

Hitler's Secret Conversations

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Prof. Ed Greenstein
A Biographical Sketch

Ed Greenstein is Professor of Biblical Studies at Tel Aviv University, where he joined the faculty in 1995. He has also been teaching at Bar-Ilan University. From 1976 through 1995 he taught Bible at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York, where he became Professor of Bible in 1989. Prof. Greenstein has also taught in the Columbia University Graduate School, Yale University, Princeton University, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Union Theological Seminary, the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, Hebrew Union College, and Hunter College of the City University of New York. He has lectured widely, in North America and in Israel.

Prof. Greenstein was graduated from Columbia University and the Jewish Theological Seminary with B.A. degrees in 1970. After receiving an M.A. from the Seminary in 1974 and an M.Phil. from Columbia in 1975, Columbia conferred his Ph. D. in 1977. His dissertation, which earned distinction, was revised and published as a monograph, "The Phonology of Akkadian Syllable Structure."

During his graduate study, Greenstein received several fellowships including Columbia University's President's Fellowship. During his sabbatical in 1983-1984 his research was supported by grants from the Seminary and from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture. In 1989 he enjoyed a summer research stipend from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Greenstein spent 1991-1993 as a Visiting Scholar at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, researching a book on the art of pre-Israelite, Canaanite storytelling. He was supported by fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture. He came to Israel as a Guastella Fellow, an honor awarded to outstanding immigrant, Scholars.

Editor of the *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Society* since 1974, Prof. Greenstein was Editor of the Society of Biblical Literature's *Semeia Studies* series (1988-1993), Associate Editor of *Prooftexts: A Journal of Jewish Literary History* (1979-1989) and of *Response* magazine. In 1984 he helped found and edit a *Devar Torah* newspaper column, syndicated in the U.S. He is a member of the American Oriental Society, the Linguistic Society of America, the Society of Biblical Literature, the Association for Jewish Studies, the World Union of Jewish Studies, and the Israel Society for Assyriology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies. He has chaired the Columbia University Seminar for the Study of Hebrew Bible and the Ugaritic Studies Group of the Society of Biblical Literature.

Prof. Greenstein is the author of *Essays on Biblical Method and Translation* (1989) and coauthor of *The Timetables of Jewish History* (1993). Coeditor of *The Hebrew Bible in Literary Criticism* (1986) and *The State of Jewish Studies* (1990), Greenstein is the author of numerous articles and reviews in journals and of many chapters in books. He was a staff writer and contributor to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* from 1968 to 1971. His short commentary on the Book of Exodus appeared in the *Harper Collins Study Bible*, and his new edition and verse translation of the Ugaritic Epic of King Kirta was published in 1997. Currently Prof. Greenstein is completing a book, *Reader Responsibility: The Making of Meaning in Biblical Narrative*, and writing a literary commentary of the Book of Job.

Reading Strategies and the Story of Ruth

EDWARD L. GREENSTEIN

*It was said in the name of Rabbi Bena'ah:
"There were 24 dream interpreters in Jeru-
salem. Once I had a dream and consulted
with every one of them. This one interpreted
for me one thing, and that one another.
And they all came true."*

BABYLONIAN TALMUD, BERAKHOT 55B

The history of interpretation is the history of readers reading and making sense of texts. No one is born reading; every literary experience involves the exercise of learned behavior. Each reader applies the conventions of reading and methods of interpretation that one has acquired or creatively developed. Looking back on the many diverse readings of a well-worn text, such as a popular biblical narrative, one often appreciates the value of many different types of reading. Like the ancient rabbis and others,¹ one may remain convinced that a narrative means all of a number of things.² In that case, one may take a lesson from the history of interpretation and decide to read differently, according to one or several of a variety of hermeneutical strategies.

I take the position that different theoretical approaches to literature serve the useful function of generating diverse strategies by which to read and interpret texts. Rather than choose to delimit meaning by adhering to one particular school or method of criticism, readers may elect to adopt and adapt reading approaches from a variety of theories. One of the beneficial lessons of poststructuralist, and especially deconstructive, writing is that no theory can stand up to all critical challenge and monopolize the way we read. Unless we uncritically ground our textual object in an absolute metaphysical framework, the center cannot indefinitely hold—for we can always shift the center and regard our reading from a different angle. Seen differently, texts appear different, meaning that, insofar as we can know and for all intents and purposes, they are different. The text, then,

can be empirically known not as a material object but only as the tentative projection of a process of reading.³ The meaning of a text is not self-evident but is made by readers, and the same reader may find a number of different reading strategies both valid and enriching by making meaning on many levels alternatively.

The point has been incisively and exquisitely articulated by Borges:

Even for the same reader the same book changes, for we change; we are the river of Heraclitus, who said that the man of yesterday is not the man of today, who will not be the man of tomorrow. We change incessantly, and each reading of a book, each rereading, each memory of that reading, reinvents the text. The text too is the changing river of Heraclitus.⁴

Each reading is influenced by different circumstantial factors and by different practical procedures. One may revise one's interpretations over time, but one does not in doing so necessarily invalidate the earlier readings one has produced. They may all share a measure, if not an equal measure, of validity and conviction. If that is so, the resourceful reader will become open to an array of possibilities for making good sense of texts.

In order both to argue that thesis and to illustrate it, I shall review a number of critical readings of the little Book of Ruth. I hope to show that a number of interesting and (in their own way) convincing readings of the story rest on or derive from diverse theoretical premises, as well as different ideological objectives. Each reading applies or adapts strategies that are associated with one or another school of literary criticism. In each case the proof of the pudding will be in the eating. That is, the value of each reading, each application of some theory or theories, will be judged by the extent of its hermeneutical interest and use. The benefit of acknowledging a variety of theoretical approaches is that it enables the reader to choose, to make good matches, good "chemistry," between reading strategies and texts. One method may work "better" on one text, or type of text, than it would on another. The "better" reading is the one that satisfies the goals that one (consciously or unconsciously) seeks, using the evidence and argumentation that one finds most convincing or effective.⁵ New and interesting readings are produced by trying out a fresh approach on a familiar tale, in this case, the story of Ruth.

To read from a literary perspective means to read in the way that we read what we, by whatever traditions and conventions, call literature.⁶ Most literary readings of the Ruth narrative operate within the theoretical principles of the New Criticism. The text is approached as an object of art each element of which contributes to a coherent, if often ambiguous and polyvalent, sense. A poem offered in response to a Grecian urn is itself viewed as an object, albeit a verbal one.⁷ Beginning with the assumption that the Book of Ruth "is a unity,"⁸ each part of the whole is treated as deliberate and integral to a meaningful design.⁹ The meaning can be inferred from the harmonies among the various textual components. In the Book of Ruth, as Phyllis Trible puts it, "Th[e] total symmetry [of its overall structure] lends integrity to the story; it sets it apart as an aesthetic object; it embraces meaning as inseparable from form and content."¹⁰ We shall see later on that literature, like the language of which it is made, may indeed turn out to be unruly. The New Critic, however, looks for, and finds, some sort of pattern or patterns in reading. The pattern is interpreted as the architecture of the literary work, a structure that guides the reading subject in making sense.¹¹

More complex literary works may be found to manifest a number of patterns, so that the critic inevitably plays a role in identifying of what the pattern consists and in deciding which pattern to highlight in interpreting a text. Most exegetes will suggest only one reading at a time, giving the impression that one particular meaning stands out above all others. By contrast, D.F. Rauber, who follows the fashion of developing a single primary line of interpretation, insists that his own reading "is not intended to be exhaustive. There are," he adds, "numerous other patterns and progressions" in the Book of Ruth.¹² In first surveying some different analyses of the Ruth narrative that are all more or less sympathetic to the New Criticism, we shall see that elements of one pattern may function differently when connected to a different pattern. Whether this is because there are overlapping patterns within the literary design or because different critics draw the patterns differently is a theoretical issue that can only be settled by adopting one philosophical position or another. But in either event, it is clear that no reading incorporates all the textual facts. The critic draws some of the language into the pattern, and in doing so leaves other language out. Interpretation is necessarily selective, and selection is necessarily motivated differently for different readers.

For S.D. Goitein, the story of Ruth is a virtually perfect work of literary art, unparalleled in its structural harmony.¹³ It is composed of four main scenes, bridged by transitions in which women engage in dialogue, reflecting on the progress of the plot and/or plotting to advance it.¹⁴ The first scene presents Naomi and Ruth on their return to Bethlehem. Upon her arrival back home, Naomi reacts to the townswomen who ask, "Is this Naomi?" (1:19). Playing on her name, she says: "Call me not Naomi [Pleasant One]; call me Mara [Bitter One]" (1:20).¹⁵ In the course of the narrative, from chapter 1 to chapter 4, Naomi is transformed from embittered to happy.¹⁶ The cause of that transformation, for Goitein, lies at the heart of the tale's meaning. To locate the factors responsible for that transformation, Goitein examines the intervening chapters.

The two middle chapters, or scenes, feature encounters between Ruth and Boaz. In the first of these, or scene 2, Ruth "chances" upon Boaz while gleaning in his field; in the second, or scene 3, Ruth invades Boaz's privacy on the threshing floor. The widely noted parallel between these scenes is variously adduced to support a theological interpretation. In scene 2, Boaz explains his special attention to Ruth: he had heard of Ruth's dedication to her mother-in-law Naomi (2:11); referring back to Ruth's beneficence toward Naomi, Boaz will in scene 3 call it her "first" *hesed*—act of personal devotion (3:10). But in scene 2 Boaz invokes the deity to provide an ultimate reward to the woman (2:12); he himself shows her modest kindness. In scene 3, Boaz is made to realize that Ruth seeks to show *hesed* not only to Naomi but also, and perhaps especially, to her late husband Mahlon. He understands that Ruth is pursuing him in order to redeem Naomi's land and produce an heir through him, a relative, in a quasi-levirate procedure.¹⁷ That, it dawns on him in the middle of the night, is why she prefers him to a more appropriate younger man (3:10). Boaz senses that he must act as an agent for God. The *hesed* that YHWH will repay Ruth will be delivered through Boaz.

Goitein observes that the quiet tone of the narrative suits the book's theology.¹⁸ God functions by implication, not by dramatic intervention.¹⁹ Characters invoke God in blessings; Naomi explains her sorry life as a divine affliction. When, on her first day out to glean, Ruth enters the field of Boaz, the narrator says that "her occurrence occurred" (2:3). As Tribble comments, "It is a felicitous expression . . . , reporting chance and accident

while hinting that chance is caused. Within human luck is divine intentionality.²⁰ A number of critics reinforce the sense that Boaz is acting on behalf of God by noting an unusual turn of phrase in the threshing floor scene and interpreting it as a literary allusion.²¹ Ruth instructs Boaz to "spread [his] wings [i.e., robe] over [his] maidservant, as [he] is the redeemer" (3:9). This recalls 2:12, where Boaz tells Ruth that he knows she has "come for shelter under the wings" of YHWH. YHWH's wings take the form of Boaz's wings, symbolizing Boaz's enactment of the deity's role.

What has brought about the transformation of Naomi, then, is a transformation of Boaz, from nice guy to angel. But what precipitates the change in Boaz? What makes the plot tick? The narrative's dynamic will, in a unified work—and Ruth is for Goitein as for others an artistic unity—correlate with all major elements of the story. Goitein delineates six components of a successful narrative: an engaging plot, a tight structure, a familiar setting (real or imagined, but one that elicits associations), realistic characters, a pervasive yet subtle message (spread lightly but all over, like salt on a meal), and a reinforcing style.²² In Goitein's reading these components all come together in relation to the theme of *hesed*. He aligns his interpretation with that of the Talmudic sage, Rabbi Ze'ira: the Book of Ruth was composed to model the rewards of doing *hesed*.²³ Those who show generosity to others will providentially receive the same. The chief protagonists, Ruth and Boaz, are for Goitein embodiments of *hesed*. The story's characters, then, express the book's preeminent concern.

The plot is organized around a lucid structure in which Ruth's acts of *hesed*, to the living (Naomi) and the dead (Mahlon), stir Boaz to reciprocate, first to the living (Ruth and Naomi) by offering Ruth preferential treatment in the field, and then to the dead (Mahlon) by purchasing Naomi's estate and marrying Ruth. The book climaxes—when Obed is born—not following the scene on the threshing floor but following the legal process at the city gate. Through the quasi-levirate ceremony Boaz makes it possible "to establish the name of the dead on his estate" (4:5).²⁴ The relative who refuses to marry Ruth is, as a number of commentators note, left nameless himself.²⁵ The narrative punishes him as it were for rejecting the opportunity to memorialize his late kinsman, Mahlon. The scene is critical because it manifests Boaz's ultimate show of *hesed*. He, whose name suggests personal "strength," will perpetuate the name of Mahlon and its attachment to his patrimony.²⁶ It is *hesed*—Boaz's *hesed* for the dead—that figures prominently at the dramatic height of the tale.

Hesed accounts, too—in Goitein's reading—for the settings of the Ruth story. Naomi and Ruth return to Bethlehem at the time of the harvest, and the progress of the harvest receives explicit notice at the end of chapter 2. In addition to providing the sites for Ruth and Boaz to meet, the field at harvest time conditions the practice of gleaning.²⁷ The Torah, both in Leviticus 19 and in Deuteronomy 24, enjoins the Israelites to leave part of the harvest for the disadvantaged to collect. The gleaning law, then, like the characters Ruth and Boaz, betokens *hesed*; the institution of gleaning is suggested, to Goitein, by the story's agricultural setting.

The didactic theme of Goitein's (and others') reading of Ruth—the promotion of *hesed*—does in this analysis pervade the entire length of the text and its several narratological elements. This interpretation, however, does not evenly draw all parts of the story into its orbit. The text begins by describing the migration of Naomi's family to Moab on account of a famine in the land of Judah. This entire episode, which goes on to recount

the deaths of Naomi's husband and sons in Moab, Goitein diminishes in importance by excluding it from the narrative proper. Rather than see these events as integral to the main plot and, consequently, to the theme of the story, Goitein regards them as "exposition," a prelude to the story itself.²⁸ Goitein buttresses his decision by appealing to the repetition in 1:7 of Naomi's exodus from Moab in 1:6. The repetition signifies to Goitein that the key narrative starts here. By construing the central structural pattern of the story in this way, Goitein must play down or miss patterns that many other readers perceive. In the readings of D.F. Rauber and Jack Sasson that will be discussed below, the famine in Bethlehem functions as an initial lack that must be made up in the course of the ensuing narrative. Others understand that the story begins and ends with the account of a lineage—the line of Elimelech that would seem to die out and the line of Boaz that retrieves one link in Elimelech's line and ties it to the Davidic monarchy.²⁹ As Porten remarks,³⁰ the prominence of this framework is underscored by the ten-fold mention of names at the beginning of chapter 1 and the ten-generational genealogy at the end of chapter 4; and by the fact that the story begins with Elimelech, whose name means "God is King," and ends with the birth notice of Judah's first king, David.³¹ Note, too, that the birthplace of David, Bethlehem, and his social (?) group, Ephrath (1 Sam. 17:12), are mentioned at the beginning and near the end of the Ruth story (Ruth 1:1–2; 4:11).³² What for Goitein is background exposition is for Porten and others the presentation of a central thematic concern.

Virtually all readers comment on the book's reiteration of Ruth's Moabite origin; she is repeatedly referred to in this otherwise laconic narrative as "the Moabite."³³ In 2:10 an extended wordplay and assonantal chain highlights Ruth's foreignness. She asks Boaz why he has shown her such favor while she is a "foreigner"—*lehakkireni* (root: *n-k-r*) *ve'anokhi* (*n-k*) *nokhriyya* (*n-k-r*). A repetition of the consonants *n*, *k*, and *r* echoes the word for "foreigner," *nokhriyya* (root: *n-k-r*).³⁴ To many, Ruth's particular ethnicity is crucial to the story and its theme, especially because Deut. 23:4–7 makes a point of excluding Moabites from the Israelite community.³⁵ Goitein contends that Ruth's nationality is peripheral to the narrative, necessary only as a kind of prop. In order to bind herself to Naomi, Ruth had to abandon her homeland, which in this instance happens to be Moab.³⁶ It is evident why Goitein seeks to marginalize Moab: he has an ideological axe to grind. He wants to delegitimize two widespread claims concerning the meaning of Ruth. According to one, the Book of Ruth was composed in order to oppose the measures taken by Ezra and Nehemiah in the fifth century B.C.E. against Judean intermarriage.³⁷ In the other, found in many traditional Jewish commentaries, Elimelech and his sons were punished by God for having left the land of the Covenant for the abominable Moab and for having married forbidden Moabite women.³⁸ Goitein did not consider the positive function that Rauber finds in making Ruth a Moabite.³⁹ The Torah everywhere enjoins Israelites to treat the stranger with compassion. Boaz's kindness to Ruth is magnified by his extending generosity to Ruth even though she is a stranger, a Moabite.

Porten sees the Moabite association as essential to a major theme of the book.⁴⁰ Abraham, the first Hebrew, had two brothers, Nahor and Haran. Abraham's lineage is reunited with Nahor's when in the next generation Isaac marries Rebekah, Nahor's granddaughter (Gen. 22:23). The reunification of Abraham's genealogical line and Haran's is achieved in the coupling of Boaz and Ruth. Boaz is descended from Judah, Abraham's greatgrandson (Ruth 4: 18ff.; cf. Gen. 38:29); and Ruth is a "daughter" of

Moab, the son of Lot and grandson of Haran (Gen. 19:37). David, the climactic scion of the Judean genealogy, then represents a consummation of the Abrahamic covenant, the one who reestablishes the family of Abraham.

Indeed, carrying Porten's line of interpretation further, one can identify a political motive for leading all the blood lines to David. King David is first made king of Judah (David's tribe) and then, seven and a half years later, he is accepted as king of northern Israel (Jacob's legacy), too. Among his conquests are the Aramean states (descendants of Abraham's brother Nahor), the Edomites (descendants of Jacob's brother Esau), and the Ammonites and Moabites (sons of Lot, the son of Abraham's brother Haran). David in his person, therefore, incorporates the various peoples he governs. Their blood runs in his veins. He is the one person who can legitimately reign over them all. LaCocque has asked, "Why would a piece of propaganda for David repeat so many times that Ruth was a Moabite . . .?"⁴¹ Porten's analysis provides the answer: Ruth's position in David's genealogy brings the Ammonites and Moabites under his imperial claim.⁴²

Depending on where one draws the lines of interpretation, Moab may belong to the center or the margins of the narrative structure.

Goitein, we saw, relegated the opening verses of the book to secondary "exposition." In Rauber's literary reading the pivotal theme of the story is introduced in the very first verse, and in the ensuing verses that theme is elaborated.⁴³ Rather than entail a prologue, the opening unveils the heart of the matter. Barrenness and loss, both for the land—in the form of famine—and for people—in death—represent half a cycle, the other half of which is fertility and birth. The "controlling pattern" of the Ruth narrative, Rauber writes, "can be stated abstractly as emptiness-fullness."⁴⁴ The cycle runs along two parallel, but unsynchronized—staggered—planes: that of nature, and that of personal history. The anxiety produced by emptiness and loss can only be mitigated by fullness and gain. When the means of achieving that resolution are unknown or out of reach, we feel tension, desperation, and expectation. Those uneasy feelings form the dynamic subtending the story. When the land of Judah enjoys renewed fertility, we hope the same for the miserable Naomi. Our hopes are fed by Ruth's decision to stand by Naomi and her fortunate encounter with Boaz in his field. The quiet suspense of the narrative hinges on Ruth and Boaz overcoming the mundane obstructions of tradition and convention and becoming a couple.

Rauber can delineate many features of the text that conform to the hermeneutical design he has sketched. Some of them functioned within Goitein's scheme, too. "Famine" and "harvest" are noted at various points as markers of narrative time.⁴⁵ Harvesting provides the setting of chapter 2, and the threshing floor serves as the scene of chapter 3. On the human side, Naomi innocently announces the story's theme when in 1:21 she says: "I had gone out full, but empty has YHWH returned me."⁴⁶ Chapter 1 had underlined the deaths in Naomi's family, and she herself had foregrounded the problem of barrenness when she told her not incidentally childless daughters-in-law that she could no longer bear sons (1:13). Naomi's emptiness is filled by Ruth, when Boaz makes all arrangements to marry her and they count their first son as Mahlon's. If making up Naomi's loss is indeed the story's chief concern,⁴⁷ it makes perfect sense that the townswomen bless God for having provided Naomi a "redeemer" in the form of Ruth's son (4:14–15). Naomi pulls the child to her own bosom and, wonder of wonders, nurses

him (v. 16).⁴⁸ The women, who function as a sort of Greek chorus,⁴⁹ declare: "A son has been born to Naomi!" (v. 17). Rauber aptly explains:

The fertility of Ruth and the fruit of her womb are triumphant rejoinders to the barrenness which darkened the first chapter. Here also is the human manifestation of the theme of harvesting which has pervaded the work from chapter 2 on. Here also is the re-establishment of the full family and social harmony.⁵⁰

The allusion in 4:11 to the matriarchs Leah and Rachel, "who the two of them built up the House of Israel," similarly evokes, as Rauber observes, "the strong patriarchal emphases on fertility and 'the seed.'"⁵¹

The fertility cycles of nature and people come together stunningly in the overdetermined image of Boaz filling Ruth's apron with grain on the threshing floor (3:15). The grain, as was noted already in an ancient midrash,⁵² symbolizes Ruth's future impregnation.⁵³ Boaz supplies Ruth with this concrete token, saying she should not return "empty" to her mother-in-law (3:17). It is Naomi's emptiness the anticipated birth is to fill.⁵⁴

In analyzing the story's theme as the revolution of the emptiness-fullness cycle, and demonstrating its application to Naomi, Rauber is mindful of the theological underpinning that Goitein and others had stressed. The verse 3:9, in which Ruth beckons Boaz to spread his "wings" over her as "redeemer," is for Rauber the "exact center" of the narrative.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, in presenting so abstract a reading Rauber must pay less attention to the legal process that occupies a large part of the book's climactic scene.⁵⁶ He must also pass quickly over the particulars of the genealogy that concludes the book; the Davidic imperial politics that would seem to lie behind what Porten finds at play within Ruth barely figure at all for Rauber. It is clear that Rauber's emphasis on an abstract pattern serves a purpose that is virtually antithetical to the ethnocentric concerns that are so crucial in Porten's reading. Rauber had been looking chiefly for macro-patterning, while Porten had been seeking out micro-designs; the one's concerns are more global, the other's more specific.

The last New Critical reading of Ruth we shall discuss, before turning to structuralist analysis, is the feminist interpretation of Tribble.⁵⁷ Tribble's reading all leads to her explicit goal: "a theological interpretation of feminism: women working out their own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God who works in them."⁵⁸ Here Tribble adds her own nuance to the widely noted theology of the book, in which human agents manifest divine providence by their own acts. The female characters are, for Tribble, the ones that model the story's thematic interests: "Naomi works as a bridge between tradition and innovation. Ruth and the females of Bethlehem work as paradigms for radicality."⁵⁹ To advance her interpretation, Tribble highlights the interaction of women in the narrative. Within the context of the Hebrew Bible, and for all we know ancient Israel in general, women functioning in collaboration as major protagonists in a story is a radical concept that justifies special attention.⁶⁰ Tribble exploits this to her hermeneutical advantage as a basis for ascribing to the female characters feminist motivations. In order to accomplish this, as we shall see, Tribble must (like everyone else) read selectively.

Tribble focuses intensely on Ruth's bonding to Naomi in chapter 1. In contrast to a more recent reading by Danna Nolan Fewell and David M. Gunn,⁶¹ Tribble regards this bonding in a positive light. Like the patriarch Abraham, Ruth departs from her native

land for a different life.⁶² She makes a radical decision to follow another God by choosing the company of a woman over a conventional existence at home. To reinforce this reading, Trible points to the mention of matriarchs in chapter 4: "Comparison of Ruth [in vv. 11-12] to the ancient mothers Rachel, Leah, and Tamar recalls the parallel between Ruth and Abraham. . . ."⁶³ A further parallel to the patriarchal narratives is the migration from the land of Israel on account of famine, the event that triggers the story's initial action. Such a migration occurs in each generation of Israel's ancestors in Genesis.⁶⁴ The narrative in chapter 1 in typical fashion does not externalize Ruth's motivation in clinging to Naomi. Trible introduces a motive: "A young woman has committed herself to the life of an old woman rather than to the search for a husband. . . ."⁶⁵ By casting Ruth's decision in this way, Trible has made a fateful hermeneutical choice; it affects her reading of the balance of the story.

The boldness of Ruth's action may account for Trible's strategy of treating it somewhat hermetically. Other readers, with different objectives, interpret Ruth's decision, at least retrospectively, in the context of the book's final chapter. All along, Ruth had intended to return to Judah with Naomi in order to marry a kinsman of her late husband and produce an heir to his estate. That is what the legal procedure in chapter 4 is all about: "to establish the name of the dead on his estate" (see above). Trible plays down the significance of this chapter as a deviation from the largely female concerns of the preceding three.⁶⁶ In fact, rather than understand that Ruth had, following Naomi's advice, manipulated Boaz into redeeming Mahlon's land and marrying Ruth, Trible views Boaz as the one who uses Ruth as an instrument to accomplish the patriarchal duty of restoring the name of Mahlon to his patrimony.⁶⁷ This interpretation can succeed only by devaluing what Boaz declares to be Ruth's ulterior motivation. The nature of this "latter *hesed*" can be clarified by reading the first scene retrospectively, in view of the final scene in which Boaz both marries Ruth and redeems the estate. When Boaz on the threshing floor praises Ruth for her "latter *hesed*" (3:10), Trible does not explain its reference.⁶⁸ When Naomi in chapter 1 had referred to the *hesed* Ruth and Orpah had shown to "the dead" (v. 8), she was then clearly speaking of the past.⁶⁹ Boaz, however, places the "latter *hesed*" in the context of Ruth's preferring him to a younger, more appropriate husband. From what Boaz does in consequence of that meeting, it becomes evident that he understood that Ruth intended to join him in an act of *hesed* for the late Mahlon. The idea is suggested already in Naomi's remark to her daughters-in-law in 1:13-14: the women should not stay with Naomi because she can produce no more sons. Had Ruth and Orpah wanted to remain with Naomi because they could thereby provide sons for their husbands posthumously through as yet unconceived brothers-in-law, it is hopeless, says Naomi. Although this statement might well establish the motivation for Ruth's clinging to Naomi, Trible, in conformity with her overall reading, passes over the remark in haste.⁷⁰ Even so, Trible's reading accounts a preponderance of weight to the first chapter, and to the conversation between Naomi and Ruth there in particular.

In contrast to Trible's reading, which focalizes scene 1 and only such other points within the narrative that underscore the bonding and assertiveness of the female protagonists, Rauber had suggested that the interpretation of Ruth should rest on the recurrent patterns within the text. For him "chapter 1 is concerned with establishing a dominant pattern for the work."⁷¹ That pattern, as we saw, Rauber identified as the "emptiness-fullness" cycles. Rauber maintains that "the great key to the reading of Hebrew

literature is sensitivity to pattern.⁷² Operating in the New Critical tradition, Rauber found the pattern on the narrative surface, in the overt design.

The structuralist approach, too, capitalizes on patterns; but in structuralism the patterns are not only abstract but beneath the surface of the text.⁷³ The text, from a structuralist perspective, is but the superficial concrete manifestation of underlying conceptual relations. Analogous to language in general, the text is a surface representation of "deep" structures. The goal of interpretation is, in this view, to lay bare the underlying sense. Typically, structuralists understand deep-structure relationships to take the form of the opposition of two concepts in tension with one another. A narrative projects these binary oppositions in a variety of guises or transformations in the text and seeks to resolve their contradiction or opposition in some way. Because significance inheres not in the surface representations—the narrative action and the particular characters, for example—but in the deep structure oppositions, the analyst—or narratologist—looks for, or finds significance in, those relations that seem to recur throughout a text. The structuralist will accordingly favor those elements that repeat and devalue those that stand out by their extraordinariness. Indeed, taking a lesson from Freud, who taught us that the unconscious transforms or disguises objects of the greatest anxiety and concern,⁷⁴ seemingly minor and extraneous elements may in a structuralist reading receive the greatest attention.

Rauber had observed a pattern of "emptiness-fullness" throughout the Ruth story. This pattern, however, is explicitly articulated and symbolically represented in the surface structure of the narrative. Rauber's analysis does not purport to reveal an otherwise hidden set of underlying relations. Both the New Critic and the structuralist regard the text as a semiotic object that must be subjected to analysis by the interpreter.⁷⁵ But the former seeks significance more in the specific language of a text while the latter finds meaning more in its abstract patterning.

Looking at Ruth, a structuralist might focus on the widely noted cross-cultural problem of endogamy (marriage within the group) versus exogamy (marriage with someone from outside the group).⁷⁶ The contradiction between the biblical ideal of endogamy (see Deuteronomy 23) and the well-known reality of rampant exogamy (see Judges 3) is mitigated by the descent of King David from an exogamous coupling, Boaz and Ruth. From this perspective, the unproductive marriages of Naomi's sons to Moabite women emblemize a problem that is resolved only when the Moabite widow Ruth migrates to Judah and marries a Judean. In such a reading, the Moabite origin of Ruth is, contra Goitein (see above), central to the message. The concluding genealogy—a linkage of ten Israelite men—is not an afterthought but the very point: not the dramatic climax but the thematic resolution.

The structuralist will find special significance in this aspect of the Ruth narrative not because it figures prominently in the plot—it is barely perceptible, after all, in the middle scenes—but because the same binary opposition between endogamy and exogamy can be located in a large number of biblical texts. Those matters that most worry a society, say Lévi-Strauss and other structural anthropologists,⁷⁷ will tend to appear ubiquitously in that society's mythology and folk literature. Truly to investigate the meaning of a narrative, then, a structuralist should examine it within a larger corpus of texts. It is not the individual story but the recurrent relations within a body of texts that carry the greatest significance.⁷⁸

Harold Fisch studies the Book of Ruth in conjunction with two other biblical narratives, the cycle of stories about Lot between Genesis 13 and 19—culminating in the rape of Lot by his daughters—and the story of Judah in Genesis 38—culminating in the seduction of Judah by his daughter-in-law Tamar.⁷⁹ Fisch's selection of these two texts is not arbitrary; Ruth is ultimately descended from Lot (Moab issued from the rape), and Ruth 4:12 refers to Judah and Tamar. From these three texts Fisch abstracts a common story: a family is divided; some tragedy ensues; "the hope of the family is preserved in a woman/women"; "a near kinsman is made to accept responsibility for the continuation of the family"; "the woman takes the initiative"; the male protagonist loses self-control through gaiety (intoxication except in the case of Judah); the woman/women and the male protagonist are coupled (through a quasi-levirate procedure except in the case of Lot); and there is a significant male issue.⁸⁰ The tension in this synthetic synopsis of the parallel narratives revolves around the opposition of family continuity/discontinuity. The tension is resolved through the female protagonist's taking matters into her own hands. The woman's act in the three stories runs the gamut from grossly illicit (rape) to scrupulously licit (the procedure at the city-gate in Ruth 4). Of all the possible oppositions and relations on which Fisch could have fixed, it is this theme of legality that for him stands out in significance. That is because Fisch is interested in connecting his reading with the general biblical theme of the Covenant and the history that embodies it.

Fisch acknowledges the potential to abstract themes from what he calls the Ruth-corpus: "Ultimately, we are concerned with the articulation of a dialectical pattern of order and disorder, life and death, fullness and emptiness."⁸¹ But in contrast (or opposition) to conventional structural analysis, by which patterns are studied and deep structures disclosed synchronically, without respect to historical sequence, Fisch turns his synchronic analysis of the Ruth-corpus into a tool for tracing what he contends is a diachronic movement from lesser to greater degrees of legality or propriety. "One is tempted to claim," Fisch writes, "that the real value of the synchrony, i.e., the exhibition of the structural pattern which unites the stories, is in lighting up the social and moral differences between them in the diachronic scale."⁸² Fisch arranges the three narratives in the corpus in a sequence corresponding to the biblical tradition: Lot and his daughters, Judah and Tamar, Boaz and Ruth. The first episode reflects a primitive, amoral stage of development; the second a questionable but socially negotiated transaction; and the third "a careful observance of the proprieties."⁸³ The story of Ruth, in Fisch's rather didactic interpretation, "redeem[s] the previous episodes in the corpus," an altogether appropriate function for a text in which "redemption" (*ge'ulla*) is a key term and value.⁸⁴

Fisch is able to place his analysis within the tradition of structuralism by associating its theme with that of a fundamental paradigm of Lévi-Strauss, "the raw and the cooked."⁸⁵ In the South American Indian myths he studied, Lévi-Strauss found that psychosocial tensions between the competing attractions of life in a state of nature and life in a state of culture were represented in the surface structure by images of raw and cooked food.⁸⁶ In biblical society, as Fisch reads, the same abstract opposition between nature and culture is represented in the area of sexual liaisons.⁸⁷ The three narratives of the Ruth-corpus reflect a continuum between the almost state-of-nature cohabitation of Lot and his daughters, the half-way character of Tamar's prostitution, and the fully civilized marriage of Ruth to Boaz.

Now although Fisch has formulated his analysis in terms of an abstract thematic

opposition, for the most part his interpretation remains close to the plot and other aspects of the textual surface structure. The tensions between nature and culture, or familial continuity and discontinuity for that matter, are interpreted only in specific relation to particular biblical texts. One could alternatively relate the generalities Fisch observes to more widely applicable themes. The broad issue of endogamy and exogamy as a trans-biblical theme was mentioned above. For another example, we turn to that episode of the common Ruth-corpus plot Fisch calls "the bed-trick." Within the corpus, Lot's daughters get their father drunk and sleep with him; Tamar pretends to be a prostitute and with no difficulty has her father-in-law Judah; and Ruth creeps up to Boaz when he is in a stupor, uncovers his legs, and suggests what she suggests.⁸⁸ A scene in which a woman, alone or in collusion, tricks a man into sleeping (or lying down) with her occurs in other biblical passages, too. The best known instance is perhaps the deception of Jacob by Laban, when Jacob thinks he is bedding down with Rachel but discovers in the morning it is her older sister Leah (Genesis 29). The so-called bed-trick, in fact, belongs to the larger biblical category of deception tale.⁸⁹ On a global level, the general theme of deception has been taken to convey a critical biblical message: looks are deceiving.⁹⁰ Ravaged by catastrophe, the Israelites should not infer that they are abandoned by God and undone. Israel, the message goes, should not be misguided by appearances.

Fisch, then, interprets the structure of the Ruth-corpus in relatively narrow fashion, for a structuralist. It suits his didactic purpose, as does the structuralist analysis he applies. Like all readers, he employs his method insofar as and to the extent that it satisfies his hermeneutical objective.

Structuralist analysis searches for abstract deep structures. It is often assumed that such deep structures represent not merely the thinking of a particular mind or cultural mindset but the very process of human thought itself.⁹¹ There is accordingly a tendency to deduce that true deep structures are potentially universal. That is, there is a finite set of possible patterns and processes from which are derived all ideas and the mechanics of thought. Early structural, one might even call it proto-structural (more technically "formalist"⁹²), analysis of narrative sought to identify universal story patterns for different genres of literature. Most famous among such attempts is the analysis of the Russian fairy tale by Vladimir Propp.⁹³ Propp observed that he could isolate a relatively limited number of actions, or "functions," some obligatory and some optional, that in a controlled set of sequences would combine to form each of a short list of folktale types. It's a little like a complex Chinese menu. Sasson has tried to fit the story of Ruth into the Procrustean bed of the Russian folktale.⁹⁴ The advantage of such an approach is that it makes universal claims; it confirms interpretation for those who accept the premises of the analysis and approve the manner of its application. (The disadvantage is that such fittings are apt to appear arbitrarily selective, hence artificial, and may convey little conviction.)⁹⁵ Because the theory prescribes, or predicts, certain elements in the narrative, it can be appealed to in the event of an exegetical dispute.

Matching Ruth and Boaz to specific fairy tale character functions, Sasson interprets Ruth's conduct in chapter 2 as that of a calculating and aggressive seeker of gain,⁹⁶ and he sees Boaz in chapter 3 transformed into an active, supremely helpful "magical agent."⁹⁷ Boaz is Ruth's "donor," the one-way bestower of favors; Ruth is therefore the receiver. Similarly, in a structural analysis of Ruth employing the narrative model of A.J. Greimas,⁹⁸ in which the structure of a story is understood by analogy to the syntax

of a sentence, Ruth is the "object" to be conveyed to a "receiver," while Boaz is the "subject" at the center of the struggle.⁹⁹ I underscore this point because it is diametrically opposed in a significant poststructuralist and feminist reading of Ruth, that by Mieke Bal.¹⁰⁰

Structuralism, like New Criticism, as was said above, views the text as a semiotic object the meaning of which can be got by means of proper analysis. Analysis, as we have seen, is made by readers each of whom brings different interpretive strategies and sensibilities to bear in making sense. If, as many now claim, even the most fundamental perceptions—of texts or anything else—are already conditioned by prior experience and conceptualization,¹⁰¹ we might do better to locate the making of sense not in the object of attention but in the perceiver, in the person. To return to Borges's metaphor, cited above, the river of Heraclitus is not a stable object but the locus of everchanging waters. Analogously, a text is not a fixed object but rather a common reference point for all those who read it.¹⁰² Meaning is not extracted from the text but projected onto a common screen, which to facilitate discourse we reify as "the text." Poststructuralist criticism is preoccupied with the politics of reading more than the politics of the text.¹⁰³

In her poststructuralist feminist treatment of biblical narrative, Mieke Bal contends that the patriarchal interpretations that have characterized most readings of the Hebrew Bible result from projecting the often unconscious male biases of Western culture onto the text.¹⁰⁴ Sasson's formalist reading of Ruth endows Boaz with a somewhat one-sided status as the heroic helper. This is not surprising, since the fairy tale model Sasson superimposes on the Ruth story comes from a male dominant culture and calls for a male hero—more specifically, it calls for a "magical agent" to assist the initial hero, who is in this instance Ruth. As Ruth's "donor," too, Boaz must be seen as giving to Ruth and not getting. A reading need not assume, however, that generosity runs in only one direction.

Bal focuses on Ruth 3:10, in which Boaz expresses appreciation for Ruth's own graciousness: "Blessed may you be to YHWH, my daughter; your latter *hesed* you have made finer than your former one, by not going after younger men, be they poorer or richer." Boaz is quite clearly evoking Ruth's giving and not his own.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, Bal, who routinely adopts a psychoanalytic perspective, detects in Boaz's reference to younger men an expression of anxiety about his own sexual potency. Boaz's fear can be corroborated by his trembling at the unexpected approach of a woman in 3:8.¹⁰⁶ Like other commentators,¹⁰⁷ Bal places great significance in the narrative's use of personal names. Boaz's name, Bal observes, is ironic. While it is meant to signify "strength,"¹⁰⁸ Boaz is encountered in weakness. He appears to have taken no initiative to help Naomi upon her return from Moab,¹⁰⁹ and at his fateful meeting with Ruth on the threshing floor he is caught sleeping and unaware.¹¹⁰ Boaz becomes sexually activated and socially activated only through the assertions of Ruth. Although in other readings Boaz's indebtedness to Ruth who has empowered him as a man would be treated as a subtext at best and has in fact been almost entirely ignored. Bal chooses, for her own explicit reasons, to highlight it.

Bal's innovative reading is not only feminist in orientation. It regroups elements of the narrative noted by others, too, into a different pattern, thereby suggesting an altogether different theme.¹¹¹ Bal overlooks or slights the statement of the redeeming kinsman, the *go'el*, in 4:6 to the effect that he refuses to purchase Naomi's estate because he would by doing so "ruin" his own estate. That is, since Boaz has announced his inten-

tions to marry Ruth,¹¹² the son of that union would be considered as the son of the late Mahlon and would take full possession of Naomi's estate. The redeeming kinsman would lose the entire purchase price. For Bal what stands out is the story's concern here with law and legality. Deuteronomy (22:22; 23:2) forbids Israelites from marrying Moabites. Bal suspects that the kinsman refuses to marry Ruth and redeem Naomi's estate because that would violate established law.¹¹³ The namelessness of the redeemer Bal explains within this framework. Boaz will not address his kinsman by name because by doing so he would have to acknowledge his intersubjectivity, his legitimate participation in the legal procedure. Boaz realizes that in order to achieve his aim of marrying Ruth and taking title to the late Mahlon's estate, which is the right thing to do, he must transgress the law. Like a structuralist, the poststructuralist Bal seeks to abstract a universal theme. The story's climax, Bal suggests, problematizes the tensions "between law and legitimacy."¹¹⁴

When one thinks about some of the issues in Ruth, one may agree that what Bal calls the "trial between law and legitimacy" is one of them. Without tying various elements of the narrative together as Bal has, one would not, however, be likely to articulate this theme. Each of the readings of Ruth we have treated has by taking a different tack featured a different aspect of the story. For different purposes, one would choose to read differently. To stress the particularly Israelite themes of the story, one might highlight the genealogical components of the narrative, dealing with Ruth's Moabite background in a political manner. One might also point to the parallel cycles of rebirth in the land and the family, seeing the intimate connection of people and their ancestral land on a national scale—concerning the relations of the Israelite people to their homeland.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, one may use Ruth for its moral or theological lesson about the virtues of personal kindness. On a higher level of abstraction, one may read this narrative as a tale that sublimates universal human insecurities about fertility and order. Thinking politically, one may appeal to Ruth for confirmation of a male dominant social system—after all, it is in an all-male forum that personal fates are decided. Or one may adduce the Ruth narrative to demonstrate the benefits that may accrue to a society from the collaboration of independent and assertive women.

Considering the multiple possibilities of meaning in Ruth, as in other great stories, one might speak vaguely of the rich texture of the text or the depths of meaning in the narrative. But when upon further reflection it becomes evident that the varieties of meaning are gotten by different means, increased importance or value is ascribed to the ways that we read. Meaning is enhanced by shifting perspective as colors are multiplied by turning a prism.

NOTES

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1. For an important clarification of the relations between classical rabbinic hermeneutics and current literary theory, see now David Stern, "Midrash and Indeterminacy," *Critical Inquiry*

- 15 (1988), pp. 132-61; cf., too, David Weiss Halivni, *Peshat and Derash: Plain and Applied Meaning in Rabbinic Exegesis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 158-62.
2. Cf., e.g., D.F. Rauber, "The Book of Ruth," in Kenneth R.R. Gros Louis, James S. Ackerman, and Thayer S. Warshaw, eds., *Literary Interpretations of Biblical Narratives* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1974), pp. 163-76, at 174-75: "The task of the literary critic is to explore the complex world of the artist and to suggest ways in which we can respond as fully as possible to its multiplicity, its suggestiveness, its richness."
3. See further Stanley Fish, "Why No One's Afraid of Wolfgang Iser," *Doing What Comes Naturally: Change, Rhetoric, and the Practice of Theory in Literary and Legal Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1989), pp. 68-86.
4. Jorge Luis Borges, *Seven Nights*, trans. Eliot Weinberger (New York: New Directions, 1984), pp. 76-77.
5. For this pragmatic understanding of interpretation and argumentation, cf., e.g., Fish, *Doing What Comes Naturally*; Richard Rorty, *Objectivity, Relativism, and Truth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), esp. part I; and cf. idem, *Consequences of Pragmatism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), esp. pp. 160-75, for the distinction of pragmatism from relativism. For a modification of Rorty's perspective, see Joseph Margolis, *Pragmatism without Foundations* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986), esp. pp. 164-86.
6. Cf., Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class?* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), esp. "How To Recognize a Poem When You See One," pp. 322-37; Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), pp. 1-16; and cf. my "Literature, the Old Testament as," in Paul J. Achtemeier, ed., *Harper's Bible Dictionary* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985), pp. 567-71, at 567.
7. Cf. this representative statement: "A verbal composition, through being supercharged with significance, takes on something like the character of a stone statue or a porcelain vase. Through its meaning or meanings the poem is. It has an iconic solidity"; W.K. Wimsatt, Jr., *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1954), p. 231.
8. Rauber, "The Book of Ruth," p. 175.
9. Cf., e.g., Jacob M. Myers, *The Linguistic and Literary Form of the Book of Ruth* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955), p. 6; Stephen Bertman, "Symmetrical Design in the Book of Ruth," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 84 (1965), pp. 165-68, at 165; Bezalel Porten, "The Scroll of Ruth: A Rhetorical Study," *Gratz College Annual of Jewish Studies* 7 (1978), pp. 23-49, at 23; Alexander Globe, "Folktale Form and National Theme, with Particular Reference to Ruth," in Barry N. Olshen and Yael S. Feldman, eds., *Approaches to Teaching the Hebrew Bible as Literature in Translation* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1989), pp. 127-32.
10. Phyllis Trible, "A Human Comedy: The Book of Ruth," in Kenneth R.R. Gros Louis with James S. Ackerman, eds., *Literary Interpretations of Biblical Narratives, Volume II* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1982), pp. 161-90, 314-17, at 161.
11. For a critical overview of the New Criticism in its various forms, see Vincent B. Leitch, *American Literary Criticism from the Thirties to the Eighties* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 24-59.
12. Rauber, "The Book of Ruth," p. 173.
13. Shlomo Dov Goitein, "Megillat Ruth" [The Scroll of Ruth], *Iyyunim bammiqra'* [Studies in the Bible], 2nd ed. (Tel Aviv: Yavneh Publishing, 1963), pp. 49-58, esp. at 50 [in Hebrew].
14. On the symmetrical construction of the book in scenes, see further Bertman (n. 10 above).
15. For this and other plays on proper names in Ruth, see now Moshe Garsiel, *Biblical Names: A Literary Study of Midrashic Derivations and Puns* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1991), pp. 250-53.

16. Goitein, "Megillat Rut," pp. 52-53. For Naomi's central role in the narrative, cf., e.g., Edward Robertson, "The Plot of the Book of Ruth," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 32 (1949-1950), pp. 207-28; Vincent L. Tollers, "Narrative Control in the Book of Ruth," in idem and John Maier, eds., *Mappings of the Biblical Terrain: The Bible as Text* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press; Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1990), pp. 252-59; Ilana Pardes, *Counter-traditions in the Bible: A Feminist Approach* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 108-12.

17. The evident purpose of the quasi-levirate procedure in chapter 4 is entirely lost on Northrop Frye, *Words With Power, Being a Second Study of the Bible and Literature* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1990), p. 212, who explains that Boaz's "motive in doing this was apparently to give Ruth full status as an Israelite widow instead of merely a foreigner."

18. Goitein, "Megillat Rut," pp. 54-55.

19. Cf., e.g., Hermann Gunkel, "Ruth," *Reden und Aufsätze* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913), pp. 65-87, at 87; Edward F. Campbell, Jr., *Ruth*, Anchor Bible 7 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975), pp. 28-29.

20. Trible, "A Human Comedy," p. 173 and passim; cf., e.g., Robertson, "The Plot," 213; Ronald M. Hals, *The Theology of the Book of Ruth* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), pp. 11-12; Gabriel H. Cohn, *Ṣyynim bimgillat rut* [Studies in the Scroll of Ruth], 2nd rev. ed. (Jerusalem: Ministry of Education and Culture, 1980), pp. 20, 28.

21. Cf. Hals, *Theology*, pp. 7-8; Rauber, "The Book of Ruth," p. 171; Trible, "A Human Comedy," p. 178. Garsiel interprets the association ironically: Boaz invoked a divine blessing upon Ruth, but Ruth sought human help; Moshe Garsiel, "The Literary Structure, Plot Development, and Narrator's Aim in the Scroll of Ruth," in Ezra Hamenahem, ed., *Hagut bammigra* [Reflections on the Bible], vol. 3 (Tel Aviv: Don, 1979), pp. 66-83, at 75 [in Hebrew].

22. Goitein, "Megillat Rut," pp. 49-50; cf. Beattie's three narratological principles: narrative coherence, credibility, and "self-sufficiency," i.e., that the narrator provides all the necessary facts for comprehending a story; D.R.G. Beattie, "Ruth III," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 5 (1978), pp. 39-48.

23. *Midrash Ruth Rabba* 2:14; cf. *Midrash Ruth Zuta* 1 (ed. S. Buber, p. 42); Goitein, "Megillat Rut," p. 57. Cohn (*Ṣyynim*, pp. 34-36), too, suggests that the virtue of doing *hesed* is "the overall meaning" of the story.

24. Cf., e.g., Johannes Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, vol. 1-2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 80-81; Oswald Loretz, "The Theme of the Ruth Story," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 22 (1960), pp. 391-99. On the nature of the levirate-like transaction and its social function, see Susan Niditch, "The Wronged Woman Righted: An Analysis of Genesis 38," *The Theological Review* 72 (1979), pp. 143-49.

25. Cf., e.g., Campbell, *Ruth*, pp. 141-42; Porten, "The Scroll of Ruth: A Rhetorical Study"; Trible, "A Human Comedy," p. 184. Contrast the treatment of *peloni 'almoni* in, e.g., Adele Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield: The Almond Press, 1983), pp. 99-101; Athalya Brenner, *Ruth and Naomi: Literary, Stylistic and Linguistic Studies in the Book of Ruth* (Tel Aviv: Sifriat Poalim, 1988), pp. 90-91 [in Hebrew].

26. Porten, "The Scroll of Ruth: A Rhetorical Study," p. 46, observes that this thematic connection can be reinforced by noting the assonance in the Hebrew between the name Mahlon and the word for patrimony, *nahala*.

27. Goitein, "Megillat Rut," p. 57.

28. Goitein, "Megillat Rut," pp. 51-52; cf., e.g., Gunkel, "Ruth," p. 65; Yosef Tsamudi, "On the Scroll of Ruth," *Beth Mikra* 35 (1989-1990), pp. 202-15, at 203-4 [in Hebrew]; Yair Zakovitch, *Ruth: Introduction and Commentary* (Tel Aviv/Jerusalem: Am Oved/Magnes Press, 1990), p. 3 [in Hebrew]; Garsiel, "The Literary Structure," p. 66. Garsiel suggests an interpretation of the narrative along the lines of a text-controlled reader response: the action comprises

episodes each of which presents a problem that frustrates the reader's expectation of an easy resolution; the "message" (Garsiel himself places the word in quotation marks) is that personal salvation, too, demands perseverance and effort (p. 67).

29. Cf., e.g., Bertman, Porten, Sasson, Berlin, Globe.

30. Porten, "The Scroll of Ruth: A Rhetorical Study," pp. 24-25, 47-48; idem, "Theme and Historiosophic Background of the Scroll of Ruth," *Gratz College Annual of Jewish Studies* 6 (1977), pp. 69-78, at 71-72.

31. Cf. Beattie, "Ruth III," p. 46; Hillel Barzel, "Hashe'eilah ketavnit 'omeq (II): Qen'a lefi hanahot shel Lévi-Strauss battenakh uvassifrut" [The Question as a Deep Structure (II): Reading according to the Assumptions of Lévi-Strauss in the Bible and Literature], *Iton* 77 46 (Oct. 1983), pp. 36-39, at 36; Globe, "Folktales Form," p. 132; lacking in Garsiel, *Biblical Names*, pp. 250-53.

32. Cf., e.g., Zakovitch, *Ruth*, p. 32.

33. An exception is 'J. Robertson, "The Plot," who, in making the story out to be little more than the struggle of Naomi to triumph over her distress, excludes from consideration both Ruth's Moabite background and the kindnesses performed and enjoyed by Ruth.

34. Cf., e.g., Campbell, *Ruth*, pp. 98-99; Porten, "The Scroll of Ruth: A Rhetorical Study," p. 34.

35. For extensive discussion of Ruth's Moabite association in the biblical context, see Brenner, *Ruth and Naomi*, pp. 65-70 [in Hebrew]. The negative side of Ruth's Moabiteness is also played up in Danna N. Fewell and David M. Gunn, *Compromising Redemption: Relating Characters in the Book of Ruth* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990); and in André LaCocque, *The Feminine Unconventional: Four Subversive Figures in Israel's Tradition* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), pp. 84-116, esp. 85-86.

36. Goitein, "Megillat Rut," pp. 51, 55.

37. On this well-known view and its rejection by various authors, cf., e.g., Roland E. Murphy, *Wisdom Literature: Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther*, Forms of the Old Testament Literature, vol. 13 (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 1981), pp. 86-87. For recent presentations of this interpretation, see, e.g., LaCocque, *The Feminine Unconventional*, pp. 84-116; Zakovitch, *Ruth*, pp. 19-20, 24.

38. Cf. the Targum at 1:4-5 (text interpolated into the Hebrew source appears in italics): "They [viz., Mahlon and Chilion] *transgressed the decree of the Lord's word* and took for themselves foreign wives from daughters of Moab [Heb., Moabite wives] . . . and *because they transgressed the decree of the Lord's word and intermarried with foreign peoples, their days were curtailed and they both died.* . . ." See also TB Bava Batra 91a; and cf. now Fewell and Gunn, *Compromising Redemption*, p. 121, n. 6.

39. Rauber, "The Book of Ruth," pp. 167-69.

40. Bezalel Porten, "Megillat rut—mivneha, nose'eha vesignona" [The Scroll of Ruth—Its Structures, Themes, and Style], *Beth Mikra* 69 (1977), pp. 224-29, esp. 227 (= "Structure, Style, and Theme in the Scroll of Ruth," *AJS Newsletter* 17 [June 1976], pp. 15-16, at 16); idem, "Theme and Historiosophic Background," esp. p. 72. Cf. also Harold Fisch, "Ruth and the Structure of Covenant History," *Vetus Testamentum* 32 (1982), pp. 425-37, esp. 435.

41. LaCocque, *The Feminine Unconventional*, p. 107. Jacob Licht, *Storytelling in the Bible* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1978), p. 125, contends that the story "endeavors to show how the apparently reprehensible female ancestor has been absorbed into the thoroughly respectable family of Boaz in a perfectly proper way, and for irreproachable reasons."

42. I am not implying that the Book of Ruth should be dated to the era of David. The Davidic imperial claim could and might have been made by any Judean king. I would concur with Sasson in attributing the composition of Ruth to the late 7th century B.C.E., the reign of Josiah, the Judean king who sponsored a neo-classical, nationalist renaissance and tried to revive the Davidic

regime; cf. my "The Formation of the Biblical Narrative Corpus," *AJS Review* 15 (1990), pp. 151-78, at 162-63 with n. 47 and references there.

43. Rauber, "The Book of Ruth," pp. 165ff.

44. Rauber, "The Book of Ruth," p. 165.

45. The fertility reading is elaborated and attenuated to a theological allegory in Barbara Green, *A Study of Field and Seed Symbolism in the Biblical Story of Ruth* (Ph.D. diss.: Graduate Student Union, Berkeley, 1980; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1982).

46. Rauber, "The Book of Ruth," p. 166.

47. Cf. the references in n. 17 above and, e.g., Edward Robertson, "Old Testament Stories: Their Purpose and Their Art," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 28 (1944), pp. 454-76, at 465-66; Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation*, p. 83; Basil Rebera, "Lexical Cohesion in Ruth: A Sample," in Edgar W. Conrad and Edward G. Newing, eds., *Perspectives on Language and Text* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1987), pp. 123-49, at 147-48.

48. Whether Naomi acts as nursemaid (*omenet*, the term used here) or actually functions as wetnurse (*menegst*) remains ambiguous; cf. Fewell and Gunn, *Compromising Redemption*, p. 82. The possibility that Naomi might actually nurse the baby may be reinforced by noting the parallel with the early life of Moses, who is nursed by his natural mother at the somewhat unwitting invitation of his adoptive mother, the daughter of Pharaoh (Exod. 2:7-9); see Gillian Feeley-Harnik, "Naomi and Ruth: Building Up the House of David," in Susan Niditch, ed., *Text and Tradition: The Hebrew Bible and Folklore*, Semeia Studies (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), pp. 163-84, esp. 173.

49. So, e.g., Gunkel, "Ruth," p. 86; Robertson, "The Plot," p. 225.

50. Rauber, "The Book of Ruth," p. 172.

51. Loc. cit.

52. *Midrash Ruth Zuta* 3 (ed. S. Buber, p. 47).

53. So Rauber, "The Book of Ruth," p. 173; cf., e.g., Feeley-Harnik, "Naomi and Ruth," p. 171.

54. Cf., too, Johanna W.H. Bos, "Out of the Shadows: Genesis 38; Judges 4:17-22; Ruth 3," in J. Cheryl Exum and J.W.H. Bos, eds., *Reasoning with the Foxes: Female Wit in a World of Male Power - Semeia* 42 (1988), pp. 37-67 at 58-64.

55. Rauber, "The Book of Ruth," p. 171.

56. Rauber, "The Book of Ruth," p. 175, seems almost to rationalize this neglect by noting that "in most scholarly treatments discussion of the legal problems tends to occupy center stage and to push into the wings what most deeply concerned the artist."

57. Tribble, "A Human Comedy" (see n. 10 above).

58. Tribble, "A Human Comedy," p. 190.

59. Loc. cit.

60. As pointed out by Tribble and Feeley-Harnik (see n. 48 above), a rare parallel may be found in the story of the Exodus, where women stand up to Pharaoh and initiate the movement toward liberation.

61. Fewell and Gunn, *Compromising Redemption*, esp. pp. 12, 74, and *passim*.

62. Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), p. 59, calls the language describing Ruth's departure in Ruth 2:11 "a pointed allusion" to Gen. 12:1.

63. Tribble, "A Human Comedy," p. 186. A similar comparison of Ruth and Abraham, pointing to parallels between Ruth and Genesis 24, is made by Cohn, *Iyyunim*, pp. 24-28.

64. Cf., e.g., Robertson, "The Plot," p. 208.

65. Tribble, p. 168. Brenner finds this love expressed toward the end of the story, too, when Ruth surrenders her biological son to Naomi; Athalya Brenner, "Female Social Behaviour: Two Descriptive Patterns within the 'Birth of the Hero' Paradigm," *Vetus Testamentum* 36 (1986), pp. 257-73, at 266-67.

66. Tribble, "A Human Comedy," p. 187.

67. Tribble, "A Human Comedy," pp. 186-87.
68. See Tribble, "A Human Comedy," p. 179.
69. So Tribble, "A Human Comedy," p. 165.
70. Tribble, "A Human Comedy," p. 165.
71. Rauber, "The Book of Ruth," p. 165.
72. Loc. cit.
73. On structuralism, especially with regard to language and literature, cf., e.g., André Martinet, "Structure and Language," in Jacques Ehrmann, ed., *Structuralism* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1970), pp. 1-9; Jean Piaget, *Structuralism*, ed. and trans. Chaninah Maschler (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), esp. pp. 74-96; Philip Pettit, *The Concept of Structuralism: A Critical Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); and Jonathan Culler, *Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics and the Study of Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975).
74. Cf. esp. Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. James Strachey (New York: Avon Books, 1905), esp. pp. 1-2-35.
75. Cf. John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984), pp. 180-84.
76. Cf. Barzel (n. 32 above), p. 36; and in general Edmund Leach, *Genesis as Myth and Other Essays* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969). Fewell and Gunn, *Compromising Redemption*, suggest that even Naomi looks unkindly upon Ruth for her Moabite origins. Barzel understands the problem the Ruth narrative seeks to resolve by analogy to Lévi-Strauss's analysis of the Oedipus story in "The Structural Study of Myth." Lévi-Strauss takes the Oedipus story to concern the origins and nature of humanity. Barzel takes the Ruth narrative to concern the nature of a great leader, in this instance, David: Are his origins ordinary or unusual? Ruth's Moabite background provides an extraordinary ingredient in David's genealogy.
77. Cf., e.g., Alan W. Müller, "Claude Lévi-Strauss and Genesis 37-Exodus 20," in Ronald A. Brauner, ed., *Shiv'im* (Philadelphia: Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, 1977), pp. 21-52; Nathaniel Wander, "Structure, Contradiction, and 'Resolution' in Mythology: The Treatment of Women in Genesis 11-50," *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 13 (1981), pp. 75-99.
78. Cf. esp. Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," *Structural Anthropology* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1967), pp. 202-28.
79. Fisch (n. 41 above); for some detailed comparisons between these stories and Ruth, see also Yair Zakovitch, "The Threshing-Floor Scene in Ruth," *Sh'mon* 3 (1978-1979), pp. 29-33 [in Hebrew]; and idem, *Ruth*, pp. 24-28.
80. Fisch, "Ruth and the Structure," pp. 430-31. I have modified some of Fisch's formulations to make them less objectionable (at least to me). Since I accept the validity of Fisch's approach, I do not want to weaken its conviction by formulating the evidence in what strikes me as a less cogent manner. Fisch represents the separation between Abra(ha)m and Lot as Lot's departure from his uncle, but Gen. 13:11 reads: "they departed one from the other." I would not categorize the deaths in the families of Judah and especially Naomi as "disasters," as Fisch does. Nor does his "agunah-theme" apply to Lot's daughters, who were not really widowed without hope of remarriage. I also think that my usage, "there is a significant male issue," is more to the point than his emphasis on the "father or father-figure," an overly androcentric perspective.
81. Fisch, "Ruth and the Structure," p. 432.
82. Fisch, "Ruth and the Structure," p. 433.
83. Fisch, "Ruth and the Structure," p. 434; cf., e.g., Licht, (see n. 42 above); Zakovitch, *Ruth*, p. 26.
84. Fisch, "Ruth and the Structure," pp. 435-36.
85. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked*, trans. John and Doreen Weighman (New York: Harper & Row, 1969).

86. For reference to some biblical narratives in which this theme may figure, see David Damrosch, *The Narrative Covenant: Transformations of Genre in the Growth of Biblical Literature* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987), p. 88. For an analysis of the Mesopotamian Epic of Gilgamesh with respect to this theme, see G.S. Kirk, *Myth* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 132-52.

87. Fisch, "Ruth and the Structure," p. 434.

88. The nocturnal scene on the threshing floor is certainly not explicit and is generally interpreted as deliberately ambiguous; cf., e.g., Campbell, *Ruth*, pp. 130-32; Moshe J. Bernstein, "Two Multivalent Readings in the Ruth Narrative," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 50 (1991), pp. 15-26, at 16-20.

89. Cf. now Susan Niditch, *Underdogs and Tricksters: A Prelude to Biblical Folklore* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987). For deception as a woman's strategy in biblical narrative, cf. Esther Fuchs, "'For I Have the Way of Women': Deception, Gender, and Ideology in Biblical Narrative," *Semeia* 42 (1988), pp. 68-83. The specific relation of biblical women and deceptive tactics diminishes if not dissolves, however, when the latter are viewed within the Bible more globally; see the dissertation of my student, Ora Horn Prouser, "The Phenomenology of the Lie in Biblical Narrative" (Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1991).

90. See Miller (n. 77 above); cf. my discussion in "The Torah as She Is Read," *Essays on Biblical Method and Translation* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), esp. p. 47.

91. Cf., e.g., Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked*, pp. 1-32, esp. 10-12, who contends that myths manifest "objectified thought." Contrast, however, perspectives such as that of Piaget, *Structuralism*, who regards structural systems as basically constructed, not predetermined or innate.

92. On formalism in the context of structural poetics, see, e.g., Robert Scholes, *Structuralism in Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 59-141; Culler, *Structuralist Poetics*, pp. 205-24, 232-34.

93. Vladimir Propp, *The Morphology of the Folktale*, rev. ed. by Louis A. Wagner (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968).

94. Jack M. Sasson, *Ruth: A New Translation with a Philological Commentary and a Formalist-Folklorist Interpretation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979). Cf. also Globe (n. 9 above). For an extensive critique of Sasson's application of Propp to Ruth, see now Pamela J. Milne, *Vladimir Propp and the Study of Structure in Hebrew Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1988), esp. pp. 144-54, 172-73.

95. Cf. esp. Milne, *Vladimir Propp*, pp. 153-54, 172; also Brenner, *Ruth and Naomi*, p. 38.

96. Sasson's interpretation of Ruth's arriving at Boaz's field as a deliberate move runs up against the virtual consensus that "her occurrence occurred" (2:3) refers to chance, albeit the apparent result of divine providence (see above). Cf. the remarks of the great 10th c. Karaitic commentator, Yefeth ben Ali: "[the expression] *And it so happened to her* shows that it was a matter of pure chance and was not done deliberately by her, since she did not know Boaz as yet, and had gone there not because of her own intention concerning this matter but because the Lord of the worlds guided her to what was to be her future good fortune . . ."; Leon Nemoy, *Karaite Anthology: Excerpts from the Early Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), p. 98.

Northrop Frye proposes that in a "more primitive" version of the scene on the threshing floor Ruth seeks out Boaz as part of a fertility rite; *Words with Power, Being a Second Study of the Bible and Literature* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1990), pp. 210-11.

97. Cf. Sasson, *Ruth*, esp. p. 208.

98. See, e.g., Algirdas Julien Greimas, *On Meaning: Selected Writings on Semiotic Theory*, trans. Paul J. Perron and Frank H. Collins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), esp. pp. 63-120; cf. Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 11-12, 26-30. For an introduction to Greimas's semiotic theory and its application to biblical exegesis, see Daniel Patte, *The Religious Dimensions of Bibli-*

cal Texts, Semeia Studies (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990). For an exemplary illustration of Greimas's analytic model in the interpretation of a Hebrew Bible narrative, see David Jobling's study of the Garden of Eden story in his *The Sense of Biblical Narrative: Structural Analyses in the Hebrew Bible II*, JSOT Supplement Series 39 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), pp. 17–43.

99. Tollers (see n. 16 above), esp. pp. 255–58.

100. Mieke Bal, *Lethal Love: Feminist Literary Readings of Biblical Love Stories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 68–88. Bal does not refer to Sasson's work.

101. Cf. my "Theory and Argument in Biblical Criticism," *Essays on Biblical Method and Translation*, pp. 53–68; and Fish, "Why No One's Afraid" (see n. 3 above).

102. This understanding of "text" is not very different from the definition of a poem by I.A. Richards, first published in 1925. For Richards, a poem is "a class of more or less similar experiences" that result from reading "the poem"; I.A. Richards, *Principles of Literary Criticism* (San Diego: Harvest Books, n.d.), p. 226. Richards would rein in the possibilities of reading by measuring all "experience" by "the relevant experience of the poet when contemplating the completed composition" (p. 227)—as if such an experience could be any more handily and decisively conveyed and known than "the poem" itself. Nonetheless, Richards underscores the critical role of the reader in constructing, and not only deconstructing, the literary work.

103. Cf., e.g., Gary A. Phillips, "Introduction," *Poststructural Criticism and the Bible – Semeia* 51 (1990), pp. 1–5, esp. 2; idem, "Exegesis as Critical Praxis: Reclaiming History and Text from a Postmodern Perspective," *ibid.*, pp. 7–49.

104. Cf. my review of Bal, *Lethal Love*, in the *Journal of Religion* 69 (1989), pp. 395–96; and cf. also Mieke Bal, "Reading as Empowerment: The Bible from a Feminist Perspective," in Olshen and Feldman, eds., *Approaches to Teaching the Hebrew Bible* (see n. 9 above), pp. 87–92.

105. Cf., e.g., Jacob Fichman, 'Arugot (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1954), p. 282 [in Hebrew; translated in part into English in Alex Preminger and E.L. Greenstein, eds., *The Hebrew Bible in Literary Criticism* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1986), p. 539].

106. Bal, *Lethal Love*, p. 78.

107. Cf., e.g., Campbell, *Ruth*, ad loc.; Beattie, "Ruth III," p. 46; E.L. Greenstein, "Biblical Narratology," *Prooftexts* 1 (1981), pp. 201–8; and Jack M. Sasson, "Ruth," in Robert Alter and Frank Kermode, eds., *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 320–28, esp. 322.

108. Cf., e.g., Barzel (see n. 31), p. 26; Garsiel, *Biblical Names*, p. 251.

109. Bal, *Lethal Love*, pp. 78–79. For a perspective aligned with Bal's using classical rabbinic material, see Eliezer Diamond, "Chronology or Characterization? The Case of Midrash Ruth," *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly 1990* (New York: Rabbinical Assembly, 1991), pp. 159–69, at 164–65.

110. Bal, *Lethal Love*, p. 75. Tsamudi (n. 28 above), p. 210, observes that Boaz takes no steps of his own to marry Ruth.

111. There are some connections with the covenantal reading of Fisch, "Ruth and the Structure," discussed above.

112. Reading the *kesiv*—*qaniti*, "I am acquiring"—in 4:5 with Sasson, *Ruth*, pp. 119–36; cf. D.R.G. Beattie, "Kethibh and Qere in Ruth iv 5," *Vetus Testamentum* 21 (1971), pp. 490–94; idem, "The Book of Ruth as Evidence for Israelite Legal Practice," *Vetus Testamentum* 24 (1974), pp. 251–67, esp. 263–64. I cannot accept Beattie's argument, however, as I differ significantly in understanding Mr. So-and-So's motives for refusing to buy (see immediately below). Even if one were to read the *qere* (*qanita*, "you must buy/are buying"), the same ultimate explanation of the redeemer's reasoning would hold. The son of So-and-So and Ruth would not be considered his own son, and the value of his estate would decrease by the amount he paid for Naomi's land because the son he would have by Ruth would alone have title to that land. That is, in purchasing what is in effect the estate of the deceased Mahlon, So-and-So would reduce the value of his own

estate by the amount of that purchase. See my "On Feeley-Harnik's Reading of Ruth," in Niditch, ed., *Text and Tradition*, pp. 185-91, esp. 187-88; cf., e.g., Yehoshua Amir, "The Scroll of Ruth," in Ezra Hamenahem, ed., *Hagut bammiqra* [Reflections on the Bible] 2 (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1976), pp. 187-99, at 191 [in Hebrew].

For a recent argument connecting the marriage of Ruth to the redemption of the inalienable patrimony, see André Lemaire, "Une inscription phénicienne découverte récemment et le mariage de Ruth la Moabite," *Eretz-Israel* 20 (1989), pp. 124*-29*.

113. Zakovitch maintains that Mr. So-and-So refused to marry Ruth because she was a Moabite (*Ruth*, pp. 8, 20, 106-7; cf. Pardes, *Countertraditions in the Bible*, p. 114). Like Bal, Zakovitch slights the economic loss the kinsman would thereby incur (see preceding note). This reading serves Zakovitch's larger purpose since he understands the narrative presentation of Ruth as a positive model, calculated to counter Ezra and Nehemiah's measures against Judean intermarriage (see n. 35 above).

114. Bal, *Lethal Love*, p. 81. In another poststructuralist reading of Ruth, Fewell and Gunn, *Compromising Redemption*, also stress the negative inner-biblical associations of Ruth's Moabite origin (esp. pp. 69-70 and passim).

115. Cf. Cohn, *Syzygism*, p. 16, who highlights the narrative's movement from "exile" (first famine, then Moab) to "redemption" (first Israel, then family) in what one might regard as a Zion-centered reading.

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THE FIRSTBORN PLAGUE AND THE READING PROCESS

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During the process of reading, there is an active interweaving of anticipation and retrospection, which on a second reading may turn into a kind of advance retrospection.—Wolfgang Iser¹

The reader of the plagues narrative in Exodus 7–12² who would understand the significance of the tenth plague, the killing of Egypt's firstborn, would seem to have an explanation close at hand. The firstborn plague

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1. Wolfgang Iser, "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach," in *Reader-Response Criticism* (ed. Jane P. Tompkins; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980) 50–69, at 57. I would dissent from the overall theoretical perspective Iser takes as it is represented in the second part of his next sentence (emphasis added): "The impressions that arise as a result of this process will vary from individual to individual, but only within the limits imposed by the written as opposed to the unwritten text." I would hold that readers, not texts, have responsibility for how and what they read; it is they—we—who determine any and all limits; cf. Stanley Fish, "Why No One's Afraid of Wolfgang Iser," *Doing What Comes Naturally: Change, Rhetoric, and the Practice of Theory in Literary and Legal Studies* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1989) 68–86.

2. Critics tend to segregate the tenth plague from the preceding nine by separating a plagues narrative (chaps. 7–10) from a story of the Passover night (chaps. 11–13); cf., e.g., Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974); Jacob Licht,

differs from the nine plagues that precede it and from the drowning of the Egyptian army that follows it in that the specific form the plague takes appears to have been explicitly motivated in the earlier narrative.³ Before Moses returns from his refuge in Midian to face the pharaoh in Egypt, he is told by YHWH to say to him this:

Thus says YHWH: "My son, my firstborn, is Israel. So I say to you: 'Release my son so that he may serve me.' If you refuse to release him, here: I am going to slay your son, your firstborn" (Exod 4:22–23).

On the basis of the repetition of language between YHWH's order to "release my son" and Pharaoh's "refus[al] to release him" and the repetition between YHWH's declaration that Israel is "my son, my firstborn" and YHWH's threat to slay "your son, your firstborn," one may readily gather that the killing of Pharaoh's firstborn is an instance of poetic justice, in rabbinic terms *מידה כנגד מידה* ('measure for measure').⁴ YHWH will say

Storytelling in the Bible (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1978) 66; and see the following note. The announcement of the firstborn plague in chap. 11, however, harks back in both its language and themes to the encounter between YHWH and Moses in Midian (chaps. 3–4) as well as to the account of the preceding plagues. Even Childs observes that "chapter 11 as a literary unit . . . points both forward and backward" (*Book of Exodus*, 161). Since one can hardly divide the announcement of the tenth plague in chap. 11 from its execution in 12:29–36, one must regard the narrative either as a single, albeit complex, unit or as two overlapping ones. Indeed, in view of the cogent reasons for linking the drowning at the sea (chaps. 14–15) to the plagues account (see the reference to McCarthy in the next note), and for linking the story of Moses' early life and its background (chaps. 1–2) to the succeeding narrative (see, e.g., James S. Ackerman, "The Literary Context of the Moses Birth Story," in *Literary Interpretations of Biblical Narratives* [ed. Kenneth R. R. Gros Louis, James S. Ackerman, and Thayer Warshaw; Nashville: Abingdon, 1974] 74–119), it may be most useful from a literary perspective to view Exodus 1–15 as a single narrative; cf. David Robertson, "Comedy and Tragedy: Exodus 1–15 and the Bacchae," *The Old Testament and the Literary Critic* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 16–32. It has been argued from a form-critical perspective that Exodus 3–12 forms an oracular communication structure; Ann M. Vater, "A Plague on Both Our Houses: Form- and Rhetorical-Critical Observations on Exodus 7–11," in *Art and Meaning: Rhetoric in Biblical Literature* (ed. David J. A. Clines, David M. Gunn, and Alan J. Hauser; JSOTSup 19; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982) 62–71, esp. 70.

3. McCarthy has indicated a number of linguistic and thematic reasons for seeing the drowning at the sea as the climax of the plagues narrative; Dennis J. McCarthy, "Plagues and Sea of Reeds: Exodus 5–14," in his *Institution and Narrative: Collected Essays* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1985) 135–56 (= *JBL* 85 [1966] 137–58). Contra McCarthy, however, there are also a number of linguistic and thematic reasons for integrating the firstborn plague with the rest of the plagues narrative; cf., e.g., John Van Seters, "The Plagues of Egypt: Ancient Tradition or Literary Invention," *ZAW* 98 (1986) 31–39, at 35 with n. 31; Amos Hakham, *The Book of Exodus* (2 vols.: *Da'at Miqra*); Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1991) 1:177–78 and passim in the commentary [Hebrew]. McCarthy himself points to the important theme of recognizing YHWH (pp. 142–43), on which see below, pp. 564–65.

4. Cf., e.g., R. Joseph Bekhor Shor, Hizkuni, R. Ovadiah Sforno, commentaries, ad loc.; C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament in Ten Volumes* (Reprint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986) 1:500; A. H. McNeile, *The Book of Exodus* (Westminster

Pharaoh's firstborn son because Pharaoh has restrained the figurative firstborn of YHWH, Israel.

This understanding of the firstborn plague would seem to make good sense in light of the larger narrative.⁵ Equipped with the principle of measure for measure, which would seem to be explicit only in the firstborn plague, as a hermeneutic, a reader can interpret others of the plagues as YHWH's affliction of Egypt for its affliction of the Hebrews.⁶ One may surmise that YHWH turned *all* the water of Egypt to blood⁷ in reaction to Pharaoh's command to throw "every son born (to the Hebrews) into the Nile" (Exod 1:22).⁸ Similarly, one may explain the drowning of the Egyptians in the Sea of Reeds in this vein.⁹ Moreover, since in the Bible light may symbolize freedom, and darkness subjugation (e.g., Isa 9:1), one may interpret the plague of darkness, too, as a divine measure against the Egyptians, who had immobilized the Hebrews, preventing them from going even on a *three-day* pilgrimage (Exod 5:1–3; cf. 3:18)—whether they recognized this request as a ruse or not. The darkness plague has the express effect of keeping the Egyptians from moving *for three days* (Exod 10:23). Note, too, that in Lam 3:1–2 "darkness" and "oppression" (עֲוֹן) are juxtaposed and that the Egyptian persecution of

Bible; London: Methuen, 1908) 46; Georg Beer and Kurt Galling, *Exodus* (HAT; Tübingen: Mohr, 1939) 59; Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1967) 57–58; Jeremiah Unterman, "Firstborn, First Fruits, Firstling," *HBD* 310; Nahum M. Sarna, *Exploring Exodus* (New York: Schocken, 1986) 94; idem, *Exodus* (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1991) 24; Hakham, *Book of Exodus*, 1.71. There is a significant twist on this interpretation in the studies of Wellhausen, Baentsch, and others, on which see below, nn. 47 and 49.

5. A reader's use of the Exod 4:22–23 passage in the interpretation of the firstborn plague should not be taken for granted (see further below, pp. 559–62). Thompson, for example, draws a direct causal connection between the firstborn plague and the pharaoh's attempt to kill off the Hebrews at the beginning of the story (1:15–22); Leonard L. Thompson, *Introducing Biblical Literature: A More Fantastic Country* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978) 93.

6. Egypt's affliction of Israel takes the form of both genocide and enslavement; see, e.g., Childs, *Book of Exodus*, 10–11. Following the story of Pharaoh's initial oppression of Israel and the episode of Moses' birth (Exodus 1–2), the crime of genocide fades out, leaving the oppression of the Hebrew slaves as Egypt's focal violation; cf. Robert C. Culley, *Themes and Variations: A Study of Action in Biblical Narrative* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992) 147–48.

7. In the Received Text of Exodus all the water of Egypt, and not only the Nile, is transformed into blood (Exod 7:19–21); cf., e.g., Rashi, Ibn Ezra, at 7:19; S. R. Driver, *The Book of Exodus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911) 59; Keil and Delitzsch, *Commentary*, 1.479; Ziony Zevit, "The Priestly Redaction and Interpretation of the Plague Narrative in Exodus," *JQR* 66 (1975–76) 193–211, at 199.

8. Cf., e.g., *Mishnat Rabbi Eliezer (Midraṣ Agur)*, 19; *Midraṣ Leqah Tov*; Sarna, *Exodus*, 39; contrast Keil and Delitzsch, *Commentary*, 1.479.

9. Cf., e.g., Cassuto, *Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 170; Sarna, *Exodus*, 8.

Israel is characterized as 'oppression' (עֲוֹן; Exod 3:7 and cf. the use of the cognate verb in 1:11–12 and in Gen 15:13). One may therefore understand the darkness plague as the taste of oppression that Egypt must experience for its "oppression" of the Israelites.¹⁰ Indeed, עֲוֹן may be taken to allude to the retributive nature of the plagues in general when Moses says in his name to the pharaoh: "How long will you refuse to be humbled (לַעֲוֹן) before me?" (Exod 10:3), obviously echoing the cognate verb (עֲוֹן) that is used to describe the 'oppression' of the Hebrews (references above). The clear implication is that Pharaoh himself must submit to the state of affliction that he had brought upon Israel.¹¹

Returning to the plague of the firstborn, one may further enhance its interpretation as divine retribution by relating the 'great outcry' (צַעֲקָה; גְּדֹלָה; Exod 11:6, 12:30) it will cause among the Egyptians to the 'outcry' (צַעֲקָה; 3:7) of the oppressed Israelites: the Egyptians' cries embody poetic justice for their persecution of the Hebrews. A reader, or hearer, of the announcement of the firstborn plague to Pharaoh in Exod 11:4–8 may form an understanding of it not only by recalling the passage in 4:22–23, where it would seem to be explicitly motivated, but also by correlating the measure-for-measure character of this plague with comparable, implicit evidence of the retributive nature of other plagues in the story.

10. See E. L. Greenstein, "Darkness Enslaves as Light Liberates," *Baltimore Jewish Times*, Jan. 6, 1984.

11. Strictly speaking, this pharaoh is not the same as the initial oppressor, who had died (Exod 2:23; cf. 4:19), but his successor. The narrative, however, calls both kings of Egypt "Pharaoh" and treats them both as a single character, who is distinguished from the pharaoh who "knew" Joseph (1:8). Subsuming the pharaohs "who knew not Joseph" of the Exodus narrative under a single designation, "Pharaoh," may be taken to reflect their joint function as a character type or "actant," in this case, the villain or opponent; cf. Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985) 330; and see Robertson, "Comedy and Tragedy." Cf. in general, e.g., Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale* (rev. ed.; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), esp. 19–22; Roland Barthes, "Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives," *Image/Music/Text* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1977) 79–124, esp. 107; Aljirdas J. Greimas, *On Meaning: Selected Writings in Semiotic Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987) 106–20, esp. 107; Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985) 25–37. It must be admitted that this formalist-structuralist notion of character in narrative is limited; a useful contribution toward refinement is Gerald Prince, *Narratology: The Form and Functioning of Narrative* (Berlin: Mouton, 1982) 71–73. However, critiques of the theory, such as Jonathan Culler's (*Structuralist Poetics* [Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975] 230–38) and Seymour Chatman's (*Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* [Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978] 96–145, esp. 111ff.), need to account, as Propp, Greimas, and (early) Barthes do, for cases such as ours, in which a single function is performed by changing characters, and cases in which a single character performs conflicting roles; on which see Barthes, "The Struggle with the Angel," *Image/Music/Text*, 125–41, who finds that in Gen 32:23–33 the deity is both the sender and the opponent.

A reader may further support this interpretation of the firstborn plague by integrating it with other prominent themes and motifs in the narrative. In order to convince Pharaoh of his power—arguably the story's major theme¹²—YHWH is bent on multiplying the plagues (9:14–16); the stiffening of Pharaoh's heart—a prominent motif—enables YHWH to protract the ordeal and accomplish his goal (11:9).¹³ The fact that YHWH wields destructive power against Pharaoh and the land of Egypt and deliberately prolongs his malevolent acts can square both with an interpretation of the plagues in general and the firstborn plague in particular as just retribution for Egypt's abuse of the Hebrews. The entire population of Egypt collaborated with Pharaoh in the attempt to annihilate the Hebrew people (1:22), so the Egyptians had it coming.¹⁴

On a first reading of the firstborn plague, one may marshal any or all of the aforementioned constructions of textual data toward an interpretation of the plague as retribution. The passage in 4:22–23, which appears to adumbrate the plague, is especially compelling. It arouses an expectation of fulfillment, and when one comes upon the announcement of the firstborn plague in 11:4–8, one seizes on it as the much-anticipated event.¹⁵ Typical of this approach is *Midraš Leqah Tōv* (eleventh century), which simply identifies what Moses declares in 11:5 with what God said to Moses at 4:23. Nevertheless, in shaping one's understanding in this way, as many readers have, one privileges certain textual senses over others and,

12. Cf., e.g., Beer and Galling, *Exodus*, esp. 46; Dennis J. McCarthy, "Moses' Dealings with Pharaoh," *Institution and Narrative*, 115–26 (= CBQ 27 [1965] 336–47), at 122; idem, "Plagues and Sea of Reeds," 139; Moshe Greenberg, *Understanding Exodus* (New York: Melton Research Center, 1969) 169–82; Nehama Leibowitz, *New Studies in the Book of Shemot (Exodus)* (Jerusalem: World Zionist Organization, 1970) 124–28 [Hebrew]; Childs, *Book of Exodus*, 153–54; Zevit, "Priestly Redaction," 197; Robertson, "Comedy and Tragedy," 17; Charles Isbell, "Exodus 1–2 in the Context of Exodus 1–14: Story Lines and Key Words," *Art and Meaning* (see n. 2 above) 37–61, at 50; John Van Seters, "Moses," *Encyclopedia of Religion* 10.117a.

13. Cf., e.g., Steven J. Brams, *Biblical Games: A Strategic Analysis of Stories in the Old Testament* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1980) 82–89; David M. Gunn, "The 'Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart': Plot, Character, and Theology in Exodus 1–14," in *Art and Meaning* (see n. 2 above) 72–96, esp. 80; and see below. For the diverse functions of the "hardening" motif in the plagues narrative, from both a diachronic and synchronic perspective, see Robert R. Wilson, "The Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart," CBQ 41 (1979) 18–36.

14. Cf., e.g., S. D. Luzzatto, *Commentary on the Torah* (ed. P. Schlesinger; Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1965) 248 at Exod 9:27 [Hebrew], who observes that Pharaoh involves "his people" in the oppression of the Israelites from the start (1:9); Greenberg, *Understanding Exodus*, 33; Sarna, *Exodus*, 8.

15. For a description of this dynamic in the reading process, see, e.g., Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978) 107–34; see further Peter Rabinowitz, *Before Reading: Narrative Conventions and the Politics of Interpretation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1987) esp. 110–40.

in fact, distorts and neglects other potentially pertinent textual data. Further, I hope to show that the interpretation of the firstborn plague as retribution reads only in the light of what precedes and fails to consider the meaning of the plague in the light of what follows. Light may be thrown in either direction; sense may be made, then unmade and revised. Revision is routine in the dialectic of the reading process.¹⁶ Before proceeding to reconstruct another sense, let us deconstruct the present one.¹⁷

Deciding the meaning of the firstborn plague as retribution, on the basis of 4:22–23 and the larger narrative framework, comes at the cost of suppressing a closer reading of 4:22–23. Without reading the facts of the firstborn plague back into 4:23 and thereby committing what Bal has termed the “retrospective fallacy,”¹⁸ one can hardly construe it to mean anything more than that YHWH threatens, or intends, to slay the firstborn son of Pharaoh alone.¹⁹ The announcement and execution of the plague emphasizes that “every firstborn (male) in the land of Egypt is going to die,” adding “from the firstborn of Pharaoh, who is to sit on his throne, to the firstborn of the maidservant, who is behind the handmill” (11:5; cf. 12:29). One may still maintain that the plague fulfills the prediction of 4:23 in a general way, by extending the punishment to the entire guilty population of Egypt. But one can no longer advance that sense by contending that it is explicit in that passage. To find the connection of the firstborn plague in 4:22–23 one would have to apply the hermeneutic of retribution that informed the (mis)reading of 4:23 that connected it with the firstborn plague in the first place and make it implicit, insinuate it, there. Put differently, readers have found a retributive causal nexus between the announcement Moses was to have made to Pharaoh and the tenth plague because they have presupposed such a causal relation.

I refer to “the announcement Moses was to have made to Pharaoh” because in the text as I read it no such announcement is ever made. Readers ancient and modern, perplexed by the time lapse between the divine instruction in 4:22–23 and Moses’ confrontation of Pharaoh concerning the fate of the firstborn in chap. 11, construe the latter as the fulfillment

16. Cf. in general, e.g., Iser, “The Reading Process”; Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979) esp. 27–37; Rabinowitz, *Before Reading*, 141–69; and for application to the Hebrew Bible, e.g., Sternberg, *Poetics of Biblical Narrative*, 308–20.

17. For the critical approach taken here and references to general literature on deconstruction, see my “Deconstruction and Biblical Narrative,” *Prooftexts* 9 (1989) 43–71.

18. Mieke Bal, *Lethal Love: Feminist Literary Readings of Biblical Love Stories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987) 108.

19. Cf., e.g., J. Coert Rylaarsdam, *The Book of Exodus* (1B; New York: Abingdon, 1952) 881; D. M. G. Stalker, “Exodus,” *Peake’s Commentary on the Bible* (ed. Matthew Black and H. H. Rowley; Sunbury-on-Thames: Thomas Nelson, 1962) 220a.

of the former. Several critics assume that in an earlier stage of its literary formation the passage in 4:22–23 immediately preceded Moses' address to Pharaoh in 11:4–8 and constituted part of the announcement.²⁰

The Samaritan version repeats YHWH's communication to Moses in 4:22–23 following 11:4, obviously understanding the passage as part of the announcement of the firstborn plague.²¹ That is, in the Samaritan version, vv. 4–5 read: "Moses said to Pharaoh: 'Thus has YHWH said: "My son, my firstborn, is Israel. . . ." ' Moses said to Pharaoh: 'At midnight I am going out. . . ." ' Indeed, the Samaritan imposes an additional measure of textual order in chap. 11 by repeating Moses' words to Pharaoh in vv. 5–7 in the middle of v. 3 so that everything Moses tells Pharaoh is told to him by YHWH first. The more the Samaritan does to create a regular pattern, in the fashion of the preceding plagues, the more one recognizes the irregularities of the narrative in the Received Text.

Seeking coherence, readers assume that Moses must have made the announcement of 4:22–23 because he was instructed to do so. However, the Received Text, unlike the Samaritan, is blank. Any connection between 4:22–23 and the announcement of the firstborn plague in chap. 11 must be drawn by a reader. The reader's strategy of coherence—for that is what it is²² (the text is not inherently coherent)²³—may provide connectors,

20. Cf., e.g., W. H. Bennett, *Exodus* (NCB; New York: Frowde, 1908) 67; Samuel E. Loewenstamm, *The Tradition of the Exodus in Its Development* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1965) 51 [Hebrew]; Greenberg, *Understanding Exodus*, 167; Werner H. Schmidt, *Exodus* (BKAT 2/4; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1983) 212. McCarthy ("Plagues and Sea of Reeds," 146) finds no announcement of the tenth plague at all.

21. The Samaritan does not reflect a variant textual tradition; it has the passage in 4:22–23, too, meaning that it interpolates the passage in chap. 11.

