

1936-37

Waite

Luhers

Raufschengel

1936-1937

## THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The first resolution was made in 1919 when, after long internal struggles, I became a politician and took up the battle against my enemy.

Manifestly the date was important to Hitler. He was at that time 30 years old—the same age another Messiah is reported to have begun his mission to save mankind.

That he saw himself as the special agent of God, and identified with Him was made manifest on many occasions:

I go the way that Providence dictates for me with all the assurance of a sleepwalker.

—Speech of 14 March 1936, Munich

God has created this people and it has grown according to His will. And according to *our* will [*nach unserem Willen*] it shall remain and never shall it pass away.

—Speech of 31 July 1937, Breslau

I believe that it was God's will that from here [Austria] a boy was sent into the Reich and that he grew up to become the leader of the nation.

—Speech of 9 April 1938, Vienna <sup>72</sup>

Hitler did not like to be told that the ways of God were not always revealed to him. On one occasion an aide noted that "God does not let people look at the cards He holds" [*Der liebe Gott lässt sich nicht in seine Karten sehen*]. Hitler immediately broke forth into such a paroxysm of fury that he himself feared a heart attack. He gave orders that the aide never repeat the offensive phrase.<sup>73</sup>

The feeling that he was being specially guided from on high grew more intense through the years. On 16 September 1935 he said, "What was denied to millions of men was given to us by Providence, and our work will be still remembered by the last members of posterity." In a speech in his hometown of Linz, 12 March 1938: "When I once departed from this city, I carried with me the very same confession of faith that fills me today. . . . If Providence once then called me from out of this city . . . then Providence must thereby have given me a mission. . . ." <sup>74</sup>

His convictions were reinforced by miraculous escapes from assassination. After the failure of the bomb plot of 20 July 1944 he told a naval aide, "Now the Almighty has stayed their [assassins'] hands once more. Don't you agree that I should consider it as a nod of Fate that it intends to preserve me for my assigned task." His valet remembers that Hitler was very calm, saying, "That is new proof that I have been selected from among other men by Providence to lead greater Germany to victory." And again, "Because I have been saved while

## The Image and the Man

others had to die, it is clearer than in my hands." <sup>75</sup>

His version of human history mythology. He believed that a pure early Garden of Eden. But this pure made incarnate in the form of the "the Jew is the personification of the reached his conclusion that in fight of Almighty God. In Hitler's theology the one committed in the biblical G races is the original sin [*Erbsünden*] sins against blood and race are the thought of World War II in eschatological commander of the forces of good at the forces of Satan. "Often it seems by the Devil and Satan, and we must finally obtain ultimate victory."

He did not view the Party and nations. "I consider those who are greater than those who establish a Party," he had written in *Mein Kampf*, "We are not a movement, but

The institutional pattern he used the Roman Catholic Church, which a boy he had dreamed of being as however, he raised his sights and sought an apostolic succession. He announced in the Brown House during 1930 my successors in the leadership of fallibility. I hope the world will grow has to the claim of the Holy Father.

He also fancied himself as a world he planned to conquer. "I'm! Soon I'll be the great chief of the Tar are mingling my name with their pra

Hitler saw striking parallels between and Enlightenment and the Church: of the Faith (*Congregatio de Propaganda*) task was not to communicate knowledge conditional faith." He viewed the 25 of our faith" and the "rock" upon which proclamation of the "Thousand Year" was also fond of speaking of the "movement, and Volk. As the sign and chose a special type of cross, and this *Hakenkreuz*.

\* D.R. I told him absolutely so that together translation pt

## THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Only the Chancellor steadfast in fight  
Watches o'er Germany by day and by night  
Always caring for us.

Silent night! Holy night!  
All is calm. All is bright.  
Adolf Hitler is Germany's wealth,  
Brings us greatness, favor and health.  
Oh, give us Germans all power!<sup>80</sup>

1934  
In public speech and private soliloquy, and in ways in which he may not have been aware, Hitler himself spoke the very words of Christ and the scriptures. In talking to his Brown Shirts on 30 January 1936 he echoed the words of Jesus to his disciples as recorded in St. John's Gospel, saying, "I have come to know thee. Who thou art, thou art through me and all I am I am through thee." He reminded one of his disciples that "I have come to Germany not to bring peace but a sword." In a public speech in Graz in 1938 he used the words of Jesus as recorded by Matthew when he announced that Almighty God had created the Nation, "and what the Lord has joined together let not Man set asunder."<sup>87</sup>

He was particularly prone to Biblical quotations when talking to his Hitler Youth. On 5 September 1934 he told them, "You are flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood." In 1932 he advised them either to be "hot or cold, but lukewarm should be damned and spewed from your mouth."<sup>88</sup> The phrasing is too close to the New Testament to be coincidental. The Book of Revelation (3:15-16) reads:

I know thy works. Thou art neither cold nor hot; I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth.

He was fond of calling for a faith that could move mountains, saying on 31 January 1935, "If you had not had faith, who could have led thee? Faith can remove mountains, can free also nations." And in May of the same year, speaking about faith, he reminded the faithful, "It is the strength which in the end can remove the mountains of resistance!"<sup>\*</sup>

During one of his last suppers with his followers when he invited them to partake of their Leader's body by eating blood sausage made from his own blood, was he not saying, "Take, eat: this is my body which is broken for you . . .?"

<sup>\*</sup> He apparently had never learned the second part of the quotation from Paul's letter to the Christians at Corinth: "And though I have the gift of prophecy and understand all mysteries and all knowledge; and though I have all faith to remove mountains, and have not love, I am nothing" (1 Corinthians 13:2).

## The Image and the Man

### A MAN OF CONTRASTS

Hitler was a person of contrast spoke in disjunctives. Anybody acquitted or beheaded; "the only death, victory or destruction, conquering heroes or sacrificial he predicted, could end "either annihilation and victory of the mer or an anvil." A person either a leader could be either brutal as a woman. There was absolute

The urbane and perceptive Poncet was fascinated by the d often; "The same man, good-n the beauties of nature, who, at opinions on European politics, most savage exaltation and the n

### Creation and Destruction

The constant battle within destruction and creativity was during a conversation prior to the League of Nations representative an interview in an effort to achieve a problem. At one moment Hitler against table and walls, and so "If the slightest incident occurs I so that not a trace of Poland with lightning with the full power of denly stopped, turned to look the Alps, and observed quietly, "How have worked hard enough. Now would I stay here and work as Years later, in the midst of war, remains is only the values best music, and architecture—are the for future humanity?"<sup>91</sup>

Albert Speer has described tion and creation, observing in Hitler's architecture "not only believe at least one pregnant clue not his avocation; it was his obsession that Hitler was not destroying the

## Dr. ADOLF HITLER

## The Image and the Man

dren "simply adored him," and that Hitler was never so completely relaxed and genuinely friendly as when he was in the company of little children. "It was one of the few moments," a close associate recalls, "when a warm human feeling broke through."<sup>114</sup>

He also had tender feelings about animals. During his Vienna days he always saved a bit of dried bread to feed the birds and squirrels in the Schönbrunn where he went to read on summer evenings. Hitler was very fond of birds and felt particularly drawn to ravens, a bird which in German literature often appears as the omen of misfortune and death. He gave special orders that ravens must never be molested.

