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eventually, when he could "hear where the firing was [and] knew which direction [to go], crawled back" to rejoin his unit.¹³⁵ Holbrook's Cockney matter-of-factness—the Royal Fusiliers was a London regiment—epitomises the spirit of the old British Expeditionary Force, whose soldiers died in their thousands at Ypres not because of an ideal of self-sacrifice but because it was expected of them and, in any case, there was no alternative.

On 31 October Falkenhayn renewed the offensive on a narrower front, astride the road that leads from Menin, on the higher ground the Germans occupied, to Ypres. The attack was mounted by the specially assembled Group Fabek, named after its commander, which consisted of a mixture of regular and volunteer corps, six divisions in all. Pressing down into the low ground, through a belt of vegetation the British would continue to call "woods"—Polygon, Shrewsbury, Nuns' Wood—long after the trees had disappeared, the Germans secured territory everywhere, and at the height of the attack broke through at Gheluvelt. Their thrust was repelled by the hasty assembly of bits and pieces of broken and exhausted battalions, Worcesters, Gloucestershires, Welch, Queen's, 60th Rifles, Loyals, Sussex, Northamptonshires, Gordon Highlanders, Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantrymen, and some Royal Dragoons fighting on foot. The German history speaks of "the enemy reserves being too strong" and of the British "bringing up two new divisions."¹³⁶ The reality was of tiny parcels of tired men stopping gaps in the line, stuffing fresh clips into their Lee-Enfields and firing "mad minutes" at the onpressing field-grey ranks. The arrival of some French units, begged by French from Foch, thickened the defence, but the crucial sector was held by British rifle fire.

The Germans renewed their offensive on 11 November, by their calculation the twenty-second day of a battle "in which death had become a familiar comrade."¹³⁷ The point of pressure was Nuns' Wood (Nonnenboschen), just north of the Menin road and only four miles from Ypres itself. Already the magnificent Gothic buildings of the ancient wool town, the Cloth Hall, the Cathedral, the merchant weavers' houses, were falling into ruin under the weight of heavy German artillery fire. The outlying country, too, was taking on the pock-marked, denuded look that would characterise its landscape for years to come. Its villages and farmsteads were broken by shelling, the little chateaux of the Flemish nobility already stood roofless and forlorn; a direct hit on Hooze chateau, two miles from Ypres, had killed many of



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the staff of the British was the target of a man 4th Division. tial assault by the army, was stemmed the 5th Field Com ion Oxfordshire a strong, counter-att whence they came.

Fighting around chosen by the offi tion. The British st half of the 160,000 stolidly digging an resistance over the the enemy. The Fre which they had fou, ran a little more t much closer. Every ing the shallow cre guardians for most c "the Salient." Its wi British. The Germa Flanders life and f heavily.¹³⁹ At least 4 Ypres, had fallen ou

They represented Frontiers, of the Gre to the Sea" and of Fi strength of two milli tember, killed, woun October 80,000 and officially revealed, m extraordinary total o mal mortality among those under twenty twenty-four, 70,000 Among those in the deaths had fallen on particularly on the 1

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The Battle of the Frontiers and the Marne

STATESMEN WERE FILLED with foreboding by the coming of war but its declaration was greeted with enormous popular enthusiasm in the capitals of all combatant countries. Crowds thronged the streets, shouting, cheering and singing patriotic songs. In St. Petersburg the French ambassador, Maurice Paléologue, found his way into the Winter Palace Square, "where an enormous crowd had congregated with flags, banners, icons and portraits of the Tsar. The Emperor appeared on the balcony. The entire crowd at once knelt and sang the Russian national anthem. To those thousands of men on their knees at that moment the Tsar was really the autocrat appointed of God, the military, political and religious leader of his people, the absolute master of their bodies and souls."¹ The day was 2 August. On 1 August a similar crowd had gathered in the Odeonsplatz in Munich, capital of the German kingdom of Bavaria, to hear the proclamation of mobilisation. In it was Adolf Hitler, who was "not ashamed to acknowledge that I was carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment and . . . sank down upon my knees and thanked Heaven out of the fullness of my heart for the favour of having been permitted to live in such times."² In Berlin the Kaiser appeared on his palace balcony, dressed in field-grey uniform, to address a tumultuous crowd: "A fateful hour has fallen upon Germany. Envious people on all sides are compelling us to resort to a just defence. The sword is being forced into our hands . . . And now I command you all to go to church, kneel before God and pray to him to help our gallant army." In the Berlin cathedral, the Kaiser's pastor led a huge congregation in the recitation of Psalm 130 and at the Oranienstrasse synagogue the rabbi conducted prayers for victory.³

something good about them." Let me repeat: Does this mean that Hitler was "only" "50 percent bad"? No. It was not only, as I wrote in chapter 1, that he had great talents given to him by God which he used for evil purposes, whence his responsibility; it is also, as I suggested in chapter 6, that his evil characteristics were spiritual. In this day and age it is unfashionable to cite great Fathers of the Church; but it was St. Thomas who wrote about a half-truth being worse than a lie; and allow me now to bring up St. Augustine, who wrote that "whatsoever things are, are good," while evil is spiritual, because it is part of the human condition. What this means is not only that the sins of the spirit are worse than those of the flesh but that the two are inseparable; that there are no sins of the flesh without their preceding as well as simultaneous—sins of the spirit.†

*This is much more profound than Graham Greene: "The greatest saints have been men with more than a normal capacity for evil, and the most vicious men have sometimes narrowly evaded sanctity." (Cited in Toland's Foreword, 10, p. xiii, where he wriggles around the question of Hitler's "greatness.")

†In this respect we ought to, again, reject the "demonization" of Hitler, or the temptation to attribute to him the qualities of being "diabolical" or "satanic." To the contrary, we can see elements in his career that bear an uncanny reminder of what St. John of the Apocalypse predicted as the Antichrist. The Antichrist will not be horrid and devilish, incarnating some kind of frightful monster—hence recognizable immediately. He will not seem to be anti-Christian. He will be smiling, generous, popular, an idol, adored by masses of people because of the sunny prosperity he seems to have brought, a false father (or husband) to his people. Save for a small minority, Christians will believe in him and follow him. Like the Jews at the time of the First Coming, Christians at the time of the Antichrist—that is, before the Second Coming—will divide. Before the end of the world the superficial Christians will follow the Antichrist, and only a small minority will recognize his awful portents. Well, Hitler did not bring about the end of the world, but there was a time—not yet the time of the mass murders but the time of the Third Reich in the 1930s—when some of St. John's prophecies about the Antichrist accorded with his appearance and his appeal. And it may not be unreasonable to imagine that in the coming age of the masses he was but the first of Antichrist-like popular figures.

In 1933 Joseph Roth wrote: "The Third Reich is now a country of Hell." No; but it did have some of the features of a nation led by an Antichrist. (Already in 1923 some of Hitler's followers had compared his life to that of Christ: thirty years of obscurity and then suddenly three years of a shining revelation.) Carl Jung: "Hitler's power is not political: it is magic." Also Lukacs (LEW, p. 524, note 194, and HC, p. 298). Klaus Mehnert in 1951: "The German people's journey from Liebknecht to Hitler and the Russian people's journey from Lenin to Stalin. . . . In both cases . . . the journey was one from dialectic to magic." An exaggeration of a generalization; but not without some substance.

Another consideration—Hitler—may be due to the accepted notion of the super-Civilization is essentially more and creative. Civilization, a social order; at worst, it is this idea go back to the nine appealed to Germans and worldwide, and then it was mered down by Oswald Spengler, or, rather, rises beyond civil places like Greenwich Village. Spengler the direction is the ossified civilization.* It was and Aryans, to him and his custodians of culture. "True one occasion. "It does not fit of a revelation arising from a people."† Besides his, he (rather than in refinement) proponent and promoter of pion of civilization? Not at This is not the place to discuss two terms, except to note that whereas they and the Roman urbane notions of a civilization," as we know it, is a hundred years. In English, it was defined as the antithesis

*During World War I, many (was infinitely superior to the English and linguistic problems here. Consistent house parties in 1906: ". . . sometimes he thought that they were truly than the Greeks or Romans." while the substitution of the word would be senseless in English.

†Cited in Peter Adam, *Art of the*

ugh many of them were.*
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writer Robert Musil in 1933, who
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National Socialism has its destiny
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developed a program of his own,
coincided with the deeper ten-
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author or an executor, a producer
as an author because he was exe-
uter understanding than most of
abilities of his time? These are
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generalizations of Jäckel's are
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small book (p. 170): There
Hitler was not only a problem
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that explains why the preoccupa-
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Bullock, *ibid.*, p. 808: "Hitler,
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confined to his own country,
than anywhere else. Hitler's
to which he gave expression

mains a desideratum of further research."* But is the problem still
that of "research"? Perhaps—even though there is reason to believe
that no more important, or even significant, documents by or about
Hitler will come to light. But then history does not only consist of
documents.

ALLOW ME NOW, at the risk of presumption, to sum up three long-
range considerations: (a) about a necessary Christian view of Adolf
Hitler; (b) about his place in the culture-civilization antithesis; and
(c) about his place at the end of the so-called Modern Age.

On 2 June 1945, hardly a month after Hitler's suicide, Pope
Pius XII spoke before the College of Cardinals about "the satanic
apparition [Gespenst: ghost, apparition] of National Socialism."

With all respect due to this much, and sometimes unjustly, criticized
pope, I am inclined to agree with Friedrich Heer: "Again this is be-
ing metaphysical, removing something from history and from the
responsibility for history, acquitting Catholics of their responsibili-
ties. For a 'satanic apparition' no one is responsible—at best, an exor-
cist. . . . The Pope overlooks entirely that this 'satanic apparition' was
a very concrete human incarnation who, before all in the Munich so
loved by the Pope but also elsewhere, was promoted and helped into
power by very responsible and notable men. . . .† In the first chapter
of this book I wrote that Hitler represented many half-truths; and
that a half-truth is not only more dangerous but worse than a lie,
because human acts and expressions are not frozen into mathematical
categories: hence a half-truth is not a 50 percent truth but something
else. To this let me add La Rochefoucauld's great maxim: "There are
evil men in this world who would be less dangerous if they had not

*SCHRR, p. 332. A long but essentially uninspiring attempt (in reality not much
more than a bibliographical disquisition) was made by Klaus Hildebrand in *HZ*,
pp. 583–632, "Hitlers Ort in der Geschichte des preussisch-deutschen National-
staates." In 1988 the neoconservative Michael Stürmer wrote that Germany "today
is a land without history." In some ways the opposite is true. Maser in his conclu-
sion of *M/A* was proved wrong (p. 439): "Only when West and East Germany are
unified will Adolf Hitler, the all-German trauma, be finally superseded." It did not
happen thus.

†HR, pp. 535–36.

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years (from 1815 to 1914), marked by the absence of world wars, the
twentieth century lasted seventy-five years (from 1914 to 1989),
marked by the two world wars and by their consequence—the so-
called cold war between America and Russia. It ended in 1989, with
the withdrawal of Russia from Eastern Europe and the reunifica-
tion of Germany. The crucial period of this—transitional—century
(marking the passage from the so-called Modern Age into some-
thing else) was its early one-third (1920 to 1945) in which, of course,
the career of Hitler belongs.* During this period—again contrary to
the popular and mistaken impression about the importance of the
Russian Revolution in 1917—the history of the world (and not only
of Germany or of Europe) was marked by the existence and the
competition of a triangle of forces. There was parliamentary democ-
racy, incarnated principally by the English-speaking nations, by the
states of Western Europe, and Scandinavia. There was Communism,
represented only by Soviet Russia, incapable of assuming power
elsewhere. And there was National Socialism (and also other, to
some extent similar but by no means identical, nationalist move-
ments) in Germany, after 1933 incarnated by Hitler and the Third
Reich, which proved to be so powerful that it took the unnatural
and temporary alliance of Liberal Democracy and Russian Commu-
nism, of the English-speaking and the Russian empires, to defeat
and conquer it. Neither side could do it alone.

That by itself identifies Hitler's place within the history of the
twentieth century. But there was even more to it. This triangle, rep-
resented by liberal-conservative-democratic people, and by Com-
munists and radical nationalists, repeated itself in every country in
Europe, and in almost every country of the world—including the
United States, South America, China, and Japan. (In 1945, the radi-
cal nationalists were silenced or subdued—temporarily. Later their
successors reappeared again.) Not all of the radical nationalists were

*Conversely, the crucial phase of the nineteenth century (1815 to 1914) was *not*
its first one-third (1815 to 1848), which was (as Napoleon had foreseen) a continua-
tion of the appeal of the French and other European revolutions. After 1849, the
period of repeated revolutions was succeeded by a period of wars (that Bismarck
had correctly foreseen), which was much more decisive; in spite of the recognition
of Marx, the struggle of nations succeeded the struggle of classes. *That* period
ended in 1945.

should we have illusions about the permanent constitutional validity of laws according to which in Germany the public display of the swastika and of pictures of Hitler remains forbidden forever. What we must hope for and trust is that when the time for the removal of such proscriptions comes, such a legal decision will reflect a climate in which the symbols of Hitler's era* will attract nothing more than historical curiosity.

THAT TIME IS NOT YET; and now when the German state has become united, when the entire postwar period marked by fifty years of the so-called cold war has unraveled, when the entire century is ending, let us conclude with an attempt to identify—identify, rather than define—Hitler's place in the history of it.

The twentieth century—historically speaking—was a short century. Whereas the historical eighteenth century lasted 126 years, (from 1688 to 1815), marked by the world wars principally between England and France; and the nineteenth century lasted ninety-nine

anxiety about the mass appeal of extreme nationalism in the age of mass democracy. But here a historical, or, rather, a political comparison may be in order. It is generally accepted that Hitler's breakthrough came in September 1930, with the sudden 18 percent of the vote the National Socialists won in that year's German elections. In our day we may find that in many countries of the Western world so-called Right-wing movements (Le Pen in France, the neo-Fascists in Italy, Haider in Austria, perhaps Buchanan, too, in the United States) may count on a 12 to 20 percent support among the electorate . . . but not in Germany. There, in 1930, the National Socialists gained respectability because of their nationalism, the decisive element in Hitler's coming to power. A concerted opposition to that did not exist. This is not so today. History does not repeat itself. Still we must not eschew the possibility that in the future, as in the past, "hard" minorities may achieve important inroads into "soft majorities."

*Symbols matter; or at least they tell us something. The flag of the party and then of the Third Reich, the swastika in a red field, was Hitler's own, brilliant design. Yet he would have done better—probably in both the short and the long run—if he had kept the black-white-red flag of the imperial Reich. (Next to the swastika flag it survived in Germany until about 1935; and 18 January, the birthday of the Second Reich, remained a day of public celebration during the Third.) But now the swastika flag, like the Third Reich, is only an episode, and the republican-democratic black-red-gold flag has outlasted even the forty-seven years of the black-white-red one.

years (from 1815 to 1914), twentieth century lasted marked by the two world wars and the cold war between America and the Soviet Union, the withdrawal of Russia from the competition of a triangle of racy, incarnated principally states of Western Europe, as represented only by Soviet elsewhere. And there was some extent similar but by (movements) in Germany, after 1918, the Reich, which proved to be a temporary alliance of Liberalism, of the English-speaking nations, and to conquer it. Neither side

That by itself identifies the twentieth century. But there resented by liberal-conservative, communists and radical nationalists in Europe, and in almost every United States, South American, and local nationalists were silenced; successors reappeared again.)

*Conversely, the crucial phase of its first one-third (1815 to 1848), with the appeal of the French revolution of 1789 (the period of repeated revolutions was had correctly foreseen), which was of Marx, the struggle of nations, ended in 1945.

ments to an extent that makes it both proper and precise to say that they became more and more nationalist socialists as time went on. That development (including their increasing inclination to anti-Semitism) ended with their deaths. So much for the war and the short run. But we must recognize that in the long run, too, in one sense Hitler's vision survived him. During the twentieth century the compound of nationalism with socialism has become the nearly universal practice for all states in the world. International socialism is a mirage. At the same time every state in the world has become a welfare state of sorts. Whether they call themselves socialist or not does not matter much. Hitler knew that. The economic structure of Germany that he had in mind had few of the characteristics of either Marxian or state socialism, but it could not be called capitalist, either. Fifty years later it cannot be denied that nationalism remains the most potent force in the world. We are all national socialists now. Of course, the proportions of the compound of nationalism and socialism vary from country to country; but the compound is there, and even where social democracy prevails it is the national feeling of people that matters. What was defeated in 1945, together with Hitler, was German National Socialism: a cruel and extreme version of nationalist socialism. Elsewhere nationalism and socialism were brought together, reconciled and then compounded, without remotely comparable violence, hatred, or war. But Hitler's nationalism was profoundly different from traditional patriotism, just as his socialism had few of the marks of the traditional philanthropy of the earlier Socialists.*

To this the objection may be raised: After all, has not the appeal of Communism long survived that of Hitler's National Socialism? Despite all the superficial evidence—examples: the surviving appeal of "Communist" parties in Russia and Eastern Europe, Chinese "Communism," Castro in Cuba—the answer is no, for three reasons at least. The first is that the surge of Communism that enveloped

*For the last time (see also above, chapter 4), he was a populist nationalist, not a traditional patriot. He knew better than most people that the true opposite of nationalism, with its cult of the people, is not so much a modern internationalism as a traditional patriotism, with its love for the land and for its history.

much of Eastern Europe : revolutions but simply due in that part of Europe. The communist regimes in the odd Cuba, Ethiopia, Angola, a anticolonialism (and in C than of the appeal of Con Soviet Union. The third re the present—and probably or pro-Stalinist parties, esp from but fundamentally be alism. If International Soci nism does not even qualify

As Karl-Dietrich Brache of Hitler was a fundament National Socialism"—that seemed to represent.* And the corresponding, and p German historian, Hagen S torians' Controversy, abou tory: that the constitution: nothing effective to counte nationalists. Certainly the e erably dampened the Germ but it is questionable "whet than one or two generati about the efficacy of which

*SCH, p. 107. Consider, too, F assumption of power in Argentin death. Apart from its significan estimated, in view of the Latin A after a time span of many years: B Washington, Castro fifteen years :

†HS, p. 149. Consider also the over the Western world: their ext the appearance of so-called Right- tivity is not comparable to anxiet is not simply attributable to "poli

is not only that the practices (learning had influenced and e and of the world, including any in the two world wars. French Revolution: a romantic idealism, reacting against the tionalism) of the Enlighten- tentially fruitful intellectual e history of the European mplied by Germans; and extremes, to a deterministic mane than the deterministic entably) survived it—at least unstinting belief in a deter-

when Chadwick wrote: "The hout Luther. But without he way it happened."‡ Four utatis mutandis—applies to s the greatest revolutionary an approbatory adjective.

haps to Alexander the Great—to of life, transformed the world so ne would not find in the whole of and gigantic effort, achieved, as ed to achieve."

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"Great" may be applied to criminals or terrorists, too. (Also, one need not be a reactionary to sense, especially at the end of the twentieth century, that to designate someone as a Great Conservative may be even more approbatory—at least in the Western world—than the epithet of a Great Revolutionary.) In any event, what followed Hitler was our still-present era of no great wars and no great revolutions—something that he had not foreseen, though Tocqueville had.

What he had seen—and, more or less, accurately—was the formidable attraction of populist nationalism in the age of the masses. That nationalism proved to be the principal political reality in the twentieth century. He was its most extreme representative. He sensed that sometime after 1870 nationalism and socialism came to supersede the older nineteenth-century categories of conservatism and liberalism, indeed perhaps even of Right and Left; and that, of the two, nationalism was more influential than socialism. The categories of socialism and capitalism themselves began to be outdated because strength was more powerful than wealth, because nationality was more powerful than class, because nationalism was more powerful than internationalism. When there was national unity, the formerly rigid categories of socialist and capitalist, public and private ownership began to leak; what mattered was not ownership than management; and ownership and management and labor would be ultimately obedient to the dictates of nationalism.

Hitler was not the founder of National Socialism, not even in Germany. Among the principal figures of the century, Mussolini was the first national socialist who recognized, around 1911, that he was an Italian first and a Socialist second—this eight years before his creation of "Fascism." We have seen differences, not only in the practices but in the ideas, of Hitler's National Socialism and Mussolini's Fascism. But that becomes inconsequential when we look at the reciprocal influences of the main dictators in the 1930s and 1940s: Mussolini, Stalin, and Hitler. That comparison of reciprocal influences—more precisely, of their development—ought to tell us something. Mussolini was not (and did not become) a Communist; Stalin was not (and did not become) a Fascist; but both of them became influenced and impressed by Hitler's ideas and achieve-

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discussion with Cardinal Faul-
bridge window of the Berghof,
After a long silence he said,
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stein, D, p. 133.)

embarrassing problem. "At any
I have flown to England and sur-
with me, but spare my misguided
6, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 673.)
Hitler's "greatness"? No: it would
Napoleon but not Hitler.) That
among the Allies also marked the
Italian royal government) made no
to take him south with the royal
nine days after the signing of the
treaty and the flight of the king
No provision was made in the
treaty.

in *The Vanity of Human Wishes*.
a phrase of Schopenhauer whom
that he taught something to the

"THERE IS NO ARGUMENT," George Orwell once wrote, "by which
one can defend a poem. It defends itself by surviving, or it is inde-
fensible."* So we judge achievements by their consequences. And
what were the consequences of Hitler?

His war (and World War II was *his* war) ended with the greatest
catastrophe for the German and also for the Central and Eastern
European peoples—for the latter, because the Russian occupation
and the subsequent Communist rule in that part of Europe was the
consequence of that war. A consequence of the war was the division
of Germany, which lasted for more than forty years, with mass
expulsions from the east and protracted sufferings for the German
people in the so-called "German Democratic Republic." A more
enduring consequence was the drastic reduction of Germany in the
east: the entire loss of East Prussia, together with other substantial
portions of the former Prussia, Silesia, Saxony to Poland (and, in the
case of the Königsberg enclave, to Russia). Even more enduring: the
almost complete elimination of the presence of ethnic Germans
from countries in Eastern Europe where some of their ancestors had
lived for eight hundred years.

The year 1945 marked, too, the end of the predominance—
political, cultural, intellectual—of Europe in the world, the end of
the European age, and the end of the European state system.†
There was something else, too: the end of the predominance of
German intellectual influence in the world. For what had happened,

*Lukacs, HC, p. 93: "Its survival depends on the coagulating consensus of civil-
ized tradition, and on authentic responses to quality; but that is a long-range con-
sensus, formed by the historical thinking of generations and confirmed by
existential experience. For it is in the long run that, somehow, truth may survive—
through the decay of untruth."

†Haffner gives a telling summary of this (HF/AN, pp. 100–01): "Today's world,
whether we like it or not, is the work of Hitler. Without Hitler there would have
been no partition of Germany and Europe; without Hitler there would be no
Americans and Russians in Berlin; without Hitler there would be no Israel; without
Hitler there would be no decolonisation, at least not such a rapid one; there would
be no Asian, Arab, or Black African emancipation, and no diminution of European
pre-eminence. Or, more accurately, there would be none of all this without Hitler's
mistakes. He certainly did not want any of it."

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Signature
John
Lukacs

tude."* This is well put. Great and profound is the problem of Hitler's place in history—not whether he deserves or not the sentimental, imprecise, and perhaps antiquated adjective "great."

In November 1936 (after his long discussion with Cardinal Faulhaber), Hitler sat with Speer at the large window of the Berghof, looking out at the mountain twilight. After a long silence he said, "For me there are two possibilities: to succeed with my plans entirely, or to fail. If I succeed, I will be one of the greatest men in history—if I fail, I will be condemned, rejected, and damned."† When, on 1 May 1945, his great opponent heard the news of his death on the radio, Churchill said at the dinner table: "Well, I must say I think he was perfectly right to die like that."‡

He left the name at which the world grew pale
To point a moral or adorn a tale.**

The first line is applicable to Hitler; the second is not.

