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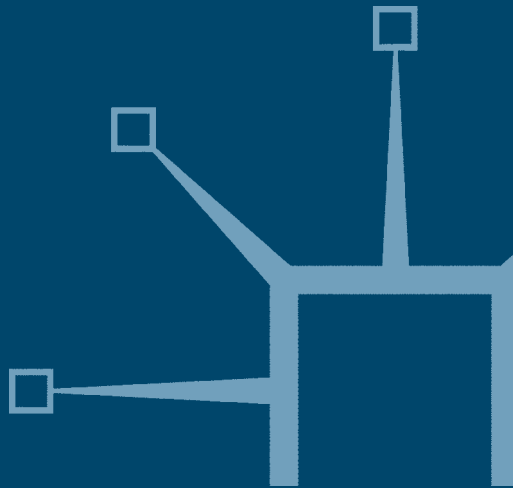
# HITLER

A Chronology of his Life and Time

Second Revised Edition

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Milan Hauner



# HITLER

## A Chronology of his Life and Time

*This wicked man, the repository and embodiment  
of many forms of soul-destroying hatred, this  
monstrous product of former wrongs and shame ...*  
(Churchill on Hitler)

*I follow my course with the precision  
and certainty of a sleepwalker*  
(Hitler to his secretary Traudel Junge)

*Also by Milan Hauner*

INDIA IN AXIS STRATEGY

WHAT IS ASIA TO US?

E. BENES: FALL AND RISE OF A NATION (CZECHOSLOVAKIA 1938–41)

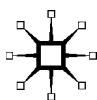
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# **HITLER**

**A Chronology of his Life and Time**  
**Second Revised Edition**

MILAN HAUNER

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# Preface and Acknowledgements

*'We are not finished with Hitler yet'*<sup>1</sup>

Thousands of books have been written about Adolf Hitler, and yet more will be written. But despite the steady output of books, films and videos, a brief guide to Hitler's life, based on solid printed sources and first-hand accounts of reliable witnesses, has not been available for a long while. This volume is a revised second edition of *Hitler – A Chronology of his Life and Time*, which should provide a comprehensive guide to Hitler's life and to serve the needs of both amateur and professional students of history. The first edition (1983) has been out of print for some time; but the dual anniversary in 2005 of both the end of the Second World War and Hitler's death has prompted me to revise the volume. I am, therefore, indeed thankful to Palgrave Macmillan for their support in producing this second, revised edition.

Whatever view we may hold on the role of personality in history, Hitler remains a great challenge. In the opinion of John Lukacs, Hitler was 'the most extraordinary figure in the history of the 20th century'.<sup>2</sup> Why? Because of the unique manifold function he occupied and fulfilled as an ideologue, the *Führer*, the political and military leader in one person, to the ultimate detriment of his country and people.

How can we explain the extraordinary success of this genuine 'nobody' (as the famous Viennese writer Karl Kraus once commented about Hitler: *Mir fällt zu Hitler nichts ein* as to Hitler, nothing comes to mind ...)? Hitler was no external tyrant imposed on Germany. His political party turned out to be the strongest in the elections, he was legally appointed to the post of the Reich Chancellor, and between 1933 and 1940 became the arguably most popular head of state in the world.<sup>3</sup> And as John Lukacs again reminds us, Hitler

'may have been the most popular revolutionary leader in the history of the modern world ... because Hitler belongs to the

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1. Schreiber (1984), p. 335.

2. Lukacs (1998), pp. xi, 262–8.

3. Kershaw (1998), p. xxix.

democratic, not the aristocratic age of history. He is not properly comparable to a Caesar, a Cromwell, and a Napoleon. Utterly different from them, he was, more than any of them, able to energize the majority of a great people, in his lifetime the most educated people of the world, convincing them to follow his leadership to astonishing achievements and extraordinary efforts and making them to believe that what they (and he) stood for was an antithesis of evil. He led them to prosperity and pride, inspiring in them a confidence with which they conquered almost all of Europe, achieving a German hegemony soon lost because he overreached himself. His *Reich*, which was to have lasted a thousand years, ended after twelve; yet he had an enormous impact and left a more indelible mark upon this century than any other dictator, a Lenin or a Stalin or a Mao.<sup>4</sup>

That is why his place in the history of the world will be pondered by people for a long time to come. And that is also why this chronological guide might confirm its usefulness.

This chronology and reference guide traces the career of an obscure Viennese bohemian, who had a talent for drawing and dreamt of becoming an architect. He loved music but never learnt to play an instrument; and he experienced enormous difficulties in striking up and maintaining intimate friendships. In spite of his notorious evasion of military service before the outbreak of the Great War (1914–18), he nevertheless was to enlist as a German volunteer, become a brave soldier and fight to the bitter end. The end of the war found him lying in a hospital, temporarily blinded. This personal traumatic episode merged with Germany's surrender and the outbreak of revolution, and compounded to create probably the most important turning point in Hitler's life. Hitler himself wrote in *Mein Kampf* that his miraculous recovery from blindness was a sign of Providence and turned him into a politician. This must be read as an exaggerated self-stylization. In fact, he still had a long way to go. But even in retrospect this must have been the watershed. Diagnosed as a 'hysterical psychopath', Hitler was allegedly cured and his personality changed by a combination of shock therapy and hypnosis by Dr Edmund Forster, the chief psychiatrist at the military hospital in Pasewalk. This moment has been seized repeatedly by psycho-historians such as Rudolph Binion, who also emphasized the shattering impact that the death of Hitler's mother Klara had

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4. Lukacs (1998), p. 50.



had on the eighteen-year-old Adolf. A convincing explanation of Hitler's personality has yet to be written. My task, however, has been not to interpret, but simply to provide guidance from the cradle to the deathbed, and to underline perhaps some of the important benchmarks.

Even the most restrained among Hitler's biographers are compelled to admit that, in November 1918, a turning point occurred in Hitler's life and that thereafter a different Hitler was to enter history. Thus, at the age of thirty, a previously shy Hitler, having been refused military promotion because of a complete lack of authority and incapacity to command, discovers gradually that he had an unknown gift of vulgar rhetoric that could keep large audiences in thrall to his hypnotizing words and gestures on a variety of emotional topics ranging from the lost war to anti-Semitism. In 1923 he felt confident enough to lead the renamed National Socialist German Workers' Party in an abortive *coup* that ended in trial and imprisonment. Released from prison within a year, Hitler's political ambitions appeared to be tempered, but step by step, he was able to build up his repertoire of speech topics, which gradually encompassed both the real and imaginary anxieties of his co-citizens: from systematic attacks against the Versailles Treaty, foreign occupation, economic inflation, to Germany's national revival. Hitler saw the latter not only as a political and economic turnaround, but also conceived it as an act of health improvement and of racial purification by getting rid of the Jews, whom he saw as being the bearers of the main bacillus of social decadence and physical degradation in the life of the German nation. At this stage Hitler thought of himself as a 'drummer' of collective anxieties and expectations, which he could raise through his inexhaustible oratory, as he was said to possess a 'fantastic talent to represent the feelings of others'.<sup>5</sup>

The Hitler chronology displays documentary evidence that virtually all his views on solving the problems of German society, his racial views and his foreign policy projections originated in the verbal utterances made during his political campaigns in the 1920s. Most of them have been preserved in print in the main Nazi press organ, the *Völkische(r) Beobachter*. Hitler consolidated his party and during the late 1920s rose to become the *Führer*, the charismatic political leader and very effective mass demagogue who then suc-

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5. Miller (1980), p. 207.

ceeded, still lacking German citizenship, in bringing his political party to electoral victory.

Soon after reaching the age of forty he launched, at the helm of the most populous and industrialized country in central Europe, a programme of profound legal and social changes inside Germany. Fighting at the same time to overcome the trauma and humiliation of the lost war, Hitler succeeded in imposing a brutal concept of biological regeneration, the major component – but not the only – being anti-Semitism, through which he created the image of a combined mortal enemy, Judeo-Bolshevik subhumans threatening from the East to destroy Western civilization. Installed in power as the *Führer* and Reich Chancellor of Germany, he soon added the title of the supreme war lord, to whom millions of Germans swore their absolute obedience, and was ready to guide them, like sleepwalkers, to the fulfilment of the prophecy he had formulated both in *Mein Kampf* and in his early speeches: ‘Germany will either be a world power, or there will be no Germany!’ One triumphant *Blitzkrieg* campaign followed another, hiding the ultimate aim of Hitler’s war, which was to produce a radical racial revolution among the human species, and a social and political reconstruction of Europe based on the superiority of the Nordic race. Hitler and his ‘willing executioners’ almost succeeded in exterminating the entire Jewish population of Europe in their attempts to achieve this aim. Thus concern for race, to keep the Nordic-German race preserved from contamination by Jewish blood and venereal diseases such as syphilis, seems to have been Hitler’s dominant mental preoccupation. With his project of creating a New Order based on the World Domination (*Weltherrschaft*) of the Nordic-Germanic race over the rest of the world, Hitler rose in no time to become the most sinister conqueror of the century. Was he also the leading mass murderer as well? This title, surely, must belong to Stalin as far as sheer numbers go. But Hitler still retains the dubious supremacy as the most efficient destroyer in direct executions.

When he realized in 1943 that Germany could not possibly win the war, Hitler translated this with his perverse racial attitude into the German people proving themselves too weak and unworthy of his genius. ‘The stronger Eastern people should inherit the future’, recorded Percy E. Schramm, a history professor from Göttingen, who served as War Diarist at the German Army High Command HQ.<sup>6</sup> Still, the final verdict on Hitler continues to escape us.

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6. Schramm (1971), p. 30.

Churchill's verdict of 1939 on the Sphinx-like Stalin being a 'riddle, wrapped up in mystery inside an enigma', would fit Hitler's character better than any other of his contemporaries. As Schramm's fine sense of observation recorded: 'Alternately driven by reason, by temperament, or by dark instincts, Hitler was more enigmatic than anyone in German history had ever been before him.'<sup>7</sup>

I have introduced this preface with a quote from a book by a German historian of the younger generation, Gerhard Schreiber: 'We are not finished with Hitler yet.' I wish I could say that Gerhard Schreiber appears to be too gloomy and that, twenty years on, this is no longer true. Alas, Hitler has become so deeply amalgamated with the relatively short Nazi era (of less than thirteen years) that not only the German history of this period, but the entire history of Europe, might remain identified with Hitler. Every historical dispute in Germany since 1945 has been played out, implicitly if not always explicitly, in Hitler's shadow: the notorious waves of the *Historikerstreit*,<sup>8</sup> the debate over the impertinently provocative book by Daniel Goldhagen,<sup>9</sup> the impact of movies such as *Holocaust* (1977) and the *Untergang* (2004), including the greatest postwar literary scandal involving the selling of forged Hitler Diaries in 1983, which constitutes perhaps the biggest fraud in publishing history,<sup>10</sup> and, last but not least, David Irving's 'Holocaust Denial Trial' of 2000.<sup>11</sup> And that will almost certainly not be the last time we hear of Hitler and his sinister legacy.

The scope of this study was originally limited to a strict itinerary of Hitler's movements and a chronological guide to his important utterances on a variety of subjects. Indeed, the sole purpose of a chronology should be just to give the co-ordinates over time and space. However, I have tried – within the space allowed – to do slightly more in using quotes from primary sources. I have done this with an emphasis on three major themes that I believe were decisive in Hitler's life and time: race; *Lebensraum*; and world domination.

A few comments on my old and new sources, as well as on warning about known forgeries, will be found in the Bibliographical notes on page 211.

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7. Ibid.

8. See the excellent analytical description in Evans (1989).

9. Goldhagen (1996).

10. See the fascinating account by Harris (1986).

11. See the summary in Evans (2002).

I would like to express my appreciation to a number of people who have helped me with their advice and suggestions for both the first and second editions of *Hitler*.

In England, my colleagues from the German Historical Institute, London, the late Wolfgang J. Mommsen, Lothar Kettenacker and Gerhard Hirschfeld; and with regard to the revised edition, Professor Sir Ian Kershaw of the University of Sheffield. In Germany, the late Professor Andreas Hillgruber of Cologne University, Professor Klaus Hildebrand of Bonn University, Professor Hans Mommsen of the University of Bochum, Professor Eberhard Jäckel of the University of Stuttgart, whose monumental achievement, *Hitler: Sämtliche Aufzeichnungen 1905–1924*, inspired the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich to produce the series of fourteen volumes of *Hitler: Reden, Schriften, Anordnungen*. Without these works, the second revised edition of *Hitler* would have not been possible. These colleagues all participated in the memorable Cumberland Lodge Conference in Windsor Great Park in May 1979, convoked by the Mommsen brothers, where the late Dr Tim Mason named the two camps of the Hitler era historians as ‘intentionalists’ and ‘structuralists’.

I am very grateful to Dr Klaus Lankheit, deputy archivist of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich, for his untiring assistance in answering my questions; and to the Institute’s director, Professor Horst Möller and his deputy, Professor Udo Wengst, who both helped to facilitate my recent visit to the Institute.

In the United States, I would like to thank, for assistance and advice, Professors Henry A. Turner and Paul Kennedy of Yale University, and the late Professor Gerald D. Feldman of the University of California at Berkeley. And from the University of Madison, I am grateful for the help provided by the staff of its Memorial Library with its excellent collection of German books concerning the Nazi period. Thanks also to my colleagues from the history department – the late Professor George L. Mosse, Professor Stanley G. Payne; and Professor Jost Hermand from the German department, who were constant and reliable authorities always readily available to answer my queries. However, the responsibility for any errors – and there must be a few in a book with at least 4,000 entries, in spite of several revisions and amendments – remains entirely mine.

Above all, my gratitude to the members of my family for their forbearance and patience, without which this book would have not been completed.

MILAN HAUNER

# Glossary of German Terms and Abbreviations Used in the Text

Autobahn	Inter-city motorway
Abwehr	German military intelligence
Anschluss	Annexation
BVP	<i>Bayerische Volkspartei</i> (Bavarian People's Party)
C-in-C	Commander-in-Chief
DNP	<i>Deutsche Nationale Partei</i> (German National Party)
DNVP	<i>Deutsche Nationale Volkspartei</i> (German National People's Party)
DVP	<i>Deutsche Volkspartei</i> (German People's Party)
Führer	Leader, Chief
Gau	NSDAP territorial unit (province)
Gauleiter	Leader of the Gau
Gestapo	<i>Geheime Staatspolizei</i> (Secret State Police)
(Ober) Gruppenführer	Senior rank (General) in Nazi organizations (NSKK, SA, SS, etc.)
HJ	<i>Hitler-Jugend</i> (Hitler Youth)
KdF	<i>Kraft durch Freude</i> (Strength through Joy) – Nazi social and recreational activities
KPD	<i>Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands</i> (Communist Party of Germany)
Kriegsmarine	German Navy
Landtag	Provincial Parliament in a German state
Lebensraum	Living space
Luftwaffe	Air Force
NSDAP	<i>Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei</i> (National Socialist German Workers' Party)
OKH	<i>Oberkommando des Heeres</i> (Army High Command)
OKW	<i>Oberkommando der Wehrmacht</i> (Armed Forces High Command)
OT	Organisation Todt

Reichsbahn	German state railways
Reichsbank	National Bank of Germany
Reichsführer	Title usually associated with Himmler as the head of the SS
Reichsleiter	Top officials of the NSDAP
Reichsparteitag	National Party Rally
Reichstag	(Imperial) National Parliament
Reichswehr	German armed forces until 1935
SA	<i>Sturmabteilung</i> (Stormtroopers – Nazi mass militia)
SPD	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> (German Social Democratic Party)
SS	<i>Schutzstaffel</i> – Nazi elite body guard
Völkisch	National and Germanic
VB ( <i>Völkischer Beobachter</i> )	Chief daily newspaper of NSDAP
Waffen SS	Military formations of the SS
Wehrmacht	German armed forces during the Nazi era
Weltanschauung	World view or concept
Westwall	West Wall (fortification complex)

# Bibliographical Abbreviations Used in References

<b>ADAP</b>	<i>Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918–1945</i> (Göttingen, 1965–78)
<b>ARK</b>	<i>Akten der Reichskanzlei, Regierung Hitler, 1933–1936</i> , 5 vols (Minich, 1999–2002)
<b>DBFP</b>	<i>Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919–1939</i> (London, 1946–)
<b>DGFP</b>	<i>Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918–1945</i> (London, 1961–4) [identical to ADAP]
<b>FCNA</b>	<i>Fuehrer Conferences on Naval Affairs 1939–1945</i> (Admiralty, Whitehall, 1947)
<b>IMT</b>	<i>International Military Tribunal. The Trial of the Major War Criminals before the I.M.T.</i> (Nuremberg, 1947–49)
<b>MK</b>	Adolf Hitler, <i>Mein Kampf</i> , English edn translated by Ralph Manheim (London, 1969)
<b>ND</b>	Nuremberg documents
<b>KTb OKW</b>	<i>Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht</i> (Wehrmachtführungsstab) ed. Percy E. Schramm <i>et al.</i> , 4 vols (Frankfurt am Main, 1961–5)
<b>RSA</b>	<i>Hitler: Reden–Schriften–Anordnungen Februar 1925 bis Januar 1933</i> . 5 parts in 10 vols, ed. Institute for Contemporary History in Munich (Munich, 1992–2003)
<b>TBJG</b>	<i>Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels. Sämtliche Fragmente</i> , Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, ed. Elke Fröhlich, 20 vols (Munich, 1993–)
<b>TT</b>	<i>Hitler's Table Talk 1941–1944</i> (Bormann-Heim Notes), intro. by Hugh R. Trevor-Roper (London, 1973)
<b>VB</b>	<i>Völkischer Beobachter</i> , chief daily newspaper of Hitler's NSDAP, published in Munich and later in Berlin

## 1889

**20 April:** Adolf Hitler is born at 6:30 p.m. in the inn named 'Gasthof zum Pommer' in Braunau, on the Austro-Bavarian border. He was the fourth, and first surviving, child of Alois Hitler (1837–1903), a customs official, and Klara, née Pölzl (1860–1908), his third wife. Out of her six children, only Adolf and Paula (1896–1960) would reach maturity. Adolf had a half-brother, Alois (1882–1956), and a half-sister, Angela (1883–1949), by his father's second marriage to Franziska Matzelsberger (1861–84); and an illegitimate half-brother from an earlier liaison of his father. Until the age of 39 his father, Alois Sr., used his mother's maiden name, Schicklgruber. In 1876 Alois adopted the name of Hitler as a free transliteration of 'Hüttler' or 'Hiedler', in accordance with the last will of his putative uncle, Johann Nepomuk Hüttler, who had left him inheritance on condition that Alois changed his name. Allegations that Alois might have been an illegitimate son of a Jew called Frankenberger living in Graz (Jetzinger, pp. 19–30) proved to be unsubstantiated. It is probable Alois's real father was 'his uncle' Johann Nepomuk, who was a well-to-do farmer from Spital in the Waldviertel region close to the Bohemian border, whose brother, Johann Georg, later married Alois's mother, Maria Anna Schicklgruber (1795–1847). Alois's third wife, Klara Pölzl, was Johann's grand daughter. Johann himself appeared to be at the same time Adolf Hitler's paternal grandfather and maternal great-grandfather. His mother, Klara, was thus related to his father Alois twice over, both as his niece and as the daughter of his half-sister, Johanna Pölzl, née Hüttler (1830–1906) (Maser, Hitler, pp. 9–21).

**22 April:** Adolf Hitler is baptised.

## 1892

**August:** Alois Hitler is promoted to a senior rank (*Zollamtberoffizial*) and the family moves from Braunau to Passau.

## 1894

**24 March:** Adolf's brother Edmund is born.

**End March:** Alois Hitler assumes a new post in Linz while the family stays behind in Passau.

## 1895

**April:** The Hitlers move to Hafeld near Lambach on the River Traun, where Alois buys a nine-acre homestead.



**1 May:** Adolf enters a one-class school at Fischlham near Lambach. He is considered an excellent pupil, always receiving top marks.

**25 June:** Alois Hitler retires from the customs after 40 years of service for unstated health reasons.

## 1896

**21 January:** Adolf's sister, Paula, is born. Of the six children of Alois and Klara, only she and Adolf survive childhood: Gustav (1885–7), Ida (1886–8), Otto (1887 – died shortly after birth), Adolf (1889–1945), Edmund (1894–1900), Paula (1896–1960). Adolf's older half-brother, Alois Jr., had left the household, but his half-sister Angela stayed until her marriage in 1903.

Adolf enters the second form of the Benedictine school at the Lampach Monastery. He is among the top pupils and becomes the chorister. One day he allegedly carved on the pew a stylized swastika, which he had presumably seen on the pulpit as part of the coat of arms belonging to one of the abbots, Theodorich von Hagen (Maser, *Frühgeschichte*, p. 53).

## 1897

**July:** Alois sells the house in Hafeld and moves with the family to Lambach.

## 1898

**November:** Alois acquires a new house in Leonding near Linz.

## 1899

**February:** The Hitler family moves to the new home in Leonding. Adolf completes fourth and fifth forms at the local school.

## 1900

**2 February:** Adolf's brother Edmund dies of measles at the age of six.

**September:** Adolf enters the first form of the secondary school (*Realschule*) in the Steingasse, Linz. His school reports are extremely unbalanced. He does well in geography, history and drawing, but fails in mathematics, German and French. Because of his failures he has to repeat the first form. (More than twenty years

later, Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf* that he had deliberately done badly at school in opposition to his tyrannical father who wanted his son to become a civil servant like himself, whereas Adolf wished to become an artist: 'I thought that once my father saw how little progress I was making at the *Realschule*, he would let me devote myself to my dream, whether he liked it or not ... I learned whatever gave me pleasure, especially everything which, in my opinion, I should later need as a painter. What seemed to me unimportant in this respect or was otherwise unattractive to me, I sabotaged completely' (*MK*, pp. 6–9).

## 1903

**3 January:** Alois Hitler dies suddenly at the age of 65. The cause of death is diagnosed as pulmonary haemorrhage. The funeral will take place two days later in Leonding. In the last years of his life Alois was most probably a clinical alcoholic who tyrannized his family (Redlich, p. 8). In spite of his rebellious disposition, Adolf feared and respected his father. August Kubizek, Adolf's best friend, recorded that he had never heard him say anything against his father (Kubizek, p. 31).

**Spring:** While at school in Linz Hitler lives in a dormitory for schoolboys, but he spends the weekends with his mother in Leonding.

**Summer:** Klara and the children spend the summer vacation in Spital.

**14 September:** Adolf's half-sister Angela marries a tax official, Leo Raubal. Hitler regards him as the personification of the hated civil servant.

## 1904

**22 May:** Hitler's Catholic confirmation takes place in Linz.

**August:** Hitler retakes his French examination in order to enter the fourth form. (His German and French teacher, Eduard Huemer, characterized him some 20 years later: 'Distinctly talented, though rather one-sided, lacking self-discipline and being regarded at least as intransigent, obstinate, high-handed, and hot-tempered. It was certainly difficult for him to fit in at school. Neither did he work hard, for otherwise he could hardly have failed to achieve better results with his indisputable gifts' (Maser, *Hitler*, p. 33; *Table Talk*, 8–9/1/42).

**5 September:** Hitler enters the fourth form of a senior secondary school (*Staatsoberrealschule*) in Steyr; he also takes up lodgings there at 19 Grünmarkt. Hitler's transfer to another school in the nearby town of Steyr had presumably taken place on disciplinary grounds.

## 1905

**January:** In the company of his sole intimate friend, August Kubizek, Hitler watches Richard Wagner's opera *Cola die Rienzi* at the Linz Municipal Theatre. The opera centres on the heroic attempt of the people's tribune in medieval Rome to free the poor from the oppression of the nobility. It is said to have a terrifying

impact upon Hitler, who left the theatre in a state of trance and dragged his friend to the Freinberg, a hill overlooking Linz: 'Like flood waters breaking their dykes, his words burst forth from him. He conjured up in grandiose, inspiring pictures his own future and that of his people' (Kubizek, pp. 64–6; Eitner, p. 33).

**11 February:** Hitler received his school report for the first semester. In German, French, mathematics and shorthand, he failed completely; and apart from free-hand drawing ('commendable') and gymnastics ('excellent'), the remaining subjects were not above 'fair' or 'satisfactory'. During his first six months at the school in Steyr he was 'absent without reason' for 30 days in all.

Hitler later recalled the comic episode regarding his school report which he had lost after getting drunk during the end-of-term party. The next day he had to ask the school director for a duplicate: 'The director began by keeping me waiting for quite a long time. My certificate had been brought back to school, but torn into four pieces and in a somewhat inglorious condition. It appeared that, in the absent-mindedness of intoxication, I had confused the precious parchment with toilet paper. I was overwhelmed. I cannot tell you what the director said to me, I am still humiliated, even from here. I made a promise to myself that I would never get drunk again, and I've kept my promise' (*Table Talk*, 3/3/42).

**30 April:** Hitler writes a poem in the guest book of a country inn (*Schoibers Gasthaus*) at Damberg near Steyr. It is a joyful and lighthearted composition, written in a gross but not vulgar language, reflecting humorously upon people's gluttony and the inevitable beatings accompanying it (Jäckel, p. 43).

**21 June:** Klara Hitler sells the family house in Leonding for 10,000 Kronen and moves with her children to Linz where they occupy a small flat at 31 Humboldtstrasse.

**Summer:** Klara and children spend the summer in Spital. Hitler suffers from a respiratory ailment.

**16 September:** After taking a make-up examination Hitler receives his final school report which shows the following results: moral behaviour, 'satisfactory'; diligence, 'adequate'; religion, 'fair'; chemistry and physics, 'fair'; geometrical drawings and descriptive geometry, 'fair'; freehand drawing, 'excellent'; gymnastics, 'excellent'; singing, 'satisfactory'. Although Adolf promised his mother he would continue his studies in order to pass the secondary school diploma (*Matura*), he has no desire to do so: at the age of 16 his schooling is finished. He also becomes seriously ill, but recovers when his mother takes him to relatives in Spital.

Hitler himself later summed up the effects of school education upon his political career: (a) 'I became a nationalist', with a clearly discernible racist (*völkisch*) undertone, in order to preserve the German stock in Austria (*Ostmark*) 'against incursions from the East' for a later union with Greater Germany; (b) 'I learned to understand and grasp the meaning of history ... to retain the essential and to forget the non-essential'. Hitler paid tribute to his history teacher in Linz, Dr Leopold Pötsch, who, Hitler claimed, perhaps affected his whole later life, since Pötsch knew 'how to illuminate the past by examples for the present, and how from the past to draw inferences for the present. As a result he had more understanding than anybody else for all the daily problems which then held us breathless. He used our budding nationalistic fanaticism as a means of educating us, frequently appealing to our sense of national honour' (*MK*, 10–15).

## 1906

**21 February:** The Linz Municipality Office issued an identity document (*Heimatschein* Nr. 2234) for Hitler (Joachimsthaler, *Korrektur*, p. 23).

**Spring:** Hitler falls in love with a seventeen-year-old girl, Stefanie, a daughter of an army officer. According to Kubizek, it was 'the most fertile and purest dream of his life' (Kubizek, pp. 38–9). Hitler wrote countless poems for her, and yet never dared to approach her. His platonic devotion to her was to last four years. During her life, Stefanie's name (Jansten) was not revealed. She herself admitted some fifty years later that she had once received a letter from an unknown admirer who fitted Hitler's description (Jetzinger, pp. 105–8).

**7 May to 6 June:** At the age of 17 Hitler visits Vienna for the first time. He spends 5 weeks in the imperial capital sightseeing, visiting museums and going to Wagner operas, as he wrote to Kubizek on postcards that survived (Kubizek, pp. 67–70, Jäckel, p. 44–5).

**Summer and Autumn:** Except for the customary vacation in Spital, Hitler stays for the most part in Linz, preparing himself to become an artist. He reads avidly, both serious subjects like German history, arts and military matters, and devours dozens of Karl May's immensely popular books. He carries books in heavy bags to and from the public library and reads them without much systematic choice. He draws and paints, writes poetry, makes drafts of buildings and bridges, and discusses grandiose urban projects with Kubizek.

**October–January:** Hitler takes piano lessons and attempts to write music. He regularly attends the theatre and sees the complete set of Wagner operas.

## 1907

**18 January:** Klara Hitler, following the advice of Dr Eduard Bloch, the family physician and respected Jewish general practitioner, undergoes an operation for breast cancer. One breast is removed but she survives the operation and is released from the hospital after 19 days.

**May or June:** The Hitler family moves from Humboldtstrasse to another apartment at 9 Blütengasse in Urfahr, a suburb of Linz across the Danube.

**Early Summer:** This is a critical period in Hitler's life since he has no fixed career and refuses to learn a trade or finish school. His behaviour oscillates between dangerous fits of depression and brief moments of ecstatic activities. Often he wanders alone aimlessly for days and nights in the fields and woods surrounding Linz. His mother allows him to withdraw his patrimony from the bank, approximately 650 Kronen and go to Vienna to prepare himself for the entrance examination at the Academy of Fine Arts.

**4 August:** Hitler is preparing himself for the entrance examinations at the Academy of Fine Arts.

**1–2 October:** Hitler takes the entrance examinations for the General School of Painting at the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts in Schillerplatz. Though 113 candidates are present, Hitler appears very self-confident. After the first round, 33 fail but Hitler gets through. On the following day, however, he fails during the drawing test. He is told that his abilities lie more in architecture rather than drawing since he could not produce 'enough heads'. Hitler was unquestionably talented. He is much depressed by his failure: 'for the first time in my life [I felt] at odds with myself. For what I had just heard about my abilities seemed like a lightning flash, suddenly revealing a conflict with which I had long been afflicted ... In a few days I myself knew that I should some day become an architect' (MK, p. 19). Accordingly, Hitler applies for admission at the School of Architecture but is told that he cannot be admitted on the grounds of his incomplete secondary school education.

**22 October:** Hitler returns to Urfahr to consult Dr Bloch about his mother's health.

**October–December:** Hitler takes charge of the household, supervises his sister's school work, does the cleaning and cooking himself; he becomes the effective head of the family while looking after his dying mother.

Dr Bloch wrote about Hitler some 30 years later: 'His attachment to his mother was deep and loving. He would watch her every movement so that he might anticipate her slightest need. His eyes, which usually gazed mournfully into the distance, would light up whenever she was relieved of her pain' (Maser, *Hitler*, p. 41). According to Kubizek: 'Adolf really loved his mother ... I remember many occasions when he showed this love for his mother, most deeply and movingly during her illness; he never spoke of his mother but with deep affection ... When we lived together in Vienna he always carried his mother's portrait with him' (Kubizek, p. 30). **21 December [1907]:** Hitler's mother Klara dies. Dr. Bloch later recalled: 'In all my 40 years of practice I had never seen a young man so broken by grief and bowed down by suffering as young Adolf Hitler was that day.' (Maser, p. 41)

**23 December:** Funeral of Klara Hitler at the Leonding cemetery.

**24 December:** Adolf with his two sisters, Angela and Paula, make a formal visit on Christmas Eve to Dr Bloch to settle the medical bill for their mother's treatment. 'I shall be grateful to you forever,' Hitler is alleged to have told him (Toland, p. 37).

## 1908

**10 February:** Hitler writes to the Linz Revenue Office asking for the orphans' allowance due to him and his sister Paula. He makes Paula – deliberately or mistakenly – two years younger than she really is (Maser, *Letters*, p. 27).

**14 or 17 February:** Before even settling the problems of his patrimony, Hitler returns to Vienna for the third time. This time he stays on. His own description in *Mein Kampf* of his poverty-stricken existence in Vienna is intentionally exaggerated (MK, pp. 17, 20). After his mother's death, Hitler was entitled to a monthly income of 58 Kronen from his patrimony, plus 25 Kronen orphan money. His rented accommodation at 29 Stumpergasse cost him a mere 10 Kronen per month. Thus Hitler's income at the age of 19 was higher than that of a first-year lawyer, a teacher during his first five years of employment, or a junior bank and post clerk.

**18 and 19 February:** Twice Hitler writes to Kubizek urging him to come to Vienna: 'The whole of Vienna is awaiting you ...' (Kubizek, p. 99).

**22 February:** Hitler's friend August Kubizek comes to Vienna for his music studies.

**February–September:** Hitler and Kubizek share a room in Stumpergasse. Hitler pretends to his closest friend and to his family that he is attending classes at the Academy of Fine Arts; Kubizek remains ignorant of the real state of Hitler's finances.

**Early Spring:** Hitler and Kubizek are feverishly working on a project of their own, a Wagnerian-style opera *Wieland the Smith*, which they hope will earn them fame (Kubizek, pp. 145–53). At weekends, Kubizek occasionally takes Hitler to the large house of the prosperous Jewish family Jahoda for musical entertainment (Hamann, pp. 503–7).

**19 April:** On Easter Sunday, one day before his 19th birthday, the lonely Hitler writes a humorous letter to Kubizek, who has gone home to Linz on Easter vacation (Jäckel, p. 47).

**July and August:** During the summer vacation, Hitler writes several times to Kubizek, who has again returned to Linz. He informs him that he has been working very hard 'sometimes till two or three in the morning' [postcard of 17 July], while enjoying his beloved Wagner [postcard of 19 August] and his architectural fantasies of how he would rebuild Linz (Kubizek, pp. 115–128, 192–200).

**Late August:** Hitler visits his two aunts in Spital.

**Mid-September:** Hitler tries once more for the Academy of Fine Arts, but his sample drawings are considered of such poor quality that he is not even admitted to the entrance examination. Not being able to prove his student status, Hitler risks losing his orphan pension.

**18 September:** Hitler moves from Stumpergasse to 22 Felbergasse without leaving a forwarding address. He has done so presumably for two reasons: for having failed the entrance exams once again, and because he might also have tried to dodge conscription.

**20 November:** After eight weeks of compulsory military training, Kubizek returns to Stumpergasse to be told that his best friend has left the flat leaving no trace.

## 1909

**January–August:** Little is known about Hitler's activities, but during this time he might have discovered the obscure magazine *Ostara*, published by one Jörg Lanz von Liebensfels (real name Joseph Lanz), who expounded a peculiar racist and erotic doctrine based on the idea of a struggle between blue-eyed, blond Aryans and sexually more potent, ape-like subhumans [Smith, p. 124 – equally unsubstantiated are rumours that Hitler, after leaving his friend Kubizek, was living with a girlfriend Emilie, as, much later, he repeatedly told his secretary, Mrs Schröder: *Er war mein Chef*, pp. 4, 152].

**22 August:** Hitler moves from Felbergasse to 58 Sechshauserstrasse.

**16 September:** Hitler moves to Simon-Denk-Gasse.

**August:** Hitler fails to register for military service as required by the Austrian Conscription Law.

Hitler would later speak of 'five years of hardship and misery ... in which I was forced to earn a living, first as a day labourer, then as a small painter ... which never sufficed to appease even my daily hunger' (MK, p. 20). While he does apparently experience some of the squalor he describes – as he must have spent his patrimony and his mother's inheritance in the course of 1908/9, relying on 25 Kronen a month of his orphan pension as his only regular income (which he is soon forced to give up for the sake of his younger sister Paula, when he could no longer prove that he was a student) – there is still no explicit evidence that he worked as a casual labourer as he despised manual labour. It seems, however, plausible that for several months he might have slept in the open during the summer as he was unable to pay the rent, visited soup kitchens, and so on.

**November:** Hitler moves for several weeks to the night asylum for homeless people in Meidling. Here he meets the unemployed graphic artist, Reinhold Hanisch, a German from Bohemia, who offers to sell Hitler's watercolours of Viennese buildings to tourists and to share the takings on a 50–50 basis.

## 1910

**8 February:** Hitler registers at the large and modern men's hostel at 27 Meldemannstrasse, where he is allowed to do his paintings in the common room during the daytime. He continues his business association with Hanisch, thereby earning occasional money for extra expenses. He also does technically demanding advertisement posters. He declares his profession as 'painter', and sometimes with greater self-confidence as 'writer'. Most of his new acquaintances are Jewish.

**10 March:** Hitler watches the grandiose funeral procession of Dr Karl Lueger, the popular lord mayor of Vienna and leader of the Christian Social Party.

**21 June:** Hitler leaves the men's hostel with a Jewish companion, a part-time art dealer called Josef Neumann. He rents a hotel room – an indication that he had been able to save some money.

**26 June:** Hitler is back at Meldemannstrasse and stays there until 25 May 1913.

**4 August:** Hitler reports Hanisch to the police for alleged dishonesty in withholding money, resulting in a seven-day prison term for the latter. The denunciation occurs indirectly through a Jewish inmate of Meldemanngasse, Siegfried Löffner, whom Hitler asked to write the testimony on his behalf.

**Late Summer:** Hitler is once more thinking of re-applying for admission to the Academy of Fine Arts. He seeks a recommendation from a professor at the Court Museum, but there is no record of his application to the Academy.

## 1911

From 1911 to 1913 Hitler continues to practise his trade as a watercolour painter. He usually sells his painting to Jewish dealers and frame makers (for example, Jakob Altenberg, Samuel Morgenstern, Josef Neumann and a certain Landsberger) for a few Kronen. His financial situation has stabilized and he can improve his appearance. He no longer looks like a vagabond. The rent at Meldemanngasse is only 3 Kronen a week and his other expenses are low. His only luxuries are opera and art galleries. He is probably able to earn up to 80 or 100 Kronen a month (Smith, pp. 141–4).

**29 March:** Hitler's aunt Johanna Pölzl dies in Spital. She is said [Jetzinger] to have left 3,800 Kronen to her relations, which other witnesses [Kubizek] deny. Hitler claims the major share, though it is not known exactly how much he received from the inheritance.

**4 May:** Through a court decision in Linz, instigated by his half-sister Angela Raubal, Hitler has to surrender his portion of the orphan pension for the benefit of his sister, Paula, who is still a minor, since enquiries revealed that he had already received considerable amounts of money for his alleged training as an artist from his aunt. Hitler surrenders reluctantly. Angela, in addition to providing for Paula, had to support three children of her own after the death of her husband a year earlier.

## 1912

**22 March:** According to an anonymous source (reported in Hamann, *Hitlers Wien*, pp. 544–8), Hitler attended a public lecture delivered by his idol Karl May, who had come to Vienna to pay tribute to Bertha v. Suttner, the pacifist and Nobel Peace Prize winner.

Although there are three unpublished accounts of Hitler's life in Vienna during this short period, the witnesses, Josef Greiner, Reinhold Hanisch and Karl Honisch, are notoriously unreliable. The claim made by Bridget Hitler, née Dowling, who married Adolf's half-brother Alois, that Adolf himself visited them in Liverpool between November 1912 and April 1913, is entirely fictitious (Hitler, 1979). Their son, William Patrick Hitler, will later try, without success, to blackmail his famous uncle (Toland, pp. 333–6).

For Hitler's political self-education, the Viennese years were absolutely crucial. Ten years later he was to devote two chapters to them in *Mein Kampf*, which together cover 120 pages. 'In this period,' he writes self-confidently, 'there took shape within me a world picture and a philosophy which became the granite foundation of all my acts. In addition to what I then created, I have had to learn little; and have had to alter nothing' (MK, p. 21).

It has been claimed that in three areas in particular Hitler's *Weltanschauung* appears to be formed around this time: his uncompromising anti-Semitism, hostility towards Marxism, and support for Pan-Germanism (Maser, *Frühgeschichte*, p. 82). Certainly, Hitler would claim later that already in Vienna he was able to unmask the Jews as the incarnation of all evil, conspiring to rule the world, responsible for the confusion of races, which he considered not as a symptom but as a cause of all social misery around him, and of his own failure to climb up the ladder of social advancement (MK, pp. 47–60, 113). It has been alleged – although no hard evidence is available – that in 1908 Hitler joined a certain *Antisemitenbund* (Kubizek, p. 187; but its existence is denied by Binion and others). However, as late as 1936, Reinhold Hanisch would still insist that Hitler had not been an anti-Semite in Vienna, and would give a long account of Hitler's cordial relations with Jews. That Hitler's radical conversion to rabid anti-Semitism took place after the shock of November 1918, but not prior to that, seems thus much more convincing. Most authoritative accounts (Hamann, pp. 437–66, 496–503; Fest, pp. 40–1; Redlich, p. 21; Kershaw (1998), pp. 50–1) have come to the conclusion that rather than being against German-speaking Jews, Hitler must have developed a much stronger aversion against the Czechs, since they were the most likely to be standing with him in line for hot soup or a day's work. Since every fourth inhabitant of Vienna was of direct Czech descent, such social frictions must have been a daily occurrence in Hitler's life. (Needless to point out, Kubizek is a Czech name.)

Hitler's rejection of Marxism and Social Democracy stemmed from his Pan-German rather than racist views, despite his later statement that 'only a knowledge of the Jews provides the key with which to comprehend the inner, and consequently real, aims of Social Democracy' (MK, p. 47). His hatred of working-class organizations and his refusal to join a trade union earned him the title 'reactionary swine' among his room-mates in the men's hostel (Smith, p. 139). Nevertheless, Hitler admitted himself that he derived many ideas about how to set up a mass political organization and conduct propaganda from the Social Democrats (MK, pp. 35–47). At the same time he developed a deep distaste for parliamentary democracy, which he based on his personal observation of the Austrian Parliament (MK, p. 71). He admitted of being impressed by the Pan-German Nationalists, a smallish sectarian grouping with strong anti-Semitic leanings, led by Georg von Schönerer, which had a strong following in the *Waldviertel*. Hitler also admired Vienna's lord mayor, Karl Lueger, who led the Christian Social Party, for his brilliant display of tactics through which he won the urban lower middle class. Accordingly, he would later sum up his criticism, adding the usual anti-Semitic diatribe, thereby also revealing where his future ambition lay:

The Christian Social movement has an unclear conception of the aim of a German reawakening, but ... it understood the importance of the social question, erred in its struggle against the Jews, and had no notion of the power of the national idea. If, in addition to its enlightened knowledge of the broad masses, the Christian Social Party had had a correct idea of the importance of the racial question, such as the Pan-German movement had achieved; and if, finally, it had itself been nationalistic, or if the Pan-German movement, in addition to its correct knowledge of the aim of the Jewish question, had adopted the practical shrewdness of the Christian Social Party, especially in its attitude towards socialism, there would have resulted a movement which even then in my opinion might have successfully intervened in German destiny. If this did not come about, it was overwhelmingly due to the nature of the Austrian state ... I was repelled by the conglomerate of races which the capital showed me ... Jews and more Jews ... Since my heart had never beaten for an Austrian monarchy, but only for a German Reich, the hour of this state's downfall could only seem to me the beginning of the redemption of the German nation. (MK, pp. 110–13)



It was during his four years in Vienna that Hitler must also have done most of his reading. Since he was entirely untutored and highly emotional, his book list must have been very unsystematic and his theoretical knowledge open to wide speculation. 'Books were his whole world ... he read prodigiously and, with the help of his extraordinary memory, stored up an amount of knowledge, which was far above the normal standard of a 20-year-old – but he avoided any factual discussion about it' (Kubizek, pp. 134–7). Kubizek also recalled that Hitler had a special predilection for German heroic legends like the epos *Nibelungen*, read German classics by Goethe and Schiller, and liked Adalbert Stifter's novels because they reminded him of his native Waldviertel, from where his parents and relatives came. Hitler was said to be familiar with the works of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, and read a number of works on racial problems (Maser, *Frühgeschichte*, 84–90).