During the first months after he attained power, Hitler signed three separate laws on the protection and treatment of animals, and the official *Reichsgesetzblatt* dutifully records in great detail definitions and penalties for cruel treatment, mishandling, and misfeeding. One regulation, dated 14 January 1936, shows particular solicitude about the suffering of lobsters and crabs. Hitler's decree sets forth new regulations for their preparation in all German restaurants:

Crabs, lobsters, and other crustaceans are to be killed by throwing them in rapidly boiling water. When feasible, this should be done individually.

1936

High officials in Hitler's government had apparently debated the question of the most humane death for lobsters before this decree was passed, and two officials of the Ministry of Interior had prepared a scholarly disquisition on whether it was kinder to kill lobsters by placing them in cold water which was slowly brought to a boil or by pushing them headfirst into boiling water. The final decision, obviously, was that abrupt immersion in rapidly boiling water was the more humane. As jurists noted in the official introductory comments on the Law for the Protection of Animals, the purpose of the law, as approved by Adolf Hitler, was "to awaken and strengthen compassion [Mitgefühl] as one of the highest moral values of the German people."<sup>115</sup>

Hitler's kindness to crustaceans did not always extend to human beings. During the same period that he fretted over lobsters, he is reported to have said to an associate, "Do I intend to eradicate whole races? . . . Of course I do. . . . Cruelty is impressive. Cruelty and brutal strength. . . . The masses want it. They need the thrill of terror to make them shudderingly submissive. I do not want concentration camps to become old age pensioners homes. Terror is the most effective way of politics."<sup>116</sup>

The man who was constantly surrounded by people, and whose charisma appealed to millions of people, was a lonely person with no capacity for friendship. He abused and deserted August Kubizek, the only friend of his youth. He ordered the death of Ernst Röhm, a "du" friend of the early battle years. Rudolf Hess, whom he had once en-

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or he would seem to admit an error and then immediately conclude that someone else was to blame. Thus, he called collaboration with Vichy France "our greatest political blunder . . . that too was the work of our great minds in the Wilhelmstrasse!" Or else a mistake was the result of some errant human virtue. He had been too kind or too tolerant: he had once been guilty of discussing politics with a woman; he had been "too soft" about Freemasonry; he had underestimated the "pernicious influence of the Jews on Churchill's Englishmen"; he had been too lenient in failing to throw a Danish statesman into jail; too tolerant of the Italians; much too kind to the Jews. . . .

Throughout his life he insisted that other people were to blame for his own failures. As a youth, when he was rejected by the Viennese Academy of Art, his roommate recalled how "he cursed the old-fashioned, fossilized bureaucracy of the Academy where there was no understanding of true artistry. He spoke of the trip-wires which were cunningly laid—I remember his very words!—for the sole purpose of ruining his career."<sup>127</sup>

Years later, at the end of his career, he blamed his military failures on a number of different people. "He talks constantly of betrayal," an intimate reported on 23 April 1945, "in the Party leadership and in the Army. The SS also lies to him now." Soon he would add "the betrayal of my Allies" to the list of those responsible for his defeat.<sup>128</sup>

He could not abide the thought of his own mistakes; nor could he tolerate others being superior to him in any way. Thus he ridiculed "so-called military experts" or "effeminate intellectuals," or suddenly quit playing a game of bowls or "Beavers" when anyone else was winning. His attitude about personal superiority expanded to include the nation. Germans, he insisted, were superior in all human endeavors from food preparation to music, architecture to dog training, poetry to weight lifting. Since he was absolutely sure that Germany would win the Olympic Games in 1936, he simply could not comprehend the success of the decadent and racially defiled Americans. When shown pictures of the Golden Gate Bridge he said that Germany must build a bigger bridge in Hamburg. Told that a span there would not be as long as the one in San Francisco, he sulked for a time and then said brightly, "Well, we'll build ours wider." Informed that the widest avenue in the world was in Buenos Aires, he said that his new capital, "Germania," would have a street wider than any other street in the world.<sup>129</sup>

Hitler surrounded himself with people to whom he could feel superior. With the exception of Albert Speer, they were either men of intelligence inferior to his own or men with physical or emotional deficiencies he could ridicule. His personal adjutants, Brückner and Burgdorff, were notably deficient in mental endowment, as were the three SS aides who were also with him almost daily: Fegelein, Günzsch, and Rattenhuber. Among 30 candidates who applied for the position of personal chauffeur to the Führer, Hitler selected the shortest man in the group and kept him as his personal driver for the rest

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of his life, even though it was not the seat so that he could see over for many years the deputy Führer Goebbels, the brilliant minister of the club foot; Heinrich Hoffmann, the c with a deformed back; both his fi and Max Amann, his press busin Amann was dwarflike in stature; tellectual collaborator, was addicte an assistant press chief was ston had a bad limp; the leader of his l Röhm, was replaced by the one-ey, dread Reichsführer of the SS, wa Streicher, Gauleiter and editor of Robert Ley, head of the Labor F drunkard who had a speech defec influential Party secretary, was an the Luftwaffe, was a man of high morphine. During most of World ' state of narcotic stupor." But to l in aviation history." Joachim von vile, and vindictive man, remaine hailed by him as "the greatest forei

He constantly pleaded with h his own ability. A minor official for example, recalled that on the ev land in 1936 he was summoned to cal and military power structure ( inexperienced official was amazed for assurance that the invasion of and that the French would not r curious question whether I could 'g

His valet recalled that befor nervous and unsure of himself. He in front of a mirror and interrupt l apprehensively, "Does that sound ready to go before the audience? I really look like the Führer?"

A servant of many years rec Hitler drew parallels between him Hitler liked to "outdo" Napoleon in him, for example, when he learn keep more secretaries busy than l dictate in a much louder voice. H excel Napoleon in something else: secretaries at the same time. To one glance an entire page of a book

\* D. T. I could be at such times, K was repeat the manner when he

(2)

1933, 1936, 1944

as Bullock, put it: Hitler was popular revolutionary movement natives such as Papen.\* Perhaps generally speaking, the statement is during the Historians' Controversy the National Socialists... could the voluntary support of a consensus.† And by March 1933 many deroga of a Third Reich. This only an inevitable element for a "faute de mieux," in place of had become eminently respectable contributed to his respectability

(perhaps especially among the people at large); but the converse was also true: His respectability contributed to his power (perhaps especially among the conservative elements of German society)—or at least to the feebleness of resistance against him. As Heer concluded: "Neither in German Catholicism nor in the Vatican did Hitler meet an opponent who was worthy of him [der ihm gewachsen war].\*\*" Among all of the institutions, including the churches, of the Hitler era, the record of the Catholic Church—of some of the bishops and priests as well as some of the Catholic population—was, relatively speaking, the least compromised and was sometimes even inspiring. The historical literature devoted to that complicated subject is extensive. At the same time, some of the responses to Hitler by otherwise non-Nazi or even anti-Nazi members of the hierarchy are less than inspiring, especially in retrospect.†

1933

fair summary, and unexceptionable: on the German Right, who not only of the Republic but made Hitler old ruling class of Imperial Germany or to the overthrow of the monarchy by the Republican regime which of power and influence. . . . All this Whatever may be said of individuals, obvious and hostile to the regime they which was the pride of the biggest Party to the Republic." In *su*, p. 120, Bullock the considerate treatment Hitler re- of high treason in a state where of indignation to mercy."

ominant evidence from the Goebbels of Hitler's absolute conviction that

summer of 1932, "conservatives" such of doubted whether a government

of Marshal Mackensen was much 1933. He was somewhat critical of heart as a statesman, soldier, and no political influence or following, estate to Mackensen. In December birthday. In 1941, he allowed on a special train.