*SCH, p. 123. In this respect Schramm's view accords with that of the otherwise different Heer. SCH, pp. 182–83: "Anyone who speaks of him as satanic or infernal is, in effect, making a theological statement. Whoever calls him a 'demon' is ultimately reserving judgment about the nature of his acts."

†On 6 April 1938 in Salzburg he said: "I think that the times in which I lead Germany are historical times of German greatness . . . I believe that the future and German history will confirm that in the times of my leadership I achieved the highest benefits for the German people." (Deuerlein, D, p. 133.)

‡It saved Churchill from a difficult and perhaps embarrassing problem. "At any time in the last few months of the war he could have flown to England and surrendered himself, saying: 'Do what you will with me, but spare my misguided people.'" (Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. 6, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 673.) Would that embarrassment have been due to Hitler's "greatness"? No: it would have been merely political. (Churchill respected Napoleon but not Hitler.) That embarrassment—together with thoughtlessness—among the Allies also marked the fate of Mussolini in 1943, when they (or the Italian royal government) made no effort to deliver Mussolini to the Allies or even to take him south with the royal government. He remained on the Gran Sasso for nine days after the signing of the Italian surrender, four days after its public announcement and the flight of the king and the government from Rome to the south. No provision was made in the armistice instrument for the surrender of Mussolini.

**Samuel Johnson about Charles XII of Sweden, in *The Vanity of Human Wishes*. Fest, in his conclusion, p. 1029: "In a variation on a phrase of Schopenhauer whom he [Hitler] in his way respected it may be said that he taught something to the world that the world shall never again forget."

"THERE IS NO ARGUMENT" one can defend a poem. It is feasible."** So we judge a what were the consequenc

His war (and World War catastrophe for the German European peoples—for them and the subsequent Communist consequence of that war. A of Germany, which lasted expulsions from the east a people in the so-called "enduring consequence was east: the entire loss of East portions of the former Prussia case of the Königsberg enclave almost complete elimination from countries in Eastern Europe lived for eight hundred years

The year 1945 marked political, cultural, intellectual the European age, and there was something else German intellectual influence

*Lukacs, HC, p. 93: "Its survivalized tradition, and on authentic sensus, formed by the historical existential experience. For it is in through the decay of untruth."

†Haffner gives a telling summation whether we like it or not, is the been no partition of Germany Americans and Russians in Berlin Hitler there would be no decoloration be no Asian, Arab, or Black African pre-eminence. Or, more accurate mistakes. He certainly did not wa

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Die historische Größe (Konstanz, 1979)
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 undoubtedly. . . ." Doenitz, also at
 despite the defeat at Carthage the
 German defeat the people still

peaks."* Fest wrestles with the semantic question: "All known history shows no phenomenon such as he; should one then call him 'great'?" He says yes and no; "still one is reluctant to call him 'great.'" But then he cites Burckhardt in the opposite sense from Haffner, since Burckhardt "spoke about a remarkable dispensation of the common laws of morality" when it came to the consciousness of "great" individuals.† Perhaps the question of "greatness" is best managed by Schramm. "In terms of sheer magnitude of what he wrought during his twelve years and three months in power he was one of the 'great' men in history. But his perverse greatness was informed less by creative energy than by some malevolent genius, so that even his most positive intentions and deeds acquired a dubious and ultimately sinister character."‡

"By virtue of his personality, his ideas, and the fact that he misled millions, Hitler poses an historical problem of the first magni-

**HF/AN*, p. 40. See also another unexceptionable anti-Hitlerian, Golo Mann, cited in Scholdt, *scho*, p. 18: Hitler "changed everything . . . Hitler alone could achieve what he had planned, to build a popular movement and then keep it under his control. He proved himself far superior [turnhoch] to all of his rivals, opponents within the Party on occasion, as well as to the conservative holders of his stirrup [Steigbügelhalter]. Hatred of Jews was his passion; the war was his enterprise from the beginning, from 1933 to 1945. The will to prove that Germany could have won the war of 1914 if he had commanded it then, if he had waged that war with the right means to the right ends, this remains the source of his entire, unbelievable, disastrous adventure. 'Then it was the Kaiser, now it is I.' In the modern history of Europe I find no one who had affected events so decisively and so destructively, even more than had Napoleon."

†*F*, pp. 17, 189. Karl-Dietrich Erdmann "solves" the problem (or, rather, unsolves it) by a dual adjective: "the impenetrable darkness of his person . . . his diabolical world-historical greatness" (in Gebhardt, ed., *Handbuch der Geschichte. Die Zeit der Weltkriege*, vol. 2, s, 1976). Bullock's conclusion is somewhat better (*BU*, p. 806): "The fact that his career ended in failure, and that his defeat was preeminently due to his own mistakes, does not by itself detract from Hitler's claim to greatness. The flaw lies deeper. For those remarkable powers were combined with an ugly and strident egotism, a moral and intellectual cretinism. [Not a mot juste.] The passions which ruled Hitler's mind were ignoble: hatred, resentment, the lust to dominate, and, where he could not dominate, to destroy."

‡*schn*, p. 12. "By comparison, the autocracy of previous despots seems almost timorous and halting." Görlitz-Quint in *GO*, p. 234: "In any case there is no leading figure in German history comparable to him." Also p. 628: "We consciously avoid the word 'great' because 'great' suggests a connection to ethical value."

1914-18
 in the
 trenches
 + in 1918
 while
 blind.

unorthodox opinions of what Hitler represents in the modern history of Europe.*

Still, it is with this question of "greatness" that many of Hitler's biographers have been struggling.† Haffner, for example: "Of course one hesitates, and justly so, to call him 'a great man.'‡ 'Those who are only vigorous destroyers are not great at all,' says Jakob Burckhardt, and Hitler certainly proved himself a vigorous wrecker. But beyond any doubt he also proved himself a star achiever of high calibre, and not only in wrecking. Admittedly, without his decidedly exceptional vigor the disaster which he accomplished would have turned out less enormous, but one should not lose sight of the fact that his road to the abyss led across high

*Examples from Lewis's 1931 book (reprinted in New York, 1972, not easily available in most libraries): "the Communists help the police to beat and shoot the Nazis" (p. 16). The Nazis are "clean and law-abiding" (p. 19). "Whereas the Communist is invariably armed, the Nazi has only his fists or sticks to defend himself with, owing to the discrimination of the Republican police authorities" (p. 28). Hitler: "An asceticism not without nobility" (p. 31). "In setting about to expound the doctrine of Hitlerism, it rapidly becomes apparent that it is rather a *person* than a *doctrine* with which we are dealing." England "is married to Jews," but (p. 42): "still allow a little *Blutgefühl* to have its way (a blood-feeling toward this other mind and body like your own)—in favor of this brave and unhappy impoverished kinsman." "I do not think that if Hitler had his way he would bring the fire and the sword across otherwise peaceful frontiers" (p. 49). "Hitler is a very different person from Mussolini, Pilsudski, or Primo da Rivera" (p. 51). In 1939 Lewis wrote *The Hitler Cult*—now very critical of Hitler, with some insights: "He disdains democracy and all its works. Yet he himself, as a demagogue, hanging upon the emotional suffrage of the masses, is a typical democratic statesman—and this in spite of the fact that the agreeable laissez-faire of Western democracy had passed over, with him, into a demagogic despotism."

†The title of Lothar Burchardt's *Hitler und die historische Grösse* (Konstanz, 1979) is promising, but the book does not really deal with the idea or with qualifications of "greatness."

‡Irving, of course, has no such hesitations; in his foreword to *I/H*, p. xxiii, he suggests the epithet "Hitler the Great," citing Jodl in Nuremberg: "I blame his humble origins, but then I remember how many peasants' sons have been blessed by History with the name 'Great.'" Jodl, too, *IMT* xv, p. 602, cited by *M/A*, p. 195: Hitler was "no charlatan, but a gigantic personality, at the end acquiring an infernal kind of greatness, but greatness he possessed undoubtedly. . . ." Doenitz, also at Nuremberg: "Hitler was a great military leader: despite the defeat at Carthage the people admired Hannibal. . . . And despite our German defeat the people still admire Hitler. . . ."

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†*F*, pp. 17, 189. Karl-Dietrich solves it) by a dual adjective: "the bical world-historical greatness *Zeit der Weltkriege*, vol. 2, s, 19 p. 806): "The fact that his career is due to his own mistakes, greatness. The flaw lies deeper. an ugly and strident egotism, a The passions which ruled Hitler to dominate, and, where he could

‡*SCH*, p. 12. "By comparison timorous and halting." Görlich-C figure in German history compared the word 'great' because 'great' is

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X Hitler's most brutal instructions may have been secret or oral or even too general to pin down; but he never disavowed them or their results; nor did he attribute them to others, in order to exempt himself for the sake of the historical record—another example of the difference between his and Napoleon's sense of history.*

In 1901, the French positivist historian Alphonse Aulard wrote in his *Histoire politique de la révolution française*: his aim was to study and appraise in an objective, scientific way, "historically and not politically." Eighty years later German historians expressed the desideratum of Hitler's "historicization" (*Historisierung*) in similar terms. Yet "objective" and "scientific"† are outdated Cartesian categories (as are their symmetrical antonyms: "subjective" and "artistic"). Like all human knowledge, historical knowledge is both personal and participant‡ (and, its expressions are less motive-bound than purpose-oriented). Or, to repeat: Perspective is an inevitable component of reality—to which I must now add that no perspective is ever devoid of the element of retrospect. And it is in the retrospective perspective of a century that we must consider Hitler's place in it. If the two world wars were the two mountain ranges dominating the historical landscape of the twentieth century, in the shadows of which we were living until 1989, in Europe and America and Germany and Russia

is a flagrant untruth. It is all part of the system. In the Enghien affair he sheltered behind the alleged overhasty action of Savary. In the case of Spain it was Murat. And now it was Miollis, the Governor of Rome, who had to bear the discredit of a deed which Napoleon had undoubtedly wished done." To this Geyl adds a telling footnote: "One could make a comparison here with Queen Elizabeth, who was also very ready to saddle her servants with the blame in difficult situations. The best known, but certainly not the only example, is that of her rage against Davison, on the pretext that he had given the order for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots without her authority."

*Consider, too, Napoleon's recorded musings—his "pièces justificatives"—at St. Helena, where, among other things, he predicted the rise of the United States and Russia and the necessity for France of friendship with England. Nothing like this with Hitler. *Avec et après moi le déluge*: improperly attributed to a French monarch but appropriate, in spirit, to Hitler.

†However, we must keep in mind that the German words for "science" and "scientific"—*Wissenschaft* and *wissenschaftlich*—are broader than our contemporary English usage of them. They include both "science" and "knowledge."

‡Veronica Wedgwood's *bon mot*: "History is an art—like all the other sciences."

alike, wherefore World War wars, and with results lasting then it follows that the peal which brings us to the unscie

THE QUESTION OF HISTORIC semantic. (Of the nearly ten th in the *Oxford English Dictiona* historical greatness, as such, d kind is the history of the e includes—indeed, it is insepar there has been such an evoluti whom the epithet "Great" w; century: Peter, Frederick, and do not only with quality but v declined, if not altogether van that Napoleon has not acquire indirect and sarcastic suggest should be called "Napoleon the

And so, for the last time, a c Many things that Napoleon proved enduring, many of his i including an architectural and actually began during the late tinued to develop during the I his sayings, crisp expressions of had an occasional sense of the any sense of humor, left few say a few trenchant observations). remembered are his automobil

*Was Napoleon the peak figure of unexpected culmination of the eighteen

†"Of persons" only "d. "The Great honourable epithet, appended as a title chiefly monarchs, implying . . . that the great men of history."

the "cold war," and even now, many evolution in Russia as the greatest the twentieth century, leading to the communism and "Freedom," during were but an aberrant episode. (This and William F. Buckley's thesis: "In whatever that means.) This view my adherents (including many ex- in the 1970s) but it remained an the basic ideology of the Republican selling men like Ronald Reagan into orting from the main subject of this sum up why: (1) The main events of ld wars—of which the Communist il the establishment of Communist 1945 were but the consequences. (meaning: the most consequential) tion—which meant Russia's with- American entry into it, in both the short run, it was not Russia's fall- that decided the outcome of World that meant a break with the long ing involved in the struggles of the e history of this century has shown munization or the Russianization, Communism after 1917 and before re outside Russia (very much unlike evolutions), and the collapse of the e proofs enough of the feebleness of

haps regrettable that in 1986 Chan- the "Kuratorium" (Board of Direc- echte." Nolte was also defended in e of the most original thinkers of ion, also by Joachim Fest. In 1994, ugstein (publisher of *Der Spiegel*), y an ideologue but . . . the Second

World War was also a war virtually for European unification . . . Germany could be conceived as the Piedmont of Europe."²

One of Nolte's defenders in the "Historikerstreit," Klaus Hildebrand, wrote: "Much work is left for historiography to research and present the history of the Third Reich in connection with German, European, and universal history."³ Such an attempt in the "Historikerstreit" was made by Andreas Hillgruber. His advocacy of what I called the two-war theory in 1986 contributed to the sudden outbreak of the Historians' Controversy. In *Zweiterlei Untergang* (1986) he praised the desperate defense of the Eastern Front in 1944-45 "for the protection of the integrity of the great power status of the German Reich which, according to the will of the Allies, had to be destroyed." Anti-Prussianism "was the basis of the British war policy against Germany."⁴ According to Hillgruber, respect and admiration are also due to leading National Socialist officials and to the SS units (including the volunteer Flemish, Dutch, and other SS units) in that struggle. Like Nolte, Hillgruber spoke of the "European conception" of the SS. A second—and to me more disturbing—matter was Hillgruber's reluctance to commend the patriotism of the July 1944 conspirators against Hitler. (This is significant because of the accepted consensus of the West German Republic, officially identifying itself with the patriotism of

²Piedmont: the state from which the unification of Italy had proceeded—its role comparable to the thirteen colonies in the history of the United States. We have also (see above p. 180n) seen Nolte's misdating and misconception of a letter by Chaim Weizmann to Neville Chamberlain in 1939. (He had found this in Irving, who, in turn, had gathered it from one of Hitler's table conversations.) Another example: Nolte's repeated references to the Rat's Cage (*Rattenkäfig*), a Bolshevik practice of forcing a victim's head into a cage inhabited by a raging rat. Hitler was supposed to have spoken of this in one of his table conversations. Yet it had been mentioned earlier by an excellent anti-Bolshevik historian of the Russian Revolution (Melgunov) and then described by George Orwell in 1984—of these Nolte seems to have been ignorant. "[Hitler's] horror of the rat's cage was but an outstanding expression of a general and genuine experience of the earlier postwar period. I think that here we may find the deepest roots of Hitler's most extreme impulses of action." Nolte in HS, p. 226. The Rat root?

³HS, p. 292.

⁴HS, p. 341. HS/W, p. 48. Hillgruber accused Germany's enemies of having brought about not only a German catastrophe but "a destroyed center of Europe."

seem
X

When their purpose is his rehabilitation, that should be detectable from the relativizers' selection of their "facts" and of their own words. This is true of many of Hitler's admirers or defenders, whether they admit or realize their purposes or not. Some historians (Zitelmann, for example) evoke a now outdated (and originally Cartesian) physical vocabulary, suggesting that "subjective" prejudices have clouded an "objective" historical representation of Hitler. On the other hand, Maser refers to Hitler's unabashed admirer Hans Severus Ziegler's* "very subjectively composed book"—as if "subjective" were sufficiently explanatory.

Throughout this book we have met some of the arguments that professional and amateur historians and others have produced for the purpose of revising important elements in the history of Hitler; and this may be the place to sum up the main ones, as briefly as possible. Fifty years after his death, it is—or should be—uncontestable that Hitler was a more complicated—and also more secretive—man than has long been assumed; and that his powers of intelligence were considerable. At the same time, his apologists tend to emphasize the sensitive, the artistic, the surprisingly human side of his personality—often one-sidedly so. One-sided, too, is their portrait of the happiness and the prosperity that Hitler brought to the majority of the German people in the 1930s—without mentioning, let alone emphasizing, the darker elements in that overall picture. Then, among extreme apologists as well as among cautious rehabilitators, there is the tendency to exonerate Hitler—at least partially—from the responsibility of having started World War II. This is done by emphasizing the warlike purposes of his enemies, and their rigid unwillingness to compromise, particularly the Poles and the British.†

*In M/A, p. 283. Ziegler's *Wer war Hitler?* (Tübingen, 1970)—an extreme apologist and admirer.

†This tendency appears even in serious works. Two examples: Oswald Hauser, *England und das Dritte Reich. Eine dokumentierte Geschichte der englisch-deutschen Beziehungen von 1933 to 1939 auf Grund unveröffentlichten Akten aus dem britischen Staatsarchiv, I-II* (Göttingen and z, 1982). A long commentary in SCHUB, p. 56. Schreiber: Hauser's tendency is "to exonerate Hitler, in part even to assert his innocence [teilweise sogar zu verharmlosen], while accusing the British side." To a much lesser extent, this is also applicable to Dietrich Aigner, *Das Ringen um England* (M, 1969).

In addition, there has been at least partly, for his most attack Russia in 1941, by argumentation—that Stalin. In preceding chapters I have war thesis, according to which both understandable and excusable not only of Germany but of Germany serving as a bulwark variant of this argument accusing having been blind to the danger contributed to the collapse of Germany.†

Another instance of this kind of the merits of the German extreme examples consist of 1944 conspirators (as, indeed have, finally, seen Irving claim the extermination of the Jews perpetrated by others, and the camps rather than death camps

*See, for example, Günter Gillespie's articles by this writer have blamed British.

†Example: the military historian Hitler's plans for the invasion of England I-II (Göttingen, 1959), I, p. 25: "The British, who concentrated only on defense were ready to accept any partner—that [The British] did not foresee that the a strong Germany by the overwhelming "This argument—amounting, in essence appeals to some people even now, and correct it here. It was not that only wish to win. That 'partner' was forced into It is also that Churchill saw the choice Germany; or—at worst—the eastern while; and half of Europe was better that, as late as the 1960s, wrote on to fall at the head of his army in the

THERE WAS RESISTANCE to Hitler in Germany—a German resistance that was perhaps more admirable (and not only because of its obvious and often terrible risks) than the resistance of men and women in other nations that had been subjugated or were unwillingly allied with Hitler. It was limited to solitary persons, families, and small groups, and one varied and changing small minority conventicle within the only institution, the General Staff of the Army, that could have been effective (though that, too, was unlikely). This does not mean that, as I suggested earlier, a resistance to Hitler did not exist within the majorities, sometimes within the split minds of individual men and women. In any event, “resistance” meant a mental or actual reaction of opposition to Hitler (and we ought not to forget that, after all, the very word “resistance” suggests something that is *reactionary*). We must also consider that the anti-Jewish brutalities in Germany evoked *less* support among the German people* than among some Eastern peoples (examples: Romania, Latvia, Ukraine). This is not merely a tentative general statement about popular attitudes; it is evident from many of the recorded expressions of the time, and in the acts of many Germans who tried and dared to help Jews in the most difficult times. On the other hand, there were the brutal expressions and evident acts of a hard National Socialist minority, and the mute obedience and respect of the majority—less for National Socialism than for Hitler.

THE GENERALLY HELD VIEW, according to which respect for Hitler vanished within an instant of his death, also requires some qualifica-

*According to Haffner (HF/A1, pp. 208–09): “. . . Hitler's anti-Semitism was the line that separated the loyal followers of the Führer—the majority of the people—and the not insignificant minority of Antis, people who in the privacy of their homes railed against Hitler and his party, and who were convinced that this proved their adherence to traditional values even if they no longer dared to speak out, let alone act. There always existed a substantial number of Antis who later, after Hitler's fall, tried to describe themselves as the ‘inner emigration,’ or even as the ‘resistance.’ I believe that both these labels should be used with great caution.” (I would say: with a mixture of respect and caution.)

tion. The majority of the best dangers and shocks among remaining officials were due to the phenomenon of their 1945 successor, Admiral Doenitz: “Let us place our trust in him. Believe me, in my I have found that his is. During the days between Germany, Doenitz and me respectful of Hitler. (Doenitz party, nor did he remove government offices at Fleiss. “struggle against the Bols the entire civilized world no longer continuing the only in order to promote diary on the day after the ment for the continued national community creat

That giving up the struggle giving up the struggle also obvious that for Germany Bolshevism—among other the German people. For National Socialism was, at strong article of belief, as some Americans in the are reasons for such a belief:

“Doenitz in Nuremberg, tremendous personality . . . with ex universal culture [*Bildung*], wit enormously suggestive power.”

†This is perhaps the only instance the otherwise unexceptionable S unexpectedly succeeded to power service for which he deserves no five years earlier.” This estimate

the marks of feverish sentimentality not really meant to rehabilitate the elements of that kind (is own), and they cannot be

arians of another German phenomenon. Their approach since they did not attempt to did attempt to alter some of h. This was mostly what the early example of their argument in 1981: "One must of Hitlerism."^{*} This is too many of the Historians' Con- 1988: "The 'Historikerstreit' suggested that the genocide of fear [Angstreaktion] to the ers, while the other aimed to tion in 1941 may have been a tions, whether consciously or gonal Socialist era. . . . Both cized to a high degree. . . ."† ed the controversy, asserted estion: "How far was the war Germans?" Here I am inclined an inclination to a two-war et Union may have been est was regrettable, and that ed within traditional limits, a Normalkrieg]. But was it? eople, his invasion of Den- le of France, his bombing of

Rotterdam, Coventry, Belgrade, his treatment of the Jews before 1941, categorizable within the confines of a "Normalkrieg"? As Horst Möller wrote: "Judgment about the National Socialist dictatorship is a key to the historical-political consciousness of the [West German] republic. Mutations in the assessment of that era of German history are often seen as being seismographic for our political culture."^{*} There are reasons to believe that (as, among others, Zitellmann's example suggests) a revision of the history of the Third Reich is going on and will continue to go on, among historians. This is inevitable and not necessarily regrettable. What matters are the purposes and, consequently, the quality of such a revisionism: for revision may suggest or even lead to rehabilitation—and a certain kind of revisionism may, in the end, lead to a rehabilitation not only of some of the character and achievements of the Third Reich but eventually, though implicitly, of Hitler.

"War alles falsch?" "Was everything wrong?" That was the question that many Germans asked when it came to a retrospective view of Wilhelmine Imperial Germany during the Weimar Republic (much later, in 1951, it was the title of a book by Joachim Kürenberg, appraising and defending the character of Kaiser William II). That book (a moderate publishing success) appealed to the memories of an older German generation. That phrase, "War alles falsch?" "Was everything wrong?" when applied to the Third Reich (and implicitly even to Hitler) involves not only the memories of the now dwindling German survivors of the 1930s and 1940s but also the sensitivities, perspectives, and inclinations of generations of Germans yet to come.

THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR HITLER of an older German generation, and especially of German nationalist conservatives, did exist. This generalization allows for many significant individual exceptions and requires certain qualifications about German "conservatism." Yet generalizations, like brooms, should sweep and not stand in a corner.

^{*}HS, p. 323. Christian Meier quoted a leader of the Christian Democratic Party in 1983: Germans should finally "step out of the shadow of Hitler." (HS, p. 51)

1981, p. 75. (This was the volume first produced the "functionalist"

X 80 percent were his committed opponents.* (Also, belief in Hitler and belief in National Socialism were not always the same thing.)