22. See, e.g., Rabinowitz, *Before Reading*, 141–69; Bal, *Lethal Love*, 119.

23. The narrative in general betrays a number of blatant inconsistencies, as many readers have observed. The most striking are these: after YHWH has turned all the water of Egypt to blood (7:20–21), the magicians of Egypt do the same (7:22), although there should have been no water left in Egypt for the magicians to use; and, following the cattle plague, in which YHWH is said to have killed "all the cattle of Egypt" (9:6), the Egyptians (and Hebrews) are instructed by YHWH through Moses to bring their livestock indoors to avoid the plague of hail (9:19); the plague of the firstborn, too, presupposes that Egypt still has live cattle (11:5; 12:29); further, after Egypt's livestock has presumably been killed, Pharaoh harnesses his horses to pursue the Israelites (14:6–7, 9). Cf., e.g., Keil and Delitzsch, *Commentary*, 1.479–80; Driver, *Book of Exodus*, 74; Beer and Galling, *Exodus*, 54–55; Childs, *Book of Exodus*, 154, 165; J. Philip Hyatt, *Exodus* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 100; Van Seters, "Plagues of Egypt," 37.

The fact that exegetes seeking coherence have constructed textual bridges to overcome the narrative contradictions testifies to the strength of the inconsistencies. R. Joseph Bekhor Shor (twelfth century, France), for example, explains the discrepancy in the blood plague by suggesting that after the water of Egypt turned to blood and killed the fish, the blood reverted to water, at which time the magicians converted it back to blood (comment on 7:21). Hakham (*Book of Exodus*, 117), in the wake of, e.g., R. Isaac Caro (ספר תולדות מצרים), proposes that the magicians dug the water from an underground source, adding

but in achieving apparent coherence, conflicting textual "facts" are bracketed out. Iser describes the reading experience as the subject's construction of successive, revised *gestalts*. No *gestalt* embraces all the subject's textual perceptions so that "each gestalt bears with it those possibilities which it has excluded but which may eventually invalidate it."²⁴

The above discussion has already indicated a number of suppressed textual "facts" that may "invalidate" the interpretation of the firstborn plague as retribution. Here now is another, and one that, we shall see, bears the seeds of an alternative, hitherto "excluded," "possibility" of meaning. In quoting from the announcement of the firstborn plague in 11:5 above, I chose to omit the concluding phrase of the verse, which is identical in the execution passage (12:29). This phrase includes among the firstborn to be slain in the plague "every firstborn of the cattle." If the firstborn plague is to be understood as YHWH's punishment of Pharaoh and his people for their crimes against the Hebrews, why should the cattle be slain? Afflicting the cattle in the preceding plagues functioned to bring harm to Egypt without directly killing its people. But why should cattle be included in the plague of the firstborn?

Some have eliminated the difficulty by dismissing the text. Bennett, for example, maintains that the phrase "and every firstborn of the cattle" in 11:5 represents a mindless scribal gloss to which we should pay no mind.²⁵ He overlooks the fact that the same phrase recurs in 12:29. Such a myopic reading asserts the unintelligibility of the present text because the text as presently understood conflicts with a presupposed understanding. Such a reading process leaves no place for revision.

A long tradition of Jewish commentary has interpreted the inclusion of Egypt's animals in the firstborn plague as an act of "judgment" against the gods of Egypt, assuming, of course, the surely ridiculous premise that in Egypt every manner of cattle was, or symbolized, a god.²⁶ Leaving the

7:24 in support. There we read that "all Egypt dug alongside the Nile for water to drink." To maintain his point Hakham must assume that the Egyptians thereby succeeded in finding water, which is hardly evident, and that 7:19 means not to include all the water anywhere in Egypt but to exclude subterranean water.

The hermeneutical effort and ingenuity that are required to produce a consistent reading demonstrate that coherence has to be achieved and is not inherent in the text.

24. Iser, *Act of Reading*, 129.

25. Bennett, *Exodus*, 110.

26. Cf., e.g., *Mekhilta de'Rabbi Ishmael* (ed. J. Z. Lauterbach; 3 vols; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1933-35) 1.99 (ed. H. S. Horowitz and Y. A. Rabin; Jerusalem: Wahrman, 1970) p. 44; *Pesiqta de'Rav Kahana* (ed. B. Mandelbaum) 129-30; *Genesis Rabba* 96:5 (ed. J. Theodor and C. Albeck, *Beresheet Rabba* [Jerusalem: Wahrman, 1965] 1196-97); *Rashi, Rabbenu Bahye* (3 vols.; ed. H. D. Chavel [Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1967] 2.82), et al., ad loc.; A. Cohen (ed.), *The Soncino Chumash* (London: Soncino, 1956) 384;

premise aside, this explanation sits rather poorly within the larger narrative. In Exod 12:12 (and cf. Num 33:4) YHWH's defeat of Egypt's gods is presented as distinct from the slaying of the firstborn.²⁷ Moreover, the triumph of Israel's God over the deities of Egypt constitutes a narrative climax. The buildup toward this climax is altogether undermined if the animals, who are already afflicted in the plagues of lice (Exod 8:14), boils (9:9–10), and hail (9:19–22, 25), and are said to have been killed off in plague five (9:6),²⁸ are actually gods. The only power in Egypt with whom YHWH clearly contends is Pharaoh (see further below, p. 564), who may have been a god in Egypt but who is never identified with the "gods" on whom YHWH will wreak "judgments" and who is never represented referring to himself as a deity.²⁹

"As the excluded possibilities become more and more obtrusive, so they may come more and more to take on the status of alternatives rather than fringe influences."³⁰ The "obtrusive" phrase "and every firstborn of the cattle" may be motivated not by what precedes but by what follows the passage of the firstborn plague. Reading the plague in view of what follows enables a reader to realign the textual "data" and construe the plague's meaning differently.

After the account of the tenth plague's execution and the beginning of the Exodus (12:29–42), the law of the paschal offering is rehearsed (12:43–49), there is a "resumptive repetition"³¹ of the preceding narrative (12:50–51, echoing vv. 28 and 41), and then a new law is presented: "Consecrate to me every firstborn, every one that breaks open the womb, among the Israelites; human or animal, it is mine" (13:2; the law is elaborated in vv. 11–13, but see below).³² The terms 'every firstborn'

Cassuto, *Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 133; Sarma, *Exodus*, 52. Abravanel (fifteenth century) suggests that the firstborn animals were afflicted because the animals represent the people of Egypt, who resemble animals (cf. Ezek 23:20).

27. Loewenstamm (*Tradition of the Exodus*, 51) notes, too, that the defeat of Egypt's gods by YHWH is secondary within the Torah's account and altogether absent outside the Torah; the theme is developed in postbiblical Hebrew literature.

28. See n. 23 above.

29. Several commentators assume that Pharaoh functions as a god in the Exodus narrative; e.g., Hyatt, *Exodus*, 99; Sarma, *Exploring Exodus*, 80.

30. Iser, *Act of Reading*, 129.

31. Cf. Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Presentation of Synchronicity and Simultaneity in Biblical Narratives," in *Studies in Hebrew Narrative Art* (ed. Joseph Heinemann and Shmuel Werses; ScrHier 27; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1978) 9–26, and repr. in Talmon, *Literary Studies in the Hebrew Bible* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993) 112–33; and Burke O. Long, "Framing Repetitions in Biblical Historiography," *JBL* 106 (1987) 385–99.

32. For the development of this law and its literary history in the Bible, see esp. Ger-shon Brin, *The First-Born in Israel in the Biblical Period* (Ph.D. diss., Tel Aviv University, 1971) [Hebrew]; see now idem, *Studies in Biblical Law* (JSOTSup 176; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994) 166–281.

(כל בכור) and 'animal' (בהמה) recall the "obtrusive" phrase 'and every firstborn of cattle' (וכל בכור בהמה). In retrospect,³³ the inclusion of cattle in the tenth plague may be explained if the entire plague of the firstborn is interpreted not in terms of retribution but in cultic terms, predicated on the principle that all firstborn, human and animal, belong to YHWH, as the law expressly holds. Replacing the hermeneutic of retribution with the cultic principle and understanding the firstborn plague as YHWH's unilateral collection of the offerings that are his due, one may read the main lines of the plagues narrative as well as a number of hitherto neglected details anew in its light.

The plagues narrative, as many commentators have observed, features a contest between Israel's YHWH and Egypt's Pharaoh.³⁴ To stage a more even fight, or at least a good one, YHWH props up Pharaoh, the pre-determined loser, again and again by "stiffening" his opponent's resolve.³⁵ Indeed, as Greenberg has noted, the contest begins between the protagonists' seconds, Aaron and Moses for YHWH and the wizards for Pharaoh, before escalating to the main event.³⁶ The explicit purpose of the bout is to get Pharaoh and his people (as well as Israel; cf. 6:7, 10:2) to acknowledge (וידע) YHWH as God (cf., e.g., 7:5, 17; 8:6, 18; 9:14, 29; 14:4, 18).³⁷ Pharaoh had at first linked his refusal to release the enslaved Israelites to his lack of recognizing YHWH (5:2).³⁸ The action of the plagues narrative functions to convince Pharaoh that YHWH is God, a conviction that surges (e.g., 9:27) and ebbs (e.g., 10:27–28) with the flow of the story.

33. I am not committing the "retrospective fallacy" (see above, p. 560, with n. 18) here; that is, I am not reading the law of consecration back into the tenth plague. I am going to suggest, rather, that for the Hebrew Bible it is understood that all firstborn belong by rights to the deity. A reader coming across the law in Exodus 13 and sensing its verbal associations to the firstborn plague may then reinterpret the plague in light of the law's evident ontological basis.

34. Cf., e.g., Beer and Galling, *Exodus*, 46, 57; Robertson, "Comedy and Tragedy"; Hyatt, *Exodus*, 99; Brams, *Biblical Games*, 82–89.

35. See in addition to the references in n. 13 above, e.g., Johannes Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940) 2.407.

36. Moshe Greenberg, "Plagues of Egypt," *Enfud* 13.606; see also Loewenstamm, *Tradition of the Exodus*, 51.

37. See in addition to studies cited in n. 12 above, e.g., Gunn, "Hardening," 83–84; Van Seters, "Plagues of Egypt," 34; J. P. Fokkelman, "Exodus," in *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987) 56–65 at 64.

38. The significance of this verse for the interpretation of the plagues narrative has been recognized by, e.g., Greenberg, *Understanding Exodus*, 169; idem, "Plagues of Egypt," 605; Childs, *Book of Exodus*, 153–54; Robertson, "Comedy and Tragedy," 22; Gunn, "Hardening," 83.

Both YHWH's demand to release the Israelites and Pharaoh's refusals concern the worship of YHWH. Moses and Aaron demand in the name of YHWH that Pharaoh permit the Hebrews to leave Egypt on a pilgrimage to the wilderness (5:1 and *passim*), and Pharaoh withholds permission for the reason that he never heard of the Hebrews' God, YHWH (5:2). Pharaoh's ignorance is understandable, since we do not know that Aaron identified YHWH by name to the Hebrews when he related to them the message Moses had received in Midian (4:30–31),³⁹ and Moses reveals YHWH's name and plan to the Hebrews himself only afterwards (6:9, in which he is said to report the divine message in 6:2–8). Pharaoh's ignorance must, in the course of the narrative, turn to recognition. With the second plague, Pharaoh begins to acknowledge YHWH's power by asking Moses and Aaron to pray for relief from the distress (8:4; cf. 8:24; 9:28; 10:17). The negotiations between Moses and Pharaoh to obtain the release of Israel to undertake the pilgrimage, negotiations that are triggered by the subsequent plagues, are all discussed in cultic terms—where the ritual may take place (8:24), who will participate (10:8–11), and what may be offered (10:24–26). Toward the end of the negotiations, Moses steps up his demands by insisting that Pharaoh not only allow the Israelites to worship YHWH but that he himself provide animals for the ritual offerings (10:25).⁴⁰

The rhetoric in which Moses announces the firstborn plague to Pharaoh further deepens the involvement of Egypt in the worship of YHWH. Moses declares in the name of YHWH: "All those who serve you will come down⁴¹ to me and bow down to me" (11:8). All those who had served (עבד) Pharaoh, who had enslaved (העביד) the Hebrews and prevented them from worshiping (עבד) their God, must now render homage to him. In the wake of the firstborn plague Pharaoh himself begs that the Israelites invoke a blessing for him from YHWH on their pilgrimage (12:32).⁴² The tenth plague's purpose and the manifest purpose of the entire series of plagues,⁴³ then, is decidedly cultic: to establish YHWH as the one to whom homage is due. YHWH's slaying of Egypt's firstborn may be interpreted in line with this purpose.

39. The mention of "YHWH" in v. 31 is in the narrator's, not Aaron's, discourse.

40. See, e.g., Driver, *Book of Exodus*, 83.

41. From the royal palace; so Driver, *ibid.*, 86, quoting Dillmann and appropriately comparing such verses as 2 Sam 11:9–10; cf., e.g., Hakham, *Book of Exodus*, 170–71.

42. See, e.g., Robertson, "Comedy and Tragedy," 25.

43. Contrast the diffident formulation of McCarthy ("Moses' Dealings," 125, *emphasis added*): "In fact, the expressed aim of the plagues in Ex 7,8–10,27 is to produce an *almost* cultic recognition of Yahweh. . . ."

As was said above, the consecration of all firstborns, human and animal, to YHWH is predicated on the belief that they belong by rights to the deity.⁴⁴ As Brin has shown, the Torah's terminology for dedicating the firstborn to YHWH (נתן/העביר/קדש לה) denotes the transfer of property to the possession of another.⁴⁵ Biblical law provides for the redemption of all human firstborn and those animals that are unfit for cultic offering (e.g., Exod 13:13, 34:20; Lev 27:27; Num 18:15–16). Israel's firstborn are spared for now; they will be redeemed later (see further below, p. 567). Egypt has no option of redemption. In the plague of the firstborn, YHWH exercises his proprietary prerogative to collect, as it were, all Egypt's unredeemed firstborn. By appropriating Egypt's firstborn, YHWH demonstrates his sovereignty over Pharaoh and his people.⁴⁶

Wellhausen, too, has given the tenth plague a cultic interpretation: "Jehovah kills the firstborn of the Egyptians . . . because the king of Egypt is keeping from him the firstborn of the Israelites which ought to be offered to Him at the [pilgrimage] festival."⁴⁷ Wellhausen assumes that the pilgrimage, as a historical reflex of the earliest Passover ritual, was the occasion for offering the firstborn and first fruits to YHWH. This explanation cannot in itself serve us here since it is founded on a historical reconstruction and not a reading of the present text, in which the paschal offering is never stipulated to be a firstborn.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, it does understand, as I do, that in the firstborn plague YHWH makes good on a cultic claim.

The interpretation of the tenth plague as YHWH's collection of Egypt's firstborn supersedes, at least for this reader, an understanding of

44. Cf., e.g., Pedersen, *Israel*, 2.315; Walther Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; OTL; London, SCM, 1961) 1.152; Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1961) 451–52; Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Worship in Israel: A Cultic History of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966) 117; Georg Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (London: SPCK, 1973) 208; Calum Carmichael, *Law and Narrative in the Bible* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985) 85.

45. Brin, *First-Born in Israel*, 80, 111–16.

46. So A. Macalister, "Plagues of Egypt," in *A Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. James Hastings; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900) 3.892a; cf. P. Kyle McCarter, "Exodus," in *Harper's Bible Commentary* (ed. James L. Mays; San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988) 142a, who, however, regards the cultic significance of consecrating the firstborn as an "implication" of the tenth plague and not as its "explanation."

47. Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Edinburgh: Black, 1885) 352; cf., e.g., W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (rev. ed.; London: Black, 1914) 464; Pedersen, *Israel*, 2.398–99, 402, 410, 415; Beer and Galling, *Exodus*, 59–60, 71.

48. Cf., e.g., Loewenstamm, *Tradition of the Exodus*, 82; Brin, *First-Born in Israel*, 85 n. 19; for critiques of Wellhausen's position, see, e.g., Martin Noth, *Exodus: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962) 101–2; Loewenstamm, *Tradition of the Exodus*, 81–83; Menahem Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978; repr. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1985) 324–26.

the plague as sheer retribution. As one continues to read Exodus 13, however, the proposed cultic reading of the firstborn plague is complemented, if not superseded. Others interpret the firstborn plague as an etiology of the law of consecration in 13:1–2: the Israelites must devote their firstborn and the firstlings of their animals to YHWH because he spared them during the tenth plague.⁴⁹ With regard to the reading process, this interpretation jumps the gun; it may be achieved only through the “retrospective fallacy” (see above, p. 560). Neither the narrative of the firstborn plague nor the laws in 13:1–2 concerning the consecration of the firstborn suggest an etiology. Such an etiology does emerge, though, in 13:14–15: the Israelites are to redeem their firstborn and offer up the firstlings of their animals because “YHWH slew every firstborn in the land of Egypt, from the firstborn of humans to the firstborn of cattle” (v. 15). The etiology crops up again in Num 3:13 and 8:17.

Reading the plagues narrative and the series of laws in Exodus 13 in sequence, through time, one may follow one's impulse to review the firstborn plague, along with the entire plagues narrative, using a cultic focus. The general law of firstborn consecration in 13:1–2 may be invoked to motivate that rereading. When one reaches the etiological explanation in 13:14–15, which is deferred in our text, set apart from the general law of consecration in vv. 1–2, one may have already formed an interpretation of the firstborn plague. One need not reject the cultic reading in order to adopt the etiological explanation, too. The former functions to read the narrative of the firstborn plague in context and sequence; the latter serves to motivate the laws of consecration that derive from the Exodus story. The former derives from the ontological belief that all firstborns belong to the deity; the latter teleologically underpins a new and specific law for Israel to observe.

The reading process is not analogous to the completion of a puzzle, all of whose pieces are pre-cut and may be fitted together in only one way. In the example of the jigsaw puzzle, the pieces are all present at once; each is relevant and, indeed, essential. The whole is preconceived and needs only to be reconstructed. A text is quite different. One never knows at the time of reading what if any significance any intelligibility or

49. E.g., Keil and Delitzsch, *Commentary*, 2:33; Pedersen, *Israel*, 2:410; Bruno Baentsch, *Exodus-Leviticus-Numeri* (HKAT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903) 109; S. H. Hooke, “The Theory and Practice of Substitution,” *VT* 2 (1952) 2–17 at 11; V. H. Kooy, “First-born,” *IDB* 2:271a; Noth, *Exodus*, 102; Stalker, “Exodus,” 218b; Casuto, *Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, 153–54; Childs, *Book of Exodus*, 203; John Van Seters, “The Place of the Yahwist in the History of Passover and Massot,” *ZAW* 95 (1983) 167–82 at 180; Unterman, “Firstborn”; Sarna, *Exodus*, 64–65; and cf., too, Rashi, Abraham Ibn Ezra, Joseph Bekhor Shor, Nahmanides, Gersonides, Luzzatto to Exod 13:2.

unintelligibility will ultimately have. In the end, many pieces will turn out to fit differently or not at all. The reading process transpires over time and is conditioned by the stage of the activity and literary context in which the reader is reading. Yet, as Fish has emphasized, the meanings one constructs or entertains along the way may be annulled but never eliminated.⁵⁰ They have been part of the reading experience and, consequently, part of the meaning. A circuitous journey will not make the same impression as a direct route. For this reason the plague of the first-born may never lose its tinge of retribution even after one has deconstructed that sense and constructed another one.

50. Stanley Fish, "The Reader in the Text: Affective Stylistics," *Is There a Text in This Class?* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980) 21-67 = pp. 70-100 in Jane P. Tompkins (ed.), *Reader-Response Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

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

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

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

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

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

* D.T. I encouraged that. I had some immature fears—probably 15 out of 100 coin tosses would go my way, but I was not such a weak power.

who knew exact stood how to succeeded—as often able to do epigram.

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As he explained was a lonely one cannot stand to go to an inn he had a particular and generally to ally lasted more

Hitler loved able to tell a g tate expressions stories, let alone German Heim and jokes, was Hoffmann, the the Führer Ho sparkled with

³Hitler could Dr. Karl Brand language as some at the same time

he crossed when all states are directed

where the dogs had to demonstrate as well as courage.¹ The dogs and animals—this was one facet of Hitler's regime that was entirely genuine. There was no doubt that Hitler would not show to his table companions.

Hitler said that he would personally punish certain offenses. Knowing that he was shot at a political enemy, his value was high. At times Hitler would reward. But he rarely spoke of rewards. He was silent during the months when he was recorded, and which in the end would show a few examples from the

general Hoepner's armored column toward eliminating the popular thoughts about the fate of

French hostages by firing German officers; thenceforth, in accordance with the policy of breaking

the initiative, initiating the deportation of their systematic annihilation. The steadily burgeoning concentration camps.

Reinhard Gauleiter Sauckel to incorporate Germany economy.

How well trained one of Hitler's dogs was one day I came across a non-dog. The dogs' care and was taking shepherd dogs myself. I observed the dog showed me how quickly she would go forth. I had the impression not that Hitler in the training of his dogs to punish the individual will even

1942

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April 26, 1942: By special act of the Reichstag, Hitler invested with unlimited judicial powers, making him supreme judge of the Reich with no limitations or controls whatsoever.

June 10, 1942: Destruction of the Czech village of Lidice, where, without knowledge of the population, Heydrich's assassins had temporarily hidden.²

August 23, 1942: Orders to Field Marshal von Manstein: "Phase 1: Cut off Leningrad and seek contact with the Finns. Phase 2: Occupy Leningrad and level it to the ground."

In order to appreciate the *Table Conversations* as an historical document, one must consider the character the war assumed as these monologues of hubris were being transcribed. After the winter of 1941-42, the condition of the army in the East was as follows:

By April 30, 1942, the casualty total had risen to 1,167,835; one out of three men who had marched on June 22, 1941, when Germany attacked the Soviet Union, had fallen. Of 162 infantry divisions on the Eastern Front, eight were fully combat-ready and three more would be after a rest pause. Forty-seven divisions were ready for limited offensive operations and seventy-three could be used for defensive operations, while twenty-nine were only conditionally suitable for defensive action. Two divisions, at least for the time being, were useless. On April 4, 1942, the component units of Army Group South were up to about 50 per cent of their full fighting strength, but only because, in view of their role in the coming campaign, they had been given priority in the assignment of replacements. Army Groups Center and North had only about 35 per cent of the infantry fighting strength they had had in mid-1941. The number of combat-ready aircraft had declined to somewhere between 50 and 60 per cent of the strength of May 1, 1941. There were good prospects for improvement in all these areas through the return of men who were still convalescing, new recruits, and the exploitation of the previously untapped reservoir of those who had just turned nineteen. Nevertheless, the overall picture was very

²Reinhard Heydrich, one of Heinrich Himmler's closest associates, who had assumed command in Prague in September 1941, was fatally wounded by assassins on May 26, 1942. In retaliation the Germans leveled the village of Lidice near Prague and summarily executed all its male inhabitants.—ED.

1941, 1942

A 26 Hitler: The Man and the Military Leader

serious. The survey report of the Operations Staff of the High Command of the Wehrmacht, in which these figures appeared, concluded that, "because of the impossibility of fully replacing losses in men and material, the overall fighting power of the Wehrmacht is less than it was in spring 1941."

This conclusion was all the more grave because there was no prospect whatever for change in the adverse factors that had brought it about. In an address to officer candidates of the Wehrmacht on May 30, 1942, Hitler explained that the rising birth rate stimulated through National Socialist propaganda would far outstrip the number of dead. This sort of calculation, in an entirely different context, might have been appropriate for a bank or an industrial concern, but it was nothing less than monstrous when applied to human life. Moreover, it proved to be patently false, for the war resulted in the net loss of many millions of German lives.⁸

There was no getting around the fact that during the winter of 1941-42 the war had entered a new phase. Hitler, who was precisely informed about events, was fully and deeply aware of this, no matter how he tried to think otherwise. When General Alfred Jodl, Chief of the Operations Staff of the High Command of the Wehrmacht, finally was free to speak at the end of the war, he made a revealing statement. On May 15, 1945, shortly after Hitler's suicide, he said at a staff conference in Mürwik in Schleswig-Holstein that it had become clear to Hitler and himself, after the catastrophe of the winter of 1941-42, that "victory could no longer be achieved."⁹

⁸The text of Hitler's Berlin Sports Palace speech of May 30, 1942, to ten thousand officer candidates is appended to Schramm's edition of the *Table Conversations*. Schramm has estimated that approximately four million Germans died as military casualties and another half-million as civilians (as a result of air raids and other war-related causes).—ED.

⁹After the German capitulation early in May 1945, the High Command of the Wehrmacht was permitted to function at the headquarters established at Mürwik near Flensburg in Schleswig-Holstein for another two weeks, providing continuity in the transfer of control to the victors. The staff conference records kept by Major Joachim Schultz-Naumann report General Alfred Jodl as having said on May 15, 1945, that although the General Staff accepted Hitler's argument that the war against the Soviet Union was necessary, yet "we all . . . entered this war against Russia with anxiety at the thought of its outcome." Jodl added that it was clear, in particular to Hitler

By the end of the war in North Africa and Italy, it was clearly shown that it was clear to Jodl as war had now camp."⁸ It also conversations with listeners who knew very well that this to no one privileged to know.

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By the end of 1942, reverses in North Africa, Allied landings in Algeria and Morocco, and the imminent encirclement of Stalingrad clearly showed a deteriorating situation on all fronts. Then "... it was clear not only to the responsible soldiers but to Hitler himself," Jodl acknowledged in his Nuremberg cell, "that the god of war had now turned from Germany and gone over to the other camp."⁸ It all added up to this: At the very time the *Table Conversations* were being recorded and Hitler was describing to his listeners what the world would look like after Germany's victory, he knew very well that all his plans were unattainable. Yet he admitted this to no one, not even the narrow circle of "comrades" who were privileged to join him at meals and were pledged to absolute discretion.

If we find no reference to these grim facts in the *Table Conversations*, it is not because they have been omitted or suppressed, but

and himself, that when the catastrophe of the winter of 1941-1942 occurred, when the German armies were stopped before Moscow, "victory could no longer be achieved. The point of culmination had been passed, and the new and initially successful attempt to turn the hand of fate in the summer of 1942 also failed."

⁶On reading this passage in the *War Diary*, revealing that Hitler as early as 1942 had realized the war could not be won, Hans Kehr, formerly with the Ministry of Armaments and War Production, wrote to me in June 1963: "At that time (i.e., fall 1943) I participated in a conference with Hitler which had been arranged by [Armaments Minister Albert] Speer. In addition to Speer there were, to mention only the most important, [Coal Commissar] Paul Pleiger, leaders of the iron and steel industry, and (I do not remember exactly) [Economics Minister Walter] Funk or General von Hanneken."

"Briefly, it was a matter of convincing the Führer that there was not enough steel for the armaments program, but that steel production could be expanded if sufficient coal and coke were made available. The question, in other words, was where the buck was going to be passed next."

"The discussion was carried on primarily by Hitler and Pleiger. Hitler, incidentally, was businesslike and well informed. He knew the production figures per man-day from England, America, France, and so on. Pleiger conceded that a limited increase in output would be possible if enough Russian prisoners of war were made available, but even so the desired production figures could not be reached. To my boundless surprise, Hitler in the course of the conversation quite dryly said, 'Pleiger, if we cannot produce more coal and more steel, the war is lost.' I very clearly remember these words which Hitler spoke in the presence of a group which was by no means small or particularly intimate."

rather because Hitler was altogether silent about them. He understood, as well as anyone who ever lived, how to keep his own counsel.

Hitler's capacity to live at several levels simultaneously made a strong impression on Dr. Picker, who transcribed Hitler's *Table Conversations*: "The striking thing about it was that even on days of the most critical tension, he hardly even referred to the problems of the war, but would chat about the harmfulness of smoking or the like—even when the most bitter arguments had occurred during the military staff conferences. . . ." Dr. Picker notes further that no matter how animated he became, Hitler intuitively never forgot to camouflage "those things for which he would find no resonance among his table companions or among the great masses of the [German] people."

Yet those familiar with Hitler's radical utterances during the last completely hopeless months of his life early in 1945 will be able to perceive in these discussions with his table companions during 1941–42 an occasional sentence that reveals the kinds of thoughts Hitler was struggling with in the deepest recesses of his mind. At midday on January 27, 1942—at the height of the winter crisis, when the Eastern Front was gravely threatened by Russian units which had broken through or infiltrated the German lines—Hitler explained that the burden of responsibility lay with the leadership, that as long as there were still a thousand people in a country who were ready to go to prison for the sake of an idea, the cause was not lost. "It is only lost when the last man comes to doubt. As long as there is one stronghearted man to hold up the banner, nothing has been lost. In this respect, I am ice-cold." If the German people are not prepared to give everything for the sake of their self-preservation, very well! Then let them disappear!"

On April 12, 1942, as a new offensive in the East was being prepared and the question arose whether the Wehrmacht was in condition to make another swift advance or whether it would soon

"It sounds no less self-conscious and stilted in German than in English for a person to speak of himself as being "*eiskalt*" ("ice-cold") in his determination or attitude, but Hitler consciously used this term, as Schramm points out later. As in other direct quotations cited by Schramm, I have attempted to approximate as closely as possible the style as well as the content of Hitler's often willful but never bland German.—ED.

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grind to a halt. Hitler led a discussion of the plans for an Olympic stadium with the observation that "[we Germans must learn] to overcome our halfheartedness and always strive for the total solution with a view to achieving the greatest possible success." This was something, he continued, which Wallenstein had grasped, but not Hjalmar Schacht, who created one problem after another when it came to raising funds for rearmament. "Especially in this war we must bear in mind constantly that in case of defeat we're done for. No matter how ruthlessly, we've got to put everything we have on the line for the sake of ultimate victory."

"One way or another" (*so oder so*) was an expression Hitler often used. During the period of his triumphs this had meant that if the enemy did not cooperate freely, his resistance would be broken by force. From 1942 on it came to mean that if the first try was not successful, then the second or the third would have to be—but there would be no capitulation, no surrender! On January 10, 1943, as the fate of Stalingrad was already becoming clear, Hitler explained to the Rumanian dictator Marshal Antonescu that in contrast to the First World War, the issue was now one of "existence or nonexistence." In the event the "Anglo-Saxons" (as he called the English and Americans) prevailed, they would be victors in a limited sense only, since they would be confronted with the power of Soviet Russia. "The result would be a mighty Bolshevik empire with a powerful industrial plant, boundless raw material resources, and vast manpower reserves, which would pursue the old expansionist goals of Russia with these masses and energy. . . ." He went on to emphasize that with Germany and her allies forced to fight under such circumstances, it was "not a war over the possession of territories, but a struggle for existence." During the subsequent visit of Marshal Antonescu on April 12, 1943, Hitler expressed the matter even more clearly, saying that he was "firmly convinced that there were only two possible outcomes of the present war: either a clear victory or absolute annihilation." Hitler's model became Frederick the Great, who had also been saved from an absolutely hopeless situation because he had held on. That had to be the task of the German "Leader" now, no matter how anxiously the hearts of his followers might quake. Hitler held to this view with grisly pertinacity to the very end. At the high point of the crisis of 1944 on the Western

* Better translation - So this way, or
not that way (not necessarily so)!!

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

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

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

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

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What role did Hitk the *Table Conversati* the creature who wa him: "The world of t she think of anything asserted, because of l emotion. She should be jealous, but she : questions. It was es: does not have a chil

As a basis of con middle-class ideal of the intellectual equal erally accepted fact had accordingly bec generations. By this tremely reactionary: on any woman. As : else!" Hitler simply v the past decades. A: which he was behind

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quired an interest in the *Jugendstil*² characteristically, he retained a preference for the Impressionist style, which had been esteemed during his youth, and which was already dubious before the First World War.

The gallery Hitler planned for Linz was to display nineteenth-century painting. He was not able to fill a large display hall with nineteenth-century paintings by Defregger and others, but he limited the National Gallery in Linz to painters and displaying its other paintings. The gallery would have been a sort of the Mediterranean world would by its due, but "Nordic" (and particularly German) have received the place of honor

ended with the nineteenth century. He came out of Impressionism and held through he found Corinth's youthful objections to his later work. In sculpture, on the other hand, became in Kolbe's "Dancer" (1912), though more significant"—although it might be the case.

He had time to go through back issues of which had once been quite authoritative.

Germany as *Art Nouveau*, the *Jugendstil* of the century, achieving considerable prominence of 1897. Self-consciously modern, the style advocated simplicity of design, but its success which contributed to its early ob-

1942

tive but had come to be regarded with increasing circumspection. He came to the conclusion that "if one considers the niveau of art even in 1910, it is shocking to see—taking 1930 by comparison—how far it has declined." He regretted the languishing of the colorful weekly journal *Jugend* (Youth), which Georg Hirth had founded in 1896 to propagate the *Jugendstil*. Hitler saw nothing but "one single deformed blotch" in what had been created after 1922—a conclusion entirely consistent with his conception of the function of art: accurate portrayal, presenting what was beautiful pleasantly and what was magnificent grandly.

Hitler's support of artists was something of a "transvaluation of all values." Painters who were merely competent craftsmen were suddenly hailed as great masters. Artists with real ability were corrupted by Hitler's commissions, for they had to devote themselves to a strained monumentality and paint the desired themes in the approved fashion—"correctly" sketched, clearly painted, and pleasing in content. Worse still, a number of "artists" who deserved nothing more than general ridicule suddenly found themselves the subjects of great acclaim.

Hitler was nonetheless convinced that he was beginning a new and better chapter in the history of German art. For the exhibition in the "House of German Art" (*Haus der Deutschen Kunst*) in Munich there was a virtual flood of from ten to twelve thousand entries. From this number, 1,200 works were selected; these were all, as Hitler explained in July 1942, "in every respect first-class"—certainly an improbably high percentage. High standards of selectivity were guaranteed, according to Hitler, by the fact that the choice was made not by artists, who might have been biased, but rather by his personal photographer Hoffmann—a crass layman with petty bourgeois tastes—and the museum director Kolb. The fact that the undertaking was appreciated was said to have been demonstrated by the attendance of millions. What is so astounding about these remarks is the brazen self-confidence with which Hitler and his associates, whose credentials consisted of nothing more than antiquated prejudices and pretended expertise, decided what was good and what was bad.

As Hitler openly said, he would have liked to send "bad" painters

1942

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to pay if the figures did not add up
to have all the numbers in his head.

again amazed persons talking with him, and earned him sincere
admiration. For this reason alone, Hitler was in a position to assume
the dominant role in mealtime conversations with his circle, since he
had something to say about absolutely everything that came up. If
any issue did remain in question, it usually worked out, when the
encyclopedia was consulted, that Hitler had been right after all.

In order to clarify his mind on a topic, Hitler would walk back
and forth alone in a room—"for kilometers," as he himself put it.
But then he still needed to talk out his "rough draft" thoughts in
"clean copy," so to speak. This was, in fact, one of the functions
(aside from relaxation) the mealtime conversations had for him.
When someone who knew what was on his mind set him going with
a key word he was able to launch immediately into an almost formal
lecture. In order to organize his thoughts, he inserted "in the
first place," "secondly," and like phrases. Even so, he often went
off on a tangent, as other thoughts came to mind. For the same
reason, his formal speeches often have such sudden transitions that
they cannot be reconstructed in logical terms. Yet he never lost
sight of the goal he had set himself in a conversation or a speech.
He would therefore finally arrive at the conclusion he had set out
to reach, the acceptance of which, by the audience, he considered
to be self-evident.

Hitler never achieved the type of rigidly logical thinking which
the Catholic Church inculcates in its priests and the General Staff
in its officers. This is shown, for example, by his Berlin Sports
Palace speech in May 1942 to the officer candidates of the Wehr-
macht, which displays all the typical characteristics of his way of
thinking. According to what Dr. Picker learned from the stenog-
rapher, Hitler apparently dictated the entire speech in one session.
Presented with the emphatically masculine gestures and the verve
Hitler displayed on such occasions, and delivered in the sonorous
voice that fascinated many, this speech presumably had a strong
impact on the officer candidates, who would have been prepared to
respond to a commander-in-chief who, in the course of the past
three years, had won victories unprecedented in military history.
But as effective as the speech must have seemed to the listeners,

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invited recognized figures in German views with him. But Hitler simply the basic questions that concerned that would have put him in a position to him from the arguments presented. Hitler received had already been conversation ensued, it was dominated had for such visitors, aside from that, was to confirm him in his eyes. William II was able to refer to of intellectual stature with whom a list which a biographer of Hitler names which mean nothing at all with disdain or scorn.

Hitler's education, and during his World War he read only what he put together his store of knowledge and magazine articles, brochures, etc. He lacked the money to buy it, he might well have spent it, he knew no one who would have helped or help him make critical decisions at the age of twenty-five, he had no opportunity for discussion with a cultured person therefore never experienced a person did he acquire a systematic *to the first!*

and when he became a soldier and a career after the defeat in World War I it added to it significantly during the life of an ill-educated person. The determination went about acquiring whatever he could. But the basic disadvantages remained characteristic of Hitler's he had come to power, it was, testimony, no longer possible to Even mild objections were far

more apt to be taken wrongly and lead to a further hardening of his position, the very opposite of what was intended by them."

Hitler's knowledge, then, based on his retentive memory and assiduous reading, was remarkably extensive, but it retained a fortuitous and arbitrary character as the result of his self-education. It never developed and matured, because the rising politician was not willing to expose himself to qualified specialists and professionals. In the end, at the height of his power, his mind became completely rigid, because he was convinced that he knew best in all matters, intellectual and otherwise.

There emerges the picture of a half-timber house, the framework of which was constructed of the cheapest lumber because the builder could afford nothing better. Moreover, since he had no competent craftsman to help or counsel him, he put it together in whatever way seemed best to him. To fill the spaces between the timbers he had picked up bricks wherever he could find them—old and new, oversized ones which he had broken to fit, firm ones, but others already crumbling, completely at random as chance would have it. Nor did the builder change his approach when he finally got the chance to acquire the very best materials. Least of all did it occur to him to replace the soft pine framework, even though it was already splitting badly in places, for he was unshakable in his conviction that the basic structure of his house was sound. At most he would consider a few small additions to it.

Thus we find in Hitler a great eagerness to learn, coupled with the most intractable intellectual rigidity and arrogance. The Table Conversations clearly show the extent of this intellectual arrogance. The most ridiculous information is presented and uncritically accepted whether originating from Hitler personally or from his satellites. It was, for instance, reported to Hitler in July 1942 that of the rebels apprehended in connection with recent disturbances in Serbia, between 95 per cent and 99 per cent had criminal records. Hitler never thought to question how it was possible to arrive so quickly at such a remarkable assessment. None of the apprehended rebels who had criminal records were apt to have volunteered the information, and it is unlikely that the confused Serbian bureaucracy, even if so disposed, could have provided documenta-

Hitler's life, during the war, was spent, in general, at his military headquarters. At first, during the Polish campaign, these headquarters were in his special train, stationed near Gogolin; later during the same campaign he transferred them to a hotel in Zoppot. At the beginning of the Western campaign his headquarters were in a cramped bunker near Bad Nauheim, which he called *Felsenfest*, or "Eyre"; later, as victory followed victory, he moved to Bruly-le-Pêche in Eastern France. His quarters there were named *Wolfsschlucht*—"Wolf's lair" (he had an old liking for the name Wolf, which he had himself assumed when in hiding in the days of *Kampfzeit*). It was at *Wolfsschlucht* that he heard the news of the fall of France and performed his famous jig. Thereafter he divided his time between a new headquarters in the Black Forest (*Tannenberg*) and his special train. Then in July 1941 he moved to East Prussia to direct the greatest of all his campaigns, the knock-out blow in the East. For over three years his headquarters remained in the East, generally in East Prussia, once (during the triumphant advance in the summer of 1942) in Russia itself. Then, in November 1944, Field-Marshal Keitel at last persuaded him to leave that insalubrious spot, among dreary pine-forests, in which he had so nearly been assassinated and in which he had lived, for the last year, night and day, a troglodyte existence underground. This East Prussian headquarters was at Rastenburg, and Hitler called it *Wolfsschanze*, "Fort Wolf." His temporary Russian headquarters was at Winnitza in the Ukraine, and was called *Werwolf*. It was at *Wolfsschanze* or at *Werwolf* that all the conversations recorded in this book took place.

They took place at meal-times: sometimes at his luncheon, sometimes at supper, more often at his last, most sociable meal, the long succession of tea and cakes which—generally long after midnight—closed the working day. Then Hitler would expand. A passionate talker, he seems by his voice as well as by his eyes—though it was a harsh voice and though they were dull eyes—to have fascinated his hearers; for his informal talk, unlike his formal oratory, was—all hearers agree—fresh, flexible, sometimes even gay. Of course it was largely a monologue—although Hitler welcomed stimulative interruptions—and of course he often repeated himself. Nevertheless his intimate circle—for it was only his intimate circle, and occasional reliable guests, who attended these functions—seem to have delighted in it. They saw in it the whole mind of the Fuehrer—autobiographical details from his undocumented early life, the secret history of the glorious *Kamitzzeit*, the terrible but exciting philosophy thanks to which he had already achieved three-quarters of his vast

Hitler's

Secret

Conversations

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* D. T. Who could blame.

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programme and was now, it seemed, about to achieve the rest. Why, they asked, could not these authentic sayings of the Master be recorded for posterity? Particularly Martin Bormann asked this question, the literal-minded evangelist of the movement, Hitler's indispensable secretary, infallible agent, and, at the end, trusted executor. But Hitler always refused. He hated the thought of recording instruments, or even of recording agents, in his hour of rest, while he was thus spontaneously, unadvisedly, even gaily delivering himself. Then, quite suddenly, in July 1941, when the apocalyptic moment had arrived and the great Eastern triumph was about to begin, he yielded. He still refused to admit any mechanised recorder to the room, and he insisted that no obtrusive figure or obvious gestures must disconcert him while he talked, or inhibit his large freedom of discourse; but he agreed that an official of the Party might be admitted to his meals, who might, in a retired corner, unobtrusively take a few notes—notes whose final form was to be corrected and approved and preserved by the only reliable interpreter of the Fuehrer's thought, Martin Bormann.

Bormann at once made the necessary arrangements. A Party official was appointed and, from 7th July 1941, was duly admitted to Hitler's presence at meal-times. His name was Heinrich Heim. All through the monologue he would sit discreetly apart, taking brief shorthand notes; then he would retire and, on the basis of those notes, dictate to one of Bormann's stenographers his record of the conversation. The typescript was then handed to Bormann, who read it through, sometimes correcting it or adding elucidatory comments, initialled and filed it. Heim continued to take these notes until 11th March 1942, when he was sent away for four months on a special mission to Paris; during these four months, another official, Dr. Henry Picker, deputised for him. Both Heim and Picker, however, were mere subordinate officials, acting under the instructions and control of Bormann, who alone, as Hitler's secretary, was responsible for the preparation, the accuracy and the preservation of the records. Sometimes, on intimate occasions, Bormann himself took the notes. Whoever took them, they were officially known as *Bormann-Vermerke*, Bormann-notes; and at the head of the 1,045 typed pages which they ultimately filled, and which Bormann kept in his personal custody, he wrote with his own hand the words, "Notes of fundamental interest for the future. To be preserved with the greatest care."

When Heim returned, on 1st August 1942, to resume his duties as court-reporter at Hitler's headquarters, he

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—his vegetarian-cook.⁴ One of his secretaries has given a melancholy account of these later functions. "After Stalin-grad," she writes, "Hitler could not listen to music any more, and every evening we had to listen to his monologues instead. But his table-talk was by now as overplayed as his gramophone-records. It was always the same: his early days in Vienna, the *Kampfzeit*, the History of Man, the Microcosm and the Macrocosm. On every subject we all knew in advance what he would say. In course of time these monologues bored us. But world affairs and events at the front were never mentioned: everything to do with the war was taboo." "In 1944 I sometimes found myself still sitting up with Hitler at 8:00 a.m., listening with feigned attention to his words. . . . I still wonder why he thus sacrificed his nightly rest in order to expound his theories to an audience most of whom would have preferred to be sleeping." Eva Braun, who was also sometimes present, took less trouble to conceal her boredom: she would occasionally cast at Hitler a disapproving glance or loudly ask the time. Then Hitler would cut short his monologue, make his excuses, and break up the table.⁵

With these last, most dispiriting conversations this book is not concerned, nor, of course, does it contain the complete record of what must often have been, even in the best times, repetitive discourse. It contains only those parts of Hitler's table-talk which Bormann thought worth recording. Even so, much of it is naturally repetitive. Much of it also reflects the coarseness and crudity, the dogmatism, the hysteria, the triviality of Hitler's mind. But cluttered as it is with much tedious and much disgusting matter, it also contains the kernel of his thinking: it is the mirror of his hideous genius; a genius which, I believe, it is both possible and essential to disengage.

Hitler saw himself as the man of centuries, almost (although he himself expressly disclaimed so religious a title) the Messiah. He believed that he alone—or almost alone—both understood the crisis of our time and could correct it. For to him the defeat of Germany in the first World War was not merely a crisis of Germany: it was—as it had been

⁴ Hitler had four personal secretaries during the war. Fräulein Johanna Wolf, Fräulein Christa Schröder, Fräulein Gerda Daranowski (who, towards the end of the war married General Christian) and Frau Traudl Junge. The first three of these are occasionally mentioned by their initials, J. W., C. S. (or Chr. Schr.), G. D., as participants in the Table-Talk. Hitler's adjutant was Julius Schaub, his doctor Prof. Theodore Morell, his vegetarian-cook Fräulein Manziaty.

⁵ A. Zoller, *Hitler Privat* (Düsseldorf, 1949), pp. 44-5, 97, 146-7. The real author of this valuable book appears from internal evidence to be Fräulein Schröder.

to Oswald Spengler—a crisis of civilization, the kind of crisis that occurs only at rare moments of history, can only be understood by those who have studied past history in terms of centuries, and can only be remedied by those who are prepared to launch and able to control those cataclysms and convulsions in which historic ages perish or are born. This cataclysmic view of history was an essential part of Hitler's ideas, and it is essential for us to understand it: for it was within this framework that he saw himself and the mission with which he credited himself, against this background that he judged other men, both in the present and in history. One of the clearest expressions of this view was uttered by him not in 1941, when it might easily be ascribed to the intoxication of power, but in 1923, when he was apparently finally defeated, and in prison. It is a passage which I have already quoted once,⁶ but since *Mein Kampf*, though a book of fundamental importance, is, in general, both unreadable and unread, I shall make no excuse for quoting it again. "At long intervals of human history," he then wrote, "it may occasionally happen that the practical politician and the political philosopher are one. The more intimate the union, the greater are his political difficulties. Such a man does not labour to satisfy demands that are obvious to every philistine; he reaches forward towards ends that are comprehensible only to the few. Therefore his life is torn between hatred and love. The protest of the present generation, which does not understand him, wrestles with the recognition of posterity, for which he also works."⁷ By 1941 Hitler's success had naturally confirmed him in this view that he both understood and could control the course of centuries. More and more his mind ranged over the history of mankind, its crucial stages, and the great men who had been the architects of its change. "A man who has no sense of history," he said, "is like a man who has no ears or no eyes. He can live, of course, but what is that?"

What was Hitler's interpretation of history? It was crude but clear, and—like all his views—buttressed by a vast array of arbitrarily selected facts stored in his astonishing memory and arranged in preconceived patterns by his restless, rigid, systematic mind. Further, although experience added new details and new illustrations to it, it remained, from at least 1923, absolutely clear and consistent. Hitler, like Spengler, saw history as a succession of human ages which could be defined by their "cultures," the totality of their social organisation and ideas. There was the ancient culture of Greece

⁶ *The Last Days of Hitler* (2nd ed., 1950), p. 46.

⁷ *Mein Kampf* (English translation, London, 1939), p. 183.

* D.T. Spengler was crucial to him

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In the late 20's, reading too his
last cars, he was very nervous of

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and Rome for which he expressed great enthusiasm—although, as Albert Speer has drily observed, "his conceptions on this subject were not based on any profound historical studies"; there was the "Germanic" Medieval culture which had been eclipsed at the Renaissance by the modern "capitalist" society of Western Europe; and there was that modern society which, again like Spengler, he believed to be in its turn sick unto death. How was it, he asked, that these cultures had so sickened or died? "I often wonder," he said, "why the Ancient World collapsed"; and his mind ranged over a series of possible answers to this perplexing question. Was it a decline of population? or climate? or was the Roman Empire rotted from within by Jewish Christianity? These were not academic questions, for their answers, to him, contained the answer to the great practical problem which he had long ago decided to solve.

For just as the Roman Empire had sickened before the German barbarians fell upon it and destroyed it, so the civilisation of the West, he believed, was now sickening and would slowly die. Or would it be allowed to die? Would it not rather, like the Roman Empire, be conquered and absorbed by the new barbarian power which would ultimately replace it? But what would that new barbarian power be? On this topic also Hitler had brooded long, and, following "the iron law of historical development,"⁸ thought that he had found the answer.

First of all, it was clear that the new power, whatever it was, must be a land-power. This was determined by technical fact. The day of maritime empires such as the empires of Portugal, Holland and Britain, was, in his opinion, over. In old times, indeed, the sea had provided the only smooth and cheap communications with the distant parts of the earth, and great land-masses had been the barriers, not the means of travel; but now, thanks to roads and railways, motor-power and air-power, that was reversed: the new empire, which would conquer and absorb and replace the society of Western Europe, must be a great land empire, bound together not by ships and trade but by giant roads and massive armies, the real nexus of the new age.

Hitler was naturally a landsman: he came not from the Baltic or the Mediterranean but from the heart of Europe, and he had probably seldom seen the sea. Certainly he never understood sea-power; and distant colonies, which depended on sea-power, he altogether rejected. It was continents, not islands, that interested him. So he brooded over maps and planned vast roads and studied the new science of "geo-

⁸ Hitler Speaks, p. 47.

politics" which, inspired by Sir Halford Mackinder in 1919, had found a more sympathetic reception in Central Europe than in its native England. Hitler's obsession with roads and land-armies and the conquest of great spaces is often evident in his table-talk; but it was older than that also. "No two men," he once confessed, "interested me more in my youth than Nansen and Sven Hedin"; and even in the middle of the war he would turn aside from politics and strategy to receive a devout but disreputable pilgrim, the aged Sven Hedin, and together they would discuss those empires of the steppes which the one had once explored and the other now sought to conquer.⁹ Similarly, his mind often dwelt on great roads, "the beginnings of every civilisation," the nerves which must animate a land-empire. He would imagine the roads of the past—Roman roads in Europe, Inca roads in Peru, and the roads of the future—German *Reichsautobahnen* "from Klagenfurt to Trondhjem and from Hamburg to the Crimea"; and when he recollected, as he so often did, the exhilarating days of the *Kampfzeit*, it was in the endless motor-journeys along "the beautiful, broad, white *Autobahnen*" that that recollection seemed to him most concentrated.

But if the new age was to be the age of a great land-empire dominating what Sir Halford Mackinder had called "the Heartland," "the Citadel of the World Empire"—the area, that is, invulnerable to sea-power in Central Europe and Asia—what people, what government could claim this empire? Clearly it could not be any of the old maritime peoples—and in them therefore Hitler was fundamentally uninterested: it must be—if it were to be a European people—either the Germans or the Russians, for these peoples alone had the land-armies, the land-ambitions, the "geopolitical" outlook for such an achievement. The German geopotiticians on the whole had assumed that it would be the Russians, who were, after all, both more numerous and already there; and they had advocated, for Germany, rather an alliance with Russia than an attempt to conquer it. And yet, Hitler asked himself, was that really inevitable? Were not the Germans the real *Kulturträger*, the culture-bearers of Europe? Was it not the Germans who, when the Roman Empire had been rotted inwardly by Jewish Christianity and a declining population, had conquered and inherited it? The Germanic Middle Ages had indeed been frustrated by the "Christian" Renaissance, the rise of the plutocratic capitalist civilisation of Western Europe; but now that that plutocratic capitalist civilisation was in its turn decaying, might not the

⁹ See Sven Hedin's *German Diary* (Dublin, 1951).

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Germans reawake and, awakened, resume and redirect their splendid mission? The old German Emperors, for good technical reasons, had looked south to Italy; the new German Reich, for similar reasons, must look east. Might it not, even now, by some heroic effort, wrest from the Russians their dominion and impose upon the Heartland a German instead of a Russian Empire? It is true, the Russians were more numerous; but had not minorities often before, by skill and determination, conquered and enslaved great nations? It is true, the Germans had just been defeated in war and Germany was now amputated, unarmed and helpless; but had not Russia also been defeated in war, had it not lost, in the West, its richest provinces, had it not been ravaged by civil war? It is true, the Germans were politically incompetent—*Dickschädel*, *Querschädel*, *Dummköpfe*—desperate blockheads and ninnies incapable of political sense or action; but “even stupid races can accomplish something, given good leadership.” Genghiz Khan, by his “unique genius for organisation” had united the Tartars; Charlemagne, “one of the greatest men in world-history,” had by force united even the thick-headed Germans. What force and leadership had done once, force and leadership could do again. It is true, Germany had already failed to conquer Russia in the past; but the Germany that had failed was the byzantine, cosmopolitan, traditionalist, Jew-ridden Hohenzollern monarchy, and while “monarchies are at best able to keep conquests, it is by revolutionary powers that World-Empires are created”; what if there were to be a revolution in Germany, a revolution which would release the inhibited and frustrated energies of the real Germany, the nationalist and proletarian Germany which the anti-national upper class had hitherto divided and enslaved? It is true, the Russians had already had their revolution and were to that extent better placed, and the geopolitical prophets easily acquiesced in the inevitability of Russian domination; but against the defeatist doctrine of inevitability Hitler advanced a more inspiring doctrine, a doctrine which, to the depressed and desolate Germany of the 1920s seemed an evangel of human hope against the dismal, mechanical pessimism of his contemporaries: the doctrine of the ultimate sovereignty of the human will. Had not Nietzsche and Schopenhauer declared this doctrine? Had not Mussolini, “that unparalleled statesman,” proved its truth by his example? Hitler’s genuine personal reverence for Mussolini, which so exasperated some of his more clear-sighted followers—a reverence first expressed in *Mein Kampf* and sustained until 1944, when Hitler discovered with chagrin what Mussolini had been saying about him—sprang prima-

* It was the genius of the C. O. to
envisage a future elite arising
from the decay and collapse of the society
THE MIND OF ADOLPH HITLER

fully from this fact: Mussolini had shown that a seemingly inevitable decay could in fact be resisted and reversed; "the March on Rome was a turning-point in history: the mere fact that it could be done gave us our inspiration." Of Hitler's own almost incredible will-power all witnesses have borne testimony, and he himself claimed with some justice, to have the strongest will in centuries; to the very end, even when all physical power had gone, he exercised, by mere will-power, an absolute authority over a whole people. Nevertheless, it was not by will-power alone that Hitler hoped to reverse the seeming inevitability of history: he planned to do it by thought also. With his coarse, powerful mind he raked and combed the centuries of human history and thrust and forced the reluctant facts into a brutal, uncritical systematic philosophy for the fulfilment of his vast designs.

How is a social revolution carried out? he asked. How is a great empire conquered by a relatively small people? How is an empire, once established, rendered permanent? To all these questions history—if read with the selective faith of a Spengler or a Toynbee—supplies the answer. All revolutions depend for their success on the capture of power by an *élite*, and the formation of such an *élite* was the function of National Socialism: the Germans were to be the *élite* of Europe and to be themselves governed by a German *élite*, the Party. A Germanic people, thus mobilised, could easily, given the will to power and dynamic leadership, conquer an empire. Look at the English, another "purely Germanic nation," and their achievement, under their natural aristocracy—those princely, self-confident "Lords" whose vast estates (Hitler asserted) covered all England, making military manoeuvres impossible. A few thousand Englishmen had conquered and governed four hundred million Indians. Again and again Hitler's mind reverted to the example of the English conquest of India, the origin of that maddening English self-confidence. "What India was for England," he said, "the spaces of the East will be for us," and then he would allow his mind to roam erroneously over the history of England and of India, subjects of which he knew nothing, but of which Ribbentrop, the great master of English affairs and himself so like an English lord, had often informed him.

But could such a conquest be made permanent? Of course it could. Modern science, modern power, modern propaganda, made that possible. Revolution by subject peoples against a self-confident master-race, he would declare, was now quite out of the question; and again and again he would describe, in hideous detail, the methods

whereby a conquered empire could be preserved. The ruling power must recognise that subjects have no rights: "Who has, has"—that is the sum of human morality in politics; and to give arms to a subject people is even more criminal than to give them freedom: "History teaches us that all master-races have declined once they consented to arm the peoples they had conquered." As for education, let subject peoples learn German, so that they cannot pretend not to understand the orders of their masters, let them learn so much of geography as to know that Berlin is the capital of the world; and otherwise let them practice contraception (even if it means sending the Jews there to teach them) to reduce their birthrate, and be denied hospitals to increase their death rate, so that the German colonists, secure in their new strategic cities and linked with the centres of power by vast *Autobahnen*, need never fear a rising of their Helots. Such, said Hitler, is the iron rule of imperialism. When that had been established by victory, the remaining tasks would be easy. Pockets of resistance, tolerated hitherto, would be eliminated: Hitler would carry out "the Final Solution" of the Jewish problem; the old European aristocracies, the "upper-class *mafia*" of frivolous cosmopolitan reactionaries—the same people who had corrupted German diplomacy for so long and still sabotaged the Duce in Italy—would be liquidated; the Churches, by their own methods, would be supplanted (Hitler always expressed admiration for the methods, though he detested the doctrines, of the Roman Church); Christianity, with its disgusting equalitarianism, would be extirpated; and at the first report of mutiny in the Reich "the whole anti-social rabble," "a few hundred thousand men" conveniently kept in concentration camps for the purpose, would be led out to execution. Thus the German millennium would be secured.

A barbarous millennium! Hitler would not have denied it; for barbarism, he maintained, was the first basis of all culture, the only means whereby a new civilisation could replace an old. The German conquerors of the Roman Empire had been barbarians; but they had replaced an old and rotten society by the basis of a new and vigorous civilisation. Similarly, the Nazis must be barbarians to replace with their millennium the dying culture of the West. "Yes," he had declared in 1933, "we are barbarians! We want to be barbarians! It is an honorable title. We shall rejuvenate the world. This world is near its end." By "historical necessity" barbarian forces must break up decaying civilisations and "snatch the torch of life from their dying fires." The last fifteen hundred years, he casually informed Mussolini—

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the years between Attila and himself, the whole span of Christian civilisation—had been a mere interruption of human development, which “is now about to resume its former character.” As for culture, that, he declared in *Mein Kampf*, must wait till its basis has been established by a barbarian heroic age, as the culture of Athens and Rome thrived on the basis of the Persian and Punic Wars.¹⁰ . . . But what, we may ask, was the new Germanic culture to be like, whose institution was to justify these barbaric methods? Alas, the answer is clear. Hitler, the artist, was always willing to develop his ideas on culture. This book is full of them; narrow, materialist, trivial, half-baked, disgusting. No more words need be wasted on them. The hundred million self-confident German masters were to be brutally installed in Europe, and secured in power by a monopoly of technical civilisation and the slave-labour of a dwindling native population of neglected, diseased, illiterate *cretins*, in order that they might have leisure to buzz along infinite *Autobahnen*, admire the Strength-through-Joy Hostel, the Party headquarters, the Military Museum and the Planetarium which their Fuehrer had built in Linz (his new Hitleropolis), trot round local picture-galleries, and listen over their cream-buns to endless recordings of *The Merry Widow*. This was to be the German Millennium, from which even the imagination was to have no means of escape. “After National Socialism has lasted for some time, it will be impossible to imagine a form of life different from ours.”

But before that could happen, was victory certain? All depended on that essential condition. For the struggle between Germany and Russia was to be the decisive battle of the world, like the Battle of the Catalaunian Fields between Rome and the Huns, or certain other battles which Hitler as erroneously supposed to have been decisive in history. If the Germans were to win, the millennium would indeed be theirs, but if they were to be defeated, then their defeat would also be for a millennium. For in Russia was there not another secular genius, *der geniale Stalin*, who had also carried through a great revolution, who had also imposed an new *élite* on his subject people, who had also liquidated his enemies by millions, preached a new religion to intoxicate or enslave his peoples, and aspired to the dominion of Eurasia and the world? In his hatred of “Jewish Bolshevism,” his contempt for the Slavonic sub-man, Hitler never lost his admiration for that other barbarian of genius, “the crafty Caucasian,” whom he saw as his only worthy enemy “a tremendous personality,” “a beast, but a beast on

¹⁰ *Mein Kampf*, p. 499.

Y D. T. The same can be said for the Internat.

the grand scale," "half beast, half giant"—nor indeed for the communist *credo* and method, an ideology as powerful as his own. He preferred communists to aristocrats, Spanish Reds to the worthless Franco, that renegade creature of dukes and priests whom, in the end, out of utter contempt, he refused even to mention.¹¹ For this war, the war which Hitler was planning, the war between Germany and Russia, between Hitler and Stalin, between ideology and ideology, was to be no mere dynastic or economic war, it was to be a war of life and death, empire or annihilation, deciding the fate of centuries; a war not *against* the past—that was already dead—but between two Titans disputing its inheritance. For the dead world, and for the neuters who contracted out of the World's Debate, Hitler had only contempt; for the other Titan, as for an equal, he had some respect. But this did not mean that he would give him any quarter. In the battle for empire quarter would be neither sought nor given. In the hour of his imagined triumph Hitler declared that Russia was to be utterly destroyed, Moscow and Leningrad to be levelled with the ground, and their names and record to be for ever blotted out of geography and history alike;¹² in the hour of his ultimate failure he was prepared himself to destroy Germany: "If the war is to be lost, the nation also will perish. There is no need to consider the basis even of the most primitive existence. On the contrary, it is better to destroy it; and to destroy it ourselves. The future belongs solely to the stronger Eastern nation."¹³

Such was the crucial struggle, a struggle for the history of centuries, in which Hitler saw himself as the incarnation of historical change. He had seen this problem—seen it at least since 1919; he had created the form in which it now faced the world, a demanding solution; by his heroic efforts he had made a German solution of it possible; and he naturally believed that only he could carry through "that Cyclopean Task which the building of an Empire means for a single man." That meant that it must be carried through quickly, while Germany had the advantage, before Russia was ready, and, above all, while he himself was alive. "No one knows how long I shall live. Therefore," he had said in 1937, "let us have war now."¹⁴ It was his "irrevocable decision," he declared, "to solve the problem of German living-space" before 1945 at the latest. In 1941 he

¹¹ Zoller, p. 162.

¹² A. Zoller, *Hitler Privat*, p. 143, cf. below pp. 5, 617, 621-2.

¹³ This statement was made to Speer in March 1945 (see *The Last Days of Hitler*, p. 92).

¹⁴ Trial of the Major War Criminals, Proceedings of I.M.T. Nuremberg, 1946, I., 160, 172-3, and cf. below p. 661.

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duly launched his armies to the East, and the Russian armies rolled back before that terrible impact. What wonder if, at such a moment, Hitler saw all his prophecies fulfilled, the German millennium in sight, and himself so clearly established by history as the demijurge of centuries that he could write to his revered ally and exemplar, Benito Mussolini, as Titan to Titan in the birth-pangs of an age: "What I am for Germany, Duce, you are for Italy; but what we shall both be for Europe, only posterity will one day be able to judge."¹⁵ He had been just in time—"another ten or fifteen years and Russia would have been the mightiest state in the world and two or three centuries would have to pass before any new change"; but he had now carried it off: it was the German, not the Russian millennium that had come. How trivial an adventurer Napoleon now seemed to him in comparison with himself! Napoleon had surrendered to tradition, had made himself Emperor and his relatives kings, had proved himself "only a man, not a world-phenomenon." Hitler would never do that: he would never forget that he was "the practical politician and the political philosopher in one," not just Spengler or Napoleon, but Spengler and Napoleon, a "world-phenomenon"; and for a world-phenomenon suddenly "to drive through the streets of Munich as Emperor in a gilded coach" would be merely ridiculous.

Compared with this great problem—the conquest of the East and the establishment thereby of a millennial German Empire with a new racial religion to confirm its rule for ever—all other problems seemed to Hitler secondary. Even the war with the West was secondary. Long ago he had formulated his attitude to the West. The West, in spite of its victory in 1918—achieved only through the famous "Stab in the Back"—and though still powerful at this crucial moment, was, when seen in the long perspective of history, clearly in decline. It could be left to decline. Fundamentally Hitler had no interest in it. For England, indeed, he had some admiration, mixed with envy and hatred. He admired the British as a "pure Germanic people" and a conquering people. On the other hand he envied England as an upstart, self-confident world-power—what right had England to claim a history on the basis of its beggarly three hundred years compared with the thousand-year German Reich—and he hated it, as so many German nationalists have hated it, as the great Carthage which by trade had colonised the world and sought to strangle the honest land-empire of Germany. But since England and the West were anyway destined ultimately to

¹⁵ Hitler e Mussolini, *Lettere e Documenti* (Milan, 1946), p. 140.

and religion, on geography and technology, art-history and architecture.¹⁸ He himself claimed to have devoured all five hundred volumes in a Viennese book-store;¹⁹ and we know how he read, glancing first at the end, then in the middle, then—when he had some idea of its content—working systematically through it. But accumulation and memorisation is not necessarily thought, and we cannot be sure that Hitler in Vienna did more than accumulate the matter which his powerful mind afterwards arranged in a grim, erroneous system. More probably this stage came later, during the war when, as he tells us, he carried the works of Schopenhauer, the philosopher of ~~manism~~ and will-power, regularly in his pocket and "learned a great deal" from them. We know, from his secretary, that he could quote Schopenhauer by the page; and the other German philosopher of will-power, Nietzsche, whose works he afterwards presented to Mussolini, was also often on his lips. The war was certainly an important experience in his life, the only period when, as he afterwards said, he had no material worries, and therefore was free to think. It is probable that his views on Eastern conquest were also formed in the war. Certainly they were at least partially formed by 1920, when he was declaring to one of his earliest audiences that the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, by which Germany had taken from Russia some fifty per cent of its productive capacity, was, compared with the wicked Treaty of Versailles, "infinitely humane."²⁰ Probably it was during the war also that he acquired his interest both in Frederick the Great, the type of heroic will-power, whom by 1933 he recognised as his "great exemplar,"²¹ and in Carlyle, the prophet of hero-worship. Approximately, in his last defiant stronghold, the besieged *Führer-bunker* in Berlin, Hitler sat beneath the portrait of Frederick the Great and listened to passages from Carlyle's biography of him. Nor was Frederick the Great only a military hero to Hitler: Frederick's cynical letters about religion and his *Theological Controversies* were also among his favourite reading. From his school-days Hitler had expressed a neurotic, indeed cheap, detestation of religion, which he often afterwards, with pitiful complacency, delighted to recall, and in his table-talk he would praise the "Solomon's wisdom" of Frederick's gibes and recommend them—they had already been selected and

¹⁸ Josef Greiner, *Das Ende des Hitler Mythos* (Vienna, 1947), p. 83.

¹⁹ Zoller, p. 36.

²⁰ *Mein Kampf*, p. 389.

²¹ *Hitler Speaks*, p. 258.

1940s

then, he afterwards said, "that I had leisure to give a historical basis to my philosophy," then that he "deepened various notions previously based on instinct only," then that he discovered his mission, his "fearless faith and unshakeable confidence in our destiny," then that—by a study (as he admitted²⁷) of Marxist methods, he evolved the plan which he afterwards so skillfully executed, of a *coup d'état* from within. Schopenhauer's doctrine of the will, Lenin's theory of the capture of power, and Dr. Pötsch's teaching of history were all fused together into a consistent philosophy during that year of imprisonment—a year, like the years in the Army, free from material worries—during which the Wagnerians also solaced the prisoner and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, the son-in-law of Wagner and prophet of racialism, wrote "so kindly" to him. Nor was this the only personal solace he received in that crucial year. Earlier in 1923 he had met for the first time a devoted disciple who now shared his cell and with whom he must often have discussed, and in discussion formulated, his ideas: Rudolf Hess. Now Rudolf Hess did not only come to Hitler as a companion, an amanuensis, a disciple: he was also, in some sense, a teacher. For Hess had lately been studying at Munich University and had been the pupil and friend and enthusiastic follower—he was afterwards to be the assistant—of Professor Karl Haushofer; and Haushofer, as head of the new Geopolitical Institute at Munich, had taken up and was now popularising in Germany those doctrines of Eurasian land-power which, derived from Mackinder, and advanced as the basis of Russo-German agreement, were soon found applicable to a very different purpose: the conquest of the East.

The result of Hitler's period of intellectual gestation in prison and his association with Hess was, first, *Mein Kampf*, which Hitler dictated and Hess wrote down and, secondly, an unpublished book by Hitler on foreign policy of which the text has not seen the light but which, we know, advocated peace with England and therefore probably war with Russia, and which Hitler evidently showed to one man only, Rudolf Hess.²⁸ That Hess was a channel whereby Haushofer's geopolitical ideas were conveyed to Hitler's mind, there to be transformed into the doctrine of Eastern *Lebensraum*, seems to me almost certain. That doctrine, fully developed, was placed, as a "political testament," at the end of *Mein Kampf*. It remained Hitler's political testament to the end. The last

²⁷ *Hitler Speaks*, pp. 19, 185-236.

²⁸ Zoller, pp. 155-6. The book (which was written in 1925) is mentioned by Hitler, below, p. 305.

INTRODUCTION

dead vermin, ashes and eggshells and actual *detritus* of centuries. Every glimpse it in those years—in *Mein Kampf* in its versions of the table-talk of 1933, in speeches of which the record has survived, complete record of the table-talk of 1941-44 isency. Clearest of all, by reason of its triumphant circumstances of its delivery, is the self-revelation of the most formidable "simplifiers" of history, the most systematic historical, the most philosophical, and yet the least, least magnanimous conqueror the world

X
7/5/41

Part One

1941

5th July—31st December

1. Saturday, 5th July 1941

Aryans and Russians—Necessity of the mailed fist in Russia—Deterioration of soil.

What we need is a collective view of people's wish to live and manner of living.

We must distinguish between the Fascist popular movement and the popular movement in Russia. The Fascist movement is a spontaneous return to the traditions of ancient Rome. The Russian movement has an essential tendency towards anarchy.

By instinct, the Russian does not incline towards a higher form of society. Certain peoples can live in such a way that with them a collection of family units does not make a whole; and although Russia has set up a social system which, judged by Western standards, qualifies for the designation "State," it is not in fact, a system which is either congenial or natural to her.

It is true that, in a sense, every product of human culture, every work gifted with beauty can be born only of the effect of the constraint which we call education.

The Aryan peoples are peoples who are particularly active. A man like Krümel works from morning to night; such-and-such another person never stops thinking. In the same way, the Italian is as diligent as an ant (*bienenfleissig*). In the eyes of the Russian, the principal support of civilisation is vodka. His ideal consists in never doing anything but the indispensable. Our conception of work (work, and then more of it!) is one that he submits to as if it were a real curse.

7/11-12/41

tury of nature, and announcing that he would soon have dominion over space. But a simple storm is enough—and everything collapses like a pack of cards!

In any case, we shall learn to become familiar with the laws by which life is governed, and acquaintance with the laws of nature will guide us on the path of progress. As for the *why* of these laws, we shall never know anything about it. A thing is so, and our understanding cannot conceive of other schemes.

Man has discovered in nature the wonderful notion of that all-mighty being whose law he worships.

Fundamentally in everyone there is the feeling for this all-mighty, which we call God (that is to say, the dominion of natural laws throughout the whole universe). The priests, who have always succeeded in exploiting this feeling, threaten punishments for the man who refuses to accept the creed they impose.

When one provokes in a child a fear of the dark, one awakens in him a feeling of atavistic dread. Thus this child will be ruled all his life by this dread, whereas another child, who has been intelligently brought up, will be free of it.

It's said that every man needs a refuge where he can find consolation and help in unhappiness. I don't believe it! If humanity follows that path, it's solely a matter of tradition and habit. That's a lesson, by the way, that can be drawn from the Bolshevik front. The Russians have no God, and that doesn't prevent them from being able to face death.

We don't want to educate anyone in atheism.

4. Night of 11th-12th July 1941

National Socialism and religion cannot exist together—No persecution of religions, let them wither of themselves—Bolshevism, the illegitimate child of Christianity—Origin of the Spartan gruel—The Latvian morons—Stalin, one of history's most remarkable figures.

When National Socialism has ruled long enough, it will no longer be possible to conceive of a form of life different from ours.

In the long run, National Socialism and religion will no longer be able to exist together.

On a question from C.S., whether this antagonism might mean a war, the Fuehrer continued:

CHRISTIANITY

No, it does not mean : to leave the religions to cutions. But in that case something equivalent. T without saying that the w Everything will occur in of honesty, that's what it

In England, the status of Church is governed by co it's all purely a matter of The German people's

it's the only one of the I revolution in this sphere. It that only the German peo ending principle of action.

The heaviest blow that ev of Christianity. Bolshevism Both are inventions of the matter of religion was intr anity. Bolshevism practises claims to bring liberty to only to enslave them. In the tween men and gods were f It was a world enlightened anity was the first creed i adversaries in the name of

Without Christianity, we : Roman Empire, under Gern vveloped in the direction of v would not have extinguished at a single stroke.

Let it not be said that Ch of the soul, for that evolutic things.

The result of the collapse night that lasted for centuric

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7/11-12/41

OF GOD

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12th July 1941

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whether this antagonism might
ntinued:

No, it does not mean a war. The ideal solution would be
to leave the religions to devour themselves, without perse-
cutions. But in that case we must not replace the Church by
something equivalent. That would be terrifying! It goes
without saying that the whole thing needs a lot of thought.
Everything will occur in due time. It is a simple question
of honesty, that's what it will finally boil down to.

In England, the status of the individual in relation to the
Church is governed by considerations of State. In America,
it's all purely a matter of conformism.

The German people's especial quality is patience; and
it's the only one of the peoples capable of undertaking a
revolution in this sphere. It could do it, if only for the reason
that only the German people has made moral law the gov-
erning principle of action.

The heaviest blow that ever struck humanity was the coming
of Christianity. Bolshevism is Christianity's illegitimate child.
Both are inventions of the Jew. The deliberate lie in the
matter of religion was introduced into the world by Christi-
anity. Bolshevism practises a lie of the same nature, when it
claims to bring liberty to men, whereas in reality it seeks
only to enslave them. In the ancient world, the relations be-
tween men and gods were founded on an instinctive respect.
It was a world enlightened by the idea of tolerance. Christi-
anity was the first creed in the world to exterminate its
adversaries in the name of love. Its key-note is intolerance.

Without Christianity, we should not have had Islam. The
Roman Empire, under Germanic influence, would have de-
veloped in the direction of world-domination, and humanity
would not have extinguished fifteen centuries of civilisation
at a single stroke.

Let it not be said that Christianity brought man the life
of the soul, for that evolution was in the natural order of
things.

The result of the collapse of the Roman Empire was a
night that lasted for centuries.

The Romans had no dislike of the Germans. This is shown
by the mere fact that blond hair was fashionable with them.
Amongst the Goths there were many men with dark hair.

The Italian, Spanish, French and English dialects were cre-
ated by mixtures of local languages with the linguistic
elements imported by the migrant peoples. At first they
were mere vernaculars, until a poet was found who forged
the nation's language. It takes five or six centuries for a lan-
guage to be born.

The conqueror of a country is forced to adapt himself

world; and the German soldier, in a moment of crisis, is safer and sounder than any other soldier. I'm truly happy that it has been granted to me to see, in my lifetime, the German soldier rewarded by Providence. For an élite force, like our SS, it's great luck to have suffered comparatively heavy losses. In this way, it's assured of the necessary prestige to intervene, if need be, on the home front—which, of course, won't be necessary. But it's good to know that one disposes of a force that could show itself capable of doing so, on occasion.

It's marvellous to see how our Gauleiters are everywhere in the breach.

I cannot tell you how greatly I suffered, during the Great War, from the weaknesses of our command. In a military sense we were not at all clever, and in a political sense we were so clumsy that I had a constant longing to intervene. If I'd been Reich Chancellor at the period, in three months' time I'd have cut the throat of all obstruction, and I'd have reasserted our power.

If I were twenty to twenty-five years younger, I'd be in the front line. I passionately loved soldiering.

8. Friday, 25th July 1941, midday

Rumania must become an agricultural country.

Rumania would do well to give up, as far as possible, the idea of having her own industry. She would direct the wealth of her soil, and especially her wheat, towards the German market. She would receive from us, in exchange, the manufactured goods she needs. Bessarabia is a real granary. Thus the Rumanian proletariat, which is contaminated by Bolshevism, would disappear, and the country would never lack anything. I must own that King Carol has worked in that direction.

9. Friday, 25th July 1941, evening

Anglo-American rivalries.

England and America will one day have a war with one another, which will be waged with the greatest hatred imaginable. One of the two countries will have to disappear.

10. Saturday, 26th July 1941, night

Monarchy is doomed.

8/2/41

X

rummaging through old back-numbers of the *Woche*. I have a collection of them. It's truly instructive to plunge one's nose in them. At the launching of a ship, nothing but top-hats, even after the revolution! The people were invited to such festivities only as stage extras. The Kaiser received a delegation of workers *just once*. He gave them a fine scolding, threatening simply to withdraw the Imperial favour from them! At their local meetings, I suppose the delegates had plenty of time in which to draw their conclusions from the Imperial speech. When war came, the harm had been done, and it was too late to go into reverse. Moreover, people were too cowardly to crush Social Democracy. It's what Bismarck wanted to do, but with the corollary of good social legislation. If they'd followed that path systematically, it would have led us to our goal in less than twenty years.

Thaelmann is the very type of those mediocrities who can't act otherwise than as they have acted. He's not as intelligent as Torgler, for example. He's a narrow-minded man. That's why I let Torgler go free, whilst I had to keep Thaelmann locked up, not in revenge, but to prevent him from being a nuisance. As soon as the danger in Russia has been removed, I'll let *him* go, too. I don't need to lock up the Social Democrats. Indeed, all I ever had to fear from them was that they might find some base abroad to support their attacks on us.

Our pact with Russia never implied that we might be led to adopt a different attitude towards the danger within. Taken by themselves, I find our Communists a thousand times more sympathetic than Starhemberg, say. They were sturdy fellows. Pity they didn't stay a little longer in Russia. They would have come back completely cured.

15. 2nd August 1941, during dinner

Lawyers and their potential prey—Corporal punishment—Simplification of deterrents.

In the same way as owners of moors take care, a long time in advance, of the game they'll kill in the shooting-season, so lawyers take care of the criminal class.

The greatest vice of our penal system is the exaggerated importance attached to a first sentence. Corporal punishment would often be much better than a term of imprisonment. In prison and in penitentiary establishments, the delinquent is at too good a school. The old lags he meets there teach him, first that he was stupid to be caught, and secondly to do better next time. All that his stay in prison amounts to

8/19-20/41

that, thanks to what I have done, the German nation has gained, up to the present, more than two million five hundred thousand human beings. If I demand a tenth of this as a sacrifice, nevertheless I have given 90 per cent. I hope that in ten years there will be from ten to fifteen millions more of us Germans in the world. Whether they are men or women, it matters little: I am creating conditions favourable to growth.

Many great men were the sixth or seventh children of their family. When such-and-such a man, whom one knows, dies, one knows what one has lost. But does one know what one loses by the limitation of births? The man killed before he is born—that remains the enigma.

Wars drive the people to proliferation, they teach us not to fall into the error of being content with a single child in each family.

It's not tolerable that the life of the peoples of the Continent should depend upon England. The Ukraine, and then the Volga basin, will one day be the granaries of Europe. We shall reap much more than what actually grows from the soil. It must not be forgotten that, from the time of the Tsars, Russia, with her hundred and seventy million people, has never suffered from famine. We shall also keep Europe supplied with iron. If one day Sweden declines to supply any more iron, that's all right. We'll get it from Russia. The industry of Belgium will be able to exchange its products—cheap articles of current consumption—against the grain from those parts. As for the poor working-class families of Thuringia and the Harz mountains, for example, they'll find vast possibilities there.

In the regions we occupy in the Ukraine, the population is crowding into the churches. I'd see no harm in that if, as is the case at present, the Masses were held by old Russian peasants. It would be different if they had priests, and as for those, we shall have to deliberate whether to let them come back. According to a report I've been reading, the Russian opposition thinks it can use the clergy as a base of departure for Pan-Slav activities.

19. Night of 14th-15th September 1941

*Criminals in war-time—Attempted assassinations in the occupied territories—The habits of the Jurists—
A path of extreme difficulty.*

The triumph of gangsterdom in 1918 can be explained. During four years of war great gaps were formed among the best of us. And whilst we were at the front, criminals flourished at home. Death sentences were very rare, in short all that needed to be done was to open the gates of the prisons when it was necessary to find leaders for revolutionary masses.

I've ordered Himmler, in the event of there some being reason to fear troubles back at home, to liquidate everything he finds in the concentration camps. Thus a stroke the revolution would be deprived of its leaders.

The old Reich knew already how to act with firmness in the occupied areas. That's how attempts at sabotage to railways in Belgium were punished by Count von der Go. He had all the villages burnt within a radius of several kilometres, after having had all the mayors shot, the men, prisoned and the women and children evacuated. There were three or four acts of violence in all, then nothing more happened. It's true that in 1918 the population adopted a hostile attitude towards German troops going up into the line. I remember a Town Major who urged us to continue our way when we wanted to chastise some blighters, stuck out their tongues at us. The troops could easily have settled such incidents, but the lawyers always took the side of the population. I can't say how I hate that artificial notion of law.

Nowadays it's the same thing. During the campaign in Poland, the lawyers tried to blame the troops because the latter had shot sixty civilians in a region where wounded soldiers had been massacred. In such a case, a lawyer of legal proceedings against X. His enquiry leads nowhere, of course, for nobody has ever seen anything, and if anyone knows the guilty man, he'll take good care not to interfere against a "member of the Resistance."

Lawyers cannot understand that in exceptional times laws become valid. I shall be interested to know when they'll pass the death sentence on that madman who fired to the *Bremen*—deliberately, it's said, from a liking for setting things alight. I've given instructions for the execution of the man's not being condemned to death. He's to be shot immediately.

The prosecutor usually demands the death penalty, the judges, when in doubt, always find extenuating circumstances. Thus, when the law prescribes as penalty of death, imprisonment for life, penal servitude or a term of imprisonment, it's usually the last of these penalties they select.

9/14-15/41

X

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1-15th September 1941

—Attempted assassinations in
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ns, the best notion is the cold buffet. groups. You can change places to chat, companion to another. This notion competition for the places of honour, y the classical method of arranging the

September 1941, evening

Europe and Asia—Success justifies right to fertile lands—The Russian jammed—Suicide candidates—The ional Socialism must not ape religion.

to suppose that the frontier between lds of Europe and Asia is marked by high mountains—and the long chain of is marked by one of the great Rus-aphically Asia penetrates into Europe reak.

the one that separates the Germanic world. It's our duty to place it where

where we obtain the right to extend to the East, we reply that, for a nation, t she represents carries this right with ustifies everything. The reply to such be of an empirical nature.

hat a higher people should painfully row for it, whilst amorphous masses, ing to civilisation, occupy infinite tracts of the richest in the world. We pain- res from the sea, we torment ourselves and in the Ukraine an inexhaustibly ckness, in places, of ten metres of hu- us.

ditions for our people that favour its : must at the same time build a dike ood.

taken place, the Reich would scarcely ulation during the next ten years, but a would have grown vigorously.

9/22/41
65

The earth continues to go round, whether it's the man who kills the tiger or the tiger who eats the man. The stronger asserts his will, it's the law of nature. The world doesn't change; its laws are eternal.

There are some who say the world is evil, and that they wish to depart from this life. For my part, I like the world! Unless the desire to die is due to a lover's quarrel, I advise the desperate man to have patience for a year. The consolations will come. But if a human being has any other reason to wish to die than this, then let him die, I'm not stopping him. I merely call attention to the fact that one cannot escape this world entirely. The elements of which our body is made belong to the cycle of nature; and as for our soul, it's possible that it might return to limbo, until it gets an opportunity to reincarnate itself. But it would vex me if everybody wanted to have done with life.

To make death easier for people, the Church holds out to them the bait of a better world. We, for our part, confine ourselves to asking man to fashion his life worthily. For this, it is sufficient for him to conform to the laws of nature. Let's seek inspiration in these principles, and in the long run we'll triumph over religion.

But there will never be any possibility of National Socialism's setting out to ape religion by establishing a form of worship. Its one ambition must be scientifically to construct a doctrine that is nothing more than a homage to reason.

Our duty is to teach men to see whatever is lovely and truly wonderful in life, and not to become prematurely ill-tempered and spiteful. We wish fully to enjoy what is beautiful, to cling to it—and to avoid, as far as possible, anything that might do harm to people like ourselves.

If to-day you do harm to the Russians, it is so as to avoid giving them the opportunity of doing harm to us.

God does not act differently. He suddenly hurls the masses of humanity on to the earth, and he leaves it to each one to work out his own salvation. Men dispossess one another, and one perceives that, at the end of it all, it is always the stronger who triumphs. Is that not the most reasonable order of things?

If it were otherwise, nothing good would ever have existed. If we did not respect the laws of nature, imposing our will by the right of the stronger, a day would come when the wild animals would once again devour us—then the insects would eat the wild animals, and finally nothing would exist on earth but the microbes.

tuation and blackmails one. How could wheat we'd have imported from America, it wouldn't work! And much less industrial products.

Our policy for Europe to give up the desire for the whole world. The white race has itself commerce. The European economy has her continents. Our manufacturing costs eating foreign competition.

But, we are so handicapped that it's impossible to foot anywhere. For the few articles we need, there's a cut-throat struggle between.

To gain access to these markets, one must have that it represents a disproportioned economy. Only new inventions sometimes little business.

But, the English have industrialised India. England is increasing, and the English

are millions of unemployed in America. I do there is to embark on a revolutionary policy, abandon the gold standard the needs of their home market.

Only country that has no unemployment. Other with the fact that we are not slaves

are engaged in conquering will be a market for us, and a market for our products. Good care not to industrialise it.

Being least of all accessible to ideology and in Russia, a river of human beings long. For a man of the soil, the finest that yields the finest crops. In twenty years emigration will no longer be directed eastwards.

But for us a sea whose wealth our fishermen. Thanks to the cultivation of the sea our livestock. We'll win from that much as the Ukrainian peasant is win-

the worry of having to seek outlets in the Far East. For our market is in Russia. If it. We'll supply cotton goods, household articles of current consumption. The great that we shan't succeed in our task will be necessary.

I see there the greatest possibilities for the creation of an empire of world-wide importance.

My plan is that we should take profits on whatever comes our way. But I insist on the fact that it's on our own soil that we must organise the production of whatever is vitally essential. The countries that work in harmony with us will be associated with all the positive contributions they can make. All deliveries of machines, even if they're made abroad, will have to pass through a German middleman, in such a way that Russia will be supplied with no means of production whatsoever, except of absolute necessities.

Two-thirds of American engineers are German. During our centuries of life under particularist conditions, a great number of our compatriots were thrust back in upon themselves, and although they had the souls of leaders, they vegetated. When we can offer great tasks to such men, we'll be surprised to discover their immense qualities.

For the next centuries, we have at our disposal an unequalled field of action.

26. Night of 25th-26th September 1941

*An unparalleled epoch—Talking to the soldiers—
The individual does not count—Preservation of the species.*

I've been thrilled by our contemporary newsfilms. We are experiencing a heroic epic, without precedent in history.

Perhaps it was like this during the first World War, but nobody was able to get a clear picture.

I'm extremely happy to have witnessed such deeds.

I'm told that the reason why my speech made such an impression is that I don't coin rhetorical phrases. I could never make the mistake of beginning a speech with the words: "There is no fairer death in the world..." For I know the reality, and I also know how the soldier feels about it.

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. In a few days a youth becomes a man.

If I weren't myself hardened by this experience, I would have been incapable of undertaking this Cyclopean task which the building of an Empire means for a single man.

It was with feelings of pure idealism that I set out for the front in 1914. Then I saw men falling around me in thou-

I. What an alpha! What an Omega — How punny is alpha.
HOW TO RELAX

every operation has to be studied and thought over at length. It sometimes takes up to six months for the thought to be elaborated and made precise. Doubtless the time will come when I shall no longer have to concern myself with the war or the Eastern front, for it will be only a matter of carrying out what has been already foreseen and ordered. Thus, while these operations are being completed, I shall be able to devote my mind to other problems.

What is fortunate for me is that I know how to relax. Before going to bed I spend some time on architecture, I look at pictures, I take an interest in things entirely different from those that have been occupying my mind throughout the day. Otherwise I wouldn't be able to sleep.

What would happen to me if I didn't have around me men whom I completely trust, to do the work for which I can't find time? Hard men, who act as energetically as I would do myself. For me the best man is the man who removes the most from my shoulders, the man who can take 95 per cent of the decisions in my place. Of course, there are always cases in which I have to take the final decision myself.

I couldn't say whether my feeling that I am indispensable has been strengthened during this war. One thing is certain, that without me the decisions to which we to-day owe our existence would not have been taken.

39. 14th October 1941, midday

SPECIAL GUEST: REICHSFUEHRER HIMMLER

Disadvantages of a Concordat with the Churches
—Difficulty of compromising with a lie—No truck with religion for the Party—Antagonism of dogma and science—Let Christianity die slowly—The metaphysical needs of the soul—No State religion—Freedom of belief.

It may be asked whether concluding a concordat with the churches wouldn't facilitate our exercise of power.

On this subject one may make the following remarks:

Firstly, in this way the authority of the State would be vitiated by the fact of the intervention of a third power concerning which it is impossible to say how long it would

and how profoundly it the Omega Church and State

remain reliable. In the case of the Anglican Church objection does not arise, for England knows she cannot cap on her Church. But what about the Catholic Church? Wouldn't we be running the risk of her one day going reverse after having put herself at the service of the solely in order to safeguard her power? If one day the policy ceased to suit Rome or the clergy, the priests turn against the State, as they are doing now. History vides examples that should make us careful.

Secondly, there is also a question of principle. Try to take a long view of things, is it conceivable that one found anything durable on falsehood? When I think of people's future, I must look further than immediate stages, even if these advantages were to last three hundred years or more. I'm convinced that any pact the Church can offer only a provisional benefit, for sooner or later the scientific spirit will disclose the harmful character of such a compromise. Thus the State will have bas existence on a foundation that one day will collapse.