More difficult is to define the impact of the deprived sex life Hitler led in Vienna on his character. We know from Kubizek that his friend Adolf shunned sexual contact for fear of becoming infected. Hitler subconsciously linked prostitution with syphilis. Later it was to develop into a real obsession. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler depicts syphilis as a major scourge of humanity, perceived by him as a 'Jewish disease'. Hitler's syphilophobia reached such proportions that he believed, in spite of medical evidence to the contrary, that syphilis was an illness transmitted through many generations that would eventually destroy mankind. However, experts agree that no reliable evidence exists to prove that Hitler had sexual intercourse with a prostitute or any casual acquaintance in Vienna; no record of infection with any venereal disease was found (Redlich, pp. 32, 230–2). Contradictory attempts to unearth Hitler's alleged homosexual activities (cf. Lothar Machtan's *The Other Hitler*) lack credibility.

## 1913

**16 May:** The District Court in Linz confirms that Hitler, having reached the age of 24, was to receive a sizeable amount of 819 Kronen as a portion of his father's inheritance. But money was only one reason to leave Vienna (Hamann, *Hitler's Wien*, p. 85).

**26 May:** In the company of Rudolph Häusler, another social drifter from the men's hostel in Vienna, Hitler arrived by train in Munich. The same day, he and Häusler rented a room at 34 Schleissheimerstrasse, from master tailor, Josef Popp. On the police record Hitler wrote as his occupation 'arts painter and writer' (Joachimsthaler, *Korrektur*, pp. 15–29). He would later claim that his chief reason for leaving Austria for Germany was primarily political (MK, p. 150) since he did not believe in the survival of the Habsburg state and deeply resented the idea of being forced to serve with Czechs, Jews and other non-German races in the army (Kubizek, pp. 154–9). What can be said with absolute certainty is that Hitler's repeated claim that he had moved in the spring of 1912 to Munich was entirely false (MK, p. 116). One reason for spreading the false information was his avoidance of the draft. Having avoided the draft systematically from 1909, Hitler would have been considered as a deserter by the Austrian authorities. Hence his frequent changes of address in Vienna and the total lack of documentation about his whereabouts during 1912. His move from Vienna to Munich must be interpreted primarily as an escape from arrest, although there was probably also an 'aesthetic' reason for the choice of Munich, since the Bavarian capital was considered to be the cultural centre of Germany. He also found the Munich colloquial style of speech closer to his Lower Austrian dialect. Hitler's living standards in Munich were at least as good as in Vienna. He must have arranged for his Austrian payments to be transferred to Munich, and he earned some additional money

through selling watercolours, as he did in Vienna. Although he maintained that his earnings in Munich 'were still extremely meagre' (*MK*, p. 116), this is one of his usual tendentious understatements, since he was to admit later that his average monthly income was around 100 Marks, but that he could easily live on 80 Marks to cover all his expenses including lodging (Maser, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 116–17). Hitler later recalled that one Mark per day was usually sufficient to pay for his food. A local baker remembered that Hitler would usually enter his bakery between 5 p.m. and 6 p.m., buy a slice of bread for 5 Pfennigs and then cross the street to buy half a litre of milk; that was his entire supper (Joachimsthaler, *Korrektur*, p. 90).

**11 August:** The Linz police started enquiries about Hitler, who was suspected of deserting from military service.

**3 October:** The police obtained a statement from Hitler's half-sister, Angela, who believed that her brother still lived at 29 Stumpergasse in Vienna.

**29 November:** The City police of Vienna informed Linz that Hitler's last recorded address was 27 Meldemannstrasse but that he had left for an unknown destination.

## 1914

**10 January:** The Linz police received confirmation from the Munich police that Hitler was living in Munich at 34 Schleissheimerstrasse.

**12 January:** The Linz police send Hitler a summons to present himself in Linz on 20 January. Failure to comply will render him liable to punishment of 'close confinement for a period of not less than four weeks and not exceeding one year', particularly since he is residing outside Austria 'with the object of evading military service'. A fine not exceeding 2,000 Kronen could also be imposed.

**18 January (Sunday):** Hitler, highly agitated, is put under arrest and taken into custody at the police headquarters in Munich.

**19 January:** Hitler is taken to the Austrian Consulate-General. Since he lacks the money to travel to Linz, where he is due to appear by the following morning, he is allowed to send a telegram requesting postponement to 5 February, but the Consulate receives an immediate reply that he is to report on 20 January.

**21 January:** Hitler writes a three-page pleading testimony to the Linz Municipal Council. He plays the innocent and complains tactfully about the manner of the summons; he pleads with the authorities in a pathetic style, apologizing profusely for avoiding the call-up since 1909. He asks whether he can report to the military authorities in Salzburg instead, since it is closer to Munich than Linz: 'I had no other ... companion but everlasting insatiable hunger. I never learnt the meaning of the fine word Youth. Today after five years the tokens are still with me in the form of chilblains on fingers, hands and feet ... Despite the most utter penury ... I have always preserved my good name, am untainted before the law and clean before my own conscience, except for that one omission over the military report, which at the time was not even known to me. That is the only thing for which I feel responsible. And for that a modest fine should surely offer penance enough and of such I shall not refuse my willing payment.' Hitler's letter was accompanied by a sympathetic cover-note signed by the Consul-General, pleading that 'Hietler [*sic*] seems very deserving of considerate treatment ... in view of the circumstances and the man's poverty, you should see fit to allow him to report in Salzburg' (Jetzinger, pp. 150–4).

**30 January:** A reply from Linz reached Munich: Hitler should report to the Military Commission in Salzburg on 5 February – there was no indication that a fine would be imposed.

**5 February:** Hitler travels to Salzburg to present himself at the call-up office. He is declared 'unfit for combatant and auxiliary duties, too weak, and unable to bear arms' (Jetzinger, p. 155).

**28 June:** Archduke Franz Ferdinand is assassinated in Sarajevo. Hitler greets the news with enthusiasm, as he believes that the Crown Prince was a traitor to the German race for giving way to non-Germans: 'The Royal House [of Habsburg] Czechized wherever possible, and it was the hand of the goddess of eternal justice and inexorable retribution which caused Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the most mortal enemy of Austrian Germanism, to fall by the bullets which he himself had helped to mould (MK, p. 14) ... a light shudder began to run through me at this vengeance of inscrutable Destiny. The greatest friend of the Slavs had fallen beneath the bullets of Slavic fanatics' (MK, p. 146).

**1 August:** German declaration of war on Russia.

**2 August:** Hitler is seen in a photograph taken among the jubilant crowd welcoming war in Munich's Odeon Square.

**3 August:** On the day that Germany declares war on France, the former anti-militarist and draft-dodger Hitler submits a personal petition to King Ludwig III, requesting permission to enlist in the Bavarian army.

**4 August:** A prompt reply arrives from the Royal Chancellery. Hitler opens the document with 'trembling hands'. His request was granted. 'My joy and gratitude knew no bounds ... For me, as for every German, there now began the greatest and unforgettable time of my earthly existence. Compared to the events of this gigantic struggle, everything past receded to shallow nothingness' (MK, p. 150).

**16 August:** Hitler enlists with the 16th Bavarian Reserve Infantry Regiment ('List').

**7 October:** Hitler says goodbye to his landlord, Herr Popp; he asks him to write to his sister if he dies.

**8 October:** Hitler swears an oath of allegiance to the Bavarian king as well as to the German emperor. On a less solemn note he tells one of his comrades in arms that he would always remember that day because of the double rations the soldiers received.

**9 October:** Hitler's battalion leaves Munich for the exercise area at Camp Lechfeld. They march for 11 hours in soaking rain.

**20 October:** On the eve of his departure to the battlefield, Hitler writes to his landlady, Frau Anna Popp. He describes the exhausting time he had during the manoeuvres. He saw the first French prisoners-of-war. He concludes his letter: 'I hope we shall get to England. How are you dear Frau Popp and your dear husband?' (Maser, *Letters*, pp. 42–7).

**28 October:** Hitler's company is thrown into their first battle on the Flanders coast near Ypres.

**29 October:** When the first battle ends, 349 men of Hitler's regiment are dead.

**1 November:** Hitler is promoted to corporal; he is no longer ridiculed with the derisive Bavarian nickname 'Comrade Laced Shoe'.

**Mid-November:** The regiment has now no more than 30 officers and 700 men. Hitler has been attached to the regimental staff as despatch runner, daily risking his life under extreme battle conditions. With each narrow escape his belief in Providence is strengthened. He has already earned a reputation as a fearless and reliable soldier who never abandons a wounded comrade.

**2 December:** Hitler receives the Iron Cross, Second class.

**3 December:** He writes to Herr Popp: 'It was the happiest day of my life. True, most of my comrades who had earned it just as much were dead', giving a first-hand description of the battle of Ypres: 'For four days we were engaged in the fiercest battle, and I can proudly say that our regiment fought like heroes. On the very first day we lost nearly all our officers ... For all that, we beat the English ... Our company was reduced to a mere 42 men ... Ever since, I have, so to speak, been risking my life every day, looking death straight in the eye' (Maser, *Letters*, pp. 50–7).

## 1915

**January:** During the long stalemate, Hitler spends time reading and painting. His only close friend is a little dog he named *Fuchsl* (Foxy) to whom he taught a number of circus tricks.

**22 January:** Hitler writes to Herr Popp: 'We are still in our old positions and keep annoying the French and the English. The weather is miserable; and we often spend days on end knee-deep in water, and what is more, under heavy fire' (Maser, *Letters*, p. 58).

**26 January:** Hitler writes a long letter to Herr Popp: 'For the past two months our regiment has been constantly in the front line between Messines and Wyschaete ... The meadows and the fields look like bottomless swamps, while the roads are covered ankle-deep in mud. Through these swamps run the trenches of our infantry – a maze of dug-outs, trenches with loopholes ... For the past two months, the air and the earth have been trembling under the screams of the roar of grenades and the bursting of shells ... What is most dreadful is when the guns begin to spit across the whole front at night ... But nothing on earth can ever shift us from here. Here we shall hang on until Hindenburg has softened Russia up. Then comes the day of retribution! ... I myself am miraculously well and often think of Munich and of all dear acquaintances, especially of you, dear Herr Popp, your wife and children. If I write so rarely please do forgive me, but sometimes I can't even wash for 14 days at a time, so stuck are we in the mud and filth ... So please forgive me' (Maser, *Letters*, pp. 60–7).

**5 February:** Hitler writes a long letter to Judge Ernst Hepp of Munich, in which he shows his undeniable talent for mixing drama with banal understatement. Herr Hepp had sent him two food parcels and Hitler is grateful. He concludes his letter with a political message: 'I think of Munich so often, and each of us has only one wish, that it should soon come to a final reckoning with this gang, to get at them no matter what the cost, and that those of us who are lucky enough to see their homeland again will find it a purer place, less riddled with foreign influences, so that the daily sacrifices and sufferings of hundreds of thousands of us and the torrent of blood that keeps flowing here day after day against an international world of enemies, will not only help to smash Germany's foes outside but that our inner internationalism, too, will collapse. This would be worth much more than any territorial gains. Austria's fate will be what I have always predicted' (Maser, *Letters*, pp. 68–90).

**12 February:** 'Yesterday a 15-cm shell hit our dugout,' writes Hitler to Herr Popp about yet another narrow escape of his.

**20 February:** Hitler thanks Herr Popp for his last letter and writes: 'Last night came the news of Hindenburg's victory. There was a tremendous hurrah in our trenches.' He would like two warm undershirts from his Munich friends, though ... (Jäckel, p. 71).

**March–May:** Hitler participates in the battle of Neuve-Chapelle in Flanders.

**May–October:** Hitler fights in the battles of La Bassée and Arras.

**25 September:** By an incredible stroke of luck Hitler escapes certain death. 'I was eating my dinner in a trench with several comrades,' Hitler later recalled, 'suddenly a voice seemed to be saying to me: "Get up and go over there" ... I rose at once to my feet and walked 20 metres along the trench ... Hardly had I done so when a flash and deafening sound came from the part of the trench I had just left. A stray shell had burst over the group in which I had been sitting, and every member of it was killed.' Hitler's belief that he had been chosen by Providence for a special mission is further fortified (Toland, p. 87).

**Winter 1915–16:** The winter months give Hitler the opportunity to reappraise his attitude to war. As he later admitted there had been at first this tremendous enthusiasm to fight for the Fatherland. Very soon, however, 'the enthusiasm grad-

ually cooled and the exuberant joy was stifled by mortal fear. The time came when every man had to struggle between the instinct of self-preservation and the admonitions of duty. By the winter of 1915–16 this struggle had for me been decided. At last my will was undisputed master ... Now Fate could bring on the ultimate tests without my nerves shattering or my reason failing' (MK, pp. 151–2).

## 1916

**24 June–5 July:** Hitler's unit is involved in reconnaissance fighting near the battle on the Somme.

**19–20 July:** Hitler participates in the battle of Fromelles. There he spends many hours fascinated by his dog Fuchsl: 'I used to watch him as if he'd been a man ... It was crazy how fond I was of the beast' (Toland, p. 88).

**5 October:** Hitler is wounded in the left thigh at La Barque.

**October–December:** After a few days Hitler is transferred to a Red Cross hospital in Beelitz, near Berlin. During his convalescence he receives permission to spend weekends in the Reich's capital. He is profoundly shocked by 'the dire misery everywhere' because of hunger, and 'a few wretched scoundrels agitating for peace' (MK, pp. 173–4).

**3 December:** Hitler is released from hospital and transferred to a replacement battalion in Munich where he finds that morale was 'beneath all criticism'. Later he was to complain about the perennial enemy of the German race who had caused this demoralization: 'The offices were filled with Jews. Nearly every clerk was a Jew and nearly every Jew was a clerk' (MK, p. 175).

**10 December:** Upon learning the address of his friend August Kubizek, Hitler writes to him from Munich.

**25 December:** Hitler reluctantly spends Christmas in Munich away from his regiment.

**28 December:** In a postcard to his fellow despatch runner, Balthasar Brandmayer, Hitler describes meeting their regimental friend 'Fatty'. He is envious of the latter's transfer: 'He is lucky; he is being sent to Landshut to guard prisoners-of-war' (Jäckel, p. 79).

## 1917

**January:** Hitler writes from Munich to his former immediate superior officer at the 16th Bavarian Reserve Infantry Regiment, First Lieutenant Fritz Wiedemann, imploring him to arrange for his return to 'his old regiment and his old comrades' (Wiedemann, p. 30).

**5 March:** Hitler is back with his regiment in France. Everybody welcomes him: his dog Fuchsl goes wild; the company cook prepares a special dish for him (MK, p. 176).

**April–May:** Hitler takes part in the battle of Arras.

**June–July:** Hitler takes part in the battle of Flanders.

**August:** The regiment is sent to Alsace to recuperate. Hitler suffers two grievous losses: his dog Fuchsl is stolen from him by a civilian slacker, and his precious sketches by a cowardly recruit.

**17 September:** Hitler receives the Military Service Cross Third class with Swords.

**30 September–17 October:** Hitler is finally persuaded by a fellow soldier, Ernst Schmidt, to take a long-deserved leave. They both travel to Dresden, visiting Brussels, Cologne and Leipzig on the way.

**5 October:** From Berlin he sends a postcard to Ernst Schmidt, describing his impressions from the capital city: 'It's a real world city. The traffic is still heavy ... At last I have the opportunity to get acquainted with the museums a little bit' (Jäckel, p. 82).

**8, 11, 12 October:** Hitler sends three postcards from Berlin to Sergeant Max Amann, serving in the same regiment as him.

## 1918

**28 January–3 February:** General strike of munitions workers in Berlin organized by the trade unions, demanding 'peace without annexation'. Hitler is deeply shocked: 'What was the army fighting for if the homeland itself no longer wanted victory?' (MK, p. 177).

**3 March:** The terms of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty between the Central Powers and the Soviet Government are announced. German troops remain in the Baltic, the Ukraine and the Black Sea region. Hitler's vision of German *Lebensraum* in the East is taking shape.

**26 March–6 April:** Hitler participates in the great spring offensive in France.

**7–27 April:** Hitler takes part in the fighting at Avre and Montdidier.

**28 April–26 May:** Hitler's regiment is in the trenches north of Ailette.

**9 May:** Hitler receives a regimental citation for 'outstanding bravery'.

**27 May–3 June:** Hitler participates in the battles of Soissons and Reims.

**June:** Hitler allegedly captures four French soldiers single-handed.

**15–17 July:** Hitler participates in the last attack on the Marne.

**18–25 July:** Hitler is involved in defensive battles between Soissons and Reims.

**4 August:** Hitler is awarded Iron Cross First class 'for personal cold-blooded bravery and continuous readiness to sacrifice himself'. 'I am very proud,' he writes to Herr Popp (Jäckel, p. 1257). By a twist of irony, the Iron Cross is presented to him by the battalion commander, Hugo Gutmann, a Jew. (Although Hitler was a seasoned and unquestionably brave soldier, he remained a mere corporal throughout the war. His superiors often considered him for promotion but always declined for two main reasons: insufficient capacity for leadership and sloppy bearing (Wiedemann, p. 26).)

**22–30 August:** Hitler goes to Nuremberg on official army business.

**10–27 September:** Hitler takes a leave in Spital, his mother's birthplace.

**28 September–15 October:** Hitler participates in defensive battles in Flanders.

**13–14 October:** During a night attack Hitler is blinded by gas near La Montagne.

**21 October:** Hitler is taken to the Prussian military hospital in Pasewalk near Stettin. The following 28 days spent in Pasewalk witnessed a turning point in his life; he underwent a remarkable personality transformation. Hitler is tormented by the fear of remaining blind for the rest of his life, but the chief psychiatrist, Dr Edmund Forster, who diagnosed him as a 'psychopath with symptoms of hysteria', will try to build up Hitler's lost self-confidence through unorthodox hypnotherapy.

**9 November:** Hitler is believed to have temporarily recovered his eyesight.

**10 November:** Upon learning that Germany had surrendered, Hitler is said to have briefly lost his eyesight again. He witnessed 'the greatest villainy of the century' (MK, p. 183), the outbreak of revolution in Germany, the abdication of the Kaiser, and the proclamation of the German Republic. 'Sailors arrived in trucks and proclaimed the revolution,' Hitler recalled six years later, 'a few Jewish

youths were the “leaders” in this struggle for the “freedom, beauty, and dignity” of our national existence. None of them had been at the front. To this was added the disgraceful news from the front. They wanted to capitulate. Was such a thing really possible?’ He recalled his reaction: ‘I could stand it no longer ... Again everything went black before my eyes; I tottered and groped my way back to the dormitory, threw myself on my bunk, and dug my burning head into my blanket and pillow. Since the day when I had stood at my mother’s grave, I had not wept ... When in the long war years Death snatched so many a dear comrade and friend from our ranks, it would have seemed to me almost a sin to complain – after all, were they not dying for Germany? And when at length the creeping gas – in the last days of the dreadful struggle – attacked me, too, and began to gnaw at my eyes, and beneath the fear of going blind forever, I nearly lost heart for a moment, the voice of my conscience thundered at me: “Miserable wretch, and you going to cry when thousands are a hundred times worse off than you!” And so I bore my lot in dull silence. But now I could not help it. Only now did I see how all personal suffering vanishes in comparison with the misfortune of the Fatherland. And so it had all been in vain ... Miserable and degenerate criminals! ... Kaiser Wilhelm II was the first German emperor to hold out a conciliatory hand to the leaders of Marxism, without suspecting that scoundrels have no honour. While they still held the imperial hand in theirs, their other hand was reaching for the dagger. There is no making pacts with Jews; there can only be the hard: either–or. I, for my part decided to go into politics’ (MK, pp. 185–7). (While psychopathic hysteria might have been at that particular moment the leading symptom of Hitler’s conversion, he still had a very long way to go ‘into politics’. The fusion of anti-Semitism with hatred of Marxism into a ‘Judeo-Bolshevistic’ enemy was yet to come.)

**10–13 November:** Hitler is subjected to intensive hypnotic treatment by Dr Forster, who was known to treat the hysterics as scoundrels and fakers, often applying Draconian methods for which he was criticized by colleagues (Binion, *Hitler Among Germans*; it is difficult to determine to what extent Dr Foster’s thorough treatment was responsible for Hitler regaining his eyesight and curing him of his psychopathic hysteria. Since Dr Forster’s detailed documentation could not be found, having become a highly valued prize to both the conservative *Reichswehr* officers in opposition to Hitler and to Hitler himself, who wanted to destroy the evidence: q.v. Horstmann; Lewis.)

**19 November:** Diagnosed as unfit for military service (*kriegsverwendungsunfähig*), Hitler is discharged from the Pasewalk Hospital and transferred to the 2nd Bavarian Infantry Regiment in Munich. He finds the city controlled by Soldiers’ Councils, whose ‘whole activity was so repellent to me that I decided at once to leave again’ (MK, p. 188). But having no prospect of a job or career to pursue, neither home nor any other place to go to, Hitler stays in the army and obeys the orders issued by the revolutionary council (in spite of what he writes in MK). Upon this arrival, Hitler’s account no. 457896 with the Munich Municipal Savings Bank (*Städtische Sparkasse München*) amounted to 15.30 Marks.

**6 December:** A detachment of soldiers including Hitler and Ernst Schmidt, who served with him in the same company throughout the war, are transferred for guard duties to a prisoner-of-war camp filled with Russian soldiers in Traustein. The bulk of Russian POWs left Traustein before the end of January.

## 1919

**Between 23 January and 12 February:** Hitler returns to the Munich barracks of the 2nd Infantry Regiment in Munich – Oberwiesenfeld. (Hitler’s own account in MK is incorrect; see Joachimsthaler, *Korrektur*, p. 191.)

**Mid-February:** Hitler is elected as a 'spokesman' (*Vertrauensmann*) to represent his battalion at the self-governing regimental soldiers' council recognized by the Social-Democratic government (SPD) installed in the Bavarian capital. His main duty was to 'enlighten' his unit through pro-Republican propaganda.

**20 February–8 March:** Hitler begins his guard duties at the Munich railway station.

**21 February:** Kurt Eisner, the Socialist prime minister of the Bavarian Republic, is murdered. It is not known whether Hitler took part in his mass funeral procession five days later.

**7 April:** The Councils' (Soviet) Republic is proclaimed in Munich by a small left-wing group. Hitler's regiment supports the revolutionary Councils against the legitimate government.

**13–14 April:** Fighting takes place between the socialist and ultra-leftist factions for the control of the Munich main railway station. There is no hard evidence to prove whether Hitler's battalion takes part in the fighting.

**16 April:** Hitler is said to be re-elected as battalion spokesman under the new 'Soviet' government of Bavaria (Joachimsthaler, *Korrektur*, p. 202).

**27 April:** Hitler was later to claim that he should have been arrested by the orders of the Communist Government (*MK*, pp. 188–9), but this is obviously a distortion.

**1–2 May:** Munich is taken by *Reichswehr* (regular) troops and several right-wing volunteer *Freikorps* formations. Since Hitler belonged formally to the Communist Red Army and had presumably worn a red brassard, he is arrested by the *Freikorps* but released on the intervention of some officers who knew him.

**9 May:** Hitler is ordered to report to a special commission set up to investigate revolutionary activities. According to one witness, Hitler produced indictments that led to the arrests of his fellow soldiers (Maser, *Hitler*, pp. 102–4).

**5–12 June and 26 June–5 July:** Hitler is selected as a *Reichswehr* informer and propagandist to serve in a special unit under Captain Karl Mayr, who will later describe him as someone 'ready to throw in his lot with anyone who would show him kindness, ... he would have worked for a Jewish or a French employer'. When Mayr first met Hitler, 'he was like a tired stray dog looking for a master'. Hitler apparently told Mayr that soon after his release from the hospital he tried to enter the postal service as a mail-carrier, but was refused 'because he was unable to pass the intelligence test' (Mayr, 'I was Hitler's Boss'). Hitler was sent to participate in indoctrination courses for anti-Bolshevik agitators, which Mayr organized at the Munich University on behalf of the *Reichswehr* Corps Command No. 4 (Bavaria). Here Hitler meets the radical right-wing writer on economic matters, Gottfried Feder, a member of the anti-Semitic and anti-republican *Thule* Society and the founder of the 'German Fighting League for the Abolition of Interest Slavery'. From Feder, Hitler will receive his first lesson in political economy: 'I began to study again, and now for the first time really achieved an understanding of the content of the Jew Karl Marx's life effort. Only now did his *Kapital* become really intelligible to me' (*MK*, pp. 189–95).

**19–25 July:** Hitler is sent with the 'Propaganda Commando' to the Lechfeld army camp, where several hundred returning prisoners-of-war from Russia were reported to be thoroughly demoralized by Communist agitators. According to a witness, Lorenz Frank, Hitler's appearance was an outstanding success: 'A born people's orator, who with his fanaticism and common touch knows how to appeal to his audience' (Deuerlein, *Hitlers Eintritt*, pp. 193–201).

**21–25 August:** Still working for Captain Mayr, Hitler delivers several speeches on such themes as 'Peace Conditions and Reconstruction', 'Emigration', 'Capitalism and Jewry'. On the latter subject, however, the officer in charge felt that Hitler had been driven perhaps too far by his anti-Semitic statements (Jäckel, pp. 87–8).

**12 September:** Hitler is ordered by Capt. Mayr to attend a meeting and to prepare a report on a tiny political group, the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (*DAP*) (German Workers' Party), which had been founded in January of that year by Anton



Drexler, a toolmaker in the Munich railway depot, and Karl Harrer, a journalist. He goes to the *Sterneckerbräu* beerhall in Munich, wearing civilian clothes, and later recalled finding about 25 people assembled (in reality, 46 were present). After Gottfried Feder's speech on usury capitalism, a Professor Baumann spoke on the necessity of separating Bavaria from the Reich and fusing it with Austria. As a convinced Pan-German, Hitler was outraged, took the floor against the professor and attacked him so violently that the latter left the meeting 'like a wet poodle' (MK, pp. 197–200). Chairman Anton Drexler, impressed by Hitler's oratory, gives him a copy of his brochure, *My Political Awakening*, and invites him to come to the next meeting.

**16 September:** Hitler writes a long letter to Adolf Gemlich, which appears to be his first declaration in writing of anti-Semitism. Gemlich was a participant, like Hitler, in the propaganda courses run by the *Reichswehr*. In his letter of 4 September to Capt. Mayr he wanted to know what the attitude of the ruling Social Democrats was to the Jewish question. Mayr delegates the letter to Hitler, whom he considers prepared enough to answer the enquiry. For Hitler, the main theme is the menace of world Jewry to the German nation. He does not regard the Jews as a religious community, but exclusively as an alien race which has been perpetuated in various parts of the world through a 'thousand-years' incest', and whose 'activities produce a racial tuberculosis among nations'. Hence the obsession with money, power, and so on. Hitler makes a distinction between the primitive, a mere emotional anti-Semitism, which leads to pogroms, and the 'anti-Semitism of reason', which should be developed systematically in order to deprive the Jew through legal means of all the privileges he has acquired at the expense of the rights of ordinary German citizens. 'Its final aim, however,' Hitler emphasized, 'must unquestionably be the removal (*Entfernung*) of the Jews as a whole' (Deuerlein, *Hitlers Eintritt*, pp. 201–5).

In the evening, Hitler attends a *DAP* meeting for the second time. He is disillusioned by what he sees: 'Terrible, terrible! This was club life of the worst manner and sort. Was I to join this organization? ... There was nothing, no programme, no leaflet, no printed matter at all, no membership cards, not even a miserable rubber stamp, only obvious good faith and good intentions. These jacks-of-all trades were loathsome to me. I regarded the activity of such people as worse than doing nothing.' However, he soon has second thoughts: 'This absurd little organization with its few members seemed to me to possess the one advantage that it had not frozen into an "organization", but left the individual an opportunity for real personal activity ... Here the content, the goal, and the road could still be determined, which in the existing great parties was impossible from the outset' (MK, pp. 200–4).

**16 October:** Before an audience of over 100, Hitler at the first public meeting of the *DAP* in Munich's *Hofbräuhauskeller* achieved his modest triumph: 'I could speak! After 30 minutes the people in the small room were electrified and the enthusiasm was first expressed by the fact that my appeal to the self-sacrifice of those present led to the donation of three hundred Marks' (MK, pp. 322–3). Among the audience was Captain Ernst Röhm, the future organizer and leader of the *Sturmabteilung* (SA).

**19 October:** Corporal Adolf Hitler applies for membership in the *DAP*. Hitler describes the 'two days of agonizing, pondering and reflection', before he decided to join. 'It was the most decisive resolve of my life. From here there was and could be no turning back.' However, he pre-dated his entry into the *DAP* by one full month and wrongly claimed to have been allotted a membership number 7 (it was in fact 555, since membership numbers started at 501 (MK, p. 204)).

**22 October:** *Münchener Beobachter* (later to become the chief Nazi press organ under the title *Völkischer Beobachter*) acknowledged Hitler's talent as a speaker.

**13 November:** Hitler speaks before an audience of about 300 in the *Eberlbräukeller* on the peace treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Versailles. The contemporary police report of this meeting acknowledges his extraordinary talent as an orator.

**16 November:** Hitler is invited by Karl Harrer, *DAP*'s national chairman, to join the party's inner circle. It is decided that a 'Programme Committee of Five' (Drexler, Feder, Harrer, Hitler and Dr Tafel) should be set up.

**24 November:** Another meeting of the 'inner circle' takes place, during which Hitler declares he is ready to take charge of a training course for the *DAP*'s speakers. He is impatient at the slow progress of the *DAP*; he believes that the two leaders were just keeping the movement simmering in the backrooms of beerhalls.

**26 November:** Hitler is the main speaker at a *DAP* meeting in the *Eberlbräukeller* on the union with Austria before an audience of about 300.

**10 December:** Hitler speaks before an audience of 300 in the inn *Zum Deutschen Reich* at 143 Dachauerstrasse on 'Germany before Deepest Downfall' (the title echoed the pamphlet of Johannes Palm, a Nuremberg publisher, executed by the French in 1806 in Braunau, Hitler's birthplace). Hitler divides the foreign powers into two groups: the first, including France, England and the United States, he describes as Germany's absolute enemies. He is particularly outraged at how England was exploiting India. He is more generous with the second group, including mainly Russia, Italy and Japan, but also Poland, Serbia and Romania, which have become Germany's enemies as a result of their 'unfortunate location and other circumstances'. There is, as yet, no talk of the Bolshevik menace but rather scathing attacks on Western imperialism and colonialism.

**11 December:** Hitler drafts a memorandum on *DAP*'s internal affairs which aims at removing Karl Harrer from chairmanship. Hitler stresses that *DAP* should concentrate on propaganda to prepare the masses for a spiritual mobilization which would precede the proper military one. He rejects Harrer's concept of building *DAP* into a conspiratorial organization collaborating with small, right-wing groups.

**22 December:** On Hitler's insistence *DAP* rents one office in the *Sterneckerbräu*, so that business correspondence is no longer carried on from members' private flats.

## 1920

**5 January:** The *DAP* co-founder, Karl Harrer, resigns from the chairmanship in favour of Anton Drexler. (Although it cannot be proved that Hitler himself aspired at that time to take over the party leadership, his controversy with Harrer over the practical policy the *DAP* should follow was one of the main reasons for the latter's resignation.)

**7 January:** Hitler participates in a discussion on the 'Jewish Question' during a public meeting held at Munich's *Kindlkeller*.

**10 January:** The Versailles Peace Treaty is ratified by the *Reichstag*. Hitler gives a speech (between 10 January and 4 March) 'The Forced Peace of Brest-Litovsk and the Peace of Reconciliation and Understanding of Versailles?'

**16 January:** Hitler participates in a discussion on 'The Bankruptcy of the State and its Salvation' at the *Zum Deutschen Reich* inn. He attacks finance capitalism in general and the Jews in particular.

**23 January:** Hitler speaks 'Against the Destroyers of the Reich and the Frenchlings' at the *Zum Deutschen Reich* inn. He demands German unity and the incorporation of Austria and condemns the emigration of Germans overseas.

**26 and 31 January:** Hitler lectures on the Peace of Versailles at the *Reichswehr* advanced course in Munich.

**27 and 30 January:** Hitler lectures on political parties at the *Reichswehr* advanced course.

**9 February:** Hitler speaks at a *DAP* meeting on the subject of Marxism, Russia and Bolshevism.

**14 February:** Hitler lectures on the Peace of Versailles at the *Reichswehr* advanced course.

**16 February:** Hitler lectures on political parties at the *Reichswehr* advanced course.

**20 February:** The *DAP* (*Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*) changes its name to NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei).

**24 February:** At the first public meeting of the NSDAP in Munich's *Hofbräuhaus*, attended by some 2,000 people, Hitler presents the 25-point programme, drafted by himself and Drexler. The points include:

(1) Union of all Germans in a Greater Germany on the basis of the right of self-determination;

(2) Equality of rights for the German people in its dealings with other nations, and the revocation of the peace treaties of Versailles and St. Germain;

(3) Land and territory (colonies) to feed our people and to settle our surplus population;

(4) Only people of German blood may be citizens of the State ... accordingly, no Jew belongs to the nation;

(7) ... foreign nationals (non-citizens) must be deported from the Reich;

(8) All non-German immigration must be prevented;

(9) All citizens shall have equal rights and duties;

(10) It must be the first duty of every citizen to perform physical or mental work;

(11) Abolition of incomes unearned by work and the elimination of the usury slavery (*Zinsknechtschaft*);

(12) ... Personal enrichment from war must be regarded as a crime against the nation ... ruthless confiscation of all war profits;

(13) Nationalization of businesses which have been formed into corporations (trusts);

(16) Creation and maintenance of a healthy middle class; immediate nationalization of big department stores;

(17) Land reform suitable to our national requirements ... expropriation of land for common purposes without compensation, abolition of ground rent, and prohibition of all speculation in land;

(18) Common criminals, usurers, profiteers, etc., must be punished with death, whatever their creed or race;

(21) The nation's health standards must be raised by protecting mothers and infants, by prohibiting child labour, by promoting physical fitness ... through compulsory gymnastics and sports;

(22) Abolition of mercenary troops and formation of a people's army.

Hitler reads the programme amidst great excitement, with people standing on benches and tables. It is accepted unanimously (*MK*, pp. 332–6). Hitler declares that the NSDAP will fight for the fulfilment of its programme regardless of the consequences. For the protection of meetings Hitler initiates *Ordnerdienst* (party stalwarts), organized by his chauffeur Emil Maurice (from September 1921 called *Sturmabteilung*).

**25 February:** Hitler repeats his lecture on political parties for the *Reichswehr* advanced course.

**28 February:** Hitler repeatedly lectures on the Peace of Versailles for the *Reichswehr* advanced course.

**1 March:** Hitler and Drexler write a joint letter to Dr Walter Riehl, the leader of the Austrian *Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei* (DNSAP), who in December 1919 founded a co-ordination chapter of National Socialist parties for the German-speaking territories. Hitler and Drexler disagree with Riehl's sugges-

tion that the Munich NSDAP should fight against Berlin and pursue the path of separatism.

**4 March:** Hitler speaks in the *Hofbräuhaus* on 'The Truth about the "Forced Peace of Brest-Litovsk"' and the 'So-called Peace of Reconciliation and Understanding of Versailles'.

**14 March:** After learning of the outbreak of the Kapp-Lüttwitz *Putsch* in Berlin, Hitler, Captain Mayr and Dietrich Eckart consider forming a parallel *putschist* government in Munich. Eckart, a boastful Bavarian writer, drug addict and violent anti-Semite, was publishing a tract called *Auf Gut Deutsch* (In Plain German). He was said to exercise considerable influence upon Hitler.

**15 March:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Munich in favour of a general strike against the Socialist-dominated government of Bavaria.

**16 March:** Hitler and Eckart are both flying from Augsburg to Berlin – as arranged by Captain Mayr. They have been sent by right-wing circles in Munich who are themselves preparing for a political takeover. One of them, Gustav von Kahr, becomes prime minister of Bavaria on the following day. However, Hitler reaches Berlin too late, after the *Putsch* has failed. They are disgusted to find that Kapp's press chief is the adventurous Hungarian Jew, Ignaz Trebitsch-Lincoln, at one time also a member of the British Parliament, feeling that the *Putsch* must be in the wrong hands. In Berlin, Eckart introduces Hitler to General Ludendorff and to the salon of Helen Bechstein, wife of the piano manufacturer. Hitler also meets Heinrich Class, president of the *Alldeutscher Verband*, a major pan-German organization.

**18 March:** Hitler and Eckart return by air to Augsburg.

**29 March:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Munich on the theme of German unity, which he understands to be national solidarity between manual and intellectual workers.

**31 March:** Hitler resigns from the *Reichswehr* with 50 Marks as 'discharge payment', a pair of trousers, his uniform and some underwear. He continues to be paid from *Reichswehr* secret funds, since the NSDAP cannot afford to fund his oratorical performances, though occasionally they will pay his travel expenses. However, Hitler usually insists on a fee when invited to speak for another political party or association. He has now rented a small back room at 41 Thierschstrasse, near the Isar River, but the details of his income and living conditions after his resignation from the *Reichswehr* remain obscure.

**1 April:** The Austrian Consulate General in Munich issued a passport (No. 6537) to Hitler, who declared his occupation as 'writer' (Joachimsthaler, *Korrektur*, p. 23).

**6 April:** The nationalist author R. J. Gorsleben gives a talk on 'Aryans and Jews' before an audience of 1,200 in the *Hofbräuhaus*. According to police records, taking part in the exchange, Hitler attacked the free press, the Reich government and the Jews. Amid loud applause he declared that while he did not want to instigate a pogrom, he wished to announce his party's determination to exterminate 'the evil with root and branch'. 'In order to achieve this aim, any means should be applied, even if we are to ally ourselves with the devil!' (Phelps, pp. 277–8).

**9 April:** At a NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus*, Hitler joins in the discussion on 'The Working People as Interest Slaves of the Borrowing Capital', which ends in violent attacks on Jews and the 'Jewish-governed Reich government'.

**17 April:** Speaking on 'The World War and its Makers' in the *Hofbräuhaus*, Hitler declares that it was envy among Germany's neighbours that caused the war. However, he also refers with undisguised admiration to the British Empire, and claims that the British Empire succeeded because of three essential prerequisites that the German Empire lacked: (1) British nationalism, (2) Racial purity ('The Englishman has always understood himself to be a Master and never a Brother'); and (3) British economic genius in trade and engineering (Phelps, pp. 297–9).

**20 April:** Hitler joins in the discussion that follows the main speech on 'The Preservation of the German Nation' at the meeting of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*

*deutsch-völkischer Verbände* (Working Association of German Nationalist Groups) in Munich's *Löwenbräukeller*.

**27 April:** At a NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus* Hitler speaks on 'Politics and Jewry', and prophesies: 'We hope that there will soon be a German Reich again, from Memel to Pressburg, from Königsberg to Strassburg!' (Phelps, pp. 299–301).

**2 May:** Hitler speaks in Rosenheim, a Bavarian town about 65 kilometres south-east of Munich, where during the previous month the first NSDAP local branch outside the Bavarian capital was founded.

**7 May:** Hitler speaks in Stuttgart at the meeting of the *Deutschvölkische Schutz-und Trutzbund* (German Nationalist Defence and Defiance Association) on 'Brest-Litovsk and Versailles'.

**10 May:** Hitler participates in a discussion following the subject 'The worker and the Jew' in the Munich *Sterneckerbräu*.

**11 May:** At the NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus*, before 2,000 people, Hitler delivers one of his violent anti-Jewish speeches under the title 'What Do We Want?'

**19 May:** Hitler chairs a NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus*. Drexler speaks on 'International and National Socialism' before an audience of 800. Hitler interjects with the usual tirade against the Jews. He also admits that the party will not participate in the forthcoming Reichstag election (6 June) for lack of money.

**26 May:** The *Deutschvölkische Schutz-und Trutzbund* has again invited Hitler to Stuttgart. This time he speaks on the theme 'The Makers of the World War'.

**29 May:** The first membership list of the NSDAP is completed, with 675 registered members. Numbers start from 500 onwards; Hitler's name is entered as No. 555.

**31 May:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in the *Bürgerbräukeller* on 'The German People, the Jewish Question and Our Future'.

**6 June:** While elections to the *Reichstag* and the *Landtag* (Bavarian Assembly) are taking place, Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in the *Bürgerbräukeller*.

**9 June:** At a NSDAP meeting in the *Sterneckerbräu* Hitler speaks on nationalism.

**11 June:** Hitler speaks in the *Bürgerbräukeller* before an audience of about 1,200 people. He makes the prophecy, 'the day will come ... the people will rise and the storm break out' (Deuerlein, *Hitler's Eintritt*, pp. 213–14).

**17 June:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Rosenheim on 'The World War and its Makers'. He tells the audience that it was the envy and fear on the part of England of the rising German world power that was the main cause of the war.

**14 June:** Hitler speaks in Kolbermoor on 'The Shame Peace of Brest-Litovsk and the Reconciliation Peace of Versailles'.

**21 June:** Hitler participates in a discussion on the federal structure of Germany, organized by the *Bayernbund* (Bavarian Association) in Rosenheim.

**24 June:** Hitler appears as a second speaker on the subject 'The Jew as the Worker's Leader' at a NSDAP meeting in the *Bürgerbräukeller*. He receives a long, standing ovation when he shouts: 'Out with the Jews who poison our people!' (Jäckel, pp. 151–2).

**26 June:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Rosenheim on 'Politics and German Nationalism'.

**3 July:** In a letter to Major Konstantin Hierl (who was to join the NSDAP in 1929 and was put in charge of the Labour Service in 1932), who is concerned that there are not enough workers attending NSDAP meetings, Hitler explains that for tactical reasons the middle-class elements had to be won over first, so that 'our meetings have a very mixed character: along with the civil servant, the tool-maker, next to the doctor, the cook from the inn, etc. ... But this should be exactly our aim as a Party'. Hitler does not want 'a class organisation, but a popular movement'. As for the Jewish Question, Hitler declares that 'our position remains unalterable ... the Jew is the ferment of decomposition [borrowing a quote from the great German historian, Theodor Mommsen], responsible for the internal disintegration of all races which he penetrates as a parasite'. Fighting the Jew, Hitler

emphasizes, is like removing 'racial tuberculosis', which endangers the life of humanity (Jäckel, pp. 155–6).

**5 July:** At a discussion evening of the NSDAP in the *Sterneckerbräu*, Hitler speaks 'About Daily Life'.

**6 July:** Hitler speaks in the *Bürgerbräukeller* before 2,400 people against the Treaty of Versailles and demands the *Anschluss* of Austria. He concludes by declaring France to be Germany's primary enemy.