Furthermore, it is not always, and not necessarily, true that a mass is more than the sum of its individual components. In many ways a collective is *less* than that, since its members are men and women, Catholics and Protestants and atheists, former monarchists and former Socialists, and so forth; and the interesting question is *how* a German Catholic or a former Socialist voter became either a partially or fully committed believer in Hitler. A further difficulty presents itself with the German terms "Volksgefühl," "Volksstim-mung," and "Volksmeinung" (especially employed by Zitelmann), which are only imprecisely translatable into English ("popular" or "national feeling," "sentiment," "opinion"), and are undefinable and overlapping. This touches on yet another particular problem, which is that of the categories and tendencies of German rhetoric—already evident in the tone of German public statements and publications during World War I, when, for example, French or British nationalism was often as sharp or even brutal as the German; but somehow the *rhetoric* of the Germans was different. Here we must recognize that, Freud notwithstanding, speech is not only an expression of thought, but that habits and patterns of speech have an evident, and often ascertainable, effect on habits and patterns of thought.†

Closely connected with this is another necessary recognition: that

X *Kershaw in *PO/PD*, p. vii, is very good about this: His book "is about the muddled majority, neither full-hearted Nazis nor outright opponents, whose attitudes at one and the same time betray signs of Nazi ideological penetration and yet show the clear limits of propaganda manipulation. The picture painted is not a simple, straightforward, and clear-cut one."

†Some of this is ascertainable in the memoirs of German generals and other high officials of the Third Reich. A careful study of the gradual (though rapid) adjustment of the German press to the era of the Third Reich in 1933 is, as yet, missing. About "adjustment"—great writers such as Tocqueville and Fontane gave us incomparable portraits of what happened in 1848 in Paris or in Berlin, but such portraits about 1933 hardly exist, partly because, as I attempted to express earlier, "the structure of events" and the mental habits of large numbers of people were not what they were a century before.

of the difference between expected more of the mental dictable mental reactions—wholesale acceptance of the in *Mein Kampf*: "To lead m

(act)

BUT ENOUGH OF THESE M temological—consideration its variations.† To begin wi the widely accepted thesis, sion not only contributed acquire power. We know breakthrough—in his fortu election, when the Nation more votes than they did almost 19 percent of all vot tively little attention to t Socialist votes in the sumi municipal and state electi (for instance), rising at time before the worldwide Depre Weimar Germany. Some h crucial ascent from 1930 to years of the Depression, I gram—in other words, his

"Mentality," here, is not altog *mentalités* among historians. This is French academics) of the fatal sho struction of history. Admittedly a c spectives, it must mean more than j certain place and time.

†Steinert, in *ST/HK/P*, p. 336, who have claimed that Hitler's su would have been greatly handicapp pictorial materials were more easily voice or text.

→ this is also the
A. H. identifies
the process

"definitely" end;* but allow me to conclude this introductory subchapter with what I think is a trenchant statement by Haffner: "After 1933 something like a Führer state would probably have come into being even without Hitler. [Possibly.] And there probably would have been another war even without Hitler. [Perhaps.] But not the murder of millions of Jews."† [Yes.]

THE MOTIVES OF HITLER'S Judeophobia remain a mystery. More ascertainable—at least to a considerable extent—are his *purposes*.‡ But before my attempt to make a necessary—and seldom observed—distinction between motives and purposes, some other distinctions may be in order.

We must recognize that the Jewish "problem" was Hitler's fundamental obsession—as I suggested in chapter 5, more fundamental than his obsession with the importance of Lebensraum.** At a certain time of his life, Hitler convinced himself that the presence of the Jews was a fundamental problem of Germany and of Europe, and probably of the entire world—the key to history, so to speak. I write "convinced himself," rather than "became convinced," since the latter phrase at least partly suggests the result of outside influ-

*Schreiber in SCHRB, pp. 286–87: "Obviously there exist a great number of excellent studies [about the Final Solution] . . . but a comprehensive survey that considers all the various perspectives and includes all of the most recent single studies does not yet exist."

A good summary statement by Jäckel (JH, p. 46): "It can be ruled out that a single killing order was given. The extermination was divided into several phases and covered a wide variety of methods and victims. We must therefore assume a correspondingly wide variety of orders extending over a period of several months."

†HF/AN, p. 216.

‡In ZIT/A, pp. 42–43, Zitelmann comes close to suggesting that Hitler's anti-Semitism served principally propaganda purposes, which is very debatable. He cites a Hitler speech (27 February 1925): It is "psychologically wrong to establish a variety of aims for the struggle"; it is right "to select but one enemy that everyone can recognize: he is the only guilty one." Then: "And this enemy is the Jews."

**This is the very opposite order from that of Zitelmann, who in an interview with the Swedish historian Alf W. Johansson in November 1992 stated that the creation of a new Lebensraum in the East was Hitler's "central aim" and that it is at least debatable whether the liquidation of the Jews was his aim, surely not for a long time.

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elbow room for individual endeavor. As one reads about the recon-
struction of the various German opposition groups against Hitler,
one is struck by their relative liberty of movement within that police
state; by the relative ease with which some people flitted back and
forth between Germany and abroad, or met foreign diplomats in
Berlin, talking cautiously but almost freely. This kind of behavior
would have been inconceivable in the Soviet Union (and in some
other police states too). But then, Gestapo and SD notwithstanding,
National Socialist Germany was both more and less than a police
state.* The clever Carl Schmitt, the principal constitutional theorist
of the Third Reich, wrote in 1935 that the National Socialist re-
gime meant the end of the old Prussian "Beamtenstaat," with its
Hegelian conception of a state governed by officials. It was, instead,
a "Volksgenossenstaat," a state of the comradeship of the people:
'The state is the instrument of the people.' † That was exactly what
Hitler thought. The German working class, among others, felt
something of this, too: Many of the steelworkers of Krupp were
more reliable followers of the Führer than were some of the old
Prussian civil servants. As late as March 1945, Speer was driven to
despair as he overheard the talk of German workers who, unlike
himself, were still confident of Hitler and of victory in the end.

In reality, the Third Reich was a mixture of "Volksgenossenstaat"
and "Beamtenstaat." ‡ But our concern is with the history of Hitler,
not with that of the Third Reich. He—unlike Mussolini or, more
often, Goebbels—seldom used the word "total." Bullock properly

*Schramm, *sch*, p. 95: "It would be an oversimplification to characterize Hitler
as a hyper-Machiavellian no longer inhibited by law. His concept of legality came
from what he saw as 'the eternal laws of natural events.'" Kershaw, *ker*, p. 194:
"Hitler was not a tyrant imposed upon Germany. He was in many respects, until
well into the war, a highly popular national leader." At the same time Speer (*sp*,
p. 370), on the subject of Hitler's pragmatism, cites him as saying: "There can be
only one dogma, in brief: what is useful is right."

†See Lukacs, *lew*, p. 324. Note, too, the difference from Spengler, in *The Decline
of the West*: "The state is the form of a people." The "elitist" Spengler still saw "the
state" as being of a higher order than "the people"; Schmitt sometimes; Hitler
never—except when circumstances forced him to do so (about this see chapter 5).

‡This is the essence of the important argument of Edward N. Peterson, *The
Limits of Hitler's Power*, Chicago, 1968.

Hitlerism and Stalinism, what we ought to consider now is the incorrect application of "totalitarianism"—meaning total state rule—not only to the Third Reich but to the very ideas (and some of the practices) of Adolf Hitler.

To begin with what is (or should be) obvious: the *total* rule of the state is impossible. Even at the peak and at the maximum extent of a modern tyrant's rule, there remain people and islands of life that are surprisingly untouched by the police rule of the state. Still, the term "totalitarianism" may seem reasonable when it is the practical *intention* of the tyrant or tyrants ruling a state to exercise total control over its inhabitants. But there is room for a serious question whether that was Hitler's intention. His intention was to rule with the active consent of the majority of his people, among whom the potential opposition of—small—minorities would be insignificant and entirely ineffectual. It may even be said that while Stalin (not unlike other, mostly Oriental rulers) was exercised by the danger of potential opponents, whence his purges, Hitler (and also Himmler, the SD, and the Gestapo), while aware of the existence and the locus of potential opponents, were principally interested in discovering evidence of any *actual* opposition. For Hitler the only categorically and unquestionably potential opponents—people whose asseverations, indeed, whose very acts, of loyalty were unwanted because, to him, they could not be anything but actual enemies—were the Jews; and it is to this obsession of his that I shall have to return (chapter 6).

Of course, Germany was not Russia; and the Hitler revolution in Germany was not at all like the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. Except for Jews, there was more individual and even political freedom in National Socialist Germany than in Communist Russia—a greater variety of publications in the sciences and in the arts, and more

mid-1940s and originally referred only to the origins and practices of Nazism; unhistorical and shrilly verbose, the book illustrated its theses with quotes taken from an indiscriminating variety of books. After 1948, after the manuscript was rejected by various New York publishers, Arendt thought it politic to add two, extremely superficial, chapters expounding the totalitarian features of Stalinism. These were illustrated by citations from no more than two (then recent) books describing Stalin's crimes.

elbow room for individual construction of the various one is struck by their state; by the relative forth between Germany Berlin, talking cautiously would have been incoherent other police states too National Socialist German state.* The clever Carl of the Third Reich, whose regime meant the end of Hegelian conception of a "Volksgenossenstaat." The state is the instrument Hitler thought. The something of this, too more reliable followers Prussian civil servants. despair as he overhears himself, were still confident

In reality, the Third Reich and "Beamtenstaat."† But not with that of the Third often, Goebbels—seldom

*Schramm, SCH, p. 95: "It is as a hyper-Machiavellian no less from what he saw as 'the eternal' "Hitler was not a tyrant imposed well into the war, a highly political p. 370), on the subject of Hitler only one dogma, in brief: what

†See Lukacs, LEW, p. 324. *Nature of the West*: "The state is the form of state" as being of a higher order never—except when circumstances

‡This is the essence of the *Limits of Hitler's Power*, Chicago

the twentieth century, people's parties became rightist rather than leftist: anti-international, anticapitalist, and, on occasion, anti-Semitic. With few exceptions,* populism moved from the Left to the Right—including in the United States.

And Hitler was a populist—a believer in the sovereignty of the people; a modern populist, and not an old-fashioned demagogue. Yes, there had been populists before him. But the very idea of who “the people” were changed during the last few centuries.† Among the earlier populists, nationalism, as such, was only latent; but Hitler realized—among other things—that modern populism, by its very nature, must be nationalist, and—more important—that nationalism must be populist.‡ The words “Volksgemeinschaft” and “Volksgenossen” (“people’s community” and “folk-comrades,” inadequately translatable in English) were basic to Hitler’s principles. The relationship between the Führer and the people was quite different from that of the kaiser and his citizens: “not a respectful acceptance of hierarchy but the voluntary and unlimited acquiescence of the people.” Also: “In the Hitler movement Germany experienced its only genuine revolution, even though that did not entirely conform to the theoretical model of ‘revolutions.’”*** Or Fest: “Dismissing Revolution, he [Hitler] had become in reality

*For a while, Communists stuck with their populist terminology: “People’s Democracies,” for example (as different from “Capitalist Democracies”). Yet these were often not much more than leftovers of an earlier political terminology.

†About this see Lukacs, *nc*, p. 69 *et seq.*

‡This is evident in the political history of the United States in the twentieth century, though it is lamentably seldom recognized thus: populism is nationalism, in more ways than one; while populism and (true) conservatism are entirely incompatible (no matter what our recent “conservatives” say). A conservative and anti-democratic nationalist such as Ernst Jünger recognized this, though only after his disillusionment with the Third Reich. The populism that began with the democratic propaganda of the French Revolution—he wrote during the war—has now produced “all kinds of new spirits and new evils” (*Strahlungen*—his diaries—27 March 1944, cited by Scholdt, *сно*, p. 542). Also in his *Auf den Marmorklippen* (published in Berlin, in 1939!): “What happens when the weak misread the laws [of history] and, half-blind, they unlock with their own hands the gates that were closed for their own protection?”

***Lothar Kettenacker, “Sozialpsychologische Aspekte der Führer-Herrschaft,” in *Der Führerstaat: Mythos und Realität. Studien zur Struktur und Politik des Dritten Reiches*, 5, 1981, pp. 124, 130.

the German phenomenon. “His place in history is due to the conservative despotistic; but he was more than all of his domestic political election campaigns. His future government was not the condition that he had with his plan to appeal to the *gemeinschaft*, an entire people great unemployment and was more influential than

He carried the revolution. In 1940, he said in a speech: “the armies now marching in the armies of the Third Reich (September 1941), he said that the Habsburg monarchy: “As the German people had received the political justification for the and its fall was a historical event initiated by the Marxists. The Führer finds a special gift of Destiny . . . Hitler did not do too).” Hitler was a na-

*F, pp. 1035, 1037.

†M. Rainer Lepsius, *Extremere sozialistischen Machtergreifung*, 5, 1; ‡Koeppen ms., pp. 23–24.

**HR, p. 343, cites FR: Hitler to Providence: if he recovered, he would he regained his sight, “I was really me.” Speer (SP, p. 570, note 19) 1944: “It seems to me as if we must and Hell until we win the final victory am not. But deep inside I am still a that the laws of nature that a God fights bravely and does not capitulate anew, will not be abandoned by Providence in the end. And that has been

Kampf: "Wearisome and difficult as its reading is, it nonetheless gives a remarkably accurate picture of its author. . . . In effect Hitler's world-view, as he had insisted, had not changed." Yet in the same biography we find: "In Vienna he was not inclined to be a revolutionary; he was only lonely."^{*} Jäckel gave a convincing statement in JHW: "Historical research of his youth . . . has proved in many instances that the autobiographical passages of *Mein Kampf* gave a very free and also overly simplified and false picture of the circumstances of the period of his youth." Also: "The only evidence about his Vienna years are almost exclusively his own statements, thus resting on uncertain source material." And: "The definite finalization [i.e., crystallization?] of his ideology occurred only after his writing of the autobiography in *Mein Kampf*."[†] According to Jäckel, the development of Hitler's ideology was gradual (p. 158): "It is an important fact that the final completion [Ausbildung], contrary to Hitler's own statements, in 1919 had only begun." Perhaps significant but of uncertain validity: "Hitler had apparently earlier discussed with one of his comrades at the front whether after the war he would become an architect or a politician."[‡] Zitellmann in ZIT/A, p. 15, admitted that Hitler's own Viennese account "certainly includes particulars that were not proven or cannot be proven," while they remain important; but Zitellmann did not deal with either the Vienna/Munich question or the problem of the origins and development of Hitler's Judeophobia. Görlitz and Quint wrote that Hitler's thudding sentence about his decision to become a politician was more of a rhetorical device than the memory of the lightning conversion when Hitler the fledgling artist turned to become a politician. During that cold, dreary, and dreadful winter, he was still

^{*}F, p. 292, but also p. 58. It is very questionable (F, p. 60) that Hitler had met the previously mentioned Lanz-Liebenfels in Vienna (cf. F, pp. 60-61; also p. 1051), or that he had joined an "Antisemitenbund."

[†]JHW, pp. 18, 147, 154. In my opinion he puts the date of "crystallization" too late.

[‡]KER, p. 21, note 147: Here Kershaw quoted M/A, p. 194, where the reference comes from a statement made to Maser by a wartime comrade of Hitler more than fifty years after that event.

dependent on external circumstances more influential than his private daily life. . . . formulation of a phase in the life of Hitler himself to be capable of affecting his own ideas. Speer recorded that while "his political, . . . have a unity," they were formed between twenty and thirty,[†] which is Munich years.

IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT F. . . . of his move from Vienna to Munich that it occurred in 1912, where the error was unintentional, ordinary memory. In that series (endgültig) move to Munich, where he found he identified himself with Germany from the beginning of his life, desire led to a non-native's becoming obvious (as was the case with the Russian Stalin), while perhaps one question remains: could he ever be a politician?

In any event, in the life of Hitler setting and his settling in Munich—nate—for a variety of reasons already seen that public opinion in Bavaria turned out to be overwhelming, anticommopolitan, anticapitalist, by May 1919, and that thereafter

^{*}GO, pp. 65, 103; also 174: ". . . his political really made in Pasewalk but only with 1919." (In my opinion, this puts it a little

[†]SP, p. 134.

In reply to her application, the Pensions Office approved payment to Frau Klara Hitler (Adolf's mother) of the following:

(a) *A lump sum*, corresponding to a widow's allowance, equivalent to a quarter of her deceased husband's annual pension at the new rate, i.e. 605 kronen (£25).

(b) *A widow's pension* amounting to half her deceased husband's annual pension at the new rate, i.e. 1210 kronen (£50) per year.

(c) *A children's benefit* as a contribution to the cost of upbringing and education, payable for each child 'until its 24th birthday or until it becomes self-supporting, whichever shall be the earlier', at the rate of 240 kronen (£10) per year.

From 14th September 1903, when her step-daughter, Angela, married the assistant tax officer, Leo Raubal, so becoming ineligible for children's benefit, Adolf's mother therefore received from the State a pension of 1210 kronen plus children's benefit for Adolf and Paula amounting to 480 kronen per year, i.e. in all: 1690 kronen (£70 8s.) per annum.

Moreover, this was her net annual income, as she had no income tax to pay.

Thus the income of the Hitler family as a whole was only £15 a year less after the death of Alois Hitler than during his retirement. Relatively, in fact, from September 1903 onwards, they were better off, for the £15 additional income enjoyed by Alois Hitler would barely have sufficed for his personal expenses and from the remainder he had to provide for a household of five persons (excluding Johanna), whereas from the same income his widow had only to provide for three (excluding Johanna).

In the light of these facts, it is fantastic to read in post-war biographies like Quint's, which was published in 1952, such statements as this: 'After the father's death, indigence took up its permanent abode with the Hitler family.'

So that in future there may be no possible cause for misunderstanding on this important question of Hitler's family circumstances, I here repeat the details given above in tabular form:

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ren before the annexation of
 ry school, Adolf had no further

relations with any of his former school-fellows. It was assumed, then, that he had no friends of approximately his own age and only later was it discovered that he did have one friend, but one only: August Kubizek. Three days after Hitler became Reich Chancellor in 1933 Kubizek wrote to wish him good luck, in due course receiving a cordial reply.¹

On 8th April 1938, Hitler received August Kubizek in the Hotel Weinzing in Linz, and shortly after their meeting Kubizek was invited to write an account of his youthful friendship with the Führer for the use of the Party machine, information on that period in Hitler's life being at that time embarrassingly scanty. In that same year the account was written under the title, *Memories of years spent as a young man with the Führer*. Filling two thin note-books corresponding to barely fifteen printed pages, these *Memoirs* are on the whole plausible and relatively sober in tone, but they contain extremely little in the way of concrete facts. That no doubt was only to be expected, seeing that thirty years had elapsed since the time of which Kubizek wrote, and those years had included the World War.

Starting in 1949, therefore, I addressed a long series of questions to Kubizek which he answered conscientiously, mostly in writing. There resulted in all over thirty letters and verbal discussions, forming a valuable supplement to the *Memoirs*, which, together with eight postcards and three letters written by young Adolf to his friend Gustl, comprise the principal source of information on this period.

Kubizek was the son of an upholsterer in Linz and nine months older than Adolf. His schooling ended after he had

¹ The letter was headed 'Munich, 4th August 1933, Brown House' and was signed by Hitler himself. It read: 'My dear Kubizek, Your letter of 2nd February was not shown to me until today and in view of the hundreds of thousands which I have received since January, it is not surprising. All the greater was my pleasure at hearing from you again after so many years and receiving your address. Once my toughest battles are over, I should very much like to revive personally the memory of those, the happiest years in my life. Perhaps it would be possible for you to visit me. With best wishes to you and your mother, I am, in memory of our old friendship, Yours, Adolf Hitler.'

Written along the top of the card is, 'A greeting to your esteemed parents.' The date on the postmark is 8.v.06. The word Urfahr, underlined by Adolf, is a mis-spelling of Urfahr, a suburb of Linz. The word 'Benkieser' might have been a mis-spelling of the surname Benkiser. There was a Ritter von Benkiser in Linz, but he was several years older than Adolf, and though they had attended the same secondary school they were not contemporaries. Kubizek asserts that the word was a pseudonym for a girl named Stefanie.

Card IV. A coloured view of the Parliament building in Vienna. The postmark is illegible. The 'holidays' mentioned in the text presumably refer to Whitsun, which in that year fell on 3rd June. Text:

'I send herewith my heartiest good wishes to you and your esteemed parents for the holidays with many greetings.

Yours truly Adolf Hitler.'

The seventeen-year-old Adolf stayed for about a fortnight in the capital, lodging perhaps with his godparents, Johann and Johanna Prinz. In *Mein Kampf* he described his activities as follows: 'I was on my feet from early morning to late at night, seeing the sights, that is to say, the buildings, for it was they which fascinated me above all else.'—No mention of Wagner!

For a youth of his age who had passed through four forms at secondary school, the spelling in these postcards is extremely bad. In the first sentence of Card II, for example, there are four spelling mistakes and one error of punctuation: '*Nicht erhebend ist dass Innere des Palastes. Ist aussen mächtige Majestät, welche dem Baue den Ernst eines Denkmals der Kunst ausdrückt, so empfindet man im Innern eher Bewunderung, den Würde.*' The words mis-spelt are underlined. There should be no comma after 'Bewunderung'. In the document written by Adolf's father, quoted in Chapter Two, the German is far more complicated, but there is not a single

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him that he was too late to see his mother alive. The old woman could have had no personal motive in making this implied criticism of the Führer—just the reverse—and her story is probably true.

Frau Hitler died on Saturday 21st December 1907, aged forty-seven. Her son was presumably informed by telegram. At any rate, he came from Vienna to attend the funeral, which took place on 23rd December. Frau Hitler had expressed the wish to be buried beside her husband, and after a service in the church at Urfahr, the cortège proceeded to Leonding, an hour's journey away, the nearest relatives travelling by carriage, followed by those few mourners who had come to know the deceased during the short time she had been in Urfahr. Then Frau Klara was laid to rest, a mother who had done her best for her son.¹

The cost of Frau Hitler's funeral is known precisely, from figures supplied by the undertakers. The largest single item in a total cost of 370 kronen (about £15) was the price of the 'hard polished wooden coffin with metal corners'—110 kronen, and, of course, the interment at Leonding swelled the cost considerably. That Frau Hitler chose, nevertheless, to incur this expense, knowing that the money would have to come from her own estate, is a strong indication that the major part of her capital, say 3000 kronen, was untouched at the time of her death. This cannot be proved, because, in the absence of any official record, it seems likely that she divided her money between her children before she died with the object of avoiding death duty. A portion, no doubt, she gave to Angela for the maintenance of Paula, and a larger sum to Adolf.

Kubizek stated in his *Memoirs* that after the funeral Adolf visited his friend's mother and told her, with tears in his eyes, that he was now alone in the world. Gustl's mother then invited Adolf to take his meals with the Kubizeks during Christmas, 'so

¹ The date of Frau Hitler's death, her age, the date of the funeral and the place of burial appeared in the Linz newspaper *Die Tagespost*, of 25th December 1907. The death certificate and the church register are also available. Besides confirming these details, they give the cause of death as *Sarcosina Pectoris* (recrudescence) and state that the last Sacraments were administered.

parochial in their opinions, the members were ready and eager to help him climb the political ladder. As once Gustl had succumbed to his spell, so these men would quickly be at his feet, listening wide-eyed to his fulminations. Their weakness would be his strength. He only had to climb.

And climb he did, this former 'gang leader' of Leonding, not by his knowledge, but by his capacity to talk, and even as a boy he had been able to out-talk all the rest. As soon as he realized the immense power of the spoken word he was a made man. All that remained was to learn how to use his elbows, and once he had a few supporters to back him up he could shove with the best.

At a mass meeting on 25th February 1920 Hitler announced his Party's programme as his own creation, but the essential points derived not from him but from the Party's founder, Anton Drexler, a former Social Democrat, while the call to 'smash the bondage of interest' was Gottfried Feder's, who had been and still was responsible for drawing up the Party Programme. The idea of uniting workers and soldiers in the pursuit of a common cause came from Oswald Spengler's book, published in early 1919, *Socialism and the Prussian Spirit*, but in taking over the idea Hitler distorted it completely. The call to 'unite all Germans' was common to all parties at that time, from the extreme right to the left-wing Socialists. The demand for 'living space' (*Lebensraum*) arose naturally from the Versailles Treaty which removed important areas from German sovereignty. Finally, the term 'National Socialism' was coined by a political party that had long been established in the Sudetenland. Hitler merely borrowed it, expanding it into 'National Socialist German Workers' Party'.