\*HR, p. 471.

†A few random examples. Cardinal Faulhaber, archbishop of Munich, to Hitler at the signing of the 1933 Concordat: "What the old parliaments and parties had not been able to accomplish in sixty years, your far-seeing statesmanship achieved in six months on a world-historical level . . . a great deed of immeasurable blessing." In 1936, Faulhaber visited Hitler at the Berghof. He was much impressed, agreeing entirely with Hitler about the necessary worldwide fight against Bolshevism. "The Führer also demonstrated social and diplomatic manners worthy of a born sovereign." HR, pp. 282, 316: "Evidently the Austrian charm of the Führer had impressed the Cardinal." Faulhaber's strong pastoral letter against Communism (on 27 December 1936) was made at Hitler's request. In 1936 even the principled and anti-Nazi Cardinal Preysing of Berlin remarked: "National Socialism in Berlin has undoubtedly eliminated the very dangerous agitations of Socialism and Communism as well as many phenomena of smut and dirt (Schmutz und Schindl) so very dangerous to religion and morality." In Joachim Kuropka, ed., *Clemens August Graf von Galen. Neue Forschungen zum Leben und Wirken des Bischofs von Münster* (Münster, 1992), p. 211. The weak Cardinal Bertram of Breslau, then president of the Catholic Bishops' Conference, sent fulsome congratulatory telegrams to Hitler on the latter's birthdays. (In 1939 he said: "I told the children: Heil Hitler!—this is valid for this world; Praise be Jesus Christ—that is the tie between earth and heaven." No neater formula can be imagined. Lukacs, *LEW*, p. 465.)

Public respectability for many German hierarchs was inseparable from expressions of nationalism. Bishop Berning in a letter to Göring in March 1942: "The entire nation must stand united, to accomplish the final (!) victory over its enemies." Kuropka, p. 357. About Bishop, later Cardinal, Galen's praise of the German invasion of Russia in 1941, in the same sermon in which he attacked the

(\*)

1936

Scene

1944

1939

1944

\* O.T. I had worked long and hard on circumstances which is to say that

I kept turning his attention to fine examples of courtesy, gentle wit, self-deprecating irony, of the modest sort, and attention to others. We absorbed it all like a vir the way that a talented actor keeps adding valuable details to his role

1

1933/136

which the strength of our nation rests. It will be the strong protector of Christianity as the basis of our common moral order, and of the family as the basic cell of the people and body of our nation."\*

And on 15 February 1933, in Stuttgart: "They say today that Christendom is imperiled, that the Catholic faith is in danger. To this I answer: Finally there are Christians and not international atheists who are in charge in Germany." After his electoral empowerment Hitler went on with this theme. He spoke of the "Christian fundament of the state." On 1 May 1933: "We do not ask the Almighty: 'Lord, make us free!' We want to work, in brotherly understanding, struggling together, so that the hour comes when we may face the Lord and say: 'Lord, we have changed!'"† It was thus that Papen—perhaps sincerely but wrongly—could say that the Third Reich was "the Christian countermovement to 1789"; that is, the counter-revolution to the French Enlightenment.

on  
Papen  
to von  
Ludendorff

This is not the place to detail the complicated and melancholy history of Hitler's relationship with the leaders of the German churches. It has been studied often, and described at times carefully and well. What belong here are a few examples of Hitler's continued acknowledgment of the importance of that relationship. During the previously mentioned June 1934 meeting with three archbishops (Gröber of Freiburg, Berning of Osnabrück, Bares of Berlin), Hitler said, "Never in this life will I lead a Kulturkampf." He was even able to impress anti-Nazi princes of the Church. (Thus Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich, after meeting Hitler in 1936: "The Führer is a master of diplomatic and social manners, as if he were a born monarch, if not better."‡ In August 1941, Hitler ordered that no move should be undertaken against Archbishop von Galen of Münster, who had openly attacked the euthanasia practices of the government during a Sunday sermon. In the same month Hitler threatened the Gauleiter of Bavaria with removal and imprisonment

1936  
\*

\*Cited in ZIT/PR, p. 13.

†Cited in HR, pp. 250, 262.

‡D, p. 119. Cardinal Faulhaber in his sermon on New Year's Eve, 1938, praised Hitler's "example of a simple, sober way of life, free of alcohol and nicotine. . . ." Cited in Lothar Gruchmann, "Korruption im Dritten Reich," vFZ, October 1994, p. 577.

because of the latter's stupidity from Bavarian schoolrooms. tive, included a sentence: "C not reconcilable." Hitler ord the instant cancellation of th often during the war, he tol the churches to task would Then they would be properl be liberated from their influ

He knew what he was doir ever duality may have existed within the German people. Cardinal) von Galen—still : Christian resistance against sermon in August 1941, pra and Bolshevism. Here, how including the religious idea the ideas (and the rhetoric a

IN 1934, AFTER HIS EXPU Germany, Otto Strasser pr in order to avoid choosing Strasser's prophecy of Hi analysis of Hitler's purpose eign policy was secondary i tent with his primary and j kind of unity of the Germ: from that of the great Gei wrote of "Das Primat dei policy in the histories of n

\*FR, p. 33.

†SCHRR, p. 152.

‡The important element in supreme importance of the statu of the nation. (See chapter 4.)

He D. T. I admit it. I engaged the remark.  
How hard I had worked on those early

little petty-bourgeois self-effacement  
and excessive over-mannered politeness  
all a transparently false.

1936

a very good playwright  
f them to stay until the  
the other was there.

Hitler. My wife divorced  
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sayed, but at least I was

not alone. Frau Bechstein, a fellow-sponsor of Hitler a dozen years before, who had received from him a miserable bunch of flowers on her birthday, went up to him at a reception and called him 'a shabby sort of Chancellor' to his face. I take my hat off to her. I grew progressively more unguarded in my condemnation. At the beginning of 1937 I remember a party at the Swiss Legation in Berlin where I talked for a long time to General Joachim von Stülpnagel, who was at that time head of the Army personnel division and in 1939 became commander-in-chief of the reserve Army. Several members of his family were senior officers and among the most determined opponents of Hitler's military policies, although in the early days of power Goering had boasted of his friendship with them. We talked, probably with misguided frankness, about the gathering war-clouds. Hitler had marched into the Rhineland and the Spanish Civil War had broken out, with active German intervention on the side of Franco. "This can only lead to disaster," I said. "Only the *Reichswehr* can now step in and call a halt."

