitler quite simply as the destined savior of Germany. Handsome and personable, with beetling brows and a craggy chin, he was oddly diffident and mild-mannered. Like Maurice, he was one of those who first attracted Hitler's attention because he used his fists so successfully during the beer house brawls. There the resemblance ended, for Hess had some pretensions to culture, had read widely, knew how to spell, and could put together a German sentence that was not entirely laughable.

A photograph taken in the summer of 1924 at Landsberg shows

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1924

Hitler, Maurice, Kriebel, Hess, and Weber sitting round a table in Hitler's cell. Hitler wears Bavarian costume with embroidered suspenders over a white shirt; he has put on weight, and his face is puffy. Maurice broods over him like an attentive servant, and Kriebel, who had appeared in full military uniform at the trial, looks as inoffensive as a retired butcher in civilian clothes. Hess, sitting on the arm of a chair, wears a look of youthful innocence. Weber, wearing spectacles and a clerical coat, might be taken for a priest who has come to offer his blessings at a family reunion, his ascetic features giving him a certain gentle gravity. In fact, he was the most notorious brawler of them all.

The photograph, which is reproduced in this book, shows Hitler *en famille*, surrounded by his intimate companions. We might expect to find him at ease, but instead he glowers purposefully and menacingly at the camera: it should not be said that the Fuehrer was ever at ease.

After Hess's arrival in the fortress prison, work on the autobiographical political tract went on uninterruptedly. Hess's battered Remington typewriter could be heard at all hours of the day and night. The chapters were dictated, then read out at the regular meetings of the National Socialist prisoners, with Hitler inviting comments. Hitler was a speaker, not a writer, and most of the book reads like speeches taken down verbatim. At one time Hitler had hoped that his book would first appear in the form of articles in a newspaper, but, since the *Völkischer Beobachter* had been confiscated and no other newspaper would print them, the plan was abandoned. By June or July the first chapters of the book had been smuggled out of the prison.

Mein Kampf is one of the seminal books of our time and deserves careful reading. It is a great book in the sense that Machiavelli's *The Prince* is a great book, casting a long shadow. The Renaissance word *terribilità* implies superb daring, immense disdain, an absolute lack of scruples, and a terrifying determination to ride roughshod over all obstacles, and the book possesses all these qualities. The author says: "This is the kind of man I am, and this is what I shall do," and he conceals nothing, as though too disdainful of his enemies to wear a disguise. The armed bohemian describes in minute detail how he will stalk his prey.

The Germans who did not trouble to read the book and the politicians outside Germany who dismissed it as a turgid and repetitious political tract made a great mistake. Few people read it attentively, and there is no evidence that Baldwin, Chamberlain, Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, or any of the political leaders most directly affected did anything more than glance at it. If they had read it with the attention it deserves, they would have seen that it was a blueprint for the total destruction of bourgeois society and the conquest of the world.

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what extent this illness was autosuggestion, to what extent it was the natural consequence of his inner crisis, to what extent it was purely constitutional, I cannot say.

When Adolf rose from his sickbed, he had made up his mind. He had definitely finished with school and without the slightest doubt or inhibition he steered his way towards the career of an artist.

The two years of his life that followed were without any visible aim. "In the hollowness of the life of leisure" is the title he gave to this phase when, in compiling *Mein Kampf*, he discovered with some uneasiness this gap in his career. Superficially this title is correct. He did not go to school, he did not bother about any practical training, he lived with his mother and let her keep him.

In reality, this chapter of his life was filled with unceasing activity. He sketched, he painted, he wrote poems and he read. I cannot remember that Adolf was ever idle or felt bored even for a single hour. If by chance he got fed up with something, as for instance a play that we saw, his boredom made him condemn the play so vehemently that, in this way, he roused himself to highest activity. To be sure, he was as yet not very systematic. There was no apparent purpose, no clear goal. He only accumulated with unbounded energy impressions, experience and material. What would ever become of it all remained an open question. He did nothing but search, he searched everywhere and always.

Meanwhile Adolf found a way of proving to his mother how useless any further schooling would have been for him. He proved it — how typical of his way of tackling problems — by convincing his mother of the futility of the whole school system. "One can learn much better by oneself," he told her. He subscribed to the library of the Adult Education. He joined the Museum Society and borrowed books from its library. He also used some lending libraries. From that moment I remember Adolf as always surrounded by

books, especially by the volumes which he never parted, the *Germ* did he persuade me, when I came with me and study this or that book so that he could discuss it with all the qualities which he had laid interest and pleasure in learning. the school at its own game.

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1924

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conflict was resolved for all time by the line in Goebbels' diary entry for 13 April 1926: "I love him."¹⁰⁸ Ribbentrop's first, fatal contact was a tête-à-tête in Berchtesgaden. There, on 13 August 1932, Hitler held forth about the national future to the negotiant in foreign liquors and intrigant in foreign policy. "I noticed particularly his blue eyes in his generally dark appearance," Ribbentrop recollected in Nuremberg. "... I left that meeting convinced that this man, if anyone, could save Germany."¹⁰⁹ Himmler's fall is not documented except that it was slow. He seems not to have set eyes on Hitler yet—not even in the Putsch—when he recited from Hitler speeches to friends beginning 19 February 1924, apparently to train for his debut in political oratory alongside his job in manure research.¹¹⁰ Himmler's brother dated it about then that, after long seeking, the disoriented traditionalist "finally found his way in Hitler's mental world."¹¹¹ But a vestige of independence shows in Himmler's view of *Mein Kampf* noted three years later, following long months of close work with Hitler: "The first chapters on his youth contain many weaknesses."¹¹²

1924

Just what, then, was Hitler's "incredible power of suggestion"¹¹³? It came of his breakdown in 1918, yet that was not a sufficient cause. It was occasionally ascribed to "autosuggestion" on his part,¹¹⁴ though that was a logical step backward. More often his intense sense of mission and force of conviction were cited,¹¹⁵ though clearly he could not have put just any mission or conviction across. The reverse explanation was more usual. "He felt just what the masses were longing for and cast it into incandescent phrases," declared his Minister of Finance.¹¹⁶ He brought the German people's "longings, wishes, and hopes" to expression, deemed an expert on his early career: "he spoke from their hearts."¹¹⁷ A former SA chief called this the "entire secret" of his success, yet tacked on the rider: "—and from his own heart as well."¹¹⁸ That "entire secret" makes what Hitler said an index to what his public felt. Yet no one privy to that secret—not even that former SA chief or that expert on his early career—seems also to have caught what he said. As a rule, the auditors most affected by him could least remember his statements afterward. It did not help to call the shared fears and

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and Hitler were in custody, and his erstwhile immediate superiors in the *Reichskriegsflagge* were in hiding. Toward the authorities, especially his friends in the *Bayerische Volkspartei*, Heinrich was very bitter, his mood alternating between imaginary fears of his own arrest and disappointment that the government was not interested in him. He did his best to keep in touch with the *Reichskriegsflagge* members who were in hiding or in jail and set up a series of mail drops through which those being sought by police could communicate with each other. These activities awakened fears that he was being watched and was in imminent danger.¹⁵ On one occasion he warned a correspondent to be careful because he believed his mail was being opened. In late January 1924 he wrote to a *Reichskriegsflagge* member in hiding: "As a friend, and especially as a soldier and devoted member of the *völkisch* movement, I will never run from danger, but we have a duty to each other and to the movement to hold ourselves in readiness for the struggle."¹⁶

As *völkisch* organizations to replace the banned Nazi party began to take shape, Heinrich's courage and interest revived. In the middle of February he visited Röhm in Stadelheim prison and familiarized himself with his leader's thinking about the political situation.¹⁷ Since the paramilitary organizations had been effectively quashed by the government but *völkisch* political activity was still legal, he focused his attention on *völkisch* party work. There were factional fights in the *völkisch* movement, partly inspired by Hitler's jealousy of any organization which he did not directly control, but in early 1924 many of the rank and file rallied to the *Nationalsozialistische Freiheitsbewegung* led by General Ludendorff and Gregor Strasser of Landshut.

Heinrich worked hard for the *völkisch* cause, studying political issues and using every opportunity to disseminate *völkisch* propaganda among his friends and acquaintances. In February 1924 he delivered speeches in the small towns of northern Bavaria and also wrote short articles on *völkisch* activities for sympathetic rural newspapers. He relished the self-sacrifice involved, noting in his diary on February 24, "This service to the people is bitterly hard and full of heartaches."¹⁸ But he cannot but have been encouraged by the signs of *völkisch* success and especially by the large vote won by the *völkisch* block in the *Reichstag* elections in May.

May '24

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Among the thirty-two successful *völkisch* candidates was Ernst Röhm, recently released from Stadelheim prison.

As the government's apprehension about a revival of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* became less acute, Heinrich was able to resume paramilitary activity. He attended meetings of the *Verein Deutscher Offiziere*, which however was too closely tied to the *BVP* to give him much pleasure. The hostility he now felt toward the *BVP* strained many of his social contacts and even his relations with members of his own family.¹⁹

A little later he joined the newly formed *Deutschvölkisches Offiziersbund (DVOB)*.^{*} On May 26 he attended a formal meeting of the *DVOB*, and he noted gleefully how nice it was to be "in uniform again," for on this occasion too he carried his unit's flag.²⁰ Thus by spring 1924 he was participating in many activities of the extreme wing of the *völkisch* and paramilitary activists in Bavaria.

Heinrich's deepening *völkisch* involvement was only one of the factors which ultimately led him to commit himself body and soul to the movement. At the time he was engaged in steadily increasing political activity he was also encountering serious problems regarding his professional future. When he quit his job in Schleissheim, these problems were glossed over by his brief period of *Reichswehr* service and the excitement and hope generated by the attempted *Putsch*. But even then he was trying to locate a job in agriculture which would be interesting and offer a chance for advancement. In the hope of locating an attractive position in Turkey he kept up a steady correspondence with a young Turkish student whom he had met at the *Technische Hochschule*.²¹

After the failure of the *Putsch* his job hunting became more serious since the lack of any immediate prospects left him in an embarrassing position. He was living with his parents who were unimpressed by his conspiratorial games and his prolonged idleness. Aside from trips to his mail contacts, chats with friends, *völkisch* activity, and extended reading, there was little for him to do except look for work. He studied French (his third venture at learning a modern language) and attended French conversation classes twice a week at the Berlitz school. Yet life was rather empty, and he amused himself, as he wrote to one of his old *Reichskriegsflagge* comrades, "studying, reading, and

^{*}An organization, nominally under Ludendorff's direction, which brought together ex-officers with *völkisch* sympathies.

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wandering around."²² The resulting pressure to find work led him into wilder fantasies about employment opportunities. The number of letters to and from Turkey increased, and he followed up the slenderest leads. In February he sounded out the possibilities of work in the Caucasus and on February 12 even wrote to the Soviet Embassy to inquire if there was any chance of going to the Ukraine. This idea, so inconsistent with his anti-Communism, appears the more outlandish in light of the fact that he wrote the letter in the midst of preparations to go on a *völkisch* propaganda tour in northern Bavaria.²³

The inquiry at the Soviet Embassy may raise some questions about Heinrich's repeated references in his book list to loyalty (*Treue*). In fact, however, it highlights how desperate he was to find work. He carefully combed through his list of acquaintances, relatives, and former teachers in a search for some connection that would turn up a job. All his talents in using people and social connections came once more to the fore, and he showed that he still possessed his old skills as a courtier. He made a social call on Falk Zipperer and his parents, and, although not calling on the Zipperers for employment help (he needed editorial advice from Falk) he noted in his diary, "I hold this acquaintanceship with Falk to be very useful."²⁴

Despite these efforts he failed to uncover an attractive job. He wanted a position as a farm administrator, but he was informed by those who made inquiries on his behalf that he was too young and lacked the requisite experience. When his Turkish friend finally located a job for him in Turkey, the low pay and the fact that he had not learned Turkish seem to have combined to make him reject the offer.²⁵ His efforts to learn French while applying for a job in Turkey suggest that his plans to emigrate had always contained more romance than determination.

The constant inquiring and begging tended to embarrass him, especially when the replies included unintentional affronts. In June he wrote to his old army comrade Robert Kistler, who was then working in Milan, and asked about employment opportunities in northern Italy. Kistler's reply was friendly but pessimistic. He suggested that Heinrich try the "colonial areas" such as the Ukraine or Persia; since Heinrich had given up on Turkey and had apparently never received a reply from the Soviet Embassy, this was little help.

July '24

"anti-Semitism and opposition to the BVP." Politics are fine, she cautioned Heinrich, but he should remember that "there is so little that one can trust unconditionally."³⁰ Her points were well taken, but they had no effect on him, for his thinking had evolved beyond the vague endorsement of heroic ideals to a total commitment to a radical anti-Semitic ideology. His political activity in 1923-24 was based on a foundation of anti-Semitic and *völkisch* readings which became progressively more uncompromising and more extreme as the months went by.

During his employment at Schleissheim and during the eleven months of unemployment which succeeded it Heinrich had had ample time and opportunity to read and follow up his political and racist ideas. Between August 1922 and July 1924 he read eighty-one books; thirty-seven of these either led him to write down anti-Semitic comments in his notes or can be identified as anti-Semitic and *völkisch* in content.

One of the themes that appears most frequently in his notes is that of German virtue and superiority. On the *Nibelungenlied* he comments that it contains "unexcelled beauty, language, depth, and Germandom."³¹ Although troubled by the difficult names in Klopstock's poetry, he memorized many passages and concludes that it "embodied endlessly beautiful language and German poetry . . . the man was a German."³² His devotion to Germandom muted some of his former social and regional biases. On Joachim Nettelbeck's *Bürger zu Kolberg* (Citizen of Colberg) he comments: "A genuine Prussian. A good old German *Bürger* (meant in the honorable sense)."³³ Similarly he notes that a collection of nineteenth-century military poetry shows "the ethical strength and inner worth of the Prussian army and Prussian history."³⁴

Nevertheless not everything which he encountered in his literary excursions into the German past pleased him. After finishing Nettelbeck's book he reflects that "there were enough *Spießbürger* then too";³⁵ but his general conclusion is the glory of the German heritage. He particularly welcomed any work that touched on German domination of other people. Rudolf Bartsch's novel about German landlords in Slavic lands, for example, he describes as a "wonderfully pretty and clear German story."³⁶

*Parentheses in the original.

E of the corruption of girls and women in a sadistic manner in Paris."⁴⁹ On the same day he also read *Das Lustwäldchen* (The grove of joy), a generously illustrated volume of eighteenth-century erotic poetry. After completing the work he wrote: "Love poems that are concerned only with sexual love. The rhyme is often good. All told, however, as a picture, the poetry of decay."⁵⁰

Heinrich's equation of eroticism with decay was another example of the degree to which he intertwined his own responses to sex with his *völkisch* ideology, for modern degeneracy was an established *völkisch* theme. His book comments include numerous references to the failings of "cultured men" and "decadent people."⁵¹ This line of thought not only paralleled his idealization of the peasants and *Das Volk*, it also led to doubts about the excellence of the prewar system. Some of his notes stress the weaknesses of monarchy, and he is sharply critical of Kaiser Wilhelm's memoirs on the grounds that "someone else was always to blame."⁵² Sexual failings also played a part in his doubts about the old order. His comment on Theodor Ewald's *Die Stiefel-Kathrine* (The girl in boots) reads: "A dreadful picture of immorality and pictures of monarchy and absolutism which could be used to denounce them. The old and oft-repeated story of base overrefined human beings such as we meet daily and are ourselves."⁵³

Not all of the old order was adversely criticized. He describes the setting of a novel which covered the period before the war as "Germany's best time."⁵⁴ Wartime leaders who represented strong chauvinistic positions were eulogized. One such was Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz whom he characterizes as "a great organizer, an inventor, a good politician, and a good and great character."⁵⁵ Ludendorff, who had the twin virtues of wartime militancy and a postwar career as a *völkisch* leader, receives ringing praise for his war memoirs: "My total impression is only one of wonder, pride, sadness, and yet hope."⁵⁶ Bethmann-Hollweg and the Kaiser were usually the villains in the prewar piece, but even they escaped censure in some of his comments. Germany's enemies, past and present, are repeatedly denounced, however; France especially is attacked on the score of alleged internal corruption and the conduct of her forces in the Ruhr.⁵⁷

Another element in German life which had earlier received

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Heinrich's strong support was the church. Now it too came in for sharp criticism. His previous religious doubts had been somewhat vague and had arisen chiefly over the relatively trivial issue of dueling. But especially after the *Putsch* his reading comments not only reflect religious doubts but sometimes include attacks on the church. Books on Catholicism are criticized for being "too doctrinaire" or because he feels they embody a "fanatical Catholic spirit."⁵⁸ On completing Heinrich Böhm's *Die Jesuiten* he notes that "it is now clearer to me than ever that it was a beneficial act of Bismarck's when he expelled the Jesuits."⁵⁹ Anti-Semitism reinforced his unorthodox view of organized Christianity. He enjoyed Renan's *Life of Jesus*, but it had one major flaw: "Renan believed that Jesus was a Jew, and he is from all appearances a friend of the Jews. However, he proves to me by his whole book that Jesus was no Jew, and that Christianity was and is the most important protest of the Aryans against the Jews, of good against evil."⁶⁰ The argument that Jesus was not a Jew was a recurrent theme in *völkisch* writing and indicates the problems which many *völkisch* sympathizers encountered in deciding on their attitude toward the church.

Heinrich continued to attend mass during 1923 and 1924 although he was not as regular as he had been earlier. In his reading comments he reveals a sharp hostility to any idea that smacks of materialism or atheism. The first portion of Ernst Häckel's *Die Welträtsel* (The world riddles), which outlines current scientific theories on the universe, pleases him greatly, but he flatly rejects the author's attacks on Christianity: "the section that begins about the middle of the book and concerns his suppositions and attack on, and denial of, a personal God, is just terrible."⁶¹

Spiritualism offered him an opportunity to hold on to his belief in the supernatural and escape his doubts about the church, and his reading indicates a greater interest and sympathy for spiritualism and the occult. He greets occult ideas as "unbelievably deep and significant"⁶² and is especially appreciative of Karl du Prel's *Der Spiritismus* (Spiritualism) because it "really lets me believe in spiritualism and introduced me to it correctly for the first time."⁶³

His emerging reservations about Catholicism were intensified by the events of 8-9 November. The *BVP* which was closely tied to the church not only controlled the

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a sharp break with the wishes of his parents who had wanted him to go to work but looked with foreboding on his decision to prolong what they considered political romanticism. When people inquired what had happened to Heinrich, they gave vague and evasive replies. The move to Landshut also widened the gap between Heinrich and his brothers, who remained within the Himmler family orbit and the accepted political and social norms.⁷⁹

Heinrich could bear these sharp breaks and the parental disapproval for the same reasons that, perched above Strasser's drugstore in Landshut, he could find satisfaction in his secretarial duties. He had found a role which embodied his hopes and ideas, which gave him a vehicle through which he could apply his talents in a fight without compromise. As he said in a letter to Robert Kistler, who was still trying to help him find a farming job, he had become a "heroic martyr":

The organizational work, which I run by myself [sic] pleases me very much and the thing would be beautiful, if one could work for victory or the war of liberation in the near future. But for us *Völkische* it is a toil of self-sacrifice which in the near future will not bring visible fruit. . . . [We work] with the awareness that the fruit of this labor will come in later years, and that perhaps our labor is, for the moment, at a lost post. However, we few do this hard work undeterred, out of boundless love for the German homeland. . . . It is a selfless service to a great idea and a great cause.⁸⁰

After a long search and the anguish of jettisoning many of his dearest beliefs and closest human associations, he had found his place at last.

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newspaper, *Der Kurier für Niederbayern*, and worked diligently at selling subscriptions. He also traveled through northern Bavaria working with local party leaders to make the administrative system more uniform and efficient. Sometimes he went by train, but normally he used a recently acquired motorcycle to shuttle from one little village to another. Everywhere he went he carried the same message: the need to strive for party growth and unity. When the *Reichstag* was dissolved in late October 1924, the task of aiding in an election campaign was added to his other duties. His scheduling activities became more important as he arranged campaign appearances and tried to galvanize the party faithful and their leaders for an all-out effort. Whenever possible he participated directly in the campaign, making speeches in the smaller towns and villages.¹

The campaign of October-December 1924 was a disaster for the *NSFB* whose representation in the *Reichstag* was reduced from thirty-two to fourteen. Strasser managed to win a seat, which lightened some of the gloom in Landshut, and Heinrich could draw some satisfaction from the political experience he had gained. But the voters' decision on December 7 could only mean that the party as a whole had failed to create a permanent political organization out of the potentially favorable circumstances of 1923-24. The rightist political mood of the electorate had begun to turn, and the *NSFB* had failed to unify the numerous *völkisch* splinter groups. Unity had never been one of the hallmarks of the *völkisch* cause, but during 1924 factionalism had become more pronounced than ever. The legal ban imposed by the state governments on those groups which had participated in the *Putsch* of November 1923 led to the formation of countless sports clubs and patriotic societies as front organizations. Since the central offices of the *NSDAP*, *Oberland*, and *Reichskriegsflagge* had been suppressed and the names of the new formations varied from state to state and region to region, authority tended to be local, and the leaders who emerged were extremely jealous of their prerogatives. To make matters worse, Hitler, imprisoned in the old fortress of Landsberg for his part in the November *Putsch*, refused to commit himself to any faction or political program.

The *NSFB* made a heroic effort to solve the problem, but the factionalism was too strong. Much of Heinrich's time and

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effort in 1924 was spent on an attempt to mollify the various cliques and special-interest groups, but once it was clear that no election plums were to be secured by unity, the last barrier to *völkisch* anarchy was swept away.² After the December 7 elections the *NSFB* could do little but wait and hope for the emergence of an issue or an individual to serve as a rallying point for the various groups. Such was the situation when on December 12, 1924, Adolf Hitler was released from prison.

*

Hitler was the only major leader who had increased his prestige in the aftermath of the *Putsch*. He had seized the opportunity provided by his trial and imprisonment to establish himself as the martyred *völkisch* hero. His stance of aloofness during the factional fights of 1924 exempted him from most of the bitterness and recrimination involved. And he could claim that he was not responsible for the election strategy which had ended in the defeat of December 7. From every point of view, if he could solve the problem of factionalism and come up with a strategy for the future, Hitler was in a very favorable position.

For two months (December 1924-February 1925) Hitler bided his time and prepared the groundwork. Prolonged preparations were necessary, for he had decided on two basic changes: abandonment of the *Putsch* strategy and rejection of any coalition between the *NSDAP* and other groups. He was convinced that the only chance of success lay in a unified and independent party which was prepared to accept a long struggle in its drive to develop a mass following. In the long run this strategy would give greater weight to political organizers in the movement than to those who toyed with independent paramilitary activity. It would also demand a leader with charismatic qualities who would be able to form a cohesive organization and sustain his followers during dark days.

In the short run Hitler could not confine himself to former *NSDAP* members but had to salvage all the manpower he could from the various warring factions, including all those who had been involved in the *Deutscher Kampfbund* in 1923 or had broken with the government due to the events of 8-9 November. In early February his cautious maneuvering achieved a major victory when Gregor Strasser and the other leaders of the *NSFB* agreed to dissolve their organization. On February 27, 1925, at a mass meeting held in Munich Hitler

* D.T. - at my suggestion

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announced the refounding of the *NSDAP*. He stressed that only the new Nazi party offered the *völkisch* cause a road to salvation and that only through his person could the necessary unity be achieved. The climax of the meeting came when he called upon the leaders of the various factions to bury their animosities and take their place in the Nazi fold. Although some of the men in question had previously made their peace with Hitler, they were now called upon publicly to embrace their old opponents and pledge a new beginning. This ritual placed Hitler in a commanding position over those, such as Strasser, who agreed to cooperate. In the months that followed *der Führer* made it clear that his goal of unity and subordination could not be lightly disregarded. Backsliders were brought to heel, and groups and leaders who refused to submit were warned that they could expect war to the knife.

The paramilitary groups that had previously been associated with Hitler posed an especially ticklish problem. Although the ban on the *NSDAP* had been lifted in most states, the earlier paramilitary formations of the party and its former allies were still outlawed nearly everywhere. During 1924 cover organizations had been formed, for example, the *Frontbann* for *SA* members and the *Alt-Reichsflagge* for the former *Reichskriegsflagge*. When the *NSDAP* was refounded the paramilitary commanders wanted to maintain their existing formations in a quasi-autonomous position. They pointed out that it was illegal to reconstitute the old groups in the larger states and that new formations might sacrifice the organizational efficiency already attained. Here again, however, Hitler would accept nothing short of absolute subordination to the party and himself. Many paramilitary cover organizations were dissolved. Leaders who refused to submit were cut adrift. Among the latter was Ernst Röhm who on May 1, 1925, resigned his position in the *Frontbann* (he had lost his *Reichstag* seat in the December 1924 election), severed his connection with Hitler, and soon left Germany to serve as a military adviser to the Bolivian army.³

Only eighteen months earlier Heinrich had been Röhm's man. Yet Röhm's departure had no effect on him. By May 1925 Röhm had nothing to offer except abandonment of the cause, and Heinrich was too deeply committed to give it up for old times' sake. In addition, during the previous year young Himmler's attention and involvement had shifted from

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inner strength, but external strength as well, so that it will give a mighty impetus to the pendulum of world history."²⁷

Some close friends had shown a copy of her annual to Hitler, who had responded: "What on earth have women and the stars got to do with me?" During the summer of 1923 she had tried to explain personally to a number of Hitler's followers "whom I know personally" that their Führer would have very critical aspects in November (1923).²⁸

Her subsequent prediction and much of the earlier one were accepted as being fulfilled when Hitler staged an aborted *putsch* on 9 November of that year, which began in a beer cellar and ended in a march to the center of Munich. Police fired shots to disperse the Nazi marchers and some were killed. Hitler fell over and broke a shoulder and quickly fled the scene.

In February 1924, he and a dozen of his followers were brought to trial. All were found guilty of conspiring to overthrow the German government. On 1 April 1924, they were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment: Hitler was given five years. However, he was released from the Landsberg prison less than nine months later. He had spent his time in prison writing *Mein Kampf*.

From 1924, Hitler's horoscope was rarely mentioned in German astrological periodicals. It had become dangerous, even life threatening to criticize Hitler in any way or to write disparagingly—even objectively—about him and that included his horoscope.

In 1933 probably the last public horoscope of Hitler appeared. It was based on a 5:45 A.M. birth arrived at on the basis of past events in Hitler's life. Published in *Astral Warte*,* it expressed a disbelief in Hitler's ability to form a government. A month later, with Hitler having been given the reins of power, the journal had to retract the dangerous remark.²⁹

By 1934 public references to Hitler's horoscope ceased altogether, probably as a result of a confidential directive to publishers from the Propaganda Ministry. The veto also applied to the

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to Hermann's empty villa in Munich, he put himself in jail. Afterward, the judge wrote a graph to her "in memory of you." It was a letter to Carin Göring important instructions for her husband: He was to establish contact with the German Fascist movement had come to power.

While I am writing this [noted Carin that morning, February 26] my Hermann is stalking up and down the room, occasionally leaping through a book, jotting something down, glancing at the clock, looking at the ceiling, sighing out loud, laughing, tossing a smile at me . . . but beneath all that I can feel so keenly how he is shaking within, trembling for Hitler!!!

The more we think about Hitler's sentence [wrote Carin on April 1] the better it looks to us . . . When he is released, he can pick up where he left off, but with hundreds of thousands of new followers who came to him during the trial because of his wonderful, noble character and intellect! . . . He received a brand-new automobile yesterday as a gift from Director Bechstein—you know, the piano and airplane manufacturer. It is a Benz eight-seater, one-hundred horsepower, specially ordered and built for Hitler; and when the amnesty comes there will be another exactly the same waiting for Hermann, a six-seater presented by Bechstein.

On March 5, the Innsbruck authorities had issued a passport to Göring. But then Carin, who had been disturbed by his increasing depression resulting from the injury and his inglorious role as a voiceless exile during the trial, took a step that was again to change their lives. After paying a farewell visit

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to Hermann's empty villa in Munich on April 5 she decided to see Hitler
himself in jail. Afterward, the incarcerated Führer would inscribe a photo-
graph to her "in memory of your visit to Fortress Landsberg." Hitler gave
to Carin Göring important instructions to take back to her husband in Inns-
bruck: He was to establish contact immediately with Benito Mussolini, whose
Fascist movement had come to power in Italy two years before.

May 1924

4

FAILURE OF A MISSION

The ten months that Hermann and Carin Göring spent in Italy from the first days of May 1924 have been widely misinterpreted by historians. It is plain that Hitler had appointed Göring to act as his plenipotentiary in Italy, with the special mission of raising a 2-million lire loan from Mussolini to help the Nazi party to regain its lost momentum. It is equally plain, however, that Göring did not see the Italian dictator.

Göring embarked on this task all too naively. He established immediate contacts with the up-and-coming Fascist diplomat Giuseppe Bastianini and with the former Munich correspondent of the newspaper *Corriere d'Italia*, Dr. Leo Negrelli, who a few weeks later joined Mussolini's personal staff. The many biographers who have accepted that the young German aviator actually secured the audience he desired with Mussolini are wrong, as Negrelli's private papers make quite clear; and if Carin's unpublished letters give the impression that he did see Mussolini, this is in fact a tragic reflection on the relationship that existed between them as this, the most harrowing period of their life, began. Injured in his vanity, Göring evidently concealed his failure from her: In her letters home, she described in touching detail his (nonexistent) visits to the Italian dictator. It is worth noting that when Göring

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In fact, his 1924 mission to origin of his barely concealed decision to slink away from it and of his slide into the total

The mission had started on the hotel waived his bill as a credit to them the Hotel Britannia,

For a week they vacationed "in Venice," as she put it, "the canals in a gondola while the ancient buildings.

The whole canal [she] gondolas, each decked there was singing every romantic it all was! On and virtually all of the something as beautiful: this?"

For a few days he browsed around years before, admiring the place Florence before moving on to confidently into the expensive Carin was still puttering around "Hermann," Carin wrote hour already. He's going to time to meet M. himself."

Göring wanted a quick departure longed to fold little Thomas Mussolini with his Pour le Mérite Nazi party, then leave Italy Denmark back to Sweden. Carin her that Göring would never Nils, her former husband, with of the Görings in Stockholm did not care and said so. "Carin mother, "must have its limits this, and we see completely

But her husband's trouble with a personal letter from her negotiate—both documents

sanctioned the publication of some of these letters after her death, all such embarrassing embroideries on the truth were scrupulously removed.

In fact, his 1924 mission to Italy was an ignominious failure—the certain origin of his barely concealed later contempt for the Italian Fascists, of his decision to slink away from the political scene for the following three years, and of his slide into the total oblivion offered by morphine.

The mission had started promisingly enough. In Innsbruck, the owner of the hotel waived his bill as a contribution to the Nazi cause, and recommended to them the Hotel Britannia, situated right on the Grand Canal in Venice.

For a week they vacationed there. Carin was in transports of joy at being “in Venice,” as she put it, “en route for Rome.” She found herself cruising the canals in a gondola while silken threads of romantic music drifted around the ancient buildings.

The whole canal [she wrote to her mother] was thronged with gondolas, each decked out with a different-colored lantern, and there was singing everywhere. Soothing, surging—oh God, how romantic it all was! On many of the gondolas there were castanets, and virtually all of them had a guitar . . . Whenever we see something as beautiful as this, we think, “Why can’t Mama see this?”

For a few days he browsed around the art galleries as he had as a boy thirteen years before, admiring the paintings at Sienna and ogling the sculptures in Florence before moving on to Rome late on Sunday, May 11. They booked confidently into the expensive Hotel Eden, and the very next morning, while Carin was still puttering around in pajamas, Göring set about his mission.

“Hermann,” Carin wrote proudly, “has been going at full speed for an hour already. He’s going to look up Mussolini’s adjutant first and settle a time to meet M. himself.”

Göring wanted a quick decision. He knew his wife was homesick and longed to fold little Thomas into her arms again. His intent was to dazzle Mussolini with his *Pour le Mérite*, charm the big loan out of him for the Nazi party, then leave Italy for good, sailing via England and Norway or Denmark back to Sweden. Carin’s father tried to dissuade them, cautioning her that Göring would never find a job, and her mother warned her too about Nils, her former husband, who was showing signs of dementia: The presence of the Görings in Stockholm would not make things any easier for him. Carin did not care and said so. “Consideration for him,” she expostulated to her mother, “must have its limits! Hermann and I have had a long talk about this, and we see completely eye to eye.”

But her husband’s troubles in Italy were just beginning. Although armed with a personal letter from Hitler and a signed authorization (*Vollmacht*) to negotiate—both documents now, unfortunately, lost—he found that Mus-

A MISSION

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solini showed no inclination whatever to receive him. Why, indeed, should he enter into talks with a defeated German political movement whose plenipotentiary was himself a fugitive from justice? The only useful contact that Göring made was with Giuseppe Bastianini, to whom Negrelli introduced him during May.

As funds ran low, the Görings had to move out of the Eden into a cheaper hotel. "I took up residence in the Hotel de Russie," he reminisced candidly in 1945, "and as a hotel guest I saw the Fascists celebrating their great [election] victory with a banquet there. That's where I first set eyes on Mussolini, though I didn't speak to him. Later, down in the bar, I got to know quite a lot of the Fascist party's leaders."

As the new Italian Parliament opened on May 24, 1924, all that his doting wife saw was the panoply and pomp of Mussolini and the royal courtiers in ceremonial dress.

"Right here in the hotel there was a state banquet for eight hundred people," Carin wrote to her mother the next day, "—all the royalty, Mussolini, all the ministers with their wives etc. . . . I hardly believe that we can get away from here yet, because Hermann has to work with Mussolini himself on all the agreements and negotiations between Mussolini and Hitler . . . This is a huge responsibility for him. But I believe it's all going far better than even Hitler imagined in his boldest dreams."

She obviously had not the faintest idea that Hermann had lied to her—that Mussolini was refusing to see him. "Mussolini," she gushed in the same letter, "is a strong personality but in my opinion a bit theatrical and very spoiled in his manner. That may be explained by the nauseating flattery that surrounds him. The merest word he utters is regarded by this disgusting crowd as if it had emanated from God Almighty!!!! To me, Hitler is the more genuine; above all he is a genius, full of the love of truth and a burning faith." She referred to the similarities between their two political movements, and concluded, "Sympathy here for Hitler and his work is tremendous. You cannot imagine how enthusiastically the entire Fascist party here receives Hermann as Hitler's representative."

For Carin Göring, as a letter written a few weeks later shows, Adolf Hitler was Germany's last hope of a place in the sun. "We have not had such a man in the world in one hundred years, I believe. I worship him totally . . . His time will come."

Mussolini told Hermann [so Carin reassured her worried mother on July 27] that he had had to overcome many more difficulties than Hitler . . . The Fascists here had many dead and thousands wounded before they pulled it off, but Hitler has had only thirty dead. Mussolini has absolute faith in Hitler alone in Germany, and will not sign one single treaty, or meet with anyone, or in

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particular deal with an
head.

All this was not even near preliminary negotiations with them certainly vexatious to from the start. The part-own were staying in Venice, was Venice was a German nation had declared his share of the Walther's case for exemption he had no option but to sing nor Negrelli would humor him

Throughout the early summer Bastianini and Negrelli about party, and about the terms of and Hitler, the extraordinary letter by Bastianini to Musse

In May [1924] I established a member of the Reich alter ego, introduced to strong wish of his Führer with the P.N.F. [Fascist] need for a close co-existence one hand, and between the other.

Bastianini continued that Göring secret agreements, which they Excellency," Bastianini would them in substance but reject

Unfortunately for his larger about the Walther hotel case, politician who had the power Bastianini fobbed him off with even more importunate, written and the Banca Commerciale, possess the unfortunate Walther to Mussolini, "Göring . . . as where he is at the present time If Göring recognized this a

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The skies above Venice had opened and the rains lashed down on gray lagoons and canals as far as the eye could see. Life in this hotel was not dull, she reflected—among the guests was composer Franz Léhar, and they got all the opera tickets they could use. When tenor Rafaelli Giuseppe sang, they both wept like children, and returned to their hotel existence to listen to an American, a Mrs. Steel, loudly boasting of her life in Chicago and of the automobiles owned by her husband, herself, her daughter and her son. "We never walk a step," she exclaimed. Another guest was the former queen of Spain, a frail, pale-skinned creature with jet-black hair; surrounded by her fawning exiled retinue. She had had to pawn her pearls, and she handed out signed photographs in return for little favors.

But Carin too was living a fantasy herself, here in the Grand Hotel Britannia. "Have I told you about our meetings with Mussolini?" she wrote wistfully to her mother. "It is a wonderful thing to be with him . . . Hermann has two important conferences today."

On that same day Göring was complaining in a handwritten letter to Leo Negrelli once again about the Fascists' failure to respond, and his letter mentions nothing about any "importance conferences" that day.

They did not spend that Christmas of 1924 together, because Hitler had now been released from prison and Göring had sent his wife posthaste to Munich to lay bare their plight to him and extort what funds she could from him or the other Nazi potentates.

Göring himself had now abandoned all hope of any secret agreement with the Italians despite Hitler's public sacrifice of the South Tyrol. Carin repeated this gloomy prognosis to the Führer. Hitler was evidently more understanding than Göring's erstwhile Nazi comrades. Ernst Röhm had languidly sought contact with Göring soon after Röhm's release from prison, but Carin warned Hermann in a letter on January 13, 1925, against having anything to do with this flabby homosexual. "Please don't put too much trust in him!!!!" she wrote. "Now he's only seeking contact with you because he's feeling rather alone."

As for the other Nazis, Max Amann, who was to publish Hitler's *Mein Kampf* in three months' time, had only words of censure for Göring; the Hanfstaengl "only talked of their own money troubles"; and Hitler was still waiting for funds to arrive from a man (either an Italian or millionaire piano manufacturer Bechstein) whom Carin's letter of the seventeenth identified only as "Bimbaschi":

They [the Hanfstaengl] told me that Bimbaschi was supposed to have given Hitler a firm promise of a sizable donation . . . Bimb. had told H. that he wanted nothing more to do with the party, and that this sum was for Hitler personally! In addition Bimb. is said to have complained a lot about you, saying you had written

him "harsh letters" and Hitler is expecting the n me positively, time after diately when the money

In the rest of this letter from B on how to approach Hitler with which people in the party might the Führer a concise letter ("above all gloss over the failure be too pessimistic about Italy :

"At our first meeting here I about your talks with the gentle actions were about an alliance South Tyrol question."

If, she continued, Hermann were refusing even to see him : "muddle-headed." She had me could see how hard her husband think you were incompetent," "I adhered strictly to the truth j to Hitler should explain that wh the fact that the Nazi party had re that there was nothing to be gain

I would indeed advise you to Hitler the treaty propos see for himself the trouble expenses you incurred . . . very well with the gentlem

If you were to begin no impossibilities in Italy and native country), he might e prompted by purely person Sweden at any price and an understanding with the Fase anything . . .

Hitler is our only salvation of the villa). Everyone is w: Bimbaschi. You can be cert They want to get the better, to get any of the money, bec I don't believe that we have

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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

meticulous and indefatigable German editor of his speeches and proclamations has noted, the phrase "of all time" is repeated in speech after speech.

The compulsive and deadly serious games that he played about time—such as how fast he could dress—involved "defeating" time. Yet Hitler never really won these games. Time was constantly coming back to taunt him. Thus he would tell his intimates over and over, "I have no time." He had "no time to be ill"; he had no time to tie his own tie, so he wore pretied cravats or had one tied for him by his valet.³⁹

At the end of his career, he blamed time for his defeat. "The war came too soon," he said in one of his last soliloquies. "I did not have the time to form people according to my politics. . . . we never have enough time. Always conditions press down upon us and we . . . lack time. Time always . . . works against us."⁴⁰

Hitler never had enough time. Yet no ruler in all history wasted more of it in pointless little trips and excursions, in being driven about in his cars, in hours of interminable talk and twaddle. Perhaps he felt that if he was filling up the hours with words, he was in some way dominating or "killing" time. Certainly he was destroying it for other people.

Constantly he tried to deceive time. Had there been any important way that time had deceived him? We should try to find out.

Death and Decapitation Motifs

Throughout his life, Hitler was infatuated with death. Even in moments of victory, death was on his mind. At the close of the tremendous Nuremberg Party Rally of 1934, which he had billed as "The Triumph of the Will," his thoughts turned less to triumph than to his own death: "When my eyes are closed in death, I do not know, but the Party will live on." And in the midst of World War II, he kept talking to his entourage about the imminence of his own death.⁴¹

Hitler was captivated by the depiction of putrefaction and death in Makart's huge canvas *Plague in Florence*, which he wanted desperately for the museum he was planning for his hometown of Linz. When he finally acquired the painting in 1940, a secretary reports that he was as overjoyed as a schoolboy and clapped his hands as he exulted over the piles of greenish yellow corpses. He had filmstrips made of the execution of criminals and enjoyed watching them die. He also tried to quiet fears of his own death by asserting that he had the power to determine the death of others, saying, "I do not play at war, I command in war. . . . I insist that I have the right to send the youth to their death."⁴²

Hitler hated the moon because he considered it to be dead. On a lovely, star-filled autumnal night in 1924 while he was a prisoner at Landsberg am Lech, he turned to his fellow inmate Rudolf Hess and

1940, 1924

The Image and the Man

remarked: "You know, Rudi, it's only the thing dead, and terrible, and inhuman. A it. . . . It is as if in the moon a part of moon once sent down over the earth. ghostly fellow."⁴³

During the 1920s, Hitler was very woman named Mimi Reiter—of whom with her, he took her to the graveyard and stood staring down at the grave for some thing that Miss Reiter never quite understood [*Ich bin noch nicht so weit*]. Once, in a her favorite food, *Wienerschnitzel*. She asked if she had done something wrong and have it, but I don't understand why wanted to devour a corpse . . . the flies. Many years later, Hitler still made fun of their meat broth "corpse tea," and he told story about crayfish: A deceased girl threw her body into a brook to lure the body, and the relatives then caught and cation, while a guest was dining on smelt were best fattened when fed with dead c

All his life, Hitler showed unusual in crabs, partly because *Krebs* (crabs) is the was particularly concerned about dyes which had killed his mother. He talked it was morbidly preoccupied with the deathly afraid of water. During a boat example, he panicked and "seemed about would capsize." Typically, he insisted it were so badly frightened they ought to re

Hitler's concern about death was the Third Reich. The Nazis were much more celebrations than they were in festive life staged at the tombs of Prussian kings, Tannenberg, at memorial services for the November commemoration of the martyr. leitmotif of death sounded impressively a

Major political and military decisions. Führer's fear of imminent death and consequences. He expressed his sense of urgency when for president in 1932: "I don't have time year. I've got to get to power shortly to using the time remaining for me. I have another occasion: "I need ten years of life have not long enough to live. . . ."⁴⁷

Hitler's decision to go to war in September 1939

D.T. 1932, 1924

ADOLF HITLER

Images and the Man

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marked: "You know, Rudi, it's only the moon I hate. For it is some-
dead, and terrible, and inhuman. And human beings are afraid of
It is as if in the moon a part of the terror still lives which the
once sent down over the earth. . . . I hate it! That pale and
ghastly fellow." ⁴³

During the 1920s, Hitler was very much interested in a young
man named Mimi Reiter—of whom more later. On his third date
with her, he took her to the graveyard where her mother was buried. He
stood staring down at the grave for some time and then muttered some-
thing that Miss Reiter never quite understood: "I'm not like that yet"
[*ich bin noch nicht so weit*]. Once, in a restaurant, Miss Reiter ordered
her favorite food, *Wienerschnitzel*. When Hitler looked disgusted, she
asked if she had done something wrong. Hitler replied: "No, go ahead
and have it, but I don't understand why you want it. I didn't think you
wanted to devour a corpse . . . the flesh of dead animals. Cadavers!"
Many years later, Hitler still made fun of people who ate meat. He called
their meat broth "corpse tea," and he told what he considered an amus-
ing story about crayfish: A deceased grandmother had relatives who
threw her body into a brook to lure the crayfish; the crayfish ate her
body, and the relatives then caught and ate the crayfish. On another oc-
casion, while a guest was dining on smoked eel, he remarked that eels
were best fattened when fed with dead cats. ⁴⁴

All his life, Hitler showed unusual interest in crayfish, lobsters, and
crabs, partly because *Krebs* (crabs) is the German word for cancer. He
was particularly concerned about dying from cancer, the disease
which had killed his mother. He talked to intimates about his fear, and
was morbidly preoccupied with the disease and its cure. He was also
deadly afraid of water. During a boat ride on the Tegern Lake, for
example, he panicked and "seemed absolutely convinced that the boat
would capsize." Typically, he insisted it was not he but the ladies who
were so badly frightened they ought to return to shore. ⁴⁵

Hitler's concern about death was manifested publicly during the
Third Reich. The Nazis were much more effective in staging death
celebrations than they were in fêting life. Memorable ceremonies were
staged at the tombs of Prussian kings, at Hindenburg's monument at
Tannenberg, at memorial services for Horst Wessel, and at the annual
November commemoration of the martyrs of the Beer Hall Putsch. The
leitmotif of death sounded impressively at every Party rally. ⁴⁶

Major political and military decisions were determined by the
Führer's fear of imminent death and concern over the passage of time.
He expressed his sense of urgency when giving his reasons for running
for president in 1932: "I don't have time to wait. . . . I can't lose a single
year. I've got to get to power shortly to solve the gigantic problems dur-
ing the time remaining for me. I have got to. I have got to." And on
another occasion: "I need ten years of lawmaking. The time is short. I
have not long enough to live. . . ." ⁴⁷

Hitler's decision to go to war in September 1939 was associated

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

This two-volume work was begun in the summer of 1924 while he was enjoying special concessions as a prisoner in Landsberg am Lech. As he strode diagonally across the room, he dictated first to Emil Maurice and then to Rudolf Hess, who typed up Hitler's thoughts on an old Remington portable while a gramophone thundered Wagner. On Saturday nights Hitler would try out the effect of dictated passages by orating them to the coterie of Nazis who were imprisoned with him. The first volume was nearly completed when he left Landsberg on 20 December 1924. The second volume was dictated at the Haus Wachenfeld in Platterhof in Upper Salzburg with the collaboration of Max Amann, the financial director of the Party publications. It was gone over by Father Bernard Stempfle, a Jesuit editor of an anti-Semitic newspaper who was subsequently murdered at Hitler's orders during the Blood Purge of 30 June 1934. Others who read the proofs included the printer, Adolf Müller, the geopolitician Professor Haushofer, and Ernst Hanfstaengl. The original manuscript was sent as a memorial gift to Hitler's motherly patroness of many years, Frau Bechstein.

The original title, "Four and One Half Years of Battle Against Lies, Stupidity and Cowardice: Account Settled," was changed to *Mein Kampf* at the suggestion of Max Amann. By the 1940s, it had been translated into 16 languages and had become one of the most published books in the world.^{42*}

According to the count of an indefatigable German literary critic, the work contains over 164,000 errors in German grammar and syntax. Not even the careful editing of friends or the thoughtful translation of an excellent American edition can rescue meaning from much of the prose. Here, for example, is Hitler setting forth his thinking about race—a concept of fundamental importance to his ideology:

The conception of *völkisch* in consequence of its boundlessness, is not a possible foundation for movement and offers no measure for the membership of such a movement. The more practically undefinable this conception is, the more and freer interpretation it permits, the more increases also the possibility of having recourse to it. The insertion into the political fight of so undefinable a conception, interpretable in so many senses, leads to the diminution of every energetic fighting unity, as it is incompatible with this to leave to the individual the definition of his faith and his will.

For this reason it is a disgrace to see in these days those who drift about with the word *völkisch* on their caps.⁴³

* In 1976, Hitler's *Mein Kampf* still appeared on a publisher's list of "the best sellers of all time" in Germany. Classified grotesquely as *belles-lettres*, it easily won class honors with total sales in excess of 9,800,000 copies. (*Die Zeit*, Nr. 26, 25 June 1976)

1924

The Intellectual World of Adolf

A few more examples meaning:

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Hitler had the habit i him or rendered him imp about suffocation. In the fol with "Dame Poverty," who i:

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Although *Mein Kampf* still more important litera for posterity. This plan se approved having his thoug tions and staff conferences retire. Then I would like t thought and setting it dow that exist are the works of I

This scheme was aba really interested in putting revolutionary events," he s written, but by the spoken word, and few men in his gogue.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

demanding a war against Russia and the establishment of a vast Aryan empire in Eastern Europe, with the Slavs serving the Germans as slave laborers.¹⁷⁰

Many of Hitler's ideas on propaganda and techniques for enforcing his will on the masses came from Gustave Le Bon's influential study on the psychology of the crowd. This little book appeared in a German translation (Leipzig, 1908) as *Psychologie der Massen* and was available to Hitler in Vienna.*

Hitler's indebtedness to Le Bon bordered on plagiarism. Time after time in his famous chapter on propaganda in *Mein Kampf* he took key ideas directly from Le Bon's earlier work. One can surmise that having remembered reading the book in Vienna, Hitler had a friend bring it to him in his pleasant room in the Landsberg prison where, during 1924, he was dictating his masterpiece which served both as memoir and dissertation on political manipulation. Long before Hitler, the Frenchman had discovered that the masses are "distinguished by feminine characteristics"; they require a master for "they are always ready to bow servilely before strong authority." The effective leader should appeal always to their emotions, never to their reason; he should stage huge "theatrical meetings," for they "always have an enormous influence on crowds." He should establish a pseudoreligion. According to Le Bon, the effectiveness of propaganda depends upon violence, the big lie technique, and constant repetition: "When we read a hundred, a thousand, times that X's chocolates are the best, . . . we end by acquiring the certitude that such is the fact." The successful leader should avoid all discussion of his power; he is one who "hits upon a new formula as devoid as possible of precise meaning." He should avoid written statements, but "in his verbal program . . . there cannot be too much exaggeration. . . ." ¹⁷¹

Hitler took his ideas about propaganda and the signs, symbols, and other paraphernalia of his Party from Le Bon, German racists, and Italian Fascism. The swastika, for example, was used as a racial symbol by Lanz and many other racists in the decade prior to World War I. The Ehrhardt Free Corps Brigade painted it on their steel helmets in 1920 and sang a marching song, set to a catchy old English melody, with the following chorus:

Swastika on helmet,
Colors of Red, White, Black,
The Ehrhardt Brigade
Is marching to attack!

* John Toland is mistaken when he writes that Hitler could not have been influenced by Le Bon because his work had "not been translated into German." (*Adolf Hitler* (New York, 1976), 221.) In addition to the 1908 translation, there was a second German edition in 1912, a third enlarged edition in 1919, and a fourth in 1922. (Later editions appeared in 1932, 1935, 1938 and 1939.)

* D.T. He was anticipated by the subject & quite to his own thought.

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The Intellectual World of Adolf Hitler

When the men of the Ehrhardt they took their song with them: Hitler" for "Die Brigade Ehrhardt

The runic symbols, 

terest to Guido von List as the

Hitler's indebtedness to M him he acquired the use of untended salute. One of his symbols: the death's head. Hitler's *Sturm* direct predecessor in Mussolini's sworn to the Duce before it was leaders for the Party, called *Gau Federale*. Mussolini had preceeded serving the names of the fallen also organized women and youth and had established secret police.

What is true of Hitler's part is also true of his political thought: he called his own, not a single someone else. Hitler's strength lay but in his political acumen and personality. Through the alchemic shoddiest racist ideas into a people believe that he was their savior.

The fact that his ideas had been reason enough to study them. for looking into his peculiar mer personality, and one way of doing was reflected in the distorted world his personal life directly. We no fancy, stressing those psychological personality and shape his political

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by
von Thunberg.

When the men of the Ehrhardt Brigade later joined Hitler's movement, they took their song with them and simply substituted "Sturmabteilung Hitler" for "Die Brigade Ehrhardt." 172

The runic symbols, , as we have seen, were of much in-
terest to Guido von List as the secret sign of an elite racist group.

Hitler's indebtedness to Mussolini was particularly great. From him he acquired the use of uniform colored shirts and the arm-ex-
tended salute. One of his symbols, in addition to the lictor's bundle, was
the death's head. Hitler's *Sturm-Abteilungen* (Storm Troops) had a
direct predecessor in Mussolini's *Squadristi*. The personal oath was
sworn to the Duce before it was sworn to the Führer. Hitler's district
leaders for the Party, called *Gauleiter*, were very similar to Mussolini's
Federale. Mussolini had preceeded Hitler in consecrating flags and pre-
serving the names of the fallen in quasi-religious ceremonies. He had
also organized women and youth into separate political organizations
and had established secret police. 173

What is true of Hitler's party organization, symbols, and practices
is also true of his political thought: there is not one concept that can
be called his own, not a single major idea that he did not take from
someone else. Hitler's strength lay not in the originality of his thinking
but in his political acumen and the overwhelming magnetism of his
personality. Through the alchemy of his charisma he transmuted the
shoddiest racist ideas into a powerful political program and made
people believe that he was their savior.

The fact that his ideas had great historical impact would in itself
be reason enough to study them. But we have had a particular reason
for looking into his peculiar mental world. We seek to understand his
personality, and one way of doing so is to see how his psychopathology
was reflected in the distorted world of his ideas; another way is to study
his personal life directly. We now turn to his development from in-
fancy, stressing those psychological experiences which helped form his
personality and shape his political career.

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with treason against the state, Hitler put the entire government of the republic in the dock, accusing President Ebert and Chancellor Scheidemann and all their supporters of high treason against Germany.

In this most important speech in which he was fighting for his political life, Hitler's thoughts turned to Wagner and to mothers. He aspired, he said, to no special title: "As I stood for the first time at Wagner's grave, my heart overflowed with pride that here lay a man who had forbidden it to be written: 'Here lies Privy Counselor Music Director, His Excellency Baron Richard von Wagner.'" His final appeal involved mothers. The deed of 8-9 November, he proclaimed, could not be considered a failure. The only possible way he himself could have looked upon it that way would have been if "a mother had come to me and said, 'Herr Hitler, you have my son on your conscience.' No mother came to me." Which is to say, his own mother did not blame him; his own conscience was clear. Indeed, at the end of the speech a mother figure—once more appearing as a benevolent goddess—smiled benignly upon him. He turned to the judge and said:

You may pronounce us guilty a thousand times, but the Goddess of the Eternal Court of History will smilingly tear up the indictment of the prosecutor and the verdict of the judges and set us free!²³⁶

At the close of the trial, thousands upon thousands of supporters jammed in front of the Ministry of Justice. In a preview of coming years, they kept yelling "Heil Hitler!" until he appeared on a balcony to accept their homage. Overnight the obscure Munich street agitator, who had failed so lamentably a few months before, had become a national hero and martyr to the cause of a resurgent Germany.

His sentence was about what could be expected from the sympathetic court system of the Weimar Republic. He was not deported to Austria, as the law for treason clearly required; a judge ruled that though technically he might be an Austrian, he certainly "*thought* like a German." Formally he was sentenced to five years of fortress confinement at Landsberg am Lech; actually he served less than nine months, from 1 April to 20 December 1924.

Hitler in Prison

With the approval of indulgent guards, Hitler's suite in the Landsberg fortress, which he shared with Rudolf Hess, was converted into what was laconically called "the first Brown House"—the later headquarters of the Nazi Party. Party emblems, pictures, and a huge swastika covered the walls. The state's attorney made a special concession on 3 December 1923: "Hitler's shepherd dog may be present during interviews." He was permitted to read or talk until midnight and to sleep late in the morning. His breakfast was served in bed by regular pris-

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The Child As Father to

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On his 35th birthday the fortress and dip who called to congl looked like a delicat and fruit and wine : sending presents fro fatter as a result." W cipate in the prison I keep away from th in physical training.

On the day of Hitler arranged a quiet cell at Friedenauerstrasse 1. Hitler arrived in his weight he had added umph, Hitler was ill death. "Hanfstaengl obliged by hammerh from *Tristan und Isolde* trian pastries, Hitler Striding diagonally a of the Western Front reproduce the noise lish, Howitzers, 75's, really went through The virtuosity of the imitations many tim was also on this—or traits of leading Na carpet; ponderous p melodies to imitate joyed the infirmities his mouth and bad te

Reassertion

The political situation was not so amusing government decree, Yet within ten years had become undisputed German nation. It was by Lenin's triumph

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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The Child As Father to the Man

oners who were assigned as his servants. He dictated the memoirs
which were to make him wealthy. He wrote editorials and drew car-
toons for the prison newspaper, the *Landsberger Ehrenbürger*; these
issues have regrettably been lost.²³⁷

On his 35th birthday (20 April 1924), military airplanes circled
the fortress and dipped their wings in salute to Hitler. Hanfstaengl,
who called to congratulate him on the day, found that "the place
looked like a delicatessen store. You could have opened up a flower
and fruit and wine shop with all the stuff stacked there. People were
sending presents from all over Germany, and Hitler had grown visibly
fatter as a result." When it was suggested that he really ought to parti-
cipate in the prison games to take off excess weight, Hitler replied, "No.
I keep away from them. It would be bad for discipline if I took part
in physical training. A leader cannot afford to be beaten at games."²³⁸

On the day of Hitler's release, 20 December 1924, Putzi Hanfstaengl
arranged a quiet celebration dinner in his new Munich home in the
Pienzenauerstrasse in the fashionable *(Bogenhausen District of Munich)*
Hitler arrived in his bourgeois blue serge suit, now pulled tight by the
weight he had added at Landsberg. In this moment of apparent tri-
umph, Hitler was ill at ease. His first thought was of Wagner—and of
death. "Hanfstaengl, play me the *Liebestod*!" he said. Hanfstaengl
obliged by hammering out with his huge hands Hitler's favorite aria
from *Tristan und Isolde*. After a banquet ending with his favorite Aus-
trian pastries, Hitler was in high good humor and started his imitations.
Striding diagonally across the room, he talked of war and his memories
of the Western Front and began imitating artillery barrages: "He could
reproduce the noise of every imaginable gun, German, French or Eng-
lish, Howitzers, 75's, machine guns, separately and all at once. . . . We
really went through about five minutes of the battle of the Somme."
The virtuosity of the performance suggests that he had rehearsed his
imitations many times. He enjoyed the adulation of an audience. It
was also on this—or perhaps a later occasion—that Putzi did piano por-
traits of leading Nazis: quiet runs for Himmler sneaking across the
carpet; ponderous passages for the heavy Göring; limping, fractured
melodies to imitate the club-footed Goebbels. Hitler, who always en-
joyed the infirmities of others, found it all terribly funny. He covered
his mouth and bad teeth with his hand and shook with laughter.²³⁹

Reassertion

The political situation Hitler faced after returning from Landsberg
was not so amusing. His political movement, officially dissolved by
government decree, was rent by a dozen petty feuds. He had no party.
Yet within ten years (1924-1934) he had crushed all opposition and
had become undisputed leader of National Socialism and dictator of the
German nation. It was a political feat matched in modern history only
by Lenin's triumph in the decade from 1908-1918, when he moved

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from the position of outcast wanderer in Stockholm, Berne, and Zurich to become master of the Kremlin and ruler of Soviet Russia.

The two men had much in common. Both had more than a touch of political genius. Both met Machiavelli's requirement for the ideal Prince: each was part lion, part fox, combining commitment with cunning. Both were "terrible simplifiers" who were masters of propaganda. Lenin, like Hitler, was sustained by faith in himself. He, too, had the capacity to convince.

A quirk of fate had brought them both to Munich, where both had lived in Schwabing in the Schleissheimerstrasse. A dozen years before Hitler arrived, Lenin had rented a room up the street from Popp's tailor shop at 406, above a cabinet maker. There, in 1902, he had written the most important political pamphlet of the 20th century, *What Is to Be Done?* In it he inverted Marx and set forth in clear and specific prose how a political elite of professional revolutionaries could seize power and determine the economic and social structure of a country and the world. Both men had bought their bread at Herr Heilmann's bakery. Lenin, too, had eaten meals in the Osteria Bavaria and had drunk beer at the Hofbräuhaus, the scene of Hitler's early party triumphs.*

Hitler's reassertion of power over the Party in 1924 was achieved not only through political acumen, dedication, and faith in himself, but also by the cultivation of influential friends. Captain Ernst Röhm, for example, was of inestimable value for his connections with the army, disgruntled veterans, and former members of the Free Corps. Dietrich Eckart, probably the most influential intellectual in southern Germany, became Hitler's patron and introduced him to racist circles. Eckart, as we have noted, had established a racist-nationalist journal, *Auf gut Deutsch* (In Plain German), which he edited until he took over Hitler's own newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, in 1921. Like Hitler, Eckart had been heavily influenced by Lanz-Liebenfels; and he too had a simple solution for the "Jewish problem." The best thing to do with the Jews, he said, was to load them all in railway boxcars "and dump them into the Red Sea." In an issue of *Auf gut Deutsch* of March

* In 1960 the ancient but still spry little man who had been Lenin's landlord recalled in conversation that his famous tenant had always been polite, kind to children in the block, gallant to the ladies, and prompt with his rent. He worked very hard and seldom took time off to relax. One evening, however, he and Krupskaya joined the landlord and his wife for a convivial evening in the Hofbräuhaus. Lenin laughed and nudged his wife as they all linked arms and sang the old drinking song, "In München steht 'n Hofbräuhaus . . ." as they raised their liter steins decorated with the crown of Bavaria and the initials HB. But Lenin was not toasting the royal brewery. He was drinking to a different H.B.: the letters in Russian are the initials of N.V.—*Narodnaya Volya*, the revolutionary "will of the people." Lenin was illustrating Axelrod's comment that the reason Lenin excelled all other Russian revolutionaries was this: "He is the only one of us who works at revolution twenty-four hours a day: the twenty hours he's awake; the four hours he is sleeping when he dreams of revolution"—and, one might add, the few hours he spent drinking beer.

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A year later, January many craved, a new passionate leader of t

Hitler was genuine to whom he was and Eckart, going to the name of his memoirs and by thoughts and ing of his, of our nation he referred to Hitler's secretaries person in his life he cluded Richard Wagner. Another of Hitler many different people the Führer. All in th in confidence and in life was characterize other things—the ch trusted others that l his closest advisers. I be penetrating his de dissimulation.

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long run—as we shall see—it would work against him; but in his rise to power it helped him play to perfection the role of the inaccessible and infallible Leader operating in a realm far removed from petty political or personal squabbles.

Aloofness was coupled with another characteristic of inestimable value. Hitler, like Lenin, possessed in abundance that indefinable but essential quality of political leadership which Max Weber called charisma. But there was one significant advantage the Nazi dictator had over his Communist counterparts: Hitler's theory institutionalized personal charisma in a way that Weber never contemplated and Lenin and Stalin could never practice.

The adroit use of personal charisma was of crucial importance to Hitler's success in the years following 1924. Rudolf Hess put the matter in a sentence: "Adolf Hitler is the Party; the Party is Adolf Hitler." This statement of fanatical adoration and hard political fact was made at the victorious Nazi Party rally at Nuremberg in 1934, after Hitler had consolidated his power over Germany. But the principle of the myth-person had been a political fact of life under Hitler ever since his return from Landsberg in 1924. It shines as a clear and guiding light through the entire labyrinth of political squabbles during that decade. We can clearly see it in operation in three notable instances.

While Hitler was imprisoned, two wings of the Party started to grow: the more conservative group called itself the Greater German People's Community, while the majority of the more revolutionary members formed the National Socialist Freedom Party. But neither of these groups was a threat to Hitler because neither could exist without venerating his person as the Führer. Hitler merely waited for an opportune moment to dissolve both of them, and their members then reaffirmed their allegiance to him. Problem solved.

The practical impossibility of successful factionalism within the Nazi party was again shown in 1926 when there developed the so-called "Northern Faction" of the "Working Association" of Gregor Strasser and Joseph Goebbels. Historians who assert that these groups were directed against Hitler are mistaken. "Nothing was further from their minds than challenging Hitler's leadership. Hitler remained the only concrete point of unity in the heterogeneous movement. He was above the conflicts, and he was regarded as something mystical, unreal."²⁴⁴ Gregor Strasser, it is true, left the Party in 1932 and was murdered in the Blood Purge two years later. But he remained loyal to Hitler. A few days before he was shot on Hitler's orders, he had received from his Führer's hands the golden *Ehrenzeichen* of the Party. His statement that Hitler was "the unchallenged and sole leader of the NSDAP" was both an expression of personal loyalty and a realistic appraisal of a fact of life in Hitler's party.

Again, in the better known and bloodier incident of 1934 variously called the "Röhm Revolt," the "Blood Purge," and the "Night of the Long Knives," Röhm and his followers in the SA may have disagreed with

their Führer's social policy leading a revolt to seize reasons, had manufactured military and industrial leadership social ideas which were supported of influential co death of Field Marshal them by sacrificing himself remained loyal to Hitler they were dying for him Hitler against Röhm and Hess shouted "Heil Hitler!" defiantly.

In no important instance was a serious threat to Hitler's movement. Indeed, Hitler First, they represented an effort to cultivate Röhm—at least among the Free Corps fighters; von Schirach was attracted to factionalism because he wanted to win Hitler's personal favor to any one group increase its power to outdo its competitor in the future. Hitler failed to win Hitler's personal favor had no other court of appeal.

LIFE-STYLE OF THE

There were obvious political reasons, aloofness, and delusion like the method because was firmly established by himself. He put a minimum of effort on his part in the routine of his private life. The leadership crisis of the Blood Purge of 1934—he never, he preferred a lazier life and chancellor did not claim when, after the death of his dilettante with Kubizek in and occupied most of his and other diversions. After the apartment above a drugstore in the wall during the Night of the Long Knives.

ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

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acteristic of inestimable ce that indefinable but Max Weber called cha- the Nazi dictator had ry institutionalized per- contemplated and Lenin

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dent of 1934 variously the "Night of the Long y have disagreed with

their Führer's social policies, but they had no intention whatever of leading a revolt to seize power from him. Hitler himself, for political reasons, had manufactured the rumors of rebellion. He knew that the military and industrial leadership of Germany was alarmed by radical social ideas which were spreading through the SA. Since he needed the support of influential conservatives in order to gain power after the death of Field Marshal-President Hindenburg, he decided to placate them by sacrificing hundreds of his old comrades. Röhm and the SA remained loyal to Hitler throughout. Indeed, many of them believed they were dying for him in an SS plot engineered by Göring and Himmler against Röhm and Hitler. Gunned down by Hitler's orders, they shouted "Heil Hitler!" defiantly to their executioners as they died.