**15 July:** Hitler speaks before 1,200 people in the *Hofbräuhaus* on 'Brest-Litovsk and Versailles'.

**21 July:** At a NSDAP meeting in Rosenheim, Hitler speaks on 'Spa, Bolshevism and the Political Questions of Every Day'. (Between 5 and 16 July an international conference on German reparations took place in Spa.)

**24 July:** Hitler speaks in the *Hofbräuhaus* on general topics including Bolshevism and Jewry.

**27 July:** Under the title 'Spa, Moscow or Ourselves?', Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus*. He declares that an alliance between Germany and the Soviets will only be possible if the Jews in Russia 'are deposed' (Phelps, p. 308).

**1 August:** At a meeting of the *Bund Deutscher Kriegsteilnehmer* (League of German War Veterans) in Nuremberg, Hitler tells the audience that the importance of the South Tyrolean Question (180,000 Germans incorporated into Italy) should not be exaggerated; thus, even before the victory of Fascism in Italy he was in favour of creating an Italian-German alliance. He concentrates his main attack on the humiliating and cruel terms of the Versailles Treaty, which he contrasts with the allegedly milder conditions of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk as imposed by Germany on Soviet Russia. However much he disliked the Soviets, Hitler declares that, in order to get rid of the disgraceful Versailles Peace 'he would be prepared not only to ally himself with Bolshevism but even with the devil against France!' 'We Germans must decide,' he concludes, 'whether we want to be slaves for ever or whether we want to be free.' But to achieve freedom, he adds, 'we need in the first place solidarity in our own country' (Jäckel, pp. 167–9).

**6 August:** At a NSDAP meeting in Rosenheim, Hitler delivers a speech entitled 'Spa, Moscow or Ourselves?' He criticizes the exploitation of Russian workers under the Bolsheviks. However, it is the Jewish element in Russia that attracts his main attention: 'It is not the dictatorship of proletariat which rules Russia, but a proletariat which is commanded by 478 people's representatives, of whom 430 are Jews and as such the greatest enemies of nationally conscious Russians' (Jäckel, p. 172).

**7–8 August:** The first All-German Congress of National Socialists takes place in Salzburg in the presence of some 250 delegates and 100 guests, representing from outside Germany the *Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei* (DNSAP) of Czechoslovakia (numerically the strongest), Austria, Eastern Silesia and Poland, and three minor parties from Germany proper: the *Deutschsozialistische Partei* of Hanover, the *Deutscher Arbeiterverein* of Württemberg, and the NSDAP of Munich. Hitler delivers an impressive address, but he is far from being the dominant personality. Despite his opposition to the overall trend for unity, the Congress decides to maintain the co-ordination bureau under Dr Walter Riehl in Vienna, called the Inter-State Chancellory of the National Socialist Parties, and allocates votes in this body according to the strength of membership in each organization, thus giving four votes to the DNSAP in Czechoslovakia, two votes to the Austrian branch, and only one to the NSDAP of Munich.

**9 August:** Hitler is back in Munich and participates in the evening in a discussion which follows a lecture on 'The Germans in Czechoslovakia', presented in the *Hofbräuhaus* by Dr Alexander Schilling, a National Socialist from Moravia. Hitler furiously attacks a certain Otto Ballerstedt, the leader of the *Bayernbund*, who supports the idea of Bavaria as part of a Danubian Confederation. 'Better to have a

Greater Germany under the Bolsheviks than a Southern German State dependent on the Czechs and French!' exclaimed Hitler. In the general pandemonium, Ballerstedt is beaten up and thrown out of the beerhall.

**13 August:** Hitler delivers his fundamental anti-Semitic speech 'Why are we Anti-Semites?' in the *Hofbräuhaus*. (By that time he would have known the infamous document *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, forged by the Russian Secret Police, as he was also influenced by Alfred Rosenberg, an ex-Russian subject and a refugee German from the Baltics, who believed that Bolshevism was just the first step in a vast Jewish conspiracy to rule the world (Toland, pp. 136–7).)

**25 August:** Hitler speaks in the *Hofbräuhaus* on 'Germany as a Free State'. A *Reichswehr* informant taking notes while Hitler was speaking records that 'a gentleman who called Herr Hitler a monkey was calmly thrown out' (Deuerlein, *Hitler's Eintritt*, p. 215).

**31 August:** Hitler repeats his speech 'Why are we Anti-Semites?' at a NSDAP meeting in Rosenheim.

**5 September:** Before an audience of 3,000 assembled in the *Kindlkeller*, Hitler speaks against the Versailles Peace and the Entente under the title 'Deceived, Betrayed and Sold'. He makes a prophecy that Germany will be strong and united again. His speech contains an unveiled threat of future war: 'Even though we are defenceless, we do not fear a war with France!' (Phelps, pp. 312–17).

**9 September:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP protest meeting in the *Kindlkeller* before 3,000 people on 'The Destroyers of the Reich and the Frenchlings', despite a formal complaint from the French Consul in Munich to the police.

**17 September:** Hitler speaks in Stuttgart at a NSDAP meeting on the subject 'Why are we National Socialists?'

**20 September:** Hitler delivers a speech on the subject 'Might or Right' at a NSDAP meeting in the *Kindlkeller*.

**22 September:** At a NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus* Hitler speaks on 'The Peace of Reconciliation or of Violence'. During the discussion he exchanges a few arguments with one Gruber, who claims to be a Communist, but is ready to follow Hitler if the latter knows how to make the world happier.

**24 September:** At a NSDAP meeting in the *Kindlkeller*, Hitler delivers a speech entitled 'International Solidarity or Self-help'.

**29 September:** Hitler participates in the Austrian election campaign. He speaks in Innsbruck at an election meeting of the Austrian DNSAP, for which he receives 1,000 Marks from the *Alldeutscher Verband* as an honorarium. (Elections for the Austrian National Assembly were scheduled for 16 October.)

**1 October:** In a speech at a DNSAP meeting in Salzburg, Hitler attacks the Social Democrats for their alleged pro-Jewish sympathies and the failure to unite Austria with Germany in 1918.

**2 October:** Hitler speaks in Hallein at a DNSAP meeting.

**3 October:** Hitler appears as a speaker at a DNSAP meeting held in his native town of Braunau. (He may have spoken also in Linz and Gmünd on the following days.)

**8 October:** Hitler speaks in the Viennese district of Hernals at a DNSAP meeting for about two hours on the fate of Germany – 'and we would have listened to him even for days' (*Deutsche Arbeiter Presse*, 16 October 1920).

**9 October:** Hitler gives his second speech in Vienna at the *Marokkaner* in the Prater; he also visits his sister Paula, who is working in Vienna as secretary.

**11 October:** Hitler speaks at a DNSAP meeting in St. Polten. His election tour ends.

**18 October:** Hitler speaks about his impressions of the propaganda tour in Austria in Munich's *Hofbräuhaus*. It is a gloomy picture of mismanagement by the Jews and Socialists, Hitler insists.

**26 October:** At a NSDAP meeting in the *Kindlkeller*, Hitler delivers a speech on 'National Welfare and the Nationalist Idea' before about 2,500 people.

**29 October:** At a NSDAP meeting held in the *Mathildensaal* in Munich before an audience of some 350, Hitler is the first speaker in a discussion about 'The Slandorous Propaganda from Abroad by our Enemies and our Attitude to the League of Nations'.

**Late October/early November:** Hitler and General Ludendorff visit the Strasser brothers, Gregor and Otto, in Landshut.

**3 November:** Hitler visits Berlin.

**5 November:** Hitler takes part in a discussion at a NSDAP meeting held in the *Kindlkeller* on the League of Nations.

**19 November:** Hitler speaks for about two hours on 'The Worker in a Future Germany' at a NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus*. He selects ten points from the Party Programme and declares that after their fulfilment, 'when we are strengthened internally, we can then turn to the East as well'. There are some Communists present in the audience of some 1,200 who take part in the discussion, which ends without violence (Phelps, pp. 326–9).

**24 November:** In a speech entitled 'Versailles – Germany's Destruction' before an audience of some 2,000 in the *Hofbräuhaus*, Hitler launches a series of violent attacks against Matthias Erzberger, the former Reich Minister of Finance, as 'the greatest scoundrel who betrayed the Fatherland through his signature of the Armistice document'. 'We refuse to negotiate with the Jews,' Hitler exclaims amid great applause: 'I prefer 100 niggers in the beerhall to one single Jew!' (Deuerlein, *Hitlers Eintritt*, pp. 225–7).

**30 November:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Rosenheim on 'The Worker in a Future Germany'. He claims that the class division in Germany between the workers and the bourgeoisie was caused by the Jews.

**8 December:** Hitler speaks in the *Hofbräuhaus* at a NSDAP meeting on 'Party Politics and the Jewish Question'. He concludes: 'Out with the Jews! Germany belongs to the Germans!' (Jäckel, pp. 271–7).

**9 December:** Internal disputes as to whether the NSDAP should work in close alliance with other nationalistic parties and groups inside and outside Germany, specifically with the *Deutschsozialistische Partei (DSP)*, lead Hitler to threaten resignation. Opposing such an alliance forcefully, he writes to the party chairman, Anton Drexler: 'I declare herewith in writing once and for all my withdrawal from the Party Committee ... and from 15 December my resignation from the Press Committee.' However, Hitler will remain at the disposal of the party as a speaker, without fees, 'as long as I can manage to pay for my expenses incurred on trips outside' (Jäckel, p. 277).

**17 December:** The NSDAP buys the Munich paper the *Völkischer Beobachter* for the price of 120,000 Marks, also taking over previous debts amounting to some 250,000 Marks. At 2 a.m. Hitler and two other companions come to Drexler's flat determined that the *Völkischer Beobachter*, threatened by bankruptcy and takeover by a rival nationalist group, must be purchased by the NSDAP at once. Dietrich Eckart has mortgaged his house and the balance is provided from secret *Reichswehr* funds, arranged by General von Epp and Captain Röhm.

**18 December:** Hitler writes to Dietrich Eckart, thanking him for his 'great help' in arranging the purchase of the *Völkischer Beobachter*. Until 1923 the paper was to appear twice a week, thereafter daily.

## 1921

**1 January:** Hitler's article 'The Nationalist Idea and the Party' appears in the *Völkischer Beobachter*. In it Hitler relates the misery of Germany to the presence of Jews and the division of the nation into antagonistic classes.



**3 January:** The *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes another article by Hitler entitled 'Stupidity or Crime?' incorporating a violent attack against the Berlin government for accepting the humiliating peace terms.

**4 January:** Hitler speaks on 'Stupidity or Crime?' at a NSDAP meeting in the *Kindlkeller*.

**12 January:** Hitler delivers a speech entitled 'The Worker in a Future Germany' at a NSDAP meeting held in the *Café Maximilian* in Augsburg.

**14–15 January:** Hitler probably visits Berlin.

**17 January:** At a NSDAP meeting in the *Kindlkeller*, Hitler speaks on the theme 'The 18th January 1871 and the Working People' to commemorate the foundation date of the (Second) German Empire.

**19 January:** In a letter to Dr Riehl in Vienna, Hitler warns of the 'Bolshevik threat flooding Germany', not so much as a result of Soviet military victories but rather 'as a planned subversion of our own people through small groups of radical infiltrators ... who are willing to enforce Communism not through a majority decision, but through the dictatorship of a recklessly determined minority'. He also reveals his views on parliamentary democracy: 'If in a state a small group, or class or party, rejects the principle of democratic subordination of the minority to ... the majority, the democratic principle as such is thereby eliminated ... It is the naked power or force which decides. If one day in Germany the leftist parties feel strong enough to attack, the parliaments will collapse and decisions will not be taken in the form of majority-held views on the floors of the *Reichstag* and the provincial assemblies, but through machine-guns and hand grenades in the street' (Tyrell, *Trommler* pp. 49–50).

**21 January:** The NSDAP organizes the first members' conference of its Munich branch in the *Hofbräuhaus*. Hitler renders an account of the Party's activities. Only 411 members attend the conference out of a total membership close to 3,000. During the past eleven months the Party has held 46 public meetings, attended by over 62,000 people. Anton Drexler is confirmed as the Party's first chairman; Oskar Körner is elected co-chairman.

**27 January:** Hitler publishes an article in the *Völkischer Beobachter* in which he attacks the Jews and pleads for public support for a genuinely nationalist press.

**27–29 January:** Hitler is sued by Otto Ballerstedt for using unconstitutional methods against the latter's own party, the Bavarian League. Hitler has to attend a three-day hearing. The tribunal sentences him to pay either a 1,000 Mark fine or to go to prison for 100 days.

**3 February:** Hitler speaks on the subject 'Future or Ruin' at the first mass protest meeting convened by the Nazi Party in Circus *Krone*. The poster reads: 'Entry one Mark. War invalids free. Jews not admitted' (Jäckel, pp. 309–12). Hitler makes a triumphant appearance as orator: 'Like a giant shell this hall lay before me, filled with thousands and thousands of people ... there must have been six and a half thousand persons ... my feeling told me after the first half hour that the meeting would be a great success. Contact with all these thousands of individuals had been established. After the first hour the applause began to interrupt me in greater and greater spontaneous outbursts, ebbing off after two hours into that solemn stillness which I have later experienced so very often in this hall, and which will remain unforgettable to every single member of the audience. Then you could hardly hear more than the breathing of this gigantic multitude, and only when the last word had been spoken did the applause suddenly roar forth to find its release and conclusion in the *Deutschland* song' (MK, p. 456).

**6 February:** In protest against reparation payments, the patriotic organizations called a mass meeting in front of the *Feldherrnhalle* (War Memorial). An estimated 20,000 people gathered. Hitler tries in vain to speak but is cut off by a brass band.

**8 February:** *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes Hitler's article 'Carnival'. He ridicules the fact that the Western powers decided upon the new *Diktat* for Germany at the

same time as the *Fasching* (traditional carnival) was taking place in Munich.

**13 February:** Hitler's article 'Error or Crime?' appears in *Völkischer Beobachter*. It is again a violent attack against the acceptance of the reparations payments and obligations by the Reich government. Party chairman Drexler writes to Gottfried Feder, arguing that 'every revolutionary movement must have its dictatorial head and for that reason I consider just our Hitler as the most suitable for our movement, without being myself pushed into the background' (Deuerlein, *Aufstieg*, p. 131).

**18 February:** Hitler's way of life encounters criticism from some party sympathizers. Two spokesmen of the German Socialist Party (*DSP*), which was to merge later with the NSDAP, Julius Streicher and Hans Vey from Nuremberg, report after a visit to Munich that Hitler was seen being driven through the city 'with smoking ladies' (Tyrell, *Trommler*, p. 40).

**20 February:** *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes Hitler's article 'National Cockade and Dead Vulture', a sarcastic attack on the decline of German nationalism.

**24 February:** On the first anniversary of the announcement of the NSDAP's programme Hitler gives a speech in the Festival Hall of the *Hofbräuhaus*.

**28 February:** Hitler speaks in Landshut at a NSDAP meeting on 'The World War and its Makers' before an audience of some 450 people.

**6 March:** In response to the Allied Conference on German Reparations in London, Hitler's article 'Germany's Last Hope' appears in *Völkischer Beobachter*. Apart from his usual invectives against the Jews and the Western powers, Hitler argues that Germany should have signed an armistice with Russia in 1915–16. In the evening, Hitler speaks for the second time in Circus *Krone* before an audience of some 4,000 people. His speech, entitled 'London and Us', is a rejection of the Western powers' dictation of terms to Germany. He dismisses contemptuously the accusation of German war guilt by pointing out that 'nobody today wants to know that England conducted 43 wars in order to subject three-quarters of the world'. He accuses England of hypocrisy for proclaiming a people's right of self-determination while, on the other hand, she 'is swinging the hunger whip over 250 million Indians'. He warns against 'the enslaving of the world by international speculative money'. The Allied demands and terms should have been 'resisted to the last' by Germany, and the government should never have promised to pay reparations; 'it should have asked the German people through a referendum' (Jäckel, pp. 329–37).

**13 March:** Hitler attacks the Minister for Reconstruction, Walther Rathenau, in an article published by the *Völkischer Beobachter*. He exploits Rathenau's Jewish origin for a full-scale attack against the Jews: 'One has to prevent the Jewish subversion of our people, if necessary by putting its instigators in concentration camps.' This is the first mention of imprisoning Jews in concentration camps as part of his intended 'cleansing' of the German people (Jäckel, pp. 341–8).

**15 March:** Hitler's article 'The Statesmen or National Crime' appears in the *Völkischer Beobachter*. In the evening he speaks on the same subject before some 5,000 people in Circus *Krone*.

**18–21 March:** Hitler takes his indictment of German statesmen outside Munich, speaking in Rosenheim (18 March), Meiningen (19 March), Würzburg (20 March) and Landshut (21 March).

**26–28 March:** Convention of nationalist organizations meets in Zeitz (Thuringia); it decides to create an all-German united party to cover the Reich, Austria and Czechoslovakia, with Berlin as its seat. Drexler attends for the NSDAP, but Hitler, who does not attend, vehemently opposes the resolution.

**April:** The Rabbi of Munich, Dr Baerwald, takes part in a public discussion organized by the NSDAP and causes some embarrassment to Hitler, who orders the meeting to be closed by his stewards. From now on, Hitler wisely avoids open debates with Jews. Posters announcing his speeches stipulate that the presence of Jews at the meeting 'will not be tolerated'. Despite physical threats, however, Jews

continue for some time to appear at Nazi meetings with the intention of challenging the speakers (Maser, *Frühgeschichte*. p. 285).

**8 April:** Hitler gives a speech entitled 'Germany Awake' at a NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus*.

**14 April:** Rudolf Jung, the leader of the German National Socialists from Czechoslovakia and a deputy in the Prague National Assembly, appears as a guest speaker the Munich *Kindkeller*. Hitler takes part in the discussion. On the same day, negotiations between representatives of the *DSP* and NSDAP take place in Munich; Hitler succeeds in preventing the fusion of the two parties. He is particularly enraged at the proposal to transfer the seat of the movement to Berlin, arguing that Munich offers ideal conditions for the political growth of the NSDAP.

**21 April:** *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes Hitler's article 'The Blindfolded Justicia', considered an all-out attack on the German judiciary, allegedly falling under Jewish domination. In the evening he spoke in Rosenheim on terrorism and accused the judiciary system of siding with the political left. (In fact, the statistics of political terrorism in Germany between January 1919 and June 1922 show that, against 354 murders committed by the Right, the Left perpetrated 22. As for the alleged pro-Communist sympathies of the 'Jewish-dominated' judiciary, the average penalty for offenders from the Left was 180 months' imprisonment, whereas for those from the Right four months was the average. Ten death sentences were pronounced against the Left, but none against the Right. (Maser, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 312–13).)

**24 April:** Hitler's article 'The Reich Mattress and Ebert as the Expert' appears in the *Völkischer Beobachter*. It is a tasteless attack on the Reich President Ebert, a Social Democrat, who was once an upholsterer.

**28 April:** *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes two articles by Hitler in which he slanderously attacks German politicians.

**3 May:** In a speech before a NSDAP audience delivered in the *Hofbräuhaus*, Hitler demands that Matthias Erzberger, the former Reich Minister in charge of Armistice Negotiations and Finance, should be arrested if he enters Bavaria. 'If the Bavarian Government is unable to do it,' he exclaims, 'we will do it ourselves!' Right-wing patriots regarded Erzberger as Germany's chief villain for signing the armistice with the Allies, and for his acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles. He was to be assassinated later that year, on 26 August, by members of the *Freikorps* (Maser, *Frühgeschichte* p. 288).

**5 May:** *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes three articles by Hitler. The first is an attack on Walter Simons, the Reich Foreign Minister, for his acceptance of the Allied ultimatum on the payments of German reparations; the second Hitler's calumnious report on Labour Day; and the third, entitled 'The Most Grandiose Achievement', a mocking celebration of the decision to hand over all German weapons to the Entente.

**6 May:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus* on 'German Worker and German Youth'.

**8 May:** *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes two of Hitler's articles; abusive polemics against the German government and its press, especially the Socialist *Münchener Post*.

**10 May:** At a NSDAP meeting in Augsburg, Hitler speaks on 'Versailles – Germany's Destruction'. The Fehrenbach government resigns office.

**12 May:** Hitler welcomes the fall of the Fehrenbach government in *Völkischer Beobachter*.

**14 May:** Hitler expresses his fury in *Völkischer Beobachter* at the unconditional acceptance of the Allied ultimatum on reparations (5 May) by the German government. On the same day the Bavarian premier, Gustav von Kahr, receives a NSDAP delegation that includes Hitler.

**15 May:** *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes two articles by Hitler in which he vilifies the Jews and Social Democrats for accepting the Allied ultimatum and the loss of

Upper Silesia. With contempt, Hitler rejects the idea of reconciliation and urges instead: 'Hatred, burning hatred in the souls of millions of our comrades shall we pour' (Jäckel, pp. 393–7).

**16 May:** Rudolf Hess, who formed part of the NSDAP delegation, wrote to Premier Kahr, upholding Hitler as an exemplary German nationalist and politician of the future because he 'combines a rare feeling of sympathy for the people's needs, together with a political instinct and a strong willpower'. According to Hess, the central aim of Hitler's movement was the resurrection of Germany by 'the great mass of people, especially the workers ... recaptured by nationalism' (Deuerlein, *Aufstieg*, pp. 132–4).

**18 May:** Hitler's attack on the new Chancellor of the Reich, Josef Wirth, appears in *Völkischer Beobachter*. In the evening he speaks at a NSDAP meeting in the *Kindlkeller*.

**19–22 May:** Four more articles by Hitler appear in *Völkischer Beobachter*. In 'Some Questions Addressed to the German Worker', he accuses the Social Democrats of hypocrisy and complicity with Jewish capitalists.

**24 May:** Hitler speaks in the *Hofbräuhaus* on 'Workers' Revolution or Jewish Revolution'.

**26 May:** *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes two articles by Hitler in which he continues his attacks on the government, and the alleged Jewish conspiracy.

**28 May:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Bernau (Chiemsee) on 'Workers' Revolution or Jewish Revolution'.

**29 May:** Three articles by Hitler appear in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, attacking President Ebert and the acceptance of the plebiscite in Upper Silesia.

**31 May:** Hitler speaks on 'Versailles and the German Worker' in the *Hofbräuhaus*. For the first time he makes public his solution to the dilemma of the German geopolitical position in Central Europe. He rejects the four previous attempts as failures (birth control, overseas colonization, emigration, industrial exports) and argues that the only way to solve the perennial disproportion between the growing population and the diminishing land supply is through acquisition of territories in the East at the expense of Russia. Hitler skilfully contrasts the humiliating terms of the Versailles Treaty with the allegedly fair conditions stipulated by Germany in the Brest-Litovsk Peace of 1918, which would have secured enough nourishment for Germany's population through the acquisition of land and soil, enough work for the country's industry and trade through the imports of raw materials, and provided the foundation for friendly relations with Russia.

**2 June:** Two articles by Hitler appear in *Völkischer Beobachter* directed on Chancellor Josef Wirth and the Social Democratic press.

**5 June:** In two more articles in *Völkischer Beobachter*, Hitler continues his attacks on the Jews and the bourgeois political parties.

**June/early July:** For about six weeks, Hitler stays in Berlin with Dietrich Eckart. The main purpose of the trip appears to be to raise money for the troubled NSDAP newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*. Hitler visits not only potential benefactors, Dr Emil Gansser and Richard Franck, but also right-wing politicians like Count von Behr-Behrenhoff.

**10 July:** Hitler arrives hastily in Augsburg to disrupt a conference between the representatives of the NSDAP and the *DSP* that was called without his approval to discuss a merger between the two movements. The merger was favoured by the majority of the NSDAP Working Committee, Drexler included. Hitler's behaviour is highly erratic and he leaves the conference abruptly after three hours when he sees that his subversive tactics have failed.

**11 July:** Hitler writes a letter of resignation addressed to the NSDAP Working Committee. He is highly contemptuous of other nationalist movements, whose anti-Semitism he finds is not radical enough and whose political tactics are too bourgeois. He also fears that a merger between the NSDAP and other movements could weaken his unique position and result in a move of headquarters away from

Munich. Hitler's main attack is directed against Dr Otto Dickel, the *DSP* speaker from Augsburg, and his recent book (*Die Auferstehung des Abendlandes*), whose anti-Semitism he finds to be at best lukewarm. If his colleagues in the NSDAP are not prepared to join him against Dickel, he threatens 'in such a movement I cannot and will not remain any longer' (Franz-Willing, *Hitlerbewegung III*, p. 319). **14 July:** Hitler sends an ultimatum to the NSDAP Working Committee demanding categorically that:

- (1) An extraordinary party meeting should be summoned immediately to act upon the following agenda: the present committee to resign; the post of first chairman with dictatorial powers to be assigned to Hitler himself; and the party to be purged of 'alien elements which have now penetrated it'.
- (2) The seat of the movement should always be Munich.
- (3) Any further alteration of the party's name or programme should be totally avoided for the next six years.
- (4) All further attempts to merge the NSDAP with the German National Socialist Party (this is the original *DSP*, German Socialist Party, which changed its name in April 1921) should cease.
- (5) Negotiations on such a merger should be permitted only with Hitler's personal approval.
- (6) That an all-German party congress at Linz scheduled to meet in the middle of August should be considered as useless and therefore not attended.

Hitler concluded his ultimatum by declaring that, without an iron leadership, the party would disintegrate (Jäckel, pp. 436–8).

**15 July:** The Working Committee replies to Hitler's ultimatum in the most subservient tone, even offering concessions he has not demanded: 'The Committee is prepared, in acknowledgement of your tremendous knowledge, your singular dedication and selfless service to the Movement, and your rare oratorical gift, *to concede to your dictatorial powers* [their italics], and will be most delighted if after your re-entry you will take over the position of the First Chairman, which Drexler long ago and repeatedly offered to you. Drexler will then remain as your coadjutor in the Working Committee and, if you approve, in the same position in the Action Committee [this was a special committee requested by Hitler to carry out the purge]. If you should consider it desirable to have him completely excluded from the Movement, the next annual meeting would have to be consulted on that matter' (Fest, p. 141).

**20 July:** In a speech entitled 'Fatherland or Colony?' in *Circus Krone*, Hitler ruthlessly attacks the Berlin government, controlled, according to him, by Jews such as Walter Rathenau, for enslaving Germany.

**25 July:** Without the Working Committee's approval, Hitler called a NSDAP meeting in the *Sterneckerbräu* while Drexler and the committee were discussing the Hitler Case in the NSDAP office in the same building. Earlier in the day, Drexler requested police assistance to stop Hitler organizing his meeting, claiming that Hitler's faction was advocating political terror by the most radical methods, whereas he, Drexler, wanted to apply only legal and parliamentary means. The police, however, replied that they had no authority to intervene. Meanwhile, an anonymous pamphlet, entitled *Adolf Hitler – Is He a Traitor?*, was circulating in Munich and was reprinted in several newspapers. It claimed that Hitler must be acting as a tool of obscure backers, that he was a demagogue and was using the NSDAP as a springboard for nefarious ends. His methods of denigration, such as his recent attacks against Drexler, were castigated, and so was his private life. When asked what he lives on and what his former occupation was, he always became agitated and flew into a rage. His conscience cannot be clean, especially because of his relations with women, by whom he liked to be called 'the King of Munich'. All this must cost a great deal of money, the anonymous pamphlet concluded (Deuerlein, *Aufstieg*, pp. 136–41).

**26 July:** In spite of Hitler's threat of resigning from the party, Eckart succeeds in reconciling him with Drexler. In the evening, both Hitler and Drexler appeared

together at a NSDAP meeting to symbolize the newly achieved unity. The victory was, of course, entirely Hitler's.

**29 July:** Hitler, Drexler and two other party members appear at the Munich Police Directorate to testify against the perpetrators of the anonymous pamphlet *Adolf Hitler – Is He a Traitor?*. In the evening an extraordinary party meeting is convened at the *Hofbräuhaus*. In the presence of 554 NSDAP members, Hitler is confirmed as the first chairman and Drexler nominated honorary chairman. The party statutes were subjected to a new amendment which stipulated the principle of personal authority instead of majority voting. It was a triumph for Hitler's conception of leadership based on the *Führerprinzip* (Circular Letter No. 4 in Franz-Willing, *Hitlerbewegung III*, p. 313). The same evening, Hermann Esser hailed Hitler at the public meeting in Circus *Krone* as 'our Leader' (*unser Führer*). Max Amann, who served with Hitler in the same regiment, could not recognize him in his new role as a political speaker. He testified in 1947 in Nuremberg that Hitler appeared as if 'seized by a strange fire ... he shouted ... water was dripping down his body, he was completely wet ... it was unbelievable' (Joachimsthaler, *Korrektur*, p. 253). Hitler knew he made himself indispensable to the Nazi Movement by attracting larger crowds than any other speaker (Kershaw (1998), p. 149).

**3 August:** The NSDAP sets up its 'Gymnastic and Sports Detachment' under the command of a former naval lieutenant, H. U. Klintzsch.

**4 August:** Eckart writes a eulogy on Hitler as the nation's selfless *Führer* in the *Völkischer Beobachter*. On the same evening Hitler speaks in Circus *Krone* on the subject 'The Dying Soviet Russia'.

**9 August:** Hitler and his closest followers interrupt a meeting of the separatist Bavarian League. In the ensuing tumult, its speaker, Otto Ballerstedt, is beaten up and Hitler taken to the police for questioning.

**12 August:** At a NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus* Hitler speaks on Germany's financial situation.

**19 August:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Rosenheim.

**25 August:** About 7,000 people hear Hitler speaking at a NSDAP rally on 'Jewish Rule and the Starvation of the People'.

**3 September:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Weilheim.

**6 September:** In a letter to Gustav Seifert, chairman of the local NSDAP branch in Hanover, Hitler gives advice on party tactics. He is against setting up new local groups without first strengthening the existing ones. Specifically, he warns against still-simmering tendencies for a merger with the *DSP*, which he calls a 'fantasy creation' without much practical value. 'What we need,' Hitler underlines, 'is to attract first strong masses from the most leftist and most rightist wings' (Tyrell, *Führer*, pp. 37–8).

**8 September:** At a NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus* Hitler delivers a morbid and tasteless attack on Matthias Erzberger, the former Reich Minister of Finance, who was murdered by right-wing thugs only two weeks earlier (26 August).

**10 September:** Hitler announces the establishment of the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) for the protection of political meetings. The SA developed from the 'Gymnastic and Sports Detachment' and was designed primarily to attract young men between the ages of 17 and 23 (Tyrell, *Führer*, pp. 29–31).

**14 September:** Otto Ballerstedt, leader of the separatist Bavarian League, held a meeting entitled 'We Shall Not Betray Bavaria', which Hitler decides to break up. He provokes Ballerstedt, who is subsequently beaten up and thrown out of the beerhall by SA rowdies.

**16 September:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in the *Kindlkeller* against Bavarian separatism.

**17 September:** Hitler repeated his strict order that Jews were not to be tolerated at NSDAP meetings. All posters must have a printed warning 'Jews keep off'. We have nothing to talk about with the Jews,' reiterates Hitler, 'since these aliens have no right to interfere in our affairs.' In the same document, circular No. 5,

Hitler underlines the importance of party insignia and prescribes in detail how the red armband with black swastika should be worn (Deuerlein, *Aufstieg*, p. 145). On the same day, Hitler also issued the party communiqué No. 1, on the resignation of the Bavarian Prime Minister Kahr, his Minister of Justice Rohr, and the Munich Chief of Police Pöhner, all three of them known for their sympathy with the Nazi movement. (Kahr resigned in protest against the emergency decree of 29 August, which President Ebert had proclaimed following the assassination of Erzberger.) In response, Hitler launched a vulgar attack on the Reich government, accusing them of being part of a Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy against freedom and the God-loving Bavarians. He called on his supporters to march in the streets and, if necessary, 'to show your Bavarian fist to the Berlin Asians' (Franz-Willing, *Hitlerbewegung I*, pp. 208–9).

**21 September:** The Munich police arrest Hitler, who is held on suspicion of wanting to turn the demonstration into a *putsch*. He is released the following day for lack of evidence.

**24 September:** Hitler issues circular No. 6 to NSDAP groups reflecting the intensity of the political struggle between the Nazis and other political groups (that is, warning against spying and acts of terrorism). He also issues party communiqué No. 2, on the political situation in the country at large and in Bavaria in particular. He describes the Chancellor of the Reich, Dr Wirth, as a friend of Jews and Bolsheviks, and takes a stand on 'the case Ballerstedt'.

**30 September:** At a NSDAP meeting held in the *Hofbräuhaus* Hitler speaks on how Germany should oppose Bolshevism.

**1 October:** In the party communiqué No. 3 Hitler claims that Nazi propaganda has scored a great success and that in the previous 35 days about 30,000 persons attended NSDAP meetings.

**8 October:** In the party circular No. 8 and communiqué No. 4 Hitler deals with finances, which lag behind the party's activities. He announces that the *Völkischer Beobachter* still carries a debt of 250,000 Marks, which must be balanced by an extra 'press tax' of 50 pfennigs. Party members are urged to purchase special debt bonds which will be issued at the same time.

**Mid-October:** Hitler visits Vienna for five days.

**21 October:** Before a half-filled Circus *Krone*, Hitler speaks on the defence of Upper Silesia and against the Berlin government.

**22 October:** Hitler announces in party circular No. 10 that from 1 November the party will open new larger offices at 12 Cornelius Strasse.

**25 October:** Hitler is again summoned by the Munich police for questioning in connection with the acts of violence committed by his SA after the mass meeting at Circus *Krone*.

**26 October:** 'We must not get into trouble with the police,' Hitler tells a group of about sixty stormtroopers (SA) in the Munich Restaurant *Adelmann*. 'Privately, they like us because they, too, hate the Jews. We mustn't, therefore, call them Jewish servants ... Otherwise, it might come thus far that the SA will be banned by the police. Should this happen, all our work would be in vain ... I understand you, your blood runs faster ... but you must restrain yourselves. A half million means nothing to the Jews if they can purchase the dissolution of the SA' (Jäckel, p. 508).

**4 November:** Hitler's SA received the first baptism of fire in a beerhall battle in the *Hofbräuhaus*. 'I made it clear to the lads,' Hitler said later, 'that today probably for the first time they would have to show themselves loyal to the movement through thick and thin and that not a man of us must leave the hall unless we were carried out dead ... if I should see anyone playing the coward, I myself would personally tear off his armband and take away his insignia ... In front of me, especially to the left of me, only enemies were sitting and standing. They were all robust men and young fellows, in large part from the Maffei factory, from Kustermann's, from Isaria Meter Works ... In a few seconds the whole hall was filled with a roaring, screaming crowd, over which, like howitzer shells, flew innumerable beer mugs ... It was an idiotic spectacle ... I should have liked to see a

bourgeois meeting under such circumstances ... For twenty minutes the hellish tumult lasted, but then our enemies, who must have numbered seven or eight hundred men, had for the most part been beaten out of the hall and chased down the stairs by my men, numbering not even fifty ... Then suddenly two shots were fired from the hall entrance towards the platform, and wild shooting started. Your heart almost rejoiced at such a revival of old war experience' (MK, pp. 458–61).

**9 November:** Hitler congratulates the SA in the Restaurant *Adelmann* on their successful 'baptism of fire'. 'Comrades! We have won a battle,' he tells them. He conveys an extremely distorted picture of the recent brawl, as if the SA were not fighting the Munich workers but the Jews themselves, who had come to the beer-hall with the sole intention of killing him (Jäckel, p. 514).

**11 November:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus* on the theme 'Who is Threatening the Republic?'

**25 and 28 November:** Hitler makes two statements at the Munich Police Directorate. The first is in defence against the allegations made in *Münchener Post*, which published the pamphlet entitled *Adolf Hitler – Is He a Traitor?*; the second concerns NSDAP leaflets that were distributed against police orders.

**30 November:** Hitler tells the SA in the Munich Restaurant *Liebherr* that he hopes that by disrupting political meetings of other parties the NSDAP could expect a massive increase in membership. The party has recently been referred to as 'a bunch of brutal rowdies, who do not hesitate to use any means'. 'This,' Hitler admits, 'gives me enormous pleasure, because in this manner my own intentions and my party will become at the same time popular and feared.' He announces that a well-known boxing champion has just joined the SA and will give lessons to stormtroopers each week (Jäckel, p. 527).

**2 December:** Hitler speaks on the subject 'The Jew as People's Friend' at a NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus*.

**5 December:** Hitler appears as a witness at the proceedings against the *Münchener Post*, a socialist newspaper, which he is suing for publishing the libellous pamphlet *Adolf Hitler – Is He a Traitor?*. When asked about his financial position, he admits that 'he receives, on a modest scale, support from Party comrades, including an occasional free meal' (*Münchener Post*, no. 284 of 7 December 1921).

**8 December:** Hitler is invited to Berlin, where he delivers a speech at the 'National Club of 1919' on 'the Jewish and Marxist Question'. This happens without the knowledge of the police, since the NSDAP has been banned in Prussia. Hitler declares that in the event of seizing power he would erect concentration camps in order to shed as little blood as possible (Jäckel, p. 530).

**16 December:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus* on 'the German Woman and the Jew', in which he earnestly insists that a Jew is incapable of affection because he only follows his carnal instincts.

**19 December:** In party communiqué No. 9 Hitler explains why the NSDAP decided not to attend the All-German Congress of National Socialists, held in Magdeburg on 6 December: he did not like the idea of patching together tiny groups and wanted instead a 'planned creation of a united, strong and strictly disciplined movement' (Jäckel, pp. 531–3).

**20 December:** Hitler has to testify again before the Munich police on charges brought against him ten days earlier, that some NSDAP leaflets and brochures caused unnecessary excitement among the public. He put up an eloquent and skilful defence, arguing that printing and distributing pamphlets and leaflets was not illegal, and was done by all other political parties. He turned the charge into a libel suit against the distributors of the pamphlet *Adolf Hitler – Is He a Traitor?*.

**28 December:** Hitler is invited to Vienna to speak at a mass protest meeting in front of the Old Town Hall against the signing of the Czech–Austrian Treaty of 16 December, in which Austria endorsed the territorial changes imposed by the Peace Treaties of St Germain and Trianon in favour of Czechoslovakia. Hitler denounces the Treaty as a further step in the encirclement of Germany by the Entente Powers.



# 1922

**7 January:** In party communiqué No. 10, Hitler summed up the reasons for the failure of the bourgeois nationalist movement in its main task of winning the broad masses for the national cause, how this led to the founding of the NSDAP, and what his party can offer the nation and the others cannot: 'A nationalist movement with a firm social base, a hold over the broad masses, welded together in an iron-hard organization, instilled with blind obedience and inspired by brutal will, a party of struggle and action' (Jäckel, p. 542).

**12 January:** The People's Court of Munich pronounces suspended sentences of three months' imprisonment on Hitler, Hermann Esser and Oskar Körner for having disrupted the Bavarian League's meeting on 14 September 1921.

**29–30 January:** The first *Parteitag* (party congress) of the NSDAP is held in Munich, representing some 6,000 registered members. About 1,000 delegates are present, including delegations from Austria and Czechoslovakia. In his address, Hitler wants to implement the leadership principle and tight discipline. The party's statutes are formally amended to enable Hitler, as the first chairman, to expel not only individual members but also entire local groups at will.

**2 February:** Rudolf Jung from Czechoslovakia and Hitler address jointly some 4,000 persons in Circus *Krone*. Hitler's speech, 'Germany in Her Deepest Humiliation', is an anti-Jewish tirade: 'Our German girls are being seduced by Jews who contaminated the whole nation. Every Jew caught up with a blond girl should be ... (interrupted by shouts from the audience of 'hanged') ... I would not say hanged, but brought to trial that will sentence him to death (applause)' (Jäckel, p. 565).

**8 February:** During a meeting in Munich Hitler tells the SA that the Jewish question is the only thing that matters.

**17 February:** Hitler speaks before 2,300 people in the *Bürgerbräukeller* on the topic, 'People's Republic or a Jewish State'.

**1 March:** At a NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus* Hitler speaks before 2,000 people on 'The Class Struggle – a Stock-exchange Fraud'. He rejects the Marxist concept of class struggle and offers as an alternative a nationalist struggle for the liberation of Germany.

**4 March:** In the NSDAP circular No. 13, Hitler instructs his supporters not to take part in the Munich railwaymen's strike: 'The Party rejects any provoked strike, which serves non-German political aims ... and sees in any strike an instrument that paralyses economic development of the nation at large' (MK, pp. 548–9).

**8 March:** Hitler announces in *Völkischer Beobachter* the foundation of the *Jugendbund* (NSDAP Youth Branch).

**17 March:** The Bavarian Minister of the Interior, Dr Schweyer, discusses with the leaders of political parties in the Bavarian Parliament the deportation of Hitler, who is stateless, to Austria. Hitler's activities and those of his party the NSDAP have lately become very disturbing to the maintenance of law and order. The Social Democratic leader, Erhard Auer, opposes expulsion on the grounds that Hitler is not to be taken seriously. He succeeds in prevailing upon his colleagues and upon Schweyer.

**12 April:** Hitler's indignant reply to the plans of the Bavarian Government to expel him is published in *Völkischer Beobachter*. In the evening he speaks on a variety of topics in the *Bürgerbräukeller* under the title 'The Agitator and the Truth'. He denounces the plans to expel him from Bavaria with references to his own sacrifice on the battlefield; explains that he follows the example of Jesus Christ in his struggle against the Jews, whom he calls 'the ferment of decomposition'; and is particularly outraged that the Bavarian Premier, Count Lerchenfeld, called anti-Semitism an anti-Christian attitude incompatible with Christian behaviour.

**21 April:** Before an audience of 2,600 Hitler speaks in the *Bürgerbräukeller* against the Russo-German agreement of Rapallo, which he regards as a Jewish conspiracy

concocted against the defeated German and Russian peoples. He calls upon the Russian people to shake off their tormentors.

**26 April:** In the NSDAP circular No. 14, Hitler sets out his aim of creating 250 to 300 local Nazi cells.

**5 May:** Hitler speaks in Landshut before an audience of 700–800 on the subject 'Is Our Struggle Against the Jewish World Dictatorship in Its Form Capitalist, Reactionary, Trade-unionist, etc., or One Which Is in the Interest of Workers?'

**10 May:** Hitler speaks on the subject of the 'Unknown Soldier' in the *Bürgerbräukeller*.

**29 May:** Hitler is invited to speak in Berlin to the 'National Club of 1919' on the necessity to 'oppose terror with terror'. He claims that, in contrast to the right-wing nationalist parties, only the NSDAP represents the best guarantee for winning mass support, especially among the working class. As for himself, Hitler says that he wants nothing, no personal benefits, for he considers himself to be a mere 'drummer of the national freedom movement' (Jäckel, pp. 642–3).

**17 June:** Hitler addresses the Inter-State Congress of National Socialist parties in Vienna on the subject 'National Socialism and Germany's Future'. Leaders of Nazi organizations in Austria and Czechoslovakia, Walter Riehl and Rudolf Jung, are also present. The Munich-based NSDAP is represented by Drexler, Esser, Hitler and Rosenberg. Hitler urges the participants to free the world from Jewish tyranny. Hitler is clearly recognized as the dominant figure by Riehl, who calls him at the opening session 'our Reich German Führer'.