This sort of behaviour got bruited around, and the anti-Hanfstaengl mood in the Party hierarchy reached a dangerous pitch. During the year I had written the music and helped in the production of another film to be called *Volk ohne Raum*. I had been in London again at the end of 1935 and had seen Sir Robert Vansittart, the permanent head of the Foreign Office. The burden of my conversation with him had been that providing affairs in Germany showed signs of settling down the British Government would have no objection to discussing the problem of the former German colonies. It had seemed to me that if this possibility could be put over to my countrymen in a reasonable fashion it might divert their minds from more dangerous ventures and serve to relieve the internal tension.

The film was an attempt to achieve this, and the story was written by Hans Grimm, the poet. Some of the financial backing came from Schacht. I should have known better than to leave out of account the accumulated venom of the Minister of Propaganda. This time Goebbels banned the film without even seeing it and, in a final effort to discredit me, persuaded Hitler that I had drawn too large a sum in expenses during its making. The Hitler comment that was reported to me was that if I was allowed to earn too much money

late?  
1936

back we drove through and eventually stopped near a group of aircraft. Bodenschatz was there waiting for us with the station commandant, Colonel Kastner.

From the moment we left the Pariser Platz, Jaworsky had been recording every detail of this journey with his camera, although I told him sharply a couple of times not to waste his film. From now on the thing was buzzing the whole time. The pilot came up and introduced himself as Captain Frodel. Then Kastner produced a parachute which he said I should try on. Now I am not exactly built for all this fiddle-faddle with straps and webbing and had never worn such a thing in my life, so I was doubtless pretty awkward about it, especially with Jaworsky recording the whole process. I was given detailed instructions how to use the parachute, counting up to eight if I had to jump and then pulling the ring, and so on. The plot then thickened with the arrival of a sinister-looking individual, a real Gestapo type, whose only introduction was the remark from Kastner: "The name doesn't matter." We were certainly an oddly assorted crew, and I began to wonder what was going on.

"Machine in order?" called Bodenschatz to the pilot. "Absolutely 100 per cent, sir," he answered, although I thought there was a tense and worried look about him. I climbed aboard. It was a light bomber, or so I imagined. I have no eye for such things. The whole interior seemed festooned with hand-grenades and I found my seat was made of bare metal. This is a fine way to spend nine hours, I said to myself. The engines were running, but Jaworsky and A. N. Other lingered outside talking to Bodenschatz and the commandant. Finally, when my patience had reached its limit, they climbed up, the door was bolted, and we took off.

We can hardly have been in the air for ten minutes when Jaworsky came aft and said: "The pilot wants to talk to you." I hunched my way forward and was motioned into the co-pilot's seat. We started to talk about this and that over the roar of the motors, and I noticed that he seemed to cut the conversation short whenever our anonymous companion loomed up behind us. However, when the fellow was away for a few minutes, Frodel looked straight at me and said: "Aren't you Dr. Hanfstaengl?" "Of course," I answered, astonished, "who do you think I am?"

"I know you only as newspaper photographs  
"Nothing in detail,"  
in Salamanca and repor

It was Frodel's turn to Salamanca?" he asked

"Of course I'm going  
whole thing was arrar  
There is some trouble w

Frodel's voice took on  
no orders to take you to  
over the Red lines betw

I suddenly realized w  
straight into a trap. "

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ew minutes, Frodel looked  
Hanfstaengl?" "Of course,"  
k I am?"

"I know you only as August Lehmann, but I recognized you from  
newspaper photographs. What instructions do you have?"

"Nothing in detail," I replied. "I am to go to the Grand Hotel  
in Salamanca and report to General Faupel."

It was Frodel's turn to be astonished. "Who said you were going  
to Salamanca?" he asked.

"Of course I'm going to Salamanca," I said brusquely. "The  
whole thing was arranged yesterday on orders from the Führer.  
There is some trouble with the German correspondents there."

Frodel's voice took on a new urgency: "Herr Hanfstaengl, I have  
no orders to take you to Salamanca. My instructions are to drop you  
over the Red lines between Barcelona and Madrid."

I suddenly realized what an arrant fool I had been. I had walked  
straight into a trap. "You must be mad, Frodel," I shouted dis-  
tractedly. "That is a death sentence. Who gave you such orders?"

"They were given me in a sealed envelope two minutes before  
I got into the plane. They are signed by Goering in person. There is  
nothing I can do. Orders are orders."

"This is fantastic," I shouted. "If they want to get rid of me there  
are simpler ways than this. Why waste petrol. Why all this para-  
phernalia of photographers, planes and pilots? And why bring in  
so many people in the plot—Wiedemann, Berndt, Bodenschatz,  
Goering—it is too incredible. . ."

"I don't understand, *Herr Doktor*," Frodel was saying. "I was  
told that you had volunteered for this mission."

"Volunteered?" I spluttered. "I was called to the Chancellery  
forty-eight hours ago and told to join Faupel in Salamanca. It was  
the first I had heard of it. I speak no Spanish and not enough French  
to get by. They'll pick me up straight away. Frodel, there must be  
some misunderstanding. Put down somewhere and call Berlin so we  
can sort this out." Frodel shrugged: "It is no good, *Herr Doktor*, my  
orders are imperative. Try and keep calm; we'll see what turns up.  
I have seen this sort of thing before. Nothing but *Schweinereien*  
whichever way you look."

What a way to kill a man. I could see how their minds had  
worked. Everything covered up and the pestilential Hanfstaengl out  
of the way. I could almost see the *Völkische Beobachter* headline:

(936?)

1936?

HITLER: THE M]

Dear Hanfstaengl,

According to what I have been told today, you\* are now in Zürich and do not intend for the time being to return to Germany.

I presume that the reason for this is your recent flight from Staaken to Wurzen in Saxony. I assure you that the whole affair was only intended as a harmless joke. We wanted to give you an opportunity of thinking over some rather over-audacious utterances you have made. Nothing more than that was intended.

I have sent Colonel Bodenschatz to you, who will give you further explanations in person. I consider it vitally necessary for various reasons that you come back to Germany straight away with Bodenschatz. I assure you on my word of honour that you can remain here amongst us as you always have done in complete freedom. Forget your suspicions and act reasonably.

With friendly greetings,

Heil Hitler!

HERMANN GOERING

PS. I expect you to accept my word.

\* The German uses the familiar, second person singular, form.

## THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

1936  
my Patscherl, eat this little morsel that is good for you.'"<sup>269</sup> Eva's own feelings about Hitler were revealed in a private diary and in letters which were discovered after the war.\* The diary is that of an immature and limited young woman whose love for Hitler is unmistakably sincere.