In no important instance was factionalism within the Nazi Party a serious threat to Hitler's position or a danger to the unity of the Nazi movement. Indeed, Hitler actually encouraged factions for two reasons. First, they represented diverse classes and interests which Hitler needed to cultivate. Röhm—at least up to 1934!—had attracted the veterans and Free Corps fighters; Strasser appealed to many Socialists; Baldur von Schirach was attractive to the youth. Second, Hitler encouraged factionalism because he discovered that his refusal to commit himself to any one group increased his authority over all. Each faction sought to outdo its competitor in the homage it paid to him. Once a faction failed to win Hitler's personal stamp of approval, it was finished, for it had no other court of appeal.²⁴⁵

LIFE-STYLE OF THE FÜHRER

There were obvious political advantages in leadership by personal charisma, aloofness, and delay in making policy decisions. But Hitler also liked the method because it suited his lifestyle. Once the *Führerprinzip* was firmly established by 1925, political leadership required a minimum of effort on his part. Hitler did not allow politics to interrupt the routine of his private life. It is true that upon occasion—such as the leadership crisis of 1921, the Reichstag elections of 1932, or the Blood Purge of 1934—he could show bursts of energy. Generally, however, he preferred a lazier pace. His personal habits as Party Führer and chancellor did not change very much from his adolescent years when, after the death of his demanding father, he enjoyed the life of a dilettante with Kubizek in Linz and Vienna. Now, as then, he slept late and occupied most of his day with desultory talk, picnics, excursions, and other diversions. After leaving Landsberg, he returned to his tiny apartment above a *Drogerie* at 41 Thierschstrasse. As a marble plaque in the wall during the Nazi period proclaimed, "Adolf Hitler lived in

nored. On November 1, 1924, when Germany lifted all import restrictions, the firm prospered.¹⁶ Eventually, on October 17, 1931, the partnership was dissolved, and von Ribbentrop became the sole owner. Even in the midst of diplomacy, he stayed the businessman and believed in old business friendships. When France fell in 1940, de Mum of Pommery became head of the French Champagne Group. IMPEGROMA, run for him by a Henkell family member, lasted well into the Nazi time, securing the von Ribbentrop fortune even while von Ribbentrop held major government positions. (In 1940, after the conquest of France, the Berlin telephone listing for IMPEGROMA was still Pallas 3747.)

Soviet achievement on the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution. The firm prospered.¹⁶ Eventually, on October 17, 1931, the partnership was dissolved, and von Ribbentrop became the sole owner. Even in the midst of diplomacy, he stayed the businessman and believed in old business friendships. When France fell in 1940, de Mum of Pommery became head of the French Champagne Group. IMPEGROMA, run for him by a Henkell family member, lasted well into the Nazi time, securing the von Ribbentrop fortune even while von Ribbentrop held major government positions. (In 1940, after the conquest of France, the Berlin telephone listing for IMPEGROMA was still Pallas 3747.)

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business friends and unencumbered by

firm, had a practical. He had persuaded Sir Alexander to join his firm as their partners were two men

named Muther and Schönberg. Muther died in 1924, and Schönberg, a gambler, soon got into trouble. Otto Henkell paid off Schönberg's debts, with the proviso that Joachim von Ribbentrop would become a senior partner, so the name of the firm was changed to Schönberg and Ribbentrop, IMPEGROMA (acronym for Importers of Great Brands, in German).

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In the Berlin of the late twenties, the von Ribbentrops continued to battle for their place in society. Annelies von Ribbentrop was the driving force. She was determined that the von Ribbentrops and their children would be accepted as full members of Berlin's top group. It is astonishing how many people who knew them or were part of their circle insist that Annelies von Ribbentrop was the "evil influence behind" Joachim von Ribbentrop's final desperate journey through life.

Trying to create contacts among Berlin's foreign diplomats, they met the much-liked American ambassador Jacob Gould Schurman, who introduced them to Lord D'Abernon, the British ambassador. An invitation to the British Embassy was considered a social achievement, and they badgered the British envoy by "leaving their card."

D'Abernon finally had them assigned to the rather inclusive R list (Receptions only).¹⁷

Von Ribbentrop's explanation of his new *von* met with varying degrees of success. To a French business friend, Count Polignac, he hinted that it had been given retroactively as a reward for bravery in the war, an unlikely action by a republican Germany, which accepted his *von* merely as an addition to his name, with no implication of nobility.¹⁸

Von Ribbentrop's first attempt to join Berlin's exclusive Union Club on Schadowstrasse failed when he was blackballed. The Union Club's membership ranged from royalty to untitled bankers, and the

1924



members were Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. But it observed its taboos, such as adding a *von* for social advancement. Von Papen, his old acquaintance from Turkey, persuaded the admissions-committee to reverse its decision.¹⁹ Ever the businessman, von Ribbentrop made it a point to cultivate some of the distinguished Jewish bankers who were members, men like the Weinbergs, Oppenheims, Goldschmidt-Rothschilds, von Friedlander-Eulds, and the Herzfelds. Among the other members, he already knew Herbert Guttman through business, and Ottmar Strauss had been one of his early patrons after the war. At one point, the von Ribbentrops had so many Jewish friends that Count Oskar von Platen-Hallermund, a former chamberlain to the Kaiser, said to the amusement of a dinner party, "Ribbentrop, it seems I'm the only Christian friend you have!"²⁰

At the Union Club von Ribbentrop also met some of the young titled members of the Foreign Service, the attachés.

The matter of von Ribbentrop's anti-Semitism in his pre-Hitler days is moot. It seems improbable that he was an anti-Semite early in his Berlin career days or early in his marriage.²¹ The Henkells, like most international business families, had close Jewish connections. A surviving member of the family reports that Otto Henkell's sister was married into a Rhineland Jewish family named Opfermann. Her husband was on the board of directors of Henkell. Opfermann, a World War I veteran with an Iron Cross, was a great German patriot. The Henkell family lawyer, Dr. Oppenheim, was also a Jew, as was von Ribbentrop's personal family secretary, Susie Fried. She remained his secretary all through the Nazi period. After the war, she worked for the Michel branch of the family, and she died in Freiburg about 1960. "I have no idea," said a relative, a man now in his fifties, "whether Annelies was ever aware that Susie Fried was Jewish." In the Berlin of the twenties and early thirties it was almost impossible for a socially ambitious couple not to develop some Jewish contacts, although there were only 150,000 Jews among Berlin's four million citizens.

Among the city's most charming couples, the arbiters of a certain level of civilized Berlin society, were Freddy and Lali Horstmann. Freddy, a professional diplomat and a long-time member of the Auswärtiges Amt, the Foreign Ministry, had held many key posts abroad. He was independently wealthy and an avid collector of objets d'art and attractive people. Lali, *née* von Schwabach, was the daughter of a banker friend of the Kaiser's who was an honorary British consul and one of the few foreigners to wear the British Order of the Garter. The von Schwabachs were Jewish. In his foreword to Lali Horstmann's memoirs, Harold Nicolson wrote that during a time

when Prussia's pouting entertaining foreigners tional haven of civilize the Tiergartenstrasse w a former minister to Be the ministry, and many Lali. The Horstmanns:

They entertained th men, the greatest wits, of the younger set we American tunes, and a record player. Somehow Horstmanns' and finall longed to know. The y who lived in Berlin duri defiance" of the "Brow his ministry post in siler

A former Berlin soci lives in California, used Horstmanns were bom moved into a tiny apart

Freddy Horstmann's and their country estai nearby woods while th tence, Lali escaped tow. ures. He was captured captivity. Lali escaped to friends.

Bubi von Schwabach Joachim von Ribbentrop leave Germany. He recei tary, Reinhard Spitzzy, " things! I can't speak to hi many old friends who we

At the very beginnin seemed to misjudge Hitle acquaintances and busin talk too seriously. It's onl Jews, not at German Jew higher percentage of m crats. The day after tl when Storm Troopers st

D

ordered the border closed to him. He was released on 20 December 1924. The following 27 April he disclaimed his Austrian nationality. Yet he only assumed German nationality on 26 February 1932, when he ran for president of the Weimar Republic. He lost this race to the incumbent, old Hindenburg, chief of the general staff of the German armies at the time of the 1918 defeat. The following 30 January, Hindenburg named him to head a coalition cabinet intended to secure a parliamentary majority, ending two-and-a-half years of rule by executive decrees. He easily established his personal dictatorship instead. Then he militarized the nation and on 13 March 1938 annexed his native Austria to the Reich pending further conquest.

Conquest was the goal Hitler had set for the Germans when he built up his national following. To conquer they needed only unity of will, he argued, and for this they needed only to be rid of the Jews. But at the last, after his scheme of conquest had led to a new world war and a new defeat, he pointed to the extermination of European Jewry as his redeeming achievement. The new defeat, unlike the old one, did not take the Germans by surprise; on the contrary, it was dragged out painfully and driven home with finality. Yet Hitler was not deserted in the process, but held full sway over Germany to the last despite his growing seclusion and infirmity. All this linked up psychohistorically. That linkup is my subject.

Psychohistory deals with the motives of bygone doings, whether individual or collective. Motives can be called psychological causes, but doings have no other efficient causes. Thus to say that a given war broke out to relieve social tensions can only mean that the purpose of relieving social tensions actuated the war makers. This is no social explanation that a psychohistorical explanation would supplement; it is a psychohistorical explanation requiring evidence in kind. Further, in psychohistory as elsewhere, to multiply causes is no mark of sagacity. There is more to be learned from the determinative reasons for an act or course of action than from the totality of reasons for it. Thus my concern with Hitler's politics was to isolate the few decisive inner demands and constraints

1924
The revelation that her encounter with her first man is for a young woman can be compared with the revelation that a soldier knows when he faces war for the first time.¹⁵⁰

After he came to power he was anxious about displeasing his motherly patron, Frau Bechstein. On one occasion when he felt that he had done something wrong, the Führer was so fearful of a tongue-lashing that he sought out the Wagner children to run interference for him. Friedelind Wagner—the granddaughter of the Meister—recalled that "throughout luncheon he tried to persuade us children to make the call for him to soften Frau Bechstein's blows, but we were so amused at the thought of [Hitler] trembling before her that we refused to go."¹⁵¹

1943
One of the reasons Hitler never ordered total economic mobilization during the war was that he was afraid of how women would react if they were deprived of beauty parlors and cosmetics. Dr. Goebbels, who urged total mobilization, recorded his disappointment at Hitler's refusal either to send women into the factories or to cut down on their beauty aids. In an entry in his diary of 10 May 1943—well after the catastrophic German defeat at Stalingrad—Goebbels records Hitler arguing that "women after all constitute a tremendous power and as soon as you dare to touch their beauty parlors they are your enemies."¹⁵²

He could not trust women. Like the Goddess of Fate, they were by nature hypocritical, fickle, and false. "Women have the quality," he said, "which we men do not have: they kiss a friend at the same time that they are sticking them in the back with a stiletto." He convinced himself of their inferiority to men and showed his contempt by insulting them publicly. This was true of even the women closest to him. Eva Braun, for example, had given him full measure of loyalty and love. But Hitler would say loudly in her presence that "a highly intelligent man should take a primitive and stupid woman." He recalled on another occasion that he had made the mistake of discussing politics with women and some actually had the temerity to disagree with him. He commented on the incident: "But I shut their mouths by saying, 'you will not claim that you know men as I know women.'" He then concluded: "In short, gallantry [sic] forbids one to give women an opportunity of putting themselves in situations that do not suit them."

Hitler was intrigued by the spectacle of women in danger of their lives. He was particularly fond of watching pretty women in a circus on the high trapeze and tightropes. In 1933, for instance, he sent flowers and chocolates worth several hundred marks to the girls who had performed especially dangerous feats for him during a command performance. He could remember all their names. He was not particularly impressed with wild animal acts unless pretty women were involved. Then he watched avidly, his face flushed, and his breath came quickly in little whistling sounds as his lips worked violently.¹⁵³

He was intrigued by women proved when they committed suicide. He did not often show clemency: reinstituted death by decapitation he pardoned six condemned men guilty of killing their wives. St are not available because as of 1935, henceforth "mercy" publicized.¹⁵⁴ *Goebbels*

In a favorite metaphor, Hitler both of whom were to be domineering and power. In lines notable for brutality, he said:

Like a woman whose psychology reasoning than by underestimating strength, who will dominate the weakling, the suppliant. . . . They are they are spiritually terrorizing their human liberties, for doctrine dawn on them. force, the brutality and the they finally always submit.

At another time, Hitler could as a circus audience: juvenile concluded that "Someone who feminine character of the speaker."¹⁵⁵

He often said that he was giving a successful speech. Of stage soaked with perspiration, written text of his speeches came between himself and his audience very erect, rocking back and forth fully modulated and deliberate ductory foreplay, he would move climax. The last five minutes of words." He once told an intimate attached to the delicate matter ment, which, he said, must be an audience. "By feeling the reaction exactly when the moment has which sets the crowd afire."¹⁵⁷

That the masses were for him

THE GOD: ADOLF HITLER

What had Hitler's mother
women so?"¹⁴² It is a

learned to bear up under
of Fate"—and even
of Providence" because

that cruel Queen of all
other turning point in his
ously permitted" him to

as he said in a Berlin
her face from the Ger-
politician in order to save

he left the Hofbräuhaus
so crucial to his political
the Goddess of Inexorable

that the "Goddess of His-
up" the jury's verdict.¹⁴³
mothers and rhapsodized

he had talked to Kubizek
keep alive "the Flame of
lived, as an adolescent, to

make sure that he could ac-
stitution, "the Sin of In-
in the new Germany of his

ive reality—early marriage
g couples, attractive and
for children. When he be-

day to pay homage to
of his own mother) fecund
Cross of the German Mother.

than four children, silver
eight. Regulations printed
of Nazi youth organizations

heroes and to salute the
of Life," but his boyhood

to be a "symbol of sacred
women who have kept them-
of a union which would

Decades later, Hitler con-
of his nightly reveries he
consecration of love, pray,

with health? . . . Nature
a child. . . . To my way
should unite for life and

presence of children." He

The Image and the Man

eulogized the institution of marriage, but he also approved Himmler's
idea of establishing SS stud farms and passed legislation legitimizing
the results of their eugenic labors.¹⁴⁵

Hitler was absolutely furious at the suggestion that women should
be emancipated from their traditional place in the kitchen, the church,
and the nursery, asserting that "the term 'female emancipation' is a
term invented by the Jewish intellect, and its meaning is of the same
spirit." At the first general membership meeting of the Nazi Party in
January 1921, Hitler had the following regulation passed: "A woman
can never be admitted into the Leadership of the Party or into the
Executive Committee." In the Third Reich women were declared in-
eligible for jury service because, the Führer said, "they cannot think log-
ically or reason objectively since they are ruled only by emotion."¹⁴⁶

He expressed his own ideal of womanhood to the wife of the early
SA leader, Franz von Pfeffer:

A woman must be a cute, cuddly, naïve little thing—tender,
sweet, and stupid.

Eine Frau muss ein niedliches, molliges, Tschapperl sein: weich,
süss und dumm.¹⁴⁷

On another occasion he noted to an aide that while he thoroughly
enjoyed having beautiful women near him it was not necessary for
them to be intelligent or original. "I have enough ideas for both," he
said.¹⁴⁸

Apart from the studied air of superiority he affected in their
presence, there are other indications that Hitler really was frightened
by females. His sister recalled that Adolf, as a very small boy, was
terrified at the thought that a girl might kiss him. "When mother
wanted him to get up in the morning she had only to say to me, 'Go and
give him a kiss.' She said it not very loud but enough for him to hear,
as soon as he heard the word 'kiss,' and that he was to get one from
me, he was out of bed in a flash because he just couldn't stand that."
Many years later, at a New Year's Eve party in 1924, a young and
attractive woman maneuvered Hitler under the mistletoe and gave
him a good-natured kiss. A witness recalled the consequences: "I shall
never forget the look of astonishment and horror on Hitler's face! . . .
Bewildered and helpless as a child, Hitler stood there biting his lips
in an effort to master his anger. The atmosphere which after his
arrival had shown a tendency to become more formal now became
almost glacial."¹⁴⁹

Hitler continued to be intimidated by the thought of physical con-
tact with women, and compared sexual intercourse to the trauma a
soldier faces in battle. In making the comparison he quite typically
projected his own fears: it was not he who was afraid of women, but
women were afraid of men. In his awkward prose:

* P.T. Himmler jerks off⁵¹
over images of our humiliated men & our
humiliated young women all wishing for
a Germanian plot

*

1924

!

his speeches and pro-
is repeated in speech

that he played about
and "defeating" time. Yet
constantly coming back
over and over, "I have
time to tie his own tie, so
his valet."³⁹

for his defeat. "The
colloquies. "I did not have
tics. . . . we never have
on us and we . . . lack

in all history wasted
in being driven about
saddle. Perhaps he felt
he was in some way
destroying it for other

there been any impor-
to find out.

with death. Even in
the close of the tremen-
he had billed as "The
to triumph than to his
I do not know, but the
War II, he kept talking to
death.⁴¹

putrefaction and death in
which he wanted desperately
metown of Linz. When he
secretary reports that he
his hands as he exulted
he had filmstrips made of
ing them die. He also tried
that he had the power to
play at war, I command
to send the youth to their

dered it to be dead. On a
time he was a prisoner at
inmate Rudolf Hess and

remarked: "You know, Rudi, it's only the moon I hate. For it is some-
thing dead, and terrible, and inhuman. And human beings are afraid of
it. . . . It is as if in the moon a part of the terror still lives which the
moon once sent down over the earth. . . . I hate it! That pale and
ghostly fellow." ⁴³

1924

During the 1920s, Hitler was very much interested in a young
woman named Mimi Reiter—of whom more later. On his third date
with her, he took her to the graveyard where her mother was buried. He
stood staring down at the grave for some time and then muttered some-
thing that Miss Reiter never quite understood: "I'm not like that yet"
[*Ich bin noch nicht so weit*]. Once, in a restaurant, Miss Reiter ordered
her favorite food, *Wienerschnitzel*. When Hitler looked disgusted, she
asked if she had done something wrong. Hitler replied: "No, go ahead
and have it, but I don't understand why you want it. I didn't think you
wanted to devour a corpse . . . the flesh of dead animals. Cadavers!"
Many years later, Hitler still made fun of people who ate meat. He called
their meat broth "corpse tea," and he told what he considered an amus-
ing story about crayfish: A deceased grandmother had relatives who
threw her body into a brook to lure the crayfish; the crayfish ate her
body, and the relatives then caught and ate the crayfish. On another oc-
casion, while a guest was dining on smoked eel, he remarked that eels
were best fattened when fed with dead cats.⁴⁴

All his life, Hitler showed unusual interest in crayfish, lobsters, and
crabs, partly because *Krebs* (crabs) is the German word for cancer. He
was particularly concerned about dying from cancer, the disease
which had killed his mother. He talked to intimates about his fear, and
was morbidly preoccupied with the disease and its cure. He was also
deathly afraid of water. During a boat ride on the Tegern Lake, for
example, he panicked and "seemed absolutely convinced that the boat
would capsize." Typically, he insisted it was not he but the ladies who
were so badly frightened they ought to return to shore.⁴⁵

Hitler's concern about death was manifested publicly during the
Third Reich. The Nazis were much more effective in staging death
celebrations than they were in fêting life. Memorable ceremonies were
staged at the tombs of Prussian kings, at Hindenburg's monument at
Tannenburg, at memorial services for Horst Wessel, and at the annual
November commemoration of the martyrs of the Beer Hall Putsch. The
leitmotif of death sounded impressively at every Party rally.⁴⁶

Major political and military decisions were determined by the
Führer's fear of imminent death and concern over the passage of time.
He expressed his sense of urgency when giving his reasons for running
for president in 1932: "I don't have time to wait. . . . I can't lose a single
year. I've got to get to power shortly to solve the gigantic problems dur-
ing the time remaining for me. I have got to. I have got to." And on
another occasion: "I need ten years of lawmaking. The time is short. I
have not long enough to live. . . ." ⁴⁷

Hitler's decision to go to war in September 1939 was associated

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

1934
This two-volume work was begun in the summer of 1924 while he was enjoying special concessions as a prisoner in Landsberg am Lech. As he strode diagonally across the room, he dictated first to Emil Maurice and then to Rudolf Hess, who typed up Hitler's thoughts on an old Remington portable while a gramophone thundered Wagner. On Saturday nights Hitler would try out the effect of dictated passages by orating them to the coterie of Nazis who were imprisoned with him. The first volume was nearly completed when he left Landsberg on 20 December 1924. The second volume was dictated at the Haus Wachenfeld in Platterhof in Upper Salzburg with the collaboration of Max Amann, the financial director of the Party publications. It was gone over by Father Bernard Stempfle, a Jesuit editor of an anti-Semitic newspaper who was subsequently murdered at Hitler's orders during the Blood Purge of 30 June 1934. Others who read the proofs included the printer, Adolf Müller, the geopolitician Professor Haushofer, and Ernst Hanfstaengl. The original manuscript was sent as a memorial gift to Hitler's motherly patroness of many years, Frau Bechstein.

The original title, "Four and One Half Years of Battle Against Lies, Stupidity and Cowardice: Account Settled," was changed to *Mein Kampf* at the suggestion of Max Amann. By the 1940s, it had been translated into 16 languages and had become one of the most published books in the world.^{42*}

According to the count of an indefatigable German literary critic, the work contains over 164,000 errors in German grammar and syntax. Not even the careful editing of friends or the thoughtful translation of an excellent American edition can rescue meaning from much of the prose. Here, for example, is Hitler setting forth his thinking about race—a concept of fundamental importance to his ideology:

The conception of *völkisch* in consequence of its boundlessness, is not a possible foundation for movement and offers no measure for the membership of such a movement. The more practically undefinable this conception is, the more and freer interpretation it permits, the more increases also the possibility of having recourse to it. The insertion into the political fight of so undefinable a conception, interpretable in so many senses, leads to the diminution of every energetic fighting unity, as it is incompatible with this to leave to the individual the definition of his faith and his will.

For this reason it is a disgrace to see in these days those who drift about with the word *völkisch* on their caps.⁴³

* In 1976, Hitler's *Mein Kampf* still appeared on a publisher's list of "the best sellers of all time" in Germany. Classified grotesquely as *belles-lettres*, it easily won class honors with total sales in excess of 9,800,000 copies. (*Die Zeit*, Nr. 26, 25 June 1976)

The Intellectual World of Adolf

A few more examples meaning:

This is a proposal wh as it is usually ill ur greatest conceivable ha

Protestantism in i manism better, as far tradition altogether, bu of national interests m lines is either lacking jected for one reason oi

Metaphors become rather m

For it is the remarkabl that its waves perhap ticular, the planting g that leads to this is characterized as a crim

Hitler had the habit him or rendered him imp about suffocation. In the fol with "Dame Poverty," who is

Whoever has not him: viper will never know i

An uncharitable critic that a snake which kills wi throttled by a snake would r

Although *Mein Kampf* still more important litera for posterity. This plan se approved having his thou tions and staff conferences retire. Then I would like t thought and setting it dow that exist are the works of h

This scheme was aba really interested in putting revolutionary events," he : written, but by the spoken word, and few men in his: gogue.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

briefly stated. It was Hitler's idea that the Jews were responsible for all the evils in the world. They had polluted the Aryan blood and driven the Germanic people out of their racial Paradise. They were the insidious enemy lurking behind all the dangers that assailed the Motherland: Bolshevism and rapacious capitalism, Freemasonry and democracy. They were responsible for the German defeat in World War I, the inflation of 1923, and the economic depression of the 1930s. They were the force behind prostitution and the cause of decadence that Hitler saw in the whole of modern arts and letters.

The Jew was always a parasite and had never made any contribution to culture or religion. Hitler is clear on these matters: "As now [sic] the Jew . . . was never in the possession of a culture of his own, the basis for his spiritual activity has always been furnished by others. At all times his intellect was developed through the culture that surrounded him. . . . Above all the two queens of all art, architecture and music, owe nothing original to Jewry. What he achieves in the field of art is either bowdlerization or intellectual theft. . . . No, the Jew possesses no culture-creating energy whatever, as the idealism without which there can never exist the genuine development of man towards a higher level does not and never did exist in him."

Not only has the Jew no art or culture; he also has no religion.

The Jews were always a people with definite racial qualities and never a religion, . . . but what would have been more useful and at the same time more harmless than the 'purloining' of the appearance of being a religious community? For here, too, everything is purloined, or rather, stolen. But resulting from his own original nature the Jew cannot possess a religious institution for the very reason that he lacks all idealism in any form and that he also does not recognize any belief in the hereafter.¹⁰

The ultimate aim of the Jews, Hitler was convinced, was to conquer the world. In an important pamphlet he wrote with Dietrich Eckart as early as 1924, under the ambitious title *Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin*, he had already concluded: "One can only understand the Jews when one realizes their final purpose: to master the world and then destroy it . . . while they pretend to raise mankind up, actually they contrive to drive mankind to despair, insanity and destruction. If they are not stopped they will destroy us." Hitler's beliefs about the existence of a vast international Jewish conspiracy bent on enslaving mankind were so ridiculous that one must believe in their sincerity. He told a private meeting of his *Gauleiter* at the end of 1939, "The Jews may deceive the world . . . but they cannot deceive me. I know that they are guilty of starting this war—they alone and nobody else." He found Jews lurking in the most unlikely places. He was sure, for example, that a small but highly influential minority of Jews really controlled Sweden and that Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Sir Stafford Cripps

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were both Jews, as were n hand, could not have been

Terror and Propaganda

When Hitler spoke o *Führer* merged into one u in his mind about the ide Both his psychological ne of the *Führerprinzip* obli ple. Indeed, the most basic and his system of governr to force others to do his wi

Hitler relied primarily over others. He had a rer logical mechanism of terro when it evoked insecurity, feelings could be achieve tional. Uncertainty was e whether they had done so wrong, or failed to do som on the uncertainty and i means of intimidating pe victims tried to reason why very often, there was in f. nonvictim, the mere observ sible anxiety. And so too i their master's idea of a pra fear that he was in disfav Germany could be brought which anxiety was instituti

Why did Hitler need s it is true that terror is no ships. But Hitler's preocc and his continual need to k gest that with him there w. Later we try to find out wh boy that caused him to seel others had once terrified hi

Propaganda was a coll: the German people. In the is used loosely and indiscri ganda for the Republican P selling of cigarettes is "jus propaganda." That is not w another form of terror. His French historian who, in w

were both Jews, as were most of the British nobility. Jesus, on the other hand, could not have been Jewish.⁸⁰

Terror and Propaganda

When Hitler spoke of an ideal *Volksgemeinschaft*, with *Volks* and *Führer* merged into one union of "sacred egoism," there was no doubt in his mind about the identity of the primary force behind the merger. Both his psychological needs—as we shall see—and the requirements of the *Führerprinzip* obliged him to dominate and control other people. Indeed, the most basic single characteristic of both his personal life and his system of government can be reduced to one overriding need: to force others to do his will.

Hitler relied primarily upon terror and propaganda to gain control over others. He had a remarkably keen understanding of the psychological mechanism of terror and realized that it was politically effective when it evoked insecurity, fear, and anxiety. These politically desirable feelings could be achieved by making terror indiscriminate and irrational. Uncertainty was essential. Victims should not be able to tell whether they had done something wrong, *might* have done something wrong, or failed to do something they should have done. Hitler's stress on the uncertainty and irrationality of terror was also an effective means of intimidating people who were not directly involved: non-victims tried to reason *why* a friend or neighbor had disappeared when, very often, there was in fact no rational explanation at all. Thus the nonvictim, the mere observer, also became a prisoner of incomprehensible anxiety. And so too did members of Hitler's own entourage. For their master's idea of a practical joke was to make an intimate sick with fear that he was in disfavor with his Führer. Thus, everyone in Hitler's Germany could be brought into Hitler's system of calculated terror, in which anxiety was institutionalized.⁸¹

Why did Hitler need so badly to frighten other people? Of course, it is true that terror is normal operating procedure in many dictatorships. But Hitler's preoccupation with it, his particular refinements, and his continual need to keep even his friends frightened strongly suggest that with him there was a pressing personal need to terrify others. Later we try to find out what there was about his experience as a little boy that caused him to seek this kind of revenge: to terrorize others as others had once terrified him.

Propaganda was a collateral method Hitler used to gain control over the German people. In the contemporary world, the word "propaganda" is used loosely and indiscriminately. One speaks today of "good propaganda for the Republican Party"; we are assured by an adman that the selling of cigarettes is "just a question of which agency has the best propaganda." That is not what Hitler meant by the word. For him it was another form of terror. His meaning was best expressed long ago by a French historian who, in writing of the reign of Henry VIII, noted that

... were responsible for all
... blood and driven the
... They were the insidious
... assailed the Motherland:
... masonry and democracy.
... in World War I, the infla-
... the 1930s. They were the
... decadence that Hitler saw

... never made any contribu-
... on these matters: "As now
... sion of a culture of his
... always been furnished by
... ed through the culture that
... of all art, architecture and
... he achieves in the field of
... theft. . . . No, the Jew pos-
... as the idealism without
... elopment of man towards a
... him."

... re; he also has no religion.

... definite racial qualities and
... ve been more useful and at
... e 'purloining' of the appear-
... For here, too, everything is
... king from his own original
... ous institution for the very
... form and that he also does
... it.⁸²

... is convinced, was to conquer
... rote with Dietrich Eckart as
... Bolshevism from Moses to
... a only understand the Jews
... master the world and then
... mankind up, actually they
... isanity and destruction. If
... Hitler's beliefs about the
... conspiracy bent on enslaving
... believe in their sincerity. He
... the end of 1939. "The Jews
... deceive me. I know that they
... and nobody else." He found
... was sure, for example, that
... of Jews really controlled
... elt and Sir Stafford Cripps

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

demanding a war against Russia and the establishment of a vast Aryan empire in Eastern Europe, with the Slavs serving the Germans as slave laborers.¹⁷⁰

Many of Hitler's ideas on propaganda and techniques for enforcing his will on the masses came from Gustave Le Bon's influential study on the psychology of the crowd. This little book appeared in a German translation (Leipzig, 1908) as *Psychologie der Massen* and was available to Hitler in Vienna.^a

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Hitler's indebtedness to Le Bon bordered on plagiarism. Time after time in his famous chapter on propaganda in *Mein Kampf* he took key ideas directly from Le Bon's earlier work. One can surmise that having remembered reading the book in Vienna, Hitler had a friend bring it to him in his pleasant room in the Landsberg prison where, during 1924, he was dictating his masterpiece which served both as memoir and dissertation on political manipulation. Long before Hitler, the Frenchman had discovered that the masses are "distinguished by feminine characteristics"; they require a master for "they are always ready to bow servilely before strong authority." The effective leader should appeal always to their emotions, never to their reason; he should stage huge "theatrical meetings," for they "always have an enormous influence on crowds." He should establish a pseudoreligion. According to Le Bon, the effectiveness of propaganda depends upon violence, the big lie technique, and constant repetition: "When we read a hundred, a thousand, times that X's chocolates are the best, . . . we end by acquiring the certitude that such is the fact." The successful leader should avoid all discussion of his power; he is one who "hits upon a new formula as devoid as possible of precise meaning." He should avoid written statements, but "in his verbal program . . . there cannot be too much exaggeration. . . ." ¹⁷¹

Hitler took his ideas about propaganda and the signs, symbols, and other paraphernalia of his Party from Le Bon, German racists, and Italian Fascism. The swastika, for example, was used as a racial symbol by Lanz and many other racists in the decade prior to World War I. The Ehrhardt Free Corps Brigade painted it on their steel helmets in 1920 and sang a marching song, set to a catchy old English melody, with the following chorus:

Swastika on helmet,
Colors of Red, White, Black,
The Ehrhardt Brigade
Is marching to attack!

^a John Toland is mistaken when he writes that Hitler could not have been influenced by Le Bon because his work had "not been translated into German." (Adolf Hitler (New York, 1976), 221.) In addition to the 1908 translation, there was a second German edition in 1912, a third enlarged edition in 1919, and a fourth in 1922. (Later editions appeared in 1932, 1935, 1938 and 1939.)

* D.T. He was anticipated by the subject I quote in my own thought.

The Intellectual World of Adolf Hitler

When the men of the Ehrhardt they took their song with them : Hitler" for "Die Brigade Ehrhardt

The runic symbols, 

terest to Guido von List as the

Hitler's indebtedness to M him he acquired the use of ur tended salute. One of his symbol: the death's head. Hitler's *Sturm* direct predecessor in Mussolini sworn to the Duce before it was leaders for the Party, called *Gau Federale*. Mussolini had preceded serving the names of the fallen also organized women and youth and had established secret police.

What is true of Hitler's part is also true of his political thought be called his own, not a single someone else. Hitler's strength lay but in his political acumen and personality. Through the alchemic shoddiest racist ideas into a people believe that he was their savior.

The fact that his ideas had be reason enough to study them. for looking into his peculiar mer personality, and one way of doing; was reflected in the distorted world his personal life directly. We may fancy, stressing those psychological personality and shape his political

the beneficiaries
old - a
GOD: ADOLF HITLER
equal of evil
olve the "Jewish problem."
this racial enemy, he was
od and threatened that of
t in the very statement of
e only after all Jews had

From Private Neurosis to Public Policy

1924

out of the Führer's psycho-
own grandfather was Jewer
had to prove to himself
not possibly be "corrupted"
f that such a direct threat
was an utter impossibility,
Jews. In effect he was say-
rove it. I am the killer of
"annihilate the Jews down
e degree of blood relation-
could not possibly be his

the genocide. It seems, for
ler's curious preoccupation
thoughts of killing himself
nocide; perhaps he relieved
destroying others. Thus,
d "The important thing is
of death," he was saying
h (as I do); I can command
or killing them."⁵¹

uct of the deep feelings of
Lifton has observed that
feelings in the form of an
ey exult in surviving. Thus,
ing them upon others and
y demonstrating his special

word "exterminate" is psy-
n, ausrotten, is much more
it is a verb with a separable
preposition, aus (out): Ich
Ausrotten! Hitler promised
ke the evil of Jewry by the
Stiel ausrotten!⁵³ And after
-and the same word—with

a "monotonous insistence" that is "truly astounding." * Apparently he was afraid that people might not believe him when he promised that the Jews would be exterminated, and he did not want to be laughed at when he made this prophecy. In a speech of 30 January 1942, for example, he warned that "I am careful not to make hasty prophecies," and he told his audience that already on 1 September 1939,** when he had prophesied that the Jews would be annihilated, people "laughed about my prophecies." Eight months later, being laughed at was still on his mind: "People always *laughed* about me as a prophet. Of those who *laughed* then, innumerable numbers no longer *laugh* today, and those who still *laugh* now will perhaps no longer *laugh* a short time from now."⁵⁴ Hitler's concern about being laughed at seems to support our suggestion that he felt a serious personal need to externalize an internal fear and to exterminate it in the form of the Jewish people.

He probably chose gas as the means of extermination both for practical and personal reasons. Gas was an efficient way to kill 5 or 6 million people; but Hitler may also have ordered the gassing of the Jews to get revenge for the gassing he himself had suffered in 1918, which he blamed on the Jews. A passage in Mein Kampf shows his resentment and makes the suggestion in 1924 which he would later implement in the genocide:

If at the beginning of the war and during the war twelve or fifteen thousand of these Hebrew defilers had been put under poison gas as hundreds of thousands of our very best workers from all walks of life had to endure at the front, then the sacrifice of millions at the front would not have been in vain.⁵⁵

Hitler's annihilation of the Jews was also a consequence of military defeat. Admittedly, it is difficult to set any precise moment when Hitler realized that he could not win the war, and he kept proclaiming the inevitability of victory long after he stopped believing in it. But Percy Schramm is probably correct in saying that Hitler realized by the end of 1941, after the first defeats in Russia during the catastrophic winter, that the kind of victory he had hoped to win was no longer obtainable.⁵⁶ If so, it is no chronological accident that the final

* This characterization, which is Jäckel's, is borne out in the following speeches and conversations in which the word "extermination" appears: March 1941 to his military advisers; October 1941 to his entourage; 1 January 1942 in a New Year's message; the Berlin Sport Palace speech of 30 January 1942; speeches of 24 February 1942, 30 September 1942, 8 November 1942; and in a conversation of 13 February 1945.

** It is curious—and to me inexplicable—that he should give the wrong date for his prophecy. His Reichstag speech of 1 September made no mention of the Jews. He must have been referring to his Reichstag speech of 30 January 1939. It seems likely that this mistake was unintentional, since he was usually accurate about the contents and dates of speeches.

He saw this
well as he
was in the West
still alive

Old and sick by 1944, he guessed
that he would not be able to
conquer the world and so solve
the problem definitively, so he would know

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When the last Jew was gone, how? By the arms that
believe of peace that would come over him

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swastikas and stormtroops dis-
fell back almost into oblivion.
ossible in terms of power.²⁸⁹

he crisis had passed, then rapidly
currency stabilization with the
n of the reparations issue through
1 banker Charles G. Dawes, head
24 a provisional framework for
mencing at a low level and linked
nning of the political stabilization
ulence and was to last until the
s. With Hitler in jail, the NSDAP
into its component factions, the
mediate potency.

means disappeared. With 33 per
er Block (the largest grouping in
as the strongest party in the city
aining more votes than both the
0 At the Reichstag election on 4
lkischer Block won 28.5 per cent
in the electoral region of Upper
Franconia.²⁹¹ But the bubble had
ght remained in disarray, voters
cond Reichstag elections of 1924,
lsberg, the vote for the Völkischer
5 per cent in Franconia, 4.8 per
cent in Lower Bavaria (compared
ier).²⁹²

ddities, was no longer the boiling
d been between 1920 and 1923.
their teeth drawn in the confron-
/ithout the support of the army,
paper tiger. In the aftermath of
vere dissolved, and the 'patriotic
ary confiscated, a ban imposed

on their military exercises, and their activities greatly curtailed.²⁹³ The triumvirate installed by the Bavarian government as a force on the Right to contain the wilder and even more extreme nationalist paramilitaries lost power and credibility through the putsch. Kahr, Lossow, and Seißer were all ousted by early 1924.²⁹⁴ With the General State Commissariat terminated, conventional cabinet government under a new Minister President, Dr Heinrich Held – the leading figure in the Catholic establishment party in Bavaria, the BVP – and with it a degree of calm, returned to Bavarian politics.

Even now, however, the forces which had given Hitler his entrée into politics and enabled him to develop into a key factor on the Bavarian Right contrived to save him when his 'career' ought to have been over. The 'Hitler-Putsch' was, as we have seen, by no means merely Hitler's putsch. Hitler had provided the frenetic pressure for action without delay – a reflection of his 'all-or-nothing' temperament, but also of the need to prevent the dynamism of his movement ebbing away. The half-baked planning, dilettante improvisation, lack of care for detail all bore the imprint of Hitler's characteristic impulse to act without clear thought for the consequences, and without a fall-back position. But Hitler's influence on the undertaking of the putsch would not have been possible had the idea of a strike against Berlin not been kept alive within the Bavarian government and army leadership as well as among the different and competing factions of the paramilitary formations for months before the actual events of November 1923. Without the dogmatic anti-Berlin stance of the ruling groups in Bavaria, where shrill anti-democratic, anti-socialist, and anti-Prussian feeling combined to bracket together otherwise antagonistic forces to the general aim of counter-revolution, Hitler's all-or-nothing gamble in the Bürgerbräukeller could never have occurred. The Bavarian Reichswehr had colluded massively in the training and preparation of the forces which had tried to take over the state. And important personages had been implicated in the putsch attempt. Whatever their subsequent defence of their actions, the hands of Kahr, Lossow, and Seißer were dirty, while the war-hero General Ludendorff had been the spiritual figurehead of the entire enterprise. There was every reason, therefore, in the trial of the putsch leaders held in Munich between 26 February and 27 March 1924 – the sentences were read out four days later, on 1 April – to let the spotlight fall completely on Hitler.²⁹⁵ He was only too glad to play the role assigned to him.

Hitler's first reaction to his indictment had been very different to his later triumphalist performance in the Munich court. He had initially refused to say anything, and announced that he was going on hunger strike. At this

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time, he plainly saw everything as lost. According to the prison psychologist – though speaking many years after the event – Hitler stated: 'I've had enough. I'm finished. If I had a revolver, I would take it.'²⁹⁶ Drexler later claimed that he himself had dissuaded Hitler from his intention to commit suicide.²⁹⁷ Ht

By the time the trial opened, Hitler's stance had changed diametrically. He was allowed to turn the court-room into a stage for his own propaganda, accepting full responsibility for what had happened, not merely justifying but glorifying his role in attempting to overthrow the Weimar state. This was in no small measure owing to his threats to expose the complicity in treasonable activity of Kahr, Lossow, and Seißer – and in particular the role of the Bavarian Reichswehr.

The way Hitler would exploit his trial could scarcely have come as a surprise to the Bavarian authorities. It was signalled as early as two days after his arrest, during his interrogation by Hans Ehard, a brilliant lawyer who, after 1945, became Minister President of Bavaria. At first, Hitler had refused all comment on the putsch attempt. Ehard had said that his silence might prolong his internment and that of his fellow-prisoners. Hitler had replied that there was more at stake for him than for the others. 'It was a matter for him of justifying before history his action and his mission (*sein Tun und seine Sendung*); what the court's position would be was a matter of indifference to him. He denied the court any right to pass judgement on him.' He then issued a veiled threat. He would save his best trump cards to play in the court-room. And he would call numerous witnesses, summoning them only during the trial to prevent prior notification.

Ehard rapidly gave up the idea of taking an official statement. The typewriter that had been brought in was taken away. In five hours of patient questioning and listening to lengthy political speeches in reply, the subtle lawyer gradually prompted Hitler to open up to a degree, even if remaining cautious and reserved. When he spoke, Hitler added – acknowledging his major strength – he would find the right words, whereas he could not do so by writing it down. His responses to Ehard gave plain clues to the way he would behave before the court.

He denied that he had committed high treason, since 'the crime of November 1918' had not been expunged and the constitution based on this 'crime' could have no validity. But if the constitution *were* taken to have legal force, then acts such as the deposition of the Bavarian government of Hoffmann in 1920 or the creation in 1923 of the General State Commissariat of Kahr with near dictatorial powers ought also to be considered high

treason. Ultimately, however, rather than the formal right of a constituent assembly to elect an incapable parliament.

Hitler now turned to the role of the putsch, and hinted strongly at what he claimed, willingly cooperated in, they had not been feigning consent to the agreement through persuasion left the beerhall. He had foreseen that he had given the order that they should trust in an officer's word, during the Bürgerbräukeller, had then seen that they never have allowed. This had discredited the triumvirate and he had in that moment had the triumvirate had not only gone in November. What they had agreed together with him for months. The 'Berlin', down to points of fine detail he had wanted and worked for it, noted Ehard, 'of opening up the entrance – the support and training of the Reichswehr in preparation for the

This was a telling point. The rule to limit potential damage. The trial was held under Bavarian jurisdiction to have taken place in Munich and Hitler even initially favoured this, but he was biased in favour of the triumvirate gentlemen would enter the court-room, certainly leave it as prisoners. In November. However, the Reich government government. The trial was set for Hitler's early apprehension turned

Kahr had hoped to avoid any perfunctory one where the indicted grounds of patriotism. Since some this course of action had to be decided, the accused were offered leniency

* D.T. Intense efforts in preparation for the trial

Ht D.T. The urge to suicide is immense in people whose ambition would dare the deepest laws of the universe.

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According to the prison psychologist the event – Hitler stated: 'I've had it, I would take it.'²⁹⁶ Drexler later Hitler from his intention to commit

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parallel for the trial

treason. Ultimately, however, there was a natural right of a people, higher than the formal right of a constitution, to self-defence against the wishes of an incapable parliament.

Hitler now turned to the role played by Kahr, Lossow and Seißer in the putsch, and hinted strongly at damaging revelations. The triumvirate had, he claimed, willingly cooperated in 'his' high treason. He would prove that they had not been feigning consent in the Bürgerbräukeller, but had had the full intention of implementing the agreement reached, and had only broken the agreement through persuasion and, in part, compulsion once they had left the beerhall. He had foreseen the possibility of this, which is why he had given the order that they should not be permitted to leave. Ludendorff's trust in an officer's word, during his own temporary absence from the Bürgerbräukeller, had then seen them released – something he himself would never have allowed. This had dismayed him on his return to the beerhall, and he had in that moment had the feeling that the cause was lost. But the triumvirate had not only gone along with his action on the evening of 8 November. What they had agreed with him that evening had been prepared together with him for months. They had discussed at length the 'march to Berlin', down to points of fine detail. There was full agreement. They and he had wanted and worked for identical aims. 'Hitler offers the prospect,' noted Ehard, 'of opening up the entire question of the "secret mobilization"' – the support and training of the paramilitary forces by the Bavarian Reichswehr in preparation for the planned *coup d'état*.²⁹⁸

This was a telling point. The ruling forces in Bavaria did what they could to limit potential damage. The first priority was to make sure that the trial was held under Bavarian jurisdiction. In strict legality, the trial ought not to have taken place in Munich at all, but at the Reich Court in Leipzig. Hitler even initially favoured this, since he thought the Bavarian court would be biased in favour of the triumvirate. 'In Leipzig,' he told Ehard, 'various gentlemen would enter the court-room perhaps still as witnesses, but would certainly leave it as prisoners. In Munich that will naturally not happen.'²⁹⁹ However, the Reich government gave way to pressure from the Bavarian government. The trial was set for the People's Court in Munich.³⁰⁰ And Hitler's early apprehension turned out to be entirely misconceived.

Kahr had hoped to avoid any trial, or at least have no more than a perfunctory one where the indicted would plead guilty but claim mitigating grounds of patriotism. Since some at least of the putschists would not agree, this course of action had to be dropped. But it seems highly probable that the accused were offered leniency for such a proposal even to have been

** Look at the words on his speeches & listen for what he says at the trial.*

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considered.³⁰¹ Hitler had, at any rate, become confident about the outcome. He still held a trump card in his hand. When Hanfstaengl visited him in his cell in the courthouse, during the trial, he showed no fear of the verdict. 'What can they do to me?' he asked. 'I only need to come out with a bit more, especially about Lossow, and there's the big scandal. Those in the know are well aware of that.'³⁰² This, and the attitude of the presiding judge and his fellow judges, explains Hitler's self-confident appearance at the trial.

Among those indicted alongside Hitler were Ludendorff, Pöhner, Frick, Weber (of Bund Oberland), Röhm and Kriebel. But the indictment itself was emphatic that 'Hitler was the soul of the entire enterprise'.³⁰³ Judge Neithardt, the president of the court, had reputedly stated before the trial that Ludendorff – 'still the only plus' that Germany possessed – would be acquitted. The judge replaced a damaging record of Ludendorff's first interrogation by one which indicated his ignorance about the putsch preparations.³⁰⁴ Hitler, meanwhile, was given the freedom of the court-room. One journalist attending the trial described it as a 'political carnival'. He compared the deference shown to the defendants with the brusque way those arraigned for their actions in the *Räterepublik* had been handled. He heard one of the judges, after Hitler's first speech, remark: 'What a tremendous chap, this Hitler!' Hitler was allowed to appear in his suit, not prison garb, sporting his Iron Cross, First Class. Ludendorff, not held in prison, arrived in a luxury limousine.³⁰⁵ Dr Weber, though under arrest, was allowed to take a Sunday afternoon walk round Munich. The extraordinary bias of the presiding judge was later most severely criticized both in Berlin and by the Bavarian government, irritated at the way attacks on the Reichswehr and state police had been allowed without contradiction. Judge Neithardt was informed in no uncertain terms during the trial of the 'embarrassing impression' left by allowing Hitler to speak for four hours. His only response was that it was impossible to interrupt his torrent of words. Hitler was also allowed the freedom to interrogate witnesses – above all Kahr, Lossow, and Seißer – at length, frequently deviating into politically loaded statements.³⁰⁶

When the verdicts were read out, on 1 April 1924, Ludendorff was duly acquitted – which he took as an insult. Hitler, along with Weber, Kriebel and Pöhner, was sentenced to a mere five years' imprisonment for high treason (less the four months and two weeks he had already been in custody), and a fine of 200 Gold Marks (or a further twenty days' imprisonment). The others indicted received even milder sentences.³⁰⁷ The lay judges, as Hitler later hinted, had only been prepared to accept a verdict of 'guilty' on condition that he received the mildest sentence, with the prospect of early

release.³⁰⁸ The court explained under the terms of the 'Protection Austrian. He considers himself to the meaning and intention of the the Protection of the Republic as German as Hitler, who volur the German army at war, who outstanding bravery in the face o damage to his health, and was r of the District Command Munic

Even on the conservative Rigl sentences prompted amazement was nothing short of scandalous the four policemen shot by the paper Marks (the equivalent of played down; the destruction of th *Post* and the taking of a numbe hostages were not blamed on Hi a new constitution, found in tl Pfordten.³¹¹ Nor did the judge's r to the fact that Hitler was still t for good behaviour imposed on l in January 1922. Legally, he was

The judge in that first Hitler presiding over his trial for high ti Georg Neithardt.³¹³

Hitler returned to Landsberg more akin to those of a hotel than comfortably furnished room on over the attractive countryside. I a newspaper in an easy wickel by admirers, or sit at a large desk dence he received. He was treat whom secretly greeted him with privilege. Gifts, flowers, letters o in. He received more visitors th before he eventually felt compel prisoners, some of them voluntu comforts of normal daily life, faw

* D.T. I encourage his mind to develop the complexity of combination between patriotism & the Kahr government & endless material to the trial was there.

Putschists

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ome confident about the outcome. When Hanfstaengl visited him in the prison he showed no fear of the verdict. He only needed to come out with a bit of the big scandal. Those in the audience had the attitude of the presiding judge of a confident appearance at the trial. There were Ludendorff, Pöhner, Frick, Kriebel. But the indictment itself was a mere enterprise.³⁰³ Judge Neithardt, who presided before the trial that Ludendorff would be acquitted. The judge's first interrogation by one which required reparations.³⁰⁴ Hitler, meanwhile, One journalist attending the trial compared the deference shown to the defendant with the deference shown to the defendant for their actions in the trial. One of the judges, after Hitler's first trial, this Hitler! Hitler was allowed to wear his Iron Cross, First Class. He had a luxury limousine.³⁰⁵ Dr Weber, on a Sunday afternoon walk round the prison, the judge was later most severely criticized by the government, irritated at the police had been allowed without hindrance in uncertain terms during the trial left by allowing Hitler to speak at it was impossible to interrupt Hitler. He was given the freedom to interrogate Dr Seißer – at length, frequently.³⁰⁶

April 1924, Ludendorff was duly sentenced, along with Weber, Kriebel (years' imprisonment for high treason he had already been in custody), (for twenty days' imprisonment). sentences.³⁰⁷ The lay judges, as they were to accept a verdict of 'guilty' on the defendant, with the prospect of early release.

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release.³⁰⁸ The court explained why it rejected the deportation of Hitler under the terms of the 'Protection of the Republic Act': 'Hitler is a German-Austrian. He considers himself to be a German. In the opinion of the court, the meaning and intention of the terms of section 9, para II of the Law for the Protection of the Republic cannot apply to a man who thinks and feels as German as Hitler, who voluntarily served for four and a half years in the German army at war, who attained high military honours through outstanding bravery in the face of the enemy, was wounded, suffered other damage to his health, and was released from the military into the control of the District Command Munich I.'³⁰⁹

Even on the conservative Right in Bavaria, the conduct of the trial and sentences prompted amazement and disgust.³¹⁰ In legal terms, the sentence was nothing short of scandalous. No mention was made in the verdict of the four policemen shot by the putschists; the robbery of 14,605 billion paper Marks (the equivalent of around 28,000 Gold Marks) was entirely played down; the destruction of the offices of the SPD newspaper *Münchener Post* and the taking of a number of Social Democratic city councillors as hostages were not blamed on Hitler; and no word was made of the text of a new constitution, found in the pocket of the dead putschist von der Pfordten.³¹¹ Nor did the judge's reasons for the sentence make any reference to the fact that Hitler was still technically within the probationary period for good behaviour imposed on him in the sentence for breach of the peace in January 1922. Legally, he was not eligible for any further probation.³¹²

The judge in that first Hitler trial was the same person as the judge presiding over his trial for high treason in 1924: the nationalist sympathizer Georg Neithardt.³¹³

Hitler returned to Landsberg to begin his light sentence in conditions more akin to those of a hotel than a penitentiary. The windows of his large, comfortably furnished room on the first floor afforded an expansive view over the attractive countryside. Dressed in lederhosen, he could relax with a newspaper in an easy wickerchair, his back to a laurel wreath provided by admirers, or sit at a large desk sifting through the mounds of correspondence he received. He was treated with great respect by his jailers, some of whom secretly greeted him with 'Heil Hitler', and accorded every possible privilege. Gifts, flowers, letters of support, encomiums of praise, all poured in. He received more visitors than he could cope with – over 500 of them before he eventually felt compelled to restrict access. Around forty fellow-prisoners, some of them volunteer internees, able to enjoy almost all the comforts of normal daily life, fawned on him.³¹⁴ He read of the demonstration

** In the post-trial period, A. H. cites all the above facts*

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on 23 April, to celebrate his thirty-fifth birthday three days earlier, of 3,000 National Socialists, former front soldiers, and supporters of the *völkisch* movement in the Bürgerbräukeller 'in honour of the man who had lit the present flame of liberation and *völkisch* consciousness in the German people'.³¹⁵ Under the impact of the star-status that the trial had brought him, and the Führer cult that his supporters had begun to form around him, he began to reflect on his political ideas, his 'mission', his 'restart' in politics once his short sentence was over, and pondered the lessons to be learnt from the putsch.

The débâcle at the Bürgerbräukeller and its denouement next day at the Feldherrnhalle taught Hitler once and for all that an attempt to seize power in the face of opposition from the armed forces was doomed. He felt justified in his belief that propaganda and mass mobilization, not paramilitary putschism, would open the path to the 'national revolution'. Consequently, he distanced himself from Röhm's attempts to revitalize in new guise the Kampfbund and to build a type of people's militia.³¹⁶ Ultimately, the different approaches, as well as power-ambitions, of Hitler and Röhm would lead to the murderous split in 1934. It would be going too far, however, to presume that Hitler had renounced the idea of a takeover of the state by force in favour of the 'legal path'. Certainly, he subsequently had to profess a commitment to legality in order to involve himself in politics again. And later, electoral success appeared in any case to offer the best strategy to win power. But the putschist approach was never given up. It continued, as the lingering problems with the SA would indicate, to coexist alongside the proclaimed 'legal' way. But, Hitler was adamant, on any future occasion it could only be with, not against, the Reichswehr.

Hitler's experience was to lead to the last, and not least, of the lessons he would draw from his 'apprenticeship years': that to be the 'drummer' was not enough; and that to be more than that meant he needed not only complete mastery in his own movement but, above all, greater freedom from external dependencies, from competing groupings on the Right, from paramilitary organizations he could not fully control, from the bourgeois politicians and army figures who had smoothed his political rise, used him, then dropped him when it suited them.³¹⁷

The ambivalence about his intended role after the 'national revolution' was still present in his comments during his trial. He insisted that he saw Ludendorff as the 'military leader of the coming Germany' and 'leader of the coming great showdown'. But he claimed that he himself was 'the political leader of this young Germany'. The precise division of labour had,

he said, not been determined.³¹⁸ returned to the leadership ques indeterminate fashion. He refer during discussions in spring 192 'as propagandist and awakener petty do small men think,' wen of a ministerial post as worthy was to be the destroyer of Marx did I want at that time to be the *Höchste*). The rest is unimporta he had demanded two things: th political struggle; and that the c hero . . . who in the eyes of the e hinted - though did not state Ludendorff.³²⁰ On the other har fortnight before the putsch, he more than the reorganizer of th proclamation put up during the Chancellor appeared to indicate position he foresaw for himself, as head of state (*Reichsverweser*

Whatever the ambivalence, rea remarks at the trial, it soon gave Landsberg the realization dawned all; he was the predestined Lead

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he said, not been determined.³¹⁸ In his closing address to the court, Hitler returned to the leadership question – though still in somewhat vague and indeterminate fashion. He referred to Lossow's remarks to the court that during discussions in spring 1923 he had thought Hitler had merely wanted 'as propagandist and awakener (*Weckrufer*) to arouse the people'. 'How petty do small men think,' went on Hitler. He did not see the attainment of a ministerial post as worthy of a great man. What he wanted, he said, was to be the destroyer of Marxism. That was his task. 'Not from modesty did I want at that time to be the drummer. That is the highest there is (*das Höchste*). The rest is unimportant (*eine Kleinigkeit*).'³¹⁹ When it came to it, he had demanded two things: that he should be given the leadership of the political struggle; and that the organizational leadership should go to 'the hero . . . who in the eyes of the entire young Germany is called to it'. Hitler hinted – though did not state explicitly – that this was to have been Ludendorff.³²⁰ On the other hand, in his address to Kampfbund leaders a fortnight before the putsch, he had seemed to envisage Ludendorff as no more than the reorganizer of the future national army.³²¹ Then again, the proclamation put up during the putsch itself over Hitler's name as Reich Chancellor appeared to indicate that the headship of government was the position he foresaw for himself, sharing dictatorial power with Ludendorff as head of state (*Reichsverweser*, or regent).³²²

Whatever the ambivalence, real or simply tactical, still present in Hitler's remarks at the trial, it soon gave way to clarity about his self-image. For in Landsberg the realization dawned on Hitler: he was not the 'drummer' after all; he was the predestined Leader himself. *

* D.T. It was the perfect situation for me - Now I knew when and where and how to reach him about my goal. You are the future leader. You are the unique, the irreplaceable, the indomitable, the all-pursuing Fuehrer. He would drink in these thoughts like a dog an over-exercised dog lapping water.

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Hitler's mother, wrote both before and after his emigration from Austria, in nearly forty years of his career as a doctor he had never seen a young man as broken with grief as Adolf Hitler at the death of his mother. He was an exemplary son during his mother's final illness. Of course, he was the male head of the family then, his father having died three years earlier; but there was more to it than that. He loved his mother; and he feared (and possibly hated) his father. This is not a mere psychoanalytic speculation; there is enough evidence of it. He mentioned the matter, often late at night, to some of his closest circle—for instance, to General Edmund von Glaise-Horstenau (by coincidence, also born in Braunau), who found this significant enough to record it in his posthumously published memoirs; and also to Speer.^{*} Hitler's father was domineering and crude: he drank; he mistreated his wife; he beat his young son. Yet in *Mein Kampf* Hitler wrote about his father in reverent and respectful phrases, emphasizing only one, rather natural, disagreement between father and son: His father wanted him to choose the career of an Austrian civil servant (which had been the father's special achievement, against many difficulties), when his young son wished to become an artist. Of that disagreement, too, Hitler wrote in a wisful and pleasant tone. Yet to a few insightful observers, throughout his adult life he gave the impression that he had been a deeply humiliated child.†

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MK

Hitler lived in Vienna for six years after his mother's death, from the eighteenth to the twenty-fourth year of his life. Those are formative years in any man's life, and they were undoubtedly so for Hitler, too—except that, according to *Mein Kampf*, they were formative not only partially or largely but categorically and definitively. We know much about these years, from many sources, but first among them is *Mein Kampf*, in which Hitler described them at length. Yet we now know that his account of his years in Vienna

^{*}To Glaise-Horstenau (in April 1939): "I feared my father, but I loved him not at all." SP, p. 139: "My father often beat me severely. . . ."

†See above, p. 20 (George Bernanos). GQ, p. 29: "His childhood reminiscences must have left a deep [and lasting] impression on his soul, but it is also characteristic of him that he conceals that impression from others very carefully."

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Yes, Hitler was a racist—

in the sense in which many people (all kinds of people, including Benjamin Disraeli) have recognized the unavoidable influence of race in the conflicts of humanity. He did write in *Mein Kampf* that "the racial question was the key to world history." That he was not consistent in his racial preferences is obvious. When the occasion demanded, he chose, or sought, alliances with Japanese, Chinese, Romanians, Arabs, and so forth, while remaining committed to fighting or even destroying his "Nordic" or "Aryan" opponents. This may, of course, be attributed to the exigencies of his statecraft, especially during the war. But that was not all. We have no evidence that—even during his formative years, in Vienna—Hitler read or took seriously the late-nineteenth-century French or German racialist philosophers, such as Gobineau, Vacher de Lapogue, Lagarde; or that the hysterical racist pamphleteers of the "Ostara" type had a strong or definite influence on him. Not many of his biographers have noted or emphasized this. Haffner did, however. Aware of the above-cited sentence in *Mein Kampf* about race being the key to history, Haffner noted that race was "never defined by him and often equated with the concept of 'nation'." A supreme race as a master nation shall, according to Hitler, rule the world one day—but which, a race or a nation? the Germans or the 'Aryans'? This is never entirely clear with Hitler. Equally unclear is whom he regards as Aryans. Only the more or less Germanic nations? Or all whites except the Jews? This is nowhere clarified by Hitler." The real racial differences among white, black, and yellow-skinned people did not much interest Hitler. What interested him was "the struggle within the white race, between the 'Aryans' and the Jews."* Only about Jews did he remain consistent, to the very end of his life. Yet even on the subject of what the Jewish race meant, he changed his mind, as we shall see in a moment.

For, whether race was the key to history or not, there was an

*H/AN, pp. 80, 82. This is more solid than Fest's citation of the often unreliable Rauschning in F, p. 939. Hitler allegedly said to Rauschning: "Race is a higher concept than nation. With the idea of nation the French led their revolution beyond their frontiers. With the idea of race National Socialism will carry out its revolution to a new world order."

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As some German historians, as well as Bullock, put it: Hitler was appointed to power not through a popular revolutionary movement but through the intrigues of conservatives such as Papen. Perhaps for "not" I would put "less," but generally speaking, the statement is valid.† As Walter Euchner wrote during the Historians' Controversy: "Contrary to the Bolsheviks, the National Socialists . . . could accomplish their political aims with the voluntary support of a considerable part of the traditional elites."‡ And by March 1933 many of the latter responded to the desiderata of a Third Reich. This strange man, Hitler, was no longer only an inevitable element for a conservative and nationalist revival, a "faute de mieux," in place of something better, but someone who had become eminently respectable.** Thereafter Hitler's power contributed to his respectability

Bullock's paragraph in *BU*, pp. 254-55, is a fair summary, and unexceptionable: "... the heaviest responsibility of all rests on the German Right, who not only failed to combine with the other parties in defence of the Republic but made Hitler their partner in a coalition government. The old ruling class of Imperial Germany had never reconciled itself to the loss of the war or to the overthrow of the monarchy in 1918. They were remarkably well treated by the Republican regime which followed. Many of them were left in positions of power and influence. . . . All this won neither their gratitude nor their loyalty. Whatever may be said of individuals, as a class they remained irreconcilable, contemptuous and hostile to the regime they continued to exploit. The word 'Nationalist,' which was the pride of the biggest Party of the Right, became synonymous with disloyalty to the Republic." In *BU*, p. 120, Bullock also makes a trenchant statement about the considerate treatment Hitler received at his 1924 trial: "Such were the penalties of high treason in a state where disloyalty to the regime was the surest recommendation to mercy."

† To this, however, we must add the stunning evidence from the Goebbels diaries—from 1930 and, in a way, even earlier—of Hitler's absolute conviction that he would be assuming power, sooner or later.

‡ *HS*, p. 357. Fest noted that already in the summer of 1932, "conservatives" such as Papen, von Braun, and Schwerin von Krosigk doubted whether a government without Hitler could exist for long.

** One example: The old monarchist Field Marshal Mackensen was much impressed with Hitler at Potsdam in March 1933. He was somewhat critical of Hitler's mustache and hair but said "he won my heart as a statesman, soldier, and man." Even though men such as Mackensen had no political influence or following, Hitler understood them well. He awarded a large estate to Mackensen. In December 1939 he visited the aged martinet on his ninetieth birthday. In 1941, he allowed him to travel to the kaiser's funeral in Holland on a special train.

* D. T. I was able to point this out to him. Since he was already balanced back and forth on the question of whether to work with the conservatives (he could not bear their assumption that they were class ennobled by the cosmos) it took a bit of doing, but he saw the political logic. He was, all considered, a genius at what came to political logic.

(perhaps especially among also true: His respectability among the conservatives at least to the feebleness of. "Neither in German Catholicism an opponent who was weak. Among all of the institutions, the record of the Catholic priests as well as some of speaking, the least complete. The historical literature extensive. At the same time otherwise non-Nazi or even less than inspiring, especially

^{HR}, p. 471.

† A few random examples. Cardinal Faulhaber, who was at the signing of the 1933 Concordat, had not been able to accomplish in six months on a world-historical scale. In 1936, Faulhaber visited Hitler and was entirely with Hitler about the new Führer also demonstrated social responsibility. ^{HR}, pp. 282, 316: "Even pressed the Cardinal." Faulhaber (27 December 1936) was made anti-Nazi Cardinal Preysing of Breslau undoubtedly eliminated the very nism as well as many phenomena dangerous to religion and morality von Galen. *Neue Forschungen zum 1. Stern*, 1992), p. 211. The weak Catholic Bishops' Conference, sent the latter's birthdays. (In 1936) he valid for this world: Praised be Jesus heaven." No neater formula can be

Public respectability for many (sions of nationalism. Bishop Bernini entire nation must stand united,emies." Kuropka, p. 357. About Bismarck's invasion of Russia in 1941, i

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1921-22, 1924-25, 1933-34

Statesman and Strategist

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1934

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German National Socialism

was still possible). Stalin was as secretive about his contacts with Berlin as behooved a sly Caucasian chieftain. It is significant that Hitler allowed hints to be dropped on occasion (as early as May) to the British and the French about the possibility of a German agreement with Russia.* Instructive, then, is his, often cited, conversation with the Swiss Carl J. Burckhardt on 11 August 1939, a few days before he approached Stalin directly. He told Burckhardt (who, he knew, was a partisan of some kind of German-British accommodation): "Everything I undertake is directed against Russia; if the West is too stupid and too blind to understand this, I shall be forced to seek an understanding with the Russians, defeat the West, and after its defeat turn with all of my forces against the Soviet Union. I need the Ukraine, so that they cannot starve us out, as during the last war." Many historians have described this statement as revelatory of Hitler's entire subsequent war strategy; Hillgruber described it as prophetic and farsighted [visionär].† In reality, it was Hitler's attempt (he knew that Burckhardt was listened to in London) to frighten the Western powers into abandoning Poland.