**24 June:** Walter Rathenau, the German Foreign Minister, is assassinated; Hitler is arrested under the hastily passed Law for the Protection of the Republic and imprisoned in Munich-Stadelheim. He is still under three months' suspended sentence from 12 January.

**27 July:** Hitler is released from prison.

**28 July:** Hitler speaks in the *Bürgerbräukeller* on 'The Free State or Slavery'. His main device throughout the speech, which has been hailed as his most successful of the year, is to identify Jews with capitalist exploiters and Bolshevik agitators alike: 'How long can this continue? The Jew knows precisely that his system is no blessing, that he is no master race, that he is an exploiter, that the Jews are a people of robbers. The Jew has never yet founded a civilization, but he has destroyed hundreds. He can show nothing of his own creation. Everything that he has is stolen' (Jäckel, pp. 656–71).

**7 August:** Hitler speaks in Passau about 'National Socialism as Germany's Future'.

**16 August:** 70,000 people, belonging to fifty or so extremist nationalist organizations active in Bavaria, gather in Munich's Königsplatz to protest against the Berlin government and the Law for the Protection of the Republic. Hitler, who is one of the speakers, is conspiring with Dr Otto Pittinger, the leader of the largest among the patriotic associations, the *Bund Bayern und Reich* (League Bavaria and the Reich), to bring about a *putsch* against the Reich government in Bavaria (MK, p. 498).

**17 August:** Hitler speaks before an audience of 6,000 in Circus *Krone*. Before this meeting, Count Reventlow, the nationalist anti-Semitic writer from Berlin, introduces Kurt Lüdecke to Hitler. Lüdecke becomes Hitler's first unofficial ambassador and fund-raiser abroad. Within a few weeks, Lüdecke, acting on Ludendorff's and Hitler's instructions, meets Mussolini in Milan (Lüdecke, pp. 11–73).

**25 August:** Hitler and Pittinger gather some 5,000 members of patriotic associations for another street demonstration. Since Munich police banned street processions, the demonstrators march to the *Kindlkeller*, where some 1,000 communists are waiting for them. They are, however, dispersed by the police, who fear that any disturbance might encourage the *putschists* to go ahead and bring down the existing Bavarian government. At about 11 p.m., Hitler calls off the demonstration and urges the participants to go home.

**18 September:** Before an audience of 6,000 in Circus *Krone*, Hitler speaks on 'The Stock Exchange Revolution of 1918 as the Cause of the Rising Cost of Living'. Apart from the unconditional expulsion of Jews, he demands that the 'November Criminals be called to account, betrayers of the Fatherland be sent to the gallows, the state administration cleared of rabble, usury stopped, the Peace Treaty abolished, inflation stopped and the housing crisis solved' (Jäckel, pp. 690–3).

**23 September:** A passionate appeal to NSDAP members by Hitler appears in *Völkischer Beobachter* to support the party paper, which is facing bankruptcy again.

**28 September:** Hitler speaks in the *Bürgerbräukeller* in favour of preserving the middle classes.

**14–15 October:** On so-called 'German Day', Hitler organizes the march on Coburg, a socialist stronghold in Central Germany. His entourage includes Max Amann, Dietrich Eckart, Hermann Esser, Ulrich Graf, Kurt Lüdecke, Alfred Rosenberg, Christian Weber and Julius Streicher (a violent Jew-baiter and leader of the DSP splinter group *Volksgemeinschaft* in Nuremberg, who has just joined Hitler's movement). They travel to Coburg in a special train with 800 SA members and a brass band. The Social Democrats failed to stop the train, and on the following day, Sunday, the Coburgers cheered the marching Nazis, who were led by the triumphant Hitler, clad in his belted trench coat, high boots and slouch hat, and waving his whip (MK, pp. 499–502).

**22 October:** Hitler produces a detailed memorandum entitled 'Expansion of the NSDAP'. In it he declares that the aim of his movement should not be 'winning a majority or what is called political power', but 'a life-and-death struggle between two irreconcilable world views'. What the bourgeoisie has failed to recognize, Hitler claims, is that 'a victory of the Marxist idea means the total extermination of its opponents'. Although Jews are linked with Bolshevism, the main thrust of the memorandum is clearly the struggle against Marxism. In more practical terms, Hitler insists, the main effort must go into propaganda to make *Völkischer Beobachter* into a daily paper with a circulation of at least 25,000–30,000, instead of 15,000 copies. Under the budget estimate Hitler proposes to purchase six lorries in order to carry SA members to exposed mass meetings. The total cost of Hitler's expansion programme is estimated at 53 million Marks, a small price, Hitler maintains, for the NSDAP to fulfil its aim: 'The destruction and extirpation of the Marxist world view (*Weltanschauung*)' (Tyrell, *Führer*, pp. 47–55).

**28 October:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Rosenheim on the subject 'Can Germany Be Saved Today from the Parliamentarians?' Mussolini marches on Rome.

**2 November:** In the Munich *Thomasbrauerei*, Hitler speaks before some 2,000 people on 'The Positive Anti-Semitism of the Bavarian People's Party'.

**3 November:** A few days after Mussolini's march on Rome, Hermann Esser, at a NSDAP meeting in the *Hofbräuhaus*, proclaimed Hitler the 'German Mussolini' (Maser, *Frühgeschichte*, p. 356).

**11 November:** The Munich evening paper, *Acht-Uhr Blatt*, publishes an interview with Hitler in which he denies resolutely any preparations for a *putsch*. He says that he is fighting against Marxism and the German Republic because both are Jewish-influenced, and explains why he considers Jesus Christ to be German, but Pope Alexander vi, Emperor William II and King Edward VII to be Jewish. The latter's mother, Queen Victoria, might have had a liaison with her private doctor, a Jew named Wolf (Jäckel, pp. 726–7).

**13 November:** At a NSDAP discussion evening in Munich's *Café Neumayr*, Hitler explains the essence of the party programme: 'Only a party member can become a German citizen; only a person of German blood can become a member of the party. No Jew, therefore, can become a party member' (Jäckel, p. 727).

**14 November:** Hitler takes part in a discussion evening sponsored by the NSDAP. He not only demands the formation of a national government based on the Fascist model, but also makes several important statements on future foreign

policy. Since no great successes can be achieved in the economic sphere, the future national government must gain them in the realm of political expansion by annexing Austria. For this, Hitler believes, British and Italian approval will be necessary. Since Italy is experiencing a national revival, Germany must collaborate with her and renounce her claims on South Tyrol. In politics, Hitler asserts, sentiments must not prevail over astuteness. In exchange for renouncing South Tyrol, Germany will obtain Italy's support for the *Anschluss* of Austria and for reintroducing conscription (Jäckel, p. 728).

**19 November:** Hitler aims to repeat his success at Coburg by leading a march on Regensburg, but the Munich railwaymen prevent the departure of his train.

**20 November:** The US Assistant Military Attaché, Captain Truman Smith, meets Hitler in Munich. The latter skilfully underlines his anti-Marxism and plays down his anti-Semitism. Hitler tells Smith that his movement is 'a union of manual and brain workers to oppose Marxism'. As for reparations, these must be paid, since it is a question of German honour, but they must first be reduced to 'a realistic sum' and 'a National Government can alone carry a task like this through'. Furthermore, 'parliament and parliamentarism must go ... only a dictatorship can bring Germany to its feet'. The USA and England should realize that it is much better that 'the decisive struggle between our civilization and Marxism be fought out on German soil'. The USA must therefore help Nationalist Germany against Bolshevism. Finally, Hitler denounces the institution of monarchy in Germany as an absurdity and declares that he wants understanding with France and not a war of revenge (Toland, p. 173; Jäckel, p. 733).

**21 November:** 'Why Must the National Socialist Movement Win?' is the title of Hitler's speech in Munich's *Salvator Keller* before an audience of some 4,000. Ernst (nicknamed 'Putzi') Hanfstaengl, who was to become Hitler's close associate in the following years, recalled the impact of his oratory: 'For innuendo and irony, I have never heard [him] matched ... On this evening he was at his best. I looked round at the audience. Where was the nondescript crowd I had seen only an hour before? What was suddenly holding these people who, on the hopeless incline of the falling Mark, were engaged in a daily struggle to keep themselves within the line of decency? The hubbub and the mug-clattering had stopped, and they were drinking in every word. Only a few yards away was a young woman, her eyes fastened on the speaker. Transfixed as though in some devotional ecstasy, she had ceased to be herself, and was completely under the spell of Hitler's despotic faith in Germany's future greatness' (Hanfstaengl, pp. 31–7).

**Late November:** The Bavarian Minister of the Interior, Dr Schweyer, had a private conversation with Hitler and extracted from him a promise not to attempt a *putsch* (Maser, *Frühgeschichte*, p. 363).

**30 November:** Hitler speaks in quick succession at five simultaneously-held NSDAP meetings in Munich beerhalls, on 'The Breakdown of Marxism'.

**13 December:** Between 8.30 p.m. and midnight Hitler appears as a speaker in ten Munich beerhalls and inns, delivering the same oration: 'Jews and Marxists as the Single Grave-diggers of the German Nation and the Reich'.

**Late December:** Hitler reveals, for the first time in a recorded conversation, his views on future German policy in Russia, to Eduard August Scharrer, a confidant of Chancellor Cuno. He is convinced that his cause will win, first in Bavaria, where the security and state police support the NSDAP, and the parliamentary government is in shambles. He predicts that civil war between Marxist and nationalist organizations in Germany will follow; at this stage, only Bavaria could provide a right-wing dictatorship – the rest of Germany might succumb to Bolshevism. Hence the importance of gaining the support of those European nations who are interested in the preservation of Germany. France will intervene but only to assist in the disintegration of Germany by occupying the Ruhr. The USA is not interested, and Italy will help but only after settling the South Tyrol question. England remains the only hope. 'In foreign policy,' Hitler maintains,

'Germany would have to adopt a purely continental policy and avoid damaging British interests. What should be attempted is the destruction of Russia with British help. Russia could provide enough soil for German settlers and offer a wide field of activity for German industry. In our reckoning with France there will be then no British interference.' Finally, Hitler insists that a solution to the Jewish question in Germany must be found. It is the most important factor in the orientation of the masses in the National Socialist Party. 'This slogan cannot be given up,' Hitler concludes, 'because in this manner the masses will see in every opponent, which will be pointed out to them, their deadly enemy and will act accordingly' (Jäckel, pp. 770–5).

## 1923

**3 January:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Nuremberg. As usual, he singled out Jews as the chief enemies of the German nation, both as international bankers and as Bolshevik agitators.

**11 January:** French and Belgian troops occupy the Rhineland; Hitler speaks at a mass rally in Circus *Krone*. In his view, it is not the French but the Berlin government who signed the peace treaty and therefore must be resisted. 'If at the beginning of the War,' he would later repeat, 'twelve or fifteen thousand of these Hebrew corrupters of the people had been held under poison gas, as happened to hundreds of thousands of our very best German workers in the field, the sacrifice of millions at the front would not have been in vain .... And in 1923 [Hitler continued] we faced exactly the same situation ... the first requirement was always the elimination of the Marxist poison from our national body .... at that time a really national government should have desired disorder and unrest, provided only that amid the confusion a basic reckoning with Marxism at last became possible ... If this were not done, any thought of resistance, regardless of what type, was pure madness' (MK, pp. 620–1).

**18 January:** Hitler speaks in Circus *Krone* before 7,000 people on the struggle of 'Two Fronts in Germany'.

**25 January:** Hitler meets the Munich Chief of Police, Eduard Nortz, who warns him against the idea of instigating a *putsch* and tells him that the twelve simultaneous rallies and the march he was planning are to be banned.

**26 January:** The Bavarian government, headed by Prime Minister Eugen von Knilling, declares a state of emergency to forestall the likelihood of Hitler's *putsch*. However, advised by General von Epp and Captain Röhm, Hitler pledges not to stage a *putsch*. The NSDAP is thus allowed not only to hold the planned rally but also to continue to function legally in Bavaria, in contrast to its prohibition in virtually all other German states.

**27 January:** The first NSDAP national rally (*Reichsparteitag*) opens in Munich, attended by hundreds of Nazi delegates from both inside and outside Germany. For three days and nights, Hitler and the NSDAP dominate Munich. Hitler defies the authorities by speaking at twelve party meetings being held simultaneously during the evening.

**28 January:** Hitler consecrates swastika banners on Munich's Field of Mars during a procession of some 6,000 SA members.

**29 January:** At a general meeting of NSDAP delegates, Hitler outlines three essential elements of National Socialism: (1) the social principle, based on the idea of duty to serve, as incorporated in the armed forces and the civil service, both being 'model examples of socialist organization'; (2) the national idea, which is identi-

cal with socialism for the Germans; (3) the idea of anti-Semitism. In the evening he delivers a speech in Circus *Krone*.

**4 February:** On Röhm's initiative, the leaders of four right-wing organizations meet Hitler; they issue a joint proclamation announcing the foundation of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der vaterländischen Kampfverbände* (Working Association of Patriotic Combat Groups). Their common goal is the struggle against Marxism. There is no unified political leadership, only a military co-ordinator, a retired Colonel Hermann Kriebel.

**8 February:** *Völkischer Beobachter* begins to appear daily instead of twice a week thanks to Hanfstaengl's \$1000 contribution, which enables Hitler to buy two American rotary presses. During this period, Hanfstaengl becomes Hitler's most constant companion and introduces him to wealthy industrialists in Munich. Hitler also feels drawn to Hanfstaengl's beautiful wife, Helene, and their children. His own private life remains spartan; he continues to live in a small, shabby sublet flat at 41 Thierschstrasse, which he shares with an Alsatian dog named Wolf.

**20 February:** Hitler speaks in Munich to the National Association of German Officers. He rejects the tactics of passive resistance against the French in the Rhineland, as pursued by the Berlin government.

**26 February:** Hitler speaks in the *Löwenbräukeller* before an audience of 5,000 on 'German Student and German Worker as Carriers of German Future'. He wants to bring Marxist students and workers under the banner of his own organization.

**March:** Hitler reaches an agreement with the German nationalist leader, Albrecht von Graefe, by which Graefe's *Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei* incorporates National Socialists in northern Germany, where the NSDAP remains banned; south Germany is claimed by Hitler's own *Völkisch-sozialer Block*.

**11 March:** During a visit to Munich, General von Seeckt, Chief of the *Reichswehr*, met Hitler. According to Hanfstaengl, who is not always a reliable witness, the two men discussed joint measures in the event of war with France, but no agreement was reached. Hitler demanded that priority should be given to the internal struggle against Marxism. Moreover, he wanted to create a militia force under the SA, expand the *Reichswehr*, breach the Versailles Treaty and push the French out of the Ruhr. When von Seeckt asked what Hitler's attitude was to the soldier's oath of allegiance, he allegedly received the answer: 'Herr General, my offer was not intended to conflict with your present oath of loyalty ... We National Socialists will see to it that the members of the present Marxist regime in Berlin will hang from the lamp-posts. We will send the *Reichstag* up in flames and when all is in flux we will turn to you, Herr General, to assume leadership of all German workers.' Von Seeckt allegedly responded: 'In that case, you and I, Herr Hitler, have nothing more to say to each other!' (Hanfstaengl, pp. 85–6).

**14 March:** The Supreme Court in Leipzig rejects Hitler's appeal for the ban on the NSDAP to be lifted in Prussia, Saxony, Baden, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Hamburg and Bremen.

**17 March:** The US diplomat, Robert D. Murphy, has an interview with Hitler. He asked him whether Henry Ford contributed money to the NSDAP. Hitler denied it and maintained that most of the party funds came from Germans overseas.

**25 March:** Hitler speaks at a SA meeting in the *Bürgerbräukeller* on the need to replace passive by active resistance against the French occupation of the Rhineland.

**27 March:** *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes Hitler's answer to a critical article, 'Hitler and the November Criminals' in the *Münchener Post* a few days earlier. Hitler rejects contemptuously the charges of cowardice in the trenches, and of political treachery for joining the Soviets in Munich after November 1918.

**6 April:** Hitler gives a speech on 'The National Socialist Movement and Public Servants and Employees' at a NSDAP meeting in the *Löwenbräukeller* before 4,000–5,000 people. The Spanish newspaper *ABC* in Madrid publishes an article entitled 'Hitler, el Jefe del Fascismo Bávaro', written by Antonio Azpeitua: 'He

seemed to be obsessed by one problem – how to obtain funds for his work: ‘I must have money and much money too!’ ... His main programme is the renaissance of the 1914 spirit ... to crush Marxism ... but also the attack upon capital’. There was nothing about Hitler’s anti-Semitism.

**10 April:** ‘Germany at the Crossroads’ is the title of Hitler’s speech delivered in Circus *Krone* before almost 10,000 people. Hitler demands ‘land and soil for the nation’. This is the first of eight speeches Hitler delivers on the subject of the Ruhr occupation during the spring.

**13 April:** Hitler and the leaders of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* present an ultimatum to Bavarian Premier Knilling, demanding the repudiation of the arrest order on four National Socialists, and the nullification of the Law for the Defence of the Republic at the next meeting of the *Reichsrat* (the first chamber of the German Parliament representing the state governments). Knilling rejects the ultimatum. In the evening Hitler speaks in Circus *Krone* on ‘The World Jew and the World Stock-Exchange – the Arch-Culprits of the World War’.

**16 April:** Hitler and the leaders of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* are again received by Knilling who tells them that the Law for the Defence of the Republic will be applied against them.

**17 April:** Hitler speaks in Circus *Krone* on ‘The Peace Betrayal of Versailles as the Perpetual Curse of the November Republic’. He sums up the purpose of the Nazi movement in three points: abrogation of the Peace Treaty; unification of all Germans; acquisition of land and soil to feed the German nation.

**19 April:** Hitler drafts a memorandum on Nazi tactics in connection with Captain Röhm’s efforts to expand the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*. The ultimate aim should be ‘the liberation of Germany from internal and external enemies and the unification of all Germans in a great common Fatherland’ through the activities of the *Kampfverbände* (Combat Groups); but only the Army can be the real unifying factor (Röhm, pp. 175–8).

**20 April:** Hitler speaks on ‘Politics and Race: Why are We Anti-Semites?’ in Circus *Krone* before some 9,000 people. It is his birthday. Hitler’s little flat is stocked from floor to ceiling with flowers and cakes, yet he refuses to touch a single one of them from fear that they could have been poisoned (Hanfstaengl, p. 66).

**24 April:** Hitler speaks on ‘Race and Economics – the German Workman in the National Socialist State’ in Circus *Krone*.

**27 April:** Hitler speaks on ‘The Jews’ Paradise or German People’s State’ in Circus *Krone*.

**Before the end of April:** During a trip to Berlin Hitler’s car is stopped at a road-block near Leipzig by Communist guards. Hanfstaengl rescues Hitler by showing his US passport, declaring that he is an American paper manufacturer and Hitler his valet (Hanfstaengl, pp. 67–8). Hitler reportedly tells Heinrich Class, the leader of the *Alldeutscher Verband* (Pan-German League), that in three days he will conquer Munich, in three weeks Bavaria, and in three months the Reich (Gordon, p. 207).

**1 May:** The *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, at Hitler’s instigation, organizes ‘The Great German May Celebration’, to prevent the Marxists from marching in the streets and to place the Bavarian authorities in a dilemma. In Munich–Oberwiesenfeld hundreds of Combat Group members, some armed as auxiliary police with weapons provided by Captain Röhm, are waiting ready to strike. Hitler is forced to accept the *Reichswehr* ultimatum to return the requisitioned arms, but a limited confrontation between the SA and Marxist workers does take place later and several people are injured. In the evening, Hitler speaks in the maximum capacity Circus *Krone*.

**4 May:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Circus *Krone* on ‘The Morass of Parliament or the Fight for Freedom’, urging that Germany must re-arm against France and that the country can be saved only through a national dictatorship.

**6 May:** Hitler speaks in Murnau, outside Munich.

**17 May:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Erlangen.

**29 May:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Augsburg.

**Late May:** Hitler and his associates spend a few days in the *Moritz* boarding house at Berchtesgaden. According to Eckart, Hitler paced the courtyard one evening, cracking his rhinoceros whip and repeating aloud: 'I must enter Berlin like Christ in the Temple of Jerusalem and scourge out the moneylenders!' (Hanfstaengl, p. 83).

**1 June:** In a speech entitled 'Hammer or Anvil', delivered in Circus *Krone*, Hitler declares that the common aim of National Socialists in the Reich, Austria and Bohemia, was to create a unified Greater German Reich.

**Early June:** Admiral von Tirpitz, the creator of the modern German Navy, meets Hitler secretly in Munich.

**10 June:** In memory of Leo Schlageter (executed by the French military in the Rhineland on 26 May for having participated in sabotage activities) the NSDAP stages a meeting with other Patriotic Combat Groups in Munich in the presence of Hitler, Ludendorff and others.

**17 June:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Passau.

**23 June:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Regensburg.

**1 July:** Hitler gives two speeches in the *Zur Krone* inn and the *Hotel Watzmann* in Berchtesgaden.

**6 July:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Augsburg.

**8 July:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Ingolstadt.

**14 July:** At a giant rally in Circus *Krone* convened by the NSDAP on the occasion of the *Deutsches Turnfest* (German Gymnastic Organizations) in Munich, Hitler speaks on 'The Curse of the November Revolution'; clashes with police in the streets follow.

**17–24 July:** The *Völkischer Beobachter* is suspended from circulation.

**1 August:** Before an audience of 8,500, Hitler delivers a violent speech in Circus *Krone* against the Cuno government in favour of a genuine national government which would have the courage to declare to the foreign powers: 'The Treaty of Versailles is founded on a monstrous lie. We refuse to carry out its terms any longer. Do what you will! If you wish for war, go and get it! Then we shall see whether you can turn seventy million Germans into serfs and slaves!' (Baynes, pp. 75–9).

**5 August:** Hitler speaks in Neustadt an der Aisch.

**12–14 August:** Hitler and Hermann Göring represent the Munich NSDAP at the Inter-State Congress of National Socialists in Salzburg. Hitler makes it clear to Jung and Riehl that the NSDAP now wields more power than the Sudeten and Austrian branches put together, and that from now on is to be subordinate only to him. After the Salzburg meeting, Hitler visits Linz for two days. There he tells Lüdecke about his determination to settle the Jewish question: 'I shall settle that problem for good and all. Let them try to make trouble – terrorism and bombs will stop their mouths. No fear, we'll take the power and we'll use it. But if we can't do that, we'll drag all Europe with us into the abyss – at least we have that much force!' (Lüdecke, p. 133).

**20 August:** The American newspaper *The World* publishes an interview with Hitler in which he says: 'Democracy is a joke. There are only two possibilities – either its reign will be smashed by the Soviet hammer or it will be swept by an organized minority of nationalists. With fanatic determination we Fascists must pursue our goal. History has always been made by an organized minority which seized power for the benefit of the majority.' On the same day Hitler received from Richard Frank, a coffee merchant, a loan of 60,000 Swiss francs for his movement, using as security a collection of highly-praised jewels received from his female benefactors (Franz-Willing, *Hitlerbewegung i*, p. 192).

**21 August:** Hitler signs a letter of credential for Kurt Lüdecke, who was going to Rome to negotiate with Mussolini on behalf of the NSDAP (Lüdecke, p. 140). In



the evening, Hitler speaks to a packed audience of almost 9,000 in *Circus Krone* on 'The Triumph of the Stock-Exchange Dictatorship'. Knowing that the new Berlin government of Gustav Stresemann (Chancellor Cuno resigned on 13 August) is anxious to end the passive resistance in the Rhineland, Hitler now reverses his tactics and accuses the new government of betraying the national resistance and allowing inflation to accelerate.

**1–2 September:** On the anniversary of the German victory over France at Sedan in 1870 (so-called 'German Day'), Hitler delivers in Nuremberg, in the presence of General Ludendorff, a firebrand oration at a mass meeting of some 25,000 people: 'We must have a new dictatorship. We need no parliament, no government like the present. (*The New York Times*, 3 September). A new patriotic association called *Deutscher Kampfbund* (German Fighting Union), composed of the SA (Hitler), *Reichsflagge* (Adolf Heiss) and *Bund Oberland* (Dr Friedrich Weber), is set up. In a joint manifesto it calls for an immediate overthrow of the Berlin government.

**5 September:** Hitler speaks in *Circus Krone* against the 'November Criminals' before some 8,000 people.

**12 September:** Hitler delivers another vitriolic attack on the Berlin government in *Circus Krone*.

**16 September:** On 'German Day', Hitler speaks in Hof before a procession of 75,000 men of patriotic associations.

**22 September:** General von Lossow, commanding the *Reichswehr* in Bavaria, meets Hitler and agrees with nine out of the ten points in the NSDAP programme (Röhm, p. 205).

**25 September:** Hitler assumes the political leadership of the *Kampfbund*. He issues a proclamation calling upon all members of the patriotic associations to join the *Kampfbund* through the SA (NSDAP), *Reichsflagge* or *Bund Oberland*. Those party comrades who do not join within ten days are to be expelled from the ranks altogether.

**26 September:** The *Kampfbund* under Hitler's leadership is preparing for action as the Stresemann government calls off the campaign of passive resistance in the Ruhr. This is deeply resented by the political Right in Bavaria, where the government proclaimed a state of emergency and appointed Gustav von Kahr as State Commissioner with dictatorial powers. As Socialist governments in Saxony and Thuringia decide to form red paramilitary units, Hitler fears that a Communist take-over will soon occur in Germany.

**27 September:** President Ebert invokes Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution and confers emergency powers on the *Reichswehr*. Hitler is nevertheless determined to carry out preparations for the *putsch* under the slogan 'March on Berlin'. Despite the ban on political meetings imposed by Kahr, the *Kampfbund* holds one meeting in the evening where Hitler speaks.

**28 September:** The Defence Minister Otto Gessler orders the Bavarian *Reichswehr* to ban by force Hitler's newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*. General von Lossow, supported by Kahr, refuses to comply with the order and is subsequently sacked, but is soon to be reinstated by Kahr in defiance of the Berlin government.

**30 September:** 4,000 SA men march in front of Hitler in Bayreuth. Hitler meets Siegfried and Winifred Wagner for the first time, as well as Houston Stewart Chamberlain. Interviewed by a United Press journalist, Hitler declares: 'The Bavarian population will stick to me if I should have a conflict with Herr von Kahr ... Our programme is that of a national dictatorship. If Munich does not march now on Berlin, Berlin will march on Munich' (Jäckel, p. 1022).

**Early October:** In an interview published in *The American Monthly* (October 1923, pp. 235–8; see also Jäckel, pp. 1023–6) Hitler says that Marxism is not socialism but a Jewish invention. Since the Marxists have stolen the term and confused its meaning, Hitler wants to 'take socialism away from the socialists'. Socialism, Hitler insists, is an ancient Aryan and Germanic institution. Unlike Marxism, it

does not repudiate private property, involves no negation of personality and is patriotic. 'We demand the fulfilment of the just demands of the productive classes by the state on the basis of race solidarity. To us, race and state are one. ... No healthy man is a Marxist, for, being healthy, he recognizes the value of personality. We contend against the forces of disease and degeneration. Bavaria is comparatively healthy, because it is not completely industrialized ... If we wish to save Germany, we must see to it that our farmers remain faithful to the land. To do so, they must have room to breathe and room to work. We must regain our colonies and we must expand eastward ... Parliamentary government is the spawn of hell. It opens the gate to Bolshevism, which is ... our greatest menace. Kill Bolshevism in Germany and you restore seventy million people to power ... The Peace Treaty and Bolshevism are two heads of one monster. We must decapitate both.' When the American journalist, G. S. Viereck, asks Hitler what he would do with the Jews, he receives the answer that Jews will be disenfranchised even if born in Germany. 'The Jew,' Hitler asserts, 'is destructive by nature. Unable to lead a national existence of his own; his presence in the modern state provides the ferment of decomposition ... Birth in itself is no sufficient qualification for citizenship ... The Jews are not German. They are an alien people in our midst, and manifest themselves as such ... I look upon the Jews as you look upon the Japanese. Both are an alien race. Both are an ancient people. Both have an ancient culture. Nevertheless, you do not admit the Japanese to citizenship ... Mixed breeds lack vitality. We would forbid mixed marriages hereafter ... The issue that confronts us is one between Jew and Aryan. The mixed breed dies; it is a valueless product. Rome fell, when it ceased to keep its race pure.' Hitler admits that he believes in eugenics and that: 'Syphilitics and alcoholics must be isolated; they must not be permitted to reproduce. The Jews, being weak, have made a virtue of weakness. They have invented a false humanitarianism that teaches us to preserve the unfit. This false humanitarianism is the most diabolically cruel invention of the human brain ... I would isolate the criminal as well as the person suffering from some physical taint. One disease breeds many. One pimp makes ten ... The Bible tells us, "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out". I look upon those that teach us otherwise as criminals against the race. The preservation of a nation is more important than the preservation of its unfortunates. That, to me, is the essence of humanity. In my scheme of the German State, there will be no room for the alien, no use for the criminal, no use for the diseased, no use for the wastrel, for the usurer or speculator, or anyone incapable of productive work.'

**3 October:** The *Daily Mail* of London publishes an interview, 'A Visit to Hittler' [sic].

**6 October:** Hitler attends a meeting of the *Reichsflagge* in Nuremberg. Disagreements between him and Captain Heiss, the *Reichsflagge's* leader, culminated in the dissolution of the *Kampfbund*. But Röhm consolidates it by founding the *Reichskriegsflagge* a few days later.

**7 October:** Hitler attacks Kahr violently in a speech in Bamberg: 'We need a revolutionary to lead a march on Berlin! ... If Kahr is going to march forward, we shall march with him, if he retreats, we shall stay beside' (Jäckel, pp. 1028, 1267).

**14 October:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Nuremberg. In the evening he gives an interview in Munich to Leo Negrelli for the *Corriere Italiano* (published on 16 October).

**16 October:** Replying to a letter from Fritz Seidl, an old school-mate from Linz, Hitler writes: 'As far as my family is concerned, it consists, for the present, of one wonderful German Alsatian dog. I have not managed to get any further so far. The ringleader of the past is also the ringleader of today' (Jäckel, p. 1038).

**19 October:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in the *Löwenbräukeller*, and gives another interview to the *Corriere Italiano* (published on 26 October).

**20 October:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Nuremberg.

**23 October:** At a meeting of selected SA leaders, Hitler describes the three political options left: (1) Bolshevization of Bavaria by the intervention of Berlin; (2) Bavaria will fight against Bolshevization under the present 'sulking-corner' party of separatists. Lacking popular support, this alternative will of necessity invite foreign intervention, most probably by the despicable French, who are already waiting in the wings; (3) Bavaria will proclaim an All-German Government and call up an army of liberation under the swastika flag, against Berlin. 'The *Kampfbund*,' Hitler declares, 'with our SA men in the forefront, will march ... only the third path, till the final victory!' (Jäckel, p. 1043). Hitler also meets with the leaders of the *Kampfbund* and reveals his plans for the military uprising to set up a national dictatorship in Bavaria through co-operation between the *Kampfbund*, the Bavarian *Reichswehr* and the *Landespolizei* (state police). Hitler declares emphatically that without close co-operation between the amateur soldiers and the professionals, the national uprising would fail (Deuerlein, *Aufstieg*, pp. 187–8).

**24 October:** Hitler gives a four-hour lecture on his aims to Colonel von Seisser, chief of the Bavarian State Police and the third member (together with Kahr and Lossow) of the political triumvirate.

**25 October:** Hitler tries in vain to persuade Lossow and Seisser that Kahr is unfit for dictatorial powers. He proposes Ludendorff as the future Commander-in-Chief of the *Reichswehr*. Despite the opposition from senior officers, Hitler believes that the junior officers and the ranks will obey Ludendorff enthusiastically.

**30 October:** At a NSDAP rally in Circus *Krone* Hitler tells the audience: 'The German problem will be solved for me only when the black-white-red swastika flag floats on the Berlin Castle. There can be no retreat, we can only march forward. We all feel that the hour has come' (Röhm, p. 207).

**31 October:** *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes a letter from Hitler to Edmund D. Morel, a British journalist, in which he denounces as an infamous lie the allegation that his movement has received French money. However, there is evidence that, apart from the Swiss money Hitler received in August, he has received financial support from Gertrud von Seydlitz, the Bechsteins, the locomotive manufacturer Borsig, and Hermann Aust, a Munich industrialist. The largest single contribution made in October to his movement was the sum of 100,000 gold Marks from Fritz Thyssen of the United Steelworks, which Hitler received through Ludendorff.

**1 November:** In a final effort to split the Bavarian triumvirate, Hitler meets Seisser again and proposes that he and Lossow abandon Kahr. Hitler warns that 'the time is critical ... the economic misery is pushing our people so that we must either act now or our followers will run over to the Communists' (Franz-Willing, *Hitlerbewegung I*, p. 136). He gives an interview to Gustavo Traglia for the Italian paper *L'Epoca* (published on 4 November).

**4 November:** On the German Memorial Day to the Dead, Hitler reviews the *Kampfbund* in Munich. He rejects the plan put forward by his associates Rosenberg and Scheubner-Richter to use armed stormtroopers to force the members of the triumvirate and the Bavarian ex-Crown Prince Rupprecht to collaborate in the *putsch*.

**6 November:** The members of the triumvirate confer with the leaders of the patriotic associations and declare their readiness to establish a right-wing dictatorship in Bavaria, but which will exclude Hitler and Ludendorff. They warn that any separate *putsch*, such as contemplated by the *Kampfbund*, will be suppressed by the force of arms. On learning this, Hitler issues directives to his followers that the *putsch* is to be launched on Sunday, 11 November, the fifth anniversary of Germany's deepest humiliation.

**7 November:** Hitler, Göring and Scheubner-Richter meet the leaders of the *Kampfbund* to make the final arrangements for the *putsch* – that is, the seizure of key buildings and communication centres, and arrest of communists, socialists and trade unionists). Hitler calculates that the *Kampfbund* will have the edge over security forces in Munich: perhaps some 4,000 armed *putschists* as against 2,600 *Landes-polizei* and loyal *Reichswehr* troops. Later in the evening Hitler convenes a

second meeting. This is attended by the ex-Police Chief of Munich, Ernst Pöhner, and his assistant, Wilhelm Frick, both Nazi supporters, who reported that Kahr had decided unexpectedly to hold a meeting of patriotic associations in the *Bürgerbräukeller* the following evening. Hitler declares that this news is a heaven-sent opportunity and decides to launch the *putsch* the next day (Toland, p. 207).

**8 November:** Hitler proclaims the 'National Revolution' in Munich during the so-called Beer Hall *Putsch*. At about 8.45 p.m. he orders 600 stormtroopers to surround the *Bürgerbräukeller*, and bursts in while Kahr is speaking. With a theatrical gesture he climbs on to a chair, fires a few bullets into the ceiling and screams: 'The National Revolution has started. The hall is surrounded. No one is allowed to leave!' By mixture of threat and bluff he proclaims the suspension of the Berlin and Bavarian governments and the establishment of a 'provisional German National Government', of which he declares himself to be the leader, Kahr to be the Regent of Bavaria, Pöhner Bavaria's prime minister, Lossow the *Reichswehr* Minister, Seisser the police minister, and Ludendorff, who arrives later, the head of the German National Army. 'I know this step is a difficult one for you, gentlemen, but it must be taken,' Hitler tells them. 'It must be made easier for the gentlemen to take the jump. Everybody must take up the post which he is allotted. If he does not, then he has no right to exist. You must fight with me, achieve victory with me, or die with me. If things go wrong, I have four bullets in my pistol, three for my colleagues if they desert me, the last bullet for myself!' (Deuerlein, *Hitlerputsch*, p. 496). While Hitler is negotiating with the triumvirate behind closed doors, the SA leader, Göring, sensibly promises the audience that whatever the outcome of the National Revolution, the Bavarians will always get their beer. After the joint proclamation, reluctantly supported by the former triumvirate, they are allowed to go home.

**9 November:** Despite the fact that the *Kampfbund* has occupied some important buildings in the city (ministry of war, post and telegraph offices), the majority of the *Reichswehr* units refuse to join the *putschists*. Kahr, Lossow and Seisser revoke their agreement with Hitler, declaring that they had been forced to agree at gun-point. Kahr bans the *Kampfbund*, the NSDAP and the *Völkischer Beobachter*. In a desperate attempt to turn events in their favour, Hitler and Ludendorff lead a procession of about 2,000 from the *Bürgerbräukeller* to the centre of Munich, overpowering a police cordon guarding the bridge. In front of the *Feldherrnhalle* fire is exchanged between the SA and the state police. Fourteen men are killed (the irreplaceable Scheubner-Richter among them), or badly injured (Göring), but Hitler and Ludendorff remained unharmed. Ludendorff is arrested, but immediately released after giving his word of honour. Warrants for the arrest of the *Kampfbund* leaders are issued without delay. In the tumult, Hitler dislocates his left arm. He goes into hiding but refuses to flee abroad. He appoints Rosenberg to replace him as the NSDAP leader, with Amann, Esser and Streicher as his deputies. ('It was the greatest good fortune for us National Socialists that this *Putsch* collapsed,' Hitler declared in 1933. He gave three reasons: '(1) Co-operation with Ludendorff would have been absolutely impossible ... (2) the sudden take-over of power in the whole of Germany would have led to the greatest of difficulties in 1923 because the essential preparations by the NSDAP had not even begun, and (3) the events of 9 November 1923 in front of the *Feldherrnhalle*, with their blood sacrifice, have proven to be the most effective propaganda for National Socialism' (Gordon, pp. 408–9).)

**11 November:** Hitler is arrested while hiding in Hanfstaengl's house at Uffig near Staffelsee outside Munich. According to one version, he attempts to shoot himself in order to avoid arrest, but Frau Hanfstaengl manages to wrest the gun from him (Hanfstaengl, p. 108). He is taken to the fortress prison of Landsberg, south of Munich, where he remains detained on remand until the trial.

**Late November:** In his large and sunny cell in Landsberg, Hitler is allowed to receive an unending stream of visitors and admirers: Anton Drexler persuades him

to break off his hunger-strike; and Hans Knirsch, the co-founder of the Nazi Party in Bohemia, encourages him not to give up, since without him the movement would be lost (Toland, pp. 246–8). Other frequent visitors include Frau Bechstein, Hitler's patroness, and Helene Hanfstaengl. Her husband gains the impression that Hitler's suite of rooms in Landsberg look like a delicatessen shop (Hanfstaengl, p. 115).

**Early December:** Hitler is visited by his half-sister, Angela. (She later wrote: 'His spirit and soul were again at a high level. Physically he is quite well. His arm still gives him trouble, but they think it is almost healed. How moving is the loyalty he is accorded these days! Just before me, for example, a count visited him and brought a Christmas package from the *Villa Wahnfried* [from Winifred Wagner]. That which he has accomplished is as solid as a rock. The goal and the victory is only a question of time. God grant it be soon' (Toland, pp. 248–9)).

## 1924

**January:** As the NSDAP has been banned since the failure of the November *Putsch*, substitute organizations emerge during Hitler's imprisonment. The *Völkischer Block* (National Block) was founded in Bavaria, led by Rosenberg, whom Hitler designated his deputy. Rosenberg's rivals, Esser and Streicher, founded the *Grossdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft* (Greater German People's Community), which agitated against participation in elections. Nazi sympathizers outside Bavaria joined the *Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei* (German Nationalist Freedom Party), which was later to change its name to the *Nationalsozialistische Freiheitsbewegung*, represented by the triumvirate of Ludendorff, Albrecht von Graefe and Gregor Strasser. The imprisoned Hitler has very little influence on these movements.

**4 January:** Hitler signs a letter of credentials for Kurt Lüdecke, who is going to the USA to raise money for the movement (Lüdecke, p. 190).

**8 January:** Dr Brinsteiner of Landsberg signs an attestation stating that Hitler is physically and mentally able to stand trial, despite the fact that during the *putsch* he had 'suffered from a dislocation of the left shoulder with a break in the upper arm's joint and, as a result, from a very painful traumatic neurosis'. 'The patient has no symptoms', Dr Brinsteiner states, 'of psychic disorders or psychopathic tendencies' (Lurker, pp. 9–11).

**26 February:** The trial opens before the People's Court in Munich. Apart from Hitler and General Ludendorff, the two most prominent defendants, eight other men are accused of high treason against the state (Pöhner, Frick, Weber, Röhm, Kriebel, Brückner, Wagner and Pernet). But it is Hitler, displaying a stunning degree of confidence, overshadowing even Ludendorff, who is the recognized national hero. He assumes full responsibility for the failed *putsch* and uses the occasion to attack Kahr, Lossow and Seisser for their duplicity; the presiding judge and the chief prosecutor make no attempt to stop him. Hitler also has support behind the scenes in the person of his old protector, the Bavarian Minister of Justice. It soon becomes obvious that the trial is a travesty of justice, and that the court has no intention of sentencing Ludendorff. Hitler opens his speech by explaining why he joined the Nazi Party in Munich: 'The other political parties abandoned their responsibility of dealing with the whole problem which will cause the death of Germany if not tackled, namely the Marxist movement. In my opinion, this is the vital question for the German nation. By Marxism I understand a teaching which rejects in principle the value of personality ... and makes it possible that a German considers his own blood brother a mortal enemy and a class enemy, while he looks upon our real enemies, the English, the French, and

even the completely racially alien Hottentots, as his own brothers. The second tool of Marxism is indiscriminate terror. No other movement has ever worked with such a thorough knowledge of the masses as Marxism ... it offers the worker the following alternative: either you become my brother or I crush your skull ... We can never conclude peace with this *Weltanschauung*; as far as we are concerned, Germany will be rescued on the day when the last Marxist has been converted or smashed. There is no middle way. Not the bourgeoisie, but the German working people, the masses, must again become nationalistic! 'If I stand here as a revolutionary,' Hitler concludes, 'it is against the Revolution and crime. I am not guilty ... there is no such thing as high treason against those who betrayed the country in 1918 ... If I am really accused of high treason, then I must wonder why those who did exactly the same as I did are not sitting here with me ... I mean the gentlemen Kahr, Lossow, Seisser and all the others ... I feel myself to be not a traitor but the best of Germans who wanted the best for his people' (Jäckel, pp. 1064–6, 1102).

**26 March:** The Munich police send an enquiry to the provincial authorities of Lower Austria in Linz as to whether Hitler should be expelled to Austria after the trial.