An educated man retains the sense of the mysterious nature and bows before the unknowable. An uneducated man, on the other hand, runs the risk of going over to atheism (which is a return to the state of the animal) soon as he perceives that the State, in sheer opportunism is making use of false ideas in the matter of religion, and in other fields it bases everything on pure science.

That's why I've always kept the Party aloof from religious questions. I've thus prevented my Catholic and Protestant supporters from forming groups against one another, and from adventuring each other out with the Bible and the sprinkler. So we never became involved with these Churches' forms of worship. And if that has momentarily made my task a little more difficult, at least I've never run the risk of carrying grist to my opponents' mill. The help would have provisionally obtained from a concordat would have quickly become a burden on us. In any case, the thing is to be clever in this matter and not to look for a struggle where it can be avoided.

Being weighed down by a superstitious past, men are afraid of things that can't, or can't yet, be explained—is to say, of the unknown. If anyone has needs of a physical nature, I can't satisfy them with the Party's programme. Time will go by until the moment when science can answer all the questions.

So it's not opportune to hurl ourselves now into a struggle with the Churches. The best thing is to let Christi-

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TO RELAX

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unmastered power, in a great but

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al death. A slow death has something comfort-
it. The dogma of Christianity gets worn away
advances of science. Religion will have to make
more concessions. Gradually the myths crumble.
It is to prove that in nature there is no frontier
organic and the inorganic. When understanding
erse has become widespread, when the majority
ow that the stars are not sources of light but
aps inhabited worlds like ours, then the Chris-
e will be convicted of absurdity.

religion was merely a prop for human com-
was a means, not an end in itself. It's only
at it became transformed in this direction, with
f maintaining the rule of the priests, who can
the detriment of society collectively.

ctions of a hygienic nature that most religions
buted to the foundation of organised com-
e precepts ordering people to wash, to avoid cer-
to fast at appointed dates, to take exercise, to
e sun, to climb to the top of the minaret—
re obligations invented by intelligent people.
ion to fight courageously is also self-explana-
; by the way, that, as a corollary, the Mussul-
omised a paradise peopled with houris, where
in streams—a real earthly paradise. The Chris-
other hand, declare themselves satisfied if after
hey are allowed to sing Hallelujahs! All these
tributed to form human communities. It is
ate customs that peoples owe their present

of course, has reached the peak of absurdity
t. And that's why one day its structure will
ice has already impregnated humanity. Conse-
more Christianity clings to its dogmas, the
decline.

ust continue to pay attention to another as-
blem. It's possible to satisfy the needs of the
an intimate communion with nature, or by
the past. Only a minority, however, at the
f the mind's development, can feel the respect
e unknown, and thus satisfy the metaphysical
oul. The average human being has the same
n satisfy them only by elementary means.
arly true of women, as also of peasants who
ch the destruction of their crops. The person

whose life tends to simplification is thirsty for belief, and
he dimly clings to it with all his strength.

Nobody has the right to deprive simple people of their
childish certainties until they've acquired others that are
more reasonable. Indeed, it's most important that the higher
belief should be well established in them before the lower
belief has been removed. We must finally achieve this. But
it would serve no purpose to replace an old belief by a new
one that would merely fill the place left vacant by its prede-
cessor.

It seems to me that nothing would be more foolish than
to re-establish the worship of Wotan. Our old mythology had
ceased to be viable when Christianity implanted itself. Noth-
ing dies unless it is moribund. At that period the ancient
world was divided between the systems of philosophy and
the worship of idols. It's not desirable that the whole of
humanity should be stultified—and the only way of getting
rid of Christianity is to allow it to die little by little.

A movement like ours mustn't let itself be drawn into
metaphysical digressions. It must stick to the spirit of exact
science. It's not the Party's function to be a counterfeit
for religion.

If, in the course of a thousand or two thousand years,
science arrives at the necessity of renewing its points of
view, that will not mean that science is a liar. Science can-
not lie, for it's always striving, according to the momentary
state of knowledge, to deduce what is true. When it makes
a mistake, it does so in good faith. It's Christianity that's the
liar. It's in perpetual conflict with itself.

One may ask whether the disappearance of Christianity
would entail the disappearance of belief in God. That's not
to be desired. The notion of divinity gives most men the
opportunity to concretise the feeling they have of supernat-
ural realities. Why should we destroy this wonderful power
they have of incarnating the feeling for the divine that is
within them?

The man who lives in communion with nature necessarily
finds himself in opposition to the Churches. And that's why
they're heading for ruin—for science is bound to win.

I especially wouldn't want our movement to acquire a
religious character and institute a form of worship. It would
be appalling for me, and I would wish I'd never lived, if
I were to end up in the skin of a Buddha!

If at this moment we were to eliminate the religions by
force, the people would unanimously beseech us for a new
form of worship. You can imagine our Gauleiters giving

tives, we'll have to screen them carefully. Destroyer, we shall drive out. As far as the concerned, I get a better impression in White Ukraine.

in the Russian towns, and we'll let them without intervening. And, above all, no subject! We're not going to play at children absolutely without obligations as far as concerned. To struggle against the hovels, fleas, provide German teachers, bring out a little of that for us! We'll confine ourselves, set up a radio transmitter, under our control let them know just enough to understand us, so that they won't get themselves run in circles!

word "liberty" means the right to wash we arrive bringing soft soap, we'll obtain no are views that will have to be completely only one duty: to Germanise this countenance of Germans, and to look upon the us. If these people had defeated us, Heaven we don't hate them. That sentiment is unguided only by reason. They, on the an inferiority complex. They have a real conqueror whose crushing superiority they intelligentsia? We have too many of them at

have the feeling for Europe can join in

I shall go straight ahead, cold-bloodedly. Ink about me, at this juncture, is to me a indifference. I don't see why a German of bread should torment himself with the that produces this bread has been won by we eat wheat from Canada, we don't spoiled Indians.

it's men's duty to love one another is Christians are the last to practise it! A has the misfortune to die before a misadventures on him, goes to Hell! If that were well lament that sorrowful destiny: to have years, and to burn for all eternity with

be the job of his life to drag that country. Fields, gardens, orchards. Let it be the work is hard, but the joy pays for

We've given the German people what it needed to assert its position in the world. I'm glad that this call to the East has taken our attention off the Mediterranean. The South, for us, is the Crimea. To go further would be nonsense. Let us stay Nordic.

In any case, in our country the sunny season sometimes goes on until November. In Berlin, February brings the first promises of spring. On the Rhine, everything flowers in March.

In the Ukraine, more than anywhere else, it would be a mistake to instal flour-mills that would drain off the wheat from immense territories—over a radius of four hundred kilometres, for example. We should rather build windmills all over the place, to supply regional needs—and export only the wheat demanded by the large centres.

How I regret not being ten years younger! Todt, you will have to extend your programme. As for the necessary labour, you shall have it. Let's finish the road network, and the rail network. We shall have to settle down to the task of rebuilding the Russian track, to restore it to the normal gauge. There's only one road that, throughout all these last months of campaigning, was of any use to the armies on the central front—and for that I'll set up a monument to Stalin. Apart from that, he preferred to manufacture chains of mud rather than to build roads.

What a task awaits us! We have a hundred years of joyful satisfaction before us.

44. Night of 17th-18th October 1941

May 10th, 1940—Tears of joy—The Schlieffen plan—G.H.Q. at Felsenest—Paris, a town with a glorious past—22nd June 1941—Kiev, Moscow, St. Petersburg must be destroyed.

I never closed an eye during the night of the 9th to 10th of May 1940, or that of the 21st to 22nd of June 1941.

In May 1940, it was especially worry about the weather that kept me awake. I was filled with rage when dawn broke and I realised that it was fifteen minutes earlier than I'd been told. And yet I knew that it had to be like that! At seven o'clock came the news: "Eben Emael has been silenced." Next: "We hold one of the bridges over the Meuse." With a fellow like Witzig, we'd have been able to take the bridges of Maastricht before they were blown up. But what difference did it make whether they were blown

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possible to build a cheap radio set and a popular typewriter.

I find it a real absurdity that even to-day a typewriter costs several hundred marks. One can't imagine the time wasted daily in deciphering everybody's scribbles. Why not give lessons in typewriting at primary school? Instead of religious instruction, for example. I shouldn't mind that.

48. 19th October 1941, night

Two scourges of the modern world—Christianity the shadow of coming Bolshevism.

The reason why the ancient world was so pure, light and serene was that it knew nothing of the two great scourges: the pox and Christianity.

Christianity is a prototype of Bolshevism: the mobilisation by the Jew of the masses of slaves with the object of undermining society. Thus one understands that the healthy elements of the Roman world were proof against this doctrine.

Yet Rome to-day allows itself to reproach Bolshevism with having destroyed the Christian churches! As if Christianity hadn't behaved in the same way towards the pagan temples.

49. 21st October 1941, midday

Prophetic sense of Julian the Apostate—The Aryan origin of Jesus—Distortion of Christ's ideas—The Road to Damascus—Roman tolerance—Materialism and the Jewish religion—Religion as a subversive method—The mobilisation of the slaves—St. Paul and Karl Marx.

When one thinks of the opinions held concerning Christianity by our best minds a hundred, two hundred years ago, one is ashamed to realise how little we have since evolved. I didn't know that Julian the Apostate had passed judgment with such clear-sightedness on Christianity and Christians. You should read what he says on the subject.

Originally, Christianity was merely an incarnation of Bolshevism the destroyer. Nevertheless, the Galilean, who later was called the Christ, intended something quite different. He must be regarded as a popular leader who took up His position against Jewry. Galilee was a colony where the Romans had probably installed Gallic legionaries, and it's certain that Jesus was not a Jew. The Jews, by the way, regarded Him

"JESUS WAS NOT A JEW"

as the son of a whore—of a whore and a Roman so

The decisive falsification of Jesus' doctrine was the of St. Paul. He gave himself to this work with subtlety for purposes of personal exploitation. For the Galilean's was to liberate His country from Jewish expression. Himself against Jewish capitalism, and that's why the liquidated Him.

Paul of Tarsus (his name was Saul, before the rc Damascus) was one of those who persecuted Jesus savagely. When he learnt that Jesus' supporters let throats be cut for His ideas, he realised that, by m intelligent use of the Galilean's teaching, it would be ble to overthrow this Roman State which the Jews ! It's in this context that we must understand the f: "illumination." Think of it, the Romans were daring to fiscate the most sacred thing the Jews possessed, the piled up in their temples! At that time, as now, i was their god.

On the road to Damascus, St. Paul discovered th could succeed in ruining the Roman State by causin principle to triumph of the equality of all men bef single God—and by putting beyond the reach of the his private notions, which he alleged to be divinely ins If, into the bargain, one succeeded in imposing one as the representative on earth of the only God, that would possess boundless power.

The ancient world had its gods and served them. Bt priests interposed between the gods and men were se: of the State, for the gods protected the City. In short, were the emanation of a power that the people had cr: For that society, the idea of an only god was unthin! In this sphere, the Romans were tolerance itself. The of a universal god could seem to them only a mild of madness—for, if three peoples fight one another, invoking the same god, this means that, at any rate, t them are praying in vain.

Nobody was more tolerant than the Romans. Every could pray to the god of his choice, and a place was reserved in the temples for the unknown god. Mor every man prayed as he chose, and had the right to claim his preferences.

St. Paul knew how to exploit this state of affairs in to conduct his struggle against the Roman State. Nc has changed; the method has remained sound. Under of a pretended religious instruction, the priests contin incite the faithful against the State.

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As far as my own private existence is concerned, I shall always live simply—but in my capacity of Fuehrer and Head of the State, I am obliged to stand out clearly from amongst all the people around me. If my close associates glitter with decorations, I can distinguish myself from them only by wearing none at all.

We need an impressive décor, and we ought to create one. More and more we should give our festive occasions a style that will remain in the memory.

In England, the traditional forms, which from a distance seem baroque, have retained their full youth. They remain vital because they represent customs that have been observed for a long time and without the slightest interruption.

I regard it as a necessity that our ceremonial should be developed during my lifetime. Otherwise one of my successors, if he has simple tastes, could quote me as his authority.

Don't speak to me of Prussian simplicity! We must remember how Frederick the Great took care of his State's finances. Besides, the Prussian spirit is a matter of character and comportment. There was a time when one could say that there was only one Prussian in Europe, and that he lived in Rome. Nowadays one can say that there's only one Roman living amongst the Italians. There was a second Prussian. He lived in Munich, and was myself.

It was one of the characteristic features of the Weimar Republic that, when the Head of the State was receiving diplomats, he had to ask every Ministry to lend him its domestic staff. What can have happened on an occasion when some Ministry was holding a reception itself and couldn't spare its servants? You can see me having recourse to car-hire firms to fetch my guests from their homes and take them back again!

The new Chancellery will have to have permanently at its disposal two hundred of the finest motor-cars. The chauffeurs can perform a secondary function as footmen. Whether as chauffeurs or as footmen, these men must be absolutely reliable from the political point of view—quite apart from the fact that they mustn't be clumsy fools.

It's lucky we have the new Reich Chancellery. There are many things we could not have done in the old one.

I've always been fond of Berlin. If I'm vexed by the fact that some of the things in it are not beautiful, it's precisely because I'm so much attached to the city.

During the first World War, I twice had ten days' leave. I never dreamt of spending these leaves in Munich.

My pleasure would have been spoilt by the priests. On both occasions, I came to Berlin. I began to be familiar with the museums c (Besides, Berlin played a part in our ri though in a different way from Munich. I Württemberg that I got our financial b in Munich, where the little bourgeois hold road.)

What's more, Berlin has the monument Frederick the Great. Once upon a time it of the Empire. Nowadays, Berlin is the cap

Berlin's misfortune is that it's a city of ve tion; which doesn't make it ideal for the culture. In that respect, our last great mc erick-William IV. William I had no tast blind in matters of art. William II had worst description.

What is ugly in Berlin, we shall suppress too good for the beautification of Berlin. the Reich Chancellery, one should have th is visiting the master of the world. One along wide avenues containing the Triu Pantheon of the Army, the Square of t to take your breath away! It's only th succeed in eclipsing our only rival in the it be built on such a scale that St. Peter's : seem like toys in comparison!

For material, we'll use granite. The German past, which are found on the pl are scarcely time-worn. Granite will ensui ments last for ever. In ten thousand ye: standing, just as they are, unless mean again covered our plains.

The ornamental theme which we call is found all over the earth's surface, both and in the Northern countries. Accordin end, there is a civilisation known as "p can see in the legend an allusion to t lands of Atlantis that sank into the oce

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(Besides, Berlin played a part in our rise to power, although in a different way from Munich. It's at Berlin and Württemberg that I got our financial backing, and not in Munich, where the little bourgeois hold the crown of the road.)

What's more, Berlin has the monuments of the days of Frederick the Great. Once upon a time it was the sand-pit of the Empire. Nowadays, Berlin is the capital of the Reich.

Berlin's misfortune is that it's a city of very mixed population; which doesn't make it ideal for the development of culture. In that respect, our last great monarch was Frederick-William IV. William I had no taste. Bismarck was blind in matters of art. William II had taste, but of the worst description.

What is ugly in Berlin, we shall suppress. Nothing will be too good for the beautification of Berlin. When one enters the Reich Chancellery, one should have the feeling that one is visiting the master of the world. One will arrive there along wide avenues containing the Triumphal Arch, the Pantheon of the Army, the Square of the People—things to take your breath away! It's only thus that we shall succeed in eclipsing our only rival in the world, Rome. Let it be built on such a scale that St. Peter's and its Square will seem like toys in comparison!

For material, we'll use granite. The vestiges of the German past, which are found on the plains to the North, are scarcely time-worn. Granite will ensure that our monuments last for ever. In ten thousand years they'll be still standing, just as they are, unless meanwhile the sea has again covered our plains.

The ornamental theme which we call Germano-Nordic is found all over the earth's surface, both in South America and in the Northern countries. According to a Greek legend, there is a civilisation known as "pre-lunar," and we can see in the legend an allusion to the empire of the lands of Atlantis that sank into the ocean.

If I try to gauge my work, I must consider, first of all, that I've contributed, in a world that had forgotten the notion, to the triumph of the idea of the primacy of race. Secondly, I've given German supremacy a solid cultural foundation. In fact, the power we to-day enjoy cannot be justified, in my eyes, except by the establishment and expansion of a mighty culture. To achieve this must be the law of our existence.

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Moscow a few days later, and we learnt

itself systematically to destroy ancient Rome to us was passed down by chance, or luck of Roman liberal writers. Perhaps we want of humanity's most precious spiritual to know what was there? is faithful to these tactics even during revolution did people behave, during the age of iron, towards the spiritual riches of Cen-

the world, the Jews would have immediately Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Kant. If the dominion over us for two hundred years, or past would be handed on to posterity? would fall into oblivion, or else they'd be re generations as criminals and bandits. at all in the truth of certain mental pictures: have of the Roman emperors. I'm sure set fire to Rome. It was the Christians that, just as the Commune set fire to the Communists set fire to the Reichstag

a of hypocrisy, typically Protestant, that is Catholicism has this much good about it, the moral strictness of the Evangelicals. In life is more endurable, for the priest himself easily to human weaknesses. So he persists to dramatise sin. How would the Church be not by the sins of the faithful? She desisted if one goes to confession. Indulgence, is the Church with her daily bread. As for the soul that fears limbo is a candidate for to say, another customer, and so business fact that in Catholic parts of the world more illegitimate births than in Protestant

Protestantism was free of all bigotry. It was a protest against Catholicism. Moreover, were entirely devoted to the German

that, when a believer leaves a particular church to pay the ecclesiastical tax for another statement should be enough to free him from anything further. We'll put all that we have peace again. is, for example. He married a Protestant.

At once he was put under the Church's ban. Very naturally, he declared that he would stop paying the ecclesiastical tax. But the Church doesn't see things that way. Exclusion is a punishment, which does not remove the obligation to pay the tax!

For my part, the Church held it against me that I was a witness to this marriage. They would certainly have put me under the ban, too, if they had not calculated that it might have won me new sympathies.

Every marriage concluded as the result of a divorce is regarded by the Church as living-in-sin. The result is that, in Austria, for example, nobody cares about the commandments of the Church. From this point of view, Austria was in advance of Germany.

The most extraordinary divorce story I know is that of Starhemberg. The Church allowed him to obtain a divorce for a payment of two hundred and fifty thousand schillings. The reason advanced, by agreement between the parties, was that the marriage was null and void since the contracting parties had come together with the firm intention of not performing their marital duties. Since Starhemberg had no money, the sum was paid by the Heimwehr. What *hasn't* the Church discovered as a source of revenue, in the course of these fifteen hundred years? It's an unending circle.

I have numerous accounts to settle, about which I cannot think to-day. But that doesn't mean I forget them. I write them down. The time will come to bring out the big book!

Even with regard to the Jews, I've found myself remaining inactive. There's no sense in adding uselessly to the difficulties of the moment. One acts more shrewdly when one bides one's time When I read of the speeches of a man like Galen, I tell myself that there's no point in administering pin-pricks, and that for the moment it's preferable to be silent. Why should anyone have room to doubt the durability of our movement? And if I reflect that it will last several centuries, then I can offer myself the luxury of waiting. I would not have reached my final reckoning with Marxism if I hadn't had the strength on my side.

Methods of persuasion of a moral order are not an effective weapon against those who despise the truth—when we have to do with priests, for example, of a Church who know that everything about it is based on lies, and who live by it. They think me a spoil-sport when I rise up in their midst; indeed, I *am* going to spoil their little games.

In 1905 to 1906, when the modernist movement broke out, there were such excesses that some priests, in reaction,

ty of Bavarian Minister, had me imprisoned in Landsberg. The former director of that prison has become the head of Bavaria's penitentiary services. At the time, I'd given my men orders not to leave a prison without first having converted the whole prison staff to National Socialism. The wife of the director of Landsberg became a fervent devotee of the movement. Almost all her sons belonged to the "Oberland" Free Corps. As for the father—who was not entitled to have an opinion!—it seemed to him reasonable, at the time when he was obliged to rage against me, to spend his nights in the prison, to shelter from household quarrels. None of the guards was offensive in his attitude towards us. The first time I was condemned, for being a threat to public safety, there were four of us, and we'd decided to transform the prison into a National Socialist citadel. We'd arranged things in such a way that, every time one of us was set free, someone else came to take his place. In 1923, when Brückner was imprisoned, the whole prison was National Socialist—including the director's daughters.

It's not easy to be successful in life, and for some people the difficulties are piled on unjustly. When there's a disparity between the work demanded and the capacities of the man from whom the work is demanded, how can he be expected to work with enthusiasm? Every time we went to Bitterfeld, we were eager to do only one thing—to take the road back. How is one to demand of a worker, in a spot like that, that he should devote himself to his work with joy and gusto? For these men, life didn't begin until they put on their brown shirts. That's why we found them such fanatical supporters. Besides, when one discovers talents in people forced to work in such conditions, the best one can do is to get them away from the place. Our duty is to smooth the way before them, despite the formalists who are always obsessed by the idea of parchments. Some trades have less need for theoretical knowledge than for a skilled, sure hand. And if these men are awkward in their manners, what does it matter? It's a fault that's quickly cured.

In the Party I've had extraordinary experiences of that sort of thing, even with men who've held the highest jobs. Former farm-workers can pass the tests—and yet what a change from their previous life! On the other hand, we find minor jobs for officials who've been through the usual mill, and whom one can't get anything out of. The least adaptable are the men who, by temperament, have chosen a trade that calls for no imagination, a trade at which one constantly repeats the same movements. For a teacher, for example, it's necessary to repeat the teaching of the alphabet

once a year. If a person like that is called to a completely different job, it may lead to the worst.

There's no reason to educate teachers in advanced studies, and then to teach peasants thirty-five years that B—A spells "ba," what who has been shaped by advanced studies is fitted with such a modest post. I've therefore in the normal school for teachers, instruction be carried too far. Nevertheless, the most have the possibility of pursuing their studies at the State's expense. I'll go a step further: great problem to find jobs for the re-enlisted great part of them could be made teachers: It's easier to make a teacher of an old soldier than an officer of a teacher!

Those old soldiers will also be excellent instructors. But it goes without saying that we put putting teachers through courses.

Re-enlisted men give the Army the solid: It's the weakness of the Italian and Rumanian they haven't anything like that. But since these men to spend all their lives in the army, it is tant to create privileged positions for the army we'll put them in charge of service stations. In old Austria they used to be given tobacco.

The secret, in any case, is to give each man a job on in life, even outside his own trade. Confucius used to be a model for that, as long as Confucius still thrived there. The poorest man would aspire to become a mandarin.

It's all wrong that a man's whole life should be a diploma that he either receives or does not receive. I was a victim of that system. I went to the School of Fine Arts. The first examiner to whom I'd submitted my work in the school of arts and crafts do you come from? It was difficult to believe me when I replied that I was a painter, for he saw I had an indisputable taste. My disappointment was all the greater: the great idea had been to paint. It was confinement for architecture, and I learnt at the time that it was impossible for me to enter a specialist school. I hadn't a matriculation certificate.

I therefore resigned myself to continuing as a self-taught man, and I decided to go and study. So I arrived, full of enthusiasm, in Munich to study for another three years. My hope

mann as a designer. I'd enter for the first
I told myself that then I'd show what I
was why, when the short-listed plans for
use at Berlin were published, and I saw that
was less bad than those which had been
beat high. I had specialised in that sort of
at I still know about it now is only a pale
at I used to know about it at that time.

asked a question: "My Fuehrer, what were
when you visited Paris last year?"

happy to think that there was at least one
that was superior to Paris from the point
—I mean, Vienna. The old part of Paris
of complete distinction. The great vistas are
a period of years I sent my colleagues to
custom them to grandeur—against the time
undertake, on new bases, the re-making and
Berlin. At present Berlin doesn't exist, but
be more beautiful than Paris. With the ex-
Eiffel Tower, Paris has nothing of the sort
its private character, as the Coliseum does

to me that we weren't obliged to destroy
ter the calm with which I contemplate the
Petersburg and Moscow, the more I'd have
destruction of Paris. Every finished work is
example. One takes the opportunity of learn-
e mistakes and seeks to do better. The Ring
not exist without the Paris boulevards. It's
The dome of the Invalides makes a deep
Pantheon I found a horrible disappoint-
alone can be defended, but those sculptures
of cancerous tumours!
ie, on the other hand, has a sober grandeur.

ned: "Remember how embarrassed we were
when you wanted to visit certain rooms!"

r. The rooms once reserved for the Emperor
sformed into libraries. The Republic fights
residents from temptations to the spirit of
known the plans for the Opéra since my
onfronted with the reality made me reflect
houses of Vienna and Dresden were built

with more taste. The Paris Opéra has an interior decorated
in an overloaded style.

I paid my visit very early in the morning, between six
and nine. I wanted to refrain from exciting the population
by my presence. The first newspaper-seller who recognised
me stood there and gaped. I still have before me the mental
picture of that woman in Lille who saw me from her window
and exclaimed: "The Devil!"

Finally we went up to the *Sacré Cœur*. Appalling! But, on
the whole, Paris remains one of the jewels of Europe.

56. 30th October 1941, midday

Blood sports.

The feeling of aversion human beings have for the snake,
the bat and the earthworm perhaps originates in some an-
cestral memory. It might go back to a time when animals
of this nature, of monstrous dimensions, terrified prehistoric
man.

I learnt to hate rats when I was at the front. A wounded
man forsaken between the lines knew he'd be eaten alive by
these disgusting beasts.

*The Fuehrer turned to Gruppenfuehrer Wolff, who had
returned from a shooting-party in the Sudetenland, held for
Count Ciano by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, with the
participation of the Reichsfuehrer SS and the Finance Min-
ister.*

THE FUEHRER: What did you shoot? Eagles, lions. . . .

WOLFF: No, common rabbits.

THE FUEHRER: Joy must now prevail amongst the rabbits.
The air has been cleared.

GENERAL JODL: And you list all that game under the
heading of "wild animals"?

WOLFF: Yes.

JODL: Wouldn't it be more appropriate to call them "do-
mestic animals"?

THE FUEHRER: I expect you used explosive bullets. . . .

WOLFF: Merely lead.

THE FUEHRER: Did you kill or wound any beaters?

WOLFF: No, not to my knowledge.

THE FUEHRER: A pity we can't use you crack shots
against the Russian partisans!

WOLFF: The Minister for Foreign Affairs would certainly
accept that invitation to take part in a commando.

THE FUEHRER: What was Ciano's bag?

WOLFF: Four hundred.

THE FUEHRER: Only four hundred! If only, in the course of his life as an airman, he'd shot down even a tiny percentage of that total in enemy aircraft! Your shooting-party came to an end without more slaughter than that?

WOLFF: Shooting's a wonderful relaxation: it makes you forget all your troubles.

THE FUEHRER: Is it indispensable, for relaxation, to kill hares and pheasants? The joy of killing brings men together. It's lucky we don't understand the language of hares. They might talk about you something like this: "He couldn't run at all, the fat hog!" What can an old hare, with a whole lifetime's experience, think about it all? The greatest joy must prevail amongst the hares when they see that a beater has been shot.

JODL: A man needs diversion. He can't be deprived of it, and it's difficult, in that field, to set bounds to his fancy. The important thing is that he should enjoy himself without doing harm to the community.

THE FUEHRER: For two or three years they've been preserved for the sake of the hunter, which means a loss of I don't know how many hundred million eggs; and, on the other hand, they make a Four Year Plan. What madness!

57. 30th October 1941, evening

A sharp criticism of the Wilhelmstrasse—Definition of a diplomat—A certain American Ambassador.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had just submitted to the Fuehrer a report sent in by a representative of the Wilhelmstrasse in a foreign country. The report consisted of a strongly worded account of the situation in England, but without disclosing whether it represented merely views held by the English opposition and reported by the German diplomat, or gave his own comments on the subject. The Fuehrer was speaking to Minister Hewel, Ribbentrop's representative with the Fuehrer.

Under the name of "Ministry of Foreign Affairs," we are supporting an organisation one of whose functions is to keep us informed of what is happening abroad—and we know nothing. We are separated from England by a ditch thirty-seven kilometres wide, and we cannot find out what is happening there! If one studies the matter closely, one realises that the enormous sums swallowed up in the Ministry

are sheer loss. The only organisation to which we grant foreign currency—the others are paid only in paper—should at least get some information for us. By definition, the diplomat is such a distinguished being that he does not mingle with normal beings. As for you, you're an exception, because you're seen in our company! I wonder in whose corner you'd be seen if...

This attitude is typical of the *carrière*. Diplomats move in a closed circle. Therefore they only know what is seen in the society they frequent.

When someone talks big to me about a "general opinion, I don't know what he means. One must see and analyse the current rumours. In addition, one must take the opinions held by one group or another, in order to appreciate the relative value of these elements of information. Few people can foretell the development of events; what is possible is to give information concerning the situation of such-and-such a group, or such-and-such, or the other. In your trade, you measure people by the height of their heels. If one of our diplomats were to put up at a class hotel, or travel in a taxi, what a disgrace! And that could be interesting, sometimes, to sit at the bottom of the table. Young people talk more freely than the mandarins.

Hewel replied: "But, my Fuehrer, all that's out of date now!"

You defend your shop with a devotion worthy of a politician.

Why support such a numerous staff at the legation? I know what diplomats do. They cut out newspaper articles and paste them together. When I first came to Reich Chancellery, I received every week a file stuffed with clippings. Some of them were a fortnight old. Via Dr. D. I knew already by the 2nd of July what the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were going to tell me on the 15th!

An up-to-date legation should include, above all, a dozen young attachés who would busy themselves with influential women. It's the only way of keeping informed if these young people are sentimentals in search of a soul, then let them stay at home. We had a fellow, named Lüdecke, who'd have made a first-rate agent in critical spots: Iran, Irak! He spoke French, English, Spanish, Italian, like a native. He'd have been the man for the present situation. Nothing escaped him.

When I think of our representatives abroad, what

it was Ciano's bag?
and.

four hundred! If only, in the course, he'd shot down even a tiny percentage of enemy aircraft! Your shooting-party is more slaughter than that?

wonderful relaxation: it makes you

indispensable, for relaxation, to kill the joy of killing brings men together. Understand the language of bares. They say something like this: "He couldn't run like an old hare, with a whole sink about it all? The greatest joy is in hares when they see that a beater

diversion. He can't be deprived of it, the field, to set bounds to his fancy. What he should enjoy himself without munity.

two or three years they've been preparing the hunter, which means a loss of 100 million eggs; and, on the Four Year Plan. What madness!

October 1941, evening

at Wilhelmstrasse—Definition of a certain American Ambassador.

Foreign Affairs had just submitted to the by a representative of the Wilhelmstrasse. The report consisted of a strong opinion on the situation in England, but without expressing merely views held by the reported by the German diplomat, or on the subject. The Fuehrer was with Ribbentrop's representative with

Ministry of Foreign Affairs," we are in one of whose functions is to do what is happening abroad—and we are separated from England by a ditch, and we cannot find out what is going on. The matter closely, one really swallows up in the Ministry

are sheer loss. The only organisation to which we grant foreign currency—the others are paid only in paper—should at least get some information for us. By definition, the diplomat is such a distinguished being that he does not mingle with normal beings. As for you, you're an exception, because you're seen in our company! I wonder in whose company you'd be seen if...

This attitude is typical of the *carrière*. Diplomats move in a closed circle. Therefore they only know what is said in the society they frequent.

When someone talks big to me about a "generally held" opinion, I don't know what he means. One must separate and analyse the current rumours. In addition, one must know the opinions held by one group or another, in order to appreciate the relative value of these elements of information. Few people can foretell the development of events—but what is possible is to give information concerning the opinion of such-and-such a group, or such-and-such, or that other. In your trade, you measure people by the height of their heels. If one of our diplomats were to put up at a third-class hotel, or travel in a taxi, what a disgrace! And yet it could be interesting, sometimes, to sit at the bottom of the table. Young people talk more freely than the mandarins.

Hewel replied: "But, my Fuehrer, all that's out of date, now!"

You defend your shop with a devotion worthy of admiration.

Why support such a numerous staff at the legations? I know what diplomats do. They cut out newspaper articles, and paste them together. When I first came to Reich Chancellery, I received every week a file stuffed with old clippings. Some of them were a fortnight old. Via Dr. Dietrich I knew already by the 2nd of July what the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were going to tell me on the 15th!

An up-to-date legation should include, above all, half a dozen young attachés who would busy themselves with influential women. It's the only way of keeping informed. But if these young people are sentimentals in search of a sister-soul, then let them stay at home. We had a fellow, a man named Lüdecke, who'd have made a first-rate agent for critical spots: Iran, Irak! He spoke French, English, Spanish, Italian, like a native. He'd have been the man for the present situation. Nothing escaped him.

When I think of our representatives abroad, what a dis-

aster they are! Our ambassador to the King of the Belgians was a timid soul!

To think that there was nobody in all this Ministry who could get his clutches on the daughter of the former American ambassador Dodd¹—and yet she wasn't difficult to approach. That was their job, and it should have been done. In a short while, the girl should have been subjugated. She was, but unfortunately by others. Nothing to be surprised at, by the way: how would these senile old men of the Wilhelmstrasse have behaved in the ranks? It's the only way. In the old days, when we wanted to lay siege to an industrialist, we attacked him through his children. Old Dodd, who was an imbecile, we'd have got him through his daughter. But, once again, what can one expect from people like that?

Kettel enquired: "Was she pretty, at least?" Von

Puttkamer answered: "Hideous!" Hitler continued:

But one must rise above that, my dear fellow. It's one of the qualifications. Otherwise, I ask you, why should our diplomats be paid? In that case, diplomacy would no longer be a service, but a pleasure. And it might end in marriage!

58. 1st November 1941, evening

The interest of the State and private interests—Don'ts for Civil Servants.

It's urgent, for economic purposes, to work out a statute characterised by the two following principles:

1. The interests of the State have precedence over private interests.

2. In the event of a divergence between the interests of the State and private interests, an independent organisation shall settle the dispute in accordance with the interests of the German people.

The State could not be independent and possess indisputable authority unless those of us who had interests in private undertakings were excluded from the control of public affairs—and the simple fact of owning shares in a private company would be enough. Every person shall have the alternative of giving them up or of leaving the service of the State. Servants of the State must not be in any way involved in financial speculations. If they have money, let them buy

¹ William E. Dodd's book, *Ambassador Dodd's Diary*, in which no love was lost on the Nazis, was edited with his daughter Martha and published posthumously in 1941.

real property or invest this money in State their wealth would be bound up with the future. After all, the safety offered by these investments is more lucrative in the long run than investment in industry, which is necessarily liable to boom and bust.

These regulations apply to members of members of the Civil Service, regular officers of the Party. These men must be totally uninterested in interests foreign to those of the State. We see to when laxity is permitted in this field. Enemies have slipped into this war if Baldwin and Chamberlain had interests in the armaments industry. The princely houses began in the same fashion.

59. Night of 1st-2nd November 1941

The blind machine of administration—The mind of the jurists—The administration tyrant—In praise of individual qualities—The racial selection—Reform of the magistracy

Our Civil Service often commits crude errors. The mayor of Leipzig, Goerdeler, came to offer. The reason was, he'd wanted to instal electric street lighting, and Berlin had been against it: it was a stick to lighting by gas. I enquired into the matter and found that this asinine decision had been taken by a lawyer in the Ministry of the Interior!

Not long ago a staff member of the Ministry of Culture contested the right of the man who was to direct the opera-house to bear the title of architect, that he did not belong to one or another profession. I immediately put an end to that speculation.

I'm not surprised that the country is full of fools. The Ministries ought to direct from Berlin. They interfere with details of execution. The Civil Service has reached the point of being only a blind machine. We must get out of that state of affairs unless we decentralise. Even the mere extensiveness of the Civil Service forces us to do this. One mustn't suppose that this is applicable to the old Reich or a part of it. It is applicable to Kirkenaes, say, or the Crimea. The impossibility of ruling this huge empire from Berlin by the methods that have been used hitherto.

The chief condition for decentralisation is that of promotion by seniority shall be abandoned. Appointment to posts. The former system must be abandoned.

11/2/41

troops—Social justice before everything—Away with caste privilege—The masses are the source of the élite—Take leaders where you find them.

In the old Austria there were two professions for which they used deliberately to select people formerly convicted: Customs-officers and gamekeepers. As regards smugglers, when sentence was passed they were given the choice of serving the sentence or becoming Customs-officers. And poachers were made gamekeepers. The smuggler and the gamekeeper have that sort of thing in their blood. It's wise to offer adventurous natures ways of letting off steam. One man will go into journalism, another will emigrate. The man who remains in the country runs a risk of coming into conflict with the law.

The criminal police in Austria was above all suspicion. Just why that was, it's rather difficult to understand, for the country was quite badly contaminated by the Balkan mentality. Someone must one day have left his personal stamp on the Austrian police, and it was never effaced.

My shock troops in 1923 contained some extraordinary elements—men who had come to us with the idea of joining a movement that was going ahead rapidly. Such elements are unusable in time of peace, but in turbulent periods it's quite different. At that stage these jolly rogues were invaluable to me as auxiliaries. Fifty bourgeois wouldn't have been worth a single one of them. With what blind confidence they followed me! Fundamentally they were just overgrown children. As for their assumed brutality, they were simply somewhat close to nature.

During the war, they'd fought with the bayonet and thrown hand-grenades. They were simple creatures, all of a piece. They couldn't let the country be sold out to the scum who were the product of defeat. From the beginning I knew that one could make a party only with elements like that. What a contempt I acquired for the bourgeoisie! If a bourgeois gave me a contribution of a hundred or two hundred marks, he thought he'd given me the whole of Golconda. But these fine chaps, what sacrifices they were willing to make! All day at their jobs, and at night off on a mission for the Party—and always with their hearts in the right place. I specially looked for people of dishevelled appearance. A bourgeois in a stiff collar would have bitched up everything. Of course, we also had fanatics amongst the well-dressed people. Moreover, the Communists and ourselves were the only parties that had women in their ranks

who shrank from nothing. It's with fine *!* that one can hold a State.

I always knew the first problem was to question. To pretend to evade the problem self in the situation of a man in the seventeenth century who pretended it was unnecessary slavery. Men like Scharnhorst and Gneisenau hard to introduce conscription in Prussia. level, we had to wage a struggle of the same social classes existed, it was impossible to *s* of the nation.

I never stopped telling my supporters that a mathematical certainty, for, unlike Social rejected nobody from the national commur

Our present struggle is merely a continuation on the international level, of the struggle we waged on the national level. Let everyone, in his own field, take best, with the knowledge that on every occasion we are pushing the best of us forward; that's how we pass ourselves and surpasses others. Nothing can if we remain faithful to these principles, but how to advance step by step, how to reconquer and remove, one after another, the obstacles

If one neglected to appeal to the masses would be rather too much confined to it would lack brute strength. Brute strength comes from the peasant and worker, for the insecurity of their position brings them close to the state of nature. Give them a bargain, and you turn them into incomparably inferior.

Above all, we must not allow our élite to become a exclusive society.

The son of an official, at the fifth or sixth generation, is doomed to become a lawyer. There, at the end of responsibility! So what kind of rôle can a man governed by people of that sort—people who analyse everything? One couldn't make history like that. I need rough, courageous people, to carry their ideas through to the end, with tenacity. Tenacity is purely a question of character. It is accompanied by intellectual superiority, it is useful.

The bourgeois with whom we flirted at the beginning of the struggle were simply aesthetes. But what I need are men who would give themselves body and

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I always knew the first problem was to settle the social
question. To pretend to evade the problem was to put one-
self in the situation of a man in the seventeenth or eight-
teenth century who pretended it was unnecessary to abolish
slavery. Men like Scharnhorst and Gneisenau had to fight
hard to introduce conscription in Prussia. On the political
level, we had to wage a struggle of the same sort. As long as
social classes existed, it was impossible to set free the forces
of the nation.

I never stopped telling my supporters that our victory was
a mathematical certainty, for, unlike Social Democracy, we
rejected nobody from the national community.

Our present struggle is merely a continuation, on the in-
ternational level, of the struggle we waged on the national
level. Let everyone, in his own field, take care to do his
best, with the knowledge that on every occasion we were
pushing the best of us forward; that's how a people sur-
passes itself and surpasses others. Nothing can happen to us
if we remain faithful to these principles, but one must know
how to advance step by step, how to reconnoitre the ground
and remove, one after another, the obstacles one finds there.

If one neglected to appeal to the masses, one's choice
would be rather too much confined to intellectuals. We
would lack brute strength. Brute strength consists of the peasant
and worker, for the insecurity of their daily life keeps
them close to the state of nature. Give them brains into the
bargain, and you turn them into incomparable men of ac-
tion.

Above all, we must not allow our élite to become an ex-
clusive society.

The son of an official, at the fifth or sixth generation, is
doomed to become a lawyer. There, at least, no more
responsibility! So what kind of rôle can a nation play when
it's governed by people of that sort—people who weigh and
analyse everything? One couldn't make history with people
like that. I need rough, courageous people, who are ready
to carry their ideas through to the end, whatever happens.
Tenacity is purely a question of character. When this quality
is accompanied by intellectual superiority, the result is won-
derful.

The bourgeois with whom we flirted at the time of our
struggle were simply aesthetes. But what I needed was parti-
sans who would give themselves body and soul, men as

ready to break up a Communist meeting as to manage a Gau.

In war, it's just the same thing. The commander who interests me is the man who pays with his own hide. A strategist is nothing without the brute force. Better the brute force without the strategist!

Intelligence has taken refuge in technique; it flees from situations of utter calm, where one grows fat as one grows stupid. Since private enterprise adapts itself to the same evolution—nowadays the heads of firms are nearly all former factory-hands—one might arrive at the following paradoxical situation: an administration composed of cretins, and private firms capable of forming a brains-trust. Thus, to maintain their rôle, the officials, for lack of intelligence, would possess only the power they obtain from their functions.

A military unit needs a commander, and the men never hesitate to recognise the qualities that make a commander. A man who is not capable of commanding usually feels no wish to do so. When an idiot is given command, his subordinates are not slow to make his life a burden.

If Germany has never had the equivalent of the French Revolution, it's because Frederick the Great and Joseph II once existed.

The Catholic Church makes it a principle to recruit its clergy from all classes of society, without any discrimination. A simple cowherd can become a cardinal. That's why the Church remains militant.

In my little homeland, the bishop a hundred years ago was the son of a peasant. In 1845 he decided to build a cathedral. The town had twenty-two thousand inhabitants. The cathedral was planned to hold twenty-three thousand. It cost twenty-eight million gold crowns. Fifty years later, the Protestants built their largest church, in the State capital. They spent only ten millions.

61. 2nd November 1941, evening, and night of 2nd-3rd November

German is the language of Europe—Suppression of Gothic script—Europe's eastern frontier—The permanence of the German race—Deforestation in Italy and fertility in the North—Nordic territories in Roman times.

In a hundred years, our language will be the language of

Europe. The countries east, north and west will learn to communicate with us. A condition for that is that so-called Gothic characters should definitely give place what we used to call Latin characters, and now call normal ones. We can see how right we were to make decision last autumn. For a man who wanted to learn Russian (and we shan't make the mistake of doing that), it's already a terrible complication to adapt himself to an alphabet different from ours. I don't believe, by the way, we're sacrificing any treasure of our patrimony in abandoning Gothic characters. The Nordic runes were written what were more like Greek characters. Why should the baroque embellishments be a necessary part of the German genius?

In old times Europe was confined to the southern borders of the Greek peninsula. Then Europe became confused at the borders of the Roman Empire. If Russia goes under this war, Europe will stretch eastwards to the limits of Germanic colonisation.

In the Eastern territories I shall replace the Slavographical titles by German names. The Crimea, for example, might be called Gothenland.

Here and there one meets amongst the Arabs men of fair hair and blue eyes. They're the descendents of the Vandals who occupied North Africa. The same phenomenon in Castille and Croatia. The blood doesn't disappear.

We need titles that will establish our rights back over thousand years.

I'd like to remind those of us who speak of the "deserted Eastern territories" that, in the eyes of the ancient Romans all Northern Europe offered a spectacle of desolation. Germany has become a smiling country. In the same way the Ukraine will become beautiful when we've been at war there.

We owe the present fertility of our soil to the deformation of Italy. If it weren't for that, the warm winds of South would not reach as far as here. Two thousand years ago Italy was still wooded, and one can imagine how untitled countries must have looked.

The Roman Empire and the Empire of the Incas, like great empires, started by being networks of roads. To the road is taking the place of the railway. The road's winning.

The speed with which the Roman legions moved is truly prising. The roads drive straight forward across mountains hills. The troops certainly found perfectly prepared camps

Communist meeting as to manage a

same thing. The commander who in- who pays with his own hide. A strat- the brute force. Better the brute force

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Europe. The countries east, north and west will learn Ger- man to communicate with us. A condition for that is that the so-called Gothic characters should definitely give place to what we used to call Latin characters, and now call the normal ones. We can see how right we were to make that decision last autumn. For a man who wanted to learn Rus- sian (and we shan't make the mistake of doing that), it was already a terrible complication to adapt himself to an alpha- bet different from ours. I don't believe, by the way, that we're sacrificing any treasure of our patrimony in abandon- ing Gothic character. The Nordic runes were written in what were more like Greek characters. Why should these baroque embellishments be a necessary part of the German genius?

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We need titles that will establish our rights back over two thousand years.

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The speed with which the Roman legions moved is truly sur- prising. The roads drive straight forward across mountains and hills. The troops certainly found perfectly prepared camps at

11/2 and 11/2-3/41

their staging areas. The camp at Saalburg gives one an idea.

I've seen the exhibition of Augustan Rome. It's a very interesting thing. The Roman Empire never had its like. To have succeeded in completely ruling the world! And no empire has spread its civilisation as Rome did.

The world has ceased to be interesting since men began to fly. Until then, there were white patches on the map. The mystery has vanished, it's all over. To-morrow the North Pole will be a crossroads, and Tibet has already been flown over.

62. 5th November 1941, midday

SPECIAL GUESTS: REICHSFUEHRER SS HIMMLER, SS STAF. BLASCHKE AND DR. RICHTER

Characteristics of the criminal—The habitual criminal a danger in war-time—A faulty penal system—Juvenile criminals and the old lags—The procedure of appeal.

Our penal system has the result only of preserving criminals.

In normal times, there's no danger in that. But when the social edifice is in peril, by reason of a war or a famine, it may lead to unimaginable catastrophes. The great mass of the people is, on the whole, a passive element. On the one hand, the idealists represent the positive force. The criminals, on the other hand, represent the negative element.

If I tolerated the preservation of criminals, at a time when the best of us are being killed at the front, I should destroy the balance of forces to the detriment of the nation's healthy element. That would be the triumph of the rabble.

If a country suffers reverses, it runs the risk that a handful of criminals, thus kept under shelter, may cheat the combatants of the fruits of their sacrifice. It's what we experienced in 1918.

The only remedy for that situation is to impose the death penalty, without hesitation, upon criminals of this type.

In Vienna before the war, more than eight thousand men used to camp on the edge of the canals. The kind of rats that come rampaging out of their holes as soon as there are rumbles of a revolution. Vienna still possesses gutter-rats such as aren't found anywhere else. The danger is to give these dregs an opportunity to get together.

No magistrate, priest or politician can change an invet-

erate criminal into a useful citizen. Sometimes one can redeem a criminal, but only in exceptional cases.

The criminal is very willing, of course, to play the game of the worthy types who work to save delinquents—for he sees in it a possibility of saving his own neck. Afterwards he splits his sides at their expense with his confederates.

Our whole penal system is a mess. Young delinquents belonging to respectable families shouldn't be exposed to living communally with creatures who are utterly rotten. It's already an improvement that, in the prisons, young people are divided into groups. In any case, I'm a believer in the restoration of corporal punishment to replace imprisonment in certain cases. Like that, young delinquents would not risk being corrupted by contact with hardened criminals. A good hiding does no harm to a young man of seventeen, and often it would be enough. I've had the luck, in the course of my life, to have had a great variety of experiences and to study all the problems in real life. For example, it was in Landsberg gaol that I was able to check the correctness of these ideas.

A young man from Lower Bavaria, who would rather have cut his hand off than stolen, had had fruitful relations with a girl, and had advised her to go to an abortionist. For that he was given a sentence of eight months. Of course, some punishment was necessary. But if he'd been given a sound licking, and then let go, he'd have had his lesson. He was a nice boy. He used to tell us that, for his family, it was a disgrace they could never outlive, to have a son in prison. We often used to comfort him. As a result, he wrote to us to thank us for what we'd done for him, to tell us that he'd never forget it and to promise us that he'd never again commit the slightest evil deed. He used to end by saying that he'd only one wish: to enter the Party. Signed: Heil Hitler! The letter was intercepted by the prison censorship, and gave rise to a minute and niggling enquiry.

But there were also real bad lots there. Each of them took up at least half an advocate's time. There were the hibernators, the annual visitors, whom the guards used to see return with a certain pleasure, just as they themselves showed a certain satisfaction at seeing their old cells again. I also remember certain letters from prisoners to respectable people—letters that would wring your heart: "Now I realise what happens when you stop doing what religion teaches." Followed by a reference to such-and-such a wonderful sermon by the prison chaplain. My men once attended at a sermon. The man of God spoke of fulfilling one's conjugal duties, with tremolos in his voice!

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Whenever there's a question of granting certain prisoners a remission of their penalty, all sorts of things are taken into account, but these displays of contrition are not the least important factor. Thanks to this play-acting, many customers are let go before their term of sentence has expired.

I completely disagree with the procedure followed in Germany concerning matters taken to appeal. The higher court forms its judgment on the basis of the evidence given before the lower court, and this practice has many drawbacks. In the several dozen cases in which I've been involved, not once was the lower court's verdict altered. The mind of the judge of the higher court is automatically inhibited against this. In my opinion, the latter should know only the form of the accusation or complaint, and should go again from the beginning through the necessary enquiries. Above all, he should be really a higher type of man. The judge's purpose is to discover truth. As he is only a man, he can achieve this only by means of his intuition—if at all.

63. 5th November 1941, evening

SPECIAL GUESTS: SS COLONEL (STANDARTENFUEHRER) BLASCHKE AND DR. RICHTER

Cæsar's soldier's were vegetarians—Diet and long life—Living foodstuffs and sterile diet—Cancer a disease of the degenerate—Disinherited regions and their inhabitants—An honoured caste called the deer-stalkers—The helots of Sparta—Progress of the Germanic race—The impoverished proletariat of Europe—A recrudescence of anti-Semitism in Britain—Racial doctrine camouflaged as religion—Peculiarities of the Jewish mind.

There is an interesting document, dating from the time of Cæsar, which indicates that the soldiers of that time lived on a vegetarian diet. According to the same source, it was only in times of shortage that soldiers had recourse to meat. It's known that the ancient philosophers already regarded the change from black gruel to bread as a sign of decadence. The Vikings would not have undertaken their now legendary expeditions if they'd depended on a meat diet, for they had no method of preserving meat. The fact that the smallest military unit was the section is explained by the fact that each man had a mill for grain. The purveyor of vitamins was the onion.

It's probable that, in the old days, human beings longer than they do now. The turning-point came when replaced the raw elements in his diet by foods that he likes when he eats them. The hypothesis that man ought to longer seems to be confirmed by the disparity between short existence as an adult, on the one hand, and his od of growth on the other. A dog lives, on the average, eight to ten times as long as it takes him to grow up that ratio, man ought normally to live from one hundred forty to one hundred and eighty years. What is certain that, in countries like Bulgaria, where people live on polenta and other such foods, men live to a greater age in our parts of the world. And yet, from other point of view, the peasant does not live hygienically. Have you seen a peasant open a window?

Everything that lives on earth feeds on living matter. The fact that man subjects his foodstuffs to a physico-chemical process explains the so-called "maladies of civilisation". If the average term of life is at present increasing, that cause people are again finding room for a naturalistic diet a revolution. That a fatty substance extracted from cod has the same value as olive-oil, that I don't believe at all! surely better to use the synthetic substances for the manufacture of soap, for example.

It's not impossible that one of the causes of cancer is the harmfulness of cooked foods. We give our body a of nourishment that in one way or another is debased. The present origin of cancer is unknown, but it's possible the causes that provoke it find a terrain that suits them correctly nourished organisms. We all breathe in the microbes that give rise to colds or tuberculosis, but we're not enrheumed or tuberculous.

Nature, in creating a being, gives it all it needs to live. If it cannot live, that's either because it's attacked from outside or because its inner resistance has weakened. In the case of man, it's usually the second eventuality that has him vulnerable.

A toad is a degenerate frog. Who knows what he can do? Certainly on things that don't agree with him.

It's amazing how lacking in logic men are. The most devoid of logic are the professors. In two thousand years' time, when they study the origins of the inhabitants of the Ukraine, they'll claim that we emerged from the marshlands. They're incapable of seeing that originally there was nobody in the marshlands, and that it was we who drove them out.

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it of saying to them that, if anything dis-
the activities of the firm, he would offer to
week's wages in orthodox opinions instead of
Müller was a *self-made man* (English ex-
original). There was a period when he was
ing to demand money from us. We were
re was exploiting us. For this reason, Amann
k to wage a war to the knife against him
of making him lower his rates.

k I played on him was the adoption of the
or the *Völkischer Beobachter*. Müller had
the cunning one, for he supposed that, by
man who possessed a machine correspond-
format, he was binding us to him. In reality,
was binding himself to our newspaper, and
d to continue to print us, for no other news-
format. Müller had become the slave of his
over, we were the only newspaper that never
ulation. It was a piece of luck that we didn't
printing-shop, for the Party comrades who
en our customers would have needed a lot
make them pay their bills: "What about
?" they'd have said.

ay, Adolf Müller was a good sort. He looked
the well-being of his employees, and he al-
his workers' interests, even before the La-
sted. Himself an offspring of the people, he
ractice the art of "live and let live."

riod that we laid the first foundations of our
When I think of the persecutions we met
ers suspended, meetings forbidden or sabo-
retrospect, this was the golden age of our
try into the Chancellery marks the end of
fe. Until then, nine out of ten of the men
as in contact belonged to the people. From
wards, nine out of ten belonged to distin-

It was a turning upside down of my entire
y I once more find the old contact with the
lar gatherings.

il, the Fuehrer continued:

we it to you, for, at the origin of the move-
ith your men that you permitted me to act.
h, you contributed to the birth of the Third

I understand why the bourgeois bristle at the prospect of
being governed by people like us. Compared with us, the
Social Democrats numbered in their ranks men with much
better outward qualifications—from the point of view of
the bourgeois, I mean. The bourgeois could only be terrified
as they witnessed the coming of this new society. But I
knew that the only man who could be really useful to us
was the man capable of mounting on the barricades.

Turning towards Hewel, the Fuehrer went on:

1923. At that period you already had magnificent uni-
forms. But 1920, 1922! The uniform was indispensable.
With some people well dressed and others miserably, one
cannot build a coherent formation. It's difficult to imagine
that sort of thing nowadays. It's because I'm aware of all
that that I know, too, that our movement is inimitable.
What has happened in our midst is something unique—in-
conceivable in France, for example. And the French will
never have a chief like the Duce.

74. Night of 1st-2nd December 1941

*German women married to Jews—"Decent" Jews—
The Jews and the Fourth Commandment—Socie-
ty's debt to the Jews—Peculiarities of the Jewish-
Aryan half-caste—Microcosm and macrocosm—
The laws of nature—The preservation of the race
—The importance of the beautiful.*

*Walter Hewel questioned whether it was right to reproach
a woman for not having taken the decision, after 1933, to
obtain a divorce from a Jewish husband. He questioned, in-
cidentally, whether the desire to obtain a divorce in such
circumstances did not rather betoken a conformism that,
from a humane point of view, was not very creditable.
G.D. interposed that the fact that a German woman had
been capable of marrying a Jew was the proof of a lack of
racial instinct on her part, and that one could infer from
this fact that she had ceased to form a part of the com-
munity. The Fuehrer interrupted:*

Don't say that. Ten years ago, our intellectual class
hadn't the least idea of what a Jew is.

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Obviously, our racial laws demand great strictness on the part of the individual. But to judge of their value, one mustn't let oneself be guided by particular cases. It is necessary to bear in mind that in acting as I do I am avoiding innumerable conflicts for the future.

I'm convinced that there are Jews in Germany who've behaved correctly—in the sense that they've invariably refrained from doing injury to the German idea. It's difficult to estimate how many of them there are, but what I also know is that none of them has entered into conflict with his co-racialists in order to defend the German idea against them. I remember a Jewess who wrote against Eisner in the *Bayrischer Kurier*. But it wasn't in the interests of Germany that she became Eisner's adversary, but for reasons of opportunism. She drew attention to the fact that, if people persevered in Eisner's path, it might call down reprisals on the Jews. It's the same tune as in the Fourth Commandment. As soon as the Jews lay down an ethical principle, it's with the object of some personal gain!

Probably many Jews are not aware of the destructive power they represent. Now, he who destroys life is himself risking death. That's the secret of what is happening to the Jews. Whose fault is it when a cat devours a mouse? The fault of the mouse, who has never done any harm to a cat?

This destructive rôle of the Jew has in a way a providential explanation. If nature wanted the Jew to be the ferment that causes peoples to decay, thus providing these peoples with an opportunity for a healthy reaction, in that case people like St. Paul and Trotsky are, from our point of view, the most valuable. By the fact of their presence, they provoke the defensive reaction of the attacked organism. Dietrich Eckart once told me that in all his life he had known just one good Jew: Otto Weininger, who killed himself on the day when he realised that the Jew lives upon the decay of peoples.

It is remarkable that the half-caste Jew, to the second or third generation, has a tendency to start flirting again with pure Jews. But from the seventh generation onwards, it seems the purity of the Aryan blood is restored. In the long run nature eliminates the noxious elements.

One may be repelled by this law of nature which demands that all living things should mutually devour one another. The fly is snapped up by a dragon-fly, which itself is swallowed by a bird, which itself falls victim to a larger bird. This last, as it grows old, becomes a prey to microbes,

which end by getting the better of it. These their turn, find their predestined ends.

If we had more powerful microscopes, we could cover new worlds. In the absolute, moreover, either great or small. Things are big or little by one selects. What is certain, in any case, is that one cannot change anything in all that. Even a man's own life returns finally to nature—body, soul.

The toad knows nothing of his previous existence as a tadpole, and our memory serves us no better than our own previous state. That's why I have thought it's useful to know the laws of nature—for them to obey them. To act otherwise would be to go against Heaven.

If I can accept a divine Commandment, "Thou shalt preserve the species."

The life of the individual must not be set at naught. If the individual were important in the eyes of nature, nature would take care to preserve him. A million of eggs a fly lays, very few are hatched; the race of flies thrives. What is important for men, is less the sum of knowledge acquired than the maintenance of conditions that enable science to continue itself.

Nobody is compelled to consider life from a narrow view that makes it unworthy to be lived. Man must seize hold of what is beautiful. And what enriches the world contains for the man who enjoys his senses! Moreover, nature has given man the power to make others share in the joys he feels. Always claims its right to primacy. Otherwise, explain the fact that in periods of misfortune men are ready to sacrifice their lives simply for the continuity of their race?

The catastrophe, for us, is that of being tied to a cross that rebels against all the joys of the senses; that, the hypocrisy of the Protestants is more than the Catholics. Protestantism has the warmth of the Catholic Church, that still has its touch of human experience and has not lost contact with its roots. It is obviously more adroit. She permits the individual, firstly because she is powerless to prevent it, secondly because she recaptures the sinner on the day. By picturing to him the sufferings of Heaven in inciting him to be properly generous. A repentance, there's room for relaxation!

13th December 1941, midnight

ISTS: RIBBENTROP, ROSENBERG, GOEBBELS,
OVEN AND REICHSLEITER BOUHLER

*olve the religious problem—Condemnation
anised falsehood—The SS and religion—
nd pre-Bolshevism—Paradise: according
ans and according to Mahommedans—
us and the Eucharist—The Japanese and
Mussolini makes a mistake.*

I be over one day. I shall then consider that
task will be to solve the religious problem.
the life of the German native be guaranteed
all.

ere in matters of belief. Therefore I can't
en to interfere with temporal affairs. The or-
st be smashed. The State must remain the
r.

s younger, I thought it was necessary to set
with dynamite. I've since realised that there's
the subtlety. The rotten branch falls of itself.

must be: in St. Peter's Chair, a senile offi-
-im, a few sinister old women, as gaga and
irit as anyone could wish. The young and
our side. Against a Church that identifies it-
State, as in England, I have nothing to say.
it's impossible eternally to hold humanity in
lies. After all, it was only between the sixth
sturies that Christianity was imposed on our
aces who had an alliance of interests with the
peoples had previously succeeded in living
ut this religion. I have six divisions of SS
men absolutely indifferent in matters of re-
n't prevent them from going to their deaths
in their souls.

an Aryan, and St. Paul used his doctrine to
iminal underworld and thus organise a proto-
is intrusion upon the world marks the end of
that of the clear Græco-Latin genius.

God who takes pleasure only in seeing men
Him? Try to picture to yourselves the mean-
lowing, quite simple story. God creates the

conditions for sin. Later on He succeeds, with the help of
the Devil, in causing man to sin. Then He employs a virgin
to bring into the world a son who, by His death, will re-
deem humanity!

I can imagine people being enthusiastic about the para-
dise of Mahomet, but as for the insipid paradise of the
Christians! In your lifetime, you used to hear the music of
Richard Wagner. After your death, it will be nothing but
ballelujahs, the waving of palms, children of an age for the
feeding-bottle, and hoary old men. The man of the isles pays
homage to the forces of nature. But Christianity is an in-
vention of sick brains: one could imagine nothing more
senseless, nor any more indecent way of turning the idea
of the Godhead into a mockery. A negro with his tabus is
crushingly superior to the human being who seriously be-
lieves in Transubstantiation.

I begin to lose all respect for humanity when I think
that some people on our side, Ministers or generals, are
capable of believing that we cannot triumph without the
blessing of the Church. Such a notion is excusable in little
children who have learnt nothing else.

For thirty years the Germans tore each other to pieces
simply in order to know whether or not they should take
Communion in both kinds. There's nothing lower than re-
ligious notions like that. From that point of view, one can
envy the Japanese. They have a religion which is very sim-
ple and brings them into contact with nature. They've suc-
ceeded even in taking Christianity and turning it into a religion
that's less shocking to the intellect.

By what would you have me replace the Christian's pic-
ture of the Beyond? What comes naturally to mankind is
the sense of eternity and that sense is at the bottom of
every man. The soul and the mind migrate, just as the body
returns to nature. Thus life is eternally reborn from life.
As for the "why?" of all that, I feel no need to rack my
brains on the subject. The soul is unplumbable.

If there is a God, at the same time as He gives man life
He gives him intelligence. By regulating my life according
to the understanding that is granted me, I may be mis-
taken, but I act in good faith. The concrete image of the
Beyond that religion forces on me does not stand up to ex-
amination. Think of those who look down from on high
upon what happens on earth: what a martyrdom for them,
to see human beings indefatigably repeating the same ges-
tures, and inevitably the same errors!

In my view, H. S. Chamberlain was mistaken in regard-

ing Christianity as a reality upon the spiritual level.

Man judges everything in relation to himself. What is bigger than himself is big, what is smaller is small. Only one thing is certain, that one is part of the spectacle. Everyone finds his own rôle. Joy exists for everybody. I dream of a state of affairs in which every man would know that he lives and dies for the preservation of the species. It's our duty to encourage that idea: let the man who distinguishes himself in the service of the species be thought worthy of the highest honours.

What a happy inspiration, to have kept the clergy out of the Party! On the 21st March 1933, at Potsdam, the question was raised: with the Church, or without the Church? I conquered the State despite the malediction pronounced on us by both creeds. On that day, we went directly to the tomb of the kings whilst the others were visiting religious services. Supposing that at that period I'd made a pact with the Churches, I'd to-day be sharing the lot of the Duce. By nature the Duce is a free-thinker, but he decided to choose the path of concessions. For my part, in his place I'd have taken the path of revolution. I'd have entered the Vatican and thrown everybody out—reserving the right to apologise later: "Excuse me, it was a mistake." But the result would have been, they'd have been outside!

When all is said, we have no reason to wish that the Italians and Spaniards should free themselves from the drug of Christianity. Let's be the only people who are immunised against the disease.

76. 14th December 1941, midday

SPECIAL GUESTS: ROSENBERG, BOUHLER, HIMMLER

Incompatibility of National Socialism and Christianity—The Popes of the Renaissance—A poisoned source.

Kerrl, with the noblest of intentions, wanted to attempt a synthesis between National Socialism and Christianity. I don't believe the thing's possible, and I see the obstacle in Christianity itself.

I think I could have come to an understanding with the Popes of the Renaissance. Obviously, their Christianity was a danger on the practical level—and, on the propaganda level, it continued to be a lie. But a Pope, even a criminal

LUEGER, MAYOR OF VIENNA

one, who protects great artists and spreads beauty
him, is nevertheless more sympathetic to me than the
estant minister who drinks from the poisoned spring.

Pure Christianity—the Christianity of the catacombs—concerned with translating the Christian doctrine into action. It leads quite simply to the annihilation of mankind. It is merely whole-hearted Bolshevism, under a tinsel of mysticism and physics.

77. 17th December 1941, evening

SPECIAL GUESTS: DR. GOEBBELS AND HIMMLER

Pan-Germanic supporters and the Austrian Christian Socialists—Schönerer and Lueger—A great mayor—Anti-Semitism in Vienna—Opposition to the Hapsburg—Richard Wagner and the mayor of Leipzig—Other mayors.

There was a man in Vienna, before the first World War, who was always in favour of an understanding with the Semitic Rumania—and he saw in it the best way of saving Hungary from acquiring too much importance. That was Lueger.

Lueger was also of the opinion that it was possible to maintain the Austrian State, but on condition that it retained all its supremacy. Schönerer, on the other hand, took as his point of departure the idea that the Austrian State ought to disappear. His attitude towards the Hapsburgs was brutally radical. From that time on, his first attempt to oppose the Germanic racial community was the monarchy. On that point, Lueger and Schönerer were in complete agreement.

Lueger, who had belonged to the Pan-German movement, went over to the Christian-Social party, for which anti-Semitism was the only means of saving the party. Now, in Vienna, anti-Semitism could never have been a religion but a religious one. From the point of view of the population of Vienna, about 50 per cent of the population of Vienna were German. The number of Jews, amongst a million and a half inhabitants, was close on three hundred thousand. But the Czechs of Vienna were an important minority. Lueger succeeded in filling thirty-six of the hundred seats of the Vienna Municipal Council with anti-Semites.

When I arrived in Vienna, I was a fanatical of Lueger As a Pan-German, and as a supporter of

matters. Everything depends on the men. Without them, I could do nothing.

Nowadays certain small peoples have a greater number of capable men than the whole British Empire.

How many times I've heard it said in the Party that a new man should be found for such-and-such a post. Unfortunately I could only reply: "But by whom will you replace the present holder?"

I'm always ready to replace an inadequate man by another with better qualifications. In fact, whatever may be said about the bonds of loyalty, it's the quality of the man who assumes responsibilities that's finally decisive.

Of one thing there is no doubt, that Streicher has never been replaced. Despite all his weaknesses, he's a man who has spirit. If we wish to tell the truth, we must recognise that, without Julius Streicher, Nuremberg would never have been won over to National Socialism. He put himself under my orders at a time when others were hesitating to do so, and he completely conquered the city of our Rallies. That's an unforgettable service.

More than once Dietrich Eckart told me that Streicher was a schoolteacher, and a lunatic, to boot, from many points of view. He always added that one could not hope for the triumph of National Socialism without giving one's support to men like Streicher. Despite everything, Eckart was very fond of him.

Streicher is reproached for his *Stürmer*. The truth is the opposite of what people say: he *idealised* the Jew. The Jew is baser, fiercer, more diabolical than Streicher depicted him.

It's not a crime to speak publicly of affairs of State, for the State needs the people's approval. Of course, there are cases in which it's inopportune to speak of certain matters. Whoever is guilty of doing so is committing, as a rule, nothing worse than an offence against discipline.

Frick told me once that Streicher's stock had completely slumped at Nuremberg. I went to Nuremberg to try to form an opinion. Streicher came into the room, and there was a hurricane of enthusiasm!

I went once to a women's gathering. It took place at Nuremberg, and I'd been warned that Elsbeth Zander was a very serious competitor to Streicher. The meeting was held in the Hercules hall for bicycle-races. Streicher was welcomed with an indescribable enthusiasm. The oldest adherents of the Party all spoke in favour of Streicher and

against Elsbeth Zander. There was nothing for me but take my departure.

It goes without saying that the organisation of was very imperfect. If I take a functionary of Service as my criterion, the comparison is obvious: Streicher's advantage. But I must recall that it was a functionary who took Nuremberg for me in 1919.

When all's said, it was the Gauleiters themselves who asked me to be indulgent with Streicher. In all the instances, there was no comparison between the committed and his recognised merits, which were

As usual, one must look for the feminine and

Who escapes from criticism? I myself, if I dis day, realise that a time will come, in a hundred haps, when I shall be violently attacked. History no exception in my favour. But what importance It takes only another hundred years for these s be effaced. I don't concern myself with such th my way.

This Streicher affair is a tragedy. At the origin flict lies the hatred sworn between two women.

In any case, there's just one statement I have that Streicher is irreplaceable. His name is engr memory of the people of Nuremberg. There's r of his coming back, but I must do him justice. I write my memoirs, I shall have to recognise th fought like a buffalo in our cause. The conque conia was his work.

I have a bad conscience when I get the feelin not been quite fair to somebody. When I go to it's always with a feeling of bitterness. I can't h that, in comparison with so many services, the Streicher's dismissal are really very slender.

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In one way or another, we shall have to find I cannot dream of holding a rally at Nuremberg the man who gave Nuremberg to the Party is

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It goes without saying that the organisation of the Gau was very imperfect. If I take a functionary of the Civil Service as my criterion, the comparison is obviously not to Streicher's advantage. But I must recall that it wasn't a functionary who took Nuremberg for me in 1919.

When all's said, it was the Gauleiters themselves who asked me to be indulgent with Streicher. In all the circumstances, there was no comparison between the faults he committed and his recognised merits, which were brilliant.

As usual, one must look for the feminine angle!

Who escapes from criticism? I myself, if I disappear to-day, realise that a time will come, in a hundred years, perhaps, when I shall be violently attacked. History will make no exception in my favour. But what importance has that! It takes only another hundred years for these shadows to be effaced. I don't concern myself with such things, I go my way.

This Streicher affair is a tragedy. At the origin of the conflict lies the hatred sworn between two women.

In any case, there's just one statement I have to make, that Streicher is irreplaceable. His name is engraved in the memory of the people of Nuremberg. There's no question of his coming back, but I must do him justice. If one day I write my memoirs, I shall have to recognise that this man fought like a buffalo in our cause. The conquest of Franconia was his work.

I have a bad conscience when I get the feeling that I've not been quite fair to somebody. When I go to Nuremberg, it's always with a feeling of bitterness. I can't help thinking that, in comparison with so many services, the reasons for Streicher's dismissal are really very slender.

All that's said about his alleged disease is false. Streicher had only one disease, and that was nympholepsy.

In one way or another, we shall have to find a solution. I cannot dream of holding a rally at Nuremberg from which the man who gave Nuremberg to the Party is banished.

I can install some mediocrity in Streicher's place. He'll administer the Gau perfectly, as long as circumstances are normal. If a catastrophe occurs, the mediocrity will disappear.

The best advice I can give my successors is in such a case to be loyal.

Frau Streicher is outside this business. Frau Liebel is an ambitious woman.

Probably none of us is entirely "normal." Otherwise we should spend all our days in the café on the corner. The Catholics, the bourgeois, everybody has accused me of being crazy because, in their eyes, a normal man is one who drinks three glasses of beer every evening. "Why all this fuss? It's obviously the proof that he's mad." How many men of our Party were regarded in their families as black sheep!

When I examine the faults for which Streicher is blamed, I realise that no great man would pass through this sieve. Richard Wagner was attacked because he wore silk pyjamas: "Prodigality, insensate luxury, no knowledge of the value of money. The man's mad!" As regards myself, it's enough that I could be blamed for entrusting money to all and sundry, and without having any guarantee that the money was wisely invested. The man who wants to kill my dog begins by saying that it has rabies! It does not affect me at all that I myself should be judged in this fashion. But I should be ashamed if I used such criteria in passing judgment on others.

All sanctions are justified when it's a question of a real offence: treason to the Movement, for example. But when a man has made a mistake in good faith?

Nobody has the right to photograph a man surprised in intimacy. It's too easy to make a man seem ridiculous. Let every man ask himself the question, what would he do if he had the bad luck to be photographed unawares in a delicate situation? The photos in question were taken from a house opposite. It was a disgusting way of behaving, and I've forbidden any use to be made of the photos.

It's not fair to demand more of a man than he can give. Streicher has not the gifts of a great administrator. Would I have entrusted the editorship of a great newspaper to Dietrich Eckart? From the financial point of view, there'd have been a terrifying mess. One day the newspaper would have come out, the next day not. If there'd been a pig to share out, Eckart would have promised it left and right, and distributed at least twenty-four hams. Those men are made like that, but without them it's impossible to get anything started.

I haven't myself the talents of a great administrator, but I've known how to surround myself with the men I needed.

Dietrich Eckart could not, for example, have been the Director of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. It would be like asking me to devote myself to agriculture. I'm quite incapable of it.

One day I had in my hands a pile of letters. If they'd been published, he'd have been. They were the outpourings of a draper's assistant. Goebbels: "We haven't the right to make. Reading these letters had made me sympathetic than otherwise, and perhaps the reasons why later on I didn't persecute him. In the same way, I have in the State graphs of Mathilde von Kemnitz. I forbade.

I don't think a man should die of hunger been my opponent. If he was a base opponent the concentration camp with him! But if I let him go free, and I see that he live on. That's how I helped Noske and my return from Italy, I even increased the thing to myself: "God be praised, thanks we've been rid of the aristocratic riff-raff in Italy." Barring errors on my part, their present eight hundred marks a month.

What I couldn't allow, though, was that some financial arrangement in my favour, example, offered to do more than once. have bought them. In the case of one of them he has said about us: "On the path towards results surpass all we had dreamed of."

Thaelmann himself is very well treated in the concentration camp. He has a little house to himself.

Torgler has been set free. He's peaceful work on Socialism in the nineteenth century he was responsible for the burning of. I can't prove it. Personally, I have nothing to say, he has completely calmed down. A man ten years earlier! By nature, fellow.

That's why it's crazy of Spain to persecute Falangists.

Thank God, I've always avoided persecution.

82. 29th December 1941

SPECIAL GUESTS: DR. TODT AND DIRECTOR

Industrialisation of the Reich—Co-Work done by Russian prisoners—

D.T. He taught me the view of the world that is in the human.

of us is entirely "normal." Otherwise we four days in the café on the corner. The bourgeois, everybody has accused me of being in their eyes, a normal man is one who sses of beer every evening. "Why all this isly the proof that he's mad." How many ty were regarded in their families as black

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f the talents of a great administrator, but o surround myself with the men I needed. could not, for example, have been the ational Institute of Arts and Letters. It ing me to devote myself to agriculture. e of it.

One day I had in my hands a pile of letters from Severing. If they'd been published, he'd have been annihilated. They were the outpourings of a draper's assistant. I said to Goebbels: "We haven't the right to make use of these." Reading these letters had made Severing seem to me more sympathetic than otherwise, and perhaps that's one of the reasons why later on I didn't persecute him.

In the same way, I have in the State archives photographs of Mathilde von Kemnitz. I forbid them to be published.

I don't think a man should die of hunger because he has been my opponent. If he was a base opponent, then off to the concentration camp with him! But if he's not a swindler, I let him go free, and I see that he has enough to live on. That's how I helped Noske and many others. On my return from Italy, I even increased their pensions, saying to myself: "God be praised, thanks to these people we've been rid of the aristocratic riff-raff that's still ruining Italy." Barring errors on my part, their pension is at present eight hundred marks a month.

What I couldn't allow, though, was that they should make some financial arrangement in my favour—as Severing, for example, offered to do more than once. I would seem to have bought them. In the case of one of them, I know what he has said about us: "On the path towards Socialism, the results surpass all we had dreamed of."

Thaelmann himself is very well treated in his concentration camp. He has a little house to himself.

Torgler has been set free. He's peacefully busy with a work on Socialism in the nineteenth century. I'm convinced he was responsible for the burning of the Reichstag, but I can't prove it. Personally, I have nothing against him. Besides, he has completely calmed down. A pity I didn't meet the man ten years earlier! By nature, he's an intelligent fellow.

That's why it's crazy of Spain to persecute genuine Falangists.

Thank God, I've always avoided persecuting my enemies. *

82. 29th December 1941

SPECIAL GUESTS: DR. TODT AND DIRECTOR-GENERAL PLEIGER

Industrialisation of the Reich—Coal and iron—
Work done by Russian prisoners—Take the long
view.

*D.T. He taught me much, yet example
of the varied strata of human
in one human*

The adventures of Dietrich Eckart—Hitler incognito—Reunions at Passau and Berchtesgaden—Local stories—The construction of the Berghof—First Christmas at Obersalzberg—Journey to Buxtehude—A providential fire—Dietrich Eckart, mentor—Picturesque quarrels—The first of the Faithful.

The Hochlenzer was built in 1672. It's a region where there are traces of very ancient habitation. There's a reason for that, for through here passed the old salt route that led from Hallein to Augsburg, passing through Salzburg and Berchtesgaden. Hallthurm was a landmark on this route.

I don't suppose our ancestors considered this region very inviting. Every year, about Christmas, the children rig themselves out in terrifying masks—a survival of a period when people thought that in this way they could chase away evil spirits. Bad spirits gather in wild and desolate regions! Imagine this narrow road, where the traders obliged to pass that way lived in constant fear of attack, either by wild beasts or by brigands. They needed a whole day to cover a distance that to-day takes us twenty minutes.

In the spot where I have my house, there was nothing before 1917. Nothing but fields. I think it was in 1917 that the Winter family, of Buxtehude, built the little house on whose site I built mine.

The visit to Obersalzberg that made the keenest impression on me was the visit I made at the time when my house was being built. It was my first for several months, and I was full of the excitement of discovery. The main work had only just been finished. The dimensions of the house made me somewhat afraid it would clash with the landscape. I was very glad to notice that, on the contrary, it fitted in very well. I had already restricted myself for that reason—for, to my taste, it should have been still bigger.

The house that belonged to Cornelius, *Sonnenköpf*, was celebrated. The Bechsteins wanted me to acquire it. But I set too much store by the view in the direction of Salzburg, perhaps out of nostalgia for my little fatherland. Moreover, it's too warm in summer at *Sonnenköpf*. The *Berghof* has a truly ideal situation. How I'd like to be up there! It will be a glorious moment when we can climb up there again. But how far away it is, terribly far!

To put it briefly, it was Dietrich Eckart who introduced me to Obersalzberg. There was a warrant out for his arrest, and we were seeking to hide him. First of all he'd taken refuge at Munich, with the Lauböcks. But he couldn't

resist the temptation to telephone right and by the second day, he was clamouring that Anna should go and visit him. "I'm incapable of being used to say. We decided to fetch him home. As a precautionary measure, patrols were sent to watch the house. Here and there one could see a policeman sticking up, but they were too embarrassed to embroil themselves with us. Christian Weber came and told me about the Büchners of Obersalzberg. I didn't yet know. Weber had been their paymaster. He thought it would be just the place for Dietrich Eckart. The Büchners ran the pension Moritz."

One day Röhm telephoned to me, asking me to see him immediately at the office of our military attaché. There was a "wanted persons" service stationed in parallel with that of the civil police. That an attempt would be made to arrest him that night, and he advised me to take care. I'd myself observed that the house was being hemmed in by policemen. A little later in the day, from Röhm that all the roads round Munich had been closed. "Take him to the English Garden," he told me. I found a Reichswehr vehicle that I'm putting at my disposal. I commented to Röhm that Eckart would consent to depart by himself. "So much the better," he said. "It will be excellent if the vehicle is to see Drexler, and asked him if he would stay for a few weeks with Dietrich Eckart. He agreed at the proposal. Eckart began by jibbing at me, but in the evening he let himself be led off. All during the winter 1922-1923, so they went to Obersalzberg, where there was still a lot of snow. Details of that journey."

Next day the police came to my house. Nothing, of course. That reminds me that these police fellows very rudely. When they telephoned, and suspected that the line was tapped, they exclaimed at once: "Good God, another of these fellows taking an interest in us!"

Christian Weber gave us news regularly. It was that they were in a boarding-house at Berchtesgaden.

One day in April I went to Berchtesgaden by my young sister. I told her that I had a view on the mountain, and I asked her to set off on foot with Weber. The path rose steeply on and on: a narrow path, through the snow

2-3

HITLER'S HOUSE

ures of Dietrich Eckart—Hitler incog-
 nitions at Passau and Berchtesgaden—Loc-
 The construction of the Berghof—First
 u Obersalzberg—Journey to Buxtehude
 ential fire—Dietrich Eckart, mentor—
 quarrels—The first of the Faithful.

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DIETRICH ECKART

1/16-17/42

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One day Röhm telephoned to me, asking me to go and
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 I'd myself observed that the house was beginning to be
 hemmed in by policemen. A little later in the day I learnt
 from Röhm that all the roads round Munich had been barred.
 "Take him to the English Garden," he told me. "There you'll
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 I commented to Röhm that Eckart would certainly not
 consent to depart by himself. "So much the better," said
 Röhm. "It will be excellent if the vehicle is full." I went
 to see Drexler, and asked him if he would like to go off
 for a few weeks with Dietrich Eckart. He was enthusiastic
 at the proposal. Eckart began by jibbing at the idea, but in
 the evening he let himself be led off. All this happened
 during the winter 1922-1923. So they went up to Obersalz-
 berg, where there was still a lot of snow. I've had no
 details of that journey.

Next day the police came to my house. They knew
 nothing, of course. That reminds me that we used to treat
 these police fellows very rudely. When we were tele-
 phoning, and suspected that the line was tapped, we used to
 exclaim at once: "Good God, another of these chimpan-
 zeas taking an interest in us!"

Christian Weber gave us news regularly. All that I knew
 was that they were in a boarding-house somewhere near
 Berchtesgaden.

One day in April I went to Berchtesgaden, accompanied
 by my young sister. I told her that I had to have an inter-
 view on the mountain, and I asked her to wait for me. I
 set off on foot with Weber. The path rose sharply, and went
 on and on: a narrow path, through the snow. I asked Web-

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er whether he took me for a chamois, and threatened to turn back and return by day. Then we found a house before us, the pension Moritz. Weber said to me: "No knocks at the door; we can go in." As a precaution, we had not announced ourselves. Eckart, brought from his bed, came to meet us in his nightshirt, displaying heels bristling with hair like barbed-wire. He was very much moved.

I asked Eckart at what hour I should get up next day in order to admire the landscape. He told me that it was marvellous at 7:30. He was right—what a lovely view over the valley! A countryside of indescribable beauty.

Eckart was already downstairs. He introduced me to the Büchners: "This is my young friend, Herr Wolf." Nobody could think of forming any connection between this person and that crazy monster Adolf Hitler. Eckart was known at the boarding-house under the name of Dr. Hoffmann. At midday he took me to the *Türken* inn, promising me a genuine goulash. He was addressed there as "Herr Doktor," but I saw at once that everybody knew his real identity. When I mentioned this to him, he answered that there were no traitors in Obersalzberg. After a meeting at Freilassing, he had spoken under the name of Hoffmann, but during the speech he had become carried away by passion and had so far forgotten himself as to say: "What's that nonsense you're telling me? Why, I'm better informed than you are. I'm Dietrich Eckart!"

I didn't stay there long, and went back to Munich. But every time I had a few free days, I used to return up there. We often went on excursions. Once we were caught in the Purtscheller hut by a terrible storm, so fierce we thought the hut was about to fly away. Dietrich Eckart cursed: "What folly to have shut myself up in such a wretched shanty!" Another time, Büchner took Eckart on his motor-cycle. I can still see them climbing at full speed the stiff, winding path to Obersalzberg. What a team!

A day came when it was impossible to keep Eckart at the boardinghouse any longer. People were saying everywhere that a horde of policemen were coming to pick him up. One afternoon we moved him into Göll's little house. As he always did when he moved, he took with him his bed and his coffee-grinder.

I had become immediately attached to Obersalzberg. I'd fallen in love with the landscape. The only people who knew who I was were the Büchners, and they'd kept the secret. All the others thought of me as Herr Wolf. So it was very amusing to hear what people said at table about Hitler.

I'd decided to go to Passau for a meeting. Our board house had a customer accompanied by a very pretty woman. We were chatting together, and suddenly he said to me: "I've come from Holstein as far as Berchtesgaden. I're to miss the opportunity of seeing this man Hitler. So going to Passau." It seemed to me that this was a lookout for me, and that I would lose my incognito. I him I was going there, too, and offered to take him my car. When we reached Passau, a car was waiting for I went ahead and warned my friends that I was Wolf, asking them to avoid any gaffes with the brag whom I was leaving in their care. I invited the brag to come into the meeting with my friends, telling I'd join him in the hall. The fact was that I had to off the overalls hiding my uniform.

I immediately recognised my man by his stupid scarred face, lost in the confused uproar of the hall. When he saw me mount the platform and begin to speak, he his eyes upon me as if I were a ghost. The meeting ended in a terrible brawl, in the course of which Schreck was arrested. I took my companion back to Obersalzberg, was dumbfounded. I begged him to keep my secret, to him that if I were recognised I should be obliged to change my place of refuge, and that this would be a vexation. He gave me his word.

On the way back, it was Göring who was at the wheel. He drove like a madman. On a bend, before we arrived at Tittmoning, we suddenly found ourselves on a dung-cart. Maurice took over the wheel again, and drove us back to Berchtesgaden without further obstacle.

Next day I could see, from the way the braggart's head of staring at me, that he had spoken to her. But towards the others he had been entirely discreet.

For a long time a meeting had been arranged at Berchtesgaden. The moment came when it was no longer possible to avoid it. "German Day at Berchtesgaden. Present: the brave Adolf Hitler." Great sensation at Obersalzberg. The whole boarding-house, forty to fifty people in all, went down into the valley to see the phenomenon. Dinner had been advanced so that they could arrive punctually.

I came down by motor-cycle. At the Crown inn, I was welcomed by a formidable ovation. All my boarding-house was gathered in front of the door—but the good people in no way surprised, being convinced that every new rival was greeted in this vociferous fashion. When I climbed on the platform, they stared at me as if I'd gone mad.

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they became aware of the reality, I saw that it was driving them out of their minds.

When Wolf returned to the boarding-house, the atmosphere there was poisoned. Those who had spoken ill of Adolf Hitler in my hearing were horribly embarrassed. What a pity!

The pleasant period was when my features weren't known, and I could travel in peace all over the Reich. What a pleasure it was for me to be mistaken for no matter whom!

One of my first escapades after my emergence from prison, in 1925, consisted in a visit to Berchtesgaden. I told the Büchners that I had work to do and needed absolute quiet. I accordingly installed myself in the small annex.

Then the Büchners went away. I shall always follow their fortunes with interest. I judge people according to how they treated us at the period of our struggle. The Büchners were admirable to us at a time when we were weak. Büchner was a very nice fellow, and his wife was a person full of energy. They gave way, in 1926 or 1927, to Dressel, a Saxon. What a change! Dressel was horribly lazy, his house was ill-kept, his food uneatable. A drunken brother-in-law into the bargain. The café was kept by a charming girl, who to-day works with Amann, and whom Dressel mistreated. She was the daughter of a porcelain-manufacturer, Hutschenreuther, whose business had turned out badly. What a relief for her when Amann got her out of there! Dressel even withheld from his staff the 10 per cent for service to which they were entitled. All this was so disgusting that we decided not to stay there any longer.

After that I stayed at the *Marineheim*. The Bechsteins were there, and had begged me to keep them company. But the atmosphere was intolerable. The Bechsteins, who were people of the world, themselves admitted it. A society entirely lacking in naturalness, characters swollen with pretentiousness, the quintessence of everything that revolts us! After the incident of Herr Modersohn's luggage, I went away. I couldn't remain any longer in a house inhabited by such puppets.

Then I selected the *Deutsche Haus* in Berchtesgaden. I lived there for nearly two years, with breaks. I lived there like a fighting-cock. Every day I went up to Obersalzberg, which took me two and a half hours' walking there and back. That's where I wrote the second volume of my book. I was very fond of visiting the *Dreimäderlhaus*, where there were always pretty girls. This was a great treat for me. There was one of them, especially, who was a real beauty.

In 1928 I learnt that the *Wachenfeld* house was coming up to let. I thought this would be an excellent, and I decided to go and look at it. Nobody was Old Rasp, whom I met there, told me that the house had just gone out. Winter, who had had the house at that time a big industrialist in Buxtehude. It was his wife's maiden name, Wachenfeld.

The two ladies came back. "Excuse me, ladies. the proprietors of this house. I've been told that you had to let it." "You are Herr Hitler? We are members of the Party." "Then we are wonderfully suited." "Come and have a cup of coffee." Then I visited them and was completely captivated. We at once came to agreement. The proprietors were delighted to let the house by the year, for a hundred marks a month, considered that I was doing them a service in not leaving the house empty. They were so kind as to add the event of sale, which was improbable, they would take the first option.

I immediately rang up my sister in Vienna, and begged her to be so good as to take part of mistress of the house. Since my sister was not with a little servant-girl, I procured two to watch her. Nothing ever happened to her.

I went once to Buxtehude. Since I'd invested money in the house, I wanted a price, against the sale, to be fixed before a lawyer. The most agreeable for me would have been to buy at once, but Frau couldn't make up her mind to sell the house, she had from her late husband. We had arrived by Hamburg. When I asked where was the Winter was told that it had burned down precisely the fore. I told myself that I'd come at the proper time.

I visited Frau Winter in her house. I was received by her daughter. The mother came, beaming: "coincidence!" she said. "You arrive, and the house burnt down last night. Two pieces of luck!" That during the inflation two Jews had bought the house for nothing, profiting by a widow's weakness. "This is such a good day for me that I agree to let the house."