The attempt did not succeed. Nor did the news of the Hitler-Stalin pact eleven days later; nor his last attempts to "drive a wedge," as he himself put it, between the British and the Poles through his last, fraudulent, "offers" to Poland. Since the Poles refused to become German satellites, he would subdue them through war. With Britain and France he did not want war, and hoped that it might not come to that. But on 3 September 1939, Britain and France, however reluctantly, declared war on the Third Reich. Here was the first great and ultimately decisive failure of Hitler's statesmanship. Still, strategically it was not a decisive failure—at any rate, not yet. He knew that the British and the French were reluctant warriors. They might declare war, but beyond that, at least for the time being, they would do little or nothing. About that in the short run he was right.

*His ability to *divide et impera*—that is, not committing himself to one side or another for a time—existed already in 1921-22 and 1924-25 in the face of antagonisms within the party (and perhaps also in 1933-34, between the army and the SA.)

†HST, pp. 28-29. Also F, p. 801, and HF/A1, p. 224.

a scene

*BCH the same as Munich in 1921

as she accepted an invitation to meet an unattractive blonde man at the time.

man out for a meal. The daughter was quite plain, nondescript clothes, a side and asked Geli if she would go. It was some second-hand, a dreadful doggerel part, and another hanging. This was just the mediocre mind. Here, I thought, and here I lived.

My old friend Luigi came to see him, as he came back mine. However, I used as a cover in Austria, a public restaurant as a cover for this Putz name of Georg Wagner. "Good Lord, man," he said, "these forged twenty-five years over the place. There are half a dozen European gnomes enthusiasts.

With my family. This hotel called the Hanging dangerous enterprise, as you see. It was more dangerous to look at my own house issued to arrest me on a grown a set of Franzeses and walked with a car, even when I walked a couple of the drivers. By the time Hitler

came up for trial, the arrest order had been rescinded and I was free to move about again.

While on remand at Landsberg, Hitler, taking his example from the Sinn Feiners, had attempted a hunger strike. He refused to talk to the guards or any of his old comrades, so Roder, his counsel, got in touch with my wife. She sent a message through to say that she had not prevented him from committing suicide in order to let him starve himself to death and that this was the very thing his worst enemies hoped for. Her advice turned the scale. Hitler had a great admiration for her and his whole appearance at Uffing after the Putsch must have been part of some subconscious urge to turn for succour to this woman, who corresponded so closely to his repressed yearnings. Also, amidst the annihilation of all that he had organized, the Uffing house must have acquired the aura of an extra-territorial asylum.

I visited Hitler a couple of times in gaol, first when he was brought back to the cells under the court in the Blumenburgstrasse for the trial, and then back to Landsberg after his sentence. I even took little Egon along with me to the Blumenburgstrasse and Hitler was delighted. "Well, it is nice to see you, Hanfstaengl," he said, "and there is little Egon," taking the child on his knee and letting him choose some of the sweets and cakes which had been sent in by sympathizers. He had this extraordinary quality of immediate appeal to children and the boy adored him.

"I am so sorry about that business at Uffing," he said. "I had no idea your wife was pregnant and it was all a very stupid idea." He looked well and was full of confidence about the outcome of the trial. "What on earth can they do to me?" he said, "all I have to do is to tell some of the things I know about von Lossow and the whole thing will collapse." This was a little over-confident, but in spite of the five-year sentence he received, he turned the trial into a major triumph, making Kahr, Lossow and company look so foolish that he largely restored his prestige in Munich. The trump card he held was his inside knowledge of Lossow and Kahr's own plans, in which a number of authorities, both in Berlin and abroad, would have been more than interested. This was the threat he was able to hold over the head of his dubious accusers, and his final sentence was more a

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matter of convenience than anything else, as it was understood from the first that he would not have to serve the whole of it.

The ascendancy he gained over the officials and guards at Landsberg was quite extraordinary. The gaolers even used to say *Heil Hitler* when they came into his cell. This was partly due to the extraordinary magnetism of his personality, and to his political martyrdom, which found a wide acclaim across many varied sections of the community. He received favoured treatment, which included freedom to accept gifts of food from outside, and this again gave him a further hold over his warders. It was very easy to say 'take this box of chocolates home to your wife' when he had almost unlimited quantities available. He and Hess had not so much cells as a small suite of rooms forming an apartment. The place looked like a delicatessen store. You could have opened up a flower and fruit and a wine shop with all the stuff stacked there. People were sending presents from all over Germany and Hitler had grown visibly fatter on the proceeds. Frau Bruckmann had been one of the most generous donors, but food supplies and money had also come in from Siegfried and Winifred Wagner, who in 1924 had restarted the Bayreuth Festival and were making collections among their friends for the political prisoners in Landsberg. Winifred Wagner is another of the women whose name has been mentioned in connexion with Hitler, but she again was an older woman, the motherly type, who found some outlet in making a social protégé of him.

"You really must take part in some of the gymnastic exercises and prison sports," I told him. — "No," he said, and the reply was very typical of his mentality, "I keep away from them. It would be bad for discipline if I took part in physical training. A leader cannot afford to be beaten at games." There on the table were Westphalia hams, cakes, brandy and everything one can imagine. It looked like a fantastically well equipped expedition to the South Pole. "If you don't watch out you'll get as fat as old Walterspiel [the massive owner of the Four Seasons Hotel]," I told him. "No," he insisted. "I shall always be able to get the extra pounds off by speaking."

I had taken along a couple of Hanfstaengl books of old-master reproductions of the Pinakothek and Dresden collections, which were accepted with grudging thanks. A recent copy of the German

satirical weekly *Simplicissim* mocking cartoon in colour of Berlin on a white horse, such like Sir Galahad. "There you laugh but I shall get there you are largely optimistic at the time. he kept asking me eagerly. much in favour of a parliament style of Horthy's régime in I give his support it could be a

This was by no means to left Hitler's side while I was his greatest and lasting influence for *Mein Kampf*. Hess was which he added the exasperated chair he was sitting on. He wrote it through his legs, sit on the back of the chair trying to show off. He held to any views other than his own to attention. All Hess could do was to be much more brutal to deal with our enemies," he said and the Bürgerbräu affair was the word 'brutal', which in German and equal stress on both syllables pleasure in the sound of it. He roared the word out at Hess' bond between the two during heard them speak to each other public they did not. Drexler and I heard Hitler do it with, and his war days. Roehm used to tell which did not seem to discourage

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satirical weekly *Simplicissimus* did more to cheer him up. It had a mocking cartoon in colour on the front page, showing Hitler entering Berlin on a white horse, surrounded by admirers, for all the world like Sir Galahad. "There you are," he said, delighted, "they can laugh but I shall get there yet," although his mood was not particularly optimistic at the time. "What are people in Munich saying?" he kept asking me eagerly. I told him that the mood was still very much in favour of a parliamentary monarchy, something after the style of Horthy's régime in Hungary, and that if Rupprecht would give his support it could be achieved with comparatively little effort.

This was by no means to the taste of Hess, who only grudgingly left Hitler's side while I was talking to him. This was the period of his greatest and lasting influence, helping Hitler to collect his ideas for *Mein Kampf*. Hess was another whistler, like Rosenberg, to which he added the exasperating habit of fooling around with the chair he was sitting on. He would sit on it the wrong way round, pass it through his legs, sit on the back, twirl it on one leg, like an amateur acrobat trying to show off. He could not bear to see Hitler exposed to any views other than his own and was always trying to distract attention. All Hess could do was talk in catch-phrases. "We must learn to be much more brutal in our methods. That is the only way to deal with our enemies," he would chant. "A little more of that and the Bürgerbräu affair would have ended differently." He loved the word 'brutal', which in German is pronounced with a rolling 'r' and equal stress on both syllables, and Hitler also seemed to take pleasure in the sound of it. You could almost feel him quicken as he roared the word out at Hess's prompting. There was a very close bond between the two during this period, and for the first time I heard them speak to each other on 'thou' terms, although later in public they did not. Drexler and Eckart were the only other people I heard Hitler do it with, and one or two of the old comrades from his war days. Roehm used to try it on, but he never got thou'd back, which did not seem to discourage him.

For all that, I was extremely worried about the narrowing of his prejudices in Hess's company in gaol, and I made one somewhat forlorn effort in an interview with Rupprecht's adjutant, von Redwitz, to have Hitler amnestied before it was too late. I tried to persuade

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the monarchists that if they placed Hitler under a debt to them, they would be able to exercise a restraining influence on him. On their side, his gifts as a demagogue might well bring the triumph of their cause. I tried to get them to release him with others on the occasion of the approaching tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the Great War on the first of August. As a volunteer he could have qualified. However, I could make no impression. Von Redwitz himself, with whom I had gone to school, was sympathetic enough, but the other members of Rupprecht's entourage were not prepared to take the risk. As it was, Hitler had to stay in gaol until just before Christmas, with only tragic blockheads for company.

It was hinted to me that Hitler was engaged in writing the political biography which, the following year, emerged as the first volume of *Mein Kampf*. At first Hitler used Emil Maurice as his secretary, but Hess soon ousted him, pecking out the pages on a decrepit Remington typewriter. The difficulty was to get it published. The *Völkische Beobachter* had been closed down by the authorities after the Putsch and although the publishing company and offices were still intact under Amann, there was no money coming in. Bills were unpaid and the creditors were about to move in and seize all the office furniture and property and put them up to auction. Amann rang me up one day and begged me to come to see him. I think we met in front of the Munich synagogue and he led me round the corner into the garden at the back, where we walked up and down. The organization was on its last legs, he said, if help was not immediately forthcoming, it would be broken up and dispersed.

Half the manuscript of *Mein Kampf* had been smuggled out from Landsberg gaol and they were in the process of setting it up in type, but if the duns moved in the whole thing would be lost. "You are the only man who can help us, Herr Hanfstaengl. You must do it if you believe in Hitler at all. Otherwise it is the end." I had a great many obligations at the time myself. I had received another instalment from the States, but part of it had gone on helping the families of those killed and injured at the Feldherrnhalle, and I had also made up my mind to move back into Munich and find a house so that I could start living a more normal and profitable life. Amann was so insistent that in the end I gave way. There were about half a dozen

threats—?

notes of hand of three or four of them and backed others. I was not alone in this. I think that Hitler found a function was entirely due to our effort.

The National-Socialist Party decree after the Putsch, although it did very well in the election of the People's Block. This was had gained during his trial a national figure. Riding in on a bicycle actually became the second and obtained thirty-two seats to obtain a measure of control for the Party to be presented and I remember visits. In fact it was at my suggestion that a bomb-manufacturing friend

However, his leadership was acknowledged, while on the other hand he banded themselves together. The loggerheads and the flimsy offices there was a running fight. Hitler himself, led particularly by the backing of Gottfried Feder, along his own less revolutionary line, was playing his own game. They called it and proclaimed that he must lead the Party was ever to be built up. The failure of the Putsch, which was a hasty and ill-organized attempt

More dangerous still was to centre the control of the nation in the advantage of Hitler's absence. To achieve this and bring the Party under his wing he called in a capable man and organizer. I had not had a chemist's shop down in Landshut.

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S.A. battalion which was in fact very much better disciplined and more effective than the group in Munich. Strasser was a gifted organizer and was to play an important, but frequently independent, rôle in the years that followed. Between them Strasser and Ludendorff obtained the adherence of Rosenberg, Hitler's nominated successor, but this only hastened the split in the party, as the anti-Rosenberg faction was growing in strength, led by his three nominal co-regents.

I was in almost constant communication with Hitler through Roder and helped to keep him informed about the intrigues within the Party. It had become clear to me that street marches and demonstrations would get us nowhere and, in advocating a campaign through parliamentary channels, I had found myself, as usual, in opposition to Rosenberg. I had little confidence in any of the lesser lights and kept pointing out that if the movement was to get anywhere in a resuscitated form, it would only be under the leadership of Hitler. One malicious act of Rosenberg's I could not prevent was when he had Goering struck from the roster of the Party, which seemed to me a monstrous piece of pettiness from a man who had come scot free out of the whole affair.

It became clear to Hitler that he could not control these manœuvres from his comfortable gaol and in July he smuggled out a letter formally dissociating himself from this internecine brawl and in effect resigning the leadership of the Party. His sound political intuition had told him that the best thing to do was to let the various factions fight and avoid drawing too much attention to himself for the time being. A moderate government of the Bavarian People's Party under Dr. Heinrich Held had assumed political power and von Losow had been superseded by General von Kressenstein. In fact it was being seriously considered whether Hitler should not be expelled to his native Austria on his release. We know now that he was not repatriated only because the Austrian Government would not have him. By the time he got out, the Party wheel had come full circle and he was acclaimed as the only man capable of putting the pieces together again. From that time on his position was never seriously challenged.

The day he left Landsberg, he came to my new Munich home in

the Pienzenauer Strassion had been forwarded received the last payment America and had beer Herzog Park quarter. after all these years I rebuilt it and the studio

He arrived about half he was so proud, strain on in Landsberg. Egon so glad to see you again hand as we walked down the studio and before I Hitler, who seemed to be "Hanfstaengl, play me So down I sat and ham and Isolde, with Liszt's trick. He relaxed. My apologizing again for the over our new little day he was somehow jealous

First we made small tone which was one person yours in the Gentsstrasse again in a fine house feudal acquaintance I repeating the phrase again It was the most fashion over his shoulder and apologized ruefully, "tell someone to be listening of the psychological effect

We had prepared a rich Austrian pastries drinking at all, so there his reach. In fact it was vegetarian eating habit

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the Pienzenauer Strasse for a quiet celebration dinner. The invitation had been forwarded through Roder. I had in the meantime received the last payment on the liquidated Hanfstaengl interests in America and had been able to buy this very attractive house in the Herzog Park quarter. It had a huge studio and much charm, and after all these years I am now living in it again, although we have rebuilt it and the studio has disappeared.

He arrived about half past six, in the little blue serge suit of which he was so proud, straining at the buttons with the weight he had put on in Landsberg. Egon was with me to greet him at the door. "I am so glad to see you again, Uncle Dolf," he said and Hitler took his hand as we walked down the corridor. I had a big concert grand in the studio and before I could gather my wits or offer any hospitality, Hitler, who seemed tense and wound up, said, almost pleadingly: "Hanfstaengl, play me the Liebestod." It was one of my party pieces. So down I sat and hammered out this tremendous thing from Tristan and Isolde, with Lisztian embellishments, and it seemed to work the trick. He relaxed. My wife came in and he was charming to her, apologizing again for the scene at Uffing a year earlier and crooning over our new little daughter Hertha. In his curious frustrated way he was somehow jealous of me for having such a good-looking wife.

First we made small talk. "Well now," he said in that diffident tone which was one part of his character, "after that little flat of yours in the Gentzstrasse who would have thought we would meet again in a fine house in the best part of town. You are the most feudal acquaintance I have." He was most impressed and kept repeating the phrase about the feine Gegend, which indeed it was. It was the most fashionable part of Munich. Suddenly he looked over his shoulder and stopped in mid-sentence. "I am sorry," he apologized ruefully, "that is the effect of prison. You always expect someone to be listening," and he launched into a graphic description of the psychological effect of the peep-hole in the prison door.

We had prepared a real welcome dinner, turkey, followed by the rich Austrian pastries that he loved. I noticed that he was hardly drinking at all, so there was no need to keep the sugar castor out of his reach. In fact it was about this time that he started to develop the vegetarian eating habits which later became so marked. It may have

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started with the necessity of dieting off his extra poundage, but as usual he made a personal issue of it. "If I feel that meat and alcohol are damaging to my system I hope at least I have enough will power to do without them however much I enjoy them," he used to say. But there was nothing wrong with his appetite that evening.

After dinner he started warming up, striding up and down the room like a soldier, hands clasped behind his back. He was never much of a man for sitting down. Somehow he got back on to the subject of the war again and we discovered that his powers of mimicry did not only cover the human voice. He was describing some recollection of the Western Front and started imitating an artillery barrage. He could reproduce the noise of every imaginable gun, German, French or English, the howitzers, the 75's, the machine-guns, separately and all at once. With that tremendous voice of his we really went through about five minutes of the Battle of the Somme and what the neighbours must have thought I cannot imagine. Fortunately the windows were closed and there was quite a large garden surrounding the house. As an encouragement to his morale I had just given him as a homecoming present an autographed document signed by Frederick the Great, which had come down through my family. "Don't forget how even *der alte Fritz* sat on a drum chewing his nails after the Battle of Hochkirch, wondering what on earth he was going to do next," I tried to encourage him. His eyes brightened. You could almost feel the head of steam building up.

Suddenly he launched into a great political tirade. To my horror he spouted a still further distilled essence of all the nonsense that Hess and Rosenberg had been concocting. All those ridiculous prejudices of little infantry minds, incapable of appreciating the balance of world forces and concentrating instead on the internecine conflicts of purely Continental war and politics. "We shall reach the decision in France," Hitler screamed. "We will reduce Paris to rubble. We must break the chains of Versailles." Oh! my God, I thought, Paris in ruins, the Louvre, all those art treasures gone. Each time Hitler got into this mood I felt almost physically sick.

He seemed to have come out of Landsberg with all his worst prejudices reinforced. I am sure that this is the point at which his

latent radical tendencies star still years to go before he became unapproachable fanatic who power. The year he spent in to sit back and take a broad given those imprisoned with li within their own confined li even more specific racial und his mind with fury about the Ruhr during the occupation, not the starting-point of the finally evolved. They would them and, to bolster their a sources as Bernard Shaw, w necessity of breeding human have developed in the domest the advantage of a full beard, all the time and that it was n Hitler only had his little mou he took himself seriously and with him.

That was bad enough but v which Hess had succeeded in j thesis of getting the Russians t Japanese, who were German; so on. America had simply be right back to where I started. part in this. He was not re; absorb any of the informatio merely regarded America as p was controlled by the Jews, therefore he could not take th reach and not an immediate p he was right back in the poli the Great and Clausewitz. He was juggling with the idea of j into an ally for his day of re

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latent radical tendencies started to crystallize, although there were still years to go before he became the unteachable, unreasonable and unapproachable fanatic whom the world knows from his days of power. The year he spent in Landsberg, instead of giving him time to sit back and take a broader view of political problems, had only given those imprisoned with him an opportunity to narrow his mind within their own confined limits. His anti-Semitism had acquired even more specific racial undertones. Between them, they had filled his mind with fury about the French use of Senegalese troops in the Ruhr during the occupation, and I am not at all sure that this was not the starting-point of the racial purity laws which the Nazis finally evolved. They would pick these ideas up and embroider on them and, to bolster their arguments, even quote such respected sources as Bernard Shaw, who was not averse to advocating the necessity of breeding human beings according to the standards we have developed in the domestic animal world. Of course G.B.S. had the advantage of a full beard, so that no one could see he was smiling all the time and that it was not necessary to take him seriously. But Hitler only had his little moustache and he was taken seriously and he took himself seriously and the whole thing became an obsession with him.

That was bad enough but what really worried me was the way in which Hess had succeeded in pumping his head full of the Haushofer thesis of getting the Russians to be knocked out a second time by the Japanese, who were Germany's only possible ally in the world and so on. America had simply been banished from his mind and I was right back to where I started. In a way the racial obsession played a part in this. He was not really anti-American. He had failed to absorb any of the information I had kept trying to give him and merely regarded America as part of the Jewish problem. Wall Street was controlled by the Jews, America was run by the Jews, and therefore he could not take them into account. They were out of his reach and not an immediate problem. As *Mein Kampf* was to show, he was right back in the politico-military conceptions of Frederick the Great and Clausewitz. He thought only in European terms and was juggling with the idea of making England or, failing that, Italy, into an ally for his day of reckoning with France. It was just as if

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the man who really turned the tide of war, Pershing, and his millions of fresh troops transported across the Atlantic had simply not existed. Nor did it occur to him that in another war the same miracle of amphibious organization could be repeated, even faster and even more to Germany's disadvantage.

When he calmed down I started to reason with him. I was one of the few people to whom he would listen, perfectly reasonably and soberly, when we were alone, although he never gave an indication whether he agreed with one or not, or what he proposed to do about it. The moment another person was present Hitler would revert to his declamatory platform style, and it became impossible to try and make him see something in a new light. "It is no good," I told him, "you have got to get rid of this fellow Rosenberg," and I showed him one of the old articles in the *Völkische Beobachter*, in which there were no less than fourteen grammatical errors. Rosenberg was intrinsically illiterate, carried along by his ridiculous Nordic race resentments. "In another fifty years this mythos of his may be recognized as one of the great masterpieces of philosophy," said Hitler. "It is tripe," I insisted, "and tripe remains tripe." I really did talk to him like this, any number of witnesses will confirm it. "If you fold a piece of paper over an ink blot no one is going to mistake it in fifty years for a Rembrandt. Rosenberg is a dangerous and stupid man and the sooner you get rid of him the better." As events turned out I might just as well have been talking to a brick wall.

Another quirk Hitler had developed was a passionate dislike of the officer class. First Lossow, then Ludendorff and somehow Goering got included in the condemnation. He would never trust any of them again, he said, and embroidered great plans for so building up the brownshirts that they would swamp and neutralize the *Reichswehr*. It may seem far-fetched, but I have a private theory that the lunatic contempt and suspicion which Hitler later showed for his generals and field-m Marshals had its roots in this 1923 Putsch. He never lost his wildly romantic ideas about the rôle of the Army, but the officers he never trusted again. "As far as I am concerned I will never believe an officer's word of honour in my life," I remember him saying that evening. "One of these days these gentlemen will know how I feel about them."

The other strong impression of the emotional quality of the friend "Ach, mein Rudi, mein Hesse" down. "Isn't it appalling to released from Landsberg until I see the last of them is out." I a physical homosexual relation way the attraction was there. of either. You can drink very you can suffer from very dilemmas emotions and in the science of long way to go before tracking.

I felt Hitler was a case of a fowl, neither fully homosexual very rootlessness of his background a situation and his intuitively petty personal jealousies of his sexual isolation. You could never thing or that thing, it was all mediumistic. He had these people from Roehm and Heines on them and seemed to have no sense of Ernst, another homosexual S.A. would only need a few words political reasons, he started to Perhaps that is why he was shot.

From watching Hitler and the firm conviction that he was a type. To adopt scientific jargon complex, which often ends up stupid, petty, brutal, small-time adored his mother. Hitler's reputation from the time when he caught the time I knew him, I do not relations with any woman. He was reaction to their physical proximity identified with various women.

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The other strong impression he left me with that evening was the emotional quality of the friendship that had developed with Hess. "Ach, mein Rudi, mein Hesserl," he wailed as he stomped up and down. "Isn't it appalling to think he's still there. [Hess was not released from Landsberg until later.] I will not be a happy man until I see the last of them is out." It is probably not true to say there was a physical homosexual relationship between the two, but in a passive way the attraction was there. I certainly did not trust the manhood of either. You can drink very weak tea, or very thin absinthe and you can suffer from very diluted sex-inversion. These are border emotions and in the science of sexual derangement we still have a long way to go before tracking them down.

I felt Hitler was a case of a man who was neither fish, flesh nor fowl, neither fully homosexual nor fully heterosexual. Somehow the very rootlessness of his background, his very capacity for balancing out a situation and his intuitive gift of always remaining above the petty personal jealousies of his supporters were all a reflection of his sexual isolation. You could never pin him down, say that he was this thing or that thing, it was all floating, without roots, intangible and mediumistic. He had these people of unsavoury habits round him, from Roehm and Heines on the one side to Rosenberg on the other, and seemed to have no sense of moral displeasure at their behaviour. Ernst, another homosexual S.A. leader, hinted in the 'thirties that it would only need a few words from him to silence Hitler when, for political reasons, he started to complain about Roehm's behaviour. Perhaps that is why he was shot as well.

From watching Hitler and talking to those near him, I had formed the firm conviction that he was impotent, the repressed, masturbating type. To adopt scientific jargon for a moment, he had an Oedipus complex, which often ends up that way. He had hated his father, a stupid, petty, brutal, small-time, provincial customs inspector, and adored his mother. Hitler's repressed homosexuality probably dated from the time when he caught syphilis in Vienna about 1908. From the time I knew him, I do not suppose he had orthodox sexual relations with any woman. He was probably incapable of a normal reaction to their physical proximity. In due course he did become identified with various women and the case of his niece Geli Raubal

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American. He started giving Hitler a great pep-talk about how he must start anew and how great his chances were, and so on. After this tirade Hitler was in his modest mood again: "*Ach, Herr Professor*," he said (he still had the petty bourgeois complex of addressing any man of some attainment with a title of some sort), "that is all very good advice, but you must never forget how terribly difficult it is for someone without a name or position or academic qualifications, to work himself up to the position where his name is identified with a political programme. You underrate all the bitter hard work involved." And then turning to me he added: "Perhaps, after all, Hanfstaengl, this Putsch was a good thing, at least no one can say I am unknown now, and that gives us a basis to start on again."

For the benefit of the new guest, he started giving a long explanation of his reasons for organizing the Putsch, the imminent danger of the separatist movements, the disorganization and disunity, the need to restore German pride and prestige, and then, coming to the point, almost musing to himself: "What else could we have done? The *Beobachter* was almost in the hands of the receivers and we had no money. There was simply no money left in the Party. What else could we be expected to do? We had to do something." He looked up at my wife: "It has all been a terrible disappointment, dear Frau Hanfstaengl, but the next time I promise you I will not fall off the tight-rope."

1924-25

HITLER A.

CHAPTER VII

HITLER AND HENRY VIII

A revision of Mein Kampf—No waltzes for the Führer—Ludendorff for President—The return of Rosenberg—A world tour rejected—The scaffold block at the Tower—Hitler on his knees—Forced repayment of a debt.

FOR A FEW weeks, Hitler seemed to be trying to get his political bearings. He visited us again before the turn of the year and I impressed upon him the absolute necessity of reaching some sort of *modus vivendi* with Heinrich Held, the head of the new Bavarian Government. "Unless you can persuade him that the Party has moderated its views, they will simply ban it for good," I told him. "You have got to remember that Bavaria is predominantly Catholic. You will never get anywhere by constantly offending them or letting Rosenberg loose again with his diatribes in print. You have reached the parting of the ways with Ludendorff, and if you can reassure Held on this point it will make a very good impression." A few days later, to my surprise, Hitler called again and said that he had in fact seen Held, had had a friendly half-hour's conversation with him and hoped for the best. He must have been unusually persuasive as within a couple of months the Party was legally permitted to reconstitute itself.

I had a little study in the Pienzenauer house where I used to work. There was no central heating, and the big studio cost such a fortune to warm that I spent most of my time in this cubby-hole. It was full of books and I had hung up a few pictures and photographs on the wall. One of them was a portrait of Mussolini, which I had put there more as a warning than anything else, with his eyes rolling and looking like a ham actor playing Othello. It also made nonsense of his claim to be a Lombard of ancient ancestry. You could see he was two-thirds Moorish. There was also a Hanfstaengl print of a Van Gogh sunflower, which I had persuaded my brother, much against

his will, to include in our cat ahead of public taste, although most popular reproductions and did not like it. "The colours are he liked the Mussolini portrait as conducting.

Roehm was up there with u asked him along to get Hitler a a real emperor's head," said Hit "He looks like Tiberius, one of Roehm was much less impressed thick Bavarian accent, "the ma never make a Fascist out of me. a Bavarian monarchist." I look joking and I never forgot his re wondered whether Hitler had re For a short period it really s listen to the voice of reason, as seriously considered giving most this unpredictable genius. Politic Party had yet to be reactivated le public speeches, the Central G Schacht's new mark had cured i of their most effective argumer himself on his nationalist allies. "We must have 100,000 marks, be built up again." His chief hoj manuscript of which was now c making him beholden to the brother Edgar the book was avai while of our firm to acquire th political biographies and I sug profitable title to have on our li servative business man, turned indicative of the way a great ma failure of the Bürgerbräu Putsch. By this time Amann's people

July
or June
or Smith

'You'??

ave taken "You" from a

ever meet him again in

ing! I never spoke to him,
y a few doors away on the
Blütengasse.

e Blütengasse.

ne, Linz isn't as big as all
as I never saw him.'

l to see Hitler during this
h hours, will emerge in the

ler's school reports and the
v-pupils, it is clear that his
r below it. And this was not
because he was excessively
: it, particularly in drawing;
ubjects'. But as regards his
years after Hitler left the
rings which had been taken
in the drawing-room. Even
there. There were none of
ndicate that, though Hitler's
aughtsman, he was not, in

toriously inadequate as an
conclusions, scanty though
y the full list of marks and

comments for each subject and year of Hitler's schooling which Konrad Heiden supplied in his book. A much more reliable basis for an assessment of Hitler's character in those years would be the letters and postcards which he wrote to various people and of which many are known to have been preserved.

As it is, the facts about Hitler as a secondary school boy are less well known than they should be owing to his attempts in *Mein Kampf* to make political capital out of this period of his life and to the mistake repeatedly made by his biographers of accepting his statements as the truth.

Hitler wrote of his time at secondary school as follows:

'When I look back after so many years and examine the results of this period, I see two salient facts: Firstly, I became a Nationalist. Secondly, I learned to grasp and understand the meaning of history. . . . I became a fanatical German-Nationalist . . . and history became my favourite subject.'

We have seen, however, that at any rate to one of his classmates Hitler appeared no more Nationalist than the rest of the boys, and indeed it speaks little for his alleged school-boy enthusiasm for the cause of pan-Germanism that he gave its battle-song in *Mein Kampf* as '*Deutschland über Alles*' whereas in fact it was '*Die Wacht am Rhein*'!

Even more fantastic was Hitler's assertion that after two years' study under Professor Pötsch he already, at the age of fifteen, 'understood the meaning of history'.

Hitler himself seemed to realize the arrogance of the claim and perhaps eulogized his former teacher in the hope that the latter would return the compliment and confirm that it was under his aegis that the boy, Adolf, had learned the meaning of world history. But Pötsch refrained, and wisely, for in *Mein Kampf* Hitler made the ridiculous assertion that the key to history lay in the racial struggle.

Further light was cast on Hitler's historical knowledge in 1949 when in a speech to the Reichstag he trumpeted to the

* D. 12 The key to history lies in the struggle between the D.K. and the O.D. and their relations, comprising mutual betrayal, joint committees, and occasional

(111)
perhaps
one night
was
as they
go in
and
out of
the
way
and
woman
who
are
active
clowns.

*

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- (c) 'In the purely cultural and artistic field, the Austrian State was also showing signs of decadence . . . particularly in architecture.'
- (d) 'I was convinced that this State would hamper and restrict every truly great German.'
- (e) 'I was revolted by the conglomeration of races in the capital, revolted by the mixture of Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Serbs and Croats etc., while thrusting up like mushrooms were the eternal dividers of Mankind—Jews and again Jews.'
- (f) 'The Austria of those days was like an ancient mosaic . . . a single blow and it would shatter in a thousand pieces.'
- (g) 'The new style of architecture could never have much success in Austria, at least in Vienna, because since the development of the Ringstrasse the expenditure on building had been negligible compared with the plans being made in Germany . . . I hoped one day to make a name for myself as an architect.'
- (h) 'I was impatient to know the happiness of living and striving in the place whence the realization of my most ardent and heartfelt wish was destined to come: the union of my beloved home with the common Fatherland, the German Reich. For all these reasons, the longing grew in me to seek out the place for which I had yearned in secret since the early days of my youth.'

These reasons Hitler summarized on page 179 of *Mein Kampf*: 'I left Austria first and foremost for political reasons. . . .'

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No less than four pages of *Mein Kampf* are devoted to the full statement of Hitler's motives in leaving Austria and the reason is clear: the real motive, namely that he was a deserter fleeing from the law, had to be concealed at all costs for he knew well enough that no politician with such a background would gain a hearing in Germany and particularly in Bavaria. The guilty secret might have come out at Hitler's trial for high treason in 1924 and, if it had, his reputation would have been damaged beyond repair. But the court accepted his uncorroborated statement that he had

been living in Munich since 1912.

? 1924 1800s

habitual response" to all of the state was encouraged and idealized in popular history, derided the Great and Bismarckification.⁴¹ strikingly in two respects persistent characteristic of and America, has been an ethical extremes. From the Halifax in the 17th century, political practitioners of the political party—English and parliamentary government In Germany, by contrast, comes—from the exaltation Hegel to the revolutionary destroy all traditional forms

rent conception of the nation-building political theorists as Thomas Jefferson, the state (particular creation failed) is had the right to abolish state, was the master. The full words:

are instituted among men government becomes destructive people to alter or abolish it, such Principles . . . as to their Safety and Happiness.

theorists rejected democracy to the Western tradition. ous that it could not have been created by the unchangeable Providence. Thus the Romantics, proclaimed the end and Jefferson—that "the individual" but for its

ary political theorist was D. He wrote and lectured about his climax during the state became virtually the

official faith of all German political theorists. Hegelianism conquered key positions in every field of thought: political theory, ethics, philosophy, aesthetics, historiography. For decades none but Hegel's disciples occupied chairs of philosophy and political economy in all the universities of Prussia.⁴²

Hegel's writings are difficult, abstruse, often incomprehensible to all but the initiate. About one thing, however, he is very clear indeed: the state must be revered above all institutions. For it is no mere human creation—it is an act of God. Indeed, it is "the movement of God through history" and the "institutionalization of God." In Hegel's special formulation—the Hegelian dialectic—the state is the higher *synthesis* which evolves from the clash of *thesis* and *antithesis*. The state synthesizes individual will and collective will, power and justice; it combines both moral right and physical force, freedom and authority. In fact, according to Hegel, freedom can fully exist only in a national state, and only in the state can moral purpose be fulfilled: "The State is the true embodiment of mind and spirit. And only in it . . . [does] the individual share in truth, real existence and ethical status."

D.T. to A.H.

The state is not a means to an end, as in Locke and Jefferson; rather, it has its own moral end. But what the true nature of this purpose is very difficult to get from Hegel, for his mysticism leads to mystification:

The State is the reality of the moral idea—the moral spirit as the revealed will apparent to itself, substantial, which thinks and knows itself and accomplishes that which it knows and insofar as it knows it.

because it is not in the end an "act of God" but the result of such an act after the 1800 was cultivated

As Ralf Dahrendorf well asked, what is really meant by all this, what is being said here? Who and what is the state? It is difficult to tell, for the state is beyond comprehension, hence beyond rational criticism. And from that point it is not a long step to the conclusion reached by latter-day Hegelians that "the State can do no wrong."⁴³

Hegel's emphasis on the *Gemeinschaft* shows his indebtedness to the political Romantics. Apart from the state, people have no moral meaning and no political form. They are a shapeless mass until welded into "the community of the state."

The flavor of Hegel and the intensity of his adoration of the state are best conveyed in his own words:

The State is divine will . . . the State therefore knows what it wants, knows it in its generality as thought, and it acts therefore according to purpose. . . .

One should therefore revere the State as something divine upon earth [*irdischgöttliches*] and realize that if it is hard to understand nature, it is immeasurably more difficult to grasp the State.

H. Itt. lower their one

Hegel is saying the State is not the child of the church but the Guardian of the Church, its more powerful sibling.

ch he stuck to everything he had once accepted
ie Nationalist ideology became his political
ied an unalterable element of his nature. No
ack would change him. He remained till his
had been at sixteen — a Nationalist.

d firmly fixed before his eyes, he observed and
isting political conditions. Nothing was too
he gave his attention to even the most trivial
k a stand in regard to everything — the less it
a, the more heatedly. He made up for the
ance of his own existence by taking an inter-
ic affairs, thus giving aim and direction to his
: things. With all his all-embracing interests,
ch against him, and he saw everywhere only
ostility. And yet, nobody had ever heard of
ies I was even sorry for him. With his un-
what a happy life he could have led; and how
ade things for himself! He was always up
ing and at odds with the world. Just that
ee spirit which distinguishes most young peo-
alien to him. I never saw him take anything
ing had to be thoroughly studied and tested
ld fit into his great political design. Tradi-
litical sense, meant nothing to him. To sum
I had to be radically changed in all its aspects.

be wrong to conclude that the young Hitler
heart and soul into the political struggle of
le, sickly, lanky youth, quite unknown and
in the ways of the city, shy and reticent rather
he carried on this intense activity all on his
e most important ideas and solutions, that
ience, would he propound in the evening to
insignificant and lonely figure. The young
nship to politics is similar to his attitude to
' be permitted this rather indelicate compari-

son. The more intensely he was intellectually occupied with
politics, the more did he refrain from taking part in prac-
tical, political activity. He did not join any party or organi-
zation, did not take part in party manifestations, and took
care not to spread his own ideas outside of our friendship.
What I noticed then in him in Linz — to stick to my meta-
phor — may be described as a first ogling with politics,
nothing more, as though he had had a presentiment of what
politics would come to mean to him.

For the time being, politics remained for him only an
exercise in the realm of ideas. This striking reticence shows
a trait in his character that seems to contradict his impatience
— his ability to wait. Politics remained for him for some
years a matter of watching, of criticising social conditions, of
study, gathering experience; it remained a matter private to
himself, and consequently without any importance for the
public life of that day.

It is interesting to note that the young Hitler in those
years was strongly opposed to everything military. This seems
to be contradicted by a passage in *Mein Kampf*.

*While going through my father's library, I came across
several books on military subjects, among them a popular
edition of the history of the Franco-German War, 1870-1871;
two volumes of an illustrated magazine of those years now
became my favourite reading, and before long this heroic
struggle had become my greatest intellectual experience.
From now on, I grew increasingly enthusiastic for everything
that had anything to do with war or soldiers.*

I suspect that this recollection owes its existence to the
circumstances of his imprisonment in Landsberg, where his
book was written; for when I knew Adolf Hitler, he was
utterly averse to "anything to do with war or soldiers." Of
course he was annoyed by the young lieutenants who flut-

* D.T. The mark of our people is that
they lie with more conviction,
more elegance, and with more, yes, 'honour'

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1924
1900-2
7

pure politics, they cling to the truth.
*
1924
position

1974?

revolution sought to dispel the boredom of their idle court existence with the new revolutionary ideas. But when I saw that the raw plebs, the Jan Hagels, were beginning to discuss the very same topics in their grimy symposia, where wax candles and girandoles were replaced by tallow and oil lamps, [when the old ideal of his youth] began to stink of cheese, brandy, and tobacco: then suddenly my eyes were opened, and what I had not understood by my reason, I now understood by my sense of smell, by nausea and discomfort. . . . We shall gladly sacrifice ourselves for the people; self-sacrifice is among our subtlest pleasures — the emancipation of the people was the great task of our life, for it we have struggled and borne nameless misery, at home as in exile — but . . . I would wash my hand if the sovereign people honored me with its handshake.

1700?
Alt.
* The 'trahison des clercs,' the betrayal by the intellectuals, as a French philosopher a hundred years later called it! Public life — all life in a sense — began to look questionable. In opposition to Hegel, a gloomy prophet arose: Arthur Schopenhauer. Hegel had taught that the essence of all things was world reason and that every event was an act of its self-realization. Schopenhauer angrily replied that the center of all things is the most irrational thing conceivable, the blind will, the desire, the urge. It lay at the base of all happenings in nature, and since it could never achieve fulfillment, its existence was suffering without end; the function of reason was to recognize this tragedy and put an end to the suffering by putting an end to the will, that is, to life. 'Every human life as a whole,' he wrote, 'shows the qualities of a tragedy, and we see that life, in general, consists only of hopes gone astray, thwarted plans, and errors recognized too late.' Consequently, life is 'something which better were not; a sort of delusion, knowledge of which should remove us from it.'

The corner of this sad world in which Arthur Schopenhauer spent his earthly existence, or, as he would have said, his existence subject to the will, was an upper-class house in the city of Frankfurt on the Main. From its high windows he viewed the ships on the Main, the white façades and tall pointed towers of the city, the crowd in the narrow medieval streets, and, in language ringing with the fury of the prophets, painted the emptiness of human

striving and the beauties of absolute life. At one o'clock struck from the near-by cathedral, goosequill, took up a walking-stick with a little old man with a waxy apelike countenance, a well-known actor — to the Swan Hotel, where he consumed the finest foods. He expressed the wish that a wise man would succeed in boring a hole through enough powder into it to blow the whole of the ruinous expression of human nature. 'sexual desire,' he maintained, 'particular love by fixation on a particular woman' — the swindles of this noble world: it is infinitely, immeasurably much, and deliverance.

As for human progress, the greater the Schopenhauer would not even have understood it. He was interested only in the possibility of things (or behind the veil of Maya, as he called the individual mind. To him the world spirit, by Hegel, was only 'the bandit Buonarroti.' The history were just an accumulation of crimes, arrogated to itself an heroic or spiritual existence, questionably a swindling pretext for crime — murder — he expressly had Jews and Christians.

In his lifetime, Schopenhauer remained a German Hegelian generation, and this was his embitterment. But over the succeeding generations of death swept like a tidal wave, washing away faith in world reason. Amid all its miseries, all its vigor, the educated German bourgeoisie of Schopenhauer's grim, sullen wisdom: nothing!

In dealing with the influence of Schopenhauer on us, we do not mean that these men determined our fate. They are what Hegel might have called 'world spirit'; they understood the laughter of the world and expressed it with great

* But it is not blind. It is inspired. When my will is clear to me, so do I also know that it is God's will and He is close to me.
D.T. Amen!

(1924)

Diese Geheimlehre ruht nun in der Ursprache als der Mysteriumssprache unseres Ariogermanentums und mit vorliegendem Buche biete ich dazu den Schlüssel. Wer diesen zu gebrauchen befähigt ist, dem steht der Hehre Tempel der Ariothesiosur der Geheimlehre offen und er trete ein als deren Hierophant!

Ich biete mit diesem Werke das Höchste, Heiligste, was seit langen Jahrhunderten geboten wurde, die Verkündigung der ario-germanischen Götter-Morgen-Dämmerung; — der Starke von Oben, er ist im Heraufstieg!

III Ariothesiosur III

"The strong one from above, he is ascending!" From the preface of List's *Original Language of the Aryo-Germans*

1898
According to List, the longed-for popular Germanic leader, the "strong one from above," would reign as a god-man, without being subject to any law. The heroic prince could be recognized by leaving each battle as the victor. The "strong man from above" was always right, for he was in harmony with natural forces and appeared even in old legends as the Germans' savior. He could never be wrong. He was sure to attain the "final victory."

Those familiar with List's theory about the "strong man from above" being recognizable in his victories, understands Hitler's seemingly absurd sentence: *If Genghis Khan really was the great man as whom history portrays him, then he was an Aryan and not a Mongol!*⁴⁸ This remark alone proves that Hitler was very well informed about List's theory regarding an infallible and invincible "Aryan" savior.

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Hitler's well-known, obstinate refusal ever to admit a mistake, his conviction to be infallible, might well be traced back to this belief. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler wrote that a leader who recognizes his weltanschauung to be false should renounce the public exercise of any further political activity. For since in matters of basic knowledge he has once succumbed to an error, there is a possibility that this will happen a second time.⁴⁹ According to List, such an error would be proof that he is not the "strong man from above," after all.

Thus List's theory concerning an Aryo-Germanic leader, the "invincible one" prophesied in the days of old, was probably at least an early step toward Hitler's later Führer cult. In *Mein Kampf* he construed the necessary prehistory, a clear, organically grown and never contradictory

→ While writing MK, he debates the putch w himself — a minor error he decided of tactics which he had turned into a triumph.

"weltanschauung" early on—to maintain this claim was part of his traces in Vienna. His friend, for example, would have contradicted him straightforward, while the "strong one from above."

After 1933 and his government had been considered inconceivable, chosen must have been strengthened with this "strong man from above" confidence of a sleepwalker that this omnipotent power has blessed human beings can no longer destroy. I believe I can say: That we had not guided us, I often wish.

The self-assurance with which he adventured in the thirties might have been removed from reality. His later wrote about the years leading to winning in roulette who can't see the system which allows him to make break the bank."⁵³ Apparently he entered into his certainty in April 1945 to Frederick the Great's conviction.

List may have given additional chosen. He suggested that remnant been preserved in faraway areas, in Lower Austria, in the valleys of The Kamp flows through Waldviertel from.

Yet this illusion or this autostereotype such as had been prophesied. The teachings of Gustave Le Bon, which Hitler had perused during his youth, played a role. Le Bon wrote about the "great belief, that is the special task of the race, they themselves have become fascinated by their belief lends their words great strength." Such a charismatic leader would first believe before he could dare move them.

* These problems writing of Mein Kampf

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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

wrote. "Someday my name will be associated with the memory of something monstrous [*Ungeheures*]." ⁶⁷

That one of the most brilliant and creative minds of the 19th century was appropriated by the Nazis—who grossly distorted his thought—is one of the tragedies of intellectual history. One may well agree with Albert Camus: "We shall never finish making reparation for the injustice done to him." ⁶⁸ Yet Nietzsche himself bears heavy responsibility for that injustice and for helping to create the monstrosity he would have abhorred. He was distorted because he was eminently distortable.

Nietzsche's real meaning was often, as he said, "hidden behind a mask"—stated obliquely or in poetic images. There are parts of his message, however, that come through with glaring clarity. In particular he loathed Christianity and all it stood for. In a work he gloried in calling *The Antichrist*, he wrote, "I call Christianity the one great curse, the one innermost perversion. . . . I call it the one immortal blemish of mankind. . . . One does well to put on gloves when reading the New Testament—the proximity of so much filth almost forces one to do this. . . . I regard Christianity as the most fatal, seductive lie that has yet existed." To him, Christianity was a kind of defense mechanism used by the ineffectual and the cowardly, who, in their weakness, proclaimed meekness a virtue. It was, he said, the means by which "the weak take revenge on the strong . . . the morality of slaves." It is not the meek who will inherit Nietzsche's earth; it is the powerful, the ruthless, the hard. Not only did he despise the morality of Christianity, he also accused it of spreading "the poison" of the doctrine of human equality in the sight of God. ⁶⁹

Nietzsche also mounted a frontal and sustained attack on many other things dear to the Western world. Indeed, his was the heaviest assault ever made by a first-class mind from within the gates of Western civilization. With blazing contempt he attacked those who believed that freedom can be gained through constitutions and the rule of law: "The human being who has become free . . . spits on the contemptible type of well-being dreamed of by shopkeepers, Christians, cows, females, Englishmen, and other democrats. The free man is a warrior." ⁷⁰

To Nietzsche, the whole concept of democracy was a disaster. It mouthed the stupidity "Everyone is equal to everyone else," and that meant "At bottom we are one and all self-seeking cattle and mob." He indicted democracy as a confession of the decadence of man consummating his diminution (*Verkleinerung*), mediocrity (*Vermittelmässigkeit*), and degradation of value (*Wert-Erniedrigung*). Over and over again he repeats the phrase "parliamentary drivel" (*Blödsinn*). ⁷¹

Nietzsche challenged the youth of Germany to surpass the democratic herd and become Supermen or Overmen (*Übermenschen*). Since it was never very clear what he meant by the concept, many different aspirants could claim membership in this elite. In one regrettable passage, later appropriated by the Nazis, he had talked of "the magnificent blond beast, roaming wantonly in search of prey and victory."

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*A. H. reading Nietzsche on Anti-Christ.
He is absolutely right, but such ideas, if you are a serious man, must be left to the last until you are ready to strike.
Only a fool, at no matter what high level, always reveals his heart to all. Nietzsche knew his only chance for immortality was to not mention such because after all, politically speaking, he knew he would never go anywhere. He was*

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and

Nietzsche's defenders have but the concept as racial, and t Nevertheless, the words easily

Though he almost certain ethic for aggression and ex pty, as well as his call for t tionale for aggression in b Nietzsche should not be mali; has written, neither should he honorable thinker, neither l and he sometimes meant pr Lukács argued, Nietzsche gav exploitation and ruthless bruta Nietzsche:

The beast of prey and t be very healthy and devel

They shall become bette humans [*Menschen-ähnli*

Hitler's New Order woul prophecy fulfilled. In place c called explicitly for a

New Order . . . One Will ening individual Will . . . spun out comedy of little willedness [*Vielwollerei*]. next century will bring tl [*Erde-Herrschaft*]; the ur; Zwang zur grossen Politih

Nietzsche longed for the c the "Master of the Masses" (H. "new philosophies" of power a concluded, "a new kind of phi will be required." ⁷⁴

Walter Kaufmann and n rightly emphasized that he woi ideology. He despised the anti-excoriated both Treitschke an high praise for the Jews and Christianity. His notebooks sho

Maxim: associate with n swindle.

Willing to assign the future to others. I am not a coward myself. I only chose for immortality was to not mention such because after all, politically speaking, he knew he would never go anywhere. He was

achieve peace and understanding at home. ment in Bavaria nourished the same hopes against Berlin. Even the popular question of a monarchy would for the moment be shelved. on of the majors and murder clubs must be

l Rathenau set out for Genoa. At a confer- rs except the United States, a true peace was

Lloyd George, the British Premier, was its to devise an economic plan as a basis for a the world by economics was a favorite idea of its from Lloyd George in 1922 to Ramsay n 1922, German leaders shared the same faith. ' Rathenau had said. Regretting his part in s, Lloyd George was to spend twenty years , he still clung harshly and firmly to the letter ve to attenuate it by economic understandings. to a German-British front against France; but tring enough for such a policy, and Lloyd

: not politically strong enough in his own on of Genoa was the Bolsheviki, who, led by Chicherin, appeared for the first time at a con-

Genoa Conference, Rathenau, to the amaze- oncluded the Treaty of Rapallo with the Rus-

France's hardness and refusal to compromise, show that Germany, too, could carry on a would have meant something if Russia had ternationally she was almost as impotent as ference ended in formal as well as practical

en a beginning of international conversations. sat at the council table purely in the rôle of a Perhaps Rathenau would be the man to lead the ranks of the great powers?

v! And perhaps tomorrow the savior of Ger- not yet important enough to be in this play; re was his dilemma. Could he wish to see Ger- w? If he was sincere: he could not.

It was at this time that he began to believe in his own God-given mission. It was no accident that — in his own words — he 'learned from the Bible with boundless love how our Lord and Saviour seized his whip,' and marched on Jerusalem. Was not he himself armed with a heavy crocodile whip, marching through the streets of his beloved Munich, which he sometimes called the 'Mecca' of National Socialism? A short time previous, it is true, he had admitted in a chastened mood to his friend Georg Schott: 'All of us are nothing but little Saint Johns. I am waiting for a Christ.' But the period of modesty was drawing to a close. Were not all the signs by which Heaven customarily announces its prophets being fulfilled in him? The fanatical faith of the disciples, the rejoicing of the masses, the hostility or contempt of those in high places — and now wasn't he going through a sort of Golgotha? His Golgotha, to be sure, was nothing more impressive than the month in prison which he wished so fervently to avoid; but before going in, he took leave of his people with the words: 'Two thousand years ago the mob of Jerusalem dragged a man to execution in just this way.'

Then the prison gate closed behind him. For a month he sat furious and silent in Stadelheim near Munich. In this month happened the inevitable: Germany was saved from being saved by a Jew. Right-Wing fanatics, just the common type that believed itself to be an élite, shot Walter Rathenau from a speeding car (June 24, 1922). The measure seemed full. The workers rose in great demonstrations; for a whole day things looked like a new revolution. But the revolution was spent before it began; the movement found no leaders. The counter-revolution, which had crawled into its corner for a moment, emerged and breathed easy. The only tangible result of the revolutionary move was that the Reichstag in Berlin passed a 'Law for the Defense of the Republic' as a supposed curb to extremist agitation on the Right. The gesture was more than feeble. The law led to a few more or less serious prison sentences for agitators who called the state a Jewish republic, the Social Democratic President Friedrich Ebert (without the shadow of justification), a brothel-keeper, and the banner of the republic, a filthy rag. Nowhere in the world would such a law attract attention. But the

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Company, was to supervise the man-
finances and make sure the foreign
was an oppressive and humiliating con-
at least, understandable from the view-
e next few years, Germany flourished

relaxed nerves and settled living con-
at recovery which Hitler had tried

... the
... courts.
... depart-
... against
... terms that
... were well
... and should have been
... certainly weakened the
... had run so far from the fire
... presence of the embarrassed police
... They were seized with religious
... for a parade, and then as they
... which had already surrendered
... The armed bohemians thought
... society was their prerogative of
... and talents—and then they
... court for presiding the
... arresting the sinners and
... threatening to kill men who were
... ravaged lodgings and stealing bank-
... They whined and cursed at their
... even more than Hitler in
... recovered his composure and
... considerably restored his courage.

At first 'I wanted to hear nothing more of this false world'; he
threatened to end his life by voluntary starvation; Anton Drexler,
founder of the party, visited him, and Hitler—not too reluctantly
—let himself be dissuaded.

At the end of February, 1924, he faced a special court with Luden-
dorff, Röhm, Frick, and others. The trial gave him immense pub-
licity and was a scandal in every respect. With a certain truth
Hitler could declare that he had not wanted to leave the
state for he had thought the state was with him. *Fricker*, who had
been to be minister of justice, used his powerful influence to make
the judges incline the scales even more than they normally would
have.

In the presence of these complaisant judges, Hitler regained all
his courage, and his speeches before the court are among his most
impressive. He strove to prove his innocence by insisting that he
had done only what Kahr, Lossow, and Seisser themselves had
wanted. He attempted—and to this he attached far more im-
portance—to explain himself to the world: 'This is my attitude: I
would rather be hanged in a Bolshevist Germany than perish under
the rule of French swords.' *Lossow* appeared as a witness and re-
lated how Hitler for months had pressed him to act, to set up a
military dictatorship. 'Once we take over the government,' Hitler
had said, 'the program will come of itself.' When the chairman of
the court asked Hitler: 'And how did you conceive of things after
that?'—the popular propagandist of our day replied: 'I thought
and the first thing must be an inconceivable wave of propaganda.
'That is a natural action which would have had little to do with
the other problems of the moment. . . . We would at once have
conquered the German nation with a great plebiscite.' But he went
on to indicate that he did have at least a foreign policy: As Leader
of Germany, he would have played England against France. En-
gland, he said, had the single desire to 'balkanize' Europe in order
to create a balance of power on the Continent, 'and prevent her
world position from being threatened. She is not basically an enemy
of Germany. . . . France however, is Germany's explicit enemy.
As England requires the Balkanization of Europe, France requires
the Balkanization of Germany.' Whatever government is at the

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helm in France, its purpose would always be 'to exterminate twenty million Germans and break up Germany into separate states.'

He utilized the occasion to publicize himself in the presence of a hundred attentive reporters from all five continents; and in this he unquestionably succeeded. Lossow had testified that Hitler originally had only wanted to be a 'drummer'; meaning 'at that time Hitler was still modest.'

Hitler replied: 'How small are the thoughts of small men! Believe me, I do not regard the acquisition of a minister's portfolio as a thing worth striving for. I do not hold it worthy of a great man to endeavor to go down in history just by becoming a minister. One might run the risk of being buried beside other ministers. My aim, from the very first day, was a thousand times more than becoming a minister. I wanted to become the destroyer of Marxism. I am going to solve this task, and if I solve it, the title of minister will be an absurdity as far as I am concerned. When I stood for the first time at the grave of Richard Wagner, my heart flowed over with pride that here lay a man who had forbidden any such inscription as: Here lies privy-councillor, music-director, his excellency Baron Richard von Wagner. I was proud that this man and so many men in German history were content to give their names to history, without any titles. It was not from modesty that I wanted to be a drummer in those days. That was the highest aspiration. The rest is a trifle.'

In a gloomy gray suburb of Munich lay an old red-brick structure, its floors and walls in poor repair. It was an officers' training school. In one of its large classrooms the trial was held. It went on for weeks. The unknown stood up and proclaimed to the world: Make no mistake. I am the Leader.

Many times in the course of the trial he was asked directly and indirectly by what right he, a man without origins, title, or virtually any education, arrogated to himself the right to govern Germany, sweeping aside all the generals, presidents, and excellencies. Hitler replied: 'This was not overweening or immodest of me. On the contrary, I am of the opinion that when a man knows he can do a thing, he has no right to be modest. . . . In such questions there are no experts. The art of statecraft is — well, an art, and

you've got to be born to it.' Here no doubt masses speaks more democratically than his ad-braided uniforms — but he is only talking. For he is referring only to himself; and what he

'My standpoint is that the bird must sing. And a man who is born for politics must engage at freedom or in prison, whether he sits in a content himself with a hard bench. . . . The dictator is not compelled; he wills; he is not driven himself forward; there is nothing immodest for a worker to drive himself toward presumptuous of a man with the high forehead through the nights till he gives the. The man who feels called upon to govern a people say: If you want me or summon me, I will co-duty to step forward. . . .'

In conclusion, he informed the judges that that had happened they must honor the future. With unshakable confidence he explained that of the historic moment, despite the temporary state, despite the apparent discomfiture of the herited by rifle fire, the Reichswehr could not an alliance with armed bohemia. For on both same human substance, the same ideology, the social affairs; the men on both sides were intellectuals. And if the reconciliation could no other way, it would have to be done by declared to be inevitable, necessary, an aim arc with his unchanged manner of speech, expressed conviction, he called this reconciling, liberating ardently to be hoped for, the 'great divine justice.'

'I believe that the hour will come when they stand on the street with our swastika banner, who fired upon them. I believe that this blood separate us. When I learned that it was the fired, I had the happy feeling that at least Reichswehr which besmirched itself; the Reich

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us many into separate states.'

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you've got to be born to it.' Here no doubt the Demon from the
masses speaks more democratically than his adversaries in their gold-
braided uniforms — but he is only talking. For in the last analysis
he is referring only to himself; and what he has in mind is power:

'My standpoint is that the bird must sing because he is a bird.
And a man who is born for politics must engage in politics whether
at freedom or in prison, whether he sits in a silken chair or must
content himself with a hard bench. . . . The man who is born to be
a dictator is not compelled; he wills; he is not driven forward; he
drives himself forward; there is nothing immodest about this. Is it
immodest for a worker to drive himself toward heavy labor? Is it
presumptuous of a man with the high forehead of a thinker to
ponder through the nights till he gives the world an invention?
The man who feels called upon to govern a people has no right to
say: If you want me or summon me, I will co-operate. No, it is his
duty to step forward. . . .'

In conclusion, he informed the judges that despite everything
that had happened they must honor the future state power in him.
With unshakable confidence he explained that despite all the moods
of the historic moment, despite the temporary reinforcement of the
state, despite the apparent discomfiture of the Uprooted and Disin-
herited by rifle fire, the Reichswehr could not permanently reject
an alliance with armed bohemia. For on both sides there was the
same human substance, the same ideology, the same attitude toward
social affairs; the men on both sides were and remained armed
intellectuals. And if the reconciliation could be brought about in
no other way, it would have to be done by war, which Hitler de-
clared to be inevitable, necessary, an aim ardently to be desired;
with his unchanged manner of speech, expressing an unchanged
conviction, he called this reconciling, liberating war, this war so
ardently to be hoped for, the 'great divine judgment' to come:

'I believe that the hour will come when the masses, who today
stand on the street with our swastika banner, will unite with those
who fired upon them. I believe that this blood will not always
separate us. When I learned that it was the Green police which
fired, I had the happy feeling that at least it was not the
Reichswehr which besmirched itself; the Reichswehr stands as un-

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tarnished as before. One day the hour will come when the Reichswehr will stand at our side, officers and men. . . .'

Chairman: 'Herr Hitler, you say that the Green police was besmirched. That I cannot permit.'

Hitler: 'The army we have formed is growing from day to day, from hour to hour, and faster. Especially in these days I nourish the proud hope that one day the hour will come when these wild companies will grow to battalions, the battalions to regiments, the regiments to divisions; that the old cockade will be taken from the filth, that the old flags will wave again, that there will be a reconciliation at the last great divine judgment, which we are prepared to face. Then from our bones and our graves the voice of that court will speak, which alone is entitled to sit in judgment over us. For it is not you, gentlemen, who pronounce judgment upon us. The judgment is spoken by the eternal court of history which will say what it has to say concerning the accusation that has been raised against us. What judgment you will hand down, I know. But that court will not ask us: "Did you commit high treason or did you not?" That court will judge us, the Quartermaster General of the old Army, his officers and soldiers, who, as Germans, wanted and desired only the good of their people and fatherland; who wanted to fight and die. You may pronounce us guilty a thousand times over, the goddess of the eternal court of history will smile and tear to tatters the brief of the state's attorney and the sentence of the court; for she acquits us.'

The sentence of the judges was not so far from the judgment of history. Intimidated from above, tormented by the conscience of their own accomplices, in fear even of the accused, they trampled on what was most defenseless: justice. Contrary to the clear wording of the law, Ludendorff was totally acquitted. Contrary to the clear wording of the law, Hitler, despite the bloody consequences of his crime, received the mild minimum sentence of five years' imprisonment; contrary to the clear wording of the law, he was made to serve only eight and a half months of his term; contrary to the clear wording of the law, he, a foreigner, who had filled the German streets with fire and corpses, was not deported. Röhm and Frick, though formally condemned, were released at once. Göring had

fled to Italy and later went to his wife's native town, where he found refuge in the founded fear of Munich justice kept him in unnecessary exile. Hess was cleverer; he was equally mild and brief sentence brought him 'prison' as Hitler, a sanatorium-like building Landsberg am Lech.

Hitler's cause had collapsed more than he knew. In May, the French people elected a new parliament, a new government, a new policy, a revolution against the war in the Ruhr, a severe condemnation of the policy of adventures and conquests on the Rhine, a determination to overthrow not only Poincaré, the President of the republic, who had carried out the policy, but also the elements of domestic blame for the landslide; to be sure, the French were to seek this security by a policy of understanding with Germany, but also with England, a three-year truce of peace with the foe under the aegis of a policy of vain, costly preparation, France renounced her claims over Europe, and withdrew to the line of defense. This was the clear will of the French people, the French parliamentary majority. In 1918, the war had ended; this was the most sacred axiom in French history. When Germany bled economically as a result of the war, when she capitulated, she had made the French people aware of the limits of their power; thus, in spite of the Ruhr War was the victory for Germany which had been feared, vainly prophesying that it would not come. In the summer of 1924, at a conference in London, French, and German statesmen met as equals for the first time. Stresemann, shouting and red in the face, French Premier Edouard Herriot, but they arrived at an agreement. The Dawes Plan was accepted by all parties. In 1924, in London, the French began to evacuate

— you had a Swastika and a gun
us addressed removed his scarlet
stened his artificial mustache more
assment: 'Well, in those days we

point of the carnival, fell on Feb-
day on which Hitler in 1920 had
cleared from his comfortable arrest
again found himself free, but alone
rity. Now, with his playful belief
ald have liked to raise his thunder-
rth of February. And it had to be
ler wouldn't have found a hundred
k on Germany's defeat, Germany's
He would have found no hall, no
to trumpeter to greet his entry into
r heart-lifting fanfare. Germany,
most forgotten him — as they had

ts and false prophecies the prisoner
embarrassment to his friends, and
in so far as anyone mentioned him
n apart; the leaders reviled one an-
public; there was scarcely one whom
upidity, cowardice, financial irregu-
life. They fought for a share in sud-
the masses, for frequent mention in
l they fought over money. This was
they suddenly participated in parlia-
ie imprisoned leader loathed parlia-
ment received a monthly remunera-
hundred marks — by German con-
at that epoch of beginning stabiliza-
: various parliamentary elections, un-
peeches before the bar of justice, they
successes; later, their successes rapidly
er defeats. In two elections in 1924,

the number of their seats in the Reichstag fell from thirty-two to
fourteen, and most of these fourteen soon ran away to other parties.
Both the successes which he had not expected, and the defeats which
he could not prevent, depressed Hitler deeply.

People of ability and importance instinctively avoided the fallen
figure, which again vanished into the mass of the unknown. A
Royal Bavarian infantry captain, for instance, could not very well
be expected to worship this man like a god, to set him above his
King Rupprecht or his General Ludendorff — particularly if the
captain himself had actually created the man. In grave disappoint-
ment Ernst Röhm parted with Hitler. Röhm was one of the four or
five who addressed Hitler as 'Du,' and, to the leader's own secret
relief, dared to treat him like a common man. For this very reason,
Röhm resented his friend's megalomania which, since his *débâcle*,
had become intolerable even in his own inner circle.

Against the terrible feeling of defeat, Hitler armed himself with
an inner arrogance which stopped at no human relation. During
his imprisonment he led a more comfortable existence than ever
before, but he claimed — and ended up by believing it himself —
to have been languishing in a dungeon; he dreamed himself into
the rôle of a saint, suffering in chains for Germany; he was the hero
for whose freedom Germany was waiting; he was the German
people itself, humiliated and misunderstood, yet destined and
secretly marked by Fate for inconceivable future greatness, a laugh-
ing-stock to the masses and the mighty, a miracle and consolation to
the faithful and the seeing.

Röhm was loyal, but for him Adolf, in the Munich dialect 'Ade,'
nevertheless remained a man. When he went to see him during his im-
prisonment, he found him each time more demoralized and lacking
in decision. From the heights of a theatrical, brilliant activity, Hitler
had relapsed into inert lurking and listening; he waited for voices,
inspiration, opportunities, let himself drift, allowed his party to fall
apart, friendships to break. In the end it was impossible for him
to speak objectively to anyone on political questions, needs of the
movement, present or future tasks, because he interpreted any state-
ment of fact as a criticism. When there were difficulties, or when
successes were achieved, when in the beginning, despite his arrest,

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the movement went forward, or when later, though marching in his name, it disintegrated and almost vanished — if the least mention of all this was made, he viewed it as a disrespectful carping at his person or his nimbus. In Röhm's opinion, he could only stand the 'flatterers and Byzantines' who 'unscrupulously crowded around,' exploiting his vanity, feeding him on illusions and 'venturing no word of contradiction.' Röhm decided, as he says in his autobiography, 'to speak openly to his friend as a loyal comrade.' His words were so open, such sharp insults were uttered by both that Röhm leaped to his feet and left. He wrote a letter to Hitler begging for the resumption of their old personal friendship, but Hitler did not answer. Another letter and again no answer. This was in the middle of April, 1925. Thus the real creator of Adolf Hitler parted with his creature who had grown too great and thought himself even greater.