**27 March:** In his closing speech at the trial, Hitler delivers a sharp condemnation of the Weimar Republic. He sums up the Nazi aims: neither republic nor monarchy; abolition of the Peace Treaty; against international 'stock-exchange' enslavement; against the domination of corporations over the national economy; against the transformation of trade unions into political bodies; and for the re-introduction of compulsory military service. Hitler rejects Lossow's accusation that he was led by ambition when he staged the *putsch*: 'How petty are the thoughts of small men! My aim, from the very first day, was a thousand times more than becoming a minister. What I wanted to become was the destroyer of Marxism. This is my task, and I know when I settle this question – which I will – then the title of minister will become ridiculous ... It was not from modesty that I wanted to become a "drummer" in those days. That was the highest aspiration; the rest is a trifle ... The man who is born to be a dictator is not compelled, he wants it; he does not allow himself to be pushed, he drives himself forward. There is nothing immodest about it! ... We face punishment today because the attempt failed. The deed of 8 November did not fail! ... I believe that the time will come when the masses which today stand with our swastika flags on the streets will join forces with those who fired on us on 9 November ... that the hour will come when the *Reichswehr* soldiers will stand on our side ... and that the old cockade will be taken from the dirt and the old banners will wave again ... For it is not you, esteemed gentlemen, who pass the ultimate verdict on us ... but the eternal court of history. What verdict you will hand down, I know ... You may pronounce us "guilty" a thousand times over, but the goddess of the eternal court of history will smile and tear to tatters the brief of the state prosecutor and the verdict of this court, for *she* will acquit us' (Jäckel, pp. 1210–16).

**1 April:** The People's Court in Munich passes sentence on Hitler and his co-defendants. Although the state prosecutor demands eight years' imprisonment for Hitler, he will receive a mild minimum sentence of five years. The same sentence is passed on Kriebel, Pöhner and Weber, while Brückner, Frick, Röhm, Pernet and Wagner receive a reduced sentence of 15 months' imprisonment, but are immediately released on probation; Ludendorff is acquitted. The court dismisses the claim made by the prosecution that Hitler should be extradited to Austria as an undesirable alien on the grounds of his wartime service. By late afternoon, Hitler is back in his cell in Landsberg. 'The trial of common narrow-mindedness and personal spite is over,' he comments, 'and today starts *My Struggle* [*Mein Kampf*]' (Toland, p. 261). He nominates Röhm as the military leader of the *Kampfbund*.

**April:** Shortly after his return to Landsberg, Hitler completes an article 'Why did the 8th November Have to Come?', published in the monthly *Deutschlands*

*Erneuerung*. Apart from his justification of the November *Putsch*, Hitler presents his view of Germany's foreign policy which, he believes, has only two options, just as before 1914: 'Either one opted for winning farm land, giving up maritime trade and colonies, giving up over-industrialization, etc. ... in league with England against the Soviet Union. Or one opted for sea power and world trade, in which case the only alternative, was an alliance with the Soviet Union against England.' Although some forty other Nazis share the prison with Hitler, only he and a handful of others (Kriebel, Weber, Hitler's chauffeur Emil Maurice and, later Rudolf Hess, who works for him as his secretary) enjoy special privileges. He eats well and puts on weight. He is allowed to spend much of his time outdoors in the garden and to receive as many visitors as he wishes for a total length of about six hours each week. Hardly a day passes without a visitor calling in to see him. Meals are served three times a day at a common table over which he presides. An unlimited number of food parcels is permitted. Although mail is in theory censored, Hitler and his companions manage to hectograph every week an underground magazine for which Hitler usually writes the leading article and contributes caricatures. No manual work is required from the prisoners, who are allowed to wear their civilian clothes. Visitors confirmed that when they saw Hitler in Landsberg, they felt that he was in a sanatorium rather than in a prison (Lurker, pp. 18, 31, 51-6; Lüdecke, pp. 232-3).

**16 April:** The Berlin government accepts the Dawes Plan re-scheduling reparation payments, for which Hitler has no more than sarcastic comments (*MK*, p. 215, 612).

**17 April:** The *Der Völkische Kurier* publishes an election manifesto for the forthcoming *Reichstag* elections on behalf of the nationalist movement in Bavaria, signed by Hitler, Ludendorff and Pöhner.

**20 April:** The provincial government of Lower Austria replies to Munich police that there was no objection to Hitler's deportation. On his thirty-fifth birthday, Hitler receives twenty visitors and so many parcels and flowers that they fill several rooms.

**4 May:** The *Reichstag* elections give the NS Freedom Movement almost 2 million votes and 32 mandates out of 472; ten Nazis become deputies. Hitler seems genuinely surprised but not overjoyed. 'From now on we must follow a new line of action,' he tells Lüdecke, who visited him shortly after the election. 'It is best to attempt no large organization until I am freed, which may be a matter of months rather than years ... I am not going to stay here much longer. When I resume active work, it will be necessary to pursue a new policy. Instead of working to achieve power by an armed coup, we shall have to hold our noses and enter the *Reichstag* against the Catholic and Marxist deputies. If out-voting them takes longer than out-shooting them, at least the results will be guaranteed by their own Constitution! Already we have 32 deputies under this new programme, and are the second largest party in the Bavarian Diet. Sooner or later we shall have a majority – and after that, Germany. I am convinced this is our best line of action, now that conditions in the country have changed so radically' (Lüdecke, p. 234).

**5 May:** Hitler writes to Siegfried Wagner in Bayreuth; he regrets that his *putsch* failed and stresses that 'our main and deadly enemy remains Marxism' (Jäckel, p. 1231).

**8 May:** Hitler's deportation to Austria, which is requested by the Bavarian State Police, is being obstructed by the Minister of Justice.

**Summer:** Professor Karl Haushofer visits his favourite student, Rudolf Hess, in the Landsberg prison (there is no evidence that he was introduced to Hitler on that occasion).

**6 July:** *Der Völkische Kurier* announced that Hitler has decided to lay down the leadership of the Nazi Movement for the duration of his imprisonment. Party supporters were urged not to visit him in Landsberg, since he needed all his free time for the completion of a voluminous book on which he was working.

**14 July:** Geli and Leo Raubal visit their uncle in the prison (Joachimsthaler, *Liste*, p. 309).

**July:** Rudolf Hess comments on Hitler's apparent withdrawal from politics: 'The reason is that he does not want to carry responsibility for something which happens outside without his knowledge ... Nor is he able to smooth out the constant quarrels, at least not from here. He considers it superfluous to bother with such petty disagreements. On the other hand, he is convinced that once he obtains his freedom, he can steer everything back on the right track. Above all he will terminate all ideological rivalries and unite all forces for the struggle against Communism' (Tyrell, *Führer*, p. 84).

**16 August:** *Der Nationalsozialist*, a Nazi magazine published in Leipzig, carries an interview between Hitler and Hermann Kügler, a National Socialist from Czechoslovakia, who visited Hitler in Landsberg (on 29 July). To the question of whether he had changed his position on the Jewish question, Hitler answered: 'I have been far too soft up to now! While working on my book, I have finally come to realize that the harshest methods of fighting must be employed in the future if we are to win. I am convinced that this is not only a matter of life and death for our people but for all peoples. The Jew is a world plague' (Jäckel, p. 1242).

**15 September:** The prison director of Landsberg writes a favourable report on Hitler to the State Prosecutor in Munich, stressing his exemplary behaviour and pleading that Hitler should be released on 1 October, when he will be eligible for parole. Hitler is portrayed as a remarkable political figure of the first magnitude, deeply dedicated to the salvation of nationalist Germany and 'very much convinced now that a State cannot exist without firm order' (Lurker, pp. 60–2).

**18 September:** In a report to the Ministry of Justice in Munich, the prison director of Landsberg sums up his observations of Hitler: 'From the very beginning Hitler did not reply, or only very briefly, to written questions ... After making some bitter statements about being misquoted in the press, Hitler announced that he wanted to refrain from giving political statements.' Over the last couple of weeks, the director emphasizes, Hitler had indeed abstained from party politics (Tyrell, *Führer*, pp. 76–7).

**22 September:** The Bavarian State Police submit another request for Hitler's deportation to Austria, which is effectively thwarted by the Ministry of Justice despite the argument that 'the moment he is set free, Hitler will, because of his energy, again become the driving force of new and serious public riots and a menace to the security of the state' (Bullock, p. 127).

**25 September:** The Bavarian Supreme Court recommends Hitler for parole, but the Office of the State Prosecutor decides against it.

**16 October:** Hitler completed the first part of his book dedicated to sixteen fallen party comrades who died on 9 November 1923. The original title, 'Four and a Half Years of Struggle Against Lies, Stupidity and Cowardice', sounded so clumsy that Max Amann suggested a brief title, *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle), which Hitler grudgingly accepted. In preparing the manuscript, Hitler was assisted greatly by Hess, who not only did most of the typing but also helped Hitler to improve his style. The prison staff allowed the lights in Hitler's cell to burn until midnight.

**18 October:** *Der Völkische Kurier* publishes Hitler's reaction to the recent decision by the Austrian government to take away his citizenship. The withdrawal of Austrian nationality should not be taken too seriously, replied Hitler, since he 'never felt as an Austrian citizen, but always as a German' (Jäckel, p. 1247).

**14 December:** The prison director of Landsberg writes an extremely favourable letter on Hitler's behalf, pleading that he should be released on parole, since he was not politically dangerous any more and set such 'a good example to his fellow-prisoners' (Lurker, p. 63).

**19 December:** At about 10 p.m. Hitler is woken by the prison director who brings him personally the long-awaited news: 'Herr Hitler, you are free' (Jäckel, p. 1249).



**20 December:** Hitler says good-bye to his fellow-prisoners. ('When I left Landsberg, everybody wept – but not I!', he recalled later, and described his imprisonment as: 'my university at state expense'.) A brand new Mercedes awaited him at the gates – a gift from Albert Pietsch, the president of the chamber of commerce of Munich. When he arrived at his apartment at 41 Thierschstrasse, he found it decorated with flowers and laurel wreaths.

**21–22 December:** *Der Völkische Kurier* announced that Hitler did not want any celebration of his release from prison and that he was planning to visit Ludendorff soon. The opposite was true, since Hitler avoided the general who had become his political rival.

**24 December:** Hitler spends Christmas Eve with the Hanfstaengls at their new house across the Isar river. Only when Hanfstaengl plays him the '*Liebstedt*' from Wagner's opera *Tristan and Isolde* does he relax. For the benefit of their four-year-old son, Hitler imitates the sounds of artillery fire. For the grown-ups he has his usual tirades against the Jews, but this time with more radical undertones. During a few moments of privacy with Frau Helene, seated on a large sofa, Hitler is said to have dropped to his knees and put his head in her lap: 'If only I had someone to take care of me', he is reported to have said. She reprimanded him for acting like a little boy and asked him why had he not married yet. 'I can never marry,' Hitler replied, 'because my life is dedicated to my country' (Toland, pp. 276–7).

## 1925

**4 January:** Hitler is received by the Bavarian Prime Minister, Dr Heinrich Held. The meeting is inconclusive; Held remains cold to Hitler's overtures. Hitler appeals for the release of fellow-prisoners in Landsberg; admits that the *putsch* was a serious mistake; he dissociates himself from Ludendorff and his attacks against the Catholic Church; promises that he has every intention of strengthening the authority of the state; and offers to assist the Bavarian government in fighting Marxism in the event of another Bolshevik uprising. Held is not convinced but agrees to lift the ban on the NSDAP and its newspaper. The same evening, Held confides to the Minister of Justice: 'The wild beast is checked, we can afford to loosen the chain' (Strasser, pp. 59–60).

**12 February:** Hitler's rivals, Ludendorff and Graefe, resign from the leadership of the NS Freedom Movement.

**16 February:** Emergency legislation against the NSDAP is lifted in Bavaria.

**26 February:** The first issue of *Völkischer Beobachter* reappears after the ban, carrying Hitler's 'Fundamental Directives for the Reconstitution of the NSDAP', in which he rejects past quarrels between individual Nazi leaders, welcomes Ludendorff, who has agreed to stand as the Nazi candidate in the forthcoming presidential election, and reiterates his demand for unconditional obedience. In his second article, 'A New Beginning for Our Movement', Hitler discusses the relationship with the ruling Bavarian People's Party, and makes it clear that he does not wish to fight against Christianity, but against 'that power which is the deadly enemy of every form of Christianity, no matter what confession', namely Bolshevism (Noakes, pp. 68–70; RSA, I/1).

**27 February:** Hitler delivers the first speech after his release from prison, which is considered masterful, at a mass gathering of NSDAP members and sympathizers in the *Bürgerbräukeller*. He declares the NSDAP to be reconstituted. As usual, he attacks the Jews: 'Their poisoning of pure Aryan blood is the greatest danger. All other dangers can be overcome but once the blood is poisoned it can no longer be changed; it remains and multiplies and presses us lower from year to year.' About

his own position as the irreplaceable Führer, he says: 'If anyone comes and wants to impose conditions on me, I shall say to him: "Just wait, my little friend, and see what conditions I impose on you" ... I am not contending for the favours of the masses ... I alone lead the Movement and no one can impose conditions on me so long as I personally bear the responsibility!' (Heiden, *Fuehrer*, pp. 205–10). The rank-and-file members accept enthusiastically Hitler's claim that the future of the Movement depended on his personal control. His lieutenants – Buttmann, Esser, Feder, Frick, Streicher – rushed to the stage to pledge loyal support. But there were also noticeable absentees: Drexler, Röhm, Rosenberg, Strasser and, of course, Ludendorff, who thus demonstrated their disagreement. The reconstitution of the NSDAP means a further disintegration of the once-united nationalist movement; in the *Reichstag* the four remaining Nazi deputies separate themselves from the nationalist coalition and the same process takes place in the Bavarian *Landtag*.

**2 March:** Hitler speaks in Nuremberg.

**9 March:** The Bavarian authorities ban Hitler's speeches as a penalty for his aggressive challenge of 27 February; other provincial governments follow suit and only in Braunschweig, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Württemberg and Thuringia is he still allowed to give speeches. This ban will last about two years, but Hitler continues to speak to closed NSDAP gatherings and private audiences, and to publish articles.

**11 March:** Hitler makes Gregor Strasser responsible for the expansion of the Nazi organization in north-central Germany; he himself refuses to move the NSDAP offices from Bavaria to Thuringia, where he would face less restrictions.

**13 March:** Hitler speaks in Berlin (*RSA*, I, no. 12).

**22 March:** Hitler speaks in Weimar.

**27 March:** Hitler enquires at the Austrian Consulate in Munich how he can cancel his Austrian citizenship.

**28 March:** Hitler speaks in the *Bürgerbräukeller*.

**29 March:** The first ballot for the election of the new president takes place (Friedrich Ebert died on 28 February). The Nazi candidate Ludendorff, who is supported by Hitler, receives only 285,793 votes (1.1 per cent) out of 27,000,000.

**7 April:** Hitler applied to the Linz Magistrate to have his Austrian citizenship cancelled.

**16–17 April:** Röhm meets Hitler in Munich. During Hitler's imprisonment Röhm has built up the paramilitary branch of the NSDAP, called the *Frontbann*, to 30,000 men. He wrongly assumes himself to be in a position of strength and presents Hitler with a memorandum demanding that Party politics will not be tolerated either in the *Frontbann* or in the SA: 'I categorically refuse to allow the SA to become involved in Party matters; equally, I categorically refuse to allow SA commanders to accept instructions from Party political leaders' (Röhm, pp. 313–14). Hitler rejects Röhm's terms, since he wants the SA under exclusive NSDAP control. Röhm offers his resignation the following day but Hitler ignores his letter.

**Mid-April:** Foundation of the SS (*Schutzstaffel*). Hitler decides to separate a small body of absolutely dedicated bodyguards from the SA for his own personal protection. The first batch of eight men is commanded by Hitler's chauffeur, Julius Schreck.

**26 April:** Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg wins the second ballot for the presidency with 14,650,000 votes, including those of the NSDAP, after Hitler decided to drop their candidate Ludendorff.

**30 April:** In a letter to the Consulate General in Munich, the Linz magistrates granted Hitler's application for withdrawal of Austrian citizenship. But Hitler does not acquire German citizenship (until 25 February 1932), nor can he vote or be elected. Röhm writes again to Hitler: 'I take this opportunity', he concludes his letter, 'in memory of the fine and difficult hours we have lived together, to thank

you [he uses the intimate second person singular 'Thou' (*Du*)] for your comradeship and to beg you not to exclude me from your personal friendship' (Röhm, p. 314). Shortly thereafter, Röhm complains to Lüdecke: 'No need to tell you what Hitler is like. Believe me, I didn't mince words when I last talked with him. But it's useless; if you try to tell him anything, he knows everything already. Though he often does what we advise, he laughs in our faces at the time, and later does the very thing as if it were all his own idea and creation. He doesn't even seem to be aware how dishonest he is. I've never seen a man so magnificently unaware that he's adorning himself with borrowed plumage. Usually, he solves suddenly, at the very last minute, a situation that has become intolerable and dangerous only because he vacillates and procrastinates ... But nobody is perfect, and he has his great qualities. Apparently there's nobody else who would do better than he' (Lüdecke, p. 287).

**25 May:** Hitler's circular letter to all NSDAP branches announces the reconstitution of the SA, but still without a designated commander.

**26 May:** Hitler's party secretariat issues a careful denial that 'Herr Hitler has no intention of establishing a new combat movement ... What he needs today is a mere Protection Guard (*Saalschutz*) as prior to 1923' (Bennecke, p. 120).

**11 and 12 June:** Hitler speaks at a closed meeting of NSDAP representatives in Plauen.

**14 June:** Hitler speaks in Stuttgart.

**5 July:** Hitler and Streicher speak at the NSDAP leadership convention in Rosenheim.

**8 July:** Hitler speaks in Stuttgart.

**12 July:** Hitler speaks in Weimar.

**15 July:** Hitler speaks in Zwickau.

**18 July:** The first volume of *Mein Kampf* is published by Franz Eher Verlag in Munich, with the subtitle 'A Reckoning' (*Abrechnung*). It does not sell well at first, but by 1945 over 10,000,000 copies will have been sold and its translation into sixteen languages arranged. It is a mixture of political ideas within the framework of an autobiography. The autobiographical details, covering his childhood and boyhood, his years in Vienna and Munich, the war, and the beginning of the Nazi movement, are not always reliable. He also discusses his fixations, the Jews, Marxism and his views on racial purity, all within the context of Germany's political crises. The book is dedicated to sixteen party comrades who died on 9 November 1923. (That he did not consider himself a writer is clear from what he allegedly said several years later to his legal adviser, Hans Frank: 'I am not a writer. What beautiful Italian Mussolini writes and speaks! I cannot do the same in German. Ideas escape me while I am writing. *Mein Kampf* is a collection of leader articles from *Völkischer Beobachter*, and I believe that even there they would not be accepted from the point of view of language. As for the content, I would not like to change it. Although they may appear as "fantasies behind bars", which I dictated to Hess, there is also a certain logic in the dream. Only the chapter on syphilis should I completely rearrange, for it is mistaken' (Frank, p. 45).

**Late July:** Hitler attends the music festival in Bayreuth for two weeks. He stays with the Bechsteins. (He later recalled: 'On the morning of my arrival, Cosima Wagner paid me a visit, which I returned in the course of the day. Siegfried was there. Bayreuth exerted its full charm upon me. I was thirty-six years old, and life was delightful. I had all the pleasure of popularity, without any of the inconveniences. Everybody put himself out to be nice to me, and nobody asked anything of me. By day I'd go for a walk in leather shorts. In the evening, I'd go to the theatre in a dinner-jacket or tails. Afterwards, we would prolong the evening in the company of the actors ... My supercharged Mercedes was a joy to all' (*TT*, pp. 283–4, 348–9)).

**29 July:** Hitler gives a political speech in Bayreuth.

**30 July:** Hitler speaks in Kronach.

**July/August:** Hitler spends most of the summer in Berchtesgaden, in a rented cottage, working on the second volume of *Mein Kampf*. He had asked his sister,

Angela Raubal, to be his housekeeper and she arrived to look after *Haus Wachenfeld*, an Alpine cottage he rented. Angela arrived accompanied by her seventeen-year old daughter, Geli, for whom Hitler was to develop a deep affection. He is scarcely bothered by NSDAP affairs and pays little attention to criticism of his indifferent leadership. He spends more time touring the Bavarian countryside in his chauffeur-driven red Mercedes. Hanfstaengl offers to teach him English, so that he can read English-language newspapers, but he never makes up his mind to it.

**4 August:** A meeting of NSDAP leaders is convened under Hitler's chairmanship in Munich. Hitler refuses to appoint a deputy, saying that the NSDAP will stand or fall with him.

**5 August:** Hitler speaks in Bamberg.

**10 August:** Hitler speaks at Munich's *Kreuzbräu* against Bolshevism.

**15 August:** Hitler speaks in Stuttgart.

**10–11 September:** Hitler gives his reluctant approval to the foundation of the Working Association of NSDAP *Gauleiters* of North-West Germany, whose main organizers are Gregor Strasser and his secretary, Dr Joseph Goebbels.

**26 and 27 September:** Hitler speaks at the NSDAP meeting in Fürth.

**2 October:** Hitler disrupts the speech of Anton Drexler, with whom he is involved in a lawsuit, at a meeting of the sectarian organization, the *NS Volksbund*. He requests all Nazis present to leave the meeting with him.

**6 October:** Hitler speaks in Plauen.

**8 October:** Hitler speaks in Wismar.

**11 October:** Hitler speaks in Würzburg.

**18 October:** Hitler speaks in Landshut.

**28 October:** Hitler speaks in Weimar.

**4 November:** Hitler speaks in Braunschweig.

**6 November:** Hitler speaks in Hanover at a NSDAP meeting. Goebbels describes the scene: 'And those big blue eyes. Like stars, He is glad to see me. I am in heaven ... Then he makes another half-hour speech here. Full of wit, irony, humour, sarcasm, seriousness and glowing with passion. That man has got everything to be a king. A born tribune. The coming dictator' (Goebbels, *Early Diaries*, pp. 47–8; *TBJG*, I,1).

**12 November:** Hitler speaks in Gera.

**19 November:** Hitler speaks in Jena.

**21 November:** Hitler speaks in Ansbach. Thereafter Hitler remains in Saxony and speaks with Goebbels in Plauen (*RSA*, 1, p. 143).

**23 November:** Hitler speaks in Chemnitz, where local communists try to disrupt the meeting. (Reports that 150 people were wounded and two killed (Goebbels, *Early Diaries*, p. 50) remain unproven.)

**3 December:** Hitler defends Streicher at a Nuremberg law court and give a political speech the following day.

**12 December:** Hitler speaks in Dingolfing.

**13 December:** Hitler speaks in Weimar.

**16 December:** Hitler speaks in Stuttgart.

**24 December:** Hitler attends a Christmas party organized by the NSDAP local branch in Bamberg. Compared with its standing in 1923, Hitler's party has doubled the number of its local organizations from 350 to 600, but shows an alarming decline in membership, from 55,000 to 27,000.

## 1926

**24 January:** Hitler sends Gottfried Feder as his representative to Hanover, where the rebellious *Gauleiters* of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Nordwest* (Working Association

from North-West Germany) are meeting. Gregor Strasser circulates his anti-capitalist draft programme, which he proposes should replace Hitler's own 25-point programme dating from 1920. Strasser places much greater emphasis on socialism than Hitler's Munich group, anticipating a violent clash between the guardians of the Versailles system and the underdog nations, such as Germany, Soviet Russia, India and China. Feder refutes Strasser's draft, to the fury of Joseph Goebbels, who demands that 'the petty bourgeois Adolf Hitler be expelled from the Party' (Strasser, p. 86).

**February:** Hitler nominates Wilhelm Tempel as the leader of the newly founded *NS Deutscher Studentenbund* (National Socialist Student League).

**12 February:** Hitler's pamphlet *The South-Tyrolian Question and Germany's Alliance Problem* (*Die Südtiroler Frage und das Deutsche Bündnisproblem*) is published in Munich. Hitler cautiously avoids the nationalist demand for the incorporation of South Tyrol into Greater Germany, and advocates instead a policy of close alliance with Italy and Britain.

**14 February:** Hitler convenes a congress of Nazi leaders to Bamberg, a stronghold of his fanatical devotee, Julius Streicher. In a five-hour speech, he rejects Strasser's new draft programme, declares his own 25 points of 1920 untouchable, and defends the principle of private property with regard to the large estates of the former German princes, whose ownership the Strasser group wants to subject to a national plebiscite. But Hitler does not endorse the Streicher-Esser line either, and proposes instead his own alternative as the only acceptable programme for the whole Movement, namely his own mythologized person – the cult of the Führer. He succeeds in curtailling the trend towards regional and local autonomy that developed during his imprisonment. Moreover, Hitler's spell is so strong that he extracts from his deputies, including Strasser, oaths of loyalty. The electrifying effect of his speech is captured in Goebbels' diaries: 'I feel stunned. What kind of Hitler? A reactionary? Amazingly clumsy and insecure. Russian question: completely beside the point. Italy and Britain the natural allies. Horrible! Our task is smashing Bolshevism. Bolshevism is a Jewish question! We must become Russia's heirs! 180 million people!!! Compensation for the princes! Law is law. Also for the princes. Question of not weakening private property [*sic*]. Horrible! ... Strasser speaks. Hesitant, trembling, clumsy, good honest Strasser. Lord, what a poor match we are for those pigs down there! ... I cannot say a word. I am stunned. I want to cry!' (Goebbels, *Early Diaries*, p. 67; *TBJG*, I,1).

**28 February:** Hitler addresses the 'National Club of 1919' in Hamburg. In a clever and effective speech, he portrays himself as above all an enemy of Marxism and does not mention the Jews at all. He abstains from attacking the established moral values, religion and the education of the bourgeoisie, which he is known to despise.

**5 and 12 March:** Hitler speaks in Munich's *Hackerbräu*.

**9 and 16 March:** Hitler speaks in the Munich inn *Deutsche Eiche*.

**19 March:** Hitler publishes in the *Völkischer Beobachter* 'The Open Reply to Herr von Graefe' – a decisive polemic against the *Deutschvölkischen*.

**23, 25, 30, 31 March and 1 April:** Hitler speaks in Munich, mostly at the *Bürgerbräukeller*.

**11 April:** Hitler speaks in Altenburg.

**13 and 15 April:** Hitler speaks in Munich. At Hitler's invitation, Goebbels speaks on 13 April in the *Bürgerbräukeller*. After the speech 'Hitler embraces me at the end. He has tears in his eyes' (Goebbels, *Early Diaries*, pp. 77–8; *TBJG*, I,1).

**17–20 April:** On Hitler's 37th birthday he and Goebbels travel together to Stuttgart to speak at two engagements. Hitler's personal charm begins to work on Goebbels: 'Hitler sees me and embraces me. He gives me much praise. I believe he has taken me to his heart like no one else ... Adolf Hitler, I love you, because you are both great and simple. A genius' (Goebbels, *Early Diaries*, p. 80; *TBJG*, I,1).

**22 and 27 April:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**1 May:** Hitler is invited by the Hamburg branch of the NSDAP to speak on May Day, but is not allowed to break the ban on his speeches which remains in force. The rally is transferred to Schwerin (Mecklenburg), where he speaks on the following day.

**11 May:** The National Socialist Party of Austria splits; the Hitlerite wing separates itself and declares its allegiance to Hitler.

**22 May:** At a general meeting of the NSDAP Munich branch, Hitler is unanimously elected chairman of the *NS Deutscher Arbeiterverein* (National Socialist German Workers' Club), to which the rest of the party is to be completely subordinated. The party statutes are modified, for the fifth time, and accepted unanimously, but it is decided that Hitler's own 25-point programme should remain unaltered. Hitler's total control over the party is assured; there will be no majority decisions binding on him.

**23 May:** Hitler attacks Communism in a speech in Munich.

**26 May:** The *Völkischer Beobachter* published Hitler's comprehensive account of NSDAP activities.

**30 May:** Hitler speaks in Rostock.

**2 June:** Hitler speaks in Parchim.

**5 June:** Hitler speaks in Schwerin.

**10 June:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**14–21 June:** Hitler tours the Rhineland and delivers speeches in Elberfeld (twice), Hattingen, Bochum, Cologne, Essen and Osnabrück. Goebbels comments: 'Hitler is the same dear comrade ... As a speaker he has developed a wonderful harmony of gesture, histrionics and spoken word ... Together with him you can conquer the world' (Goebbels, *Early Diaries*, p. 91).

**20 June:** Hitler orders a 'Communist' referendum taking place on the financial compensation to be offered to former princes for expropriated lands.

**3–4 July:** The second NSDAP national rally (*Reichsparteitag*) is held in Weimar. Hitler proclaims the foundation of the 'Hitler Youth' (*Hitler-Jugend – HJ*), which will evolve into a leading Nazi mass organization under the initiative of Kurt Gruber.

**4 July:** Hitler, reviewing several thousand stormtroopers in Weimar, stands in his car and returns the salute, for the first time with arm outstretched. The *Illustrierter Beobachter* begins to appear. Until 1931, Hitler will contribute a leading article to each new issue.

**8–9 July:** Hitler appears before the Administrative Courts (*Amtsgericht*) in Plauen and Munich.

**18 July–1 August:** Hitler stays in Obersalzberg and Berchtesgaden with his entourage. He lives in the *Deutsches Haus* hotel and finds time to flirt with one of the local girls, Maria (Mitzi) Reiter. During the day he works mainly on the second volume of *Mein Kampf*. In Goebbels' sycophantic commentary: 'Yes, you can serve this man – the creator of the third Reich! ... The chief talks about race questions ... He is a genius. The natural, creative instrument of fate determined by God. I am deeply moved. He is like a child: kind, good, merciful. Like a cat: cunning, clever, agile. Like a lion: roaring and great and gigantic ... "My head will not roll in the sand until I have completed my mission!" Those were his last words. That's what he is like! Indeed! ... In the evening he speaks about the country's future architecture and is nothing but an architect. And he fills in the picture by describing the new German Constitution: and then he is the master of statecraft! ... My last doubts have disappeared' (Goebbels, *Early Diaries*, pp. 99–101).

**12 August:** The Austrian National Socialists meet in Passau and acclaim Hitler as their Führer; the NSDAP of Austria is proclaimed. In a speech Hitler declares the annexation (*Anschluss*) of Austria by Germany as his aim; Austria must accept German leadership unconditionally, and will in future be treated as a province (*Gau*) of Greater Germany. The Austrian SA also accepts German leadership. Hitler appoints Friedrich Jankovic as his deputy (*Gauführer*) for Austria.

**21 August:** Another court appearance of Hitler in Munich.

**29 August:** Hitler speaks to the Austrian NSDAP convoked to Munich.

**September:** Hitler nominates the retired General Bruno Heinemann as chairman of the *Untersuchungs und Schlichtungsausschuss* (NSDAP Investigation and Mediation Committee), called '*Uschla*' for short.

**9 and 13 October:** Hitler speaks in Berchtesgaden.

**20 October:** Hitler speaks in Weimar.

**1 November:** Franz Pfeffer von Salomon is proclaimed by Hitler as the leader of the SA. For a time, the SS is also placed under his command. In his instructions to Pfeffer, Hitler makes it clear that the re-established SA is to confine itself to the role of an instrument of Nazi propaganda, in contrast to its previous role under Röhm, who wanted to turn the SA into an independent paramilitary formation: 'What we need is not a hundred or two hundred daring conspirators, but a hundred thousand and hundreds of thousands more fanatical fighters for our *Weltanschauung* ... We have to teach Marxism that National Socialism is the future master of the streets, just as it will one day be master of the State' (Noakes, pp. 86–8). Hitler puts Goebbels in charge of the NSDAP organization in the Berlin-Brandenburg region, with the task of 'conquering the red Berlin'. His nomination of Goebbels as *Gauleiter* of Berlin is meant to check the publishing activities of the Strasser brothers' *Kampfverlag*.

**17 November:** Hitler defends himself at Munich's Administrative Court.

**22 November–3 December:** Hitler tours the Rhineland and delivers speeches in Essen, Hattingen and Bonn. In a speech delivered in Essen on 22 November, Hitler favours the use of force and violence: 'The fundamental motive through all the centuries has been the principle that force and power are the determining factors ... World history proves that in the struggle between nations, that race has always won out, whose drive for self-preservation was the more pronounced, the stronger ... The practical result of conciliation among nations is the renunciation of a people's own strength and their voluntary enslavement' (VB, 26 November 1926).

**1 December:** Hitler addresses the Ruhr industrialists in Königswinter.

**11 December:** The second volume of *Mein Kampf*, subtitled *The National Socialist Movement*, is published in Munich. For the first time Hitler reveals his long-term goals, especially in Chapter 14 ('Eastern Orientation or Eastern Policy'): 'To gather our people and their strength for a march on that road which will lead this people out of its present restricted Living Space (*Lebensraum*) to new land and soil, and hence also free it from the danger of vanishing from the earth or of serving others as a slave nation.' 'We National Socialists must go further,' declares Hitler, 'without extension of its soil a great nation seems doomed to destruction ... Germany will either be a world power or there will be no Germany ... We stop the endless German movement to the south and west, and turn our gaze towards the land in the east. At long last we break off the colonial and commercial policy of the pre-war period and shift to the soil policy of the future. If we speak of soil in Europe today, we can primarily have in mind only *Russia* and her vassal border States.' In Hitler's view, the Russian Empire was a creation of a 'Germanic nucleus of its upper leading strata ... today regarded as almost totally exterminated ... and replaced by the Jew. Impossible as it is for the Russian by himself to shake off the yoke of the Jew by his own resources, it is equally impossible for the Jew to maintain the mighty empire forever. He himself is no element of organisation, but a ferment of decomposition ... We have been chosen by Fate as witness of a catastrophe which will be the mightiest confirmation of the soundness of the nationalist theory.' Hitler puts forward his grand design for Germany's European political alliance with Britain and Italy, and since the interests of both powers are compatible, neither of them will interfere with Germany's course of expansion in the east, and they will help her to isolate France. Hitler then tries to pull together his previous views on foreign policy, aimed at making Germany a great power again in three major phases: (1) Unification of all Germans, consolidation of the

Greater German Reich, rearmament combined with treaties of alliance with Britain and Italy. This would bring about the isolation of France – Germany's 'mortal enemy'; (2) War with France and her elimination as a great power, thereby removing the danger of a second front; preparing for the war with the Soviet Union, and for the acquisition of land in the East; (3) Conquest of the Soviet Union. But Germany, Hitler concludes, can offer no resistance to France as long as she remains poisoned by the Marxism spread by international Jewry (*MK*, pp. 590–620).

## 1927

**January:** Count Ernst von Reventlow, one of the leaders of the nationalist movement, declares: 'I subordinate myself without further ado to Adolf Hitler. Why? He demonstrated that he can lead!' Hitler and Joseph Goebbels pay their last visit, in Bayreuth, to the dying Houston Stewart Chamberlain, the celebrated propagandist of the Wagnerian cult whose racialist interpretation of history influenced Nazi ideology.

**5 January:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**11–24 January:** Hitler tours Thuringia, speaking in Meiningen, Eisenach, Schleiz, Gotha, and Jena.

**5 February:** Hitler sends out a circular note to all *Gauleiters* and local branches of the NSDAP, in which he declares that Nazi Party members will not be allowed to belong to other political organizations.

**6 March:** One day after Bavaria lifts the ban on Hitler's public speeches, Hitler delivers his first speech in Vilsbiburg.

**9 March:** Hitler delivers his first speech in the Munich Circus *Krone* before an audience of about 7,000.

**12 March:** Hitler speaks in Augsburg.

**15 March:** Hitler speaks in Coburg.

**22 March:** Hitler speaks in Nuremberg.

**26 March:** Hitler speaks in Ansbach.

**30 March:** In a speech in Munich, Hitler speaks of the new orientation of Germany's foreign policy, based on alliance with England and Italy. He declares that 'soil and territory is the only justification for an investment of blood' (*VB*, 1 April 1927).

**2 April:** In a speech in Munich, Hitler maintains: 'There is no humanitarianism but only an eternal struggle, a struggle which is the prerequisite for the development of all humanity ... We see before us the Aryan race which is manifestly the bearer of all culture ... Our entire industrial science is without exception the work of the Nordics. All great composers from Beethoven to Wagner are Aryans, even though they were born in Italy or France. Do not say the art is international. The tango, the shimmy and the Jazzband are international but they are not art ... Take away the Nordic Germans and nothing remains but the dance of apes' (*VB*, 4 April 1927).

**6 April:** Hitler speaks in the Munich Circus *Krone*.

**9 April:** In a speech in Munich, Hitler returns to his topic of blood and soil: 'If you do not give us space on this earth then we ourselves will take this space. That is why we are National Socialists ... I am happy that fate guided me, a simple soldier for four years, through the hell and blood and fire. I cannot imagine that a true German would ever take the responsibility of leading his people through this hell a second time unless he was convinced that from this inferno a paradise would be forthcoming for his people' (*VB*, 12 April 1927).

**11 April:** Speaking in Munich, Hitler accuses France, together with Poland and Czechoslovakia, of conducting a policy of encirclement in order to 'sabotage



every attempt at German regeneration ... France will always be our enemy!' (VB, 15–16 April 1927).

**13 April:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**19 April:** Hitler speaks in Rosenheim.

**24–27 April:** Hitler tours the Rhineland; he speaks twice in Essen before an invited audience of 400 West German industrialists, as well as in Hattingen.

**May:** The first purge of the SA in Munich: Hitler expels from the NSDAP the SA leader Edmund Heines, a convicted murderer and notorious homosexual, for insubordination.

**1 May:** Hitler speaks for the first time in Berlin at a closed NSDAP meeting in the 'Clou' Hall; about 5,000 National Socialists are present.

**5 May:** The Berlin Police Chief bans the NSDAP from public meetings.

**7 and 8 May:** Hitler speaks in Stuttgart.

**11 May:** Hitler speaks in Nuremberg.

**12 May:** Hitler speaks in Munich's *Bürgerbräu Keller*.

**16 May:** In a speech in Munich, Hitler affirms unambiguously that Germany's freedom can be obtained only by destroying France.

**18 May:** Hitler personally appeals to the SA in Munich to prevent a further crisis of confidence in the leadership.

**23, 24 and 25 May:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**25–31 May:** Hitler tries to solve the crisis of the Munich SA.

**3 June:** Hitler speaks in Munich at the funeral of the murdered worker Hirschmann.

**9 June:** Hitler repeats the same speech in Nuremberg.

**12 June:** Hitler speaks in Stuttgart.

**13 June:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**17 June:** Hitler speaks in Landshut on his favourite theme, the eternal struggle of the species and the role of racial elites in history.

**20 June:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**25 June:** The *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes Hitler's denial of rumours, widely circulating in German papers, that a fratricidal rift between him and Dr Goebbels occurred in Berlin over propaganda methods.

**26 June:** Hitler speaks in Dörfles.

**3 July:** Hitler speaks at the Austrian NSDAP convention at Freilassing.

**4 July:** Hitler meets Emil Kirdorf, one of the leading German industrialists, at the home of Hugo Bruckmann, a pro-Nazi publisher in Munich. Kirdorf declares himself in complete agreement with Hitler's views and asks him to put his thoughts together in the form of a pamphlet to be made available to other industrialists and businessmen.

**Late July:** Hitler on a fund-raising speaking tour of East Prussia and Pomerania.

**30 July:** Hitler returns to Munich and delivers a speech at the annual meeting of the National Socialist German Workers' Club.

**August:** The Hugo Bruckmann Verlag publishes Hitler's pamphlet 'The Road to Resurgence' (*Der Weg zum Wiederaufstieg*), written at Emil Kirdorf's instigation.

**6 July:** Hitler speaks in Heidelberg.

**9 August:** Hitler says in Heidelberg that 'the soil upon which we live today was conquered by our forefathers through struggle. And the first fertilizers of this soil was not pacifist holy water but blood' (Prange, p. 15).

**16–21 August:** The 3rd NSDAP national rally (*Reichsparteitag*) takes place in Nuremberg. About 20,000 party members participate, of which 8,500 are uniformed SA and SS men. Amid well-planned parades and torchlight marches, Hitler shows himself a master of mass manipulation. He reviews the marching SA men and consecrates the Nazi banners. He appeals to individual members to make even greater sacrifice for the movement, which is in financial trouble. As an example he extols the virtues of the boys from the Hitler Youth. In his closing speech Hitler urges the necessity of territorial expansion for the German people,

since the present economic struggle between the nations, and Germany's lack of living space, will inevitably lead to a violent confrontation between the European states. He denounces the democratic principle of majority and predicts that victory will be won by a minority that show will and determination (RSA, 1927, no 5 162–8).

**2 October:** Hitler speaks in Neustadt near Coburg.

**6 October:** Hitler speaks in Hamburg to NSDAP members shortly after the prohibition on his speaking in public there is lifted.

**9 October:** Hitler speaks in Ludwigslust (Mecklenburg).

**16 October:** Hitler speaks in Hof.

**9 November:** On the anniversary of the abortive putsch, Hitler speaks in the Munich *Bürgerbräukeller*.

**16 November:** Hitler speaks in Chemnitz.

**17 November:** Hitler speaks in Bochum.

**18 November:** Hitler speaks in Ulm.

**21 November:** Speaking in Munich, Hitler declares that 'politics is nothing else than the struggle of a people for its existence in this world'. His observation of political struggle presents him with three conclusions: 'The value of man is determined in the first place by his inner racial values; second, by the ability of the race to bring forth men who in turn become leaders in the struggle for advancement; third, this entire process takes place in the form of eternal struggle. As a consequence, struggle is the father of all things in this world' (VB, 23 November 1927).

**24 November:** Hitler speaks in Braunschweig.

**27 November:** Hitler meets the *Gauleiters* and Nazi *Reichstag* deputies in the *Elephant* hotel in Weimar to tell them that the movement is not yet strong enough to assert itself against the Communists in the next election.

**2 and 5 December:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Essen.

**4 December:** Hitler delivers several speeches in Essen. In the Krupp works he lectures to an audience of 800 Ruhr industrialists on the subject 'Germany's Foreign Policy: Our Final Decline – or Our Future!'

**5 December:** A prominent local newspaper comments on Hitler's speech: 'Hitler is ... not a demagogue in the usual sense, though he has mastered all the keys of a political orator and knows how to use them, rather, he believes in what he says ... If people disbelieved him, it would have been impossible for him to captivate, in the course of his two-and-a-half hour speech, an audience composed of so many learned people, who felt caught, no doubt even fascinated, from the first to the last word' (Tyrell, *Führer*, p. 190).

**10 December:** Hitler speaks in Hamburg to several thousand farmers from Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein.

**17 December:** Hitler speaks in Augsburg.

**19 December:** In the presence of Goebbels and Gregor Strasser, Hitler speaks in Munich's *Hofbräuhaus*.

## 1928

**2 January:** Hitler replaces Gregor Strasser as chairman of the NSDAP Propaganda Committee and nominates the latter as chairman of the Organizational Committee. Hitler also appoints Walter Buch, a retired army officer, as chairman of the Party Investigation and Mediation Committee (*Utschla*).

**9, 12, 19, 23, 26 January:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**15 January:** In a speech delivered in Neustadt an der Aisch, Hitler advocates the survival of the fittest. He is outraged by the absence of strength among the

Germans: 'when a people dances negro dances and listens only to jazz music, then we need not to be surprised if its souls perish and seek out parliamentary monstrosities' (VB, 20 January 1928).

**18 January:** Hitler speaks in Memmingen.

**29 January:** Hitler speaks in Amberg.

**1 February:** Hitler speaks in Holzkirchen.

**5 February:** In a speech in Kulmbach, Hitler claims that 'it is not by the principles of humanity that man lives or is able to preserve himself above the animal world, but solely by means of the most brutal struggle' (VB, February 1928).