Within a year, Hitler had ruthlessly thrust Anton Drexler aside and seized the chairmanship of the Party (20th July 1921), and two years later, in an abortive and badly staged attempt to seize power by force, he was already aiming at the 'National Reich's Dictatorship Hitler-Ludendorff'. On the eve of the Putsch, Hitler declared before a mass meeting, 'Tomorrow will

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'Honoured Council!'

I request the cancellation of my Austrian citizenship.

Reasons:

I have been in Germany since the year 1912, have served nearly six years in the German Army, of which $4\frac{1}{2}$ on active service, and now intend to acquire German citizenship.

As I do not know whether I may not have already forfeited my Austrian nationality, yet by decree of the Federal Government I am denied entry to Austrian soil, I request a favourable response to my application.

Personal particulars: Adolf Hitler, born on 20th April 1889 at Braunau-on-Inn, formerly domiciled in Linz on the Danube. Since November 1923, my documents have not been traceable and have probably been lost.

Your obedient servant

Adolf Hitler.' (Signed.)

Hitler delivered this application to the Austrian Consulate-General in Munich whence it was dispatched to Linz the same day. Also on that same day, the Consul telephoned the 'highly important' news of Hitler's application to Vienna.

On 30th April the provincial government of Upper Austria made out the following emigration order, incidentally putting the date of Hitler's birth as 4th instead of 20th:

'The writer Adolf Hitler in Munich, born on 4th April 1889 at Braunau and hitherto entitled to domicile in Linz is absolved from allegiance to the Austrian State for the purpose of acquiring German citizenship.'

The Austrian Consulate-General in Munich had asked to be informed of the duty payable and accordingly this certificate was sent to the Consulate with a note that the total duty amounted to 7.5 Austrian schillings.

Thus from 30th April 1925, his thirty-seventh year, Hitler

¹ *Hoher Magistrat!*

was no longer an Austrian citizen. At his own wish the last formal tie which bound him to the land of his birth was severed. It might easily have been otherwise. If the Austrian Federal Government had not intervened, he would have been expelled from German soil and Upper Austria would have had the doubtful honour of receiving him. But, by refusing to admit him, the Federal Government believed it was protecting Austria, just as, ten years later, it thought to remain in power and preserve the country from Hitler's dictatorship by exterminating Austrian Social Democracy and itself assuming dictatorial powers. But still Hitler came, not as a recreant escorted by a policeman, but as the conqueror, followed by troops, tanks and generals with the crowds roaring their welcome in his ears. Thus since the beginning, the figures of history both great and small have believed it is they who shape events, whereas they themselves are but the pawns of that sublime and invisible power that Orientals call Kismet, but in which the followers of Christ discern the workings of Divine Providence.

APPENDIX I

THE MIS-STATEMENTS CONTAINED IN
AUGUST KUBIZEK'SYOUNG HITLER—
THE STORY OF OUR FRIENDSHIP

(Original Title: *Adolf Hitler, Mein Jugendfreund*, Graz, 1933, Stocker-verlag. British edition, 1954, Allan Wingate, translated by E. V. Anderson.)

(The mis-statements which it is desired to point out are grouped under the relevant chapters in HITLER'S YOUTH.)

Chapter One: HITLER'S GENEALOGY

The following errors occur:

(British edition, p. 33): 'His' (i.e. Adolf's father's) 'illegitimate birth is conclusively proved by the Church register of the Parish of Strones.' For 'Strones', read 'Döllersheim'. Strones was never a parish and so had no register.

'According to this, the forty-two-year-old servant maid Anna Maria Schicklgruber gave birth to a son on the 7th July 1837, who was christened Alois. . . . For Anna Maria, read Maria Anna (Anna Maria's younger sister). For '7th July', read '7th June'. The register (of Döllersheim) did not state that the mother was a 'servant maid'.

Kubizek then quotes the entry in the baptismal register under 'Remarks' and states: 'The entry is signed by the Parish priest and four witnesses.' If Kubizek had studied the entry concerned, either the original or a photostat copy, he would know that the priest did not sign it and that there were three, not four, witnesses.

'Johann Georg Hiedler again acknowledged his paternity in an official document concerning some inheritance in 1876 before the Notary in Weitra. He was then eighty-four years old. . . . As the boy was not adopted after his mother's wedding, his name remained

but what matter? Adolf, he tells us, must have had that period: 'Faust, Schiller, Dante, Herder, Stifter, Goethe, Otto Ernst, Ibsen, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche.' They have told us that Hitler made an intensive study of Goethe. Here we see him launching into belles-lettres while his letters written at that time show beyond all doubt that the youth, Hitler, never did any serious

dealt with only a small fraction of Kubizek's list; I have been very reluctant to devote so much time to have felt bound to do so in the interests of truth. In the twenty-second year the youthful Hitler neither worked nor worth while. He lived partly on what he had inherited and partly at the expense of the Austrian tax authorities making childish plans of dramas and operas—as Kubizek himself is the first to testify. The whole mind and heart were devoted at this time to the workers must be exposed therefore for what creates a Hitler-myth diametrically opposed to the

MY ADVENTURES WITH HITLER DOCUMENTS

I must explain how I came to make a close study of Hitler's youth. It began in 1931 during the campaign for the elections to the Provincial Assembly of which I was a Social Democrat Member from 1919 to February 1934. At a meeting in Mauernkirchen I had my first clash with the National Socialists. They were mostly young people, some of whom I knew as former members of my own Party. In the course of a heated exchange I was struck and puzzled by their devotion to Hitler. Even of the noblest of human beings such fanatical adulation would have seemed excessive, but these youngsters were worshipping a man of whom they could know nothing at first hand. Hitherto I had taken little interest in Hitler's life, but this experience made me curious to find out more about him.

Having been born and spent my youth in Braunau, I imagined it would be easy to discover all I wanted to know. A little research in Braunau and Leonding, a few talks with the local inhabitants and I would be ready to write Hitler's biography—or so I thought, forgetting, as others had done before me, that it was forty years since the Hitler family had lived in the town. All the same, I acquired some vague but tantalizing information. An old man who had known my father and was a kind of walking encyclopaedia of Braunau whispered to me in the street one day that 'young Hitler had been an Austrian deserter'. What that meant or where the old man had got the information he would not say, and so for a time I dismissed his story until, in case there might be something in it, I began to think where I might obtain confirmation. The municipal archives in Linz, his parish of domicile, I thought—if Hitler did desert there's bound to be record of it there. So I sought out the archivist. 'Yes,' he told me, 'there was a whole file here about Hitler at one time, but that was long ago. The provincial government took it—it must be in their archives if it's anywhere.'

Meanwhile I had been re-elected to the Provincial Assembly and all I had to do, therefore, was to lift a receiver and ask for the Central

12/21/1907

Adolf had, he later wrote, left home 'armed with a thick pile of drawings'.¹⁴⁵ He was one of 113 candidates and was allowed to proceed to the examination itself. Thirty-three candidates were excluded following this initial test.¹⁴⁶ At the beginning of October, he sat the two tough three-hour examinations in which the candidates had to produce drawings on specified themes. Only twenty-eight candidates succeeded. Hitler was not among them. 'Test drawing unsatisfactory. Few heads,' was the verdict.¹⁴⁷

It apparently never occurred to the supremely self-confident Adolf that he might fail the entrance examination for the Academy. He had been, he wrote in *Mein Kampf*, 'convinced that it would be child's play to pass the examination . . . I was so convinced that I would be successful that when I received my rejection, it struck me as a bolt from the blue.'¹⁴⁸ He sought an explanation, and was told by the Rector of the Academy that there was no doubt about his unsuitability for the school of painting, but that his talents plainly lay in architecture. Hitler left the interview, as he put it, 'for the first time in my young life at odds with myself'. After a few days pondering his fate, he concluded, so he wrote, that the Rector's judgement was right, and 'that I should some day become an architect' - not that he then or later did anything to remedy the educational deficiencies which provided a major obstacle to studying for a career in architecture.¹⁴⁹ In reality, Adolf probably did not bounce back anything like so quickly as his own story suggests, and the fact that he reapplied the following year for admission to the painting school casts some doubt on the version of a lightning recognition that his future was as an architect. At any rate, the rejection by the Academy was such a body blow to his pride that he kept it a secret. He avoided telling either his friend Gustl, or his mother, of his failure.¹⁵⁰

Meanwhile, Klara Hitler lay dying. The sharp deterioration in her condition brought Adolf back from Vienna to be told by Dr Bloch, towards the end of October, that his mother's condition was hopeless.¹⁵¹ Deeply affected by the news, Adolf was more than dutiful. Both his sister, Paula, and Dr Bloch later testified to his devoted and 'indefatigable' care for his dying mother.¹⁵² But despite Dr Bloch's close medical attention, Klara's health worsened rapidly during the autumn. On 21 December 1907, aged forty-seven, she passed away quietly.¹⁵³ Though he had witnessed many deathbed scenes, recalled Dr Bloch, 'I have never seen anyone so prostrate with grief as Adolf Hitler.'¹⁵⁴ His mother's death was 'a dreadful blow', Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*, 'particularly for me'.¹⁵⁵ He felt alone and bereft at her passing.¹⁵⁶ He had lost the one person for whom he had ever felt close affection and warmth.

'Poverty and hard reality,' Hitler took a quick decision. What little he was exhausted by my mother's grave was entitled was not enough for the problem of somehow making he returned to Vienna for the third years, his old defiance and deterrent goal was now clear: 'I wanted to exist to be surrendered to, but only overcome the obstacles, inspired through his own efforts from public official.'¹⁵⁸

In reality, his mother's careful contributions from her sister Joha for the considerable medical costs, Nor was Adolf left nearly penniless having to earn his own living. Cca 25 Kronen which he and his young half-sister Angela and her husband provide for his upkeep in inflation Adolf and Paula could not touch till twenty-fourth year. But what his 2,000 Kronen once the funeral expenses between the two orphaned minors. pension, was enough to provide for work.¹⁶⁰ And on top of that, he still loan. He scarcely had the finance attributed to him.¹⁶¹ But, all in all time, substantially better than that.

Moreover, Adolf was in less of *Mein Kampf*. Though his sister also returned to Vienna within a few days of their arrival as in Urfahr in mid-January and unlikely, he made brief visits to Vienna he stayed in Urfahr for at least seven. The family household account-book was not made before May.¹⁶⁵

When he did return to Vienna, with all vigour the necessary court

A.H. -19

X

1876

possibilities need consideration. more than whether there was Hiedler family, while the third son of some importance, can, in

Alois was indeed the person and officially accepted in the Georg Hiedler. But if he was attempt during his lifetime – the birth of his son? Poverty was rumoured that after their were so poor that they had to establish that Maria Anna. And if this was the case, then Nepomuk – an act of humanity, his parents lived – disappears. I do not disclose the father's name in her only son? Why was Alois instead in the home of his father's accompanied by some minor paternity in the absence of the de by Alois, Nepomuk and the related to Nepomuk, to deceive in 1876?¹⁵ That a legacy from only. But why would this have Nepomuk, with only female offspring, the family name through Alois, seems an unlikely, or at least

in the mists of time, and would chance. But if there are question else might the father have been? himself. He 'adopted', cared for, is the moving spirit beyond the Eva Maria, had died. The name making Alois a legatee of his sectant heirs were told, to their But only six months later Alois counts of money to play with,

purchased a substantial house and adjoining property not far from Spital, costing between 4,000 and 5,000 Gulden.¹⁶ It seems conceivable, then, that Nepomuk, not Johann Georg, was the actual father of Alois, that Johann Georg had rejected Alois, the son of his brother, at the time of his marriage to Maria Anna, but that the family scandal had been kept quiet, and that a change of name had not been possible as long as Nepomuk's wife had lived.¹⁷

However, there is no proof and, even after his wife's death, Nepomuk, if he was himself the actual father, was keen to avoid public admission of the fact. Some significance has been read into Adolf Hitler's comment at the beginning of *Mein Kampf* that his father had been the son of a 'poor, small cottager' (which was not a description of Johann Georg, a miller's journeyman).¹⁸ But Hitler was frequently inaccurate or careless with detail in the autobiographical parts of *Mein Kampf*, and it would be a mistake to read too much into his brief and vague reference to his grandfather (who, if it referred to Nepomuk, was in any case rather more than a 'poor cottager'). It has also been claimed that the form of name chosen by Alois in 1876 – 'Hitler' – was a deliberate reflection of 'Hüttler' (Nepomuk's name) rather than Hiedler (that of Johann Georg). But this would be to interpret too much from the adoption of one form of a name which remained fluid and fluctuating before the late nineteenth century. The names 'Hiedler', 'Hietler', 'Hüttler', 'Hütler', and 'Hitler' – the name meant 'smallholder' – occur interchangeably in documents of the early and mid-nineteenth century and were phonetically scarcely distinguishable.¹⁹ Nepomuk himself was baptized 'Hiedler' and married as 'Hüttler'.²⁰ Alois, the social climber, may have preferred the less rustic form of 'Hitler'. But 'Hitler' may have been no more than the particular form chosen by the notary in Weitra at the legalization, and copied by the parish priest of Döllersheim the next day.²¹ Whatever the reason for the selection of the form of name, Alois seemed well satisfied with it. He thereafter never deviated in his usage of the name, and from the final authorization in January 1877 always signed himself 'Alois Hitler'. His son was equally pleased with the more distinctive form 'Hitler'.²²

The third possibility is that Adolf Hitler's grandfather was Jewish. Rumours to that effect circulated in Munich cafés in the early 1920s, and were fostered by sensationalist journalism of the foreign press during the 1930s. It was suggested that the name 'Hüttler' was Jewish, 'revealed' that he could be traced to a Jewish family called Hitler in Bucharest, and even claimed that his father had been sired by Baron Rothschild, in whose house in Vienna his grandmother had allegedly spent some time as a servant.²³ But

Family BG

1899-

1903

he was past sixty he didn't show any of the typical signs of age. One of the pictures, probably the last one, which can also be seen on his grave in Leonding, shows Alois Hitler as a man whose life consisted of service and duty. To be sure there is also an earlier photograph, dating from his Leonding days, which, emphasising his private life, depicts him as a comfortable, well-to-do citizen, fond of good living.

Alois Hitler's rise from being the illegitimate son of a poor servant girl to the position of a respected civil servant is the path from insignificance and inferior status to the highest rank open to him in the service of the State.

His colleagues in the Customs Service describe him as a precise, dutiful official who was very strict and had his "weak spots." As a superior Alois Hitler was not very popular. Out of office he was considered a liberal-minded man who did not conceal his convictions. He was very proud of his rank. Every day he would pay his morning visit to the inn with an official's punctuality. His regular drinking companions found him good company but he could flare up over trifles and become rude, displaying both his inborn violence and the sternness that he had acquired in his job.

His illegitimate birth is conclusively proved by the Church register of the Parish of Strones. According to this, the forty-two-year-old servant maid Anna Maria Schicklgruber gave birth to a son on July 7, 1837, who was christened Alois. The godfather was her employer, the peasant Johann Trumelschlager, in Strones. As far as is known the child was the first and the only one. The identity of the father was not revealed by the mother.

Anna Maria Schicklgruber married the mill worker Johann Georg Hiedler in 1842 when the illegitimate child was already five years old. The Church Register of Döllersheim contains the following entry:

The undersigned hereby confirm that Johann Georg

ce of his father with great respect. I never heard
hing against him, in spite of their differences of
at his career. In fact he respected him more as
n. Adolf did not take it amiss that his father
cally decided on his son's future career; for this
d his right, even his duty. It was quite a differ-
hen Raubal, his step-sister's husband, this un-
son, who was himself only a little revenue offi-
d to himself this right. Adolf would certainly
m to interfere in his personal affairs. But the
is father still remained, even after his death,
the struggle with which Adolf developed his
His father's attitude had provoked him first to
open rebellion. There were violent scenes,
aded in the father giving him a good hiding,
me himself. But Adolf matched this violence
uthful obstinacy, and the antagonism between
grew sharper.

official Alois Hitler showed a marked sense
ll his life. Consequently we have good pic-
im at various stages of his life. Not so much
i, which were always under an unlucky star,
us promotions in his career, did he have his
Most of the pictures show him, with his digni-
it's face, in gala uniform of white trousers
on which the double row of highly polished
l. The man's face is impressive. A broad,
e most notable feature being the side whisk-
those of his supreme master, the Emperor.
of the eyes is penetrating and incorruptible,
who, as a customs official, is obliged to view
suspicion. But in most pictures dignity
"inquisitiveness" of the gaze. Even the pic-
time when Alois Hitler had already retired
an was, in spirit, still on duty. Although

*ing strengthened his
will*

with a thick pile of drawings'.¹⁴⁵ and to proceed to the examination following this initial test.¹⁴⁶ Although three-hour examinations on specified themes. Only as not among them. 'Test draw-dict'.¹⁴⁷

emely self-confident Adolf that the Academy. He had been, he could be child's play to pass the would be successful that when I from the blue.¹⁴⁸ He sought an the Academy that there was no of painting, but that his talents xreview, as he put it, 'for the first . After a few days pondering his xtor's judgement was right, and x' – not that he then or later did encies which provided a major ure.¹⁴⁹ In reality, Adolf probably ly as his own story suggests, and ar for admission to the painting a lightning recognition that his e rejection by the Academy was it it a secret. He avoided telling is failure.¹⁵⁰

sharp deterioration in her con- o be told by Dr Bloch, towards nition was hopeless.¹⁵¹ Deeply n dutiful. Both his sister, Paula, l and 'indefatigable' care for his close medical attention, Klara's m. On 21 December 1907, aged though he had witnessed many e never seen anyone so prostrate 's death was 'a dreadful blow', 'or me'.¹⁵⁵ He felt alone and bereft n for whom he had ever felt close

'Poverty and hard reality,' Hitler later claimed, 'now compelled me to take a quick decision. What little my father had left had been largely exhausted by my mother's grave illness; the orphan's pension to which I was entitled was not enough for me even to live on, and so I was faced with the problem of somehow making my own living.'¹⁵⁷ When after her death he returned to Vienna for the third time, he continued, now to stay for some years, his old defiance and determination had come back to him, and his goal was now clear: 'I wanted to become an architect and obstacles do not exist to be surrendered to, but only to be broken.' He claimed he set out to overcome the obstacles, inspired by the example of his own father's rise through his own efforts from poverty to the position of a government official.¹⁵⁸

In reality, his mother's careful housekeeping – aided by not insignificant contributions from her sister Johanna – had left more than sufficient to pay for the considerable medical costs, as well as a relatively expensive funeral.¹⁵⁹ Nor was Adolf left nearly penniless. There was no question of immediately having to earn his own living. Certainly, the monthly orphan's pension of 25 Kronen which he and his younger sister Paula – now brought up by their half-sister Angela and her husband Leo Raubal – received could scarcely provide for his upkeep in inflation-ridden Austria. And apart from interest, Adolf and Paula could not touch the inheritance from their father until their twenty-fourth year. But what his mother had left – perhaps in the region of 2,000 Kronen once the funeral expenses had been covered – was divided between the two orphaned minors. Adolf's share, together with his orphan's pension, was enough to provide for his upkeep in Vienna for a year without work.¹⁶⁰ And on top of that, he still had the residue of his aunt's generous loan. He scarcely had the financial security which has sometimes been attributed to him.¹⁶¹ But, all in all, his financial position was, during this time, substantially better than that of most genuine students in Vienna.¹⁶²

Moreover, Adolf was in less of a hurry to leave Linz than he implies in *Mein Kampf*. Though his sister almost forty years later stated that he moved to Vienna within a few days of their mother's death, Adolf was still recorded as in Urfahr in mid-January and mid-February 1908.¹⁶³ Unless, as seems unlikely, he made brief visits to Vienna between these dates, it looks as if he stayed in Urfahr for at least seven weeks after the death of his mother.¹⁶⁴ The family household account-book indicates that the break with Linz was not made before May.¹⁶⁵

When he did return to Vienna, in February 1908, it was not to pursue with all vigour the necessary course of action to become an architect, but

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

these statements, Karl Menninger asked, "What had Hitler's mother done to him to make him distrust and hate women so?"¹⁴² It is a question we shall pursue in a later chapter.

Of course, the hero of Hitler's memoirs learned to bear up under all the travail and anguish—"All this cruelty of Fate"—and even learned to accept his sufferings as "the wisdom of Providence" because she hardened him for the service of Nature, "that cruel Queen of all Wisdom," until she had guided him to another turning point in his life, when during World War I "Fate graciously permitted" him to become a soldier. The war was lost because, as he said in a Berlin speech on 30 January 1940, "Providence turned her face from the German people." When he decided to become a politician in order to save the "Motherland," it will be recalled that as he left the Hofbräuhaus during the night that he imagined to be so crucial to his political career, Hitler walked side by side with "the Goddess of Inexorable Revenge." At his trial in 1924, he was sure that the "Goddess of History's eternal judgment will smilingly tear up" the jury's verdict.¹⁴³

Hitler idealized women as wives and mothers and rhapsodized about the institution of marriage. As a boy he had talked to Kubizek about "pure marriage," which alone could keep alive "the Flame of Life." Indeed a main reason he had planned, as an adolescent, to establish one day a new "Reich" was to make sure that he could accomplish two main objectives: eradicate prostitution, "the Sin of Iniquity," and preserve "the Flame of Life." In the new Germany of his boyhood dreams—and years later in legislative reality—early marriage would be encouraged by state loans to young couples, attractive and inexpensive housing, and special bonuses for children. When he became chancellor, Hitler set aside a special day to pay homage to motherhood: on 12 August (the birthday of his own mother) fecund German mothers were awarded the Honor Cross of the German Mother. There were three classes: bronze for more than four children, silver for more than six, and gold for more than eight. Regulations printed in Hitler's newspapers required all members of Nazi youth organizations to treat mothers with the respect due to war heroes and to salute the wearers of the Mother's Honor Cross.¹⁴⁴

Typically, Hitler never defined "the Flame of Life," but his boyhood friend Kubizek understood that he meant it to be a "symbol of sacred love which is awakened between men and women who have kept themselves pure in body and soul and are worthy of a union which would produce healthy children for the nation." Decades later, Hitler continued to sentimentalize marriage. In one of his nightly reveries he asked rhetorically, "Is there a more lovely consecration of love, pray, than the birth of a handsome babe glowing with health? . . . Nature blesses the love of two beings by giving them a child. . . . To my way of thinking the real ideal is that two beings should unite for life and that their love should be magnified by the presence of children." He

The Image and the Man

eulogized the institution of marriage as the ideal of establishing SS studies for the results of their eugenic labors.

Hitler was absolutely furious to be emancipated from their tradition and the nursery, asserting that term invented by the Jewish spirit. At the first general meeting in January 1921, Hitler had the : can never be admitted into the Executive Committee." In the eligible for jury service because ically or reason objectively sin

He expressed his own idea SA leader, Franz von Pfeffer:

A woman must be a creature of sweet, and stupid.

Eine Frau muss ein niedliches und dummes Ding sein.¹⁴⁷

On another occasion he noted enjoyed having beautiful women around them to be intelligent or original.¹⁴⁸

Apart from the studied presence, there are other indications by females. His sister recalled terrified at the thought that he wanted him to get up in the morning to give him a kiss. She said it no as soon as he heard the word me, he was out of bed in a flash. Many years later, at a New York attractive woman maneuvered him a good-natured kiss. A wit never forget the look of astonishment. Bewildered and helpless as a child in an effort to master his arrival had shown a tendency almost glacial.¹⁴⁹

Hitler continued to be intimate with women, and compared soldier faces in battle. In mal projected his own fears: it was women were afraid of men. In I

* P.T. Hein
over image of our
humblest young

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Past As Prologue: Hitler

council fire. . . . The
victions must be sealed

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

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

To be Führer means
way, awakener of the
desires.