Others also vanished. Göring, a high-living beggar in his exile, traveled through Italy and then Sweden, where his wife's well-to-do family, horrified at the dope addict's dissolute behavior, treated him coolly and for a time positively dropped him. Ernst Hanfstaengl, a merry friend in merry days, gave up politics and devoted himself to his late father's art business, spending much time in America; Hitler still was his debtor for thousands of dollars; Hanfstaengl had sold his claim to Christian Weber, one of Hitler's minor henchmen — but Hitler was not worth ten dollars at that time. Dietrich Eckart, long a sick man from too much eating and especially drinking, had died in the last days of 1923.

That Hitler was free and allowed to speak again he owed partly to a remnant of loyal complicity in high places, and partly to the depth of his fall, his apparent insignificance and harmlessness. Franz Gürtner had put through Hitler's release contrary to the law and against the resistance of his state's attorneys; and he had persuaded the Bavarian cabinet to legalize the forbidden National Socialist Party. In return, Hitler had to make humiliating concessions. He had to promise to break with Ludendorff. The general had involved himself in a public fight with the Catholic Church, had openly declared the Pope to be an enemy of Germany, as dangerous as the Jews and Free Masons — and Bavaria was an overwhelmingly Catholic state, governed by Catholic priests and

Catholic organizations. Parting with Lu Hitler than the world imagined; he hated eral since he had put him to shame at the example of physical courage. The hate g trial, Ludendorff showed no inclination to an unsuccessful *putsch* which Hitler had asking him. Since then there had been jeal sides. Hitler was too cautious to make any but Julius Streicher, one of his few supporters Ludendorff insulting letters recommending since Hitler had reawakened the German f had at best lost the World War.

The well-nigh forgotten World War which revolution had ended! For another revolution the future, the masses lacked strength an Hitler again organized his 'band of freed the strangest human scum rallied to his ban less dubious characters — that was all that his great staff of leaders.

The most important was Julius Streicher, editor of scandal sheets, as a speaker at sea assembled, by blackmail and other methods a fighting fund with which, for practical p stood or fell. A man of equal ability and u certain Hermann Esser; years before, Hitl mitted the utterance in court — that he knew and used him only as long as he could not g During Hitler's imprisonment, these two h: faithfully because, with their unsavory repu one else who wanted their slimy loyalty. No Streicher accused the so-called 'fine people' officers and men of academic education, of se for his lack of higher education; Esser, who r ported by his numerous mistresses, threatene revelations in the 'Jewish' press. These two other in praise of Hitler's greatness, uniqueness had maintained the crumbling Hitler legend

minates and rightly tells her that the like. . . . Our adversaries may talk as hysterical women. In former days so the countries. In the end she will bring victory.'

imple above all in the formulation of 'ee, four, or five aims at once—this rff, who had unnecessarily involved the Catholic Church. Yes, the Churchler knows this perfectly well, but he

First look at people and then look has certain views, certain abilities, a in character; every individual par-d dislikes certain others. It is, there-mmon goal for ten thousand people. a goal for these ten thousand, which individual aims.' Again Hitler takes

scribes the tactics of the Allies in the 'e are fighting first against Germany, against Bulgaria, and fourth against n? No: they had concentrated their

on one thing, yes, on one person: erman Kaiser: 'Whether they fought in France, in Serbia, or elsewhere, it Kaiser and against militarism. Thus

to the front against Germany, and e could not be wrong if twenty-six ist the one.' In Germany it had been 'In our country the little man won-enty-six stand against us? Can all alone right?'

up, the more the confidence or faith d if you have twenty aims that are haps only five people will remain ll twenty.'

ve birth to his theory that in propa-be repeated indefatigably. Later he

said that this was the same in politics as in the business field, in advertising a soap or a toothpaste. Actually it was entirely different in politics. What Hitler wanted was power, and the struggle for power demands an endlessly shifting adaptation to shifting circumstances. But when he was discharged from prison, these were the circumstances: He was impotent, a political nonentity, dependent on the good humor of the Bavarian government; and for that reason he had to avoid any suspicion of ever wanting to harm this government. Therefore, he cried: The fight of his party was not against the government, not against the bourgeois parties, not against the police, but only against a single enemy, which he would best have liked the government to choose as an enemy, too. And again this enemy had to serve as a model:

'To make a struggle intelligible to the broad masses, it must always be carried on against two things: against a person and against a cause.

'Against whom did England fight? Against the German Kaiser as a person, and against militarism as his cause.

'Against whom do the Jews fight with their Marxist power? Against the bourgeoisie as a person and against capitalism as its cause.

'Against whom, therefore, must our movement fight? Against the Jew as a person and Marxism as its cause.'

And against nothing else! Sharpest concentration! And so Hitler was perfectly serious and sincere when he cried that it was necessary 'to choose only one enemy, so that everyone can see that he alone is guilty.' He was as sincere as a general who attacks the enemy from the front, but has a second troop lying in ambush; for that is the nature of war. 'Especially in a people like the German people,' Hitler thundered, 'it is absolutely necessary for psychological reasons to point to only one enemy, to march against one enemy. . . .' Suddenly he lowered his voice and grinned, some of the listeners laughed, for they guessed what was coming. In an easy-going tone Hitler said: 'By one enemy, if necessary, many can be meant.'

On pacified, contented Germany he wanted to force enemies and redeemers; enemies of which she was not aware, and redeemers

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entire government of the
and Chancellor Scheide-
against Germany.
he was fighting for his
Wagner and to mothers. He
stood for the first time at
the that here lay a man who
Privy Counselor Music Di-
Wagner." His final appeal
he proclaimed, could not
say he himself could have
if "a mother had come to
on your conscience." No
own mother did not blame
at the end of the speech
benevolent goddess—smiled
and said:

and times, but the Goddess
pulling tear up the indictment
of the judges and set us

on thousands of supporters
e. In a preview of coming
he appeared on a balcony to
the Munich street agitator,
this before, had become a
resurgent Germany.

expected from the sym-
a. He was not deported to
quered; a judge ruled that
he certainly "thought like
ve years of fortress confine-
red less than nine months,

Hitler's suite in the Lands-
f Hess, was converted into
in House"—the later head-
ictures, and a huge swastika
de a special concession on
ay he present during inter-
until midnight and to sleep
ved in bed by regular pris-

The Child As Father to the Man

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oners who were assigned as his servants. He dictated the memoirs
which were to make him wealthy. He wrote editorials and drew car-
toons for the prison newspaper, the *Landsberger Ehrenbürger*; these
issues have regrettably been lost.²³⁷

On his 35th birthday (20 April 1924), military airplanes circled
the fortress and dipped their wings in salute to Hitler. Hanfstaengl,
who called to congratulate him on the day, found that "the place
looked like a delicatessen store. You could have opened up a flower
and fruit and wine shop with all the stuff stacked there. People were
sending presents from all over Germany, and Hitler had grown visibly
fatter as a result." When it was suggested that he really ought to partici-
pate in the prison games to take off excess weight, Hitler replied, "No.
I keep away from them. It would be bad for discipline if I took part
in physical training. A leader cannot afford to be beaten at games."²³⁸

On the day of Hitler's release, 20 December 1924, Putzi Hanfstaengl
arranged a quiet celebration dinner in his new Munich home in the
Pienzenauerstrasse in the fashionable (Bogenhausen District of Munich).
Hitler arrived in his bourgeois blue serge suit, now pulled tight by the
weight he had added at Landsberg. In this moment of apparent tri-
umph, Hitler was ill at ease. His first thought was of Wagner—and of
death. "Hanfstaengl, play me the *Liebestod*!" he said. Hanfstaengl
obliged by hammering out with his huge hands Hitler's favorite aria
from *Tristan und Isolde*. After a banquet ending with his favorite Aus-
trian pastries, Hitler was in high good humor and started his imitations.
Striding diagonally across the room, he talked of war and his memories
of the Western Front and began imitating artillery barrages: "He could
reproduce the noise of every imaginable gun, German, French or Eng-
lish, Howitzers, 75's, machine guns, separately and all at once. . . . We
really went through about five minutes of the battle of the Somme."
The virtuosity of the performance suggests that he had rehearsed his
imitations many times. He enjoyed the adulation of an audience. It
was also on this—or perhaps a later occasion—that Putzi did piano por-
traits of leading Nazis: quiet runs for Himmler sneaking across the
carpet; ponderous passages for the heavy Göring; limping, fractured
melodies to imitate the club-footed Goebbels. Hitler, who always en-
joyed the infirmities of others, found it all terribly funny. He covered
his mouth and bad teeth with his hand and shook with laughter.²³⁹

Reassertion

The political situation Hitler faced after returning from Landsberg
was not so amusing. His political movement, officially dissolved by
government decree, was rent by a dozen petty feuds. He had no party.
Yet within ten years (1924–1934) he had crushed all opposition and
had become undisputed leader of National Socialism and dictator of the
German nation. It was a political feat matched in modern history only
by Lenin's triumph in the decade from 1908–1918, when he moved

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from the position of outcast wanderer in Stockholm, Berne, and Zurich to become master of the Kremlin and ruler of Soviet Russia.

The two men had much in common. Both had more than a touch of political genius. Both met Machiavelli's requirement for the ideal Prince: each was part lion, part fox, combining commitment with cunning. Both were "terrible simplifiers" who were masters of propaganda. Lenin, like Hitler, was sustained by faith in himself. He, too, had the capacity to convince.

A quirk of fate had brought them both to Munich, where both had lived in Schwabing in the (Schleissheimerstrasse). A dozen years before Hitler arrived, Lenin had rented a room up the street from Popp's tailor shop at 606, above a cabinet maker. There, in 1902, he had written the most important political pamphlet of the 20th century, *What Is to Be Done?* In it he inverted Marx and set forth in clear and specific prose how a political elite of professional revolutionaries could seize power and determine the economic and social structure of a country and the world. Both men had bought their bread at Herr Heilmann's bakery. Lenin, too, had eaten meals in the Osteria Bavaria and had drunk beer at the Hofbräuhaus, the scene of Hitler's early party triumphs.*

Hitler's reassertion of power over the Party in 1924 was achieved not only through political acumen, dedication, and faith in himself, but also by the cultivation of influential friends. Captain Ernst Röhm, for example, was of inestimable value for his connections with the army, disgruntled veterans, and former members of the Free Corps. Dietrich Eckart, probably the most influential intellectual in southern Germany, became Hitler's patron and introduced him to racist circles. Eckart, as we have noted, had established a racist-nationalist journal, *Auf gut Deutsch* (In Plain German), which he edited until he took over Hitler's own newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, in 1921. Like Hitler, Eckart had been heavily influenced by Lanz-Liebenfels; and he too had a simple solution for the "Jewish problem." The best thing to do with the Jews, he said, was to load them all in railway boxcars "and dump them into the Red Sea." In an issue of *Auf gut Deutsch* of March

* In 1960 the ancient but still spry little man who had been Lenin's landlord recalled in conversation that his famous tenant had always been polite, kind to children in the block, gallant to the ladies, and prompt with his rent. He worked very hard and seldom took time off to relax. One evening, however, he and Krupskaya joined the landlord and his wife for a convivial evening in the Hofbräuhaus. Lenin laughed and nudged his wife as they all linked arms and sang the old drinking song, "In München steht 'n Hofbräuhaus . . ." as they raised their liter steins decorated with the crown of Bavaria and the initials HB. But Lenin was not toasting the royal brewery. He was drinking to a different H.B.: the letters in Russian are the initials of N.V.—*Narodnaya Volya*, the revolutionary "will of the people." Lenin was illustrating Axelrod's comment that the reason Lenin excelled all other Russian revolutionaries was this: "He is the only one of us who works at revolution twenty-four hours a day: the twenty hours he's awake; the four hours he is sleeping when he dreams of revolution"—and, one might add, the few hours he spent drinking beer.

The Child As Father to

1920, Eckart had as tonic leader, but he v

A Cincinnatus . . . whether it come to lead us selfless, German

A year later, January many craved, a new passionate leader of t

Hitler was genuine to whom he was and Eckart, going to the end of his memoirs and by thoughts and feelings of his, of our nation he referred to Hitler's secretaries as person in his life he included Richard Wagner. Another of Hitler's many different people the Führer. All in the confidence and in life was characterized by other things—the children trusted others that his closest advisers. He was penetrating his dissimulation.

In an interview intelligent Chief of the conversation with

Hitler: You shall will not giving
Halder: We shall
Hitler: (smiling) Things learn loudly even n

This quality of the tant to his psyche, w:

* D. T. L. H. i. in a political to run a s.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

long run—as we shall see—it would work against him; but in his rise to power it helped him play to perfection the role of the inaccessible and infallible Leader operating in a realm far removed from petty political or personal squabbles.

Aloofness was coupled with another characteristic of inestimable value. Hitler, like Lenin, possessed in abundance that indefinable but essential quality of political leadership which Max Weber called charisma. But there was one significant advantage the Nazi dictator had over his Communist counterparts: Hitler's theory institutionalized personal charisma in a way that Weber never contemplated and Lenin and Stalin could never practice.

The adroit use of personal charisma was of crucial importance to Hitler's success in the years following 1924. Rudolf Hess put the matter in a sentence: "Adolf Hitler is the Party; the Party is Adolf Hitler." This statement of fanatical adoration and hard political fact was made at the victorious Nazi Party rally at Nuremberg in 1934, after Hitler had consolidated his power over Germany. But the principle of the myth-person had been a political fact of life under Hitler ever since his return from Landsberg in 1924. It shines as a clear and guiding light through the entire labyrinth of political squabbles during that decade. We can clearly see it in operation in three notable instances.

While Hitler was imprisoned, two wings of the Party started to grow: the more conservative group called itself the Greater German People's Community, while the majority of the more revolutionary members formed the National Socialist Freedom Party. But neither of these groups was a threat to Hitler because neither could exist without venerating his person as the Führer. Hitler merely waited for an opportune moment to dissolve both of them, and their members then reaffirmed their allegiance to him. Problem solved.

The practical impossibility of successful factionalism within the Nazi party was again shown in 1926 when there developed the so-called "Northern Faction" of the "Working Association" of Gregor Strasser and Joseph Goebbels. Historians who assert that these groups were directed against Hitler are mistaken. "Nothing was further from their minds than challenging Hitler's leadership. Hitler remained the only concrete point of unity in the heterogeneous movement. He was above the conflicts, and he was regarded 'as something mystical, unreal.'" ²⁴ Gregor Strasser, it is true, left the Party in 1932 and was murdered in the Blood Purge two years later. But he remained loyal to Hitler. A few days before he was shot on Hitler's orders, he had received from his Führer's hands the golden *Ehrenzeichen* of the Party. His statement that Hitler was "the unchallenged and sole leader of the NSDAP" was both an expression of personal loyalty and a realistic appraisal of a fact of life in Hitler's party.

Again, in the better known and bloodier incident of 1934 variously called the "Röhm Revolt," the "Blood Purge," and the "Night of the Long Knives," Röhm and his followers in the SA may have disagreed with

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In no important ins a serious threat to Hitler's movement. Indeed, Hitler First, they represented div to cultivate, Röhm—at li and Free Corps fighters; von Schirach was attracti factionalism because he t to any one group increas to outdo its competitor i failed to win Hitler's pers had no other court of app

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was Hitler's anxiety to do nothing to jeopardize his chances of parole, which
could be granted from 1 October.³⁶ The occasion for his decision was
Ludendorff's press statement on 11 June which had embarrassed and angered
Hitler by claiming, despite the latter's caution and equivocation, that he
openly supported the merger of the two parties.³⁷ Fobke told Haase on 23
June that the decision to withdraw from politics had been 'born out of the
anger over this statement'.³⁸ However, the dominant reason was doubtless
the one he had given Haase: his impotence at controlling developments from
within Landsberg. The Ludendorff press release had simply been the last
indication of this impotence. His withdrawal was not a machiavellian
strategy to exacerbate the split that was already taking place, increase
confusion, and thereby bolster his image as a symbol of unity.³⁹ This was
the outcome, not the cause. In June 1924, the outcome could not be clearly
foreseen. Hitler acted from weakness, not strength. He was being pressed
from all sides to take a stance on the growing schism. His equivocation
frustrated his supporters. But any clear stance would have alienated one
side or the other. His decision not to decide was characteristic. 'Hitler
habitually rationalizes his choices,' commented Lüdecke. 'He was prepared
to risk everything rather than delegate a portion of his personal authority
while he remained confined.'⁴⁰

Hitler's frustration was also increased by his inability, despite his outright
disapproval, to curtail Rohm's determination to build up a nationwide
paramilitary organization called the Frontbann. This was intended to absorb
and unify other existing paramilitary leagues of the *völkisch* movement,
including the SA and the other banned units of the former Kampfbund,
and to be placed under the military leadership of Ludendorff. Hitler was
allergic to the inevitable loss of control over the SA which would certainly
follow and concerned to avoid his own dependence, as before the putsch,
on leaders of paramilitary organizations. Above all, he was anxious that
what might be seen as his renewed involvement in paramilitary politics
would hinder his chances of early parole and encourage moves to deport
him back to Austria. Unable to deter Rohm - already freed on 1 April,
bound over on probation, his derisory fifteen-month prison sentence for his
part in the putsch set aside on condition of good behaviour - Hitler ended
their last meeting before he left Landsberg, on 17 June, by telling him that,
having laid down the leadership of the National Socialist Movement, he
wished to hear no more about the Frontbann. Rohm nevertheless simply
ignored Hitler and pressed on with his plans, looking to Ludendorff for
patronage and protection.⁴¹

D.T.
*

* P.T. Indeed, he saw it as a plan
to displace him. If the roles were
reversed, it is exactly what he

would have done. Indeed, a part of
him never forgave Rohm or Ludendorff
for what he considered an act of
betrayal rather than a set of logical
moves to increase their own power

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Following Hitler's press statement about his withdrawal from all political involvement, Ludendorff and Graefe moved quickly, with their own press release two days later, to claim the leadership of the *völkisch* movement 'until the liberated hero of Munich can again step into their circle as the third leader'. Hitler, they stated, had asked them to take over the leadership in his place. At the same time, Rosenberg had resigned his position, and Gregor Strasser had been brought into the Reich Leadership (*Reichsführerschaft*) of the NSFP along with Ludendorff and Graefe for the duration of Hitler's internment. A conference planned to take place in Weimar in mid-August would bring unity in the *völkisch* movement, they added.⁴² This horrified the northern Nazis. The Directorate sought clarification from Fobke. They were told that Hitler had given up his leadership only during his imprisonment, had delegated his powers to no one, and had had no part in the appointment of Strasser to the Reich Leadership, though this step had met with his approval.⁴³ The Directorate's leader, Volck, once more, on 18 July, made plain where the northern National Socialists stood on questions of a merger: 'Our programme consists of two words: "Adolf Hitler".'⁴⁴ But a meeting of eighty NSDAP representatives from across Germany at Weimar on 20 July, gathered to discuss the merger issue (which would explicitly arise in the conference in the same town the following month) and the question of a parliamentary strategy, and with Ludendorff as guest of honour, ended in acrimony, recrimination, disorder, and greater division than ever.⁴⁵

Volck immediately compiled a highly critical report of events, which he sent to Landsberg.⁴⁶ Hitler's reply, through his intermediary Fobke, offered some encouragement to the northern group. He said they were 'on the right track'. He strongly criticized Ludendorff, who, he commented, should concentrate solely on the military side of the movement. He was also critical of Esser and Streicher. However, he refused adamantly to deviate from his position of neutrality towards the various rival factions. At the same time he regarded the merger issue as finished, and played down the significance of the conflict. He had scant sensitivity for the north German National Socialists in their 'despairing struggle'. He knew what he had to do on release, and the rebuilding of the movement could only start from Bavaria.⁴⁷

Volck was unenthusiastic about Hitler's response which, he thought, showed little understanding for the NSDAP's position in the north. It was the first sign of Volck's growing criticism of Hitler. 'When leaders in the first place think they can judge everything alone and better,' he commented, 'we won't get any farther.'⁴⁸

The much-vaunted conference cement the organizational merge only the most superficial unity in Freedom Movement (Nationalsozialistische Freiheitsbewegung). The high-point of the conference was Adolf Hitler's that was read out onstage Ludendorff (though he led Unity without Hitler's leadership of the conference. But Hitler's leadership was, it became increasingly apparent of Ludendorff and Graefe of a type.

Once more the embattled north Hitler's greetings telegram to the unambiguous guidance. Once more tried to reassure his northern comrades two parties had completely merged 'parliamentarized'. But he accepted parliamentary action. Hitler, through refrain from any statement of top priority on release (which he failed to restore order in Bavaria. He still held out until then. The north German

By the end of the summer, the *völkisch* movement in general, was advancing rather than receding. The bullying style of Streicher and E. GVG, caused great antagonism in Bavaria, Gregor Strasser, was Leadership of the NSFB), and Socialists. They in turn rejected it for its part refused to accept that Hitler's position was emerging since warfare.

As summer dragged into autumn the *völkisch* movement widened still further. In mid-September that or summon all those in leading positions would be: who should lead behind Hitler as sole leader? 'Hitler

* D. T. I could have told him as much but I didn't have to. He was as worried about carrying his message to the north as I was. They sneered at beer and sentiment in Berlin, and didn't understand that sometimes you had to use a little of that kind of oiled fox-grease. Political

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Fobke's letter stated, 'and will never be part of such a soldiers' council construction.' So there was no question of him joining Ludendorff and Graefe in a combined Reich Leadership. But he refused to make a public statement to that effect. The frustration and impatience of his northern supporters mounted. His failure to gain the release on parole from 1 October that his supporters had been anticipating further complicated the situation. From the NSFB's point of view, unity without Hitler, and in the face of his continued refusal to commit himself publicly to a unified organization, was impossible.⁵² In Bavaria, the *völkisch* feud surrounding the figures of Esser and Streicher widened into open breach. On 26 October, the Völkischer Block decided to join the NSFB to create a united organization to fight the coming elections. With this, it accepted the NSFB's Reich Leadership. Gregor Strasser, the spokesman of the Völkischer Block, hoped that the Großdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft would also soon join the NSFB, but at the same time openly condemned its leaders, Esser and Streicher. Esser's reply in a letter to all GVG affiliations, a bitter attack on the leaders of the Völkischer Block, with a side-swipe at Ludendorff for his support of the Block's position, reaffirmed the Munich loyalist position: 'the only man who has a right to exclude someone who has fought for years for his place in the Movement of National Socialists is solely and singly Adolf Hitler'.⁵³ But Esser's bravado, and the brash attacks of Streicher, supported by the Thuringian National Socialist Artur Dinter, could not conceal the sharp decline of the GVG.⁵⁴

The Reichstag elections that took place on 7 December demonstrated just how marginal this perpetual squabbling in the *völkisch* movement was to the overall shaping of German politics. The NSFB won only 3 per cent of the vote. It had lost over a million votes compared with the *völkisch* showing in the May election. Its Reichstag representation fell from thirty-two to fourteen seats, only four of whom were National Socialists. It was a disastrous result. But it pleased Hitler.⁵⁵ In his absence, *völkisch* politics had collapsed, but his own claims to leadership had, in the process, been strengthened. The election result also had the advantage of encouraging the Bavarian government to regard the danger from the extreme Right as past. There was now, it seemed, no need for undue concern about Hitler's release from Landsberg, for which his supporters had been clamouring since October.⁵⁶

some - he outlives it for Hess. "and in addition, the more I can build up the party now, the more they will all be amazed."

The hopes of Hitler and his once the stipulated six months on attestation of his good after release.⁵⁷ In a report from prison, Oberregierungsrat warmly sympathetic to Hitler inmate:

Hitler shows himself to be a his own person, but also to be accommodating. He makes without any abusiveness, sentence. He is a man with the institution, does not smoke to command a certain authority female sex. He meets women great politeness without becoming. He is always polite and never i who at the beginning had a girl is well known, as far as possible mainly notes of thanks. He drafted his book, which she autobiography, thoughts on the situation and Bolshevism, on the 8th of November 1923. . . he has without doubt become return to liberty with threats who oppose him and frustrate against the government, no emphasizes how convinced he and firm government.⁵⁸

This paean of praise from the prosecutor's office, both of for rejecting Hitler's early

The report of the Deputy Friedrich Tenner, of 23 Se

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The hopes of Hitler and his supporters for his early parole on 1 October, once the stipulated six months since his sentence had elapsed, had depended on attestation of his good conduct while in prison, and on his intentions after release.⁵⁷ In a report on 15 September, the governor of Landsberg prison, Oberregierungsrat Otto Leybold – along with most of the warders warmly sympathetic to Hitler – painted a eulogistic picture of his prize inmate:

Hitler shows himself to be a man of order, of discipline, not only with regard to his own person, but also towards his fellow internees. He is contented, modest, and accommodating. He makes no demands, is quiet, and reasonable, serious and without any abusiveness, scrupulously concerned to obey the confinements of the sentence. He is a man without personal vanity, is content with the catering of the institution, does not smoke or drink, and, despite all comradeship, knows how to command a certain authority with his fellow inmates. . . . He is not drawn to the female sex. He meets women with whom he comes into contact on visits here with great politeness without becoming engaged with them in serious political discussions. He is always polite and never insulting towards the officials of the institution. Hitler, who at the beginning had a great number of visitors, has kept for some months, as is well known, as far as possible from political visits, and writes only few letters, mainly notes of thanks. He occupies himself every day for many hours with the draft of his book, which should appear in the next weeks and will contain his autobiography, thoughts on the bourgeoisie, Jewry and Marxism, German revolution and Bolshevism, on the National Socialist Movement and the prehistory of the 8th of November 1923. . . . During the ten months of his remand and sentence he has without doubt become more mature and quiet than he had been. He will not return to liberty with threats and thoughts of revenge against those in public office who oppose him and frustrated his plans in November 1923. He will be no agitator against the government, no enemy of other parties with a nationalist leaning. He emphasizes how convinced he is that a state cannot exist without firm internal order and firm government.⁵⁸

This paean of praise convinced neither the Munich police nor the state prosecutor's office, both of which provided clear and compelling reasons for rejecting Hitler's early release.

The report of the Deputy Police President of Munich, Oberregierungsrat Friedrich Tenner, of 23 September 1923, warned in the strongest terms

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Police Direction on 8 May then recommended his deportation in the interest of Bavarian state security.⁷⁰ But no steps were taken then, or at any other time before late September. Presumably, the matter had simply been deferred as non-urgent. By September, when a sense of urgency was certainly present, the Bavarian cabinet was divided on Hitler's deportation.⁷¹ In any case, by then the Passau border authorities were reporting that they had received orders from Vienna not to accept Hitler.⁷² The directive had been sent on the instructions of no less authority than that of the Federal Chancellor, Ignaz Seipel, himself.⁷³ Subsequent Bavarian attempts to use legal arguments – in themselves persuasive – to pressurize the Austrian government to take back Hitler were to no avail. Seipel simply refused to take him, remaining adamant that Hitler's service in the German army incurred loss of Austrian citizenship. It was legally not a sound argument. But it sufficed.⁷⁴ Despite Hitler's fears, nothing more came of the attempt to deport him.⁷⁵ Following his release from Landsberg, Hitler inquired in March 1925 how he could relinquish his Austrian citizenship. He was told to put in a formal request, which he then did on the grounds of his war service in the German army and desire to acquire German citizenship. On 30 April 1925, he received the anxiously awaited authorization that his Austrian citizenship was terminated.⁷⁶ This removal of any fear of deportation at a future date cost him the grand sum of 7.50 Austrian Schillings.⁷⁷ It would be seven years before he acquired German citizenship. Until then, he would remain stateless. (1932)

Meanwhile, on 6 October, the Bavarian Supreme Court gave its judgement, rejecting the state prosecutor's plea opposing Hitler's parole. The court took the view that the strong suspicion against Hitler, Kriebel and Weber for involvement with banned paramilitary organizations had still to be proved. The decision on parole hinged on this evidence, and could only be taken when it was available. The judgement paved the way for the eventual order of 19 December which would grant Hitler's release. The state prosecution office had still not given up. It made a last attempt to prevent Hitler's release in a carefully argued appeal of 5 December. Even if the evidence assembled might not suffice for a court conviction, it claimed, it *did* suffice to demonstrate the 'strong suspicion' that Hitler and Kriebel, whatever their protestations to the contrary, were guilty of actions in the same context as those for which they had been sentenced, and that they were unlikely to be of good conduct after release. The Bavarian Supreme Court then requested, on 12 December, a report from the Governor of Landsberg on the conduct of Hitler and Kriebel since his earlier report of 15 September. Reading the signals, Leybold replied within two days with another glowing account of

Hitler's character and behaviour. 'his sentence,' Leybold concluded this new documentation of Hitler's Court, on 19 December, finally in early release, and ordered his parole in the völkisch press since October of the way, and appeared to undoubtedly helped. But only possibly the Bavarian judiciary to insist well-reasoned opposition of the office.

State Prosecutor Stenglein, who Hitler's parole, now passed on to The Governor, his voice faltering, him there would be no demonstrations collected by Adolf Müller, pro the party's printer. Müller drove Daimler-Benz together with the December, at 12.15 p.m., Hitler the state prosecution office note one hours, fifty minutes of his have taken a different course he

The prison staff, all sympathetic, a prisoner an emotional farewell. the old fortress town, hurrying to. Within two hours he was back, greeted by friends with garlands, dog, Wolf.⁸³ Hitler said later the evening of freedom.⁸⁴ Politically non-committal. He needed to months of internecine warfare if it was necessary in order to create conditions for his re-entry into NSDAP was lifted. Now that party's new start could begin.

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Hitler's character and behaviour in the prison. 'He is in his conduct during his sentence,' Leybold concluded, 'quite especially worthy of parole.'⁷⁸ With this new documentation of Hitler's good conduct, the Bavarian Supreme Court, on 19 December, finally rejected the state prosecution's case against early release, and ordered his parole – the clamour for which had not ceased in the *völkisch* press since October.⁷⁹ That the December elections were out of the way, and appeared to show National Socialism in steep decline, doubtless helped. But only political bias explains the determination of the Bavarian judiciary to insist upon Hitler's early release, despite the well-reasoned opposition of the Munich police and the state prosecutor's office.

State Prosecutor Stenglein, who had himself done what he could to hinder Hitler's parole, now passed on the court order to Landsberg by telegram.⁸⁰ The Governor, his voice faltering, gave his prisoner the news. Hitler assured him there would be no demonstrations outside the prison and asked to be collected by Adolf Müller, proprietor of a Munich publishing firm and the party's printer. Müller drove the next morning to Landsberg in his Daimler-Benz together with the photographer Heinrich Hoffmann.⁸¹ On 20 December, at 12.15 p.m., Hitler was released. A calculation in the files of the state prosecution office noted that he had three years, 333 days, twenty-one hours, fifty minutes of his short sentence still to serve.⁸² History would have taken a different course had he been made to serve it.

The prison staff, all sympathetic to Hitler, gathered to bid their famous prisoner an emotional farewell. He paused for photographs by the gates of the old fortress town, hurrying Hoffmann because of the cold, then was gone. Within two hours he was back at his Munich apartment in Thierschstraße, greeted by friends with garlands of flowers, and nearly knocked over by his dog, Wolf.⁸³ Hitler said later that he did not know what to do with his first evening of freedom.⁸⁴ Politically, he continued at first to remain publicly non-committal. He needed to take stock of the situation in view of the months of internecine warfare in the *völkisch* movement. More important, it was necessary in order to establish with the Bavarian authorities the conditions for his re-entry into politics and to ensure that the ban on the NSDAP was lifted. Now that he was released, serious preparation for his party's new start could begin.

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III

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'Landsberg', Hitler told Hans Frank, was his 'university paid for by the state'. He read, he said, everything he could get hold of: Nietzsche, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Ranke, Treitschke, Marx, Bismarck's *Gedanken und Erinnerungen* (Thoughts and Memories), and the war memoirs of German and allied generals and statesmen.⁸⁵ Other than dealing with visitors and answering correspondence – neither of which preoccupied him much once he had withdrawn from public involvement in politics in the summer – the long days of enforced idleness in Landsberg were ideal for reading and reflection.⁸⁶ But Hitler's reading and reflection were anything but academic. Doubtless he did read much. However, as we noted in an earlier chapter, he made clear in *Mein Kampf* that reading, for him, had purely an instrumental purpose.⁸⁷ He read not for knowledge or enlightenment, but for confirmation of his own preconceptions. He found what he was looking for. As he told Hans Frank – the party's legal expert who would eventually become Governor General in occupied Poland – through the reading he did in Landsberg, 'I recognized the correctness of my views.'⁸⁸

Sitting in his cell in Nuremberg many years later, Frank adjudged the year 1924 to have been one of the most decisive turning-points in Hitler's life.⁸⁹ This was an exaggeration. Landsberg was not so much a turning-point as a period in which Hitler inwardly consolidated and rationalized for himself the world-view he had been developing since 1919 and, in some significant ways, modifying in the year or so before the putsch. As the Nazi Movement fell apart in his absence, and with time on his hands, away from the hurly-burly of active politics, Hitler could scarcely avoid ruminating on past mistakes. And, expecting his release within months, he was even more strongly compelled to look to the way forward for himself and his broken movement. During this time, he revised in certain respects his views on how to attain power. In so doing, his perception of himself changed. He came to think of his own role in a different way. In the wake of the triumph of his trial, he began to see himself, as his followers had started to portray him from the end of 1922 onwards, as Germany's saviour. In the light of the putsch, one might have expected his self-belief to be crushed once and for all. On the contrary: it was elevated beyond measure. His almost mystical faith in himself as walking with destiny, with a 'mission' to rescue Germany, dates from this time.

At the same time, there was an important adjustment to another aspect

* D.T. There may have been the most constructive months I ever spent so far.

of his world-view. Ideas which, in 1922, if not earlier, on the elaborated into the notion of the expense of Russia. Blended with the destruction of 'Jewish Bolshevism' – an idea which Hitler would – rounded off his 'world-view' – but no further alteration in the 'conversion' for Hitler.⁹⁰ In the few basic *idées fixes* which were taking shape in the years before

The modifications in Hitler's world-view took shape in the year before the *Mein Kampf* was published. Hitler's book offered nothing new in its statement of his world-view, though without his stay in Landsberg it would sell in its millions would not have been altogether clear. If Otto Strasser's source – is to be believed, it was Hitler – he spent in Landsberg, had the effect that he wrote his 'memoirs' in the inmates of having to listen to the prisoners on the ground floor eating and drinking.⁹¹ At least, the story has any substance to it, that Hitler took to reading out each day to his captive audience.⁹² More likely, the explanation, is that the suggestion from Max Amann, persuading Hitler to write his trial.⁹³ Amann was expecting the putsch.⁹⁴ Instead, he and many others were in the position of what Hitler had said of the putsch: 'superficial and triumphalist acceptance'.

Hitler was already at work on *Mein Kampf* when Haase and the north German publisher called his book at that time by the title *Years of Struggle against Lies*. The title seems to have been su-

1927

as his 'university paid for by the old get hold of: Nietzsche, Houston, Marx, Bismarck's *Gedanken und*, and the war memoirs of German. Other than dealing with visitors and which preoccupied him much once in politics in the summer - the Landsberg were ideal for reading and action were anything but academic. As we noted in an earlier chapter, he for him, had purely an instrumental enlightenment, but for confirmation what he was looking for. As he felt who would eventually become - through the reading he did in of my views.⁸⁸

A few years later, Frank adjudged the decisive turning-points in Hitler's life was not so much a turning-point consolidated and rationalized for developing since 1919 and, in some way or so before the putsch. As the Nazi with time on his hands, away from could scarcely avoid ruminating on within months, he was even more forward for himself and his broken in certain respects his views on how tion of himself changed. He came away. In the wake of the triumph of followers had started to portray him many's saviour. In the light of the self-belief to be crushed once and for good measure. His almost mystical with a 'mission' to rescue Germany,

stant adjustment to another aspect

of his world-view. Ideas which had been taking shape in his mind since late 1922, if not earlier, on the direction of future foreign policy were now elaborated into the notion of a quest for 'living-space', to be gained at the expense of Russia. Blended into his obsessive antisemitism, aimed at the destruction of 'Jewish Bolshevism', the concept of a war for 'living-space' - an idea which Hitler would repeatedly emphasize in the following years - rounded off his 'world-view'. Thereafter, there would be tactical adjustments, but no further alteration of substance. Landsberg was no 'Jordan conversion' for Hitler.⁹⁰ In the main, it was a matter of adding new emphases to the few basic *idées fixes* already formed, at least in embryo, or clearly taking shape in the years before the putsch.⁹¹

The modifications in Hitler's world-view that had already been taking shape in the year before the putsch are clearly evident in *Mein Kampf*. Hitler's book offered nothing new. But it was the plainest and most expansive statement of his world-view that he had presented. He acknowledged that without his stay in Landsberg the book which after 1933 (though not before) would sell in its millions would never have been written.⁹² Its genesis is not altogether clear. If Otto Strasser - admittedly a biased and often unreliable source - is to be believed, it was his brother, Gregor, who, during the short time he spent in Landsberg, had the 'machievellian idea' of suggesting to Hitler that he write his 'memoirs' in order to relieve the burden on the other inmates of having to listen to endless monologues from 'the man on the first floor'. Hitler was taken with the idea, began work on it straight away, and the prisoners on the ground floor were left in peace to return to playing cards, eating and drinking.⁹³ At least, they thought they would be left in peace. If the story has any substance to it, they must have been sorely disappointed when Hitler took to reading out each day the sections he had written to a literally captive audience.⁹⁴ More likely, if more prosaic than Otto Strasser's colourful explanation, is that the suggestion to Hitler to write his autobiography came from Max Amann, persuading him to cash in on the publicity stirred up by his trial.⁹⁵ Amann was expecting revelations about the background to the putsch.⁹⁶ Instead, he and many disappointed readers found largely a repetition of what Hitler had said in countless speeches, interspersed with superficial and triumphalist accounts of parts of his own life story.⁹⁷

Hitler was already at work on what would become the first volume when Haase and the north German delegation visited him on 26-7 May 1924. He called his book at that time by the scarcely catchy title: 'Four and a Half Years of Struggle against Lies, Stupidity, and Cowardice'.⁹⁸ The eventual pithy title seems to have been suggested by Max Amann.⁹⁹ The book was

* a scene w Strasser trying to find out how other felt

about Hitler.

* best motive + worst motive D.T

neral dogsbody Emil Maurice, then, of whom were also serving sentences in volume, which appeared on 18 July 1920, though, as we have noted, with many of Hitler's triumph at the announcement of his release on 24 February 1920. The only after his release, and which was more extensively with his ideas on questions of ideology, propaganda and his foreign policy. The published version of *Mein Kampf* was, what Hitler had initially produced, a number of people. 'A veritable miscellany, subjective judgements, and he described the draft.¹⁰¹ Amann, the publisher (whose brother turned down Hitler in the family publishing house) rejected the text.¹⁰² The music critic of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, together with a former Hieronymite, editor-in-chief of the *Miesbacher Zeitung* that sympathized with the Nazi movement, couching whole sections into a style readable, but nonetheless more literate than were many later alterations before Hitler himself, according to Hans Frank, and described it as no more than a 'völkischer Beobachter'.¹⁰³ *Mein Kampf*, brought out in the party's own Verlag, run by Max Amann, was apparently expected to be. Its relatively high price of 12 Reich Marks deterred potential readers.¹⁰⁴ By 1929, the first edition had sold only 13,000. Sales increased after 1930, and reached astronomical proportions. One and a half million copies had been published in the people's edition of both volumes by the time of their wedding day. Some

10 million copies were sold by 1945, not counting the millions sold abroad, where *Mein Kampf* was translated into sixteen languages.¹⁰⁵ How many people actually read it is unknown.¹⁰⁶ For Hitler, it was of little importance. Having from the early 1920s described himself in official documents as a 'writer', he could well afford in 1933 to refuse his Reich Chancellor's salary (in contrast, he pointed out, to his predecessors): *Mein Kampf* had made him a very rich man.¹⁰⁷

No policy outline was offered in *Mein Kampf*. But the book did provide, however garbled the presentation, an uncompromising statement of Hitler's political principles, his 'world-view', his sense of his own 'mission', his 'vision' of society, and his long-term aims. Not least, it established the basis of the Führer myth. For in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler portrayed himself as uniquely qualified to lead Germany from its existing misery to greatness.

Mein Kampf gives an important insight into his thinking in the mid-1920s.¹⁰⁸ By then, he had developed a philosophy that afforded him a complete interpretation of history, of the ills of the world, and how to overcome them. tersely summarized, it boiled down to a simplistic, Manichean view of history as racial struggle, in which the highest racial entity, the Aryan, was being undermined and destroyed by the lowest, the parasitic Jew.¹⁰⁹ 'The racial question,' he wrote, 'gives the key not only to world history but to all human culture.'¹¹⁰ The culmination of this process was taken to be the brutal rule of the Jews through Bolshevism in Russia, where the 'blood Jew' had, 'partly amid inhuman torture killed or let starve to death around 30 million people in truly satanic savagery in order to secure the rule over a great people of a bunch of Jewish *literati* and stock-market bandits'.¹¹¹ The 'mission' of the Nazi Movement was, therefore, clear: to destroy Jewish Bolshevism'. At the same time – a leap of logic that moved conveniently into a justification for outright imperialist conquest – this would provide the German people with the 'living-space' needed for the 'master race' to sustain itself.¹¹² He held rigidly to these basic tenets for the rest of his life. Nothing of substance changed in later years. The very inflexibility and quasi-messianic commitment to an 'idea', a set of beliefs that were unalterable, simple, internally consistent and comprehensive, gave Hitler the strength of will and sense of knowing his own destiny that left its mark on all those who came into contact with him. Hitler's authority in his entourage derived in no small measure from the certainty in his own convictions that he could so forcefully express. Everything could be couched in terms of black and white, victory or total destruction. There were no alternatives. And, like all ideologues and 'conviction politicians', the self-reinforcing

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components of his 'world-view' meant that he was always in a position to deride or dismiss out of hand any 'rational' arguments of opponents. Once head of state, Hitler's personalized 'world-view' would serve as 'guidelines for action' for policy-makers in all areas of the Third Reich.¹¹³

Hitler's book was not a prescriptive programme in the sense of a short-term political manifesto. But many contemporaries made a mistake in treating *Mein Kampf* with ridicule and not taking the ideas Hitler expressed there extremely seriously. However base and repellent they were, they amounted to a set of clearly established and rigidly upheld political principles.¹¹⁶ Hitler never saw any reason to alter the content of what he had written.¹¹⁷ Their internal coherence (given the irrational premises) allows them to be described as an ideology (or, in Hitler's own terminology, a 'world-view').¹¹⁸ Hitler's 'world-view' in *Mein Kampf* can now be more clearly seen than used to be possible in the context of his ideas as they unfolded between his entry into politics and the writing of his 'Second Book' in 1928.

On Hitler's central, overriding and all-embracing obsession, the 'removal of the Jews', *Mein Kampf* added nothing to the ideas he had already formulated by 1919-20. Extreme though the language of *Mein Kampf* was, it was no different to that which Hitler had been proclaiming for years. Nor, for that matter, did the inherently genocidal terminology substantially vary from that of other writers and speakers on the *völkisch* Right, extending, as we have already seen, well back beyond the First World War.¹¹⁹ His bacterial imagery implied that Jews should be treated in the way germs were dealt with: by extermination. Already in August 1920, Hitler had spoken of combating 'racial tuberculosis' through removal of the 'causal agent, the Jew'.¹²⁰ And there could be little doubt whom Hitler had in mind when, four years later in *Mein Kampf*, he wrote: 'The nationalization of our masses will succeed only when, aside from all the positive struggle for the soul of our people, their international poisoners are exterminated.'¹²¹ The notion of poisoning the poisoners ran through another, notorious, passage of *Mein Kampf*, already cited in Chapter 5, in which Hitler suggested that if 12-15,000 'Hebrew corruptors of the people' had been held under poison gas at the start of the First World War, then 'the sacrifice of millions at the front would not have been in vain'.¹²² These terrible passages are not the beginning of a one-way track to the 'Final Solution'. The road there was 'twisted', not straight.¹²³ But however little he had thought out the practical implications of what he was saying, its inherent genocidal thrust is undeniable. However indistinctly, the connection between destruction of the Jews, war, and national salvation had been forged in Hitler's mind.

D.T. Over and over one idea. Poison the poisoners

Conquer other lands in order to breathe.

D.T. It was a mnemonic to him. In years to come, in hours when he was exhausted from electioneering and speech-making, he would repeat to himself, "I am here to poison the poisoners."

As we saw in Chapter 1, antisemitism had given way to the Jews with the evil substituted the image of the Jew behind capitalism. Both profound that it could only figure in his imagination: international finance capitalism 'Jewish world conspiracy' National Socialism.

Once the link with Bolshevism, and with it 'our central and lasting vision of against a foe of ruthless brutality 1922, was a fight to the death and the materialistic. The Bolshevikism, and with it 'our year he was writing of a life incapable of existing alongside would seal Germany's destruction and the annihilated. It means Marx idea signifies the central remark. 'The Bolshevization of the entire Christian-National Socialism could be seen of the Marxist *Weltanschauung*

By now Marxism and the end of his trial, on 27 March wanted to be was the break: only one enemy, he had emphasized the whole of mankind: M. Some newspapers picked up and altered his position on the 'J' who were also puzzled. One, asked Hitler whether he had a characteristic reply. Indeed he altered, Hitler remarked. He that he had up to then been to could be deployed if success was declared, was an existentialist

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As we saw in Chapter 5, the initial anti-capitalist colouring of Hitler's antisemitism had given way by mid-1920 to the connection in his thinking of the Jews with the evils of Soviet Bolshevism. It was not that Hitler substituted the image of the Jews behind Marxism for that of the Jews behind capitalism. Both coexisted in his fixated loathing. It was a hatred so profound that it could only have been based on deep fear. This was of a figure in his imagination so powerful that it was the force behind both international finance capital and Soviet Communism. It was the image of a 'Jewish world conspiracy' that was almost unconquerable – even for National Socialism.

Once the link with Bolshevism was made, Hitler had established his central and lasting vision of a titanic battle for supremacy, a racial struggle against a foe of ruthless brutality. What he visualized, he had stated in June 1922, was a fight to the death between two competing ideologies, the idealistic and the materialistic. The mission of the German people was to destroy Bolshevism, and with it 'our mortal enemy: the Jew'.¹²⁴ By October the same year he was writing of a life and death struggle of two opposed 'world-views', incapable of existing alongside one another. Defeat in this great showdown would seal Germany's destruction. The struggle would leave only victors and the annihilated. It meant a war of extermination. 'A victory of the Marxist idea signifies the complete extermination of the opponents,' he remarked. 'The Bolshevization of Germany . . . means the complete annihilation of the entire Christian-western culture.' Correspondingly, the aim of National Socialism could be simply defined: 'Annihilation and extermination of the Marxist *Weltanschauung*.'¹²⁵

By now Marxism and the Jew were synonymous in Hitler's mind. At the end of his trial, on 27 March 1924, he had told the court that what he wanted to be was the breaker of Marxism.¹²⁶ The Nazi Movement knew only one enemy, he had emphasized the following month – the mortal enemy of the whole of mankind: Marxism.¹²⁷ There was no mention of the Jews. Some newspapers picked up the change of emphasis and claimed Hitler had altered his position on the 'Jewish Question'. There were Nazi followers who were also puzzled. One, visiting him in Landsberg at the end of July, asked Hitler whether he had changed his views about Jewry. He received a characteristic reply. Indeed his position on the struggle against Jewry had altered, Hitler remarked. He had realized while at work on *Mein Kampf* that he had up to then been too mild. In future, only the toughest measures could be deployed if success were to be attained. The 'Jewish Question', he declared, was an existential matter for all peoples, not just the German

*

*Trail from
rate
November '23
to end of
March '24.*

** He believed in the
secret marriage of Jewish
capitalism and Jewish Bolshevism
because he was capable of holding
two separate and profoundly
different ideas at once – a ~~paradox~~
a more equitable existence for the
German worker, and a more thriving
situation for the German capitalist.*

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The mission of the National Socialist Movement was to prepare the German people for this task. 'We have been chosen by Fate,' wrote Hitler, 'as witnesses of a catastrophe which will be the mightiest confirmation of the soundness of the *völkisch* theory.'¹⁵²

With this passage, the two key components of Hitler's personalized 'world-view' – destruction of the Jews and acquisition of 'living-space' – came together. War against Russia would, through its annihilation of 'Jewish Bolshevism', at the same time deliver Germany its salvation by providing new 'living-space'. Crude, simplistic, barbaric: but this invocation of the most brutal tenets of late nineteenth-century imperialism, racism and anti-semitism, transposed into eastern Europe in the twentieth century, was a heady brew for those ready to consume it.

Hitler himself repeatedly returned to the 'living-space' notion, which became a dominant theme of his writings and speeches in the following years. His foreign policy ideas were to be more clearly laid out, but in no significant way altered, in his 'Second Book', written in 1928 (though left unpublished in Hitler's own lifetime).¹⁵³ Once established, the quest for *Lebensraum* – and with it the destruction of 'Jewish Bolshevism' – would remain a keystone of Hitler's ideology. One element remained to complete the 'world-view': the leader of genius who would accomplish this quest. In Landsberg, Hitler found the answer.

IV

Many years later, Hitler regarded 'the self-confidence, optimism, and belief that simply could not be shaken by anything more' as deriving from his time in Landsberg.¹⁵⁴ Hitler's self-perception did indeed alter while he was in prison. Even at his trial, as we have seen, he had been proud to be the 'drummer' of the national cause. Anything else was a triviality, he had declared.¹⁵⁵ In Landsberg this changed – though, as we have noted, the change had already been under way during the year preceding the putsch.

Hitler was preoccupied from the beginning of his sentence with the question of his own future and that of his party after his release. Since he expected his release within six months, the question was an urgent one. For Hitler, there was no turning back. His political 'career', which had developed into his political 'mission', left him nowhere to go but forwards. He could not return to anonymity, even had he wanted to do so. A conventional 'bourgeois' lifestyle was out of the question. Any retreat, after the acclaim

he had won on the nationalist impression of his opponents have exposed him to ridicule. transforming it in his mind into have its central place in Nazi m blame to the mistakes, weakness to whom he was at the time national cause: this was his cor trial; the torrents of adulation unabated from letters sent to the *völkisch* movement in his and the growing conflict with all these contributed towards importance and of his unique forming in 1923, took firm hold Surrounded by sycophants and Heß, Hitler now became certain leader'.

Such a notion in its full implication at the trial and the acclaim that claimed for himself was an investment in that role. But the role fitted failures in early life had found admiration for heroic figures, an extraordinary depth of self-love an abnormal elevation of self-esteem nation is a matter best left to private reasons, for such a narcissistic others directed towards him, fault or error in himself, now of monumental proportions. No outside the tiny and fractured have taken seriously the change was of no consequence. But for and for his own self-justification

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler pictures the qualities of the programme of a movement was the theoretical practical realities, but with 'et

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he had won on the nationalist Right at his trial, would have confirmed the
impression of his opponents that he was a figure of farce, and would
have exposed him to ridicule. And as he pondered over the failed putsch,
transforming it in his mind into the martyrs' triumph that would come to
have its central place in Nazi mythology, he had no trouble in assigning the
blame to the mistakes, weakness, and lack of resolve of all the leading figures
to whom he was at the time bound.¹⁵⁶ They had betrayed him, and the
national cause: this was his conclusion. More than that: the triumph at his
trial; the torrents of adulation ever-present in the *völkisch* press or pouring
unabated from letters sent to Landsberg; and not least the collapse of
the *völkisch* movement in his absence into derisory sectarian squabbling,
and the growing conflict with Ludendorff and the other *völkisch* leaders;
all these contributed towards giving him an elevated sense of his own
importance and of his unique historic 'mission'. The idea, embryonically
forming in 1923, took firm hold in the strange atmosphere of Landsberg.
Surrounded by sycophants and devotees, foremost among them the fawning
Heß, Hitler now became certain: he himself was Germany's coming 'great
leader'.

Such a notion in its full implications was unimaginable before his triumph
at the trial and the acclaim that followed. The 'heroic' leadership he now
claimed for himself was an invention of his followers before he saw himself
in that role. But the role fitted the temperament of one whose personal
failures in early life had found an exaggerated wish-fulfilment in unbound
admiration for heroic figures, above all the artist-hero Wagner.¹⁵⁷ Whether
an extraordinary depth of self-loathing is a necessary precondition for such
an abnormal elevation of self-esteem into that of the heroic saviour of the
nation is a matter best left to psychologists. But whatever the deep-seated
reasons, for such a narcissistic egomaniac as Hitler, the hero-worship which
others directed towards him, combined with his own inability to find
fault or error in himself, now produced a 'heroic'-leadership self-image of
monumental proportions. No one in mainstream German political life,
outside the tiny and fractured *völkisch* movement, was aware of or would
have taken seriously the change in Hitler's self-perception. At the time it
was of no consequence. But for Hitler's demands on the *völkisch* movement,
and for his own self-justification, it was a vital development.¹⁵⁸

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler pictured himself as a rare genius who combined
the qualities of the 'programmatist' and the 'politician'. The 'programmatist'
of a movement was the theoretician who did not concern himself with
practical realities, but with 'eternal truth', as the great religious leaders

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had done. The 'greatness' of the 'politician' lay in the successful practical implementation of the 'idea' advanced by the 'programmatist'. 'Over long periods of humanity,' he wrote, 'it can once happen that the politician is wedded to the programmatist.' His work did not concern short-term demands that any petty bourgeois could grasp, but looked to the future, with 'aims which only the fewest grasp'. Among the 'great men' in history, Hitler singled out at this point Luther, Frederick the Great, and Wagner.¹⁵⁹ Seldom was it the case, in his view, that 'a great theoretician' was also 'a great leader'. The latter was far more frequently an 'agitator'. 'For leading means: being able to move masses.' He concluded: 'the combination of theoretician, organizer, and leader in one person is the rarest thing that can be found on this earth; this combination makes the great man.'¹⁶⁰ Unmistakably, Hitler meant himself.

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The 'idea' he stood for was not a matter of short-term objectives. It was a 'mission', a 'vision' of long-term future goals, and of his own part in the accomplishment of them. Certainly, these goals – national salvation through 'removal' of the Jews and acquisition of 'living-space' in the east – did not amount to short-term practical policy guidelines. But, incorporated into the notion of the 'heroic' leader, they did amount to a dynamic 'world-view'. This 'world-view' gave Hitler his unremitting drive. He spoke repeatedly of his 'mission'. He saw the hand of 'Providence' in his work. He regarded his fight against the Jew as 'the work of the Lord.'¹⁶¹ He saw his life's work as a crusade. The invasion of the Soviet Union, when it was launched many years later, was for him – and not just for him – the culmination of this crusade. It would be a serious error to underestimate the ideological driving-force of Hitler's few central ideas. He was no mere propagandist or 'unprincipled opportunist'.¹⁶² He was indeed both a masterly propagandist and an ideologue. There was no contradiction between the two.

Hitler's conviction of his own uniqueness conveyed itself to some, if not all, of those imprisoned alongside him in Landsberg. It was only in Landsberg, wrote Rudolf Heß, that he fully grasped the 'mighty significance' of Hitler's personality.¹⁶³ Some of the inmates, like Heß, would, on release, be instrumental in transmitting the 'heroic' image of Hitler within the party. Hermann Fobke, Hitler's liaison with the north German faction and an internee in Landsberg along with around two dozen other young members of Hitler's bodyguard, gave an indication of the impression Hitler was making on him in one of his letters to the Göttingen leader of the National Socialists, Ludolf Haase:

It is my rock solid conviction that Socialist thinking . . . And if it then it is only for the sake of me programmatist and the politici accomplish it. My stay here has faith in Hitler's political instinc

When he left Landsberg, leadership claims were, ther *völkisch* movement, but ha into a new perception of h realism had by no means claims. He had no concrete still imagined that his goals future.¹⁶⁵ Since it consisted 'world-view' was compatil had the advantage of accon conflicting positions on par by subordinate Nazi leader: Hitler himself was flexib which could obsess his fo commentators, frequently because of its diffuseness, Ideology was often regard and tyranny.¹⁶⁷ This was basic ideas, few and crude those basic ideas came to within the Nazi state. W power. He was prepared and those were for him th They formed the essence c was always itself ultima notion of power.

Following his months that, unlike the pre-put exponent of the 'idea' *völkisch* movement, de salvation. The task faci that.

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And by then, its rivals on the significance, or been absorbed into

enced by Hitler's changed leadership before the putsch only one of emphasis in 1923 on paramilitary beside his own movement. Despite some of his followers attached merely one exponent – however a myriad forms of emphasis and the movement was absolute, the Leader. The Hitler cult had days scarcely imaginable before the Leader above the party. cult was encouraged, or at least the focus of growing support. crucial adhesive, alone capable wise, as 1924 had shown, was for opponents and for supporters to mean exclusively 'the Hitler' the subsequent rapid spread of popular support had been attained Hitler in the Third Reich itself. nation of the NSDAP in these remarkable, indeed, is not how do to bring about the restructuring was in a position to challenge to favour it.

th to national redemption and y into politics: mobilization of internal enemies, preparation on' was, at this stage at least, to himself the prejudices and conveying a compelling image sole recipe, as always, was to through ceaseless propaganda in his favour. The certainty matic – impressed those drawn round Hitler, the 'messianic',

'visionary' image. However, the growth of the Führer cult – though Hitler did nothing to prevent it, other than prohibiting its most tasteless excesses – was brought about by his followers. And the important restructuring of the party's organization was largely the work of Gregor Strasser. Hitler's indispensability to the *völkisch* Right had been demonstrated when it disintegrated during his time in Landsberg. No other leader could rally it and hold it together as he could. And no speaker could draw the crowds like he could. Beyond that, his main contribution to the inner strengthening of the NSDAP in this period amounted to an uncompromising stance – even in adversity – towards all potential threats to his authority, and the utilization of his unique leadership position to bypass or override all ideological conflicts in the single-minded pursuit of power.

Despite the modest growth (from a low base) in party support in 1929, neither Hitler nor any other leading Nazi had any inkling about the speed with which the political breakthrough was to follow. But once the breakthrough came, the party was, following the changes since its refoundation in 1925, in a position to exploit the new conditions it had been powerless to produce.

I

Hitler spent Christmas Eve 1924 with the Hanfstaengls in their splendid new villa in Munich's Herzogpark. He had put on weight during his time in prison, and looked a little flabby. His blue suit was flecked with dandruff on the collar and shoulders. Four-year-old Egon Hanfstaengl was glad to see his 'Uncle Dolf' again.¹² Within two minutes, Hitler was asking to hear Isolde's 'Liebestod' on Hanfstaengl's elegant Blüthner grand piano. Wagner's music, as Hanfstaengl had often noticed, could transform Hitler's mood. His initial nervousness and tension disappeared. He became relaxed and cheerful. He admired the new house, then suddenly stopped in mid-sentence, glanced over his shoulder, and explained that he had not lost his habit from prison of imagining he was being observed through the peephole. It was, as Hanfstaengl realized, a pathetic piece of play-acting. Putzi had seen Hitler in Landsberg, relaxed and comfortable; and there had been no peephole in his room. He noticed that Hitler had a good appetite during the meal of turkey followed by his favourite Viennese sweet pastries, but that he scarcely touched the wine. Hitler subsequently explained that he had begun on leaving Landsberg to cut out meat and alcohol in order to lose weight.¹³ He had convinced himself that meat and alcohol were harmful for him, and,

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continental policy, avoiding any damage to British interests. The breakup of Russia with England's help should be attempted. Russia would provide enough land for German settlers and a broad field of activity for German industry. Then England would not butt in when we settle with France."⁹³ The derivation of this policy from Germany's eastern conquest of 1917-1918 was no longer showing. It remained to be covered over in *Mein Kampf* when Hitler asserted in expounding the need to expand the "motherland" eastward: "In this we National Socialists consciously put an end to the course of Germany's prewar foreign policy. We pick up where Germany left off six centuries ago."⁹⁴ Unconsciously it was more like six years.

In *Mein Kampf* Hitler called his old repertory piece vindicating Brest-Litovsk against Versailles one of the two "very most important" speeches of his "agitational" beginnings, both of which he delivered "in ever new versions" that incorporated "running," "living" corrections read off his "listeners' faces."⁹⁵ The other such speech refuted "that downright monstrous lie"⁹⁶ about German war guilt. Germany had no more started or wanted the war, he insisted, than Germany had been acquisitive or brutal at Brest-Litovsk. The point of both these companion speeches was that the defeat was undeserved and hence unacceptable. Yet that same *Mein Kampf* contained Hitler's first public bid to launch a new war for seizing land in the east to be ruthlessly Germanized. This incongruity marked a turning from unconscious denial toward unconscious repetition with a vengeance.

With the war that Hitler proposed to wage for Germany—he called it a "struggle for existence" which "originates with the people itself"⁹⁷—he was responding unawares to a need he dimly sensed for Germany to work through the agonizing past a second time the way a traumatized individual does. With his aim of infusing one will into Germans individually went his claim to have elicited that one will from them collectively. As aspirant dictator he professed to heed only "the natural inner will of the people" as against "public opinion," which, he affirmed, "can never be identified with the people's will proper. . . . The more public an opinion is," he added, "the less it corresponds to the

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Heilsh
remains
D.T.
takes
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over

real inner will of the people."⁹⁸ Later, as dictator, he manipulated "public opinion" by way of implementing the people's "inner will."⁹⁹ Even so, he repeatedly invoked a mystic bond with the people during his years of power. Heedless of logic, he declaimed: "I have grown out of the people, I have stayed in the people, I return to the people," and "that is the source of my entire power."¹⁰⁰ The truth to this began just where logic left off. Already in his political incunabula he could establish total rapport with an audience of thousands addressed as a nucleus of the nation at large. His speeches would gradually key up listeners into a single, taut sensibility that seemed to be prompting him, and it took a practiced observer to keep what he said conscious.¹⁰¹ He would start off a speech, remarked a contemporary, by sounding out an audience "with instruments of various metals and various weights. When a resonance issues from the depths . . . the masses have given him the pitch."¹⁰² More pointed was a characterization of him in an anonymous postmortem as the "accumulator of the national wrath over the lost war."¹⁰³ His political calling came from a personal breakdown synchronic with the national breakdown—a gas trauma within the national shock of defeat. Both his political messages resonated with this national shock. The first was a myth designed to explain the defeat away, dashed with "devilry"¹⁰⁴ to conjure it away and so restore German dominion to its extent of August 1918. The second, cast as thoroughgoing realpolitik, was at once a critique of Wilhelmian overreaching and a program for reaching even farther in a pretended new departure that was none. Unconsciously, the thrust of the second was to repeat the fumbled Wilhelmian play for world power, while the thrust of the first was to repeat the futile surgery and counterproductive poisoning of 1907. And in the second repeat, when it came, liberties were taken with the original experience that paralleled those taken in the first. The bogged down offensive in Flanders and eventual breakthrough in Russia were transposed in World War I-bis.¹⁰⁵ Efforts to "turn fate" prolonged the new war to the bitter end after the scheme to serialize the old war had become a dead letter. Indeed, the hopeless struggle to fend off the forced out-

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 Part of the reason why Hitler did not simply adopt the radical theories of a Lanz was certainly political tactics, particularly as far as the latter's misogyny was concerned. The folkish sectarians threatened to turn into a liability for the Reich chancellor, so he shook free of them. In *Mein Kampf* he raved with pronounced animosity about those antiquated folkish theoreticians, deutschvölkisch wandering scholars, and folkish Methuselah[s] who were all at variance with each other: *For the same people who brandish scholarly imitations of German tin swords, and wear a dressed bearskin with bull's horns over their bearded heads . . . run away as fast as they can from every Communist blackjack.* No one, Hitler maintains, was taking them seriously: *the Left lets them talk and laughs at them. And: They are not only cowards, but they are also always incompetents and do-nothings.*⁸⁶ In March 1936 Lanz was critically mentioned in an official article on "The Falsification of Racial Thoughts through Esoteric Doctrines."⁸⁷

AN eyewitness from the thirties reported that Hitler had little patience for "national sectarianism" and preferred script to Gothic writing. Once, the eyewitness said, when some overly eager man gave him a new "Aryan" libretto for *The Magic Flute* to replace "Schikaneder's text, which allegedly was a product of the Jewish mindset," Hitler rejected it, commenting that "he had no intention to make himself look ridiculous in the eyes of the world." In a small circle, the eyewitness said, he had also openly made fun of "Himmler's Germanic home-made platitudes."⁸⁸

Hans Goldzier

Hitler later told Otto Wagener, who as a top-ranking party functionary was among those closest to him between 1929 and 1933, that during his Vienna years he had also perused the writings of Vienna engineer Hans Goldzier: *Judging by his name, he could have been a Jew, which may be the reason why he also used the pen name Th. Newert initially. Goldzier's ideas impressed me very much, but I never again heard about him or his theories later on. I only know that he was employed as an engineer during the construction of the Simplon tunnel.*⁸⁹ The name "Th. Newert" must be a mistake made during copying, for Goldzier wrote under the pseudonym Th. Newert.

From 1905 on Goldzier published a number of pamphlets in Vienna on the general topic of "Some Problems of the World." He posited a number of theories that explained virtually all the world's problems at once and supposedly disproved science, Goldzier's great enemy: "Good Lord! What did science not count, weigh, and prove! And yet, all that

rubbish which was so carefully pable of judgment looked at the a new discovery revealed the re:

Goldzier particularly targeted of Gravitation—False!" He polemic Center of the Earth," supposed "From the Illusion of Comets to unraveled all laws regarding origin the Milky Way to the deluge, it elaborated on the location of pre believed to be near the North Pole of iron, and the lunar craters were bread dough.