**12 February:** Hitler speaks in Freising.

**16 February:** Hitler speaks in Hamburg.

**18 February:** Hitler speaks in Leipzig.

**24 and 29 February:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**26 February:** Hitler speaks in Erlangen.

**3 March:** Hitler speaks in Karlsruhe.

**5 March:** Hitler speaks in Heidelberg.

**8 and 12 March:** Hitler speaks in Essen.

**21 March:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**24 March:** Hitler speaks in Kempten.

**27 March:** Hitler speaks in Fürth.

**30 March:** Hitler speaks in Ingolstadt.

**2 April:** Hitler speaks in Chemnitz on the virtues of struggle: 'Whatever goals man has reached is due to his originality plus his brutality. Whatever man possesses today in the field of culture is the culture of the Aryan race ... The basis for all development is the creative urge of the individual, not the vote of majorities. The genius of the individual is decisive, not the spirit of the masses. All life is bound in three theses: struggle is the father of all things, virtue lies in blood, leadership is primary and decisive. Because the German people has forgotten this, it has collapsed. And if the German people does not again acquire power, that is, power in the sense of values and will, then no other choice is left the German people but to perish' (VB, 7 April 1928).

**5 April:** Hitler speaks in Zwickau.

**8 April:** Hitler speaks in Weinböhla.

**11 April:** Hitler speaks in Straubing.

**13 April:** Forced by his opponents, who are trying to frighten the farmers with the image of the Nazis being a radical anti-property movement, Hitler revises Point 17 of the party programme of 24 February 1920, which called for a land reform: 'Since the NSDAP defends private property, it is self-evident that the text "confiscation without compensation" merely refers to the creation of possible legal means of confiscation, when necessary, of land acquired illegally or not managed in the public interest. This is, therefore, aimed primarily against Jewish companies which speculate in land' (Deuerlein, *Aufstieg*, p. 292).

**14 April:** Hitler speaks in Bayreuth.

**17 April:** In a speech in Munich, Hitler denounces Stresemann's policy of reconciliation with France as madness. He calls the Locarno Pact (1926), which was Stresemann's achievement, as the 'most monstrous deed, because for the first time in world history, we as a people accepted treaties without being forced to do so, which meant our death. Stresemann therewith gave up the last bit of national sovereignty so we could at last join the League of Nations' (VB, 19 April 1928).

**20 April:** Hitler speaks in Trauenstein.

**23 April:** Hitler speaks in Landsberg.

**25 April:** Hitler urges NSDAP members to accept the recommendations of *Utschla*. He warns that disobedience may result in expulsion from the movement. (VB, 8 April 1928).

**26 April:** Hitler speaks in Pforzheim.

**27 April:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**29 April:** In a speech delivered in Bamberg, Hitler declares: 'We need power to acquire living space. The acquisition of power is not so much a question of weapons as of the spirit which inspires a people' (Prange, p. 15).

**2 May:** Speaking in Munich, Hitler declares: 'There is no distinction between war and peace. Struggle is ever-present. A latent peace is only possible when one is either a free lord or a slave. The final decision lies with the sword' (VB, 4 May 1928).

**5 May:** Hitler speaks in Plauen.

**8 May:** Hitler speaks in Leipzig.

**1 May:** Hitler speaks in Stuttgart.

**14, 19, 20 and 23 May:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**17 May:** Hitler speaks in Augsburg.

**20 May:** The *Reichstag* elections are a fiasco for Hitler's NSDAP, which obtains only twelve mandates and 809,000 votes (2.6 per cent): 100,000 fewer than in 1924.

**23 May:** In a speech in Munich, Hitler calls for a war of expansion to acquire more soil for the German people: 'I believe that I have enough energy to lead our people to war, and not for the revision of frontiers, but for the deliverance of our people in the most distant future, so that our people acquires so much soil and territory that the sacrifice in blood can be returned to posterity in four-fold measure ... If today Satan would come along and offer to be my ally against France, I would give him my hand, and I would march with him!' (VB, 25 May 1928).

**5 June:** In a circular note sent out by *Uschla*, Hitler asks the *Gauleiters* for an opinion on the activities of Dr Arthur Dinter, a former *Gauleiter* of Thuringia, who with his 'Spiritual Christian Religious Community' is pursuing a single-minded aim to 'complete the Reformation' (Tyrell, *Führer*, p. 203).

**27 June:** Hitler issues a circular note to all editors of Nazi newspapers reminding them that the Movement must follow the path of legality (Tyrell, *Führer*, p. 289).

**Early Summer (mid-June till early July):** Hitler completes with Max Amann the text of his 'Second Book', which he started to dictate in May. (It was never published during Hitler's lifetime, but discovered as late as 1958 by Gerhard L. Weinberg in the US Records Center at Alexandria, Virginia, among captured German documents, and subsequently published as *Hitler's Zweites Buch* in German, and as *Hitler's Secret Book* in English, in 1961; critical edition publ. in 1995: RSA, II A.) It deals almost exclusively with the domain of foreign policy and goes beyond *Mein Kampf* in elaborating some important themes, especially in view of Hitler's ambition for Germany's world dominion by instalments, first by establishing German hegemony over Europe, then by expanding eastwards against Bolshevik Russia in the quest for a new living-space, and finally by challenging the USA. To achieve this final aim, Germany needed reliable allies and Hitler argued that these could only be Italy and Great Britain. Both could be gained if Germany renounced claims to South Tyrol and former overseas colonies. Hitler believed that Italy should give up rivalry with Britain in the Mediterranean in favour of a joint Italo-German recognition of British sea supremacy. This would help to dismantle the Anglo-French alliance and create a new Anglo-German-Italian bloc.

**6 July:** Hitler speaks at a SA recruiting meeting in the *Bürgerbräukeller*.

**13 July:** Hitler speaks in Berlin-Friedrichshain to more than 4,000 NSDAP members: 'I have two major foreign policy goals,' he tells the audience, 'the first is to gain freedom, the second is to gain land and soil' (Tyrell, *Führer*, pp. 190–1).

**25 July:** Hitler writes to Arthur Dinter in order to persuade him to give up his project of creating a new National Socialist Religion, as it could weaken the immediate political goals of the Nazi movement. Hitler suggests that his own racial solution for Germany might be achieved faster than Dinter's religious reformation: 'I am 39 years old, my dear Herr Doktor, so that, if Fate does not interfere, I shall have, even under the most favourable circumstances, no more than 20 years at my disposal ... to solve this enormous task' (Tyrell, *Führer*, pp. 203–5; RSA III/1, no. 4).

**5 August:** Hitler speaks in Erbendorf.

**9 August:** Hitler rejects the proposal to create Nazi-controlled trade unions.

**31 August–3 September:** Instead of the annual party rally, Hitler convenes a meeting of the entire NSDAP leadership corps in Munich's *Bürgerbräukeller*, where he delivers a speech on the 'State of the Party'. Dinter proposes a motion that the Führer should have a consultative assembly (Senate) to advise him on all important issues. Hitler counters by asserting that he himself has the authority to originate decisions, though he will continue in future to rely on consultations with his deputies. Dinter's proposal is rejected unanimously and Dinter himself expelled from the NSDAP in October.

**14 September:** Hitler speaks in Bad Elster.

**17 September:** Hitler orders that personal attacks in any form, direct or indirect, against comrades in the Nazi press must cease forthwith.

**18 September:** Hitler speaks in Dresden in the *Circus Sarrasani*.

**21 September:** Hitler speaks in Munich on foreign policy, sharply criticizing Stresemann's achievements: 'In the first place, our people must be delivered from the hopeless confusion of international convictions, and educated consciously and systematically to fanatical nationalism ... Second, in so far as we educate the people to fight against the delirium of democracy and bring it again to the recognition of the necessity of authority and of leadership, we tear it away from the nonsense of parliamentarianism ... Third, in so far as we deliver the people from the atmosphere of pitiable belief in possibilities which lie outside the bounds of one's own strength – such as the belief in reconciliation, understanding, world peace, the League of Nations, and international solidarity – we destroy these ideas ... The goal of foreign policy is the preservation of a people's means of subsistence ... the path to this goal will, in the final analysis, always be war ... It is impossible in the long run to carry out our foreign policy without building up the army' (VB, 23–24 September 1928).

**28 September:** Ban on Hitler's speeches is lifted in Prussia.

**30 September:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Dingolfing.

**7 October:** Hitler speaks in Ingolstadt.

**10 and 29 October:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**14 October:** Hitler speaks in Heide (Holstein).

**18 October:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP meeting in Oldenburg.

**23 October:** In a speech at a NSDAP meeting in Ludwigsbau, Hitler criticizes the Socialist opposition to the construction of the new German armoured cruiser.

**27 October:** Hitler speaks in Passau.

**2 November:** Hitler speaks in Nuremberg.

**9 November:** On the anniversary of the abortive *putsch* Hitler speaks in the *Bürgerbräukeller*.

**16 November:** Hitler speaks for the first time in the huge Sports Palace in Berlin before an audience of some 10,000: 'A people which opposes the bastardization of its spirit and its blood can be saved. The German people has its specific value and cannot be placed on the same level as 70 million negroes ... Negro music is now the rage. But if we put the shimmy alongside a Beethoven symphony, then the triumph is clear' (VB, 21 November 1928).

**20 and 26 November:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**23 November:** Hitler speaks in Mannheim.

**30 November:** Hitler speaks in Hersbruck.

**3 December:** Hitler orders all NSDAP branches to prevent Nazi members from participating in paramilitary exercises; if they still possess weapons, these must be handed over to the authorities instantly. Hitler makes all *Gauleiters* personally responsible to him for carrying out this directive; should they fail to do so, he threatens them with immediate expulsion from the NSDAP. Hitler stresses that the SA does not exist for the defence of a corrupt Republic, but for the protection of the propaganda activities of the Nazi movement (Michaelis, *Ursachen* 7, pp. 369–70).

**7, 10, 11, 17 and 21 December:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**14 December:** Hitler speaks in Schweinfurt.

## 1929

**7 January:** Hitler appoints Heinrich Himmler the national leader of the SS (*Reichsführer*).

**20 January:** Hitler speaks in Weimar.

**26 January:** Hitler speaks in Hanover.

**18 February:** Speaking in Munich, Hitler expresses his deep hatred of France: 'What France hates, I love, what France loves, I hate' (VB, 22 February 1929).

**24 February:** On the ninth anniversary of the founding of the NSDAP, Hitler speaks in the *Hofbräuhaus*.

**6 March:** In a speech in Munich, Hitler declares: 'He who does not fight with deadly weapon and does not possess the strength to plunge it with one thrust in the heart of the opponent, will never be able to lead a people in the mighty battle of destiny' (Prange, p. 1).

**13 March:** Hitler attends the funeral of two SA men in the village of Albersdorf in Holstein. The two men were killed a week earlier in a bloody clash with local Communists in the village of Wöhrden.

**15 March:** Speaking in Munich, Hitler expounds the attitude of the NSDAP to the *Reichswehr*, and his own belief in the justification of armed struggle: 'If men wish to live, then they are forced to kill others. The entire struggle for survival is conquest of the means of existence which in turn results in the elimination of others from these same sources of subsistence ... One is either the hammer or the anvil. We confess that it is our purpose to prepare the German people again for the role of the hammer ... We admit freely and openly that, if our Movement is victorious, we will be concerned day and night with the question of how to produce the armed forces which are forbidden us by the Peace Treaty ... It is in part the Army's responsibility whether Marxism wins or we. If the left is going to win thanks to the non-political attitude of the officers, then you can write the *Reichswehr* off, this will be the end of it! ... As far as we are concerned, the *Reichswehr* in its present form is not permanent. For us it will serve as a great cadre army, which produces officers, NCOs; we shall crush anyone into pieces who should dare to hinder us in this undertaking' (Michaelis, *Ursachen* 7 pp. 524–7).

**18 March:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**22 March:** Hitler speaks in Nuremberg.

**23 March:** Hitler purchased a new Mercedes, model 15/70/100 PS for 200,000 Reichsmarks, which was more than his annual income.

**3 April:** Hitler attacks the theatre festival organized in Munich by Max Reinhardt and spells out his own ideas on arts: 'Art has been in all ages the expression ... of a political will for power. Do you believe that the Babylonian and Egyptian monuments were created to attract tourists? ... The Acropolis was the visible expression of power and the expression of the pride of the Greeks. Caesar wanted to create capital and engrave its power in stone and metal ... If the National Socialist could win today ... I cannot imagine that we would create a state which would be made up of perpetual tenement barracks, that this Third Reich would not again become an honourable representative of the German spirit. It would not be by means of the trashy theatre productions of Herr Reinhardt, but with works which will outlast eternity, so that the world would still be able to see in the most distant future that these are the remains of the Third Reich' (VB, 5 April 1929).

**15 April:** Hitler appoints Karl Kaufmann *Gauleiter* of Hamburg.

**17 April:** Hitler speaks in Annaberg.

**25 April:** Hitler speaks in Glauchau.

**3 May:** Hitler speaks in Leipzig.

**8 May:** Speaking in Munich on foreign policy, Hitler praises the policy of friendship with Fascist Italy and hostility towards France: 'France can never be Germany's friend. She desires the complete balkanization of Germany' (VB, 9–10 May 1929).

**9 May:** Hitler speaks in Zittau.

**11 May:** In a letter to the *Stahlhelm*, the largest veteran association in Germany, Hitler refuses an invitation to join in the national plebiscite initiative against the Young Plan (signed on 7 June), which requested Germany to pay reparations for another 59 years.

**14 May:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**25 May:** Hitler speaks in Königsberg.

**5 and 9 June:** Hitler speaks in Berlin.

**16 June:** Hitler speaks in Schwarzenbach.

**22 and 23 June:** Hitler speaks twice in Coburg. The NSDAP wins 13 seats out of 25 in the City Council of Coburg, which becomes the first German city with an absolute Nazi majority.

**9 July:** Hitler changes his mind and joins the National Committee formed by Duesterberg and Seldte, the leaders of *Stahlhelm*, and by Alfred Hugenberg of the *Deutsch-Nationale Volkspartei* – DNVP (German National People's Party) against the acceptance of the Young Plan.

**1–4 August:** The 4th national rally (*Reichsparteitag*) of the NSDAP in Nuremberg, which culminates in impressive fireworks and a parade of 30,000 SA men in front of Hitler. The delegates endorse enthusiastically whatever recommendations Hitler or the central office executives from Munich make. Hitler displays a remarkable lack of interest in the working sessions; his main attention is devoted to reviewing marching Brownshirts and making personal contacts, thus strengthening the myth of his omnipresence. The congress abolishes the last vestiges of local autonomy and empowers the *Gauleiters*, directly responsible to Hitler, to concentrate executive power in the provinces in their hands. One of Hitler's guests of honour at Nuremberg is Emil Kirdorf, Germany's coal and steel king, and one of Hitler's earliest financial sponsors. On his return he writes to Hitler: 'We shall never forget how overwhelmed we were in attending the memorial celebration for the World War dead and the dedication of the SA banners ... at the sight of your troops marching by ... of thousands and thousands of your supporters, their eyes bright with enthusiasm, who hung on your lips and cheered you ... At this moment I, who am filled with despair by the degeneration of our masses and the failure of our bourgeois circles towards the future of Germany, suddenly realised why you believe and trust unflinchingly in the fulfilment of the task you have set yourself ... You may be proud of the honours and homage done you; there is hardly a crowned head who receives their equal' (Heiden, *Fuehrer*, p. 271).

**September:** Hitler and Hugenberg together publish the draft 'Law Against the Enslavement of the German People', which is to be the legal basis for the plebiscite against the Young Plan. The bill is to be submitted to the *Reichstag* provided that a minimum 10 per cent of the electorate will support it.

**1 October:** Hitler moves to a nine-roomed flat at 16 Prinzregentenstrasse, a solidly middle-class residential district of Munich. He takes with him Frau Reichert, his former landlady from Thierschstrasse, together with her mother. Later he employs a couple as domestic servants, and a chauffeur. While Hitler's sister Angela remains in charge of his cottage *Wachenfeld* in Obersalzberg, purchased by Hitler in 1928, her daughter Geli is allowed to live in her uncle's new apartment and takes singing and dancing lessons.

**October:** The 17-year-old Eva Braun is introduced to Hitler by her employer, the Führer's photographer, Heinrich Hoffmann. Hitler, 'always fascinated by a pretty

pair of legs, and the round face that went with this pair was distinctly to his taste', invites Fräulein Braun to join him for beer and sausages (Gun, pp. 57–8).

**22 October:** Hitler signs the memorandum on 'Spiritual Preparation for the Buildup of the Future National Socialist State', based on an earlier draft prepared by Konstantin Hierl. It emphasizes the importance of social issues concerning the workers and trade unions (Tyrell, *Führer*, pp. 327–8).

**Prior to 25 October:** Hitler, wearing an SA uniform, appears at an anti-Young rally, standing next to Alfred Hugenberg and Admiral Tirpitz (VB, 25 October 1929).

**25 October:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**31 October:** Over 4,100,000 signatures have been collected (just 10 per cent of the entire electorate) to secure the approval by the *Reichstag* of the anti-Young national plebiscite.

**6 November:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**29 November:** Speaking at a meeting in Munich, Hitler insists that all local problems must wait till the NSDAP obtains control of power. The belief in power, Hitler affirms, is the essential prerequisite of the Nazi *Weltanschauung*: 'It is nothing that is academic *per se*. It is something which originally has been an integral part of one's racial heritage ... Whenever a nation loses its racial heritage, it perishes ... The second factor is that of leadership ... The third factor is struggle, without which nothing on earth is created and without which nothing is preserved' (VB, 3 and 4 December 1929).

**3, 7 and 21 December:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**8 December:** The NSDAP wins 6 out of 53 seats in the Thuringian *Landtag*, plus the first ministerial portfolio of interior and education for Dr Willhelm Frick.

**22 December:** Hitler's alliance with Germany's political right receives a serious setback when the national plebiscite against the Young Plan secures only 5,800,000 votes (13.8 per cent), far below what it needed to acquire the status of law.

## 1930

**10 January:** Speaking in Weimar to Nazi deputies in the *Landtag* and to representatives of commerce and industry, Hitler insists: 'There cannot be reconciliation for us! There is only one way: the salvation of our people ... through the annihilation of our opponents!' (VB, 17 January 1930).

**29 January:** The *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes Hitler's attack on the idea of world peace. Hitler maintains that the Germans must exploit the discord among the victors: 'We Germans have no reason to wish, even in the slightest degree ... that a so-called "world peace" should be preserved.'

**2 February:** In a letter to a German overseas, Hitler comments on the recent Nazi success in the provincial elections in Thuringia. He would like to infiltrate the whole country with Nazi ministerial appointments. He also expects that the University of Jena will create a chair for racial questions for the Nazi professor Hans Günther. He predicts that 'the victory will take place ... at the most in two and half to three years' (Fest, p. 266).

**24 February:** The day after Horst Wessel dies in a Berlin hospital, Hitler and his associates discuss in Hanfstaengl's Munich flat how to exploit the death of the new Nazi martyr. Hitler accepts advice not to go to Berlin for the funeral oration.

**8 March:** Hitler outlines in Munich future Nazi policy towards German farmers. It must be founded on the mythical relationship to 'German soil', owned only by pure Germans and free from land speculators. He advocates the preservation of small and medium-sized farms as the mainstay of German agriculture.



**13 March:** Hitler speaks in Weimar.

**18 March:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**27 March:** The socialist Chancellor, Hermann Müller, is forced to resign over the question of unemployment benefits and is replaced by Dr Heinrich Brüning from the Catholic Centre Party.

**1 April:** The first issue of the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, a 'scientific' monthly, appears, with Hitler as the publisher and Alfred Rosenberg as the editor-in-chief. Hitler orders the formation of the NSAK (National Socialist Automobile Corps), a SA motorized auxiliary formation (it changes its name to NSKK on 1 May 1931).

**9 April:** The *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes Hitler's article 'Principle and Tactics', proposing a temporary alliance with the DNVP.

**11 April:** In view of the forthcoming Saxon provincial elections, Hitler speaks in Dresden.

**26–27 April:** Hitler convenes a national conference of Nazi leaders to Munich. In his closing speech he reiterates the basic Nazi tactics as pretending to be both anti-Marxist and anti-bourgeois, but giving absolute priority to nationalist and racial struggle for power.

**2 May:** In a speech in Berlin, Hitler underlines the necessity for the German people to fight for their soil: 'We have more right to soil than all the other nations because we are so densely populated' (VB, 7 May 1950).

**9 May:** Hitler speaks in Gotha.

**18 May:** Hitler speaks in Regensburg.

**21 May:** Meeting between Hitler and Otto Strasser in the *Sanssouci* hotel in Berlin. Hitler wants to acquire control of Strasser's publishing firm, the *Kampfverlag*. He offers Strasser in exchange the post of *Reichspressechef*. When Strasser refuses to surrender and denounces Hitler as the destroyer of the genuine National Socialist revolution 'for the sake of legality and your new collaboration with the bourgeois parties of the Right', Hitler becomes furious: 'There is only one possible kind of revolution, and it is not economic or political or social, but racial ... All revolutions – and I have studied them all – have been racial. Your ideas of foreign policy are false because you have no racial knowledge. Didn't you declare openly for the Indian independence movement when it was obviously a rebellion of the inferior Hindu race against the superior Anglo-Nordic? The Nordic race has the right to dominate the world, and that right will be the guiding principle of our foreign policy. That is why any alliance with the Soviet Union, a Slav-Tartar body surmounted by a Jewish head, is out of the question. I knew those Slavs in my own country! When a German head dominated them, Germany could make common cause with them, as it did in Bismarck's time. Today it would be a crime ... That's why we must co-operate with England. We must establish a Germano-Nordic supremacy over Europe and, in conjunction with Germano-Nordic America, over the world ... the land for us, the seas for England' (Strasser, pp. 100–14; Franz-Willing, *Hitlerbewegung IV*, pp. 191–3).

**22 May:** The controversy resumes next day in the presence of Max Amann, Rudolf Hess and Otto's brother, Gregor. When Strasser insists on the nationalization of industry, Hitler responds with contempt: 'It's Marxism! In fact, its Bolshevism! Democracy has laid the world in ruins, and nevertheless you want to extend it to the economic sphere. It would be the end of the German economy. You would wipe out all human progress, which has only been achieved by the individual efforts of great scholars and inventors ... The capitalists have worked their way to the top through their capacity, and on the basis of this selection, which again only proves their higher race, they have a right to lead. Now you want an incapable government council or workers' council, which has no notion of anything, to have a say: no leader in economic life would tolerate it.' Strasser then asks Hitler whether he will nationalize Krupp if he comes to power tomorrow. 'Of course I should leave it alone,' Hitler shouts back. 'Do you think I am so

stupid as to destroy Germany's great industry? Only if people should fail to act in the interests of the nation, then – and only then – would the State intervene. But for that you do not need any expropriation, you do not need to give the workers the right to have a voice in the conduct of the business: you need only a strong State ... [which] will see that production is carried on in the national interest, and if these interests are contravened, can proceed to expropriate the enterprise concerned and take over its administration.' 'As I see it,' replies Strasser, 'that would change nothing.' 'That is where we differ,' counters Hitler. 'Profit-sharing and the workers' right to be consulted are Marxist principles. I consider that the right to exercise influence on private enterprise should be conceded only to the State, directed by the superior class ... Only one system is possible in business: responsibility proceeding upwards and authority proceeding downwards ... That has been so for thousands of years and it can never be otherwise ... It is the result of the very nature of the process of production which remains always the same and knows nothing of your theoretical distinction between Capitalism and Socialist' (Baynes, pp. 111, 774, 988; Kershaw I, pp. 326–8).

**23 May:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**1 June:** Hitler speaks in Plauen and appoints Walther Darré as head of the new NSDAP agrarian-political section responsible for organizing German farmers.

**6 June:** Hitler speaks in Bautzen.

**7 June:** Two days after the Bavarian government prohibits uniformed political demonstrations, Hitler counters in the *Völkischer Beobachter* by declaring a propaganda war against the Munich authorities, only to find other German states issuing the same ordinance (Baden and Prussia on 11 June).

**11 June:** Hitler speaks in Freiberg.

**13 June:** Hitler speaks in Leipzig.

**16 June:** Hitler speaks in Werda.

**19 June:** Hitler speaks in Chemnitz.

**20 June:** On the day when the last Allied troops leave the Rhineland, Hitler instructs Goebbels to purge the NSDAP organization in Berlin of leftist deviators, calling Otto Strasser an intellectual 'White Jew'. Hitler accuses his opponents of collaboration with 'our Jewish-liberal-Marxist enemies'. 'As long as I lead the NSDAP,' Hitler stresses, 'it cannot be a debating club of rootless literati or chaotic saloon Bolsheviks, but must remain an organization of discipline, which has not been created for the doctrinal idiocy of political tramps but for the purpose of a struggle for Germany's destiny, in which class notions will be broken and a new German nation will determine its fate.' Hitler urges Goebbels to initiate 'a ruthless purge of the Party' in Berlin from these 'destructive elements', which must be 'thrown out without exception' (Kühnl, p. 374; see also *TBJG* I/1, pp. 550–71).

**21 June:** Hitler speaks in Dresden.

**2, 7, 18 and 27 July:** Hitler delivers speeches in Munich.

**5 July:** With the help of an extraordinary subsidy, raised through membership subscription, Hitler purchased the former Barlow Palace at 45 Brienerstrasse in Munich, which becomes the 'Brown House', the headquarters of the NSDAP. The building is entirely refurbished and Hitler takes an active part in redesigning its interior.

**6 July:** Hitler speaks in Günzburg.

**7 July:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**12 July:** It is alleged that during an SA parade in Gera, Wilhelm Frick gave Hitler a certificate promoting him to a gendarmerie constable in the small Thuringian town of Hildburghausen, thereby granting him German citizenship. Hitler, afraid of being ridiculed by this 'promotion', refused the certificate.

**13 July:** Hitler speaks in Hesselberg.

**18 July:** President Hindenburg suspends the *Reichstag*, using Article 25 of the Constitution. Hitler declares he will participate in the elections in order to demonstrate that 'democracy must be defeated with the weapons of democracy'.

He outlines three fundamental principles on which the NSDAP will fight the election: 'For the re-establishment of German national strength and the removal of all influences of a poisonous, pestiferous, or international nature; for the destruction of the principle of the majority ... and the restoration of the principle of the authority and the genius of leadership for the destruction of cowardly submission, self-degradation, self-accusation, self-abandonment, and the re-establishment of the will to resist in the entire German people' (VB, 20 July 1930).

**24 July:** Hitler speaks in Nuremberg.

**27 July:** Hitler convenes a national planning conference to co-ordinate the party efforts for the national elections in September. A hundred speakers will be employed and Hitler himself will deliver over twenty major election speeches between August and mid-September.

**1 August:** Disagreement between Franz Pfeffer and Hitler about the nomination of SA leaders as *Reichstag* candidates. Pfeffer wants some safe parliamentary seats to enable SA leaders to travel freely and to give them more status and prestige; Hitler refuses.

**3 August:** Hitler speaks in Frankfurt am Main.

**5 August:** Hitler speaks in Würzburg.

**7 August:** Hitler speaks in Grafing.

**9 August:** Hitler speaks in Rendsburg (Holstein).

**10 August:** Hitler speaks in Kiel.

**12 August:** Pfeffer resigns as Supreme SA Leader.

**15 August:** Hitler speaks in Essen.

**18 August:** Hitler speaks in Cologne.

**21 August:** Hitler speaks in Koblenz.

**24 August:** Hitler speaks in Forchheim.

**26 August:** Hitler speaks in Ludwigshafen.

**Late August:** Because of Pfeffer's resignation and the *Gauleiters'* refusal to offer the SA more money, the SA of Berlin and East Germany, led by Walter Stennes, go on strike. Hitler rushes to Berlin to confront the rebellious SA and succeeds in calming them.

**1 September:** Hitler speaks in Berlin.

**2 September:** In a circular, Hitler announces Pfeffer's resignation and his decision to take over the command of the entire SA and SS. He appeals to all SA and SS men's sense of loyalty and obedience, and increases their remuneration. Dr Otto Wagener, deputy to Pfeffer, is appointed as temporary SA chief of staff.

**4 September:** Hitler speaks in Königsberg.

**6 September:** Hitler speaks in Hamburg.

**7 September:** Hitler speaks in Nuremberg.

**8 September:** Hitler speaks in Augsburg.

**12 September:** Hitler speaks in Breslau.

**10 September:** In Berlin, Hitler issues an election manifesto in which he describes the NSDAP as a supra-national force, elevated above the petty quarrels of status and class.

**14 September:** The *Reichstag* elections give the NSDAP 107 mandates, based on over 6,400,000 votes (18.3 per cent), compared with a mere 12 seats in 1928. The NSDAP becomes the second largest party in the *Reichstag* after the SPD. This unexpected success surprised even Hitler, who hoped to gain 50 to 60 seats at the most; overnight he becomes a politician who can no longer be ignored. In Britain, *The Times* and the *Daily Mail* hail him as a bulwark against Bolshevism.

**16 September:** Despite the Nazi electoral success, Hitler, speaking in Munich, reaffirms his contempt for parliamentary democracy: 'For us Parliament is not an end in itself, but merely a means to an end ... We are not in principle a parliamentary party – that would be a contradiction of our whole outlook – we are a parliamentary party by compulsion' (VB, 18 September 1930).

**20 September:** Hitler offers to join Brüning's government, provided the NSDAP is given at least three ministerial seats; Brüning rejects the offer.

**25 September:** Hitler gives evidence at the Reich Court in Leipzig during the trial of three lieutenants of the *Reichswehr* (Ludin, Scheringer and Wendt), accused of spreading Nazi propaganda. He declares under oath that he is pursuing his political aims in a strictly legal way, and that the *putsch* of November 1923 occurred 'under pressure'. A great sensation is created when he says: 'I can assure you that when the National Socialist Movement is victorious in its fight then there will come a Nazi Court of Justice and November 1918 will then find its retribution and heads will roll!' (Baynes, pp. 191, 552).

**27 September:** Hitler prohibits an SA demonstration planned by Stennes in East Germany. The *Daily Mail* publishes an interview with Hitler in which he argues that the Treaty of Versailles must be obliterated if Europe is to be saved from Communism: 'If Europe decides to make Germany serve a life sentence, then she must face the danger of having an embittered nation, desperate to the verge of crime, in her midst. What that would mean a child can guess – Bolshevism! The English and Germans cannot remain enemies forever ... To have a strong party in Germany which will form a bulwark against Bolshevism is in the interests not only of England but also of all nations.'

**28 September:** Hitler's article 'My Terms to the World' is published in the *Sunday Express*. Hitler warns the West that it must save Germany from 'high fever' by revising the peace terms and the Young Plan, and by returning the Polish Corridor, 'which is like a strip of flesh cut from our body'.

**29 September:** *Gazetta del Popolo* publishes a long interview with Hitler.

**2 October:** Hitler is interviewed by a correspondent of *The Times* (published on 4 October) who asks him whether a Nazi foreign minister would insist on a complete repudiation of the Versailles Treaty or would be satisfied with pursuing a policy of revision. Hitler avoids a direct answer and speaks instead of the advantages of Anglo-German friendship as the best guarantee against the spread of Communism.

**4 October:** In a speech in Frankfurt, Hitler repudiates in the strongest terms Germany's sole responsibility for the war. He again warns the outside world that if the policy of fulfilment of the peace terms is continued, Germany may succumb to Bolshevism.

**6 October:** During a secret meeting with Hitler, Chancellor Brüning solicits Nazi support for his long-term strategy, aimed at restoring Germany's former status and power by solving the economic crisis within two years, abolishing the reparation payments and achieving equality with other powers in armaments. Brüning admits that his ultimate aim is the restoration of the monarchy, though temporarily without the Kaiser. Hitler completely ignores the offer and proclaims his own programme: elimination of the SPD, submission of the right-wing parties, then war against France as the 'hereditary foe', and against Russia as the 'nursery of Bolshevism'. He insists on ruling alone and indicates that he would conclude an alliance with Britain, Italy and the USA, to destroy his enemies (Brüning, pp. 191–7).

**7 October:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**12 October:** Hitler speaks in Weimar.

**15 October:** Hitler's second interview appears in *The Times*. He warns that Germany could explode 'like a powder barrel that a single spark could set off', if there is no improvement in the economic situation. The choice then would be between a Bolshevik Germany and a Nazi Germany.

**19 October:** Hitler attends a funeral in Braunschweig.

**25 October:** Speaking in Munich, Hitler tries to convince the audience that the Nazi swastika cross is part of a Christian tradition: 'To be sure our Christian Cross should be the most exalted symbol of the struggle against the Jewish-Marxist – Bolshevik spirit'. Self-assured, he even calls upon Jesus to join the Nazi ranks: 'I

believe that if now suddenly Christ, our Lord, should appear among this unfortunate German people ... he would not go and seek out a place within the ranks of the Centre Party in the German *Reichstag*' (VB, 28 October 1930).

**26 October:** Hitler speaks in Nuremberg. The *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes Hitler's answer to an enquiry from the French writer Gustave Hervé on the possibilities of creating a military alliance between France and Germany. Hitler is deliberately evasive and speaks in favour of a pacifist alliance based on disarmament in Europe.

**Late autumn:** A Polish lawyer from Warsaw visits the Brown House with a confidential message to Hitler from Poland's dictator, Marshal Pilsudski. According to Wagener, Pilsudski proposed a ten-year friendship treaty, to be signed immediately after Hitler's seizure of power. The proposal contained a secret clause anticipating the re-unification of East Prussia with the rest of Germany while preserving the Polish right of access to the Baltic. Hitler received the envoy without witnesses. He is apparently prepared to accept Pilsudski's initiative and tells Wagener that England will surely back the scheme in a joint effort to forestall the advance of Bolshevism (Turner, pp. 118–22).

**2 November:** Hitler speaks in Oldenburg.

**5 November:** Hitler speaks in Mannheim: 'No other nation can claim world dominion with more justification than the German one ... not England, Spain or Holland, on the ground of their numbers or diligence, but the German nation alone. We were ignored during the first partition of the world, but we are now at the beginning of a new great upheaval on this planet' (Dülffer, p. 219).

**7 November:** Hitler orders the separation of the SS from the SA, whereby the former is to 'exercise police duties within the Party'. No SA leader will in future be permitted to issue orders to an SS man, and vice versa (Bennecke, p. 153). Hitler replies to a second enquiry by Gustave Hervé on the future of Franco-German relations in an article published in the *Völkischer Beobachter*.

**8 November:** In a speech delivered in Offenburg, Hitler reasserts the right of the German nation to aspire to world dominion.

**13 November:** Hitler speaks before the professors and students of the University of Erlangen: 'Every being strives for expansion and every people strives for world dominion' (Preiss, p. 171).

**16 November:** Hitler speaks in Bielefeld.

**22 November:** Hitler speaks in Cologne.

**23 November:** Hitler speaks in Kaiserslautern.

**28 November:** Hitler speaks in Bremen.

**29–30 November:** Hitler calls a staff conference of the SA during which he announces his choice for a new SA Chief of Staff: Ernst Röhm, who led the SA during the *putsch* and was on his way to Munich from Bolivia.

**1 December:** Hitler speaks for the second time before the National Club of 1919 in Hamburg.

**4 December:** Hitler speaks to university students in Berlin. Among those present was a young German architect, Albert Speer, who recalled later the impact of Hitler's oratory: 'He spoke urgently and with hypnotic persuasiveness. The mood he cast was much deeper than the speech itself, most of which I did not remember for long. Moreover, I was carried away on the wave of the enthusiasm which, one could almost feel this physically, bore the speaker along from sentence to sentence. It swept away any scepticism, any reservations. Opponents were given no chance to speak. This furthered the illusion, at least momentarily, of unanimity. Finally, Hitler no longer seemed to be speaking to convince; rather, he seemed to feel that he was expressing what the audience, by now transformed into a single mass, expected of him' (Speer, p. 46).

**5 December:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**6 December:** Hitler reassures Duesterberg of the *Stahlhelm*, that he will be in control of both the national and Prussian governments in three months (Duesterberg, p. 32).

**7 December:** Hitler speaks in Stuttgart.

**11 December:** Hitler speaks in Braunschweig.

**31 December:** While over 4,400,000 unemployed are registered in Germany (compared with under 2,000,000 at the end of 1929), the NSDAP membership has reached 389,000 (compared with 178,000 by the end of 1929).

## 1931

**1 January:** In his New Year proclamation, Hitler announced that the NSDAP's main task would be to absorb the huge influx of new members who joined after the September 1930 elections. He opens the Brown House, the new HQ of NSDAP in Munich; appoints Wagener head of the new Department of Economics and Politics of the NSDAP, with the task of preparing a comprehensive plan for Germany's recovery in the event of Nazi seizure of power. The *Brennessel*, the Nazi satirical weekly, appears for the first time.

**5 January:** On Hitler's orders, Röhm officially takes over as the SA Chief of Staff. Hitler meets, in Göring's Berlin flat, Dr Hjalmar Schacht, ex-President of the *Reichsbank*. Goebbels and the industrialist Fritz Thyssen are also present. 'At this first meeting I learned what all of us experienced later,' Schacht wrote in his memoirs, 'that in a discussion with Hitler, his associates contributed only 5 per cent. Hitler himself supplied the remaining 95 per cent of the conversation. His skill in exposition was most striking. Everything he said he demonstrated as incontrovertible truth; nevertheless his ideas were not unreasonable and were entirely free from any propagandist pathos. He spoke with moderation and was obviously anxious to avoid anything that might shock us in our capacity as representatives of a more traditional society ... Even at this first meeting it was obvious to me that Hitler's power of propaganda would have a tremendous pull with the German population if we did not succeed in overcoming the economic crisis and weaning the masses from radicalism. Hitler was obsessed by his own words, a thorough fanatic with the most powerful effect on his audience; a born agitator in spite of a hoarse, sometimes broken and not infrequently croaking voice.' Schacht admitted that after this meeting he tried to persuade Brüning and other politicians 'to incorporate the National Socialists in a coalition government as soon as possible' (Schacht, pp. 279–80).

**10 January:** Hitler speaks in Oberstaufen.

**14 January:** Hitler decides that Heinrich Himmler, the *Reichsführer* of the SS, should become subordinate to SA leader Röhm. This formal dependence of the SS on the SA remained in force until 20 July 1934.

**15 January:** Hitler approves the establishment of a Nazi trade-union organization, *Reichsbetriebszellenabteilung* – RBA (Reich Department for Factory Cells).

**18 January:** Hitler speaks in Coburg.

**29 January:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**3 February:** In his capacity as the Supreme Leader of the SA, Hitler issues a circular in which he rejects sharply all complaints and denunciations directed against the private life of SA leaders and men: 'The SA is a gathering of men for a specific political purpose ... not a moral institution for education of noble daughters, but a club of rough fighters ... Their private life can only then become a subject of investigation if it contradicts the basic principles of National Socialism' (Bennecke, p. 253).

**8 February:** Hitler speaks in Weimar.

**10 February:** The entire NSDAP parliamentary faction leaves the *Reichstag* on Hitler's orders, on the pretext that the government is contemplating anti-constitutional measures directed against political meetings and the freedom of the press.

**18 February:** Hitler warns the SA and SS to beware of agents provocateurs.

**20 February:** Hitler forbids the SA to take part in street fighting; the order is opposed by the Stennes group controlling Berlin and East Germany.

**24 February:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**7, 11 and 25 March:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**8 March:** Hitler approves the creation of *NS Betriebszellenorganisation* – NSBO (Organization of National Socialist Factory Cells) under Walter Schuhmann. Its headquarters is in Berlin, except between autumn 1931 and summer 1933, when it is transferred to Munich.

**28 March:** Chancellor Brüning issues an emergency decree 'to curb the political excesses', with the effect that street demonstrations and the wearing of uniforms by members of political parties is prohibited, censorship is introduced and all political meetings are subject to prior approval by the police. Hitler immediately orders all NSDAP agencies to adhere strictly to the new emergency legislation. The *Reichstag* does not meet again until 13 October.

**30 March:** Hitler threatens all NSDAP members that if they do not adhere to the new emergency legislation they will be expelled.

**1 April:** Hitler speaks in Weimar. Following a vote of no confidence, Dr Frick resigns from his ministerial post in Thuringia. In Berlin, the deputy SA leader, Walter Stennes, who commands the entire SA east of the River Elbe, defies Hitler's law-abiding policy. With his men he stages a brief rebellion, which is quickly put down through Hitler's personal intervention in Berlin. Stennes is expelled from the SA and the NSDAP and joins the 'Black Front' under Otto Strasser, which is opposed to Hitler's NSDAP. Hitler insists that all SA leaders in east Germany must take an oath of loyalty by 12 April and replaces Stennes with Edmund Heines, a convicted murderer who has already been expelled once from the NSDAP for homosexual practices. In putting down the SA rebellion in Berlin, Hitler is greatly assisted by the SS detachment under the command of Kurt Daluge. In recognition, Hitler gives the SS their future motto: 'SS man, thy loyalty is thine honour'.

**2 April:** Following the Stennes rebellion, Hitler orders Goebbels, the Berlin *Gauleiter*, to purge the SA and the NSDAP. In Munich, Hitler tells ex-Lieutenant Richard Scheringer, one of the three defendants at the Leipzig trial of September 1930, how he envisages his victory: 'We shall proceed legally and we shall win legally. Each month our Party is growing by 30,000 new members. If an election takes place today, we would gain between 10 and 12 million votes. For each Party member there are 20 voters. And so we are going ultimately to conquer the overwhelming majority of the people ... We shall give everybody what he deserves, the entrepreneur as well as the worker. We shall abolish the class antagonism and bring about the real community of all people (*Volksgemeinschaft*). The National Socialist Movement will become the Nation!' Scheringer wrote later that he gained the impression 'that the man believes what he says, so simple are his sentences. In his thoughts he is floating three meters above the ground. He is not talking, he is preaching ... he is obsessed by the noise of mass rallies. The delirium of the dying petty bourgeoisie works inside him. He is incapable of a clear political analysis, despite his enormous talent for agitation' (Deuerlein, *Aufstieg*, p. 350).

**4 April:** Hitler's article 'Reckoning with the Rebels' appears in the *Völkischer Beobachter* and *Der Angriff*, the Goebbels' paper, published in Berlin. It creates another protest among the SA; Hitler has to return once more to Berlin to put down the unrest.

**7, 9 and 24 April:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**12 April:** Hitler speaks in Weimar: 'The destiny of a nation should be determined by its great men ... the greatest national treasure of a people lies in the purity of its blood and in the value of its important men' (VB, 15 April 1931).

**8–12 April:** In the national referendum Hitler and the NSDAP joined the campaign for the abolition of the Prussian Parliament, which has been demanded by the *Stahlhelm*, but failed to gain the required percentage of votes.