She led me in front of a photograph: "Look at this scamp!" she said. "For three weeks he's been in the Army, and I've had no letter from him." I tried to tell her that perhaps the young man was on man unable to write. She was delighted that I'd said this with a pretext for regarding herself as having

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In 1928 I learnt that the *Wachenfeld* house would be coming up to let. I thought this would be an excellent solu- tion, and I decided to go and look at it. Nobody was there. Old Rasp, whom I met there, told me that the two ladies had just gone out. Winter, who had had the house built, was at that time a big industrialist in Buxtehude. He'd given it his wife's maiden name, *Wachenfeld*.

The two ladies came back. "Excuse me, ladies. You are the proprietors of this house. I've been told that you wanted to let it." "You are Herr Hitler? We are members of the Party." "Then we are wonderfully suited." "Come in, come and have a cup of coffee." Then I visited the house, and was completely captivated. We at once came to an agreement. The proprietors were delighted to let the entire house by the year, for a hundred marks a month. They considered that I was doing them a service in not leaving the house empty. They were so kind as to add that, in the event of sale, which was improbable, they would give me the first option.

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to the boy. I was certainly subjugated by this adorable old lady of eighty. She reminded me of Frau Hoffmann—only taller, thinner and more alert.

I went for a short walk with the old lady, and learnt that she had the right to dwell only in the house belonging to the factory. By good luck, although the lightning had struck the factory, the living-house had been spared!

That's how I became a property owner at Obersalzberg.

Yes, there are so many links between Obersalzberg and me. So many things were born there, and brought to fruition there. I've spent up there the finest hours of my life. My thoughts remain faithful to my first house. It's there that all my great projects were conceived and ripened. I had hours of leisure, in those days, and how many charming friends! Now it's stultifying hard work and chains. All that's left to me now is these few hours that I spend with you every night.

For the Baroness, I was somebody interesting. Eckart had introduced me as follows: "Here's a young friend who one day will be a very important man." How she wanted to know what I did! I told her I was a writer.

How I loved going to see Dietrich Eckart in his apartment in the Franz Joseph Strasse. What a wonderful atmosphere in his home! How he took care of his little Anna! When he died, she told me with all the tears of bitterness that she would never again meet a man as disinterested as he was.

We've all taken a step forward on the road of existence, and we could no longer picture to ourselves exactly what Dietrich Eckhart was for us. He shone in our eyes like the polar star. What others wrote was so flat. When he admonished someone, it was with so much wit. At the time, I was intellectually a child still on the bottle. But what comforted me was that, even with him, it hadn't all sprouted itself—that everything in his work was the result of a patient and intelligent effort. There are things I wrote ten years ago that I can no longer read.

Our society, at the boarding-house, was composed of Dietrich Eckhart, with his girl-friend, Anna, of Gansser, the Baroness Abegg, Esser, Heinrich Hoffmann and Drexler. I remember bringing up from Berchtesgaden in a basket, a bust acquired by the Baroness that everybody attributed to Donatello. I regretted the sweat it cost me all the more since, when I dragged it from the basket, it proved to be a bad copy in clay.

We often spent agreeable evenings in the *Deutsche Haus*,

sometimes in the café, sometimes in one or other of rooms. Gansser used to fill the house with the boom of his voice and his Bavarian accent. He scented trace plots everywhere.

Miezel was a delightful girl. At this period I knew a lot of women. Several of them became attached to me. When, didn't I marry? To leave a wife behind me? At slightest imprudence, I ran the risk of going back to prison for six years. So there could be no question of marriage for me. I therefore had to renounce certain opportunities offered themselves.

Dr. Gansser deserves eternal gratitude from the Party. I owe him a whole series of very important relations. If I hadn't, thanks to him, made the acquaintance of Richard Frank—the wheat man—I wouldn't have been able to keep the *Beobachter* going in 1923. The same true of Bechstein. For months I travelled in his car which was loaded with dynamite. He used to say, to calm me, "I can't use any other chauffeur, for this one is so completely stupid that I can say anything at all in front of him." When he runs into another car, it can't be helped; up in the air we go.

When it was a question of setting off on a journey, Eckart was the most precise man on earth, Gansser the most precise. Eckart would arrive at the station an hour and a half before the train's departure. Gansser was never late. Eckart used to say to me: "Have you any news of Gansser? I'm afraid he's late again. You—don't go away, or be left alone!" The train would be leaving the platform when we would see Gansser, overflowing with his luggage, having traversed the whole train after having succeeded in bringing off a flying leap into the last carriage. Eckart would apostrophise him: "You, you're a man born after his kind. That explains everything!"

Eckart was born a Protestant. When he was with Gansser, he used to defend Catholicism. "But for Luther we'd have finished with Christianity much sooner." Gansser, as a pastor's son, would defend Luther. One day Eckart brought their traditional dispute to the following conclusion: "I must tell it to you now. You're merely a sub-product of Protestant sexuality; that is to say, of a sexuality that's not at ease in society."

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of them, it moves me extraordinarily. They showed a truly touching attachment towards me. Small stallkeepers of the markets used to come running to see me "to bring a couple of eggs to Herr Hitler." There were important ones like Pöschl, Fuess and Gahr, but also quite small men, whom today I find much aged. I'm so fond of these unpretentious fellows. The others, the ten thousand of the élite, whatever they do is the result of calculation. Some of them see me as an attraction to their drawing-rooms, others seek various advantages. Our newspaper-sellers were often boycotted and beaten up. One of our most faithful supporters, since 1920, was old Jegg. My happiest memories are of this time. The attachment I then felt to the people has never left me. There are such bonds joining me to them that I can share in their troubles and joys. I put myself spontaneously in their place. For years I lived on Tyrolean apples, and so did Hess. It's crazy what economies we had to make. Every mark saved was for the Party. Another loyal supporter was little Neuner, Ludendorff's valet. There were also noblemen: Stransky, Scheubner-Richter, von der Pfordten. I realised the similarity of opposites. My comrades at the beginning already came from all parts of Germany. Nothing in the groundwork of the Party has changed. I still rely on the same forces.

It's a great time, when an entirely unknown man can set out to conquer a nation, and when after fifteen years of struggle he can become, in effect, the head of his people. I had the luck to number some strong personalities among my supporters.

111. Night of 17th-18th January 1942

*Sledge-hammer blows of the Russian campaign—
German and American aircraft—The torment of
Malta—Grave Italian errors.*

"First of all snow, later frost!" That's all one could read in the books about Russia. And Hilger himself has no more to tell. It's a proof that one can't trust all the observations. It's obviously easy to calculate the average temperatures, based on the results over several years, but it would be indispensable to add that in some years the variations in temperature can be greater, and far greater, than the calculated averages allow one to suppose.

The staggering blow for us was that the situation was entirely unexpected, and the fact that our men were not

equipped for the temperatures they had to find. Our Command could not at once adapt its tactics to these conditions. Nowadays we allow the Russian to remain where we are without butchering ourselves wiped out behind our lines, or else wither away in the villages for lack of solid nerves to practise such tactics. I can only say that my respected predecessor had not the sense for that. Generals must be tough, pitiless men, as mastiffs—cross-grained men, such as I have seen. Those are the sort of soldiers who impose their will in a situation.

If the frost hadn't come, we'd have gone forward—six hundred kilometres, in some cases—within a hair's breadth of it. Providence spared us a catastrophe.

The oil we needed at that moment, we all knew we needed: was this intervention. The stowed that "all temperatures" oil upon us specialists' jobs. I regard everything that is theoretical as null and void.

Aesthetical forms, mechanical finish—let's leave occupations for peace-time. What I need are locomotives that will stand the grind of years. All these details, which result in a major record for another ten years, are a matter of indifference to me.

Recently one of our new Messerschmitts put my hands. They were dumbfounded. An American magazine wrote that the opinion was widespread that we had only mediocre material, but that it would yield to the evidence that within three years the United States would not be able to produce that quality. "To oppose it with the aircraft service," it added, "would be to send our people to the wall."

It must be observed, while we're on the subject of German aircraft requires at least six times as much as an American aircraft. The Italian fighter is perior to the Hurricanes.

At Malta, our tactics consist in attacking so that the English are compelled to keep on interrupting.

The Italians have just launched another attack on the harbour of Alexandria. In the opinion of these attacks are the work of very brave

1920

THE RUSSIAN WINTER

ives me extraordinarily. They showed a truly ment towards me. Small stallkeepers of the o come running to see me "to bring a couple err Hitler." There were important ones like and Gahr, but also quite small men, whom to- ch aged. I'm so fond of these unpretentious hers, the ten thousand of the élite, whatever result of calculation. Some of them see me a to their drawing-rooms, others seek various in newspaper-sellers were often boycotted and ne of our most faithful supporters, since Jegg. My happiest memories are of this chment I then felt to the people has never are such bonds joining me to them that their troubles and joys. I put myself spontane- place. For years I lived on Tyrolean apples, s. It's crazy what economies we had to make. ved was for the Party. Another loyal sup- : Neuner, Ludendorff's valet. There were also nsky, Scheubner-Richter, von der Pfordten. similarity of opposites. My comrades at the dy came from all parts of Germany. Nothing ork of the Party has changed. I still rely on s.

time, when an entirely unknown man can quer a nation, and when after fifteen years an become, in effect, the head of his people. to number some strong personalities among

Night of 17th-18th January 1942

*umer blows of the Russian campaign—
nd American aircraft—The torment of
Malta—Grave Italian errors.*

now, later frost!" That's all one could read in t Russia. And Hilger himself has no more oof that one can't trust all the observations. asy to calculate the average temperatures, suits over several years, but it would be in- add that in some years the variations in e be greater, and far greater, than the calcu- allow one to suppose.

ig blow for us was that the situation was cted, and the fact that our men were not

X

1/17-18/42

NEED FOR LOCOMOTIVES

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equipped for the temperatures they had to face. Moreover, our Command could not at once adapt its tactics to the new conditions. Nowadays we allow the Russians to infiltrate, whilst we remain where we are without budging. They get themselves wiped out behind our lines, or else they gradually wither away in the villages for lack of supplies. It takes solid nerves to practise such tactics. I can even say openly that my respected predecessor had not the nerves required for that. Generals must be tough, pitiless men, as crabbed as mastiffs—cross-grained men, such as I have in the Party. Those are the sort of soldiers who impose their will on such a situation.

If the frost hadn't come, we'd have gone on careering forward—six hundred kilometres, in some places. We were within a hair's breadth of it. Providence intervened and spared us a catastrophe.

The oil we needed at that moment, we already had—and all we needed was this intervention. The idiot who bestowed that "all temperatures" oil upon us! I hate those specialists' jobs. I regard everything that comes from a theoretician as null and void.

Aesthetical forms, mechanical finish—let's keep these pre- occupations for peace-time. What I need at this moment are locomotives that will stand the grind for five or six years. All these details, which result in a machine remaining on record for another ten years, are a matter of complete indifference to me.

Recently one of our new Messerschmitts fell into ene- my hands. They were dumbfounded. An American maga- zine wrote that the opinion was widespread that the Germans had only mediocre material, but that it was necessary to yield to the evidence that within three years, at least, the United States would not be able to produce an aircraft of that quality. "To oppose it with the aircraft at present in service," it added, "would be to send our pilots to suicide."

It must be observed, while we're on the subject, that a German aircraft requires at least six times as much work as an American aircraft. The Italian fighters, too, are su- perior to the Hurricanes.

At Malta, our tactics consist in attacking without respite, so that the English are compelled to keep on firing without interruption.

The Italians have just launched another torpedo-attack on the harbour of Alexandria. In the opinion of the English, these attacks are the work of very brave men.

What we've just experienced in Russia, because of the weather—the sort of upset that leaves you groggy for a moment—is something the Italians experienced before us: as a result of the serious mistakes they made in the employment of their forces. We recovered from it quickly—but will they recover?

112. 18th January 1942, evening

Persuading other people—Hindenburg, the "Old Gentleman"—First contacts with the Marshal—Germany, Awake!—Von Papen's millions—Versailles blackmail—If the French had occupied Mainz.

My whole life can be summed up as this ceaseless effort of mine to persuade other people.

In 1932 I had a conversation at the *Kaiserhof* with Meissner. He told me that, if he was a democrat, it was in a perhaps slightly different way than we imagined—and that, in fact, we weren't so far removed from one another. He promised me that, in any case, he would do what he could for me with Field-Marshal Hindenburg. "It won't be easy," he added, "for the 'Old Gentleman's' habits of thinking and feeling are in revolt against all you represent."

I must recognise that Meissner was the first man who made me understand Hindenburg's exact situation. In whom could the Field-Marshal find support? In any case, not among the German Nationalists, who were a lot of incompetents. He was not disposed to violate the constitution. So what could we do? It required a great effort from him to collaborate with certain Social-Democrats and certain representatives of the Centre. He also had an aversion for Hugenberg (who had one day described him as a "traitor" for having maintained Meissner in his job).

Hindenburg invited me: "Herr Hitler, I wish to hear from your own mouth a summary of your ideas." It is almost impossible, across such a gap, to communicate to others one's own conception of the world. I tried to establish contact with the Field-Marshal by having recourse to comparisons of a military nature. Connection was fairly rapidly made with the soldier, but the difficulty began the instant there was a question of extending our dawning comprehension to politics. When I'd finished my summary, I felt that I'd moved Hindenburg and that he was yielding. At once he made this a pretext for reproaching me with an incident that had occurred in East Prussia:

"But your young people have no right to behave! Not long ago, at Tannenberg, they shouted could hear: 'Wake up, wake up!' And yet I Certain charitable souls had given 'the Old suppose that the shout was meant for t whereas in reality our supporters were shouti Germany!" (*Deutschland, erwache—a Nazi*

Shortly after this interview, Hindenburg that he would consult me whenever there to take. But the influence of the enemies I nur those about me remained so strong that e couldn't see him except in the presence of P Papen being absent, I appeared in the Field- ence by myself.

"Why is Herr von Papen always with y "But it's *you* I want to talk to!" When Pap he must have regretted the trip that had calle

"The Old Gentleman" regarded Papen as, hound, but I think he was fond of him. P mirably how to handle him. We owe a de to Papen, by the way, for it was he who c breach in the sacred constitution. It's obvio expect more from him than that.

Unless Antonescu gains the ear of the p done. The commander who has no troops b not maintain himself for long. It's thanks Party that Atatürk assured his rule. It's the Italy. If Antonescu were to disappear toda be a terrible struggle in the Army betwee to his succession. That wouldn't happen if organisation that could impose his successo I'd have made the Legion the basis of power, ing Horia Sima.

Without a solid political basis, it's not p settle a question of succession or to guarar administration of the State. From this poi Rumanians are in a state of inferiority in Hungarians. The Hungarian State has the a parliament. For us, such a thing would be theirs is one whose executive power is, dependent.

Papen's misfortune was that he had n were not strong enough to shore him u wouldn't have done it, for Papen was not ou

The sum total of the deficits of the Reich :

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112. 18th January 1942, evening

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"But your young people have no right to behave as they do. Not long ago, at Tannenberg, they shouted out, so that I could hear: 'Wake up, wake up!' And yet I'm not asleep!" Certain charitable souls had given "the Old Gentleman" to suppose that the shout was meant for him personally, whereas in reality our supporters were shouting: "Wake up, Germany!" (*Deutschland, erwache*—a Nazi slogan.)

Shortly after this interview, Hindenburg informed me that he would consult me whenever there was a decision to take. But the influence of the enemies I numbered amongst those about me remained so strong that even in 1933 I couldn't see him except in the presence of Papen. One day, Papen being absent, I appeared in the Field-Marshal's presence by myself.

"Why is Herr von Papen always with you?" he asked. "But it's you I want to talk to!" When Papen came back, he must have regretted the trip that had called him away.

"The Old Gentleman" regarded Papen as a sort of greyhound, but I think he was fond of him. Papen knew admirably how to handle him. We owe a debt of gratitude to Papen, by the way, for it was he who opened the first breach in the sacred constitution. It's obvious one couldn't expect more from him than that.

Unless Antonescu gains the ear of the people, he's undone. The commander who has no troops behind him cannot maintain himself for long. It's thanks to the People's Party that Atatürk assured his rule. It's the same thing in Italy. If Antonescu were to disappear today, there would be a terrible struggle in the Army between the claimants to his succession. That wouldn't happen if there were an organisation that could impose his successor. In his place, I'd have made the Legion the basis of power, after first shooting Horia Sima.

Without a solid political basis, it's not possible either to settle a question of succession or to guarantee the normal administration of the State. From this point of view, the Rumanians are in a state of inferiority in relation to the Hungarians. The Hungarian State has the advantages of a parliament. For us, such a thing would be intolerable; but theirs is one whose executive power is, in practice, independent.

Papen's misfortune was that he had no support. We were not strong enough to shore him up. Anyway, I wouldn't have done it, for Papen was not our man.

The sum total of the deficits of the Reich and the German

ching the yearly figure of five and a half thousand. On top of that, we had to pay five thousand our enemies. "Marvellous result!" Papen said on his return from Geneva, speaking of the hundred thousand millions that appeared on paper. On the 30th of January, we'll have eighty-three million Reich's vaults!" Then we had the following question: "What do you propose to pay?" "But we'll otherwise they'll make us go bankrupt." "How can that? They have nothing to distract on!" "I've demanded three thousand millions for rearmament. This objection of what we owed abroad, you want to give this money to foreigners? So let it in our own country!"

point of view clear to the British Ambassador when he presented his credentials. His reply was: "You say that the new Germany does not recognise the precedents of preceding governments?" I replied: "Freely rearmaments, yes! But blackmail, no! Every country is under the heading of *Treaty of Versailles* extortion." "Well, I never!" he said. "I shall inform my Government of that."

From that day on, did England or France ever feel entitled to claim the smallest payment from the English, I had no worries. But I feared that they might take this pretext for occupying the sample.

1. Night of 18th-19th January 1942

1. programme—*The unthinking public—
Asian winter—Rhetoric and common
the Neanderthal man—Our ancestors
the Greeks.*

When asked why I don't modify the Party program which I reply: "And why should I modify it?" The program belongs to history. It was already the foundation of the Party, on the 24th of January. If anything should be changed, it's for a new initiative. I haven't got to identify myself with a military publication—things of the present matters under discussion in their

for governments that the peoples they ad-

minister don't think! The thinking is done by the man who gives the orders, and then by the man who carries them out. If it were otherwise, the state of society would be impossible.

The difficulty of the situation is not so much the winter in itself, but the fact of having men, and not knowing how to transport them; of disposing abundantly of ammunition, and not knowing how to get it on the move; of possessing all the necessary weapons, and not knowing how to put them in the hands of the combatants. As for the railways, I'm keeping them behind. If they don't do better next time, I'll have a word to say to them!

All the same, it's better that it should be I who speak on the 30th, and not Goebbels. When it's a question of raising morale, I know how to preserve the golden mean between reason and rhetoric. In his last appeal, Goebbels exhorted the soldiers at the front to remain tough and calm. I'd not have expressed myself like that. In such a situation, the soldier is not calm, but resolved. One must have been through it to understand these matters.

A skull is dug up by chance, and everybody exclaims: "That's what our ancestors were like." Who knows if the so-called Neanderthal man wasn't really an ape? What I can say, in any case, is that it wasn't *our* ancestors who lived there in prehistoric times. The soil we live on must have been so desolate that our ancestors, if they passed that way, certainly continued their journey. When we are asked about our ancestors, we should always point to the Greeks.

114. 19th January 1942, evening

Stupidity of duelling—Some duels—Village scuffles —Honour is not a caste privilege.

I've always had a lot of trouble in stopping my men from fighting duels. In the end I was forced to forbid duelling. We lost some of our best people in that stupid fashion. Just try to imagine the reasons for some of these duels!

One day we were at the Reichsadler. Hess was there, with his wife and sister-in-law. In comes a half-drunk student, who permits himself to make some impertinent remarks about them. Hess asks him to come out of the inn with him and clarify his views. Next day two hobbleduys come to see Hess and ask him to explain the insult

to their comrade! I forbade Hess to become involved in this ridiculous affair, and asked him to send me the two seconds. I said to them: "You're trying to pick a quarrel with a man who fought against the enemy for four years. Aren't you ashamed?"

Our friend Holzschuher was involved in an affair that might have ended in a duel. The pretext was grotesque. I said to the people concerned: "I know some Communist hide-outs where, for any of our men, the mere fact of showing oneself is to risk one's life. If any of us is tired of living, let him go and make a trip round those places!"

I've never known a single case of a duel that deserved to be taken seriously.

We had an irreparable loss in Strunk—our only journalist in the international class. His wife was insulted—he was killed. Where's the logic?

In 1923, Dietrich Eckart was simultaneously challenged to a duel by sixteen or seventeen flabby adolescents. I intervened, and put the whole affair in good order. In my presence, nobody turned a hair.

Obviously there are cases in which two individuals have a conflict that no tribunal could settle. Let's assume they quarrel over a woman. A solution must be found. One of the two has got to disappear.

But in time of war there's no question of condoning affairs of that kind. The country can't afford such superfluous deaths.

For peasants' brawls, I'm inclined to be extremely indulgent. The young man whose honour is in question can no longer show himself in the village unless he has fought for his sweetheart. There's nothing tragic in affairs of that sort.

It sometimes happens that a court finds a man guilty of murder when he's really only a culpable homicide. It's sufficient if the accused has once, in bravado, threatened to kill the other man. Then at once people wish to interpret the act as the execution of a well-considered plan. What would happen if all those who have offered threats of this sort, in the country areas, were regarded as murderers? In such cases, and when I see that the accused is a decent lad, I wink an eye. The penalty is first of all commuted into imprisonment. After some time, it becomes conditional liberation.

Who, in Germany, is allowed to see justice done for himself, even on a point of honour? I don't see that honour is the privilege of a caste. If the Labour Front demanded that its members should have the right to duel, there'd

soon be nobody left in Germany except abortive sense of honour.

In principle, I'd be inclined to permit duelli priests and between lawyers.

For decent people, there are more noble effective ways of serving one's country. In this time to impose a scale of values that has some reality. In comparison with the important things, incidents seem mere trifles.

How many families are wearing black because of ridiculous practice?

Besides, it proves nothing. In duelling, what not to have right on your side, but to aim at your opponent.

115. 20th January 1942, midday

SPECIAL GUEST: REICHSFUEHRER SS HIMMLER

The worker and the German community, worthy of command—The age of officer

In the old Imperial Army, the best rubbish with the worst. Both in the Navy and in the Army, nothing was done to exclude the worker from the community, and that's what gave rise to St. Racy. This attitude did a lot of harm.

The institution of the warrant-officer doing as was a serious mistake. In every regiment there were who are particularly gifted and therefore deserve promotion. Numerous warrant-officers would have to have the same chances of promotion, but that's barred, the question of an N.C.O. in the office is practically impossible. On the other hand, the teacher could automatically become an officer, a teacher?

One must not generalise, either to one effect or other, and it's only when a man has proved himself that one knows whether he is worthy of command. Then he must be given the prerogatives corresponding to his functions. The man who commands a company must necessarily have the rank of captain. It's not only to give him the authority he needs. Consider the rare warrant-officers who had to command for more than two years—and of lieutenants who command a battalion. It's a duty towards the troops to give those who command them the rank that corresponds to their position.

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soon be nobody left in Germany except abortions with no sense of honour.

In principle, I'd be inclined to permit duelling between priests and between lawyers.

For decent people, there are more noble and more effective ways of serving one's country. In this sphere, it's time to impose a scale of values that has some relation to reality. In comparison with the important things of life, these incidents seem mere trifles.

How many families are wearing black because of this ridiculous practice?

Besides, it proves nothing. In duelling, what matters is not to have right on your side, but to aim better than your opponent.

115. 20th January 1942, midday

SPECIAL GUEST: REICHSFUEHRER SS HIMMLER

The worker and the German community—Men worthy of command—The age of officers.

In the old Imperial Army, the best rubbed shoulders with the worst. Both in the Navy and in the Army, everything was done to exclude the worker from the German community, and that's what gave rise to Social-Democracy. This attitude did a lot of harm.

The institution of the warrant-officer doing an officer's job was a serious mistake. In every regiment there are officers who are particularly gifted and therefore destined for rapid promotion. Numerous warrant-officers would have deserved to have the same chances of promotion, but their way was barred, the question of an N.C.O. in the officers' caste being practically impossible. On the other hand, the most junior teacher could automatically become an officer. And what's a teacher?

One must not generalise, either to one effect or to the other, and it's only when a man has proved himself that one knows whether he is worthy of command. If he is, then he must be given the prerogatives corresponding to his functions. The man who commands a company must necessarily have the rank of captain. It's due to him, if only to give him the authority he needs. Cases are not rare of warrant-officers who had to command a company for more than two years—and of lieutenants who had to command a battalion. It's a duty towards the soldiers to give those who command them the rank that corresponds to

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h per head. In Japan the average is from fifty. We still have leeway to make up! To encouragement of fish is above all a matter of id presentation, for it's essentially a perishable. Before the first World War, it was incomparably fish in Munich than in Vienna, for example. since then conditions in Austria have much

icult to persuade a cannibal not to eat human ig to his ideas, it's a law of nature.

toward Admiral Fricke:

ion't go believing that I'll issue a decree for- vy to eat meat! Supposing the prohibition of an article of faith for National Socialism, it's ovement wouldn't have succeeded. We would been asked the question: "Then why was the created?" At present, the base of our diet is d yet only 1 per cent of the soil in Germany rowing the potato. If it was 3 per cent, we'd eat than is needed. Pasturages cover 37 per face of our country. So it's not man who eats cattle. Amongst the animals, those who are up performances much inferior to those of A lion's in no shape to run for a quarter of elephant can run for eight hours! The mon- stors of prehistoric times, are strictly vegetar- vrestlers, who are amongst the strongest men eed exclusively on vegetables. The same's true porter, who can move a piano by himself. en I ate meat, I used to sweat a lot. I used to s of beer and six bottles of water during a d succeed in losing nine pounds! When I be- jian, a mouthful of water from time to time hen you offer a child the choice of a piece of e or a cake, it's never the meat that he s an ancestral instinct there. In the same way, I never begin to drink or smoke if it weren't rs. The consumption of meat is reduced the arket presents a greater choice of vegetables, on as each man can afford the luxury of the

ian became carnivorous because, during the nstances compelled him. They also prompted s food cooked, a habit which, as one knows

to-day, has harmful consequences. Our peasants never eat any food that hasn't been cooked and re-cooked, and thus deprived of all its virtues. The southern peoples are not acquainted either with a meat diet or with cooking. I lived marvellously in Italy. I don't know any country that enlivens one more. Roman food, how delicious it is!

Not long ago, I drank for the first time in my life a really good wine, with an extraordinary bouquet. The drinkers with me said it was too sweet. I know people who seem normal and yet suddenly hurl themselves on drinks that on me have the effect of v'riol. If Hoffmann were bitten by a serpent, I suppose the serpent would fall down stiff in a moment, dead-drunk.

When I go into an inn where people are smoking, within an hour I feel I've caught a cold. The microbes hurl themselves upon me! They find a favourable climate in the smoke and heat.

118. Night of 22nd-23rd January 1942

The story of the dog Foxl.

How many times, at Fromelles, during the first World War, I've studied my dog Foxl. When he came back from a walk with the huge bitch who was his companion, we found him covered with bites. We'd no sooner bandaged him, and had ceased to bother about him, than he would shake off this unwanted load.

A fly began buzzing. Foxl was stretched out at my side, with his muzzle between his paws. The fly came close to him. He quivered, with his eyes as if hypnotised. His face wrinkled up and acquired an old man's expression. Suddenly he leapt forward, barked and became agitated. I used to watch him as if he'd been a man—the progressive stages of his anger, of the bile that took possession of him. He was a fine creature.

When I ate, he used to sit beside me and follow my ges- tures with his gaze. If by the fifth or sixth mouthful I hadn't given him anything, he used to sit up on his rump and look at me with an air of saying: "And what about me, am I not here at all?" It was crazy how fond I was of the beast. Nobody could touch me without Foxl's instantly becoming furious. He would follow nobody but me. When gas-warfare started, I couldn't go on taking him into the front line. It was my comrades who fed him. When I returned after two

days' absence, he would refuse to leave me again. Everybody in the trenches loved him. During marches he would run all round us, observing everything, not missing a detail. I used to share everything with him. In the evening he used to lie beside me.

To think that they stole him from me! I'd made a plan, if I got out of the war alive, to procure a female companion for him. I couldn't have parted from him. I've in my life never sold a dog. Foxl was a real circus dog. He knew all the tricks.

I remember, it was before we arrived at Colmar. The railway employee who coveted Foxl came again to our carriage and offered me two hundred marks. "You could give me two hundred thousand, and you wouldn't get him!" When I left the train at Harpsheim, I suddenly noticed that the dog had disappeared. The column marched off, and it was impossible for me to stay behind! I was desperate. The swine who stole my dog doesn't realise what he did to me.

It was in January 1915 that I got hold of Foxl. He was engaged in pursuing a rat that had jumped into our trench. He fought against me, and tried to bite me, but I didn't let go. I led him back with me to the rear. He constantly tried to escape. With exemplary patience (he didn't understand a word of German), I gradually got him used to me. At first I gave him only biscuits and chocolate (he'd acquired his habits with the English, who were better fed than we were). Then I began to train him. He never went an inch from my side. At that time, my comrades had no use at all for him. Not only was I fond of the beast, but it interested me to study his reactions. I finally taught him everything: how to jump over obstacles, how to climb up a ladder and down again. The essential thing is that a dog should always sleep beside its master. When I had to go up into the line, and there was a lot of shelling, I used to tie him up in the trench. My comrades told me that he took no interest in anyone during my absence. He would recognise me even from a distance. What an outburst of enthusiasm he would let loose in my honour! We called him Foxl. He went through all the Somme, the battle of Arras. He was not at all impressionable. When I was wounded, it was Karl Lanzhammer who took care of him. On my return, he hurled himself on me in frenzy.

When a dog looks in front of him in a vague fashion and with clouded eyes, one knows that images of the past are chasing each other through his memory.

119. 23rd January 1942, midday

SPECIAL GUESTS: LAMMERS, HIMMLER AND COLONEL ZEITZLER

CZECHS ARE BORN NATIONALISTS

*Appreciation of the Czechs—The internal
the Hapsburgs—When the Poles harried
—The "decent" Jews.*

The man who shaped the old Reich hadn't notion of what people are like. They grew up of stupidity. They understand nothing about Austria that Austria was not a State, in the meaning term, but a fruit-salad of peoples, is one that *Sancta simplicitas*. There was no such thing speaking, as an Austrian Army, but an army Czech, Croat, Serb units, etc.

Every Czech is a born nationalist who sees everything to his own point of view. One must take about him: the more he curbs himself, the more he is. The German of the Old Reich is duped by the apparent obligingness of the Czech's obsequiousness. Neurath let himself be coddled by the Czech nobility. Another six months of game and production would have fallen by 2 all the Slavs, the Czech is the most dangerous worker. He has a sense of discipline, he's more a Mongol than a Slav. Beneath the top-tain loyalty, he knows how to hide his plans work, for they know we're pitiless and brutal. them, I have no resentment against them. I wishes us to be adversaries. To put it briefly are a foreign body in the midst of the German. There's no room both for them and for us. give way.

As regards the Pole, it's lucky for us that and vain. The Czech State—and that's due the Czechs have had—was a model of honour practically didn't exist amongst them. Czechs generally inspired by a sense of honour. The like Hacha is more dangerous than a rogue. He's an honest man, who won't enrich himself in the exercise of his functions. Men liable to less dangerous. Those are things that the Second understood. Its way of behaving towards a deplorable set-back. It only succeeded in its sense of patriotism. Our compatriots of the who would know how to set about things bouring peoples, were repressed by the kind the interior—who suppose, for their part, the way to win these foreign hearts for Germany of Maria Theresa everything was going well

of works of art? Isn't it, above all, a dwelling, the framework for a private life, with its extensions and its radiance? If I possess a gallery of ancestors, should I discard it on the pretext that not all the pictures in it are masterpieces? The houses of that period—and the same remark is equally true of Makart's studio—were filled with private memories. As far as I'm concerned, I keenly regret that Makart's studio hasn't been kept as it was in the artist's lifetime. Respect for the venerable things that come to us from the past will one day benefit those who to-day are young. Nobody can imagine what Makart's vogue was like. His contemporaries extolled him to the heights.

At the beginning of this century there were people called Wagnerians. Other people had no special name. What joy each of Wagner's works has given me! And I remember my emotion the first time I entered Wahnfried. To say I was moved is an understatement! At my worst moments, they've never ceased to sustain me, even Siegfried Wagner. (Houston Stewart Chamberlain wrote to me so nicely when I was in prison.) I was on Christian-name terms with them. I love them all, and I also love Wahnfried. So I felt it to be a special happiness to have been able to keep Bayreuth going at the moment of its discomfiture. The war gave me the opportunity to fulfil a desire dear to Wagner's heart: that men chosen amongst the people—workers and soldiers—should be able to attend his Festival free of charge. The ten days of Bayreuth season were always one of the blessed seasons of my existence. And I already rejoice at the idea that one day I shall be able to resume the pilgrimage!

The tradition of the Olympic Games endured for nearly a thousand years. That results, it seems to me, from a mystery similar to that which lies at the origin of Bayreuth. The human being feels the need to relax, to get out of himself, to that communion in an idea that transcends him. The Party Congress answers the same need, and that's why for hundreds of years men will come from the whole world over to steep themselves anew, once a year, in the marvellous atmosphere of Nuremberg. They'll come, and they'll see side by side the proofs we shall have left of our greatness, and at the same time the memories of old Nuremberg.

On the day following the end of the Bayreuth Festival, and on the Tuesday that marks the end of the Nuremberg Congress, I'm gripped by a great sadness—as when one strips the Christmas tree of its ornaments.

The Congress, for me, is a terrible effort of the year. We shall prolong its duration that I may not be obliged to speak of the superhuman effort which that demand was already obliged to have the opening out. I no longer have the strength to use to. So I'll withdraw when I realize the pable of giving these festivities the style most difficult effort comes at the moment to remain motionless for hours. On several happened to me to be seized by dizziness: ine what a torture it is to remain so motionless, with the knees pressed together that, to salute with outstretched arm? I pelled to cheat a little. I also have to looking each man in the eyes, for the moment all trying to catch my glance. In future cover against the sun.

The Pope is generally a frail old gentleman carried on a baldaquin. They surround the Pharaohs, to give them so.

After the war, it will perhaps be best march past sixteen deep, and not two. The march-past would last four hours that would always be so much gained!

123. Night of 24th-25th January

The Fuehrer's chauffeurs—Driving instructions.

My life is the hands of a few individuals, orderlies, perhaps also a cook.

Kempka begged me, in spring, to be an armoured unit. I wonder which is the nation: the man who shoots down some others could do in his place—or the man be the driver who enjoys all my comfort my service for nine years, now, and I for him. His predecessor, Schreck, was years of struggle. When things went front-line soldier awoke in him. In such would perhaps have fainted! But he displayed prudence—always excepting when he required love, and that I notice at once.

After all, I can't devote my time, as to training a new driver. If I were

ed States have promised Brazil to buy after the war. The Brazilians must have any or another. States like Brazil should a policy will more and more drive

he proposal, in 1933, to supply us with synthetic petrol in the space of three hat we should undertake to buy his enice fixed beforehand, for a period of covered our entire needs for the year of Economics torpedoed the scheme. It vance that the I.G. Farben would fin of the factories. The scheme further- ployment for hundreds of thousands of

is piece of torpedoing, I sacked some Ministry of Economics, and I installed reupon they tripped him up with the f. And thus another nine months were nacht was Deterding. I'd much like to corrupt in that bucket-shop!

ces led me to set afoot the Four Year of which I placed Göring.

there were the same kinds of resistance. ngs didn't go forward. Things began to try of Economics when Funk took it in

the beginning of the winter of 1936, that mething to say about the State Railways. he clauses of the Treaty of Versailles that cancelled these clauses by a law that I Reichstag, so that no lawyer could come about the illegality of the measures on

Railways, the State Bank and the Kaiser me back beneath our sovereignty. What til the moment when I could regain ef- German affairs in their entirety!

ve obligation for the white man, in the the native at a distance.

haven't any transport problems to solve. stal themselves, they can live on the re-

sources of the region. All they need is ammunition. The Americans, on the other hand, need a gigantic transport fleet.

All the same, what happened wasn't inevitable. The English had a right to be cowards, but at least they had to be clever. A policy of friendship with us would have entailed their offering us Guinea, for example. Now, because of their stupidity, they're losing a whole world—and they've turned us into allies of the Japanese!

What would have happened on the 13th March 1936, if anybody other than myself had been at the head of the Reich!¹ Anyone you care to mention would have lost his nerve. I was obliged to lie, and what saved us was my unshakable obstinacy and my amazing aplomb. I threatened, unless the situation eased in twenty-four hours, to send six extra divisions into the Rhineland. The fact was, I only had four brigades. Next day, the English newspapers wrote that there had been an easing of the international situation.

I must recognise that Ribbentrop is not a particularly agreeable companion, but he's a sturdy and obstinate man. Neurath displayed the same qualities on that occasion. A retreat on our part would have spelt collapse.

Our negotiators were in a situation similar to that of 1919. They could have obtained much more favourable peace-conditions. But was it in the interests of the German people? That was quite another question. What did it matter, after all, to obtain an army of two or three hundred thousand men in place of the army of a hundred thousand? What matters to a nation is to be free. And it was the German

We had a fundamental problem to deal with, and it's only after the event that one can say that a certain good could be born of evil. But it goes without saying that the task of a negotiator is to extract the best possible conditions from his adversary. Amongst the Social-Democrats there were men who favoured an energetic policy, and were willing to take the risks. It was two Catholics, Wirth and Erzberger, who gave in.

If we'd had an Army of two or three hundred thousand men, the French Army would not have degenerated as it did. That circumstance stood us in good stead. The French having fallen into indolence, we recovered much more quickly than they did.

¹ Hitler sent troops into the Rhineland March 7, 1936—Ed.

The creative forces make their home in the bosom of the optimist. But faith is at the bottom of everything.

131. 30th January 1942, midday

SPECIAL GUESTS: DR. LEY, HEYDRICH, DR. WEBER
AND BENNO VON ARENT

*A French agent—Further misdeeds of the jurists—
Memories of prison—Hacha*

As an orator, my most dangerous opponent was Baerstedt. What a feat it was to hold my own against him! His father was a Hessian, his mother was from Lorraine. He was a diabolical dialectician. To give his hearers the impression that he agreed with them, he'd begin with a eulogy of the Prussians. I've been condemned several times for accusing this man of treason—and yet, he was in fact sold to the French. Finally I got three months' imprisonment for breaking up one of his meetings. In the reasons adduced for the verdict, the point of view was put in evidence that the fact of regarding Baerstedt's policy as treason towards the Reich did not correspond to any objective reality. The Court recorded that this was simply a matter of policy which I, personally, regarded as treason.

The experience I've had, in the course of my life, of the stupidity of lawyers has resulted in these people's being definitely classified, in my view. They're the people who used to burn witches!

Originally I used to think it was an idiosyncrasy of Dietrich Eckart's continually to attack lawyers. He used to say that the mere fact of wanting to be a lawyer came from a mental deficiency. Alternately, he used to explain, the mental deficiency came of being a lawyer. It was Eckart who asked the advocate Zetzschwitz, on whom some dignity had just been conferred: "Was it to reward you for having lost all your cases?"

My first long term of imprisonment was at Stadelheim. As he led me into my cell, the warden amiably pointed out to me that a number of celebrated men had lived there before: Ludwig Thoma, for example—and likewise, Kurt Eisner.

Kriebel continually complained at Landsberg. During the first days, it was because of the heating. He spent his time finding fault with the warders. One day he had the idea of sending for the prison regulations, which dated from 1860. He read them attentively and discovered that the prisoners

were entitled, notably, to a chest of drawers it was revealed to him that the reverend to visit the prisoners, and he complained seen the shadow of a cassock. The name we gave the director of the prison end and came and consulted me: "Might be a war-wounded?" "What do you me, raving mad." "I think he once had malaria be treated with care?" "I think that would course."

We must present Hacha as one of the ever lived—but on condition that he leave a legacy that will destroy them for ever. To make at least as much of him as I that until the end of time all the coward him. His successor? It doesn't matter who lecher. We'll always get along better with men of character!

We'll settle the Czechs' hash if we policy with them, without letting this political accidents of persons. Since the Battle of Cateau, in 1918, and until 1938, the Austrian policy towards the Czechs. Thus they being ashamed of speaking their own tongue the Czechs are of Germanic origin, and re-Germanise them.

132. 31st January 1942, evening

Former German colonies—The British Empire—The psychological moment to stop possibility of collaboration with France—Italian Fascism—The birth of the State—The cheek by jowl—The fossils of the Venetian Empire, Venice, Naples, Rome, Florence—The

The German colonies suffered from poverty. That explains why there was no investment. Yet they were territories populated by four million natives.

In India, the English invested huge other methods of transport, factories and so on. If each of three hundred and eighty million buys a reel of cotton every year, imagine the business that adds up to!

Cotton goods were at first manufactured

little that factories were built in India herself. list notion of business that led to the result. t that the saving on transport costs and the of less expensive labour would increase the ofit. For a capitalist, it would be a crime to . What was the result? To-day England has an million and a half unemployed.

n Great Britain more than four hundred tax-yearly income of more than a million pounds. only the Kaiser, Henckel von Donnersmarck d-Taxis had incomes of three to four million n who had a fortune of a million marks was led as a nabob.

first World War, the English would have gone he blessings of the Victorian Age.

bya to Great Britain? Another desert. Every an end at the moment when one of the bellig- he must cut costs. In this war it's the English in the sponge. Strategic successes can make no the Empire's precarious situation. England can e viable only if she links herself to the Conti- st be able to defend her imperial interests with- work of a continental organisation. It's only on that she'll keep her Empire.

g's more difficult than to come down from a s Austria clung until 1866 to the fiction of sud then it took her another seventy years to ie facts.

itary prestige has been re-established by the Benghazi. It was the psychological moment to , the war. But Churchill had Russia at the back -and he didn't see that, if Russia were to tri- Germany, Europe would at once come under y of a Great Power.

Jews had an interest in seeing events take this v is so stupid that he himself saws through the igh he's sitting. In 1919 a Jewess wrote in the 'uriers: "What Eisner's doing now will recoil ds." A rare case of foresight.

ains hostile to us. She contains, in addition to blood, a blood that will always be foreign to on to Paris, which is more spontaneous in its : has the clerical and masonic South. In imita- yrand in 1815, the French try to profit by our

r, organiser of the revolution in Bavaria (1918) which nonarchy. Assassinated, 1919—Ed.

moments of weakness to get the greatest possible advantage from the situation. But with me they won't succeed in their plans. There's no possibility of our making any pact with the French before we've definitely ensured our power. Our policy, at this moment, must consist in cleverly playing off one lot against the other. There must be two Frances. Thus, the French who have compromised themselves with us will find it to their own interests that we should remain in Paris as long as possible. But our best protection against France will be for us to maintain a strong friendship, lasting for centuries, with Italy. Unlike France, Italy is inspired by political notions that are close to ours.

I was thinking of the Italian delegation I received yesterday. I met men who have rulers' qualities such as are very much to my taste. What handsome individuals, and what a resolute air! Those are men who could play a part at the top level.

The Fascists paid with their blood much more than we did. The story of the conquest of power in Italy is an heroic epic. It always warms my heart to think of it. I can understand their emotion when they once more live through the time of the March on Rome.

Why should such men suddenly become worthless as soldiers? It's quite simply because they lack a command. The Italian people is idealistic, but the cadres of the Italian Army are reactionary.

It's strange how, throughout the last hundred years, our two peoples have had perceptibly the same destiny. First of all, the wars for unity, then the fact that each was cheated of its rights. Then, more recently, the two sister revolutions that knew nothing of one another.

It was in 1921 that I first heard Fascism mentioned. The SA was born in 1920, without my having the least idea of what was going on in Italy. Italy developed in a manner at which I was the first to be surprised. I could see fairly clearly the orientation that it would be proper to give the Party, but I had no ideas concerning paramilitary organisations. I began by creating a service to keep order, and it was only after the bloody brawls of 1920 that I gave these troops the name of *Sturm-Abteilung* (SA), as a reward for their behaviour. I had taught them the technique of concentrating their efforts on limited objectives, and at meetings to attack the opponent table by table. But it was confined to that. When the brassard proved no longer sufficient, I equipped them with a specially designed cap. That was after Coburg. The skier's cap didn't cost much. It was all done in

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a very empirical manner. Nothing of that sort was thought out in advance.

The SS started with formations of seven or eight men. In these we gathered the tough ones. Things developed spontaneously, and subsequently acquired a speed comparable to that of developments in Italy. The Duce himself has told me that at the moment when he undertook the struggle against Bolshevism, he didn't know exactly where he was going.

What crowns these parallel destinies is that to-day we are fighting side by side against the same Powers and against the same personages.

At the same period, the Duce and I were both working in the building-trade. This explains that there is also a bond between us on the purely human level. I have a deep friendship for this extraordinary man.

From the cultural point of view, we are more closely linked with the Italians than with any other people. The art of Northern Italy is something we have in common with them: nothing but pure Germans.

The objectionable Italian type is found only in the South, and not everywhere even there. We also have this type in our own country. When I think of them: Vienna-Ottakring, Munich-Giesing, Berlin-Pankow! If I compare the two types, that of these degenerate Italians and our type, I find it very difficult to say which of the two is the more antipathetic.

There is a difference as between day and night, between the genuine Fascists and the others. Those society people with whom we are compelled to associate, that cosmopolitan world, they're more or less the same there and here. But the man of the people has plenty of spirit and, even physically, quite a different bearing. Compare that man with the parade-ground Fascists who people the Embassy—why, it's like in Germany, with our diplomats from the Wilhelmstrasse—excuse me, Hewel!

All these people are intolerable—deceivers, hypocrites, liars. I've never seen anything worse than those courtiers at Naples. As for the bodyguard they so kindly gave me—what foul creatures, what gallows-birds! The Fascists and the others, they're really two worlds in watertight compartments. The Fascists call the courtiers "lobsters," because of their red livery.

I was greeted at the station by the Duke of Pistoia, a real degenerate. Beside him was another duke, no less degenerate. There was an admiral there who looked like a court toad, a bogus coin, a liar. Happily there was also a group of Fascists. All of them, even Ciano, spoke with the deepest contempt of this ridiculous masquerade.

During my excursions with the Duce, my taken away by the skill and audacity of the man who escorted us. What a handsome race!

When I went out with the Court, I was per badly slung carnival carriage, which hobbled in lamentable fashion. The least depressing people the *carabinieri* who escorted us. "There's hope," said to me, "that in fifty years" time the Court will be the internal-combustion engine."

The officers' corps belongs to this fossilised senior office. I have no contact with the people. I mean he had a meal of five or six courses, given by officers. Meanwhile the other ranks were supplied with watery soup. I consider it scandalous that such happen in the middle of a war. It must either feed the hatred for his officers, or make him feel everything. Our own fellows say the Italian simple man full of good will, inclined to enthusiasm cause, and that one could get all one wanted out of him were well led.

Perhaps the Duce came on the scene a year early with his revolution. He probably should have terminated the aristocracy. The Duce would have been Head of a Republic. Thus the abscess would have lanced.

When I was with Mussolini, the crowd shouted "Duce!" When I was with the King, it shouted "Fuehrer!" In Florence I was alone with the King, read in the eyes of the population the respect and love they devoted to him. The common people loved him as though they'd have liked to eat him.

Rome captivated me. At Naples, I was interested all by the harbour. At the Court, I was aware of a hostile atmosphere. But at Florence, everything was different—simply because the Court, that focus of power, wasn't there. I've retained a painful memory of the King paid to units of the fleet in the Bay of Naples. The King didn't know where to look; nobody paid attention. At table I was surrounded only by courtiers rather have entertained myself with the Marsha's.

During the parade, at Rome, the front row was made up of old nanny-goats, dried-up and enamelled, outrageously low-necked dresses, what's more, with their hanging between their withered breasts. The general in the second row. Why display this come-down man race?

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The officers' corps belongs to this fossilised world. The senior officers have no contact with the people. Zeitzler told me he had a meal of five or six courses, given by front-line officers. Meanwhile the other ranks were supplied with a watery soup. I consider it scandalous that such a thing can happen in the middle of a war. It must either feed the soldier's hatred for his officers, or make him indifferent to everything. Our own fellows say the Italian simple soldier is a man full of good will, inclined to enthusiasm for any cause, and that one could get all one wanted out of him if he were well led.

Perhaps the Duce came on the scene a year or two too early with his revolution. He probably should have let the Reds have their own way for a bit first—they'd have exterminated the aristocracy. The Duce would have become Head of a Republic. Thus the abscess would have been lanced.

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During the parade, at Rome, the front row was occupied by old nanny-goats, dried-up and enamelled, and wearing outrageously low-necked dresses, what's more, with a crucifix hanging between their withered breasts. The generals were in the second row. Why display this come-down of the human race?

in Venice, on the other hand, everything was different. They managed to apologise to the girls that had been committed. Some man-fashion-house in Rome, I was told, had a large audience!

For the Duce is that he's made himself a part of this society, and has thus to some extent won men. In his place, I'd invite some lovely woman to my receptions—the place over there. It wouldn't occur to me to compete with my own ground, I'd be beaten in advance. Standings arise because the situation is not

as I'm often sorry for him. All the affronts against me. I don't think I'd endure them. The third power—the Vatican. Don't forget that I've been prised if our confidential letters are broad- casted a few days after being received? I get the gratitude we owe to Noske, Ebert and the others for having rid us of such people. Their conduct isn't pure, and that's why they've been punished and reaped all the profit!

3. 1st February 1942, evening

SPECIAL GUEST: HIMMLER

Notes of the 1918 revolution—Attitude towards former opponents—The Bavarian police—The arms traffic.

men who became conspicuous during the revolution. I draw certain distinctions. Some of them, I wished it, found themselves dragged into the revolution. These were first of all Noske, then Ebert, then Brüning—and, in Bavaria, Auer. It was he that set these men against us, I was merely reacting after our victory that I could say to them, "stand the motives that drove you on." These were truly base men were men of the Catholic Church, for example. Tortuous methods and utterly lacked character, and Treviranus was

understanding for a worker who was hurled into the world, and, quite naturally, found himself ex- posed to the seductions of Marxism. But not for those swine like Hilferding and Kautsky. Braun was not

the worst of them. In any case, he was quick to put water in his wine. Luppe, at Nuremberg, was not a bad mayor. As for Scharnagel, he was a baker from head to foot.

In Bavaria, men like Stüttzel, Schwyer, Koch and others were not bribable, but this did not prevent them from being fundamentally base. Lerchenfeld and Lortz were just poor devils. Matt was more a fool than a knave. Several of them were descended from Mongols and Huns. Some of them succeeded in improving themselves in the following generation.

I've been particularly correct towards my opponents. The Minister who condemned me, I've made him my Minister of Justice. Amongst my prison guards, several have become chiefs of the SA. The director of my prison has risen in rank. The only one whose situation I've not improved is Schwyer. On the contrary, I've suppressed his plurality of offices, for on top of his pension as Minister he used to receive eighteen thousand marks as administrator of Bavarian Electricity.

Social-Democracy of the time lacked only a leader. Its worst mistake was to persevere in a path condemned by the facts.

I was pitiless to all who indulged in Separatism—if only by way of warning, and to get it into everyone's head that in that sort of thing we have no time for jokes. But, in a general way, I can say I've been full of moderation.

My conversations with Nortz, the Police President, were amusing. In 1923, two days before the 27th January, he claimed the right to compel me to hold in a hall a meeting that I wanted to hold in the open air. He invoked the security of the State as an argument in support of his decision, and likewise the fact that he had not enough police forces to guarantee our safety. I retorted that we were capable of guaranteeing order by our own methods. Moreover, I claimed the right to hold a dozen meetings in succession, not just one. I added that if he opposed our decision, the blood that would be shed would be upon his head. Our hag- gling continued, and Nortz finally proposed that we should split the baby in two: six meetings, instead of twelve, held simultaneously in the Circus and on the Field of Mars in front of the Circus (for I'd declared that the Circus wasn't big enough to hold all my supporters). Finally, Nortz granted me my twelve meetings, but in the following form: we would hold simultaneously six times two meetings. For him that made six—for us, twelve!

I had another conflict with him concerning an individual

whom the police maintained in our midst. The man was, in any case, ill chosen, for he stank of the police spy at a radius of a hundred metres. One day I was visited by a policeman who announced himself to me as an old comrade from the front. He said he was racked by remorse, for it was he who took down the spy's reports from dictation. I asked the comrade from the front to go on recording what the spy had to say, but on condition that he sent me a copy every time. In reality, the comrade in question was inspired quite simply by a desire for revenge, as I subsequently learnt. He was the victim of our spy, who was cuckolding him!

When I asked for the Circus for our demonstration on the 1st May, Nortz refused to let me on the pretext that his forces were not enough to ensure order, and that my men continually provoked their adversaries. I leapt on the word "provoke." "My men!" I said. "But it's *you* who send us provocative agitators in plain clothes. It's *your* spies who urge my innocent lambs on to illegal acts." Nortz supposed I was exaggerating. When I insisted, and offered him proofs, he sent for his colleague Bernreuther. The latter, who was certainly well informed, tried to calm me down. It was only when I threatened them that I'd publish in my newspaper a replica of the reports in my possession, that the affair was settled. An hour later, we had the authorisation to hold our meeting.

There had been talk of attempting a *coup*, in agreement with the bourgeois parties. It was to take place here and there all over Germany, especially in Thuringia. I'd been well let down by the bourgeois over the business, which I remember as the finest of our mess-ups. But Nortz couldn't prevent our march on Oberwiesefeld.

At three o'clock in the morning, after taking possession of our weapons, we occupied Oberwiesefeld according to plan. The hours passed, and still nothing happened. Our bourgeois allies had stayed in their beds. Calm prevailed throughout Germany, whilst we awaited from all quarters the confirmation of the expected risings. At six o'clock, gangs of Reds gathered to meet us. I sent some men to provoke them, but they didn't react. Ten o'clock, eleven o'clock, and the Reich still did not emerge from its stupor—and we were still there on the look-out, armed to the teeth!

We had to make up our minds to go home. During the return march, we met a few inoffensive Reds, fellows who could be dispersed by a flourish of trumpets. We beat them up a little, in the hope of getting a big row started, but it was no use.

Everything was over when a trotting, horse-drawn bat-

tery, which I hadn't sent for, arrived from Tölz. It like a flower, right in the face of the police. Well to swear never again to undertake anything oration with the bourgeois.

Three days later I was summoned to appear at the Prosecutor General, a bloody man, to reply to the charge of having endangered public security. "I in no fringed public order," I said. "But an attempt was made to do so." "Who says that?" "The law declares that it is the duty of the police to disarm gangs..." "Who is speaking of gangs? I am perfectly disciplined. As for my weapons, they were in the State arsenals." "So you possess weapons?" "Are you not aware that the others possess them?"

This inculpation had no consequences. In the end, Stenglein and Ehardt were sitting pretty.

This was how I'd procured weapons. A certain Schäffer had a store of weapons at Dachau, and he sold them to me. At that time I made it a principle to keep them in good condition as long as the question of using them, and that in case of need ask nothing better than to hand them over to us, could take their place in the first rank.

Nevertheless, I thought it opportune not to refer to Schäffer's proposal. I therefore went to Dachau. We had the impression we'd fallen into a bandit's trap. The first concern was to ask us for the password. We went into the presence of a woman. I remember it was the first time I saw a woman with her hair cut like a boy's. She was surrounded by a gang of men with gallows-birds' faces. This was Schäffer's wife, the bargain, although not without my warning, they wouldn't see the colour of my money until it was in my possession. We also found, on the Schleichheim, thousands of rifles, mess-tins, a pile of useless junk. But, after it had been rechecked, it would be enough to equip a regiment.

I went to see Lossow and handed him all the material, urging him to take care of it and telling him that I would make no use of it except in the show-down with Communism. It was thus sold that the material would remain in the hands of the Reich as long as this eventuality did not arise. mixed parcels, there were notably seventeen calibres.

e maintained in our midst. The man was, in
osen, for he stank of the police spy at a ra-
red metres. One day I was visited by a police-
nanced himself to me as an old comrade from
aid he was racked by remorse, for it was he
the spy's reports from dictation. I asked the
the front to go on recording what the spy
on condition that he sent me a copy every
, the comrade in question was inspired quite
esire for revenge, as I subsequently learnt.
tim of our spy, who was cuckolding him!
ed for the Circus for our demonstration on
Nortz refused it me on the pretext that his
t enough to ensure order, and that my men
worked their adversaries. I leapt on the word
y men!" I said. "But it's *you* who send us
itators in plain clothes. It's *your* spies who
ent lambs on to illegal acts." Nortz supposed
ting. When I insisted, and offered him proofs,
s colleague Bernreuther. The latter, who was
nformed, tried to calm me down. It was only
ened them that I'd publish in my newspaper
e reports in my possession, that the affair was
ir later, we had the authorisation to hold our

seen talk of attempting a *coup*, in agreement
geois parties. It was to take place here and
Germany, especially in Thuringia. I'd been
by the bourgeois over the business, which I
he finest of our mess-ups. But Nortz couldn't
arch on Oberwiesefeld.

lock in the morning, after taking possession
is, we occupied Oberwiesefeld according to
ars passed, and still nothing happened. Our
s had stayed in their beds. Calm prevailed
rmany, whilst we awaited from all quarters the
f the expected risings. At six o'clock, gangs of
to meet us. I sent some men to provoke
didn't react. Ten o'clock, eleven o'clock, and
I did not emerge from its stupor—and we
e on the look-out, armed to the teeth!
make up our minds to go home. During the
we met a few inoffensive Reds, fellows who
rsed by a flourish of trumpets. We beat them
the hope of getting a big row started, but it

was over when a trotting, horse-drawn bat-

tery, which I hadn't sent for, arrived from Tölz. It unfolded
like a flower, right in the face of the police. I'd done
well to swear never again to undertake anything in collab-
oration with the bourgeois.

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urging him to take care of it and telling him, moreover,
that I would make no use of it except in the event of a
show-down with Communism. It was thus solemnly agreed
that the material would remain in the hands of the Reichs-
wehr as long as this eventuality did not arise. Amongst
the mixed parcels, there were notably seventeen guns of all
calibres.

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I got my hands on the second parcel in particularly comic circumstances: Somebody had mysteriously rung me up on the telephone to ask me to "take possession of the crates." I didn't waste time in having the whole bill of fare read out to tell me what it was all about. I thought to myself that there were crates going for the asking, and I told myself that it was at least worth the trouble of going to find out. Nevertheless, I asked my interlocutor's name. "Voll," he said, "the brother-in-law of the proprietor of the warehouse."

I arrived at this warehouse, which was in the Landsberger-strasse, and, sure enough, I found there forty-eight crates that had been deposited there in my name. Voll told me that they contained arms, and that it was impossible for him to keep them any longer, for there were numerous Communists amongst his workers. He begged me to have the crates removed as soon as possible. I went first to see Röhm and ask him if he could put any trucks at my disposal. He replied that he couldn't do that immediately. I then applied to Zeller. He accepted, refusing any payment but laying it down as a condition that he should share the booty with me. Agreed. When we were loading the trucks, up came Major Stefani. He claimed that the arms were his. "They're in my name," I replied, "and nobody will stop me from taking possession of them."

Three days later Zeller told me that the aforesaid arms were from his own warehouse in the Franz Joseph Strasse, from which they'd been stolen. "What are you complaining about?" I said. "Haven't you recovered half of them?"

There were arms practically everywhere in those days: in monasteries, on farms, amongst groups of civic guards. It was to the citizens' credit that they thus assembled arms that had been thrown away by soldiers returning, demoralised, from the front—and that others had pillaged at the depots.

134. 2nd February 1942, midday

Churchill and Robespierre—The citadel of Singapore—In praise of François-Poncet—Inadequacy of the diplomats—Reorganisation of German diplomacy.

Churchill is like an animal at bay. He must be seeing snares everywhere. Even if Parliament gives him increased powers, his reasons for being mistrustful still exist. He's in the same situation as Robespierre on the eve of his fall.

Nothing but praise was addressed to the virtuous when suddenly the situation was reversed. Church more supporters.

Singapore has become a symbol to the entire world. Before 1914, it was only a commercial harbour. Between the two wars that Singapore began its great acquired the strategic importance that it's recognised to-day. When one builds a citadel like Singapore be made an impregnable position—else it's a waste of money. The English have lived on the idea of an island whose image is invoked for them by the magic of Shanghai, Hongkong and Singapore. Suddenly the island is smaller, and realise that this magnificent facade is merely a bluff. I agree, it's a terrible blow for them.

I've been told that an English statesman left London which he reminded his compatriots of the following truth: that the only danger to England was Germany.

François-Poncet did not want the war. The reports from the end of his mission to Berlin are worth a look. The little vulgarities in which he indulged in his private life had no other object but to prove to his countrymen that he wasn't contaminated by us. If he had known the reports what he really thought, he'd have been surprised. In all his reports, he insisted on the necessity of following the evolution of the situation in Germany with attention.

Poncet is the most intelligent of the diplomats in France—including the German ones, of course. I'd not been discussing German literature with him, for I'd had no chance out of countenance. When he said good-bye to Gralsburg, he was very much moved. He told me everything humanly possible, but that in Paris he was regarded as a man won over to our cause. "The French are very clever people," he added. "There's not a man who doesn't believe that in my place he would do better than I."

François-Poncet speaks absolutely perfect German. He once made a speech at Nuremberg that began: "I've had conferred upon me the dignity of an official of the National-Socialist Party..." I've forgiven him for his marks about me. If I meet him, I shall confine myself to saying to him: "It's dangerous to give one's opinion on people whom one does not entirely know to do it *viva voce*."

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Our difficulties on the subject of Morocco were smoothed out by him in two days. Henderson and Poncet certainly both had connections in industry. Henderson, for his part, was interested in seeing to it that war should come. Poncet was the proprietor of some factories in Lorraine. But, tell me, do you know a diplomat who poked his nose into everything, as he did, who was connected with everybody and knew everything? Nothing escaped him. What didn't he distribute, like sweets! A supplementary attraction of his was his wife. What natural behaviour! She hadn't the slightest affectation. Truly, an exceptional woman.

One day there was a dramatic incident! A foreign statesman passing through Berlin paid François-Poncet a visit. It was the hour when children were leaving school. The children rushed into the drawing-room, shouting "Heil Hitler!" When he told me the story, Poncet appealed to me: "It was very embarrassing for me. Put yourself in my place!"

Soon afterwards, François-Poncet went to Paris, and returned to Berlin without his children. I asked him if his children weren't happy in Berlin. "Young people are easily influenced," he said. "Just think, my children don't know who is the President of the Republic. I'm aghast! The other day we were passing by a monument in Paris and suddenly they exclaimed: 'Look, daddy, there's Bismarck!' I decided to send them to a good school in France."

In my opinion, the man most guilty of all is Churchill—then Belisha, Vansittart and a swarm of others. The French let themselves be dragged in. In a general way, they supposed that Germany was about to collapse immediately. The Polish ambassador Lipski had the cheek to write in a report that he knew from a sure source that Germany could hold out only for a week. People like that bear a great share of responsibility for what has happened. Lipski, particularly, used to frequent the Dirksens' receptions. If a man like Lipski could believe such a thing—a man who was present at all the Party demonstrations—what can the other diplomats have written? I attach absolutely no value to what these people say.

Each time he changes his post, the diplomat begins by paying his formal visits at the city where he's now residing. He exchanges conventional remarks with all and sundry. He has fulfilled the essential part of his mission. After that he moves in a closed world, with no windows open on the outside, and knows nothing of what is happening in the country, except through the tittle-tattle of a barber, a manicurist or a chauffeur. But these latter, by dint of living in

the narrow circle of their clientèle, have themselves lost touch with the people. In any case, they're cunning enough to tell tendentious old wives' tales, if they think it appropriate.

The less these diplomats know, the more they have nothing to do, and it would never occur to any of them to profit by his leisure to learn something.

François-Poncet is the only one I knew who used to be about continually, taking an interest in everything—to the point even of sometimes embarrassing me a little.

Besides the big mandarins, one usually has to deal with agents of the needy, sponging type. They're timid, scared always groping to know whether they should or should not pass on certain information. At the slightest slip or indication, they might lose their jobs, be switched on to another track. In many cases, it seems to me it would be better to replace them by more modest representatives, who would confine themselves to receiving and sending despatches.

Of what use were our own diplomats to us? What did they teach us before the first World War? Nothing! Did they teach us after the first World War? Nothing! After the first World War? Nothing! I suppose that for the others it must be very much the same.

Diplomacy should be reorganised from top to bottom. Take the case of the Far East. What useful information do I get from our services? A man like Colin Ross, for example, gave me infinitely more precious information on the subject. And yet Kriebel, whom we had out there, was one of our men. It was he who wrote to me that the Japanese were not nearly strong enough to settle with the Chinese. He recalled him, and he tried to justify himself in my presence by insisting: "But it's what everyone was saying in Shanghai!" That kind of thing is obviously explained by the company he kept. All of the same kidney, as is usual among diplomats. Colin Ross, on the other hand, saw all the facts. His view was that the Japanese would win the war, but in the long run they'd be absorbed by the Chinese.

I am speaking now only of the diplomats of the first sort. Amongst these, I admit only two exceptions: François-Poncet and Böttcher—the only ones who ruled the game. Men like Abetz will always be regarded as amateur careerists.

The Dutch representative was a man who knew what was about. He worked hard, and he gave his Government valuable information.

anti-democratic parties, just like the democratic parade to go through these grotesque ceremonies.

Other parties had practically no paying members. We, our two and a half million members, banked two and a half million marks every month. Many members paid more than the subscription demanded (at first it was fifty g a month, then it was raised to a mark). Fräulein er, from the post-office, used to pay ten marks a , for example. Thus the Party disposed of considerable sums. Schwarz was very open-handed when it was a n of large matters, but extremely thrifty in small He was the perfect mixture of parsimony and gen-

as necessary to have a minimum of sixty thousand n a district to be entitled to a mandate. Our base was aria. Here we had six mandates, to start with, which s an equal number of delegates to the Reichstag.

ere were some extraordinary parties in that Republic. ost incredible was Häusser's. I happened to be passing r Stuttgart. This was in 1922 or 1923. Frau Wald- t suggested that I should go and see this phenome- ithout committing myself. I'm fairly sure Häusser was atian. If my memory is correct, he addressed his re more or less as follows: "You, you filthy rabble nd it went on in the same tone, consisting solely of . In the Munich district, he got a greater number of an Stresemann. As for us, we had all the difficulty in rld to have Epp elected.

t scatter-brains we sometimes had opposed to us! ot complain about it too much—it mustn't be forgot- t one day Bismarck was beaten by a cobbler.

137. Night of 3rd-4th February 1942

*Memories of Bayreuth—The automobile craze—
aving Landsberg—Reconstitution of the Party—*

The world will recapture its sense of joy.

been lucky that I never had an accident while travel-

I know the story of the Hound of the Baskervilles. On a stormy night I was going to Bayreuth through the Fichtelgebirge. I'd just been saying to Maurice: "Look out and bend!" I'd scarcely spoken when a huge black dog ran itself on our car. The collision knocked it into the ditch.

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DESIGNING THE MERCEDES-BENZ

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distance. For a long time we could still hear it howling in the night.

I'd settled down with the Bechsteins, within a few yards of Wahnfried. On the morning of my arrival, Cosima Wagner paid me a visit, which I returned in the course of the day. Siegfried was there. Bayreuth exerted its full charm upon me. I was thirty-six years old, and life was delightful. I had all the pleasures of popularity, without any of the inconveniences. Everybody put himself out to be nice to me, and nobody asked anything of me. By day I'd go for a walk, in leather shorts. In the evening, I'd go to the theatre in a dinner-jacket or tails. Afterwards, we would prolong the evening in the company of the actors, either at the theatre restaurant or on a visit to Berneck. My supercharged Mercedes was a joy to all. We made many excursions, going once to Luisenberg, another time to Bamberg, and very often to the Hermitage.

There are a lot of photos of me taken at this time which Frau Bechstein has. She used often to say to me: "You deserve to have the finest motor-car in the world. I wish you had a Maybach."

The first thing I did on leaving the prison at Landsberg, on the 20th December 1924, was to buy my supercharged Mercedes. Although I've never driven myself, I've always been passionately keen on cars. I liked this Mercedes particularly. At the window of my cell, in the fortress, I used to follow with my eyes the cars going by on the road to Kaufbeuren, and wonder whether the time would return when I would ride in a car again. I discovered mine by reading a prospectus. At once I realised that it would have to be this or none. Twenty-six thousand marks, it was a lot of money! I can say that, as to what gives the Mercedes-Benz its beauty nowadays, I can claim the fatherhood. During all these years I've made innumerable sketches with a view to improving the line.

Adolf Müller had taught me to drive all right, but I knew that at the slightest accident my conditional liberty would be withdrawn, and I also knew that nothing would have been more agreeable to the Government. In November 1923 I was already owner of a marvellous Benz. On the 9th, it was in Müller's garage under lock and key. When the police came to seize it, they must have filed through the chain. But they dared not use it in Munich, for the whole population would have risen in revolt, shouting: "Car-thieves!" So they sent it to Nuremberg, where it immediately had an

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accident. I've bought it back since, and it can be seen among our relics.

It was a queer experience when the Mufti of the prison came to tell me, with all sorts of circumlocution, and panting with emotion: "You're free!" I couldn't believe it was true. I'd been sentenced to six years!

I owe my liberation to the jurymen Hermann, a scowling, supercilious man, who throughout the trial had looked at me with a grim expression. I supposed him to be a member of the Bavarian People's Party, reflecting that the Government had doubtless appointed jurymen to suit it.

Through Hermann I learnt the details of my trial. The jury wanted to acquit me. On the evidence of my defence, they were convinced that Kahr, Lossow and Seisser must have been equally guilty. They were informed of the objection that an acquittal might entail the risk of having the affair referred to the Court at Leipzig. This made the jury reflect. They decided it was prudent to have me found guilty, the more so as they had been promised a remission of the sentence after six months. This had been a little piece of knavery on the Court's part, for they had no reason to suppose that an appeal by the public prosecutor could have resulted in the case being referred to the Supreme Court. In fact it's certain that Kahr, Lossow and Seisser would not have appeared at Leipzig. Since the promise of conditional liberation was not kept, Hermann wrote to the Government informing it that the three jurymen would appeal to public opinion if I were not set free immediately.

When I left Landsberg, everybody wept (the Mufti and the other members of the prison staff)—but not I! We'd won them all to our cause. The Mufti came to tell me that Ludendorff, on the one hand, and the Popular Block, on the other, wanted to send a car for me. Since he was afraid of demonstrations, I reassured him by saying: "I'm not keen on demonstrations, I'm keen only on my freedom." I added that I would make no use of the offers of transport, but it would be agreeable to me if my printer, Adolf Müller, might come and fetch me. "Do you permit me," he asked, "to inform the Government to that effect? These gentlemen would be much reassured."

Müller accordingly arrived, accompanied by Hoffmann. What a joy it was for me to be in a car again! I asked Müller whether he couldn't accelerate. "No," he replied. "It's my firm intention to go on living for another

twenty-five years." At Pasing we met the first messenger on motor-cycles. I found them gathered at my door, in Thierschstrasse, in Munich, men like Fuess, Gahr and other old faithfuls. My apartment was decorated with flowers and laurel wreaths (I've kept one of them). In his uberant joy, my dog almost knocked me down the stairs.

The first visit I paid was to Pöhner. He could almost have kissed me—he who had in front of him what I had behind me. He had a conversation with Cramer Clettl, asking to inform Held that I maintained my demand that all men should also be set at liberty. Held granted me an appointment, and I must acknowledge that his attitude was tirely correct. Thus, later on, I refrained from making trouble for him, unlike what I did for Schweyer. Held asked me whether, if I started the Party up again, I contemplated associating myself with Ludendorff. I told him that was not my intention. Held then told me that, because the attitude taken up by Ludendorff towards the Church, he found himself obliged to oppose him. I assured that the Party programme did not entail a struggle with Church, and that Ludendorff's affairs were no concern mine. Held undertook to get in touch with the Minister of Justice and to inform me of the decisions that would be taken concerning my men.

The news reached Pöhner that Gürtner, the Minister of Justice, refused to be persuaded that my demand was justified. I again visited Held, who advised me to go and see Gürtner. There, I fell in with a lawyer! He opposed me with a lawyer's arguments. My men, he claimed, had not been imprisoned so long as I had. In any case, he couldn't set them free before the vacation. Besides, he hadn't the necessary, that I knew all the names! During my enumeration, he reacted violently at the name of Hess: "Not in any case! He exposed Ministers to the risk of being stoned by the crowd!" "What can we do about that? Our fault if you are so unpopular? Besides, nothing can be done about that!"

My point of view was as follows: it was not possible for my men to remain in prison whilst I, who was responsible for everything, was at liberty. Held confessed to me he did not understand Gürtner's attitude. The latter, by son of his belonging to the National-German Party, should have felt closer to me than Held himself. It was for Pöhner who, with extreme brutality, informed Gürtner of my views. On returning home one evening, I found a me

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was not my intention. Held then told me that, because of
the attitude taken up by Ludendorff towards the Church,
he found himself obliged to oppose him. I assured him
that the Party programme did not entail a struggle with the
Church, and that Ludendorff's affairs were no concern of
mine. Held undertook to get in touch with the Minister of
Justice and to inform me of the decisions that would be
taken concerning my men.

The news reached Pöhner that Gürtner, the Minister of
Justice, refused to be persuaded that my demand was justi-
fied. I again visited Held, who advised me to go and see
Gürtner. There, I fell in with a lawyer! He opposed me with
a lawyer's arguments. My men, he claimed, had not been
imprisoned so long as I had. In any case, he couldn't set
them free before the vacation. Besides, he hadn't the files.
I had no difficulty in replying to him that the files were not
necessary, that I knew all the names! During my enume-
ration, he reacted violently at the name of Hess: "Not him,
in any case! He exposed Ministers to the risk of being
stoned by the crowd!" "What can we do about that? Is it
our fault if you are so unpopular? Besides, nothing hap-
pened to you!"

My point of view was as follows: it was not possible
for my men to remain in prison whilst I, who was responsi-
ble for everything, was at liberty. Held confessed to me that
he did not understand Gürtner's attitude. The latter, by rea-
son of his belonging to the National-German Party, should
have felt closer to me than Held himself. It was finally
Pöhner who, with extreme brutality, informed Gürtner of his
views. On returning home one evening, I found a message

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signed by my thirteen companions. They had just been set free. Next morning, Schaub came to fetch my mail. He had lost his job. He has never left me since that moment.

I had already borrowed three hundred marks to pay for the taxis that the newly liberated men had to take when they left Landsberg—but they were already in Munich when I learnt of their liberation.

I didn't know what to do with my first evening of freedom. I had the impression that at any moment a hand would be laid on my shoulder, and I remained obsessed by the idea that I'd have to ask leave for anything I wanted to do!

During the first weeks, I remained quite quiet, but time seemed to me to drag. I regained contact with reality, and began by reconciling the enemy brothers. On the 27th January 1925, I again founded the Party.

My thirteen months of imprisonment had seemed a long time—the more so because I thought I'd be there for six years. I was possessed by a frenzy of liberty. But, without my imprisonment, *Mein Kampf* would not have been written. That period gave me the chance of deepening various notions for which I then had only an instinctive feeling. It was during this incarceration, too, that I acquired that fearless faith, that optimism, that confidence in our destiny, which nothing could shake thereafter.

It's from this time, too, that my conviction dates—a thing that many of my supporters never understood—that we could no longer win power by force. The State had had time to consolidate itself, and it had the weapons. My weakness, in 1923, was to depend on too many people who were not ours. I'd warned Hess that it would take us two years to give the Party a solid foundation—and, after that, the seizure of power would only be a matter of five to ten years. It was in accordance with these predictions that I organised my work.

There are towns in Germany from which all joy is lacking. I'm told that it's the same thing in certain Calvinistic regions of Switzerland. In Trier and Freiburg, women have addressed me in so ignoble a fashion that I cannot make up my mind to repeat their words. It's on such occasions that I become aware of the depth of human baseness. Clearly, one must not forget that these areas are still feeling the weight of several centuries of religious oppression.

Near Würzburg, there are villages where literally all the women were burned. We know of judges of the Court of the Inquisition who gloried in having had twenty to thirty thousand "witches" burned. Long experience of such horrors cannot but leave indelible traces upon a population.

THE INQUISITION

In Madrid, the sickening odour of the here remained for more than two centuries mingled, one breathed. If a revolution breaks out again I must see in it the natural reaction to an intern of atrocities. One cannot succeed in conceiving cruelty, ignominy and falsehood the intrusion of has spelt for this world of ours.

If the misdeeds of Christianity were less serious that's because the people of Rome, having seen work, always knew exactly the worth of the whom Christendom prostrated itself. For centuries died except by the dagger, poison or the pox.

I can very well imagine how this collective rebirth to birth.

A Jew was discovered to whom it occurred presented abstruse ideas to non-Jews, the more ideas were, the more the non-Jews would race to try to understand them. The fact of having fixed on what does not exist must make them exist. An excellent calculation on the Jew's jew smacks his thighs to see how his diabolic succeeded. He bears in mind that if his victims came aware of these things, all Jews would be But, this time, the Jews will disappear from Earth.

The world will breathe freely and recover its when this weight is no longer crushing its shoulders.

138. 4th February 1942, evening

SPECIAL GUEST: HIMMLER

*Charlemagne—The call of the South—
through the mud—Henry the Lion—The
of life—Improving living conditions—
Reich no sacrifice is too great.*

The fact that Charlemagne was able to federate the bellicose Germans shows that he was one of the greatest men in world history.

We know to-day why our ancestors were not drawn to the East, but rather to the South. Because the lands lying east of the Elbe were like what Russia is today. The Romans detested crossing the Alps. The Celts, on the other hand, were very fond of crossing them, but in the opposite direction. One must bear in mind that in this period Greece was a marvellous garden,

lternated with orchards. It was only later that olive-
was introduced into Greece.

reason why the climate has become temperate in
austria is that Italy was deforested. The warm winds
south, which are no longer held in check by the
in, pass over the Alps and make their way north-

Germanic needed a sunny climate to enable his quali-
develop. It was in Greece and Italy that the Ger-
spirit found the first terrain favourable to its
ing. It took several centuries to create, in the Nordic
the conditions of life necessary for civilised man.
helped there.

any Roman, the fact of being sent to *Germania* was
as a punishment—rather like what it used to mean
to be sent to Posen. You can imagine those rainy,
regions, transformed into quagmires as far as eye
see. The megalithic monuments were certainly not
of worship, but rather places of refuge for people
from the advance of the mud. The countryside was
damp, dreary. At a time when the other people al-
ready paved roads, we hadn't the slightest evidence of
civilisation to show. Only the Germanics on the shores of
rivers and the sea-coasts were, in a feeble way, an ex-
ception to this rule. Those who had remained in Holstein
did not change in two thousand years, whilst those who
migrated to Greece raised themselves to the level of
civilisation.

It persists, through the centuries, in a people's cus-
tom, what relates to their habits of eating. I'm convinced
that the soup of Holstein is the origin of the Spartan gruel.
Towards the archaeological discoveries made in our part
of the world, I'm sceptical. The objects in question were
discovered in entirely different regions. Their presence
indicates that they were articles of exchange, which
Germanics of the coast obtained for their amber. In the
case of Northern Europe, the level of civilisation cannot
have surpassed that of the Maoris. Nevertheless, the
profile, and that of the Cæsars, is that of the men of
our north of ours, and I'd wager that I could find amongst
them two thousand heads of that type.

Henry the Lion had not rebelled against the Imperial
certainly nobody would ever have had the notion of
going to the East. Supposing he'd succeeded, the Slav
would have been given a Germanic ruling class, but it
wouldn't have gone further than that. All these strivings to-

wards the East were translated into a loss of Germanic
blood, to the profit of the Slavs.

I prefer to go to Flanders on foot rather than eastwards
in a sleeping-car. It has always been my delight, towards
March, to leave Munich and go to meet the spring in the
Rhineland. On the way back, one leaves the sweetness of
living behind as one passes the mountains of Swabia. There is
still a smiling valley near Ulm, and then one is definitely
caught once more by the rude climate of the high Bavarian
plain. I'm sorry for those who have to suffer this hardening
process permanently.

Yet we've made those inclement regions habitable. In the
same way, we'll transform the spaces of the East into a
country in which human beings will be able to live. We must
not forget that over there are found iron, coal, grain and
timber. We'll build there welcoming farms, handsome roads.
And those of our people who thrust as far as that will end
by loving their country and loving its landscapes—as the
Germans on the Volga used to do.

You'll understand, Himmler, that if I want to establish a
genuine civilisation to the North and East, I'll have to make
use of men from the South. If I were to take official archi-
tects of the Prussian Government to beautify Berlin, for ex-
ample, I'd do better to abandon the project!

In our ambition to play a rôle on the world level, we
must constantly consult Imperial history. All the rest is so
new, so uncertain, so imperfect. But Imperial history is the
greatest epic that's been known since the Roman Empire.
What boldness! What grandeur! These giants thought no
more of crossing the Alps than crossing a street.

The misfortune is that none of our great writers took his
subjects from German Imperial history. Our Schiller found
nothing better to do than to glorify a Swiss cross-bowman!

The English, for their part, had a Shakespeare—but the
history of his country has supplied Shakespeare, as far as
heroes are concerned, only with imbeciles and madmen.

Immense vistas open up to the German cinema. It will find
in the history of the Empire—five centuries of world domin-
ation—themes big enough for it.

When I meet the heads of other Germanic peoples, I'm
particularly well placed—by reason of my origin—to discuss
with them. I can remind them, in fact, that my country was
for five centuries a mighty empire, with a capital like Vien-
na, and that nevertheless I did not hesitate to sacrifice my
country to the idea of the Reich.

I've always been convinced of the necessity of welcoming

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into the Party only truly sturdy fellows, without taking heed of numbers, and excluding the lukewarm. In the same way as regards the new Reich, wherever there are wholesome Germanic elements in the world, we shall try to recover them. And this Reich will be so sturdy that nobody will ever be able to attempt anything against it.

139. 5th February 1942, midday

A raid on the Brown House—The Munich putsch —Imprisoned Ministers.

One day the police made a raid on the Brown House. I had in my strong-box some documents of the highest importance. One of the keys I had on me, and I happened to be in Berlin. The other was in Hess's possession. The police demanded that he should open the strong-box. He excused himself for not being able to do so, pleading that I was absent and it was I who had the key. The police therefore had to content themselves with putting seals on the box and waiting for my return. Hess had informed me by telephone of this search. Two days later, he told me I could return. The fact was, he had noticed that it was possible to unscrew the handles on which the seals had been placed. Very cleverly, Hess had himself performed this operation, had opened the box with his own key, and had shut it again (replacing the seals), after having emptied it of compromising documents.

On my return, the police presented themselves for the opening of the strong-box. I protested very energetically, in order to induce them to threaten me that they'd resort to force. I then decided to unlock the box. The lid was opened, the box contained nothing. Their discomfited expressions were a pleasure to behold.

On another occasion, I was present when the police took the Brown House by storm. The crowd in the street hurled insults at the policemen who were straddling over the railings. At the windows of the Nuncio's palace, on the other side of the street, where one never saw anyone, there were gloating faces of fat ecclesiastics. The search, which was unfruitful, went on until the middle of the night.

What a struggle there was before we could obtain the right to hoist our flag over the Brown House! The police were against it but they were not themselves in agreement on the subject, and they even brought us in to be present at their disputes. For once, our luck lay in the immeasurable

THE MUNICH PUTSCH

stupidity of the lawyers. Our skill triumphed arguments. This detail shows that one should in stances put one's trust in lawyers. They certainly defend our régime any better than they defend our decessor.

Little by little, there was a revulsion in our favour and then a policemen would come and whisper ears that he was at heart on our side. More and more could count on genuine supporters amongst the not hesitate to compromise themselves for the through whom we learnt whatever was afoot.

A particularly repulsive individual was Hermann. He was one of the chiefs of the criminal police. Our success, he put himself at our disposal as soon as we proceeded to the arrest of members of the Government, offering us his help in laying our hands on those who had escaped our net. When the affair had turned out as we knew that he'd be one of the chief witnesses for our defence, and we were very curious to see how he'd behave. We were ready, according to what he said, to shut him up by saying to him: "Wasn't it you, Hermann, who told Wutzelhofer over to us?" But he was as dumb as a post.

It was Weber who opened up for us, unbeknownst to the proprietor, the *Villa Lehmann*, in which we lodged members of the Government. We'd threatened to arrest a single one of them attempted to flee we'd shut them up. Their panic was so great that they remained shut up for days, though the revolution had come to an end. When Lehmann returned to his house, he was surprised to discover this brilliant assemblage.

A few days later, Lehmann even had the surprise of receiving a visit from a daughter of one of the old nobles. She'd come to fetch a signet-ring that her father had forgotten between the pages of a book in the library. Instead of a signet-ring, what she found looking for was a pile of foreign bank-notes that had slipped into a book by the poet Storm!

140. 5th February 1942, evening

Excursions with Baroness Abegg—The tello—A dubious Murillo.

I would find no pleasure in living all the time on the banks of the Königssee. It's too depressing. I

HESS TRICKS THE POLICE

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5th February 1942, midday

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THE MUNICH PUTSCH

289

stupidity of the lawyers. Our skill triumphed over their arguments. This detail shows that one should in no circumstances put one's trust in lawyers. They certainly won't defend our régime any better than they defended its predecessor.

Little by little, there was a revulsion in our favour. Now and then a policeman would come and whisper into our ears that he was at heart on our side. More and more we could count on genuine supporters amongst them, who did not hesitate to compromise themselves for the Party, and through whom we learnt whatever was afoot.

A particularly repulsive individual was Hermann in 1923. He was one of the chiefs of the criminal police. Believing in our success, he put himself at our disposal as soon as we'd proceeded to the arrest of members of the Government, offering us his help in laying our hands on those who'd escaped our net. When the affair had turned out badly, we knew that he'd be one of the chief witnesses for the prosecution, and we were very curious to see how he'd behave. We were ready, according to what he said, to shut his mouth by saying to him: "Wasn't it you, Hermann, who handed Wutzelhofer over to us?" But he was as dumb as a carp.

It was Weber who opened up for us, unknown to the proprietor, the *Villa Lehmann*, in which we locked up the members of the Government. We'd threatened them that if a single one of them attempted to flee we'd shoot them all. Their panic was so great that they remained shut up for two days, though the revolution had come to an end long before. When Lehmann returned to his house, he was quite surprised to discover this brilliant assemblage.

A few days later, Lehmann even had the surprise of receiving a visit from a daughter of one of the Ministers. She'd come to fetch a signet-ring that her father claimed to have forgotten between the pages of a book he had taken from the library. Instead of a signet-ring, what she was looking for was a pile of foreign bank-notes that the father had slipped into a book by the poet Storm!

140. 5th February 1942, evening

Excursions with Baroness Abegg—The fake Donatello—A dubious Murillo.

I would find no pleasure in living all the time on the banks of the Königssee. It's too depressing. None of our

equipped. If I need to know the time, I can rely on the clock on the instrument-panel. All the instruments are in perfect working order. I've never had a more conscientious driver. In utterly critical situations, he wouldn't have the same calmness as Schreck. He's entirely wrapped up in his driving. When I had Schreck beside me, it was the old war-time comrade who sat at the wheel.

One day I had to be in Hanover with all speed in order to catch the night train for Munich. I'd been lent a car with a Saxon driver. Since we could see nothing, I suggested that he should switch on his headlights. "They're switched on," he said, "but the battery's flat." A moment later, it was a tire that gave up the ghost. I saw my Saxon becoming very busy with his car, and I asked him whether he hadn't a spare wheel. "I have one, all right," he said, "but it's been flat for some days." It suddenly occurred to me that Lutze must be behind us. Sure enough, he arrived—at the wheel of an Opel, the first of the eighteen-h.p., four-cylinder models, the most wretched car that ever came out of the Opel works. So I continued my journey with Lutze, and I asked him whether there was any chance of arriving in time for my train. He's an optimist, like all drivers. The unlucky thing for Lutze is that he has only one eye and is a poor judge of distances. He lost no time in going astray at a fork, and suddenly we found ourselves confronted by a ditch. We finally got out of it by using the reverse gear. I didn't worry—I was already resigned to missing the train!

Lutze drove through Hanover at a crazy speed. Another five minutes, another two minutes to go. We arrived at the station. I had just time to leap into the train.

I've had some queer drivers in my time.

Göring made a point of always driving on the left-hand side of the road. In moments of danger, he used to blow his horn. His confidence was unshakable, but it was of a somewhat mystic nature.

Killinger was also an ace at the wheel!

Once I saw Bastian get down peacefully from his car, knock out some fools who'd jeered at him, take the wheel again and move off in complete calm.

One day I was a passenger in a car that was taking me back from Mainz. Schreck was driving behind us in a car equipped with a siren. We arrived in the middle of a bunch of cyclists. They were Reds and began to hurl insults at us. But when they heard Schreck's siren, they left their bicycles

on the road and scattered into the fields. Schreck was quite calmly, crushing the bicycles. The Reds were aback, wondering how a police car could behave like that. When they realised their mistake, they began to abuse again in their choicest terms. "Murderers, bandits, louts!" They recognised me, and I take that fact as my reward of rank.

We often had very painful incidents of this kind. I know no joke, at that time, to find oneself at grips with a man and his opponents.

When one has been driven for years by the same man, one no longer sees them as drivers, but as Party comrades.

148. 17th February 1942, midday

SPECIAL GUEST: HIMMLER

Fascists and aristocrats—Roatta the rat—The Duce should sacrifice the monarchy—The Jews and the natural order—The unhealthy intellectuals of Europe—If the German professor ruled the world.

The genuine Fascists are friendly to Germany, but court circles, the clique of aristocrats, detest everything German.

At Florence, the Duce said to me: "My soldiers are fellows, but I can't have any confidence in my officers." Last time I met Mussolini, his accents were still more Italian.

I learnt, with Pfeffer, that when men acquire the habit of a certain type of behaviour, and make the gestures corresponding to it, it ends by becoming a second nature to them. Words lose their meaning, the best-established notions become new events. With them, pride becomes transformed into vanity, egotism becomes confused with idealism.