And so forth: electricity was life; it governed people, who were wriggling on invisible threads, exhort or abandon their goals according to He also argued that it was electricity happiness or misfortune."

Goldzier offered some guidelines of social force. For example, he exhorted their children, because repeating social life current from the child.⁹² Here is a parison: *That's why a child screams stop trying to hug him; he doesn't want is dying. And Grandmother takes the child to seize his surplus powers—subconsciously.*

Goldzier also applied this theory using the Darwinist principle of "the weak ones." He argued that those "stagnated" were declining, approaching extinction to rob the healthy of their life current Goldzier suggested, the weak, who were represented a parasitic life form. His the right vigorously to fight the willful race." And: "If the individual's or social proves the species, it is good. Everyth

Little can be uncovered about Goldzier has an entry on a "book printing shop Goldzier who is probably identical with

tually worshipped dilettantism. Chamberlain, for example, proudly stressed in the very first sentence of his two-volume work that he was an "unlearned man." He then went on to make a case for dilettantism's "important task" as a "reaction to science's authoritarian rule": "Only the mediocre ones among them can bear to permanently breathe prison air." And: "Isn't it possible for some comprehensive unlearnedness to do more justice to a large complex of phenomena than the kind of learnedness which has predetermined the course of one's thoughts through strict and lifelong specialization?"¹³⁵

To stick with this example: Hitler in fact dropped many similar remarks. However, he did not necessarily read this in Chamberlain directly but may have repeated the opinion from one or more of the numerous popular copiers and admirers of Chamberlain within Vienna's German-National circles. Furthermore, such remarks were part of the current trend against enlightenment and the exact sciences, and toward a new mysticism, toward revelations and the precedence of intuition and feeling. Politicians such as Dr. Karl Lueger, whom Hitler so revered, had tremendous success with the "people" when they dropped snide remarks about the "professors."

Hitler construed a clear and organized weltanschauung that gave preference to bipolar theories: the theory about masters and slaves, about strong and weak, blond and dark people, accompanied by a clear distinction between good and evil, as in Karl May's *Ardistan and Djinnistan* (see pp. 382 ff.), for example, between valley and mountain in Eugen d'Albert's opera, and—on a much higher level and in reality not at all as simplistically as Hitler understood it—Weininger's masculine and feminine principles as corresponding to the contrast between Christian and Jewish elements. All these theories have a distinct pattern of friends versus enemies.

Apparently such a bipolar view of the world was in agreement with Hitler's way of thinking. Albert Speer reports that as Reich chancellor Hitler's pet phrase was, "We have two possibilities here," which he used so often that his closest surroundings, including the secretaries, made it a running joke.¹³⁶

On the other hand, this tendency to see things black-and-white was also political calculation on the part of Hitler—as it is for any politician who sees himself as a "people's tribune" and wants to manipulate the masses. Hitler did not at all hide the fact that he used this method. In *Mein Kampf*, he wrote: *The broad masses of people consist neither of professors nor of diplomats. The scantiness of the abstract knowledge they possess directs their sentiments more to the world of feeling. That is where their positive and*

negative attitude lies. It these two directions and

And to quote one overwhelming majority a soning determines their t

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For Hitler, not the and race, whose history the ice ages. Within the being part of a people at battle against other peop to attain global predom "pure," free of all influen system of rigorous "eugen hygiene"—with its stric "meting out" of the sick: the example of plant gro the circle of Schönerian fervently and radically th.

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negative attitude lies. It is receptive only to an expression of force in one of these two directions and never to a half-measure hovering between the two.¹³⁷

And to quote one more example from the many: The people in their overwhelming majority are so feminine by nature and attitude that sober reasoning determines their thoughts and actions far less than emotion and feeling. And this sentiment is not complicated, but very simple and all of a piece. It does not have multiple shadings; it has a positive and a negative; love or hate, right or wrong, truth or lie, never-half this way and half that way, never partially, or that kind of thing.¹³⁸

For Hitler, not the human being is in the center, but one's people and race, whose history unfolds in harmony with cosmic cycles, such as the ice ages. Within these cycles, the individual has no value other than being part of a people and a race and to help secure their survival in the battle against other peoples and races. Guido von List argued that in order to attain global predominance one day, the "Aryan race" had to be "pure," free of all influences "foreign to its race." In these theories, the system of rigorous "eugenics"—the German term literally meaning "racial hygiene"—with its strict marriage laws, "selective breeding," and the "meting out" of the sick and weak, which was usually explained by using the example of plant growing, appeared as a quasi-cosmic law, which in the circle of Schönerians and their sympathizers was postulated more fervently and radically than anywhere else.

What these theories make very clear is the basic Darwinist idea (which is typical of the zeitgeist around 1900 as well) that the weak will perish just as inevitably as the strong will prevail. Hitler said in 1923: All of nature is a permanent battle between strength and weakness, a permanent victory of the strong over the weak.¹³⁹ It is in this context that we also have to read remarks such as those Hitler made to Goebbels in the winter of Stalingrad, in February 1943: If, however, the German people were to become weak one day, it wouldn't deserve anything but to be eradicated by a stronger people; in that case, Hitler said, one wouldn't be able to pity it either.¹⁴⁰

If they desert me, I will desert them.

molished in order to make possible the "unity of the German people" also goes back to Schönerer. Hitler the politician would turn Schönerer's motto "popular law supersedes state law" into the slogan *human right supersedes the state's rights*, by which he meant precisely what Schönerer had always said: that everyone's main obligations were to one's people, and not to the state to which one belonged; and, that a people was not bound by national borders but had to overcome them in order to achieve unity. This, however, was a principle which had followers among all nationalities in the multiethnic empire.

Hitler portrayed the Pan-Germans as *men of national and patriotic mind* who rebelled against the Slavization policy and the disenfranchisement of the Germans: *If, by the instrument of governmental power, a nationality is led toward its destruction, then rebellion is not only the right of every member of such a people—it is his duty.*⁴³

He argued that Schönerer had showed the German people, which was allegedly threatened by extinction, the only possible way to go: a "Pan-Germany," that is to say, the German-Austrians' Anschluss to the German Reich. *That they mustered the courage to cry "Hoch Hohenzollern" impressed me as much as it pleased me; that they still regarded themselves as an only temporarily severed part of the German Reich, and never let a moment pass without openly attesting this fact, inspired me with joyful confidence; that in all questions regarding Germanism they showed their colors without reserve, and never descended to compromises, seemed to me the only still passable road to the salvation of our people.*⁴⁴

Like his Viennese model, Hitler adopted the title "Führer" and introduced the "German greeting": "Heil!" Like Schönerer, he did not tolerate majority decisions in his "movement," but only the truly Germanic democracy characterized by the free election of a leader and his obligation fully to assume all responsibility for his actions and omissions. In it there is no majority vote on individual questions, but only the decision of an individual who must answer with his fortune and his life for his choice.⁴⁵ Only a small group was supposed to aid the leader: What is crucial is not the quantity but the will. A minority's will that is led forcefully is always larger than a white-livered one.⁴⁶

Yet Hitler did not simply copy Schönerer, but also examined his political mistakes—and avoided them. For example, he wrote that the Pan-Germans had not realized that *one should, on purely psychological grounds, never show the masses two or more opponents, since this leads to a total disintegration of their fighting power.*⁴⁷ This realization led Hitler the politician not to fight, like Schönerer, against the Freemasons, Jesuits, capitalists, Catholics, parliamentarians, and many other enemies, but to

focus on one single enemy: the Jew tually everything that was wrong.

In 1938, as "Führer of the C" homage to the idol of his youth by Eduard Pichl's Schönerer biography yet, purchasing half the edition of nich's Hapsburg Square was renamed to the Hapsburgs' greatest opponent

On April 27, 1941, Hitler had on the house of the former Austria NSDAP's Viennese District Buildingocratic suffrage, Franz Stein, Schönerer's emonial speech.

Schönerer's hundredth birthday with a large exhibition in Vienna von Schönerer, Herald and Pioneer was organized by the old Schönererian the exhibit was a quote from Schö Germany is and has been my dream: the Bismarck of the future, the savior Pan-Germany!"

The Special District Office "In the following quote from the large was fitting to the war: "I am the first love but also hate, and I am the first everyone who loves his people must soon as my son has grown up, I will says yes, I will reply to him: Well then beautiful in the German nation! Ar hate too? And if he says yes, I will say that is bad and everything that is ha

In an advertising brochure for the even troubled John the Baptist to precursorer was "the voice, forerunner, an fulfillment so that someone mightier what he started."⁵¹

Franz Stein and the Pan-C

During Hitler's Vienna years, when S figure but no longer personally prese

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for example, lacemakers and seamstresses—so they could earn "decent" wages after attending training courses.³¹

There was also support from the private foundation of Baron Moriz Hirsch, who enforced the building of schools in Galicia, for Jewish as well as Christian children, both boys and girls. After all, part of the reason why Eastern Jewish girls were so behind in education was that they were not accepted into the religious "Chedorim" schools.

But all of this took a great deal of time, and all the while anti-Semitism kept getting worse. In any case, particularly the standing expression "Jewish white slave traders" was a popular anti-Semitic term that Hitler too used in *Mein Kampf*: *The relationship of Jews to prostitution and, even more, to the white-slave traffic, could be studied in Vienna as perhaps in no other city of Western Europe, with the possible exception of the southern French ports.*³²

uk.

Parliamentary Debates

*in 1908?
Adm. for Hitler
in the Parliament*

The few Jewish delegates in Parliament fought for the realization of "the natural, inalienable right of every people to full, truly equal rights, and to absolute equality before the law" for the Jews. Yet considering what German Radical representative Eduard von Stransky shouted full of satisfaction in June 1908, they had hardly any chance: "Thank God, the majority of this House is anti-Semitic!"³³

Zionist representative Dr. Benno Straucher from Bukovina, an advocate and director of the Jewish community in Czernowitz, complained: "Of all the parties in this House, which are all brimming with freedom, liberty, progress, equal rights, and justice—for themselves: none offers any protection for the Jews; when it comes to Jews, all witnesses become silent, the open and the clandestine anti-Semites have done their job well and planned their tactics carefully. No one supports us out of a sense of liberty and justice, no one wants to be called a Jew lackey, a mercenary of the Jews." Tired of the Christian Socials' constant interjections, he said: "With you, one doesn't need to prove anything, know anything, have learned anything; it is enough simply to say 'Jew,' that's proof enough for anything."³⁴

In 1908, when young Hitler frequented Parliament, the Christian Socials proposed a law to limit the number of Jewish university and high school students. Only a number of Jewish students corresponding to the Jews' share of the population should be admitted.

In the course of the heated debate Straucher cautioned against such

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question and to take cognizance of the Jews, Vienna appeared to me in a different light than before. Wherever I went, I began to see Jews, and the more I saw, the more sharply they became distinguished in my eyes from the rest of humanity.⁷⁷ The upshot of this dramatic development, Hitler claims, was the realization regarding Social Democracy's Jewish character: *When I recognized the Jew as the leader of the Social Democracy, the scales dropped from my eyes. A long soul struggle had reached its conclusion.*⁷⁸

Of course, *Mein Kampf* must not be read as an autobiography in the sense of its author dealing with his own past, or as a confession in which he worked through his experiences. The book is clearly a work of political propaganda, in which a power-hungry politician on the rise buttresses his political slogans and builds them up through a fitting life story to form a *weltanschauung*. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler created an organically grown anti-Semitic career for himself with politically convenient anti-Semitic images in its key scenes. Thus the book must also be read as the developmental history of a Germanic leader who found the right when he was young.

However, reality, as it emerges from the reports of Viennese eyewitnesses, has little to do with the myths *Mein Kampf* purports. Apart from the special case of August Kubizek, no anti-Semitic remark by the young Hitler has been documented.

Reinhold Hanisch, clearly an anti-Semite, was incredulous when he heard that Hitler, of all people, was an extreme, anti-Semitic politician in the thirties. After all, Hanisch and Hitler had their falling out in the men's hostel in 1910 because Hitler turned entirely to his Jewish friends Josef Neumann and Siegfried Löffner. In the thirties, in his anger Hanisch revealed Hitler's youth as anything but anti-Semitic in order to discredit Hitler as a politician.

Hanisch is by no means alone in his assertions. Anonymous from Brunn also wrote, in 1912: "Hitler got along extremely well with Jews. He once said they were an intelligent people that stuck together more than the Germans." Rudolf Häusler, the colleague in the men's hostel, was at a loss when his daughter questioned him about the anti-Semitism of his then twenty-three- to twenty-four-year-old friend Adolf. Häusler told her that he had not noticed anything of the kind in Vienna. Yet he knew that in Munich, Hitler had thought he had been cheated by a Jewish junk dealer, which might have been a reason for Hitler's subsequent anti-Semitism—surely no conclusive proof.⁷⁹

The Viennese eyewitnesses remembered unanimously that Hitler's dealings with Jews had been quite natural. For example, Jakob Wasserberg from Galicia, who ran a small brandy store at 20 Webgasse, close to

Stumpergasse, related with him: "Mr. Wasser

It is worthy of no Vienna, Hitler never briefly recapitulate your enna: Even when he went to his Jewish family do his mother until she died that young Hitler had not yet begun to hate though goes back to a Jewish pre is as untenable as the with syphilis by a Jewish Semitic smear campaign: director Gustav Mahler, interpreter. Accompanied the family life and cultural musicmaking in the and did not utter the slightest

Furthermore, he had tortors. When he was home well—he profited from Jewish *Wärmestuben* to soup homeless shelter in Meidling

In the men's hostel, Hanisch very angry. His copper polisher, gave him him money. Hitler disappeared Hanisch's comment: "Never very much and whom Hitler cursed issues concerning no means contemptuously leagues in the men's hostel so far as to defend Heine, Lessing's "Parable of the Ring" Jewish composers, such as

Siegfried Löffner from tel, even dragged Hitler's him for defrauding Hitler. Galicia, who received a small

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THE CREDO OF LIBERALISM, THE CRUX OF ALL EVIL:

“We are smarter, more clever, more virtuous, and yes, better in every way, than God is.”

“God blew it and we are going to straiten out the mess that God created, because, yes, we are superior to God, and far, far more virtuous than God is. Therefore, we vow to hate anyone who listens to what God says in his so-called ‘holy word’ via the prophets, the apostles and the Lord Jesus Christ. How dare God declare that we are worthless pieces of refuse consignable to the garbage heap of Gehenna! Yes, we get the burning, smoldering, stinking fires of hell if we refuse to adorn ourselves with the righteousness of Christ! Just who does God think he is anyway?”

The above credo is the hidden message behind everything the Liberals say and do. One way or another Liberals are going to stick their fingers in God’s eye as they proclaim their moral superiority, their sophistication and their intellectual wonderfulness.

A classic case in point occurred when Chris Matthews appeared on Jay Leno’s Tonight Show in June to promote his book. Chris proudly proclaimed how morally superior his son was to himself (even as Chris is certain of his moral superiority to God.) The story went that Chris and his son were visiting a wretched hovel in some third-world country somewhere, and Chris’ son said to his dad (paraphrasing), “You know dad, I would have no trouble living under these wretched conditions and

these deplorable circumstances for a whole year. But you, dad, are so spoiled by civilized-society living that you wouldn't be able to do it."

Well! Chris was so proud of his son's virtue, he could hardly contain himself!

The Liberal message is clear: God blew it by allowing such miserable, wretched conditions to exist on the earth among people living under paganism, savagery and crazy dictatorships like the one the Liberals would like to impose in this country. While at the same time people in America who live under the Judeo-Christian inspired principles of freedom, liberty and the rule of law grounded in the mandates of God himself through God's holy word, are so spoiled by wealth and privilege. "I'll not only show my moral superiority to dad, but I will engage in the favorite Liberal pastime of proving that my virtue is superior to God's virtue! I will glory in wallowing in this wretchedness and poverty, and when I stand before the judgment seat of God on the last day I'll shake my fist in God's face and denounce him for his unfairness." With tears of self-righteous joy streaming down his face, Chris' son will no doubt glorify the tradition of Liberals past by explaining to God how much better things would be if only a saintly person like himself had been God instead of the miserable failure of a God he must now stand before for his final judgment. Right.

Recently, another example of Liberal, fruitcake insanity occurred on the Don and Roma show on WLS radio out of Chicago. Roma Wade, the whining Liberal on the show, was defending Jimmy Carter's admiration for ruthless dictators (after Jimmy's recent trip to Fidel Castro's Cuba.) While Don Wade, the conservative representative on the show, continuously denounced Jimmy's efforts in Cuba, Roma kept punctuating Don's remarks by whining "But Jimmy is only seeking peace," "But Jimmy is only seeking peace," over and over again. And herein lies another great deception of the Liberals. They are so daft, so demented and twisted by the evil that courses through their beings, they actually think that good and evil can sit down at the peace table and embrace each

other. If that thinking isn't inspired by the devil himself (on the same level as "Aren't lies, rape, murder, theft, the filthiness of homosexuality and presidential BJ's in the oval office wonderful?") then I can't imagine what is. "But!" the Liberals will ask, "Isn't Jesus called the Prince of Peace?" Yes, that's right, and herein lays another Liberal deception: The "peace" Jesus brings to the world is "peace between God and man" not between good and evil. The most casual reading of the Holy Scriptures makes this obvious.

And recently the nation was treated to another demonstration that Liberals are the greatest hypocrites in the history of the world as their denunciation of Richard Nixon's sins on the thirtieth anniversary of the Watergate fiasco demonstrate. The Media commentators called this "the greatest blight on the presidency in history." The truth of the matter is quite different: The evils of Richard Nixon pale in comparison to the lawless and immoral reign of Hillary and Bill Clinton. (See **"Perverts, Pagans and Pathological Liars"**, an analysis of the Bill Clinton legacy @ www.CyclesResearch.org). Bill and Hillary represent the true low point in the history of the presidency from which this nation will never recover because of the lowering of the bar of decency they engendered in the nation's psyche. Truly, they are the two greatest sewer rats of lawlessness to have ever polluted the nation's executive.

Chris Matthews in his recent interview with Dan Quayle (07-16-02) referred to "the loving relationships" of homosexual couples that aspired to become the parents of adopted children. Herein lies another monumental Liberal lie: There can be, by definition, no "love" in a homosexual relationship because "love" must have a Spiritual (seven-dimensional), or a God-centered component. Two infantile lust slaves feeding on each other isn't "love," it is "lust" fueled by slavery to "unclean spirits." Godless heterosexual relationships have no Spiritual (seven-dimensional) dynamic either and can be just as filthy and perverse as homosexual relationships are.

The Liberals are society's perennial mouthpieces for the doctrines of devils (doctrines that run 180 degrees contrary to the holy Word of God) and thereby have become deadly cancerous tumors on the body of the nation. They have wrested control of the media away from God-fearing Christian people, and ditto in the entertainment industry, and ditto in the educational system, and have even wormed their way up in the hierarchy of the mainline churches to advance their filthy "homosexuality-is-so-wonderful" agenda. And in keeping with their godlessness, they have raised "lying, emotionalism and fear" to a successful art form to advance an atheist/socialist political agenda. They have all but destroyed the judiciary by their appointment of lawless judges who can't wait for their opportunity to cheerfully dismantle the Constitution of the United States in order to advance a godless and dictatorial agenda worthy of the most ruthless dictators in history.

So what hath these "holier than God" monsters of the left wrought?

That's easy: The certain destruction of our once great, God-fearing country:

Kiss it "goodbye." (See **"The End Time Scenario and the Rise of Antichrist"**, also, **"The Destruction of the World via Elitist Insanity"** @ www.CyclesResearch.org) Once the holy saints are raptured off the planet in the summer of 2006, the 9-11 disaster will be considered as nothing compared to the hell that awaits a nation that has become an excruciating embarrassment to Sodom and Gomorrah. See **"Woe to You Who Call Evil Good and Good Evil"** @ www.CyclesResearch.org.

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cay.) But now the question arises of a direct approach to the German trauma. Before it can be pursued, though, a further consideration remains to complete the picture. This is that Hitler's expansionist program was the secret of his success in Germany. The simple, salient facts are these. Beginning in 1925 Hitler solicited dictatorial power from Germany for the declared purpose of applying that program, unique in Weimar politics, and for no other purpose except to remove the Jew—his controlling purpose, which, however, he outwardly subordinated to German expansion until further notice, proposing to wipe out the Jewish poison in order to restore German strength for that new external push. And Germany obliged him. His following mushroomed, resistance right, left, and center collapsed before him, and within ten years absolute power over Germany was his.

It is true that other Nazis, national and local, enunciated other aims.⁶⁹ But Hitler never left off reminding all concerned that the organic principle of his Party as reconstituted in 1925 was "Leader command, we follow," that its sole reason for existing was to extend that principle to all Germany in the form of "one Reich, one People, one Leader," and that if he did not always call the tune it was only because he did not always care to. Whenever he saw fit to condemn a given tendency within his Party or later his Reich, allegiance against it was his; its proponents knuckled under, sometimes even jubilantly. The Party itself did hold attractions in the line of camaraderie, pageantry, marching, and violence,⁷⁰ but all in a cause from which they could never be fully disassociated—to which indeed their appeal was integral. In 1925 Hitler told regional Party leaders that "drill" was needed (or again "unity, authority, and drill") for "an army of warriors of the new world view" to triumph over the leveling, debilitating Weimar system.⁷¹ Nazi militancy and the Nazi alternative to parliamentarianism—"Subordinate!"⁷²—carried forward the spirit of the national battle of 1914–1918. The projected "folk community," so seductive to Germans of Hitler's day, updated "the mystic all-rank communion of the trenches"⁷³ or "the 'ideas of 1914' and the ideology of trench warfare, the feeling aroused by propaganda and self-deception that the war

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

1925, 1933

V

LEADER AND LED

For what is essential will always be the inner accord between leader and multitude.

ADOLF HITLER, 27 October 1928.¹

Hitler himself, he said, was nothing—nothing but a medium through which the movement operates. But then too he said that only Hitler has a grip on the movement.

HARRY KESSLER, Paris, 6 July 1933,
quoting Hermann Keyserlingk.²

For Germany traumatized in 1918, Hitler legitimated himself as leader by succeeding, and exceeding, Ludendorff. Here the Putsch was pivotal. Earlier Hitler had bowed to Ludendorff, who towered over Germany's folkic movement.³ But at the Bürgerbräu beer hall Hitler called the moves; Ludendorff fell in behind him for the "national revolution" as prospective "regent of the Reich" (whatever that meant) and chief of a people's army.⁴ Then at their trial Hitler eclipsed Ludendorff by taking full responsibility for their deed; the court bore Hitler out by convicting him and acquitting Ludendorff. He disposed of Ludendorff politically in the spring of 1925 by running him against Hindenburg for president of the Republic: Ludendorff rolled up 1.1 percent of the national vote.⁵ Thereafter, the more Hitler superseded Ludendorff, the more hostile Ludendorff grew. With this hostility Ludendorff acquired clairvoyance about his successor's historic role, as can be seen from his private message of 30 January 1933 to Hindenburg, his wartime partner long since estranged from

1922, 1925, April 13. 1926

turer Kurt Lüdecke that same way at two successive Nazi rallies on 11 August 1922. "I offered myself to him and to his cause without reservation": such was the sequel as Lüdecke told it.¹⁰⁰ Julius Streicher, master Jew-baiter of Nuremberg, was Hitler's rival until, in the early fall of 1922, he first heard Hitler speak. "When he finished his speech," Streicher proudly recounted, "an inner voice bade me get up. I arose and forced myself through the crowd to the speakers' desk. I went toward him and introduced myself. I spoke to him: 'Heil Hitler! I heard your speech. I only can be the helper but you are the born leader. Here is my movement in Nuremberg.' On that evening I gave the movement which I created in Nuremberg to Adolf Hitler."¹⁰¹ This gift doubled Hitler's following.¹⁰² Swaggering war hero Hermann Göring heard Hitler that same autumn denounce mere verbal protests against Versailles as senseless. "This conviction was spoken word for word as if from my own soul," Göring recollected, adding that he thereupon sought out Hitler in the Party offices: "We spoke at once about the things which were close to our hearts—the defeat of the fatherland, and that one could not let it rest with that. . . . I told him that I myself to the fullest extent, and all I was, and all I possessed, were completely at his disposal."¹⁰³ Cultivated, clownish Ernst "Putzi" Hanfstaengl was "captivated" as, in one hour of November 1922, the "up-and-coming virtuoso on the keyboard of the mass soul" turned a seething political assemblage into "a community gripped to the depths" by talk of reviving the German battle spirit.¹⁰⁴ Wellborn Baldur von Schirach's student circle of eighteen joined the Party and SA upon hearing Hitler speak in Weimar in 1925. "He appeared to me to be the man who would pave the way into the future for our generation," Schirach explained at the end of that year.¹⁰⁵ Newspaperman Otto Dietrich yielded in April 1929 only after his second Hitler speech at a year's interval.¹⁰⁶ "Goebbels felt Hitler's tremendous will and magnetic power and succumbed to him from the first moment."¹⁰⁷ Before that first moment the Mephistophelean manipulator had promoted a pro-Soviet policy within the Party, requiring Hitler to call him down from the Ruhr to Munich for a talking-to on living space. The

Oct 1925

R THE WORLD LOOKS AT HITLER / 99

In the course of the internecine struggle between the two wings of the Nazi Party, Goebbels came into frequent contact with Hitler and quickly fell under his spell. By mid-1926, Goebbels had abandoned the Strassers and thrown in his lot with Hitler. Thereafter, he was one of the Führer's most devoted followers; and in 1945, he—alone among Hitler's chief lieutenants—chose to share his master's fate. Our selection consists of excerpts from Goebbels' early diary, a portion of which was salvaged from the ruins of the Propaganda Ministry in Berlin. Unlike the "official" diaries that Goebbels kept in later years, this personal record was not written with a view to subsequent publication. The following excerpts illustrate not only Hitler's seduction of the young Goebbels and the latter's growing adoration of his new master, but also the many-faceted personality of Adolf Hitler during the years in which he simultaneously consolidated his grip on the leadership of the Nazi Party and built up a national following.

October 12, 1925¹

Hitler does not trust me, He has abused me. How that hurts. . . . To sacrifice all and then reproaches from Hitler himself. . . . If only I could be alone with Hitler for two hours. Then everything would come right. . . .

October 14, 1925

I am finishing Hitler's book [the first volume of *Mein Kampf*—ed.]. Thrilled to bits! Who is this man? Half plebeian, half God! Really Christ, or only John? . . .

November 2, 1925

On Wednesday, when Hitler speaks at Braunschweig, I am to address an overspill meeting. I look forward to this. Perhaps I shall succeed in collaring Hitler for a while. I shall go straight to the point. I shall tell him everything that troubles my soul. Everything depends on it. . . .

November 6, 1925

In the morning to Braunschweig. . . . We drive to Hitler. He is having his meal. He jumps to his feet, there he is. Shakes my hand. Like an old friend. And those big blue eyes. Like stars. He is glad to see me. I am in heaven. . . . I drive to the meeting. And speak for two hours. Punctuated by applause. And then *Heils* and clapping. There he is. He shakes my hand. His big speech has quite finished

¹ The dates that head the entries are not necessarily the ones on which the events described actually occurred.

(1925), 1926

E platform which denounced the evils of capitalism and expounded the virtues of a fuzzy theory of social cooperation which might best be described as that of the corporate state. Gregor Strasser, his brother Otto, the young Paul Joseph Goebbels, and a group of northern *Gauleiter* worked together within the *NSDAP* to give organizational structure to these ideas. Opinion among historians today is deeply divided on the question of what Strasser and his friends were after in 1925-26. It seems most likely, however, that their object was to move Hitler away from his heavy reliance on the Munich anti-Semites with their upper-class orientation; they wanted the party to proclaim a message of social revolution with only a spice of anti-Semitism.⁹ In any event the organizational and ideological squabbles between the Strasser group and the rest of the party dragged on throughout late 1925 and early 1926 until finally in February 1926 Hitler asserted his leadership and rejected all changes in the party program.

Heinrich played no leading role in these developments; he merely served his immediate superior and took care of assigned tasks. But the incessant meetings and maneuvering gave him an opportunity to become familiar with Goebbels and Strasser's other leading allies. Goebbels was impressed by Himmler's abilities and described him as "a good guy" and very intelligent.¹⁰ Himmler was allowed to attend some of the organizational meetings with Strasser but was not invited to the showdown meeting with Hitler in Bamberg in February 1926.¹¹

The major effect of the whole affair on Heinrich was the influence it exerted on the style and content of his public statements. From Strasser and his friends he learned to focus the attention of his listeners on the social and economic grievances of the peasantry. On occasion he employed the same kind of radical economic arguments as Strasser. In the course of his speech on October 13, 1926, Himmler described the rise of economic power in the following terms: "Capitalism made itself master of the machine and with it enslaved the people. As a result, there was a longing for freedom by the people, and this will to freedom expressed itself in the class struggle of the workers."¹² This kind of homespun Marxist phraseology came directly from Strasser, who used it to underscore his social-economic radicalism. After Hitler decided against him, the Marxian phrases

1925 1928, 1930

B 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.

arty Leader, 1889-1933

country, which began new reparations agreements negotiated, and this evacuation of the Ruhr; ing the inviolability of German-German frontiers: ops from the first zone d, and Germany's entry r unanimous vote of the mber 1926.

elections in April the al von Hindenburg, who last minute by the Na- y a narrow margin, but congratulation. Hinden- he old Army, a devoted and a Nationalist, did i have done to reconcile Republican régime.

ad at this time was due for Strasser, who was place as the effective breaking new ground in e Rhineland, where the penetrate. A powerfully onality, Strasser was an st of radical views who anti-capitalist points in ts nationalism. He was d little disposed to sub- mitted authority in the

North Germany, Stras- her, Otto, rapidly built hile nominally acknowl- began to develop into a er, who was a Reichstag r, the *Berliner Arbeit-*

The Years of Waiting, 1924-31

zeitung, edited by Otto Strasser, and a fortnightly periodical, *Nationalsozialistische Briefe*, intended for Party officials. As editor of the *Briefe* and Gregor's private secretary, the Strassers secured a young Rhinelander, then still under thirty, a man of some education who had attended a number of universities, and written novels and film scripts which no one would accept. His name was Paul Josef Goebbels.

Hitler had little sympathy with the Strassers' anti-capitalism and their demand for the breaking up of big estates, which embarrassed him in his search for wealthy backers. But while Hitler spent his time in Berchtesgaden, Gregor and Otto Strasser were actively at work extending their influence in the movement.

On 22 November 1925, the Strassers called together a meeting of the North German district leaders in Hanover. Hitler was represented by Gottfried Feder, but it was only by a bare majority that Feder was admitted to the meeting at all, after Goebbels had demanded his ejection.

The split between the Strassers and Hitler crystallized round a question which excited much feeling in Germany in 1925-6, whether the former German royal houses should be expropriated and whether their possessions should be regarded as their own private property or as the public property of the different states. Gregor and Otto Strasser sided with working-class opinion against the princes, while Hitler supported the propertied classes. At this time he was receiving three-quarters of his income from the divorced Duchess of Sachsen-Anhalt, and he denounced the agitation as a Jewish swindle. The Hanover meeting voted to follow the Strasser line. When Feder protested in Hitler's name, Goebbels jumped to his feet: 'In these circumstances I demand that the petty bourgeois Adolf Hitler be expelled from the National Socialist Party.' More important still, the Hanover meeting accepted the Strassers' pro-

Jan 1925

him "harsh letters" and he had sent you over four thousand . . . Hitler is expecting the money any moment and he has promised me positively, time after time, that he will let me know immediately when the money is there.

In the rest of this letter from Bavaria, Carin gave her exiled husband advice on how to approach Hitler with his idea of transferring operations to Sweden, which people in the party might well find hard to swallow. He should write the Führer a concise letter ("because he has so very much to do"), and above all gloss over the failure in Italy. "Please," she cajoled him, "don't be too pessimistic about Italy and his plans there."

"At our first meeting here before Christmas [Carin wrote] I told Hitler about your talks with the gentlemen in Rome. He knows also that the transactions were about an alliance, about the two million lire, and about the South Tyrol question."

If, she continued, Hermann now admitted to Hitler that Mussolini's men were refusing even to see him anymore, Hitler would surely dismiss her as "muddle-headed." She had mentioned the negotiations only so that Hitler could see how hard her husband had slaved for him—"So that he wouldn't think you were incompetent," she told Hermann candidly, adding hastily, "I adhered strictly to the truth just as you told me." Thus Hermann's letter to Hitler should explain that while at the time the loan had seemed feasible, the fact that the Nazi party had recently suffered an electoral setback suggested that there was nothing to be gained from any kind of deal with the Fascists.

I would indeed advise you [Carin wrote] to include in your letter to Hitler the treaty proposals drafted at the time so that he can see for himself the trouble you went to and will readily pay the expenses you incurred . . . Emphasize that personally you stand very well with the gentlemen [in Rome]! . . .

If you were to begin now suddenly telling Hitler only of the impossibilities in Italy and of your own plans in Sweden (my native country), he might easily get the impression that you are prompted by purely personal motives, that you mean to go to Sweden at any price and are abandoning all hope of securing an understanding with the Fascists . . . In that case he won't pay us anything . . .

Hitler is our only salvation now (with the exception of the sale of the villa). Everyone is waiting impatiently for the funds from Bimbaschi. You can be certain I am watching out for them too! They want to get the better of you and certainly don't want you to get any of the money, because they want it all for themselves. I don't believe that we have one single unselfish friend!

rains lashed down on gray lagoons
fe in this hotel was not dull, she
er Franz Léhar, and they got all
nor Rafaelli Giuseppe sang, they
their hotel existence to listen to an
of her life in Chicago and of the
f, her daughter and her son. "We
ter guest was the former queen of
jet-black hair; surrounded by her
own her pearls, and she handed out
ors.

self, here in the Grand Hotel Bri-
ings with Mussolini?" she wrote
thing to be with him . . . Hermann

ing in a handwritten letter to Leo
failure to respond, and his letter
conferences" that day.

1924 together, because Hitler had
ng had sent his wife posthaste to
extort what funds she could from

hope of any secret agreement with
of the South Tyrol. Carin repeated
was evidently more understanding
Ernst Röhm had languidly sought
ease from prison, but Carin warned
against having anything to do with
ut too much trust in him!!!!" she
with you because he's feeling rather

who was to publish Hitler's *Mein*
words of censure for Göring; the
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Feb. 1925

in Rome the newspaper
 on, but he had not bothered
 to Göring mentioning the
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 "have nothing to do with
 [Mussolini] will be very
 run-around. . . . Either
 in which case you could
 me in a hideous position
 if be duped—because on
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 with Negrelli to secure for
 ping to be writing a book
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 and no action." He con-
 yond peradventure that he
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 e, and we shall not forget
 postscript: "My wife has

Göring was a disappointed
 red to send back the press
 ived word from Hitler,"
 "He says you should have
 l." He gave Negrelli "one
 f—"Otherwise," he con-
 id that H. will send other
 ll leave me looking pretty

etter to Mussolini. Inspired
 ooks on Hitler for Negrelli
 4.," he wrote, "I shall be
 nge the interview rapidly.
 tant for me to have spoken
 e book about him and the
 dumb then if I have never

lumsy capitals—evidently
 want Carin to see it, with
 g the great Italian dictator.
 the inroads already made
 ght and, of course, by the
 now getting several times

This lowering darkness was now pierced by one ray of light. A telegram came from Negrelli: Its text is lost but Göring replied with alacrity to him at Mussolini's Press Office: VENICE FEB 13 2315 + THANKS FOR TELEGRAM EVERYTHING ALLRIGHT (the last word was in English).

Negrelli marked the telegram: "Duce."

At last the indolent mandarins in Rome seemed to be stirring, probably aroused by the unexpected revival in Nazi fortunes in Germany: Hitler had firmly resumed control of the party and had ousted all usurpers and pretenders to his throne like General von Ludendorff. On February 16, 1925, the Nazi party was again legalized (though the SA was still banned). On that day Carin paid Hitler a secret visit in Munich, and reported to Venice the next morning what the Führer had said:

1. He is of course ready to go to Mussolini and he's already having his papers (passport, etc.) put in order . . . However he will come only if he can deal personally with Mussolini himself. He does not want to speak with any of the underlings . . . 2. With regard to the South Tyrol question he takes exactly the same stand as ever—that for him there is no problem; 3. He wants to confer with M. only after he has sufficient backing . . . At present his authority does not extend beyond the four walls of his little apartment at No. 41, Thiersch Strasse [in Munich]. In a few days he will have himself acclaimed Führer again . . . [and] he will represent two million people, in a people's movement.

"He leaves it to your judgment," continued Carin, "to size up the situation with Mussolini. He asks you to make clear to M. that this is a populist movement and not a parliamentary setup . . . He was very cordial," she wrote, "kissed my hand again and again, sends you his best wishes, etc."

Göring sent Carin's report straight to Bastianini, who forwarded it to Mussolini with the eight-month dossier of letters from Göring, the press clippings, and the tedious memoranda on the Walther hotel affair. He guiltily reminded Mussolini that, acting on the Duce's instructions, he had clearly given Göring to understand that the Fascists accepted the spirit of his proposals, though not without reservations.

Since then [Bastianini advised his prime minister] the situation in Germany has undergone remarkable changes. Once persecuted and unrecognized, the Nazis have now recovered their material and political rights; their capo, Adolf Hitler, has been restored to freedom and to the Führership of his movement. Göring has now stated in a letter to Negrelli that they are no longer thinking in terms of an agreement . . .

June 1925

It ended, "I've seen the Reichsmarschall nod off in midconference—for instance, if the conferences went on too long and the morphine wore off. That was the commander in chief of our air force!"

In Stockholm the Görings had moved into a modest apartment in the neighborhood where Carin had once lived with Nils. If she was startled to find Thomas, now thirteen, almost as tall as herself, her family was shocked at the change in her once lithe and handsome husband, now in steep physical and mental decline, his body consumed by the vital opiate that he craved. He was listless, overweight, and short-tempered to the point of physical violence.

Carin sent him out alone to make friends with her own old circle, an odd experience that Stockholm lawyer Carl Ossbahr would still recall nearly sixty years later:

A rather stout gentleman turned up, wearing a white suit that looked somewhat out of place on him. It didn't go with his physique at all, and I wondered who he could be. He introduced himself as Hermann Göring, and then I knew that he had got the Pour le Mérite—and you didn't get that for nothing. I suppose he did the same with Carin's other friends.

Ossbahr had them to dinner several times. The German visitor talked politics most of the time, but not in the manner of an agitator at all. He left Ossbahr some books to read, including *Mein Kampf*, but the lawyer never got around to reading it. On one occasion Göring admitted that he was addicted to morphine, but he said he was fighting back. "I have such great tasks ahead of me," he said, "that I simply have to be cured."

Ossbahr found Carin a changed woman. She was now "a bit peculiar, something of a mystic." He was mildly taken aback when she insisted on reading his palm. The atmosphere around the couple left this lawyer with a feeling of "something somehow unreal"—it was hard to describe. "Her wish was his command. He wasn't her slave, but almost. Göring was clearly even more deeply in love than she." After 1925 Ossbahr lost sight of the couple, never dreaming then that Captain Göring of No. 23 Ödengatan would one day become the great Hermann Göring of Germany.

For months the ingratitude of the party gnawed at Göring's mind. He had written to Hitler about resuming command of the SA once the ban on it was lifted, but Hitler had tartly responded that the SA was his own business and that Göring should keep his nose out of it. Göring then reminded Hitler of the party's indebtedness to him, and "carefully filed away" this correspondence, as he disclosed in an embittered letter to Captain Lahr, the veteran who had bought the Obermenzing villa. The letter, written from Stockholm on June 26, 1925, seethed at the hypocritical "nationalist [völkische] circles"

1925

and "party hacks" around Hitler ruined him by its "utter brutal added, "not one spark of profit from his own experience for the Führer, Adolf Hitler." words of consolation. To date either Ludendorff or Hitler—signed 'in deepest loyalty.' "

Göring took a job as a pilot operating between Stockholm—perhaps his drug addiction with the funds that Carin had brought hospitalized with heart trouble; her sister Lily sold her piano morphine for Hermann. He and his girl friends would later recall what he was anxious to lose weight, taut and odd; then he disappeared and talking freely.

His decline steepened. On one occasion and Thomas that she fled to him threatened to kill himself. "Let me go with fear. The family physician should enter a drug-withdrawal unitarily at the Aspudden's Nursing Home."

For a while all went well. On one vacationing in Norway, looking walks:

I want to regain my former mountains, since the cure that has eliminated the main cause and coquettish about this—

But this is merely an excuse my trusty old ice pick will solve. I also believe that my cure. What is it like in the evening one have to wear a dinner

He never found out. Ten days later herself would sign the necessary asylum.

The extraordinary Swedish me

June - Aug 1925

all nod off in midconference—for
long and the morphine wore off.
"air force!"

ed into a modest apartment in the
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as herself, her family was shocked
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The letter, written from Stockholm
cal "nationalist [völkische] circles"

and "party hacks" around Hitler; the Nazi party, grumbled Göring, had
ruined him by its "utter brutality and ruthlessness." "It has shown," he
added, "not one spark of conscience or comradeship." He advised Lahr to
profit from his own experience. Gone was his previous "blazing admiration"
for the Führer, Adolf Hitler. "I wrote to the Führer but got back just empty
words of consolation. To date I have still not received one pfennig from
either Ludendorff or Hitler—nothing but a load of promises and photographs
signed 'in deepest loyalty.' "

Göring took a job as a pilot with a new company, Nordiska Flygrederiet,
operating between Stockholm and Danzig. But it lasted only a few weeks
—perhaps his drug addiction was found out. It was an expensive habit, and
the funds that Carin had brought from Germany ran out. She had to be
hospitalized with heart trouble and tuberculosis. They pawned furniture, and
her sister Lily sold her piano to pay the medical expenses and buy more
morphine for Hermann. He made no secret of his addiction. One of Carin's
girl friends would later recall walking with them in the hills outside Stockholm
(he was anxious to lose weight). For a while, she noticed, Hermann looked
taut and odd; then he disappeared briefly and returned looking visibly better
and talking freely.

His decline steepened. On occasions he became so violent toward Carin
and Thomas that she fled to her parents. Once, he opened a window and
threatened to kill himself. "Let him jump, Mama!" screamed Thomas, white
with fear. The family physician, Dr. Fröderström, recommended that he
should enter a drug-withdrawal clinic for a month, and he registered vol-
untarily at the Aspuddens Nursing Home on August 6, 1925.

For a while all went well. On the twentieth, he wrote to Carin's girl friend,
vacationing in Norway, looking forward to joining her for some long stiff
walks:

I want to regain my former health and trim figure by climbing
mountains, since the cure that I am successfully undergoing here
has eliminated the main causes of my unnatural bulk. I am vain
and coquettish about this—usually a female prerogative.

But this is merely an excuse. I go quite wild when I think that
my trusty old ice pick will soon be clattering on Norwegian glacier
ice. I also believe that my old energy and zest for life will return.
What is it like in the evening at your hotel, by the way? Does
one have to wear a dinner jacket?

He never found out. Ten days later he suffered a violent relapse, and Carin
herself would sign the necessary papers for him to be committed to a lunatic
asylum.

The extraordinary Swedish medical dossier recording Hermann Göring's

committal to Långbro Asylum tells a desperate tale. Nurse Anna Tornquist reported how the behavior of "Captain von [sic] Göring" during the last two days of his stay at the clinic left no choice but to commit him:

Until then things had gone calmly although he was easily irritated and insisted on his doses. On Sunday, August 30, Captain Göring's craving for Eukodal* became much greater, and he insisted on getting the quantity he himself determined. At about 5:00 P.M. he broke open the medicine cupboard and took two shots of the two percent Eukodal solution himself. Six nurses could do nothing to stop him, and he behaved in a very threatening manner. Captain Göring's wife was afraid that he might even kill someone in his frenzy.

By Monday he had quieted down. The medical superintendent, Dr. Hjalmar Eneström, ordered him given a sedative and a shot of morphine. Göring told him he was willing to adhere to the prescribed doses.

At about 10:00 A.M. on Tuesday [September 1, 1925] however, the patient became troublesome and again demanded medication. He jumped out of bed, got dressed and shouted that he wanted to go out and meet death somehow, since somebody who had killed forty-five people had no other choice now than to take his own life. As the street door was locked, he could not get out; so he ran up to his room and armed himself with a cane, which turned out to contain some sort of sword. The patient was given the additional injections, and remained in bed demanding still more.

When police and firemen arrived at about 6:00 P.M. he refused to go along with them. He tried to resist but soon found it futile.

Wrapped in a straitjacket he was taken by ambulance to another hospital, the Katarina. They opened a case-history file:

Göring, Hermann Wilhelm: German Air Force lieutenant. Cause of illness: abuse of Morphine and Eukodal; severe withdrawal symptoms. Was removed by governor's office from Aspudden Nursing Home on certificates issued by Drs. G. Elander and Hjalmar Eneström.

The patient holds a prominent position in the "Hitler party" in Germany, took part in the Hitler putsch, during which he was

*Eukodal, a controlled substance under the Reich Narcotics Act, was the synthetic morphine derivative dihydro-hydroxy-codeinon hydrochloride, to be injected intravenously.

injured and hospitalized was given morphine by he became addicted to patient manifested violence allowing him much threatening and so violence. Threatened to take his threatened to commit himself.

Compulsorily committed here [at the Katarina Hospital] he was sedated with Hy hours he woke and begged for freedom, said he intended and demanded to be given.

On coming to, he was of his faculties; considered. No violence as yet.

September 2 [1925]: rounds today about the which he was brought believes he will be certified. Expressed broad [a notorious scandal sheet].

Committed to Långbro Asylum about him enough to know that very blackness might spell fire to outsiders simply as The Sign to the floor and no other fun he saw, "I am not insane, I was in jeopardy, he refused. The doctors had seen it and recorded his maniacal ordeal.

September 2-October depressed, groaning, very demanding, irritable and relieved the pain; dejected spiracy, "malevolent to mital, [says] E. bribed himself is a "a dead n gets out in Germany: emotional tendencies, egocentric.

desperate tale. Nurse Anna Tornquist to von [sic] Göring" during the last choice but to commit him:

imly although he was easily ir-
On Sunday, August 30, Captain
became much greater, and he
himself determined. At about
medicine cupboard and took two
al solution himself. Six nurses
he behaved in a very threatening
as afraid that he might even kill

medical superintendent, Dr. Hjalmar
e and a shot of morphine. Göring told
rescribed doses.

y [September 1, 1925] however,
md again demanded medication.
sed and shouted that he wanted
how, since somebody who had
her choice now than to take his
locked, he could not get out; so
ed himself with a cane, which
of sword. The patient was given
emained in bed demanding still

red at about 6:00 P.M. he refused
to resist but soon found it futile.

en by ambulance to another hospital,
tory file:

erman Air Force lieutenant. Cause
and Eukodal; severe withdrawal
overnor's office from Aspuddens
issued by Drs. G. Elander and

nt position in the "Hitler party"
itler putsch, during which he was

Reich Narcotics Act, was the synthetic morphine
e, to be injected intravenously.

injured and hospitalized; says he escaped from there to Austria,
was given morphine by the doctors at the hospital, after which
he became addicted to morphine. Admitted to Aspuddens, the
patient manifested violent withdrawal symptoms (in spite of his
nurse allowing him more morphine), during which he became
threatening and so violent that he could no longer be kept there.
Threatened to take his own life, wanted to "die like a man,"
threatened to commit hara-kiri, and so on.

Compulsorily committed, with his wife's consent. Upon arrival
here [at the Katarina Hospital] on September 11 in the evening
he was sedated with Hyoscin and soon fell asleep, but after a few
hours he woke and became quite restless. He protested at his loss
of freedom, said he intended to send for his lawyer, and so on,
and demanded to be given sufficient Eukodal "for the pain."

On coming to, he was talkative, lucid, and in full possession
of his faculties; considered himself badly wronged.

No violence as yet.

September 2 [1925]: Indignant conversation with Dr. E. on his
rounds today about the illegal manner—according to him—in
which he was brought here. Refuses to take Hyoscin, as he be-
lieves he will be certified insane while in an anesthetized con-
dition. Expressed broad sympathy with opinions of *Fäderneslandet*
[a notorious scandal sheet] on psychiatrists.

Committed to Långbro Asylum later that day, Hermann Göring had his wits
about him enough to know that his life was now entering into a tunnel whose
very blackness might spell finality. He found himself in a small ward known
to outsiders simply as The Storm—he was alone in a cell with a bed bolted
to the floor and no other furniture. Panicking, he shouted at the first doctor
he saw, "I am not insane, I am not insane!" Realizing that his whole future
was in jeopardy, he refused to be photographed for the asylum's dossier.

The doctors had seen it all before. For the next five weeks they calmly
recorded his maniacal ordeal:

September 2–October 7, 1925: [The patient was] troublesome,
depressed, groaning, weeping, anguished, tiresome, constantly
demanding, irritable and easily affected (i.e., NaCl [common salt]
relieved the pain); dejected, talkative, target of a "Jewish con-
spiracy," malevolent toward Dr. Eneström because of his com-
mittal, says E. bribed by the Jews; thoughts of suicide; says he
himself is a "a dead man politically" if word of his committal
gets out in Germany; exaggerates withdrawal symptoms; hyster-
ical tendencies, egocentric, inflated self-esteem; hater of the Jews,

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

1920." The main room was
with worn linoleum and a
table, a makeshift bookcase.
The room was small, but
fully back and forth in carpet
day.
time in the neighborhood of
to the Austrian border. First
Berchtesgaden itself in a hotel,
the second volume of *Mein*
As he later recalled, "I lived
the second volume of my book.
Mein Kampf, where there were always
me. There was one of them es-

high in the mountains with a
few years later he bought the
called it his *Berghof* (Mountain
tributed by his motherly benefac-
the piano manufacturer, and
there were rare porcelain, books
and Wagner), and a manuscript
he also changed his residence
a nine-room apartment at 16
Bogenhausen part of town, a
death. Here he was near two of
was just down the street, as was
1901 especially for Richard
its gardens.

cause his finances had improved,
tions. As Ernst Hanfstaengl re-
was the first Munich family of
id." He brought Hitler into the
influence and money. They in-
Kaulbach, the Bavarian artist,
publishers who had among their
Elsa Bruckmann, the former
der woman, made something of a
Seidlitz and yet another older
erself "Hitler's Mommy" (*Hitlers*
Hitler "my little wolf," also de-
wanted her daughter Lotte to

irers is shown graphically in the
a loan in the summer of 1923.
owed 60,000 Swiss francs from

the coffee magnate Richard Frank of the Korn-Frank Company in Ber-
lin. The note reads:

As security for the loan, Herr Adolf Hitler transfers to Herr
Richard Frank valuables to the banking house of Heinrich Eckert
in Munich . . . the following . . . articles of value: 1 emerald
pendant with platinum and diamonds and platinum chain . . . one
platinum ruby ring with diamonds . . . one sapphire ring in plat-
inum with diamonds . . . one solitaire diamond ring . . . one 14-
carat gold ring . . . one seventeenth century Venetian lace, hand
made, 6½ meters long, 11½ centimeters wide . . . one red silk
Spanish piano shawl with gold stitching (size 4 x 4 meters). . . .²⁴⁸

Hitler's income tax statements filed with the Munich Finance Office
for the years 1925-1935 fail to do justice to his style of life.²⁴⁹ They
do, however, reveal something about the personality of the man filing
the return. It is clear, for example, that the political leader who
paraded his patriotism did not make the personal sacrifices he de-
manded of his countrymen and was not averse to cheating the govern-
ment of tax revenue. In May 1925, for example, he reported no income
whatever for 1924 and the first quarter of 1925. Yet in February 1925
he was somehow able to buy a custom-built, supercharged Mercedes.

Hitler tended to lump tax collectors, judges, clergymen, and
prostitutes together as the dregs of society. But with regard to his own
taxes, he had little to complain about. Officials never investigated his
actual income and with surprising equanimity accepted all his declara-
tions as valid. Later, the delicate question of the Führer's back taxes
from sales of *Mein Kampf* was solved by declaring him exempt from
taxation.

Hitler's income from *Mein Kampf* served as a negative barometer
of the Weimar Republic. Sales went down as prospects for democracy
improved; they went up with the economic and political crisis of 1930.
After Hitler came to power, when it was advisable for everyone to own
the book—if not to read it—the author's income skyrocketed. He was
quite accurate in announcing in 1943 that his book was right next to
the Bible in total sales, having finally overtaken Grimm's Fairy Stories.

Hitler's valets, secretaries, and other associates have given a clear
picture of the daily pattern of his life after he became chancellor,
which did not differ significantly from patterns established during the
previous decade. Normally he began getting up between 11 o'clock and
noon. His valet (Karl Wilhelm Krause, 1934-1939; Heinz Linge, 1939-
1945) watched for the first signal: an arm clad in a nightgown would
be seen reaching out to the chair outside his bedroom door for morning
newspapers and important telegrams and messages. The arm would
quickly withdraw as its owner returned to bed to read his papers. Hitler
would bathe and shave himself, always using two blades for each

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THE "JEWISH POISON"

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The greatest danger is and remains for us the alien racial poison in our body. All other dangers are transitory. This one alone is perpetually present for us in its resultant effect.

ADOLF HITLER, 27 February 1925.¹

Adolf Hitler changed markedly with the close of World War I. Before then his occasional speechifying met with smiling sufferance at best.² Once on an anniversary of the revolution of 1918, which symbolized for him the collapse of the Reich, he remarked: "I don't think I could have spoken to twenty people before that time without being at a loss for words."³ Yet early in the postwar period he was already a spellbinding orator, drawing deep and powerful shared emotion from his audiences. In the spring of 1919 a member of the party he was to join, the German Workers Party, heard him address a soldiers' council in Munich and noted "his almost occult power of suggestion over the assemblage."⁴ Then on 5 June 1919 a professor who gave the first class of a training course for Reichswehr political lecturers in Munich, among them the thirty-year-old Hitler, observed a small group that formed afterward. "It seemed to be held enthralled around a man in its midst who was addressing it uninterruptedly and with mounting passion in a strangely guttural

Goebbels

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4: The Little Agitator

IN the May 1924 Parliamentary elections 1,918,329 people had voted for the right-wing parties' united front, giving them thirty-two of the 472 seats in the Reichstag; but of these only ten, under Gregor Strasser, owed allegiance to Hitler. In the election of December 7 the right wing, now named the National Socialist Freedom movement, attracted only 907,242 votes: Fourteen MPs, with only five representing Hitler.

Writing after this reverse Goebbels encouraged his readers on December 20: 'There is no use denying it: We lost this battle, and the enemy triumphed all along the line.' He had intuitively perceived the correct propaganda tactic—ruthless depiction of the somberness of the hour. 'The Idea,' he continued, 'is worth any sacrifice, even the sacrifice of lives and property!' And then, in a pale pre-echo of his famous proclamations in the last days of his life, he hinted at the darkness that precedes each dawn: 'Every disaster at Jena is followed by a victory at Leipzig.'

The first rays of the new dawn appeared that same afternoon. Hitler arrived back at his Munich apartment, a free man again. Goebbels acclaimed him in his weekly's Political Diary, published on New Year's Day 1925: 'We greet thee, leader and hero, and there is an enormous joy and anticipation in us knowing that thou art again in our midst.'

Hitler's release from Landsberg threw his party into flux. Goebbels reassessed the conflict between the national and socialist elements of the party's program. He found it impossible to swallow the internationalist aspects of Marxism, but he hoped to steer the nationalist movement toward socialism, rather than see its socialist aspects drenched in mindless nationalism. In the Ruhr and Rhineland, he found many activists who thought like him—particularly the former members of the paramilitary Free Corps. Among these was Karl Kaufmann. Kaufmann, three years his junior, had organized N.S.D.A.P. *Ortsgruppen* (local groups) in several Ruhr cities until forced by the Prussian police to flee to Bavaria. Now he was back in Elberfeld, raising a political force aligned against the bourgeois, comfortably-off Wiegiershaus.

Goebbels too was evidently disillusioned with the folkish movement. In the final issue of his weekly, an anonymous advertisement appeared on January 17, 1925, announcing under Box R.26: 'Situation wanted. Editor, young, folkish, accustomed to work independently; good leader-

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THE LITTLE AGITATOR 27

writer, organizer, workaholic; unemployed because of political developments; seeks position, possibly in financial firm.' Three days later Wiegershaus invited him to resign, and he cast his lot with Kaufmann instead.

His personal life now was overshadowed by a humiliating lack of funds.¹ He was often unable to pay his rent or buy food, but when Kaufmann needed it desperately Goebbels proudly loaned him his last forty marks.² They became firm friends; Kaufmann was one of the very few men he addressed as *du*.³ But it was hard for him to make true friends, and he found his Alsatian dog more likable than many a human being; indeed, he began to hate the human race, as he often confessed in his diary.⁴ While his brother Konrad had now acquired a housemaid and a car, Joseph loathed the trappings of the bourgeoisie.⁵

His romantic escapades left him filled with self-hatred too. Else now rarely wrote to him, having found him juvenile and adolescent. He had started a parallel relationship with another girl, Elisabeth Gensicke, but nothing came of it. 'From year to year,' he reflected, 'I shall be more and more lonely until I end up all alone without love and without a family.'⁶ That was his dread.

Comforting afterglows of his expired catholic faith still flickered. That March he dutifully hurried home to celebrate his Saint's Day in the family fold.⁷ His brother Hans was no longer welcome there as he had married outside the faith. This brought home to Joseph once more the impossibility of marrying the 'voluminous, chubby, healthy, cheerful' half-Jewess Else, although he did sometimes envisage it: 'I should like her as my wife—if only she were not half-blooded.'⁸

Thus he toyed with Elisabeth's affections. 'The poor child has gone to pieces over me,' he wrote in bemusement. 'She trembles with anguish and joy when she sees me.'⁹ He knew that tremor well. On April 20 a farewell letter came from Elisabeth—she could not stand it any longer. He replied with bleeding heart. 'And now,' he noted, 'this beautiful yet oh so ephemeral flowering dream is over. A great loneliness besets me.'¹⁰

DR GOEBBELS' party membership file is missing, but according to Karl Kaufmann he formally joined soon after Hitler had reconstituted the party in Munich on February 27, 1925.¹¹ In March Hitler activated a *Gau* (region) covering the North Rhineland. He appointed the middle-aged Baltic German journalist Axel Ripke as gauleiter. At Kaufmann's instance, Ripke appointed Goebbels his manager (*Geschäftsführer*); among Ripke's other officials were such personalities as the later notorious Erich Koch, one of Leo Schlageter's comrades, and the later commander of the Sturmabteilung (S.A.), the Brownshirts, Viktor Lutze. The Elberfeld police soon took note that 'Goebbels appears as speaker at every function' and directed the evenings organized by the Elberfeld Ortsgruppe of the N.S.D.A.P., whose Führer was identified as 'K. Kaufmann'.¹²

Ripke's gau ran into immediate difficulties. On March 17 the French occupation authorities in Düsseldorf banned the organization and a week

later arrested officials of its Elberfeld local.¹³ 'We request,' wrote Goebbels to the Reich minister for the occupied territories on April 3, 'that you take appropriate steps to secure the immediate release of our men from custody.'¹⁴ He had founded a local group at Krefeld, and often made speeches to them: One evening three Belgian detectives appeared, blocked the doors, and asked him if 'a Dr Goebbels' was in the hall. Goebbels replied calmly, 'He's busy right now, I'm speaking on his behalf.' The officials left empty-handed.¹⁵

His radical views attracted the mistrust of other local officials. Arthur Eterich, who had founded the Hattingen local three years before, likened him to Maximilien de Robespierre; Ripke agreed, and cited Honoré Count de Mirabeau's estimation of Robespierre: 'The man is dangerous—he believes what he says.'¹⁶ Neither Goebbels nor Kaufmann felt that their gauleiter, Ripke, was a match for the French. He was too old, too conservative, and too diplomatic.¹⁷ Suppressing the actual epithet, Goebbels wrote: 'You can't stage a revolution with —s like these.'¹⁸ But Ripke had Hitler's ear, and often traveled to Berlin to deal with Gregor Strasser, Hitler's deputy in all of northern Germany.

Goebbels conceived the idea of a fanatical Freedom League (Freiheitsbund) of thirty members pledged to donate a fixed amount each month—a sort of 'intellectual storm troop' as he put it.¹⁹ Ripke was dismissive, but the first whip round at Hattingen yielded 268 marks. For hours Goebbels plotted with Kaufmann ways of getting rid of their tedious, bourgeois gauleiter.²⁰ He had a long talk with Ripke on May 18 which ended, if Goebbels is to be believed, with the gauleiter on his knees pleading for a second chance. The gauleiter accused him of promoting a new class-struggle. 'Too true!' commented Goebbels: 'With capitalism, you've got to call a spade a spade.'²¹ After another five-hour session with Ripke he summed up their differences: 'Socialism means the liberation of the proletariat, not just breaking the Versailles peace treaty. God preserve my passion!'²² He was beginning to hate Ripke, and this feeling was mutual. The one wanted bourgeois reform, the other socialist revolution.²³

In Munich, Hitler had revived the Party newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter*, and Alfred Rosenberg, its editor, invited Goebbels to submit occasional pieces from May.²⁴ He wrote by day and made speeches by night. He did not flinch from the ugly scenes that often resulted. After he spoke at a flag-dedication ceremony at Remscheid on June 5 there was a battle with communists in the railroad tunnel, and the police arrested 150 of his opponents. 'I was in the thick of it,' he chortled. 'The two factions went berserk and waded into each other. What a way to One Nation!'²⁵

WHILE Else was away on vacation in the summer of 1925 he made use of her best friend Alma.²⁶ In mid-August he received a promising postcard from Alma which he described as the first sign after 'that night.' 'This teasing, enchanting Alma,' he mused. 'I rather like this creature.' Such

romantic interludes were a cheap opium against the pangs of poverty: his landlord gave him notice to quit his lodgings at No. 122 Gesundheit Strasse (Health Street) in Elberfeld.²⁷ His parents had sent him 150 marks.²⁸ 'Damn and blast!' he let fly in his diary, and an unkind Fate, hearing him, responded with a final tax demand for 150 marks.

Once he spoke at Recklinghausen, Anka's hometown, and he half hoped to see her sitting there among his enraptured audience. Those audiences were getting larger. The *Völkischer Beobachter* (VB) reported regularly on his speeches. Together with Viktor Lutze, the region's S.A. commander, he spoke to three thousand packing the big concert hall in Essen. A truckload of young right-wingers known as the Falcons drove him home.²⁹ Two days later on August 25 the French occupation troops finally pulled out of the Rhineland.

The first volume of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* had just been published, and Goebbels along with twenty thousand others was dipping into it.³⁰ There was much that he disagreed with. He learned that on July 12 his gauleiter Ripke had blackened his name to Hitler as a 'bolshevist.' Goebbels fought back, accusing Ripke of embezzling party funds; this was one offense the party would not tolerate. On July 12 Hitler called all the party's gauleiters of northern Germany to Weimar, and it was in a beerhall here that day that he and Goebbels first briefly met.³¹ 'Ripke is finished,' Goebbels wrote after an internal committee of inquiry had been set up, with Strasser presiding.³² Ripke resigned, leaving Kaufmann, Lutze, and Goebbels in charge.

One day in midsummer Strasser came to see him. Strasser had earlier been gauleiter of Lower Bavaria, and in the failed 1923 putsch his stormtroopers had held the Isar bridges. With his rough-hewn features, he was the stereotype Bavarian; but he was shrewd, ambitious, and one of the cleverest in the Nazi hierarchy. Probably he recognized in Goebbels a useful lieutenant whose politics were similar to his own. He certainly won Goebbels over. 'He has a wonderful sense of humor,' recorded the latter after this meeting. 'Related a lot of sorry things about Munich and about the swine at party HQ there. Hitler is surrounded by the wrong people; I think Hermann Esser [Hitler's propaganda chief] is his undoing.'³³ Strasser revealed that he was planning to consolidate the party's organization in north-western Germany, and he would want Goebbels to edit a new journal as a weapon against Munich.

This was fighting talk, and Goebbels liked it. Gregor Strasser would become his first real employer: then his sworn rival: and ultimately his mortal enemy.

WHEN Strasser's conclave took place, in the grimy Ruhr town of Hagen on September 10, Gregor himself could not attend as his mother was ill.³⁴ But those who did were the toughest men the party had in northern Germany, including many former Free Corps officers. Dr Robert Ley, thirty-five, a former aviator and now an industrial chemist, had directed the South Rhineland gau (around Cologne) since mid-July; Professor

Theodor Vahlen, fifty-six, was gauleiter of Pomerania; Hinrich Lohse, a businessman, twenty-eight, who headed the northernmost gau, Schleswig-Holstein; Franz von Pfeffer, thirty-seven, who had been condemned to death by the French but had escaped, gauleiter of Westphalia since March; Ludolf Haase, gauleiter of south Hanover; and his deputy Hermann Fobke, who had spent some months in Landsberg with Hitler.

Fobke's report is in party files.³⁵ He felt that the 'sharp intellect' of Goebbels, whom he called the gau Führer of the north Rhineland, called for thorough analysis, 'as he does not seem all that trustworthy at first sight.' Goebbels however was delighted at the outcome, telling his diary: 'We pulled everything off.' By that he meant that the regions of northern and western Germany would henceforth operate as a bloc under Strasser's centralized command, with his office at Elberfeld and 'a centralized management (moi).' Only Ley had quibbled.