As the years passed, Hitler too felt more and more bound to Eva. During the war he telephoned her almost every night, and we have a letter he wrote to her just after the attempt on his life in the "Bomb Plot" of 1944. The letter, pecked out on a typewriter and pocked with errors, contains awkward and stilted phrases of the kind Hitler had used 35 years before in his correspondence with Kubizek. One must conclude that while it may not have been possible for Hitler to love anyone, he did, after his fashion, feel genuine and tender concern for Eva Braun:

Mein liebes Tschapperl,

1944  
Don't worry about me. I'm fine though perhaps a little tired. I hope to come home soon and then I can rest in your arms. I have a great longing for rest, but my duty to the German people comes before everything else. Don't forget that the dangers I encounter don't compare with those of our soldiers at the Front. I thank you for the proof of your affection and ask you also to thank your esteemed father and your most gracious mother for their greetings and good wishes. I am very proud of the honor—please tell them that—to possess the love of a girl who comes from such a distinguished family. I have sent to you the uniform I was wearing during the unfortunate day. It is proof that Providence has protected me and that we have nothing more to fear from our enemies.

From my whole heart, your A.H.

He enclosed in the letter a sketch he made of the barracks after the explosion.

We also have Eva's reply:

Geliebter,

I am beside myself. I am dying of anxiety now that I know you are in danger. Come back as soon as possible. I feel as if I am going insane.

The weather is beautiful here and everything seems so peaceful that I am almost ashamed of myself [for enjoying such tranquillity]. . . . You know I have always told you that I would die if

\* There are two versions of the diary. One is a fraud. An authentic, unpublished version is deposited in the National Archives. This diary covers only the period from 6 February to 28 May 1935, the time when Eva's attraction for Hitler was ripening into love. Eva's younger sister, Ilse Fucke-Michels, has vouched for its authenticity. See Appendix, "A Note on Spurious Sources."

## The Child As Father to the Man

anything happened to  
promised myself to follow  
know that I live only for

In the end, as we shall see, the man she loved. Amid the bomb shelter, while others faced panic, and histrionics, Eva Braun found a quiet inner strength. Even so, at the end that "she attained vanities and frivolities of the

## Affairs with Other Women

Though he could not compare sons with beautiful young women, Hitler apparently had experiences during the years with Eva Braun.

A German film director whom he had helped supply Hitler with had been infatuated with the man who filmed both the Berlin propaganda film *The Triumph of the Will* and later denied having anything to do with the Führer. The Italian foreign minister had intimate relations with a Sigrid von Old with "beautiful quiet eyes" and Haue.<sup>273</sup> Ernst Hanfstaengl, in his home one evening, he had upon an awkward scene. He had Hanfstaengl's beautiful wife, her, saying that it was a shame to be free and declaring himself his in Berlin to one of the daughters his knees in front of the emperor.

According to another intimate married woman, Suzi Liptauer, to hang herself in a Munich Labor Front, Frau Inge Ley, having an affair with him. He killed herself, reportedly after him.<sup>275</sup> Hitler himself claimed mad about him, and that she had entreated the Führer to be

1937 *Giants and Dwarves*

## THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

his day and demanded that Germany create a completely self-sufficient, state-regulated economy and expand to provide "living space" for the Volk.<sup>28</sup>

Among the most influential of all Romantics were the collectors of fairy stories, the famous Brothers Grimm, Jakob (1785-1863) and Wilhelm (1786-1859). Both were distinguished scholars and philologists. Their popular fame, however, rests on the results of their typically Romantic impulse to rediscover the distant past by gathering ancient stories and legends of the German people. Their edition of these Volk-stories had an enormous impact. By 1815 it had sold more copies than any other book with the single exception of the Lutheran Bible. For a 150 years and more, German children were lulled to sleep as the lessons of these stories sank deep into their little heads. Modern child psychologists have learned that Schiller was quite right: "Deeper meaning lies in the fairy tale of my childhood than in the truth that is taught by life."<sup>29</sup>

\* The first lesson of the Grimm tales is that little children must respect authority and be very obedient. Such is the message of a frightening story entitled "The Girl Without Hands." In it, the devil orders a father to cut off the hands of his little daughter. The father asks the little girl if she understands his predicament: he certainly doesn't want to cut off her hands, but he has been given orders by authority. The daughter responds dutifully: "Father Dear, do with me what you will, for I am your child." Thereupon she lays down both her hands, and her father hacks them off at the wrists.

Obedience and discipline are also driven home in one of the shortest and most memorable of these bedtime stories, "The Willful Child":

Once upon a time there was a child who was willful, and would not do what her mother wished. For this reason God had no pleasure in her, and let her become ill, and no doctor could do her any good, and in a short time she lay on her death-bed. When she had been lowered into her grave, and the earth was spread over her, all at once her arm came out again, and stretched upwards, and when they had put it in and spread fresh earth over it, it was all to no purpose, for the arm always came out again. Then the mother herself was obliged to go to the grave, and strike the arm with a rod, and when she had done that, it was drawn in, and then at last the child had rest beneath the ground.<sup>30</sup>

To be sure, there are some sweet and charming little stories, but the number of tales involving bizarre physical and psychic cruelty is appalling. Let us consider the following scenes taken from a dozen or so of the stories, and note particularly the visual imagery they evoke in a child's mind: a queen boils and eats her own children; a young man is required to sleep with a corpse to keep it warm; a king's

## The Past As Prologue: Hitler

daughter is torn apart by wicked stepmother (Grimm into a barrel filled with eyes are cut out; a pretty into a vat filled with putrefaction, put into a pan, and father; a stepmother plan an old woman cuts off the upon drops of blood from In the original version of sisters cut off their toes the slipper, and their eye awaited Hansel and Gretel eaten.<sup>31</sup>

Little Germans of 1 stories to admire racial pu outsiders—such as stepmo- mosity. But hatred for the tense that the Grimms ass stories, the heroes are usu middle-class merchants te larly true of the Jew. He culture; he dresses badly, is a miser who delights in coward who whines when of these bedtime stories, it edition as prizes for the yo

Another of the well-known founder of German gymn of 1813, Friedrich Ludwig (1778-1852). One of the concept of *Volkstum*—the tory—and in 1813 he calle of Iron and Fire . . . The Vo sins."<sup>32</sup>

Of course, it must no current running in the ti during the Napoleonic era world's most creative philo- (1749-1832) and Schiller magnificent expressions of (1768-1834) and his fello individual personality; and calling for civil rights and the impact of these politi to the historic forces th humanist tradition toward

\* <sup>282</sup> Hitler ponders this story. Would the German people under him rise to a height equal to the nobility of that daughter?