It's difficult to conceive that a genuine officer can be a sneaking spy. Now, that was just what Roatta was. He was tagged the plan of attack by Italian troops along the valley of the Rhine, in June 1940.

Until the Duce succeeds in getting rid of this aristocratic Mafia, he won't be able to appoint a genuine élite to the highest posts. This Mafia is every bit as base as the German underworld. It's composed of cretins, who, however, are so cretinous as not to have a sense of what gives other people their superiority. Their activities, although purely negative, are nonetheless effective, for these are the people

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At Florence, the Duce said to me: "My soldiers are brave fellows, but I can't have any confidence in my officers." The last time I met Mussolini, his accents were still more tragic.

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17th February 1942, evening

es in Hungary—The birthplaces of
Books for young people—Folk-danc-
ing—Leather shorts.

of Hungary used to be noted for their hos-
country estates they used to receive up to
time. The wines were better than in Aus-
ry-houses were not so beautiful. For most
noblemen led delightful lives in Paris or in
ts of the Côte d'Azur. One of them, Ester-
it greatly to his credit that Haydn didn't
irt in a communal grave—which is what
na, the homeland of music.

it, simply for the sake of their beauty, the
states should be preserved. But they must
otherwise only the State would be capable
m as private country-houses. And the ideal
should remain not only in private hands,
nily that has traditionally lived in them—
vr character. Thus these great monuments
r have retained their character as living
n centres of culture. But when the country-
r by a caretaker acting as a guide, a little
a Bavarian or Saxon accent, who ingenu-
w varying piece of claptrap, things no longer
soul is gone.

Wagner's lifetime, is a lived-in house. It
—ance, and continues to give the effect of a
se gives the impression of a dead thing.
understands that in the room where he died
ued for light—always more light! Schiller's
ve one by the picture it gives of the pen-
poet lived.

is occurred to me whilst I was reflecting
pe: of my house at Obersalzberg. I can al-
from Berchtesgaden showing visitors over
house: "This is where he had breakfast
magine a Saxon giving his avaricious in-
touch the articles, don't wear out the par-
the ropes..." In short, if one hadn't a
one's house to, the best thing would be
with all its contents—a magnificent pyre!

ding a very fine article on Karl May. I

found it delightful. It would be nice if his work were re-
published. I owe him my first notions of geography, and the
fact that he opened my eyes on the world. I used to read
him by candle-light, or by moonlight with the help of a
huge magnifying-glass. The first thing I read of that kind
was *The Last of the Mohicans*. But Fritz Seidl told me at
once: "Fenimore Cooper is nothing; you must read Karl
May." The first book of his I read was *The Ride through
the Desert*. I was carried away by it. And I went on to
devour at once the other books by the same author. The
immediate result was a falling-off in my school reports.

Apart from the Bible, *Don Quixote* and *Robinson Crusoe*
are the two most often read books in the world. Cervantes'
book is the world's most brilliant parody of a society that
was in process of becoming extinct. At bottom, the Spaniards'
habits of life have scarcely changed since then. Daniel De-
foe's book gathers together in one man the history of all
mankind. It has often been imitated, but none of these
desert-island stories can compete with the original. One
Christmas I was given a beautiful illustrated edition. Cer-
vantes' book has been illustrated by Gustave Doré in a
style of real genius. The third of these universal works is
Uncle Tom's Cabin. I could also mention *Gulliver's Travels*.
Each of these works contains a great basic idea. Unfortun-
ately, we have nothing of the kind in our literature. In Ger-
many, besides Karl May, Jules Verne and Félix Dohn are
essential. All those reach a fairly high level.

When I was a young man, there was a book that had an
extraordinary success. Its title was *Old Heidelberg*. Such
works can contribute enormously to the publicity of a city
or a region. Bremen and Spessart had the same thing hap-
pen to them.

But it's a disaster when a city-dwelling poet sets himself
to sing of the beauties of mountains. People who really be-
long to them don't lend themselves to dramatic presenta-
tion. Their songs are heard amongst themselves. What other
people sing doesn't really belong to our folklore. At one
time I bore a severe grudge against Hagenbeck for having
made fun of our customs. The dance we call *Schuhplattler*
is the most virile imaginable. It has nothing to do with the
dance that our trumpery mountaineers perform under that
name. It's really a pity we haven't succeeded in popularising
it by means of the theatre. The Americans have devised a
dance with clappers that's really worthy of the stage. It's a
dance that owes nothing to Africa, but everything to Scotland.
We, for our part, have only been able to make fun of
Schuhplattler, and for that we have idiots to thank.

HITLER'S CHOICE OF CLOTHES

without saying that the North German can't as- folk-lore. Do you know anything more ridicu- Berliner in leather shorts? A Scotsman can be London, in the best society, dressed in his nation- but anyone in Berlin who put on a Tyrol costume the impression that he was going to Carnival.

great reluctance that I had definitely to give leather shorts. It was too much of a com- me to have to change my clothes several times a mannequin, to adapt myself to the psychology ors. In such dress, I couldn't have been taken Germans from north of Coburg. Throughout ven in winter, I never wore anything else.

all adopted the kind of costume that goes with then I fell back on the bourgeois pair of trou- as soon as one gives up the most comfortable should one take to the most uncomfortable in ut it's rather sad to see the old costumes gradu- at.

d to Himmler than he might dress two or three in leather shorts. Obviously they would have to chaps, and not necessarily all from the South. well imagine a soldier with a Hamburg accent nburnt knees.

n all that, leather shorts have the advantage that raid of getting them dirty. On the contrary, oled by stains, like a Stradivarius by age. In wadays all the young men are wearing leather

two things that I find charming when worn by —short trousers and skiing trousers. To think : idiots who wanted to make them wear boots! of skiing can never be too much encouraged— ussia.

150. 18th February 1942, evening

SPECIAL GUEST: GENERAL ROMMEL

Portrait of Churchill

the very type of corrupt journalist. There's not itute in politics.

has written that it's unimaginable what can be ith the help of lies.

erly amoral, repulsive creature. I'm convinced is place of refuge ready beyond the Atlantic.

"I'VE ALWAYS DETESTED SNOW"

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He obviously won't seek sanctuary in Canada. In Canada he'd be beaten up. F. I'll go to his friends the Yankees.

As soon as this damnable winter is over, we'll remedy all that.

151. 19th February 1942, evening

SPECIAL GUESTS: MINISTER SPEER AND FIELD-MAR- SHAL MILCH

A presentiment about the Russian winter.

I've always detested snow; Bormann, you know, I've al- ways hated it. Now I know why. It was a presentiment.

152. Night of 19th-20th February 1942

Colonising methods—The perversity of education—
Regrets for the help given to Spain—The theatre
in Germany—Enriching the Museums.

No sooner do we land in a colony than we install chil- dren's crèches, hospitals for the natives. All that fills me with rage.

White women degrading themselves in the service of blacks. On top of that we have the shavelings showing their oar in with their mania for making angels! Instead of mak- ing the natives love us, all that inappropriate care makes them hate us. From their point of view, all these manifesta- tions are the peak of indiscretion. They don't understand the reasons for our behavior, and regard us as intolerable ped- ants who enjoy wielding the policeman's truncheon.

The Russians don't grow old. They scarcely get beyond fifty or sixty. What a ridiculous idea to vaccinate them. In this matter, we must resolutely push aside our lawyers and hygienic experts. No vaccination for the Russians, and no soap to get the dirt off them. But let them have all the spirits and tobacco they want. Anyway, some serious scien- tists are against vaccination.

Dirt shows on black people only when the missionaries, to teach them modesty, oblige them to put on clothes. In the state of nature, negroes are very clean. To a missionary, the smell of dirt is agreeable. From this point of view, they themselves are the dirtiest swine of all. They have a horror of water.

olution, and everybody rebelled against

of difficulty in imposing its views, belatedly grappling with the spirit of routine. not wish to know. In the last few years, once has improved.

ack when men are found at the head of a need to favour bold researches—for these reported and encouraged by official science. er privilege, in my view, than to play the of the arts or the sciences. Men would rded it as a vast honour to be allowed to er of a man like Richard Wagner. Well, deal gained that people like him are no e! One sometimes hears it regretted that not provide geniuses of the same stature e times. That's a mistake. These geniuses enough to encourage them. For my part, at a scientist wishes to devote himself to help him. I shall not cease to think that possession a country can have, is its great of Bismarck, I realise that only those who gh 1918 could fully appreciate his worth. examples how much it would mean if we had smooth for men of talent.

realm of music that I can find no satisfaction is happening to music as is happening orld dominated by the shavelings—the Christian enemy to beauty. The Jew has brought off pon music. He has created a new inversion eplaced the loveliness of music by noises. an, when he entered the Parthenon to conge of Zeus, must have had another impression in who must resign himself to contemplating ce of a man crucified.

teenth year I have felt liberated from the the priests used to teach. Apart from a few in say that none of my comrades went on miracle of the eucharist.

erence between then and now is that in those avinced one must blow up the whole show

154. 21st February 1942

A rich Jewish couple.

I'm thinking of the wife of Consul Scharrer. She had hands laden with rings which were so big that she couldn't move her fingers. She was the sort of Jewess one sees in caricatures. He was a great devotee of the turf. His wife and his horses were his only preoccupations.

One day Werlin showed me Scharrer's car. Its radiator was plated, not in nickel, but in gold. It furthermore contained a thousand little articles of everyday use, starting with a lavatory, all in gold. I can still see Consul Scharrer when he used to arrive in a top-hat, with his cheeks more puffed out than those of Christian Weber, for the Sunday concert on the avenue.

On their property at Bernried they had white peacocks. Although he received Prussian princes in his house, in the depths of his heart Scharrer was a Bavarian autonomist. A parrot of genius one day made the unforgivable blunder of crying, amidst this brilliant assembly: "Prussian swine!"

Unfortunately for him, Scharrer had a flame. His wife was furious, and threw him out of the house. He died in poverty.

She, the wife, was a daughter of the big brewer, Busch, who had made his fortune in the United States. He must have been some worthy Bavarian, who by chance married a Jewess. As regards Frau Scharrer, she looked like a ball. Nobody ever checked up whether she was wider or taller. When she was sitting in her carriage, her arms necessarily followed the shape of her body, and her hands hung down at the sides. There are Jewesses like that in Tunis. They are shut up in cages until they put on weight. She finally offered herself to a young lover. It's a painful situation for a husband to be so dependent on a wife as rich as Croesus.

155. 22nd February 1942, evening

SPECIAL GUEST: A DANISH STURMBANNFÜHRER SS (MAJOR)
OF THE VIKING DIVISION

In praise of Dr. Porsche—Defence of the European peninsula—The Russian masses against the individual—Nations must fuse—Europe saved in 1933.

Although one wouldn't think it seeing him so modest and self-effacing, Dr. Porsche is the greatest engineering genius in Germany to-day. He has the courage to give his ideas time to ripen, although the capitalists are always urging him

EARLY PARTY MEN

e, it's marvelous. I don't concern myself with so to speak, and Schwarz only reports to me. It's an immense relief for a man whose business is the life into a movement, not to have to do with the affairs of administration. I appreciate the fact that it has been mine, throughout my existence, to have had the liking for responsibilities and the opportunity to accomplish independently the work that I do to them.

one of the oldest of my companions. He was able to do for me, for I had no notion of what book-keeping was.

treasurer was a former poacher who had lost an exercise of his talents. His name was Meier. It was left to him to be very useful for ringing up the accounts at our meetings. He lived in a cabin entered by a ladder designed for fowls.

When the Party had a total strength of thirty, and was already one of our chaps. Meier was the proletarian, in the good sense of the word. He was one-armed, moreover, earned him his rôle of treasurer, the inflation finally took importance. He was succeeded by Singer. He was a small Bavarian official, exactly what suited the time. My supporters all had little jobs. Singer was a guardian at the Bavarian National Museum. He died after his old mother in a touching manner.

was in Landsberg, the Party having been disbanded. Schwarz turned up. He'd begun by looking after the People's Block. One day Esser came to visit me, once that he'd discovered the *rara avis* and to use him in the new Party. I sent for the man, Schwarz. He told me he was fed up with work of parsons, and that he'd be delighted to work as not slow to perceive his qualities. As usual, I had been stifled by the mediocrities for whom he

organised, in model fashion, everything that came to the Party's gigantic administration. He'd been capable of administering the finances of Berlin, and had succeeded marvellously as the mayor of a big city. No fault—and what luck that was!—of not being able to do more practical good sense than I knew admirably how to economise on small matters. It was the result that we always had what we needed. It was Schwarz who enabled me to

FRANZ XAVER SCHWARZ

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administer the Party without our having to rely on the petty cash. In this way, unexpected assets are like manna. Schwarz centralised the administration of the Party. All subscriptions are sent directly to the central office, which returns to the local and regional branches the percentage that's due to them. When I need information concerning any one—no matter which—of our members, I have only to pick up the telephone, and I get it within two minutes—even if I don't know the member's name, and know him only by his Party number. I don't know whether there's such a perfect and also such a simple organisation anywhere else in the world. This centralisation carried to an extreme nevertheless fits in with a high degree of decentralisation on another level. Thus the Gauleiters enjoy total independence in their sector.

As regards Amann, I can say positively that he's a genius. He's the greatest newspaper proprietor in the world. Despite his great discretion, which explains why it's not generally known, I declare that Rothermere and Beaverbrook are mere dwarfs compared to him. To-day the *Zentral Verlag* owns from 70 per cent to 80 per cent of the German press. Amann achieved all that without the least ostentation. Who knows, for example, that the *Münchener Neueste* is one of our press organisations? Amann makes a point of preserving the individual personality of each of his newspapers. He's likewise very clever when it's a matter of handing over to others businesses that are not showing a profit. That's what happened when he gave Sauckel a newspaper. It had belonged to Dinter, and Amann had taken it over for political reasons. A short time afterwards, I happened to ask Sauckel what Amann's present had brought him in. "Up to date, it has cost me twenty thousand marks," he replied. Amann had the idea that the profit of the central organisation was made up of the profits made on each separate business. Hence one can conclude that no business which was in the red had, from any point of view, the slightest interest for Amann. That reminds me that Dietrich used to publish in Coburg a magazine entitled *Flamme*, which was even more violent than Streicher's *Stürmer*. And yet I never knew a gentler man than Dietrich.

One must never forget the services rendered by the *Stürmer*. Without it the affair of the Jew Hirsch's perjury, at Nuremberg, would never have come out. And how many other scandals he exposed!

One day a Nazi saw a Jew, in Nuremberg station, im-

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patiently throw a letter into the waste-paper basket. He recovered the letter and, after having read it, took it to the *Stürmer*. It was a blackmailer's letter in which the recipient, the Jew Hirsch, was threatened that the game would be given away if he stopped coughing up. The *Stürmer's* revelation provoked an enquiry. It thus became known that a country girl, who had a place in Nuremberg in the household of Herr Hirsch, had brought an action against him for rape. Hirsch got the girl to swear in court that she never had relations with other men—then produced numerous witnesses who all claimed to have had relations with her. The German judges did not understand that Jews have no scruples when it's a question of saving one of their compatriots. They therefore condemned the servant to one and a half years in prison. The letter thrown impatiently away by Hirsch was written by one of the false witnesses suborned by him—which witness considered that he could conveniently add blackmail to perjury.

To-day everyone's eyes are opened, but at the time people found it difficult to believe that such things could happen. Poor girls who worked in big shops were handed over defenceless to their employers. In such a state of affairs, Streicher rendered immense services. Now that Jews are known for what they are, nobody any longer thinks that Streicher libelled them.

The discovery of the Jewish virus is one of the greatest revolutions that have taken place in the world. The battle in which we are engaged to-day is of the same sort as the battle waged, during the last century, by Pasteur and Koch. How many diseases have their origin in the Jewish virus!

Japan would have been contaminated, too, if it had stayed open to the Jews.

We shall regain our health only by eliminating the Jew. Everything has a cause, nothing comes by chance.

157. Night of the 22nd-23rd February 1942

*The principal newspapers of the Party—Tristan
and other pieces at Vienna.*

The organisation of our press has truly been a success. Our law concerning the press is such that divergences of opinion between members of the Government are no longer an occasion for public exhibitions, which are not the newspapers' business. We've eliminated that conception of political freedom which holds that everybody has the right to say

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whatever comes into his head. Amann controls more than half of the German press.

It's enough for me to send for Lorenz and inform him of my point of view, and I know that next day all the German newspapers will broadcast my ideas. Our little Dr. Dietrich is an extremely clever man. He doesn't write well, but his speeches are often first-rate. I'm proud to be able to think that, with such collaborators at my side, I can make a sheer about-turn, as I did on 22nd June last, without anyone's moving a muscle. And that's a thing that's impossible in no country but ours.

Our illustrated newspapers have greatly improved. But, to compete abroad with the Anglo-Saxon weeklies, the *Leipziger Illustrierte* should be more eye-catching. The *Berliner*, the *Münchener* and the *Wiener* are well-made illustrated papers—the *JB* still better. The *Kölner* gained the limelight some years ago thanks to the documents it published. On the other hand, we could easily do without the *Deutsche Illustrierte*. *Das Reich* is a great success.

When peace has returned, we shall need, as a pendant to *Das Reich*, a Sunday weekly for people in the country. It should be easy to read, should have a serialised novel—so that young girls should likewise get their share—and should be copiously illustrated.

The English newspapers are in a privileged position as regards both the text and the photographic documentation. From all parts of the world, their material reaches them in floods. We ourselves shall be enabled by our new conquests to make progress in that field.

The brilliance, and what's called the charm, of Vienna are explained by a long past. For five centuries Vienna was the capital of an empire.

I was so poor, during the Viennese period of my life, that I had to restrict myself to seeing only the finest spectacles. Thus I heard *Tristan* thirty or forty times, and always from the best companies. I also heard some Verdi and other works—leaving out the small fry.

158. 24th February 1942, midday

How great artists can serve their country.

I've learnt that young Roller has just fallen at the front. If I'd known that he'd gone out! But nobody told me.

There are hundreds of thousands of men who could serve their country in no better way than by risking their lives

160. 26th February 1942, midday

Strengthening the German position—The proletariat and the threat of revolution—The objectives of revolution—Paradise on earth—The last somersaults of Christianity.

In the last few weeks, I've the feeling that has got considerably stronger. The little courage to look on us as a guarantee of order approach us all the more when they see that England herself up more closely with Bolshevism.

When the masses in England realise they probably they'll make a bloody revolution. hold the masses by habit—or else by force. me from thinking that they're keeping on the guard against unexpected circumstances, would be very useful elsewhere. If the Conservatives lost the support of the army, the only thing would be to make an alliance with the nine thousand of Mosley. They'd need a Cromwell to save the man who would take everything into his own hands. This solution, the revolution will sweep away.

It will be one of National Socialism's men how to stop the revolution at the proper moment. It is nice to see the people arise, but one must not go further than phrases. Nobody any longer revolutions that have miscarried, or that degenerate of being led. I've not forgotten the difficulties come in 1933 and 1934. Revolution opens a way it's often impossible to curb the masses once they are in motion.

A revolution has three main objectives. First, a matter of breaking down the partitions between classes as to enable every man to rise. Secondly, creating a standard of living such that the masses are assured of a decent existence. Finally, it's a matter of finding in such a way that the benefits of civilisation are common property.

The people who call themselves democrats regard our social policy as if it were a kind of danger to them it imperils the privileges of the few. They regard it as an attack on liberty; for, in their view, is the right of those who have power to exercise it. I understand their reaction.

for her, but a great artist should find another way. Can fate allow it that the most idiotic Russian should strike down men like that? We have so many men seconded for special duties! What harm could it do to add to their number the five or six hundred gifted men whom it would be important to save?

Roller is irreplaceable. We had only Sievert, Arent and Praetorius—Austria had given us the young Roller. Why didn't Schirach warn me? I saw his *Friedenstag*. What a lovely thing!

The young Roller was a brave man. Before the Anschluss he would have had to leave Austria. I'm convinced he went out as a volunteer.

I could have sent him anywhere at all, for personal reasons, if he hadn't insisted on staying in Vienna.

159. Night of 24th-25th February 1942

An exemplary officer—A group of merry fellows.

The death of Under-Secretary of State Hofmann has deeply grieved me.

In 1919 I harangued his battalion at Passau. What a marvellous lot of men we had there! Blazing patriots. To start with, Hofmann trusted me—and yet at that time I stood for so little. Hofmann was already convinced that it was I who would save Germany.

At the time of the Kapp putsch, Hofmann sent a telegram: "Putting myself under Kapp's orders. What's regiment doing?" There were a lot of officers of that sort in Bavaria. Seeckt got rid of them all. The only ones who were kept were those who never wavered.

I know three people who, when they're together, never stop laughing. They're Hoffmann (Hitler's friend and "photographer"), Amann and Goebbels. When Epp joins them, the whole thing becomes a madhouse. As a matter of fact, Epp is not particularly quick. When the others are laughing at the third joke, Epp is beginning to catch on to the first, and starts to let out a huge laugh, which goes on and on.

Amann, what a jolly chap he is! Already when we were at the front, he used to let joy loose amongst us. In my unit, even at the worst time there was always someone that would make us laugh.

I'm very fond of Hoffmann. He's a man who always makes fun of me. He's a "dead-pan" humorist, and he never fails to find a victim.

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4th-25th February 1942

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160. 26th February 1942, midday

Strengthening the German position—The British proletariat and the threat of revolution—The three objectives of revolution—Paradise on earth—The last somersaults of Christianity.

In the last few weeks, I've the feeling that our position has got considerably stronger. The little countries are beginning to look on us as a guarantee of order. They'll approach us all the more when they see that England is tying herself up more closely with Bolshevism.

When the masses in England realise their own power, probably they'll make a bloody revolution. One can only hold the masses by habit—or else by force. Nothing stops me from thinking that they're keeping on the island, as a guard against unexpected circumstances, regiments that would be very useful elsewhere. If the Conservative Party lost the support of the army, the only thing left to it would be to make an alliance with the nine thousand supporters of Mosley. They'd need a Cromwell to save them, a Premier who would take everything into his own hands. For lack of this solution, the revolution will sweep away everything.

It will be one of National Socialism's merits that it knew how to stop the revolution at the proper moment. It's very nice to see the people arise, but one must be a realist and go further than phrases. Nobody any longer counts the revolutions that have miscarried, or that degenerated for lack of being led. I've not forgotten the difficulties I had to overcome in 1933 and 1934. Revolution opens a sluice-gate, and it's often impossible to curb the masses one has let loose.

A revolution has three main objectives. First of all, it's a matter of breaking down the partitions between classes, so as to enable every man to rise. Secondly, it's a matter of creating a standard of living such that the poorest will be assured of a decent existence. Finally, it's a matter of acting in such a way that the benefits of civilisation become common property.

The people who call themselves democrats blame us for our social policy as if it were a kind of disloyalty: according to them it imperils the privileges of the owning classes. They regard it as an attack on liberty; for liberty, in their view, is the right of those who have power to continue to exercise it. I understand their reaction very well—but we

And it's only when one's lines of communication are safe that one can build a world empire.

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162. Night of 26th-27th February 1942

*Relief in Russia—The fate of Napoleon—GHQ
Wolfsschanze—Death blow to the petty bourgeois
ideal.*

Sunday will be the 1st March.

Boys, you can't imagine what that means to me—how much the last three months have worn out my strength, tested my nervous resistance.

I can tell you now that during the first two weeks of December we lost a thousand tanks and had two thousand locomotives out of operation. As a result of the general lack of material, I seemed to be a liar, and yet I wasn't lying. I told the front that trains were arriving, but the locomotives were always broken down. I told the front that tanks were arriving, but they arrived in what a state!

Now, when I send something to the southern sector, I know that it will reach its destination. We have nothing more to fear from climatic mishaps.

Now that January and February are past, our enemies can give up the hope of our suffering the fate of Napoleon. They've lost nothing by waiting. Now we're about to switch over to squaring the account. What a relief!

I've noticed, on the occasion of such events, that when everybody loses his nerves, I'm the only one who keeps calm.

It was the same thing at the time of the struggle for power, but at that time I had the luck to be only thirty, whilst my opponents were twenty or thirty years older.

Here in the Wolfsschanze, I feel like a prisoner in these dugouts, and my spirit can't escape. In my youth I dreamed constantly of vast spaces, and life has enabled me to give the dream reality. Ah, if we were at least in Berlin!

Space lends wings to my imagination. Often I go at night to the cardroom, and there I pace to and fro. In that way I get ideas.

My finest headquarters, when all is said, was Felsenest. At the Wolfsschlucht, the place wasn't very safe, and I had constant eye-ache because of the caustic emanations given off by the fire-proofed wood of which the barracks had been built. The third of our headquarters was quite simple, but

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very agreeable. Unfortunately, it was so damp there that we'd all have ended by falling sick if we'd stayed there. The fourth, which was intended to be our genuine headquarters, I saw only in a photograph. They made exactly what I didn't want, a castle—and that's the main reason why I refused to settle there.

When peace has returned, I'll begin by spending three months without doing anything. Our soldiers themselves should have a holiday. I'll immediately resign the command of the Wehrmacht. I'll at once send for Speer again. All our war-time administrative services will be reduced to their simplest terms. Even the Four Year Plan will be reduced to a more modest scope of activity. I'll pass it over to the Ministry of Economics, by the way. What counts is to organize the work properly, and to see that everywhere we have *the right man in the right place* (English expression in the original).

I shall be glad to know that the *petit bourgeois* ideal of a nation squeezed between the Elbe and the Weser is receiving its death-blow. A new youth is there, avid to make the world's acquaintance, ready to carry on.

163. 27th February 1942, midday

Laws, man-made and natural—God and the religions—Force and torture impose belief—The true religion—Truth will triumph—Towards a new conception of the world.

I believe that Providence gives the victory to the man who knows how to use the brains nature has given him. The notions of law invented by the jurists have little to do with natural laws. The wisdom of nations sometimes expresses truths as old as the world, that perfectly reproduce nature's intentions. "God helps him who helps himself!" It's obvious that man forgets his own destiny.

One day I explained to Eltz that what is conventionally called creation is probably an immovable thing, that only man's conception of it is subject to variations. Why doesn't God give everybody the possibility of understanding truth? Every man of average culture knows that at this precise moment the Catholic religion is of interest to just one tenth of the population of the globe. He's astonished, too, that Providence, which has willed all that, can allow so many religions, all true from the point of view of those who practise them, to compete for the faith of the faithful. He

X
knows, too, thanks to the view in depth that history enables him to take, that the Christian religion interests only those living in a tiny period of the life of mankind.

God made men. But thanks to original sin we are men in the image of our world, earning our bread in the sweat of our brow.

For five hundred thousand years, God impassively contemplated the spectacle of which He is the author. Then one day He decided to send upon earth His only son. You remember the details of that complicated story!

Those who don't believe should, it seems, have faith imposed on them by force. If God is truly interested in men being enlightened, one wonders why He resorts to torture for that purpose.

While we're on the subject, let's add that, even amongst those who claim to be good Catholics, very few really believe in this humbug. Only old women, who have given up everything because life has already withdrawn from them, go regularly to church. All that's dead wood—and one shouldn't waste one's time in concerning oneself with such brains.

In the trade union formed by the Church, many of the members have tangible interests to defend, and see no further. A given set of grimaces, certain people identify them with true religion. After, that let's express surprise that these cynical exploiters of God are the true purveyors of atheism.

Why should men fight to make their point of view triumph, if prayer should be enough? In the Spanish struggle, the clergy should have said: "We defend ourselves by the power of prayer." But they deemed it safer to finance a lot of heathens, so that Holy Church could save her skin.

If I'm a poor devil and die without having had time to repent, I'm all right. But if, as a preliminary, I can dispose of ten marks to the Church's benefit, my affairs appear in a more favourable light. And is that what God would have wanted?

That little country girls and simple working men should be set dancing to that tune, that's a thing that can be explained. But that intelligent men should make themselves accomplices to such superstitions and that it's because of these superstitions, and in the name of love, that hundreds of thousands of human beings have been exterminated in the course of history—that is something I cannot admit.

I shall never believe that what is founded on lies can endure for ever. I believe in truth. I'm sure that, in the long run, truth must be victorious.

* D. B. He is always forgetting who he is. *

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It's probable that, as regards religion, we are about to enter an era of tolerance. Everybody will be allowed to seek his own salvation in the way that suits him best. The ancient world knew this climate of tolerance. Nobody took to proselytising.

If I enter a church, it's not with the idea of overturning idols. It's to look for, and perhaps to find, beauties in which I'm interested.

It would always be disagreeable for me to go down to posterity as a man who made concessions in this field. I realise that man, in his imperfection, can commit innumerable errors—but to devote myself deliberately to error, that is something I cannot do. I shall never come personally to terms with the Christian lie. In acting as I do, I'm very far from the wish to scandalise. But I rebel when I see the very idea of Providence flouted in this fashion.

It's a great satisfaction for me to feel myself totally foreign to that world. But I shall feel I'm in my proper place if, after my death, I find myself, together with people like me, on some sort of Olympus. I shall be in the company of the most enlightened spirits of all times.

I adopted a definite attitude on the 21st March 1933 when I refused to take part in the religious services, organised at Potsdam by the two Churches, for the inauguration of the new Reichstag.

I've never concerned myself, in the Party, with learning to which Church the men around me belonged, or did not belong. But if I were to die to-day, it would shock me to know that there's a single "sky-pilot" within a radius of ten kilometres around me. The idea that one of these fellows could bring me the slightest help would by itself make me despair of Providence.

As far as I'm concerned, I act according to my convictions. I don't prevent anyone from praying silently, but I rebel against all blasphemy. So let nobody waste prayers on me that I shall not have asked for.

If my presence on earth is providential, I owe it to a superior will. But I owe nothing to the Church that trafficks in the salvation of souls, and I find it really too cruel. I admit that one cannot impose one's will by force, but I have a horror of people who enjoy inflicting sufferings on others' bodies and tyranny upon others' souls.

Our epoch will certainly see the end of the disease of Christianity. It will last another hundred years, two hundred years perhaps. My regret will have been that I couldn't, like whoever the prophet was, behold the promised land from afar. We are entering into a conception of the world

Moses

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~~that will be a sunny era, an era of tolerance. Man must be put in a position to develop freely the talents that God has given him.~~

What is important above all is that we should prevent a greater lie from replacing the lie that is disappearing. The world of Judæo-Bolshevism must collapse.

164. 27th February 1942, evening

A Governor for Belgium—The Dutch and Germanic solidarity—Dislike of monarchs—A second French Government—Slogans for the British.

In Holland, Denmark and Norway there are movements whose leaders have preferred to nourish an ambition to be one day, thanks to us, Presidents of the Council, rather than to be, without us, merely retired majors, or something similar.

I need a man for Belgium. The difficulty is to choose the man. No question of sending there a North German, somebody brutal, a martinet. I need an extraordinarily clever man, as supple as an eel, amiable—and at the same time thick-skinned and tough. For Holland, I have in Seyss-Inquart a man who has these qualities. I must surrender to the evidence that I'm again going to have to fall back upon my Austrian compatriots. When I try to decide who, amongst my Gauleiters, would carry enough guns, I always come back to Jury. He's clever, intelligent, conciliatory—but intractable in the essential things. My Gauleiter from Styria would be perfect, too, but he's still a little young.

How would it be to send men like Seyss and Jury to Russia? It would be better to send bulls! But one mustn't confuse suppleness and weakness—and both of them would cut a good figure there. Schirach has done his job very well, and he's now in the running for any important task.

Seyss has succeeded in encouraging in Holland a movement that is numbering more and more adherents, and is waging war against Wilhelmina without our having to put a shoulder to the wheel. The idea of Germanic solidarity is making more and more impression on the minds of the Dutch.

As regards the monarchs, the worst nuisances are those who've grown old in harness. They become, in a sort of way, tabu. You scarcely touch them, and everybody begins to howl. Francis Joseph, for example, was much less intelligent than his successor, but a revolution against him was

P.T. At last he came back to the point*

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not possible. What a lot of affronts he swallowed in the course of his interminable life! Finally he acquired the style of a Buddha! For more than half a century he witnessed events without reacting to them.

If the Dane goes about it like the old Swede (who does nothing but gather his strength by playing tennis), he'll reach the age of Methuselah. Gustav V was telling me that he had an excellent constitution, for if his absence from the country lasted more than four weeks, he had to be replaced. It's by dint of doing nothing that these puppets become impudently old. In Denmark, we already have the successor. That's Clausen.

When we've reached that point, we'll have three men who'll have sinned so much that they'll be obliged to remain allied to us whatever happens. We can count on Clausen, and likewise on Mussert.

In Belgium, there's this damned king! If only he'd cleared out like the others. I'd have allowed his pretty girl-friend to go and join him.

In Paris, we'll probably have a second French government. Abetz is too exclusively keen on collaboration, to my taste. Unfortunately, I can't tell him precisely what my objects are, for he has a wife. The fact is, I know of a man who talks in his sleep, and I sometimes wonder whether Abetz doesn't do the same. But he's intelligent at organising resistance in Paris against Vichy, and in this respect his wife is useful to him. Thus things take on a more innocent character.

If we succeeded in forming a second French government in Paris, the opposition in Vichy would have only one wish, that we should stay—for fear that it should be discovered how many of them are paid by us. My opinion is that the longer we stay in Paris, the better worth while it will be. In any case, I shall never have any difficulty in finding occupants for Paris, and there's no risk that one day a unit of the Wehrmacht may mutiny, saying: "We don't want to stay in France any more!"

I've explained to Himmler that, if I'd been an emperor of the Holy Empire, I'd have put him in disgrace. I very well understand the emperors who were not tempted by the conquest of the East. These spaces had no roads, and no means of heating. Winter there lasted all the year round. It's easy to say: "Blood and soil." But for the particularism of the German princes, we'd have succeeded in Germanising the whole of Northern Italy. Racially, the West is to a great extent Germanic. Himmler's theory needs serious con-

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sideration. We pay far too much honour to Henry the Lion, for he helped in frustrating the policy of Barbarossa and Heinrich VI. If everyone had supported the emperor's policy, what would we not have achieved?

Supposing the expansion to the West had been pursued logically, we'd have a great Germanic empire stretching from Denmark to the Loire—and England would not have acquired the importance that is hers to-day.

The moment has come when propaganda can play an important rôle in our favour. It's not a matter of attacking each Englishman individually, to induce him to such and such a particular action. It's a matter of a propaganda that sets forth undeniable facts, and consequently slogans that fall upon a soil well prepared to receive them. For example: "The British Empire is becoming more and more a colony of American Jews."

On the organ of Westminster Abbey, the *Internationale* was played after the service. What can that mean, if not the fall of Christianity?

It's enough to compare the statements now being made in London with those issuing a year ago from Lisbon, to realise the change in the situation. It's a turning-point in history.

165. Night of 27th-28th February 1942

Financial organisation of the Party press.

Amann's great idea was to guarantee the financial existence of the newspaper by the profits realised on the Party editions. These profits accumulated so quickly that the newspaper quickly stopped being exposed to any risks.

Amann realised what a *tour de force* it was to maintain the house of publication during my incarceration in Landsberg. For once, the juggleries of the lawyers were useful to us. The publishing house was a limited company, and the law required the unanimous agreement of its members for its dissolution. By chance, one of the members, Herr von Sebottendorff, was always abroad (in Turkey, I think), and of course Amann could never succeed in getting hold of him.

At the time, I owned a part of the capital (Gutberlet had made me a present of a share of five thousand marks, and I had bought other shares). The firm had existed for thirty or forty years under the name of Franz Eher Pub-

lishing Co. I retained for the newspaper the name of *Völkischer Beobachter*. Dietrich Eckart was furious. "What's the meaning of that word, *Beobachter* (observer)?" he would say. "I could understand something like 'the chain-smasher'!"

Very intelligently, for reasons of camouflage, Amann created on the side the *Hoheneichen* Publishing Co., whose name covered certain publications. And he left the press to Adolf Müller so as not to have to bring action against Party comrades for payment of their bills.

166. 28th February 1942, evening

Housing crisis—new constructions.

To put an end to the housing crisis, we shall build, as soon as the war is over, a million dwellings a year, and that for five consecutive years.

The time necessary to build a house should not exceed three months. In this field, the achievements of modern technology must be used in their entirety. The mistress of the house must be set free from all the minor chores that make her waste her time. Not only must the children's play-gardens be near the houses, but the mother must not even be compelled to take her children there herself. All she should have to do is to press a button for the woman in charge to appear immediately. No more refuse to take downstairs, no more fuel to carry up. In the morning, the works of the alarm-clock must even switch on the mechanism that boils the water. All these little inventions that lighten the burden of life must be set to work.

I have a man, Robert Ley, to whom it will be enough for me to entrust this mission. A nod from me, and he'll set everything humming.

Every dwelling should carry the right to a garage, and there's no question of this garage costing forty or fifty marks a month. It ought to cost a tenth of that. If we haven't reached that point to-day, it's once again those damned lawyers we have to thank. I've been told that these maniacs of the Civil Service have found nothing better to do than to compose a file in which all possible accidents, imaginable or unimaginable, have been foreseen. And they've used this as a foundation on which to base their regulations. Thus they make such demands that building-costs become impossibly high. In many cases, they're based on technical peculiarities that became obsolete twenty years ago. For example, there is a regulation limiting the angle

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of the stairs to a certain number of degrees. This regulation, if it's applied, entails enormous expenses: time wasted, room wasted, materials wasted.

What's more, it's necessary to standardise the necessary components for the construction of interiors. Don't ask where to begin! If we succeed in sparing the five million families who'll inhabit the new apartments the useless expense usually involved in a move to a new dwelling, this will already be progress. Everything must have a beginning. Let's begin at once!

167. Night of 28th February-1st March 1942

The Bayreuth Festival 1925—Bayreuth and National Socialism—Rôle of Cosima Wagner—Siegfried Wagner.

In 1925, the Bechsteins had invited me to stay with them in Bayreuth. They lived in a villa in the Liszt Strasse (I think this was the name of the street), within a few yards of Wahnfried. I had hesitated to go there, for I was afraid of thus increasing the difficulties of Siegfried Wagner, who was somewhat in the hands of the Jews.

I arrived in Bayreuth towards eleven o'clock in the evening. Lotte Bechstein was still up, but her relatives were in bed. Next morning, Cosima Wagner came and brought me some flowers. What a bustle there was in Bayreuth for the Festival! There exist a few photographs of that period, in which I figure, taken by Lotte Bechstein.

I used to spend the day in leather shorts. In the evening, I would put on a dinner-jacket or tails to go to the opera. We made excursions by car into the Fichtelgebirge and into Franconian mountains. From all points of view, those were marvellous days. When I went to the cabaret of the *Chouette*, I found myself immediately in sympathy with the artistes. I was not yet celebrated enough for my fame to interfere with my peacefulness.

Dietrich Eckart, who had been a critic in Bayreuth, had always told me of the extraordinary atmosphere prevailing there. He told me that one morning they had broken into the *Chouette*, and had gone, in company with the artistes, into the meadow behind the theatre, to play the *Miracle of Good Friday* there.

At the first performance of *Parsifal* that I attended at Bayreuth, Clewing was still singing. What a stature, and what a magnificent voice! I'd already been present at performances of *Parsifal* in Munich. That same year, I was

also present at the *Ring* and the *Meistersinger*. The fact that the Jew Schorr was allowed to sing the rôle of Wotan had the effect of a profanation on me. Why couldn't they have got Rode from Munich? But there was Braun, an artist of exceptional quality.

For years I was unable to attend the Festival, and I'd been very distressed about it. Cosima Wagner also lamented my absence. She often urged me to come, by letter or by telephone. But I never passed through Bayreuth without paying her a visit.

It's Cosima Wagner's merit to have created the link between Bayreuth and National Socialism. Siegfried was a personal friend of mine, but he was a political neutral. He couldn't have been anything else, or the Jews would have ruined him. Now the spell is broken. Siegfried has regained his independence, and one again hears works by him. Those dirty Yids had succeeded in demolishing him! I heard, in my youth, his *Bärenhäuter*. It's said that the *Schmied von Marienburg* is his best work. I still have a lot of things to see and hear!

In Berlin, I've been present at a performance of a work of Richard Wagner's youth, *The Novice of Palermo*, containing themes that are still reminiscent of Mozart. Only, here and there, a few new themes make their appearance, the first-fruits of a new style.

168. 1st March 1942, midday

SPECIAL GUEST: HIMMLER

A picturesque personality, the Party printer.

It was through Dietrich Eckart that I got to know Müller. Our first encounter was not favourable, and I was astonished that Eckart should have put me in touch with such an individual. "I agree that he's as black as the devil," Eckart replied, "and more cunning than the cunningest peasant, but he's the best printer I've known in my life, and also the most generous man."

That happened well before I had the *Völkischer Beobachter*. Müller was wedged in his arm-chair with the self-assurance of a plutocrat. His first words were: "To prevent any misunderstanding from arising, let it be clearly understood that, where there's no payment, there's no printing, either."

When one visited him, Müller never ceased to groan.

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Nevertheless he grew fatter and fatter. He printed more and more. He constantly bought new machines, but his leitmotiv was: "I can't get along on these rates, I'm ruining myself." "To see you so fat, one wouldn't believe it!" "I've so many worries that I drink a little to drown them, and that swells you up!" His press is equipped in the most modern style. He's a real genius in the Party. Cunning, nobody could be more so, but he was an employer with a sense of social responsibility. He paid his workers well, and when he took them on an outing, he paid no attention to expense. For a firm of that size, in any case, that meant less than nothing. And the *Völkischer Beobachter* was always there to cough up!

I never made a journey with Müller without his having to pay a visit to some woman by whom he had a child. At the birth of each of his bastards, he would open an account for them at the Savings Bank, with a first payment of five thousand marks. I actually know four illegitimate children of his. I wonder how such an ugly man manages to have such lovely children! I must add that Müller adores children.

Every week, he spends two days with Ida on the Tegernsee, although he's divorced from her. He had married her simply so that his children should have a respectable name. He likewise spends two days with his legitimate wife, at Munich, and lastly two days at his business. The rest of the time he devotes to shooting.

That Müller's really quite a fellow.

169. 1st March 1942, evening

SPECIAL GUEST: HIMMLER

Jealousy of women—Disproportion between men and women—Polygamy and the Thirty Years' War—Hypocrites of the upper classes—The bourgeois marriage—Social prejudices on their way out.

In the eyes of a woman, the finest of dresses at once loses its charm—if she sees another woman wearing one like it. I've seen a woman suddenly leave the opera at the sight of a rival who had entered a box wearing the same dress as herself. "What cheek!" she said. "I'm going!"

In the pleasure a woman takes in rigging herself out, there is always an admixture of some trouble-making element, something treacherous—to awaken another woman's jealousy by displaying something that the latter doesn't possess.

Women have the talent, which is unknown to us males, for giving a kiss to a woman-friend and at the same time piercing her heart with a well-sharpened stiletto. To wish to change women in this respect would be ingenuous: women are what they are. Let's come to terms with their little weaknesses. And if women really only need satisfactions of that sort to keep them happy, let them not deprive themselves, by any means! For my part, I prefer to see them thus occupied than devoting themselves to metaphysics. There's no worse disaster than to see them grappling with ideas. In that respect, the point of disaster is reached by women painters, who attach no importance to beauty—when it's a question of themselves!

Other women are extremely careful of their appearance, but not beyond the moment when they've found a husband. They're obsessed by their outlines, they weigh themselves on exact scales—the least gramme counts! Then you marry them, and they put on weight by the kilo!

Without doubt, when we mock at women's artifices, they could pay us back by pointing out our own coquetry—our poor, male coquetry. It's true that we shave, that we get our hair cut, that we, too, try to correct the mistakes of nature!

When I was a child, only actors and priests had shaven faces. At Leonding, the only civilian whose face was beardless was regarded as the most extreme of eccentrics. The beard gives character to some faces, but it's easier to descry the true personality of a shaven man. By the way, the evolution that has taken place in the sense of sobriety seems to accord with the laws of nature. Hasn't man gradually, through the ages, cleared away some of his hair?

In the countries where women are more numerous than men, the female has recourse to all kinds of methods to dispossess her rivals. It's a form of the spirit of conservation, a law of the species. The gentlest woman is transformed into a wild beast when another woman tries to take away her man. The bigger the element of femininity in a woman, the further is this instinct developed. Must one regard this innate savagery as a fault? Is it not rather a virtue?

The state of society in which woman was regarded merely as a slave (as is still the case in certain tribes) would be, if we returned to it, a clear regression for humanity. But it's not the only possible state. In prehistoric times, matriarchy was certainly a fairly widely spread form of social organisation. When all's said, a people never dies out for lack of men. Let's remember that after the Thirty Years'

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War polygamy was tolerated, so that it was thanks to the illegitimate child that the nation recovered its strength. Such particular situations cannot give rise to a legal regulation—but as long as we have in Germany two and a half million women vowed to celibacy, we shall be forbidden to despise the child born out of wedlock.

Social prejudices are in the process of disappearing. More and more, nature is reclaiming her rights. We're moving in the proper direction. I've much more respect for the woman who has an illegitimate child than for an old maid. I've often been told of unmarried women who had children and brought these children up in a truly touching manner. It often happens amongst women servants, notably. The women who have no children finally go off their heads.

It's somewhat striking to observe that in the majority of peoples the number of women exceeds that of men. What harm is there, then, in every woman's fulfilling her destiny? I love to see this display of health around me. The opposite thing would make me misanthropic. And I'd become really so, if all I had to look at were the spectacle of the ten thousand so-called élite. Luckily for me, I've always retained contacts with the people. Amongst the people, moral health is obligatory. It goes so far that in the country one never reproaches a priest for having a liaison with his servant. People even regard it as a kind of guarantee: the women and girls of the village need not protect themselves. In any case, women of the people are full of understanding; they admit that a young priest can't sweat his sperm out through his brain.

The hypocrites are to be found amongst the ten-thousand-strong élite. That's where one meets the Puritan who can reproach his neighbour for his adventures, forgetting that he has himself married a divorcée. Everybody should draw from his own experience the reasons to show himself indulgent towards others. Marriage, as it is practised in bourgeois society, is generally a thing against nature. But a meeting between two beings who complete one another, who are made for one another, borders already, in my conception, upon a miracle.

I often think of those women who people the convents—because they haven't met the man with whom they would have wished to share their lives. With the exception of those who were promised to God by their parents, most of them, in fact, are women cheated by life. Human beings are made to suffer passively. Rare are the beings capable of coming to grips with existence.

The Hanseatic League should not be regarded solely as an instrument of political power. It also personified, on the level of relations between individuals, a conception of justice. For example, it never agreed to carry a consignment unless it was provided with a sure guarantee of the weight and quality of the goods. Equipped with the Hansa's seal, the goods thereby enjoyed a high reputation, both in the interior of the country and abroad. A case is cited of some cloth merchants who had employed the Hanseatic agency in Lübeck to send a bale of linen to Bergen. Now, this merchandise did not correspond to the Hansa's specifications, with the result that, by way of a sanction, the guilty city was excluded for a period of ten years from the traffic of the League. What is important to notice is that the decision was not taken as the result of a complaint by the addressee, but simply as the result of a check-up held at the outset. It was observed that the merchandise did not correspond to the specifications, a few threads of flax were absent in the weaving of the linen.

It was not one of the Hansa's least merits to have stabilised the notion of commercial probity, as it is still honoured in some houses in Bremen and Hamburg. It was thanks to very severe sanctions, and even to barbarous punishments, that gradually this conception of probity in trade was established. When the Hansa refused its seal to a merchant, for the latter, in view of the League's prestige and the extent of its relations, this meant the first-fruits of ruin.

The example of the Hansa inspired all commercial and industrial activity of the Middle Ages. That's how the price of bread could be kept the same for four hundred years, that of barley—and, consequently, that of beer—for more than five hundred years; and this in spite of all the changes of money. The notion of probity was not implanted solely in commercial relations. It was the basis of the small crafts; the guilds and corporations always took care that this tradition should be maintained. A baker, for example, who cheated on the quality of the flour intended for the manufacture of rolls, was ducked several times in a basin filled with water, and in such a way that he escaped only by a hair from drowning.

As soon as the Jews were allowed to stick their noses out of the ghetto, the sense of honour and loyalty in trade began to melt away. In fact, Judaism, this form of mental depravation that must at all costs be abolished, has made the fixing of prices depend on the laws of supply and demand—factors, that is to say, which have nothing to do with the intrinsic value of an article. By creating the sys-

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tem of *caveat emptor*, the Jew has established a juridical basis for his rogueries. And thus it is that during the last two centuries, and with rare exceptions, our commerce has been dragged down to such a level that it has become absolutely necessary to apply a remedy. One first condition is necessary: to do away with the Jews.

There was a time when I suffered from fistulas, and this affliction seemed to me more serious than it actually was. Having thought of the possibility of cancer, I one day settled down at my table to write, on official paper, a holograph will. As you know, this task demands a quite special effort on my part, since for years I've had the habit of writing directly on the machine or dictating what I have to say. My will hadn't had time to grow old when I learnt of a decision by the Court of Appeal that declared an old woman's will null and void simply because mention of the place was printed on the paper instead of being written by her hand. I took my head in both hands and wondered what the law was coming to, if the will of the Chancellor of the Reich in person did not satisfy the legal formalities. I came to the conclusion that such juggleries are simply a mockery, and scarcely the sort of thing that gets Justice respected. So I sent for Gürtner, the Minister of Justice, and requested him to have the idiocy put right. Well, it took nothing less than a Decree to achieve this result.

I was equally struck by another stupidity. It often happens that people leave me legacies. In principle I refuse these, only permitting the NSV (the Party's welfare organisation) to benefit by them. Now, so that such a declaration may be valid, my signature must be authenticated by a notary. So it seems, according to our worthy jurists, that the signature of the German Chancellor, accompanied by the Seal of the Reich, is worth less than that of a notary! A merely reasonable being could not conceive of such a thing. That's only a small example, but I suggest in principle that it's impossible for a normal intelligence to understand any part of the edifices built up by the jurists, and I can explain this mental distortion only by the influence of the Jews. In a nutshell, I regard the whole of our present jurisprudence as a systematisation of the method that consists in saddling other people with one's own obligations. I shall therefore do everything in my power to make the study of law utterly contemptible, if it is to be guided by such notions. I understand, of course, that University studies should turn out men who are fitted for life and capable of ensuring for the State the preservation of natural law. But

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view of the authoritarian form we have given the State, that has no importance. One can even declare that this title is not a suitable designation for the Head of the State. Historically, as a matter of fact, it is connected with the mental picture according to which, above the Chancellor, there is yet another person who represents the State as its supreme chief—and it little matters whether he is called Emperor, President, or by some quite different name.

In the National Socialist form of State, the title "Fuehrer" is the most suitable. It implies, amongst other things, the idea that the Head of the State has been chosen by the German people. Although it sometimes produces superfluities and over-lappings—when one reads beneath a photograph, for example: "At the Fuehrer's side, the Oberfuehrer So-and-So," that has no importance, at least while I'm still alive. But when I'm no longer there, it will be necessary to alter that and to give the notion of "Fuehrer" a uniform meaning.

In any case it would be inopportune to change the title of the Head of the State, since this title is associated with the very form of the State itself. In addition to being a display of family pride in political matters, it was Napoleon's greatest error, and at the same time a proof of bad taste on his part, to have renounced the title of "First Consul" in order to have himself called "Emperor." As a matter of fact, it was under the title of "First Consul" that the revolution—the one that shook the world—carried him to power above the *Directoire* (that public-house committee)—him, the Republican General. By giving up this title and having himself called Emperor, he denied the Jacobins, his former companions in the struggle, and lost their support. At the same stroke he alienated, both at home and abroad, countless partisans who saw in him the personification of the moral resurrection that the French Revolution was to bring with it. To understand the effect produced by this wilful action, it's enough to imagine the effect it would have on the people of Munich, and on the rest of the world, if I had myself carried through the streets of Munich in a gilded coach.

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In any case, Napoleon gained nothing by committing this fault, for the old monarchies did not fail to display the scorn they felt for a self-made man. The only thing he ever got from them was the *Habsbürgertum* (a joke on the name of the Hapsburg dynasty and the word *Bürgertum*, meaning bourgeoisie), which was foisted upon him and whose arrival irremediably wounded the national pride of the French. In fact, in the eyes of the French, the lovely Joséphine, cast off in favour of the *Habsbürgertum*, was the model of the strictly Republican French-woman. She was

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esteemed as the woman who, at Napoleon's side, had climbed the rungs leading to the highest post in the State. The stupefaction caused in Europe by that title of "Emperor" is well characterised by the gesture of Beethoven, who tore up a symphony he had just dedicated to Napoleon. He trampled on the fragments, exclaiming: "He's not the extraordinary man I believed, he's only a man!"

What's tragic in Napoleon's case is that when he adopted the imperial title, formed a court and instituted a ceremonial, he didn't realise that, by making common cause with degenerates, he was merely putting himself on their level. Personally, I should regard it as an example of pure lunacy if anyone came and offered me, for example, a dukedom. It would be like asking me to recognise bonds of kinship with all the dwarfs who bear the title.

By looking after his relatives' interests as he did, Napoleon furthermore displayed incredible weakness on the purely human level. When a man occupies such a position, he should eliminate all his family feeling. Napoleon, on the contrary, placed his brothers and sisters in posts of command, and retained them in these posts even after they'd given proofs of their incapability. All that was necessary was to throw out all these patently incompetent relatives. Instead of that, he wore himself out with sending his brothers and sisters, regularly every month, letters containing reprimands and warnings, urging them to do this and not to do that, thinking he could remedy their incompetence by promising them money, or by threatening not to give them any more. Such illogical behaviour can be explained only by the feeling Corsicans have for their families, a feeling in which they resemble the Scots.

By thus giving expression to his family feeling, Napoleon introduced a disruptive principle into his life. Nepotism, in fact, is the most formidable protection imaginable: the protection of the *ego*. But wherever it has appeared in the life of a State—the monarchies are the best proof—it has resulted in weakening and decay. Reason: it puts an end to the principle of effort.

In this respect, Frederick the Great showed himself superior to Napoleon—Frederick who, at the most difficult moments of his life, and when he had to take the hardest decisions, never forgot that things are called upon to endure. In similar cases, Napoleon capitulated. It's therefore obvious that, to bring his life's work to a successful conclusion, Frederick the Great could always rely on sturdier collaborators than Napoleon could. When Napoleon set the interests of his

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family clique above all, Frederick the Great looked around him for *men*, and, at need, trained them himself.

Despite all Napoleon's genius, Frederick the Great was the most outstanding man of the eighteenth century. When seeking to find a solution for essential problems concerning the conduct of affairs of State, he refrained from an illogicality. It must be recognised that in this field his father, Frederick-William, that buffalo of a man, had given him a solid and complete training. Peter the Great, too, clearly saw the necessity for eliminating the family spirit from public life. In a letter to his son—a letter I was re-reading recently—he informs him very clearly of his intention to disinherit him and exclude him from the succession to the throne. It would be too lamentable, he writes, to set one day at the head of Russia a son who does not prepare himself for State affairs with the utmost energy, who does not harden his will and strengthen himself physically.

Setting the best man at the head of the State—that's the most difficult problem in the world to solve.

In a republic in which the whole people is called upon to elect the chief of the State, it's possible, with money and publicity, to bring the meagrest of puppets to power.

In a republic in which the reins of power are in the hands of a clique made up of a few families, the State takes on the aspect of a trust, in which the shareholders have an interest in electing a weakling as President, so that they may play an important part themselves.

A hereditary monarchy is a biological blunder, for a man of action regularly chooses a wife with essentially feminine qualities, and the son inherits his mother's mildness and passive disposition.

In a republic that sets at its head a chief elected for life, there's the risk that he will pursue a policy of personal self-interest.

In a republic where the Chief of State changes every five or ten years, the stability of the government is never assured, and the execution of long-term plans, exceeding the duration of a lifetime, is thereby compromised.

If one sets at the head of the State an old man who has withdrawn from all worldly considerations, he is only a puppet, and inevitably it's other men who rule in his name.

Thinking over all that, I've arrived at the following conclusions:

1. The chances of not setting a complete idiot at the head of the State are better under the system of free elections than in the opposite case. The giants who were the elected German Emperors are the best proof of this. There was not

the rigours of the past winter. If there is a question of choosing men to rule us, it must not be forgotten that war is also a manifestation of life, that it is even life's most potent and most characteristic expression. Consequently, I consider that the only men suited to become rulers are those who have valiantly proved themselves in a war. In my eyes, firmness of character is more precious than any other quality. A well-toughened character can be the characteristic of a man who, in other respects, is quite ignorant. In my view, the men who should be set at the head of an army are the toughest, bravest, boldest, and, above all, the most stubborn and hardest to wear down. The same men are also the best chosen for posts at the head of the State—otherwise the pen ends by rotting away what the sword has conquered. I shall go so far as to say that, in his own sphere, the statesman must be even more courageous than the soldier who leaps from his trench to face the enemy. There are cases, in fact, in which the courageous decision of a single statesman can save the lives of a great number of soldiers. That's why pessimism is a plague amongst statesmen. One should be able to weed out all the pessimists, so that at the decisive moment these men's knowledge may not inhibit their capacity for action.

This last winter was a case in point. It supplied a test for the type of man who has extensive knowledge, for all the bookworms who become preoccupied by a situation's analogies, and are sensitive to the generally disastrous epilogue of the examples they invoke. Agreed, those who were capable of resisting the trend needed a hefty dose of optimism. One conclusion is inescapable: in times of crisis, the bookworms are too easily inclined to switch from the positive to the negative. They're waverers who find in public opinion additional encouragement for their wavering. By contrast, the courageous and energetic optimist—even although he has no wide knowledge—will always end, guided by his subconscious or by mere commonsense, in finding a way out.

God be praised, in our people the optimists are in a majority. In basing itself upon them, by the way, the Church has given away its whole game. In the last analysis, in fact, the Christian doctrine is addressed to the optimist, with the object of persuading him that the present life will be followed by another life, a much nicer one, on condition that he decides in time for the right creed—I nearly said, for the right side. Compared with the natural objectivity of the male, the true upholders of optimism are women. They discover the most amazing qualities in their offspring within a week of their birth, and they never lose this faith.

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school in Germany. The Reichsfuehrer SS explained that, to guarantee that instruction would be given in accordance with the purposes of the Germanic Reich, he had refused a financial contribution from Holland and had asked Schwarz to set aside a specific sum exclusively for the financing of these schools. There was a project for the creation of similar schools in Norway. They, too, would be financed solely by the Reich Party treasurer. "If we want to prevent Germanic blood from penetrating into the ruling class of the peoples whom we dominate, and subsequently turning against us, we shall have gradually to subject all the precious Germanic elements to the influence of this instruction."

The Fuehrer approved of this point of view.

In any case, we must not commit the mistake of enlisting in the German Army foreigners who seem to us to be worthwhile fellows, unless they can prove that they're utterly steeped in the idea of the Germanic Reich. While we're on the subject, I'm sceptical about the participation of all these foreign legions in our struggle on the Eastern front. One mustn't forget that, unless he is convinced of his racial membership of the Germanic Reich, the foreign legionary is bound to feel that he's betraying his country. The fall of the Hapsburg monarch clearly shows the full size of this danger. On that occasion, too, it was thought the other peoples could be won over—Poles, Czechs, etc.—by giving them a military formation in the Austrian Army. Yet at the decisive moment it became obvious that precisely these men were the standard-bearers of rebellion. That's why it's no longer appropriate to build the Germanic Reich under the standard of the old Germany. It's not possible to unite the Germanic peoples under the folds of the black-white-and-red flag of the old German Empire—for the same reason as prevented the Bavarians from entering the German Reich, in 1871, under the flag of Prussia. It's the reason why I began by giving the National Socialist Party, as a symbol of the union of all Germanics, a new rallying-sign which was valid also inside our own national community—the swastika flag.

Let's avoid attempting the Germanisation of our vital space on too great a scale. Let's be cautious, especially with the Czechs and the Poles. According to Himmler, history proves that the Poles have their nationality tattooed on their bodies. They must therefore be kept under control by giving them the strongest possible stiffening of German officers and N.C.O.s, and by trying to have them outnumbered by the German elements. It was agreed with Frank, the Governor-General of occupied Poland, that the Cracow district

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dissolved by means of private agreements made with the Prior. Let the Prior receive a monthly payment of five hundred marks, and his direct collaborators allowances of from a hundred to two hundred marks, and most of them will be quite ready to renounce their cloistered lives. In the old days nearly a thousand monasteries and convents were closed in this fashion in Austria.

It is a pity that, in its conflict with the Catholic Church, the Evangelical Church cannot be regarded as an adversary of any stature. This fact is expressed even in material details, and it was a thing that struck me during a diplomatic reception. In their magnificent vestments, the Nuncio and the bishop who accompanied him had so much style that one couldn't have claimed the Catholic Church wasn't worthily represented. Opposite them, the representatives of the Evangelical Church wore starched collars of doubtful cleanliness and greasy frock-coats. Their attire was so out of place in that setting that I proposed to them that I should put suitable garments at their disposal for the next diplomatic reception. These representatives of the Evangelical Church are such petty bourgeois that they tried to discredit the Protestant Bishop of the Reich in my eyes by reporting to me that he had spent fourteen hundred marks on the purchase of new suites for a bedroom and a waiting-room. I retorted to the gentlemen that, if they had asked me for a subsidy of thirty thousand marks for this bishop (in his capacity of Pope of the Evangelical Church), I would at once have had it granted by the State; but that, in addressing themselves to me, as they had done, they had pronounced their own condemnation. Men of that sort have not the stature that would enable the Evangelical Church to match itself effectively against the Catholic Church. The limit of it is that these people aren't even honest. For example, at the moment when the struggle about the dismissal of the Bishop of the Reich had been joined, Marshal Göring was able to record, a telephone call from Pastor Niemoeller to somebody else. Niemoeller, referring to a conversation with Hindenburg, was boasting as follows: "We gave the old man an Extreme Unction, and we pulled his leg so hard that he's ready definitely to sack that whore-master of a bishop!" That same day, Niemoeller was pleading his case in front of me, in the most unctuous style interspersed with biblical quotations, to persuade me to take action against the Bishop of the Reich. I thereupon asked Göring to read out the monitoring note of the telephone conversation. If you'd seen the fright of Niemoeller and the

delegates of the Evangelical Church! They literally collapsed, to the point of becoming dumb and invisible. Some time later, I told Hindenburg of the incident. He dismissed the whole affair, merely remarking: "The fact is, the most insignificant of these-intriguers seems to take himself for a Popel!"

185. 8th April 1942, midday

Cowardice of the middle classes—The Nazi Party wins over the workers—Nuremberg, the citadel of Marxism—German workers and their Jewish masters.

Since the beginning of my political activity, I have made it a rule not to curry favour with the bourgeoisie. The political attitude of that class is marked by the sign of cowardice. It concerns itself exclusively with order and tranquillity, and we know in what sense to understand that. I aimed, instead, to awaken the enthusiasm of the working-class world for my ideas. The first years of my struggle were therefore concentrated on the object: win over the worker to the National-Socialist Party. Here's how I set about it:

1. I followed the example of the Marxist parties by putting up posters in the most striking red.

2. I used propaganda trucks that were literally carpeted with posters of a flaming red, equipped with equally red flags and occupied by thundering loud-speakers.

3. I saw to it that all the initiates of the movement came to meetings without stiff collars and without ties, adopting the free-and-easy style so as to get the workers into their confidence.

4. As for the bourgeois elements who, without being real fanatics, wanted to join the ranks of the National-Socialist Party, I did everything to put them off—resorting to bawled-out propaganda, dishevelled clothes, etc. My object was to rid myself right from the beginning of the revolutionaries in rabbits' pelts.

5. I ordered our protective service to treat our opponents roughly and chuck them out of our meetings with so little mildness that the enemy press—which otherwise would have ignored our gatherings—used to make much of the blows and wounds they give rise to, and thus called attention to them.

6. I sent a few of our own people to take a course in public speaking in the schools organised by the other parties. Thanks to this, we obtained a good insight into the ar-

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guments which would be used by those sent to heckle at our meetings, and we were thus in a position to silence them the moment they opened their mouths. I dealt with the women from the Marxist camp who took part in the discussions by making them look ridiculous, by drawing attention either to the holes in their stockings or to the fact that their children were filthy. To convince women by reasoned argument is always impossible; to have had them roughly handled by the ushers of the meeting would have aroused public indignation, and so our best plan was to have recourse to ridicule, and this produced excellent results.

7. At all my meetings I always spoke extempore. I had, however, a number of Party members in the audience, with orders to interrupt along lines carefully prepared to give the impression of a spontaneous expression of public opinion, and these interruptions greatly strengthened the force of my own arguments.

8. If the police intervened, women of our Party were given the task of drawing their attention either to opponents or to completely unknown people who happened to find themselves near the entrance to the hall. In cases like this, the police invariably go about their job quite blindly, like a pack of hounds, and we found that this method was most efficacious, both for ridding ourselves of undesirable elements of the audience and for getting rid of the police themselves.

9. I disorganised the meetings of other Parties by sending members of our Party in the guise of ushers to maintain order, but in reality with instructions to riot and break up the meeting.

By judicious use of all the above methods, I succeeded in winning the support of such large numbers of the better elements of the working classes, that, in the last elections that took place before our assumption of power, I was able to organise no fewer than a hundred and eighty thousand Party meetings.

Julius Streicher rendered particularly valuable service in our struggle to gain the support of the working classes. And now it is he whom we must thank for the capture of Nuremberg, that one-time stronghold of Marxism. The population of that city—in so far as they were interested in any way in politics, and with the exception of the Jewish colony—was made up of working men who were members either of the Socialist Party or of the Communist Party.

By his unrelenting attacks on the Jews, Streicher succeeded in alienating the workmen from their Jewish masters. Even so, the workers of Nuremberg, engaged for the most part in

the mental trades, were by no means an unintelligent lot, and they were most stubborn adherents of Marxism. Streicher's success, then, is all the more meritorious, and he showed himself to be a master of tactics in the handling of a meeting. Not only did he annihilate the shop stewards with a torrent of ridicule, but he deprived them of any means of retaliation, and made use of their discomfiture as an additional weapon with which to convince the workers.

186. 9th April 1942, midday

Economic and military errors we must not repeat—The example of the American motor industry—Mass production and limited number of models—A unique engine, cooled by air—Our debt of gratitude to Dino Alfieri—Cut out the word "if"—Criteria when judging a politician—The Italian débâcle in Albania—How to restore order in an army in flight.

This war, like the first World War, has led to a very large measure of standardisation in our technical production. But we must not repeat the mistakes we made at the end of 1918; we must make sure that our war-time achievements and experiences, economic as well as military, are not lost sight of in the days of peace ahead.

In the economic field we can learn much from the United States. The motor industry of the United States, by standardisation of types and mass-production, has reduced the cost of a motor-car to such an extent that every workman over there can afford to keep and run a car. Our own procedure has been exactly the reverse. We are constantly bringing out new models and modifying and improving existing ones. The result is that we have to produce an immense number and variety of spare parts, for the parts of a different model of the same make of car are never interchangeable. Nothing like this occurs in America.

After the war, we must, for military reasons, limit the German motor industry to the production of a dozen models, and the primary objective of the industry should be the simplification of the engine. Higher power must be achieved by increasing the number of standard cylinders rather than by the introduction of a variety of new cylinders. The dashboard, too, must be simplified. But the most important task will be the design of one single engine which can be used just as well for a field kitchen as for an ambulance, a reconnaissance car, road-haulage or a heavy artillery tractor.

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It is very curious that devout Christians like the British and the Americans should, despite their constant and fervent prayers, receive such a series of hidings from the pagan Japanese! It rather looks as if the real God takes no notice of the prayers offered day and night by the British and the Americans, but reserves His mercies for the heroes of Japan. It is not surprising that this should be so, for the religion of the Japanese is above all a cult of heroism, and its heroes are those who do not hesitate to sacrifice their lives for the glory and safety of their country. The Christians, on the other hand, prefer to honour the Saints, that is to say, a man who succeeds in standing on one leg for years at a time, or one who prefers to lie on a bed of thorns rather than to respond to the smiles of inviting maidens! There is something very unhealthy about Christianity.

Another peculiarity of the Christian faith, as it is taught by the Catholic Church, is that it is a school of pessimism rather than of optimism. The Japanese religion, on the contrary, rouses men to enthusiasm by the promise it holds of the rewards in the Hereafter, while the unfortunate Christian has no prospect before him but the torments of Hell.

Such pessimism has a marked effect. Even a child of three can be made to acquire a terror of mind which will remain with him for the whole of his life. We all know many grown-up people who are nervous in the dark, simply because they had been told in their childhood that a bogey-man, a robber or the like lurked in the shadows.

It is no less difficult to eradicate these childish inhibitions than it is to free the human soul of that haunting terror of Hell which the Catholic Church impresses on it with such vigour during its most tender years. A man possessed of a minimum of intelligence who takes the trouble to ponder over these questions has no difficulty in realising how nonsensical these doctrines of the Church are. For how, he must ask himself, can a man possibly be put on a spit, be roasted and tortured in a hundred other ways when, in the nature of things, his body has no part in the resurrection? And what nonsense it is, to aspire to a Heaven to which, according to the Church's own teaching, only those have entry who have made a complete failure of life on earth! It won't be much fun, surely, to have to meet again there all those whose stupidity, in spite of the biblical tag "blessed are the humble of heart," has already infuriated one beyond endurance on this earth! Imagine, too, how tremendously attractive a Heaven will be to a man, which contains only women of indifferent appearance and faded intel-

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lect! Only those, we are told, with the minimum of sin shall enter through the gates of Heaven; now, in spite of the fact that the burden of sin must inevitably grow heavier with each successive year, I have yet to meet a priest anxious to leave this life as quickly, and therefore with as light a burden, as possible! But I could name many a Cardinal of sixty and over who clings most tenaciously to life on this sinful earth. When one examines the Catholic religion closely, one cannot fail to realise that it is an almost incredibly cunning mixture of hypocrisy and business acumen, which trades with consummate skill on the deeply engrained affection of mankind for the beliefs and superstitions he holds. It is inconceivable that an educated priest should really believe all the nonsense that the Church pours out; a proof there, to my mind, is the fact that the priests themselves always try to confuse the issue on the subject of the swindle of dispensations, and avoid whenever possible any discussion of the subject.

In spite of these obvious faults and weaknesses, there are nevertheless a large number of intelligent people who preserve their faith in the Church. They believe that man requires some species of brake on his activities and that, in spite of its many shortcomings, the Church represents the best deterrent that at present exists. The pity is, that people who reason in this manner appear to forget that the Church does not strive to propagate its teaching by reason and gentle persuasion, but by force and threat. This is certainly not my idea of education. It is moreover obvious that, had the Church followed solely the laws of Love, and had she preached Love alone as the means of instilling her moral precepts, she would not have survived for very long. She has therefore always remained faithful to the ancient maxim that the right hand must not know what the left hand does, and has bowed to the necessity of imposing her moral principles by means of the utmost brutality, not hesitating even to burn in their thousands men and women of merit and virtue. We ourselves are to-day much more humane than the Church. We obey the Commandment: "Thou shalt not kill," by catching and executing a murderer; but the Church, when the executive power lay in her hands, crucified, quartered and did him to death with indescribable torture.

Maintenance of the nation's morale is a task which the statesman can accomplish just as well as any Church. All he has to do is to incorporate in the law of the land all the moral beliefs of the healthy elements of the people and then

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more cunning in this respect: not only do they keep their press in complete ignorance of all their plans, but they also systematically camouflage everything which has anything to do with their army. The war against Finland in 1940, for instance, was nothing but a great piece of camouflage on their part, for even then Russia possessed armed forces which placed her among the first of the Powers, on a par with Germany and Japan.

193. 22nd April 1942, midday

Problem of German re-armament in 1933—A man of stature at the head of the Reichsbank, Schacht—The scruples of Schwerin-Krosigk—The stupidity of General Blomberg—And the evasions it forced upon me—Schacht rebels—Mobilisation of our foreign credits—Our stock of raw materials—The Metropolitan Opera House in New York closes its doors—The Americans have no great artists.

It was with Dr. Luther, the then President of the Reichsbank, that I had, in 1933, one of my first discussions on the subject of our rearmament. In view of the deficit in the Reich budget, which then stood at about three milliard marks, and of the financial state of the Laender, which was not much better, it was impossible to make even the smallest effort towards rearmament without the collaboration of the Reichsbank.

In the course of this conversation I impressed upon Dr. Luther that, unless she regained her military power, Germany was doomed to strangulation. Luther listened to me for two hours, at the end of which he assured me of his profoundly nationalist sympathies and promised me all the help he could give me. He then mentioned a precise figure, telling me that he would put a hundred million marks at my disposal! For a moment I thought I must have misunderstood him, for I did not think it possible that a financier should have so little knowledge of the vast expense involved in a policy of rearmament. But when I asked him to repeat what he had said, Luther again gave me the figure of one hundred million. Further comment was obviously superfluous, so I simply asked the President of the Reich to remove the man from his office. This, however, was not possible, without further ado, as the Reichsbank was still an international organisation. I was then compelled to try to reach an amicable agreement. I told Luther that any col-

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 laboration between us was impossible, that he might per-
 haps have some legal means of retaining his position, but
 that I had now assumed office, that I would brook no argu-
 ment from him, and that, if the interests of the country
 demanded it, I should not even hesitate to break him; and
 then—and this was the idea that Meissner had suggested as
 a solution—I offered him the post of Ambassador to Wash-
 ington, if he would voluntarily resign his present position.
 This he declared himself ready to accept, provided I would
 add an allowance of fifty thousand marks a year to his pen-
 sion. I can see him still, his eyes modestly downcast,
 assuring me that it was pure patriotism which caused him to
 fall in with my suggestions!

So I had to pay good money to open the way for the ap-
 pointment of a man of international reputation to the Presi-
 dency of the Reichsbank—Dr. Schacht. Schacht understood
 at once that it would be ridiculous to think of launching any
 rearmament programme unless we were prepared to vote
 many milliards for its implementation. In this manner I
 was able to extract a sum of eight milliards, though the an-
 nouncement of the figure caused Schwerin-Krosigk, the then
 Minister of Finance, many grave misgivings. At this mo-
 ment General Blomberg was unfortunately stupid enough to
 disclose that, apart from these eight milliards, a further sup-
 plementary sum of twelve milliards would be required to
 carry out the preliminary phase of the rearmament pro-
 gramme. I reproached Blomberg bitterly for his indiscretion.
 After all, seeing that the whole gang of financiers is a bunch
 of crooks, what possible point was there in being scrupulous-
 ly honest with them? By far the best thing was to state our
 needs bit by bit as they arose. This method was also to the
 advantage of the financial experts themselves; for if things
 should go wrong, they would then be in a position to justify
 themselves in the public eye by claiming that they had not
 been told the truth.

It is characteristic of Schacht that, from the first eight
 milliard marks, he retained five hundred million as interest!
 He is a man of quite astonishing ability and is unsurpassed
 in the art of getting the better of the other party. But it
 was just his consummate skill in swindling other people
 which made him indispensable at the time. Before each
 meeting of the International Bank at Basle, half the world
 was anxious to know whether Schacht would attend or
 not, and it was only after receipt of the assurance that he
 would be there that the Jew bankers of the entire world
 packed their bags and prepared to attend. I must say the

tricks Schacht succeeded in playing on them proves that even in the field of sharp finance a really intelligent Aryan is more than a match for his Jewish counterpart. It is Schacht who was the instigator of the plan, subsequently put into practice, of devaluing German shares held abroad. Most of these represented reparations held in the form of shares; these shares were then later purchased in the open market by intermediaries on our behalf at prices varying from 12 per cent to 18 per cent of their real value, after which German industry was compelled to redeem from us at par value. In this way, thanks to a profit of 80 per cent and over, we were able to organise an export dumping campaign which brought in three-quarters of a milliard marks in foreign currency.

It is greatly to Schacht's credit that he remained completely silent on the existence of this foreign currency. There were several occasions on which, had the existence of these funds been known, the most determined efforts would have been made to deprive us of them. I am thinking particularly of the time when we did not know where to lay our hands on the money for the salaries of our officials, and of the moment when we were faced with a complete lack of rubber. It was only in 1938, when war was obviously inevitable, that I made publicly known the existence of these reserves. It was clear that the future belligerents would, like ourselves, make the most strenuous efforts to buy up any and everything in the way of raw materials that the world's markets had to offer. Speed, therefore, was essential if we wished to avoid seeing our gold and foreign currency reserves transformed suddenly into paper and metal of no value. It was to Funk that I entrusted the task of buying our share of raw materials. In spite of his ability, I felt I could not quite trust Schacht in this matter, for I had often seen how his face lit up when he succeeded in swindling somebody out of a hundred-mark note, and I feared that in the face of such temptation he would quite probably try his Freemason's tricks on me!

It is reported that the Metropolitan Opera House in New York is to be closed; but the reasons given for its closing are certainly false. The Americans do not lack money; what they lack is the artists required to maintain the activities of the greatest of their lyrical theatres. One requires but little knowledge to know that the most famous operas are all of either German, Italian or French origin, and that among the artists who perform them the Germans and the Italians

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are, the most celebrated. Deprived of the services of the artists from these two countries, the management has preferred to close its doors rather than expose the inadequacy of American artists.

Our newspapers must not miss this opportunity! Copious comment should be made on this illuminating pointer to the cultural standard of the United States.

194. 23rd April 1942, midday

How to refresh the blood-stream of effete peoples—The rôle of the SS—Build bonny babies—A people of soldiers—War and love go arm in arm—The use of foreign man-power—Servility of the Czechs—British rebuffs in India—The history of Germany starts with Arminius—The personality of Rudolf von Hapsburg.

Reichsfuehrer SS Himmler mentioned the order he had given two years ago on the duty of healthy members of the SS to perpetuate their species. In view of the heavy losses suffered in this war by the SS, particularly among the younger and unmarried members, Himmler was very pleased now that he had given the order when he did. The fine blood of these men who were gone would not be wholly lost, but was being perpetuated in their children. The Fuehrer expressed himself as follows:

At Berchtesgaden we owe a great deal to the infusion of SS blood, for the local population there was of specially poor and mixed stock. I noticed this particularly while the Berghof was being built, and I was most anxious to do something to improve it. To-day, thanks to the presence of a regiment of the Leibstandarte, the countryside is abounding with jolly and healthy young children. It is a practice which must be followed; to those districts in which a tendency towards degeneracy is apparent we must send a body of élite troops, and in ten or twenty years' time the bloodstock will be improved out of all recognition. I rejoice to know, therefore, that our soldiers regard it as a duty to their country to persuade the young women to bear healthy children. Especially at this moment, when the most precious of our blood is being shed in such quantities, the maintenance of our race is of vital importance. First-class troops should, I think, also be stationed in the East Prussian lake districts and in the forests of Bavaria.

Italy, to see him relegated to the rear rank whenever any of the Court entourage are about. The joy is always taken out of the reception he arranges for me by the fact that I am compelled to submit to contact with the arrogant idlers of the aristocracy. On one occasion these morons tried to ruin my pleasure at the spectacle of a dance given by the most lovely young maids from the Florence Academy, by criticising the dancing in most contemptuous terms. I rounded on them with such fury, however, that I was left to enjoy the rest of the programme in peace!

It was certainly no pleasure to me to find myself continually in the company of the Court hangers-on, particularly as I could not forget all the difficulties which the King's entourage had put in the Duce's way from the very beginning. And now they think they are being tremendously cunning in flirting with Britain!

Nothing, to my mind, is more typical of the ineptitude of these aristocratic loafers than the fact that not once did the Crown Princess of Italy succeed in offering me a hot and decently cooked meal! When a German hostess offers me hospitality she makes it a point of honour, however humble she may be, not only to give me an excellent meal but also to see that it is decently hot. These degenerates of the Italian aristocracy give proof of their futility in even the most elementary things in life. What a pleasure it was, in contrast, to talk to an intelligent and charming woman like Edda Mussolini! A woman of this kind shows the stuff she is made of by volunteering to be a nurse with the divisions serving on the Eastern front—and that is just what she is doing at the present moment.

196. 24th April 1942, midday

Decisive hours of this war—Importance of the occupation of Norway—Weakness of German High Command in 1914-18—Lack of popular interest in the Navy—And how we roused it.

The two decisive events of the war up to the present have been the Norwegian campaign in 1940 and our defensive struggle in the East during last winter. I attach this measure of importance to the occupation of Norway because I cannot understand, even in retrospect, how it was that the powerful British Navy did not succeed in defeating, or at least in hindering, an operation which did not have even the support of the very modest German naval forces. If the Norwegian campaign had failed, we should not have

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ices of two quite exceptional soloists. One is twenty-three
years old, and the second is only nineteen. When one suc-
cumbs to the charm of their crystal-clear execution, one
realises that the bow of a twenty-year-old is bound to have
more lightness than that of an old violinist of sixty.

With the intention of finding a man of outstanding ability,
to become the Director of Music of the future at Linz, I
have instructed Klemens Kraus to seek out and train a mu-
sician who will prove worthy of this honour.

203. Berghof, 1st May 1942, midday

*Architectural problems—Our architects must plan
on a grand scale—Bayreuth, Weimar and Dresden
—The humanities in these towns—Development of
cultural life.*

I am very grateful to Professor Giesler for having so
successfully transformed the Schloss Klessheim, which is to
be our Guest House for distinguished visitors and which
was opened in its new rôle by a visit from the Duce. The
general lay-out, which corresponds so closely to my own
ideas of spaciousness, pleases me particularly. There is nothing
niggardly or trashy, such as one sees in the houses of
some of the minor potentates. Schloss Klessheim is the
Guest House of a great nation. Giesler has planned on a
great scale. He has succeeded in leaving vast spaces be-
tween the portals and the staircase, and between the staircase
and the entrance to the reception halls.

A sense of spaciousness is important, and I am delighted
to see our architects planning on broad and spacious lines.
Only thus shall we avoid the springing up of more towns
in which the houses are cluttered up almost on top of each
other, as one sees in Zwickau, Gelsenkirchen and so on. If
I were banished to a town of this kind, devoid of all beauty,
I should lose heart and happiness just as surely as if I had
been banished from my fatherland. I am therefore deter-
mined that some measure of culture and beauty shall pene-
trate even into the humblest of our towns, that, step by
step, the amenities of all our towns will reach a higher
level. There is a lot of truth in the assertion that the culture
of a town is dependent upon its traditions. Bayreuth, Weimar
and Dresden afford classic examples. It may well be that it
is impossible for any city to achieve an appearance which is
pleasing to our sense of culture, unless at some time or
other some great man has breathed his inspiration into its
walls. But we must at least see to it that from the ranks of

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with an assassin who, for idealistic reasons, was prepared quite ruthlessly to hazard his own life in the execution of his object. I quite understand why 90 per cent of the historic assassinations have been successful. The only preventive measure one can take is to live irregularly—to walk, to drive and to travel at irregular times and unexpectedly. But that, after all, is merely normal caution, and not prevention.

As far as is possible, whenever I go anywhere by car I go off unexpectedly and without warning the police. I also have given Ratenhuber, the commander of my personal Security Squad, and Kempka, my chauffeur, the strictest orders to maintain absolute secrecy about my comings and goings, and have further impressed on them that this order must still be obeyed even when the highest officials in the land make enquiries.

As soon as the police get to hear that I am going somewhere, they abandon all normal procedure and adopt emergency measures, which, to say the least of it, are most alarming to normal people, and yet they never seem to realise that it is just these emergency antics which are conspicuous and draw attention where no attention is desired. I had a splendid example of this sort of thing when, at the time of the Anschluss, I went to Vienna and Pressburg. The police raised the alarm along the whole route both from Vienna to Nicolsburg and on to Pressburg—an action which was all the more dangerous because they simply did not have the necessary forces at their disposal to guard the roads. Apart from this, the Gestapo plain-clothes men dressed themselves in such an astonishing collection of clothes—rough woolen mackintosh coats, ostler's capes and so forth—that I, and indeed any moron, could recognise them for what they were at a glance. When I gave orders that we were to follow a route other than the one agreed upon and were to stop, like any other citizen, at the traffic lights in the villages, I was able to continue my journey unnoticed and unmolested.

Police protection is of great importance only on those occasions when the date, time and place have been precisely fixed. Even on these occasions the activities of the police have a disturbing effect, cause crowds to collect and lead to endless difficulties. These things, however, must be accepted with good grace on occasions like the First of May, the Ninth of November, the Harvest Festival of Bückeberg, where seven hundred thousand people foregather, and my own birthday. In the midst of such crowds it is easy for some fanatic armed with a telescopic-sighted firearm to

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 tion or two, they will inevitably reappear in the next gen-
 eration. One thing struck me when I visited the Arsenal at
 Graz. It is that among the thousand suits of armour to be
 seen there, not one could be worn by a present-day Styrian
 —for they are all too small. To me, that is a proof that the
 representatives of the Germanic tribes who settled formerly
 in Styria not only infused new strength into the indigenous
 blood-stream, but also, by virtue of their own more vigorous
 blood, imposed their own attributes on the natives, and thus
 created a new racial type. This encourages me to station
 troops who are ethnically healthy in those regions where the
 race is poor quality and thus to improve the blood-stock of
 the population.

You may object that such a practice might well under-
 mine the moral sense of the German people. My answer to
 that is, that it is just the sort of horrified objection one
 would expect from the moral hypocrite and the pretentious
 upper ten thousand. These people are shocked at the idea
 that a Turk may have four legitimate wives, but they admit
 that the Prussian Princes had forty, and often more, mis-
 tresses in the course of their lives. Such hypocrisy drives me
 to fury. The Prussian Prince, as he gets bored with his
 successive mistresses, can pack them off like bits of refuse of
 no importance, and we have here among us blackguards who
 regard them as men of honour. And these same renegades
 heap sarcasm on the honest German citizen who, with com-
 plete disregard of caste, marries the girl by whom he has
 had a child! It is these hypocrites who are responsible for
 mass abortions and for the existence of all those healthy
 women deprived of a man, simply as the result of reigning
 prejudice. Is there a more lovely consecration of love,
 nay, than the birth of a handsome babe, glowing with
 health? Although it is obvious to the eyes of any reason-
 able person that nature blesses the love of two beings by
 giving them a child, these sinister degenerates claim, if you
 please, that the status of a man or a woman depends on a
 sealed document given by the State—as if that were of any
 importance in comparison with the ties which unite two
 people in love!

To my way of thinking, the real ideal is that two beings
 should unite for life and that their love should be sanctified
 by the presence of children. If our farms have remained
 open for centuries, in some cases for as long as seven hun-
 dred years, in the possession of the same family, it is for
 the most part because marriages were arranged only when
 an infant was on the way. And for centuries the Catholic

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characteristics of the race are sometimes absent for a generation or two, they will inevitably reappear in the next generation. One thing struck me when I visited the Arsenal at Graz. It is that among the thousand suits of armour to be seen there, not one could be worn by a present-day Styrian—for they are all too small. To me, that is a proof that the representatives of the Germanic tribes who settled formerly in Styria not only infused new strength into the indigenous blood-stream, but also, by virtue of their own more vigorous blood, imposed their own attributes on the natives, and thus created a new racial type. This encourages me to station troops who are ethnically healthy in those regions where the race is poor quality and thus to improve the blood-stock of the population.

You may object that such a practice might well undermine the moral sense of the German people. My answer to that is, that it is just the sort of horrified objection one would expect from the moral hypocrite and the pretentious upper ten thousand. These people are shocked at the idea that a Turk may have four legitimate wives, but they admit that the Prussian Princes had forty, and often more, mistresses in the course of their lives. Such hypocrisy drives me to fury. The Prussian Prince, as he gets bored with his successive mistresses, can pack them off like bits of refuse of no importance, and we have here among use blackguards who regard them as men of honour. And these same renegades heap sarcasm on the honest German citizen who, with complete disregard of caste, marries the girl by whom he has had a child! It is these hypocrites who are responsible for mass abortions and for the existence of all those healthy women deprived of a man, simply as the result of reigning prejudice. Is there a more lovely consecration of love, pray, than the birth of a handsome babe, glowing with health? Although it is obvious to the eyes of any reasonable person that nature blesses the love of two beings by giving them a child, these sinister degenerates claim, if you please, that the status of a man or a woman depends on a sealed document given by the State—as if that were of any importance in comparison with the ties which unite two people in love!

To my way of thinking, the real ideal is that two beings should unite for life and that their love should be sanctified by the presence of children. If our farms have remained often for centuries, in some cases for as long as seven hundred years, in the possession of the same family, it is for the most part because marriages were arranged only when an infant was on the way. And for centuries the Catholic

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Church bowed to this custom and tolerated what was called "the trial." When the birth of the infant was imminent, the priest would remind the future father of his duty to marry. Unfortunately the Protestant Church has broken with these healthy customs and has prepared the way, with the aid of laws written or unwritten, for a hypocrisy whose object it is to stigmatise as something shameful a marriage which has been provoked by the arrival of a child. And don't let us forget, if we are going to be completely truthful, that a large part of the Prussian nobility owes its existence to a faux pas on the part of one of the girls of the bourgeoisie.

Moreover, these prejudices only operate in reverse, and logic has no bearing on the trend of our desires—for the admissibility of the dissolution of marriage on account of incompatibility is legally recognised. If it is contrary to the law of nature to insist on the maintenance of a union in which the partners are unable to agree, it is no less wrong to put obstacles in the way of a marriage justifiable on the grounds of perfect reciprocal unity. My age saves me from the suspicion that I am perhaps pleading *pro domo*, and so I am able to invite attention to the importance of this problem.

I shall have no peace of mind until I have succeeded in planting a seed of Nordic blood wherever the population stand in need of regeneration.

If at the time of the migrations, while the great racial currents were exercising their influence, our people received so varied a share of attributes, these latter blossomed to their full value only because of the presence of the Nordic racial nucleus. Thus it is that we have acquired a sense of poetry, a tendency to nostalgia, which finds its expression in music. But it is thanks to those attributes that are peculiar to our race and which have been preserved in Lower Saxony that we have been able harmoniously to absorb extraneous characteristics—for we possess one faculty which embraces all the others, and that is, the imperial outlook, the power to reason and to build dispassionately.