Seventeen days later, on September 27, two hundred men from the Ruhr's local groups met at Düsseldorf to decide who should replace Ripke.³⁶ Goebbels hoped the choice would fall on him. But Kaufmann was 'unanimously elected' as gauleiter, with Goebbels merely manager as before.³⁷ It was some consolation that the audience bore him out of the hall on their shoulders. He desperately wanted to be loved.³⁸

FOR the next thirteen months he was Kaufmann's roving agitator. Sometimes he felt ill-used, and cast a jealous, almost womanly eye over all his rivals for the gauleiter's affection. But editing Gregor Strasser's influential new fortnightly journal *National Socialist Letters* more than compensated. It enabled his voice to be heard far from Elberfeld. The journal's masthead proclaimed it as the work of 'leading members of the movement.'³⁹ He would edit the first thirty-nine issues. Its four, or eight pages, sometimes carried contributions by Heinrich Himmler, Franz von Pfeffer, and Strasser's bombastic younger brother Otto. But above all Goebbels used it as his platform to argue his own socialist and antisemitic brand of politics. In the second issue he published a letter to 'my friend on the left,' arguing: 'You and I, we fight one another although we are not really enemies at all.'⁴⁰ This was a trenchant theme in all his writings, as was his somewhat ritualized affection for Russia: in the fourth issue he proclaimed, 'we can see the commencement of our own national and socialist survival in an alliance with a truly national and socialist Russia.'⁴¹

When Gustav Stresemann signed the Locarno pact of nonaggression with France and Belgium (guaranteed by Britain and Italy) Goebbels was therefore appalled. An ugly vision seized him—of Germany's sons dying in the service of western capitalism, 'possibly, even probably, in some "Holy War" against Moscow!⁴² 'We shall be the mercenaries against Russia,' he repeated gloomily a week later, 'on the battlefields of capitalism. . . . We're done for.'⁴³

The *Letters* were an undeniable success. Goebbels advertised them in other party publications, calling upon all National Socialists of west and north Germany to pay a 1.50 mark quarterly subscription. 'Thus,' he

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found, 'we've got our hands on a unique instrument of power.' According to the journal's accountant Paul Schmitz he received 150 marks a month as editor.⁴⁴ The *Letters* gave the party a sense of direction. In his sixth issue Goebbels held forth on the N.S.D.A.P.'s need to radicalize socialism. He set this out at greater length in a standard speech, 'Lenin or Hitler,' which he first delivered (according to Prussian police records) in Hanover on September 17, 1925;⁴⁵ he delivered it scores of times afterwards, inspiring violent clashes in the 'Red' cities like Altona and Chemnitz, and fervent acclaim in Berlin, Dresden, Plauen, Zwickau, and elsewhere.⁴⁶ It was heavy on the theory and history, but still seized the imagination of his listeners, said Albert Krebs, a Party official in Hamburg.⁴⁷ 'We Germans,' declared Goebbels, 'are the unluckiest people God's sun shines upon. Sixty millions of us, surrounded by enemies, bleeding from a thousand wounds, the hardest-working nation on earth, and we see our only political exercise as being to tear ourselves limb from limb.' Because their leaders had failed to win over the working classes they had been thrown into the arms of the left; and here the 'systematic underminer of any true workers' movement, the marxist Jew,' had easily led them astray.

'We allowed ourselves to be humiliated at conference after conference,' continued Goebbels, 'in a way we wouldn't have dared humiliate even a nigger nation, and nobody came and thundered the word No! The Ruhr was occupied: the German people hid its bourgeois cowardice behind passive resistance. The Ruhr was lost—and Mr Gustav Stresemann espied a "silver lining" on the horizon. . . . Stresemann's fat hand signed everything our grinning enemies laid before him.' 'Then,' he shrieked, 'came Locarno, and Gustav Stresemann trotted off to London and signed that too.' Locarno, he argued, meant not peace but war. He foresaw a gigantic armed struggle against the Soviet Union using German blood. 'And presiding over it all is the Jew, both in the ranks of world capitalism and concealed in Soviet bolshevism, egging on the Russians and Germans against each other . . . in one last orgy of hostilities.'

He introduced Lenin to his by now seething audiences in surprisingly warm terms, as a man who had learned all about social deprivation the hard way. 'Capitalism,' he declared, 'is the immoral distribution of capital.' Nazism made a distinction between creative state capital and a grasping international loan capital. 'Germany will become free,' he promised, 'at that moment when the thirty millions on the left and the thirty millions on the right make common cause.' 'Only one movement is capable of doing this: National Socialism, embodied in one Führer—Adolf Hitler.'

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5: God Disposes Otherwise

FOR a while Karl Kaufmann was, after Else, the best friend Goebbels had. But Gregor Strasser was the man he most admired—five years his senior, Strasser was willing to adopt the radical program that Goebbels espoused.¹ He could use Strasser as a battering ram against Munich. They were not of course fighting Hitler himself, but the toadying parasites surrounding him in Munich and in particular the party's propaganda chief Hermann Esser. Munich hinted that Goebbels might like to go down there. The hints fell on deaf ears. Together with Strasser he intended to build his power base between the Rhine and the Ruhr.²

It is legitimate to ask whether his proletarian stance was mere posturing. His private writings do show a marked sympathy with the working class. His contempt for the 'bourgeois scum' in the party, toasting their toes on his radicalism as he engagingly put it, was genuine. 'I find it appalling,' he would write, 'that we and the communists are bashing each other's heads in.'³

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He now drew audiences of two and three thousand with ease. Often there were as many thugs outside, armed with firearms too. At Düsseldorf on October 8, 1925 communists for miles around invaded his meeting, but within minutes he had silenced them and he went on to hold them in his grip for two hours.⁴ He drafted in his own hand a cute pamphlet entitled *The Little a.b.c. of National Socialism*, as a catechism for the party. He completed it on October 26 and his friend Director Arnold, a wealthy Hattingen industrialist, put up the capital for a first print of ten thousand.⁵

His personal affairs were in chaos. He was living a gypsy existence, changing trains and lodgings with almost equal frequency.⁶ He was driving himself to the limit. His diary entries often end with a motif that remains unchanged for years—of dropping off exhausted to bed, for only a few hours' sleep. He crisscrossed his tough industrial domain, in painfully slow local trains, setting eyes also on Lübeck, Hamburg ('redolent of ocean and America'), the Ruhr cities smoldering in their infernal polluted semi-darkness, and Hamburg again ('German sweat and German enterprise, exploited by the Jews').⁷

He wished he had hearth, home, and family to greet him at Elberfeld; but he found permanent relations with women difficult to achieve.⁸ He placed these remote creatures on a sort of pedestal. He was not averse to exploiting them himself, but was profoundly indignant when he saw

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Hamburg's red-light district around the Reeperbahn, with the half-naked hookers standing in their doorways. A local party official later recalled that one keen young S.A. man asked, 'Doctor, what'll we do with streets like this after the revolution?', and Goebbels snarled in reply: 'We shall sweep them away like the garbage that they are!'⁹ He saw Germany's blonde girls embracing slit-eyed Chinamen in the street; the police just stood by grinning.¹⁰

He seldom took his women to his meetings, and no longer sent his writings to them either. After Else wrote him a despairing letter shortly before Christmas he lamented, 'Why can't women be like us? Can they be educated? Or are they by their very nature inferior?'¹¹ 'There is a curse cast over you and women,' he told himself piteously five days later. 'Woe betide those who love you!'¹²

His diaries are still punctuated with wailing references to Anka. But these ululations are surely no more than an affectation. Anka had joined the Undead. Sometimes he journeyed through her town, Weimar, but he made no attempt to visit. Once he took pen and paper and wrote to all his women friends. He hated himself as soon as he mailed the letter to her. She did not reply.¹³ His diaries did not resist human nature's tendency to gild the lily: a riot at one meeting left one injured man, who died in hospital, but Goebbels' diary speaks of two dead. Two audiences estimated at fifteen hundred by the VB became 'three thousand' in the diary.¹⁴ While the newspapers referred to one shot being fired at an Essen meeting, the diary turned it into 'shooting'.¹⁵ But he was writing for effect. The early diaries were composed in a lively vernacular, often difficult to convey in translation. Most prevalent in their pages was his sense of loneliness, his happiness when a cheering audience chaired him out onto the street. But one constant in his life was so ever-present that he only rarely referred to it—the pain from his crippled foot, which no doctor seemed able to dispel.

ON October 12 a letter came from Gregor Strasser reporting that Hitler mistrusted Goebbels and had even cursed his name. Goebbels wondered if he should quit. He planned to tackle Hitler about the Party's program when he came to Dortmund on October 24. In preparation, he finished reading *Mein Kampf*. 'Who is this man?' he exclaimed, 'strangely impressed: Half plebeian, half God. Is he Jesus Christ himself or just Saint John?' But it was not easy arranging an appointment with a messiah; Carl Severing, the Prussian minister of the interior,¹⁶ forbade Hitler to speak anywhere in Prussia, so the violent Dortmund meeting went ahead without him. Hitler attempted to reach Hamm next day, but Severing issued an arrest warrant and he turned back. Strasser spoke instead.¹⁷

When Hitler came to Brunswick, which was outside Prussia, for a regional convention in November, Goebbels saw him again—this was their second meeting.¹⁸ It was November 4, 1925. With Bernhard Rust, he secured a six-thirty P.M. appointment with Hitler.

*

And now the pain became an accessory to our hatred.

His old Catholicism, aroused by the new-fangled corruption turned into a white light of purpose, wholly sure, wholly full of hate.

He's just having a meal [recorded Goebbels]. At once he jumps to his feet and shakes my hand like an old friend. And those big blue eyes of his! Like stars! He's pleased to see me. I am in transports of delight. After ten minutes he withdraws. Then he has his speech ready in outline.

Meanwhile I am driven over to the meeting, and speak for two hours. Huge applause, and then shouts of Heil and applause: he is there. He shakes my hand. He is still completely exhausted after his own great speech. Then he speaks here for half an hour too. With wit, irony, humor, and sarcasm, with seriousness, with fervor, with passion. This man's got everything to be a king. The born popular leader! The coming dictator.

Afterwards he waited outside Hitler's door hoping to speak to him, but he was fobbed off with a third handshake.¹⁹ This fell some way short of the heart-to-heart talk he had planned.

At his own meetings the communist violence was getting out of hand. They often ended with riots, with shattered beer mugs and splintered furniture. At Chemnitz on November 18 he put his views on Lenin and Hitler to two thousand communists, who listened in silence. Then a thousand beer glasses were smashed, 150 people were injured and one man (or two) killed.²⁰ Two days later he met Hitler again, in Saxony. Hitler invited him to speak first ('How small I feel!'), then presented him with his photograph inscribed with greetings to the Rhineland. The framed portrait would remain on Goebbels' desk until the very hour he died.²¹

ON Thursday November 26, 1925 he arrived in Berlin for the first time. His impressions were overwhelming: The vast sea of houses and buildings, the polyglot population, the bustle, the police with their helmets and truncheons. Berlin was a 'sinful Babel' of brick, stone, and concrete. Goebbels addressed that night an audience of thousands—he did not note how many or where. Everybody was there, including both Strasser brothers (he found Otto as 'decent' as Gregor), Gottfried Feder, the party's chief theoretician, and Dr Wilhelm Frick, the lawyer who had connived at Hitler's 1923 putsch from within Munich police HQ. The Nazi party here in Berlin was weak, probably less than one thousand names. Dr Ernst Schlange, a civil servant, was the local gauleiter. He had lost an arm and half his face in the war. 'They say he's a pacifist,' commented Goebbels laconically.²² Visiting the Reichstag building he was repelled by the spectacle of these parliamentarians ('Jews and their jackals') in their natural habitat. He dismissed the politicians in his diary with an obscenity and claimed to have felt such nausea that he had to flee. Afterwards he paid a social visit to Helene Bechstein of the millionaire piano-manufacturing family. The Bechsteins were among Hitler's earliest backers. A few days later the Prussian political police section la opened their first dossier on Goebbels.

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The Albertus Magnus Society revalued the ancient debt he owed them and on December 7, 1925 mailed a claim for repayment to his old lodgings in Cologne. It was returned marked 'gone away.' It was not that he was lying low. On November 15 he had stage-managed the homecoming of the remains of Ludwig Knickmann, a nationalist shot by Belgian occupation troops at Sterkrade in June 1923; he spoke at the funeral in Knickmann's native town, Buer.²³ Three weeks later he staged an even bigger ceremony in Leo Schlageter's honour.²⁴ Not for nothing had he read Richard Wagner's *The Art of Directing*.²⁵ Fifteen hundred (Goebbels wrote two thousand) brownshirted S.A. men paraded out to the deserted, snowflecked heathland spot where the French had put Schlageter to death. Then, to the throb of muffled drums, the entire force marched down Düsseldorf's most expensive boulevard, the Königsallee.

The public acclaim was in sharp contrast to the frosty silence Goebbels met from his parents. At Rheydt he found that his father had bought a radio set—the modern mind-narrowing device, scoffed his son, oblivious of the role that radio would play in his later life. 'Everything piped in! The philistine's ideal!'²⁶ But Goebbels had a new father-figure on his horizon. That Christmas Hitler sent him a leather-bound *Mein Kampf* inscribed with a tribute to the 'exemplary manner' of his fight.²⁷

At a Hanover conference of the north-western bloc on November 22 Gregor Strasser agreed that Goebbels should draft a new program. Goebbels spent most of December on it, since it had to be ready for their next gauleiters' conference in Hanover. The redrafting was harder than he had anticipated.²⁸ In its final form it comprised twenty-four basic demands, all of them militantly anti-bourgeois: The party would respect private property, but nationalize all heavy industry and the great estates. Meanwhile Goebbels set about literary projects of his own, including a portrait gallery of political personalities, and a collection of his own political letters, *The Second Revolution*.²⁹

To his discomfiture, when he arrived for the Hanover meeting on January 24, 1926 he found that Hitler had sent Gottfried Feder to attend and observe. The debate on Goebbels' 'Elberfeld Guidelines' lasted all next day. There was criticism of his lenient approach to Russia and the communists.³⁰ He went outside, smoked a cigarette, spoke for an hour, then saw the program adopted. According to Kaufmann, Goebbels was not sparing in his criticism of Hitler and Munich. According to Otto Strasser, he even climbed on a chair and proposed that the 'petit-bourgeois' Hitler be expelled from the party.³¹ According to Rosenberg, he shrieked: 'Hitler has betrayed socialism!'³² Afterwards Strasser pumped his hand—and Feder left to report to Hitler.

Concerned about this ugly trend, Hitler sent for Strasser; Strasser phoned Goebbels afterward, saying that 'Wolf'—Hitler's sobriquet—was 'coming round to their point of view,' but was going to call a conclave of all Germany's gauleiters at Bamberg, on his own home ground. Totally misreading the situation, Goebbels was delighted. 'In Bamberg,' he decided, 'we shall act the coy beauty, and seduce Hitler into our camp.'³³

* He dreams of taking it all over.

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'in his fanatical way,' went on Hanfstaengl, 'finally made a dogma out of it and from then on only took vegetarian meals and alcohol-free drinks.'¹⁴ After the meal, Hitler treated the family to his war-memories, marching up and down the room, imitating the sounds of different sorts of artillery fire at the battle of the Somme. Late in the evening, a well-connected artist, Wilhelm Funk, dropped in at the Hanfstaengls. He had known Hitler for quite some time, and now ventured his views on how the party could be built up again. Hitler replied in a familiar, and revealing, tone. For one who had 'come up from the bottom', he said, 'without name, special position, or connection', it was less a matter of programmes than hard endeavour until the public was ready to see 'a nameless one' as identical with a political line. Hitler thought he had now reached that position, and that the putsch had been of value to the movement: 'I'm no longer an unknown, and that provides us with the best basis for a new start.'¹⁵

The new start was Hitler's priority. The immediate aim was to have the ban on the NSDAP lifted. His first political act was to call on his old ally Pohner, the former Munich Police President. Through a well-placed intermediary, Theodor Freiherr von Cramer-Klett, a meeting with the Bavarian Minister President Heinrich Held was arranged for 4 January. Pohner was also influential in persuading Gurtner, the Bavarian Minister of Justice (whom Hitler was to make Reich Minister of Justice in 1933), to have the other Nazis detained in Landsberg released, among them Rudolf Heß.¹⁶

The meeting with Minister President Held on 4 January, only a fortnight after Hitler's release and the first of three meetings between the two, went well. No one else was present. Hitler was prepared to act humbly. It was his 'journey to Canossa'. He agreed to respect the authority of the state without condition, and to support it in the struggle against Communism. He distanced himself sharply from Ludendorff's attacks on the Catholic Church, a necessary step since the General's vociferous anti-clericalism – scarcely a winning formula in Bavaria – had recently become notably strident, and linked to an all too public row (involving a court case for libel, which Ludendorff lost) with Rupprecht, the Crown Prince of Bavaria.¹⁷ Behind the public façade of continued reverence for the figurehead of the *volkisch* movement, Hitler's willingness during his meeting with the Bavarian premier to dissociate himself from Ludendorff was not only shrewd, but also a sign of his increasing estrangement from the General, which would rapidly accelerate into complete alienation by 1927.

Not least, Hitler promised Held – an easy promise to make in the circumstances – that he would not again attempt a putsch.¹⁸ Held told Hitler

in the most forthright terms: any return to the sort of circus day' as an equal partner.¹⁹ backing, the way was now for the *Völkischer Beobachter* relations with his rivals in the

A meeting of the NSFB in the attempt to create a union of the original DVFP four especially among the strong Hitler of being worn-out the international power of the bigger threat than 'the Jewish *volkisch* leaders in the Protest weakened leadership Bavaria would be South against North his own Prussian orientation conditions. Hitler was not the DVFP, was even plain politician'. Another vehement of the movement, to which of breaking his word of honour he passed no judgement on alleged breach of trust was Graefe earlier in January, efforts links with the Streicher and way. The accusations produced were outraged. The meeting hopes of unity in the *volkisch*

A glimpse of National Socialism from the comments of Wald Pomerania. 'Rather,' he said trust fails, than this hitherto wants something different. I have personally never seen, to find the correct way out. any basis of unity in the *volkisch* increasing numbers now susceptible

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Finally made a dogma out of meals and alcohol-free drinks.¹⁴ His war-memories, marching up of different sorts of artillery fire venting, a well-connected artist, eagle. He had known Hitler for years on how the party could be made revealing, tone. For one who without name, special position, programmes than hard endeavour tone as identical with a political position, and that the putsch no longer an unknown, and that tart.¹⁵ The immediate aim was to have the ideal act was to call on his old regiment. Through a well-placed middle-left, a meeting with the Bavarian arranged for 4 January. Pöhner the Bavarian Minister of Justice (of Justice in 1933), to have the help, among them Rudolf Heß.¹⁶ On 4 January, only a fortnight meetings between the two, went prepared to act humbly. It was to respect the authority of the state in the struggle against Communism. Goebbels' attacks on the Catholic Church's vociferous anti-clericalism – recently become notably strident, from a court case for libel, which had the Prince of Bavaria.¹⁷ Behind the figurehead of the *völkisch* movement with the Bavarian premier not only shrewd, but also a sign of a general, which would rapidly make a new promise to make in the event of a putsch.¹⁸ Held told Hitler

in the most forthright terms that times had changed. He would not tolerate any return to the sort of circumstances that had prevailed before the putsch. Nor would the constitutional government treat the 'revolutionaries of yesterday' as an equal partner.¹⁹ But Hitler got what he wanted. With Gürtner's backing, the way was now paved for the removal of the ban on the NSDAP and the *Völkischer Beobachter* on 16 February.²⁰ By that time, Hitler's relations with his rivals in the NSFB had been clarified.

A meeting of the NSFB in Berlin on 17 January marked the effective end of the attempt to create a unified *völkisch* movement. Reinhold Wulle, one of the original DVFP founders, sought to undermine Hitler's authority, especially among the strong north German contingent present. He accused Hitler of being worn-out through his imprisonment and of giving in to the international power of the Catholic Church. Wulle reckoned this to be a bigger threat than 'the Jewish danger'. The point carried some weight among *völkisch* leaders in the Protestant North. He also suggested that under Hitler's weakened leadership Bavarian particularism would come to dominate. It would be South against North. Playing to his audience, Wulle emphasized his own Prussian orientation. Clever politicians were needed in the present conditions. Hitler was not one of them. Henning, another co-founder of the DVFP, was even plainer. Hitler was 'perhaps the drummer, but no politician'. Another vehement critic claimed that Hitler wanted to be 'pope' of the movement, to which he had contributed nothing, and accused him of breaking his word of honour. Graefe reinforced the accusation. He said he passed no judgement on Hitler. The facts spoke for themselves. The alleged breach of trust was seen as Hitler's refusal to answer a letter by Graefe earlier in January, effectively posing him an ultimatum to break his links with the Streicher and Esser faction, or the DVFP would go its own way. The accusations produced a tumult. The National Socialists present were outraged. The meeting ended with the swapping of insults and all hopes of unity in the *völkisch* movement dead.²¹

A glimpse of National Socialist thinking at the meeting can be gleaned from the comments of Walther von Corswant-Cuntzow, later Gauleiter of Pomerania. 'Rather,' he said, 'that the *one* leader in whom one has most trust fails, than this hither and thither of the many from whom everybody wants something different. I now believe in the godly grace of Hitler, whom I have personally never seen, and believe that God will enlighten him now to find the correct way out of this chaos.'²² The patent inability to reach any basis of unity in the *völkisch* movement over the previous year made increasing numbers now susceptible to such sentiments.

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At eight o'clock on the evening of 27 February 1925, Hitler, with his usual sense of theatre, made his re-entry to the Munich political scene where he had left it sixteen months earlier: at the Bürgerbräukeller. The meeting had originally been envisaged for the 24th. But that was Fasching-Tuesday.³⁷ So the Friday was settled upon. Just as before the putsch, red placards advertising the speech had been plastered around Munich for days. People began to take up their seats in the early afternoon. Three hours before the scheduled start, the huge beerhall was packed. Over 3,000 were jammed inside, 2,000 more turned away, and police cordons set up to block off the surrounding area.³⁸ Some prominent faces were missing. Rosenberg was one. He was irritated at being excluded from Hitler's inner circle in the weeks since his return from Landsberg.³⁹ He told Lüdecke: 'I won't take part in that comedy . . . I know the sort of brother-kissing Hitler intends to call for.'⁴⁰ Ludendorff, Strasser and Röhm were also absent.⁴¹ Hitler wanted the first party-leader, Drexler, to chair the meeting. But Drexler insisted that Hermann Esser be evicted from the party.⁴² Hitler would accept no conditions. And for him, Esser had 'more political sense in his fingertips than the whole bunch of his accusers in their buttocks'.⁴³ So one of Hitler's most trusted Munich followers, his business-manager Max Amann, opened the meeting.

Hitler spoke for almost two hours.⁴⁴ The first three-quarters of his speech offeted his standard account of Germany's plight since 1918, the Jews as the cause of it, the weakness of bourgeois parties, and the aims of Marxism (which, he stated, could only be combated by a doctrine of higher truth but 'similar brutality of execution'). Hitler was frank about the need to focus all energy on one goal, on attacking a single enemy to avoid fragmentation and disunity. 'The art of all great popular leaders,' he proclaimed, 'consisted at all times in concentrating the attention of the masses on a single enemy.' From the context, it was plain that he meant the Jews. Only in the last quarter of the speech did Hitler arrive at his real theme of the evening. No one should expect him, he said, to take sides in the bitter dispute still raging in the *völkisch* movement. He saw in each party comrade only the supporter of the common idea, he declared, to lasting applause. His task as leader was not to explore what had happened in the past, but to bring together those pulling apart. At last he came to the climactic. The dispute was at an end. Those prepared to join should sink their differences. For nine months, others had had time to 'look after' the interests of the party, he pointed out with sarcasm. To great and lasting applause, he added: 'Gentlemen, let the representation of the interests of the movement from now on be my concern!' His leadership had, however, to be accepted

unconditionally. 'I am not personally the responsibility. complete responsibility for e' After a year, he would hold cheers and cries of 'Heil'. Ev über alles'.⁴⁶

Then came the finale. It was meaning, not lost on those p more - Hermann Esser, Juli Rudolf Buttmann, Gottfried F. Völkischer Block - mounted with many standing on chairs from the back of the hall, sh undying loyalty to the leader.⁴⁶ to their overlord. Others follow of unity, it was plain, could on. He could with some justice clai party.⁴⁸ In the following years, Hitler, and the 'idea' increasing the sole, indispensable force of potential to tear itself apart. H over the party owed much to th

Outside loyalist circles, the in *völkisch* Right was often one of of the way Hitler was plainly dis by many as the leader of the *völkisch*. Hitler had referred m most loyal and selfless friend' o. speech, he had not mentioned I followed, as calls of 'Heil' to th spoken - diplomatically, but vag though he had not referred to l Hitler's treatment of him as a remained a potential problem.⁵⁰ I

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It is the core of everything
that you need for years to come.
One man, one leader, one doctrine
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unconditionally. 'I am not prepared to allow conditions as long as I carry personally the responsibility,' he concluded. 'And I now carry again the complete responsibility for everything that takes place in this movement.' After a year, he would hold himself to account.⁴⁵ There were tumultuous cheers and cries of 'Heil'. Everyone stood for the singing of 'Deutschland über alles'.⁴⁶

Then came the finale. It was a piece of pure theatre. But it had symbolic meaning, not lost on those present. Arch-enemies over the past year and more – Hermann Esser, Julius Streicher, Artur Dinter from the GVG, Rudolf Buttman, Gottfried Feder, Wilhelm Frick from the 'parliamentary' Völkischer Block – mounted the platform and, among emotional scenes, with many standing on chairs and tables and the crowd pressing forward from the back of the hall, shook hands, forgave each other, and swore undying loyalty to the leader.⁴⁷ It was like medieval vassals swearing fealty to their overlord. Others followed. Whatever the hypocrisy, the public show of unity, it was plain, could only have been attained under Hitler as leader. He could with some justice claim to have restored the 'homogeneity' of the party.⁴⁸ In the following years, it would become more and more apparent: Hitler, and the 'idea' increasingly embodied in his leadership, constituted the sole, indispensable force of integration in a movement that retained the potential to tear itself apart. Hitler's position as supreme leader standing over the party owed much to the recognition of this fact.

Outside loyalist circles, the immediate reaction to Hitler's speech on the völkisch Right was often one of disappointment. This was mainly because of the way Hitler was plainly distancing himself from Ludendorff, still seen by many as the leader of the völkisch movement. In his proclamation of 26 February, Hitler had referred merely in bland terms to the General as 'the most loyal and selfless friend' of the National Socialist Movement. In his speech, he had not mentioned Ludendorff at all. Only in the scenes that followed, as calls of 'Heil' to the General were heard in the hall, had he spoken – diplomatically, but vaguely – of belonging to him 'in heart' even though he had not referred to his name.⁴⁹ Ludendorff's supporters saw Hitler's treatment of him as a calculated insult. Ludendorff's standing remained a potential problem.⁵⁰ But as so often, luck came to Hitler's aid.

On 28 February 1925, the day after the refoundation of the NSDAP, the first Reich President of the Weimar Republic, the Social Democrat Friedrich Ebert, died at the age of fifty-four from the effects of an appendicitis operation. The Right had so persistently tried to defame him for his participation in the munitions strike of January 1918 – when the SPD leadership

* It was his reaction to the meeting with the DVFP founders on Jan 12, 25 forty days earlier

≠ I had had Lenin insert on this before he agreed to the meeting. That was what we wanted "medieval vassals swearing fealty"

see next page

Next day

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had become involved in the unrest (demanding democratization and peace without annexations) that spread from the Berlin armaments factories, bringing a million workers out on strike, temporarily threatening war production, and later fostering the 'stab-in-the-back' legend - that he had been forced to defend himself in 170 libel cases.⁵¹ Such was the feeling against Ebert, and such was the level of anti-socialism in conservative Catholic as well as in nationalist circles, that the Archbishop of Munich and Freising, Cardinal Faulhaber, who had notoriously on one occasion dubbed the 1918 Revolution 'high treason', refused to have the church bells rung in his diocese in honour of the dead President.⁵² The NSDAP had no expectation of having any significant influence on the election of Ebert's successor. Hitler openly as good as admitted this. He told a party meeting that it was immaterial who became Reich President. Whoever it was would be 'only a man who is in reality no "man" at all'.⁵³ But against the arguments of some of his advisers, Hitler insisted on putting forward Ludendorff as the National Socialist candidate, and persuaded the General to stand.⁵⁴ He regarded the General as no more than a token candidate, without a chance of winning.⁵⁵ Why Ludendorff agreed to stand is less easy to understand than why Hitler wanted the candidacy of a rival of whom he was by now in private extremely scathing.⁵⁶ It seems that Hitler persuaded the General that the conservative candidate of the Right, Karl Jarres, had to be stopped, and, flattering Ludendorff's prestige, inveigled him into standing. 'Hitler knows perfectly well that although he has a great following in Bavaria he can count on very few votes in North Germany and East of Berlin,' the General told his dismayed wife, who immediately foresaw the likely consequences to which the arrogant former warlord was blind. 'In particular, the East Prussians and Silesians have been bound to me by gratitude and devotion ever since the war,' he went on, his mind made up. They, in fact, showed their gratitude and devotion by almost completely ignoring him in the poll.⁵⁷ Probably Ludendorff reckoned, too, with the backing of his *völkisch* friends. But when the DVFB decided - in order not to split the right-wing vote - to put their support behind Jarres, the General's fate was effectively sealed.⁵⁸ What had seemed to some in Hitler's entourage a risky strategy was, in fact, no great risk at all, and was more or less guaranteed to damage Ludendorff. That this was the intention was scarcely concealed, even by some leading Nazis.⁵⁹

For Ludendorff, the election on 29 March was a catastrophe. He polled only 286,000 votes, 1.1 per cent of the votes cast. This was 600,000 fewer than the *völkisch* Right had gained at the Reichstag election in December 1924, itself a disastrous result.⁶⁰ Hitler was anything but distressed at the

outcome. 'That's all right finished him.'⁶¹ The election war-hero, Field Marshal Hindenburg, one of the pillar hands of one of the conservative Right vote for Centre Party's candidate supporting the candidate of with Ernst Thälmann, Hindenburg paid heavily in 1933.

Ludendorff never recovered leadership of the *völkisch* Right on his way into the political who in 1926 would become increasingly susceptible to conspiracy theories, which Jesuits. His increasing eccentricity - now took him in itself scarcely renowned for Mathilde founded in 1925. Nazi ideologues rejected it. to Hitler; he was outright attacking his former ally - a which was never countered.

The *völkisch* movement increasingly more widespread that was not only weakened and head.⁶² At first, especially in local party leaders refused their ties with *völkisch* assassinate his leadership. But increasing part, Hitler was particularly local party branches in Bavaria which the Bavarian authorities in subsequent months by Prussia) gave him more time handshake with individual symbolically cemented the bond.

* after the speech on Feb 27, he knew he had made a mistake.

On Feb 28, after Ebert's death, he stayed on the idea at once.

I knew enough about Ludendorff to understand that by now, his vanity was swollen, and his increasing stupidity was like a brake against his intelligence, Ludendorff would go nowhere. But how did A.H. know? *

from p 267 *

He was wrong by himself

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A sturdy platform of support for Hitler's leadership was thus laid in Bavaria. In the north, the path was less even.

II

On 11 March, two days after the speaking ban had been imposed, Hitler commissioned Gregor Strasser to organize the party in north Germany.⁶⁶ Strasser, a Landshut apothecary, a big, bluff Bavarian, in the pre-putsch days SA chief in Lower Bavaria, a diabetic who mixed it with the roughest in beerhall brawls but relaxed by reading Homer in the original, was probably the most able of the leading Nazis. Above all he was a superb organizer. It was largely Gregor Strasser's work, building on the contacts he had established while in the Reich Leadership of the NSFB, that resulted in the rapid construction of the NSDAP's organization in north Germany.⁶⁷ Most of the local branches in the north had to be created from scratch. By the end of 1925, these branches numbered 262, compared with only seventy-one on the eve of the putsch.⁶⁸ While Hitler spent much of the summer of 1925 in the mountains near Berchtesgaden, working on the second volume of his book, and taking time out to enjoy the Bayreuth Festival, bothering little about the party outside Bavaria, Strasser was unceasing in his efforts in the north. His own views on a 'national socialism' had been formed in the trenches. He was more idealistic, less purely instrumentalist, than Hitler in his aim to win over the working class. And, though of course strongly antisemitic, he thought little of the obsessive, near-exclusive emphasis on Jew-baiting that characterized Hitler and his entourage in the Munich party. In fact, dating from the period of the rancorous split in 1924, he could barely tolerate the leading lights in the Bavarian NSDAP, Esser and Streicher. Even if he expressed them somewhat differently, however, he shared Hitler's basic aims. And though he never succumbed to Hitler-worship, he recognized Hitler's indispensability to the movement, and remained a Hitler loyalist.⁶⁹

Strasser's views, and his approach, fitted well into the way the party had developed in north Germany, far away from the Bavarian heartlands. A central issue there was the intense detestation, deriving from the deep clashes of the 'leaderless time' of 1924, of the three individuals they saw as dominating affairs in Bavaria - Esser, Streicher and Amann. The rejection of these figures had been practically the sole area of agreement between the Directorate and the NSFB leaders in 1924. It was to remain a point of tension between the

north German NSDAP. This went hand in hand with headquarters, where they imposed centralized control and complete authority over the movement. A major factor was the concern of the NSDAP leadership that the NSDAP deepened. It was the leaders, that allowed the movement to remain so much under the unsavoury influence of the NSDAP. Hitler had also disappointed since the refoundation. In about electoral participation remained wholly hostile to the 'movement' being there were different accents of the Socialist 'idea'. Some of the more 'socialist' emphasis in the big industrial regions. type of appeal than that

But it was not just a matter of activists in the north, like those of the Ruhr, were attracted by a sharp mind and bit of most intelligent of the leadership of the NSDAP at the end of the means, from Rheydt, a strong right foot exposed him feelings of physical inadequacy with little recognition for to me what it gives to other the diary he would keep years later, adding, self-my God, why hast Thou driving ambition and the agility in a movement without. Not least, it produced

Goebbels showed his exchange in mid-September

1925

Theodor Vahlen, a professor at Greifswald University and owner of a small printing-house in the town, whose incompetence alongside the animosity he attracted from the future Propaganda Leader led to his replacement as Gauleiter by 1927.⁷⁶ 'National and socialist! What goes first, and what comes afterwards? With us in the west, there can be no doubt. First socialist redemption, then comes national liberation like a whirlwind. Professor Vahlen takes a different view. First nationalize the workers. But the question is, how?' Goebbels had gained a false impression of Hitler's position. 'Hitler stands between both opinions,' he wrote. 'But he is on the way to coming over to us completely.'⁷⁷ Goebbels and some other northern leaders thought of themselves as revolutionaries, with more in common with the Communists than with the hated bourgeoisie. There were some sympathies for Russia. And there was talk of a party trade union.⁷⁸

Finally, there was the attitude towards Hitler and towards the party's programme. The north German Directorate had been fanatically pro-Hitler during the time of his imprisonment. But it had been disappointed at his equivocal stance towards the NSFB, and the issue of elections. And its leaders, Adalbert Volck and then Ludolf Haase, had shied away from the way a personality cult was being built around Hitler, and its implications for the party. All the north German leaders accepted Hitler's position, and his right to head the party. They recognized him as the 'hero of Munich' for his part in the putsch, and for his stance at the trial. His standing and reputation needed no emphasis, and faults were attributed to those around him – especially Esser and Streicher.⁷⁹ But many of the north German party faithful did not know Hitler personally, had not even met him.⁸⁰ Their relationship to him was, therefore, quite different than that of Bavarian party members, especially those in Munich. Hitler was their leader; that was not in question. But Hitler, too, in their eyes, was bound to the 'idea'. Moreover, the 1920 Programme that outlined the 'idea' in terms of the aims of the party was itself in their view deficient and in need of reform.⁸¹

By late summer 1925, the northern leaders, differing among themselves in matters of interpretation and emphasis on points of the programme, aims, and meaning of National Socialism, were at least agreed that the party was undergoing a crisis. This was reflected in declining membership and stagnation. It was associated by them, above all, with the state of the party in Munich.⁸² Hitler himself was totally taken up with work on *Mein Kampf* and, they felt, prepared to do nothing. In the circumstances, this amounted to support for Esser. Hitler defended Esser and his clique on the grounds that their usefulness was the decisive factor, ignoring how limited this

'usefulness' was if it mea Reich.

It was to create a coun described by Fobke as 'th collaborator of Hitler', su Hagen in Westphalia on : out at the last minute be result, the discussions did northern and western par intention (which had no forming a block to comb fulfilled. Divisions were qu there was resistance to a unanimous rejection of p: Hitler, simply papered o could be achieved was th loose organization of no exchange of speakers.⁸⁴

This 'Working Commu German Gau of the NSI *sozialistische Briefe* (Nati not in any way intended as acknowledged in the Co: themselves to work 'in c under their leader Adolf) the Community to party n Hitler's entourage, not Hi in practice – even stretch was, therefore, no hint of

Even so, despite its int a threat to Hitler's auth electoral participation, w cance was the fact that (to the Community as an Ultimately, Strasser hope: Strasser took the first s programme. It advocated of a central European cus Internally, it proposed a

Look up pp 273-274
for transition
to Goebbels,

1925

dictated by Hitler to chauffeur and general dogsbody Emil Maurice, then, from July onwards, to Rudolf Hess (both of whom were also serving sentences for their part in the putsch).¹⁰⁰ The first volume, which appeared on 18 July 1925, was largely autobiographical – though, as we have noted, with many distortions and inaccuracies. It ended with Hitler's triumph at the announcement of the party programme in the Hofbrauhaus on 24 February 1920. The second volume, which Hitler wrote only after his release, and which was published on 11 December 1926, dealt more extensively with his ideas on the nature of the *völkisch* state, questions of ideology, propaganda and organization, concluding with chapters on foreign policy.

Badly written and rambling as the published version of *Mein Kampf* was, it was a considerable improvement on what Hitler had initially produced, thanks to editorial interventions from a number of people. 'A veritable chaos of banalities, schoolboy reminiscences, subjective judgements, and personal hatred' was how Otto Strasser described the draft.¹⁰¹ Amann, the party printer Müller, Heß, and Hanfstaengl (whose brother turned down flat the prospect of *Mein Kampf* appearing in the family publishing house) all had a hand in altering and revising the text.¹⁰² The music critic of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, Stolzing-Cerny, together with a former Hieronymite, Father Bernard Stempfle, one-time editor-in-chief of the *Miesbacher Anzeiger*, a provincial Bavarian newspaper that sympathized with the Nazi Movement, played the main role in re-couching whole sections into a style still inimitably Hitlerian, often barely readable, but nonetheless more literate than the original.¹⁰³ Even then, there were many later alterations before the volume appeared in print.¹⁰⁴ Hitler himself, according to Hans Frank, accepted that it was badly written, and described it as no more than a collection of leading articles for the *Völkischer Beobachter*.¹⁰⁵

Before Hitler came to power, *Mein Kampf*, brought out in the party's own publishing house, the Franz Eher-Verlag, run by Max Amann, was scarcely the runaway bestseller he had apparently expected it to be. Its turgid content, dreadful style, and relatively high price of 12 Reich Marks a volume evidently deterred many potential readers.¹⁰⁶ By 1929, the first volume had sold around 23,000 copies, the second only 13,000. Sales increased sharply following the NSDAP's electoral successes after 1930, and reached 80,000 in 1932. From 1933, they rose stratospherically. One and a half million copies were sold that year. Even the blind could read it – should they have wished to do so – once a braille version had been published in 1936. And from that year, a copy of the people's edition of both volumes bound together was given to each happy couple on their wedding day. Some

10 million copies were sold by where *Mein Kampf* was trans. people actually read it is unknown. Having from the early 1920s d 'writer', he could well afford in (in contrast, he pointed out, to him a very rich man).¹⁰⁹

No policy outline was offered however garbled the presentation of political principles, his 'world-vision' of society, and his long-term of the Führer myth. For in *Mein K* qualified to lead Germany from i

Mein Kampf gives an import 1920s.¹¹⁰ By then, he had developed complete interpretation of history overcome them. Tersely summarized a view of history as racial struggle, the Aryan, was being undermined Jew.¹¹¹ 'The racial question,' he history but to all human culture, taken to be the brutal rule of the Jew the 'blood Jew' had, 'partly amid death around 30 million people in the rule over a great people of a bandits'.¹¹² The 'mission' of the Nazi to destroy 'Jewish Bolshevism'. At this conveniently into a justification for would provide the German people 'master race' to sustain itself.¹¹⁴ He rest of his life. Nothing of substance inflexibility and quasi-messianic code that were unalterable, simple, intern Hitler the strength of will and sense mark on all those who came into contact, entourage derived in no small measure that he could so forcefully express of black and white, victory or total d And, like all ideologues and 'convi

* accepts it, but fulminates against the printed word. "The

best styles are without emotion except for the superiority of their speech. When you truly wish to speak from the heart, you need the human voice, and more than ever today, what it is all print everywhere, cemeteries of Prussia

MK
1932-45
Haken

1915-29

Between the refoundation of the NSDAP in February 1925 and the beginnings of the new political and economic turmoil that was to usher in the shattering impact of the world economic crisis, the Nazi Movement was no more than a fringe irritant in German politics. Its leader, Hitler, faced with the rebuilding of his party from scratch after it had fractured into warring factions during his imprisonment in 1924, and banned from speaking in public in most of Germany until 1927 (in the biggest state of all, Prussia, until 1928), was confined to the political wilderness. A confidential report by the Reich Minister of the Interior in 1927, pointing out that the NSDAP 'was not advancing', realistically described the party as 'a numerically insignificant . . . radical-revolutionary splinter group incapable of exerting any noticeable influence on the great mass of the population and the course of political events'.¹

In the conditions of economic recovery and apparent consolidation that prevailed in the four years following the currency stabilization the major props of Nazi success before 1923 were removed. A semblance of 'normality' came over the Weimar Republic. These were Weimar's 'golden years'. With Stresemann at the helm, the Locarno Treaty of 1925 (recognizing the western borders of the Reich as determined in the Versailles Treaty) and Germany's entry into the League of Nations the following year brought the country back into the international fold. At home, despite nationalist opposition, the Dawes Plan took much of the heat out of the reparations issue by regulating and substantially easing the rate of German repayment. It would be five years before the issue became sensitive again, when a further attempt – the Young Plan – in 1929 to establish terms for clearing the reparations burden stirred a new wave of nationalist agitation. Meanwhile, despite governmental instability, the new Republic seemed to be settling down. Beneath the four changes of administration between 1925 and 1927, there

see
Peters
Gov.
on
Weimar

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Henry was successful in crushing opposition by means of "violence fait aux âmes, c'est à dire, propagande." Hitler's propaganda was—and was intended to be—"violence committed against the soul." An editorial in Hitler's newspaper admitted as much when it noted with remarkable candor that the Führer's purpose was to achieve "complete knowledge of and mastery over the soul and the mind, the bearing and the inner conviction of the people."⁸²

The pages of *Mein Kampf* devoted to propaganda techniques are the most lucid in that turgid work. The methods he sets forth are based on his deep-seated distrust and contempt for the people. He assumes that they are, in his metaphors, animals or women who willingly submit to a man of iron will and brutality. Propaganda must recognize "the importance of physical terror"; it must be radical and violent, creating not mere supporters but fanatics—a favorite word of Hitlers; "always and ever" it must appeal to the emotions and not to reason; repetition is of the essence because the masses "will lend their memories only to the thousandfold repetition of the most simple ideas"; political leaders should understand the technique of the Big Lie. The clearest exposition of this last important principle was given by Hitler himself:

In the size of the lie there is always contained a certain factor of credibility, since the great masses of people will more easily fall victim to a great lie than to a small one, since they themselves . . . lie sometimes in little things. . . . Thus such an untruth will not at all enter their heads . . . therefore, just for this reason, some part of the most impudent lie will remain and stick.

Hitler's next sentence is revealing. Having just endorsed the principle of the Big Lie, he immediately denies responsibility for so immoral a concept and blames the Jews for the idea: "Those who know best this truth about the possibilities of the application of untruth and defamation, however, were at all times the Jews."⁸³

The power of Hitler's propaganda to command popular support is shown clearly in the following three stories, each involving the death of a young Nazi. In the first case, a member of Hitler's *Jungvolk*, a boy of nine who was ill with pneumonia, was required to go on a forced march in order to fulfill his obligation to the Führer. The story of his death is best told by an educator who was the director of an American school in Germany prior to World War II. He accompanied the family doctor as he visited the dying boy:

On a cot lay the restless form of a boy with an emaciated face. The doctor touched the boy's wrist to take his pulse. The boy tore his hand away, shot it high and shouted in a delirious, unnatural voice, "Heil Hitler."

I looked at the mother. "If only they had not made him

The Intellectual World of Adolf

march," she said hoarse said he had to march. It by Kahla, in Thuringia, *Jungvolk*. His father is a He did not want a weak:

From the cot came Hitler. I must die for H beseeching, fighting agai

"They told him at tl the mother continued. "A

She broke then, so pinched face wore the e: the Savior. His right h: yielding. His lips kept for him to utter:

"I must die for Hitle

Dr. Schroeder bent l

The cries became moans,

"His father says if mother said tonelessly.

"Now do you see i when we were again in strange ideology that can

During the war, a captu was told by a French doctor th: The wounded prisoner replied luted with French blood. I woul

Another mortally wounde priest who was immediately re want anything from your chur: my Führer's picture out of m plied, the boy kissed the pictur tributed to saints and marty: happy to die for you."⁸⁵

Such, in the main, were l Führer and the degradation o: quest of *Lebensraum* and th Semitism and racism; propaga the will of one man.

In a later chapter we shall person to attract millions of i establish a society dedicated to insight into the intellectual wor: minds that attracted him and sh

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

P.T. he might have Jewish blood? The answer to this question is yes, he did. Rightly or wrongly, throughout his life Hitler lived with the awful suspicion that his own father's father was a Jew and that he himself was "poisoned" by Jewish blood. That suspicion constituted psychic reality for Hitler. It helped to shape his personality and to determine public policy.

He expressed his apprehension in many ways. Over and over again, in public speeches and private conversation, he stressed the dangers of "blood poisoning" and thereby demonstrated that he could not get the idea out of his mind: "Alone the loss of purity of the blood destroys the inner happiness forever; it eternally lowers man, and never again can its consequence be removed from body and mind." He felt the need to atone for bad blood. Unable to bring himself to admit directly his own family's "guilt," he used the defense of universalizing the "sin" by claiming that all Germans were involved. Thus the poisoning of German blood became the "original sin" of all humanity. To an intimate he said, "All of us are suffering from the ailment of mixed, corrupted blood. How can we purify ourselves and make atonement?" To another associate on a different occasion he suggested that the Jewish blood of Jesus was a special curse. "In the Gospels the Jews call to Pilate when Pilate hesitated to crucify Jesus: 'His blood comes over us and over our children.' I must perhaps fulfill this curse." One of the reasons he gave for not marrying and having children was his fear of tainted blood and a family history of feeble-mindedness: "The offspring of the genus have great difficulties in life. Everyone expects that they will have the same ability as their famous parent. But that seldom happens. Besides they would all be feeble-minded."

Hitler's habit from childhood of having his own blood sucked out by leeches or later by the syringes of Dr. Morell suggests that he suspected there was something the matter with his blood. He wanted to get rid of it. The Führer may have been so concerned about the precise measurements of his head because he worried about his own "Jewish characteristics." It was a common misapprehension among Nazi racists that "Jewishness" could be measured cranially. Through meticulous charting of his own head, Hitler may have been trying to prove to himself that he was not Jewish.

Then, too, he kept thinking back on the story that his own grandmother, while working as a household servant, might have been seduced by a Jew. One of his most important state papers, the Nuremberg Racial Laws of 1935—which he called *Blutschutzgesetz* (The Law for the Protection of the Blood)—documented his concern. Hitler himself personally checked the wording of these laws and gave strict orders that not one word should be changed. Paragraph 3 is especially interesting. The Führer made a special point of emphasizing the following disability: "Jews cannot employ female household servants of German or related blood who are under 45 years of age." Hitler's own

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D.T. How useful it was to slap him back and forth with such an irrational suspicion

The Child As Father to the Man

grandmother had been no old while working, according to I

He projected the fear th the deputy of the Center Party by accepting the Versailles Tr book, written in 1928, Hitler one of those principally guilt: Erzberger, . . . the illegitim employer. . . ." As the editor about Erzberger had no basi point, however, is that Hitler r

The mere mention of a vant or charwoman was dee recorded a peculiar incident v indicates that the very thout to trigger a violent emotional 1930s, Hitler was informed hotel he frequented in Nuren for chambermaids in a Cathol entirely disproportionate to th was dismissed out of hand and

In one of his nightly mc was still on his mind. He t who had a place in Nurembe had been raped by her employ

Hitler did not like to i showed a remarkable interes concerned about it that he s umably to prove that his g Jewish.* But the investigators

* In the so-called *Gestapo-B* now in the main archives of the N tions into the Führer's family bac 1932, 1935, 1938, and 1940. Two another during the period Decem clearly, were collected by the Par Attila Bleibtreu, who was simply f the Gestapo also took a peculiar ir 1942, written by an SS *Obersturmb* dressed to the *Reichsführer SS*, Pr Heinrich Himmler) and stamped mission of documents on the ances the Linz branch of the Gestapo. F Photographs Division of the Librar by Heinrich Himmler and addresse In the letter, Himmler notes forma on Hitler and requests a receipt fr and marked "Geheime Reichssache Hitler materials). Himmler would i

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

and the defender of racially pure Germania. Of the dozens of portraits painted of the Führer in 1938, Hitler chose this one as the official painting which alone was to be exhibited during the year.¹¹⁰ (See illustrations, following p. 160.)

Hitler shared Wagner's infatuation with the mythical universe of primitive German legend. His two favorite books, which he read again and again as a youth in Vienna, were a volume on architecture and a popular edition of heroic legends entitled *Legends of Gods and Heroes: The Treasures of Germanic Mythology*.¹¹¹ The Nordic mysteries that enthralled the boy continued to intrigue the man. On the night of 25-26 January 1942, while German soldiers froze and bled on the Russian front, Hitler mused about the rhythms of life, the beauties of Greek architecture, the training of dogs, the marvels of science, and the significance of mythology. He had come to believe, he exclaimed, that science would someday actually recapture eerie emanations coming from Wagner's legendary world—vital vibrations transmitting the secrets of the cosmos. Only he and Wagner really understood these vibrations: "When I hear Wagner it seems to me that I hear rhythms of a bygone world. I imagine to myself that one day science will discover in the waves set in motion by the *Rheingold*, secret mutual relations connected with the order of the world."¹¹²

Years before in Vienna he had become terribly excited when his roommate, a student at the Conservatory of Music, told him that among Wagner's posthumous notes was found a sketch for an opera based on the legend of "Wieland the Smith." Hitler knew the story well. Wieland was the half-god son of a giant who had been taken captive by a king who had crippled him and forced him to work as the royal smith. For revenge, Wieland raped the king's daughter and enticed his two sons into the smithy, where he killed them. He then fashioned beakers from the boys' skulls and drank a toast to the spirit of revenge before raising himself on wings he had forged and disappearing into the flaming sky of evening. It was a splendid story, Hitler thought, and he decided to write an opera about it as a tribute to Wagner and an expression of his own genius.

The fact that he had no conception of musical composition and was unable to play an instrument did not deter him. His genius, he said, would surmount any difficulty. "I shall compose the music," he said to his friend, "and you will write it down." Adolf's idea was to take Wagnerian themes and put them into a form that he imagined would have been meaningful to the ancient Teutons. The opera was to be performed on instruments that were used at the time of the Eddas, and Hitler searched excitedly through the volumes of the Hof-Library to discover the kinds of musical instruments known to the ancient Germans. Young Hitler seems justified in thinking that his would be the first Wagnerian opera performed on rattles, drums, bone flutes, and *Luren*—brass wind instruments some two yards long, apparently used in

The Intellectual World of Ado.

German antiquity as a kind of villages.

Adolf worked on his intensity, night after night at "Wolf Lake" (where the op plotting and replotting the musical tribute to Wagner r

Wagner's Racial and Pol

Wagner's contribution i Auden called him "the great T. S. Eliot is manifest throu; Wagnerian novel; D. H. La Mann, Gauguin, Degas, an selves in being called Wagne him, and Mahler said that h —"after them, nobody." A n tribution to culture by saying any other single artist on the

All of these people wer They might have tempered tl political tracts with the care the creative musical genius, l he who was the primary insp creator of that system himse it "must first know Richard everything the master had familiarity with Wagner's m of my life I come back to him

COMPARISON WITH HITL

It is not entirely clear essays on race, politics, art, : was during his youth in Lin: works were available in mun: Hitler was filling his leisure h tracts. The young man who was delighted to learn that hi same as his own. And his life poser must have been strengt were in many ways so much a

Both Hitler and Wagner geniuses who captivated mil prose. Had their reputations words, both would have been

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

phors and turns of phrase indicate something very personal: that he transferred his love for his own mother to Germany and saw himself as the savior of a Motherland menaced by the "Jewish peril." Thus he projected his infantile desire—greatly intensified by the primal scene experience—to rescue his mother from being debased by a lecherous father, and to possess her himself. Germania to him was living flesh which, like his mother's, had been lacerated and torn:

Could anyone believe Germany alone was not subject to exactly the same laws as all other human organisms?

An attempt to restore the border of 1914 would lead to a further bleeding of our national body.

The Polish Corridor . . . is like a strip of flesh cut from our body.

France was tearing piece after piece out of the flesh of our national body.³¹

He saw her ill and dying. Both in *Mein Kampf* and in later speeches he repeated the image of himself as a surgeon operating on his Motherland, who, like Klara Hitler, was dying of cancer. For a time, like his mother, she seemed to recover, but then she "obviously languished more and more." Only drastic measures by Surgeon Hitler could save her, for "brutal determination" was needed in "breaking down incurable tumors." No one else was capable of "combating . . . malignant cancers" or of "lancing the cancerous ulcer."

Other metaphors used by Hitler support the conjecture that Hitler, quite erroneously, may have believed that his mother's cancer had been treated by iodoform in an effort to burn out the disease (see Chapter 3, p. 189). In a speech at Stuttgart of 15 February 1933, Hitler set his task after coming to power by saying "we want to *burn out* the symptoms of decomposition . . . in our whole culture; we want to *burn out* this whole poison which has flowed into our lives." And in a wild harangue before the Reichstag on 13 July 1934, he sought to justify the Röhm Purge by saying:

I further gave the order to *burn out down to the raw flesh the ulcers* of this poisoning of the wells of our domestic life.³²

Young Hitler's reaction to his mother's death was of direct importance to his ideology about the German nation. Just as he raged against her dying, so he raged against Germany's, insisting that both must live on or—if they had already died—that both must be resurrected. He was unable to save his mother's life, but when, in Koenigsberg's phrase, he "relocated his mother in Germany," his conviction had consequences. He would prevent the death of the Motherland by utterly

From Private Neurosis to P

destroying those who so
He would root them out.

Therefore let no one
can—no one dare—
many must live!

He would perform
resurrect her. It is surp
resurrection after he ha
later, in February 1935, I

We celebrate the pr

In September 1935:

Through us and in t

In September 1937:

Today Germany ha
work.

Again in October 1938:

It is like a miracle
experience a new Ge

And yet again in Novem

I am convinced that
me from all danger
of our people . . .
strength and glory.
other!³³

As we have seen, I
gendered, at least in pa
later fantasies of his mot
and over again he used
being raped, or he attrib
and acquiescence to the
asked, "was the soul of
that "our German pacifi
rape of the nation." The
woman who yields to a s

1925

From Private Neurosis to Public Policy

destroying those who sought to injure, poison, and kill her—the Jews. He would root them out. Germany *must* be saved:

Therefore let no one object, "But this is impossible." That no one can—no one dare—say to me! . . . It must be possible, for Germany must live!

He would perform great miracles to keep Germany alive—or to resurrect her. It is surprising how often it was necessary to repeat the resurrection after he had already saved her in 1933. Thus, two years later, in February 1935, he said:

We celebrate the proud *resurrection* of Germany.

In September 1935:

Through us and in us the nation has *risen again*.

In September 1937:

Today Germany has in truth *risen again* and *risen again* as our work.

Again in October 1938:

It is like a miracle that in so few years we should be able to experience a new German *resurrection*.

And yet again in November 1940:

I am convinced that Providence has led me here and has preserved me from all dangers so that I could lead . . . a *new resurrection* of our people . . . We shall reestablish a Germany of power and strength and glory. Germany must *rise again*. One way or another! ³³

As we have seen, Hitler's racial theory seems to have been engendered, at least in part, by the primal scene trauma of infancy and later fantasies of his mother being attacked by a Jew or a part-Jew. Over and over again he used sexual images in speaking of his Motherland's being raped, or he attributed alleged female qualities of submissiveness and acquiescence to the nation or to the masses. "By what wiles," he asked, "was the soul of Germany *raped*?" Or he commented bitterly that "our German pacifists will pass over in silence the most bloody *rape* of the nation." The masses are always seen as weak; they are a woman who yields to a strong and audacious male. Like a woman—and

7

1925?
(could be '24)

EMERGENCE OF THE LEADER

'The secret of this personality resides in the fact that in it the deepest of what lies dormant in the soul of the German people has taken shape in full living features . . . That has appeared in Adolf Hitler: the living incarnation of the nation's yearning.'

Georg Schott, Das Volksbuch vom Hitler, 1924

'The combination of theoretician, organizer, and leader in one person is the rarest thing that can be found on this earth; this combination makes the great man.'

Hitler, in Mein Kampf

~~to the Jews~~
to his own
continuing
presence of D.T. Every month of his stay in
house. I know, ~~that~~ Landsberg was
invaluable to me personally.
all the By the time he left, he was
orderly that camp at last convinced that
to me from the fact that he was not only a great
the fact that he was the Great One
man, but the Great One
this was provided by Providence
the whisper of the German people,
to save the German people,
in the chain. As a corollary, his anti-Semite
Total anti-Semitism was now genuine flesh and blood
and inescapably for he had
equalled the ~~downfall~~ of the Jews.

1925?

phetic Person', 'The Genius', 'The Loyal One', 'The Man of Will', 'The Awakener', and 'The Liberator'.¹ His allusions, Hitler was turned into words, wrote Schott, 'which a god gave him to declare. Adolf Hitler . . . "I am the political mystically, Schott rhapsodized in the person of Hitler: 'The secret that in it the deepest of what lies people has taken shape in full living Hitler: the living incarnation of the

o the myriad of rival factions that nsability, the enforced idleness in nts outside led Hitler to the writing n' and partial modification of his e first volume of his book cemented reinforced his unbounded, narciss- nviction in his own near-messianic inty that he was destined to become who would expunge the 'criminal ght and power, and create a reborn'² By the time he left Landsberg, the of his followers - from 'drummer'

ovement in Hitler's absence, the n those who already saw greatness of 'great' leadership were closely from Landsberg, on 20 December e position as Leader had been laid.

3 plainly how indispensable Hitler teen months of his imprisonment, /with Hitler removed from the scene om all involvement in politics to

concentrate on the writing of *Mein Kampf*, the *völkisch* movement descended into squabbling factionalism and internecine strife. By courtesy of Bavarian justice, Hitler had been allowed to use the court-room to portray himself as the hero of the Right for his role in the putsch. Competing individuals and groups felt compelled to assert Hitler's authority and backing for their actions. But in Hitler's absence, this was insufficient in itself to ensure success.³ Moreover, Hitler was often inconsistent, contradictory, or unclear in his views on developments. His claim to a leadership position could not be ignored, and was not disputed. Any claim to an exclusive leadership position was, however, upheld only by a minority in the *völkisch* movement. And as long as Hitler was in no position directly to influence developments, the narrow core of his fervent devotees was largely marginalized even within the broad *völkisch* Right, often at war with each other, and split on tactics, strategy, and ideology. By the time of his release in December 1924, the Reichstag elections of that month had reflected the catastrophic decline of support for the *völkisch* movement, which had come to form little more than a group of disunited nationalist and racist sects on the extreme fringe of the political spectrum.

Just before his arrest on 11 November 1923, Hitler had placed Alfred Rosenberg, editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, in charge of the banned party during his absence, to be supported by Esser, Streicher, and Amann.⁴ Like a number of leading Nazis (including Heß, Scheubner-Richter, and Hitler himself), Rosenberg's origins did not lie within the boundaries of the German Reich. Born into a well-off bourgeois family in Reval (now Tallinn), Estonia, the introverted self-styled party 'philosopher', dogmatic but dull, arrogant and cold, one of the least charismatic and least popular of Nazi leaders, united other party bigwigs only in their intense dislike of him.⁵ Distinctly lacking in leadership qualities, he was scarcely an obvious choice, and was as surprised as others were by Hitler's nomination.⁶ Possibly, as is usually surmised, it was precisely Rosenberg's lack of leadership ability that commended itself to Hitler.⁷ Certainly, a less likely rival to Hitler could scarcely be imagined. But this would presume that Hitler, in the traumatic aftermath of the failed putsch, was capable of lucid, machiavellian planning, that he anticipated what would happen and actually wanted and expected his movement to fall apart in his absence.⁸ A more likely explanation is that he made a hasty and ill-conceived decision, under pressure and in a depressed frame of mind, to entrust the party's affairs to a member of his Munich coterie whose loyalty was beyond question. Rosenberg was, in fact, one of the few leading figures in the Movement still available.⁹ Scheubner-Richter

1925?

in disarray were given by their day before the trial of the intended support for Graefe as by lending his prestige to the leadership of the *völkisch*

however reluctantly, to enter day to destroy it, decided to contest the series of regional and the Reichstag election – the was opposed to this strategy. explaining over a year later: actions from the first moment number of gentlemen, including need that the Movement was stay true to our principle of only squandered pointlessly.²⁰ decision to participate went ults. In the February Landtag stronghold, the DVFP won April in the Bavarian Landtag al alliance called itself there,

ing it be known that he opposed thcoming Reichstag elections. name to go over an electoral election, he told Kurt Lüdecke we shall have to hold our noses and Marxist deputies'.²² How later by Rudolf Heß, replying Herr Hitler is of the view that, ll, participation in parliament combating the present system, on should not be "positive at by the *völkisch* parliamentarugh the fiercest opposition and existing system in parliament. should be taken to absurdity in

The Reichstag election results had, it seems, helped persuade Hitler that the parliamentary tactic, pragmatically and purposefully deployed, promised to pay dividends. The *völkisch* vote, bolstered by the publicity and outcome of the Hitler trial, had stood up well, with a result of 6.5 per cent and thirty-two seats in the Reichstag.²⁴ The results in Graefe's territory of Mecklenburg (20.8 per cent) and Bavaria (16 per cent) were particularly good.²⁵ That only ten of the *völkisch* Reichstag members were from the NSDAP and twenty-two from the DVFP gave some indication, however, of the relative weakness of the remnants of the Hitler Movement at the time.²⁶

In the first of two visits he paid to Landsberg in May, Ludendorff, whose contacts in north Germany were extensive despite his continued residence near Munich, seized the moment to try to persuade Hitler to agree to a merger of the NSDAP and DVFP fractions in the Reichstag, and in the second meeting even to full unity of the two parties. Hitler equivocated. He agreed in principle, but stipulated preconditions that needed to be discussed with Graefe. One of these, it transpired, was that the headquarters of the movement would be based in Munich.²⁷ The meeting with Graefe did not take place, however, before the Reichstag deputies of the two parties came together in Berlin on 24 May and agreed to merge for parliamentary purposes under the name of the National Socialist Freedom Party (Nationalsozialistische Freiheitspartei, NSFP). Ludendorff compromised Hitler's position by announcing in a press release that the latter supported the creation of a single, unified party. Hitler was in difficulties because, though he had always insisted on a separate and unique identity for the NSDAP, there was the danger, following the electoral success of the *Völkischer Block*, that such an uncompromising stance would seem less than compelling to his supporters. Moreover, the DVFP was the stronger of the two parties, as the election had shown, and Ludendorff was now generally regarded as the leading figure in the *völkisch* movement.²⁸

Hitler's weakness, reflected in his habit of telling people what they wanted to hear, was revealed in a hastily arranged visit to Landsberg by a four-man north German Nazi delegation, led by Haase, at the end of May. Hitler insisted that the agreement with the DVFP of 24 February had been presented to him as a *fait accompli*, that he had opposed electoral participation but had been unable to prevent it, and that unity with the DVFP went no further than the combining of the Reichstag fractions.²⁹ Ludendorff immediately cast doubt on Hitler's sincerity in a published statement on 11 June flatly contradicting such a version, and stressing Hitler's acceptance of the need for a merger.³⁰ However, the result of the visit by Haase's delegation was

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was dead. Others had scattered in the post-putsch turmoil, or had been arrested. Even – though Hitler could scarcely have known this – the three trusted lieutenants he had designated to support Rosenberg were temporarily out of action. Esser had fled to Austria, Amann was in jail, and Streicher was preoccupied with matters in Nuremberg. Rosenberg was probably no more than a hastily chosen least bad option.

Whatever the reasoning, Rosenberg soon found that his writ did not run: simply calling on Hitler's authority did not help. One immediate sign was the insistence of the acting head of the now illegal SA, Major Walter Buch, that the organization of the Storm Section, while retaining its loyalty to Hitler, would not be subjected to the party's leadership and would keep out of party-political conflict.¹⁰ This was the direct opposite of Hitler's instructions, that the SA would be subordinated to the party.¹¹ Rosenberg also found in any case that there was no party organization to speak of. The haphazard way in which the party had developed before the putsch had left it unprepared for illegality. Close coordination even of groups in southern Bavaria was now impossible. Rosenberg devised the code-name 'Rolf Eidhalt' – 'Keep the Oath' – as an anagram of 'Adolf Hitler', and used it in letters passed on by courier.¹² Camouflage organizations – hiking clubs and the like – were established. Local party groups were sent copies of postcards carrying a picture of Hitler which, they were told, had to be sold in millions 'as a symbol of our Leader', since 'the name of Adolf Hitler must always be kept alive for the German people'.¹³ Successor newspapers to the banned *Völkischer Beobachter* attempted to keep the flame alight among Nazi followers. Hitler himself contributed articles and drawings to one clandestine production smuggled out of Landsberg.¹⁴ Whatever the difficulties of communication at first, any cloak-and-dagger activity was soon shown to be unnecessary. The authorities proved willing to permit the creation of obvious successor organizations to the banned NSDAP.¹⁵

On 1 January 1924, Rosenberg founded the Großdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft (GVG, 'Greater German National Community'), intended to serve, during the NSDAP's ban, as its successor organization.¹⁶ By the summer, Rosenberg had been ousted and the GVG had fallen under the control of Hermann Esser (returned in May from his exile in Austria) and Julius Streicher.¹⁷ But the coarse personalities, insulting behaviour and clumsy methods of Esser and Streicher merely succeeded in alienating many Hitler followers. Far from all Hitler loyalists, in any case, had joined the GVG. Gregor Strasser, for example, a Landsbut apothecary who was to emerge in the post-putsch era as the leading figure in the party after Hitler, joined

the Deutschvölkische Freiheit headed by Albrecht Graefe, for with its stronghold in Meckle

Graefe and two other dissident Wilhelm Henning, all members former officers and businessmen late autumn of 1922, wanting by the DNVP. Hitler had left Graefe in March 1923, allowing with the south retained for that of March and recommending had been signed by Hermann. claimed by Rosenberg and knowledge, and that the latter face. But since Hitler had agreed scarcely probable that Esser's approval, this is unlikely.