## GOD: ADOLF HITLER

a completely self-sufficient, wide "living space" for the

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even home in one of the time stories, "The Willful

ho was willful, and would s reason God had no plead no doctor could do her her death-bed. When she the earth was spread over n, and stretched upwards, fresh earth over it, it was ame out again. Then the grave, and strike the arm it was drawn in, and then und.<sup>30</sup>

harming little stories, but sical and psychic cruelty enes taken from a dozen the visual imagery they eats her own children; a to keep it warm; a king's

## The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History

daughter is torn apart by bears and her mother is roasted alive; a wicked stepmother (Grimm's stepmothers are always wicked) is put into a barrel filled with venomous snakes; a little girl's tongue and eyes are cut out; a pretty young girl is hacked to pieces and thrown into a vat filled with putrefying human remains; a little boy is chopped up, put into a pan, and made into a pudding which is eaten by his father; a stepmother plans to eat the lungs and liver of her children; an old woman cuts off the head of her beautiful stepdaughter, whereupon drops of blood from the girl's head carry on a conversation. In the original version of "Cinderella," not used by Walt Disney, her sisters cut off their toes and heels in an unsuccessful effort to wear the slipper, and their eyes are pecked out by a pigeon. The fate that awaited Hansel and Gretel, it will be recalled, was to be roasted and eaten.<sup>31</sup>

Little Germans of many generations also learned from these stories to admire racial purity and to distrust Jews. The attitude toward outsiders—such as stepmothers—is usually one of suspicion and animosity. But hatred for the Jew as an outsider is so general and so intense that the Grimms assumed it to be a "natural sentiment." In their stories, the heroes are usually peasants or knights and noblemen. The middle-class merchants tend to have a bad time, but this is particularly true of the Jew. He is a foreigner, a product of non-Teutonic culture; he dresses badly, his teeth are yellow, his smile sinister. He is a miser who delights in heeding the good, naive peasants; he is a coward who whines when punished. Given the content and the lessons of these bedtime stories, it is not surprising that Hitler chose a special edition as prizes for the younger children of the Hitler Jugend.

Another of the well-remembered Romantics of the period was the founder of German gymnastic societies and organizer of a *Frethorps* of 1813, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, affectionately called "Turnvater Jahn" (1778-1852). One of the first "*völkisch* Nationalists," he preached the concept of *Volkstum*—the mysterious racial force that shapes all history—and in 1813 he called for a national leader, "a great Führer, cast of Iron and Fire . . . The *Volk* will honor him as savior and forgive all his sins."<sup>32</sup>

Of course, it must not be thought that Romanticism was the only current running in the turbulent stream of German life and letters during the Napoleonic era. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), one of the world's most creative philosophers, was widely read at this time; Goethe (1749-1832) and Schiller (1759-1805) were gracing world letters with magnificent expressions of the human spirit; Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and his fellow Pietists were preaching the sanctity of the individual personality; and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) was calling for civil rights and constitutions. But none of these writers had the impact of these political Romantics. None contributed so much to the historic forces that pushed Germany away from its own humanist tradition toward militant, racist nationalism, and toward an

1815

A. H. reads this when young.

1937

At the German  
Largest  
Langhans

263

p262

## CHAPTER 2

# The Intellectual World of Adolf Hitler

*D.T. This is a distant unless used for the highest (by our measure) purposes.*

Bear in mind that my brain works in about the same way as a calculating machine.

—Adolf Hitler

As a human figure, lamentable; as a political mind, one of the most tremendous phenomena in all history.

—Konrad Heiden

**I**NSIGHT INTO Hitler's personality, his appeal to the German people, and his career as dictator must begin with an inquiry into the nature of his remarkable mind, his peculiar artistic and literary tastes, and his ideas about life and politics. This discussion takes on importance when one realizes how often Hitler's private fantasies became historical reality.

Everyone who knew Hitler was struck by his incredibly retentive memory and the extraordinary range of his factual knowledge. He could remember the trademark and serial number of the bicycle he had used in 1915; the names of the inns where he had stayed overnight 20 years previously; the streets down which he had driven during past political campaigns; the age, displacement, speed, strength of armor, and other data of every capital ship in the British and German navies; the names of the singers and their roles in the operas he had seen in Vienna as a youth; the names of his commanders and their precise armaments down to the battalion. He had a note-perfect knowledge of the prelude to *Die Meistersinger* and whistled it in his curious, penetrating vibrato; he memorized the entire libretto of *Lohengrin*; he knew the production figures per man-day of work in England, France, America and Italy.

\* Dr. T. I added him with this, and then  
as he grew in power, we added  
him with this. It is all there after  
all - the mind is like ~~the~~ <sup>a</sup> computer  
~~of a~~ <sup>it</sup> a computer.  
that for most people dwell in dust,  
rust, and short circuits. In those  
days as he grew more powerful, we  
cleaned his circuit and much that  
was amazing and delightful to him  
came back.

1936

not only enthralled, but literally carried away his pupils. Even today I cannot recall that grey-haired old man without emotion. Often, listening to his fiery descriptions, we forgot the present to find ourselves carried back as though by magic to past ages, while the dry facts of history emerged from the mists of the millennia and became living reality again. We would sit, then, often glowing with enthusiasm, at times even moved to tears.'

In due course Dr. Pötsch received two copies of the book *Mein Kampf*, of which one was a luxury edition with a dedication written in Hitler's own hand. The Doctor replied with a somewhat curt expression of thanks, pointing out that his name was not Ludwig but Leopold.

In 1936, during the temporary improvement in Austro-German relations brought about by the July agreement, Hitler's former school-fellows in Linz decided to send the Reich Chancellor a token of their esteem in the shape of an album containing photographs of themselves, together with those of their former teachers. In due course the complete set was ready, with the exception of one photograph, that of Professor Pötsch. At that time he was living in Carinthia and, written appeals being unavailing, a one-time pupil of his, Keplinger by name, travelled to Carinthia to make a personal appeal—still to no avail. The Professor then wrote to the organizers of the tribute explaining that he felt unable to subscribe to it because he strongly disapproved of Hitler's diatribes against the land of his birth, a land, moreover, to which he, Pötsch, had sworn an oath of allegiance. In private conversation Pötsch was even more emphatic, saying that he considered 'this Hitler' to be a disaster for Germany and he felt ashamed to have been his teacher.

Meanwhile, the gap in the album remained unfilled. How could it be explained away? In due course the Führer learned that his favourite teacher, Professor Leopold Pötsch, had succumbed to his wife's influence and taken monastic vows, abjuring, amongst other worldly vanities, that of posing for his photograph.

D.T. The adjutant happened to be a small client of mine so I passed him the idea.

### *A conversation with Hitler*

Herr Keplinger seen on his return to Linz, with his own drawings. The fol which emerged from a s

Hitler's appearance: sickly in appearance, a tr

I asked whether then 'No, not in ours. T didn't like them, but we shouted at another boy, boy concerned was stag ancestry at the time and

'Was Hitler a strong 'No more than we all supported the German So tive coloured maps and s that, we weren't intereste

'Was Hitler a memb Alliance'?"

'No. Membership was way he couldn't have be in Leonding.'

'Do you think his bad thing to do with girls?'

'No. Out of the questic On the subject of th 'There was only one who used to describe the life of pictures to illustrate his l. enjoyed it.'

'Did you ever meet Hi 'Yes, in the summer of rang him up. He sent a car ing for me in front of the because of the heat.'

1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941

3

had changed his own radical  
e than a demagogue; he was a  
was not a dictator. Dictators  
on small coteries supporting  
e leader not of a determined  
ional Socialists are the better  
ng the years 1933-1935.† He  
er pronounced (in 1934) the  
acy." While he was contemp-  
democracy and of the demo-  
and the United States during  
941 he said that "the National  
cy through democracy!"