**16 April:** Hitler speaks in Kaiserslautern.

**19 April:** Hitler speaks in Meiningen.

**24 April:** Hitler speaks in Stuttgart.

**Late April:** Sefton Delmer, a *Daily Express* correspondent, is told by Hitler in a Berlin restaurant: 'From now on, you just watch! My men will be quiet and disciplined and orderly. My job is to prevent the millions of Germans unemployed from coming under Communist influence as they easily might. I want to turn them instead into an orderly citizen force for the defence of Germany against the internal and external Bolshevik enemy' (Toland, p. 342).

**End of April:** In Hanfstaengl's Munich flat, Prince August Wilhelm of Prussia, an SA leader, shows Hitler a letter from his father, the ex-Kaiser. According to Hanfstaengl, the ex-Kaiser 'has given him a pretty open undertaking to give what help he can' (Hanfstaengl, p. 158). During an interview in the Brown House, Hitler tells Sefton Delmer he has only two demands: cancellation of war reparations and a 'free hand in the East', so that 'the surplus millions of Germans be allowed to expand into the Soviet Union'. Asked how he would get into the Soviet Union without violating Polish territory, Hitler tells Delmer: 'A way can be found for everything' (Toland, p. 343).

**May:** Hitler sends Göring as his envoy to Italy to establish contact with Mussolini and the Vatican.

**1 May:** To provide Hitler with information on foreign countries and to maintain links with party members abroad, the NSDAP sets up the *Auslandsabteilung* (Foreign Department) in Hamburg.

**2 May:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**4 May:** Hitler allegedly received in Munich's Brown House, Richard Breiting, editor-in-chief of the influential rightwing *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten*, a press organ of the DNVP (Calic, pp. 17–46). (The authenticity of this interview has been seriously challenged (Jesse in Corino, pp. 109ff.).)

**6 May:** Hitler speaks in Eutin.

**8 May:** Giving evidence at the trial of four SA men in Berlin, Hitler declares: 'Acts of violence have never been contemplated by our Party, nor has the individual SA man ever wished for them ... We stand absolutely as hard as granite on the grounds of legality' (Baynes, pp. 162–3).

**9–14 May:** Hitler is touring the state of Oldenburg delivering pre-election speeches in Delmenhorst, Oldenburg, Jever and Cloppenburg.

**17 May:** Provincial elections in Oldenburg result in a 37.2 per cent vote for the NSDAP. The Nazis acquire 19 mandates out of 48 and become the strongest faction in the Oldenburg *Landtag*.

**(Early June:** Another supposed interview in the Brown House between the journalist Breiting and Hitler. This time Hitler discussed more foreign policy issues and revealed his plans to expand Germany at the cost of small independent neighbours such as Austria, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and so on. (Calic, pp. 47–93; for critical text analysis, see Corino, pp. 109ff.).)

**8 June:** By way of introducing himself, Hitler sends Mussolini his signed photograph.

**9 June:** Hitler is interviewed by the publisher of *The Times*.

**10 June:** Hitler takes part in a Brown House conference on foreign trade. He is visibly upset when a speaker convincingly demonstrates that Germany and Russia could complement each other in foreign trade. He complains to Wagener later: 'Do you expect of me that I say suddenly the opposite of what has been hitherto my Programme? You wanted to rape me. But I won't allow myself to be raped!' (Turner, pp. 285–6).

**3 and 12 June:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**10 June:** Leadership conference in the Brown House under the sign of disunity: Gregor Strasser criticized Hitler for his organizational ineptitude. Göring is 'pathologically against me,' complained Goebbels, 'he is crawling in Hitler's arse; if he



were not so fat he might even succeed' (Franz-Willing, *Hitlerbewegung IV*, p. 236; *TBJG I/2/ii*, p. 34).

**15 June:** The *Reichsführerschule*, RFS (School for Reich Leaders of the SA and SS) is opened in Munich by Hitler, as one means of solving the problem of insubordination. The school offers a three-week course and Hitler himself delivers several lectures there.

**19 June:** Hitler meets Hugo Stinnes, known as the 'king of the Ruhr', one of the most powerful of the German industrialists who support the Nazi Movement.

**3 July:** Goebbels comes to Munich to complain to Hitler that Himmler maintained spies in Berlin to collect compromising material on Goebbels. Hitler is outraged and orders Himmler to disband the spy office.

**Summer:** Hitler tours Germany in his supercharged Mercedes, meeting representatives of industry and finance.

**21 June:** Hitler speaks in Mühldorf.

**25 June and 3 July:** Hitler speaks in Erlangen.

**2 and 10 July:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**9 July:** The first meeting takes place between Hitler and Alfred Hugenberg, leader of the DNVP, to discuss how they can co-operate in overthrowing the existing political system.

**Mid-July:** Hitler meets Franz Seldte and Theodor Duesterberg of the *Stahlhelm*, and the *Reichswehr* generals, von Schleicher and von Hammerstein. He also communicates with Chancellor Brüning and General Groener, the defence minister. He remains impervious to their attempts to win him and the NSDAP, but agrees to join in the so-called National Opposition against the government with the *Stahlhelm* and the DNVP.

**19 July:** Hitler speaks in Weissenburg.

**21 July:** Brüning, who is attending a conference in London on reparations, receives a telegram from the leaders of the National Opposition – Hitler, Hugenberg and Seldte – protesting at the illegality of new payment obligations.

**1 August:** Hitler nominates Dr Otto Dietrich the *Reichspressechef* (Reich press spokesman of the NSDAP); the party headquarters sets up its own Press Department.

**3 August:** Under international pressure the German and Austrian governments have to renounce the projected customs union.

**9 August:** The referendum for the abolition of the Prussian *Landtag*, supported by the NSDAP, failed to gain more than 37 per cent of the required votes.

**30 August:** Hitler meets Hugenberg again.

**4 September:** Hitler speaks in Hamburg.

**6 September:** Hitler speaks in Gera.

**9 September:** Hitler speaks in Apolda.

**12 September:** On the Jewish New Year, the Berlin SA men attack several Jewish citizens.

**15, 17, 18, 25 and 26 September:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**18 September:** Geli Raubal, Hitler's beloved niece (called in the intimate circle 'the Little Princess'), commits suicide at the age of 23 by shooting herself with her uncle's pistol. Hitler had left Munich after a row with Geli and learnt of her death the next morning in Nuremberg. He immediately returns to Munich for the autopsy, then withdraws for several days to a country house on Tegernsee. Friends feared that he was about to take his own life; other witnesses reported that he resumed his routine speaking engagements relatively soon. Geli's chief motive for suicide is not known: whether it was her jealousy at discovering that her uncle was having a love affair with Eva Braun, or his constant interference in her private life. According to many witnesses, Geli was the only woman he ever loved – apart from his mother – though it remains doubtful whether he would ever have married her.

**23 September:** Geli Raubal's emergency funeral in Vienna. Her mother and relatives are present – but not Uncle Adolf, who is on his way to a speaking engagement.

**24 September:** Hitler speaks in Hamburg.

**25 September:** Hitler is driven by his chauffeur Schreck from Hamburg to Vienna. He might have stopped in Nuremberg, where Wagener claims to have heard from Hitler a strange confession related to Geli's death. Hitler confessed revulsion against eating meat and repeated his determination to avoid marriage: 'Marriage only makes sense when one wants to start a family ... I condemn marriages which are not contemplated for creating children! My God, you know, how much I love children and how much I would like to have family myself! ... But I must deny myself this happiness for I have another bride – Germany! ... If I ever marry, then it must be a true marriage. But it would be a bondage leading in the opposite direction from my mission. One of the two would suffer ... either my marriage or my mission' (Turner, pp. 99, 358).

**26 September:** In the morning Hitler, with his entourage and the Raubal family, pays last respects to Geli at Vienna's Central Cemetery. From Vienna Hitler drives to Obersalzberg and thereafter to Berlin where he stays in the *Hotel Kaiserhof*, preparing himself for the election campaign (Joachimstahler, *Liste*, p. 335).

**27 September:** Hitler's party gains over 200,000 votes (26 per cent) in 'red' Hamburg and 43 out of 160 mandates.

**Late September:** Hitler informs the SA leaders meeting in Munich that he has decided on new tactics: in future the SA will co-operate with the local police if there is a threat of a communist uprising, but in all other conflicts the SA must stay neutral. Hitler also receives in the Brown House a representative of Arab nationalists, who brings a message of sympathy from Arab Muslims, wishing Hitler success in his struggle against imperialistic powers and world Jewry. Wagener recalls that after the meeting Hitler suggests it might be advantageous for National Socialists to seek allies outside Europe, such as the Arabs, despite the fact that they belong to the Semitic race. Such a co-operation might be of far-reaching significance for 'millions of African, Indian and yellow peoples'. However, for the time being, Hitler concedes that he must pursue a policy of alliance with England, which is incompatible with co-operation with subject peoples outside Europe (Turner, pp. 363–4).

**Early October:** Hitler meets General von Schleicher, with whom he discusses Nazi policy towards the *Reichswehr*.

**6–9 October:** Brüning issues emergency legislation, with the approval of Hindenburg, directed against 'political disorder'; it includes further curtailment of political meetings and the freedom of the press. Brüning also carries out a reconstruction of his cabinet.

**10 October:** Hitler meets Brüning for the second time, but refuses any co-operation with the government against the communists, nor is he prepared to support Hindenburg in the presidential elections due the following year. On the same day, Hitler and Göring are received for the first time by Hindenburg himself. After Hitler's departure, Hindenburg apparently commented to his entourage: 'This corporal from Bohemia wants to be Reich Chancellor? Never! At the most he could be my Postmaster General. Then he can lick me on the stamps from behind' (Meissner, p. 65).

**11 October:** Hitler and the SA participate in the huge rally of the right-wing National Opposition in Bad Harzburg, Brunswick. In their joint manifesto, the right-wing leaders led by Hugenberg (the *Harzburg Front*) demand new *Reichstag* elections and suspension of the emergency legislation, and declare their determination to form nationalistic governments in Prussia and in the Reich. Hitler keeps his distance from the right-wing politicians to demonstrate his independence. He ostentatiously refuses Hugenberg's invitation to dinner and leaves

the rostrum as soon as his SA have marched by, without waiting for the arrival of the *Stahlhelm*.

**14 October:** Hitler publishes an open letter to Brüning, his answer to the Chancellor's speech at the opening of the *Reichstag* on the previous day. He demands the abolition of the Versailles Treaty and accuses the government of using the army as a police force against the nation.

**16 October:** The Brüning government survives a vote of no confidence by a mere 15 votes. The motion to dissolve the *Reichstag* and hold new elections, put forward by the National Opposition, also fails. The National Opposition, including the NSDAP, leaves the *Reichstag*.

**17–18 October:** Instead of the annual NSDAP rally, Hitler holds a substitute rally in Brunswick, where he reviews between 70,000 and 104,000 SA men from Germany's northern provinces. He declares that this is to be the last such ceremony before the Nazi seizure of power, which is 'within a meter of its goal' (Fest, p. 304).

**25 October:** Hitler speaks in Dresden.

**27 October:** Hitler speaks in Weimar.

**29 October:** With Brüning's knowledge Hitler meets again General von Schleicher. The encounter remains inconclusive.

**30 October:** Baldur von Schirach is appointed Reich Youth Leader by Hitler, but subordinated to the SA Chief of Staff Röhm. Hitler also appoints Dr Theodor Adrian von Rinteln as Reich Leader of the *Hitler-Jugend* – HJ (Hitler Youth).

**3 November:** Hitler speaks in Sonneberg.

**7, 15 and 25 November:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**9 November:** Hitler speaks in Giessen.

**11 November:** Hitler speaks in Mainz.

**13 November:** Hitler speaks in Darmstadt.

**15 November:** Hitler's party gains 37 per cent of the vote and 27 out of 70 mandates in the election to the State Legislature of Hesse.

**23 November:** Hitler releases a signed statement in Munich in which he answers four controversial questions raised against him in the German and foreign press. The first two deal with South Tyrol; Hitler denies the accusation that he abandoned the South Tyrolian Germans for the sake of an Italian alliance. In the third answer he rejects the accusation of having ever received financial support from the Italian Fascists. In the last he replies to the charge that his mother was Czech by birth and did not understand German – Hitler considers this a slander and states that his mother 'was of pure German descent and that neither his mother nor his father understood a word of Czech. In our home, therefore, not a word of Czech was ever spoken!' (NSDAP/HA, roll 1, folder 17A).

**Late November:** Discovery of the highly compromising Boxheim Documents in Hesse, which contain detailed instructions to the local Nazi *Gauleitung* in the event of an armed uprising. Hitler is furious because his pledge to legality has been exposed as false, and he penalizes the *Gauleitung* of Hesse for indiscretion. He is interviewed in the Brown House by two American journalists, Harold Callender of the *New York Times*, and Hubert R. Knickerbocker of the *New York Evening Post*. He also meets an emissary of the Japanese government, who comes to Munich to make contact with Hitler. Hitler apparently tells his Japanese guest: 'Asia and the Pacific Ocean is a sphere in which we Germans have no demands ... When we come to power we shall respect Japan's legitimate aspirations there' (Hanfstaengl, p. 175).

**Early December:** Hitler decides to prepare the ground for his future political alliances with Italy and England; he sends Dr Nieland, head of the NSDAP *Auslandsabteilung* to Rome, and Alfred Rosenberg to London.

**2 December:** Greatly pleased with the phenomenal increase of Nazi membership, by 53,000 in November alone, Hitler issues a proclamation to the SA and SS. He tries to calm their impatience with his legalistic tactics and insists on the pursuit

of legality and avoidance of provocation: 'He who fails in the last days of his test is not worthy to witness victory!' (VB, 3 December 1931).

**4 December:** Hitler gives a press conference to foreign journalists in the *Kaiserhof* hotel, his Berlin headquarters. He states explicitly that no expropriation of property in any sphere is contemplated by the Nazis, and plays down the significance of the Boxheim Documents. He affirms his determination to follow the principle of legality, but he also tells the journalists that he cannot prevent individual party members from reflecting 'on the problems raised by the threat of Bolshevism, but to put them into documentary form, as in Hesse, was downright effrontery'. Hitler advocates friendship with England and says that 'the loss of India by the British Empire would be a misfortune for the rest of the world, including Germany'. He is for a rapprochement with France, but on the basis of equality and the rejection of the humiliating Versailles Treaty. The NSDAP refuses to recognize foreign debts imposed as a means of political extortion. In the economic sphere, Hitler lays down three major tasks: a ruthless reduction of the huge administrative apparatus in Germany; an equally ruthless throttling of imports; and the elimination of Germany's political obligations (*The Times*, 5 December 1931).

**7 December:** Hitler is interviewed by the Berlin correspondent of the *Corriere della Sera*. He speaks of his admiration for Mussolini, and emphasizes particularly his determination to revise the peace treaties (Baynes, p. 1000).

**8 December:** Brüning issues another set of emergency laws, forbidding this time the wearing of badges and uniforms. In a radio broadcast, Brüning warns Hitler without naming him: 'When one declares that upon assuming power legally one will then break through the legal barriers, that is no legality' (Baynes, p. 163).

**11 December:** Hitler's address to the American public is recorded, but its radio transmission is cancelled by the Brüning government.

**13 December:** Hitler publishes an open letter in response to Brüning's broadcast of 8 December, in which he pretends to defend the fundamental democratic rights of the German people: 'Mr Chancellor, the fundamental thesis of democracy runs: "All power issues from the People". If the German nation once empowers the National Socialist Movement to introduce a Constitution other than that we have today, then you cannot stop it ... The Government, Mr Chancellor, can act ... And it takes jealous care that no one else shall enjoy such possibilities. What then, Mr Chancellor, remains for us but speech, to bring to the knowledge of the German nation our views on the ruinous character of your plans, or the errors which underlie them, and the disasters which must ensue?' (Baynes, pp. 496-7).

**13-14 December:** *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes Hitler's 'Message to the American People' of 11 December; it appears in translation in various US newspapers belonging to Randolph Hearst. Hitler assures the American audience that his movement 'wants peace for Germany and for Europe', and that it recognizes 'every private debt made by one merchant to another'. But at the same time, there can be no question of recognizing the right 'to burden a people, out of political motives, with tribute for an indefinite length of time and therewith force a people to bankruptcy'. 'My Movement,' Hitler concludes, 'is not a Movement of desperation but a Movement of hope. We believe that we can come to power in Germany by strictly legal means ... We want nothing more than a Monroe Doctrine for all German men, women and children under the motto: Germany for the Germans!'

**16 December:** Asked by foreign journalists what the specific programme of action will be when the Nazis come to power, Hitler refuses to give details.

**Late December:** Hitler tells a delegation of National Socialists from the Sudetenland that Germany must constantly try to incite the Sudeten minority to rebellion against the Czech state. He assures them that National Socialism will soon come to power in Germany, and that they will fall under its powerful wings (Heiden, *Fuehrer*, p. 340). He gives Hanfstaengl his impressions of the secret talks

he had with Brüning and Hindenburg earlier: 'They are all bourgeois. They consider us troublemakers and disturbers of order, to be treated in the same way as the Communists ... If they cannot see that the Communists are out of the State entirely and that we wish to give it a new content on a German basis, then there is nothing to be done with them!' (Hanfstaengl, p. 173).

**31 December:** Hitler appoints Walther Darré head of the new *Rasse und Siedlungsamt* (Race and Re-Settlement Office) of the NSDAP. As the number of registered unemployed soars to 5,700,000 by the end of the year, the NSDAP membership swells to 806,300. Hitler prepares his New Year speech in which he calls the coming year 'the hardest year of struggle which our Movement has experienced ... let us have the courage today to ride like knights without fear and without reproach through hell, death, and the devil, to victory and liberty!' He announces that forty-six NSDAP members were killed and over 4,800 wounded during the year (VB, 1–2 January 1932).

## 1932

**5 January:** General Groener cables Hitler in Munich, urging him to attend a top-level conference in Berlin. 'Now I have them in my pocket; they have recognized me as a partner in their negotiations!' Hitler is alleged to have exclaimed (Heiden, *Fuehrer*, p. 342).

**6–7 January:** Hitler confers in Berlin with Groener, Schleicher and Brüning, who try to gain his support for Hindenburg's presidency for the sake of Germany's internal stability. The Presidency is not really in question,' comments Goebbels in his diary, 'Brüning only wants to stabilize his own position indefinitely ... The game of chess for power has begun. It may last throughout the year. It will be a fast game, played with intelligence and skill. The main point is that we hold fast, and waive all compromise (Goebbels, *Kaiserhof*, p. 20).

**9 January:** Hitler holds further meetings with Brüning, and in the afternoon with Alfred Hugenberg.

**11 January:** The leaders of the DNVP and *Stahlhelm* confer with Hitler in the *Kaiserhof* hotel. Since Hitler wants to separate Brüning from Paul von Hindenburg, he lets the latter know that the Harzburg Front will support his re-election provided that new elections in the *Reichstag* are announced.

**12 January:** Hindenburg rejects Hitler's proposal. In order to cover up his independent manoeuvre, Hitler rebuffs Brüning's approach of 6 January in a brief letter.

**15 January:** Hitler writes a more detailed open letter to Brüning, in which he explains the reasons for his non-co-operation (VB, 19 January 1932).

**16 January:** Hitler testified before a tribunal in Berlin–Moabit against the allegation that he was a police spy, which was made by the former SA leader Stennes.

**17 January:** Hitler speaks in Berlin.

**23 January:** Hitler is back in Munich where he addresses 7,000 NSDAP party members in the Circus *Krone*.

**26 January:** Fritz Thyssen introduces Hitler as a speaker at the Industry Club in Düsseldorf to a group of Germany's most powerful industrialists. Hitler, dressed in a dark suit, delivers one of the best speeches of his life. He carefully selects examples and avoids primitive anti-Semitic tirades. The threat of communism, on the contrary, he discerns everywhere, and is resolutely opposed to democracy in the political field: 'I see two diametrically opposed principles – the principle of democracy which ... is the principle of destruction, and the principle of personal authority ... which I would call the principle of achievement.' He defends the ideas of *Lebensraum*, autarchy, and the superiority of the white race. He reminds

his audience that the British did not conquer India by means of justice and law, but by the most brutal ruthlessness on the basis of their racial superiority over the Indians. 'People say to me so often', Hitler observes, 'you are only the drummer of nationalist Germany. And supposing I were only the drummer? It would be today a far more statesmanlike achievement to drum once more into this German people a new faith than gradually to squander the only faith they have.' He rejects the claim that foreign policy should be given priority and points instead to the perspective of a great internal reconstruction of Germany: 'Only idealism will save us ... and lead us out of the mess ... and self-reliance on the strength of the German people' (Baynes, pp. 777–829).

**2 February:** Hitler intimates to Goebbels in Munich that he is contemplating standing for the presidential election himself – but the constitution requires candidates to be German citizens and Hitler is still stateless. The World Disarmament Conference opens in Geneva; Hitler decides to send General von Epp and Colonel Haselmayr as unofficial observers for the NSDAP.

**4 February:** The Nazi Minister of the Interior in Brunswick is ordered to make Hitler an 'extraordinary professor' as a tactical prerequisite for his naturalization as a German citizen.

**4 and 14 February:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**9 and 10 February:** Hitler speaks in Berlin.

**15 February:** Hindenburg's candidature for the presidency is announced. Hitler issues an appeal to the NSDAP not to support the re-election of Hindenburg.

**16 February:** In order to mitigate the charge that he has become an ally of the capitalists, Hitler speaks before 26,000 workers in Düsseldorf. He appeals to German farmers to make a good harvest in 1932 and promises that the NSDAP will protect impoverished farmers against their creditors.

**19 February:** Hitler is back in Berlin; Goebbels presses him to announce his candidacy.

**22 February:** Speaking in the Berlin Sports Palace, Goebbels announces that Hitler will run as a presidential candidate against Hindenburg. Immediately, 'a storm of enthusiasm rages for about ten minutes'. Late at night, Hitler visits Goebbels at his home and is glad to hear that his candidacy was received so enthusiastically (Goebbels, *Kaiserhof*, p. 50).

**25 February:** Hitler's naturalization takes effect under cover of a fictitious appointment as the 'non-scheduled extraordinary professor for organic social science and politics' at the Technical University of Brunswick, with an obligation to deliver twelve lectures and seminars per semester. This post gives Hitler the right to call himself a *Regierungsrat* (Counsellor to the Government), with automatic German citizenship.

**26 February:** Hitler took the oath of allegiance at the Brunswick Legation in Berlin.

**27 February:** Hitler officially announces his candidature at a rally of 25,000 Berliners in the Sports Palace.

**28 February:** Hitler's open letter to Hindenburg is made available to the press. He complains that National Socialists suffer from frequent harassment by the authorities with regard to the freedoms of speech, meeting and the press. He addresses Hindenburg: 'Dear old man, our veneration for you is too great for us to allow those whom we would destroy to hide behind you. With our deep regret, therefore you must step aside, for they want to fight us and we want to fight them' (VB, 1 March 1932).

**1–11 March:** Hitler leaves in his Mercedes for an election tour, speaking on consecutive evenings in Hamburg, Stettin, Breslau, Leipzig, Bad Blankenburg, Weimar and Frankfurt (these two on the same day: 6 March), Nuremberg, Stuttgart, Cologne, Dortmund, and Hanover.

**2 March:** Talking to Adolf Krebs, the former *Gauleiter* of Hamburg, over breakfast in a hotel, Hitler explains that his choice of a vegetarian diet is motivated by his fear of contracting cancer and his frequent stomach cramps. He tells Krebs that he

has only a few years left in which to complete his life work: 'I have no time to wait! If I had time, I would never have run for presidency at all. The old man won't last much longer anyway. But I can't lose a single year more. I must come to power soon to be able to finish the gigantic tasks in the time left to me. I must! I must!' (Krebs, p. 165).

**11 March:** In order to nip in the bud rumours that his party was preparing another *putsch*, Hitler repeats in Hanover his pledge to follow the path of legality. He tells foreign journalists that he will gain no less than 12,000,000 votes, and Hindenburg about the same.

**13 March:** Results of the first election ballot are announced in the evening. Hindenburg leads with 18,600,000 votes (49.6 per cent), while Hitler polls 11,300,000 (30.1 per cent). The other two candidates, the *Stahlhelm* leader Duesterberg and the communist Ernst Thälmann, poll 6.8 per cent and 13.2 per cent, respectively. Hitler immediately issues a series of proclamations that he will stand again for the second ballot on 10 April: 'The first election campaign is over, the second has begun today, I shall lead it' (VB, 15 March 1932).

**15 March:** Hitler makes two speeches in Weimar. He declares that Hindenburg's initial victory was because of the Social Democrats' fear of the Nazis.

**17 March:** Hitler issues a public protest against the police measures taken in Prussia against the SA.

**19 March:** Hitler opens the national congress of NSDAP leaders in Munich.

**24 March:** Hitler issues another protest against the suspension of twenty-five nationalistic newspapers in Prussia on the orders of the Social Democratic Minister of the Interior, Karl Severing. Hitler is pressed from within the NSDAP to dismiss Röhm, whose proven homosexual practices have outraged many rightist voters whom Hitler needs to win over from Hindenburg. Hitler wants to know whether Röhm abused young men or boys: 'That would be utterly intolerable! As long as it is between grown men what Röhm does ... Well, then we can at least consider whether to keep him or not, but God help him if he abuses young boys! Then he must go!' (Toland, p. 358).

**3-9 April:** Hitler undertakes his 'First Flight over Germany' during which he speaks in twenty cities. The actual election campaign is limited to about one week, since the Berlin government declared a 'mandatory truce' until noon on 3 April in order to preserve peace during Easter. Hitler, however, turns this obstacle into an advantage, and hires an aeroplane so that he can make three to four speeches daily.

**3 April:** At noon Hitler gives his first election speech in Dresden. He also speaks in Leipzig, Chemnitz and Plauen.

**4 April:** Hitler delivers election speeches in Berlin-Lustgarten, Potsdam, in the Berlin Sports Palace and in Berlin-Friedrichshain.

**5 April:** Hitler speaks in Elbing, Lauenburg and Königsberg.

**6 April:** Hitler makes a stopover in Berlin to issue a declaration defending Röhm. He refuses categorically to dismiss the SA Chief of Staff, since he does not want to face yet another major crisis among his restless SA men just a few days before the second ballot. Thereafter, he resumes his flight in order to deliver speeches in Würzburg, Nuremberg and Regensburg.

**7 April:** Hitler speaks in Frankfurt, Darmstadt and Ludwigshafen.

**8 April:** Hitler speaks in Düsseldorf, Essen and Münster.

**9 April:** Hitler speaks in Böblingen, Schwenningen and Stuttgart.

**10 April:** Hindenburg is re-elected president by the required absolute majority: 19,300,000 votes (53 per cent) as against Hitler's 13,400,000 (36.8 per cent); Hitler not only captures the nationalist votes but at least 1,000,000 communists as well. He appeals to NSDAP members to participate in yet another election campaign scheduled for 24 April, involving the state legislatures of Prussia, Bavaria, Württemberg, Anhalt and Hamburg – no less than four-fifths of the total German population.

**12 April:** *The Times* publishes an interview with Hitler: 'I had no personal ambition to become President ... I opposed Hindenburg on the sole ground that this system which we have sworn to overthrow was taking refuge behind his reputation and popularity.' Schacht writes to Hitler offering him co-operation.

**13 April:** Acting upon the advice of Brüning and Groener, Hindenburg dissolves the Nazi paramilitary organizations (SA, SS and so on) and prohibits the display of their uniforms. Significantly, General von Schleicher does not support this action. Hitler immediately releases a proclamation of protest and declares 24 April, the date of the provincial elections, as a 'Day of Retribution' (VB, 15 April 1932). The ban is not lifted until 17 June.

**Mid-April:** Winston Churchill is visiting Munich with his family. He invites Hitler, through Hanfstaengl, to dinner at the *Continental* hotel. Hitler, however, avoids the Churchills till they leave Munich (Hanfstaengl, pp. 184–7).

**16–22 April:** Hitler's 'Second Flight over Germany' which takes him to twenty-five cities.

**16 April:** Hitler opens the election campaign by delivering speeches in Augsburg, Donauwörth, Rosenheim, Schlossberg nr. Rosenheim, Traunstein and Miesbach.

**18 April:** Hitler speaks in Beuthen, Görlitz and Breslau.

**19 April:** Hitler visits the battlefield of Tannenberg in East Prussia and speaks in Allenstein, Willenberg, Ortelsburg and Lyck.

**20 April:** Hitler celebrates his birthday in Königsberg. Then he flies to Halle and speaks in huge marquees in Kassel and Marburg.

**21 April:** Hitler speaks under canvas at Bad Kreuznach, and later in Koblenz and Trier.

**22 April:** Hitler speaks in Frankfurt (Oder), Neuruppin and in the Berlin Sports Palace.

**23 April:** Hitler speaks in Winsen, Altona, Kiel and Flensburg.

**24 April:** The results of the *Landtag* elections reveal that Hitler and the Nazis have exhausted their popular appeal; although the NSDAP comes out as the strongest party in all the provincial parliaments except Bavaria, Hitler fails to capture the same percentage of votes as he did in the second presidential ballot.

**28 April:** Hitler meets Schleicher in Berlin. He wants the *Reichswehr* to collaborate with the SA: at the same time he is conspiring against Brüning and Groener.

**Early May:** Hitler stays for a few days in Obersalzberg.

**8 May:** Hitler comes with Röhm to Berlin for another meeting with Schleicher, who needs his support in overthrowing Brüning. In return for Hitler's agreement and acceptance of the new 'Presidential Cabinet' under Franz von Papen, the ban on the SA and SS will be lifted and new *Reichstag* elections announced.

**13 May:** Groener is forced to resign as Minister of Defence; Goebbels reports the details to Hitler in Munich.

**19 May:** Hitler is back in Berlin to meet the newly elected Nazi deputies of the Prussian Diet; after a speech he leaves for the election campaign in Oldenburg.

**20–27 May:** Hitler tours Oldenburg; he speaks at the following places: Birkenfeld and Idar-Oberstein, Horumersiel, Oldenburg, Rüstringen, Rodenkirchen, Delmenhorst, Kloppenburg and Bad Zwischenahn.

**26 May:** Hitler visits the cruiser *Köln* in Wilhelmshaven and writes in the ship's guestbook: 'In the hope to co-operate in the reconstruction of a Fleet which will be worthy of the Reich' (Domarus, p. 109).

**Late May:** Hitler makes election speeches in Mecklenburg-Schwerin. He stays at the country estate of Severin, which belongs to the local Nazi leader, Walter Granzow.

**29 May:** In the provincial elections in Oldenburg, the NSDAP gains 49 per cent of the votes and 24 mandates out of 46; this is the first provincial government with a Nazi majority. Hitler speaks in Rostock.

**30 May:** Brüning and his Cabinet resign. Hitler arrives in Berlin for an audience with Hindenburg, who tells him that he has decided to appoint Papen as the future chancellor. Hitler says he will support him.



**31 May:** Hitler speaks in Wismar.

**2 June:** Hitler speaks in Güstrow.

**3 June:** Hitler meets Schleicher near Severin in Mecklenburg; he refuses to make any promise of support for the Papen Cabinet. He speaks in Schwerin and in the evening meets Goebbels and Gregor Strasser in Heiligendamm.

**4 June:** Hitler holds his final election meeting in Mecklenburg in the city of Waren before 30,000 people. In the evening he is back in Berlin and telephones Schleicher. Hindenburg dissolves the *Reichstag* and sets 31 July as the new election day.

**5 June:** The NSDAP wins the election in the Mecklenburg Diet with 30 out of 58 mandates; Hitler's friend Granzow becomes prime minister.

**7 and 8 June:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**9–10 June:** Conference of NSDAP leaders in Munich at which Hitler discusses his propaganda strategy for the forthcoming *Reichstag* elections.

**12 June:** Hitler makes his first speech in the Hesse election campaign at the stadium in Worms, then flies to Berlin.

**13 June:** Private meeting between Papen and Hitler, who demands the immediate lifting of the ban on the SA. According to Papen's later testimony, Hitler made it clear to him that he intended in due course to demand plenary powers for himself: 'I regard your Cabinet only as a temporary solution, and will continue my efforts to make my Party the strongest in the country. The Chancellorship will then devolve on me' (Papen, p. 162). In the afternoon, Hitler flies to Mainz where he gives an election speech.

**14–17 June:** Hitler delivers speeches in Alzey, Darmstadt, Offenbach and Giessen. The Papen government decides to lift the ban on the SA.

**18 June:** Hitler issues the 'Decree on the Reconstitution of the SA'.

**19 June:** The NSDAP fails to win an absolute majority in the Diet of Hesse; it gains 32 seats out of 70. Hitler speaks in Weimar.

**24 June:** Hitler speaks in the Circus *Krone* to SA and SS men.

**27 June:** Hitler speaks in Berchtesgaden.

**28 June:** Hitler makes a speech at the *Gauleiters'* and SA leaders' conference in Munich. The Berlin government prohibits open-air political rallies.

**1 July:** Hitler speaks in Braunschweig.

**3 July:** At a rally of 15,000 SA men at the *Dante Stadium* in Munich, Hitler declares: 'We hope that we have been chosen by fate to fulfil this mission and that the Almighty so resolves' (*VB*, 5 July 1932).

**6 July:** Hitler makes his first *Reichstag* election speech in Bad Tölz.

**8 July:** Hitler speaks at Landsberg – where he was imprisoned eight years earlier.

**9 July:** Hitler holds a staff conference with his deputies in Obersalzberg.

**10 July:** Hitler gives an election speech in Berchtesgaden.

**14 July:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**15–30 July:** Hitler's 'Third Flight over Germany' which takes him to fifty cities. For the first time, he wears the brown shirt of an SA man, with his war medals. Before the election campaign Hitler made his first gramophone record, 'Appeal to the Nation', 8–9 minutes long, price 5 Marks.

**15 July:** Hitler flies to East Prussia and speaks in Tilsit and Gumbinnen.

**16 July:** Hitler speaks in Lötzen, Ortelsburg, Osterode and Riesenburg.

**17 July:** Hitler speaks in Königsberg.

**19 July:** Hitler speaks in Schneidemühl and Cottbus. He also meets with Goebbels, Göring and Röhm. He takes off for Stralsund but has to abandon the flight because of bad weather.

**20 July:** Hitler arrives in Stralsund at 2 a.m. by car and delivers a two-hour speech to a crowd of 25,000, which has been waiting for him in heavy rain. He visits Warnemünde in the late morning and then flies to Schleswig-Holstein. He speaks in Kiel, Hamburg, Lüneburg and Bremen. In Kiel, his election rally is disrupted by the communists; after continual disruptions and violence, resulting in thirty

people being wounded, the police conducted Hitler out of the congress hall. 'Nothing but shabby jealous competition,' says Hitler afterwards, 'my dear Communists fear in me a German Stolypin, who can undermine their seizure of power, or at least postpone it' (Devrient, cited in Maser, 1975, pp. 118-19). In Berlin, Papen carries out his coup against the government of Prussia, still dominated by the Social Democrats. With the help of the *Reichswehr* he has the prime minister, Braun, and the interior minister, Severing, removed, and the three top police officers detained; all five are accused of collaborating with the communists. Papen then proclaims martial law in Berlin and the province of Brandenburg (which lasts until 26 July).

**21 July:** Hitler speaks in Hanover, Brunswick and Göttingen.

**22 July:** Hitler flies to Silesia and speaks in Liegnitz, Waldenburg, Neisse and Gleiwitz.

**23 July:** Hitler speaks in Zittau, Bautzen, Dresden, Leipzig and Dessau.

**24 July:** Hitler speaks in Elberfeld, Duisburg, Gladbeck, Bochum and Osnabrück.

**26 July:** Hitler speaks at the Kyffhäuser Memorial, then in Erfurt, Gera and Hildburghausen.

**27 July:** Hitler speaks in Eberswalde, Brandenburg. Late in the evening he delivers a speech in Berlin-Grunewald to 120,000 people, probably the largest audience during the whole election campaign.

**28 July:** Hitler speaks in Aachen, Cologne, Frankfurt and Wiesbaden.

**29 July:** Hitler speaks in Reutlingen, Neustadt an der Hardt, Freiburg and Radolfzell.

**30 July:** Hitler speaks in Kempten, Bayreuth, Nuremberg and Munich.

During the July election campaign political violence in Germany has reached its climax. In total, eighty-six people die in the fighting between left and right in July alone, including thirty communists and thirty-eight Nazis.

**31 July:** The results of the *Reichstag* elections are announced: the NSDAP receives 13,700,000 votes (37 per cent) and 230 seats out of 608, more than twice as many as in 1930, but Hitler's success falls short of a clear majority and the last three elections seem to confirm that the Nazi vote will never exceed 37 per cent of the total. In Thuringia, the *Landtag* elections give the Nazis 26 mandates out of 60.

**5 August:** Hitler meets Schleicher in Fürstenberg, near Berlin; declares himself ready to enter the Papen Government, but on his own terms: the chancellorship for himself and the ministries of the Interior, Justice and Agriculture for his party; in addition, the premiership and the ministry of the Interior in Prussia. Schleicher remains non-committal and Hitler departs for Obersalzberg leaving Röhm to carry on with the negotiations.

**13 August:** In the morning, Hitler negotiates with Papen and Schleicher. He is offered the vice-chancellorship only, which he declines contemptuously. In the afternoon, in the company of Frick and Röhm, he is received by Hindenburg, who demands from Hitler and the NSDAP more respect for the Constitution and proper behaviour while in opposition. In order to calm over 400,000 SA men who expect 'bread and jobs' after the election, Hitler orders them, through Röhm, to disperse for a two-week-long leave of absence. He himself retires to Obersalzberg.

**17 August:** The *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung* published an interview with Hitler by Otto Dietrich. Hitler repeats his determination to continue his struggle for power. Asked whether his refusal to enter the Papen Cabinet was the right decision, since 'a bird in the hand was worth two in the bush', Hitler replied: 'No, I shall never sell my rights of primogeniture for a mess of pottage.' When questioned by a correspondent of the Associated Press as to whether he was considering, like Mussolini, a march on Berlin, Hitler replied: 'Why should I march on Berlin? I am already there!' (Domarus, p. 129).

**23 August:** Hitler cables a message of sympathy to five Nazis convicted of murder: 'Dear comrades! ... Your liberation is from this moment a question of our honour' (Baynes, p. 166). The five SA members were sentenced to death the previous day by a special court in Beuthen for having committed the particularly brutal murder

of a communist in the village of Potempa in Silesia on 10 August. (As a result of Nazi pressure, the death sentences were commuted on 2 September to imprisonment for life; all five murderers were set free in March 1933.)

**23–25 August:** A group of Nazi leaders from the Free City of Danzig, including the Senate president, Hermann Rauschning, visit Obersalzberg. Rauschning was later to defect abroad and to publish his penetrating portrait of the dictator's true plans in *Hitler Speaks*. For many years his fascinating account was accepted as authentic or near-genuine (by, for example, Bullock, Fest, Trevor-Roper, Schieder), but recent biographers of Hitler (for example, Kershaw) dismissed Rauschning as unreliable. As an early critic of Hitler's anti-Semitism and his plans for world dominion, Rauschning has been called a forger and made a target of vicious attacks by the so-called revisionist historians gathered around David Irving. There has been an attempt to rehabilitate Rauschning as a genuine anti-Hitlerite figure through serious analysis of newly detected sources (see Hensel, 2003). Theodor Schieder's balanced judgement of 1972 (see Schieder, 1972, p. 62) still remains valid, by and large. Schieder sums up: '*Hitler Speaks* (1939) cannot be considered a primary document capturing *verbatim* Hitler's own utterances, but rather a post-dated reconstruction that has a significant value as a contemporary document.' Schieder certainly should have been more critical as to Rauschning's false claim that he had spent time in tête-à-tête conversations with Hitler. Rauschning seemed to have met Hitler only four or five times, and always in the company of other high-ranking officials, while visiting Obersalzberg or Berlin. It is highly unlikely that Hitler would reveal to him his secret plans about how to get rid of the Jews, defeat his enemies through a revolutionary concept of warfare (later to be called the *Blitzkrieg*), and establish a world dominion ruled by the Nordic-Germanic master race (Rauschning, pp. 13–51.).

**29 August:** Hitler receives Brüning, Papen and Schleicher at the *Kaiserhof* hotel. Schacht sends a letter of admiration and support to Hitler, advising him not to include any detailed references to an economic programme in his statements since 'there is none over which 14 million people could agree', and concludes: 'I felt the desire to write to you, because so few people in our times understand that everything today comes from internal strength' (Michaelis, p. 620).

**30 August:** Hitler receives the oath of loyalty from 230 Nazi deputies as the new *Reichstag* opens: Göring is elected *Reichspräsident* (Speaker) with the support of the Centre Party.

**1 September:** In a speech before 20,000 in the Berlin Sports Palace, Hitler declares that the *Reichswehr* is not there to protect the government but to defend the people.

**2 September:** A NSDAP leaders' conference meets in Berlin in Hitler's presence.

**3 September:** Hitler takes part in the funeral procession of an SA man killed in Berlin.

**4 September:** Hitler attends a regional meeting of Nazi leaders in Nuremberg.

**7 September:** Speaking in the Circus *Krone* in Munich, Hitler declares: 'I have a certain advantage over my great rival, the Reich President is 85 years old and I am 43 and as sound as a bell' (Baynes, pp. 192–3).

**8 September:** Hitler decrees the establishment of the NSDAP Military-Political Office, to which the Colonial Office under General von Epp is attached.

**10 September:** Hitler is back in Berlin where he speaks to representatives of the Centre Party about co-operation with the NSDAP.

**12 September:** The Communist faction in the *Reichstag* proposes lifting the Emergency Law which is linked with the no confidence vote against the Papen Government. Hitler, who monitors the *Reichstag* debate from the nearby *Kaiserhof*, decides to break the truce with Papen and instructs the Nazi deputies to vote for the communist motion, which receives an unprecedented 512 votes to 42. Papen tries to prevent a vote of no confidence by declaring the *Reichstag* dissolved, but Speaker Göring ignores him entirely; Papen has to announce the dissolution of the *Reichstag* by radio, and a new election date is set for 6 November.

**13 September:** Hitler holds a leaders' conference in Berlin, at which he announces that, in the forthcoming *Reichstag* elections, Nazi slogans must include demands for social as well as national freedom.

**15 September:** Hitler delivers the same appeal in the *Circus Krone* in Munich.

**1–2 October:** Hitler speaks at the Reich Youth Rally in Potsdam and watches a procession of 110,000 *Hitlerjugend* lasting seven hours.

**3 October:** Hitler speaks at the National Socialist Women's League Conference in Munich.

**6 October:** Hitler speaks at the Reich Propaganda Conference in Munich.

**11 October–5 November:** Hitler's 'Fourth Flight over Germany', which takes him to sixty cities. For the first time he uses the new Junkers 52 machine, made available to him by *Lufthansa* through Göring's connections.

**11 October:** Hitler speaks in Günzburg and Nördlingen.

**12 October:** Hitler speaks in Pocking.

**13 October:** Hitler speaks in Gunzenhausen, Nuremberg and Weiden.

**14 October:** Hitler speaks in Hof and Selb.

**15 October:** Hitler speaks in Coburg.

**16 October:** Before leaving Coburg, Hitler dictates a long letter to Papen, full of uncompromising criticism (published in *VB*, 18 October 1932). He then travels to Schweinfurt and Würzburg to election rallies.