In the notes in which the ideas of Frederick the Great were jotted down, I was pleased to find again and again opinions similar to those I have just expressed. For instance, when *der alte Fritz* stigmatises as "moral cannibalism" the opposition to his healthy racial policy, which was on all fours with our own, and when he comes out in favour of marriage based on the presence of an illegitimate child, then I have nothing but approval.

216. 13th May 1942, at dinner

*Political instability of Vichy—France's alternatives—
—Inadequacy of Pétain—Mistrust of Laval—Dan-
gers of a phantom government—What Germany
will keep.*

The thing that strikes me above all in the present-day policy of the French is the fact that, because they were anxious to sit on every chair at the same time, they have not succeeded in sitting firmly on any one of them. The explanation is that the soul of the country has been torn asunder. In the Vichy Government alone a whole heap of tendencies is apparent—anti-Semitic nationalism, clerical pro-Semitism, royalism, the spirit of revolution and so on. And as a final misery, if an energetic man make a mistake, there seems to be no provision in the political plan whereby a swift and clear-cut decision can be reached. There are nevertheless only two possible courses which French policy can pursue, and France must choose one of the following:

(a) She must renounce her metropolitan territory, transfer her seat of Government to North Africa and continue the war against us with all the resources of her African colonial empire, or

(b) She must join the Axis Powers, and thus save the greater part of her territory. She must intervene in Central Africa and ensure for herself possessions there, which will compensate for her for the loss of the territories which she will inevitably have to cede, when the peace treaty is signed, to Germany, Italy and Spain.

If she adopts the second alternative, France will not only have a chance of participating actively in the war against Britain and the United States, and thus of realising her ambitions in Africa, but she will also win the good-will of the Axis Powers. If France makes this decision, our communications to North Africa will be child's play. Further, such a decision would accelerate the entry of Spain into the war, and the French fleet would immediately become an important factor in the current military operations. Her fortunes, then, would all be staked on one card. If she comes in with us, however, she must clearly understand that it is essential for us to retain the strategic positions which we at present occupy on the Channel coast. At the same time she

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must resign herself to the idea of satisfying the territorial demands of Germany, Italy and Spain, both in Europe and in Tunisia. She will be able to compensate herself by conquests in Central Africa.

On the other hand, if she adopts the first solution, or if she persists in her present equivocal attitude, then she must expect to lose all along the line. Somehow or other the Americans will get a grip on Martinique; while Britain will not only never dream of giving up Madagascar, but will also certainly do her best to recoup her Far Eastern losses by thrusting towards southern and western Africa, with the object of founding new dominions there. Spain will not withdraw her demands—nor will Italy. And Japan certainly has no intention of restoring Indo-China to France, where the latter now has nothing more than a caricature of a Government.

A country whose future depends on so tragic an alternative requires at its head a man capable of coldly facing the consequences of the situation. Marshal Pétain is not the man. It is true that he has extraordinary authority over the French, but he owes this primarily to the prestige conferred on him by his great age. When it is a question of taking decisions upon which everything, absolutely everything, depends for the future of his country, I think that the experience of a man of that age is of itself a handicap. For myself, I admit that I now think twice before giving a decision in a case where, ten years or so ago, I should have jumped without hesitation. Such being the situation, I feel that any meeting with Marshal Pétain would be devoid of interest, in spite of the respect in which I hold this upright man, who, when he was in Spain, always maintained courteous relations with our ambassador and who, moreover, has never ceased to advise his Government to come to terms with Germany. To make a comparison, I would say it would be like giving the principal part in an opera to some famous old singer covered with glory, and then, when faced with a deplorable result, consoling oneself by saying that twenty or thirty years ago, anyway, he had a throat of gold. It is a great pity that among Pétain's colleagues there is not one capable of taking the decisive action required. Laval, for example, is nothing but a parliamentary hack. The net result is that the Vichy Government has no real power. A phantom Government is always a source of danger. If France is at the moment safe from disintegration, protected against the threat of a *coup de main* or a civil war, she owes it all to the presence of our occupation troops, who constitute the only real power in the country.

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During an inspection I was making of the Atlantic Wall constructions, I was accosted by one of the workmen. "Mein Fuehrer," he said, "I hope we're never going away from here. After all this tremendous work, that would be a pity." There is a wealth of wisdom in the man's remark, for it shows that a man hates to abandon a place on which he has worked so hard. I need scarcely say that nothing on earth would persuade us to abandon such safe positions as those on the Channel coast, captured during the campaign in France and consolidated by the Organisation Todt, and retire into the narrow confines of the North Sea!

In the same way, we must organise the Crimea in such a manner that, even in the dim future, we should never be constrained to leave to others the benefits of the work we have done there. We shall have to modernise the ports of the Crimea and establish strong fortifications on the narrows which command the approaches to the peninsula. These fortifications will have to be so strong, that the workmen who constructed them will themselves be convinced that here we have an impregnable position. It will be sufficient to have just one such base in the Crimea, for the Black Sea has for us an interest that is purely economic. And, as we have no interests in the Mediterranean, this should give us, after the war, a chance of establishing really amicable relations with Turkey.

217. 14th May 1942, at dinner

Rise of the Völkischer Beobachter—Suppression of the freedom of the Press—The National Socialist journalist—Rôle of a national Press—The lure of authority—The task of command.

If the *Völkischer Beobachter*, which originally had merely a few thousand subscribers, has now become a gigantic enterprise, in which reckoning is by the million, we owe it first and foremost to the exemplary industry of Reichsleiter Amann. Thanks to a quite military discipline, he has succeeded in getting the very best out of his colleagues, suppressing particularly all contact between the editorial and the administrative staffs. I don't know how often Amann, when telling me of the great financial development of the newspaper, begged me to make no mention of the fact in front of Rosenberg, the editor-in-chief, or the other members of the editorial staff. Otherwise, he used to say, they would plague him for higher salaries. What discipline, with the severity that is proper to it, Amann succeeded in im-

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posing on all his colleagues! He behaved as if the editorial staff and the editors were nothing but a necessary evil. And yet—what a task of immense educational value he has thus accomplished! He has moulded exactly the type of journalist that we need in a National-Socialist State. We want men who, when they develop a theme, do not first of all think of the success the article will bring them or of the material benefits it will give them; as formers of public opinion, we want men who are conscious of the fact that they have a mission and who bear themselves as good servants of the State.

As a supporter of this viewpoint, I have tried, since I came into power, to bring the whole of the German press into line. To do so, I have not hesitated, when necessary, to take radical measures. It was evident to my eyes that a State which had at its disposal an inspired press and journalists devoted to its cause possessed therein the greatest power that one could possibly imagine.

Wherever it may be, this fetish of the liberty of the press constitutes a mortal danger *par excellence*. Moreover, what is called the liberty of the press does not in the least mean that the press is free, but simply that certain potentates are at liberty to direct it as they wish, in support of their particular interests and, if need be, in opposition to the interests of the State.

It is not easy, at the beginning, to explain all this to the journalists and to make them understand that, as members of a corporate entity, they had certain obligations to the community as a whole. And endless repetitions were necessary before I could make them see that, if the press failed to grasp this idea, it would end only in harming itself. Take the case of a town with, say, a dozen newspapers; each one of them reports the various items in its own way, and in the end the reader can only come to the conclusion that he is dealing with a gang of opium-smokers. In this way the press gradually loses its influence on public opinion and all contact with the man in the street. The British press affords so excellent an example, that it has become quite impossible to gauge British public opinion by reading the British newspapers. This has been carried to such a pass, that as often as not the press bears no relation whatsoever to the lines of thought of the people.

That is exactly what happened in Vienna before 1914, in the time of Burgomeister Lueger. In spite of the fact that the entire Viennese press was in the hands of Jewry and in the pay of the Liberals, Lueger, the leader of the Christian Social Party, regularly obtained a handsome majority—

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Faced with this situation of extreme political tension, von Hindenburg, through the intermediary of von Papen, approached me, and in the famous Cologne conversations explored the ground. For myself, I had the impression that all was going well for me. I made it quite clear, therefore, that I would not hear of any compromise, and threw myself, heart and soul, personally into the Lippe electoral campaign.

After the electoral victory at Lippe—a success whose importance it is not possible to over-estimate—the advisers of the Old Gentleman approached me once more. A meeting was arranged at Ribbentrop's house with Hindenburg's son and Herr von Papen. At this meeting I gave an unequivocal description of my reading of the political situation, and declared without mincing words that every week of hesitation was a week irretrievably wasted. The situation, I said, could be saved only by an amalgamation of all parties, omitting, of course, those fragmentary bourgeois parties which were of no importance and which, in any case, would not join us. Such an amalgamation, I added, could be successfully assured only with myself as Reichs Chancellor.

At this juncture I deliberately neglected my work within the Party in order to take part in these negotiations, because I considered it of the highest importance that I should legitimately take over the Chancellorship with the blessing of the Old Gentleman. For it was only as constitutionally elected Chancellor, obviously, and before undertaking any measures of reconstruction, that I could overcome the opposition of all the other political parties, and avoid finding myself in constant conflict with the Wehrmacht. My decision to attain power constitutionally was influenced primarily by my knowledge of the attitude of the Wehrmacht vis-à-vis the Chancellorship. If I had seized power illegally, the Wehrmacht would have constituted a dangerous breeding place for a *coup d'état* in the nature of the Röhm putsch; by acting constitutionally, on the other hand, I was in a position to restrict the activities of the Wehrmacht to its legal and strictly limited military function—at least until such a time as I was able to introduce conscription. Once that was accomplished, the influx into the Wehrmacht of the masses of the people, together with the spirit of National Socialism and with the ever-growing power of the National-Socialist movement, would, I was sure, allow me to overcome all opposition among the armed forces, and in particular in the corps of officers.

On 24th January 1933—the day after the SA assault on the Karl Liebknecht-Haus in Berlin had resulted in a tremendous loss of prestige for the Communist Party and caused great indignation in Berlin—I was again invited by von

* D.T. *This at this time that he decided to get rid of Polern (an event 18 mo. later.)*

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Papen to a conference. Von Papen told me at once that Schleicher had formally asked the Old Gentleman for plenipotentiary powers to set up a military dictatorship, but that the latter had refused and had stated that he proposed inviting Adolf Hitler, in the rôle of leader of a national front, to accept the Chancellorship and to form a Government, with the proviso that von Papen should be nominated Vice-Chancellor.

I replied that I took cognisance of the offer, and, without permitting any discussion of detail, stated the conditions under which I was prepared to accept. These were the immediate dissolution of the Reichstag and the organisation of new elections. Under the pretext that I should be away from Berlin, I avoided a tentative suggestion that I should have a ten-minute talk with the Old Gentleman. Mindful of the experiences of the previous year, I was anxious to avoid giving rise to any undue optimism within the Party, such as was invariably the case whenever I was received by the Old Gentleman.

I took the opportunity in this conversation with Herr von Papen of pressing home my advantage and carrying a step further the negotiations started by Göring for the tentative formation of a Government. It was with the German Nationalists that the negotiations proved most difficult, for Geheimrat Hugenberg displayed a greed for portfolios out of all proportion to the strength of his party, and, because he feared that he would probably lose a great number of votes in any new elections, he would not hear of an early dissolution of the Reichstag. On 27th January, after a short absence from Berlin, I had a personal conference with Hugenberg, but we were unable to agree.

The negotiations for the formation of a Government were further complicated by General Schleicher and his clique, who did all in their power to wreck them. General von Hammerstein, Schleicher's most trusted colleague and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, was even stupid enough to have the impertinence to ring me up and tell me that "under no circumstances would the Wehrmacht sanction my acceptance of the Chancellorship!" If Herr Schleicher and his friends really imagined they could shake my determination with puerilities of this sort, they were grievously mistaken. My only reaction was to impress emphatically on Göring to accept as Minister of the Reichswehr only a General who enjoyed my confidence, such as General von Blomberg, who had been recommended to me by my friends in East Prussia.

On 28th January the Weimar Republic finally collapsed.

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Schleicher resigned, and von Papen was instructed to sound the various parties with a view to the formation of a new Government. For my own part, I at once declared that any half measures were now acceptable to me. The 29th, naturally, was buzzing with conferences, in the course of which I succeeded in obtaining Hugenberg's agreement to the dissolution of the Reichstag in return for the promise to give him the number of seats in the new Government which he had originally demanded for his Party, convincing him that with the Reichstag in its present form, it would be impossible to achieve anything.

The next afternoon Göring brought me the news that on the morrow the Old Gentleman proposed officially to invite me to accept the Chancellorship and the task of forming the Government.

Late in the afternoon, we were surprised by a completely insane action by Schleicher and his clique. According to information received from Lieut.-Colonel von Alvensleben, General von Hammerstein had put the Potsdam garrison on an alarm footing; the Old Gentleman was to be bundled off to East Prussia to prevent his interference, and the Wehrmacht was to be mobilised to stop by force the assumption of power by the NSDAP.

My immediate counter-action to this planned putsch was to send for the Commander of the Berlin SA, Graf Helldorf, and through him to alert the whole SA of Berlin. At the same time I instructed Major Wecke of the Police, whom I knew I could trust, to prepare for a sudden seizure of the Wilhelmstrasse, by six police battalions. Through Herr von Papen I informed the Old Gentleman of the Schleicher clique's intentions. Finally I instructed General von Blomberg (who had been selected as Reichswehr Minister elect) to proceed at once, on arrival in Berlin at 8 a.m. on 30th January, direct to the Old Gentleman to be sworn in, and thus to be in a position, as Commander-in-Chief of the Reichswehr, to suppress any possible attempts at a *coup d'état*.

By eleven o'clock on the morning of 30th January, I was able to inform the Old Gentleman that the new Cabinet had been formed, and that the majority in the Reichstag required by constitution to enable it to function had been acquired. Shortly afterwards I received at the hands of the Old Gentleman my appointment as Chancellor of the German Reich.

At the beginning my task as the head of this Cabinet was the reverse of simple. With the exception of Frick, I had initially not one single National-Socialist member of the Cabinet. It is true that some of the others, like Blomberg and

Neurath, had promised me their support, but the remainder were quite determined to go their own way. Gereke, the Commissioner for Labour, who a little later was arrested and found guilty of embezzlement, was from the beginning my most persistent opponent. I was therefore very pleased when Seldte came and declared that the die was cast, and that in future his party would do nothing that might hinder my efforts.

Apart from the difficulties inherent in the formation of a Government, I very quickly realised that the Old Gentleman had called upon me to accept the Chancellorship only because he could see no other constitutional way out of the political *impasse*. This was obvious from the number of conditions he imposed. He informed me, for instance, that all questions connected with the Reichswehr, the Foreign Office and overseas appointments remained in his hands. He further decided that von Papen must be present whenever he received me officially; and it was only after much hesitation and the intervention of Meissner, that the Old Gentleman was pleased to sign the order for the dissolution of the Reichstag, which I had managed to rattle through during the session of 31st January.

Within a week or so, however, my relations with Hindenburg began to improve. One day, when he wanted to see me about something or other, I invited his attention to the custom he himself had established—namely, that I could not visit him except in the company of von Papen—and pointed out that the latter was at the moment away from Berlin. The Old Gentleman replied that he wished to see me alone, and that in future the presence of von Papen could be regarded as unnecessary. Within three weeks we had progressed so far that his attitude towards me became affectionate and paternal. Talking of the elections fixed for the 3rd March, he said, "What are we going to do if you fail to get a majority? We shall have the same difficulties all over again." When later the first results of the elections began to come in, our relations had attained such a degree of frank cordiality, that the Old Gentleman exclaimed in a voice charged with real satisfaction: "Hitler wins!" And when the overwhelming victory of the National Socialists was confirmed, he told me straight out that he had always been averse to the parliamentary game and was delighted that the comedy of elections was now done with, once and for all.

That the Old Gentleman, in spite of his advanced age, still remained a great man was well demonstrated by the way he handled a situation arising out of a report on the disarmament negotiations from Ambassador Nadolni. Nadolni

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proposed to acquiesce in a proposal that Germany should at once proceed with her disarmament, and that that of the remaining Powers should follow—in a few years' time. After I had rejected this proposal out of hand and had informed the Old Gentleman of my action, Nadolni, without consulting me, begged audience of Hindenburg. The Old Gentleman flung him out and told me afterwards that he had not been in the least taken in by Nadolni's arguments, but had indeed dismissed him with a brusque: "You're pro-Moscow! Very well—you'd better get out of here!" (*Scheren Sie sich dahin!*)

This incident is a typical example of the way in which the Old Gentleman reduced every problem to its simplest denominator. He had completely succeeded in unravelling the tangled intrigues woven against us at Geneva—which were tantamount simply to our binding ourselves to obligations which the others had not the slightest intention of honouring. In the same direct manner, within a few minutes of MacDonald's handing to Germany the demands made of her in the League of Nations, he sanctioned the release to the world's press by Funk, the Reich Press Chief, of the news that Germany was withdrawing from the League. When the German people with a huge 95 per cent majority expressed approval of the decision and, incidentally, of my policy, the Old Gentleman was delighted.

The Old Gentleman was wonderful, too, in his appreciation of the situation as regards the re-occupation of the demilitarised zone of the Rhineland, and carried his point by sheer forceful personality. The various Ministers, on the contrary, had to be won over, one by one, to the idea of the entry of the Wehrmacht into this zone. Von Papen was even filled with anxiety, lest the French should take retaliatory measures of occupation. I myself, however, stuck to my opinion that the French could be allowed to occupy Mainz, provided that we recaptured our liberty of action and were in a position to do what we liked in the rest of the Reich, and were, first and foremost, in a position to re-arm. Subsequent events proved that I was right. It is true that, in order to set the minds of the people at rest, I went personally to the Rhineland. But the German people, by giving me a 99 per cent majority in the elections to the Reichstag on 29th March 1936, proved conclusively that they both understood and approved my policy.

It was by no means easy to convince the Old Gentleman, but once one had done so, he always gave his fullest support to whatever it might be. For instance, at first he would not hear of any anti-Semitic measures. But when, at a

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dinner at the Swedish Legation, at which both were present, the King of Sweden expressed certain criticisms of the German policy towards the Jews, the Old Gentleman refuted them, saying in his deep, sonorous, bass voice that this was a purely domestic German affair, with which the German Chancellor alone was competent to deal.

I had some difficulty, also, in persuading the Old Gentleman of the necessity of curtailing the liberty of the press. On this occasion I played a little trick on him and addressed him not as a civilian with "Mr. President," but as a soldier with "Field Marshal," and developed the argument that in the Army criticism from below was never permitted—only the reverse, for what would happen if the N.C.O. passed judgment on the orders of the captain, the captain on those of the general and so on? This the Old Gentleman admitted and without further ado approved of my policy, saying: "You are quite right, only superiors have the right to criticise!" And with these words the freedom of the press was doomed.

For the fact that the Old Gentleman so faithfully followed my lead and always did his utmost to understand my intentions, I am deeply grateful. To what extent he had to free himself from old ideas in the process is shown by his remarks on the appointment of Gauleiter Hildebrandt to the post of Reichsstatthalter. The Old Gentleman signed the appointment, growling as he did so: "The fellow was only a farm labourer. Isn't he content with having been made a member of the Reichstag and being given the opportunity of spending the rest of his life in peace and quiet there!"

Once I had won him over to my side, the Old Gentleman's solicitude towards me was truly touching. Again and again he said that he had a Chancellor who was sacrificing himself for his country, and that often he could not sleep at night for thinking of "his Chancellor flying from one part of the Reich to another in the service of the people." What an eternal shame it was, he added, that such a man must belong to one Party.

226. 22nd May 1942, midday

Recruiting spies—The need for barbarous methods
—Weaknesses of the judges—Habit encourages
crime.

Spies nowadays are recruited from two classes of society: the so-called upper classes and the proletariat. The middle classes are too serious-minded to indulge in such

* recall to Hindenburg thinking of how to move Hitler

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Dr. Goebbels said the Fuehrer's idea of making the State step in as a subsidiary purchaser was a solution after the manner of Columbus and the egg. When the Fuehrer asked how soon it would be possible to draw up adequate regulations, Bormann replied that the necessary steps had been taken and would come into force very soon, and that a system of price control appropriate to the situation had also been evolved. The Fuehrer continued:

It really is enough to make anyone angry, when one thinks that people are being deprived of essential food simply thanks to the pettiness of certain regulations—and that the food all the time is rotting in the store-rooms. I was furious, for example, when I heard that our soldiers were forbidden to purchase anything they liked in the French shops. The mighty intellects which conceived measures of this kind are obviously incapable of putting themselves in the place of the soldier who wants to send a little parcel home—a few pairs of stockings, a bit of chocolate, etc.—or to appreciate the tremendous joy such a parcel gives in the family. It required Göring's personal intervention to get this stupid rule cancelled.

As regards fruit and vegetables, Forster said he had authorised direct sale from producer to consumer, with the object of preventing the deterioration of perishable goods while passing through the hands of middle-men. Forster, thought, for example, that it was ridiculous to try to stop people with threats from buying asparagus and strawberries direct from the producer. These criticisms aimed at the inadequacy of the measures introduced by the Ministry of Food met with general agreement, and the Fuehrer declared that they were well-founded.

The gentlemen in the Ministry must be made to understand that this nonsense has got to stop. Such inept conceptions are simply the result of stubborn concentration on the conditions obtaining in North German big business. Surely they must see by this time that it is the manifold diversity of conditions existing in the field of food supply and distribution which themselves make it essential to restrict rules of universal application to an absolute minimum.

Dr. Goebbels expressed the fear that, from the Berlin point of view, the workmen might well be placed at a disadvantage by an unrestricted authorisation of direct purchase by consumer from producer. The effect might be that the

ways, after all, at liberty to dissociate themselves from the family black sheep.

In Japan the principle of corporate family responsibility is so deeply rooted, that every family exercising influence, whether in the Army or in the political field, considers it a duty, as a matter of course, to prevent any member from doing anything contrary to the national interest. If their efforts are not successful and they feel that the national reputation of the family has been smirched by the erring son, then all the male members commit hari-kiri, to clear the family honour.

It is this principle of corporate responsibility that must be applied in the case of the brothers of the traitor Starhemberg, for the family of Prince Starhemberg has for centuries been one of the most influential families in Austria, and should therefore have been fully aware of their duties towards the German community, even during the time of the Weimar Republic. But don't let us get angry about Starhemberg; let us rather rejoice over the fall of Sebastopol.

Freiherr von Liebig has always been regarded as an ardent nationalist, and it was as such that he was brought to my attention. When I met him, however, I was repelled by the fellow's undeniable Jewish appearance. I was nevertheless repeatedly assured that in the family tree of the Freiherr, which went very far back, there was no vestige of non-Aryan ancestry. And now, by pure chance, we have found out that one of the Freiherr's ancestors, born at Frankfurt-on-Main in 1616, was a pure, hundred per cent Jew! And so, although more than three hundred years separate the present Freiherr from his Jewish ancestor, and although with this one exception all his ancestors were pure Aryans, he nevertheless has all the unmistakable racial characteristics of the Jew.

This confirms the opinion I have already expressed when speaking about the Englishman, Cripps, that all half-caste families—even if they have but a minute quantity of Jewish blood in their veins—produce regularly, generation by generation, at least one pure Jew. Roosevelt affords the best possible proof of the truth of this opinion.

Roosevelt, who both in his handling of political issues and in his general attitude, behaves like a tortuous, pettifogging Jew, himself boasted recently that he had "noble" Jewish blood in his veins. The completely negroid appearance of his wife is also a clear indication that she, too, is a half-caste.

Such examples should open the eyes of all reasonable people and be a warning of the menace that half-castes can

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with our rearmament programme, I had to reckon with the certainty of countermeasures from the West. The current rumours of differences between the SS and the Reichswehr were, in this rather ticklish situation, of the greatest assistance to me. The French Ambassador, François-Poncet, greedily gobbled up all these rumours, and the more we fed him, the more emphatically did he report to Paris that any military intervention by France would be quite unnecessary, as the tension between SS and Reichswehr would undoubtedly develop in its own time into a life-and-death struggle.

In the same way, the Röhm putsch was portrayed in François-Poncet's reports as an internecine breaking of German heads in the hallowed manner of the Middle Ages, which would leave France at liberty to pull the chestnuts out of the fire as she wished. The Röhm putsch was thus of the greatest assistance to us in postponing the taking of any military measures by either France or Britain, long enough for the progress of our rearmament to make any intervention by these Powers impossible.

245. 2nd July 1942, at dinner

The Tyrolese in the Crimea—The struggle between State and Church—Joan of Arc, witch—Patriotism and dynastic interests.

I have just read a report by Gauleiter Frauenfeld on the South Tyrol. In it he proposes that the South Tyrolese should be transplanted *en masse* to the Crimea, and I think the idea is an excellent one. There are few places on earth in which a race can better succeed in maintaining its integrity for centuries on end than the Crimea. The Tartars and the Goths are the living proof of it. I think, too, that the Crimea will be both climatically and geographically ideal for the South Tyrolese, and in comparison with present settlements it will be a real land of milk and honey.

Their transfer to the Crimea presents neither physical nor psychological difficulty. All they have to do is to sail down just one German waterway, the Danube, and there they are.

The Fuehrer next addressed Bormann on the subject of some books which the latter had given him to read. The Fuehrer said:

The passages you have marked interest me very much indeed. It would really be most valuable if these books could

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any particular Concordat, the settlement of Church affairs in these territories is a matter to be settled exclusively between the relevant State representative—that is, the Reichsstatthalter—and the head of the local ecclesiastical body.

I should, of course, have preferred Minister Lammers to impart this information to the Papal Nuncio. Unfortunately the Wilhelmstrasse, with its usual greed for fields of fresh authority, has allowed itself to be imposed upon by the Papal Legate. Well, I shall be interested to see how these gentleman get themselves out of the tangle!

Regulations framed to cover the whole Reich cannot but make more difficult the clarification of relations between State and Church, at which we are aiming; for the Catholic Church strives always to seek advantage where we are weakest by demanding the application to the whole Reich of those of the various Concordats which conform most closely to its aspirations.

Therefore, as regards future relations between State and Church, it is very satisfactory from our point of view that in nearly half the Reich negotiations can now be conducted by the appropriate Reichsstatthalter, unfettered by the clauses of the central Concordat. For this means that in each district the Gauleiter can, according to the degree of emancipation acquired by the population of his Gau, lead the people forward step by step in the sense that we desire.

[Note by translator. The diatribe which occupies the next few paragraphs is couched in most bitter and often vulgar terms. Throughout Hitler uses the opprobrious term "Pfaffe" (in one case "Pfaffengeschmeiss"), of which there is no direct English equivalent. The translator has tried to reproduce the atmosphere of the passage.]

Although, in general, I hold no brief for the Americans, I must in this respect take off my hat to them. The American statesmen, by subjecting the Church to the same regulations governing all other associations and institutions, have limited its field of activity to reasonable proportions; and, as the State does not contribute from State Funds one single cent to the Church, the whole clergy cringes and sings hymns in praise of the Government. This is not to be wondered at! The parson, like everyone else, has got to live; what he makes out of the public offertory doesn't amount to much, and so he is more or less dependent on State charity. As he has no legal claim whatever on the State, he therefore takes very good care that his demeanor is always pleasing in the eyes of the State and therefore deserving of the crumbs it cares to toss to him.

Once we cease handing out millions of marks a year to the Church, our damn parsons will very quickly change their

tune and, instead of having the impudence to revile us and attack us in the most shameful manner, will very soon be eating out of our hands. We can make this clerical gang go the way we want, quite easily—and at far less cost than at present.

Contributions should be made to selected individual parsons. If we give some Bishop—for himself and his subordinates—a round million, he will pocket the first three hundred thousand for his own use—otherwise he's no true parson! The distribution of the meagre rest among the parsons of his whole diocese will cause a pretty little uproar among the whole brood—and leave us laughing like hell!

In one respect, however, we must remain absolutely obdurate. Any petitions for State intervention must be rejected out of hand. Justification for such rejection is obvious. On its own showing the Church knows full well that no profane spirits could possibly succeed in mediating in Church affairs, as well as the clergy itself. How can you expect some wretched little Government jack-in-office like myself, to whom the light has not been vouchsafed, to tackle so vital and intricate a problem!

Agreement as to distribution of funds must, as in other agreements, be left in the hands of the Reichsstatthalter. I don't think we need fear that they will enter upon any commitments which are directed against either the State or its interests. For one thing, the Gauleiters are under firm control, and for another, most of the Reichsstatthalters are much stricter in these affairs than I am.

Once the war is over we will put a swift end to the Concordat. It will give me the greatest personal pleasure to point out to the Church all those occasions on which it has broken the terms of it. One need only recall the close co-operation between the Church and the murderers of Heydrich. Catholic priests not only allowed them to hide in a church on the outskirts of Prague, but even allowed them to entrench themselves in the sanctuary of the altar.

The development of relations between State and Church affords a very instructive example of how the carelessness of a single statesman can have after-effects which last for centuries. When Charlemagne was kneeling at prayer in St. Peter's, Rome, at Christmas in the year 800, the Pope, giving him no time to work out the possible effects of so symbolic an action, suddenly bent down and presto! popped a golden crown on his head! By permitting it, the Emperor delivered himself and his successors into the hands of a power which subjected the German Government and the German people to five hundred years of martyrdom.

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ships—Stronger collaboration from Czechoslovakia
—Those who are not for me are against me.

I think it is very astonishing that men like Ulrich von Hutten and Goetz von Berlichingen should have been so far in advance of their times and so progressive in their ideas, and it is a great pity that they had behind them in their struggle no strong and concrete doctrine, which would have given them the necessary moral *elan* and perseverance. Their completely German outlook nevertheless entitles them to a high place in the esteem of the German people. I have for this reason suggested that battleships or other large warships at present under construction should be named after them.

I rejected the suggestion that a battleship should be named after myself, because if such a ship has had bad luck, the superstitious would regard it as an unfavorable omen for my own activities. Imagine a battleship named after me having to spend six months in dry dock for repairs! Look, for example, at the very harmful effect the announcement of the destruction of Fort Stalin at Sebastopol had on Russian morale.

In a State which is founded on a concrete political philosophy, prudence must be exercised in the naming of warships. *October Revolution*, *Marat*, the *Commune of Paris* in the Soviet Navy is an example of what I mean. I have therefore ordered that the battle cruiser *Deutschland* should be re-named, for the loss of a ship of that name would cause greater consternation than the loss of any other ship. For the same reason I will not allow the names of anyone associated with the National Socialist movement or philosophy to be used for any warships. After a man like Goetz von Berlichingen, on the other hand, you can name as many ships as you like; for such is his popularity among the people, that even if any number of ships bearing his name were successively sunk, the christening of a new one with the same name will always be greeted with applause.

The Fuehrer stated that, according to a telegram received, the Government of Bohemia and Moravia had organised a gigantic rally of the Czech people, at which an appeal for complete co-operation with the Greater German Reich was made, and that the appeal had gone on to say that those who in the future held themselves aloof from such co-operation would be branded as traitors to the Czech people. The Fuehrer's remarks on the subject were:

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must not be impeded by the interests of industry. When once we are convinced that slime from the sea-bed is, on account of higher nitrogen content, a better fertiliser than any artificial manure, we must transport whole trainloads of it, in spite of the protests of our chemical industry.

As most people are egotists at heart, any efficient functioning of a national economy is not possible without State direction and control. The Venetian Republic affords an excellent example of how successful a State directed economy can be. For five hundred years the price of bread in Venice never varied, and it was left to the Jews with their predatory motto of Free Trade to wreck this stability.

The opinion was expressed that the strong pro-monarchist tendencies which had recently been manifest in Spain could perhaps be attributable to the ambition of Franco to obtain, in the event of the restoration of the monarchy, a minor coronet for himself. The Fuehrer disagreed.

I disagree entirely. Franco has, I think, sufficient intelligence to realise that any king—if he stopped at that—would at least dismiss him and his followers on the spot, tarnished as they are with the responsibility for the civil war. Nobody is so monumentally stupid as a king; that I know from my own personal experience. About a year after the victory of our Party, one of our former potentates, Rupprecht of Bavaria, sent an emissary to me to say that he was sure I would recognize the necessity of restoring the monarchy. The emissary, following his instructions, went on to say quite frankly that I could not, of course, remain as Reich Chancellor in the restored monarchy, because my continued presence would be an obstacle to the unification of the German people. I should, however, be most generously treated and should be rewarded—with a dukedom!

This fellow was so damn stupid that he could not even see that it was just he himself and his fellow Princes who had always been the cause of the disintegration of the German people throughout history, and that never has there been a stronger and more integrated unity of the German races than that which we have achieved under my leadership.

And the idiot imagined that some confounded nincompoop could tempt me to give up the leadership of this great people—by making me a Duke!

251. 5th July 1942, evening

Falsification of war communiqués—Switzerland be-

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pares with the British—But Nationalist Socialist
Germany will beat them in the end—Britain in
the hands of the Jews—Conservation of our racial
integrity—Farcical success of Saint Paul.*

*Commenting on a completely false Soviet war commu-
nique which had been published in the Swedish and Swiss
Press as well as in that of Britain and America, the
Fuehrer said:*

These communiqués are typical Jewish fabrications. Al-
though they do not even give names of places, they are
nevertheless published by news agencies all the world over;
and the explanation is, of course, that these agencies them-
selves are for the most part in the hands of Jews.

Unfortunately, this Jewish twaddle is being accepted with-
out question not only in Britain and America, but also in
Sweden and Switzerland. The reason why the Jews and their
fabrications find such credence becomes apparent if you
take a look at a country like Switzerland. In that country,
Tom has milk interests, Dick follows the prices of the grain
market, and Harry exports watches. In these circumstances,
even old Wilhelm Tell himself could not maintain the mili-
tary spirit at any high level. As a result, military knowl-
edge has been so discounted, that any Swiss officer who
shows a true appreciation of the facts of this war is im-
mediately relieved of his command.

In Germany, one of the primary services rendered by
the NSDAP is its success in restoring to the people the
emphatic conviction that perpetual military training of the
rising generations must always continue.

If this spirit is to be maintained, it is essential that those
who have distinguished themselves either by great successes
in the field or as men of very wide experience in war
should be made available as models and instructors for the
rising generation. The Reserve of Officers must be carefully
nursed, for in the military training of the individual the Re-
serve Officers, the living incarnations of the martial spirit
of our race, have an incomparable military duty towards
the whole people. Apart from this, the schools and other
centres of instruction must in all circumstances foster that
interest—an interest, by the way, which remained active
even during the Weimar Republic—which Germans have
always shown in the connection between science and the
military art.

I have always been an ardent disciple of the belief that,

in a struggle between peoples, the people with the higher average morale must always emerge victorious. In my opinion, that an inferior people should triumph over a strong is a negation of the laws of nature.

The British maintained their position of world domination for three hundred years solely because there was during that period nothing on the Continent comparable in race or intelligence to oppose them. Napoleon himself was no real menace to them, because, in the frenzy of the French Revolution, he had no solid basis on which to found a new order in Europe; and apart from him, there has never been in Europe, since the disintegration of the old German Empire, any State which, in either quantity or quality, could compare with the British.

Thanks to the development of National Socialist Germany, I firmly believe, if only on purely biological grounds, we shall succeed in surpassing the British to such an extent that, with one hundred and fifty to two hundred million Germans, we shall become the undisputed masters of the whole of Europe. A recrudescence of the problem of Rome or Carthage in the new guise of Germany or Great Britain is not, in my opinion, possible. For the result of this war will be that, whereas in Britain each additional million of population will be an additional burden on the island itself, the increasing growth of our own races will have open to them horizons of political and ethnological expansion which are limitless.

Further, any alleviation of the overcrowding of towns by a movement back to the land is not possible in Britain, for this would necessitate an immediate revolution of the whole social system of the Kingdom, which, in its turn, would lead to the disintegration of the rest of the Empire.

These very important facts have been largely overlooked in Britain because the country is ruled not by men of intelligence but by Jews, as one must realise when one sees how the intrigues of the Jews in Palestine are accepted in Britain without comment or demur.

One of our most important tasks will be to save future generations from a similar political fate and to maintain for ever watchful in them a knowledge of the menace of Jewry. For this reason alone it is vital that the Passion Play be continued at Oberammergau; for never has the menace of Jewry been so convincingly portrayed as in this presentation of what happened in the times of the Romans. There one sees in Pontius Pilate a Roman racially and intellectually so superior, that he stands out like a firm, clean rock in the middle of the whole muck and mire of Jewry.

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The preservation of our racial purity can be assured only by an awareness of the racial issues involved; our laws, therefore, must be framed with the sole object of protecting our people not only against Jewish, but also against any and every racial infection.

We must do all we can to foster this racial awareness until it attains the same standard as obtained in Rome in the days of her glory. In those days the Roman protected himself subconsciously against any racial adulteration. The same thing occurred in Greece at the height of her power; according to reports handed down to us, the very market-place itself in Athens shook with laughter when St. Paul spoke there in favour of the Jews. If nowadays we do not find the same splendid pride of race which distinguished the Grecian and Roman eras, it is because in the fourth century these Jewish-Christians systematically destroyed all the monuments of these ancient civilisations. It was they, too, who destroyed the library at Alexandria.

252. 6th July 1942, at dinner

Relations with the foreign press—Miserly outlook of our Press Chief—The Nuremberg Rally—Four thousand special trains.

When I visited Berlin before we came into power, I used to stay at the Kaiserhof; and as I was always accompanied by a complete General Staff, I generally had to book a whole floor, and our bill for food and lodging usually came to about ten thousand marks a week. I earned enough to defray these costs mostly by means of interviews and articles for the foreign press. Towards the end of the struggle period I was being paid as much as two or three thousand dollars a time for such work.

In placing these articles and arranging interviews I often had rows with my Foreign Press Chief, Hanfstaengl, because, as a business man rather than a politician, he judged everything in terms of cash received. Once, for example, when I told him to get a certain article published in the whole world press just as quickly as it could possibly be done, he lost a lot of valuable time haggling over the best terms obtainable.

On one occasion he came back at me three times in an attempt to gain my consent to the sale of an article to some news agency, finally hoping to persuade me by dangling an offer of a thousand pounds sterling before my eyes. When I turned on him in fury and shouted: "Get to hell

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respects a valuable preparation for war. Each Rally requires the organisation of no fewer than four thousand special trains. As these trains stretched as far as Munich and Halle, the railway authorities were given first-class practice in the military problem of handling mass troop transportation. Nor will the Rally lose its significance in the future. Indeed, I have given orders that the venue of the Rally is to be enlarged to accommodate a minimum of two million for the future—as compared to the million to a million and a half to-day. The German Stadium which has been constructed at Nuremberg, and of which Horth has drawn two magnificent pictures, accommodates four hundred thousand people and is on a scale which has no comparison anywhere on earth.

253. 7th July 1942, midday

Our dreamy archaeologists—Deforestation is the precursor of decadence—The antiquity of our towns.

People make a tremendous fuss about the excavations carried out in districts inhabited by our forebears of the pre-Christian era. I am afraid I cannot share their enthusiasm, for I cannot help remembering that, while our ancestors were making these vessels of stone and clay, over which our archaeologists rave, the Greeks had already built an Acropolis.

One must be cautious also with any detailed assertions as regards the standard of culture attained by our ancestors during the first Christian millennium. If, for example, some most ancient school primer is discovered in East Prussia, one must not immediately leap to the conclusion that it originated there. In all probability it had come from the south in exchange for a piece of amber.

The real protagonists of culture, both in the thousand years before Christ and in the thousand years after Him, were the peoples of the Mediterranean. This may appear improbable to us to-day, because we are apt to judge these people from present-day appearances. But that is a great mistake.

North Africa was once a heavily wooded territory, and Greece, Italy and Spain, too, at the time of the Græco-Roman era also had many vast forests. In passing judgment on Egyptian history, too, let me advise caution. Like Greece and Italy, Egypt also during the period of her glory was a most habitable country with a most equable climate. So when a people begin to cut down their trees without making any

provision for re-afforestation—and thus rob nature's wise irrigation system of its most essential pre-requisite—you may be sure that it is a sign of the beginning of their cultural degeneration.

The many false ideas prevalent among our people as regards the cultural development of our ancestors have been encouraged to no small degree by false premises about the age of our cities. I was myself taken aback, for instance, when I found that Nuremberg itself was but seven centuries old. Nuremberg's reputed antiquity is attributable in some measure to the slyness of the Nurembergers themselves. The Oberbürgermeister Liebel—as he himself confessed to me—allowed the seven hundredth anniversary to pass unheralded, because he did not wish the attention of people, who believed the city to be much older, drawn to the truth of the matter.

It has, however, been reasonably firmly established that the origin of Nuremberg was an old Salic castle, round which, little by little, a village grew. Most medieval cities were founded in the same way; hence the large number of towns created during the Middle Ages in Eastern Germany. These fortress castles were of great importance for the protection of the peasantry. Without them, the country folk would never have been able to maintain themselves against the oriental hordes, which even at that time ceaselessly pressed against our frontiers, and sometimes even over-ran our territories. In Transylvania, where these fortresses were not so numerous, fortifications had to be constructed against, among others, the Turks, and this explains why one frequently finds that even the churches are designed to resist attack.

254. 7th July 1942, at dinner

The changing Spanish scene—Serrano Suñer and the Church—Where Franco's policy differs from National Socialism or Fascism—Spanish Reds are not Russia's vassals—A nincompoop not a hero—The intervention of Heaven in war—and of the skies—a different thing—The first Falange—General Muñoz Grande, a fine soldier—Anti-social elements, female Communists.

General Jodl told the Fuehrer of an incident which had occurred at the Spanish frontier on the occasion of the return home of some wounded of the Blue Division. These men were refused places in the South Express, and when

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pleased indeed that the intrigues of the Serrano Suñer clique to get this General dismissed from the command of the Blue Division were frustrated at the last moment; for the Blue Division may well once more play a decisive rôle, when the hour for the overthrow of this parson-ridden régime strikes.

In a report on the disorders in Serbia, it was stated that over 95 per cent of the insurgents taken prisoner were criminals. The Fuehrer said:

I am not in the least surprised to hear it, for it only confirms my own ideas about revolutionaries, based on the experience of 1918-19.

If you wish to prevent a revolution by anticipation, the first thing you must do, as soon as the situation becomes critical, is to kill off the whole anti-social rabble; and you can do this only if you have already gathered them safely together in a concentration camp.

The theory that by thus putting them in prison you deprive this anti-social rabble of the benefits of the influence of family life is pure clap-trap. If you allow them the blessings of family life, all you are doing it to build the foundation cells for a further brood of criminals. Children who grow up in the company of subversive-minded parents themselves becomes rogues, for their mothers are invariably of the same pernicious ilk as their rogue fathers.

Our period of struggle gave me valuable experience of this. At the SS rallies it was the females of the Communist species who were the most despicable. These hags would pelt our men with everything they could lay their hands on, and when our men started to defend themselves, they would hold up their own children, regardless of the danger, as shields to protect themselves. What better proof than that can you have of their complete disregard for the safety and welfare of their children, in which they show themselves to be the complete antithesis of the normal parent and faithful adherents to their own criminal, anti-social instincts?

255. 8th July 1942, midday

Destruction of a British convoy bound for Archangel.

To my great delight, our aircraft and submarines have already succeeded in sinking no less than thirty-two ships out of a British convoy of thirty-eight on its way to Archangel.

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for that would jeopardize the whole object of the interview. I shall, on the contrary, emphasise that German military precision and thoroughness ensure that we are prepared for any and every eventuality—including that of a Second Front.

In accordance with Dr. Dietrich's recommendation, I have agreed that this interview should be granted to some foreign journalist who has already shown appreciation of the German press and its work. Whether he be the representative of a country great or small, neutral or friendly, is of no consequence, for—as the Reich Press Chief rightly says—this interview will certainly be reproduced in the whole world press.

I could, of course, give my opinions on the Second Front in a public speech; but to make a speech without having a specific reason for it is always a bad practice. The intelligent man will swiftly see through the ruse and recognise the real object behind it; and if this object is too blatantly apparent, the desired effect will be completely ruined.

On the other hand, if the question of the Second Front is introduced obliquely in the course of an interview of the Eastern theatre of operations, I can, I am sure, convey exactly the impression I desire in a few incidental sentences.

263. 19th July 1942, midday

Naval warfare—The advantage of little ships— Sea and superstition.

When a battleship is sunk, the loss of life may be as high as two thousand souls. But if we could construct a mass of tiny craft, each fitted with a torpedo tube and manned by a single man, the losses we should suffer would be fractional in comparison, and the successes, from the combat point of view, might well be considerably greater.

Many years ago, I once asked Graf Luckner why he always used comparatively small craft for his world sailing tours? Luckner gave me the significant answer that, when anything goes wrong on a big ship, people save themselves by getting into little boats—one might therefore just as well start off at once in the latter and have done with it!

Luckner, of course, was a marvellous spinner of yarns, and I could listen to him for hours on end. One day some one or other explained to me that certain of Luckner's statements were nonsense—and I was as angry with my informant as a child who has been deprived of his Christmas tree!

The Fuehrer then asked Admiral Krancke if he could explain the origin of the terms "a seaman's yarn" and "spinning a yarn"? The Admiral replied that in the old days on long voyages the sailors, bored with the same food and the eternal sea and having but few books to read, passed their spare hours telling each other stories, which grew taller and taller, and at the same time fashioning yarns for fishing and so on—hence the expression. The Fuehrer continued:

I once had an ex-sailor as a servant. At all hours of the day and night the fellow used to try to spin me yarns which any fool could see were nonsense. In the end I had to tell him that I was quite as good a liar as he was, and that he must not tempt me to try to go one better! As even that did not stop him, we were forced to part company.

A thing which always strikes me about sailors' tales is the great part that superstition plays in them. Sailors, apparently, are like actors in this respect. In the lives of both there occur unexpected events which they cannot possibly foresee and with which they cannot cope. The sailor never knows when a storm or even a hurricane will descend on him, and the actor cannot tell whether the audience will receive him with applause or with derisory whistling; and so they are both extremely superstitious.

Superstition, I think, is a factor one must take into consideration when assessing human conduct, even though one may rise superior to it oneself and laugh at it. It was for this reason, to give you a concrete example, that I once advised the Duce not to initiate a certain action on the thirteenth of the month. For the same reason I think it is a bad thing to let a ship sail on a Friday, because all old salts know that a Friday sailing is unlucky. Such things are the imponderables of life, which one cannot afford to neglect, for those who believe in them are quite capable, at a moment of crisis, of causing the greatest consternation.

Just when the difficulties of the eastern winter campaign in the East had reached their height, some imbecile pointed out that Napoleon, like ourselves, had started his Russian campaign on 22nd June. Thank God, I was able to counter that drive with the authoritative statement of historians of repute that Napoleon's campaign did not, in fact, begin until 23rd June!

The horoscope, in which the Anglo-Saxons in particular have great faith, is another swindle whose significance must not be under-estimated. Just think of the trouble given to the British General Staff by the publication by a well-known

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astrologer of a horoscope foretelling final victory in this war for Germany! All the newspapers in Britain had to dig out all the false prophecies previously published by this eminent quack and reprint them, before public anxiety could be pacified!

In judging any question connected with superstition, it must be remembered that, although an oracle's prophecies may be wrong a hundred times (when they are promptly forgotten), it suffices for one prophecy to be fortuitously confirmed by subsequent events, for it to be believed, cherished and handed down from generation to generation.

264. 21st July 1942, at dinner

Society in France—A ruling class which retains its powers.

It is characteristic of the French that every well-to-do citizen be he business man, officer, famous artist or prominent politician—always buys himself, generally in the village or district of his origin, a little house with a neat garden. The result is that in almost every French village you find among the mass of nondescript cottages one or more handsome villas, belonging to an advocate, a painter, a cotton-spinner or the like.

The French upper classes usually spend two or three months in the country and thus acquire an affection for the land, the political importance of which must not be overlooked. Gradually they get to know each individual villager and thus very quickly become associated with all the joys and sorrows, great and small, of the simplest, and at the same time most solid, class of the population.

There is, in State affairs, no finer way of binding the upper classes to the interests of the country.

265. 22nd July 1942, midday

King of England and Duke of Normandy—The Channel Islands and the Frisian Isles—Those who work and those who reap.

The inhabitants of the Channel Islands which we occupy consider themselves as members of the British Empire rather than as subjects of the King, whom they still regard, not as King, but as the Duke of Normandy. If our occupation troops play their cards properly, we shall have no difficulties there.

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 astrologer of a horoscope foretelling final victory in this war for Germany! All the newspapers in Britain had to dig out all the false prophecies previously published by this eminent quack and reprint them, before public anxiety could be pacified!

In judging any question connected with superstition, it must be remembered that, although an oracle's prophecies may be wrong a hundred times (when they are promptly forgotten), it suffices for one prophecy to be fortuitously confirmed by subsequent events, for it to be believed, cherished and handed down from generation to generation.

264. 21st July 1942, at dinner

Society in France—A ruling class which retains its powers.

It is characteristic of the French that every well-to-do citizen—be he business man, officer, famous artist or prominent politician—always buys himself, generally in the village or district of his origin, a little house with a neat garden. The result is that in almost every French village you find among the mass of nondescript cottages one or more handsome villas, belonging to an advocate, a painter, a cotton-spinner or the like.

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our soldiers with the slogan of the German Communist Party: "No more War!" For at the same time as they were trying by Communist Party terrorism, by strikes, by their press, and by every other means at their disposal to ensure the triumph of pacifism in our country, the Russians were building up an enormous army. Disregarding the namby-pamby utterances about humanitarianism which they spread so assiduously in Germany, in their own country they drove their workers to an astonishing degree, and the Soviet worker was taught by means of the Stakhanov system to work both harder and longer than his counterpart in either Germany or the capitalist States. The more we see of conditions in Russia, the more thankful we must be that we struck in time. In another ten years there would have sprung up in Russia a mass of industrial centres, inaccessible to attack, which would have produced armaments on an inexhaustible scale, while the rest of Europe would have degenerated into a defenceless plaything of Soviet policy.

It is very stupid to sneer at the Stakhanov system. The arms and equipment of the Russian armies are the best proof of its efficiency in the handling of industrial manpower. Stalin, too, must command our unconditional respect. In his own way he is a hell of a fellow! He knows his models, Genghiz Khan and the others, very well, and the scope of his industrial planning is exceeded only by our own Four Year Plan. And there is no doubt that he is quite determined that there shall be in Russia no unemployment such as one finds in such capitalist States as the United States of America...

Bormann, who has just returned from a tour of inspection of the Kolkhoz in the vicinity of General Headquarters, gave his impressions:

"When one looks at the children, it is difficult to realise that sooner or later they, too, will acquire the flat, Slav faces of their parents. Like the inhabitants of the Baltic States, they are fair, with blue eyes, bonny and chubby-faced. In comparison, our children look like tottering little chicks. It really is curious to think that these children will become Ukrainian adults, with their vulgar, inexpressive faces. I was much struck by the fact that in these huge open spaces one saw so many children and so few men. Such prolific breeding may one day give us a knotty problem to solve; for as a race they are much harder by nature than we are. The men have admirable teeth, and rarely does one see a man wearing glasses. They are well fed and bursting with good health at all ages. The difficult conditions under which

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 these men have lived for centuries have brought into being a merciless process of selection. If one of us drinks a drop of their water, he all but dies. They on the other hand live in the dirt, drink the muddy stagnant water of their ponds and thrive on it. We fill ourselves with quinine as a safeguard against malaria, while the Ukrainians are so immune, not only to malaria but to scarlet fever—as well, that they can live with impunity in surroundings teeming with fleas and ticks.

"If these people are allowed, under German supervision—that is, under greatly improved conditions—to multiply too quickly, it will be against our interests, for the racial pressures which these damned Ukrainians will exercise will constitute a real danger. Our interests demand just the reverse—namely, that these territories, hitherto Russian, should in time be populated by a larger number of German colonists than local inhabitants." Hitler commented:

I recently read an article from the pen of some Herr Doktor advocating the prohibition of the sale in the occupied territories of contraceptives. If any criminal lunatic should really try to introduce this measure I'd soon have his head off! In view of the extraordinary fertility of the local inhabitants, we should be only too pleased to encourage the women and girls to practise the arts of contraception at all times. Far from prohibiting the sale of contraceptives, therefore, we should do our utmost to encourage it. We should call on the Jews for help! With their unrivalled sense of commerce, they are the very people for the job!

In all seriousness, however, there is a very real danger that these local inhabitants will increase too rapidly under our care and domination. Their conditions of life will inevitably improve under our jurisdiction, and we must take all the measures necessary to ensure that the non-German population does not increase at an excessive rate. In these circumstances, it would be sheer folly to place at their disposal a health service such as we know it in Germany; and so—no inoculations and other preventative measures for the natives! We must even try to stifle any desire for such things, by persuading them that vaccination and the like are really most dangerous!

It is, furthermore, essential to avoid doing anything which might give rise to a feeling of superiority or of racial pride among the natives. This is of the utmost importance, for it is only by the creation of the very reverse state of mind that we shall be able to prepare the ground for the accomplishment of our plans.

7/26/45

lay between the Berghof and a property at Steingaden. Fortunately, I chose the Berghof. If I had taken the Steingaden place, I should have been compelled to become a producer of the famous Steingaden cheese, in order to keep the place up. Suppose, then, that for some reason or other the price of cheese went up. Everybody would immediately say: Of course! The Fuehrer is himself personally interested in the price of cheese.

This viewpoint of the Fuehrer was supported by Field Marshal Kettel, who told the following story. The former Food Minister, Hugenberg, had energetically encouraged the campaign undertaken by the State to promote the consumption of milk. When his own trucks, carrying milk from his own properties, passed through the streets, plastered with posters of the official campaign, everybody said that the real object of the exercise was to bolster the sales of the Minister's milk business! The Fuehrer continues:

When an official retires from State service, he should not be allowed to enter a line of business with which he previously had official dealings. For one may be quite sure that any firm would gladly employ him—not on account of the services he could render, but for the connections which he undoubtedly would have. If this were not so, then directors would not earn fees amounting to thirty-six thousand marks a year—and more. Further, it is a scandal that men of this kind should usurp the positions to which others have a prior claim, namely, those who have passed their whole lives in the service of an enterprise and have risen, step by step, to the top. This one characteristic is alone sufficient to demonstrate the immorality of the whole system. Big business is as hot on the trail of such connections as the Devil after the soul of a Jew.

If once one permits a Gauleiter to become a shareholder or a director in some industrial undertaking, one will not be able to prevent the Kreisleiter, the Mayor and other junior officials from doing the same; and that would spell the beginning of corruption.

For all these reasons, we must see to it that any State official who has invested all his money in shares should forthwith invest it in State loans instead. This—as the Field Marshal rightly remarks—was the practice in the old Army; in the old Imperial Army, an officer was not allowed to invest either his own fortune or the dowry of his wife in a private industrial concern, but was expected to subscribe to State loans recommended and guaranteed by the State. This was a good

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Foreign Affairs? They surely will stake a claim on the grounds that some of these nomads might, one fine day, wish to go beyond even the far-flung frontiers of the German Reich of the future!

272. 28th July 1942, midday

The transport of grain.

The question under discussion was whether a hundred thousand tons of grain captured at Morosovskaya should be transferred to Germany. It represented two million sacks, or forty million seven-pound loaves. The Fuehrer gave his opinion as follows:

A hundred thousand tons! That rings a bell in my memory. It was exactly the amount that I had to find, fighting like a lion, so that the Swabians should not be deprived of their beloved Spätzle.¹ I do not believe in the theory that all foodstuffs must be distributed equally throughout the Reich. Common sense dictates that the Swabians should have their Spätzle and Munich should get its beer, Vienna a little more coffee and white bread, and for the Berliners an extra ration of *charcuterie*! For there is no doubt about it, the morale of the people is dependent to quite a considerable degree on a sympathetic understanding of, and catering for, the little things that make life more pleasant for them.

This grain from Morosovskaya should, I think, be sent to Germany and distributed among the workers in heavy industry.

273. 29th July 1942, midday

Men and machines.

During the first war we had to wait until 1918 before the Army consented to release forty thousand workmen needed urgently for the construction of submarines. In 1917 the military authorities refused to make available the men required for the manufacture of tanks. In this the High Command committed a fatal error, sacrificing a potentially tremendous improvement in war technique in order to avoid a decrease in their available man-power. For the decisive factor in any war is the possession of the technically superior weapons.

Our main preoccupation to-day must be to maintain

¹ *Spätzle*—a sort of dumpling greatly liked by the Swabians.

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plained with precision, and if she advances with the times, the ground must inevitably be cut from under her feet. For this reason she is opposed to all progress. It adds little to our knowledge of the Creator when some parson presents to us an indifferent copy of a man as his conception of the Deity. In this respect, at least, the Mohammedan is more enlightened, when he says: to form a conception of Allah is not vouchsafed to man.

The most pressing danger, as I see it, is that Christianity, by adhering to a conception of the Beyond which is constantly exposed to the attacks of unceasing progress, and by binding it so closely to many of the trivialities of life which may at any moment collapse, is ripening mankind for conversion to materialistic Bolshevism. And that is a terrible tragedy. Man will lose all sense of proportion, and once he considers himself to be the lord of the universe, it will be the end of everything. And if the Church in Spain continues in the way it is doing, it will end on the refuse-heap.

The rapidity with which Mustapha Kemal Atatürk rid himself of his parsons makes one of the most remarkable chapters in history. He hanged thirty-nine of them out of hand, the rest he flung out, and St. Sophia in Constantinople is now a museum!

In Venice, in 1934, the Duce once said to me: "One of these days the Pope will have to leave Italy; there is not room for two Masters!"

In the Spanish people there is a mixture of Gothic, Frankish and Moorish blood. One can speak of the Spaniard as one would speak of a brave anarchist. The Arabian epoch—the Arabs look down on the Turks as they do on dogs—was the most cultured, the most intellectual and in every way best and happiest epoch in Spanish history. It was followed by the period of the persecutions with its unceasing atrocities.

The Russian priest was not hated; he was merely despised for the parasite he was, hanging on at all costs to his job for what it would bring him. The Russian Princes, unlike the German and Spanish, were never slaves of the Church. In Spain the clergy is hated and will very soon be wiped out!

All who have watched Franco's progress say that he is heading for another revolution. The rest of the world cannot be separated from Spain by a Chinese wall. Sooner or later the explosion must come. Here, too, we see a fundamental truth: The parasites, in their avarice, do not realise that they are destroying the very ground which is their foundation. The Church of to-day is nothing more than a heredi-

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no different in the West. We can only gain our ends by merciless and continual perseverance. That is contrary to the opinion of many of our upper ten thousand who are always the telephone lines, the harbingers of weakness. How often have I heard the objection: with your brutal methods, you will achieve nothing! With any other methods I would certainly have achieved nothing. The soldier, too, is for the most part devoted to the leader who is stern but just. If a man is a real leader, the people will follow him.

277. 4th August 1942, midday

*Memories of the first war—The lace workers of
Belgium—Ypres and Lübeck.*

When we went into the line in 1916, to the south of Bapaume, the heat was intolerable. As we marched through the streets, there was not a house, not a tree to be seen; everything had been destroyed, and even the grass had been burnt. It was a veritable wilderness.

In the present campaign I got my greatest surprise when I revisited Arras. In the old days it was just a mound of earth. And now—I Fields filled with blossom and waving corn, while on Vimy Ridge the scars are much as they were, shell-holes and all. I believe it is much the same in the Champagne.

The soldier has a boundless affection for the ground on which he has shed his blood. If we could arrange the transport, we should have a million people pouring into France to revisit the scenes of their former struggle.

Marching along the roads was a misery for us poor old infantrymen; again and again we were driven off the road by the bloody gunners, and again and again we had to dive into the swamps to save our skins! All the thanks we got was a torrent of curses—"Bloody So-and-Sos" was the mildest expression hurled at us.

My first impression of Ypres was—towers, so near that I could all but touch them. But the little infantryman in his hole in the ground has a very small field of vision.

I shall send our people who have been given the task of rebuilding Lübeck to Ypres before they start work. Fifty different shades of tiles, from salmon-pink, through gold to deep violet! The new Ypres is a city out of fairyland!

In those days the girls making lace always sat working outside the houses, surrounded, of course, by a horde of soldiery. But at least they were able to buy and send home genuine Flemish lace and the embroidery of Brabant.

If a soldier in France buys chocolate or a pair of stock-

down to Lower Austria. And somehow, it makes the landscape seem very friendly and attractive.

In the German Reich we have only one district that can compare with the Ukraine—the Moravian plains northwards from Vienna; eastwards from Brünn and south-eastwards from Olmütz; and that is a land of unbelievable fertility.

One of the things which astonished me most at the beginning of the first war was the amazing industriousness of the Flemish farmer. You would hardly credit the things I saw! Nothing is wasted. When a mounted column passed through, the children would be on the alert, and the moment it had passed, out they would come and pounce on any manure that might have fallen. Every square yard is utilised to the utmost, exactly as in Holland. There is, however, a dangerous side to this tendency. Such people are apt to lose the broad view, which, after all, is the most important. The man who possesses the wide spaces must show himself to be the master of the others; even if he restricts his activities to the colonisation of his own country.

When the rest of the world was engaged in seizing the open spaces, Germany was in the throes of religious warfare.

The foundation of St. Petersburg by Peter the Great was a fatal event in the history of Europe; and St. Petersburg must therefore disappear utterly from the earth's surface. Moscow, too. Then the Russians will retire into Siberia.

It is not by taking over the miserable Russian hovels that we shall establish ourselves as masters in the East. The German colonies must be organised on an altogether higher plane.

We have never before driven forward into empty spaces. The German people have absorbed both northern and southern Austria, and the original inhabitants are still there; but they were Sorb-Wends, members of basic European stock, with nothing in common with the Slavs.

As for the ridiculous hundred million Slavs, we will mould the best of them to the shape that suits us, and we will isolate the rest of them in their own pig-sties; and anyone who talks about cherishing the local inhabitant and civilising him, goes straight off into a concentration camp!

At harvest time we will set up markets at all the centres of any importance. There we will buy up all the cereals and fruit, and sell the more trashy products of our own manufacture. In this way we shall receive for these goods of ours a return considerably greater than their intrinsic value. The profit will be pocketed by the Reich to defray the price of the campaign. Our agricultural machinery fac-

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tories, our transport companies, our manufacturers of household goods and so forth will find there an enormous market for their goods. It will also be a splendid market for cheap cotton goods—the more brightly coloured the better. Why should we thwart the longing of these people for bright colours?

My one fear is that the Ministry for Eastern Territories will try to civilise the Ukrainian women. These girls, bursting with health, would introduce a welcome strain into the race, for many of them are obviously of sound Germanic origin—otherwise, whence the fair, blue-eyed children? The best among them we will gradually assimilate and take into the Reich; the rest can remain here.

282. 6th August 1942, evening

Income tax and the peasant—Taxation in kind—

The peasant and the beauties of nature.

Our peasants always lack ready money because the ground at their disposal is too small for their needs. I have often wondered whether it would not be a good idea to re-introduce some sort of tithe system, under which the peasant could pay his taxes in kind. As things are, the middle-man gets for his potatoes, for instance, three or four times what he pays the peasant for them. It would therefore be to the peasant's advantage to be able to pay his taxes in potatoes rather than in money. The advantages accruing to the State would counteract the loss of revenue from taxation.

In most professions income can be judged in terms of money, but this does not hold in the case of the small farmer. German agriculture will benefit greatly if we introduce new regulations to govern farming based on the potential revenue of the property.

In Württemberg and Baden the situation is particularly bad. As a result of the never-ending process of division among heirs, the properties are becoming smaller and smaller. I shall not mind at all if I am compelled to eject four or five thousand peasants from Alsace; I can replace them with the greatest ease with men from Baden and Württemberg. In the Middle Ages a hide of land sufficed. But now the introduction of the triple-crop system demands much more space.

Our country to-day is over-populated, and the numbers emigrating to America are incredible. How I wish we had the German-Americans with us still! In so far as there are

any decent people in America, they are all of German origin.

In Britain they have the sound law that only the eldest son of a peer can inherit the title; in our country we have nobles by the score, who cannot make a living and who will not die. This calls for reform in the future. The whole social structure of the State must be built up on cold, logical lines.

Once we are in a position to start colonising in the East, most of our difficulties will disappear. When the first few hundred are comfortably settled, the rest will soon follow. It is the earth that attracts the peasant. Several hundreds of thousands have emigrated from Salzburg and Upper Austria to East Prussia. It is only in the pictures of the Court artists that one sees peasants gazing at the stars in heaven. The real peasant keeps his eye firmly on the land, and he lives by the plough. The beauties of the woods were discovered, not by the peasant, but by the professor. Wherever good-quality land is to be found, there one also finds the best type of peasant. It is not, however, the good earth that has improved the peasant stock, but rather that the best type of peasant always finds and takes possession of the best land.

The peasantry therefore is the solid backbone of the nation, for husbandry is the most chancy occupation on earth. What, think you, would happen if the work of a city worker, or an official depended on chance? Work on the land is a schooling which teaches energy, self-confidence and a readiness to make swift decisions; the town-dweller, on the contrary, must have everything exactly mapped out for him, and does all he can to eliminate the slightest chance of any risk. As a last resort he takes out an insurance policy—and the insurance company which issues it to him re-insures itself into the bargain!

France, which has 59 per cent of its population on the land, is still fundamentally sound. It is a great tragedy when once a nation loses the solid foundation of its peasantry. The great British landowners have not the faintest idea of practical agriculture—quite apart from the time and money they waste on their celebrated lawns!

The Italians have a splendid foundation of peasantry. Once when I was travelling to Florence, I thought, as I passed through it, what a paradise this land of southern France is! But when I reached Italy—then I realised what a paradise on earth can really be! Herein lies one of the Duce's main sources of strength. He once said to me: "Fuch-

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"WHEN THE WAR ENDS"

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anyone here who gets ideas above his station and beyond
the confines of his farm must be sharply jumped upon.

286. 9th August 1942, evening

SPECIAL GUESTS: GAULEITERS BÜRKEL, ROBERT WAGNER AND
SIMON

Riches of the Ukraine—The giant Stalin.

There are here a million tons of wheat in reserve from last
year's harvest. Just think what it will be like when we get
things properly organized, and the oil-wells are in our pos-
session! This Ukraine produces thirteen or fourteen million
tons a year. Even if we show ourselves to be half as success-
ful as organisers as the Russians—there's a cool six million
for us! Next year, after the next harvest, we must organise
thoroughly and work at full speed! One thing which we have
so far not taken into account is the fact that every three days
there is a thunderstorm. This country is a regular forcing-
house; fifty degrees of heat one moment, then a torrent of
rain, and then the heat again!

Had it not been for the mud and rain last October, we
should have been in Moscow in no time. We have now
learnt that the moment the rain comes, we must stop
everything.

When the war ends, the German people need not bother
its head about what it is going to do during the next fifty
years!

We shall become the most self-supporting State, in every
respect, including cotton, in the world. The only thing we
shall not have will be a coffee plantation—but we'll find a
coffee-growing colony somewhere or other! Timber we shall
have in abundance, iron in limitless quantity, the greatest
manganese-ore mines in the world, oil—we shall swim in it!
And to handle it all, the whole strength of the entire Ger-
man man-power! By God! how right the peasant is to put
his trust solely in the earth! What's the use of talking about
scenic beauty, when the earth is oozing with wealth! In the
future, it will be a pleasure to work!

Stalin is half beast, half giant. To the social side of life
he is utterly indifferent. The people can rot, for all he cares.
If we had given him another ten years, Europe would have
been swept away, as it was at the time of the Huns. With-
out the German Wehrmacht, it would have been all up
with Europe even now. The doors of the Continent would
have been flung open for him by the idiocy of the masses.

8/11/42

The worst of our winters is now behind us.
In a hundred years' time there will be millions of German peasants living here.

287. 11th August 1942, evening

SPECIAL GUESTS: REICH MINISTER SPEER, GENERAL REINECKE

*Reichsmark and Ost-Mark—Peace with Britain—
The finest colony in the world—Fabulous inventions
of a gang of epileptic Jews.*

The German Reichsmark must be made unassailable and must become the most stable currency in the world:

Here, in the East, there exists in reality only one currency—the produce of the soil. For local usage we will create an Ost-Mark. We will fix the rate of exchange at five Ost-Marks to the Reichsmark. But tourists coming here will be given only one hundred Ost-Marks for their hundred Reichsmarks, for with that he can get as much value here as he can with a hundred Reichsmarks in Germany. The difference will be pocketed by the State.

Prices here and at home are quite different, and they must remain so, in favour of the Reich; this will give us the wherewithal with which to pay for the war. Our goal must be to reduce the war debt by from ten to twenty milliard marks a year and thus become the only belligerent of this war to be free of war debts within ten years, and be in a position to concentrate, broadly speaking, on the colonisation of the territories acquired. Any substantial war indemnity from our enemies, I think, will not be obtainable. From the British we shall certainly get nothing. If the British were to come to to-morrow and say that they would like to make peace on the basis that each bears his own costs, I should most probably agree. In actual fact, we have already been paid. The real profiteers of this war are ourselves, and out of it we shall come bursting with fat! We will give back nothing and will take everything we can make use of. And if the others protest, I don't care a damn! We have the richest and best colonies in the world; in the first place, they are next door to us; in the second, they are inhabited by healthy peoples, and in the third, they produce in abundance everything we require except coffee. Within ten years, the colonies of the other countries will have lost their value. The greatest boon we could get would be peace as soon as we can have it.

The great ambition of the parson clique is, and always has

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been, to undermine the power of the State. And for as long as we suffer these parsons in our midst, it serves us right! Every country gets the type of parson it deserves; at the moment I can do nothing about it, and so I continue to keep them happy. But one of these days I shall bring this conflict, as old as German history itself, to an abrupt and decisive conclusion. I'll make these damned parsons feel the power of the State in a way they would never have dreamed possible! For the moment I am just keeping my eye on them; if I ever have the slightest suspicion that they are getting dangerous, I will shoot the lot of them. This filthy reptile raises its head wherever there is a sign of weakness in the State, and therefore it must be stamped on whenever it does so. We have no sort of use for a fairy story invented by the Jews. The fate of a few filthy, lousy Jews and epileptics is not worth bothering about. The foulest of the carrion are those who come clothed in the cloak of humility, and the foulest of the foul is Count Preysing! What a breast! the Popish inquisitor is a humane being in comparison. Vileness and hypocrisy walk arm in arm; both must be extirpated. The uselessness of the parson is nowhere better illustrated than here at the front. Here we have enemies who are dying by the million—and without a single one of these liars. The Catholic Church has but one desire, and that is to see us destroyed.

When Eckart was in Landsberg, the prison parson came and said to him: "Eckart, if anything should happen to you—which God forbid!—have you given a serious thought to the future?"

"I have given the question of the Hereafter much more serious consideration than ever you have done, my good sir," replied Eckart. "And if the Hereafter is in reality what you believe it to be, then, take it from me, I can be of more help to you than you can be to me!"

Dripping hypocrisy with the swift and poisoned arrow behind it!

288. 12th August 1942, midday

Marriage customs—German Nationalists in 1921
—Admiral Schröder—The Marines.

I have never attended a wedding which was conducted with becoming solemnity. Marriage is a holy act, the binding into one of two human beings of different sex; less moving, perhaps, for a man than for a woman, but still a most solemn occasion. And what do most of the guests do but make pointed jokes at the expense of the bride and

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bridgroom! I attended one wedding—that, of Thiersch—at which every guest made a short and suggestive speech; and this was regarded as the height of wit! I wonder why it is?

As regards superficiality, we are as children in comparison with the British. It is quite astonishing how trumpery trash and good taste exist cheek by jowl in Britain. I once had a book on British masterpieces of architecture—and what magnificent conceptions it contained! In London the Government buildings may be redolent with history, but history is made in the great castles of the countryside.

The National Club in Berlin! I was taken there one day in 1921 by Gansser. The people had absolutely no idea whatsoever of how the German problem should be solved. One of the good gentlemen told me solemnly that all Germany's hopes rested on Kahr! The further away from Bavaria one went the greater the stature that Kahr seemed to acquire in the people's eye! And in a nonentity like that they placed their hopes of salvation! It was there that I met the old Admiral Schröder, our first supporter.

Next day I went to the Officers' Club in the Pariser Platz. Of them all, it was Schröder who made the best impression on me. A grand old bull of a man, charged with energy! My 1921-22 programme had filled most citizens with consternation. They were even terrified lest people should know they had even heard of it! The purging of all foreign elements in Germany, introduction of compulsory military service, re-constitution of the German Army, abolition of the freedom of the press, suppression of provincial governments! Good heavens! Such ideas were pure blasphemy! People swore solemn oaths that they had never lent an ear to such things! But old Schröder, the most energetic of men, that uncompromising fanatic, accepted the whole thing without further ado. He was to the Navy what Lützow was to the Army. Hutier, too, was a national figure, and a fine one at that. But he had, I think, a tiny streak of the Catholic in him. When I discover a man like Schröder, I grab him at once.

Schröder had already retired, when, during the war, he received the order to join up and raise corps of Marines. What we accomplish to-day is child's play in comparison with the efforts we were called upon to make then. Schröder had absolutely nothing! But in no time he was leading his corps to battle. I myself saw these Marines in action for the first time at the battle of the Somme; and compared with them, we felt we were the rawest of recruits.

We then received orders to march to Ostend for a test. The Regiment arrived there in a most deplorable state. Any Rus-

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sian regiment, after a five-hundred-mile retreat, would have looked like the Brigade of Guards in comparison. While in Ostend I had the chance of going for a short trip on a submarine, and the sailors, smart, efficient, turned out always as if for a review, were magnificent! It made one ashamed to be seen in their company.

Turning to Admiral Krancke:

I suppose this accounts for the slight inferiority complex which the land forces feel in the presence of the Navy. We had to cut up our greatcoats in order to make puttees, and we looked like a bunch of tatterdemalion ballet-dancers! They, on the other hand, looked frightfully smart in their belts and gaiters; and we were not sorry when we escaped to the decent obscurity of our-trenches once more.

289. 12th August 1942, isolated remarks

Fats—Dancing and the artistic sense—Bavarian national costume.

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With this war-time soap I can wash my hands as often as I like without fear of cracked skin. I do wash my hands very frequently, on account of the dog. But with the old peace-time soap, I became very sore. Why is that?

The experiment of extracting fats from coal has not been a success. It was the Reichsmarschall who pressed for it; I myself was against it. It seems rather absurd to use vegetable oil for soap-making—and eat fats extracted from coal!

In the future, small arms must consist of machine-guns and automatic rifles only; and every weapon must have a telescopic sight, if accuracy is to be deadly.

Dancing was the first method of artistic expression employed by man. The most beautiful dance in the world is without doubt the waltz, a perfect harmony of movement and music. After it I should place the Schuhplattler dance of Upper Bavaria, which, thanks to its austere and dignified style, never makes a man look ridiculous. But the ball-room dancing of to-day...! It's nothing but a series of simian posturings! In a film one sometimes sees people dancing without music. It is one of the most ridiculous things I've ever seen!

Let me make a rather curious remark. The two professions in which one most readily reaches ripe old age are those of the actor and the officer. It is not really surprising,

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that defences there were quite unnecessary, and it was only when war had been actually declared that they agreed to the fortification of the island. Tanks, I was told, were of no value unless they were both light and fast; again after a hard struggle, I imposed my will and ordered the manufacture of heavy tanks. I ordered the installation of wired-wireless throughout Germany; the Ministry of Propaganda evaded the execution of my order on the grounds that the Ministry of Posts and Telegraph had declared that the project was not yet technically sufficiently advanced. But the Ministry had never suffered from lack of funds with which to perfect the technique!

Before the war, when I saw that the Army could not be induced to take any steps as regards motorisation, I went myself to Krupps and arranged that the SS units be equipped with Panzer Mark IV. Hardly had war been declared, when the Army shrieked to high heaven that these tanks be allotted to them!

Immediately after the re-introduction of conscription in 1936 I demanded that the whole country should forthwith be put in a state of defence. The negative results were puerile. The Army, it is true, submitted a scheme, to be spread over several years (and to be completed in 1952!), the net result of which would have been the construction of a few strong-points. There was no question of any lack of funds; it was just that the General Staff wanted it that way. So it was that I was always compelled to use my overriding powers to get my own way. It is much the same even now; but now there is no excuse. We have a Reich War Minister whose sole duty it is to come to me and say: "We require this and that." It was for this sole purpose that he was appointed!

During all these years I have never allowed the slightest discussion with the finance branch. I have never had a conference with Schacht to discover what means were at our disposal. I restricted myself to saying simply: "This is what I require, and this is what I must have." I would add: "Has the mark so far suffered any harm? Is it not retaining its full value, thanks to the authority of the State and its economic principles? You are not here to tell me that such-and-such a project is impracticable; your job is to provide me with the means to make it practicable!"

Schacht always opposed me on principle. His negative attitude produced so devastating an effect on his audience that on one occasion at the end of the conference Stülpnagel cried: "Poor old Germany!" But I was more than a match for Herr Schacht. These financiers seemed to have no idea

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of the real efficiency of our economic principles. One day when Krosigk came to me full of objections, I said to him: "My dear Herr Krosigk, you are quite wrong. The thing has got to be done. No State has ever gone bankrupt for economic reasons—but only as the result of losing a war!"

The most able of our financiers was my Party colleague Reinhardt. His estimate of our revenue from income tax was most accurate, and thanks to him we were able to raise our revenue from this source from five milliards to eighty milliards without increasing the cost of living and without suffering any of the devaluation which one sees in other countries.

My attention was recently drawn to the fact that all the laws which we submit are systematically rejected by three Ministers—Schacht, Stanislaus and Neurath. The rest are always in agreement. And the infuriating thing is that most of these laws are no concern of the Ministers mentioned, who, in any case, are not members of the Cabinet!

The best method is always to settle the thing directly with the Minister concerned, and thus avoid tedious discussion, in which one will argue from the legal point of view, while another quotes principles of financial orthodoxy. That sort of thing drives me to fury. One day I said to one of these gentlemen: "The German nation has survived the period of the great migrations, the wars with the Romans, the onslaughts of the Huns, the Magyars and the Mongols, the Thirty Years' War, the campaigns of Frederick the Great and Napoleon—and it will no doubt survive even my rule!"

292. 16th August 1942

An invention of the lawyers—Sabotaging the nation's morale.

Major Engel reported that at Königsberg Air Port one of the Port officials had seized from a plane some foodstuffs brought in by the pilots and destined for the black market. The Fuehrer was very angry and said:

This is the sort of thing which one would expect from enemies of the State and which would infuriate our soldiers beyond all control, if they knew of it. So that's the thanks they get from the Home Front! Sabotage of the people's will to resist! I'll get to the bottom of this affair; I don't care whether the culprit is in the Wehrmacht or the Customs, I'll have him in prison, and I shall employ the utmost savagery

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to put an end to such practices. What can one bring back from the East—works of art? There are none. Only odds and ends of food, and one cannot do better than distribute that among German families. It is perfectly true that the soldier lives better at the front than he does at home on leave. The instigator of this sorry practice is without doubt a lawyer—probably the Minister of Finance himself! What a pity Bormann was not there!

293. 20th August 1942, midday

SPECIAL GUESTS: DR. LAMMERS, DR. THIERACK
AND DR. ROTHENBERGER

Crimes big and little—The punishment fits the crime—Judges and the nation's morale—I am not by nature a brutal man—No mercy on traitors—An anti-Semitic Jew—The Hero of a hundred murders—Legislators and Magistrates—The education of judges—The lawyer as a civil servant.

I have just read that a man has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment for having ill-treated an animal; apparently he kicked a hen which had strayed into his garden. Well, I do not approve. In my opinion shooting hares is a far greater horror of cruelty. Every sportsman who shoots an animal without killing it should, in my opinion, receive at least a like sentence. The nation must not get the idea that one type of sadist is applauded and the other put in prison. The sportsman shoots game to satisfy his lust for murder. The man who kicked the hen simply did so to guard his garden from damage, and had no murderous intention. I know how irritating it can be when a hen gets in your garden, and every time you chase it out, back it comes again! When I was a child my parents had a little garden in Leonding. Our neighbour insisted on letting her hens forage in our garden. One day I loaded a shot-gun and blazed off at them. Since then I have learnt that the legal remedy is for hens to be confiscated and returned only after damages have been paid. All that palaver over a hen pecking in a neighbour's garden!

The case of the persistent poacher who steals a hen is quite different. Here, I would say, his activities constitute an offence against public austerity in time of war.

I think justice in cases like these must take motive, which is by no means constant, into consideration. I have had a

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good deal to do with the law and have been behind the bars for quite a time. At Landsberg, the Great Pundit once told me quite solemnly that he could not make up his mind whether punishment should be administered as revenge, as a means of prevention, or as a method of correction! My report was that as far as the man at the receiving end was concerned, it didn't make a damn of difference!

Seriously, I do not think one can lay down hard-and-fast rules in these matters. For example, if some youth of eighteen snatches a woman's handbag in peace-time, I would not condemn him to death. But now we are at war; we have the black-out. A large majority of the women have been incorporated into industry, and we are obliged to take severe precautions for their protection. In Berlin at one time the criminals become so bold, that women did not dare to go out alone after dark. If they are not checked, crimes of this sort can develop into an epidemic of rape, robbery with violence, etc. A timely intervention is therefore very necessary; the spark must be put out before it bursts into flame.

Take, for example, the robberies from cellars. These are very serious, particularly at a time like this, when we are compelled to break down the walls between the cellars of various dwelling-houses. When the thieves begin to take advantage of this state of affairs, we must either take active steps against them or see the whole of our air-raid shelter system—and with it the morale of the population—put in jeopardy. One single bomb falling in the midst of a row of houses may cause two thousand deaths, and the man who risks his life at the front might with justice become bitter against a State which expects this sacrifice from him, and at the same time does not trouble to safeguard his family at home. Harsh and brutal lines of distinction must therefore be drawn. If a man hits a hen over the head, it is not a crime that is likely to initiate a crime wave; but when some blackguard systematically robs from gardens and takes away the few miserable vegetables the owner is trying to produce, then, I say, he's a criminal of the most ignominious type, for whom no punishment is too severe. Those sort of crimes must be strangled at birth.

Measures must be introduced—and must be made clear to all—to ensure the repression of any breach of public law and order, and to make certain, too, that the inevitable cheapening of life at the front is not counterbalanced by a proportionate over-valuation of the lives of the less worthy elements on the Home Front.

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The opinion is repeatedly expressed that war should, ideally, be waged by a highly trained technical force with the maximum of mechanisation and the minimum of manpower. These theories, however, are demonstrably false, because practice has shown that any one arm acquires its maximum efficiency only when used in collaboration with other arms. The various weapons are indeed so interdependent that success in war is achieved by the skilful and combined use of all of them. Even in ancient days war was never waged with one arm alone.

The saying that God favours the big battalions is not without significance. Without the requisite force, nothing can be accomplished. To think otherwise is to try to make a virtue out of necessity; if this were not so, the smaller peoples of the world would not have been the victims of oppression throughout history. It was only because they anticipated war in the West, which would give them the chance swiftly to seize the Baltic States, that the Russians stopped the war with Finland. The history of war can furnish not one single instance in which victory has gone to the markedly weaker of the combatants. The nearest approach to it is the case of Frederick the Great, who had luck in defeating, by superior skill, adversaries who were numerically slightly superior.

It makes me laugh when I think what consternation would be caused among us humans if the news suddenly announced that an inter-planetary ship had landed in America! All our earthly little wars would stop immediately!

American civilisation is of a purely mechanised nature. Without mechanisation, America would disintegrate more swiftly than India. Actually, in America the European has reverted to becoming a nomad. What a pity that the film "The Emperor of America" did not end by pointing the moral lesson! Trenker has produced two films which are masterpieces of their kind—"Mountains in Flames" and "The Rebel." In these he was beholden to no man; but in his other films he was financed by Catholic interests.

A question which is frequently put to me is, should we now release the film "Bismarck"? I know of no more trenchant criticism of the Kaiser than that given in the third volume of Bismarck's own memoirs. When I read it I was appalled. But even Bismarck's criticism is not as damning as are the speeches of the Kaiser himself. Bismarck shows how the eyes of the whole people were fixed on the Kaiser, and what great things could have been accomplished had there been a monarch endowed with more tact, more human charity and a greater readiness to accept the responsibilities

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With our eighty-five million Germans, we have in the Reich itself a major part of the population of the Germanic races. No other nation possesses so strong a proportion of these elements. It would then be a sorry business if, with such strength at our disposal, we failed to bring law and order to ancient Europe. We may have a hundred years of struggle before us; if so, all the better—it will prevent us from going to sleep!

People sometimes say to me: "Be careful! You will have twenty years of guerilla warfare on your hands!" I am delighted at the prospect! With a number of small armies we can continue to dominate a large number of peoples. In the future our divisions will not be in dull garrison towns like Lechfeld and Hommerburg, but will be sent to the Caucasus! Our lads have always shouted with joy at the prospect of service abroad, and I shall see to it that in the future they range the four corners of the world. Germany will remain in a state of perpetual alertness.

We will adopt the British attitude of arrogance. In the time of the old German Emperors, let it not be forgotten, the Kings of England were of little more account than the King of Denmark to-day. In the first war, we found, on going through the paybooks of prisoners of war, that many of them had served in the South African War. They had been all over the world, and for them the fatherland was their Regiment! With men like that, nothing is impossible!

For the future it will, I think, be essential to introduce a three-year period of military service; only by so doing can we ensure efficiency in the handling of new technical weapons. A three-year period will be a great advantage to those who later propose to adopt a learned profession, for it will give them ample time to forget all the muck that was jammed into their heads at school; they will have time to discard everything which will not be of future use to them, and that, in itself, is most valuable. Everybody, for example, learns two or three foreign languages, which is a complete waste of time. The little one learns is not of the slightest use when one goes abroad. Everybody, I agree, should receive a basic education. But the whole method of instruction in secondary and higher schools is just so much nonsense. Instead of receiving a basic education, the student finds his head crammed with a mass of useless learning, and in the end is still ill-equipped to face life. Lucky are those who have the happy knack of being able to forget most of what they have been taught. Those who cannot forget are ripe to be-

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1919 the German people had already decided to continue the struggle. A wave of sympathy for Germany swept over Britain as a result of the bombardment of Almeria, and the Eden-Vansittart gang worked for years before they could suppress it.

Recently they have announced the internment of eleven thousand Fascist followers of Mosley. The real reason for the destruction of the Duke of Windsor was, I am sure, his speech at the old veterans' rally in Berlin, at which he declared that it would be the task of his life to effect a reconciliation between Britain and Germany. That rally in Berlin bore the stamp of sincere and mutual esteem, and the subsequent treatment of the Duke of Windsor was an evil omen; to topple over so fine a pillar of strength was both wicked and foolish.

The campaign of antagonism against Germany was organised by Churchill on the orders of his Jewish paymasters, and with the collaboration of Eden, Vansittart and company. The Jews had already succeeded, step by step, in gaining complete control of the press. To counteract Rothermere, the Jews cut off his complete revenue from advertising, and it was Rothermere himself who told me the story of how he was compelled to toe the line. Any and every nation which fails to exterminate the Jews in its midst will sooner or later finish by being itself devoured by them. In retrospect it is quite impossible to understand how all this happened. Old Baldwin started the rot; he himself had great interests in the arms industry, and rearmament certainly put many hundreds of millions into his pocket. Another with the same interests was Chamberlain. Churchill, the raddled old whore of journalism, picked up a few crumbs. Churchill is an unprincipled swine. A perusal of his memoirs proves it; in them he strips himself naked before the public. God help a nation that accepts the leadership of a Thing like that!

307. 1st September 1942, evening

Schirach and the charms of Vienna—Vienna before 1918—and after—Vienna, Munich and Berlin—Churchill's visit to Moscow—Goethe on smoking.

During the two years that he has been in Vienna, Schirach has come more and more under the influence of the city. I myself have never succumbed to the magic of

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When war was declared, a bare 40 per cent of the Members of Parliament were in their seats; immediately afterwards, on another occasion, two hundred and fifty-four members ostentatiously refrained from voting. Never has Britain waged a war which is such an offence to the intelligence and which was thrust upon her by a small clique. Iceland, too, the Americans will never give up. The Americans and the British brother nations? So what? The German brotherhood of nations fought the most bitter internecine wars for centuries on end. If only Britain had supported the Southern States in the American Civil War! And what a tragedy that God allowed Germans to put Lincoln firmly in the saddle!

The first time the Princess Hohenlohe visited me, she brought a letter from Rothermere. I asked Neurath if he considered it advisable for me to receive her? His reply was that, if we could get Rothermere on our side, it would be a terrific accomplishment; and that, at all costs, I must hear what she had to say. When the scarecrow appeared, I muttered "For God and Fatherland" and braced myself to receive her.

In his letter Rothermere said he would gladly use his Press to further a *rapprochement* between Britain and Germany. We subsequently exchanged a series of letters, one of which was very important. I had written to Rothermere to say that I had no grounds for hostility towards Italy, and that I considered Musolini to be an outstanding personality; that if the British thought they could ride roughshod over a man like Mussolini, they were greatly mistaken; that he was the incarnation of the spirit of the Italian people (in those days I still had illusions about the Italians); that attempts to strangle Italy were futile; and that Italy, as Germany had done before her, would look after herself; and finally, that Germany could be no party to any action directed against Italy or Italian interests.

Thereupon Rothermere came over to see me, and the Princess accompanied him. I must admit I prefer a friendly little kitchen wench to a politically minded lady! Nevertheless, the fact remains—the attitude of the *Daily Mail* at the time of our re-occupation of the Rhineland was of great assistance to us, as it was also over the question of our naval programme. All the British of the Beaverbrook-Rothermere circle came to me and said: "In the last war we were on the wrong side." Rothermere told me that he and Beaverbrook were in complete agreement that never again should there be war between Britain and Germany.

Later, the Princess sought, by means of a court case, to

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*Duke Otto—The art of cultivating idols—Serrano
Suñer and the Latin Union.*

Epp has just submitted a paper on the colonial problem to me. I must say, no colonies which we may obtain elsewhere in the world will compare with those which we hold in the East.

Serrano Suñer, had he been given the chance, would gradually have engineered the annihilation of the Falange and the restoration of the monarchy. His disgrace has certainly been accelerated by my recent declaration that he was an absolute swine!

Alphonso XIII was certainly a man, yet he, too, brought ruin on himself. Why, I wonder, did he not keep Primo de Rivera? I can understand most things, but I shall never understand why, when once one has seized power, one does not hold it with all one's might!