The agreement had not come into effect, Graefe had taken part in it. But conflict was not long delayed. To the disarray within the Hitler leaders were still at liberty to place. And though the DNVP in an attempt to win over the advantage of the situation as DVFP leaders advocated ele added to the growing conflict alienated many Nazis, and in northern Germany. The Göttingen branch, was increasingly above all keen to keep the Graefe. Rosenberg's positive agreement with Graefe, allied combined leadership, which the meeting in Salzburg at the Ludendorff's insistence, on permission (though stipulated months). It was a further sign

* Hitler had a soft spot for Rosenberg for years because of the anagram.

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those left trying to run a party banned and in disarray were given by their imprisoned leader. Immediately after this, on the day before the trial of the putschists began, Ludendorff publicly recommended support for Graefe as his representative in north Germany, thereby lending his prestige to the DVFP and at the same time tacitly claiming leadership of the *völkisch* movement.¹⁹

Those *völkisch* groups that were prepared, however reluctantly, to enter parliament in order to be in a position one day to destroy it, decided to enter into electoral alliances to allow them to contest the series of regional (Landtag) elections that began in February, and the Reichstag election – the first of two that year – on 4 May 1924. Hitler was opposed to this strategy. As Rudolf Heß, on Hitler's behalf, was still explaining over a year later: 'Herr H. was against participating in the elections from the first moment onwards, and said this clearly and plainly to a number of gentlemen, including His Excellency L[udendorff]. He was convinced that the Movement was not mature enough, that we also had to stay true to our principle of anti-parliamentarism, and that money was only squandered pointlessly.'²⁰ Hitler's opposition made no difference. The decision to participate went ahead. It seemed to be borne out by the results. In the February Landtag elections in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Graefe's stronghold, the DVFP won thirteen out of sixty-four seats. And on 6 April in the Bavarian Landtag elections, the Völkischer Block, as the electoral alliance called itself there, won 17 per cent of the vote.²¹

Even after these results, Hitler was still letting it be known that he opposed the activities of the Völkischer Block in the forthcoming Reichstag elections. Yet at the very same time he allowed his name to go over an electoral proclamation of the Block. And soon after the election, he told Kurt Lüdecke that policy would have to change, and that 'we shall have to hold our noses and enter the Reichstag against the Catholic and Marxist deputies'.²² How he viewed this was made plain a year or so later by Rudolf Heß, replying for Hitler to a letter from a party member: 'Herr Hitler is of the view that, after parliament was entered against his will, participation in parliament has to be seen as one of many methods of combating the present system, including parliamentarism. But participation should not be "positive cooperation", as was unfortunately carried out by the *völkisch* parliamentarists with very little success, but only by through the fiercest opposition and obstruction, through constant criticism of the existing system in parliament. Parliament, or better still parliamentarism, should be taken to absurdity in parliament.'²³

The Reichstag election result the parliamentary tactic, pragmatic to pay dividends. The *völkisch* of the Hitler trial, had stood up two seats in the Reichstag.²⁴ The (20.8 per cent) and Bavaria (11 only ten of the *völkisch* Reichs twenty-two from the DVFP gave weakness of the remnants of the

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Hitler's weakness, reflected in to hear, was revealed in a hastily north German Nazi delegation, insisted that the agreement with to him as a *fait accompli*, that had been unable to prevent it, and than the combining of the Reichs doubt on Hitler's sincerity in contradicting such a version, and for a merger.³⁰ However, the re-

the establishment on 3 June 1924 in Hamburg by the north German Hitler loyalists of a 'Directorate' under the leadership of Dr Adalbert Volck, a lawyer based in Lüneburg whose embracing of the *völkisch* movement was strongly coloured by his Baltic origins.³¹ The Directorate totally rejected any notion of a merger with the DVFP which, it felt, would lead to it being sucked into 'parliamentarism' and becoming a party like others. Consequently, the Directorate aimed to be a tightly knit, centrally controlled organization, loyal to Hitler and holding to his principles until he could be released to take up the reins again.³²

Even so, some north German Nazis were, not surprisingly, confused and uncertain about Hitler's position regarding any merger. In a letter of 14 June, Haase sought confirmation that Hitler rejected a merger of the two parties. Replying two days later, Hitler denied that he had fundamentally rejected a merger, though he had stipulated preconditions for such a step. He acknowledged the opposition among many Nazi loyalists to a merger with the DVFP, which, he also pointed out, had made plain its rejection of some of the old guard of the party. Under the circumstances, he went on, he could no longer intervene or accept responsibility. He had decided, therefore, to withdraw from politics until he could properly lead again. He refused henceforth to allow his name to be used in support of any political position, and asked for no further political letters to be sent to him.³³

A week later, Hermann Fobke, a young Nazi from the Göttingen area, imprisoned with Hitler in Landsberg and acting as his general factotum and go-between with the north German faction, tried to assuage Haase by assuring him of Hitler's support for the opposition of the north German National Socialists to the DVFP. 'All in all,' Fobke summed up, 'H[itle]r thinks things have gone so hopelessly off the rails that he is in no doubt that he will have to begin completely afresh when he is free. But in such a case, he is very optimistic and of the view that he will have firm control again within a few days.' Fobke could not resist, however, pointing out his own disappointment at Hitler's indifference to the 'cries of distress' of the north German NSDAP.³⁴

Hitler announced his decision to withdraw from politics in the press on 7 July. He requested no further visits to Landsberg by his supporters, a request he felt compelled to repeat a month later. The press announcement gave as his reasons the impossibility of accepting practical responsibility for developments while he was in Landsberg, 'general overwork', and the need to concentrate on the writing of his book (the first volume of *Mein Kampf*).³⁵ A not insignificant additional factor, as the opposition press emphasized,

was Hitler's anxiety to do no could be granted from 1 C Ludendorff's press statement Hitler by claiming, despite openly supported the merge June that the decision to wit anger over this statement'.³⁸ the one he had given Haase: I within Landsberg. The Lud indication of this impotent strategy to exacerbate the confusion, and thereby bols the outcome, not the cause. foreseen. Hitler acted from from all sides to take a sta frustrated his supporters. B side or the other. His deci habitually rationalizes his ch to risk everything rather the while he remained confined.

Hitler's frustration was al: disapproval, to curtail Roh paramilitary organization ca and unify other existing pa including the SA and the o and to be placed under the allergic to the inevitable loss follow and concerned to av on leaders of paramilitary what might be seen as his would hinder his chances o him back to Austria. Unab bound over on probation, hi part in the putsch set aside their last meeting before he having laid down the leade wished to hear no more ab ignored Hitler and pressed patronage and protection.⁴¹

D. T. - my invaluable advice
"If they don't ~~mean~~ ^{long for return} ~~you~~
~~passion~~ then indeed you
are nothing but a drummer.
See p. 231 for his other fears

②

1919, 1925, 1945

States. We shall return to these crucial matters in the course of this chapter.*

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MUCH THAT WAS SUCCESSFUL in Hitler's career was due to his opponents' underestimation of his abilities. The head of the small party that Hitler joined in 1919 underestimated his capacity to attract people and power to his side;† the German politicians (and not only politicians) woefully underestimated his political abilities; and after he came to power many people throughout the world derided his talents as a potential European statesman. Yet he proved to be an alarmingly effective statesman—not only in peace but also in war—and an often alarmingly successful strategist.‡ From a provincial demagogue, he rose to a successful politician and an awesomely respected leader of a great nation, and then—at least for some time—to the director of the greatest war machine in the world. In that capacity, the world—including his leading opponents—finally learned not to underestimate him, even though there

*I must also state another disagreement with Hillgruber, who was a proponent of the—to many Germans still attractive—two-war theory: that the war in the West (which was a "normal European war" [ein europäisches Normalkrieg]) was regrettable, a tragic development to which Hitler had decisively contributed, whereas the war with Russia, at least in its latter stages, amounted to a heroic defense of the German land, the German people, and Western civilization. I understand the sentiments of this native of East Prussia, but I must abide by the answer that Field Marshal Montgomery gave in May 1945 to the exclamation of the German generals who wished to get from him a partial surrender: "The Russians are savages!" Whereupon Montgomery: "You should have thought of that in June 1941."

†Fest, *F*, p. 203: "With a mixture of coldbloodedness, calculation and determination as well as [his] readiness to take great risks for the sake of limited aims—and this he demonstrated in all kinds of crisis situations—he succeeded in getting the Party in his hands." Also, p. 206: His later demonstrated ability to master crises included, too, his repeated tendency "to endanger his triumphs through their further exaggeration."

‡Some of his biographers shy away from the word "statesman," mostly because of the positive connotations of the word. Thus Heiber in *HB*, p. 117: "No. Hitler was a very clever leader of a party, a dedicated demagogue, an inspiring speaker, and even about Hitler the military commander there will be something to say: but a statesman he was not."

the statesman gets the best of a compromise

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they saw as impossible for them opened his eyes to the real possibility.

was little in Hitler's past of Caesar or a Napoleon.

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†Schramm (*SCH*, p. 32, note

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n Hitler's career was due to his abilities. The head of the small underestimated his capacity to de;† the German politicians (and underestimated his political abilities; my people throughout the world European statesman. Yet he proved statesman—not only in peace but ingly successful strategist.‡ From to a successful politician and an great nation, and then—at least of the greatest war machine in world—including his leading oppo-estimate him, even though there

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um the word "statesman," mostly because l. Thus Heiber in HB, p. 117: "No. Hitler icated demagogue, an inspiring speaker, ander there will be something to say: but a

was little in Hitler's past that suggested a character comparable to a Caesar or a Napoleon. But the evidence had come, and the world had learned a bitter and hard lesson.

One—perhaps the main—source of Hitler's political and military, diplomatic and strategic, abilities may be summed up briefly. He had an ability—mostly, though not entirely, instinctive—to recognize the weaknesses of his actual or potential opponents. (And also those of his actual, or potential, allies or followers.) He did not always know with certainty what they would do; but he was reasonably confident (and often rather accurate) in understanding what they were loath to do. This stabbing comprehension of the weaker sides of human nature carried him far; but it also led to some of his greatest failures when he underestimated some of his adversaries and therefore failed to understand them. Still a powerful understanding of human nature may be a principal instrument, serving not only a statesman but a strategist as well. † Napoleon Bonaparte knew this when he quipped that there are two human occupations where an amateur is often better than a professional, one being prostitution and the other war.

In Hitler's case we may have to carry this a little further, evoking Napoleon's contemporary Clausewitz, the great German theoretician of war. ‡ His famous maxim that war is but the continuation of politics by other means, surely applies to Hitler. (It is of course a truism: even a tyrant prefers an opponent who surrenders rather than fights.) But Clausewitz was thinking and writing about the many dynastic wars of the eighteenth century and of Napoleon, and

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Churchill, for example. Also, not being an optimist, Hitler was wont to expect the worst from his enemies. This went beyond attributing weaknesses to them.

† Schramm (SCH, p. 32, note 2) cites Dr. v. Hasselbach ("the most critical and reliable of Hitler's doctors"): "Hitler repeatedly asserted that one of his essential capacities, which he could depend on absolutely, was the ability to judge men. Even a brief impression was sufficient for him to be able to say what sort of a person a man was and how he could best be used."

‡ Görlitz-Quint cite a Hitler statement in GO, p. 482: "Strategy is not a secret science. It is the application of a healthy knowledge of human nature. Its basis [ihre Grundformen] may be studied at a boxing match. Armies are nothing but gigantic bodies." This corresponds to Hegel's idea according to which the state is but a human being writ large, a "Macroanthropos."

* 1934-41

1938

when he takes over from Bromberg

insight on leadership

* Here, he had great help from me. When it came to the Russians, however, I was of less use to him. I knew that the C.O. had as many agents in the USSR as in Deutschland and in such cases where there was intensive double investment ~~on both sides~~ by us, a species of wall, a psychologically confused

‡ Be certain, whether he was in a German, I was able to supply.

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his will, to include in our catalogue. Perhaps I had been a little ahead of public taste, although in later years it proved one of our most popular reproductions and sold in enormous numbers. Hitler did not like it. "The colours are too loud for me," he remarked, but he liked the Mussolini portrait and another photograph of Toscanini conducting.

Roehm was up there with us one afternoon in February. I had asked him along to get Hitler away from his café cronies. "There is a real emperor's head," said Hitler, pointing at the Mussolini picture. "He looks like Tiberius, one of the busts in the Vatican museum." Roehm was much less impressed. "*Mein lieber Addolf*," he said in his thick Bavarian accent, "the man looks like an Abyssinian. You will never make a Fascist out of me. I remain what I have always been, a Bavarian monarchist." I looked at him, but he did not seem to be joking and I never forgot his remark. The day was to come when I wondered whether Hitler had remembered it too.

For a short period it really seemed as if Hitler was prepared to listen to the voice of reason, and in the first few weeks of 1925 I seriously considered giving most of my time again to the guidance of this unpredictable genius. Politically his stock was at a low ebb. The Party had yet to be reactivated legally, there was a ban on his making public speeches, the Central Government had been stabilized, Dr. Schacht's new mark had cured inflation and robbed the Nazis of one of their most effective arguments and Hitler yet had to reimpose himself on his nationalist allies. One day he came to me and said: "We must have 100,000 marks, with that money everything could be built up again." His chief hope lay in the success of his book, the manuscript of which was now complete. Here I felt was a means of making him beholden to the camp of respectability. I told my brother Edgar the book was available and that it was well worth the while of our firm to acquire the rights. We had published a few political biographies and I suggested that this would be a very profitable title to have on our list. But Edgar, who was a very conservative business man, turned the idea down, which was highly indicative of the way a great many people felt about Hitler after the failure of the Bürgerbräu Putsch.

By this time Amann's people had started producing the galleys

VIII

or the Führer—
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and one morning Hitler appeared with a bunch of them in his hand. "Would you help me correct them?" he asked, to which I agreed only too readily, until I started to read them. It was really frightful stuff. I suppose I did not see more than the first seventy pages or so, but already his impossible political premises were evident and, quite apart from that, the style filled me with horror. Heaven knows the German language offers endless opportunities for diffuseness of thought and an infinite number of dependent clauses. Here it was combined with a schoolroom phraseology and blatant lapses of style.

I set to work first of all crossing out his worst adjectives, ^{Terrible, awful} ~~furchtbar~~ and ~~ungeheuer~~, ^{immense, monstrous} and the excessive use of superlatives. Some of the faults were highly indicative. In village schools you were taught it was polite to write *mein Vater besass ein Haus* and not the more colloquial *mein Vater hatte ein Haus* for 'my father had a house'! ^{There on page 22 it came up: mit mir besass das Schicksal in dieser Hinsicht Erbarmen - fate was kind to me in this respect'.} Somewhere else he spoke of his talent as a painter. "You cannot say this," I told him. "Other people may say you have talent, but you cannot say it yourself." There were little dishonesties, like describing his father as a *Staatsbeamter*, who is a senior official, which his father never was. His limited outlook was reflected in his use of the word *Weltgeschichte*—world history—in connexion with quite minor European quarrels.

He soon lost patience with me and said "yes, yes, I will see to it," but of course he never did, and the book still reads like one of Fafner's monologues out of Wagner's *Siegfried*. But if you cut your way through the verbiage it reveals the essential Hitler, with all his blind spots, combined with the fantastic energy and single-mindedness with which he adhered to this rigmarole. When I found one set of sheets was missing, I asked what had happened to the others and was told that they were being corrected by Stolzing-Czerny, a Bohemian German who was on the staff of the *Beobachter*. I told Hitler that unless I had the whole text I could not hope to correct it properly, but I never did see the rest and had to read it in book form when it came out.

It was, I suppose, a forlorn hope, but my wife and I even thought

of instilling in him some of the threat of increasing radicalism in the manner he still had of suggested that he should go to a usually taught social deportment at the time, but we intended that a well learnt waltz might. It was odd for a man with supposedly completely allergic to this expression make no difference. "No," I occupation for a statesman. "Napoleon enjoyed dancing Frederick the Great could always do it. No, I won't do it. It is a matter of fact that waltzes are too effeminate for a man means the least factor in the hate about Vienna."

Although we continued to think that the rabid extremists of the time were again and the arguments of moderation were constantly being countered. Even so. The authorities legalized the Beer Hall Putsch on February 24. On the 27th Hitler was in the Bürgerbräu Keller. Although I was not there, there was a sufficient hint that he was alarmed at the liberty he had taken from speaking again, a ban on Hitler in Bavaria and until September he had been sitting next to Hess, who was quite near the platform and spirits by betting that I could correct Hitler would start his speech will lay any money he says 'we ask ourselves . . .' his old sure enough he did.

The next day President Hindenburg died in the throes of an election. It

f them in his hand. to which I agreed was really frightful eventy pages or so, evident and, quite Heaven knows the for diffuseness of lauses. Here it was blatant lapses of

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and I even thought

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of instilling in him some of the social graces as a means of resisting the threat of increasing radicalism in his views. We wanted to soften the manner he still had of a non-com in civilian clothes and suggested that he should go to a dancing school, where we knew they usually taught social deportment as well. The Charleston was the rage at the time, but we intended to avoid that at all costs and hoped that a well learnt waltz might be more conducive to inner harmony. It was odd for a man with such a musical sense that he seemed completely allergic to this expression of it. Even my wife's charm could make no difference. "No," he declared, "dancing is an unworthy occupation for a statesman." - "But, Herr Hitler," I interjected, "Napoleon enjoyed dancing very much, and Washington and Frederick the Great could always be relied upon to attend a ball." - "No, I won't do it. It is a stupid waste of time and these Viennese waltzes are too effeminate for a man to dance. This craze is by no means the least factor in the decline of their Empire. That is what I hate about Vienna."

Although we continued to see quite a lot of Hitler, I could feel that the rabid extremists of the Party had got their claws into him again and the arguments of the more reasonable of us were constantly being countered. Even the march of events conspired against us. The authorities legalized the existence of the Party again on February 24. On the 27th Hitler spoke again for the first time in the Bürgerbräu Keller. Although he seemed reasonably circumspect to me, there was a sufficient hint of the old threats for Held to become alarmed at the liberty he had allowed him, and he was prohibited from speaking again, a ban which was to last for over two years in Bavaria and until September 1928 in the rest of Germany. I had been sitting next to Hess, who by now was also out of gaol. We were quite near the platform and I tried to raise this gloomy young man's spirits by betting that I could foretell the exact words with which Hitler would start his speech. "What do you mean?" asked Hess. "I will lay any money he says '*wenn wir uns die Frage vorlegen*' ['when we ask ourselves . . .'] his old formula for a résumé of events]." And sure enough he did.

The next day President Ebert died and Germany was suddenly in the throes of an election. Immediately the Party was faced by the

me. It is not true to say that Hitler openly sponsored this development. He never ordered anyone officially to address him as *Mein Führer*. On the other hand, he never objected and took a secret pleasure in it, and so the custom grew.

Nevertheless these were the gestures of a truncated clique spitting into the wind. Only a drastically reduced rump of the old faithfuls was left. Goering was still in exile in Sweden. Rohm, whose energetic reorganization of the *Kampfbund* and S.A. while Hitler was in gaol had been regarded as probably delaying his release, had fallen out of favour. The fault he was to repeat later of wanting too much independence led to a break, and at the end of April he resigned all his offices. Strasser was estranged and had transferred his activities to Berlin, the Rhineland and Saxony, the Communist strongholds, in an almost autonomous capacity. Ludendorff was discarded. Hitler had deliberately permitted the coalition of the radical Right to collapse in order to rebuild the Nazi Party under his complete control. A distinct hiatus period ensued.

I was sharply disappointed in the turn events had taken and made a private resolution to devote myself to my personal interests. There seemed little point in continuing to associate with this discredited group of political adventurers and I felt that only some fundamental broadening in Hitler's views would maintain my faith in his future. His personal habits did not change. In the late summer of 1925 he acquired, I think with the Bechsteins' help, the villa at Beyerlesgaden, Haus Wachenfeld, which, with later additions made at the expense of the State, remained his private residence. It was there that he installed Frau Raubal as housekeeper with her daughter Geli. But until that time, and whenever he was in Munich, he was usually to be found with his inner circle at the Café Heck, in the Galleriestrasse, which became his *Stammtisch* after leaving Landsberg. In fine weather they usually met out in the Hofgarten.

I continued to join him there not infrequently, in a final attempt to wean him away from his vulgarian entourage. There were, it is true, one or two exceptions. Karl Anton Reichel, an art expert, was a man of some education, and another adherent was Father Bernhard Stempfle, who had been in his time the editor of a small anti-Semitic paper called the *Miesbacher Anzeiger* and had helped with

regular table, hangout

the corrections on *Mein Kampf* people at the *Stammtisch* we after any war and make a pr something of the sort.

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the corrections on *Mein Kampf*. Apart from these two, most of the people at the *Stammtisch* were the sort of men who lose their way after any war and make a precarious living selling life assurance or something of the sort.

Whether one got to talk to him at any length depended on his mood or the strength of his company. The pin-headed provincials who had remained faithful to him objected to my presence, as they did to that of anyone they thought might bring any influences to bear apart from their own. I had been trying to interest him for some time in the idea of learning English. I thought that if he was able to read the British and American papers himself he would at least realize that another world existed and functioned outside Germany. "Give me two afternoons a week, Herr Hitler," I told him, "and in three or four months you will know all you need to start with." He was half suspicious and half fascinated by the idea, but would never make up his mind. Like most basically ignorant people, he had this complex about not needing to learn anything.

I tried to get him to realize that there was more than one view of a problem and to illustrate this described the working habits of such classical painters as Albrecht Dürer and Vermeer. They used to have a mirror standing behind them so that from time to time they could turn around and see the whole picture in reflection, checking on one plane the details of what they were trying to paint. "You must look at a problem from several angles," I told him. "You cannot have a *Weltanschauung* unless you have viewed the world. Why don't you take advantage of this lull to travel abroad? You would get a completely new view of Germany's problems." "*Um Gotteswillen*, Hanfstaengl, where would I find the time?" "You forget, Herr Hitler, that the world is growing smaller every day. Three or four months, or half a year at the most, and you could see America, Japan, India, and even if you spent the last few weeks in France and England you would have a picture of what a small part of the globe Europe—to say nothing of Germany itself—occupies. To see Germany from outside will be a revelation for you."

"You make it sound too easy," he replied. "What would happen to the movement if I did that? The whole thing has fallen apart since I was in gaol and everything has to be built up all over again."

* D.T. I discouraged it. He was weak enough in his limitations to be obliged to hold onto what he had intellectually

and to develop this, to keep developing that.

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"That may be so," I said, "but you are not going to do that overnight. Besides, don't forget that you might easily have spent another couple of years in Landsberg and you ought to look on this period as a gift from Providence. Nothing much can happen in the meantime. Germany will not run away from you and you will come back full of new plans for the future."

"What curious ideas you have," he answered, slightly nettled. "Where do you think I spent the war? After all, it was fought outside Germany's borders, I don't need to tell you that, and I spent months, years, as a soldier in Belgium and France." I almost gasped. "But Herr Hitler, you cannot possibly judge a country by the impressions of a soldier. You have a gun in your hand and the inhabitants either crawl to you or treat you with contempt. You never see their true face and cannot possibly form any judgement. You must meet them as equals in times of peace to get to know their real qualities."

"I know them, I tell you," he went on. "I used to see those French women coming out of their houses late every morning in dirty aprons and carpet slippers to go and buy the day's bread and vegetables, slopping around unwashed. They won't have changed. What do you think I can learn from them? And why should I try to learn anyone else's language. I am too old and have no interest and no time. Besides, German is my language, and quite sufficient for me. After all, your British friends also refuse to talk any other language."

Nevertheless the germ of the idea had lodged, and he had obviously been thinking about it, if only because of the new objections he kept finding. I tried to bring up the subject whenever I could. No, he could not possibly travel under his own name. But, I told him, I had friends in the big German shipping companies and it would be perfectly possible to arrange for him to travel incognito. I even offered to go with him and was accused of talking like a travel agent when I told him of the fascinating contrasts in the United States, the vast distances of the Pacific Ocean and the enticements of the Far East, which my father had so well remembered.

When I talked about Japan I thought I had succeeded, as he started to wax lyrical about this warrior nation with its sacred traditions, Germany's true ally and so on, the Haushofer stuff. I should

have bitten my tongue, but counter-arguments of how in the field of world travel wherever we met and imitated competition, quite apart from America.

"That is typical of you sharply. "You, with your fear of everything in terms of material side of things and agreements. The most important think alike in terms of politics have learnt to think in military own ideas in Japan that could America play? You Canal and they would not their navy."

"Well, what about sailing still there?" I interjected he smiled resignedly, but we three visits to the café I politics had taken hold a coming and going of political Bavarian *Landtag*, the situation *Beobachter*, the problem and the endless personal got him alone again he had quite like to do it," he admitted that length of time. I was England though." Well, I only part of the world problem else. So I tried to fire his Castle and the National German Hitler was quite carried away a menu-card from memory This was the sort of parlour and the drawing was perfect

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have bitten my tongue, but I could not stop myself producing the counter-arguments of how Germany and Japan were deadly rivals in the field of world trade, with the Japanese undercutting us wherever we met and imitating German trade-marks to cheat our competition, quite apart from the political dangers of antagonizing America.

"That is typical of your bourgeois mentality," Hitler broke in sharply. "You, with your family connexions and friends. You think of everything in terms of trade. You forget that this is only the material side of things and can be changed overnight on the basis of agreements. The most important consideration is that we should think alike in terms of policies and *Weltanschauung*. We Germans have learnt to think in military terms and it is the reflection of our own ideas in Japan that we find so attractive. Besides what part could America play? You would only have to blow up the Panama Canal and they would not be able to exert pressure either way with their navy."

"Well, what about sailing through the Panama Canal while it is still there?" I interjected hoping to retrieve my *faux pas*. Even Hitler smiled resignedly, but we got no farther. During my next two or three visits to the café I could not get a word in edgeways. Local politics had taken hold again and there was always a constant coming and going of political acquaintances discussing affairs in the Bavarian *Landtag*, the situation in north Germany, articles in the *Beobachter*, the problem of enlarging its illustrated weekly edition and the endless personal quarrels on which Hitler thrived. When I got him alone again he had shifted his ground. "Mind you, I would quite like to do it," he admitted. "But I simply cannot get away for that length of time. I wouldn't mind spending a week or two in England though." Well, I thought, this is better than nothing. It is only part of the world problem, but at least he would see something else. So I tried to fire his enthusiasm by talking about Windsor Castle and the National Gallery and the Houses of Parliament. . . . Hitler was quite carried away and started sketching on the back of a menu-card from memory a drawing of the Palace of Westminster. This was the sort of parlour trick he could pull at a moment's notice and the drawing was perfectly accurate. It was no more than an

architect's elevation but all the details and proportions were correct, and he had obviously carried them round in his mind from reading the old copies of Spamer's or Meyer's encyclopaedias I had often noticed in his flat.

"Of course the Tower is always worth seeing and Hampton Court which is still just as Henry VIII left it. . . ." At this he got genuinely excited: "Henry VIII, now there was really a man. If anyone understood the art of politics he did, both abroad and at home. How many wives was it he had?"—"Five or six I think," I answered, racking my brains for their names and then trying to explain that this unusual turnover had been due basically to Henry's need for ensuring an heir and the stability of his line. "Six wives," mused Hitler. "That is not bad, even when you leave the scaffold out of account. We must go to the Tower and see where they were executed. I really must get away. That would really be something worth seeing." And that was all that was left of my world tour plans. He wanted to see the scaffold at the Tower of London. He was quite obviously gripped by the successful ruthlessness of this British monarch, who fought the Pope and imposed his will and enhanced the strength of the Tudor line. Is it too fanciful to see in this exchange an indication of the terrible complexes which were to lead to Dachau and Auschwitz and Majdanek?

I had completely lost heart by now. There was no one left in the Party to whom I could turn for any support. Eckart was dead, Toni Drexler was still around, but completely deprived of influence. I remember seeing his wife Anna one day who told me: "You know, we met Adolf on the street and asked him why he never came to see us. Do you know what his answer was?—'As soon as I have my new car I will come and call on you'—And Toni told him: 'You know you can come and see us in your old car,' but he has never been."

Goering might have helped me, but a warrant was still out against him and he dared not leave Sweden, although we used to correspond. I was unhappy to hear Hitler planning the future without taking Goering into account at all. It was partly his anti-officer complex and partly the fact that his remaining intimates had no time for Goering at all, claiming that he was no National-Socialist, and in the sense which they gave to the words they were right. Gottfried Feder,

who was a fairly harmless creature saw the light if anything more over power with no reserves before me once. "Hitler will have to up in the long run."

Hitler had found no outlet that did not prevent him from one occasion at the Pienzenau to call a taxi, he went down and claimed his love for her, said while she was still free and managed to get him on his feet me what she should do about it with several other women, so the whole affair as an aberration.

He made another attempt with benefactor Ohnesorge. Hitler with Ohnesorge was called away, Hitler made passionate advances again went down on his knees. I asked her to come and live with course, furious when he returned Hitler from about this time. The by which time his offspring were:

At one party out on the Teger out with some ladies in a rowing- that Hitler was shivering with fright his element and kept suggesting he be returned to dry land again. He the boat was going to capsize and Hitler had an unreasoning fear of water and he would not learn. In fact I can ne bathing costume, nor had anyone else was frequently told that Hitler's old him in the wash-house, had noted that he freakishly underdeveloped, and he shame about displaying himself. It se during the war he had the same kind of complex as he had in his early years and he would not think of it

#1915 - No Goebbels, no Goering
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who was a fairly harmless crank, had also fallen away. In fact he
saw the light if anything more clearly than I did. “How can you take
over power with no reserves but that bunch of illiterates?” he said to
me once. “Hitler will have to have a better second team to back him
up in the long run.”

Hitler had found no outlet to his personal repressions, although
that did not prevent him from indulging in the preliminaries. On
one occasion at the Pienzenauerstrasse house, when I had gone out
to call a taxi, he went down on his knees in front of my wife, pro-
claimed his love for her, said what a shame it was he had not met her
while she was still free and declared himself her slave. Helene
managed to get him on his feet again and, when he had gone, asked
me what she should do about it. I knew he had acted out this scene
with several other women, so I told her to ignore it and just treat
the whole affair as an aberration of loneliness.

He made another attempt with one of the daughters of his early
benefactor Ohnesorge. Hitler was staying in his home in Berlin when
Ohnesorge was called away, leaving his daughters in the house.
Hitler made passionate advances to one of them, and at one point
again went down on his knees. He said he could not marry her, but
asked her to come and live with him in Munich. Ohnesorge was, of
course, furious when he returned and in fact broke off relations with
Hitler from about this time. They only came together again in 1931,
by which time his offspring were safely married.

At one party out on the Tegern Lake, Hermann Esser took Hitler
out with some ladies in a rowing-boat. It would be too much to say
that Hitler was shivering with fright, but he was completely out of
his element and kept suggesting reasons why the young ladies should
be returned to dry land again. He seemed absolutely convinced that
the boat was going to capsize and Esser told me afterwards that
Hitler had an unreasoning fear of the water. He could not swim and
would not learn. In fact I can never recall having seen him in a
bathing costume, nor had anyone else. A story, probably authentic,
was frequently told that Hitler’s old army comrades, who had seen
him in the wash-house, had noted that his genital organs were almost
freakishly underdeveloped, and he doubtless had some sense of
shame about displaying himself. It seemed to me that this must all be

*During World War I,
each time his courage waned, he
would think of his tiny genitals.*

*Let's assume the size was normal. But
he acted as if his genital was tiny.*

Mid-Twentieth

HARVARD'S GIFT TO HITLER

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warped and foolhardy. Again the normal person assumes that argument, example and evidence will produce an approximation to orthodox thinking. These were my twin misconceptions. I remained in Hitler's vicinity because I was convinced that his natural genius must bring him to the top. In that, at least, I was right. But when he got there his faults were magnified, not diminished. It was the experience of power which finally corrupted him. What happened thereafter was only the natural consequence of what had gone before, and that is the story I propose to tell.

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One vicarious connexion with the Nazi hierarchy goes back to my schooldays. My form master at the Royal Bavarian Wilhelms-gymnasium before the turn of the century was none other than Heinrich Himmler's father. The grandfather had been a gendarme in some village on Lake Constance, but the father had risen in the world and had been at one time tutor to Prince Heinrich of Bavaria. As a result he became a terrible snob, favouring the young titled members of his class and bearing down contemptuously on the commoners, although many of us came from well-to-do and prominent families. The son was much younger than I was and I remember him only as a pallid, moon-faced brat whom I used to see occasionally when delivering extra work at his father's house in the Sternstrasse. He went to the same school in the end and I remember hearing from other old boys that he had a particularly unpleasant reputation as a sneak, always running to his father and other teachers with tales about his fellows. But by that time I was far away studying at Harvard.

I am in fact half American. My mother was born a Sedgwick-Heine. My maternal grandmother came from the well-known New England family and was a cousin of the General John Sedgwick who fell at Spotsylvania Court House in the Civil War and whose statue stands at West Point. My grandfather was another Civil War general, William Heine, who was on General Dix's staff in the Army of the Potomac. Trained as an architect, he had fled his native Dresden after the Liberal revolution of 1848, helped to decorate the Opéra in Paris and then emigrated to the States. There he became a

* bring up to mid-20's when Himmler appears.
sup

second-class Viennese cafe. Barely five feet, nine inches tall, he weighed, during his better days, about 150 pounds. But he had a tendency to put on flabby weight, and his posture deteriorated through the years. His shoulders were narrow, his chest somewhat sunken with skin white, shiny, and hairless. Deficiencies of his torso gave rise to unfounded rumors that he wore special padding in his uniform. His legs were unusually short, his knees slightly knocked and quite chubby, his feet very large. He did not appear to his best advantage in the baggy riding britches and huge jackboots he often wore. His walk was rather mincing; he tended to drag his left foot. He wore a Charlie Chaplin mustache.

He was fascinated by his hands, which were finely structured with long, graceful fingers. He also took special interest in the hands of others. In his library there was a well-thumbed book containing pictures and drawings of hands belonging to famous people throughout history. He liked particularly to show his guests how closely his own hands resembled those of Frederick the Great, one of his heroes. He was convinced that he could judge people's character and loyalty on the basis of their hands. On meeting someone for the first time, he would not only stare carefully into the stranger's eyes but also closely examine his hands. Men would gain favor or disfavor on the basis of the shape and nature of these extremities. Those of Professor Ludwig Troost, his architect of modest talent, were very strongly formed. Hitler admired them greatly.

When his Eagle's Nest in the Kehlstein was being built, a piece of rock shaped like a hand was found. Hitler was intrigued with it. He called it the "Hand of Wotan" and had it mounted in a special case, almost as if it were a holy relic.⁵

Hitler's hair was very dark brown, almost black. He parted it on the right side, his famous forelock falling over the left temple. His nose was large and coarse. His bushy mustache was cut just wide enough to help conceal the offending feature. His teeth were brownish-yellow and covered with fillings and bridges. He shielded his mouth with his hand when he laughed.

The most impressive feature of his otherwise coarse and rather undistinguished face was his eyes. They were extraordinarily light blue in color with a faint touch of greenish-gray. Almost everyone who met him mentioned his strangely compelling eyes. This includes Robert Coulondre, the French ambassador, and the German dramatist Gerhart Hauptmann who, when first introduced to Hitler, stared into his famous eyes and later told friends, "It was the greatest moment of my life!" Martha Dodd, daughter of the American ambassador, was not disappointed in the famous eyes, finding them "startling and unforgettable. . . ."⁶

Hitler himself often observed that his eyes were very like those of his mother. Her eyes, in turn, reminded him of the Medusa—whose glance, it will be recalled, turned men to stone or impotence. Hitler was

absolutely enthralled with Franz von Stuck's striking portrait of a Medusa of terrifying eye. On seeing it for the first time in Hanfstaengl's home, he exclaimed, "Those eyes, Hanfstaengl! Those eyes! They are the eyes of my mother!"

He knew the power of his own slightly protruding, shining eyes, whose lashless eyelids added to their curiously hypnotic effect. He practiced piercing glances in front of a mirror and used them whenever he met strangers. At dinner or at the tea table he would attempt to stare down a guest. His architect, Albert Speer, apparently liked to play the game too: "Once when we were seated at the round table in the tea house, Hitler began staring at me. Instead of dropping my eyes I took it as a challenge. Who knows what primitive instincts were involved in such staring duels? I had had others and always used to win them, but this time I had to muster almost inhuman strength, seemingly forever, not to yield to the ever mounting urge to look away—until Hitler suddenly closed his eyes, and turned to the woman at his side."⁷

His eyes had always been impressive. A boyhood friend recalled that in Adolf's countenance

the eyes were so outstanding that one didn't notice anything else. Never in my life have I seen any other person whose appearance—how shall I put it—was so completely dominated by the eyes. They were the light eyes of his mother but her somewhat staring, penetrating gaze was even more marked in the son and had even more force and expressiveness. It was uncanny how those eyes could change their expression, especially when Adolf was speaking. . . . In fact, Adolf spoke with his eyes, and even when his lips were silent one knew what he wanted to say. When he first came to our house and I introduced him to my mother she said to me in the evening, "What eyes your friend has!" And I remember quite distinctly that there was more fear than admiration in her words. If I am asked where one could perceive, in his youth, this man's exceptional qualities, I can only answer, "In the eyes."⁸

Women in particular continued to be impressed and frightened by his eyes. Nietzsche's sister, typically, was fascinated and disturbed by them: "They . . . searched me through and through." The penetrating quality remained to the end. A young military adjutant who saw his Führer just before Hitler killed himself in 1945 was deeply shocked by the appearance of "a sick, almost senile old man." But the eyes were still effective: "Only in his eyes was there an indescribable flickering brightness . . . and the glance he gave me was strangely penetrating."⁹

Hitler's library shows that he was very much interested in the study of heads. Many of his books were devoted to the pseudo-sciences of phrenology and craniology. His own head, understandably enough, held particular fascination for him. An American correspondent reports that Hitler summoned a group of medical specialists to his

It should have been left that instant he was staring into my eyes

ventured this risk, but it seems to have been the example of the venerated Wagner which particularly strengthened the young Adolf Hitler in his decision to look on economic society as his enemy, to regard the need of working as a disgrace, and to take his strong inclination for doing nothing as a proof of his higher calling. He hated the whole great sphere of human existence which is devoted to the regular transference of energy into product; and he hated the men who had let themselves be caught and crushed in this process of production. All his life the workers were for him a picture of horror, a dismal gruesome mass, and his thoughts about the working rabble were not far different from those of a Shakespearean aristocrat; everything which he later said from the speaker's platform to flatter the manual worker was pure lies. 'The workers are an indulgent mass, they know nothing but their belly, booze, and women,' he said to Hanisch; and those unwilling to accept Hanisch as a witness need but to glance through Hitler's later public utterances, and they will find confirmation enough.

Observe, for instance, how he portrays the workers, whom he supposedly knew on the building; how at first he kept aloof from them, for 'my clothing was still more or less in order, my speech cultivated' — what an illusion! — 'and my nature reserved,' and if it had been up to him, he would 'not have concerned myself with my new environment.' With the horror and revulsion of the man regarding himself as a higher type, he here saw for the first time the 'human dragon,' the human mass monster of manual labor, which knows no ideals, which 'rejected everything' that young Adolf has learned to honor: '... the nation as the invention of the capitalistic classes, the fatherland as an instrument of the bourgeoisie for the exploitation of the working class; the authority of law as a means for oppressing the proletariat; the school as an institution for breeding slaves and also slave-holders; religion as a means of stultifying the people and making them easier to exploit; morality as a symptom of stupid, sheeplike patience.' In Hitler's opinion the worker had such thoughts because he was the embodiment of materialistic selfishness; and though in his public utterances he usually adds that this is purely the result of seduction by Jewish Marxism, he privately owns that in his conviction the baseness of

human nature is to blame. 'The whole mass, twenty years later (1930) to his rebellious folk 'wants nothing else but bread and games; it standing for any ideals.' Otto Strasser triumphed those words and Hitler did not deny them, for knew what he thought and they felt the same. and advisers, Gottfried Feder, when challenged embarrassment that 'the core of this utterance, to have been made, must in a certain sense be re 'No false humanity!' Hitler added. Thus lectual thirsting for power who, again in Hitler self to be the 'new master class' which 'on the race has the right to rule, and which ruthlessly secures this domination over the broad masses.' stand the rise of the youth, Adolf Hitler, from student to the master man, we must understand taste divides the master man from mere physics. Hitler remembered Reinhold Hanisch's advice as a mature man he called the Socialist movement men who either possessed no clarity of thought time have grown alien to all intellectual work ization of working beasts without intellectual more years later, when he was Chancellor, he necessary only to give the 'primitive' mass energy not demand more.

Consequently, all Hanisch's little anecdotes: hostility to work are credible and convincing, also sound genuine. Did the worker know no who himself had formerly been a worker, was that workers had proved their idealism by making revolutions. Hitler answered contemptuously didn't seem to know that the European revolt ample, had been made by students. Hanisch friend of not knowing the real workers, since him in the Home for Men were mostly idlers respectable workers, however, preferred to live seeking family connections; they liked to drink

1925?

* D. T. says Hitler's Anti-Semitism as a boy - his original contribution

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human nature is to blame. 'The whole mass of workers,' he said twenty years later (1930) to his rebellious follower, Otto Strasser, 'wants nothing else but bread and games; they have no understanding for any ideals.' Otto Strasser triumphantly publicized those words and Hitler did not deny them, for all his companions knew what he thought and they felt the same. One of his friends and advisers, Gottfried Feder, when challenged, wrote in profound embarrassment that 'the core of this utterance, supposing it really to have been made, must in a certain sense be recognized as correct.' 'No false humanity!' Hitler added. Thus thinks the intellectual thirsting for power who, again in Hitler's words, feels himself to be the 'new master class' which 'on the basis of its better race has the right to rule, and which ruthlessly maintains and secures this domination over the broad masses.' In order to understand the rise of the youth, Adolf Hitler, from the vagabond art student to the master man, we must understand what inborn distaste divides the master man from mere physical labor. All his life Hitler remembered Reinhold Hanisch's advice; fifteen years later, as a mature man he called the Socialist movement a 'movement of men who either possessed no clarity of thought or in the course of time have grown alien to all intellectual work. A gigantic organization of working beasts without intellectual leadership.' Ten more years later, when he was Chancellor, he asserted that it was necessary only to give the 'primitive' mass enough to eat; they did not demand more.

Consequently, all Hanisch's little anecdotes about young Adolf's hostility to work are credible and convincing. The conversations also sound genuine. Did the worker know no idealism? Hanisch, who himself had formerly been a worker, was hurt and objected that workers had proved their idealism by making many European revolutions. Hitler answered contemptuously that some people didn't seem to know that the European revolution of 1848, for example, had been made by students. Hanisch bitterly accused his friend of not knowing the real workers, since those he saw around him in the Home for Men were mostly idlers and drunkards; the respectable workers, however, preferred to live in furnished rooms, seeking family connections; they liked to tinker on their nights off,

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*His German
 and Contribution*

1920-7
 hoped to breathe new strength into the sickened empire. He was not interested in nationalities; he was no Pan-German; he wanted neither to go away from Rome nor home to the Reich. And yet one could learn from him. How well this unknown, nameless man had fought his way to power, almost to omnipotence! With his 'rare knowledge of men' he took — as Hitler describes him — good care 'not to see people as better than they are' — the young student of life from the lodging-house could agree with a burning heart. And Lueger had put his profound knowledge of human affairs into a form 'corresponding to the receptivity of the broad masses which is very small'; yes, Lueger knew the great brainless working beast. There were in particular two secrets of success which Hitler thought he had learned from him: Lueger put the chief emphasis 'on the winning of classes whose existence is threatened,' because only such classes carry on the political struggle with passion; secondly, he took pains in 'inclining powerful existing institutions to his use.' In Lueger's case, this was the all-powerful Catholic Church; in another case, it might have been the German Army or the Bank of England; and no one will ever have any success in politics who overlooks this obvious fact.

But whatever Hitler learned or thought he had learned from his model, Lueger, he learned far more from his opponent. And this opponent, whom he combated from the profound hatred of his soul, is and remains plain ordinary work. Organized, it calls itself labor movement, trade union, Socialist Party. And, or so it seems to him, Jews are always the leaders.

The relatively high percentage of Jews in the leadership of the Socialist parties on the European continent cannot be denied. The intellectual of the bourgeois era had not yet discovered the workers, and if the workers wanted to have leaders with university education, often only the Jewish intellectual remained — the type which might have liked to become a judge or government official, but in Germany, Austria, or Russia simply could not. Yet, though many Socialist leaders are Jews, only few Jews are Socialist leaders. To call the mass of modern Jewry Socialist, let alone revolutionary, is a bad propaganda joke. The imaginary Jew portrayed in *The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion* ostensibly wants to bend the

nations to his will by revolutionary mass uprising. Socialist of France, Germany, and Italy, how who had to rebel against his own Jewish fam class before he could come to the workers.

Karl Marx, the prototype of the supposed came of a baptized Christian family, and Judaism can only be characterized as anti-Ser he understood the sharply anti-Socialist, ye masses of Western Europe, whom as a go despised.

The Jewish Socialist leaders of Austria in the most part a type with academic education. The dominant motive was just what Hitler at an despised, 'a morality of pity,' an enthusiastic and in the trampled human values within the Socialist, as a rule, has abandoned the religion. Consequently is a strong believer in the religion type, idealistic and impractical even in the class was often unequal to the test of practical life. Aside by more robust, more worldly, less sensitive from the non-Jewish masses. An historic change in the top Socialist leadership occurred in 1926 and 1937 when the largely Jewish leadership period (Trotzky, Zinoviev, Kamenev) was replaced by a dominantly non-Jewish class (Stalin, K great example of the humanitarian but im of Jewish origin was Léon Blum in France.

It was in the world of workers, as he explained, that Hitler encountered the Jews. The few bourgeoisie city did not attract his attention; if we believe Jewish 'money domination' flayed by Wagner upon him at that time. But he did notice proletarian figures from the Vienna slums he felt them to be foreign — just as he felt to be foreign. With amazing indifference not stand up against either of them in politics that the workers knew more than he did,

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adept at discussion. He goes on to relate how he looked into this uncanny labor movement more closely, and to his great amazement discovered large numbers of Jews at its head. The great light dawned on him; suddenly the 'Jewish question' became clear. If we subject his own account to psychological analysis, the result is rather surprising: the labor movement did not repel him because it was led by Jews; the Jews repelled him because they led the labor movement. For him this inference was logical. To lead this broken, degenerate mass, dehumanized by overwork, was a thankless task. No one would do it unless impelled by a secret, immensely alluring purpose; the young artist-prince simply did not believe in the morality of pity of which these Jewish leaders publicly spoke so much; there is no such thing, he knew people better—particularly he knew himself. The secret purpose could only be a selfish one—whether mere good living or world domination remained for the moment a mystery. But one thing is certain: it was not Rothschild, the capitalist, but Karl Marx, the Socialist, who kindled Adolf Hitler's anti-Semitism.

No justice, no equal rights for all! One of Hitler's most characteristic reproaches to the labor movement is that in Austria it had fought for equal rights for all—to the detriment of the master race chosen by God. At the beginning of the century the Austrian parliament was organized on the basis of a suffrage system which for practical purposes disenfranchised the poor. This assured the more prosperous German population a position of dominance. By a general strike the Social Democrats put an end to this scandal and twenty years later Hitler still reproached them for it: 'By the fault of the Social Democracy, the Austrian state became deathly sick. Through the Social Democracy universal suffrage was introduced in Austria and the German majority was broken in the Reichsrat'—the Austrian parliament.

The power and strategy of this movement made an enormous impression on the young Adolf Hitler, despite all his revulsion. An impressive model for the power-hungry—for the young artist-prince in beggar's garb will never let anyone convince him that the labor movement owed its existence to anything but the lust for power of Jewish wirepullers. A new labor party would have to be

founded, he told Hanisch, and the organization copied from the Social Democrats; but the taken from all parties, for the end justifies the saw with admiration how an unscrupulous with the masses, for him this was true of Democrats as well as their opponent, Karl L

Adolf Hitler was born to regard men a strong and dexterous hands of—to quote Nietzsche philosophers, and artist tyrants.' From his father he inherited a gypsy-like trait of disloyalty also a tendency toward sly calculation which from humiliation. In his struggle against his with a sure instinct the truth suited to his own were barred, and that the end justifies all means leaves the most lasting impression—that is, learned that the right of the stronger prevails by the right of the craftier. Having achieved he was hurled into the abyss where broken, with the worst qualities of the wolf and the fox; in of unhappy souls, the best of whom long pass this community into the old life which far from one another. A class consciousness of was the only thing that kept many of these de whether former counts or former workers—after each one looked up to his own stars; the lack of characteristic of this class in which the fallen expectedly found himself. He had a sharp eye for in the class of the declassed; it jibed with his human species. He had pitilessly discerned the class. But the great virtue of the worker type, he had not understood; he had only been insulted out to him. In his narrative, which is not about us that the building workers wanted to force he had sharply refused, and this had been the beginning. To be sure, there is ground for suspicion that whole fine story with small changes from the a later political friend, Anton Drexler, *Mein Kampf*.

(My Political Awakening), which appeared in Munich in 1920; but the attitude it expresses is nevertheless genuine and his own.

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It was not among the oppressed, but among the shipwrecks, that Adolf Hitler came to know the people. The class concepts of the labor movement can be regarded as true or false; but beyond a doubt they are based on pride, self-respect, and sense of strength. But in the lodging-house there is no self-respect or sense of strength, but only unreliability and distrust. A common striving for contradictory aims is the way of this degenerate community; to help one another up and then push one another down; to hold together and then cheat one another. This human chaff molded the precocious Hitler's conceptions of human worth. Here for the first time he saw the mass, the later object of his politics; and yet this would have no decisive significance if it could not be said of this disloyal, loveless man that in it he saw himself.

In his own self-portrait Hitler uttered not a word of this oppressed, impotent vegetating life amid the human wreckage; and in general this self-portrait is a masterpiece of unreliability, concealment, occasional false claims, self-praise and self-pity. Neither the lodging-house nor the Home for Men is found in it, neither the advertising drawings nor his friend Hanisch, not to mention his Jewish friend, Neumann. The melting-pot of Vienna at that time teemed with sub-proletarian Jews, and Hitler, whether he liked them or not, belonged among them. He wore the long coat given him by Neumann, and a stiff, greasy, black derby; his matted hair hung down over his collar, his fuzzy beard formed a thick ruff around his chin—if we may believe Hanisch's report and the drawings which Hanisch later did from memory, he constituted 'an apparition such as rarely occurs among Christians.' Cynically his comrade said to him, 'Your father must have been out when you were conceived,' and your shoes are also 'of the nomad brand.' Neither in Adolf Hitler's physical appearance nor in the history of his family is there any serious suspicion of Jewish strain, and yet among the unkempt Jews of Vienna, he looked like an unkempt Jew of Vienna. Such is the force of environment. On the basis of these few who outwardly resembled him, he formed his opinion about them all. From these figures of the Vienna slums, unwashed like

himself, he derived the opinion that one could live with one's eyes shut by the smell—supposedly opinion; from the wretched suspender peddlers (like himself), petty swindlers (like his picture of the whole race—as from the non self) shared their lot, he formed his picture of

And through this whole dismal, vicious life he struggled against the city, the fatherland, the recognized the artist-prince in him, and whose him shy of humanity. With Hanisch—or called himself—he constantly argued about This little peddler, who later learned to draw was out to develop a thriving picture trade in the reading-room of the Home for Men, paying for an unfinished drawing in front of him, wildly and roaring speeches at an astonished audience made a deep impression, sometimes people simply then Hanisch would have to console the evening. When the shouting grew too loud, and ordered quiet, threatening to throw them Hitler would pull down his arms and crouch like a model child. He was always quiet and weaker than other was clearly the stronger; in Vienna he was the police which he has never lost.

The friendship between Hitler and Hanisch ended in quarrel, grave accusations and a lawsuit. Hitler accusing him of embezzlement, and perhaps being precise about his accounts—so the court found Hanisch, in turn, not quite so effectively, accusing him of having injured him and prejudiced his character and megalomania. Laboring several days, Hitler's drawing of the Vienna parliament, a stiff and inferior copy; but he was firmly convinced that such a drawing would bring in a hundred kronen. Actually, when it was brought in ten kronen and—the piece was sold a long time ago—it was certainly not worth more. Hanisch's imprisonment; later he called

pulls a lever, and it stands still as a be regulated as smoothly as that, a chief engineer!

rogram for the German intellectual, portrait. A wealthy South American University of Munich for a thesis be constituted who will lead Germany? Hess wrote the thesis and won the picture of his beloved Hitler and de-

prophesied:

people in the streets and squares. . . . a state where might is badly organized. Right, by seizing the government in the stronger. . . . An autocratic personality. Without unlimited power no power does not repose in the masses, he may be. The mass consists of barbarians, we shall uphold the reign of conditional obedience. The knowledge of the office to eliminate any disobedience. . . . y successful political art is the strictest discipline. . . . Our leaders must move toward boldness. Then we shall break all imperceptibly the last traces of all conventions, and finally the time will come when power in the name of our autocracy, struggle and enmity in the whole of the continents. . . .

salvation the dictator does not shun to, ny, demagoguery, slogans, street parades, s vanished, only a man of the people s was shown in the case of Mussolini. originally rooted in the broad masses, ow to treat them psychologically, the him, the more supporters he will win ranks of the people. He himself has

nothing in common with the mass, like every great man he is all personality. . . . When necessity commands, he does not shrink before bloodshed. Great questions are always decided by blood and iron. And the question at stake is: Shall we rise or be destroyed?

Parliament may go babbling, or not—the man acts. It transpires that despite his many speeches, he knows how to keep silent. Perhaps his own supporters are the most keenly disappointed. . . . In order to reach his goal, he is prepared to trample on his closest friends. . . . For the sake of the great ultimate goal, he must even be willing temporarily to appear a traitor against the nation in the eyes of the majority. The lawgiver proceeds with terrible hardness. . . . He knows the peoples and their influential individuals. As the need arises, he can trample them with the boots of a grenadier, or with cautious and sensitive fingers spin threads reaching as far as the Pacific Ocean. . . . In either case, the treaties of enslavement will fall. One day we shall have our new, Greater Germany, embracing all those who are of German blood.

The portrait culminates in an unexpected perspective:

The work must not be cut to the towering dimensions of its builder, or the whole will totter at his decease like the state of Frederick and Bismarck. New independent personalities, to guide the steed of Germania remounted in the future, do not thrive under the dictator. Therefore, he performs his last great deed: instead of drinking his power to the dregs, he sets it down and stands aside as a loyal adviser.

This is Hitler, drawn by himself, for Hess is his *alter ego*; a flattering self-portrait, painting more his wishes than his features, but for that very reason authentic, though not entirely true. He exposes his most secret aspiration: a carefree private life as the goal of a magnificent career, as the reward for joyous struggles and disgraceful acts excused by patriotism. Just in this weakness it is the true program of that particular variation of the armed intellectual: the armed bohemian.

Dietrich Eckart had introduced Alfred Rosenberg, the young fugitive from Russia, to the party. But for the time being the recognized spiritual leader of this small group was Eckart, the

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state tyranny, the strangling of democracy by the Right radical movement (the dis-
cussing and thriving, murderers' army),
the otherwise co-operative Bavarian gov-
ernment of its sovereignty by Berlin. In defense
of its will, was driven forward by the Right
old hatred of the Bavarian South
forth in a sizzling jet of hatred.

He was released from prison. He im-
mediately. The resultant speech was one of his
considerable light on his own person.

The deeper contexts underlying the events
of secret history of world domination, de-
scribing how the power struggling for world
domination behind opposite pretexts and ideologies;
there an international, guise, today capi-
talistic, but always seeking the most
advancing one step closer to world domination.
The struggle is international, not concerned
with a name, now familiar to all, for the
he identifies himself and for whose
calls this type the 'intelligentsia' or, more
correctly, 'hinting at the close relationship be-
tween the modern educated proletarian.
He summons this intelligentsia to take
the world domination of Jewry; now and
tissue of his oratory permits a glance at his
nation; in later speeches the rent grows
in part:

He feels that two worlds are struggling with one
another: in our country, but everywhere we look, in
Italy, in France, and England, etc. An inex-
haustible the ideals of those who believe in a
the ideals of the intangible, supra-national

He dates back nearly one hundred and twenty

years. It began at the moment when the Jew obtained the rights
of citizenship in the various countries of Europe. The political
emancipation of the Jews was the beginning of a madness. For
by it the European states gave to a people which by race was much
more clearly and sharply delimited than all others — which always
had constituted, and always will constitute, a state within a state —
full civil rights and equality. . . . In the end a people, which in the
eighteenth century seemed totally strange, possessed the same polit-
ical and civil rights as we ourselves.

And in the economic sphere exactly the same thing happened!
The immense industrialization of the nations meant that great
masses of workers streamed together in the cities. . . . Parallel to
this ran a tendency to turn all labor to money. There was a sprout-
ing of stocks and bonds, and little by little the stock exchange be-
gan to run our whole national economy. And the owners of this
institution, then as today, were without exception Jews. I say with-
out exception; for the few who do participate in the guise of non-
Jews are in the last analysis nothing but a front, false Christians,
who are needed to make the broad mass think that these institutions
have a base in the character of all nations and in their economy,
while in reality they are institutions compatible only with the
nature of the Jewish people from which they arise. . . .

At that time Europe stood at the crossroads. The continent be-
gan to divide into two parts, Western Europe on the one hand,
Central and Eastern Europe on the other. At first, Western Europe
took the lead in industrialization. Especially in England, throngs
of rural workers, the sons of peasants and peasants who had been
ruined, streamed into the cities, where they constituted a new fourth
estate. But the significant part of all this is a face which we have
never given the attention it deserves. Like France, this England
had relatively few Jews. The consequence was that the great
masses concentrated in the cities did not come into immediate
contact with this foreign nation, and that for this reason the other-
wise inevitable feeling of revulsion against them did not find suf-
ficient nourishment. In the end it was child's play for the Jews of
England, numbering hardly fifty thousand to sixty thousand heads,
so to 'Europeanize' themselves that they remained hidden to the
primitive eye of the ordinary fellow national; they became 'eco-
nomic leaders,' big capitalists, and as such they no longer seemed
to be foreigners — but actually appeared to be Englishmen! For

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them; all they want is to oppress you. Cast off your chains, etc. And upstairs his brother is helping to forge those very chains. On the one side the stock-exchange organ tries incessantly to arouse the fever of speculation; these people speculate on the broadest possible scale with grain and all the foodstuffs of the people beyond comparison: on the other hand, we find the workers' organ busy getting the masses' hair up. Bread has gone up, they say, and this and that has gone up, too; don't stand for it; rise, proletarians . . . Down with . . . [Throws up his arms in a gesture of dramatic fury. Merriment.]

Yet how long can this process go on? It implies not only the destruction of economy alone, but the destruction of a whole nation. It is perfectly clear that this fourth estate was not organized by the Jews to guarantee them the fruits of their toil; it is perfectly clear that the Jew Isaac Kohn does not stand in the factory yard out of love for the workers; it is self-evident that all these apostles who talk their tongues out for the people, but spend their nights in the Hotel Excelsior, travel in express trains, and go to Nice for their vacations—it is perfectly clear that these people do not go to all their pains out of love for the people. No, their idea is not to help the people, but to make them dependent on these leaders. The idea is to make the people break the backbone of their own independence, their own economy, and fall inevitably into the golden chains of eternal interest slavery to this race.

How long can this process of race betrayal go on? —It can go on until from out of this mass one man suddenly rises up, who seizes the leadership, finds other comrades, and little by little fans the rage of the people, which has so far been restrained, into a flame against the betrayers. This is the great peril that lurks in wait, and against this there is only one guarantee for the Jews: to do away with the national intelligentsia. [Cries of: 'Russia!'] This is the irrevocable, final aim which the Jew pursues with his revolution. And he must pursue this aim. He knows full well: no good will come of his administration; he is not a people of masters, he is a people of exploiters and rascals. He has never founded a culture, but has destroyed hundreds of cultures. He possesses nothing of his own to which he can point. Everything that he has is stolen. He lets foreign peoples, foreign workers, build his temples; it is foreigners who work and create for him; foreigners who bleed for him. He knows no 'people's army,' only

paid mercenary slaves who are ready to go to. He has no art of his own; little by little it has other nations, or copied. Yes, and he doesn't preserve this costly treasure. In the twinkling of an eye comes dirt and filth in his hand. He knows: keep a state for any length of time. There is no art of his own and the Aryan. Certainly, the Aryan, too, peoples. But how? He went in, cleared the land from deserts; he didn't use other methods, and as a result, art and science flourished. In the Aryan has been able to create states and a future!

Of all this the Jew is incapable. And because of all these things, all his revolutions have to be 'internally spread as a disease spreads. He cannot build a state. Here it stands, an example for all. Build on it must be to keep the plague from dying out, dying out, to prevent it from being restricted otherwise this hearth of disease would burn in. It must cause everything he does to spread in. long will it be before the whole world falls to destruction with it! . . .

This speech was about what he called Jewish and he appealed to the world. Germany was worth 132,000,000,000 marks? Do some poor devils in Germany believe that therefore they will be the richer? Certainly not the people who reap the profit of this slave swindling middlemen, who transfer the reparations abroad: the Jews.' Therefore they threw Germany and by what means? 'That was a part of the plan. That is why they strove to lay hands on the German. That is why they strove to lay hands on the German brought about the revolution by starvation. Not to destroy his fatherland, but the Jew created the revolution—that is, *his* revolution; he followed the Wise Men of Zion exactly.'

Moreover, it is German youth that first is called through the struggle against the common enemy

whom she laughed at if she saw them at all — so poor, insignificant, and slimy was the impression they made. The disorganized, reduced National Socialist band had lost the savior's and prophet's pride of their early days when they were a legend to themselves and felt the protecting wings of the Reichswehr over them. Now they were oppressed by the consciousness of defeat, of having failed at an hour when the stars were favorable as they never again would be.

New pride had to be injected into this demoralized band behind their beer mugs in the Bürgerbräu Keller. And if people call you fools — and if this state doesn't want to hear any more about you — if you don't get ahead in your jobs — if you go bankrupt in your businesses and aren't taken seriously in society, it is because this post-war world doesn't know how to distinguish between high and low, between noble and common. Men are unequal, but you are the higher type, and that is what the world does not admit.

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It is no malicious legend that the leadership and nucleus of National Socialism in the years from 1925 to 1930 consisted for the most part of failures; of men who became National Socialist functionaries because they found nothing better; of the figures Lieutenant Brückner described, who joined in 1923 because they hoped to become something and stayed on in desperation because they had not become anything; of men whose professional career (according to their own literal statements in the handbook of the German Reichstag) ran more or less as follows: 'About two years each in agriculture, big banks, glass industry, and textile trade,' or, 'clerk, buyer, traveling salesman, assistant gymnastics teachers, manager, director of a home' — how many bankruptcies or dismissals are hidden among these shifting careers? Or, student, merchant, again student, again merchant, then so-called private secretary (in reality on relief), then owner of a tiny poultry farm — this is the career of Heinrich Himmler, later chief of the secret police. Or, transport flier, then so-called student, then storm-troop leader, then for years completely without occupation, frequent visitor at pawnshops, for a time inmate of a nerve sanitarium, later parachute manufacturer and representative for aeroplane motors, deep in debt, for years snowed under by complaints over unredeemed notes — this

is the civil career of Hermann Göring. Out of secondary school, leaves the school because of a bad examination, three times rejected at two academic examinations, squalid worker, suitcase carrier, beggar, painter, poster painter, several times inmate of a mental hospital without profession, supported by friends — career is the civil life of Adolf Hitler.

And now in the Bürgerbräu Keller, this is the consolation and encouragement to those like to despise themselves, for in reality they are inferior. You are Aryans. You are the pure blood; the highest, the noblest; it is the highest, and this high Jew wants to take away from you and destroy everything ready taken away and destroyed everything, the type suited to the normal world of today, which kills the personality; he is the type, the dominant in order to kill the outstanding individual might offer resistance to, the type.

In order to kill the people's instincts of defense, the pure Aryan blood. If, says Hitler, he could get out of the Bürgerbräu Keller for a moment, a moment — as on a magic carpet — he would take them a look at the Friedrich Strasse, the center of the capital: 'There you would see Jewish youth with German girls in their arms. Bear witness, thousands of our blood are destroyed every night, and children and children's children are destroyed as plainly as is possible in a public space. The nation could shake off all its miseries, nullify its conditions, eliminate its ruling political parties — yes, peace treaty . . . but once the blood is poisoned and changed. It remains and multiplies and presses to year. If today you are surprised that our people are torn, remember this: out of the torn German blood.' Applause from a thoughtful audience that anyone whose own feeling prompted him

them at all — so poor, insignificant, they made. The disorganized, re- had lost the savior's and prophet's they were a legend to themselves of the Reichswehr over them. Now consciousness of defeat, of having failed favorable as they never again would

d into this demoralized band behind bräu Keller. And if people call you 't want to hear any more about your ur jobs — if you go bankrupt in your riously in society, it is because this ow to distinguish between high and non. Men are unequal, but you are hat the world does not admit. that the leadership and nucleus of s from 1925 to 1930 consisted for the who became National Socialist func- nothing better; of the figures Lieu- io joined in 1923 because they hoped yed on in desperation because they men whose professional career (ac- statements in the handbook of the or less as follows: 'About two years , glass industry, and textile trade,' or, n, assistant gymnastics teachers, man- ow many bankruptcies or dismissals ing careers? Or, student, merchant, t, then so-called private secretary (in of a tiny poultry farm — this is the later chief of the secret police. Or, student, then storm-troop leader, then occupation, frequent visitor at pawn- ervice sanitarium, later parachute man- or aeroplane motors, deep in debt, for plaints over unredeemed notes — this

is the civil career of Hermann Göring. Or, finally, student at a secondary school, leaves the school because of laziness. before an examination, three times rejected at two academies, successively occasional worker, suitcase carrier, beggar, painter of picture postcards, poster painter, several times inmate of a men's lodging-house, later without profession, supported by friends — this typical failure's career is the civil life of Adolf Hitler.