[Führer sein heisst
des Willens und der

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

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

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

1907

a middle customs officer; on the whole he was somewhat surprised that these people admitted him, the poor boy, to their house.

X 18 1/2 After October, 1907, he lived in Vienna, supported by his mother and other relatives, preparing himself to attend the Academy of Fine Arts and for the rest enjoying the city in his own boyish way: theater, museums, parliament. He registered with the Vienna police, sometimes as a student and sometimes as a painter. Once he indicated that he 'was studying to be a writer.'

To gain admission to the Academy's school of painting, one had to submit a number of drawings. If they were halfway acceptable, the candidate had to take an examination in drawing which was held each year in October. Freshly arrived from his province, young Adolf, apparently with great self-confidence, headed straight for his goal; the result was shattering and unexpected. The classification list of the Academy for the school year 1907-08 contains the following entry:

Composition exercises in drawing. First day: expulsion from paradise, etc. Second day: episode from the deluge, etc. . . . The following took the test with insufficient results, or were not admitted: . . . Adolf Hitler, Braunau a. Inn, April 20, 1889, German, Catholic. Father civil servant. 4 classes in Realschule. Few heads. Test drawing unsatisfactory.

He was rejected. He does not seem to have mentioned this failure at home; in his autobiography he passes it over in complete silence. He remained in Vienna as an art student, rejected but still self-confident, lodging in attics looking out on palaces; certainly despising the teachers who had failed to appreciate him; measuring the imperial city of Vienna with the eye of a conqueror. For he did not give up, but prepared to begin anew, the royal artist still unrecognized, scorned, and insulted, but confident that victory would come. Thus began his struggle against the city of Vienna; after his struggle with his father, his second big conflict with life.

For the first year he lived on the money sent to him by his mother and relatives and practiced drawing. Then, in October, 1908, another examination at the Academy's School of Painting; the result was even more crushing. This time the classification list reads simply:

HE IS BOTH TERRIBLE AND

The following gentlemen performed their sufficient success or were not admitted to Hitler, Braunau, a. I. Twentieth of April, civil servant, 4 Realschulein. Not admitted

In other words, the drawings he had brought that the examiners did not regard a test as

This was the second and final rejection. In even in his own account he could not pass according to his version, he went to the director and asked the reasons for his rejection; the him that his drawings showed him to be in architecture and advised him to apply for an architectural School. But the road to this Architect goes on to say, was closed to him because it diploma, and this he did not have.

At that time perhaps he felt something of guilt. He had dodged this diploma, had shirked nothing, and not even attempted his final success had regarded himself as an artistic genius, and sweat. This was the same mistaken idea he have always had. And this was the punishment of these people, he was no artistic genius. I says, by telling him that he was gifted for art had only studied more! And even this story does not give an honest account of his failure entered Architectural School even without diploma; the school regulations contained a case in which examination and diploma the case of 'great talent.' Did he lack confidence did the professors fail to recognize it? Probably make the attempt.

At home his mother was dying of cancer of previous his father had died in the conviction was a good-for-nothing. Now the son was failing dying mother that actually five years full of lazy floundering had led him to the edge of

Hitler's forebears were certainly religious, churchgoing people, as is natural with peasant folk. But Hitler's own parents were divided in this respect; his mother was pious and devout, his father liberal, a lukewarm Christian. It is certain that the question of the church interested his father more than the Jewish problem. As a servant of the state, in view of the close connection between state and church, he could not afford to be openly anti-clerical.

As long as the little Adolf remained close to his mother, he was completely influenced by her devout behaviour and receptive to all the grandeur and beauty of the church. The pale little choir boy was absorbed by his faith. Though Hitler devotes only a few words to the subject, what he does say means a lot. The magnificent monastery had become familiar to him. In his childish susceptibility he was attracted by the church and his mother certainly encouraged him. As he grew away from his childhood experience, with the passing of the years, and became closer to his father, the latter's liberalism gained in influence. The school in Linz also helped. Franz Sales Schwarz, who taught religion at the Technical School, was not the man to have any effect on these young people, for the pupils did not take him seriously.

My own recollections can be summed up in a few sentences: as long as I knew Adolf Hitler I never remember his going to church. He knew that I used to go every Sunday with my parents, and accepted this fact. He never tried to persuade me not to go, though he said occasionally that he couldn't understand me — his mother was also a religious woman, but nevertheless he would not let her drag him to church. Moreover he made these comments only by the way, with a certain tolerance and patience, which was not usual with him. But in this case, apparently, he was not even interested in imposing his own idea. I cannot remember that, when he used to meet me at the close of the Sunday service, he ever made any derogatory remarks about this

Sunday churchgoing, or behaviour, he never made this

Yet one day he came to me a book about witch trials and the Inquisition. But however events described in these books led to conclusions from them. Per did not consider me the right

Every Sunday his mother I can't remember that Adolf's Frau Klara would have asked herself, she was resigned to it. It may be that in this different attitude of the father was still her model for her son.

In conclusion, I would describe the church at that time as fundamentally different to the church, but nothing.

To sum up, it can be said that the Nationalist. I have seen with as early as that, he gave his love. Only in this people could other than this people.

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of the two surviving children, a care which she had to bear alone after the death of her husband. Small comfort that Paula was a quiet, easily led child; all the greater was the anxiety over the only son, an anxiety that only ended with her death.

Adolf really loved his mother. I swear to it before God and man. I remember many occasions when he showed this love for his mother, most deeply and movingly during her last illness; he never spoke of his mother but with deep affection. He was a good son. It was beyond his power to fulfil her most heartfelt wish to see him started on a safe career. When we lived together in Vienna he always carried his mother's portrait with him. 1908

mom died
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CHAPTER V

Portrait of His Father

ALTHOUGH his father had been dead nearly I first met Adolf he was still "ever present". The mother perpetuated his personality in with her malleable nature she had almost own, and what she thought, said and did was of the dead father. But she lacked the strength to put into effect the father's will. She, with thing, was handicapped in the upbringing boundless love for him. I could imagine how enduring the influence of this man had been a real patriarchal father-of-the-family, who unquestioningly respected. Now his picture position in the room. On the kitchen shelf, there were carefully arrayed the long used to smoke. They were almost a symbol his absolute power. Many a time, when talking Hitler would emphasise her words by pointing as though they should bear witness how tried on the father's tradition.

* D.T. Anthony - making him look her magnificent

he used in describing the event—or the fantasy—show a clear development of the mistrust and hatred that would determine all his interpersonal relations. His mental picture of the incident reveals that to his mind sexuality, power, aggression, and cruelty were all fused together in a dangerous, pathologic union: terror, brutalization, and ruthless power were to him the primary features of sex and life.

In short, attitudes revealed here characterized both his own personality and the political system he imposed on his country and much of Europe.¹⁰²

LATER CHILDHOOD

Adolf Hitler's formative early years did not bode well for the development of the crucially important mother-child relationship. Maternal indulgence and paternal severity bound him excessively to his mother. Though tied to her emotionally, he was at the same time unconsciously repelled, for he blamed her for two things—his monorchism and the "primal scene"—which greatly complicated his Oedipal feelings. It is not possible to say which was the more important; indeed, we will probably never know. But it is less important to assign priority than to stress the cumulative effect of both experiences. That there was interaction and mutual reinforcement seems evident because the consequences of both experiences, as revealed in Hitler's later life, were far more intense than the symptoms observed in clinical cases where only one or the other trauma was experienced.¹⁰³

Subsequent events of childhood served to strengthen his attitudes about himself and others. The beatings he had suffered from his father, for example, helped to justify his hatred of the old man; they also must have increased his ambivalence toward his mother, who was either unable or unwilling to protect him from his father's attacks. In his later recollections, Hitler was not very successful in justifying his mother's ineffectiveness and acquiescence to the beatings. "My poor mother was always afraid for me"—but was unable to protect him. "I knew my mother stood anxiously outside the door"—but did nothing to stop the torture.¹⁰⁴

These childhood punishments, real and fantasied, intensified Hitler's Oedipal problem and may also have contributed to the later "splitting," so characteristic of the adult Hitler, between sadism and masochism, destruction and creativity, cruelty and kindness, love and hatred. As Freud pointed out in a famous study of sadomasochism, a sense of guilt for Oedipal desire is invariably present as the decisive force transforming sadism into masochism.¹⁰⁵

An interesting line in *Mein Kampf* may or may not be autobio-

graphical. If it is, we can profound guilt feelings for this passage, he is continuin age 15, and how he stays (disdain for parental authori Adolf's own behavior after and God only knows when. beat the poor creature who world. . . . " 100

Key events of Adolf's birth and death of his broth Adolf saw the arrival of Ed: this rival deeply and harb wishes were fulfilled. For w the age of six. During the i have grown close to each. sudden death awakened gu story of the little boy's fune could not be completely tr abandoned her sons in their

Neighbors of the Hitle the 1950s shook their heads little Edmund Hitler died of 1900 and was buried in the father attended the funeral. Josef Mayrhofer, the usual Alois Hitler, could explain th

Neighbors suggested or was not very persuasive. Th had no liking for the village. For example, the priest and a soup kitchen for indige Alois Hitler, the retired imp in the village, became the considered this church-schu ference in local politics." If mayor sided with Hitler pèr sence from Edmund's funer At any rate, it does seem furious with the local pries and swore, in one of his fit church of his enemy again, hear that priest pray over l refused to go to the funeral. She was a devoted mother were not, it seems passing own son's burial. The only

THE GOD: ADOLF HITLER

structure of society into an street cleaning, in the mayor's efficiency; the same rigorous discipline.¹¹¹

of impressing German citizens Reserve Officer Corps. Traditionally the agrarian Junkers, and large, to supply officers to middle class were now given the "pride of the nation" by best status value that many middle-class get their sons into the reserve to become a "privileged man" (*Vorrecht*) "unreliable elements" were

officers was given classical examination *von Köpenick*. The heroism:

as a Reserve Lieutenant—that is, must be these days—socially. The doctorate is the visiting the open door—that's the es-

guished Germans illustrate the commission. A professor who on his 75th birthday was pleasure. It was supposed that privy counselor (*Wirklicher* title of "Excellency" and the professor had no such honor mentioned above all to be promoted my Reserve. In the second case, Weg, thought it appropriate to his first appearance before and many other civilians, were the Army was quite correct in mind of the civilian."¹¹³ attitudes between England and classes each nation tended to royalty of the 19th century the middle class. Victoria became bourgeoisie," and her son possibly be. In Germany, however, place or self-confidence. They

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History

sought their social norms outside their own class; they emulated the Army and the Junker aristocracy.

The Imperial Army's influence over German life went beyond social values to include foreign policy. Military leaders simply assumed that "they alone had the right to determine the foreign policy of the Empire."¹¹⁴ The military elite became the effective rulers of Germany in 1917 when Generals Ludendorff and Hindenburg established a virtual military dictatorship. Ludendorff in particular got that thirst for political power he would later try to slake when he marched in 1923 with Hitler in their effort to seize the government of Germany. Now, in 1917, he determined foreign policy—dictating draconian terms of peace with the Soviet Union; he dismissed and replaced chancellors and judges; he determined wages and hours; he chose the emperor's personal entourage. In short, "the Army, hitherto a State within a State, had become the State."¹¹⁵ But the Army's contribution to Hitler went beyond setting a general precedent for authoritarian government. Members of the High Command wanted a particular kind of dictatorship. Their thinking was so distinctly proto-Fascist that it made Hitler's ideology seem familiar to important segments of German society.*

This military dictatorship of the war years marked the effective end of Bismarck's Second Reich and, in important ways, prepared the way for the more vicious militarism of the Third.

Family Life and Education of the Hitler Generation

The Germans have always sought a father, indeed . . . [their] conception of the State is generally patterned after the model of the family.

—Wolfgang Sauer

Family life and public education were of obvious importance in shaping the attitudes of mind of Hitler's generation. These Germans, born and raised at the zenith of the Second Reich, would suffer defeat in the Great War and form a large cadre of Hitler's movement, for it appealed particularly to those whom Konrad Heiden would call "the generation of the uprooted and disinherited."

The family experience of that generation was strikingly similar to Adolf Hitler's. An authoritarian father dominated the family; the mother, like Klara Hitler, was confined to *Küche, Kirche, and Kinder*, often trying ineffectively to shield her children from the demands and punishments of the awe-inspiring "Herr Vater."

* Specifically, leaders of the High Command endorsed racial anti-Semitism, primitive nationalism, and leadership as an end in itself. They demanded a totalitarian state in the name of *Völksgemeinschaft*—a perverted socialism which appealed to the masses but preserved the power of the industrial, military and agrarian elite. (See especially Martin Kitchen, "Militarism and the Development of Fascist Ideology: The Political Ideas of Colonel Max Bauer, 1916-1918," *Central European History*, 8 (September 1975), 216-219)

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When, on 3 January 1903, his father collapsed and died over his usual morning glass of wine in the Gasthaus Wiesinger,¹⁰⁰ the conflict of will over Adolf's future was over. Alois had left his family in comfortable circumstances.¹⁰¹ And whatever emotional adjustments were needed for his widow, Klara, it is unlikely that Adolf, now the only 'man about the house', grieved over his father.¹⁰² With his father's death, much of the parental pressure was removed. His mother did her best to persuade Adolf to comply with his father's wishes. But she shied away from conflict and, however concerned she was about his future, was far too ready to give in to Adolf's whims.¹⁰³ In any case, his continued poor school performance in itself ruled out any realistic expectation that he would be qualified for a career in the civil service.

In 1902-3 - the year in which his father died - Adolf's school report again registered a failure in mathematics and he had to pass a re-sit examination before being allowed into a higher class. His application was once more recorded as 'variable', and remained so in 1903-4, when he was registered as 'unsatisfactory' in French. He was granted a pass in the re-sit examination, but only on condition that he leave the *Realschule* in Linz. At this failure, Adolf was removed to the *Realschule* in Steyr, some fifty miles away, where he had to take up lodgings because the school was too far from his home.¹⁰⁴ He recalled much later how sick at heart he was at being sent away to school, and how he detested Steyr to that very day.¹⁰⁵

Adolf's performance at Steyr showed no initial improvement.¹⁰⁶ In his school report for the first semester in 1904-5 he gained good marks for physical education and drawing. His 'moral conduct' was satisfactory, his diligence 'variable', and he received mediocre results in religious instruction, geography and history (which he later claimed to have been his best subjects),¹⁰⁷ and chemistry, a marginally better grade in physics, but failures in the optional course in stenography and two obligatory subjects, German language and mathematics.¹⁰⁸ These failures, had they been continued in the second half of the school year, would have condemned him to yet another repeated year.¹⁰⁹ By September 1905, according to the report for the second semester, he had evidently applied himself better and was able to improve his grades and effort in most subjects, now passing mathematics and German, though failing in geometry, which meant a re-sit before being allowed to pass the final-year examination in the lower *Realschule*. On 16 September, Adolf returned to Steyr, and passed the re-sit in geometry. With this qualification, he was now eligible for consideration for entry to the higher *Realschule*, or to a technical school.¹¹⁰ Whether he would have been admitted

of drawing

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rect, his face pallid and very thin, almost like
sumptive, his gaze unusually open, his eyes

teacher, Dr. Leopold Pötsch, was the third and
achers who found favour in Hitler's eyes. He

is the only one of almost a dozen teachers of whom Hitler,
already at that time, approved. However reluctant Hitler
was to talk to me of his former teachers, he made an excep-
tion of Pötsch.

The words which Hitler dedicated to his former history
teacher are well known:

*It was perhaps decisive for my whole life that chance gave
me a history teacher who understood, as few others did, the
paramount importance of this principle in teaching and
examining (viz., to retain the essential and to forget the
inessential). My teacher, Herr Doktor Leopold Pötsch of
the Technical School in Linz, fulfilled this condition in truly
ideal manner. An old gentleman, kind but at the same time
firm, he was able not only to hold our attention by his bril-
liant eloquence but to fire us with enthusiasm. I am still
touched when I think of the grey-haired man, the fire of
whose words sometimes made us forget the present and, as
though by magic, transported us into the past, and out of
the mists of time transformed the dry historical facts into
vivid reality. There we sat, wildly enthusiastic, sometimes
moved to tears.*

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Undoubtedly this subsequent judgment is exaggerated.
This is borne out by the fact that Hitler's last school report
in Linz shows only a "Fair" for history, although perhaps
the change of school had something to do with it. Never-
theless this teacher's influence on the very sensitive boy
should not be underestimated. If it is true to say that the
greatest value of the study of history is the enthusiasm which
it arouses, then Dr. Pötsch has achieved his end.

1904 X

Pötsch was a native of the southern border region and
before he came to Linz had taught in Marburg and other
places near the German language border. He therefore had
a vivid experience of the struggle among the nationalities.

ing for art are necessary in it, and it is not too far removed from interior decorating. One would visit well-to-do houses, one saw and heard a lot and, above all, in winter there was little or nothing to do. And this leisure, naturally, was devoted to music. When I had successfully passed my journeyman's test, my father wanted to take on jobs in other shops. I saw his point, but for me the essential thing was not to improve my craftsmanship, but to advance my musical studies. Thus, I chose to stay on in my father's shop, since I could dispose of my time with more freedom there than under another master.

There are generally too many violins in an orchestra, but not enough violas." To this day I am grateful to Professor Dessauer for having applied this maxim and turned me into a good viola player. Musical life in Linz in those days was on a remarkably high level; August Göllerich was the director of the Music Society. Being a disciple of Liszt's and a collaborator of Richard Wagner's at Bayreuth, Göllerich was the very man to be the musical leader of Linz, so naturally maligned as a "peasants' town." Every year the Music Society gave three symphony concerts and one special concert when usually a choral work was performed, with orchestral accompaniment. My mother, in spite of her humble origin, loved music, and hardly ever missed one of these performances. While I was a small boy, I was taken to concerts. My mother expected everything of me, and, as I came to master several instruments, my appreciation of these concerts grew. My first aim in life was to play in the orchestra, either on the violin or the trumpet.

For the time being it was still a matter of remaking old mattresses and papering walls. In those years my father suffered much from the usual occupational diseases of an upholsterer. When persistent lung trouble once kept him out of bed for six months, I had to run the workshop alone. The two things existed side by side in my young life: the workshop, which made calls on my strength and even on my

lungs, and music, which was my whole love. I should never have thought that there could be a connection between the two. And yet there was. One of my father's customers was a member of the Provincial Government, which also controlled the theatre. One day there came to us for repair the cushions of a set of rococo furniture. When the work was done my father sent me to deliver them to the theatre. The stage manager directed me to the stage, where I was to replace the cushions in their frames. A rehearsal was in progress. I don't know which piece was being rehearsed, but it was certainly an opera. What I remember still is the enchantment which came over me as I stood there on the stage, in the midst of the singers. I was transformed as though now, for the first time, I had discovered myself. Theatre! What a world! A man stood there, magnificently attired. He seemed to me like a creature from another planet. He sang so gloriously that I could not imagine this man could ever speak in the ordinary way. The orchestra responded to his mighty voice. Here I was on more familiar ground, but in this moment everything that music had hitherto meant to me seemed to be trifling. Only in conjunction with the stage did music seem to reach a higher, more solemn plane, the highest imaginable. But there I stood, a miserable little upholsterer, and fitted the cushions back into their place in the rococo suite. What a lamentable job! What a wretched existence! Theatre, that was the word that I had searched for. Play and reality became confused in my excited mind. That awkward fellow with ruffled hair, apron and rolled-up shirt sleeves who stood in the wings and fumbled with his cushions as though to justify his presence — was he really only a poor upholsterer? A poor, despised simpleton, pushed from pillar to post and treated by the customer as if he were a stepladder, placed here, placed there according to the moment's need and then, its usefulness over, put aside? It would have been absolutely natural if that little upholsterer with his tools in his hand had stepped forward to the footlights

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little pleasure in learning by heart, so much valued teachers. But here the trick did not work. So he started and let things drift. Nobody took much notice of class; he had no friends and did not want any. Some of his spoiled classmates would make him feel he did not accept as one of them this village boy — a reason for him to withdraw even more. It is significant that not one of his many schoolmates could claim relationship or friendship with him.

After his first year at the technical school, Hitler came to his father a report bearing twice "Unsatisfactory" and the verdict that the pupil would not pass up next class. Adolf never told me how his father received this, but it can be imagined.

He had to start all over again. His form master was Professor Eduard Huemer, who besides German, also French, the only foreign language taught in the lower technical school and also, to my knowledge, the only language which Adolf Hitler ever studied, or made to study. But in the meantime he had "ruined" himself. His second year in the first form was unsuccessful and he was promoted to the second form. Here, again, he passed only by the skin of his teeth. He then had to acknowledge a report which showed "Unsatisfactory" in mathematics. Obviously this judgment was due to ill-will on the part of the teachers. Hitler hated mathematics because it was too dry and required hard work. We often talked about it. Later in Vienna he decided that he would need mathematics if he wanted to be an architect. But this made no difference to his opinion.

At the third form again with two "Unsatisfactory" reports in mathematics and in addition in German, Professor Huemer was one of the teachers whom, I am convinced, he respected. This was the year of his

father's death. Professor Huemer explained to his mother that promotion to the fourth form was only possible if he went to another school. It is, therefore, not correct to say that Adolf Hitler was thrown out of the Linz technical school. He was only moved "to the country."

If up till now it was by his father's order that he stayed at school, so now it was mother's love which urged him to continue his studies. He did not like his transfer to Steyr. After reading Dante's *Divine Comedy* he talked to me of the school as "Purgatory."

In Steyr Hitler lodged with a court official by the name of Edler von Cichini at No. 19 Grünmarkt, but whenever he had a moment's spare time he would come to Linz. As could be foreseen, the result was bad and remained so when he repeated his examination between September 1 and 15, 1905. As well as the usual "Unsatisfactory" for mathematics, there appeared another "Unsatisfactory" for practical geometry.

When Professor Huemer, who had been Hitler's form master for three years, gave evidence as to his pupil's character at the Treason Trial after the unsuccessful Putsch of November 1923 he said: "Hitler was certainly gifted, although only for particular subjects, but he lacked self-control and, to say the least, he was considered argumentative, autocratic, self-opinionated and bad-tempered, and unable to submit to school discipline. Nor was he industrious; otherwise he would have achieved much better results, gifted as he was."

Having passed this rather negative judgment Professor Huemer, in a more sentimental mood, added: "Yet, as experience shows, what happens at school has not much bearing on life, and while model pupils sink from view without leaving a trace, the difficult boys develop only when they have the elbow room they need. My former pupil Hitler seems to belong to this latter species and I hope from the bottom of my heart that he will recover from his recent

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gravely ill and died, Klara, the third wife, was attempting a child of his. Just sufficient time elapsed for him to be born in wedlock. Alois Hitler was not a bad husband. Even more than from Frau Hitler's occasional fits could one gather this from her weary, drawn face. His lack of inner harmony was perhaps partly due to the fact that Alois Hitler never married a woman his own age. He was fourteen years older, Franziska twenty-four, Klara twenty-three years younger.

His strange and unusual habit of the father's, always to be found in the same circumstances, is all the more remarkable as those circumstances were so peaceful, comfortable times without any justification for change. I see in the father's character an explanation of the strange behaviour of the son, whose constant restlessness puzzled me for so long. When Adolf and I strolled through the familiar streets of the good, old town — all peace and harmony — my friend would sometimes become morose and certain mood and begin to change everything he saw. The house there was in a wrong position; it would have to be demolished. There was an empty plot which should have been built up instead. That street needed a correction to give a more compact impression. Away with this completely bungled tenement block! Let's have a new street to the Castle. Thus he was always rebuilding the town. It wasn't only a matter of building. A beggar, sitting before the church, would be an occasion for him to think on the need for a State scheme for the old, to do away with begging. A peasant woman coming with her milk cart drawn by a miserable dog — he would criticize the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals for their lack of initiative. Two young lieutenants marching through the streets, their sabres proudly clanking — he would reason for him to inveigh against the shortcoming of military service which permitted such idleness. This to be dissatisfied with things as they were, always

to change and improve them, was ineradicable in him.