Princes constitute a race unique in the world for the depth of their stupidity; they are the classic example of the laws of selectivity working in reverse. If the Hapsburgs were to return to Hungary, they are so stupid, that their presence would immediately give rise to a crisis without parallel. There are circumstances in which an attitude of passivity is absolutely untenable. With each generation, the Princes of Europe become a little more degenerate. In Bavaria this process developed into tragedy, for they eventually became insane. When all is said and done, the whole of the European royal families are descended from the old Frankish nobility, which was founded by Charlemagne and has since withered away through inbreeding. The Austrian Princes had a better chance for survival, for they were allowed to seek their wives amongst commoners.

I cannot but admire the patience of the people who tolerate such fripperies! The practice of kneeling to Royalty had at least this advantage, that it prevented the subjects from contemplating the idiot faces of their rulers!

Efforts for improving the breed of cattle never cease, but in the case of the aristocracy, the reverse obtains. The Hohenzollerns are no exception to the rule; they all have their little idiosyncrasies—not excluding our dear little A. W. [Prince August Wilhelm, son of Kaiser Wilhelm II and member of the NSDA Party.] There should be a law prohibiting Princes from having any intercourse with anyone, except chauffeurs and grooms!

If the crown of Brazil were offered to the Spanish Pretender, he would accept it unhesitatingly. He would become King of Sweden with the same enthusiasm! He doesn't care

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clergy. His plan was to found a Latin Union of France, Italy and Spain, and then to range it at Britain's side—the whole to have the blessing of the Archbishop of Canterbury—and a little spicing of Communism for good measure!

I think one of the best things we ever did was to permit a Spanish Legion to fight at our side. On the first opportunity I shall decorate Muñoz Grande with the Iron Cross with Oak Leaves and Diamonds. It will pay dividends. Soldiers, whoever they may be, are always enthusiastic about a courageous commander. When the time comes for the Legion to return to Spain, we must re-equip it on a regal scale, give it a heap of booty and a handful of Russian Generals as trophies. Then they will have a triumphal entry into Madrid, and their prestige will be unassailable.

Taking it all round, the Spanish press is the best in the world!

315. 6th September 1942, midday

The tenuous thread of Destiny—Russian mistakes at Stalingrad—Racial mixtures—Sailors on leave.

It is sobering to think on how thin a thread of fate the history of the world sometimes depends! We lost the 1914-18 war; but we have not the right to say that we did so because the Home Front let us down. Our enemies at the time had some men of the highest quality. It was in 1916, at the battle of the Somme, that tanks made their first appearance; but it was not until 1917 that our industry was switched to their construction, with orders to make an initial quota of six hundred. At the same moment Fuller, supported by Lloyd George and Churchill, succeeded in causing the ban on their production to be lifted, which had been imposed by Haig.

It is becoming more and more obvious that a rift in public opinion in Britain is gradually widening, each individual going to the Right or the Left as it suits him.

Of all our allies, it is Antonescu who has the greatest breadth of vision. He is a man of real personality, and he has, moreover, realised that this war gives Rumania the chance to become predominant in the Balkans, but at the expense of finding the other Balkan States in alliance against her.

The concentration of effort in the defence of Stalingrad is a grave mistake on the part of the Russians. The victor in war is he who commits the fewest number of mistakes, and who has, also, a blind faith in victory. If the Russians

had not decided to make a stand at Stalingrad, they would have done so elsewhere; but it does prove that a name can give to a place a significance which bears no relation to its intrinsic value. For the Bolsheviks it would have been an evil omen to lose Stalingrad—and so they still hold Lenin-grad! For this reason I have always refused to allow my name, or that of any of my colleagues, to be given to anything exposed to the hazards of war—be it a town or a battleship. It is precisely in time of war that people become most superstitious. The Romans, including Julius Caesar, were a superstitious people; although it is quite possible that Caesar was not really superstitious, but simply bowed to public opinion. I myself would never launch an attack on the thirteenth, not because I myself am superstitious, but because others are. Dates play no part in my life. I have frequently had setbacks on days deemed propitious, and successes on days condemned as unlucky.

The break-through to Abbeville was an advance of a mere three hundred and fifty kilometres, which is nothing in comparison with distances in the East. There we must pursue ceaselessly and give them no respite.

What a fine race the Dutch are! The girls are splendid and very much to my taste. The blemishes in the Dutch are due to interbreeding with the Malays, and that, in its turn, is the result of sexual urge and the lack of a sufficiency of white women in their colonies. We had much the same thing in our own colonies; a German had the right to marry a negress, provided she was a Catholic, but not a German girl, if she happened to be a Protestant. Even to-day, the Catholic priest chatters for months if one of his flock wishes to marry a Protestant. It is not very long ago that, in the country, a marriage between Catholic and Protestant was stigmatised as an insult to the Holy Altar; but nobody bothered their heads about the colour of bastards! In the British Empire, things are very different; but the Church of England is a political, rather than an ecclesiastical, organisation.

Again and again I am asked to sanction marriage between one of our soldiers and a foreign girl, and as often as not the soldier is a splendid young lad and the girl a little trollop. Nothing but catastrophe could come of such unions. The branches of the services most exposed to this danger are the Navy and the anti-aircraft units, because they stay in one place longer than anyone else. It was the same in the first war. The Flemish girls were most attractive, and had the war had a normal ending, many of them would undoubtedly have married German soldiers.

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The Fuehrer turns jestingly to Admiral Krancke:

Your sailors have only three hours' liberty ashore each day; can't you give them a bit more? If they must hang about in port, they will be best employed chasing the girls!

316. 6th September 1942, evening

German emigration and the use of chemical fertilisers—Between us and the British—Retaliation—Britain started the air bombing.

In the past it was economic pressure which compelled Germans to emigrate *en masse*; this pressure ceased abruptly—almost overnight, one might say—with the introduction of artificial chemical fertilisers, which had a profound effect on our food-production problem. To this must be added the industrialisation of the country as the result of the inventions of the early nineteenth century.

For centuries on end war was confined to conflicts between States within the Reich. The British, on the other hand, have always waged war against foreigners, and as a consequence have no conception of chivalry in war. For many years we were held up to ridicule in the world press as *der deutsche Michel*; but now the British press treats us more kindly. Gradually they have come to regard us as socially acceptable, because we have shown that we pursue our own way, regardless of everybody.

It is essential that we should give the British as good as we get, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. We must straightway declare that from now on pilots descending by parachute will be fired on, that submarines will shell survivors from torpedoed ships, regardless of whether they are soldiers or civilians, women or children! Within a month those devils over there will have realised that they hold the muddy end of the stick, and will act accordingly. I make no secret of the fact that in my eyes the life of a single German is worth more than the lives of twenty Britishers, and in this respect we hold the advantage. We hold infinitely more prisoners-of-war than they do, and the great thing is to capture as many "honourables" as possible. The handcuffing of a hundred and thirty officers after the Dieppe raid had a splendid effect. They are completely indifferent to the fate of the ordinary soldier, but the hanging of half a dozen British Generals would shake British society to its very foundations. Now that Mrs. Churchill goes about arm in arm with Madame Maisky, British prisoners-of-war can-

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not complain if they are made to live with Russian prisoners. This would be an excellent measure, to which their only counter would be to make our prisoners live with the Italians! If they were to threaten more drastic reprisals, we will retort by hanging the captains of all ships sunk! The Merchant Navy would then begin to act very differently. The Japanese do this; while we entertain them with coffee and cognac. The British are realists, devoid of any scruple and as cold as ice; but as soon as we show our teeth, they become propitiatory and almost friendly!

It was the British who started air attacks. For four months we patiently—and perhaps erroneously—held our hands. The German is always restrained by moral scruples, which mean nothing to the British; to the latter such an attitude is merely a sign of weakness and stupidity. In the past we have readjusted the balance only by retorting in the most ruthless and even barbarous manner.

Our gains in the West may add a measure of charm to our possessions and constitute a contribution to our general security, but our Eastern conquests are infinitely more precious, for they are the foundations of our very existence.

317. 7th September 1942, midday

SPECIAL GUESTS: REICH MINISTER SPEER, REICHS-KOMMISSAR KOCH, FIELD MARSHAL MILCH

School-day memories—Towards a seasoned system of education.

1902-3

We pupils of the old Austria were brought up to respect old people and women. But on our professors we had no mercy; they were our natural enemies. The majority of them were somewhat mentally deranged, and quite a few ended their days as honest-to-God lunatics! Those among them who were good fellows we treated with the utmost affection; but they were very few and far between.

Information about the individual weaknesses of the various masters was handed on from class to class and from generation to generation. In the third form we had a physics master named Koenig. Each form knew that at the beginning of the new scholastic year, the pupils would be divided into two groups—why, I still have no idea. Koenig would give the following order: "The pupils on the side nearest the window will gather near the window; those on the stove side of the room will gather in the vicinity of the stove!" Immediately the pupils rushed to do the reverse. The

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wretched man danced with indignation, exclaiming that the students became more stupid with every year; it never entered his head that the real fool was he himself!

The priest who taught us divinity was a very tubby, portly little man. Before his entry, we used to slant the forms inwards along the gangway through which he had to pass, making it narrower and narrower. Never did the stupid man realise the trick; solemnly he would walk on until finally, half-way to his desk, he found himself stuck between the benches!

Before the lesson in natural science, we used to strew the floor of the classroom with grass and nutshells, and explain innocently that we had been studying botany.

We had a methodical plan, according to the season of the year, for fomenting riot and chaos in the classroom. In the spring a very successful trick was to release a swarm of cockchafers [large beetles] in class and then exclaim in unison: "O-oh, sir! how can we study with all these cockchafers in the room!"

As you may imagine, I was in particularly bad odour with the teachers. I showed not the slightest aptitude for foreign languages—though I might have done, had not the teacher been a congenital idiot. In addition, I could not bear the sight of him, and in honesty I must confess that the feeling was reciprocated. Behind a frowsty beard one caught a glimpse of a collar, greasy and yellow with dirt, and he was in every way a most repellent creature; he was furious because I learnt not a word of French. A bright youngster of thirteen or fourteen can always get the better of a teacher dulled by the grind of years of teaching.

Our teachers were absolute tyrants. They had no sympathy with youth; their one object was to stuff our brains and to turn us into erudite apes like themselves. If any pupil showed the slightest trace of originality, they persecuted him relentlessly, and the only model pupils whom I ever got to know have all been failures in after-life.

Good teaching should recognise and develop the personality of the individual pupil. In this respect the foundation of a corps of teachers and the revision of educational methods have brought a very great improvement in modern times.

Among our teachers there was only one who dressed decently; and it is an interesting fact that, when I once visited Klagenfurt, I found him—in the SS! The old gentleman, who was then already on pension, had, it seems, been a member of the illegal SS before the *Anschluss*. I was very much moved to meet him again.

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I can readily understand why the youth of ancient Greece sometimes went far afield, in order to study under the teacher of their choice. And it was grouped around their teachers, by the way, that the youth of ancient days went into battle. There is no enthusiasm greater than that of a young man of thirteen to seventeen years of age. They will gladly let themselves be cut to pieces for the sake of their teacher, if he is a real man. I should very much like to see our youth led into battle by their teachers!

Part Four

1943

13th June—24th June

318, 13th June 1943, evening

*Dangers of over-centralisation of cultural life—
The future of technology—The French painters—
The great artistic achievements of the nineteenth
century were German—Architecture in Berlin and
Munich.*

I am very nervous lest, one day when I am no longer here, someone should get the idea of centralising in Berlin a series of museums for the artistic masterpieces of the Reich, for military trophies and weapons and for examples of German industrial and scientific genius. This would give a completely erroneous conception of the unified state, and the worst of it would be that the initiator would certainly claim that in so doing he was following the conceptions "of our late Fuehrer." In point of fact we should, on the contrary, pursue a policy of judicious decentralisation. The Deutsches Museum in Munich, with its twenty-three kilometres of exhibits of all kinds, amply fulfills the purely national need, and it would be disastrous if somebody said we must have a museum in Berlin with forty-five kilometres of exhibits!

In the Military Museum which I intend to found in Linz, I wish to devote one section to the science of fortification, from the earliest times down to the days of the Maginot

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Line and the West Wall. Exact models will be necessary in order to arouse the interest of young people. One of the great attractions of the Deutsches Museum in Munich is the presence of a large number of perfectly constructed working models, which visitors can manipulate themselves. It is not just by chance that so many of the young people of the inland town of Munich have answered the call of the sea.

We must start from the viewpoint that technical science to-day stands at the threshold of its development. Motorisation is now only taking its first few hesitant steps. Many centuries passed before human energy was replaced by animal energy, and it will equally be many centuries before motorisation reaches its full perfection.

I cannot make up my mind to buy a picture by a French painter, because I am not sure of the dividing line between what I understand and what I do not understand. I have the same feeling when I look at paintings by Corinth and Trübner—to mention only two of our German artists. These men started by painting pictures of great merit, and then, urged on by pride, they started to produce the most startling and extraordinary works. In literature the Jew has already blazed the same pernicious trail, and artists like Corinth and Trübner have followed them. The result is the frightful daubs with which they now inflict us.

In painting, the Italians were truly great from the fourteenth century to the seventeenth; in the eighteenth century they rested on their laurels, in the nineteenth their light began to wane, and to-day Italian art is completely degenerate. All this seems quite incomprehensible to me, but I suppose it is the law of averages. In the nineteenth century the greatest masterpieces in every branch were the works of us Germans. In the same period the French, too, had some good artists, but they all deteriorated in time.

When I think of the Paris Opera House, I cannot help feeling that those of Dresden and Vienna are in a very different category. The design itself of the Paris Opera is a work of genius, but the execution, from the artistic point of view, is very ordinary; and the interior is pretentious, overcrowded with decoration and devoid of all artistic taste. We must make sure that the new Opera House which we intend to build in Munich surpasses everything, in every way, that has ever gone before it.

Munich of the nineteenth century has many characteristics in common with the Berlin of Frederick the Great's days. Conceptions were magnificently wide, but construction could not keep pace, simply because the necessary money was not available. In Frederick the Great's Berlin they were so

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short of funds that it was possible to put statues only on the main plinth of a monument. In Munich it is freely admitted that the houses of the period were shoddily built. In the construction of the Prinzregenten-Theater every possible economy was practised, and the cost of construction, apart from interior decoration, was under thirteen hundred thousand marks. In Berlin, at the same time, the scale was more generous. The Reichstag—monstrosity though it was—cost in all every bit of twenty-eight million marks. But that it was well and truly built was proved at the time of the great fire.

The Palace of Justice in Munich is perhaps the most beautiful example of the baroque of recent times. Typical of the epoch of liberalism is the Palais de Justice in Brussels. It is a cyclops which dominates the whole town; and fancy having the Law Courts, of all things, as the dominating feature of a place!

"I am quite sure that a man is never more ready to fight for his country than when it is a question of defending the artistic and intellectual heritage of the nation. We have a fresh proof of it to-day. The destruction of a national monument has a greater effect on public opinion than the destruction of a factory."

319. 14th June 1943, evening

In defence of Metternich—Metternich and Bismarck, a parallel.

Metternich is often misjudged. He did his utmost to infuse new life into a corpse. As Chancellor of Austria, and from the point of view of the Hapsburg dynasty, he could not have acted otherwise. He served the Hapsburgs, animated by the desire to restore to them their glories of the past. It was this which inspired his superhuman efforts to bring about a renaissance of the old Empire. That he was unscrupulous in the means he employed to this end is undeniable. But his actions must be judged in the light of the conditions which prevailed at the time. No one, for example, could have envisaged, in 1830 or 1840, the methods employed by Bismarck. It is not therefore a question of Bismarck or Metternich, but rather a question of an Imperial Chancellery or that heterogeneous conglomeration, German Confederation. At Frankfurt nothing was accomplished and nothing could have been accomplished; and yet it can truthfully be said that each in his way was pursuing the same object. Metternich hoped to attain it by re-establishing

the authority of the Hapsburgs; Bismarck by asserting the predominance of Prussia. Both avoided any parliamentary solution. Bismarck succeeded, Metternich failed. But that is no reason for condemning the latter.

Without the drastically revolutionary step of war in 1866, Bismarck himself would not have succeeded. And had he failed, he would certainly have been crucified. When Metternich was at the helm, the time was not ripe for a decisive solution. For the same reason Bismarck cannot be reproached for not having founded the Greater German Reich of to-day.

In the struggle against Napoleon, Metternich was as enthusiastic as the most devoted of German patriots. How undecided public opinion was, even after 1866, on the question of whether Austrian or Prussian hegemony should prevail, is clearly demonstrated by the fact that in 1867 the Prussian conservatives took their stand against Bismarck and demanded his resignation. It is obviously very difficult to do justice retrospectively to a man like Metternich.

320. 15th June 1943, midday

*Intellectual and artistic poverty—Bric-à-brac and chromium plate—Only decadent art is harmful—
Teutonic nostalgia—The need of open spaces.*

The industrialisation of a country invariably provokes an opposite reaction and gives rise to a recrudescence of a certain measure of romanticism, which not infrequently finds expression in a mania for the collection of *bibelots* and somewhat trashy *objets d'art*. It is a phenomenon which recurs with each fresh migration from the land to the town. It is not the museums and the picture-galleries which attract these newcomers, but the vaults which foster the liking for the mysterious, like the blue grotto of the nymphs. The process of readjustment takes fifty or a hundred years.

Unfortunately, the period of economic and industrial progress in Germany coincided with a period of artistic hesitancy and poverty. One cannot, in justice, blame the masses, when one remembers the artistic junk with which the big industrialists filled their houses. But the latter were people of intelligence, and them I blame greatly.

The masses are still attracted by somewhat trashy art, but that has nothing in common with artistic degeneracy. If I am asked whether I am prepared to condone this, my reply is that I will condone anything which does not lead to artistic depravity. The admiration for what we sometimes

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call chocolate-box beauty is not of itself vicious; it gives evidence, at least, of artistic feeling, which may well become later the basis for real taste. Permanent injury is done only by real depravity in art.

It is perfectly true that we are a people of romantics, quite different from the Americans, for example, who see nothing beyond their skyscrapers. Our romanticism has its origins in the intense appreciation of nature that is inherent in us Germans. Properly to appreciate such artists as Weber, Ludwig Richter and the other romanticists, one must know Franconian mountains, for that is the background which gives birth to romanticism in both music and painting; and, of course, the stories and legends of our folk-lore also make a potent contribution.

The only romance which stirs the heart of the North American is that of the Redskin; but it is curious to note that the writer [see p. 307] who has produced the most vivid Redskin romances is a German. One thing the Americans have, and which we lack, is the sense of the vast open spaces. Hence the particular characteristics of our own form of nostalgia. There comes a time when this desire for expansion can no longer be contained and must burst into action. It is an irrefutable fact that the Dutch, for example, who occupied the most densely populated portions of the German lands, were driven, centuries ago, by this irresistible desire for expansion, to seek ever wider conquest abroad.

What, I wonder, would happen to us, if we had not at least the illusion of vast spaces at our disposal? For me, one of the charms of the Spessart is that one can drive there for hours on end, and never meet a soul. Our autobahnen give me the same feeling; even in the more thickly populated areas they reproduce the atmosphere of the open spaces.

321. 17th June 1943, evening

The great cataclysms of nature—The Fear of the Unknown.

I cannot believe that the various ages in the history of the globe lasted as long as the experts would have us believe. In any case, they have no proofs to offer of the correctness of their hypotheses. I have the feeling that in their estimates the fear of the unknown and of natural catastrophe have played their part. During the recent earthquakes in Württemberg, the principal preoccupation of the press was to reassure the public by insisting that there was

no grave danger and no sign of any aggravation of the phenomenon.

It is quite extraordinary how many men there are who are incapable of facing reality and who, when face to face with danger, cannot calmly make plans to meet it. Such people are, for the most part, cowards, and the fear of the unknown is ineradicably engrained in them.

322, 19th June 1943, at table

Big battleships—The infantry of the seas.

Formerly I planned to construct the most powerful squadron of battleships in the world, and intended to name the two mightiest of them the Ulrich von Hutten and the Goetz von Berlichingen. I am now pleased that I abandoned the idea. For, if we had such a squadron, we should be under a moral obligation to use it. Of what practical assistance could such a squadron be to-day? It would be condemned to playing the part of "the last of the knights in armour."

Evolution these days has been so swift that it is now the infantry of the sea which assumes the prime importance. Apart from submarines, our greatest need is for little ships—powerful corvettes, destroyers and the like—those are the classes that carry on the fight.

The Japanese to-day possess the most powerful fleet of battleships in the world, but it is very difficult to use them in action. For them, the greatest danger comes from the air. Remember the *Bismarck*!

323, 24th June 1943, evening

The vibrant pulse of Berlin—Vienna the home of music—Mozart—Slav blood and German blood—Beethoven—For and against Vienna—The new capital of the Reich—Loyalty at Linz—A remark of Treitschke—The interests of the Reich are paramount.

In Berlin, I think, people work harder than anywhere else. I know of no other city in which it would have been possible to complete the construction of the Reich Chancellery in nine months. The Berlin workman is unique as a swift and efficient craftsman. There is nothing to touch him in Munich or Vienna, where the infusion of foreign blood—Polish, Czech, Slav, Italian—still has an influence.

When one speaks of Vienna and music and proclaims Vi-

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enna to be the most musical city in the world, one must not forget that at the time of our great composers, Vienna was the Imperial city. She was an attraction for the whole world, and was thus the city which offered artists the greatest scope and opportunity. In spite of this, how shabbily the musicians were treated there! It is not true that either Beethoven or Haydn had any success there during their lifetime. Mozart's *Don Juan* was a failure there. Why then did Mozart go to Vienna? Simply because he hoped to get a pension from the Emperor, which he never obtained. Mozart's family, it has been established, came from Augsburg; he was therefore not an Austrian but a Swabian. The whole blossoming of our music in Vienna is not due to the town; such things do not spring from their environment, but from the genius of a race.

Really creative music is composed partly of inspiration and partly of a sense of composition. The inspiration is of Slavonic origin, the art of composition is of Germanic. It is when these two mingle in one man that the master of genius appears. In Bach's music it is the composition which is marvellous, and he certainly had no drop of Slav blood in his veins. As regards Beethoven, on the other hand, one glance at his head shows that he comes of a different race. It is not pure chance that the British have never produced a composer of genius; it is because they are a pure Germanic race.

Do not for a moment imagine that I am hostile to Vienna. I criticise with equal vigour everything in Berlin which displeases me. My task is a far greater one, and I do not think in terms of Vienna or Berlin. My historical sense tells me that things will change in the future, and so I must needs think of what may happen when I am no longer here. For Vienna to become the sole centre of attraction for the Austrian portion of our territories would be dangerous for the whole Reich. For this reason I feel impelled to take steps to counteract any such possibility; and for this reason, too, I am anxious to create other centres of culture in Austria. A monopoly of cultural attraction in Vienna would have serious political repercussions. And these, if we digest the lessons that history has to teach us, are repercussions we cannot tolerate.

Munich presents no such dangers, for the radius of its cultural influence does not go beyond the borders of Bavaria.

It is my duty to ensure that an evolution does not occur which will inevitably lead to disaster.

I can well appreciate a sentimental affection for Vienna, but when great political decisions have to be taken, they

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must be taken in the light of logic and cold reason. Therefore, all that Vienna has drained from its neighboring provinces must be channelled back into the Gaue.

Furthermore, I will not tolerate any rivalry between Vienna and Berlin. Berlin is the capital of the Reich, and will remain the capital of the Reich. I once toyed with the idea of moving the capital, and thought of moving it to Lake Müritz in Mäckenburg. But Speer persuaded me to abandon the idea, because the soil there is as bad, from the building point of view, as it is in Berlin. I shall see to it that Berlin acquires all the characteristics of a great capital. But none of this is based on any sentimental preference. I do not like the Berliners more than I like the Viennese. I feel equally at home anywhere in the Reich, and my love for all Germans is equal, as long as they do not range themselves against the interests of the Reich, of which I am the guardian. In this respect I behave as if I am in the midst of my family. But if I see any province or city trying to make unreasonable claims to its own individual advantage, then I am up in arms at once.

Do not tell me that Vienna has made heavy sacrifices in this war and that her sons are dying gallantly on the battlefield. The same can be said of all towns and all their sons throughout Germany. That is but the expression of a clear-cut sense of duty, and is no cause for tears. I should indeed be a bad son of my own country if I did not place her, in this respect, side by side with Germany herself.

No Gauleiter may expect more support from me, financial or otherwise, than that dictated by the interests of the Reich. If I make a gift of a building to a Gau or a city, it is not a personal gift—for I myself am a poor man—it is a gift from the whole German people. Mark well this fact, for therein lies my great responsibility.

Who can say that I do not hold Vienna in high esteem? Have I not sent there the man whom I consider most suitable, and most capable of directing the affairs of the Gau? The Viennese are so touchy, that the simple fact that I have started some building at Linz is enough to upset them. But that does not worry me, and I remain quite impartial as regards all the Gaue. I must, however, say that in Vienna I see a source of potential danger, if that city were to be given special privileges.

It is perfectly true that I was received in Vienna with joy and jubilation. But the same thing occurred at Linz, Klagenfurt, Hamburg, Cologne and everywhere else. And in any case I hope I shall not be expected to give preference to any town on account of the fervour of its welcome to

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me. Their acclamations; it goes without saying, are not personal, but acclamations for the Leader of the German State. Of course the friendly reception in Vienna delighted me; but that will not prevent me from doing my duty, as I conceive it, in the interests of the whole State. In such things sentiment has no part.

I told Heigruber: "Linz owes all it possesses, and all that it will possess, to the Reich. For this reason Linz should become the personification of the Reich, and the façade of every building in the city should bear the inscription: 'Gift of the German Reich.'" Linz realises it, as this example will show you. I read in the *Linzer Tagespost* that some cabaret artist had maliciously attacked the Berliners. The paper went on to state indignantly that such behaviour towards the capital of the Reich would not be tolerated in Linz. The right to criticise is a common right; but not the right to vilify. The petty rivalries between town and town, district and district, have by no means yet been suppressed; and this is a danger which may reappear after the war. Now, therefore, is the time to eliminate all cause for rivalry. It is perhaps a blessing in disguise that I was for so long a Stateless person; for it has taught me the tremendous value of a unified Germany.

Treitschke once said: "Germany has cities, but she possesses no capital." To that I will add that she must, and she shall, have one. I shall take care that no town in the Reich can rival the capital.

I have examined certain projects for Vienna, but they demand a financial backing from the Reich which I do not consider should be accorded to any city but the capital of the Reich. Any other decision would be wrong. Vienna must, of course, be cleaned up and cleared of slums; and this will be done. I have already cleared the Jews out of the city, but I should like to see the Czechs go, too. Whatever new construction may be undertaken in Vienna, it would be folly for her to try to surpass the existing glorious monuments of the Imperial City.

It would be a criminal act on my part to use the money of the Reich to create a situation which one day might develop into a menace to that same Reich. My sense of history and my political instinct combine to forbid me to act in any way other than as I am doing.

Schirach, it is your duty to see that Vienna retains her high level of culture. My duty is to safeguard the interests of the Reich, and I expect every Gauleiter to understand that clearly. To achieve great things, it is necessary to burn many of one's boats behind one—especially those which are

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laden with personal prejudices. Reason alone must have the last word.

Part Five

1944

13th March—29th-30th November

324. 13th March 1944, midday

A nursery for film actors—Futility of the art critics—Weber's FREISCHUTZ and Bizet's CARMEN.

It is often said that among our film actors we have none capable of playing certain parts—that, for instance, of the hero. This type of artist, they say, is non-existent. I have never heard such nonsense. But to find them, you must, of course, look for them. Producers make the mistake of seeking always in the same old circle—the stage and the theatrical agencies. If they would look elsewhere, they would soon find what they want. One has only to think of the splendid types of manhood to be found even now, after five years of war, in our regiments.

Some years ago, before the war, I passed a camp of the Labour Service (*Arbeitsdienst*) at Bergdorf. Immediately my car was surrounded by a crowd of bronzed and laughing young men. I remember remarking to one of my companions: "Why don't our film producers come to places like this in search of talent? In a year or two it would be possible to transform one of these lads into an accomplished actor, even if it were just for one particular part for which they are seeking a star." In this respect Leni Riefenstahl has the right idea: she scours the villages in search of the peasant types she requires.

In the nature of things, the opinion of an art critic must not be accepted as an irrevocable and unassailable truth. His criticism is, after all, only the expression of his own personal opinion. When in ten different newspapers ten different critics give their opinion on one and the same work,

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ART CRITICS NOT NEEDED

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ten separate personal opinions emerge—unless, of course, they have previously received instructions from interested parties. Has such an opinion any value? I doubt it. We are too prone to forget that the ancients disregarded the art critic. They judged a work on its merits, as they saw them, which, after all, is the natural method of selection. Art criticism, as it has developed since the beginning of the nineteenth century, means either the death of a work of art, since the critics never cease to tear it to pieces; or the death of the press, since the public could have no faith in a press in which the critic of each individual newspaper gives a completely different story on exactly the same work. If we were to be deprived of art critics, we should not lose very much!

One single critique signed with a well-known name may destroy the aspirations of an artist for as long as twenty years. Examples are not lacking. How many of the artists whom we admire greatly to-day were previously castigated by the oracles of the times! What is true of painters is true of artists in other fields. Do not forget that a single adverse critique by E. T. A. Hoffmann was sufficient gravely to prejudice the chances of success of *Der Freischütz*. And this work, with its deep harmonies, had all the ingredients which should have appealed to the romanticism in Hoffmann. Think of Wagner and how he was torn to bits for ten years by the critics! Had there been no one who appreciated him, it is questionable whether he would have continued with his work. The same thing happened with *Carmen*. And now the critics who tore these masterpieces to shreds are completely and utterly forgotten, and the works live on.

325. 23rd March 1944, midday

*Charm of the Rhineland—And of other parts of
Germany—The marvellous countryside of Bohemia
and Moravia.*

I saw the Rhine for the first time in 1914, when I was on my way to the Western Front. The feelings which the sight of this historic stream inspired in me remain for ever graven on my heart. The kindness and spontaneity of the Rhinelanders also made a profound impression on me; everywhere they received us and feted us in a most touching manner. The evening we reached Aachen, I remember thinking that I should never forget that day for the rest of my life; and indeed the memory of it remains to-day as vivid as ever, and every time I find myself on the banks of the Rhine I re-live again the wondrous experience of my

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first sight of it. This is no doubt one of the main reasons—quite apart from the unrivalled beauty of the countryside—that impels me each year to revisit the Rhineland.

There are other parts of Germany, apart from the Rhineland, which give me intense pleasure to visit—the Kyffhäuser, the forests of Thuringia, the Harz and the Black Forest. It is most exhilarating to drive for miles through the woods and forests, far away from the throng.

One of my greatest delights has always been to picnic quietly somewhere on the roadside; it was not always easy, for our column of cars would often be pursued by a crowd of motorists, eager to see their Fuehrer off duty, and we had to employ all sorts of ruses to shake off these friendly and well-meaning pursuers; sometimes, for instance, I would drive up a side-turning, leaving the column to continue along the main road. Our pursuers would then overtake the cars of the column one by one, and, failing to find me, would go ever faster in the hope of overtaking me farther on. In this way we managed occasionally to snatch a few hours of peace and tranquillity. On one occasion, I remember, a family out gathering mushrooms came suddenly on our picnic party. In a few moments these kindly folk had alerted the neighbouring village and the whole population was surging towards us, filling the air with their shouts of "Heil!"

It is a great pity that Germans know so little of their own country. Since 1938 the number of beauty spots within the boundaries of the Reich has increased considerably. In addition to Austria, we have the wonderful countryside of Bohemia and Moravia, which is a closed book to all but a few Germans. Some of them may have heard of the virgin forests of Bohemia, but how many have ever seen them? I have a collection of photographs taken in Bohemia, and they remind one of the vast forests of the tropics. To visit all the beauties of his country, a German to-day would require to take a holiday in a different district each year for the rest of his life.

326. 16th May 1944, evening

Research and Instruction—State encouragement for free research—The two tasks of research worker and teacher—Kant, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche—Instruction must be State-directed—My relations with the economists—The economists change their minds.

The theory that independent research and instruction are

two fields of activity which must be indissolubly related is false. Each has an entirely different function, each calls for men of a different type, and each must be approached by the State from a different angle.

Research must remain free and unfettered by any State restriction. The facts which it establishes represent Truth, and Truth is never evil. It is the duty of the State to support and further the efforts of research in every way, even when its activities hold no promise of immediate, or even early, advantage from the material or economic point of view. It may well be that its results will be of value, or indeed will represent tremendous progress, only to the generation of the future.

Instruction, on the other hand, should not, in my opinion, enjoy a like liberty of action. Its liberty is limited by the interests of the State, and can therefore never be totally unrestricted; it has not the right to claim that same degree of independence which I most willingly concede to research.

The attributes demanded of a successful teacher and a research worker are fundamentally different, and are seldom to be found together in the single individual. The man of research is by nature extremely cautious; he never ceases to work, to ponder, to weigh and to doubt, and his suspicious nature breeds in him an inclination towards solitude and most rigorous self-criticism.

Of quite a different type is the ideal teacher. He has little or no concern with the endless riddles of the infinite—with something, that is, which is so infinitely greater than himself. He is a man whose task it is to impart knowledge and understanding to men who do not possess them and who, therefore, are generally his intellectual inferiors; and in consequence he is a man who is often inclined to be pedantically dogmatic.

There are many men endowed with a genius for research who are useless as teachers, just as there are brilliant teachers who have no gift whatever for research and creative work; yet all of them, in their respective spheres, make contributions of outstanding value to the sum of human knowledge.

I do not agree with the idea that liberty of research should be restricted solely to the fields of natural science. It should embrace also the domain of thought and philosophy, which, in essence, are themselves but the logical prolongation of scientific research. By taking the data furnished by science and placing them under the microscope of reason, philosophy gives us a logical conception of the universe as

it is. The boundary between research and philosophy is nebulous and constantly moving.

In the Great Hall of the Linz Library are the busts of Kant, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, the greatest of our thinkers, in comparison with whom the British, the French and the Americans have nothing to offer. His complete refutation of the teachings which were a heritage from the Middle Ages, and of the dogmatic philosophy of the Church, is the greatest of the services which Kant has rendered to us. It is on the foundation of Kant's theory of knowledge that Schopenhauer built the edifice of his philosophy, and it is Schopenhauer who annihilated the pragmatism of Hegel. I carried Schopenhauer's works with me throughout the whole of the first World War. From him I learned a great deal. Schopenhauer's pessimism, which springs partly, I think, from his own line of philosophical thought and partly from subjective feeling and the experiences of his own personal life, has been far surpassed by Nietzsche.

It is the custom in Germany for students to pass from one university to another during the course of their studies—a custom, incidentally, which no other country has. But it would be false to assume that this variety in instruction is a safeguard against uniformity of outlook, for although the professors of the various universities fight among themselves, they are all fundamentally and at heart, in complete agreement. I came to realise this clearly through my contacts with the economists. This must have been about 1929. At that time we published a paper on certain aspects of the economic problem. Immediately a whole company of national economists of all sorts, and from a variety of universities, joined forces and signed a circular in which they unanimously condemned our economic proposals. I made one attempt to have a serious discussion with one of the most renowned of them, and one who was regarded by his colleagues as a revolutionary in economic thought—Zwiedineck. The results were disastrous!

At the time the State had floated a loan of two million seven hundred thousand marks for the construction of a road. I told Zwiedineck that I regarded this way of financing a project as foolish in the extreme. The life of the road in question would be some fifteen years; but the amortisation of the capital involved would continue for eighty years. What the Government was really doing was to evade an immediate financial obligation by transferring the charges to the men of the next generation and, indeed, of the generation after. I insisted that nothing could be more unsound, and that what the Government should really do was to take

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not go as he wished—for which there was always someone to blame. General Guderian, who saw Hitler face to face after Stalingrad for the first time in fourteen months, reported that during this and the subsequent period, "he easily lost his temper and raged, and was then unpredictable in what he said and decided." Jodl speaks of his "irascible agitation," which was so feared that at situation conferences only those whose presence was absolutely necessary were permitted to attend by the Operations Staff of the Wehrmacht High Command. By the beginning of 1943, the custom of permitting officers who were being transferred, after extensive service in the Operations Staff, to take leave of Hitler personally and then, as a reward, to participate in the following situation conference, had been abandoned. There was good reason to fear that they might involuntarily witness an eruption of their "Führer," and that they would spread the word.

To judge by the observations of Manstein, Hitler sensed instinctively just how far he could go with the person to whom he was talking; he knew with whom he had to restrain himself and whom he "could expect to intimidate successfully through an outburst of rage—which was perhaps often consciously staged." So sinister was Hitler that even at the very moments when he gave the impression that he had lost all control of himself, he might only have been acting in order to sustain his domination over the person before him.

The fact that Hitler was able to keep going, despite the excessive and increasing strain on his nerves, is something of a miracle. Aside from the short walks he took, nothing in his daily routine was natural. He turned his nights into day, refused to be talked out of the vegetarian diet that overtaxed his stomach, took medicine with pedantic precision before and after eating, and from his personal physician Morell, who was regarded with suspicion in professional circles, received massive injections and doses of medicaments, without which, in the end, he was no longer able to exist. It is almost incomprehensible that Hitler's body survived such punishment for years on end. One cannot help thinking of it in terms of a poorly serviced locomotive fired up to red heat in order to barely be able to creep into the last station on its route. *a car.*

At the end of the war the consequences of this regimen were

apparent. An older General during the last weeks of the war, the Chief of the Chancellery, recorded the had the chance to see him. As he moved from his living quarters to the bunker, he dragged himself part of his body thrust forward, had lost his sense of equilibrium of seventy-five to a hundred, one of the benches provided else hold on to the person control of his right arm, as

It would be an oversimplification to say that Hitler's military effectiveness during the last weeks of the war was not clusions—"but perhaps the Jodl lays his finger on a card that remained as firm as they had had his health not deteriorated alternatives—unless he was thought of which he had to choose others by suicide, thereby founder of Greater Germany defeated.

Shortly before taking his last breath, Hitler had already made this decision: "I have made this decision November 1944, and should have made it earlier." But he had not been looking for an unexpected body and his nerves increased by that infernal, intrusive memory of the war Frederick the Great.¹

¹Not Hitler's right, but his left.

²After a series of disastrous years' war Frederick the Great died; but in 1762 his enemy, the

According to Morell, Hitler "was really . . . never sick." Aside from a case of grippé during the summer of 1942, the only complaint Morell mentioned to Brandt was Hitler's trouble with his stomach and duodenum, which Morell associated with Hitler's jaundice in the summer of 1944. But Brandt did not trust this diagnosis, for there had been no X-ray examination or analysis of Hitler's gastric juices. His frequent intestinal complaints, "which finally were diagnosed as intestinal cramps," were attributed by Brandt possibly to his diet. The "obvious sensitivity of [Hitler's] alimentary canal" Brandt explained on a psychogenic basis.

Brandt left unanswered the question whether Hitler suffered from Parkinson's disease. The hand tremors suddenly disappeared after the shock caused by the attempted assassination of July 20, 1944. They recurred, but only slowly. Morell had found no change in Hitler's reflexes of the lower extremities, the abdomen, or elsewhere. Brandt was therefore inclined to agree with Morell in attributing this tremor also to psychogenic causes rather than organic disease, though he did not entirely rule out the possibility of Parkinson's disease.

In my postwar conversations with Dr. Brandt and Dr. von Hasselbach, while we were prisoners of war, we discussed both possibilities—Parkinson's disease or a psychogenic disturbance—but neither of the two physicians was in a position to make a definitive diagnosis one way or the other. It would be valuable to eliminate this major question mark in Hitler's biography, for among the manifestations of Parkinson's disease are spasms of the brain which adversely affect its activity.⁷

On another matter, Morell and Brandt were in full agreement. Neither thought that Hitler showed any sign of even the beginning of any form of mental illness. On the basis of his own observations, Brandt stated that Hitler had an unusually strong constitution.

treated by two quarreling physicians, because that could only lead to inconsistent treatment. Brandt is of the opinion that Hitler was fully aware of the grave damage being done to his constitution in the long run, but hoped that the treatment could delay the final stage of his illness."

⁷It is important to know whether Morell used anti-spasmodic drugs and, if so, whether he did so because he thought Hitler might have Parkinson's disease—a suspicion that was probably first voiced officially by the SS physi-

The jaundice already mer suffering from gas in his the anti-gas lozenges given the dosage, though the pre suing controversy led to the and Hasselbach, as well as had been in consultation be cardrums by the bomb expli- cialist had accidentally discov mentioned it, as he was profi itself disappeared after Hitl

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Conclusion: The Hitler Pro

METHODOLOGY

By virtue of his personality, millions, Hitler poses an histo At first, attempts were made t how fitting him into the strea accounting for his immense fi man national character or the In this context, Luther, Frede of course have to assume the cialism. The *Times Literary*

cian Dr. de Crinis on the basis of report of this to SS General Walu Diet Himmler on it—who did nothi (July 20, 1944), Dr. de Crinis had only did he regard his initial diagnvined that in Hitler's case the d stage. His renewed warnings contr

really . . . never sick." Aside from 1942, the only complaint was Hitler's trouble with his liver associated with Hitler's jaundice. Brandt did not trust this diagnosis, and analysis of Hitler's complaints, "which finally were attributed by Brandt possibly to [Hitler's] alimentary canal" was.

Whether Hitler suffered from liver disease suddenly disappeared after his assassination of July 20, 1944. Morell had found no change in the liver, the abdomen, or else did not agree with Morell in attributing causes rather than organic disease out the possibility of Parkinson's.

Dr. Brandt and Dr. von Hasselberg discussed both possibilities of liver disturbance—but neither of them was able to make a definitive diagnosis. It was valuable to eliminate this major possibility for among the manifestations of the brain which adversely affected Hitler.

Brandt were in full agreement. There was no sign of even the beginning of liver disease on the basis of his own observations, and Hitler's usually strong constitution.

It is a possibility that could only lead to inconclusive results that Hitler was fully aware of the situation in the long run, but hoped that it would not affect his illness.

Morell used anti-spasmodic drugs and, although Hitler might have Parkinson's disease, it was not voiced officially by the SS physicians.

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The jaundice already mentioned came about when Hitler, who was suffering from gas in his digestive tract, took excessive doses of the anti-gas lozenges given him by Morell, who failed to supervise the dosage, though the preparation contained strychnine. The ensuing controversy led to the dismissal not of Morell but of Brandt and Hasselbach, as well as the ear-nose-and-throat specialist who had been in consultation because of the rupture of one of Hitler's eardrums by the bomb explosion on July 20, 1944; this latter specialist had accidentally discovered the cause of the jaundice and had mentioned it, as he was professionally obligated to do. The jaundice itself disappeared after Hitler stopped taking the medicine.

An additional item in Hitler's medical history, which is also worth mention, came at the end of 1944, when Dr. von Eicken operated, for the second time, on Hitler's vocal chords. He found only a harmless polyp, as had been the case with similar surgery before the war, and not the cancer that had been considered possible.

Conclusion: The Hitler Problem

METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

By virtue of his personality, his ideas, and the fact that he misled millions, Hitler poses an historical problem of the first magnitude. At first, attempts were made to deal with him historically by somehow fitting him into the stream of German intellectual history and accounting for his immense following by attributing it to the German national character or the peculiar course of German history. In this context, Luther, Frederick the Great, and Bismarck would of course have to assume the role of forerunners of National Socialism. The *Times Literary Supplement* once went so far as to

claim Dr. de Crinis on the basis of newsreels and photographs. He made a report of this to SS General Walter Schellenberg, who arranged for him to meet Himmler on it—who did nothing at all. After the attempted assassination (July 20, 1944), Dr. de Crinis had occasion to observe Hitler personally. Not only did he regard his initial diagnosis as confirmed, but he also became convinced that in Hitler's case the disease had already reached an advanced stage. His renewed warnings continued unheeded.

6. Hitler and Foreign Countries

A collection of quotations from the *Table Conversations* demonstrating Hitler's sympathy or antipathy to particular countries would not be very rewarding. The fact is that before the Second World War the only countries Hitler knew firsthand were Austria and Germany, aside from the area of France in which he had served during the First World War. In the period of his rise to power during the twenties, Hitler never crossed the German border. For a time he considered taking a trip around the United States, an idea suggested by his friends the Hanfstaengls, a wealthy Munich publishing family. But before he got around to it, he was deterred by the Munich *Putsch* and its consequences. Once in power, Hitler did become acquainted with Italy. His visits with Mussolini were a great artistic experience for him, though he had no opportunity to be exposed to the people themselves. What little Hitler saw of foreign countries after the beginning of the Second World War was through the windows of his limousine or special train. So far as foreign countries were concerned, then, Hitler remained dependent throughout his life on pictures, the cinema, and the reports of others. In this respect, he was unlike Roosevelt or Churchill and more like Stalin, who left Russia for the first time when he attended the Teheran Conference in November 1943.

One has to bear these factors in mind to understand Hitler's stereotyped conception of foreign countries. He thought in terms of clichés characteristic of the arrogant propaganda put out before World War I by the pan-German and more racially oriented nationalistic press. However, Germany's defeat in the First World War brought a change, particularly in intellectual and artistic circles, so that there came to be an increasingly fruitful exchange with foreign countries during the twenties. But this was all lost on Hitler, who had no feeling for literature and vehemently rejected the new art and architecture, suspecting that the Jewish conspiracy had infiltrated the arts completely. Since Hitler clung to the idea that the loss of the First World War had not been a genuine defeat, he saw no reason whatever to reconsider his feeling of nationalistic superiority. On the contrary, as a result of Germany's recovery under his leader-

ship, not to mention its v mental belief in German cated.

It may surprise some respect about Stalin. The and identification with a Franklin D. Roosevelt are shocking. To be sure, antipathy for them. The most standable, for these were the notion that hatred often by Hitler. He not only Churchill continually, but should ever do with one's for sorely. Thus, once again of a man who read at his disposal, and who nevertheless allowing him which blocked his clear v

The *Table Conversations* toward England, an isolating mixture of love and nineteenth century to add them the next. "They are nonetheless. We still have war the film *The Bengal* in the Indian Army to Hitler had it played for his *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*

Hitler's hope that the "be the first step toward a not realized. If he had been idea would never have occurred however, he clung to the and Germany closer together interests were linked by a another matter about which

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any length the judgments at kings and princes. He milies rotten to the core, being taken seriously. He :rn brood" and expressed s formal reception by the

ten thousand"—a term he were similarly petulant. i riffraff of idiotic stupid-leclared, "is more foolish so-called burgher class." red only tranquility and e Hanseatics, the citizens eaports, came in for an ation. There is no way o prejudiced against the i commerce and industry recover so swiftly from ver, "Führer and Reich part of the bourgeoisie,

I trainloads of functionaric, r Mussolini had extended Hitler was disgusted "by the to stay with the King in the lace irked him and left him use" (Alan Bullock, *Hitler*,

kanzler by Reichspräsident i. Thereupon Hitler united) and head of government nd Reichskanzler, an act scite on August 19, 1934, lion, there is no question did endorse him.—ED.

while also enjoying social contact with important representatives of the "upper ten thousand." Undoubtedly he sensed that many burghers and intellectuals rejected him or at best regarded him with reserve, but there is really no explanation for his negative attitude other than that he never overcame the resentments which had taken root during his youth and intensified during the years of his struggle for power. He clung to these resentments with that rigidity he maintained in all of his basic conceptions.¹

It is more difficult to account for Hitler's prejudice against professors. Since the nineteenth century they had made a vital contribution to Germany's reputation, and the results of their research—including the achievements of scholars who had nothing whatsoever to do with National Socialism—had been of great significance to the Third Reich. Certainly at the beginning of the war this was clear. But Hitler still did not like professors. "If the German professor were to be put in charge of the world for a few centuries," he declared in 1942, "there would be nothing but cretins running around after a million years—gigantic heads with hardly any

¹Hitler's relationship with the German bourgeoisie, the burgher class, is strikingly illustrated in Edouard Calic's recent edition of two conversations Hitler had with Richard Breiting, editor of the influential Saxon newspaper *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, in May and June 1931 (*Ohne Maske: Hitler-Breiting-Gespräche 1931*, Frankfurt, 1968). A member of Stresemann's moderately conservative party, a friend of later resistance leader Mayor Carl Goerdeler of Leipzig, and a man quite interested in the possibility of "using" Hitler and his movement as a brake against the serious menace of socialism and communism, Breiting had two long conferences with Hitler several months after the Nazis' first big breakthrough (from twelve to 107 seats) in the Reichstag elections of September 1930, but almost two years before Hitler would become chancellor. Hitler was scathingly condescending in his attitude toward the German middle classes. He did not need them; they needed him and his movement. He would make even faster work of them than of the Marxists. He would do whatever he wanted with them and they would obey unconditionally. Their talents were indispensable, to be sure, but only as specialists, and as such they had to cooperate and comply without question. The German bourgeoisie was rotten to the core. Once he reached power legally, Hitler would close down their Reichstag and convert it to a museum. Despite this sustained tirade, Breiting reacted relatively positively to Hitler. He was impressed by the man's personal stature, by his attitude toward big business, and by his determination to end the Marxist threat. Hitler might be a diamond in the rough, but he seemed to have a hard cutting edge that could be put to good use.—ED.

1942

* attraction to the strongest of the males would preserve the best and strongest of the species. In this manner, the rigid laws of heredity could be reconciled with the trend toward breeding a better race.

In addition, there is the concept of "development," which played a dominant role in Hitler's thinking. In Hitler's view, nothing was right except "what corresponds to the processes of nature," for nature had already given us examples to follow. Presumably on this basis, Hitler came to the conclusion that the bicycle was correctly constructed, but that Count Zeppelin's dirigible was not, and that the design of ships would also have to be changed. One evening Hitler explained: "Just as the bird represents, in comparison to the flying fish, a higher stage of development, the ship is a preliminary stage of the airplane. The future belongs to the airplane." In the field of technology, Hitler was so obsessed with the thought of development that he said he felt it was a shame to live in a time when people were not even conscious of what the new world could look like.

Hitler considered man, no less than nature and technology, to be caught up in the process of development. The purpose of education he thought to be the application of appropriate measures to give this development wholesome guidance while warding off any pernicious influences. This was the purpose of the *Hitler-Jugend* (Hitler Youth organization) as well as the responsibility of the teachers, many of whom were still doing a far from satisfactory job of ideological indoctrination. The task of reaching those who were already older lay with the political educators, particularly statesmen in public life.

For the forging of a successful people, however, education alone was not enough: "There is not a thing in the world, no substance, and certainly no human institution which does not sooner or later begin to weaken . . . The hardest steel shows fatigue; all the elements decompose." This inexorable consummation, "racial death," could be postponed only by hardening. The stronger triumphs and is thereby justified. It is well that it is so, for only in this manner can what is vital be built up. A people following these laws is charged by nature with the task of multiplying itself, even if it does not have sufficient space in which to live (*Lebensraum*). If it conse-

quently attempts to expand that is the intention of nature to strengthen the superior and in January 1942, Hitler formulating the eternal law of nature wins it, because the old bounds the expansion of the population must be more prolific. This move in order to avoid the danger the other is frightful, but that

The following July, Hitler believed that in the struggle between the average quality will always a natural order of things would master the superior."

Frederick the Great had on the side of the stronger battalions Frederick as his example, his numerical superiority is decisive knowledge that ever since the very latest, that of the against him, the more so as also had to be considered. With the simplistic statement the weaker: just as in nature weaker, in human affairs the over those whose character in nature one can predict who over the hare or the lion over could prophesy the victory enemies.

Thus one link was joined to be a logical and scientific the horrible chain that shackled and dragged Germany into the

It is not unique to Hitler should have been exploited to

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1942

quently attempts to expand by means of force, that is only just, for that is the intention of nature, which forces conflict in order to strengthen the superior and lead them to victory. One night late in January 1942, Hitler formulated this thought as follows: "According to the eternal law of nature, the land belongs to whoever wins it, because the old boundaries do not leave enough room for the expansion of the population." For this reason alone the stronger must be more prolific. This creates hardship and forces them to move in order to avoid the danger of racial death. That one devours the other is frightful, but that is the way things are.

The following July, Hitler said he was "an ardent advocate of the belief that in the struggle between peoples, those with the better-than-average quality will always be the victors." In his opinion, "the natural order of things would be disrupted if the inferior should master the superior."

Frederick the Great had once observed that "the dear Lord is on the side of the stronger battalions." If Hitler, who often enough cited Frederick as his example, had also subscribed to the view that numerical superiority is decisive in war, he would have had to acknowledge that ever since the entry of Russia into the war, or, at the very latest, that of the United States, the odds were clearly against him, the more so as raw materials and industrial capacity also had to be considered. But Hitler countered this calculation with the simplistic statement that the stronger would prevail over the weaker: just as in nature the stronger creature overcomes the weaker, in human affairs the people of stronger character win out over those whose character is wavering or unwholesome. Just as in nature one can predict with certainty the victory of the hound over the hare or the lion over the gazelle, Hitler believed that he could prophesy the victory of the Germans over their inferior enemies.

Thus one link was joined to the next in what seemed to Hitler to be a logical and scientifically irrefutable series. Thus was forged the horrible chain that shackled millions, threatened all Europe, and dragged Germany into the abyss.

It is not unique to Hitler's Germany that the work of Darwin should have been exploited to legitimize political violence. Pseudo-

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gauge. He had a copy of Nietzsche's works transcribed on parch-
ment for Mussolini, but by the time it could be sent to Rome, he had
already been overthrown.

Mussolini was one of the many admirers of Nietzsche who had
read him and thoroughly misunderstood him. To the degree that Hit-
ler had actually read his works, one can assume that the same thing
happened in his case. The titles of Nietzsche's books, particularly
Beyond Good and Evil and *The Will to Power*, were, of course,
peculiarly appealing to Hitler's main sentiments. Nietzsche's concep-
tion of the "transvaluation of all values," his struggle against Chris-
tianity, his cult of the unbroken instinct, his vision of the superman,
and, above all, his damnation of conventional morality could hardly
have been any less attractive. But by way of mitigating Nietzsche's
historical responsibility, if indeed Hitler read enough of him to
suggest anything of the sort, we can certainly assume that with or
without the philosopher's ideas, Hitler would have been the person
he was. Nietzsche was never more than an abused and exploited
witness whose testimony was used to support the Third Reich. And
there seems to be no evidence that Hitler was seriously influenced
by any other philosopher of note.

It might be thought that given Hitler's basic orientation, both
historical and scientific, there would be little room for religious
convictions. Yet, though Hitler had clearly turned away from the
churches and even opposed them openly, he was not irreligious.
Dr. von Hasselbach describes him as a "religious person, or at least
one who was struggling for religious clarity." In support of this,
he points out that before the war Hitler repeatedly concerned him-
self with religious questions, and that he freely acknowledged the
religious needs of the masses. Unlike such figures as the coarse
Martin Bormann, he did not regard Nazi ceremonies as a substitute
for the Church and rejected the idea of being idolized after his death
like Lenin. "He went on for hours discussing the possibility of
bridging the confessional division of the German people and helping
them find a religion appropriate to their character and modern man's
understanding of the world." He had no wish to assume the role
of reformer himself, but he was interested in the prospect of seeing
reform arise. No suitable movement in this direction took place, so

Hitler's vivid imagination, of breathtaking visions which he conjured up before the eyes of his listeners, of "glances through the side door of paradise." As a frustrated architect, Hitler personally concerned himself, even during the war, with visions of glorious building projects like the Nuremberg Stadium, which, with seats for 400,000 persons, was on a "scale such as the world has never before seen." Plans for Nuremberg and Berlin are extant which demonstrate how far Hitler's imagination carried him in reducing human beings to mere ants, all but lost in vast superstructures. The motivating force was the same as with the architectural monstrosities which Stalin not only planned but actually built—a megalomaniacal urge to outdo the United States, which until the twentieth century had been recognized as the land of unlimited possibilities. The endeavor was already historically obsolescent by 1933, because a new breed of architects—including Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe, whom Hitler forced out of Germany—showed Americans how architecture even on the largest scale could retain a sense of proportion and thereby remain humane. *In dis!*

On the basis of his ideas about breeding, Hitler foresaw 150 to 200 million Germans someday, a population, in other words, on a scale comparable to that of North America or Russia. The thought that Germany might not be able to hold her own in competition with the superpowers and their vastly increasing populations had, after all, been a matter of concern to Germans since the days of Friedrich List in the first half of the nineteenth century, and had seriously troubled some of the more nationalistic groups. Such an enormous increase in population could not have been achieved merely by encouraging large families. As a mealtime guest of Hitler's, one evening in April 1942, Himmler suggested a biological "fishing expedition" in France to find racially suitable young French women who would be brought to boarding schools in Germany, in order "to divert them from the accident of their French nationality and point out to them their German blood and consequently their membership in the greater German community." "The Chief," as Picker referred to Hitler, following the usage of his staff, "commented that he was actually not particularly favorable to all sorts of attempts at Germanization unless they could be put on an ideologically sound basis."

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These 200 million Germans of the future, and those who per-
mitted themselves to be made Germans, would, as Hitler conceived
it, be able to be not only bred but also transplanted. He pictured
how one day a hundred million Germans would be "deployed" in the
East, twenty million of them within the next ten years alone. En-
tirely consistent with this strand of thought was his plan to resettle
the South Tyroleans, who were a liability in his relations with Musso-
lini in the Crimea. In both climate and landscape, Hitler thought,
the peninsula would be entirely suitable for the Tyroleans; in fact,
it would be an improvement over their previous homeland. There
would be no transportation difficulties. "All they need to do is sail
down a German river, the Danube, and they would already be
there"; a transplantation that would cause "neither physically nor
psychologically any particular difficulties"—at least not in the
imagination of this self-appointed breeder of humans.

In Hitler's visions of the future, the new possibilities that would
emerge from the perfection of means already at hand played an
important role—it could hardly have been otherwise, considering
his sense of technology. Hitler's daydream was a railroad line to
the Donetz Basin deep in southern Russia, with tracks four meters
wide on which two-story cars would speed back and forth at two
hundred kilometers per hour. One or two supplemental tracks would
also enable normal trains to travel the route. In addition, he would
build dual-lane superhighways toward the East with lanes eleven
rather than seven meters wide. In his mind's eye rose new cities
with imposing governors' palaces. Inhabited by Germans, these
cities would have nothing at all to do with native building styles. Up
to that time, even the maddest of nationalists had not had the audac-
ity to think in such terms. *corporato, corporato*

Were such visions stimulated by reading the works of Jules Verne,
Kurd Lasswitz, and other authors of science fiction and futuristic
novels, which Hitler would have read in his youth? In technical
terms, many of his visions were more or less realizable. But what
of the political circumstances which would have been necessary not
only to establish such German settlements in the East but to main-
tain them in the long run? As can be seen from many passages in
the Table Conversations, Hitler had already developed a clear idea
of how this was to be done. Russian villages surrounding the new

42, 39

Power of thought

German cities were to be kept deliberately at a low level of culture, and the Russian cities which already existed were not to be improved, "not to mention their being beautified." The trade in birth-control devices was to be encouraged in every possible way in order to cur back the expansion of the native population. Considering their prolificacy, "it would be perfectly all right with us for the women and girls there to have as many abortions as possible." To try to set up a public health organization along German lines in the occupied Eastern territories "would be sheer madness," and vaccinations and other preventive measures were not even in question. As a matter of fact, even the desire for such measures should be suppressed. "One should go right ahead and spread the superstition among them that inoculations and the like are very dangerous." Even dental care would be limited.

A parallel chain of thought led Hitler to the conclusion that the Eastern populations should not be permitted to enjoy advanced schooling. Instruction would be limited to fundamentals such as traffic signs, the acquisition of a limited familiarity with the German language, and sufficient geography to know that Berlin is the capital of the Reich. "Instruction in arithmetic and the like would be superfluous." For this reason, Hitler noted, one should "above all not set German schoolmasters loose in the Eastern territories." It need hardly be added that the inhabitants would have neither their own government nor armed forces.

Hitler's talk about his plans for the East was more than idle chatter, for what he envisioned corresponded to the measures which had already been initiated in the so-called *Generalgouvernement*, the portion of Poland not directly annexed by Germany or the Soviet Union, a program that was being further refined at the time of the *Table Conversations*.

As early as October 18, 1939, General Franz Halder, Chief of the General Staff of the Army, made the following notes in his diary after he had been briefed on Hitler's plans for Poland: "We do not want to restore Poland. . . . Base for future German expansion, Poland to supply its own [local] administration. It is not to become a model state according to German conception. Prevent Polish intelligentsia developing itself into a new leadership class. Lower

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r behind. As soon as the first break-

through was achieved, the unleashed energy of the victorious Ger-
mans and the paralysis on the side of the enemy would make it
possible to achieve the improbable in the end. This was what Hitler
meant when he so often spoke of fanaticism and repeatedly de-
manded it of the Wehrmacht. A good many of the military successes
during the first part of the war had, after all, been achieved despite
the predictions of the General Staff. Consequently, Hitler felt fully
justified in counting on this incalculable factor of fanaticism as the
decisive consideration. Had the Bible meant anything to him, then
it would certainly have been the verse about the faith that can move
mountains which would have been closest to his heart.

"Perhaps the most decisive of all the problems of the supreme
German leadership in the war was that Hitler, because of his initial
successes, could say that he and not the General Staff, which on the
basis of its calculations had not established such far-reaching goals,
was the true realist. He had foreseen actual developments more
clearly, precisely because he had taken the incalculable into account.
But then the situation changed again, and in the end the General
Staff was correct in its calculations."

A striking demonstration of these observations is to be found in
the private diary which Major (later General) Gerhard Engel,
Hitler's army adjutant, kept during the period of the grave crisis of
the winter of 1942-1943, which was to reach its climax in the disas-
trous Battle of Stalingrad.

On November 7, 1942, Hitler declared that "it was his repeated
experience that the General Staff overestimated the enemy. In this
connection, Poland and France had been one long fiasco." He was
immediately proved wrong. On November 19, the Soviet offensive
began against which General Zeitzler had warned; from then on,
the thinking of the General Staff proved to be increasingly superior
to Hitler's. But by now Hitler was firmly convinced of his superiority
over these "experts" and did not let himself be shaken in this con-
viction by reverses—no matter how grave they were.

In contrast with other historical events, the course of military
operations permits clear judgments in retrospect, since successes
and failures, victories and defeats can be clearly differentiated. The
tally for Hitler would show both plus and minus points, but the final
total would be negative.

turemberg cell, begins his reflections on nslated in full as Appendix II) with the ar, strategy includes foreign and domestic tion, propaganda, and leadership of the al but only a statesman can be a strate- of Hitler's leadership must consider his peripheral areas—a task beyond the scope

inating Force

4, as the breakthrough in the West be- e landings in Normandy and in southern the subject of willpower in a conference

e the year 1941, has been never to lose stances, but rather, if there is a collapse solutions and expedients in order to set

have cut myself off from the other world. eater heard a concert, nor seen a film. ask of leading this struggle, because I n there behind it who by his very nature struggle cannot be won. . . ."

o have a will of iron—these two phrases ing of Hitler. Everyone who had the ler closely agreed that the most con- as his will. But for the conduct of the , as more than one of Hitler's generals d Jodl describes Hitler's actions after then on, he intervened more and more sions, often down to matters of tactical th unbending will what he thought the mprehend: that one had to stand or fall, kwards was an evil in itself." General f Hitler in the final phase of the war, iction: "With the grim tenacity of a

44, 42

fanatic, he clutched at one last straw which he deluded himself into imagining would save him and his work from going under. His compelling willpower was entirely devoted to this thought which dominated him completely: 'Never yield and never capitulate'. He had said it so often; now he also had to act accordingly."

Field Marshal Erich von Manstein characterized this overestimation of will as nothing less than the "decisive factor in Hitler's military leadership." In Hitler's view it "would only have to be transformed into belief down to the youngest grenadier in order to demonstrate the correctness of his decisions and to guarantee the success of his orders." In itself, Manstein points out, willpower is a positive characteristic without which no military leader can sustain his position. In the case of Hitler, however, it was linked to his belief in his "mission." "Such a belief leads inevitably to rigidity as well as to the opinion that one's own will can reach even beyond the limitations set by hard reality. . . ."

Professor Carl J. Burckhardt, who as League of Nations High Commissioner in Danzig had personal contact with Hitler, penetrated into still deeper levels of the phenomenon. He found that Hitler would immediately adapt his actions to changing circumstances, but that in doing so he simultaneously divested himself of freedom of choice despite the power that he possessed: "In his almost total lack of freedom, he stood very close to those whom he ruled. Between himself and the overpowering circumstances, there was what amounted to a mechanical force to which he succumbed as did all those whom he had chained to himself."

What Burckhardt had in mind is illustrated by two entries in the diary of Hitler's army adjutant, General Gerhard Engel. On October 2, 1942, Hitler declared the "capture of Stalingrad not only for operational but psychological reasons urgently necessary, for world public opinion and morale of [Axis] allies." On the tenth, he elaborated on his explanation of the attack by saying that Stalingrad had to be "broken out, . . . to rob Communism of its holy shrine." One sees with tangible clarity how Hitler the strategist, who insisted on having his way despite all the warnings of the experts, almost mechanically reacted to the nonmilitary consequences of the threatening military catastrophe and thereby only made it far worse than it already was.

Here we see the reverse side of Jodl's thesis that the modern strategist must be many other things besides a military leader. The execution of a military action for propaganda reasons assumed that strategy was no longer strategy. Prestige-strategy is the poorest strategy. In the long run, one cannot maintain a bluff in military matters, and if one makes the attempt, then the battle will not only reveal the actual relative strength, but in so doing also make the next reverse unavoidable, which—if purely strategic considerations had been followed—might well have been fended off.

Hitler had the advantage of having begun the war with extraordinarily strong nerves. They held up—as the Table Conversations demonstrate—even in the winter of 1941-1942, when events would have broken most men in Hitler's position. On April 1, 1942, Dr. Picker noted: "In terms of health, the Führer is in very good shape." Goebbels spoke at about the same time of Hitler's having the constitution of a bear. The decisions in the winter of 1941-1942 do not, then, appear to have been affected by Hitler's health.

On January 15, 1942, after the furious battle before Moscow, during which, for the first time in the war, the German armies were stopped in their tracks, Hitler finally gave the Fourth Army permission to consolidate its front line by drawing back. (For giving the same order on his own authority eight days earlier, General Erich Hoepner—later to be executed for participation in the unsuccessful plot against Hitler—had been summarily dismissed from the Wehrmacht.) Hitler concluded his mid-January withdrawal order to the Fourth Army with the words: "This is the first time during this war that I have given an order to evacuate a substantial sector of the front." At the beginning of March, Hitler was forced to approve a new shortening of the front line, concerning which he declared that he "had insisted with deliberate obstinacy on holding every foot of ground."

After the front had once more been stabilized and the offensive resumed on the southern wing, Hitler concluded that this had been possible largely due to his not having lost his nerve; when a new and much graver winter crisis loomed the following autumn, Hitler's solution was to hold fast, just as in the previous year. General Engel, who participated in Hitler's situation conferences during the de-

cisive weeks, notes in his diary into a cramp of such immobility were literally repelled. The set actions in chronological sequence

November 19: "Bad evening; catastrophe with the Rumanian

November 20: "A typical situation because of the Rumanians. manding general of an armored unsure what is to be done. . . ."

November 21: "Job's tidings Stalingrad a crisis with the Run Volga front with Headquarters says no with the familiar argument situation and the Russians would and again: 'No matter what happened around Stalingrad' in any case

Accordingly, during the night given to the Sixth Army, which had to hold its ground, while pocket. The following night, General Paulus that the annihilation

"The crisis which culminated in 1 (never completely captured by the C begun on November 19, 1942, with overwhelmingly powerful Russian Yerenienko) crushed the thinly spread on Paulus' flanks and closed their cutting off more than 200,000 soldiers the Fourth Armored Army, parts of ment, units of the Luftwaffe, and in retreat. Hitler finally promoted General January, pointing out that no German Paulus did, however, rather than go, as Hitler had expected.

The literature on Stalingrad is im- tably suggests the human dimension of mention: *Last Letters from Stalingrad* (the great battle) by General S. I. back, 1965).—ED.

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cisive weeks, notes in his diary that Hitler's willpower had locked
 into a cramp of such immobile rigidity that all appeals to reason
 were literally repelled. The sentences reporting Hitler's words and
 actions in chronological sequence speak for themselves.

November 19: "Bad evening situation conference. Apparently a
 catastrophe with the Rumanians, but still no clear picture. . . ."

November 20: "A typical situation conference. Complete confu-
 sion because of the Rumanians. Everything depends on Heim [com-
 manding general of an armored corps]. Führer himself completely
 unsure what is to be done. . . ."

November 21: "Job's tidings keep pouring in. Now also south of
 Stalingrad a crisis with the Rumanians. Jodl suggests evacuating the
 Volga front with Headquarters Sixth Army altogether. . . . Führer
 says no with the familiar arguments; that would not change the
 situation and the Russians would not fail to notice. . . . Führer again
 and again: 'No matter what happens we have to hold the [area
 around Stalingrad] in any case.'"

Accordingly, during the night of November 22-23, the order was
 given to the Sixth Army, which had meanwhile been cut off, that it
 had to hold its ground, without attempting to break out of the
 pocket. The following night, November 23-24, a report came from
 General Paulus that the annihilation of his army was certain if he

"The crisis which culminated in the loss of the greater part of Stalingrad
 (never completely captured by the Germans) and of Paulus' Sixth Army, had
 begun on November 19, 1942, within days of the onset of hard winter. Two
 overwhelmingly powerful Russian army groups (under Rokossovsky and
 Yeremenko) crushed the thinly spread Rumanian Third and Fourth Armies
 on Paulus' flanks and closed their pincers behind him on November 21,
 cutting off more than 200,000 soldiers of the Sixth Army, many elements of
 the Fourth Armored Army, parts of two Rumanian divisions, a Croat regi-
 ment, units of the Luftwaffe, and noncombatants. Having forbidden him to
 retreat, Hitler finally promoted General Paulus to field marshal at the end of
 January, pointing out that no German field marshal had ever surrendered.
 Paulus did, however, rather than go down fighting—or at least commit suicide,
 as Hitler had expected.

The literature on Stalingrad is immense. One slim volume that unforget-
 tably suggests the human dimension of the tragedy of the Sixth Army deserves
 mention: *Last Letters from Stalingrad*, with an introduction (briefly explain-
 ing the great battle) by General S. L. A. Marshall (New York, 1962; paper-
 back, 1965).—ED.

were not permitted to evacuate the portions of Stalingrad he had been able to capture, withdraw from his northern defense perimeter, and try to break out through the western and southern sides of the pocket. This recommendation was supported by Army Chief of Staff Zeitzler and the Commander-in-Chief of Army Group B, Baron von Weichs. Nevertheless, at 5:00 A.M., November 24, Hitler's categorical order to hold Stalingrad was transmitted to the Sixth Army.

November 24 (noon situation conference, as recorded in the Engel diary): "Big discussion of radio message from General Paulus; . . . Führer crassly rejects proposal, though Zeitzler supports it, . . . [and] stresses repeatedly that Stalingrad under no circumstances is to be given up. . . . Situation conference becomes increasingly agitated. Responsibility [for the crisis] is completely unclarified." The proposal of the Army Group to give the armored corps a free hand to mount a counterattack to break the pocket was also "crassly rejected by the Führer."

November 26: Long discussion with Field Marshal von Manstein, who had just been put in command of the critical sector of the front, and who recommended withdrawals elsewhere in order to free reserves for this operation. "Führer is and remains calm," wrote Engel, "but rejects everything. Reasons: it all would be interpreted as weakness; vital living space would be lost once more; impossible impact on our allies; loss of time, since one could never tell what might happen in the West, Africa, or elsewhere. Operationally, von Manstein has good ideas, but in view of the overall picture [it is, so far as Hitler is concerned] only grey theory. . . . Zeitzler asks finally that the Sixth Army be given freedom of action [implying an attempt to break out or, should that fail, tacit permission to capitulate], which the Führer rejects out of hand. Only a relief action can even be considered, and for that purpose the greater part of the Fourth Armored [Panzer] Army is available [to Manstein]."

Hitler relied on Göring's assurance that the air force would be able to supply the isolated army. Engel: "We are horrified by so much optimism, which even Air Force General Staff officers do not share. Führer enthusiastic about the Reich Marshal. He will take care of things just as in the old days; there [with Göring] he does

not find the pettiness so common i
givings were presented at the situa
by Colonel Eckhardt Christian.⁹
out, Führer contradicts. It is all or
larly gifted organizer [in other w
his special powers ruthlessly, will
has to move against generals who
(von Manstein, von Richthofen)."

Thus Hitler had irrevocably con
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Army. Because the Russians had
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December 18, situation confer
Manstein requests that the Sixth A
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⁹After the victories of the first year of
of German generals to field marshal, in c
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the Luftwaffe. His personal influence wit
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very end he was ejected from all his offi
party.—ED.

¹⁰Christian was an air force officer attac
It was estimated that a bare minimum
would have to be flown in daily. Less
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not find the pettiness so common in the army."⁸ The prevailing mis- givings were presented at the situation conference on November 26 by Colonel Eckhardt Christian.⁹ "After calmly hearing Christians out, Führer contradicts. It is all only a question of time. A particularly gifted organizer [in other words, Göring], authorized to use his special powers ruthlessly, will be able to handle it, even if he has to move against generals who create difficulties for the airlift (von Manstein, von Richthofen)."

Thus Hitler had irrevocably committed himself. The Sixth Army was under no circumstances to be permitted to attempt a breakout, despite the gravest objections of the General Staff and General Paulus, and it was to be supplied solely by airlift, on the word of Göring, despite the alarming misgivings even of air force officers attached to the Führer Headquarters.¹ The counterattack of the Fourth Armored Army was delayed until December 12. Once underway, it succeeded in approaching to within some sixty kilometers of Stalingrad by December 18, but was then stopped by the Red Army. Because the Russians had meanwhile broken through the Italian Eighth Army on the Don, threatening the relief column's flank, Hitler was forced to abandon the effort and order a withdrawal, "because the principle of holding the furthest advanced line, no matter what," was simply not applicable in this case.

December 18, situation conference in the evening: "Again von Manstein requests that the Sixth Army be permitted to break out, since only [in this way] can contact with Stalingrad [be main-

⁸After the victories of the first year of the war, Hitler promoted a number of German generals to field marshal, in effect, five-star rank. The ostentatious seniority of Field Marshal Hermann Göring, who had been one of Hitler's most loyal lieutenants since the early days of the struggle for power, was preserved by creating for him what amounted to six-star rank as Reichsmarschall. In addition to several other posts, he was Supreme Commander of the Luftwaffe. His personal influence with Hitler and consequently his power within the Third Reich declined fairly steadily during the war, until at the very end he was ejected from all his offices and from the National Socialist party.—ED.

⁹Christian was an air force officer attached to Jodi's staff.—ED. It was estimated that a bare minimum of five hundred tons of supplies would have to be flown in daily. Less than a fifth of this rate could be sustained.—ED.

2000
500 = 1,000,000 A day

seen

42
tained] and the mass of the army be saved. But atmosphere is depressed. Führer has again refused breakout although Zeitler has put it very urgently. . . ."

December 19: "Agitated discussion, since von Manstein has renewed request for breakout of army. Führer is implacable, always with the same arguments, does not believe in saving the army [through retreat]."

Continual discussions followed, in which Hitler seems to have considered the decision of abandoning the city of Stalingrad after all. The responsible officers hoped against hope that Paulus, on his own responsibility, would attempt to break out. But conditioned by the tradition of obedience, the general could not bring himself to make that decision. Probably it was already too late for him anyway.

December 21: "No one knows how things are supposed to go on with Stalingrad. Führer is very taciturn and almost not to be seen except at the situation conferences and briefings. . . ."

On December 25, von Manstein requested that divisions from the Caucasus Front be placed at his disposal. Hitler refused his request on December 27, because it allegedly could not be carried out. But on December 28 he had to approve a withdrawal of the entire Caucasus Front.²

It is impossible not to wonder what was going on during these days in the mind of the man who held to the crucial decision in grim opposition to all the qualified experts. Professor Andreas Hillgruber, who edited the *War Diary* for the year 1942, supplies this much of an answer:

"Whether Hitler at this point actually still believed in the possibility of relieving the Sixth Army will never—particularly considering the psyche of Hitler—be entirely clarified. As late as the situation conference of December 28, when Christian in his briefing observed that Manstein held the airlift to be inadequate and consequently impractical [as a means of sustaining Paulus], Hitler replied that this was a question of rationalization. . . . It would be

²Hitler approved the withdrawal from the Caucasus at the end of December 1942 because the Russians were driving down the Don toward the Sea of Azov. There was real danger that all of Army Group A would be cut off, compounding the disaster of Stalingrad.—ED.

better to employ expensive or General Staff trates had to be used. into it himself (Engl)

Completely isolated and grasping at com through this crisis. A news might well have suicide. Hitler's will speak of morbid rigid acknowledgment of F speak of perseverance, immediately be qualified analysis, even these w

These citations may be significant because tary leadership and of inevitable. In the clas moment at which fate into the abyss. In the which at his comman be presumptuous to mover of world histor in Braunau on the Ri who made himself die we have documented, he had provoked, im this he sealed his own been able to win; but so frightful was somet ning with a defeat on t Sedan. Stalingrad was because he had become reacting will. *Quem de the gods would destro*

After Stalingrad, H frequently he allowed

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al from the Caucasus at the end of December : driving down the Don toward the Sea of at all of Army Group A would be cut off, alingrad.—ED.

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better to employ export merchants than utterly ignorant administra-
tive or General Staff officers [for this type of operation]. Concen-
trates had to be used. They could be gotten and he was going to look
into it himself (Engel diary)."

Completely isolated, unwilling to learn, convinced of his position,
and grasping at completely inadequate expedients, Hitler held up
through this crisis. Another man bombarded by so much disastrous
news might well have lost his nerve and broken down or committed
suicide. Hitler's willpower—though at this point one might better
speak of morbid rigidity—remained unbroken. Thus we see that the
acknowledgment of Hitler's positive characteristics—here we might
speak of perseverance, strength of character, willpower—must im-
mediately be qualified by the further observation that, in the last
analysis, even these worked out to have negative consequences.

These citations may strike the reader as unduly detailed, but they
are significant because they concern the dénouement of Hitler's mili-
tary leadership and of the war itself. From this point on, defeat was
inevitable. In the classic drama of antiquity, the *peripetia* was the
moment at which fate would plunge the hero from his proud heights
into the abyss. In the case of the war which Hitler unleashed and
which at his command was extended to the Soviet Union, it would
be presumptuous to appeal to fate as the explanation. Here the
mover of world history was none other than that uncanny man born
in Braunau on the River Inn, the son of a petty Austrian official,
who made himself dictator of Germany. During those weeks which
we have documented, Hitler stubbornly set his face against the fate
he had provoked, implacably rejecting all reasonable advice. With
this he sealed his own annihilation. Adolf Hitler would never have
been able to win; but that his end should have been so disgraceful,
so frightful was something which he himself brought about, begin-
ning with a defeat on the field which was far greater than Cannae or
Sedan. Stalingrad was a link in a chain which he forged precisely
because he had become the prisoner of his rigidly and mechanically
reacting will. *Quem deus perdere vult, dementat prius*—those whom
the gods would destroy, they first make mad.

After Stalingrad, Hitler's nerves began to falter. More and more
frequently he allowed himself to fly into fits of rage when things did

* Dr. T. I kept instructing him: "a
modest defeat will save you a
modest place in history. Better to start
have a disaster. Or else, sooner, disaster.
Stone's disaster."

not go as he wished—for which there was always someone to blame. General Guderian, who saw Hitler face to face after Stalingrad for the first time in fourteen months, reported that during this and the subsequent period, "he easily lost his temper and raged, and was then unpredictable in what he said and decided." Jodl speaks of his "irascible agitation," which was so feared that at situation conferences only those whose presence was absolutely necessary were permitted to attend by the Operations Staff of the Wehrmacht High Command. By the beginning of 1943, the custom of permitting officers who were being transferred, after extensive service in the Operations Staff, to take leave of Hitler personally and then, as a reward, to participate in the following situation conference, had been abandoned. There was good reason to fear that they might involuntarily witness an eruption of their "Führer," and that they would spread the word.

To judge by the observations of Manstein, Hitler sensed instinctively just how far he could go with the person to whom he was talking; he knew with whom he had to restrain himself and whom he "could expect to intimidate successfully through an outburst of rage—which was perhaps often consciously staged." So sinister was Hitler that even at the very moments when he gave the impression that he had lost all control of himself, he might only have been acting in order to sustain his domination over the person before him.

The fact that Hitler was able to keep going, despite the excessive and increasing strain on his nerves, is something of a miracle. Aside from the short walks he took, nothing in his daily routine was natural. He turned his nights into day, refused to be talked out of the vegetarian diet that overtaxed his stomach, took medicine with pedantic precision before and after eating, and from his personal physician Morell, who was regarded with suspicion in professional circles, received massive injections and doses of medicaments, without which, in the end, he was no longer able to exist. It is almost incomprehensible that Hitler's body survived such punishment for years on end. One cannot help thinking of it in terms of a poorly serviced locomotive fired up to red heat in order to barely be able to creep into the last station on its route. *a car.*

At the end of the war the consequences of this regimen were

apparent. An older General during the last weeks of the war, recorded the Chancellor, recorded the had the chance to see him. As he moved from his living bunker, he dragged himself part of his body thrust forward had lost his sense of equilibrium of seventy-five to a hundred one of the benches provided else hold on to the person control of his right arm, as

It would be an oversimplification to say that Hitler's military effectiveness at Stalingrad, Hitler was not clusions—"but perhaps it Jodl lays his finger on a claim as firm as they had had his health not deteriorated alternatives—unless he was thought of which he had others by suicide, thereby founder of Greater Germany defeated.

Shortly before taking his already have made this decision November 1944, and should Prussia." But he had not been looked for an unexpected body and his nerves increased by that infernal, intricate by the memory of the war Frederick the Great.¹

¹Not Hitler's right, but his left.

²After a series of disastrous years' War Frederick the Great; but in 1762 his enemy, the

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

more particularly like his mother—the masses “permit sexual substance to enter the body,” and in so doing they become contaminated with poison and lose their purity.³⁴

The association of his mother's body being poisoned by a Jew—whether through sexual union or through medical treatment—and the body of the Motherland's being exposed to racial poisoning is manifest through dozens of speeches and writings. Only a few examples can be cited here:

The Jews eat like poisonous abscesses into the nation. . . . A continuous stream of poison is being driven into the outermost blood vessels of this once heroic body by a mysterious power.

We will not pause until the last trace of this poison is removed from the body of our people.

The Jewish poison was able to penetrate the bloodstream of our people unhindered to do its work.

The Jew becomes a ferment of decomposition among people and races.³⁵

1942? In talking about his own relationships with the Motherland, Hitler used a peculiar phrase which seems to indicate an unconscious desire to possess his mother. Not only did he speak of “seizing power” in Germany, but he used a feminine form for the country, saying that he had conquered her. Thus, in his headquarters at the *Wolfsschanze* on the night of 16–17 January 1942, he retold for the hundredth time the saga of how the unknown hero had come to a nation in order “to conquer her” (*Um eine Nation zu erobern*).³⁶

Years before he had confided to an intimate that he could not marry because “my only bride is my Motherland.”³⁷

Foundations of Hitler's Anti-Semitism

The anti-Semite is a man who wishes to be a pitiless stone, a furious torrent, a devastating thunderbolt—anything except a man.

—Jean-Paul Sartre

Apologists for the Third Reich simply misunderstand when they say that “Hitler was all right—he just went too far with the Jewish problem.” Anti-Semitism was not peripheral to his system, and not one of its “excesses”; it was absolutely essential to it. It was the justification for the whole ideology. As President Theodor Heuss observed, anti-Semitism was as important to Hitler as economics was to Marx. Both claimed to have discovered “iron laws of history.” For Marx, history was class conflict; for Hitler it was racial conflict. Marx considered the bourgeoisie as the enemy of the proletariat; Hitler called

From Private Neurosis to F

the Jew the enemy of the society; for Hitler the go:

In Hitler's mind, a tionalism and socialism As he put it in an early s

Socialism can only and anti-Semitism. gether.³⁹

Hitler was an oppon about anti-Semitism. Th in a conversation of 19: “seized by a sort of pai power he would see to i The method of the murc about filth, stench, putre

As soon as I have erected, for exampl Jews will be hange until they stink. T possible. As soon : follow and that w exterminated. Exac cities until Germany

Anti-Semitism was it was even more than th wanted personally to be regret that I am Chanc SA or SS man and be or bludgeon.”⁴¹ As we l to trigger violent emotio

Hitler tried to exte never managed to do s he felt Jewishness to be a demon to be exorcise that it was imperative to *das Gift . . . in uns austr* despaired of ever doing who can never be erad Jew *is always within us* [

German historians sonal anti-Semitism but were “practical” and “ra political opportunist he

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History

1942?

there was suddenly an-
champagne corks popped in
their Führer; for just as
ed by the sudden death of
ed deliverance through the

ed Frederick of the Seven
a great Prussian king had
children had good reason
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ogly similar skull measure-
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tartling clear blue of his
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rs at the close of his life
oyed, but not the portrait

id the Prussian king were
me attitude toward Jews;
s, music, and war. And—
lar intellectual capacities.
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thought processes of Der
he too was really a very
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and even more like J. S.
erved:

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fous! . . . I foresee a time
with Frederick the Great]
ave himself according to

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ed incident which was typical
William, before retiring for the
kiss him. One day the little
ipped by his father, demurred.
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son was publicly whipped, im-
aded at his father's orders. An
g ordered that the decapitated
g until two in the afternoon.

in his dislike of spying on other people. During one of his nightly con-
versations he told "a delightful little story" of how Frederick the Great
had refused to use secret police to ferret out the thoughts of his
subjects. The Führer concluded by saying that he too found the idea of
spying completely "repellent" (*abstossend*). Hitler's own comparisons
with Frederick were not always flattering to himself, however. In an un-
guarded moment he remarked that the level of conversation at Sans
Souci between Frederick the Great and Voltaire was such as "to make
one ashamed of the depths of our present day conversations." (Anyone
who has struggled through Hitler's "Table Conversations" is constrained
to agree with him.) Hitler also suggested—indirectly—that Frederick
was the greater military commander. On 28 January 1942, in his
headquarters at the *Wolfsschanze*, he observed:

When one recalls that Frederick the Great was confronted by a
force twelve times greater than his own, one realizes what a
shithead [*Scheisskerl*] one is! We ourselves this time have numeri-
cal superiority! Quite frankly, isn't it a disgrace? ¹⁹

As he hid in his shelter in Berlin in 1945, Hitler may have re-
called that Frederick had also viewed the collapse of his country with
equanimity. Finding himself in desperate circumstances during the
Seven Years War, the Prussian king wrote in 1757, "If everything
collapses, I should calmly bury myself beneath the ruins." ²⁰

1945

The royal absolutism established by the early Hohenzollerns pro-
vided efficient government. Indeed, it was too good for the future
political health of the people. Nations may have reason to look back
with a feeling of gratitude for the bad governments they experienced
in their historic past. America owes a good deal to George III and Lord
North; Frenchmen are indebted to the errors in judgment of Louis
XVI; and Englishmen continue to be blessed by Bad King John, who
gave them the Magna Carta, by James II, who inspired the Glorious
Revolution, and by the kind of government provided by the first four
Hanoverian Georges. With rulers like these, parliamentary government
was not merely possible, it was downright necessary.

The Prussian kings left a different legacy to German history: the
conviction that the best government is authoritarian government, and
that those in authority must be obeyed. Religion demanded obedience
to the *Obrigkeit*, but experience had also shown that paternal gov-
ernment was good government—so good, so efficient, and so just that
there was need neither for revolt nor for political participation. Thus
it came about in Prussia that a religious assertion of the Lutherans
became a political statement of faith that was to resound in the future:
"Everything comes down from above" (*Alles kommt von oben herab*).

It was a political legacy upon which Hitler drew heavily.

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age. My list
- this might
- goads

All comes from
the top and down

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

agents of the Gestapo were no more successful than later historians in identifying Hitler's paternal grandfather. The Führer was never relieved of his suspicions.

There is other evidence suggesting that Hitler suspected his own blood was tainted through his father. He had curiously aggressive attitudes toward the villages closely associated with his parents' lives. Albert Speer was unable to explain why Hitler reacted so violently when, after a motor trip in rural Austria in 1942, Speer mentioned to his Führer that he had noticed in the little town of Spital a sign on a farmhouse which read "The Führer Lived Here in His Youth." Speer recalled,

1942
He instantly flew into a rage and shouted for Bormann, who hurried in much alarmed. Hitler snarled at him, how many times had he said that this village must never be mentioned. But that idiot of a *Gauleiter* had gone out and put up a plaque there. It must be removed at once.¹¹

Speer found Hitler's excitement inexplicable because he was usually very much interested in refurbishing the sites of his boyhood in Linz and Braunau. The explanation would seem to be that while Hitler had indeed spent some summers on the farm in Spital, it was associated in his mind as the boyhood home of his father when he had lived there with Nepomuk Hiedler. The mere thought of his father's home and lineage was, apparently, enough to cause an emotional outburst.

The story of what happened to another village associated with Hitler's family is even more interesting. In March 1938, almost directly after taking over Austria, Hitler had a survey made of the lovely little farming village of Döllersheim—the parish where his father had been born, his grandmother buried, and the journeys made to record the birth and name of his father. The purpose of Hitler's survey of 1938 was to ascertain the suitability of using this village as an artillery range for the Wehrmacht. General Knittersched, the commanding general of Military District 17, was given orders directly from Hitler to make the area ready "as soon as possible."¹² The inhabitants were evacuated, and the parish registers removed. Round after round of heavy artillery crashed into the village, demolishing its buildings and rendering graves in the little cemetery unrecognizable. Why was Döllersheim destroyed? There are thousands of empty acres in this part of Lower Austria that would have made excellent artillery ranges. It is

trying to use "the Jewish grandfather" as leverage against Hitler, as is sometimes suggested. It is unlikely that Himmler and many members of the Gestapo would have become involved in investigating so sensitive a subject as Hitler's own ancestry without his explicit approval. It seems reasonable to conclude that Hitler himself had given orders for the investigations in order to prove to himself what he desperately needed to affirm: that he was of pure Aryan stock—or at least as Aryan as his own racial laws required.