1918 by witnessing and liv-  
nan empire, Hitler was not a  
18 we have no evidence of  
contrasted with his consistent  
of his need for conservative  
timonarchical statements by  
until well after his assumption  
erman (especially North Ger-  
34 hoped that Hitler would  
archy in Germany. But after  
idation of the chancellorship  
e—for him long-antiquated—  
l principle (and not only in  
ificant—and, for him, revela-  
in May 1938. He was repelled  
nials of the Italian royal house,  
e corruptions of the Roman  
of the Italian king. By having

... any popinjay can rule as a dic-

statements: p. 569, note 189. See  
g, 13 December 1931: "You refuse,  
power legally we could then break  
... thesis of democracy runs: 'All

allowed its continued existence, by sharing his rule of Italy with the  
monarchy, his friend Mussolini had made a grave mistake. That is  
what Hitler saw, and thought, and found it now proper to express to  
many of his confidants. Then he decided to raise the pension pay-  
ments of the surviving Social Democratic ministers of the Weimar  
period: it had, after all, been their great merit, he said, to have freed  
Germany from the Hohenzollerns in 1918.\*

The Kaiser, William II, was living in exile in Doorn, in Holland,  
when the German army invaded Holland in May 1940. Churchill  
offered him refuge in England, but William refused. Not by a single  
act (or word) did he demonstrate compassion for his Dutch hosts  
under the German occupation. When France capitulated, William  
sent a congratulatory telegram to Hitler, repeating the pious senti-  
mental phrase that his grandfather had uttered in 1870: "Welche  
Wendung durch Gottes Fügung!" ("What a turn of events ordained  
by God!") Hitler was contemptuous: "Didn't anything newer occur  
to him?"† As far as he was concerned, the Kaiser could return to  
Germany if he so wished. In June 1941 William died. Hitler allowed  
a special train with the imperial relatives to travel to Doorn for the  
Kaiser's funeral.

IN THE PREFACE OF HIS great biography in 1973, Joachim Fest  
speculated: had Hitler suddenly died in 1938, he would have been—  
and would perhaps still be—regarded as one of the greatest Ger-  
mans in history.‡ Such a statement may have shocked some readers,  
but the reality of it would be recognized by others.\*\* For Hitler's  
achievements—domestic rather than foreign—during the six years  
of his leadership of Germany were extraordinary. Not only did he

\*HR, p. 417. In *1/w*, p. 65, Irving cites Hitler on 23 November 1937: "Monar-  
chies are at most capable of hanging on to what has been conquered. World  
empires are won only by revolutionary movements."

†Hermann Giesler, *Ein anderer Hitler*, Leoni am Starnberger See, 1977 (here-  
after: GR), p. 393.

‡F, p. 25.

\*\*Especially by a German generation to whom, of course, Fest's *Hitler* was  
mainly addressed, but also by many biographers who preceded Fest (Heiber,  
Deuerlein, and others); by Haffner later; and, more recently, by Zitelmann.

1938

1940

1933-39

1937

whose main concern with a potential national disunity came after his great achievement of establishing a powerful German state. As early as 1923, Hitler decided (and instructed the party accordingly) that the struggle against the then French occupation of the Ruhr was secondary; the first task was to achieve the national revolution at home before driving out the foreign occupier—and not only because in 1923 Germany was too weak to risk a war with the French. His political realism, especially after 1923,\* was apparent in his continued priority of "Innenpolitik." Reminiscing about the years 1930-32, he said that Chancellor Brüning was "a man of some talent; but his greatest mistake was to attempt successes in foreign policy and thereby increase his popularity, whereas he [the Führer] proceeded exactly in the opposite way, knowing that foreign policy can never be successful when the domestic political conditions for it are not at hand."†

Notwithstanding all of the necessary reservations about Rauschning's authenticity, his attribution of the following statement to Hitler sounds like a true and clear reflection of Hitler's mind. Upon the question of whether he was planning to nationalize German industry, Hitler is supposed to have said: "Why should I nationalize the industries? I will nationalize the people"—a trenchant expression of his political principles. To the assembled industrialists in Düsseldorf on 27 January 1932, he said: "It was not that German industry had triumphed world-wide, after which came the development of German state power [*Machtentwicklung*]; then, too, German power had achieved the main conditions for the later blossoming of German industry." And in a speech in 1932, "If the German industrialists were to tell me: 'We cannot do this,' then I would say to them: 'Good—so I will take this up, because it has to be done.' But

\*Bullock (BU, p. 314) recognized Hitler's realism in 1923: His insistence that the first task was to overthrow the republic "rather than to waste German strength in a fight with the French which the Germans were bound to lose" was sound; but Bullock was wrong (p. 93, note 1) in drawing a parallel between Hitler and Lenin ("both wishing to achieve the revolution at home before driving the foreign invader out"). In F, p. 430, Fest remarked on the primacy of domestic policy, though he did not sufficiently emphasize Hitler's successful anti-Communist propaganda.

†Koeppen notes, 18 September 1941, p. 13.

when the industry tells me not to have to take it upon difference whether Krupp right when he wrote that Economics than people believe as has been his wont: "Ov Reich Cabinet came to re more convincingly, product not ignorant of economics; of German unemployment gigantic rearmament program clearly seen by Simone We 1942: "If Hitler despises economics he understands nothing about the notions of simple communism can be called inspired since economy is not an independent have laws, since in economy ruled by force. . . . It seems conceives, and conceives clearly. He possesses an exact notion

From the revolutionary drive to the head of the state and stages in Hitler's career. M after his assumption to power because of the exigencies of government seen that he was willing to go

\*The first quote by Heer, HR, p. 71/w, p. 21.

†Haffner, HF/AN, pp. 28-29: "We really Hitler's achievement? In spite have to reply in the affirmative. It is to 1933, had played virtually no part economic miracle was not simply due the Third Reich was producing guns

\*\*Quoted by Simone Petrément, also Peter Drucker, *The End of Economics* have been read by Churchill with interest

\* D. to the realization of the increase of the working class, a appreciation of

1937

ional disunity came after  
powerful German state. As  
ed the party accordingly)  
occupation of the Ruhr  
the national revolution  
occupier—and not only  
to risk a war with the  
er 1923,\* was apparent in  
Reminiscing about the  
ining was “a man of some  
empty successes in foreign  
; whereas he [the Führer]  
owing that foreign policy  
political conditions for it

servations about Rausche  
following statement to  
on of Hitler's mind. Upon  
g to nationalize German  
Why should I nationalize  
ple”—a trenchant expres-  
ssembled industrialists in  
“It was not that German  
which came the develop-  
klung]; then, too, German  
or the later blossoming of  
37: “If the German indus-  
this,’ then I would say to  
use it has to be done.’ But

in 1923: His insistence that the  
an to waste German strength in  
bound to lose” was sound; but  
rival between Hitler and Lenin  
efore driving the foreign invader  
domestic policy, though he did  
Communist propaganda.