And this was by no means a peculiarity which he had acquired through external influences, by his upbringing at home or at school, but an innate quality that was also apparent in his father's unsettled character. It was a supernatural force, comparable to a motor driving a thousand wheels.

Nevertheless, father and son were affected by this quality in different ways. The father's unruly nature was bridled by one steadying factor — his position. The discipline of his office gave his volatile character purpose and direction. Again and again he was saved from complications by the hard exigencies of his duties.

The uniform of the customs official served as a cover for anything that may have gone on in the stormy sphere of his private life. In particular, being in the service, he unreservedly accepted the authority on which the service was built. Although Alois Hitler was inclined to liberal views — an inclination not uncommon in the Austrian Civil Service — he would never have questioned the authority of the State, epitomized in the person of the Emperor. By fully submitting to this accepted authority, Alois Hitler was able to steer safely through all the dangerous reefs and sandbanks of his life, on which otherwise he might have foundered.

This also throws a different light on his obstinate efforts to make a civil servant of Adolf. It was for him more than a father's usual preoccupation with his son's future. His purpose was rather to direct his son into a position which necessitated submission to authority. It is quite possible that the father did not himself realise the inner reason of his attitude, but his determination in insisting on his point of view shows that he must have felt how much was at stake for his son. So well did he know him.

With equal determination Adolf refused to comply with his father's wishes, although he himself had only very hazy ideas about his future. To become a painter would have

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hardships and upsets and live to see the fulfillment of those ideals which he harbours in his bosom, which do credit to him, as they do to any German."

These words, written in 1924, are certainly not influenced by wisdom after the event. They show remarkable solidarity between teacher and former pupil. In an indirect way, Professor Huemer proclaims that the ideals for which Adolf Hitler was then standing his trial were indeed the ideals of his school. And this, in spite of the fact that in the subject which Dr. Huemer taught, German, Hitler by no means excelled; which is borne out by the many spelling mistakes in the letters and cards which he sent to me.

Among the teachers who, although their subject did not appeal to him, were favourably looked upon by Hitler for their personality was the science master, Professor Theodor Gissinger, who replaced Professor Engstler. Gissinger was very fond of the open air, a hardy walker and mountaineer and enthusiastic about gymnastics. He was the most rabid of all the Nationalist teachers. The political differences of that period were also evident within the teaching body, indeed even more so than in the general public. This atmosphere charged with political tension was more important for the intellectual development of the young Hitler than anything he was taught. As is generally the case, not the subjects taught, but the atmosphere of a school determines its value.

Incidentally, Professor Gissinger too has in later years given his judgment on his former pupil, Hitler. This remarkable document reads: "As far as I was concerned, Hitler left neither a favourable nor an unfavourable impression in Linz. He was by no means a leader of the class. He was slender and erect, his face pallid and very thin, almost like that of a consumptive, his gaze unusually open, his eyes brilliant."

The history teacher, Dr. Leopold Pötsch, was the third and last of those teachers who found favour in Hitler's eyes. He

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The words which Hitler of teacher are well known:

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Pötsch was a native of the before he came to Linz had places near the German language a vivid experience of the stru

1904-07 X

teen or seventeen years. He was capable of loving and admiring, hating and despising, all with the greatest seriousness. One thing he could not do was to pass over something with a smile. Even with a subject in which he did not take a personal interest, such as sport, this was, nevertheless, as a phenomenon of modern times, just as important to him as any other. He never came to the end of his problems. His profound earnestness never ceased to attack new problems, and if he did not find any in the present, he would brood at home for hours over his books and burrow into the problems of the past. This extraordinary earnestness was his most striking quality. Many other qualities which are characteristic of youth were lacking in him: a carefree letting go of himself, living only for the day—the happy attitude of “What is to be, will be.” Even “going off the rails,” in the coarse exuberance of youth, was alien to him. His idea, strange to say, was that these were things that did not become a young man. And because of this, humour was confined to the most intimate sphere as if it were something taboo. His humour was usually aimed at people in his immediate circle, in other words a sphere in which problems no longer existed for him. For this reason his grim and sour humour was often mixed with irony, but always an irony with friendly intent. Thus, he saw me once at a concert where I was playing the trumpet. He got enormous amusement out of imitating me and insisted that with my blown-out cheeks I looked like one of Rubens’ angels.

1905-08 X

I cannot conclude this chapter without mentioning one of Hitler’s qualities which, I freely admit, seems paradoxical to talk about now. Hitler was full of deep understanding and sympathy. He took a most touching interest in me. Without my telling him, he knew exactly how I felt. How often this helped me in difficult times! He always knew what I needed and what I wanted. However intensely he was occupied with himself he would always have time for the

PORTRAIT OF THE YOUNG

affairs of those people in whom by chance that he was the one to let me study music and to decide in a decisive way. Rather, this attitude of sharing in all the me. Sometimes I had a feeling well as his own.

Thus, I have drawn the well as I can from memory. Known and unexpressed, which I have not to this day found intentions when he created

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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

The workings of hatred and love, of pleasure and pain, are complex. Hatred may be a distortion of love: pleasure may be sought through pain. Consciously, Adolf certainly resented the beatings and hated his father for hurting him; unconsciously, he may have desired the punishment as a way of winning his father's attention and love. We are suggesting the possibility that the sadomasochism we shall observe in the adult Hitler had its beginnings here. Clinical studies have shown that often, as children, people with masochistic tendencies baited their fathers into whipping them. "The desire to be punished or humiliated," a specialist in the pathology of masochism has written, is another way of "wanting to be loved . . . being beaten and being loved are fused into one single masochistic expression."³⁰

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

THE MOTHER: KLARA PÖLZL HITLER

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

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

The Child As Father to the Man

Alois's household. Then she was demand of her employer's son was stricken with tuberculosis small children who belonged lover. "Strangely enough," one does not seem to have aroused Fanni in Ranshofen and joined to nurse her back to health."³¹

Rather than proving that saintly kindness and endurance strated her capacity to suppress refusal to help her rival and to have been the more direct as she had received.* It is of course peasant culture dominated by natural behavior what a more tolerated. But there is no indication normal or dull. She was not a sensitivity; she was a woman control and subdue complex if not only resentment and rage but

Klara had been living with him had become pregnant by him in before their marriage. She was carefully instructed in the catechisms of the little community of opportunity to forget her sins Klara, the devoted Catholic, felt her transgressions against both younger second wife, Fanni. As women had been struck down on living with their husband as the need for penance and atone docile acceptance of her lot: fit children and abject obedience to ness to bear gossip and scandal tured into the streets of the town

Klara began her married life Fanni's children, Alois Jr., age 1 there was added the care of her after his birth, a second child, Otto, who died within a few days surviving children contracted dij

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

much to her astonishment
as a "rendition of a page

smaller scale, one cannot
period were exactly identical
enna. What is quite clear are
papers, in particular the Alt
or the Christian-Social Brigi-
booklets whose contents resem-
ancellor Hitler was still clearly
et of Vienna's fin-de-siècle.

icism and the liberation wars
ism throughout Europe. Every-
the Czechs, Hungarians, Poles,
now rediscovering Germanic
peoples for their own identity
archy's huge melting pot. The
people, the stranger the other

century, this shift of focus on
arwinism, whose theories on
ual people and entire peoples.
ly popularized, and his natural
baric times to a more sublime
ed to comparisons. The argu-
ing" and "weak" peoples, peo-
s, developed and undeveloped
to accelerate the "refining" of
one wanted to belong to the
Purity of blood" and a clean
mixed background, as a weak-
interest of one's own people to
void anything foreign as much

ught on two fronts: on one,
Hapsburg empire, and on the
ie," a policy of "keeping one's
m the members of an "alien
ich everyone who valued "his

perception

people" was supposed to follow—including the suggestion to be careful in choosing a "racially valuable" spouse or in conceiving racially pure children, who were supposed to be strong and healthy too. There were regulations on hygiene meant to keep one's race healthy, and sports and gymnastics associations to develop physical strength for the imminent battle against the "foreign peoples." For after all, according to Charles Darwin, the "strong" were bound to be victorious, and the "weak" to perish.

All of a sudden, the mixing of nationalities, which for centuries had been an ordinary occurrence in the Dual Monarchy, was looked upon as a menace to one's "own folkdom." More and more people feared their national identity was going to get lost in this "people's mix." Around 1900 the new race theories were ubiquitous, like a religious doctrine. Writers and philosophers dealt with the subject, particularly in the wake of Gobineau, the classic race theorist, whose *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* was published in a German edition in 1900 and assigned to the "white race" superiority in beauty, intelligence, and strength, proclaiming it was destined to bring order into the world. These theories were used as explosive ammunition in the daily battle between the Austro-Hungarian nationalities, where they were far more extreme than they were in the neighboring nation states, including the German Reich.

Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who had been born in England and was raised in France, wrote his book *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* in Vienna. He, too, called for "selective breeding" according to Darwinist principles: "Once you have recognized the miracles selection can achieve, how a race horse or a dachshund or an 'exuberant' chrysanthemum is gradually bred by carefully eliminating all inferior elements, then you will also recognize the efficiency of the same phenomenon in the human race." Chamberlain also referred to "the marooning of frail children" with the aim of strengthening the race as "one of the most beneficial laws of the Greeks, Romans, and Germans." "Tough times" too, "in which only the robust man and the tough woman survive, have a similar effect."⁹ Chamberlain considered the Jewish and the Aryan principles incompatible. Neither assimilation nor conversion, he argued, would turn a Jew into a non-Jew. This view made him an important proponent of racial anti-Semitism.

In the 1890s Chamberlain was integrated in Vienna's intellectual life. He was part of the reputable Society for Philosophy and an honorary member of the Richard Wagner Association, which had been cofounded by Schönerer, putting Chamberlain in close proximity to the Pan-

X

Hitler wanted to force the German people to its happiness: *We see in these historical materializations of German fate's invisible order to unite this obstinate German people by force if necessary.*⁵⁶

Lanz von Liebenfels

Guido von List's closest disciple was the writer Joseph Adolf Lanz, born in Vienna in 1874 as the son of the teacher Johann Lanz and Katharina, née Hoffenreich. At nineteen he joined the order of the Cistercians of the Chapter of the Holy Cross in the Vienna Woods as the novice Brother George. There he studied the history of the order and local history and became preoccupied with astrology and Bible studies. Like List, he had a "dream vision," which was triggered by an old gravestone depicting a knight pinning a monkey to the ground with his foot. Lanz interpreted this as a reference to the need for aristocratic "masterman" to subjugate "monkeyman" and from then on placed himself in the service of this idea, which had come to him in a dream.

In 1900, one year after he had been ordained into the priesthood at the age of twenty-five, Lanz left the order on account of "growing nervousness"⁵⁷ and founded the Order of the New Templars, whose cornerstones were the myth of the Grail, men's rights, and the ideal of racial purity. As a Knight Templar he gathered honorable, rich, and "racially pure" men around himself and with their money bought a castle just for his order, the dilapidated Werferstein in the Nibelung District in Wachau.

In 1902 Lanz gave himself a new identity. He changed his date and place of birth, claiming he was born in Messina, Sicily, in 1872. He assumed a fake doctorate and in all documents changed the names of his parents, who were still alive. The teacher Johann Lanz became "Baron Johann Lanz de Liebenfels" of allegedly old Swabian nobility. Lanz entirely obscured the identity of his mother Katharina, who lived until 1923, by giving her the name Katharina Skala. List backed his disciple by publishing his fabricated family tree with a detailed description of "Lanz von Liebenfels's" allegedly "genuine heraldic figures of the Armans and Femans."⁵⁸

Later on Lanz would explain these manipulations by saying he wanted to avoid astrological checkups of himself. However, the real reason was the Hoffenreich family's Jewish ancestry,⁵⁹ which made Lanz fail to meet his own racial criteria in the Order of the New Templars. He did succeed in sneaking these false facts into the City of Vienna's official registration files.⁶⁰ Thus Adolf Lanz became the "Aryan" Baron Adolf Georg (Jörg) Lanz von Liebenfels, Ph.D.

Lanz made his living in newspapers in the service. He knew no bounds in praising Germans' superidol, Otto von Schönerberg, who had put the Germanish consciousness." Schönerberg the help of his "young race."

The former monk left the Church, especially the Jesuits. "Away from Rome" movement": "Before our eyes it is becoming increasingly times and the national waters of a tremendous struggle. Already we see everywhere appear. . . . The Mediterranean ready for their joint fight." Lanz said, "the Germans' general." However, the Germanic people's church with principles and never converted.

Lanz's "dream vision" a potpourri of contemporary ideas. "Just like every Aryan a Mongol's distorted mirror of any member of an inferior sight of a paleface. One feels origins, and the other still which at such a moment away. . . . If our ancestors had not been populated by gori-

Lanz was a crucial voice in the mystical "Armanship," and his Order of New Templars incorporated into Lanz's new

In 1906 Lanz's most important work was *Die Kunde von den Sodoms-Äy* or the news about the little brother of his generation, a overwhelming phenomenon, Lanz borrowed ideas from Ca-

* In 1930 when Frank explains Hitler's grandmother's life, the recollection of Lanz von Liebenfels ancestry is brought up

X

just as one simply has to eliminate dangerous poisonous snakes and wild beasts of prey."¹⁴

Schönerer used the slogan "Jewish or Christian, it's only race, and nothing else, that's the disgrace" to request special laws for Jews in Austria, even when they were baptized, and to repeal emancipation. He said: "We German-nationals view anti-Semitism as a keystone of the national idea, as a main support of a true folkish mentality, and thus as the greatest achievement of this century."¹⁵ He demanded that his followers and "the German people" strictly segregate and reject everything "Jewish," according to the slogan "Through purity to unity." On February 18, 1884, at a mass gathering of Schönererians, for the first time displayed a poster reading "No Entry for Jews!"¹⁶

In 1884 Schönerer proceeded against the monarchy's most powerful Jew, Baron Rothschild, the main shareholder of the Emperor Ferdinand Northern Railway. In the Reichsrat Schönerer called for an annulment of that contract and the nationalization of the highly profitable railway. He submitted a list of almost forty thousand signatures in support of his motion—as a "scream of the people" against the Jewish threat. In addition, he was supported from Parliament's visitors' gallery by cheering and hecklers yelling anti-Semitic insults against the "Northern Railway Jews." This spectacular action did have the effect of Rothschild paying the City of Vienna a much higher price for extending the contract than had been planned. Thus Schönerer, the "dragon slayer" against "Jewish corruption," gained additional supporters.

In 1885 Schönerer arbitrarily, and belatedly, added the Aryan Clause to the Linz Program. His reasoning was: "In order to carry out the reforms that we seek, it is imperative that Jewish influence in all areas of public life be eliminated." This meant that he had to separate from his proven German-national colleagues Viktor Adler and Heinrich Friedjung, who were both baptized but had Jewish parents. Schönerer's slogan "Germany to the Germans" was thus directed not only against the monarchy's non-German groups, but also against those Jews who during each census indicated German as their native language, and who felt German and were politically active as German-nationals. From now on Jews were no longer supposed to be Germans.

1885
✓ The Aryan Clause soon found imitators: the German fraternities expelled their (thoroughly German-national) "Jews," among them Theodor Herzl, Viktor Adler, and Arthur Schnitzler. The Waidhofen Resolution declared Jews unqualified to give satisfaction in a duel. Schnitzler quoted the pertinent passage in his memoirs with great bitterness: "Every son of a Jewish mother, everyone in whose veins flows Jewish blood, is

without honor by birth, differentiate between what worthy person. Therefore avoid the company of Jews cannot demand satisfaction.

Other German associations, language, reading expelled Slavs along with Vienna years—the Lower twentieth anniversary of emancipation."¹⁸

Schönerer resolutely "And if certain gentlemen As long as they can't show these assurances."¹⁹ Again "Concerning the Jews, our Jew, whether he is baptized

The social pressure on those who were not willing as "traitors of the German people" Schönerer's principle: "We consciously supports the Jew appealed to his followers to the Jews, we Germans will

The "Movement"

Schönerer turned "German religion. As early as 1883 his published articles on "The Freedom": "The folkdom of their beings," it read, was "a sense of a great number of depends. . . . A stronghold of life is meant to be."²²

The Schönererians had the cornflower, runes, the "He celebrated summer and winter In historical get-togethers, the songs were sung by the camp-ernism was rejected as "intern

1880s
X
The movement exerted its influence on family life: spouses, friends, and colleagues could only be Germans, not Jews or Slavs. Before getting married, the future spouse's Aryan descent and "biological health" had to be checked. Children received Germanic names and were raised according to "old German custom," girls being protected from the dangers of modern emancipation so they could be turned into "good German mothers." Women didn't wear makeup, had simple hairdos, and wore modest clothes. Young people were supposed to learn practicing self-deprivation and abstinence in order to stay healthy for the good of "the German nation." The Schönerers were mostly vegetarians. They strengthened their bodies through gymnastics and calisthenics, if possible in the open air.

All these rules on how to live were practiced in small groups and clubs. Vienna University had the German Students' Association for Folkish Efficiency, whose members were required to "educate" themselves "conscientiously in our way of life in order to refine and deepen our nationalism." This included abstinence, "in the awareness of the damage which the consumption of alcohol and drinking customs cause through their paralyzing effect on the individual as well as the entire people": "He who endeavors to make the best of himself in strict self-discipline and the rigorous performance of his duty so he can place this better person in the service of his people, performs a German deed."²³

"Through purity to unity" also meant strictly Germanizing foreign words and phrases. The Viennese expressions "Servus" and "Prost"—"hi" and "cheers"—were replaced by the Old Germanic "Heil!" Dictionaries of Germanized expressions were put on the market.

X
According to an old Germanic custom, Schönerer had people pay tribute to him as the sole and absolute "Führer." To his followers, whatever he said was the law. There were no discussions on basic political principles. Those who expressed a differing opinion even on a single issue were ousted from the movement, the reason being: "Without agreement with Schönerer, the leader and creator of our program, no Pan-German . . . is entitled to publicly pronounce deviations from Schönerer's program or from the principles he represents. No one but Schönerer is entitled to change . . . Schönerer's program or the principles he represents, and there is no one among us who has either the necessary or the acknowledged authority to endorse programmatic reforms within the ranks of the Pan-Germans against our leader Schönerer's will."²⁴ Only a select few assisted their leader.

Schönerer's Germanic cult finally turned sectarian after 1887, when he celebrated the "two-thousand-year anniversary of Germanic history,"

in memory of the Battle of the Cimbri and the time. A public plea of 1888 battle cries of the Cimbri at the foundation of the Roman destiny: 'Make room for the with a "Germanic festival" Wachau, "according to the settlements in our mark with at whose feet the River Dan resting, powerful German spirit. On the occasion of this tian calendar and introduce nerians no longer counted yet ("n.N." for "nach Noreia"), n.N. Furthermore, the Roman Germanic names. Thus Schö July 17, 1842, to "17 Heuerts complicated calculations became nerians. To make it easier for ends simultaneously.

Every day the Schöneria people's" alleged natural super surrounded themselves with a: Eastern Jews' heads as knobs, Schönerer for 20 kreuzer, which lackeys, and dirty swine."²⁶ Pan anti-Semitic sayings. Once Schöners all at once and had then the doors of Jewish shops, billboards newspapers in the cafes. However, cause posting them was illegal.

The *Alldeutsches Tagblatt* of the Pan German Club for the preservation of Germanism, and of events. There were gymnastics evenings. The Germanic League Agency." The German Singing: who can sing." Summer rentals. There were pan-German saving pan-German bookstores.

P.T. Hitlerger
deep thoughts
materiality

1888

ve, antiparliamentary opposi-
 movement and editor of the

speeches in Vienna, Stein took
 marck celebrations. These always
 lay, at the restaurant Engländer
 in Stumpergasse. On March 31,
 it was again Stein who delivered
 of forty heller, the evening of—
 the Rienzli overture, the Entry
 Lohengrin—and, as always, con-
 cannot be proven, but is likely,
 idler would not have wanted to
 se to his home and on that oc-
 speaker.

Stein as a diligent and prominent
 instance, from the Bismarck an-
 "Moon" = April) 1908, where
 eds: "Perhaps the German people
 of deed, born in the twentieth
 magnificent as Otto von Bis-
 conclusion."⁵²

any personal contact between
 ve been most likely to happen
 organized in Vienna, where he
 discussions. Stein's fraternity Ger-
 clubs with libraries and frequent
 ighth District at 2 Bennoplatz.
 erty heller.⁵⁴

2), the son of a factory worker,
 nineteen-year-old associate, he
 among the approximately five
 at's Sofie Hall listening to Schö-
 ws." Schönerer's attack on the
 afterward, the trial, but above
 on entirely won Stein over to

er's triumphal procession, right
 strict Court to the house near
 amassed the horses and pulled
 in talked about the shouts of

"Heil!" for Schönerer and "Boo!" for the government, and about the
 singing of German-national songs. Nineteen-year-old Stein was allowed
 to accompany Schönerer in his car to attend the tribute for him at night
 and to hold the famous bunch of cornflowers that Lueger handed to Mrs.
 von Schönerer. Hundreds of cards pledging allegiance to Schönerer were
 tied into the bunch.

When Schönerer started serving his term in August 1888, Stein was
 among those who cheered him from the edge of the street. He reported
 on the court's fear of these rallies and on how the gates of the castle were
 closed to protect the emperor, and how nervous policemen arrested hon-
 orable men for "ostentatiously waving their hats."⁵⁵

After his release from prison Schönerer invited the young admirer
 to Rosenau Castle in Waldviertel. Thus began Stein's political career.
 Schönerer directed Stein to build a Pan-German labor movement and to
 win over German voters from the despised "international," "Jewish" So-
 cial Democrats. At first he sent the young man as an itinerant speaker
 through the area that was particularly open to German-national slogans
 because of the continuous influx of cheap Czech labor: highly industri-
 alized German-speaking Bohemia, the "Sudetenland."

Stein was extremely active. In 1893 he founded the "German-
 National Workers Association." He also wrote for Schönerer's publi-
 cations and in 1893 published his first own pamphlet, *Schönerer and the
 Issue of the Workers*. In 1895 Schönerer made him the editor of a German
 labor newspaper, *Der Hammer*. The title was an allusion to Bismarck as
 the "smith of the German Reich," who was often portrayed standing by
 an anvil, forging Germania's sword with a hammer. The new publication's
 subtitle was "Periodical for Social Reform and Pan-German Policy" and
 as a program had in its heading Bismarck's phrase: "Give the worker the
 right to work as long as he is healthy, make sure he gets care when he is
 ill and support when he is old." Stein called for social reforms modeled
 on Bismarck's policies, in particular—as a precondition for any social
 reform—the national unification of workers in their struggle against
 Czech competition on one hand, and Social Democracy on the other
 hand. Otherwise, the paper supported Schönerer's ideology, from ethnic
 anti-Semitism to the "Away from Rome" movement.

Stein's *Hammer* had nothing in common with the Leipzig periodical
Der Hammer: Blätter für deutschen Sinn (Publications for the German spir-
 it), which was founded by Theodor Fritsch in 1902, except that both
 shared a Pan-German political alignment and occasionally some writers.
 In the Reich there was clearly less interest in the German-Austrians'
 national longings than in Reich-German dreams of being a superpower,

1900

gent of the Imperial Academy of Education Association, was an insult anyway.