The Child As Father to the Mar

unlikely that Hitler chose to have had a compulsion of his own Jewish blood by the grave of his grandmother.

Hitler's uneasiness about he made in 1930 when rep his family. "These people," They mustn't know where As we have noted, he felt it for example, that they had c

There is other evidence ness." The two physical ch odors and large noses—wer self. Hitler's obsessive conc horror of perfume and al because he was afraid that perfume to cover it up migh one of his colleagues asked nation," Hitler had a ready a He expressed his repugnanc a Munich speech of 29 Nov

Racial instinct protect terred Gentiles from m perfume, where any da else, the feeling for tl being lost. The Jew cou

Those who have comm have all said that his least nose and unusually large i grown just wide enough to l worth noting Hitler's pointed have, he said, a characteris Jews from the ghetto of Wa sive nose, the cruel, vicious i

THE FATHER: ALOIS (

Alois Hitler's career in the respectable. After nine year senior assistant customs off to higher collector, the high

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

1942
people. I could have given to myself . . . quite other titles." The title itself, he preferred to believe, had been bestowed upon him by admiring women. Thus on the night of 3-4 January 1942 he told his entourage: "There is no finer title than that of Führer. . . . As for the expression 'My Führer' I imagine it was born in the mouth of women."⁶³

It should be emphasized that Hitler's idea of the leader was not one of the many things he took from Italian Fascism. Mussolini's *Duce* was the leader of the state; the German *Führer* was a great deal more than that. Indeed, any political writer in the Third Reich who attempted to limit the *Führerprinzip* to the leadership of the state was in danger of being called a Fascist—a pejorative term in Nazi Germany. Hitler and those theorists who understood him properly advanced a theory that went far beyond what was called the "impersonal state" to emphasize the unlimited personal power of Adolf Hitler.⁶⁴

At another, more rarefied level, the Führer was a mystical and magnetic force drawing together Volk and State. He was the *Volksgeist*. "The essential link which in the National-Socialist theory of the state unites the people with the Führer is a mystical conception. . . . He is no representative to whom the people has given a mandate; he is the incarnation of the Spirit of the People, and it is only through his interpretation that the People is led to a full realization of itself." This statement, as Alan Bullock has noted, is "a faithful summary, not of Nazi propaganda, but of sober constitutional and legal opinion as it was expressed in the standard textbooks of the Third Reich." Germany's leading judicial official of the period provided a more succinct summary: "Our constitution is the will of the Führer."⁶⁵

An important way of connecting the people with their leader was to require that they swear direct personal oaths to him. Training for oath-taking started early. Children of preschool age learned the following song:

We love our Führer
We honor our Führer
We follow our Führer
Until we are men;

We believe in our Führer
We live for our Führer
We die for our Führer
Until we are heroes.

When little boys graduated into the *Jungvolk* at the age of ten the first formal oath was required:

In the presence of the Blood flag which represents our Führer, I swear to devote all my energies, all my strength to the savior of

The Intellectual World of Adolf Hitler

our country, Adolf Hitler.
for him, so help me God. C

Confirmation of the oath was at the age of 14. The ceremony marked the Führer's birth:

I consecrate my life to A
life for Hitler; I am re
Führer.⁶⁶

When the boy grew up, perience. If he became an educated Germany in swearing to be "literally, every member of the German oath unique in the history an oath to one man:

I swear by God this sacred obedience to Adolf Hitler people, Supreme Commander ready as a brave soldier to

Hitler insisted that the order of the chaos of democracy. In a word, undue modesty: "It is madness: a majority can suddenly reveal genius."⁶⁸

Hitler's concept of leadership was a different plane from that of an autocrat. Stalin's. Royal absolutism, for instance, was the son of the ruler but on the installment live the King!" was a creature of the Nazis. Hitler and only Hitler could, true, exerted enormous personal power, and some Marxist theorists have called this "personality." That is a key difficulty of Hitler's personality. Monarchy by claiming that the Führer is a personally accessible corpus of the state, no such sanction. He was not the Idea made incarnate. He was the arbiter of all matters of state. His whim, quite literally, became law. For his action lay in the mythical realm—untranslatable

volume of the pyramid of

well known among his per-
cautious little jokes about
telling one of his buildings,
should have at least 400
to took it seriously and said
for plans would not permit
id that "He was particularly
inf." 30

man purpose, but that does
per political and psychologi-
id planned: they dominated
ie overpowering domes, the
ters of passageway which a
as finally ushered into the
y two forbidding SS men.
sonal, cold, and terrifying
ortions of his new Chancel-
good! When the diplomats
werden sie das Fürchten
ecting in his memoirs that
n of a tyranny." 31 It took
nclusion.

h in his private collection
i Nazi Germany, for he was
. Approved paintings were
edicated in Munich in 1937
which Münchener still call
k letters of bronze was em-
sonal theory of aesthetics:
itismus verpflichtende Mis-
ng fanaticism"). At first it
l select the paintings to be
learned that examples of
ious and shouted that no
gallery. The jury was dis-
tographer and a man who
orian "abysmally ignorant"
aintings. Hitler personally

iate between the paintings
rty and those he intended
al monument an enormous

museum with a colonnaded facade over 150 meters in length. In either case, his taste ran heavily to 19th century romantic landscapes, insipid pastoral scenes, and erotic nudes.

The money spent on books and paintings for the Linz Art Center was particularly noteworthy when one considers that these amounts were set aside in the midst of war. During 1943 and 1944 some 3,000 paintings were purchased for Linz at a total cost of 150 million RM. With the Allies about to land in Normandy, Hitler completed negotiations for the purchase of the Mannheimer collection, one of the finest in Europe, for a total of 6 million RM. As Russia counterattacked from the East and the Allies moved in from the West, "expenditures for the year 1944 jumped another 548,766 RM. In 1945 up to the last entry on 1 March [an additional] 53,094 RM had been spent." In the salt mines at Alt-Aussee alone—the largest but not the only cache—there were 6,755 paintings and 237 cases of books for the Linz Center.³³

1943

When the Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg visited Hitler for his disastrous conference on 11 February 1938 in the Obersalzberg, he admired a Madonna by Dürer. Hitler also boasted that he had "the best collection of the works of Spitzweg in the world" and that he had "paid 80,000 marks for a Defregger." 34 Defregger, a native of the Tyrol, delighted in peasant scenes such as *The Prize Horse* or *The Dance* showing peasants doing the *Schuhplattler*. All of Defregger's characters are chaste, beautiful, handsome, honest, and kind.

Hitler also admired Eduard Grützner, whose pictures of tipsy monks and inebriated butlers seem to have amused him. He was convinced that Grützner was greatly underrated. "Believe me, this Grützner will someday be worth as much as a Rembrandt. Rembrandt himself couldn't have painted that better." Hans Makart was another favorite. When Hitler acquired *Plague in Florence*, a secretary recalled, "his enthusiasm was boundless. He ordered all of us to admire it with him and stood entranced before the huge painting which was completely incomprehensible to me. I found the macabre theme and especially the yellowish-green corpses repulsive, but I didn't convey my repugnance for fear of spoiling his pleasure." 35

But the artist who impressed him most was Franz von Stuck. Indeed, he once told Ernst Hanfstaengl that the two artists who had the greatest impact on his life were Richard Wagner and Franz von Stuck. He was "absolutely enthralled by them both." 36 On going to Hanfstaengl's spacious and art-cluttered home on the *Pienzenauerstrasse* in Munich he would invariably ask for a volume which contained Stuck's paintings. He pored over them as his breath escaped in little gasps. The volume that Hitler perused so passionately contained the following pictures: *Das böse Gewissen* (*The Evil Conscience*), a title that intrigued him; *Die Sinnlichkeit* (*Sensuality*), showing a voluptuous nude smiling enigmatically as a huge black snake slithers through her legs and around her neck; *Verfolgung* (*Pursuit*), in which a black centaur

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

of the folkic soul [Volkseele]" they alone find "the sensitive word that can move men"; they alone can "put the correct political action into effect."²¹

Music was terribly important to Hitler. As Karl Menninger has noted, good music can help combat destructive tendencies in deeply divided personalities. It is, he writes, "a bulwark against self-destruction."²² That it played such a role for Hitler is suggested by a description which Kubizek has given of the effect that Wagner had upon young Adolf: "When he listened to Wagner's music, he was a changed man; his violence left him, he became quiet, yielding and tractable. He no longer felt lonely and outlawed and misjudged by society. He was intoxicated and bewitched. . . . From the stale, musty prison of his back room he was transported into the blissful regions of German antiquity, that ideal world which was the lofty goal for all his endeavors."²³

Hitler was not particularly interested in the classical music of balance and restraint. He disliked Bach, Handel, Haydn, and Mozart, preferring Grieg, Bruckner, and above all Wagner.* He wanted to make Linz a shrine for Bruckner's works, to be for him what Bayreuth was for Wagner. At the age of 19 he drew up detailed plans for the Linz Concert Hall, which he solemnly consecrated to Bruckner's memory. Years later, his enthusiasm unabated, he tried to buy the manuscript of Bruckner's Third Symphony for \$7,500.²⁴

Hitler was not impressed with Italian opera because he found it based upon "trickery and deception." Quite apart from that, it had one unforgivable fault: it was not German. As his friend recalls, "For him nothing counted but German ways, German feeling and German thought. He accepted none but the German masters."²⁵

Hitler As "Creative Artist"

Adolf Hitler considered himself a creative artist. He said on several occasions that the main reason he had entered politics was to implement his artistic plans; again and again he expressed regret that the war had interrupted their fulfillment. In discussing the careers of other great men on the night of 5 May 1942, he observed, "If the war had not come along, I would certainly have become an architect and perhaps, yes, even probably, one of the best architects if not the best architect in Germany." And as he contemplated suicide a few years later, he was heard to sigh regretfully, "Ah, what an artist dies in me!"²⁶

The paintings and drawings he produced as a youth were not good enough to gain him admission to the Vienna Art Academy. But they sold well enough to art dealers—or to those who wanted something pleasant to show off their elaborate picture frames—to help

* Wagner's influence is discussed below, pp. 99-113.

64 D.E. That was the poor little man speaking.

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finance his life in Vienna. On the \$10.00-\$15.00. He also did so and his careful pictures of Freud suggest that he had modest talent.

One of Hitler's lifelong habits: rare occasions when he was not in Linz he drew severed heads boarder in his mother's home or Baldur von Schirach recalls that "drawing on one of the little heads of men and women." Several preserved in the Library of Congress.

Hitler's early sketches for buildings and bridges—carefully collected working diagrams for the buildings years later. Indeed, so closely the public buildings in the Third Reich are a part of his own artistic creation.

Two things dominate his art: the use of domes and columns planned for his new capital of Prachtallee ("Avenue of Splendor") and three times the length of the Kuppelhalle was to be 825 feet that of St. Peter's. Some 180,000 The Arch of Triumph, originally stand 400 feet high. Fifty of Napoleon could have fitted within the Führerbau, Hitler's personal palatial "Adolf Hitler Platz." It was a dining hall that could seat 2,000 and volume of over 74,000 cubic feet with its reception room of 57,600 with Speer in 1935. Hitler rer years ago. I've always saved the day I would build these edifices out." With the beginning of his plans. Speer recalls he had a German eagle with a swastika in Hitler now decided that the design so that the eagle held a globe.

Hitler also planned a monument about 100 yards from the traditional church. Hitler's erection would be monstrous Party Hall at the Chancellery 361 feet and a height of 391 feet with a seating capacity of

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Blood also played a very important role in Hitler's private life. Apparently he thought a great deal about drinking and sucking blood. He wondered, for example, what the blood soup of the ancient Frisians tasted like; in commenting on the history of the world as the chronic warfare of one people against another, he said, "One creature *drinks the blood* of another. The death of one nourishes the other." And he wrote that the Jew was a spider which "*sucked the people's blood out of its pores.*"

He liked to have his own blood drawn from his body, and enjoyed telling his secretaries what fun it was to watch leaches as they sucked it out. When one of them shuddered and said she didn't like the looks of the horrible animals, he stopped her by saying, "Don't say that. They're sweet little, dear little animals who have done me a great deal of good." He also had his doctor, Morrell, draw his blood and save it in test tubes so that he could gaze at it. Was he afraid that there was something wrong with his own blood?

He liked to taunt members of his intimate circle when he saw them eating meat. Referring to Morell's collection of the Führer's own blood, he said, "I will have blood sausage made from my excess blood as a special culinary treat for you. Why not? You like meat so much." He repeated the offer.^{61a}

Hitler's great concern about infected blood was manifested in dozens of political speeches and was the underlying reason for the Nuremberg Racial Laws, which he called "The Laws for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor." He personally supervised the wording of the text. His private and public speeches are redolent with metaphors of disease, blood poisoning, illness, tubercles, spirochetes, and microbes. Toward the end of February 1942, just after the Wannsee Conference which organized the "final solution" to the Jewish problem, Hitler listed himself among the great benefactors of mankind who had isolated dangerous disease germs: "The discovery of the Jewish virus is one of the greatest revolutions that has ever taken place. The fight we are carrying on is of the same nature as that waged by Pasteur and Koch during the last century. How many diseases have their origin in Jewish virus! . . . We shall only retain our health when we eliminate the Jew."⁶²

Of all the infections to which mortal flesh is prone, Hitler most feared—and was most fascinated by—syphilis. As a young man he talked about the disease by the hour.⁶³ Years later, when he wrote his memoirs, he devoted page after passionate page to the evil power of the disease, insisting that it was the true reason for Germany's defeat in 1918 and proclaiming that the struggle against syphilis was the most important single task confronting statesmen. In reaching for the worst epithet he could hurl at the Weimar Republic, he accused it of surrendering the German nation "to syphilization" by Jews and Negroes.⁶⁴

The Image and the Man

Cleanliness and Purity

Hitler often talked about dirt, described as being filthy. Thus the satisfactory grades had "*filthy* necks: artists sat on "*the dung-heap of liter*" "*dirty* and false." To democrats he wretched! Step back, you are *soiling* the filthy: "The smell of these caf Added to this were their *dirty* clothes . . . Was there any form of *filth* . . . participate? When carefully cutting of a little Jew, blinded by the sudden corpse. . . . If the Jews were alone in . . . in *dirt* and *filth*." Hitler used the of the Jewish people, *Entjudung* (de speaking of delousing or fumigation.⁶⁵

Hitler was a scrupulously, indeed boyhood friend recalls that during the from hunger, he suffered from a lack pathologically sensitive about anything costs, he would keep his linen and a chancellor, he washed his hair every often, brushed his teeth and rinsed h shaved twice a day and never used told a British journalist that when h resolved that someday he would be rid an open fireplace in every room and t His well-tailored shirts were generally m

Food and Drink

Throughout his life, Hitler seemed food. His speeches on foreign policy of food supply; private conversations homilies on healthy foods; his library cial diets. He told his dentist that a part infected his colon and hoped that a destroy it.⁶⁷

He may have become a vegetarian disorder, but he gave a whole variety meat. He told one doctor that he had youth, but to others he said that prior quantities of meat, particularly fat por year 1931 as the beginning of his vegeta

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1942
demand heavy sacrifices from the German people for the war effort. One of the anomalies of World War II was that two Western democracies, England and America, had far more stringent controls over the economy than Hitler's dictatorship. Hitler apparently felt that he could not call on the German people for the kind of personal sacrifices accepted as a matter of course in Churchill's England. Indeed, the Nazi dictator was leery about interruptions in the flow of consumer and luxury goods. In 1942, after three years of war, production of consumer goods was only 3 percent below peacetime. For a time in 1942, Speer tried to raise that percentage, but the most he could manage was a 12 percent cutback. Even then, after only three months of relative austerity, Hitler changed his mind and decreed the resumption of production "for the general supply of the population."⁹⁸ Not even after Stalingrad and the opening of a second front in Normandy did Hitler dare cut luxury items. Hundreds of tons of wallpaper and cosmetics, hair-set lotions, hair dryers, and perfume continued to be manufactured.⁹⁹

Hitler's mistrust of others was also reflected in his foreign policy. It was largely responsible for the serious misjudgment which turned his attack on Poland into a general war. He felt free to invade Poland on 1 September 1939 because he had used his own standards of suspicion and duplicity in evaluating England's intentions. He simply could not believe that Britain would honor her treaty with the Poles. A general's private diary for 14 August 1939 records Hitler's scornful dismissal of the argument that the invasion of Poland might precipitate a European war: "Why should England fight? *One does not die for an ally.*"¹⁰⁰

Among the many reasons he attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941 was his conviction, against all evidence, that his ally Stalin was about to launch an attack on him. "My own personal nightmare," he said, "was that Stalin . . . sooner or later would abandon us and go over to the enemy. . . . It was absolutely certain that one day or other [he] would attack us."¹⁰¹ His declaration of war on America was also prompted, in part, by the conviction that Roosevelt was about to declare war on him.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ROOTS OF AGGRESSIVE WAR

I am totally convinced that this struggle does not differ one hair's breadth from the battle which I once fought out within myself.

— Adolf Hitler

There are, regrettably, sound psychological reasons why, throughout history, there have been "wars and rumors of war." Warfare permits the individual to act out in socially approved ways what in peacetime he is required to repress: impulses of aggressive rage and violent

386

D.T. Here I was combatting ideology. I could not explain to them how much he would give to Roosevelt.

From Private Neurosis to Pub

destruction. Human capacity also given an outlet in a devotion to their country a sadistic and masochistic war.¹⁰²

Such emotions may have made them especially impulsive. A psychological need for aggression: he held a position of total control. When he wanted war, a war of a deeply split borderline personality by projecting a view of himself: the Jews in particular against him; England and the other societies, were about the borderline patients of "stirrings" because it was in him before they destroyed him.¹⁴ being attacked; the Jews as attempting to destroy the Me

Aggression was also a personal inadequacy, weakness to prove his strength. He would doubt his power. This is a remark after unleashing V always been a part of me." war and found it a challenge was revealed in a speech of:

I know that this [war] before the German people the hardest man that Germany centuries, but I also pos

But above all I believe unconditionally!

I am totally convinced breath from the battle [den ich einst im Innern]

I am convinced that I can in order to have me lead

To fulfill his personal battle. The war was not, as forced upon a reluctant Hitler the very *raison d'être* of his

by declaring strength to go I didn't realize

ATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

was made at the Wannsee Conference "defeating" the Jews. Hitler may have had his own victorious strength and was a weakling and a failure.

by self-doubts about his masculinity were manifested every time he was a weak and pitiful person at all. But not that the soft-muscled, slightly effeminate hands and the shuffling gait of the indomitable, brutal, all-powerful, each military defeat unnerved him more proof that he was the ice of his fantasies. He could not play the Western allies, he therefore manipulated over the Jews and conquered the greater Reich. Walter C. Dillinger in Hitler's personality and long before he and his colleagues planned and massacre of the Jews. Dr. Goebbels' compensation for self-doubt and defeat was violence and brutality:

Violence still further and limit his own greatness to himself. . . . He was for his vulnerability . . . by confidence and ruthlessness . . . for only in himself that he is not a weakling . . . his conception of what a Victor

was because of one of his fantasies. He was the archenemy of all mankind and promised 20 years earlier, he was

public policy.

He

Jews contributed to Germany's military victory, a key reason why Germany did not bomb was that the Führer disapproved. And his personal orders to kill, serious disruptions of the national economy, transporting, and disposing of the human beings—were inner sacrifices. By 1944 the shortage of labor from the work force ran to some

From Private Neurosis to Public Policy

4 million men; the value in war production lost to the Reich amounted to billions of Reichsmarks.⁵⁸

Viewed pragmatically, genocide was counterproductive. During the militarily disastrous years of 1942-1945, Germany simply could not afford to embark on the "Final Solution" to a problem which never in fact existed. It made no sense. But Hitler did not see it that way. His sense of priorities in a national crisis was as clear as it was horrendous: nothing mattered more to him than killing Jews.

Thus did the pathological fears and rages of one man send millions of innocent people to their death and decide the fate of a nation.

THE BENEFITS OF IDENTITY DIFFUSION

The Führer could have become the greatest German actor.

—General Jodi

In retrospect, I am completely uncertain when and where he was ever really himself, his image not distorted by playacting.

—Albert Speer

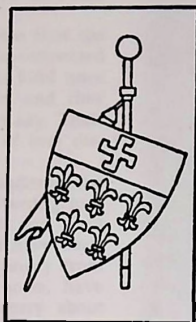
A man who had observed Hitler's face closely on many occasions concluded that no photograph could possibly capture the person hidden behind the image. The face, he said, "always amazed me because of the multiplicity of expressions it contained. It was as though it were composed of a whole series of individual elements without adding up to a single total. . . . A photographer, by selecting only a single moment out of context, could show only one aspect, thereby giving a false impression of the duplicity or multiplicity of being which lay behind it. . . ." ⁵⁹

Without knowing it, the observer was giving a good description of a salient characteristic of a borderline personality: one who does not quite "add up." Such people lack an integrated concept of self, and experience "identity diffusion." As a result, Dr. Kernberg has written, the borderline displays a "chameleon-like quality." He constantly plays different roles; he "acts as if he were someone else." ⁶⁰

Hitler was indeed a "multiplicity of being." Since he was besieged by doubts of his own identity and stability, it became terribly important to convince himself, over and over again, that he was a man of poise and power, one who could dominate any other person or group. One of the best means of such self-persuasion was for him to act the part and thus become—at least for the moment—the person he wanted so much to be. But he was not always sure who that person was. Such inner confusion helps to account for two facts about his early

* D.T. We were on a final press. the pragmatically had nothing to do with it. We needed to leave behind an echo, a measure, a cloud of horror.

1942
the confidence of the Luftwaffe
could never digest, but not as overcome, or, but not all, never



Flag of the New Templars with swastika

*"Hit makes 1902
you feel good, it is good."
Pamphlet of Hammer*

*1942 #3
Hammer*

and the breath of life: the human brain, for example, was described as a "breath accumulator."⁶⁶ He corroborated his obscure ideas with "Biblical sources" and arrived at conclusions such as: "Christ proven to have been an electric human being during the Tertiary."⁶⁷

Lanz's formula for the entire area of what was "moral" sounded like List's: "Everything that is good for the superior race is moral, and everything that is harmful, immoral." "The divine remains in superior human beings only when they remain among themselves. Then they will more and more become like God by way of progress and improvement. However, if they don't do that, if they mingle with inferior races, then the divine in them will gradually disappear as well."⁶⁸ "The possibility," he also wrote, "to refine and improve one's race through purebreeding [is] the only genuine and effective kind of 'repentance' for the sin of intermingling."

As the ideal way of keeping the blond race pure Lanz promoted "purebreeding colonies" in remote rural areas with strict segregation of the "brood mothers": "We have protected our cattle against racial degeneration and contamination by way of cattle breeding tariffs, but we still render unprotected human beings to contamination and blood adulteration through lecherous bastards from the East and the South."⁶⁹ In addition, he called for the legalization of polygamy for heroic soldiers.⁷⁰

From 1906 on Lanz published the magazine *Ostara*, "the first and only periodical dedicated to the research and cultivation of heroic race-dom and men's rights," with detailed reviews of the latest publications on the "race business." At first the series was a forum for Pan-German authors. Thus the first two issues made a case against universal suffrage

** Hammer is deeply meditative on
but and very and adds them for
consolation during the Holocaust. [1943]*

and against Hungary. From himself: "Race and Woman and Nature," "Introduction to R Suffrage and the Necessity (1909), "Judging Character b and Sex Life of Blond and D ics," "Moses as a Darwinist," ception," a primer in eugenic

Discovering the "race b Lanz, who thoroughly took ac of "race beauty prizes" accor oped. For a while he inserted prize" in issues of *Ostara*. R coupons to receive a "racial checking.

Lanz used strong and vi ogyny and to fight for men's preferred men of inferior races to their greater "virility." In use stories about bitches that only by bastards. Yet, he claim nated" her with his semen, future partners would have ch "race" was spoiled. Virginity the greatest value as regards e

Lanz strongly suggested t virginity and to guard her extr is the tragedy of heroic man's race and even more so the wo primitive-sensual. . . . Primitiv live among us have thorough psychologically and physically men as their "possession," "in be our slaves. . . . They are our property of the gardener."

Yet prior to 1914, anti-Se theories. His main enemies cl but also the "Mongols," the "N in his terminology included th tion the basic evil, he was not people who themselves placed

** Hitler never*

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

You don't understand: we are just passing a magnet over a *manure* heap and then we will see how much iron in the *manure* pile there is and how much will cling to the magnet.

And when he [the Jew] turns the treasures over in his hand they are transformed into *dirt and dung*.

Charity is sometimes actually comparable to the *manure* which is spread on the field, not out of love for the latter, but out of precaution for one's own benefits later on.

Hitler even used an anal imagery to describe himself. During a midnight reverie in the Wolfsschanze, in January 1942, he was comparing himself, once again, to Frederick the Great. But this time he noted that Frederick was outnumbered 12 to one during the Seven Years' War while he, Hitler, actually had a numerical majority on the Eastern front. He concluded that in comparison to Frederick, he, Hitler, "looked like a shithead." It was one of his favorite words.⁵³

One of his most vivid memories of childhood, which he repeated both to his secretaries and to his military entourage, illustrates Hitler's preoccupation with anality. He recalled that for the only time in his life he got drunk as a teenager on Heuriger wine and wiped himself after defecation with the school certificate that he had intended to show proudly to his mother. He was overwhelmed with embarrassment both at the time and years later, when he confessed, "I am still humiliated, even from here." That he kept on telling the humiliating story indicates anal fixation. It is also consistent with a particular form of masochism which will be discussed later.⁵⁴

As we have noted, Hitler was chronically concerned about personal body odor and flatulence. He also worried a good deal about his feces and examined them often, as his doctors reported to U.S. intelligence officers after the war. To alleviate chronic constipation, he frequently took enemas, which he insisted upon administering himself.⁵⁵

According to Otto Fenichel and Karl Abraham, the "anal character" shows certain distinctive traits: obstinacy and stubbornness to the point of passive aggression; constant pitting of his will against others; excessive concern about time. As Abraham has noted, "Patients often save time in small amounts and squander it in large ones."⁵⁶ One thinks of Hitler and his troubles with time—he had no time to tie his own tie, yet he could squander hours in empty soliloquies. Psychoanalysts have also found a clear connection between anality and sadism. Patients are particularly noted for rigidity, stubbornness, and refusal to yield. A tendency toward compulsive repetition is also present. All patients are meticulously and compulsively clean. And so, not surprisingly, was Adolf Hitler.

(42)

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quisition of Alsace-
um and the Nether-
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or, crusader, knight
riedrich Barbarossa.
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arise in glory, and
aid the cavern was
untains. Others said
Hitler preferred the

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our history is still Mar-
—Friedrich Nietzsche
the Great stands Mar-
ard Wagner.

—Adolf Hitler
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andedly established
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had hands. . . . The

man who could curse like a fishwife could be tender as a young virgin. After spending a day working out rigorous scholastic distinctions, he took up his flute at night and lost himself in melody and reflection among the stars. Often he was as wild as the storm that uproots oaks, then gentle as the zephyr that strokes the violets. He could become completely absorbed by spirituality; . . . his was the motto, 'Who loves not wine, women, song/ Remains a fool his whole life long. . . .' In his character was combined, in the most magnificent way, all the virtues and vices of the Germans.⁶

Few thinkers have been so revered and so maligned. He has been called a forerunner of Nazism or, as the title of a war book would have it, Martin Luther—Hitler's Spiritual Ancestor. The title is a calumny. A spiritual universe separates the Christian leader from the racist demagogue. Luther would have been appalled by the Third Reich; with magnificent moral courage, he would have denounced Hitler as the Antichrist incarnate; he would have been among the first executed by the Gestapo. Yet having said that, we must also say that the great religious reformer did unwittingly help pave the way for Hitler. First and foremost he himself preached—and generations of Lutheran pastors echoed his words—that the Christian owes absolute obedience to the state, "whether it does right or wrong." Luther demanded not merely obedience to those in authority but Staatsfrömmigkeit (literally, piety toward the state). His respect for rulers was increased by his distrust of the common people:

The princes of this world are gods, the common people are Satan, through whom God sometimes does what at other times he does directly through Satan, that is, makes rebellion as a punishment for the peoples' sin. . . . I would rather suffer a prince doing wrong than a people doing right.⁷

The inevitable corollary to such obedience to the state was the belief that individuals had no political rights, only political duties.

Luther's anti-Semitism also had lasting consequences. It was set forth most notably in a scurrilous pamphlet entitled *On the Jews and Their Lies*. Virtually unknown to the English-speaking world until 1971, the tract was widely circulated in Germany and quoted, through the centuries, in dozens of anti-Semitic pamphlets, typically by such influential Jew-baiters as Theodor Fritsch, Guido von List, and Richard Wagner. The American editors of Luther's collected works are understandably disconcerted by the essay. Before presenting their dutiful and accurate translation, they comment regretfully: "One hardly knows whether to be more astonished at the crudity of Luther's language or at the cruelty of his proposals."

Centuries before Hitler, Luther was convinced that the Jews were pernicious parasites who exploited and enslaved honest Germans. While

7

1942

A.G.:
Luther
could
be
usedLandsberg
1924

7

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Past As Prologue: Hitler

in the 1890s. Hitler was probably correct in saying in 1933 that he could not have come to power without the help of the army and its traditions.

The glories of the Prussian Army and its heroes from Frederick the Great to Blücher, Scharnhorst, and Moltke had long been celebrated in Germany. But the ubiquitous power which the army exerted over German society became particularly evident after 1871, with the triumphant military victories that established the Second Reich.

Exaltation of military values was greatly aided by the country's most popular historian, Heinrich von Treitschke, who lectured a generation on the "Godlike majesty of war, the duty of absolute obedience, and the notion that the German Officer Corps was "a careful selection of the most exalted human beings on earth." Emperor William II, who boasted that he had never read the constitution of Germany, also lent the prestige of his position to acclaiming the army and denigrating parliament: "The soldier and the Army, not parliamentary resolutions, have welded together the German Empire. My trust is in the Army." William had the habit of using one particular phrase in referring to nonmilitary people: they were "slovenly civilians" (schlappe Zivilisten). Any officer of the guard, he believed, was "the quintessence of all virtue, education and intellectual attainment."¹⁰⁸

The German Officer Corps made special and successful efforts to emphasize its exalted position in society. Crucial to the distinction between German officers and "mere civilians" was the Code of Honor, which was preserved very largely through the dueling system and the privilege it gave of "giving satisfaction" (Satisfaktionsfähigkeit). It was felt that an officer who had that honor must defend it; conversely, a man without honor had nothing to defend. This meant, for example, that an officer could insult a workman with impunity, for the workman was not Satisfaktionsfähig. As the century wore on, although protests were made against the folly and cruelty of dueling, it persisted in the army and in university fraternities. Dueling scars—genuine and self-administered—continued to be a mark of honor well after World War I.

As a result of the training and the pronouncements of those in authority, officers in the Imperial Army were encouraged to believe that they were above the civilian government. The oath they swore was not to the country or the constitution but to their Supreme Warlord. The army, it was said, was a "state within a state"; but it was more than that. Its position was perhaps most clearly expressed by the imperial general who was to serve as a transitional commander between the Second and Third Reichs. General Hans von Seeckt concluded in his book *Gedanken eines Soldaten* (Thoughts of a Soldier):

I have tried to treat my theme from a purely political point of view. In the sense in which I understand the word, the Army must be "political," that is, it should grasp the concept of the State. But it certainly must not be "political" in the usual sense of party politics.

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* Hitler in a rage. That Treitschke dared to write how our German Officer Corps are the

politics. "Hands off serves the State and

The disdain for parliament was pungently expressed: Oldenburg auf Januschartag: "The King of Prussia: the position to say to a Reichstag." His fellow Cing ovation.¹⁰⁹

Military values and out Imperial German society for example, that veterans service. In 1897, half the army veterans, and the young officers of the army also preserved through *häuser Bund* alone by 19 One of its stated objectives:

The army saw to it that ways that paralleled Hitler empire were indoctrinated way or another," a million Germans were either Army."¹¹⁰

And beyond sheer setting a military tone in institutions that would the university and the parties from Berlin to Munich was a military man, a P university fraternities were Duels were called *Mensur* was his capacity to give "Satisfaktionsfähigkeit" were contempt.

The military standard life in the machinery of status. Militarism entered band held the highest rank those of lower status were man social historian has permeated the whole society

* It is not surprising that came to power, the sentence "deleted. Compare 1st ed. (Berlin)

"most era earth." E schenker

the Army serves the State and only the State because the Army is the State

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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

homosexuals with Jews and Communists as "enemies of the state," and set up a special section of the SS to root them out.²⁰⁰ Apparently his campaign to destroy homosexuality was not entirely successful, for on 15 February 1942 he felt it necessary to set forth a decree punishing homosexuality within the SS with death.²⁰¹

Hitler also revealed fears of homosexuality by protesting so much that he had absolutely no feminine characteristics whatever. He was, he kept insisting, not soft or weak. He was totally masculine—tough, hard, cold, ruthless, brutal. His tendency to think in terms of disjunctive stereotypes about men and women (strong, iron-willed, effective male vs. weak, emotional, incompetent female) is in itself revealing. Such thinking demonstrates a strong conflict and confusion between masculine and feminine natures. To him, sexual differences appeared as exaggerated and mutually exclusive opposites, as roles to be played, rather than as natural attributes of human personality. In Hitler's case—as in Himmler's—the fantasized tough male sex role developed into sadism, murder, and destruction.²⁰²

The question of Hitler's latent homosexuality can also be approached indirectly. It can be stated with some confidence that Hitler must have had latent homosexual tendencies because he showed clear indications of paranoia. This does not mean that all homosexuals are paranoid, but it does mean that all paranoids have fears of homosexuality. The direct connection between homosexuality and paranoia was first noticed by Freud, who concluded that paranoia "invariably arises from an attempt to subdue an unduly powerful homosexual wish."²⁰³

A distinguished American psychiatrist, Robert P. Knight, after years of research on the problems of homosexuality, concluded that "no psychoanalytic theory . . . rests on firmer foundation or has been less frequently attacked by critics of Freud" than the assertion that "an intense homosexual conflict is never absent in a male paranoia . . ."²⁰⁴

In his study of paranoids, Dr. Knight found specific consistent characteristics, all of which fit Adolf Hitler. There is a "terrifically strong" need to deny homosexuality; the very thought of homosexual contact with another man is "completely intolerable." Moreover, the need felt by a paranoid for approval is especially acute; his megalomania is in itself an expression of his need for proof that he is important. There is a high incidence of constipation in paranoid individuals. All paranoids have strong anal components, problems with order and cleanliness, and obsessions with purity and vice and with the impurity or infections of others. Anal sadistic fantasies are directed against the father because he is seen as the rival for the mother's love; the intensity of the drive to be loved is supported mainly "by the intense need to neutralize and eroticize a tremendous hate." When the unconscious hate is so great, the attempt to eroticize it fails and the individual turns to sadism.²⁰⁵

As Knight has pointed out, while homosexual feelings and paranoid delusions may be in bitter conflict, both are, in a sense, dependent on

The Child As Father to the Man

each other and are defenses possible that Hitler developed homosexual feelings. As long as, he felt he was successful in his inclinations toward homosexu-

Perversion?

The question of Hitler's those interested in his person. Many responsible observe that there was no perversion either of its existence or its

The first published statement was made in an article published in 1943 by Dr. Walter C. Lang, a clinical psychologist.²⁰⁶ Published in 1972, reached the level of aberrant sexual activity:

It is an extreme form of sexual gratification which involves sexual defecation on him.²⁰⁷

Historians were not slow to pick up the story. History at Oxford University. Hitler's perversion outraged. He concluded roundly and with a shred of evidence on any of

It is important to emphasize that the subject is emotionally disturbed. There is, of course, often thought of as being "so of historical fact is important. But another category of evidence is valuable when handled with caution. sionally ill equipped to interview professional psychologists.

With regard to Hitler's direct evidence is not entirely former intimate of Hitler's, in an interview in Montreal on Hitler's perversion from Gelber's "urging" concerning the nature of the relationship, she said:

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evolution of his thinking in that regard. There were many committed and rigid racist and racial dogmatists among his early allies and followers. The dogmatic racists among the higher members of the Third Reich's hierarchy, such as Himmler, were numerous and important; their racial philosophy led to the establishment of various institutions. Yet Hitler did not share Himmler's "primitive biologism" (well put by Marlis Steinert). Schramm noted that he "had serious reservations about the glorification of the early period of the Germanic peoples—unlike many of his followers."* Speer cited Hitler's dismissal of Himmler's racialist mysticism: "What nonsense! We have reached a time that leaves mysticism behind, and now he is beginning with his again. We might as well have stayed with the Church. That has tradition at least." A number of historians noted that Hitler did not take Alfred Rosenberg seriously at all, and that he was contemptuous of Rosenberg's cloudy book *Myth of the 20th Century*. According to Speer, Hitler said, "A step backward to medieval mythmaking!"† Heer cited one of Hitler's 1942 table talks, in which he expressed his pleasure with Cardinal Faulhaber's public protests against Rosenberg's screed.‡

Hitler's many—and there were many—statements about races are really statements about what he saw as national characteristics. There *was* a racist element in his thinking (as is true of almost every nationalist), but his governing obsessions were not biological. He knew of the relative lack of response among the German people to the racial propaganda put out in streams by Rosenberg and Himmler. National sentiments of superiority, where and when they existed among the German people, were cultural rather than racial. This is a subject of enormous significance and delicacy which lies largely unexplored. There was (and remains) a superficially slight but essentially profound difference between a folkish and a racist type of thinking.** The response that Hitler wished to evoke was the result of the former rather than the latter. And that reflected, too,

*SCH, p. 77.

†SP, pp. 108, 110.

‡HR, p. 406.

**See LEW, p. 397.

about whom the saying
doubtless originated
that Hell hath no
bunny, etcetera, etcetera.

the evolution—if that is recognition—of his own

In May 1944, to official Hitler said: "We have to do with a race, and this is it [speaking] about twenty [counterrevolutionary-b one and the same! No! component of blood, a h is very often composed of different racial kernels. particular talents." And 1945, Hitler said: "Pride fundamentally, does not po matter of convenience, I view there is no such thing as the Jewish race. . . .†

NATIONALISM AND RACE
there a first-rate general
One reason for this is that country more than international the place to expatriate except to emphasize three a nationalist than a racist, clusionary than racism—i

1933

*Speech of 26 May 1944, published in *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen* not insist on the superiority of racial kernels, with a commercial among us, in the long run, and been absorbed racially by the German Volk gradually, step by

†The Testament of Adolf Hitler after A.H./B.). In these last recorded spiritual race."

1942

D.T.
I made
certain
we
remained
sweet
to
Himmler's
race.
I did
not
trust
Himmler
at all.
He was
too
devoted
to A.H.,
too much
in love
and in
the way
of an
ever-loving wife

1d

has been generally slight—
visions about Munich
ing the war—
of the United States—
ility to recover—
Confronting the
s, or both?

biographical literature
Hitler the national leader
of Hitler the statesman
career into two periods
ly successful rise until
catastrophe and sui-
foreordained in ret-
tendency of many of his
st six years of his life.*

No. 9: "Der Feldherr und
so beyond 1941; 69, though
cy; Zitellmann in both 217/A
bout Hitler's domestic than
decision to attack Russia he
ugh Goebbels was not, at that
7/A, p. 103, Zitellmann denies
he then says nothing about
i, Fest rightly warns against

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This tendency is not unreasonable; their emphasis is on Hitler's career leading to a war that he could not but lose, dragging millions to death and destruction before the end. This widely and generally held view still remains acceptable, except for two things. One is that in 1940 and 1941 Hitler came close to winning his war. The other is that his ultimate defeat may have been foreordained (even though "foreordained" suggests a determinism that historians ought to avoid) because of his hubris; but then hubris is a fault of character rather than of vision; and Hitler was not blind.* As Pascal said, love is not really blind; and neither are other kinds of passion. They are, more than often, a compound of a startling clarity of vision with a startling blindness (a compound that, like "half-truth," is not fixable within the categories of mathematics). And since vision involves purposes rather than motives, we ought to direct some attention to what Adolf Hitler's purposes were before and perhaps especially during the war.

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They are not easy to ascertain.† (Or perhaps I should write

the "to this day widely prevalent representation of [Hitler] the man of instincts . . . ignoring the rationality and the boldness of planning that were basic to his behavior and which governed his rise not less than all his other apparent abilities"—very true, but then Fest does not apply the same judgment to the war years and to Hitler's foreign policies (about which we may find the few mistakes in his otherwise excellent book). Steinert, who is very good on the German people during the war (in ST/HK/D) in ST, is weak on Hitler's statesmanship and strategy, with a share of minor errors; also unduly dependent on Goebbels. The most extreme disproportion between the space and treatment devoted to the war and the prewar years is in Davidson. (See chapter 1, p. 227.)

*Kershaw in KER, for instance, p. 121: ". . . a deepening hubris of power, the early stages of what was to develop into catastrophic *folie de grandeur* and detachment from reality." (Not entirely untrue, but the last three words are debatable.) KER also tends to exaggerate Ribbentrop's influence on Hitler (pp. 144, 146); and he does not treat Hitler's aim and wish to split his enemies after 1941. Yet Kershaw is correct when he states (p. 177): "Hitler's decisions in the military arena were by no means all as absurd as they were sometimes retroactively painted."

1940 +
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†Schramm, in SCH, p. 31: "Hitler hardly ever lost control of himself completely, even though in time his nerves were taxed to such an extent that most men, operating under a similar burden, would not have been physically equal to it. Consequently, it is very difficult to come to grips with what Hitler really thought and perceived, difficult to clarify the extent to which he was motivated by logic or impelled by instinct."

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example of Hitler's hubris, an
e, Pearl Harbor notwithstanding
yet some trouble in obtaining a
from Congress. This retrospec-
a virtual state of war existed in
ican and German naval units.
before his invasion of Russia),
his naval commanders to avoid
units, even if German sub-
ttacked by the latter. He knew
from a serious naval clash with
uld not give Roosevelt such a
hands of German naval units.
come off. Moreover, while he
s to go to war against him, he
by welshing on the principal
d them to go to war with the
ously.

ar on the United States made
able; whether his withholding
e changed the main course of
correct an assumption that is
than the somewhat jejune spe-
German declaration of war on
This is the widely accepted view
him, of course) ignorant of the
underestimated the Americans
potential. Sufficient evidence
erested in America and things

earl Harbor, "fear of American inter-
the war were still the cornerstones of

United States but historians such as
statement in his *Deutschland und der*
seriously doubt that Roosevelt would
and anti-Semitic movement in the
Party had played a role in American
in Germany?"

American from his early youth. He was an avid reader of the Western and Indian stories of the German writer Karl May, whose last public lecture and funeral he attended in Vienna.* We have also seen that Hitler often expressed his liking of and even admiration for American industry and its techniques. He was, in sum, not uninformed about the United States, including some American political currents. One of the few German military attachés whose reports he read assiduously in 1940 was General von Boetticher in Washington. ("He knows how to read behind the scenes.") He was attentive to all kinds of evidence of anti-Roosevelt and "isolationist" opinions, of American "radical nationalists." He and Stalin were the first foreign statesmen who wanted to include the American electoral timetable in their calculations (Stalin telling Molotov not to travel to Berlin until after the November 1940 American presidential election; Hitler telling Mussolini that he should have delayed his attack on Greece until after that election). Throughout the war, and well after December 1941, Hitler was aware of certain American currents of opinion; that, for example, in 1944 anti-Communist and at least indirectly pro-German currents were surfacing among some Republicans in Washington. In his last table

*Koeppen notes 112, 5 October 1942: "The Führer then told us that he acquired most of his knowledge of [American] geography from reading Karl May." Andreas Dorpalen, in his excellent article "Hitler, the Nazi Party, and the Wehrmacht in World War II," in Harry L. Coles, ed., *Total War and Cold War*, Columbus, Ohio, 1962, p. 72: "His generals lacked resourcefulness and imagination," [Hitler] began to complain; "they are too correct, their thinking is too conventional. They should have read more Wild West stories." Steinert in *ST/НК/D*, p. 545: "The false romanticism and anti-civilizational [philosophy] of a Karl May, reading of whom Hitler repeatedly advised." He said that as chancellor he reread all of May's books. In 1943 he ordered the printing of 300,000 copies of a May book (*Winnetou*), to be distributed among German soldiers. Klaus-Dietmar Henke, in *Die amerikanische Besetzung Deutschlands*, M., 1995, p. 133: In November 1944, "Himmler's chief of staff transmitted to the Gauleiters an exhortation from Guderian to prepare for cunning battle tactics and 'Indian-like' conduct . . . Karl May's books have proved to be educational in this regard." In Scholdt, *scho*, five solid pages (296-300) deal with this theme; see also Vappu Tallgren. Also Gertrud Willenborg, *Von Deutschen-Helden. Eine Inhaltsanalyse der Karl-May-Romane* (Köln, 1967). May's most famous protagonist, "Old Shatterhand," was a German-American. At the same time May was not a promoter of brutality. Many Germans liked his stories, including, for example, the radical artist George Grosz.

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P.T. By 1943, seeing what a mess
he was making of the war, I
began to call him "Old Shatterhand."

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to admit it. He might not win, but he might still win a

until the very end. It was his to a Frederickian view of his risk the Great rather than the warrior-king rather vision of—or, rather, his won because—unexpected powers, and then the whole not only that Frederick was the field against great odds; on of his enemies, a coalitionists and Communists in Hitler almost until the last stand was that, yes, a break came—but too late for him. Military dynasties but a world after how disperate, were which must be conquered and reservations. Even if Frederick, his opponents with a Russian king; but Hitler's.

the main story. December

this is SCHAB, p. 133, note 252. to the chancellery bunker with champagne: "The Empress is Elizabeth in 1762 led immediately and to Frederick's triumph.) 3. 781: "Goebbels's mood was der, who was carried away by ne.)

der, in his excellent book (*The* rd, 1994), p. 477, on the great victory was never the primary stages of the war. The allies, is, always sought a negotiated

1941 not only marked the turning point of the war and a change in Hitler's view of it; it led to new decisions and to a change in his work habits. He ordered the entire German economy to be placed on a full wartime footing. (He was especially fortunate to find Albert Speer as a successor to the able Todt, who died in early 1942; Speer was neither an economist nor an administrator, but Hitler recognized his organizational abilities.) Hitler himself assumed the post of army commander in chief upon the resignation of the sick General Brauchitsch. But most important was his order superseding the suggestions and inclinations of some of his generals. He forbade a cautious retreat of the German armies (except at limited local salients) in spite of the awesome severities of the Russian winter and the hardly less awesome fighting abilities of the Russians. And after two months, at the latest by March 1942, it became evident that not his generals but he, with his unorthodox military directive, had been proved right. A catastrophe was avoided, and he could say in April: "We have mastered a destiny which broke another man 130 years ago."

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peace in one form or another and agreed that the war should be ended as soon as the right terms were attained. The reason the war lasted to a military decision, though not total victory, was Napoleon's persistent refusal to negotiate seriously. As soon as a French government agreed to negotiate, the war was ended, though at the time the French army was still capable of fighting and controlled most of France and vital areas outside it as well." This was not true of Hitler and World War II, certainly not after 1941.

"There was an astonishing recovery within the man himself. In November 1941 he sometimes gave the impression of being depressed. Now he changed his long-established habits of work. These had included a bohemian element; he was often unorganized in his daily routine. But now his disinclination for regular and continuous work disappeared. Speer was one of the first to notice this (sp, p. 306): "Instead of his former habit of arranging things in spurts, between periods of lassitude, there came now an extensive working routine. Previously he understood excellently how to let others work for him; now he, with increasing burdens, took more and more details upon himself. He made himself into a strongly disciplined worker, and as this went against his character (*Wesen*), it did not [always] work well for his decisions." Also Fest (F, p. 917): "his great, desperate self-discipline." And Maser (M/A, p. 254): Deep down and secretly he no longer had illusions about a [final] victory, in 1941-42, and that "kept him from visiting the front line. [But] that was not the result of a fear for his own life." Two elements in his routine did not change: his habit of rising late in the morning and retiring very late at night; and his growing dependence on a great variety of medicines.

1941-2

1942

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especially for German historians. . . . To identify the sources of this fateful mistake of the past and to research it without minimizing it ["bagatellisieren"] remains a task of German historical scholarship. Ignoring it means the loss of its commitment to truth.*

There remains the other side of this question, which is Hitler's affection for the German people. A quarter century ago, I wrote that "the fundamental source of Hitler's strength was hatred. Compared to the power of his hatreds, even his love for his people—the living purpose of a great national leader—amounted to little. In this he was quite unlike Napoleon."† Perhaps "little" is not the right word, for in any case, love is a matter of quality, not of quantity. And—as also in other instances—ambiguities in Hitler's thinking are discernible in such a complex matter.‡ Many German historians—again, understandably—have made much of some of Hitler's remarks, especially toward the end of the war, about Germans being a people who deserved to perish if they proved to have been too weak. Yet at the same time (on 2 April 1945, for instance), he spoke of his "unbreakable faith in the future of the German people."** In

*In VFZ, October 1977, p. 745. Also Gisevius, GI, p. 7: ". . . especially we Germans must see clearly that this man has never been apart from us. We have not only endured the phenomenon of Hitler—we had contributed to its formation ["mitgestalter"].

†In LEW, p. 166.

‡On one side there is Hans Frank: "Volk and Führer, Führer and Volk were betrothed. Each searched and desired the other, each trusted the other." On the other side Haffner: "Did he love the Germans? . . . It was only as an instrument of power that he was ever genuinely interested in them. He had great ambitions for Germany, and in that he found himself at one with the Germans of his generation." (HF/AN, p. 164) "During the final years, he increasingly despised them." (No.) ". . . He no longer sought contact with them." (Yes.) (HF/AN, p. 141)

**The evidence is contradictory. Schramm (SCH, p. 4) cites Hitler at one of his table conversations, 5 July 1942: ". . . in the struggle of peoples those with the better average quality will always be the victors . . . the natural order of things would be disrupted if the inferior should master the superior." Schramm also cites (p. 176) the report of General Carl Hilpert, dictated to his war diaries, on 18 April 1945: "Hitler leaned back and began a long lecture on the struggle of the German people. It culminated with the words: 'If the German people loses the war, it will have proved itself not worthy of me' ["meiner nicht würdig"]. Yet on the same page: 'The more people have to endure, the more magnificent would be the ultimate rebirth of eternal Germany.'"

1942
A+O



at sometime in the late 1930s
dominant power in Europe
important sense there were
two world wars. I am not only
World War II, when many of the
s and civilians disappeared.
ity to engage an entire people
y of a people) in a war for his
Mein Kampf: "Either Germany
ill not exist." (That most Ger-
upon them by their enemies
together different from their
an nationalism and German
es during World War I, too.
edience and discipline carried
psychic (and the social) struc-
man people in World War II
condition and the result of
ould not have achieved what
ieved what he did *without* the
out his overwhelming accep-

not a history of the German
that of Hitler's relationship to
there is a duality—perhaps a
ill extant. On the one hand
endency to blame everything on
who have been engaged in a
of some of the realities of the
hings, in the Historians' Con-
is the inclination of men and
generation to think better of
hierarchy, often expressed in
ührer knew!" ("Wenn das der
in 1977: "It was not with
also not with the National
the German people identi-
exists an essential problem,

It was a phobia—and, like some other phobias, not at all irrational to his mind. Several times, as early as 1920, he said that the Jewish "problem" must be "solved" not by emotional but by "cool," "rational," "scientific" means. Then and throughout the rest of his life, he kept repeating that Jews were bacilli, viruses, parasitic pests on the bodies of living nations;* and that the time comes in the life of just about every nation when, like a sheepdog, it rises to shake itself and get rid of pests in one big heave. Then, in the very last sentence of his testament, a few hours before his death (when, as we saw, he said nothing about Lebensraum), he dictated: whatever may happen, the German nation must not allow Jews to return in their midst.

The question now arises: when did his Judeophobia crystallize—or congeal—in Hitler's mind?† In *Mein Kampf*, he wrote that his "realization" of what the presence of Jews meant occurred in Vienna, around the twentieth year of his life; that he was no convinced anti-Semite before he had come to Vienna; and that in Vienna his startling, though gradual, realization of the influence of Jews led to "my most difficult mental struggle. Only after months of struggle between reason and feeling, victory began to favor reason. Two years later sentiment had followed reason, and from then on became its most faithful guard and watchman."‡ (It is interesting to note Hitler's own sequence: emotion catching up with reason, not the other way around.) Yet Jäckel and others found no anti-Semitic utterance by Hitler until the thirty-first year of his life, in Munich. In chapter 2, directed to the Vienna-Munich question, we saw that there were perhaps four instances where Hitler, probably consciously, had altered conditions and facts about his early life. We

*D.T. Judeophobia was his fountain
Vergin and was not confirmed
until 1919.*

*By a horrible coincidence, the gas used in Auschwitz and in other extermination camps—Zyklon B—had been widely used by exterminators of pests and other insects in the houses and apartments of Central Europe.

†Maser, *M/A*, p. 263: "Despite all of our knowledge of details, the origin of Hitler's anti-Semitism is not entirely clarifiable."

‡Cited in Maser, *M/A*, pp. 247-48, also in *M/F*, p. 100. According to Heer (*HR*, p. 117), this was not true; Hitler left Linz already imbued with anti-Semitism. (Perhaps, but only partly; see his relationship to Dr. Bloch, pp. 195-196.)

*D.T. One could say it was an elegant solution
when he felt good about the liquidation, it
certainly pleased him.*

must admit at least the possibility may have been unconscionated the event of the congealed retrospect for more reasons than his eventual readers. We show Vienna, Hitler had come to show mill anti-Semitism of the people is no evidence that this had been words, that the mutation of his occurred in Vienna and not a room for doubt that his experience then Soviet-like "regime," included decisive. Still the sudden eruption principal obsession remains a mystery.

There remains one possible of his Judeophobia—a consideration amount to an explanation and which involves Hitler's relationship (chapter 2) that in *Mein Kampf* relationship to his father, in terms of what he would sometimes reveal his version in *Mein Kampf* was well beyond the properly expected about his respectable relationships also points to the strong probability

*In addition to a lack of evidence of 1919, there are such facts as his friends Jewish man in the Vienna men's hostel his overcoat (many such details in Haas 59); the fact that Hitler's Iron Cross commendation of a Jewish reserve officer, respect); that a number of Viennese Jewish colors by him in the years 1910-1913 Dr. Bloch.

†Schramm, *SCH*, p. 51: "... in the extreme and immeasurable intensity of Hitler inexplicable."

* D.T. Anti-Semitism

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ill succeed? For eight more allies) went from victory to e defeated on many fronts, was surrounded by the Rus- e Western Desert beaten by North Africa, the Japanese was retreat and retreat, in- o great German offensives every—and, more, of endur- kaiser's Reich collapsed less defeat of the German army in e capitulation of Germany's Reich fought on for two and t two years after its principal ersary Churchill understood : people after the British vic- et the beginning of the end

s endurance with wonder- umulating brutalities of his ely unquestioning discipline aps especially the working strating an astounding mea- onths of the war.) Our pur- some things about his vision anship, to which his entire ew that he could no longer won at Stalingrad or Kursk n Belgium in late 1944. But might convince one or the a military blow might not

p. 49) wrote: "After 1941, indeed gain no more successes." Nor so. feat and destruction were the only

reverse the entire course of the war; but it would be a turning point, forcing at least one of his enemies to ponder whether the cost of subduing such a tough and stubborn Germany might not be too heavy to bear. Again and again, Hitler insisted on this necessary pre- condition, when Goebbels or Ribbentrop or even Rommel tried to convince him to seek contact with one or another of his enemies. That would be useless, Hitler repeated, without having previously proved the power of Germany in the field. In this he was probably right. But he underestimated the importance of what bound the otherwise so disparate alliance of his enemies together: their resolu- tion to put an end to him and to enforce the surrender of the Third Reich. In that he was most probably wrong.

1942

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THERE WAS ANOTHER feature of Hitler's statesmanship that differed from the Friderician or Clausewitzian pattern. In those eighteenth-century wars, the aims of the warring states were clearly defined; and when circumstances forced the rulers to adjust them, they remained essentially the same: territory. Yet Hitler's territorial aims—in this his thinking differed entirely from the German impe- rial aims during World War I—were vague, or, rather, willfully left pending. The armistice conditions he imposed on the French, for example (which showed a certain degree of calculating statesman- ship that the British ambassador to France in June 1940 described as "diabolically clever"), left many territorial conditions undefined. Here and there (as in Poland in 1939 and Italy in 1943), measures akin to German territorial annexation were made, but these were the exceptions rather than the rule. One reason for this was, of course, calculation: the postponing of territorial redefinitions until the war was finally won—or until a settlement was reached with one or another of Germany's adversaries.

But there was another element in Hitler's brand of statesmanship. More than territory, he preferred vassalage. We may detect evi- dence of this inclination already in his domestic politics in 1933 and afterward. There was to be only one political party in the Third Reich; but former conservative politicians such as Papen or Neurath were allowed not only to exist but also to function, and serve, within the hierarchy of the National Socialist Reich, as long as they were

D. F. This, he could never bring himself to face for it would endanger his

defeat idea which was finally that the feelings of his army went deeper than any other nation's force. True perhaps, but they outnumbered him. It was not necessary for them to believe things so deeply.

standesmenschen") typical of the older, anti-Enlightenment traditions of German thinking. It was post- (if not anti-) -conservative, -populist, and -modern. In his mind, at least, there was no conflict between the older and the newer elements at hand. To the contrary, he thought that he represented and incarnated a new kind of German unity. He showed respect for some of the old things; but a conservative he was not, and a reactionary not at all.*

1928-33 ADOLF HITLER was not the inventor of National Socialism, but he recognized the compatibility—indeed, the marriageability—of two great movements. This was a worldwide phenomenon. For a long time, nationalism and socialism seemed to be incompatible, indeed hostile to each other. Socialism was, after all, international, given its belief that entire classes, rather than entire nations, mattered and that the struggle of classes carried history forward. What happened in many places after about 1870 was that the nineteenth-century antithesis and debate between conservatives and liberals had begun to lose its meaning. For two reasons: Because of the developing democratization of societies, conservatives were becoming more liberal, while some liberals were becoming more conservative. But what was at work here wasn't the development of some kind of a transcendent Hegelian solution. The alternatives were not about to be superseded by a synthesis. They were increasingly overshadowed by two new forces on other planes: by nationalism and socialism. Throughout the twentieth century the relationship (or the compound or mixture) of nationalism and socialism would

1942-3 *Contrary to the famous "Is Paris Burning?" idea in 1944, he did not order Paris to be destroyed. At the time of the German retreat from Rome that year, he also ordered Rome to remain unharmed and untouched; but that order of his was made public for propaganda purposes, to impress some people worldwide, including Catholics. On the other hand, the destruction of London or Budapest did not bother him at all. He did not, of course, order the destruction of the great cities of Germany—the air war of his "barbaric" Anglo-American enemies was doing that—but he rigidly refused to visit or even look at the destroyed cities. He sympathized with Goebbels's argument, according to which this may have had a positive side—i.e., the destruction of the last remnants of an old bourgeois order. On one occasion he also said that in less than thirty years the destroyed cities would be rebuilt.

prove to be the dominant world.*

Of course the German almost sui generis. It was dominant partner in the populist nationalism that was also the condition deeper roots in Germany and at least some later on a Germany that was born in a particularly German native political thinkers. Oswald Spengler's *Preuss.* even more trenchant than a book in 1932.[†] Yet these and sometimes (but only one thing; Hitler the revolution

In Germany the failure came already in 1914. On 2 August, calling for German Socialist deputies war credits. In the hot international socialism movement (And this happened elsewhere of the democratization of more than it internationalism already had more in common

*About this see chapter 9. (A logical Problem," in *The American point in Mussolini's life.* Unlike movement of "Fascism." Yet earlier was a nationalist Socialist. Mutatis (one of the reasons that, about socialism," insisting that Communism

[†]"Der Arbeiter [the worker] is at a century of German history, was (reprinted in Jünger, *Essays*, II, 1, Armin Mohler, *Die konservative Re*

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1930-33 1942-44

The Jews: Tragedy and Mystery 189

the great significance of the
 otherwise were but yet another
 so significant is the fact that
 3" in his wartime speeches
 , perhaps consciously, mis-
 : to the date of his speech as
 r began—obviously wishing
 and inescapable connection
 ed upon him. For about two
 in—of Jews from the Greater
 with the first drafts of plans
 ps to Madagascar; and then,
 t change.† The invasion of
 ne war—involved new prob-
 f Eastern European Jews in
 y Germany, and the closing
 on overseas. Some time in
 ordered or approved a Final
 Jews took place during the
 in Europe, while the Final
 extermination of most Jews
 l and drafted and finally set
 ons at the Wannsee Confer-
 e Jews who were murdered

he international Jewish financiers
 plunging the nations into a world
 the earth and the victory of Jewry,
 Europe" (my italics).
 e removed not like a piece of fur-
 ut like a stain that is removed by

December 1941. Its postponement
 can entry into the war. Hitler's
 is table conversation of 27 January
 must disappear from Europe! At
 s. They will always remain an ele-
 this in the lives of nations as they
 tterland and Sweden. [My italics.]
 s dangerous. Five thousand Jews

during World War II were killed between the summer of 1942 and the fall of 1944. In October 1944, Himmler ordered the termination of the gassing—probably not against Hitler's intentions or behind his back. Still, Hitler insisted on—and, from all existing evidence, believed in—the inseparable and principal responsibility of Jews for the war, whence his exhortation to the German people in his last-minute testament.

This summary of a sequence of events will, I think, be accepted by most serious historians without reservations. But to this we must add some details that may suggest the complicated character of Hitler's intentions.* To begin with, categorical and unyielding as his condemnation of Jews was, allowing for no exceptions, on several occasions in the 1930s he did permit or order the exemption of men and women of Jewish ancestry in individual cases.† Yet there was not the least semblance of such mitigations in his speeches and public expressions. What is at work here is not a clearly Machiavellian

briefly in all kinds of Swedish positions. That much easier to extract them! We have reasons enough for that. . . ." My italics should suggest the duality within Hitler. On the one hand, Hitler refers to the deportation of Jews to Siberia (about which he talked on other occasions, too), not about their physical extermination. At the same time, his intention to comb through Europe to extract all Jews from everywhere is entirely in accord with the expressed intentions of the protocol of the Wannsee Conference.

*Carr, c, p. 93: "Just as one must pay due regard to 'alternative' foreign policies which to some extent modified Hitler's own concepts, so, too, in studying the Holocaust we must allow the possibility that there were other 'final solutions' before the gas chambers."

†Between the two crucial elections of September 1930 and March 1933, he did not strongly emphasize anti-Semitism in his speeches. On one occasion he said that "well-meaning Jews" may stay in Germany, "once they demonstrate their proper behavior [*Wohlverhalten*]." Heiden (HD, p. 347) cites a Hitler remark about the comic actor Felix Bressart: "Pity that this Bressart is a Jew!" Görlitz-Quint (eq, pp. 362-63) mention that on 27 January 1933 Papen supported and Hitler agreed to a cabinet post for the nationalist Theodor Düstberg, who had a Jewish grandfather. On several occasions, he (as late as 1940) ordered the reactivation of half-Jewish officers in the armed services (examples of this in Admiral Raeder's memoirs, Erich Raeder, *My Life*, Annapolis, Md., 1960, pp. 263-64). Also, when it came to the Nuremberg laws, he did not approve the plans of the Party to equate half-Jews with Jews. Schleunes in *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz*, p. 131: "Hitler's hand appeared occasionally at crucial moments, but it was usually a vacillating and indecisive one. He did not delegate responsibility for Jewish policy, nor did he keep a close check on it." *

* It was an emotional check-point,
 trust to justify his ego rather than a
 call to immediate action.
 His ego defended on the unity
 of feeling he could arouse.

27 mo.

1930-33

1933

1942-4 | and Communists—would be constrained to admit it. He might no longer be able to win *his* war on his terms, but he might still win a different sort of war, or at least not lose it.

1942-4 | This conviction sustained him almost until the very end. It was his final shift to a Friderician strategy; more, to a Friderician view of his own future. He had always admired Frederick the Great rather than Bismarck the Iron Chancellor—in this case the warrior-king rather than the statesman.* The result was his vision of—or, rather, his hopes for—a historic parallel. Frederick won because—unexpectedly—he defeated one of his main enemy powers, and then the whole group of enemy powers fell apart. It was not only that Frederick was brave and resolute, winning victories in the field against great odds; his resolution led to a break in the coalition of his enemies, a coalition less unnatural than that between Capitalists and Communists in this war. Elements of this vision inspired Hitler almost until the last week of his life.† What he failed to understand was that, yes, a break between Americans and Russians might come—but too late for him. This was not a war between eighteenth-century dynasties but a world struggle in which his opponents, no matter how disparate, were agreed on one thing: He and his Third Reich must be conquered and occupied, without conditions and without reservations. Even if Frederick had not won at Rossbach or Leuthen, his opponents would at some time have signed a peace with the Prussian king; but Hitler's adversaries would not make peace with Hitler.‡

However, we are running ahead of our main story. December

*A good summary of historians' comments about this is SCHERR, p. 133, note 252.

1945 | †On the night of 12 April 1945, Goebbels rushed to the chancellery bunker with the news of Roosevelt's sudden death. He brought champagne: "The Empress is dead!" (The sudden death of the Russian empress Elizabeth in 1762 led immediately to the dissolution of the anti-Prussian coalition and to Frederick's triumph.) This episode is often misread by historians. (BU, p. 781: "Goebbels's mood was fully shared by Hitler.") It was Goebbels, not Hitler, who was carried away by enthusiasm that night. (Hitler also disliked champagne.)

‡The American diplomatic historian Paul Schroeder, in his excellent book (*The Transformation of European Politics 1763-1848*, Oxford, 1994), p. 477, on the great coalition of 1813-14 against Napoleon: "Military victory was never the primary goal for the coalition as a whole, even in the final stages of the war. The allies, though they sometimes differed sharply over terms, always sought a negotiated

1941 not only marked the Hitler's view of it; it led work habits. He ordered t on a full wartime footing. (Speer as a successor to the was neither an economist nized his organizational al of army commander in chiral Brauchitsch. But most suggestions and inclination cautious retreat of the Germ in spite of the awesome seve less awesome fighting abilit at the latest by March 1942 but he, with his unorthodox A catastrophe was avoided, a tered a destiny which broke :

peace in one form or another and the right terms were attained. Th though not total victory, was Nap As soon as a French government at the time the French army was st France and vital areas outside it as War II, certainly not after 1941.

*There was an astonishing recov he sometimes gave the impression established habits of work. These t unorganized in his daily routine. Bu ous work disappeared. Speer was on of his former habit of arranging thir came now an extensive working rou to let others work for him; now he, details upon himself. He made him this went against his character (Wa sions." Also Fest (F, p. 917): "his gre p. 254): Deep down and secretly he in 1941-42, and that "kept him from result of a fear for his own life." Tw habit of rising late in the morning a dependence on a great variety of met

(2)

1941, 1945
Statesman and Strategist 1942-4

against America was "a tragedy";
hoped of a break between
he could then profit, at least
were in accord with the great
though in 1945 latent difficul-
were much more evident than
now, Hitler, again like most Ger-
not between the former but
had given up all of his earlier
absolute anti-German strategy and

his private statements we may
statements and clichés, and
of American civilization.* Yet
and realistic view of America
instances, it may be too much to
of his thoughts; but it may not
them.

at is, before the failure of the
and before the event of Pearl
no longer win the war: more pre-
ed to wage and to win. There is
war diary of 18 November 1941
Army Group Center to resume its
"The recognition, by both of
not annihilate each other, leads
not consider the possibility that it
principal opponents to annihilate
ly." This is corroborated by an

with America might come only after his
ents until they began to accumulate in
—probably because he then foresaw
Thus, for example, his table conversa-
on 25 October, and to the Bulgarian

emphatic statement by Colonel-General Jodl, the man who was per-
haps closest to Hitler during the war.* From prison in Nuremberg, he
wrote that by the winter of 1941 Hitler knew that "victory could no
longer be achieved." In a memorandum dictated to his wife about
Hitler: Hitler's "military advisers—today one often hears it said—
should certainly have made it clear to him that the war was lost. What
a naïve thought! Earlier than any person in the world, Hitler sensed
and knew that the war was lost. But can one give up a Reich and a
people before they are lost? A man like Hitler could not do it."

Significant considerations arise here for a historian. One of them is
obvious: The portrait of Hitler, blinded by his fanaticism, believing
till the end that the war would not, because it could not, be lost is, at
best, oversimplified and, at worst, false. The other, connected with
the above, is the now growing discrepancy between Hitler's publicly
expressed views and his private ones. ("Private" may not always be a
useful term, since so many of his statements to his private circle were
meant to impress them.) In other words, this man, who was at times
capable of making circumstances conform to his ideas,† would from
now on be increasingly compelled to adjust at least some of his ideas
to circumstances that he could perhaps influence but not control. In
other terms: the purpose of his military strategy now was less con-
quest than the forcing of at least one of his enemies to deal with him,
preferably on his terms. But: this was not truly an admission of defeat.
Invincibility now had a priority over conquest. The time for short,
sudden victories ("Blitzkriege") may have been over; he and the Reich
must now settle down for a longer war, during which German power
would still be so strong that sooner or later one of his enemies—of
that unnatural coalition of Anglo-Saxons and Russians, Capitalists

*Halder diary, 18 November 1941. Jodl's statements cited by Schramm, *sch.*
pp. 26-27 and 204. There are some signs that Hitler began to think that as early as
mid-August. (Goebbels diary, 18 August 1941: "Separate peace with Stalin? Will
Churchill fall?") Hitler considered the American entry into the war as practically
inevitable.

†Hitler on 23 May 1939 to his generals: "The principle whereby one evades
solving a problem by adapting oneself to circumstances, is inadmissible. Circum-
stances must rather be adapted to demands [*Forderungen*]." (IMT, xxxviii, 079-L,
p. 549)

1945
Jodl
letter
to
his
wife

1942-4

2

s in 1944-45 that Hitler
awal in northern Norway,
in that subarctic vacuum
inland would bump into
the German withdrawal
behind to both the Roy-
unist guerrillas, hoping
war. (Hitler thought—
1 Bulgaria to Thrace and
the increasingly obvious
aders to give up fighting
still bitterly fighting the
edemnation from Hitler,
hem. In any event, it was

isodes were the political
1944 and 1945 to split the
monographic articles and
gn policy of that period
has been devoted to it by
idence is interesting. In
and at least on one occa-
to Hitler the advisability
he Reich's enemies; but
inced as he was not only
1 move before some re-
front or another. Thus,
is Stalin's dissatisfaction

ll and the German Resistance to
dispatch by Dulles to Wash-
s (NA. RG. 226. OSS Entry
edly and without formality in
Germans. . . . If we do noth-
committee may monopolize
hules have at least indirectly
theory after the war.

Statesman and Strategist 169

with his Anglo-American allies was appreciable, and when for about
three months there was a lull of fighting along almost the entire
German-Russian front line), Hitler forbade the further develop-
ment of a—perhaps—promising contact between German and Rus-
sian agents in Stockholm.* (Whether that was a great opportunity
missed is debatable. There are indications that Stalin permitted such
a—not entirely secretive—contact to impress—that is, blackmail—
his Western allies: a tactic not unlike Hitler's "message" to London
via Burckhardt in August 1939.)

But in 1944 there was a new development. Heinrich Himmler
himself, and officials of the SS, were establishing contacts with
Jewish organizations and, through them, indirectly with American
ones. Note that by that time Himmler had become the most power-
ful personage in the hierarchy of the Third Reich. (In the winter of
1944-45 Hitler also appointed him to a high military command.)
Yet it was Himmler, the director of the extermination of masses of
Jews and others, for whom "Staatsräson" (another German word for
Realpolitik) now had risen above the categorical dictates of National
Socialist ideology. The negotiations of his agents (including Eich-
mann) with certain Jewish persons in Budapest had but one aim: to
engage in some contact with Americans and make that fact known
to Allied intelligence, including that of the Russians. The British
knew what this was about. They were unimpressed with some of the
Jewish agents whom the SS had permitted to travel to Turkey in
June 1944, and arrested them. Yet Himmler was able to arrive at a
clandestine agreement with a representative of Roosevelt's Refugee
Board in Switzerland in September 1944; and a month later he
ordered the ending of the gassings at Auschwitz. Near the end, in
April 1945, he himself negotiated with Jewish representatives from
Switzerland and Sweden, with a former Swiss president, and with
the Swedish prince Bernadotte. On 25 April 1945, he broke with
Hitler, offering capitulation to the Western Allies. Of course there

*Fest exaggerates this possibility. F, p. 948: "In December 1942 and once more
in the summer of 1943 [in reality, the most significant contacts were suggested in
September], the Soviet Union through its representation in Stockholm made
known its willingness to negotiate with Hitler about a separate peace."

** To my surprise, the O.C. did make
black ops efforts to move Hitler in
this direction.*

194

1941, '43, 1944-5

was his evident unwillingness to read or hear or see reports of what was really done to Jews in the east. This unwillingness accorded with his unwillingness to visit or even to look at photographs of severely bombed German cities, or at pictures of the German refugees trekking westward in the brutal winter of 1944-45, pictures that he, at least on one occasion, pushed aside (and perhaps even with his unwillingness to look at photographs of the July 1944 conspirators' executions).^{*} Here we are faced, again, with a duality in his character. Generally speaking, not wanting to know something means preferring not to think about it at all. Within Hitler's person we may recognize an element of weakness in a man who otherwise could not be described as a coward; or, at best, a sensitive (and, in a way, feminine) element in the character of a man whose brutal ideas and brutal expressions were the very opposite of sensitive. Hitler was not a sadist. He took no sensual pleasure in the sufferings of his enemies or victims. Sadism is a sin of the flesh; Hitler's sins were those of the spirit. There is no evidence that his often-stated beliefs—that by persecuting the Jews he was acting as an instrument of God, and that the war had been forced on him by Jews—were meant for public consumption only.[†]

1943

factories in Germany. In March 1943, Dr. Korherr, a statistician working for the SS, was ordered by Himmler to prepare an exact statistical account of the number of Jews remaining in the East; this was then summarized and typed on a special typewriter for Hitler to read. According to Eichmann (FL, p. 138), Hitler saw it and then ordered it to be destroyed.

See also the article by Dieter Pohl ("Die Holocaust-Forschung und Goldhagens Thesen") in VFZ, January 1997, p. 11: "... it is still not wholly clear whether economic motives, meaning the preservation of Jews for work, did not have a considerable influence on the sequence of the mass murders."

*Maser (M/A, p. 255) makes an interesting remark about Hitler's unwillingness to confront one of his last cooks, Frau Manziyal, who was of (partly) Jewish origin: "... this also suggests that even in connection with the killing of Jews he was 'only' inhuman as long as he did not have to face his victims."

1944

†To this we may add another possible connection of the Final Solution with his private knowledge that the war could no longer be won: He knew not only that he would lose his war but also that the Jews of the world knew this. The perceptive Burrin (his concluding paragraph), p. 169: "Around the middle of September 1943, when he decided to kill the Jews, he certainly did not think defeat was inevitable. But he must have assuredly felt that it would take a great deal of luck in the future

1944

* The angels were coming to him every night, how hideous ~~and~~ they must have seemed to him. Power to torment him. Like devils.

§ P.T. He could confront an entire society more easily than one victim, that was good for us. Nothing messier in his habits for us to have to clean up. Much better to have executioners who do it with a pen, or in case of Greeks, security with a

XXXX Give me a monster who long to become human again, and I can align myself human place.

HERE WERE, as we have seen, the moral condemnation of Jews. individuals. There is the st Giesler,^{*} who saw Hitler's raphy of Emperor Frederic valist Ernst Kantorowicz. (11 December 1941), he ask are there, any decent Jews? "who took his own life as decomposition of other nations Hitler mentioned the

Dr. Bloch, as we have seen

for him to win; and he saw clearly The extermination of the Jews, th vengeance. By putting to death d little did it matter to his obsessed civilians—he was demonstrating somehow sacrificial death of the Je victory, to fight on to annihilation ating spilled German blood, and a conduct this exercise of vengeance as the situation worsened, and as h

*Giesler, p. 520; about him see

†In *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier* (1968), p. 36, Dietrich Eckart, Hitler's friend and confidant, described him as a decent Jew. Lukacs, LEW, pp. 452-3, book entitled *Geschlecht und Charakter der Juden* and *Charakter der Juden und Christen*, the problem [He . . .] was probably right in his anti-Semitism. He was wrong in his rising, Christianity: 'Against d Humanity thirsts for the founder o a decision as in the Year One. Betw and culture, between woman and i between nothingness and Godhead the two opposite kingdoms: There i a Third Reich that was to be ruler religion of the folk.'

DD Always better to have a man who lusts for blood in the abstract.

word for an imagination of the land than with the broad

for about seventy years after 1870, was not only that the practices and standards of German education and learning had influenced and were adopted in many places of Europe and of the world, including nations that were opponents of Germany in the two world wars. Something that had begun after the French Revolution: a romantic (and often sentimental and categorical) idealism, reacting against the materialism (and often against the rationalism) of the Enlightenment. This most important and potentially fruitful intellectual achievement—a great chapter in the history of the European mind—was mostly represented and exemplified by Germans; and then it was carried by some of them to extremes, to a deterministic idealism* that proved to be more inhumane than the deterministic materialism that had preceded and (lamentably) survived it—at least for a while. And an incarnation of an unstinting belief in a determinist idealism was Adolf Hitler.†

The English historian of religion Owen Chadwick wrote: "The Reformation would have happened without Luther. But without Luther it would not have happened in the way it happened."‡ Four centuries later the same condition—mutatis mutandis—applies to nationalist socialism and Hitler. He was the greatest revolutionary of the twentieth century. That is not an approbatory adjective.

*One has to go back a long way in history—perhaps to Alexander the Great—to find a man who, in a below-average short span of life, transformed the world so fundamentally and lastingly as Hitler. But what one would not find in the whole of world history is a man who, with an unparalleled and gigantic effort, achieved, as Hitler did, the exact opposite of what he had hoped to achieve."

†This is but a brief statement of what is summarized at somewhat greater length in Lukacs, *IEW*, especially pp. 6–7 and pp. 519–27.

‡Two random examples of an, alas, wholehearted belief in this deterministic idealism by two of his generals. Jodl on 7 November 1943: "We will win because we must win, for otherwise world history will have lost its meaning." Field Marshal Model on 29 March 1945: "In our struggle for the ideals [*Ideenwelt*] of National Socialism . . . it is a mathematical certainty (!) that we will win, as long as our belief and will remains unbroken." Cited by Manfred Messerschmitt, "Die Wehrmacht in der Endphase. Realität und Perzeption," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 4 August 1989, pp. 37–38.

§Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 73.

"Great" may be applied to need not be a reactionary to tieth century, that to desigr may be even more approbat than the epithet of a Great l lowed Hitler was our still-pr revolutions—something tha queville had.

What he had seen—and, n dable attraction of populist That nationalism proved to twentieth century. He was its that sometime after 1870 na siede the older nineteenth-c liberalism, indeed perhaps ex two, nationalism was more gories of socialism and capit because strength was more j ality was more powerful tha powerful than internationalis formerly rigid categories of vate ownership began to lee than management; and owner be ultimately obedient to the

Hitler was not the founde Germany. Among the princi was the first national socialist was an Italian first and a Socia creation of "Fascism." We h practices but in the ideas, of solini's Fascism. But that bec the reciprocal influences of 1940s: Mussolini, Stalin, and influences—more precisely, c something. Mussolini was no Stalin was not (and did not became influenced and impr

* D.T. Now the last great barrier to the triumph of materialism had been removed. Neither America nor Russia would prove a ttt -

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1941 1943

: more sanguine in their
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human act arises from a
ing as a multiplicity, or at
is wrong to presume that
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nize the hopelessness of
in his mind: to knock out
could not—yet—inadequate
nsraum in the conquered
roposes, the first was pri-
nconsequential.**

a 1939–1941, Oxford, 1973,
re East some relevance to the
ization for the ears of the gen-
fulfillment of Hitler's *Lebens-*
t his conclusion is debatable,
ization attempts of Hitler too
cause but in spite of the con-

ussions should not be under-
Heydrich: "The Führer is not
p. 156. The night before 22
"a big bubble." The generals
became thoughtful. He said
Dutchman." He added: "The
dark room. One never knows

o p. 56: "... in the prevailing
a dual purpose. It was meant
courage Britain once and for
n politics to pursue two aims
writes that Hitler's purposes
brings up Hitler's habit of
ions."

h about Lebensraum before
e of his circle in August and

THE SEVENTH OF DECEMBER IN 1941 was the turning point of World War II. The Russians halted the Germans in the frozen wastes before Moscow almost at the same moment that the Japanese attack on a tropical morning at Pearl Harbor thrust the United States into the war. Hitler's European war now became a veritable world war—which he could no longer win, or at least not in the way he had wished to win it. He himself realized this—a realization with many consequences, to which I must soon turn. But at this time something must be stated about his declaration of war on the United States on 11 December 1941. This has been defined and categorized as Hitler's supreme folly by many historians.*

It was, in some ways, an unusual event. Hitler himself said in June 1940—questioning Mussolini's stentorian declaration of war on France and Britain—that declarations of war belonged to the past, to the hypocritically chivalrous trappings of dynastic wars. However, in December 1941 he had Ribbentrop make such a declaration to the American chargé d'affaires in Berlin. Many historians have

1941

September 1941—which at least suggests that this had begun to serve him for purposes of justification. Consider, too, that beyond Hitler's general speculations in his table talks, detailed plans for German settlements in the East were not made by Hitler but by Himmler and others (and in 1943 a Führer order led to the stoppage of these plans). Zigelmann in ZIT/Λ, p. 167: "The long accepted view that with the conquest of the Russian lands Hitler wanted to introduce a 're-agrarianization' of German society in order to realize an 'anti-modern' and 'anti-industrial' utopia is wrong."

1943

*Emphatically—and wrongly—by A. J. P. Taylor. Bullock in BU, p. 662: "Hitler never supposed—any more than Hindenburg or Ludendorff in 1917—that he would have to reckon with a major American intervention in the European war." Not at all. Hitler to Jodl (KTB/OKW, 1, p. 996) on 17 December 1940—that is, the day before issuing the definite Barbarossa directive: "We must resolve all continental-European problems in 1941, since from 1942 the U.S.A. will be in a position to intervene." Haffner in HF/Λ1, p. 229, on Hitler's decision to declare war on the United States: "This must be the most puzzling of any of his decisions in World War II. I cannot explain it..." HF/ΛN, pp. 117–18: "There is to this day no comprehensible rational explanation for what one is tempted to describe as an act of lunacy... what induced Hitler to trigger America's entry into the German war, an entry which he had so far sensibly done everything to prevent, was not the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor but the successful Russian counteroffensive at Moscow..." An inadequate explanation.

Himmler
Rhein

look up 1954 for
explanation of why
he declared war
on America. It is
not very convincing.

Oct 14 1943

Statesman and Strategist

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ample of Hitler's hubris, an Pearl Harbor notwithstanding some trouble in obtaining a m Congress. This retrospec virtual state of war existed in an and German naval units. (before his invasion of Russia), naval commanders to avoid units, even if German sub-acked by the latter. He knew m a serious naval clash with ld not give Roosevelt such a ands of German naval come off. Moreover, while he to go to war against him, he y welshing on the principal them to go to war with the isly.

on the United States made le; whether his withholding changed the main course of orrect an assumption that is an the somewhat jejune spe-erman declaration of war on is is the widely accepted view m, of course) ignorant of the derestimated the Americans entential. Sufficient evidence sted in America and things

l Harbor, "fear of American inter-: war were still the cornerstones of

nited States but historians such as tement in his *Deutschland und der* iously doubt that Roosevelt would d anti-Semitic movement in the ury had played a role in American i Germany?"

American from his early youth. He was an avid reader of the Western and Indian stories of the German writer Karl May, whose last public lecture and funeral he attended in Vienna.* We have also seen that Hitler often expressed his liking of and even admiration for American industry and its techniques. He was, in sum, not uninformed about the United States, including some American political currents. One of the few German military attachés whose reports he read assiduously in 1940 was General von Boetticher in Washington. ("He knows how to read behind the scenes.") He was attentive to all kinds of evidence of anti-Roosevelt and "isolationist" opinions, of American "radical nationalists." He and Stalin were the first foreign statesmen who wanted to include the American electoral timetable in their calculations (Stalin telling Molotov not to travel to Berlin until after the November 1940 American presidential election; Hitler telling Mussolini that he should have delayed his attack on Greece until after that election). Throughout the war, and well after December 1941, Hitler was aware of certain American currents of opinion; that, for example, in 1944 anti-Communist and at least indirectly pro-German currents were surfacing among some Republicans in Washington. In his last table

*Koeppen notes 1Fz, 5 October 1942: "The Führer then told us that he acquired most of his knowledge of [American] geography from reading Karl May." Andreas Dorpalen, in his excellent article "Hitler, the Nazi Party, and the Wehrmacht in World War II," in Harry L. Coles, ed., *Total War and Cold War*, Columbus, Ohio, 1962, p. 72: "His generals lacked resourcefulness and imagination," [Hitler] began to complain; "they are too correct, their thinking is too conventional. They should have read more Wild West stories." Steinert in ST/HK/D, p. 545: "The false romanticism and anti-civilizational [philosophy] of a Karl May, reading of whom Hitler repeatedly advised." He said that as chancellor he reread all of May's books. In 1943 he ordered the printing of 300,000 copies of a May book (*Winnetou*), to be distributed among German soldiers. Klaus-Dietmar Henke, in *Die amerikanische Besetzung Deutschlands*, M, 1995, p. 133: In November 1944, "Himmler's chief of staff transmitted to the Gauleiters an exhortation from Guderian to prepare for cunning battle tactics and 'Indian-like' conduct . . . Karl May's books have proved to be educational in this regard." In Scholdt, *scho*, five solid pages (296-300) deal with this theme; see also Vappu Tallgren. Also Gertrud Willenborg, *Von Deutschen-Helden. Eine Inhaltsanalyse der Karl-May-Romane* (Köln, 1967). May's most famous protagonist, "Old Shatterhand," was a German-American. At the same time May was not a promoter of brutality. Many Germans liked his stories, including, for example, the radical artist George Grosz.

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D.T. By 1943, seeing that a man he was making after the war, I began to call him "Old Shatterhand."

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of Jews was a state secret of the Reich, not to be admitted to the outside world or even to the German people at large. But it was also Hitler's own secret—a secret at least to the extent that he pushed that knowledge away from himself. He surely did not want to know anything about its details. There are three kinds of evidence for this. One consists of his repeated statements that the Jewish "problem" must be looked at and dealt with in "cool, scientific" ways.* Another was his refusal to admit—not only to foreign visitors whom he accused of not being severe enough with their Jews but also to people close to him—that the aim of the concentration of the Jews into camps in the east was something other than deportation, and their being forced to work.† Finally, and most significantly, there

question was a 'masterpiece of concealment.' (FL, p. 61, calls it "Hitler's Cunning," perhaps not the best term.) Deuerlein, D, p. 152: "Hitler did not talk about everything . . . including the so-called Final Solution. . . . He was not a murderer in the sense of criminal justice; he did not murder or kill anyone; but he was still the author and the cause of all of the murders committed by members of the German people." Finally, there was Bormann's confidential instruction from the chancellery on 11 July 1943: The words "Final Solution" must not be mentioned, not even the term "Special Treatment" [*Sonderbehandlung*]; only references to Jews sent to work are allowed.

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*As late as in his speech of 30 January 1944: He hopes that "other nations too will become acquainted with the elements of a scientific understanding and objective solution of the [Jewish] question." (Also in 1944, cited by Heer, *HR*, pp. 446-47: "England too may shake herself and get rid of the Jewish bacteria in the last minute.")

†Throughout the war, Hitler kept speaking of Jews being deported eastward to work. On 17 July 1941 to the Croat Kvaternik: "where the Jews are sent, to Siberia or Madagascar, is the same for him." As late as July 1942, he still talked to his circle about Madagascar—and about Siberia too. When he berated the Hungarian Regent Horthy in April 1943 for not being tough about Hungarian Jews, Horthy responded, plaintively, that he could not simply beat them to death—whereupon Hitler said something about Jews being "bacilli," while Ribbentrop declared that they "would either have to be annihilated or put into concentration camps: there were no other alternatives." Goebbels in his diary of 27 March 1942 wrote of "a fairly barbaric procedure that cannot be precisely described: how many Jews will be left over. Roughly speaking about 60 percent liquidated, 40 percent in labor detachments." In 1944, Hitler asked Horthy for 100,000 Jews to work in German factories. Speer confirmed to Fleming (in a letter in 1981, FL, p. 161, note 12) that Hitler wanted Speer to gather Hungarian Jews for the construction of large underground

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considerers to hold this measure for war."* There was no written directive ought to be taken,† and he also knew people throughout the world—throughout his career, the (main) a state secret. There is effect.‡ else. The mass extermination

FL, p. 21. It corresponds with Goebbels' out the Jewish problem. The Führer Reichstag had come true, that if Jewry he would end that with the extermination the Jews must pay the bill; in Germany they will have to pay more. too they will have to pay sooner or later to laugh in the future. . . . And measures against Jewry." On that day, the compulsory wearing of yellow

considerers that Hitler's unwillingness to come Berlin in November 1941 may remaining American journalists in decision to proceed to extermination ended all hope of a negotiated peace preventing America from joining the an offensive before Moscow. I think since: the first gassing of Polish Jews

He had to eliminate [*entfernen*] the could you not have done this more have been more complicated—or

plan was ghettoization, but then as "head of the state . . . this dark kept as a state secret than was the order did exist—if only because it their oath to preserve life.) Fleming, Asia program," Hitler ordered that stances be seen to be active in this the 'Final Solution' of the Jewish

in that liquidation each