And now in the Bürgerbräu Keller, this failure speaks words of consolation and encouragement to those like him, telling them not to despise themselves, for in reality they are better than the others. You are Aryans. You are the pure blood; that is more than possessions or rank; it is the highest, and this highest is just what the Jew wants to take away from you and destroy because he has already taken away and destroyed everything else. For the Jew is the type suited to the normal world of today, with its equalization which kills the personality; he is the type who makes the mass dominant in order to kill the outstanding individual; for the outstanding individual might offer resistance to Jewish world domination.

In order to kill the people's instincts of defense, the Jew poisons the pure Aryan blood. If, says Hitler, he could take his audience out of the Bürgerbräu Keller for a moment, and carry them away — as on a magic carpet — he would take them to Berlin and give them a look at the Friedrich Strasse, the center of night life in the capital: 'There you would see Jewish youths and more Jewish youths with German girls in their arms. Bear in mind that thousands and thousands of our blood are destroyed in this way every night, and children and children's children are lost to us.' Hitler spoke as plainly as is possible in a public speech. The German nation could shake off all its miseries, nullify its reparations obligations, eliminate its ruling political parties — yes, 'we can break the peace treaty . . . but once the blood is poisoned it can no longer be changed. It remains and multiplies and presses us lower from year to year. If today you are surprised that our people is inwardly so torn, remember this: out of the torn German people speaks its torn blood.' Applause from a thoughtful audience. It was clear that anyone whose own feeling prompted him to defend himself

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blood-poisoning must have good, un-
 ; a National Socialist he proved it. He
 en times a dwarf with a squashed face
 b grinning faun like Julius Streicher—
 her type, which, according to Houston
 to arise only in the future. 'Everything
 'which we see around us today is only
 . his spirit and industry; only the bad
 re Hebrew.'
 nite! Into what immeasurable distance
 !! For the moment Hitler could be glad
 the Bürgerbräu Keller. The squabbling
 e who didn't like this could stay away—
 way—and no one should try to impose
 idler. By 'conditions' he meant the de-
 ble old friends that he drop the unsavory
 pulsive fellow, Julius Streicher: 'I lead
 e gives me any conditions.' But if any-
 s the answer: 'Friend, just wait and see
 ou.' He wasn't going to take any orders
 bore the responsibility—'and I bear all
 hing that happens in this movement.' At
 l give the party an accounting; if by then
 idly, 'I'll give my office back into your
 ' Well, he himself didn't think so. He
 inner; he himself had designed it, he him-
 it, and only wished 'that some day, when
 down, it may be my winding sheet. . . .
 ss over our corpses or we over his.'
 ppy, exalted, consoled; again they felt a
 , a stream that bore them. The despised
 g like pride; this was the secret of this
 er a year of silence. Up front, right under
 red sub-leaders, resolved not to give Esser
 doubting whether Hitler still had his old
 nal experiences, were convinced that he
 lapse in Landsberg. But now Hitler had

burst forth from the cloud of silence like a lightning flash and had
 mightily kindled the demoralized souls of the four thousand;
 stormy applause rained down. Suddenly Streicher, Esser, and
 Frick stood on the platform; also Hitler's old companion, Gottfried
 Feder, the 'breaker of interest-slavery'; and in addition, two sub-
 leaders by the names of Dinter and Buttmann. Only two hours
 before, the six had been furiously fighting one another, had justly
 called one another men without honor, swindlers, pornographers.
 Now they all shook hands, and swore to forget all hostility, to fol-
 low the leader, to be faithful comrades; Streicher stammered with
 emotion that Hitler's return to politics was a 'gift of God.' None of
 the six except Frick ever rose to a leading position; they have been
 practically forgotten even among National Socialists; half-childish,
 mentally deranged, weak natures. But at that time they were the
 best Hitler had.

Next day Hitler, half-sleepy, and drunk with success, sat in the
 living-room of a little house in a snow-covered suburb of Munich.
 It was the house of Frau Carola Hofmann, an old lady who for
 years had been rather bashfully mothering and caring for him,
 sometimes stuffing him full of cakes and sweets like a child; he
 called her his 'little mother.' Into this comfortable atmosphere—a
 faithful reflection of the mild new German conditions—burst a ter-
 rible message. Hitler had again been forbidden to speak in Bavaria.
 Why had he spoken of the 'several enemies' which could be
 understood under the one? Why had he spoken of passing over
 the corpses of the enemy? In such a case even Gürtner could no
 longer help him.

The dissolution of parties, the prohibition of public speeches—
 these were strangely violent measures of the state in defense of free-
 dom. 'The freest constitution in the world' did not officially pro-
 vide or allow for such brutal intervention of police power. But
 Hitler and his like had for years filled the country with violence,
 murder, and destruction, and the state had not found the strength to
 suppress them with the cold majesty of law; and now, having un-
 justly spared them, the state could no longer defend itself except by
 injustice. Where Hitler began to speak, murder could be expected
 as a result. Hitler forced the state to stretch the laws in a rather

f was a success. When he attacked, a nous spirit dripped on the enemy and of his career, in the most insignificant tuations, this was his most dangerous ly least understood: that he lured or te him, to use similar methods and even e really wanted to combat in Hitler. pany was this that the state was getting n there was an office clerk who in the s assembled a few half-drunken figures, nderworld, in a gloomy beer hall and lthirsty stories about the Jews from ill- is in the pompous jaw-breaking style adenburg of the National Socialist Ger- the clerk was the *Gauleiter*. It was the ndustrial chemist by the name of Doctor : same work, and also in Breslau; the *leiter* might fall to an elderly eccentric provincial city on the Elbe, to a bank- rania, a discharged school-teacher in -major who, unable to live on his half- uitable occupation, made knapsack and cal vagabond, he rode from village to of Adolf Hitler. They nicknamed him erever he went, he found a few like- ort him, found a bed for the night and 3. These semi-madmen wandered about finding half-mad supporters. Again the ent formed. A spirit deprived of all re- ind the revolving wheels and the striking rofound helplessness and inertia of the d so thorough a technical organization, minated. rld was such that the fools and misfits ile the intelligent and normal were fatally its main traits had returned to the nor- 1914, and this precisely was its profound

ailment. The intellectual and political leaders of the epoch endeavored to re-create what had been, to rebuild pre-war conditions. No really new idea enlivened this period of reconstruction; the only attempt of the sort, the League of Nations, degenerated into a conference of diplomats. With all their own inertia, the people for the most part felt these things more sensitively than their leaders; and the echo which the National Socialist vagabonds found arose from this feeling. Hitler's speeches from this period are particularly needful of detailed criticism; his prophecies, in part sharply confuted by events, attest a faulty knowledge of his subject; but he did recognize, and mercilessly and effectively describe, the inadequacy and folly of the attempts to reconstruct the world that had been shattered by the war. 'All this,' he shouted, pointing to the glittering rottenness roundabout, 'must and will collapse'—this was his simple and cheap message of calamity, and it proved correct.

He recognized decay wherever he met it; for it belonged to his own nature. All his life Hitler never had conducted a household, never had a budget; for him money is something you give away or borrow, but never earn; in his youth, his receipts were tiny, in his maturity they were immense; but he never established any relation between them and his work, for he worked, not to earn money, but to secure his public position, to win the applause and admiration—shared, to be sure, with a glass of beer—of his audience. What Hitler understands and what fills him with enthusiasm is the heartlessly overflowing power of nature, creating superabundance of life and at the same time superabundance of death, which 'only lets live the strongest and best and lets the rotten and sickly die,' in order to preserve a type in a few specimens. He was likewise convinced by the boundless capacity for production of the modern technology, by the boundless fertility of human invention, by the alchemy of technical processes, transforming stones into bread. In politics he uses and squanders the superabundance of vital force and also deathly force furnished by nature or artifice. For in his opinion life in its mass exists to be sacrificed for the attainment of a purpose superior to the individual life; multitudes of individuals must fall in order that the type remain. By frugality and limitation economics strives to preserve the individual, and Hitler's deep-

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est reproach against it is 'that economy, to be sure, nourishes a man, but cannot fill him with enthusiasm for dying.'

Hitler's hatred of economy arises from the depths of his soul; but there were practical reasons why he so publicly and furiously proclaimed it. 'I myself most solemnly confess: I regret that German industry does not support us.' He reproached the German economic leaders, saying 'that these men who were so big support the Marxists out of cowardice'—he was referring to the collaboration between industrials and trade-unionists first begun by Hugo Stinnes—'while they don't even know their German national comrades.' The German 'national comrades' were Hitler's *gauleiters*, who dreamed of envelopes containing five hundred marks 'for political purposes.' 'I would take every penny and every million without strings to it from a German,' Hitler assures us; yes, he would not refuse 'to accept ten millions from a German.' But contrary to a widespread legend, this was out of the question from 1925 to 1929—even later. The German economy did not raise up Hitler. He is no creature of money; to be sure, he did approach big capital—though as a blackmailer, not as a lackey. But in that spring-time of self-confidence, there was nothing to be had from capital by blackmail.

These were the years of high living in the world, when all limits fell, when money again bought everything, when a bank account again meant freedom, a safe-deposit box security, and a packet of stocks domination. These were the years of blessed optimism, when Calvin Coolidge was President of the United States, when the magic of prosperity seemed to deprive problems of their weight, and when the poverty which unquestionably still existed was explained by critics as the mere consequence of capitalist greed. It was the time when capitalist prosperity seemed so unquestioned that Russia-led Communism regarded as its closest and most intimate enemy, not the bourgeoisie, but moderate Socialism. 'Fascism and Social Democracy are twin brothers, Social Democracy is only a wing of Fascism'—thus spoke Josef Stalin in 1924. It was about the time when the Bank of France was able to overthrow a democratic government under Edouard Herriot; when in England a Socialist government under James Ramsay MacDonald after some months in

power was swept away for five years by a C (1924). It was exactly at the same time when Social Democrats in two elections suffered; when for four years the moderate non-socialists, unmolested, and business launched the slogan on with reconstruction!

Peace positively forced itself on the world, in spite of obstacles and difficulties. The style of it remains memorable. They were great social events, festivals with the most famous performers, on stages in the world, before the eyes of a glittering humored public, representing the power and earth—and never perhaps have international pressively propagandized. These diplomatic fairs, place on some lake in southern Switzerland; in place by centuries of toil had stamped his civilization on a raw, terrifying nature. At the foot of the mountains, tamed with hundreds of roads, railroad, electrical works, and grand hotels, the statesman had to master the yet unmastered problem of human nature. Nature was here mastered, channelized, and went strolling in fresh green parks, looked out from the shore of blue lake, set like a jewel amid the great paths, bathing establishments, stone steps, all the passage from friendly land to friendly water gleaming in the sun, they saw a paradise full of hills, gently piled one upon the other. In the natural and man-made beauty and abundance, one can be optimistic, not to believe in peace.

Here Aristide Briand, the French Foreign Minister, searching for peace, cried from the platform of the League of Nations: 'En arrière les canons, en arrière les armes! Here a public of hard-boiled politicians and new recruits, whom had tears in their eyes. Here his German friend, Gustav Stresemann, formerly a rather run-of-the-mill politician, praised the 'great world architect' according to whom peoples should live in peace; he himself so

rown. This would be the strongest blow which would then have waged the World War Wall Street and against Bolshevism, intrinsic with somewhat modified terminology. Rosenbouston Stewart Chamberlain had written to ginning of the century: that Germany must drowning in the waves of a Yankified Anglotarized Slavdom.' And as he had learned it Rosenberg passed it on to the S.A. men in treasure vaults of Wall Street lies the blood of the white race coined into gold. There is no before this world state and its financial power

Chapter XII

'FEW FLAMES BURN IN GERMANY'

IN THESE SOFT YEARS, EVEN HITLER SUCCUMBED TO the temptations of the age. In public he remained the prophet of doom; but in his private life he could not help enjoying the blessings of what seemed to be a time of peace and ease.

He lived in a little house on the 'Obersalzberg,' above the market village of Berchtesgaden; to some extent a hide-out from which he could escape at any time into near-by Austria if the German police should again be on his heels. Since his Vienna days he had feared the police like any tramp. He now strove passionately for what Nature had denied him: an orderly domestic life. If he publicly swore that he meant to observe the laws strictly, he meant it more seriously than friend or foe suspected. At the Feldherrn Halle, he had learned his lesson. The restless spirit still hungered for power, but the unassuming mortal had a need for peace and quiet. He wanted to achieve power in a quiet way, without risk or personal danger. He no longer wanted to fight and play for high stakes; he wanted to 'grow organically and with mathematical certainty' into power—even if it took ten years! 'Perhaps we are only fore-runners,' he sometimes said comfortably. 'Twenty or even a hundred years may pass before the National Socialist idea is victorious; those who believe in the ideal today may die: what is a man in the development of a people, of mankind?'

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He wanted to live in orderly, legal circumstances. With Franz Gürtner, the Minister of Justice, his eternal protector, he devised a trick to obtain permission to speak again in public. Hitler solemnly declared to the Bavarian government that he would never again make a *putsch*. How many times had he promised this? But this time he was serious and honest. Gürtner put his permission to speak through the Bavarian cabinet in 1926, while in Prussia the Social Democratic government did not allow him to appear in public until 1929, with the result that—on Prussian territory—he could speak only under the not very iron fist of the French occupation authorities in the Rhineland, who probably thought that an opponent of the Berlin government in any case had to be treated nicely.

Furthermore, Hitler wanted to become a German citizen and not have to tremble forever at the thought of deportation. Although he had publicly sworn that he would never beg for a citizenship that should have been his for his deeds on the battlefield, he let his friend, Wilhelm Frick, the former deputy of the police president, make secret inquiries with the Bavarian government in 1929. But this was too much even for Gürtner's influence. The Bavarian government coldly refused.

Hitler now established a kind of family. It was not he himself who rented the mountain villa of 'Wachenfeld' on the Obersalzberg, but his half-sister, Angela Raubal. The half-buried, strange family history began to revive. For twelve years his people had heard nothing of him. In 1922, on a visit to Austria he had seen his sisters again. Angela was widowed. Now in 1925, she came to Berchtesgaden, rented the villa, and kept house for her brother. With her came her seventeen-year-old daughter, also named Angela; a pretty, almost too blooming creature, with an immense crown of blond hair, a beauty inclining even then to the stately side, cheerful and apparently unneurotic.

And so he dwelt in his border hide-out, still half a fugitive from the police; always in fear of the unknown murderer in the big cities. When he appeared in Munich, he moved through the streets armed with a heavy dog whip, always prepared to strike. But what tormented him most was fear of material poverty. The question of his personal existence occupied him far more than before. Though

* withdrawn in these years.

in other things he still understood nothing: least learned that it meant independence. As magic mountain it dawned on him, a man that private life could also have its glamor, Geli for short, he rode through the to time, showing the blond child how 'Uncle masses and scare his lieutenants out of their and raged before her eyes, he was kind or g as a romantic tribune of the people in a bar.

The lieutenants, most of whom led frugal most of all, they resented his money-making. Gauleiter Munder in Württemberg that Muss to call on him in Italy. 'Go at once!' was M was the Führer's answer; 'to impress Musso. arrive with at least three automobiles—I just! There was always ample pomp around him, a master accomplishments that he was able to comfortable person in a gray legend of frugality. On the lieutenants, of course, he could put openly accused him of drawing too much money. This was at a provincial Party Day in Stuttgart. he drew too much money? Could anyone deny a penny of the thousands of marks that his bi in? True, this money actually went to the people; inexorably it went to the central office Hitler's party treasurer, Franz Xaver Schwarz gauleiters with an iron fist.

But Hitler himself had another way of earning, newspaper articles which, in the opinion of every self, were among the worst products of Germany could not be compared to his speeches—speeches were essentially speeches written down. And he demanded gigantic fees of the party's miserable press weeklies. 'Yes, indeed,' he said when called to payment for these articles and good payment; as the employee of our enterprise, I am its founder: too, for Munder's benefit, but the discontented gauleiters.

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in other things he still understood nothing about money, he had at least learned that it meant independence. And in those years on the magic mountain it dawned on him, a man in his late thirties, that private life could also have its glamour. With Angela, his niece, Geli for short, he rode through the countryside from time to time, showing the blond child how 'Uncle Alf' could bewitch the masses and scare his lieutenants out of their wits; he commanded and raged before her eyes, he was kind or grim, and felt as happy as a romantic tribune of the people in a bad play.

The lieutenants, most of whom led frugal lives, were irritated; most of all, they resented his money-making. In 1926 he told *Gauleiter* Munder in Württemberg that Mussolini had invited him to call on him in Italy. 'Go at once!' was Munder's advice. 'No,' was the Führer's answer; 'to impress Mussolini I would have to arrive with at least three automobiles — I just haven't got them yet.' There was always ample pomp around him, and it was one of his master accomplishments that he was able to conceal his own comfortable person in a gray legend of frugality and even asceticism. On the lieutenants, of course, he could put nothing over. They openly accused him of drawing too much money from the party. This was at a provincial Party Day in Stuttgart in 1925. What, he — he drew too much money? Could anyone deny that he never took a penny of the thousands of marks that his big meetings brought in? True, this money actually went to the party, but not to the *gaus*; inexorably it went to the central office in Munich where Hitler's party treasurer, Franz Xaver Schwarz, took it from the *gauleiters* with an iron fist.

But Hitler himself had another way of earning money; he wrote newspaper articles which, in the opinion of everyone excepting himself, were among the worst products of German journalism, and could not be compared to his speeches — precisely because they were essentially speeches written down. And for these articles he demanded gigantic fees of the party's miserable provincial dailies and weeklies. 'Yes, indeed,' he said when called to account, 'I accept payment for these articles and good payment; after all, I am not the employee of our enterprise, I am its founder and leader.' This, too, for Munder's benefit, but the discontented *gauleiter* refused to

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ow business manager of the
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our members, said Rosenberg,
newspaperman. 'I spit on the
nn cried back; and he said the

same thing to his leader, Hitler. Now and then Hitler, sick of
working and eager for companionship, would appear in Munich;
he would rage through the shabby party office above the *Beobachter's*
printshop, keeping the employees away from their work with end-
less speeches. Max Amann, none too respectfully, would drive him
back to Berchtesgaden, for 'the book has to come out in the fall, or
else the booksellers will cancel their orders.'

And so here he was back in Berchtesgaden, writing, or dictating
at the typewriter either to Hess, or to his niece, Geli. Of course, it
was impossible that the book should be what Amann wanted: a
history of the unsuccessful *putsch* of 1923. Hitler lacked the narra-
tive gift to tell the story; but even if he had wanted to, he could
not have spoken openly for fear of the Bavarian government and
even more of the Reichswehr. Thus the book contained no sensa-
tional revelations. Publisher and public were both disappointed;
but to Hitler even less than to most men was it given to speak of
himself with critical honesty.

In course of writing, the book had grown beyond the original
plan of the 'reckoning.' Hitler next wanted to call it 'Four and a
Half Years of Struggle Against Lies, Stupidity, and Cowardice.'
From this ponderous phrase Amann gleaned a short, striking title:
Mein Kampf ('My Struggle').

The first volume was published in June, 1925. It cost twelve
marks (approximately three dollars), double the normal German
book price. Amann claimed to have sold twenty-three thousand
copies in the first year, but this is an extremely doubtful boast. Even
Hitler's best friends said: Yes, he is an amazing speaker, probably a
great leader, perhaps even a political genius—but it's a pity that
he had to write this stupid book. *Mein Kampf* does not effectively
argue Hitler's cause, because the author does not dare to express
his innermost thought: that he himself is the greatest figure in his-
tory. The keynote of the book is the noisy style which signifies: Be
silent, you others, I alone am right; disappear, I am the only one
who matters. Trifles are said two or three times, adjectives prefer-
ably doubled. A man is 'honorable *and* upright,' an outlook is
'national *and* patriotic.' In the first edition the first volume is writ-
ten almost in dialect, and the spelling is by no means above re-

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proach. Endless heaps of substantives are intended to cover over the jargon of the Vienna lodging-house. Hitler uses few verbs, for he seldom says what happens; he always tries to create an image with his own luminous figure striding through columns of majestic substantives. He has enriched the German language with a dozen of the most hideous foreign words (hideous especially because they are not really at home in any language of the world). But even this terrifying style is not his own creation; it is borrowed from Richard Wagner's prose writings; both authors take to elaborate bombast because they fear to betray or commit themselves by a simple word. The author speaks even when he thinks nothing at all; one of the most priceless examples of empty babbling is the beginning of the tenth chapter of the first volume. In the whole book hardly a single actual fact is related tangibly and credibly. Houston Stewart Chamberlain had once said: 'The frivolity with which such an artist-spirit treats facts is inspired in him by the certainty that he will penetrate to a higher truth regardless from what premises he starts; therefore he takes the best that he can assimilate.' With Richard Wagner in mind, Chamberlain foreshadowed a whole school which falsifies facts and calls the result higher truth.

Mein Kampf did little to establish Hitler's intellectual authority in his party; in fact the party sailed along almost rudderless during nineteen-twenty-five and twenty-six. The Führer wrote his book, worked for his newspapers, issued leading articles, occasionally spoke at meetings; but in these years another man grew to be the real leader: Gregor Strasser. He was the ideal type of armed intellectual; a former wartime officer, though no professional soldier, but an enthusiast, almost a gourmet in matters of civil war; at the same time an idealist. He owned a drugstore in Landshut, Bavaria, which he sold in 1924 to devote himself entirely to the business of National Socialist leadership; his aim was to push Hitler aside and replace him. A big, heavy man; in contrast to Hitler, an unusually monolithic type, in whom everything, gestures as well as voice, was energetic; he was ponderously loyal to his plans once they were formed, while Hitler was devious and unstable; insensitive to light winds, unable to foresee storms. For a time borne high

by the wave, he missed the moment for the I assured him a place in history. Like Hitler was inspired by an almost boyish pleasure in work among the masses. Lacking Hitler's possessed something just as rare: the power to a very personality. His career provides one trifles which sometimes determine historical the German Reichstag, Strasser enjoyed peace and free travel on the German railways. He could travel for nothing and insult people with a big thing to be able to call your opponent and a thief in the bargain—and to do so, more than six hundred miles away, without penses—and without fear of the courts. He was virtually unavailable for political speech belonged exclusively to the state. Free travel Strasser had a big headstart over his Führer.

This bon vivant, a lover of struggle and and sports as well, now reached for the lead founded so-called 'party *gaus*,' that is provincial *leiters* elected who, he hoped, would be persuaded and worked out a program which he intended. He had a helper in a volatile young man, full of freebooters, but fitting in perfectly with hard to classify this young man, for he was even a former lieutenant or ensign, not even given him a crippled foot; though seventeen World War, he had not been taken into the literature and philosophy at six universities, ship from the Catholic 'Albertus Magnus' written film scripts which were never accepted 'culture-Bolshevistic' publishing house in Berlin been rejected; according to his own story, the army of occupation in his native Rhineland War—but most of his later comrades did despite his six universities, he was nothing more than 'editor' of a National Socialist weekly. His Goebbels.

ced from the former ruling duke; large ducal estate a comparatively small marks monthly. Hitler had been an intelligent woman to send him regu- me; he had convinced her that when she was a duchess again. She was not the Duke of Sachsen-Koburg-Gotha, er. Hitler was also fighting for his or the money of the princes. As allured to him, he said: the movement is a swindle.

He took the part of the princes, fore- d Jews; rabbis publicly came out for the German Jews doubtless proved the Jewish question is more com- The plebiscite became for many a property. Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, con- of the German currency, who owed Reichsbank to his membership in the use of the excellent opportunity to this party, because it had not come he sanctity of the princes' property. He declared that the plebiscite was an- nst the élite and this must be true- sitate to admit—quite a few of the lite.

and stammered with emotion: yes, The Führer in his address had dis- hs. He must be followed; this was to follow, but his best supporter had 1. When the session was ended, the Pfeffer von Salomon, at that time ops, came up to Goebbels and said: t what you did today was an un- ds!' Goebbels had gone over to the Strassers he declared, publicly and olutionaries of the big mouth.' He

bade them 'study, and trust' the Führer. Above all, they must realize 'that he is more than you and I, that he is an instrument of the Divine Will which shapes history in the maelstrom of new cre- ative joy.'

When Goebbels issued this statement, he was twenty-nine years old, no longer a child. Hitler had brought him to Munich, thence to Berchtesgaden. Goebbels was introduced to Hitler's 'family'; he met Hess and Rosenberg; he was unable to win Amann, who de- clared him to be the 'Mephisto of the party'; but he did make friends with Schwarz, the party treasurer. In Goebbels, Hitler had found a man who could listen for days to his endless speeches; the arduously cultivated fire of enthusiasm in his eyes never abated. 'A man who burns like a flame,' said Hitler to others, though the act was piled on so thick that it should not have escaped him.

Goebbels was a man who could control his nervous tension as well as Hitler, if not better. In certain externals they were similar. Both came from poor families, both had made a failure of their start in life. But Goebbels was by far the more worldly; he knew how to adapt and incline himself to circumstances amid which Hitler would simply have given up. Hitler felt a certain com- munity of fate, and Goebbels conscientiously developed it. The younger man copied the older in manner, speech, ideas, even hobbies, partly because there was no better example of the political career, and partly because it unconsciously warmed the heart of the party leader and filled him with confidence in his young ad- mirer. Actually Goebbels learned much from Hitler: through him he achieved full certainty that this was an era of decay in which a minority that knew what it wanted could confidently reach for the highest power, provided it found no means too evil, and shunned no lie, betrayal, or act of violence. In their Munich and Berchtesgaden conversations of February, 1926, the strange teacher must have shown a wild contagious conviction—perhaps he had never found so willing and unquestioning a disciple; this was even better than Hess.

'Dear, honored Adolf Hitler,' wrote Goebbels to his leader after these conversations, 'I have learned so much from you. In a com-

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radely way you have shown me ways so fundamentally new. . . .'
 Goebbels suggested to Hitler that the party needed a new 'general staff,' of course with himself on it: 'The men are available. Just call them. Or rather, summon them one after another just as in your eyes they seem to deserve it. . . . Then a day may come on which everything smashes, when the mob around you fumes and grumbles and roars: Crucify him! Then we shall stand like iron, and shout and sing: Hosanna!' A comparison with the Savior was practically *de rigueur* in a letter to the party leader.

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 With his well-directed flattery, his affected ardor, Goebbels successfully penetrated the circle of little men among whom Hitler felt privately at ease—all of them physically small. He also was a dwarf; the 'scheming dwarf' as the betrayed Gregor Strasser called him from now on. He had Jewish blood, the Strasser clique said, and a proof of it was his club foot; for men thus 'marked' by nature were always of mixed race. One of this circle, Erich Koch, many years later president of East Prussia, attempted to prove this in a newspaper article. He compared Goebbels with Talleyrand, the club-footed French statesman who had betrayed Napoleon. Like him, he asserted, Goebbels was a man of 'racially conditioned mental and physical disharmony.' Among the National Socialist thugs and murderers, Goebbels was like a boasting cripple in the stands at a football game, loudest of all in cheering the players. Goebbels, wrote Koch, knew how 'to dazzle, to inflate himself, to circulate false rumors, ruthlessly to exploit the devotion of others, to squeeze them like a lemon and throw them away, to appropriate the services of others for himself.' He was 'an expert in the arts of slander, intrigue, and falsehood.' Assuredly this young dwarf had an uncanny knowledge of the weaknesses of humanity and knew how to exploit them, because he knew better than other men what weakness is. 'Men like him,' Koch concluded, were 'intelligent but boundlessly ambitious and unfeeling egoists, who up to now have done nothing but harm to the people.'

Essentially Koch's criticism applied just as well to Hitler himself; for in Hitler's self-pitying nature there is something of the dwarfishness characteristic of Goebbels. True that Goebbels coldly copied his Führer, learning his tricks of public speaking, poster-writing, theat-

rically staged meetings, intentional tardiness, rehearsal storm troops. But the basis of what he learned was men: an intelligence cultivated to avenge their against the normal world. There stood Goebbels on the platform, wearing a gray suit resembling a worn once looked at the club foot and thought with brave soldier from the World War, torn by ene

In Goebbels's break with Strasser, Hitler had :ous party clique and gone a good way toward cemtion of the movement. Now he assembled the of his party in May, 1926, and had them vote a intended to break the Strasser Party in the No cording to this by-law the actual 'bearer' of t henceforth only the 'National Socialist German ation' in Munich. Only this small Munich gro the party. It chose its own leadership which wa the leadership of the whole party. The Germa made it necessary to have the chairman form members; but this was a pure formality as Hite eral merriment. The first chairman appointed c other important party leaders at his pleasure; a forth had the right to appoint or dismiss the ga on 'nothing is done in the movement without i approval. Nay, more: nothing is done without

To prevent any schoolmaster or editor in the creating disorder on pretext that the party prog enough, it was decided in Munich that the prog points—about which Hitler had long ceased to was immutable.

Thus, step by step, the party became Hite tenacious but ultimately successful struggle is refl of *Mein Kampf*. In 1926, Hitler completed t The manuscript of this second volume and the the first were again carefully read by Josef Cz three years previous had accompanied Hitler studied the text for grammatical mistakes, smox of them, corrected the spelling, introduced pag

1925

change was made only in one point. Concerning the party structure Hitler had written in the first edition: 'The first chairman of a local group is elected, but then he becomes its responsible leader. . . . The same principle applies to the next higher organization, the district, county or *gau*. The first chairman is always elected, but then vested with unlimited power and authority. And the same, finally, applies to the leadership of the party as a whole. The chairman is elected, but then he is exclusive leader of the movement.'

But in the following edition the passage runs: 'The first chairman of a local group is appointed by the next higher leader, he is the responsible leader of a local group. . . . The same principle applies to the next higher organization, the district, county or *gau*. The leader is always appointed from above and at the same time vested with unlimited power and authority. Only the leader of the whole party, because of the association laws, is elected in a general membership meeting. But then he is exclusive leader of the movement.'

And thus, after seven years of existence, the National Socialist Party ceased to be a democratic party. Its founders had preached and practiced violence, intolerance, and hatred; but they had not desired to bow to a dictator. Their program had declared that the future Germany must be governed by a central 'parliament.' The strongest personalities had withdrawn from the movement, unwilling to recognize Hitler's dictatorship (Ludendorff, Röhm); others had openly rebelled against this dictatorship (Strasser, Goebbels), or accepted it with embittered silence (Rosenberg, Feder). On purpose Hitler had sowed hostility among his followers and now finally harvested power.

But he had not harvested money. One of the best providers, despite princes and princesses, still remained Streicher in Nuremberg with his large following and sometimes more than murky sources. Streicher boasted that one of his most reliable contributors was a wealthy party comrade whose wife was his, Streicher's, mistress. But then young Hermann Esser, a great lady's man, claimed that he, in his own personal way, had found a more direct access to this wealth, and that he had done so with the full knowledge

of Hitler. A bitter feud ensued between formerly close pals. Hitler, extremely embarrassed, took Streicher's side and forbade Esser future. But to silence the dangerous fellow editor of the party's new illustrated paper, founded by Max Amann and Heinrich Hoffmann. These two businesslike dwarfs bet the of the movement, for it was clear that only a make the paper profitable. Hitler for a long from this magazine, which first appeared monthly finally weekly; to every issue he contributed this by no means amusing sheet, was certain

Goebbels, too, obtained his thirty pieces of of Strasser. In 1926, Hitler appointed him 'responsible to me alone.' It was no since Daluge had been S.A. leader in Berlin up maintained his authority by having recalcitrant up at night by a so-called 'rolling command' Strasser had thrown a few of the thugs out party members did not obey and took the defiance of Strasser. Strasser declared that pelled men, a certain Heinz alias Hauenstein the National Socialists knew what to expect spite everything, Hauenstein remained in despair disbanded the whole Berlin organization indefinitely, and told Goebbels to star God's name.

At the same time Erich Koch accused *Gau* in Essen of embezzling party funds; an confirmed the accusation and furthermore of committing adultery with the wife of a truthfully boasting that he had fought at the having worn medals that had never been 'twice breaking his word of honor. . . .'

How could it have been otherwise? The proved elements remaining of the old murderers themselves fighters for truth and enlightenment

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of Hitler. A bitter feud ensued between Streicher and Esser, formerly close pals. Hitler, extremely embarrassed by Esser's revelations, took Streicher's side and forbade Esser to call him *Du* in the future. But to silence the dangerous fellow he had to make him editor of the party's new illustrated paper, which had just been founded by Max Amann and Heinrich Hoffmann, the photographer. These two businesslike dwarfs bet their shirts on the future of the movement, for it was clear that only a large following could make the paper profitable. Hitler for a long time made his living from this magazine, which first appeared monthly, then bi-weekly, finally weekly; to every issue he contributed an editorial which, in this by no means amusing sheet, was certainly the dullest spot.

Goebbels, too, obtained his thirty pieces of silver for his betrayal of Strasser. In 1926, Hitler appointed him *gauleiter* for Berlin, 'responsible to me alone.' It was no sinecure. A certain Kurt Daluege had been S.A. leader in Berlin up to this time and had maintained his authority by having recalcitrant storm troopers beaten up at night by a so-called 'rolling commando.' In his indignation Strasser had thrown a few of the thugs out of the party, but the party members did not obey and took the expelled men back in defiance of Strasser. Strasser declared that the leader of the expelled men, a certain Heinz alias Hauenstein, was a police spy — the National Socialists knew what to expect of one another. Despite everything, Hauenstein remained in the party. Hitler in despair disbanded the whole Berlin organization, suspended Daluege indefinitely, and told Goebbels to start out from scratch in God's name.

At the same time Erich Koch accused *Gauleiter* Karl Kaufmann in Essen of embezzling party funds; an examining commission confirmed the accusation and furthermore found Kaufmann guilty of committing adultery with the wife of a party comrade; of untruthfully boasting that he had fought at the front in the war; of having worn medals that had never been conferred on him; of 'twice breaking his word of honor. . . .'

How could it have been otherwise? These were the most depraved elements remaining of the old murderers' army. They called themselves fighters for truth and enlightenment; actually they even

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MOD: ADOLF HITLER

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The Child As Father to the Man

their Führer's social policies, but they had no intention whatever of leading a revolt to seize power from him. Hitler himself, for political reasons, had manufactured the rumors of rebellion. He knew that the military and industrial leadership of Germany was alarmed by radical social ideas which were spreading through the SA. Since he needed the support of influential conservatives in order to gain power after the death of Field Marshal-President Hindenburg, he decided to placate them by sacrificing hundreds of his old comrades. Röhm and the SA remained loyal to Hitler throughout. Indeed, many of them believed they were dying for him in an SS plot engineered by Göring and Himmler against Röhm and Hitler. Gunned down by Hitler's orders, they shouted "Heil Hitler!" defiantly to their executioners as they died.

In no important instance was factionalism within the Nazi Party a serious threat to Hitler's position or a danger to the unity of the Nazi movement. Indeed, Hitler actually encouraged factions for two reasons. First, they represented diverse classes and interests which Hitler needed to cultivate. Röhm—at least up to 1934!—had attracted the veterans and Free Corps fighters; Strasser appealed to many Socialists; Baldur von Schirach was attractive to the youth. Second, Hitler encouraged factionalism because he discovered that his refusal to commit himself to any one group increased his authority over all. Each faction sought to outdo its competitor in the homage it paid to him. Once a faction failed to win Hitler's personal stamp of approval, it was finished, for it had no other court of appeal.²⁴⁵

LIFE-STYLE OF THE FÜHRER

1925

There were obvious political advantages in leadership by personal charisma, aloofness, and delay in making policy decisions. But Hitler also liked the method because it suited his lifestyle. Once the *Führerprinzip* was firmly established by 1925, political leadership required a minimum of effort on his part. Hitler did not allow politics to interrupt the routine of his private life. It is true that upon occasion—such as the leadership crisis of 1921, the Reichstag elections of 1932, or the Blood Purge of 1934—he could show bursts of energy. Generally, however, he preferred a lazier pace. His personal habits as Party Führer and chancellor did not change very much from his adolescent years when, after the death of his demanding father, he enjoyed the life of a dilettante with Kubizek in Linz and Vienna. Now, as then, he slept late and occupied most of his day with desultory talk, picnics, excursions, and other diversions. After leaving Landsberg, he returned to his tiny apartment above a Drogerie at 41 Thierschstrasse. As a marble plaque in the wall during the Nazi period proclaimed, "Adolf Hitler lived in

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The life & Death of A.H. Payne

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sometimes remember his club foot. Women rejected him or were indifferent to him. When Hitler smiled on him, he was in seventh heaven, but at the slightest frown he panicked. He was delirious with joy when Hitler invited him to visit him. He settled down in a hotel at Berchtesgaden and was overwhelmed by loneliness when the expected invitation to Obersalzberg did not arrive. "In the course of time one develops a healthy contempt for the human race," he wrote moodily in his diary, while waiting for the summons. "After all, when all is said and done one is always alone." The rains fell, the mountains were invisible, Berchtesgaden was a nightmare of loneliness, and there was no tap on the door announcing that Hitler's automobile was waiting for him in the hotel courtyard. Three days passed before Hitler sent Emil Maurice to fetch him. It appears that Hitler had been spending his days with Gregor Strasser and Bernard Rust, but Goebbels was not in the least dismayed, for now at last he was permitted to feast his eyes on the man he already regarded as "the creator of the Third Reich." He wrote in his diary on July 24, 1926:

He is a genius. The natural creative instrument of a fate determined by God. I am deeply moved: he is like a child, kind, good, merciful. Like a cat: cunning, clever, agile. Like a lion: roaring and great and gigantic. A fellow, a man! [*Ein Kerl, ein Mann!*]

So might a schoolgirl announce to her diary the simplicities of her first seduction.

Indeed, there was something very feminine in Goebbels, who approached Hitler with blandishments but was seduced with even more intricate blandishments. He spent many hours with Hitler in the mountains discussing the Third Reich, which seemed to be within their reach, and sometimes they would pause and gaze silently into the distance. When Goebbels finally left Obersalzberg, Hitler presented him with a bouquet of red roses.

In Goebbels Hitler found his most beloved disciple. Vain, lecherous, absurd, a failed novelist, a failed dramatist, Goebbels became a superb propagandist for a man he adored and a program he half despised. Hitler continued to shower him with blandishments and forgave him his sins of vanity and lechery for the rest of his life.

The difficulty was to find a place in the party sufficiently challenging for his abilities. Hitler hinted that he had reserved a very special post for his young friend, nothing less than the leadership of the party in Berlin. It was only a hint, and Goebbels went into paroxysms of torment while waiting for the appointment to be officially announced. He was half-promised the post in August, but it was not until October that it was finally given to him on the eve of his twenty-ninth birthday.

In the eyes of that could be won for a march on Berlin of the Communists quered with another while Goebbels, as softening up the city.

Blood-red poster Hitler's early posters with banner headlines added his own posters formed a scene from a distant intrigued by the scene.

He was also a man. To provoke the class district, making wart storm troops Communists were scattered Goebbels launched he was not surprised. Goebbels enjoyed them to his advantage the Communists with signals he could take with them. At the time there were scuffles were broken and he wounded. Goebbels formed where everyone learned long before powerful political was carried onto the addressed him as rising out of his performance was unreliable so that the sight of of the ambulances spectacle. Goebbels times a storm troops quies of the martyrs provided good headlines Hitler had been

Life & death of A. H. - Payne

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uge apartment are known,

but there was also a private reason. He had appointed himself the guardian of Angela Maria Raubal, his half-sister's daughter. Known as Geli Raubal, she occupied the bedroom next to his own. A blue-eyed brunette with alert, intelligent features and remarkable physical beauty, Geli appeared to have had nothing in common with her uncle either in temperament or in physical appearance. She was gay, frivolous, elegant, and aware of her beauty. When she entered a room, men turned their heads. She had no interest in politics whatsoever and wanted only to have a good time. Although she looked like an actress, she had no talent at all for acting or dissembling, and every passing thought or emotion could be clearly read in her features.

It was apparently this spontaneity that attracted Hitler to her, for it was a quality in which he was totally lacking. She looked about eighteen but was twenty-one years old when she came to live in the Prinzregentenplatz. She was deeply religious and attended Mass regularly.

The fact that Geli Raubal was living in the same apartment as her uncle caused raised eyebrows among party members. He liked to appear with her at social functions and made no secret of his infatuation. If anyone paid marked attention to her, he would fly into a rage and take her home. Once Otto Strasser invited her to accompany him to one of the famous Munich masked balls. Hitler heard about the invitation, called Otto Strasser on the telephone, and shouted: "I won't allow her to go out with a married man. I'm not going to have any of your filthy Berlin tricks in Munich!" On another occasion he discovered Geli in the arms of Emil Maurice, his chauffeur, and exploded with rage. Maurice, who had written down the opening chapters of *Mein Kampf* in Landsberg Prison at Hitler's dictation, was immediately dismissed from his service, an act Hitler later regretted, for he had a high opinion of Maurice's skill as a chauffeur. Some years later Maurice returned to his service as a bodyguard and troubleshooter.

Hitler was in love with Geli, but in his own peculiar way he was determined both to possess her and to keep her at arms' length. She was the ornament of his home and the delight of his leisure hours, his companion and his prisoner. She had shown no desire to marry him, but he possessed an overmastering will. He would marry her if he thought the risk worth taking.

There was another matter to be considered—the opinion of the party. This was not, perhaps, as serious a problem as it seemed, for he had a supreme contempt for the opinions of the party members and could bend them to his will. If they thought it strange that their forty-year-old leader was living with his own niece, whose single virtue was her beauty, so much the worse for them! He was a man with normal sexual appetites, which he had long ago sublimated in ferocious political

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HIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Image and the Man

to examine and measure his have been acutely embarrassed and Sauerbruch, a surgeon of to watch as phrenologists of calipers and tapes, took the valuable part of the Führer's from forehead to vertebrae; to ear; from ear to chin. . . . compared with those computed famous people. Hitler was as proclaim that he had certain Frederick the Great or Bismarck said, "Yes, yes, record it of the annotated drawings that made him so concerned Why did he play that staring

The child of Leonding liked to go on expeditions and picnics: the adult enjoyed doing the same things. Diary entries of a close associate record the Führer's enthusiasm. In April 1926, on a motor trip to Württemberg, Hitler "was like a youth, exuberant, singing, laughing, whistling." On a picnic to the Königssee he was "like a beloved, spontaneous child—enthusiastic and rapturous."¹²

Hitler took boyish delight in circuses and became very excited when female performers were endangered by wild animals. But his favorite diversion was movies. A director of the German UFA Studios recalled that Hitler had given a standing order "to have every new film, German and all foreign films shown at the Chancellery." His regular routine was to see at least one film a night. His idea of sacrificing for the war effort was to give up his beloved movies. After the start of the war he saw only newsreels; after Stalingrad, no newsreels. Of the hundreds of films he saw, two were particular favorites: Disney's Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, which was shown many times, and King Kong. He was absolutely enthralled by the story of the great ape who loved a little blond girl no bigger than his finger. He talked about the film for days. His favorite movie actress was Shirley Temple.¹³

The Führer liked to play games. One of them, called Biberspiel (Beaver Game), was played sedulously by the entourage on his personal train. Anyone who saw a man with a beard called out "Beaver!" and counted up his triumphs. There was great excitement, his secretary assures us, when the Führer won—which he usually did. He also invented a game of bowling played at the Berghof. He would take three balls and if he knocked down all the pins, someone else could have a turn; if he failed, the game was over. He also liked to see how fast he could undress and dress himself. His valet—who was not allowed in Hitler's bedroom—would stand by the door with a stop watch and call "Los!" When Hitler had finished dressing, he would cry "Schluss!" and rush out of the room to see if he had broken his record.¹⁴

He enjoyed games that hurt or embarrassed other people. An effective actor and an excellent mimic, he worked up routines which poked fun at the one-armed publisher, Max Amann, and an assistant press director who was deaf. He liked to frighten and confuse his subordinates by having someone call them on the telephone with imperious "Führer orders" while he whispered instructions that were designed to intimidate the victim.¹⁵

There was nothing childish about Hitler's prewar diplomatic coups: they were executed with a mature and masterful sense of timing and a remarkable ability to exploit the weaknesses of his victims. But his instinctive reaction to his triumphs was a childlike pleasure in the

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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

In a classic study of nightmares, Ernest Jones has shown that there is a direct connection between horror dreams of this kind and incestuous desires:

The malady known as Nightmare is always an expression of intense mental conflict centering about some form of "repressed" sexual desire. . . . There is no doubt that this concerns the incest trends of sexual life, so that we may extend the formula just given and say: An attack of the Nightmare is an expression of a mental conflict over an incestuous desire.⁹⁵

The peculiar biographical fact that both as a young man and as an adult Hitler prided himself on being a "wolf" may be tied-in with his infantile trauma. There are many examples of his identification with wolves, but most significantly, the tune he whistled often and absent-mindedly was "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?" To those who are acquainted with Freud's celebrated case of the "Wolf-man" or the later publication of the Wolf-man's own memoirs, Hitler's infatuation with the wolf strikes a familiar note. Freud's patient, it will be recalled, had also as an infant watched his parents have intercourse; he subsequently developed a wolf phobia. While we do not know with certainty whether Hitler had a wolf or dog phobia as a child, the defiant tone of the Disney movie song suggests that he may have, and that he learned to defend against this anxiety by associating himself with the object of his fear, by deliberately cultivating it and surrounding himself with it. Familiarity, in this case, bred not contempt but a lessening of anxiety. In identifying himself as the wolf, he was reassuring himself by saying, in effect: "See, I don't need to be afraid of wolves, I myself am the Wolf."⁹⁶

1892*

It is possible that the infant Adolf associated his father with the wolf, since it is known that Alois owned a large dog, possibly an Alsatian (in German, *Wolfshund*). As we have noted, Alois whipped the dog, and in calling for both his dog and his son he gave the same whistle.

There is no doubt that Hitler saw his father as an aggressor against him, as is shown both in the *Mein Kampf* passage and in his many references to the whippings he received as a boy. There is further evidence that Adolf identified with the aggressor-father. He sometimes treated his own Wolfshund in the brutal way that he had seen his father whip his own dog. One of the women with whom Hitler had intimate relations during 1926, Maria (or Mimi) Reiter, recalls that she saw him turn savagely on his own dog:

He whipped his dog like a madman [*Irrsinniger*] with his riding whip as he held him tight on the leash. He became tremendously excited. . . . I could not have believed that this man would beat an animal so ruthlessly—an animal about which he had said a moment previously that he could not live without. But now he whipped his most faithful companion!

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* the boy felt in close harmony with the dog they were brothers.

The Child As Father to the Man

When Mimi asked him how it pplied grimly, "That was necessary punishing himself for his own to the animal? He said that

As in the case of Freud replaced the dog or wolf as a bered, feared horses. But, as : protecting himself from it, h surrounded himself with pictur

Among the long-range ex ence was the belief that coitus dangerous that the adult Hitler Western Front (see Chapter 1 Hitler saw it, women's maso audacious man; this reinforced ful creatures who were not to l course with women may also scious association of all wom who yielded deceitfully to his (who died early in life or ver then nursed them at breasts th

His infantile experience consequence. Phyllis Greenacr sation of parental sex wa toward minority groups. Suel tween themselves and others, s note of their physical appear toward those whose appearanc

It is noteworthy that Hitle: in his memoirs emphasizes vis: says that he suffered a profour European Jew:

. . . One day when I was deny came upon a being "Is this also a Jew?"

At Linz they certain cautiously I watched the strange face and scrutiniz my mind reshaped the first "Is this also a German

There is another reason v perience: the way the mature relations reveals modes of tl when he established his dictat

of Love. The Karl story.

an officers, and Röhm, the discharged German captain, was engaged with the rank of Bolivian lieutenant-colonel. Röhm seems to have done a good job as a military adviser. He wrote his German friends letters full of bitter complaints that there was so little understanding for homosexuality in the country; yet he cynically promised 'to spread culture.'

Hitler temporarily abandoned hope of regaining control of the S.A. He did what he had done in 1923: he split the organization and drew out the reliable sections, bringing them closer to himself. In 1923, before his *putsch*, he had set up within the S.A. a troop swearing personal loyalty to him, the 'Hitler shock troop,' led by an old friend named Josef Berchtold. When the S.A. virtually fell apart in 1925, after the break with Röhm, a new band of the most reliable men with a similar-sounding name was formed to take its place, again under Berchtold. Instead of *Sturm Abteilung* (S.A.) it was called *Schutz Staffel* (defense corps), abbreviated as S.S. Instead of the brown S.A. shirt, these men wore a black Fascist uniform. Berchtold did not understand the spirit of his task; he did not have the heart to draw his troop out of the party mass. For the idea of a chosen band insulted the broad section of members which was still permeated by the democratic mood of the old founders — Berchtold himself among them. 'The party expects you all to come,' said the founding proclamation of the S.A. in 1921. Now, in 1926 Hitler said that 'a small band of the best and most determined is far more valuable than a large mass of camp-followers'; therefore 'the numerical strength is closely restricted.' And thus it remained. The motley S.A. troops under Pfeffer's leadership carried on their half-independent existence; many of them had no further regard for Hitler than a half-contemptuous admiration for his boom-boom oratory; the new S.S. troop represented only a few black dots amid the brown mass. At first everything was intentionally made hard for them. They had to wear a relatively expensive uniform, cut according to regulation, and this black splendor, including the belt with the motto devised by Hitler, 'My honor is loyalty,' on the buckle, had to be paid for out of the men's own pockets. For the S.S. men must learn to make sacrifices for their convictions. The result was that poor party

members seldom joined the S.S. The Black band until about 1929, when the party began to attract of the population and wealthy men rushed to it; it was a point of honor to make the sacrifice of uniform, and thus the Black troop became a reservoir of prosperous members. There could not be much for Hitler said that economic prosperity was often a liability and hence better race; and better race was intended to embody.

Hitler gave the S.S. the 'blood banner' to keep that had been carried on November 9 at the Feldkirch had become a fetish of the movement. When men in that period nicknamed the 'Manitou,' the flag, the blood banner had to be brought forth. one of its corners, at the same time holding the no-spirit flow from flag to flag through his person, in his words of consecration.

Berchtold was not only S.S. leader, but also *Völkischer Beobachter*, letting himself be bullied humiliating services by the efficient and violent Berchtold had to instruct his troop 'to read advertisements for the *Völkischer Beobachter*.' Finally choice of leading the Black élite or earning his living for the party paper, he preferred to earn a living. Till led for a time by a certain Erhard Heiden, a stock worst sort. Not until 1929 did Hitler find the right friend of Röhm's and later collaborator with Greiner, an eccentric who made his living from a poultry farm of Waldtrudering near Munich. He had studied the occult, but in his free time concerned himself with the occult; man was Heinrich Himmler.

The post-war generation now begins to assume the party. Himmler was the first party leader who young to serve in the World War. Born in Munich grew up in Landsbut, where Gregor Strasser later attended the *gymnasium*, and like all German gym days was given an opportunity to become an officer.

1926

the discharged German captain, was enlivian lieutenant-colonel. Röhm seems to a military adviser. He wrote his German complaints that there was so little unality in the country; yet he cynically e.'

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For the S.S. men must learn to make ions. The result was that poor party

members seldom joined the S.S. The Black band did not expand until about 1929, when the party began to attract broader sections of the population and wealthy men rushed to its banners. To them it was a point of honor to make the sacrifice of the expensive S.S. uniform, and thus the Black troop became a reservoir for the more prosperous members. There could not be much objection to this, for Hitler said that economic prosperity was often a sign of greater ability and hence better race; and better race was just what the S.S. was intended to embody.

Hitler gave the S.S. the 'blood banner' to keep. This was a flag that had been carried on November 9 at the Feldherrn Halle, and had become a fetish of the movement. When Hitler, whom his men in that period nicknamed the 'Manitou,' consecrated a new flag, the blood banner had to be brought forth. Manitou grasped one of its corners, at the same time holding the new flag; he let the spirit flow from flag to flag through his person, as he pronounced his words of consecration.

Berchtold was not only S.S. leader, but also an editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, letting himself be bullied into the most humiliating services by the efficient and violent Amann. Consequently, Berchtold had to instruct his troop 'to recruit readers and advertisers for the *Völkischer Beobachter*.' Finally, forced with the choice of leading the Black élite or earning his modest living on the party paper, he preferred to earn a living. The S.S. was then led for a time by a certain Erhard Heiden, a stool-pigeon of the worst sort. Not until 1929 did Hitler find the right man, an old friend of Röhm's and later collaborator with Gregor Strasser; an eccentric who made his living from a poultry farm in the village of Waldtrudering near Munich. He had studied to be an agronomist, but in his free time concerned himself with genealogy. This man was Heinrich Himmler.

The post-war generation now begins to assume prominence in the party. Himmler was the first party leader who had been too young to serve in the World War. Born in Munich in 1900, he grew up in Landshut, where Gregor Strasser later lived. He attended the *gymnasium*, and like all German gymnasiasts of that day was given an opportunity to become an officer. He spent the

1926

1929

the tasteless humor and false pathos at dinner table as at the mass meeting; manners, and some could not dispel the socially unclean — this was not true, but against a slovenly nature. How did he submit to the leadership of this success brought masses to the party, men far excelled Hitler in practical ability, can be understood how the phenomenon hypnotic effect on certain individuals but by what human means did Hitler?

did not handle them successfully. These at him or to become enraged against instantly to admire his amazing political as of true friendship with any, not even gly so close to him. No one addressed the intimate 'du'; those who had done since given up the practice. Companions rs addressed him as 'Mein Führer,' to 'Reichsmarschall,' 'Herr Minister,' or 'Herr Treasurer'); at best, 'My dear party

is 'Mein Führer'; whenever his men so ly have the feeling of coming into con- themselves, however, these subordinates en they were aware that above all they d venture, the maddest speculation in o pay off prodigiously if successful; and lled and still call the head of their firm ad their disparaging nicknames. These smen, had known their 'Manitou' inti- one could pass off any forged gigantic saw his weakness, nearly all of which enormous untruthfulness, which all his f. For most of his faults, otherwise hu- ame ugly only because he falsified them

into virtues. His big lies constitute the content of his book; but he deceived his co-workers even in small personal matters. In 1926, with tears in his eyes, he assured a journalist to whom he owed money that he had no funds at all, not even for his most urgent needs; the next day he started on a pleasure trip to Bayreuth in an automobile. When the journalist complained, Hitler screamed at him: how could such an incompetent good-for-nothing even dare to open his mouth? And a few days later, when the unfortunate, who really was none too competent at his profession, committed a grave blunder — the stenographic copy of a speech delivered by Hitler was lost — the Manitou fell on his slave and gave him two resounding slaps in the face. Later, more apologies and tears. To the outside world it was staunchly maintained that Hitler was always the best friend and comrade of his co-workers; that they came to him with all their troubles; that he had helped many — it was one of the lies which Hitler's staff had come to take for granted. The remarkable part of it was the pathos with which he lied; whenever possible, he attached an oath or at least a word of honor to the lie. With trembling passion in his voice, he swore in court that he had never made an attempt to obtain money from Henry Ford (February 5, 1930); the man who could have had him sent to prison for perjury by producing a document, and might thus have spared the world its encounter with Hitler, unfortunately kept silent.

What got on the nerves of his co-workers perhaps even more than his alternate whining and brutality was his indecision. Yet, tongue in cheek, they systematically built up the myth of Der Führer's determination. True, to this lie there was an almost philosophical sense. The party calls itself a 'political army,' carrying out the orders of a general; everywhere it must arouse the impression of military precision and rapidity. This is the basis of the magic which it emanates. The truth, however, is that politics cannot be conducted with an uninterrupted series of lightning decisions. In this deceptive field, what really counts is one of Hitler's strongest gifts: the ability to wait, to keep an eye open for possibilities, to watch events pass and patiently look on as, frequently, one difficulty is canceled out by another. Politics is the opposite of what today is

1924

understood by 'total action'; it is an intrinsic part of the political art to leave most things undone, trusting that they will take care of themselves; in the decisive moment, however, to act ruthlessly — and what the layman calls political determination is the gift — a rare one, to be sure — of knowing when the decisive moment has come; of understanding where action in this moment will lead. Hitler's impatient staff and sub-leaders expected him to act like an armed intellectual; instead, and this is what made him their superior and leader, he acted like an armed bohemian. The best of them were prepared to sacrifice everything for the party machine; he and his most trusted cronies were determined if necessary to smash the machine to bits for his own person: '... It would be better,' he wrote in controversy with rebellious subordinates, 'that there should be no National Socialist movement at all than a movement of indiscipline and disobedience.' For he is a politician to his last fiber — that is, a man for whom everything is a means to an end; and the whole universe, from God down to the cheese-mite, including all love and all hate, including man and beast and the elements, is only raw material for power.

Most of the S.A. leaders did not fully realize that they had a politician for a leader and must incline to his political will. For many of them, the Leader myth was a lie, serviceable perhaps within limits. Hitler's ability to chain masses with the power of the word aroused in some a rather disparaging admiration; he talked so much, they said, that he never got around to action. Aware that this doubting and mocking S.A. must be subjected once and for all, he had recourse to the one old-timer for whom he was still 'Ade,' the bosom friend: Ernst Röhm, lieutenant-colonel in the Bolivian army. Röhm's position in Bolivia had been made difficult by a revolution in which Kundt had involved himself; a telegram was sent from Munich to La Paz, and by the end of 1930 the man who had created the National Socialist Party was back in Germany. Again Hitler had beside him the man who knew him too well for any pretenses on either side. Röhm clearly understood that his task was to build up Hitler as 'Der Führer.' To a collaborator endowed with such talents, ironic clear-sightedness, and at the same time good-will, Hitler had to allow the greatest liberties, despite Röhm's faults and

his own misgivings. He was obliged to look on with cold calculation built up in the eyes of the S.A. Führer in which he himself obviously did not believe.

Many of the lower S.A. leaders, however, openly fully opposed him. Röhm provided pretexts for opposing the S.A. leadership with his homosexual creature Petersdorff and Röhrbein, Count Ernst Helldorf, an military profiteer of the worst sort. The beloved H command of the S.A. in Silesia. Pfeffer's staff of 1 position endangered and tried to make Hitler remove all this was an insurrection against Hitler himself committed as much by attacking the 'legal' course of the ing riots and civil war. It was all very well for his h butchers in Munich to gape at 'Ade,' to stretch out shout 'Heil, mein Führer!'; even to greet one another with a strange cry of 'Heil Hitler!' The Prussian officers though admitting that all this was adroit magic, became contemptuous and rebellious when they expected to join in the magic with a straight face. A has been the attitude of men who knew the magic at or before it had become magic. Even historical figures versally regarded as 'great,' had the same difficulty in

'... Ye gods! It doth amaze me

A man of such a feeble temper should

So get the start of the majestic world

And bear the palm alone . . .

Poor man! I know he would not be a wo

But that he sees the Romans are but shee

He were no lion, were not Romans hind.'

Thus speaks Cassius in Shakespeare, and he is sp 'greatest' of them all: of Caesar. For a time in 1931 C thus of Hitler. Along with the Berlin S.A. leaders h tered at Röhm's really repulsive 'men's harem,' and in sations Hitler was not spared. In speaking publicly of bels laid on the flattery so thick that the suspicion aro: making fun of his Führer; in private conversations, he fun, without flattery. In his diary he called him th

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

1924
* D.T.
some
They had met while walking their dogs. Hitler was drawn to her for several reasons besides their common interest in animals. Her light blue eyes, she remembers him saying, reminded him of his mother's. And when her mother suddenly died, Hitler was quick to point out that he too had "suffered terribly" at his own mother's death and had also been left an orphan at the age of 16. (Actually, at 18.) Hitler also found it more than coincidental that Mimi had been born on the anniversary of the day his mother had been buried. He kept thinking of his mother.

For a long time Hitler could not summon the courage to ask her for a date. Finally, he sent an aide to inquire if she and her sister would go with Hitler and his friend for a walk. Mimi refused but accepted a second invitation, also made formally and through an intermediary, to attend a Hitler speech at the hotel Deutsches Haus. He was anxious that she hear him give an oration.

Mimi was acutely uncomfortable during the course of his passionate harangue. She remembered that he "kept looking over at our table and fixed his eyes directly on me." When she later told an anxious Hitler that she had enjoyed his speech, he was as happy as could be, and immediately began addressing her in language normally reserved for children. He then took his fork and playfully fed her cake as if she were a little child. Suddenly he became very serious, spoke gently of her mother's death, and asked if he could go with her to the grave.

That evening they walked their dogs. When Hitler's Alsatian refused to obey him, he gave a demonstration of his idea of masculinity, mastery, and power by brutally whipping the animal. Later that night, when she refused his request for a good-night kiss, he was furious but kept his anger under control. Again he demonstrated his masculinity: he drew himself up to his full height, thrust out his arm stiffly in the Nazi salute, and said in a deep voice, "Heil Hitler!"

On their second double date, they went for a ride in Hitler's impressive supercharged Mercedes. Mimi recalled that Hitler sat in the back seat with her and "kept wanting to close my eyes with his fingers, saying that I should sleep and dream." He assured her that he would watch over her carefully. (Was he watching her as he had watched over and sketched his dead mother after he had gently closed her staring eyes with his fingers?)

On the third date, in the graveyard, Hitler said something Mimi was never able to forget or to understand. As he stared down at her mother's grave he muttered, "I am not like that yet! [Ich bin noch nicht so weit!]" He then gripped his riding whip tightly in his hands and said, "I would like you to call me Wolf."

On another occasion the two went for a walk in the woods where they "romped like children." Then Hitler grew very serious and led her to a huge fir tree:

He placed me in front of it, turned me left and right. He stepped back and warned me to stay perfectly still like an artist's model.

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* I had come to the conclusion that he had to form some sexual habits as woman or possibly could not destroy him. Of course, it would put

Then he dropped his arm something he could not do he exclaimed. . . . He stood. He looked at my legs and of the tree behind me. Th me to him. "Do you know woodland sprite [Waldfee

When Mimi laughed and Hitler interrupted her sternly: later, Mimi my child. You must her with kisses and said, "Chill this very minute!"

The stories of Hitler's affair, him politically, and he suddenly 1928. That same year she tried ing, she married a hotelkeeper

Years passed, and late in sary, Rudolf Hess, to ask her to left her husband, and spent an apartment in the Prinzregente whatever he wanted with me Hitler promised her anything refused the marriage she demanded him; they relived the experience to marry her. They never her first husband and, in 1936 Hitler sent her 100 red roses in battle.

She never heard from him wristwatch he gave her for her mother had been buried.

Geli Raubal

Hitler often told intimate really loved or could possibly have

After he had moved into fall of 1929, he asked his half-s his little substitute mother, to co with her two daughters. One "Geli" by everyone, caught his about as young as his mother. And just as his own parents had Hitler asked Geli to call him "I "my niece Geli." He was pleased a deeply religious person who at

time and me on I had a pretty of who now has a must not exp

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

1924

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Conclusion is personal if could not it would put

Then he dropped his arms, silently shook his head as if there were something he could not comprehend. . . . "A magnificent picture!" he exclaimed. . . . He stood back about ten paces from me. . . . He looked at my legs and at my face. His gaze went up to the top of the tree behind me. Then he stretched both arms out beckoning me to him. "Do you know who you are now? Now you are my woodland sprite [Waldfee]."

When Mimi laughed and asked what that was supposed to mean, Hitler interrupted her sternly: "That you will understand much better later, Mimi my child. You must never laugh at me!" He then smothered her with kisses and said, "Child, I could just squeeze you to bits now at this very minute!"

The stories of Hitler's affair with a teen-aged girl did little to help him politically, and he suddenly broke off his relations with Mimi in 1928. That same year she tried to kill herself by hanging. After recovering, she married a hotelkeeper in Seefeld.

Years passed, and late in 1931 or early 1932, Hitler sent an emissary, Rudolf Hess, to ask her to come to visit him. She packed her bags, left her husband, and spent one memorable night with Hitler in his apartment in the Prinzregentenplatz. She later recalled "I let him do whatever he wanted with me. *[Ich liess alles mit mir geschehen.]*" Hitler promised her anything if she would be his mistress but flatly refused the marriage she demanded. Once again in 1934 she came to him; they relived the experience of that earlier night, but again he refused to marry her. They never saw each other again. Maria divorced her first husband and, in 1936, married an SS officer named Kubisch. Hitler sent her 100 red roses in 1940 when her husband was killed in battle.

She never heard from him again, but she kept his letters and the wristwatch he gave her for her birthday, 23 December, the day his mother had been buried.

Geli Raubal

Hitler often told intimates that there was only one woman he really loved or could possibly have married: his niece, Geli Raubal.

After he had moved into his large Munich apartment during the fall of 1929, he asked his half-sister Angela, who years before had been his little substitute mother, to come and be his housekeeper. She arrived with her two daughters. One of them, also named Angela but called "Geli" by everyone, caught his eye. She was much younger than he—about as young as his mother had been when she married his father. And just as his own parents had called each other "uncle" and "niece," Hitler asked Geli to call him "Uncle Alfi"; he always referred to her as "my niece Geli." He was pleased to notice that, like his mother, she was a deeply religious person who attended mass regularly.

him and me on a Friedrichs niece blind a pretty good idea in class of how his sexual inclinations might express themselves

1931

1929 Geli
meine nichte Geli