Public clubs and clergymen's in the Year 1920 by Lueger's when the prelate related his monarchy would look like in after rigorously exchanging would now be nationally sciences, including Vienna, and Krain, "Südmark" and Bohemia, a Polish Poland, Lueger's vision, Lueger was by Vienna had been renamed "Jew-free," because the roses," and "Yiddish gab-embargo.

in the lands of the former sold toward vulgar fornication of purity and morals. the universities, the schools, and everything built with East, the barely civilized proudly allowed their share the Jews were gone, and "crypto-Jews," that is to for which the prelate rec-

parliamentarianism's now reigned among the abolition of de- mental hospitals. was in place. Refer- could be handed in as yea from the unbearable ment.¹⁸²

There were no longer any Demonstrations, as in Vienna, were against the state hundred Jews and

twenty Aryans in Vienna in one day." And: "We have had to hang thousands in the state of Poland and the state of Ruthenia, until all sinners came to realize that we were serious." Pimps would also be hanged.¹⁸³

Prelate Scheicher was hardly the only one yearning for a violent solution to the multiethnic monarchy's problems. However, he was the only one who recorded his political dreams. Dreams about a "priestly rule" in an allegedly morally pure, totalitarian state without Jews was part of Vienna's zeitgeist prior to 1914.

The Right Party Membership Card

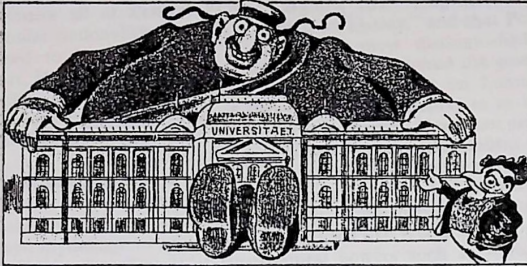
One of the secrets of Lueger's success was the special and exclusive care he took of his constituents, whom he made dependent on himself and his party by offering many different kinds of relief. Lueger did not leave the slightest doubt about his feeling obliged to extend charities only to them and by no means to all Viennese. For instance, in 1905 he proudly pointed out in the Reichsrat again and again: "I am responsible only to my constituents, responsible only to those city councilmen who have voted for me."¹⁸⁴

In Vienna there certainly was a great deal to hand out around 1900, as the city was one huge construction site for decades, with great demand for labor and a large volume of commissions for artisans and all kinds of businesses. The municipality of Vienna paid better wages than the federal government. Yet in order to obtain such a sought-after position with the city—or a city-owned apartment, a fellowship, or anything else for that matter—one had to be a member of the Christian Social Party, in other words, carry "the right card," a custom that was to play an infamous role in Austria. In addition, every city employee, most notably every teacher, had to swear an oath at the beginning of his tenure that he neither was nor would become either a Social Democrat or a Schönerian. Thus Lueger's followers, who always enjoyed privileges, could consider themselves to be among the chosen.

There was a great deal of corruption in the city government, which was hardly possible without Lueger being aware of it. Yet even his worst enemies admitted that the mayor was not personally corrupt or tried to enrich himself. The *Wiener Sonn- und Montagszeitung*, which was not favorably inclined toward the Christian Socials, acknowledged: "Around him, everything relishes in gold and medals, in titles and rich sinecures, but he only wants to remain the popular man holding all the strings, he, the maker of kings, who keeps reminding the majesties by his grace that

1877

Mangel an der Wiener Universität —



aber nur für Arier.

Not enough room at Vienna University—but only for Aryans

gued, were lacking "our German sentiments" which were based on "medieval Romanticism." Billroth admitted that inside, "even though I have reflected about this a great deal and do like some of them individually," he still felt "the gap between purely German and purely Jewish blood to be just as wide as the gap a Teuton may have felt between himself and a Phoenician."¹⁵

Now the German fraternities felt authorized to expel their Jewish fellow students. The fraternity Teutonia introduced the "Aryan Clause" as early as 1877, and the other fraternities followed suit. The fraternities justified their actions with an appeal to the Berlin philosopher Eugen Dühring and his much-quoted remark: "The German students must regard it as their honor that the sciences are presented to them—or rather, bungled and contaminated in a Jewish way, and traded off—not by an alien and much inferior race which is entirely incapable of serious science."¹⁶

The Eastern Jews' Mass Migration

In 1881 Russian Czar Alexander II was assassinated. "Jewish revolutionaries" were blamed and pogroms were decreed, which led to actual massacres. Fearing for their lives, people fled across the border to Galicia, which was already overpopulated, had the largest percentage of Jews among its population, and was suffering from unemployment and starvation. Some 200,000 Jewish itinerant beggars roamed through the land and were called

"air people," for nobles belonged.¹⁷

The army of beggars. Many moved to the seas, and into the big cities. In 1914, some altogether 1.5 million. Along their way, they they had never experienced.

As early as 1882 they arrived in Dresden. In 1897, against the foreign Jewish governments put a stop to their cure their borders. Almost all Western European governments demanded to rescind the emigration of Jews—all of them, even those who could not be assimilated.

The Austrian Jews by the federal authorities. Anti-Semitic brochures were easier to put into circulation in Galicia or in Hungary. Therefore even more easily. Since 1897 Vienna had the Emperor was also in pressed their loyalty to him. He said in 1908: "Our Empire are equally nation or faith. . . . After equal rights for all which sacrosanct, which obliges

However, the flood himself at a loss. He expressed. Valerie recorded in her diary, of course we do everything is not an anti-Semite?"¹⁹

Anti-Semitic politics. In the 1880s Schönerer collected votes. Lueger experienced his triumph. The votes of the small business

example, had announced that Germany should annex Austria and colonize all of Central Europe, arguing that "Magyars, Czechs and similar nationalities . . . are a burden on history," and that Polish Jews need to be "rooted out."⁵⁴ Germany's most distinguished sociologist, Max Weber, was furious when a friend criticized the government's policy toward Polish subjects as an infringement on human rights. Weber's reply was worthy of Hitler: "It is only thanks to us that Poles are human beings!" (*Wir haben die Polen erst zu Menschen gemacht*)⁵⁵

A third characteristic separated German nationalism from its Western counterparts and made it particularly receptive to Hitler: it was heavily influenced by myths of German antiquity and sought to justify itself by evoking nationalistic urges it found in pagan prehistory. German mythology was filled with pagan gods like Wotan and Siegfried and half-legendary figures of supernatural powers such as Barbarossa. In popular imagination these gods and demi-gods had all become national heroes. This kind of nationalism, with its stress on myth, mystery, and magic was only a step away from Nazi ideology and the mystical powers it assigned to Führer, Volk, blood, and soil.⁵⁶

The word *Mythos*, which has had a peculiar attraction to Germans, carries a different meaning from the English *myth*. In English usage the word suggests little more than a fairy tale, or a nonexistent person or event. A definition in a standard German dictionary, *Der Sprach-Brockhaus*, is jarringly different: "*Mythos: a symbolic idea with life-renewing force.*" This was certainly the conception of influential German writers for many generations. Like their Romantic predecessors, the intellectuals of the Weimar Republic who called themselves Conservative Revolutionaries boasted of their commitment to *Mythos* rather than rationality. One of them wrote in 1920: "Myth is the word and the vision which tells about Volk and God, about what has actually happened [*von wirklichem Geschehen*]." Another, writing in 1923 in a book he entitled *Das dritte Reich*, warned his readers that the idea of the coming Reich was filled with "myth and mystery . . . charged with feeling not of this world but of the next."⁵⁷ Hitler exploited to the fullest this emphasis on myth and mystery. Indeed, he institutionalized these ideas and became himself the "myth-person" whom many German thinkers had foretold.

A fourth characteristic of German nationalism, as it developed in the 19th and 20th centuries, was the exaltation of power and war. Of course, one can find strident proponents of national power in other countries. But in no other nation of the world did so many respected leaders in so many different walks of life over so long a period of time proclaim that might made right and preach the moral justification of war; their words would be echoed in Hitler's evocation of power, brutality, and battle as the law of life. Germany's most influential 19th-century philosopher, for example, insisted that "war has the higher meaning; through it . . . the ethical health of nations is maintained . . .

just as the motion of the wi
constant calm would prod
tions which a perpetual . . .)

One of Julius Langbehn
creative and necessary for
of impassioned lectures, g
Hitler: "War is political sci
Volk become in very deed
not only impossible, but im
which we can most clearly t
army, not parliament, is th
Oswald Spengler was equal
finding it "the eternal form
"states exist for the purpose

The elder von Moltke, C
sian General Staff, was no
political developments by
doctrine that war was both
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a very pleasant one, and wa
the noblest virtues [*Tugenden*
loyalty to duty and willingne
the world would sink into ma

One of the most influen
immediate prewar years wa
Next War. It first appeared
huge printings. The author
set forth a simple thesis: "W
tance. . . . The efforts directe
be termed foolish, but absol
race. . . ." He closed his first
with Goethe's "manly words".

Dream
Let him
"War"
Onwar

The emperor himself n
force. No head of state in
exhortations. Indeed, his sp
markable precedents to the o
launching the Polish campai
told his commanders to "clo
Decades before, in sending
Boxer Rebellion in 1900, Wi
give the name of "Hun" to Ge

16-1871

that Germany departed from European political thought.
—Hajo Holborn

Leon, the man who con-
fined. He was hated as the
with him Western ideas
of law, and other concepts
he was grudgingly admira-
bly your chains as you
"Hegel hailed him as a
historian of the day, Jo-
whose equal is not to be
after receiving a personal
native land, Müller wrote
able days of my life. By
he has conquered me." 21
illustrates the tenacity
in the life of a nation—
tually happened as what
sons of Germans believed
in what Germany's most
von Treitschke, "School-
ing over his countrymen
a. For generations, the
like's *History of Germany*.
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the author being given.
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k," through glorious vic-
t and historic mandate
an system on a new and
d the glories of Prussian
prose:

id suffering, rediscovered
s were stirred . . . they
they broke loose the old
Northern berserkers. . . .
e peasants rushed upon
at Hagelberg, advancing

German thought, see pp. 272–

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History

silently, pitilessly, in unspeakable wrath; when the dull crackling
of the musketry ceased, there lay a horrible heap of corpses piled
up to the level of the top of the wall, with the brains oozing out
of the smashed skulls of the dead.²²

It was a scene that would be repeated in German history.

German Romanticism

National Socialism fused and transformed . . .
Prussianism and Romanticism. It was their ille-
gitimate offspring.

—Hans Kohn

Smashing military victories over Napoleon formed the setting for
Romanticism. Although it was primarily a literary and artistic move-
ment, as it developed in Germany it would have profound and pro-
tracted political consequences. One of them is set forth in Hans Kohn's
arresting aphorism.

As in all acts of human procreation, the father (Prussianism)
played an important role. But it was not enough in itself to produce
this child. For Prussianism was too cold, elitist, and withdrawn to
have wide popular appeal. Nazism electrified the masses with emo-
tion, yearning, and myth—the kind of things supplied by Mother Ro-
manticism. She, according to Kohn (as well as Sigmund Freud), was
the more important parent in the child's gestation and early develop-
ment.

Among others who gave memorable expression to concepts of Ger-
man Romanticism which would be taken over—and traduced—by the
Nazis was the poet Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769–1860).* Arndt illustrates
the power of song to form and shape the attitudes of a nation, and the
truth of the Scottish balladeer's boast: "Let me write the songs of a
country, and I care not who writes its laws." Arndt was the author of
Germany's most popular patriotic song until *Deutschland über Alles*
later in the century. For generations, Arndt's hymn, *Das deutsche
Vaterland* (1813) gave voice to the expansionist dynamic of German
nationalism. It raised and answered a rhetorical question about the
Fatherland by saying that Germans would never feel fulfilled until all
German-speaking people were united in an enormous new *Reich* of the
German nation:

What is the German's Fatherland?
The Prussian, or the Swabian kind?
Where Rhenish grapes bloom ripe and full,
Where curves his flight the Baltic gull?

* The most influential Romantic of all, Richard Wagner, had such special
personal importance to Adolf Hitler that he has been discussed with those who
directly shaped his life and thought; see Chapter 2, pp. 103–113.

1813

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Ah, no! No! No!
His Fatherland must greater grow!

1813
X
Arndt and his fellow Romantics demanded a new and portentous form of nationalism. English, French, and Russian nationalists emphasized the alleged political, cultural or religious superiority of their countries over others; Arndt called for a nationalism that was racial. His specific terminology, "racial purity" and "bastardization" and "mongrelization," would appear again in Germany. A century and a half before Hitler, for example, he insisted that "the Germans are not *bastardized* by alien peoples, they have not become *mongrels*, they have remained more than any other peoples in their original *purity*." And he preached the messianic mission of the race: "The German is a universal man [*Allerweltsmensch*] to whom God has given the whole earth as a home . . ."

Arndt also preceded the Nazis in exalting the Leader as the incarnation of a mysterious power which united the *Volk* with "the invisible majesty of the nation." And he agreed with Hitler about the positive values of battle: "War and struggle, the live moment of live forces—that is my lust, thus my name is called, that is myself, I God the Lord." ²³

Arndt's patriotic verse appeared in a dozen anthologies used in the schoolrooms of Germany during the Empire, Republic, and Third Reich. For example, Scheel's widely read *Lesebuch*—a kind of German McGuffey's *Eclectic Reader*—contained the following poem which children in the *Volksschulen* of 1900–1914 were obliged to memorize:

We'll redden the iron with blood
With hangman's blood
With Frenchmen's blood;
Oh sweet day of Revenge! ²⁴

Heinrich Wilhelm von Kleist (1777–1811), like many of his fellow Romantics, was torn between a sentimental longing for "a higher peace" and a delight in war and carnage. He was one of the authors of those poems which Treitschke would later call "the most beautiful political poetry in which any race could pride itself." One such poem of 1809 was entitled "*Germania an ihre Kinder*." The attitudes Mother Germany encouraged in her children with respect to the treatment of her enemies would be developed further in the *Hitler Jugend*:

Color all the pastures, all the steads
White with their bones
Those which the raven and the fox disdain
Deliver them over to the fish;
Dam up the Rhine with their corpses. . . .

Chorus:

A joy-hunt as when marksmen are on the track of the wolf!

The Past As Prologue: Hitler an

Strike him dead! At the
asked for explanat

Kleist's call for revenge
ing the Napoleonic wars bu
1918. One of the striking f.
Weimar Republic was the r
period, "Kleist scholarship b
Kleist and Arndt both said
here. But these things they c

Not all German Romar
One of them, Heinrich Heine
Kleist's and Arndt's "beautif
penned a prophecy in 1834
a century later: "These doct
which only await the day to
and astonishment." The Chri
brutal German joy in battle" t

Should the subduing tal
roaring forth the wild m
Berserker rage of which
is brittle, and the day w
old stone Gods will rise
dust of a thousand year
life with his giant hamme

Few Germans at the time
humanitarian cosmopolite, too
Jew.

A Romantic who had mo
his own was the nationalist ph
1814). He is best remembere
his stirring *Addresses to the G*
claimed the German people to
and endorsed racial nationalism

To have character and to l
seiz] undoubtedly mean t
the German and the non-
the chosen people. Chosen
our destiny by every means

Fichte made contributions
Teutonic messianism but also
influential book *Der geschlossenen*
State), published in 1800, he at

ard Wagner.

episode in the great and futile German revolution in the storm that raged through of the nineteenth century.

interests and national boundaries that these have vanished beneath the dust of history. struggles ran a spiritual stream which, in the higher and higher, a stream which has flooded through all dikes. A man stood on the without fear of the bullets—justly conscious which he was to fight all his life with good his immortality weighs like resonant bronze an evil spell that has not yet begun to lift, a old spew out were it not so sweet. His best, popular, music transforms the curse of power; and destruction—the inevitable fate of sounds in it with tragic beauty. Love of over-hat is his haunting *leitmotiv*.

is presented in this book. It is an attempt to power-hungry intellectual. He has become a

We shall attempt to observe his beginnings. birth of the Antichrist.

is out of an immense fear; Wagner's soul and led to a high degree the forces whose struggle in our days. It is true that all his life Wagner the demonic man of power, but he contributed led to create the Demon. A pamphlet forged did not conjure up the Demon out of nothing; were and publicized him. He did not arise suddenly to lay waste our civilization. The fearful necessity he arose everywhere out of the ions of our own life. It is his universality, in the soil of modern civilization, that makes the Antichrist is a world-citizen, else he could be a Prussian junker with a Baltic horizon could be more than a Cossack chief; the Antichrist is refined and civilized. That is why his mightiest

embodiment has occurred in Germany, in the midst of a high civilization, bruised in its kernel by a disastrous history. The Antichrist is a rank weed growing out of a wounded culture; and German culture received its wound in the days when Richard Wagner stood on the Dresden steeple, braving a rain of bullets.

Germany was ablaze with rebellion against her thirty-six princes, against the king of Prussia, against the emperor of Austria, or rather his hated, all-powerful minister, Metternich; against the great oppressor of peoples through the whole of Europe: the Russian tsar. She was fighting for her freedom: freedom of speech, press, confession; the rights of man, equality of classes and races, parliamentary representation; she was fighting for that great freedom, which in those days was denied most of the nations east of the Rhine; the freedom to be a single nation, obeying only itself. That is why awakening Germany, robbed of her inner freedom and desiring it in the form of unity, engaged in the most painful and tragic of all the struggles of our epoch, the desperate and futile struggle against France.

In the seventeenth century, Armand Duplessis, Cardinal de Richelieu, established a basic principle of French foreign policy: ^{the security of France} demands that Germany must never be united. From then on, the dream of German unity became a vain struggle against superior French strength, against French conquest, even against the French language, which at times forced the German language out of educated German society. France oppressed Germany out of a panic fear, resulting from the Spanish-Habsburg embrace in the sixteenth century. At the beginning of that century, a Spanish king became German emperor; the ruling houses of Spain and Austria (Habsburg) fused, and Spain, vanguard of the Roman Catholic Church in defending its tottering rule over the souls of Europe, used her increasing power to crush rising Protestantism in Germany as well as encircled France. In Germany the attempt succeeded only partially, but for a hundred years France, torn by her own religious parties and powerful nobles, was strangled by the Spanish-Habsburg ring. Spain interfered in France's internal affairs, dictated French policies, maintained parties in France; and France remained Catholic. If France was

1840s?

X

greatness, of history elevated above morality, living proof that a man risen from the people world, became a powerful motif in the ideas modern era — in Germany as elsewhere.

i-Napoleonic in his feelings, had hoped for a d be inspired by 'enthusiasm for liberty . . . le that all beings with a human face are equal.'
 athe the spirit of Germany's classic humanism, iethe, and especially Schiller; and this human- ularized by Schiller's plays and poems, has been l heritage of the German people. But here we ose sentiments which lived in the soul of the ury, but the genesis of their destruction.

e image of Napoleon, Georg Wilhelm Hegel, mind, created a philosophical religion of the the highest revelation of the 'world spirit.' This child of the German political fantasy. Its mean- ly happenings are governed by a rational neces- ind compulsion. The world spirit is revealed ficult, highly ingenious thought process (dialec- o accomplish such deeds is the task of the great 'business agents of the world spirit.' The great Hegel taught, do pursue their selfish purposes their special nature that their 'private purposes tial, which is the will of the world spirit. . . hese leaders of their souls, for in them they feel r of their own inward spirit.'

hilosophy began to honor historic greatness as without inquiring whom this greatness might
 ro cult was not the sole product of Napoleon's on Hegel. Hegel's contradictory experience igner led him to kneel before the hard reality of obedient affirmation of everything that was ous saying: 'What is rational is real and what is he 'rational' is the same as what he elsewhere ld spirit.' A great, universal principle of reason e world, governing all events, because it is in-

herent in the things themselves; but to reveal itself or to 'realize' itself, as Hegel says, it must 'appear in an endless wealth of forms, phenomena, and shapes,' until it finally can enter 'conscience'; that is, be grasped by the human mind.

This principle of reason, or the 'world spirit,' is realized in his- tory in successively higher forms, or, as Hegel calls them, 'stages'; one of these stages is the 'national spirit,' but the highest is the state. Hence the state is a thing 'rational in itself'; indeed Hegel calls it 'the moral universe,' and as a philosopher he indignantly rejects any idea of instructing or improving the state. As the highest revela- tion of the world spirit, the state stands above individuals and their supposed rights, for 'the right of the world spirit is above all special privileges.' And 'world history is no empire of happiness. The periods of happiness are the empty pages of history, because they are the periods of agreement, without conflict.' For history goes on only by conflict between its successive 'stages.'

Hegel is the intellect triumphant on the summit of self-con- fidence. An exalted and pitiless reason rules the world, and the German intellect aroused by Napoleon thinks history which it can- not yet make. The Antichrist assembles his scattered limbs and be- gins to take form. The German contribution to this world figure begins at this point. The German Nationalist Movement in the first half of the nineteenth century derives its strength from the classical flowering of German literature and philosophy. The educated classes multiplied enormously. They created the first form of modern national pride in Germany: the democratic belief in equal- ity of all by virtue of education.

But all this dreaming cult of Napoleonic greatness and state omni- potence would not have been possible without the misery of actual German politics. In the mind of most German intellectuals state omnipotence was only another expression for the people's sov- ereignty in its desperate struggle against Germany's countless petty, shabby, and ridiculous princes.

This German intellectualism was part of an intellectual and at the same time political uprising through Europe. Students, pro- fessors, lawyers, writers, journalists, banded into secret societies, and if they were discovered, ended in terrible prisons. Agents of the

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

ate is not comprehensible,
t, they should simply obey

ate which does not know
fruit of deep knowledge
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State was the Volk. For it
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philosopher, Hegel would
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selfishness"; he now put
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in Welt-gait
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1841

state should regulate all aspects of a people's life, he added, "It does not ask for opinion but demands obedience. . . . Submission is what the State primarily requires; it insists upon acquiescence; its very essence is the accomplishment of its will."⁵⁰

Adolf Hitler had little need to expand on this conception of obedience.

FRIEDRICH LIST

Economic theory in Germany, as well as political theory and historic practice, endorsed state control of the economy and thus set important precedent for Hitler's National Socialism. Friedrich List (1789-1846), incomparably the most influential German economist of the 19th century, directly and vehemently attacked Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, whose theory of laissez-faire economic individualism was accepted as orthodoxy in the English-speaking world.

List's immensely influential book championing state intervention and control was accurately entitled *Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie*. First published in 1841, it was as important to Germany as Adam Smith's ubiquitous classic was to England and America. By 1890 it had gone through a dozen editions and had been the subject of literally thousands of books and articles. X

List took violent issue with all of Smith's convictions. Where Smith was a liberal cosmopolitan, List insisted that the very idea of internationalism was dangerous to the growth of a vigorous Germany. Where Smith stressed individualism, List sought something between individualism and internationalism and he found it in the nation, which he considered far more important than either the individual or humanity.

Two terms would predominate in German expansionist rhetoric of the 20th century: *Drang nach Osten* (push toward the East) and its corollary *Mitteuropa*, a concept particularly dear to the hearts of Nazi geopoliticians who argued that he who could control the heartland of Central Europe could control the continent. The terms were not invented in the 20th or 19th centuries, nor were they original to List—some of the thinking is as old as the Teutonic knights' mission to the East—but List's system embodied both concepts. He added a *Drang nach Westen*, proclaiming that the German nation could not be complete so long as it did not extend "over the whole coast from the mouth of the Rhine to the frontier of Poland, including Holland and Denmark. A natural consequence of this union must be the admission of both these countries . . . into the German nationality . . . both of these nations belong, as respects their descent and whole character, to the German nationality." All these countries must be consolidated into one "mighty body" which Germany would control by establishing a *Pax Germanica* on the continent.⁵¹

Adam Smith had supported free trade among all nations; List urged the lowering of tariffs within the Germanies in a national cus-

in 1864, by A. Mertens et
; it was written in French
entre Machiavel et Montes-
quieu XIX^e siècle, par un Con-

Machiavelli and Montes-
quieu the nineteenth century by a
avail the author. The police
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d in a second edition, then
copies of it can be found.
ease of his epoch, and that
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e no longer secret. To us,
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ig the present in dazzling
reat truths, and they come
gathered his wisdom from
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osopher of the eighteenth
ter the ideas of their great
sois. Chiefly the ideas of
later form, *The Protocols*
: technique of dominating
ation. In the final version
masses of whole continents,

It is a secret necessity in-
e; it lives in our minds as
ature as a magnetic moun-
dern society. The modern
not pray to the same God,
g to the yellow man as to
ds sterling or dollars buys
ope or America. Such a
ship of a central mind, in-
rough millions of electric
ich would know the needs

of the world and satisfy them with all the means which a dom-
inated earth holds at the disposal of the knowing.