when the industry tells me: ‘We can do that,’ then I am very pleased  
not to have to take it upon myself.”\* *Summa summarum*: It made no  
difference whether Krupp was nationalized. Irving was probably  
right when he wrote that Hitler “had a sounder appreciation of eco-  
nomics than people believed,” though Irving added, exaggeratedly,  
as has been his wont: “Over the first few months Schacht and the  
Reich Cabinet came to regard Hitler as a genius.”† Zitellmann,  
more convincingly, produced considerable evidence that Hitler was  
not ignorant of economics; and that his amazingly rapid elimination  
of German unemployment was made possible only through “a  
gigantic rearmament program is only partly true.”‡ All of this was  
clearly seen by Simone Weil, as stated in an unpublished paper, in  
1942: “If Hitler despises economy, it is probably not simply because  
he understands nothing about it. It is because he *knows* (it is one of  
the notions of simple common sense that he clearly possesses and that  
can be called inspired since such ideas are so little understood) that  
economy is not an independent reality and as a result does not really  
have laws, since in economy as in all other spheres human affairs are  
ruled by force. . . . It seems to me difficult to deny that Hitler con-  
ceives, and conceives clearly . . . a kind of physics of human matter. . .  
He possesses an exact notion of the power of force.”\*\*

From the revolutionary drummer to the political leader and then  
to the head of the state and of its armed forces in war: these were  
stages in Hitler's career. Many people thought, and hoped, that  
after his assumption to power he would become more moderate  
because of the exigencies of government and of statecraft. We have  
seen that he was willing to grant some credence to such hopes and

\*The first quote by Heer, *HR*, p. 247; the second by Zitellmann, *ZIT/A*, p. 118.

†*I/W*, p. 21.

‡Haffner, *HF/AN*, pp. 28–29: “Was the German economic miracle of the Thirties  
really Hitler's achievement? In spite of all conceivable objections one will probably  
have to reply in the affirmative. It is entirely true that . . . economic matters, prior  
to 1933, had played virtually no part in his plans or political thinking.” And the  
economic miracle was not simply due to rearmament. *HF/AN*, p. 31: “In actual fact,  
the Third Reich was producing guns and butter, and a great many other things.”

\*\*Quoted by Simone Pétrement, *Simone Weil: A Life*, *NV*, 1976, pp. 510–11. See  
also Peter Drucker, *The End of Economic Man*, *L*, 1939, a book that was supposed to  
have been read by Churchill with interest.

~~✱~~ D.T. The real secret in economics was  
the increase or decrease of energy in the  
working class, a question of moral and  
appreciation of economics must stem from this.

D.T. ✱

1937-8

written about the so-called Hossbach Conference of 5 November 1937, when Hitler, for the first time, told his military chiefs to prepare for an eventual war. It was less of a blueprint for war than an admonition to the generals that a resort to force might be necessary in the near future. Hitler described when and how Germany would move against Czechoslovakia and into Austria. Such eventualities included a conflict between France and Italy—civil war in France, for example. Because this did not happen, A. J. P. Taylor wrote that "Hitler's exposition was in large part daydreaming, unrelated to what followed in real life." This is not very convincing. The important matter in the conference was Hitler's calculation that when his opportunity arose, France would be paralyzed by weakness: "Britain, almost certainly, and probably France as well, had written off the Czechs and were reconciled to the fact that this question for Germany would be cleared up in due course." This was a remarkably accurate statement of matters in November 1937; it was exactly what happened less than a year later.

But there is another element—or, more precisely, the absence of an element—in this November 1937 conference that has not received the attention it deserves. This is that Hitler made almost no reference at all to Russia. He said something to the effect that in the event of war over Czechoslovakia, Russia would be preoccupied with Japan (which was true), and then there is a cryptic sentence: "Poland—with Russia in her rear—will have little inclination to engage in war against a victorious Germany." In other words, if Poland were to move against Germany, Russia might move against Poland. Here was something like the pattern of German-Russian collusion against Poland nearly two years before it came about.

\* A. J. P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War*, NY, 1961. According to him: "The conference was a manoeuvre in domestic affairs." (Only in the sense in which some of Taylor's works were maneuvers in British academic affairs.) Bullock, in later editions of *BU*, pp. 367–70, adjusted his earlier statements about the Hossbach Conference in view of Taylor: "The significance of this meeting in November 1937 has been a subject of considerable controversy." It is true that the Hossbach record (like the record of another important Hitler speech to his generals, that of 22 August 1939) was not an exact verbatim transcript.

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because of their anticommunism and perhaps even because of certain racial sympathies.\* Beneath this coursed his fundamental conviction of his ability to recognize and to profit from the weakness of his opponents. And so he was able to achieve something even greater than Bismarck and, unlike Bismarck, without war: the Saar, the remilitarization of the Rhineland, the incorporation of Austria, and the Sudetenland, creating a Greater German Reich such as the world had never seen. Even before he changed the map of Europe, even before he flung his armed power beyond the German borders for the first time in March 1938, he had already achieved a Diplomatic Revolution. He had, as yet, no fixed alliances—only a few treaties of nonaggression or friendship or anticommunism. At the same time, France had political and military alliances with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, even Soviet Russia. Yet these no longer amounted to much; most of them were useless paper. That was a diplomatic revolution without precedent in the modern history of Europe.

But then, in the winter of 1937-38, there came a change. It was not a change in his objectives, or a result of his changing view of the European situation. It was a change within the man himself. He had convinced himself that he might not have long to live, that time was working against him—and, thus, against Germany. There is a concordance of evidence for this, ranging from changes in his personal and physical habits and his dictation of a private will and testament (in early May 1938) to his decision to appoint Ribbentrop as his foreign minister and dismiss General Fritsch as commander in chief of the army while he himself assumed the functions of minister of war and supreme commander of the Wehrmacht. Much has been

\*Zitelmann, too (especially in ZIT/A), is mistaken about Hitler's foreign policy. He overemphasizes Hitler's affection for England, suggesting thereby that the British were responsible for not responding to that adequately. Other German historians have inclined to this, including Hillgruber, who respected Chamberlain but not Churchill. Also, Zitelmann explains Hitler's decision to move into the Rhineland in March 1936 as a reaction to the French Chamber of Deputies' ratification of the 1935 Franco-Soviet Pact "that Germany considered as a break of the Locarno Treaty." Not Germany: Hitler, who used it as a pretext.

written about the so-called 1937, when Hitler, for the first time, prepared for an eventual war. His admonition to the generals was: "I expect war in the near future. Hitler's move against Czechoslovakia included a conflict between Germany and France for example. Because this conflict was what followed in real life." "Hitler's exposition was in fact what followed in real life." "The important matter in the conference was his opportunity arose, for Britain, almost certainly, to go off the Czechs and were re-organized. Germany would be cleared. This was an accurate statement of what happened less than a year later."

But there is another element—an element—in this. He received the attention it did, no reference at all to Russia. The event of war over Czechoslovakia with Japan (which was true) "Poland—with Russia in 1939 engage in war against a victory. Poland were to move against Poland. Here was something of a collusion against Poland."

\*A. J. P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War*, pp. 367-70. "The conference was a man which some of Taylor's works were in later editions of *BC*, pp. 367-70. The Locarno Conference in view of Taylor. 1937 has been a subject of considerable record (like the record of another conference in 1939) was not an exact

(\*) D. I. I was there to convince him that he had not long to live + must speed up his plans. This

was sheer obedience on my part. I did not understand why, but the O.C. was insistent. He wanted war, that was obviously part of his largest plan.