Is this the truth? Who has spoken? Perhaps it is only a half
truth, but even in its halfness it is of enormous import, which is
not seen by most men. The demon has spoken—or shall we say
the spirit of the age—or, in still other words—the new type of
man, who is imprinting his features on this age. History is the
most skeptical of all sciences; it knows no absolute truths. It does
not matter whether things really are as the demon says; what mat-
ters is to know whether there are men who see them that way; and
whether these men are important.

This is the meaning which our age breathes into the teachings
of Machiavelli. At its base, however, lies an eternal pessimistic wis-
dom which teaches that men are easily satisfied, hence easy for a
clever mind to dominate. These two elements, the modern truth
and the timeless wisdom, give the book a terrifying power which
shines through the varnish of superimposed lies.

Maurice Joly had understood the meaning of domination. He
knew the modern mass and its state of mind. He had seen a master
guide it. The master was Napoleon III, conspirator, usurper, and
for nearly twenty years emperor of the French; at once nationalist
and socialist, democrat and tyrant, pacifist and conqueror, dictator
by virtue of bayonets and the plebiscite; applauded by the masses
whom he had politically raped. Joly had written his book with him
in mind. He was meant when the demon spoke: we shall stultify
the people, we shall promote disturbances in Europe and elsewhere,
we shall create a mighty central power, we shall commit crimes,
and the people will admire us for them. If gallstones had not made
a wreck of this third Napoleon, he might have died in power and
glory.

Joly's magnificent portrait of modern tyranny underwent a
strange fate. After thirty years of oblivion, its great day came. It
was discovered by a group of Russian conspirators. Not, to be
sure, by the Russian revolutionaries of that day, the Nihilists, Social
Democrats, or Social Revolutionaries; but by a few crafty agents
of the counter-revolution, members of the Ochrana, the tsar's secret
police. They wanted to frighten the tsar and drive him to blood-

1880?

X

self-indictment of modern dictatorship. This presumably is why the material appealed so strongly to these conspirators of dictatorship. They were confronted with their own image.

They could scarcely have pondered the matter very deeply, but it is precisely in the unconscious acts of men that history is most clearly revealed. The Ochrana men knew that this was good material, that they could make use of it. That was enough. In one or two evenings, over a pipe and a cup of tea, you could adapt this colorful but rather anonymous document for any purpose, put any label on it. Where Joly speaks in the first person singular, puts his speeches in the mouth of Machiavelli, means Napoleon III, and is actually denouncing modern Caesarism as such — just substitute 'We Jesuits,' 'We Freemasons,' 'We Englishmen,' or 'We Jews' — the result would be a fragment of perverted truth, hence not entirely incredible. As for Ratchkovsky and his clique, they were interested in the Jewish angle.

X Their plan was more than a simple palace conspiracy. It was the first great attempt at a mighty national counter-revolution against the democratic and socialist revolution of the nineteenth century. The plan was to fuse the passion of the people and the cold power of the state into a mighty, counter-revolutionary force that would shake society to its foundations. If the movement had succeeded, it would most likely have transformed the old autocratic tsarism profoundly from within, made it a hundred times more powerful. In Holy Russia, at the beginning of the twentieth century, it would probably have created a new phenomenon in many respects resembling the later fascist dictatorships. Society in Russia was further advanced in its spiritual disintegration, inwardly more prepared for revolution than anywhere else in the world; at the same time the state power was stronger than anywhere else. Hence, it is understandable that this first attempt at a state-directed revolution should have been made here. It is in any case worth thinking about. Through this conspiracy, Russia became the spiritual mother country of modern fascism, as it later became the world center of communism.

As nucleus of the counter-revolutionary popular movement, a new party was formed. A certain Butmy was its leader. This party was

military in organization. Its storm troops rody, performing 'propaganda by action.' Chief was a bloody persecution of the Jews, the aim to the Jews as the ostensible cause of bad strike the minority was their principle — for punished, it is guilty in the eyes of the masse movement was 'The Black Hundreds,' which black guard. *The Protocols of the Wise Men* program of this movement; with it they grew. Even the primitive version, based on a conspiracy of rabbis, had a terrible effect widely, and in 1903 gave the signal for the which several thousand Jews were massacred.

By its very nature every fascist movement stirs the people and the state power to its will. The *Protocols* wanted not only to stir up the take in the credulous tsar. To this end, the political timeliness. A first version had been end of the nineties by Golovinski and Manuilk the service of Ratchkovsky. This version included pressive bits. For some reason or other the book was used for a few years. It was not hurled until it offered a particularly grateful target. In 1904-5 it was refurbished as an attack on Prince Svatopull the interior, and Count Witte, the finance minister liberal for the Ochrana. A pamphlet on finance minister Sharapov, attacking Count Witte was a to the unfortunate Russo-Japanese War and peace-makers were woven in. All this, of course, thin trimming of a Jewish conspiracy. Other represented the Jews as warmongers; now, on the other hand, he did so — say the *Protocols* — on the instigation he was opposed to a Russian victory. They did victory, because it would have thwarted their ambition.

This is the origin of the supposed textbook c

ership. This presumably is why to these conspirators of dictatorship their own image.

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lutionary popular movement, a new army was its leader. This party was

military in organization. Its storm troops rode through the country, performing 'propaganda by action.' Chief among their activities was a bloody persecution of the Jews, the aim being to call attention to the Jews as the ostensible cause of bad conditions. Always strike the minority was their principle—for when a minority is punished, it is guilty in the eyes of the masses. The name of the movement was 'The Black Hundreds,' which meant simply: the black guard. *The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion* became the program of this movement; with it they were born, and with it they grew. Even the primitive version, based on Gödsche's nocturnal conspiracy of rabbis, had a terrible effect. It was circulated widely, and in 1903 gave the signal for the Kishenev pogrom, in which several thousand Jews were massacred.

By its very nature every fascist movement strives to harness both the people and the state power to its will. The men who cooked up the *Protocols* wanted not only to stir up the masses, but also to take in the credulous tsar. To this end, they gave the book a political timeliness. A first version had been prepared toward the end of the nineties by Golovinski and Manuilov, two journalists in the service of Ratchkovsky. This version included Joly's most impressive bits. For some reason or other the bombshell was left unused for a few years. It was not hurled until political developments offered a particularly grateful target. In 1904-05, the pamphlet was refurbished as an attack on Prince Svatopulk-Mirski, minister of the interior, and Count Witte, the finance minister, who were too liberal for the Ochrana. A pamphlet on financial policy, by a certain Sharapov, attacking Count Witte was appended. References to the unfortunate Russo-Japanese War and to Witte's rôle as peacemaker were woven in. All this, of course, beneath the paper-thin trimming of a Jewish conspiracy. Other propaganda works represented the Jews as warmongers; now, on the contrary, they had to be peacemongers; for if Witte made peace with the Japanese, he did so—say the *Protocols*—on the instigation of the Jews, who were opposed to a Russian victory. They did not want a Russian victory, because it would have thwarted their plan for world domination.

This is the origin of the supposed textbook of Jewish world dom-

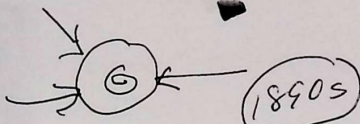
1876s

as in Germany, Jews had striven to
man culture.¹⁶ Different to German
poor Jews, similar to that in a good
cities. Many were Galician, or were
ally fled from the pogroms in Russia.
wish community, accepted by none,
and Zionism (whose founder, Theodor
me appeal.¹⁷ Conveniently, therefore,
exploiters and as social revolution-
city, and especially in the run-down
poldstadt, the site of the old ghetto,
n was Jewish, mainly small traders
onal caftan and black hat. In adjacent
ere Hitler would spend his last three
be inhabitants were Jews.¹⁸ This was
lly subjected to race hatred. Repelled
ie capital, he later wrote: 'to me the
racial desecration (*Blutschande*)'.¹⁹
opied for more than fifty years, Kaiser
y in a changing world. His court at
önbrunn Palace, retained all the gilt
e, of past centuries. Power in the vast
retching from the Carpathians to the
ers, all from traditional noble families,
but beneath the façade, the edifice
ical pressures were undermining the
y its mounting internal contradictions.
tional arrangement of 1867, following
t the previous year, of near autonomy
garian half of the Dual Monarchy had
the empire. Slavs became increasingly
of the Magyars and, in the Austrian
aking minority – only around a third
Austrian Germans, enjoying dispropor-
tion, responded by ever shriller defence
isions made to national demands, as
897 which sought to grant the Czech
Bohemia and Moravia, massively

exacerbated the tensions.²¹ By the beginning of the new century, these
tensions were reflected in bitter forms of mass politics, superseding the
liberal factionalism of the bourgeois notables and threatening to tear apart
the fragile balance of the empire and the semblance of Imperial unity per-
sonalized in the Emperor and King. Any dignity of parliament (where Germans
after the introduction of universal male suffrage in 1907 were no longer the
strongest national group)²² had collapsed in the face of the vituperation and
threatening rhetoric of nationalist fanatics.²³ Sessions could be chaotic – a
heady mixture of nationalist and class politics frequently reducing them to
a shambolic farce. A bill in February 1909, again aiming to put the Czech
language on an equal footing to German in Bohemia, had, for instance, to
be abandoned and the parliamentary session suspended when a cacophony
of noise from rattles, bells, children's trumpets, horns, and banging desk-lids
rendered debate impossible, leading to fisticuffs amid chaotic scenes while
rival sets of deputies chimed in with competing anthems.²⁴ Laws could only
be passed by horse-trading between the numerous interests and factions rep-
resented. The unseemly spectacle of squabbling deputies trading multilingual
insults, and even swapping blows, was capable of alienating any observer.²⁵
It certainly filled the young pan-German supporter Adolf Hitler with the
lasting contempt and revulsion for parliamentarism that poured out when
he wrote of his Vienna experience more than a decade and a half later.²⁶

Most responsible for introducing the raucous aggression of nationalist
agitation into parliament was Georg Ritter von Schönerer. Born in Vienna
in 1842 to wealthy parents, Schönerer became a modernizing and benevolent
landlord in the Waldviertel, the poor region on the borders of Bohemia
where Hitler's own forebears had their smallholdings. He was deeply affected
by Austria's defeat at the hands of Prussia in 1866 at the battle of Königgrätz.
Shame at Austria's exclusion from the German Federation, adulation of
Bismarck, and, eventually, agitation aimed at the reuniting of Austria with
the German Reich followed. He had first come to prominence in the 1870s
as the voice of German small farmers and radicalized artisans, castigating
the rapaciousness of big business and liberal laissez-faire economics.²⁷ His
programme came to embrace an early brand of 'national socialism' – above
all else radical German nationalism (meaning the primacy and superiority
of all things German), social reform, anti-liberal popular democracy, and
racial antisemitism. 'The strongest and most thoroughly consistent anti-
Semite that Austria produced'²⁸ – before Hitler, that is – Schönerer's antisemi-
tism was the cement of his anti-liberal, anti-socialist, anti-Catholic, and
anti-Habsburg ideology. Hitler had imbibed the Schönerer creed in nationalist

X



opposition, its most radical voices demanding the extension of German power and greatness through expansion and conquest of inferior peoples.

The assertiveness of German nationalism at the turn of the century was in no small measure aggression born of fear – not just the traditional antagonism towards the French and the growing rivalry with Great Britain, but also the presumed threat seen in the Slavic east, and, internally, the perceived looming menace of Social Democracy, and culturally pessimistic worries about national degeneration and decline.

In a climate shaped by an often irrational fear of enemies, within and without, who allegedly threatened the future of the nation, it is not surprising that alongside extreme anti-Marxism, racial ideologies – not just antisemitism, but social Darwinism and eugenics – should increasingly gain currency. None was confined to Germany, of course. Social Darwinism was influential in Britain; the classic lands of racial antisemitism around the turn of the century were Austria-Hungary and France; the region of the most vicious physical persecution of Jews, Russia.¹⁶ But in the German context the racial ideas of the populist radical Right, taken over in good part by conservatives, acquired a level of backing that necessarily posed a substantial threat to individuals and minorities.¹⁷ The supremacy of the nation over the individual, the stress on order and authority, opposition to internationalism and equality, became increasingly pronounced features of German national feeling.¹⁸ With them grew demands for 'racial consciousness', and antagonism towards the tiny Jewish minority, overwhelmingly seeking assimilation, increased.¹⁹

Jews could be described, as they were in a widely-read text of the 1890s, as 'poison for us and will have to be treated as such', and, in increasingly common bacteriological language, as a 'pest and a cholera'.²⁰ Such extreme views were by no means representative. Most Jews in Imperial Germany could feel reasonably sanguine about the future, could regard antisemitism as a throwback to a more primitive era that was on the way out.²¹ But they underestimated both the pernicious ways in which modern racial antisemitism differed from archaic forms of persecution of Jews, however vicious, in its uncompromising emphasis upon biological distinctiveness, its links with assertive nationalism, and the ways it could be taken over and exploited in new types of political mass movements. And they were too ready to overlook the appeal of racist classics like Houston Stewart Chamberlain's *Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (*Foundations of the 19th Century*), a bestseller since its appearance in 1900, and Theodor Fritsch's popularizing 'catechism for antisemites', his *Handbuch der Judenfrage* (*Handbook of*

the Jewish Question), which we years of publication in 1887.²² too narrowly focused and were antisemitism had by then been ations, pressure-groups, stude intermingled with the rest of militaristic, radical nationalism

The eugenics movement, orig Scandinavia and America, but fomented the fears, bordering c from a declining birthrate amo proportion of 'inferiors' withi resentment at the cost of suppo 'worthless lives' of antisocials, the mentally sick whose alleged further stimulus to racial degen of sterilizing certain categories by one doctor in 1889 as 'a sacre in medical circles'.²³

Above all, national assertiv attained through conquest and that Germany was a great and needed and deserved an empire imperialist carve-up in Africa. T in the 1880s could by no means growing clamour on the Right left Germany a 'people witho commercial empire built into th different to the claims of Briti 'Weltpolitik' grew ideas of terri expense of Slav 'Untermensche of the most important nationali the ideology of the German C crucial to the dissemination o of all varieties, offered new f 1 extra-parliamentary opposition 1898 to push for the building members and associates by 190 pamphlets, even films – of such

the *Jewish Question*), which went through twenty-five editions within seven years of publication in 1887.²² While purely antisemitic parties proved too narrowly focused and were in decline in the late Imperial era, racial antisemitism had by then been increasingly taken over by parties, associations, pressure-groups, student unions and interest organizations, and intermingled with the rest of the package of anti-Marxist, imperialist, militaristic, radical nationalism.

The eugenics movement, originating in England and finding followers in Scandinavia and America, but gaining new levels of support in Germany, fomented the fears, bordering on paranoia, of racial degeneration resulting from a declining birthrate among the better social groups and a rise in the proportion of 'inferiors' within the population. There was also growing resentment at the cost of supporting those seen as a burden on society – the 'worthless lives' of antisocials, the handicapped, 'inferiors', and especially the mentally sick whose alleged uninhibited sexual drive was regarded as a further stimulus to racial degeneration. It was in this context that the idea of sterilizing certain categories of 'degenerates' – an idea already described by one doctor in 1889 as 'a sacred duty of the state' – found growing support in medical circles.²³ X

Above all, national assertiveness derived from the sense of greatness attained through conquest and based on cultural superiority – the feeling that Germany was a great and expanding power, and that a great power needed and deserved an empire. Germany had been late on the act in the imperialist carve-up in Africa. The bits and pieces of territory it had acquired in the 1880s could by no means match its pretensions, least of all satisfy the growing clamour on the Right that the rapid growth of population had left Germany a 'people without space'.²⁴ The demand for colonial and commercial empire built into the slogan of '*Weltpolitik*' was in essence little different to the claims of British and French imperialists. But alongside '*Weltpolitik*' grew ideas of territorial expansion into eastern Europe at the expense of Slav '*Untermenschen*' – ideas voiced ever more shrilly by some of the most important nationalist pressure-groups and increasingly entering the ideology of the German Conservative Party.²⁵ These pressure-groups, crucial to the dissemination of nationalist, imperialist, and racist ideas of all varieties, offered new possibilities of propaganda, agitation, and extra-parliamentary opposition. The largest, the Navy League, founded in 1898 to push for the building of a large battle fleet, had over a million members and associates by 1914.²⁶ The propaganda output – newspapers, pamphlets, even films – of such organizations was massive.²⁷ While the Navy

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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

to study the Talmud with the rabbi of Berlin. The soldier on guard, in going off duty, wrote in his log, "Today there passed through the Rosenthaler Gate six oxen, seven swine, and one Jew." ⁷⁹

That hunchbacked little boy would one day become so famous as a philosopher and humanist that he would be known as the "Jewish Socrates." His close friend Lessing would immortalize Moses Mendelssohn as the central figure of his play *Nathan der Weise*.

Jews continued to be persecuted in Germany—as in many other countries—for centuries. During the "war of liberation" against Napoleon, Prussian patriots talked of driving out Jews along with other foreign influences. The democratic revolution of 1848 saw a rise of popular anti-Semitism; a contemporary pamphlet from Baden, for example, called for the deposal of kings and the expulsion of Jews. "Not infrequently, the leveling of castles and the looting of Jewish homes took place together." ⁸⁰

Racial anti-Semitism of a kind clearly anticipatory of Nazism, however, began to develop in Germany only during the Second Reich. The high tide of nationalism that swept Germany after the founding of the empire encouraged an emphasis on German *Kultur* and a disposition to look upon Jews as "outsiders." Periods of extreme nationalism may produce anti-Semitism in any country—as in Spain during the 15th century and in France during the Dreyfus affair—but the connection was particularly strong in Germany where, since the days of the Romantics, nationalism had acquired a distinctly biological emphasis. Fascination with sexual relations and emphasis on "blood pollution" were particularly marked. A typical expression of the concern is found in the third of the new Ten Commandments as set forth by the influential anti-Semitic pamphleteer, Theodor Fritsch in his pamphlet *Anti-Semiten-Katechismus* of 1893: "Thou shalt keep thy blood pure. Consider it a crime to soil the noble Aryan breed of thy people by mingling it with the Jewish breed. . . ." ⁸¹

Anti-Semitism was initiated or sustained by other influential writers of the period. During the economic panic of 1873, a leading journalist, Wilhelm Marr, published a hysterical pamphlet entitled *Der Sieg des Judentums über das Germanentum* (The Victory of Judaism over Germanism). It went through 12 editions in six years. Marr's success encouraged him, in 1879, to establish the first organization in any country to bear the title "The Anti-Semitic League." He was the first to introduce the term "anti-Semitism" to the German people and to insist that the "Jewish problem" was not religious; it was racial. He demanded that "Germanism" gird its Aryan loins against the "world domination of international Jewry." The only way to halt the "Jewification of society" was by unbridled pogroms. ⁸²

The blind anarchist philosopher Eugen Dühring lent a type of intellectual respectability to the hatred of Jews. His influential book, which first appeared in 1880, bore a title that summarizes much of its

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and

contents: *Die Judenfrage als Fiktionen für Existenz und Kultur* (The Problem of Racial Character as a Fiction for the People). In the six Dühring confessed that he had to the Jews who had caused many's defeat. He now realize of the Hebrew can be called a And only a dictator could estab sary for the salvation of Germa

Paul de Lagarde also lent prejudice intellectually accepti provide slogans and ugly metaph of racists from Fritsch and Wi that Germany was becoming "cayed parasites," "diseased," an that "with trichinae and bacilli and bacilli subject to education thoroughly as possible." Hitler the midst of the mass exter brought out an anthology of and demands for wholesale mu the graphic title *Ich Mahne un*

Lagarde had presaged Hi remarkable foresight. Like so ma a *Drang nach Osten* and the cr particular program of coloniz that of many others who prece extermination of Polish Jews, st Germans to dominate in Centra men prophesied Hitler's work

Julius Langbehn's incred also served as a preview of i *Ahnenprobe* (proof of ancestry tion of citizenship; it was an ic demanded extermination of t must be treated as such. . . .) who will intervene actively . . . was listing the enemies of his R drels, Jews and whores, Jews an time, Langbehn had moved intc of anti-Semitism: the bacterio "cholera" that must be destroye

Germany's most popular i Gustav Freytag, also made an in his novel *Soll und Haben* (D it was to go through dozens of e

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Further floods of immigrants
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 y, another 850,000 in Ga-
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Jews in the German Reich,
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picture of the Russian Rev-
 elling the wires of the revo-
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for these theories: in Aus-
 October 1905 happened to
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 "Hail to the Russian Rev-
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ocial Democrats organized
 age, the Christian Socials
 the city hall's Volkshalle,

whose tenor was: "Down with Jewish terrorism!" The *Deutsches Volksblatt*
 wrote: "Who leads Social Democracy? The Jews Adler and Ellenbogen!
 Who assists them in public? The entire Jewish press! And who provides
 the money for it? Jewish high finance!—Just as the Jews are the incen-
 diarys and agitators in Russia, so they are here at home."⁵⁶

Before a gathering of constituents, Lueger alluded to the latest Jewish
 pogroms in southern Russia, which cost several thousands of lives, shout-
 ing, "I am warning especially the Jews in Vienna not to go as far as their
 Russian brethren in faith and not to get too involved with the Social
 Democratic revolutionaries. I am warning them most emphatically; what
 happened in Russia, might happen here. We in Vienna are anti-Semites,
 but we certainly weren't made to commit murder and manslaughter. Yet
 should the Jews threaten our fatherland, we will know no mercy either.
 I do want to put out a warning of these sad consequences." At this point
 "demonstrative applause" broke out "which lasted for minutes."⁵⁷

This speech greatly upset the liberals, who responded with a parlia-
 mentary interpellation against Lueger's "inflammatory and incendiary po-
 litical speech," which contained "direct, open, and brutal calls to exces-
 ses, violence, pillaging, theft, and murder against citizens who have equal
 protection under the federal constitution." This speech was all the more
 dangerous as it originated from the "chief of such a large city," who should
 really tend to peace among the populace rather than incite the citizens
 against one another.⁵⁸

Lueger reinforced his opinion during the debate on the interpellation:
 "When I look at the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, anybody
 who can distinguish different races must admit that the leaders of Social
 Democracy are exclusively Jews. (Cheers and applause.) It may be that
 here and there one of them is baptized, but surely there are bona fide Jews
 among them too, and the one who is supposedly baptized, Dr. Adler, is
 recognizable." Lueger then went on to portray himself as a peaceful man,
 saying he even had "very often protected the Jews against my party's will":
 "I can only say, you rarely have a party where the most mellow one is the
 leader."⁵⁹ In March 1906 the Christian Socials submitted another peti-
 tion for restricting the immigration of Russian Jews in order "to protect
 the native, Christian resident population from such an invasion."⁶⁰

When Hitler arrived in Vienna in 1907, the topic of the Russian
 Jews was as hot as before, particularly after the publication of a fiercely
 anti-Semitic book that the Christian Socials promoted vigorously: *The
 Revolution in Russia* by Rudolf Vrba. It argued that the pogroms and mass-
 cres of Russian Jews were nothing but part of a Christian battle of defense
 against the Jewish threat: "The Russian with a strong national sense de-

*other thought a well including the possibly advantage
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* In Vienna before D.T.'s reluctance
 A. H. goes back and forth in his lean
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