**17 October:** Hitler speaks in Königsberg, Tilsit and Insterburg.

**18 October:** Hitler speaks in Elbing.

**19 October:** Hitler speaks in Oppeln and Breslau.

**20 October:** Hitler speaks in Sommerfeld.

**22 October:** Hitler speaks in Halle, Magdeburg and Stendal.

**23 October:** Hitler speaks in Zwickau, Eisenach and Weimar.

**24 October:** Hitler speaks in Köslin and Stettin.

**25 October:** Hitler speaks in Pasewalk, where in November 1918 he allegedly decided to become a politician, and then Anklam and Rostock.

**26 October:** Hitler speaks in Schwerin and Bad Schwartau – instead of Lübeck, where the Senate has forbidden him to appear in public.

**28 October:** Hitler speaks in Bremervörde and Altona.

**29 October:** Hitler speaks in Oldenburg and Aurich.

**30 October:** Hitler speaks in Dortmund, Essen and Cologne.

**31 October–1 November:** Hitler speaks in Gummersbach, Wallmenroth, Limburg, Pirmasens, and Karlsruhe. Meanwhile, in Munich, shortly after midnight, his mistress Eva Braun makes her first suicide attempt by shooting herself in the throat, after writing a farewell letter to Hitler. He interrupts his campaign and visits her in the clinic, carrying a bunch of flowers.

**2 November:** In the evening, Hitler speaks in Berlin's Sports Palace. The Berlin transport workers go on strike, supported jointly by the KPD and NSDAP. Hitler is embarrassed, but he cannot publicly disavow the strike. The Papen Government is greatly alarmed at the possibility of a civil war in which the Nazis might fight alongside the communists.

**3 November:** Hitler speaks in Hanover and Kassel.

**4 November:** Hitler speaks in Ulm.

**5 November:** Hitler speaks in Munich and Augsburg.

**6 November:** The election results are announced – the NSDAP loses 2,000,000 votes and 34 *Reichstag* seats; there is a marked increase in the communist vote, to almost 6,000,000. In Munich, Hitler releases his usual post-election address to NSDAP members, in which he makes the 'reactionaries Hugenberg and Papen' responsible for the fact that 'for the first time a hundred Bolsheviks will now move into the *Reichstag*' (Domarus, p. 143).

**8 November:** Hitler confers with his deputies in Munich, analysing the election results. He is determined to fight on. 'This government must be finished off at

whatever price. We should not even think of compromises', reports Goebbels (Goebbels, *Kaiserhof*, p. 198).

**9 November:** Papen repeats his offer of 13 August to Hitler, but Hitler contemptuously rejects the vice-chancellorship.

**13 November:** Papen writes to Hitler that he should reconsider his refusal to serve in his government of 'National Concentration'.

**16 November:** Replying to Papen's letter, Hitler again refuses. He is not willing to see Papen, but will correspond with him if certain conditions are met (Michaelis, 8, pp. 675–6).

**18 November:** Faced with Papen's decision to resign, Hindenburg invites Hitler to Berlin for a confidential talk. 'If these two men could ever shake hands with each other,' writes Goebbels, 'then the German Revolution would be secured' (Goebbels, *Kaiserhof*, p. 205).

**19 and 21 November:** Hitler and Göring are twice summoned to Hindenburg, who indicates for the first time his readiness to accept Hitler as chancellor, but under one condition – Hitler must have a workable majority in the *Reichstag*. Since Hitler knows he can never achieve that, he suggests in a letter to Hindenburg making him not a 'parliamentary' but a 'presidential chancellor', with the same emergency powers as Papen had (Michaelis, 8, pp. 689–91).

**22–24 November:** Lengthy exchange of letters between Hitler and Otto Meissner, the president's state secretary. In his final letter, Meissner writes that the president 'cannot but fear that a Presidential Cabinet under your leadership would automatically lead to a party dictatorship, causing increased and bitter strife within the nation.' Hitler replies on the same day rejecting the charge (Manvell, pp. 70–2).

**25 November:** Hitler releases a proclamation to NSDAP members in which he calls for the immediate resignation of the Papen Government.

**26–27 November:** Hitler speaks in Weimar and meets Hugenberg.

**27 November–3 December:** Hitler campaigns for the municipal elections in Thuringia, which he opens by a speech in Weimar.

**29 November:** Schleicher puts out feelers to Hitler, but the latter is not interested in meeting him in Berlin, and instead leaves Munich for another visit to Weimar.

**Late November:** Thirty-nine prominent industrialists and financiers (including Schacht, former Chancellor Cuno, Krupp, Siemens, Thyssen, Bosch and Vogler) join in a petition to Hindenburg demanding Hitler's appointment as chancellor (Manvell, pp. 74–5).

**1 December:** Hitler confers with Nazi leaders in Weimar. Strasser argues in favour of joining the new Cabinet under Schleicher; Göring and Goebbels are against. In the *Zum Elephanten* hotel Hitler meets Schleicher's emissary, Lieutenant-Colonel Eugen Ott, who intimates to him the general's intention of becoming chancellor. Hitler does not hide his misgivings about Schleicher's plans to involve the *Reichswehr* in politics. He also writes to Meissner declining Hindenburg's invitation to confidential talks the following day (Manvell, p. 76). He leaves Weimar to give election speeches in Greiz and Altenburg.

**2 December:** Hindenburg appoints Schleicher Chancellor, Minister of Defence and Reich Commissar for Prussia; Hitler speaks in Gotha and Jena.

**3 December:** Strasser meets Schleicher without Hitler's approval and is offered the vice-chancellorship and premiership of Prussia. Schleicher speculates that at least sixty Nazi deputies will follow Strasser, thereby inflicting incurable damage on Hitler's NSDAP. Hitler speaks in Eisfeld, Effelder and Sonneberg.

**4 December:** Hitler goes to Berlin and writes to Colonel Reichenau, Chief of Staff of the 1st Division in East Prussia (who earlier complimented Hitler on his personal, and his party's, self-discipline, telling him that if the SA did 'march against law and order', the *Reichswehr*, albeit 'with a bleeding heart', would obey orders and shoot). In his letter, Hitler stresses the strategic vulnerability of East Prussia in order to demand the necessity of Germany's 'internal spiritual rearmament' and a

strong anti-Soviet stand. He criticizes the secret contacts between the *Reichswehr* and the Red Army, and attacks Schleicher for neglecting the importance of a *Weltanschauung* within the German armed forces. Hitler himself sees the future task as follows: (1) to repress Marxism completely, thereby achieving a new national unity of the mind and will; (2) to bring about a general spiritual and moral rearmament of the nation on the basis of a new *Weltanschauung*; (3) to proceed from there to technical rearmament; (4) to organize national defence; (5) to attain formal recognition from the world for the new situation in Germany (see Vogelsang; RSA V/2: pp. 236–47).

**5 December:** Following a serious set-back in the Thuringian municipal elections, in which the NSDAP loses 40 per cent of its November strength, Hitler convenes a conference of party leaders at the *Kaiserhof* at which he, backed by Goebbels and Göring, attacks Gregor Strasser furiously for his secret dealing with Schleicher.

**6 December:** Hitler remains in Berlin to direct the Nazi entry into the *Reichstag*, which had opened for the first time since 12 September; Göring is re-elected Speaker.

**7 December:** Before a large audience of Nazi *Reichstag* deputies, Hitler once more denounces Gregor Strasser as a traitor.

**8 December:** In a letter to Hitler, Gregor Strasser resigns from all his NSDAP posts. Before assembled party leaders and functionaries Hitler justifies his action against Strasser and extracts an oath of loyalty to his person from all participants. The Strasser crisis has visibly shaken him and he realizes that the party is in a critical situation: 'Should the Party break up, then I shoot myself right now' (Goebbels, *Kaiserhof*, p. 220).

**9 December:** The crisis continues; Hitler issues a press release: 'Party member Gregor Strasser has taken three weeks' sick-leave with the Führer's approval. All rumours and speculation surrounding this subject are untrue and devoid of foundation' (VB, 10 December 1932). Hitler begins by dismantling the concentration of power in the office of the Reich Organization Leader, a post held formerly by Strasser. The result is fragmentation, held together only by loyalty to the Führer; he destroys every vestige of planning for future governmental functions, which was the most important among Strasser's organizational innovations. He never forgets or forgives Strasser's defection. Nor will Strasser escape from Hitler's shadow. Strasser's deputy, Paul Schulz, recalled the often-repeated prophecy of his boss: 'Hitler will have us killed. We will not end by natural death' (Franz-Willing, *Hitlerbewegung IV*, p. 301). The customary terms of address 'Mein Führer' and the salute 'Heil Hitler', now become standard within the NSDAP.

**10 December:** In order to counterbalance the negative impact of the Strasser affair, Hitler goes on a speaking tour, which opens in Breslau.

**11 December:** Hitler speaks in Dresden in the Circus *Sarrasani*, and subsequently in Chemnitz and Leipzig.

**16 December:** Hitler returns to Berlin to meet Nazi deputies of the Prussian *Landtag*.

**17–18 December:** Speaking in Magdeburg, Halle and Hamburg, Hitler admits that the NSDAP has suffered serious setbacks in the last elections, 'but next year, we shall pay them back with interest and compound interest!' (Heiden, *Fuehrer*, p. 399).

**19 and 20 December:** Hitler speaks in Nuremberg.

**31 December:** Germany has almost 6,000,000 unemployed; the NSDAP claims 1,415,000 members. At a New Year party in Obersalzberg, Goebbels says to Hitler: 'I wish you power!' (Goebbels, *Kaiserhof*, p. 232).

## 1933

**1 January:** Hitler's New Year Proclamation, addressed to the SA, SS, the youth organizations and farmers, is published in the *Völkischer Beobachter*.

**3 January:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP 'agro-political' conference in Munich. His 'Blood and Soil' vision, mixed with strict autarchy, should amount to the 'most radical revolutionary change' for the German nation (VB, 4 January 1933).

**4 January:** A secret meeting between Hitler and Franz von Papen in the house of Kurt von Schröder, a financier, in Cologne; the meeting was arranged by Wilhelm Keppler, Hitler's economic adviser. Hitler and Papen agree that the Kurt von Schleicher's government must be overthrown. The Nazi leader insists on becoming Reich chancellor himself, but is willing to include in his government non-Nazi members as long as they accept his policy of removing the KPD, SPD and Jews from leading positions in Germany. The same evening, Hitler speaks in Detmold.

**4–14 January:** Hitler participates in the election campaign in the tiny State of Lippe-Detmold, which has an electorate of less than 90,000. He was to speak in sixteen small localities. The NSDAP badly needed electoral success to dispel the defeatist mood that still affects the party after the November elections.

**14 January:** *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes Hitler's declaration reproving the 'mendacious' press, which accused him of receiving 4 million marks from Markus Wallenberg, a Swedish banker with a Jewish name.

**15 January:** The election results in Lippe-Detmold give the NSDAP 39.6 per cent of the votes and 9 mandates out of 21 in the *Landtag*. On the same day in Berlin Schleicher tells Kurt von Schuschnigg, the Austrian Minister of Justice, that 'Hitler was no longer a problem' and that 'his movement presented no political danger and was of yesterday's concern' (Heiden, *Fuehrer*, p. 411).

**15–16 January:** Hitler addresses the *Gauleiter* Conference in Weimar, where he attacks Gregor Strasser as a traitor.

**17 January:** Hitler meets Alfred Hugenberg in Berlin.

**18 January:** Hitler confers with Papen again in the Berlin home of Joachim von Ribbentrop.

**20 January:** A Nazi anti-government resolution on foreign policy is passed in the *Reichstag* by the united majority of NSDAP and KPD. Hitler speaks in the Berlin Sports Palace.

**22 January:** Protected by the Berlin Police, 35,000 SA men demonstrate in front of the KPD headquarters, the Karl-Liebknecht House. Hitler speaks before the grave of Horst Wessel at the Nicolai Cemetery. In the evening, Hitler meets Oskar von Hindenburg, the President's son and adjutant, in Ribbentrop's home, later delivering a speech in the Sports Palace.

**23 January:** Hitler confers with Hjalmar Schacht in the *Kaiserhof* hotel and delivers a two-hour speech to the Berlin leaders of the SA and SS. In the evening he speaks in Frankfurt-on-der-Oder.

**24 January:** Another meeting between Hitler and Papen.

**27 January:** Hitler meets Hugenberg.

**28 January:** Unable to obtain emergency powers from Paul von Hindenburg as a prerequisite of action against the NSDAP, Chancellor Kurt von Schleicher tenders his resignation. Hindenburg instructs Franz von Papen to meet Hitler, who reiterates his earlier refusal to form a government based on a parliamentary majority and repeats his demand to form a presidential Cabinet. On the other hand, Hitler indicates that he is ready to include non-Nazi ministers in his Cabinet. For himself, Hitler demands the chancellorship; for his party the posts of minister of the interior for both the Reich and Prussia.

**29 January:** Schleicher makes a last desperate move to prevent his rival Papen from forming a new government, and sends General von Hammerstein, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, to meet Hitler at the home of the Bechsteins in Berlin-Charlottenburg, with an offer of co-operation. Hitler remains non-committal.

**30 January:** Hindenburg appoints the 'Government of National Concentration' with Hitler as Reich chancellor and Papen as vice-chancellor. Only two Nazis are included in Hitler's Cabinet: Wilhelm Frick as Minister of the Interior and the

*Reichstag* President (Speaker); and Hermann Göring as Minister Without Portfolio in charge of the Prussian Ministry of the Interior. It is a typical 'presidential Cabinet' without the backing of the *Reichstag* majority; most of its members are conservative nationalists. Hitler gains the reluctant consent of Hugenberg, the new Minister of Economics and Agriculture, for new *Reichstag* elections. Hitler also meets the outgoing Chancellor Schleicher, who tries to explain to his successor the essence of German policy *vis-à-vis* Poland, which would be destroyed in an alliance with France and the Soviet Union. Hitler is said to have whispered in Göring's ear: 'And I shall do the opposite!' (Baynes, p. 1001).

**31 January:** Hitler drafts the 'Appeal to the German Nation', in which he makes a threefold pledge, to be 'carried out with iron resolution and dogged perseverance. Within four years the German farmer must be saved from pauperism ... unemployment must be completely overcome ... and the economy recovered.' He declares that Germany under his leadership will pursue a policy of peace in Europe, 'despite our love for our Army', and 'will act decisively in overcoming ... the demoralization of Germany by the Communists' (Noakes, pp. 162–5). Hitler's main objective, discussed at the first Cabinet meeting, is to dissolve the present *Reichstag* as an effective organ either of legislation or of opposition. In order to secure the passage of the Enabling Bill (a law for removing the distress of people and Reich), he needs a two-thirds majority. Since he cannot reach an agreement with Monsignor Kaas of the Catholic Centre Party, he hopes to increase the Nazi vote after the new elections, scheduled for 5 March. Hitler's first message as Reich Chancellor is a telegram sent to the Austrian Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss, expressing best wishes to the 'brotherly German people of Austria' (Domarus, p. 189). On Hitler's nomination, Hindenburg purportedly received a message from his wartime chief of staff, Erich Ludendorff, who accused the president of having delivered 'our holy Fatherland to one of the greatest demagogues of all times. I solemnly prophesy that this accursed man will bring our Reich into the abyss and cause our nation unimaginable suffering. For this act you will be cursed in your grave by future generations!' (Deuerlein, *Aufstieg*, p. 418; Kershaw i, p. 427. However, the authentic letter has still not been found: see Gruchmann).

**February:** Mussolini offers Hitler a contract for an Italian edition of *Mein Kampf* with a promise to pay 53,625 Marks (\$20,000) as advance to the Eher Verlag in Munich that owned the copyright. It is meant as a cash advance and campaign contribution to the Nazi Party ahead of the legislative elections coming in March (Fabre, *Il Contratto*).

**1 February:** Hindenburg dissolves the *Reichstag* by virtue of Article 25 of the Constitution, thus using his emergency prerogatives. Hitler broadcasts his 'Appeal to the German Nation' on the radio for the first time.

**2 February:** Hitler delivers a speech in the *Reichsrat*. On the same day he tells American and British journalists that nobody in Germany wanted peace more than he: 'I have been represented as having made bloodthirsty and firebrand speeches against foreign countries, and now the world is surprised at my moderation' (Baynes, pp. 1003–4). August Kubizek, Hitler's childhood friend, writes to him from Austria, wishing him good luck on his becoming Reich Chancellor (Jetzinger, p. 87).

**3 February:** Before a group of senior Army and Navy officers in the home of General Hammerstein, Hitler reveals his twofold programme – the *Lebensraum* in the East, and its ruthless Germanization. German youth must be prepared for the coming struggle and Marxism exterminated root and branch. Hitler promises his generals that he does not want to amalgamate the *Reichswehr* with the SA into a people's militia, and that the Army will remain the only carrier of arms in Germany.

**6 February:** Colonel Etherton of the *Daily Mail* has an interview with Hitler on disarmament, the abolition of the Peace Treaty and the Polish Corridor.

**8 February:** Hitler explains to the editors of German newspapers the extraordinary measures and limitations of the freedom of the press just taken by the gov-



ernment. At a Cabinet meeting, Hitler announces that in the next four to five years rearmament must become the number one priority.

**10 February:** Hitler opens the election campaign with a major speech in the Berlin Sports Palace.

**11 February:** Hitler opens an international automobile exhibition in Berlin, then flies to Kassel to deliver his election speech.

**12 February:** In Leipzig, Hitler takes part at the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Richard Wagner's death.

**14 February:** Representatives of the Nazi press are received by Hitler in the Reich Chancellery; in the evening, Hitler speaks to SA and SS leaders in Berlin.

**15 February–4 March:** Hitler's 'Fifth Flight over Germany'.

**16 February:** In the morning, Hitler receives war veterans in the Reich Chancellery. At a Cabinet meeting Hitler explains that the creation of a State Commissariat for Aviation (*Reichskommissariat für Luftfahrt*) is meant to serve as camouflage to provide funds for the acquisition of an Air Force (*Luftwaffe*) for the German Nation as the most important weapon of the future, which Germany was prohibited to have under the clauses of the Versailles Treaty; it could not be done through ordinary budget subject to parliamentary review but must be, Hitler emphasized, decided by the Cabinet internally through a special fund (*ARK, Reg. Hitler*, I,1, p. 82). In the evening Hitler speaks in Stuttgart.

**17 February:** Hitler speaks in Dortmund.

**18 February:** Hitler speaks in Munich.

**19 February:** Speaking in Cologne, Hitler says: 'Give us just four years and you will not recognize Germany again!' (Baynes, p. 245).

**23 February:** In an interview with the American journalist Louis P. Lochner, Hitler explains the significance of compulsory labour service, but avoids the issue of the militia. Instead, he demands parity in rearmament (Baynes, pp. 1009–12).

**24 February:** On the anniversary of the foundation of the NSDAP, Hitler delivers a speech in the Munich *Hofbräuhaus*.

**25 February:** Hitler speaks in Nuremberg.

**27 February:** Hitler returns to Berlin. During the night the *Reichstag* building is destroyed by fire. Since the police arrested the chief culprit, a Dutch Communist Marinus van der Lubbe, they also started to round up communists, who were believed to be preparing an uprising.

**28 February:** Göring orders the arrest of 4,000 communists and a ban on the entire communist and social democratic press. Citing the *Reichstag* fire, Hitler promulgates a decree signed by the president for the 'Protection of the People and State', known as the '*Reichstag* Fire Decree', which suspends the basic guarantees of individual freedom under the Constitution. An orgy of violence and terror is unleashed by the SA throughout the country; opponents of Nazism are dragged off to improvised concentration camps.

**1 March:** Hitler receives the delegation of Nazi trade-unions (*NSBO*) and assures them that 'the elimination of Marxism is fundamental for the well-being of the German worker' (Baynes, p. 829). He leaves Berlin for Breslau to resume his election campaign.

**2 March:** Hitler returns to Berlin and delivers in the Sports Palace one of his most effective anti-communist speeches: 'Marxism in practice is the best refutation of Marxism in theory ... Freedom? ... Where is one in greater trepidation before every photographer, before every reporter, than in the land of freedom and of equality? Brotherliness? Millions had to be shot ... Capitalism overcome? Where, I ask, has it been overcome? ... In Russia? ... And to those who in Germany are enthusiastic for this principle I would like to recommend a week's experience of the system under which men work in the forests of Siberia – one week would be enough! ... and the idea of Pacifism? ... The Red Army is the symbol of this Marxist–pacifist world idea ... When Marxism is supreme in practice, it refutes

itself in every sphere. There is no happiness, no prosperity, no social advance, but only the same grey misery, the same grey distress' (Baynes, pp. 254–61).

**3 March:** The *Daily Express* publishes an interview between Hitler and its correspondent, Sefton Delmer. Hitler indignantly rejects the allegation that the *Reichstag* fire was nothing but a calculated move designed to give the Nazis the pretext to wage a merciless war against communists and socialists: 'I could have the Communist who was caught (a Dutchman, Marinus van der Lubbe) hanged from the nearest tree ... Europe, instead of suspecting me of false play, should be grateful to me for my drastic section against the Bolsheviks ... My dear Delmer, I need no St Bartholomew's Night! By the decrees issued legally we have appointed tribunals which shall try enemies of the State and deal with them legally in a way which will put an end to these conspiracies.'

**4 March:** Hitler speaks in Königsberg.

**5 March:** The first and last free elections in Nazi Germany. In the *Reichstag* the NSDAP gains over 17,200,000 million votes (43.9 per cent) and 288 mandates out of 647. Only with the help of the DNVP and *Stahlhelm* and their 52 seats can Hitler obtain a majority in the *Reichstag*. Eighty-one communist deputies are excluded from the *Reichstag*; many of them have already been arrested. Elections in the Prussian *Landtag* produced 10,500,000 votes (44 per cent) and 211 mandates out of 474 for the NSDAP.

**9 March:** The Bavarian government is dissolved and General von Epp assumes power as the Reich Commissar for Bavaria. He receives congratulations from Hitler, who flies to Munich the same evening. Heinrich Himmler is appointed Police President of Munich.

**10 March:** Hitler appeals to the SA and SS to end 'the revolution from below', since the lawlessness perpetrated by Nazi criminals has exceeded its usefulness: 'From this day onwards the National Government has executive power throughout Germany. The further progress of the national uprising will therefore be guided and planned from the top ... The molesting of individuals, the obstruction or disturbance of business life, must cease on principle' (Noakes, p. 183).

**12 March:** Hitler delivers a radio address announcing the reintroduction of the old imperial banner as national flag alongside the swastika. He flies to Munich where he delivers a speech describing the term *Gleichschaltung* as 'co-ordination of the political will' (Baynes, pp. 263–9).

**13 March:** At Hitler's request, Hindenburg appoints Joseph Goebbels as the Reich Minister for People's Enlightenment and Propaganda.

**18 March:** Hitler decides to create his personal bodyguard, the *SS Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler*. He ordered the new chief of the Bavarian Political Police, Reinhard Heydrich, to confiscate and bring to him the six large personal files held on him by the Munich Police. At the same time, Göring purged the Prussian police and carried out a vast expansion of the *Landespolizei* (gendarmerie).

**21 March:** Hitler opens the new *Reichstag* before the assembled deputies – but without the Social Democrats – at the tomb of Frederick the Great in the Potsdam Garrison Church, in the presence of old Imperial dignitaries including the Reich president. In the afternoon the new *Reichstag* assembly, including Hitler in his capacity as an ordinary deputy, meet in Berlin's *Kroll* opera house.

**22 March:** The first concentration camp for political opponents is established at Dachau, near Munich. By mid-1933 almost 30,000 people were to be interned in concentration camps.

**23 March:** Hitler introduces the Enabling Bill before the *Reichstag*, whose acceptance will abrogate most of the democratic rights of the Constitution and give Hitler full power without invoking the presidential decrees under Article 48, as his predecessors were required to do. Hitler declares that the Enabling Law is absolutely necessary to overcome economic catastrophe and to eradicate the party and class divisions for the sake of new national unity, and 'the political purification of our national life'. He hails the 'National Socialist Revolution' as a

'disciplined and bloodless' action, promising that he will protect the Church and pursue a peaceful foreign policy demanding radical universal disarmament. But for those who continue to oppose his policies Hitler includes the warning that 'high treason and treachery to the nation will be ruthlessly eradicated' (Baynes, pp. 209, 523, 1015–20). After the SPD leader, Otto Wels, courageously opposed the Bill, Hitler took the floor, the first and last time he did so in a parliamentary debate, and derisively destroyed his arguments. The Bill is accepted by 441 votes to 94 of the Social Democrats. Hitler has secured the support of the demoralized *Zentrum* party after giving it his assurances that he will not misuse his new powers.

**24 March:** Publication of the Enabling Law. Hitler assures the Italian Ambassador Cerruti that Germany has no intention of annexing Austria.

**26–28 March:** Hitler meets his lieutenants in Berchtesgaden and Munich to co-ordinate concrete measures to be taken against German Jews on 1 April.

**28 March:** The German Communist Party (*KPD*) is banned.

**31 March:** The Law to 'co-ordinate' the states and the Reich is promulgated. The state legislatures are brought under the control of Hitler's party; rigid centralization will gradually replace the federal Weimar Constitution.

**1 April:** The first anti-Jewish boycott is organized throughout Germany by the NSDAP. Hitler appoints Alfred Rosenberg head of the *NSDAP Ausserpolitisches Amt* (*APA* – Foreign Policy Office).

**4 April:** At a Cabinet meeting Hitler approves of the renewal of the German–Soviet Treaty and decides to set up the Reich Defence Council. Dr Löwenstein, chairman of the National League of Jewish Soldiers, sends a letter of protest to Hitler, in which he complains of maltreatment of Jewish ex-soldiers under Nazi propaganda (*ARK, Reg. Hitler*, I,1, no. 89).

**6 April:** Hitler tries to justify the Enabling Laws, because of the 'intolerable terrorization' caused by the former political parties, before representatives of the foreign press in Berlin (Baynes, pp. 499–502). Hitler meets Willy Hof, director of *Hafraba* (Society for the Construction of a Hamburg–Frankfurt–Basel Motorway) to discuss highway construction plans and their financing (*ARK, Reg. Hitler*, I,1, no. 92).

**7 April:** 'The Second Law for co-ordination of the States under the Reich' is passed by the Reich government, introducing the institution of *Reichsstatthalter* (Reich governors), who will become the chief executives in German states, directly responsible to the Reich government. Nearly all governors are to be appointed by Hitler from senior *Gauleiters*. At a meeting of his Cabinet, Hitler tells the ministers that foreign conflicts should be avoided until Germany becomes stronger in military terms (*ARK, Reg. Hitler*, I,1, p. 312). The *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes Hitler's speech to the Doctors' Union in which he demands the elimination of the excessive number of Jewish intellectuals from the cultural and spiritual spheres of life. On the same day, Hitler receives the French Ambassador, François-Poncet.

**8 April:** The 'Law for the Re-establishment of the Professional Civil Service' is passed with provisions for the purging of Jews, 'non-Aryans', and opponents of the regime. Jewish civil servants, including professors and schoolteachers, are being fired. Similar laws in the following weeks will affect Jewish lawyers, judges and doctors. Books written by Jews and other authors considered hostile to Nazism are burned during huge public rallies. Hitler delivers an address to the SA in the Sports Palace which is broadcast all over Germany.

**10 April:** Hitler sends Göring to Italy to meet Mussolini.

**11 April:** In a letter to Hindenburg, Hitler announces that he has appointed himself Governor of Prussia. Göring is made his deputy while retaining the positions of Prussia's prime minister and minister of the interior (Domarus, p. 255).

**12–20 April:** Hitler is in Bavaria, where he celebrates his birthday on the 20 April. This birthday is promoted as a national holiday and celebrated throughout Germany.

**22 April:** After only one day in Berlin, Hitler flies back to Munich with Goebbels, informing him of his decision to merge the *Stahlhelm* with the SA. Goebbels notes

in his diary: The authority of the Führer in the Cabinet is now completely established. There will be no more voting. The Führer alone decides. All this has been achieved much faster than we had dared to anticipate! (Goebbels, *Kaiserhof*, p. 302). In a self-congratulatory speech to party leaders, Hitler rejoices that the Nazi revolution has been so remarkably peaceful and disciplined.

**25 April:** Hitler's Cabinet discuss a bill 'against the overcrowding of German Schools and Colleges', which is designed to reduce the number of 'non-Aryan' candidates (ARK, *Reg. Hitler*, I,1, no. 107).

**27 April:** Hitler appoints Rudolf Hess as his official deputy (*Stellvertreter des Führers*) in all matters concerning the party. In a conference attended by Hindenburg, Papen, Göring, Blomberg and Neurath, Hitler discusses the protection of Germany's eastern border against a potential surprise Polish attack.

**28 April:** During an audience with the Soviet Ambassador, Khinchuk, Hitler states that friendly relations between the two countries must not be discontinued.

**1 May:** 'National Labour Day' is celebrated under the new regime. Hitler introduces workers' delegations to Hindenburg. In the evening he addresses 1,500,000 people at the Tempelhof airfield: 'May Day – once the symbol of class warfare ... has become once more the symbol of the great unification and rebirth of the nation' (Baynes, p. 1020).

**2 May:** Police and SS arrest trade union leaders and seize their funds. Hitler receives Alfred Wysocki, the Polish Minister to Berlin, and assures him that Germany has no intention of damaging Polish interests in Danzig.

**4 May:** Hitler sends Alfred Rosenberg to London for the second time to initiate contact. He also makes public his firm rejection of an honorary doctorate from the Technical University of Stuttgart.

**5 May:** The extension of the German–Soviet Treaty is ratified by the *Reichstag*.

**6 May:** The *Daily Telegraph* publishes an interview with Hitler, in which he reassures British readers that he does not want another war.

**7 May:** Speaking to the SA in Kiel, Hitler declares: 'If the army is the school of the German people in arms, you must form the political school ... The SA must be the guarantor of the victorious completion of this Revolution, and it will be victoriously completed if, through the schooling of the SA, a new German people is educated ... You must fuse your will with mine!' (VB, 9 May 1933).

**8 May:** Hitler appoints E.W. Bohle as head of the *Auslandsorganisation* (AO/NSDAP – foreign department) dealing with overseas party members.

**10 May:** Hitler addresses the First Congress of the *Arbeitsfront* (Labour Front): 'We see in Marxism the enemy of our people which we shall root out and destroy without mercy' (Baynes, pp. 839–64). The former independent trade unions are being liquidated in the process of *Gleichschaltung*, and Goebbels oversees the burning of books in Berlin. Hitler sees himself as a unique arbiter chosen by Fate to reconcile class divisions: 'Because I myself was a labouring man for years in the building trade and had to earn my own bread. And because for a second time I took my place amongst the masses once again as an ordinary soldier.'

**17 May:** Hitler convokes the *Reichstag* to deliver his first 'Peace' speech, interded to undermine the authority of the League of Nations currently in session in Geneva. The *Reichstag* resolution on foreign policy is unanimously passed by all deputies, including the Social Democrats, who are soon to succumb under *Gleichschaltung*.

**21–23 May:** Hitler visits the naval base at Kiel.

**27 May:** On the eve of election day in the Free State of Danzig, Hitler delivers a broadcast speech from Munich in which he proclaims that the National Socialists reject the forceful Germanization of foreign peoples and border corrections imposed upon the latter: 'We want no war which will serve only the purpose of taking to Germany a few million people, who do not wish to become Germans ... we shall never try to subject foreign peoples' (VB, 29 May 1933).

**28 May:** The NSDAP gains 51 per cent of the votes in the Danzig elections and thus 39 out of 72 mandates. A new Nazi government is formed under the Senate

president, Dr Rauschning. Hitler cables to the Danzig *Gauleiter*: 'Magnificent, Forster!' (Rauschning, p. 91).

**29 May:** Hitler holds a meeting with leading industrialists over the resource mobilization to fulfil three major commitments: the reduction of unemployment, construction of motorways and housing projects (ARK, *Reg. Hitler*, I,1, no. 147).

**31 May:** Cabinet meeting with Hitler presiding over job creation under the 'First Reinhardt Programme' (ARK, *Reg. Hitler*, I,1, no. 149).

**1 June:** Hitler invites a Nazi delegation from Danzig to his Chancellery for an afternoon coffee and cake. He allegedly reveals to them his impatience to see Austria annexed to the Reich as soon as possible (Rauschning, p. 92). The 'First Law for the Reduction of Unemployment' is passed, under the slogan *Arbeitsschlacht* ('Battle for Labour'), to reduce unemployment by 2,250,000 before the winter.

**7 June:** Hitler approves of Germany participating in the signing of the Pact of Four with Italy, France and England.

**8 June:** Hitler speaks to British airmen who are on a visit to Berlin.

**14 June:** Hitler speaks at a conference of Nazi leaders in Berlin.

**17 June:** Hitler nominates Baldur von Schirach as 'Youth Leader of the German Reich', to be in charge of all youth organizations. He also receives the Hungarian premier, Gömbös.

**18 June:** Hitler speaks in Erfurt to SA and SS men.

**19 June:** The Austrian chancellor, Dollfuss, bans the NSDAP in Austria.

**22 June–5 July:** Rapid dissolution of the political parties in Germany through *Gleichschaltung*: the SPD is ordered to dissolve itself on 22 June; the DNVP on 27 June; the State Party (formerly the Democratic Party) on 28 June; the DVP and the Bavarian Party on 4 July; and the Catholic Centre Party (*Zentrum*) on 5 July.

**24 June:** Hitler appoints Robert Ley the leader of the German Labour Front.

**27 June:** Hugenberg decides to resign, against Hitler's wishes; he is needed in the Cabinet for decorative purposes, to demonstrate national unity. Hitler appoints Walter Darré as Minister for Agriculture. On the same day Hitler announces the merger of the junior *Stahlhelm* with the SA and the passage of the new legislation on *Reichsautobahnen* (German motorways).

**2 July:** At a joint rally of SA, SS and *Stahlhelm* leaders in Bad Reichenhall, Hitler announces: 'The concrete aim of our Revolution is to establish internal order as a precondition for the expansion of German power in the world' (VB, 3 July 1933).

**4 July:** Hitler receives A.S. Duncan-Jones, the Dean of Chichester, to whom he says: 'I am a Catholic. I have no place in the Protestant Church' (Baynes, p. 400).

**6 July:** Speaking to the Reich Governors in Berlin, Hitler declares: 'The political parties have now been finally abolished ... The Party has now become the State ... We must now get rid of the last remains of democracy, especially of the methods of voting and of the decisions by the majority ... The Revolution is not a permanent state of affairs, and it must not be allowed into such a state' (Noakes, p. 204).

**8 July:** The Concordat between Germany and the Holy See is concluded in Rome. Hitler welcomes the event in a special directive stopping further persecution of German Roman Catholics: 'From now on the Catholic citizens of the Reich will demonstrate their unreserved support for the new National Socialist State' (Domarus, p. 288).

**8 July:** Hitler speaks in Dortmund.

**10 July:** The *New York Times* publishes an interview with Hitler by Anne O'Hare McCormick. Hitler justifies the suppression of political parties and the parliament as unsuitable for Germany; he suggests Oliver Cromwell as his model: 'I myself assume absolute responsibility. If I fail, I will not retire to a villa in Switzerland!' Hitler pays tribute to German women, since they 'always have been among my staunchest supporters ... They know I serve their cause in working to redeem German youth, to create a new social order, to restore hope and health.' He refers to the current Nazi policy of solving unemployment by encouraging 'women to

marry and stay at home'. On the Jewish question, he wants to appear reasonable: 'I would be only too glad, if nations which take such an enormous interest in Jews, would open their gates to them. It is true, we have made discriminatory laws, but they are directed not so much against the Jews as for the German people, to give economic opportunity to the majority.' It is the elimination of unemployment that is his first objective: 'What does anything else matter?' His ambitious programme includes public works and motorization: 'Germany must be motorized ... to make cars that can be owned by persons with small incomes. The reason I admire Ford is not because he pioneered in standardizing production, but because he produces for the masses. That little car of his has done more than anything else to destroy class differences.' At the end he warns: 'Remember, I am prescribing only for Germany, not for the world, and no outside criticism will deflect me from the course I have mapped out.'

**12 July:** Hitler delivers a speech to Party officials in Berlin.

**13 July:** The Polish Minister in Berlin is received by Hitler, who assures him that he does not harbour any feelings of hostility towards Poland.

**14 July:** The 'Law of Revoking Naturalization' is passed: Jews and Gypsies are deprived of German citizenship. A 'Law to Prevent Offspring with Hereditary Defects' is also passed, permitting the forced sterilization of Gypsies, the mentally and physically disabled, and others considered 'inferior' or 'unfit'.

**16 July:** In a telegram, Hitler thanks Benito Mussolini for his initiative in bringing about the signing of the Four Powers Pact in Rome between England, France, Germany and Italy. At Leipzig, Hitler delivers two speeches at the NSDAP Saxon Rally.

**19 July:** Hitler writes a letter of thanks to the military priest, Ludwig Müller, to whom he will in September confer the title 'Reich bishop' (*Reichsbischof*, colloquially '*Reibi*'), for his endeavour to assist in the *Gleichschaltung* of the German Protestant churches (Baynes, p. 374).

**20 July:** The Vatican signs a Concordat with Germany; it will serve only to disable Catholic opposition to the regime.

**21 July:** Hitler meets Arthur Henderson, the Chairman of the Disarmament Conference.

**22 July:** On the eve of the Evangelical Church elections, Hitler makes a broadcast in which he demands that, instead of many Evangelical Churches, there should be one united 'Reich Church'.

**22-30 July:** Hitler attends the annual Music Festival in Bayreuth. There he is reported to have revealed to Winifred Wagner: 'If the *putsch* hadn't failed everything would have been different; I would have been the right age. Now I am too old. I have lost too much time and must work with double speed' (Toland, p. 433). Hitler has an argument with Oswald Spengler, the author of the celebrated *The Decline of the West*; Hitler tells Spengler he does not believe in the decline but, on the contrary, in the rebirth of the West under the leadership of the Nordic man (Hamann, *Hitler's Bayreuth*, p. 258).

**26 July:** Hitler leaves Bayreuth for a day to meet a delegation of Italian Fascist Youth in Munich and to attend the funeral of Admiral von Schroeder in Berlin. During the festival, Hitler is interviewed by Kerim Tabet for two Arab newspapers, *Al Makattam* and *Al Musawar*.

**30 July:** After visiting the grave of Richard Wagner, Hitler leaves Bayreuth to deliver a speech at a gymnastic display in Stuttgart.

**August:** Hitler spends most of the month in Obersalzberg in the *Haus Wachenfeld*, which he purchased in 1928.

**2 August:** Hitler receives a delegation of Americans, Messrs H. Mann and M. Behn. Later he will also receive Joseph J. O'Donahue, secretary of 'Friends of Germany', and the former US consul in Germany, Thomas Caffney.

**4 August:** Hitler finds time at last to answer the letter of 2 February from his childhood friend, Kubizek. He promises to invite him, 'once my toughest battles

are over ... to revive personally the memory of those happiest years in my life' (Kubizek, p. 325).

**6 August:** Hitler speaks at a conference of party leaders in Obersalzberg.

**12 August:** Hitler attends a Richard Wagner Fête at Neuschwanstein. Thereafter he confers with his foreign minister, Konstantin von Neurath on the Austrian question, and on Italy's attitude.

**13 August:** Hitler discusses the Jewish question with an American professor, John F. Coar. In the following days he attends several, mainly economic, conferences with his ministers and advisers at Obersalzberg.

**19 August:** The growing discontent among the SA forced Hitler yet again to speak before the assembled SA, SS and *Stahlhelm* leaders at the *Dreesen* hotel at Bad Godesberg.

**27 August:** Hitler and Hindenburg take part in a celebration at the Tannenberg Battle Memorial. Hitler flies to the Rhineland to speak at the Niederwald Memorial.

**30 August–3 September:** The fifth NSDAP Rally ('Victory' congress) is held in Nuremberg with 400,000 participants. In his closing oration, Hitler declares Germany's anti-Bolshevik struggle a 'European mission'.

**5–6 September:** Hitler watches army manoeuvres near Ulm.

**11 September:** Professor Edmund Forster, who in 1918 had diagnosed Hitler as a 'hysterical psychopath', and whom the new regime forced to resign from the University of Greifswald, commits suicide.

**12 September:** Hitler discusses the Austrian question with Neurath and decides to withdraw from the border the 'Austrian Legion', in order not to provoke Italy and other powers, which were not prepared to tolerate a violent solution to the Austrian crisis. Hitler wants a 50 per cent participation of the NSDAP in the Austrian government and the vice-chancellorship for Theo Habicht, his special representative for Austria who is in charge of radical propaganda conducted from Germany against the Dollfuss government. Hitler also decides to postpone Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations until after the complete collapse of the Disarmament Conference.

**13 September:** Hitler opens the first 'Winter Help' Fund in the struggle 'against hunger and cold'.

**15 September:** Hitler receives the French Ambassador François-Poncet, whom he assures that the question of Alsace-Lorraine is no longer among Germany's revisionist claims. On the same day he receives the papal Nuncio, the Romanian politician, Colonel Tatarescu, and the leader of the German minority in Eupen-Malmedy, Joseph Dehottay.

**20 September:** Speaking before the recently founded General Council for the German Economy, Hitler stresses the dependence of economics on politics and announces that 'a new general attack on unemployment will begin in the spring of 1934'. He uses the opportunity to attack the Communist ideology, 'which preaches that man should free himself from wants and should systematically restrict his requirements – that is the cult of primitivism proclaimed by Communism ... This ideology is founded upon a jealousy of one's neighbour, upon the fear of any outstanding achievement, its basis is a mean and envious outlook. This doctrine of the backward development into primitivism leads to a cowardly, timid spirit of acquiescence and therefore represents an enormous danger for humanity ... German economic life can continue only if a quite definite level of requirement is maintained, and if the German people demand for themselves a quite definite standard of civilization' (VB, 22 September 1933).

**23 September:** Hitler digs the first hole for the planned new *Autobahn* near Frankfurt. He addresses the workers: 'The best possible way to bring the German people back to work is to set German economic life once more in motion through great monumental works ... This is not merely the hour in which we begin the building of the greatest network of roads in the world, this hour is at the same

time a milestone on the road towards the building up of the community of the German people' (VB, 25 September 1933). On the same day Hitler speaks in Hanover to members of the *Stahlhelm* who were now incorporated in the SA.

**26 September:** During the meeting of his Cabinet, Hitler declares that he regards the normalization of Soviet–German relations quite impossible, since National Socialism is an antithesis to Soviet plans for a world revolution.

**28 September:** Hitler receives T. C. R. Moore, a member of the House of Commons. Hitler speaks in the Chancellery to the assembled Reich governors.

**29 September:** Hitler recalls Neurath and Goebbels abruptly from Geneva.

**1 October:** Hitler participates at the harvest thanksgiving festival on the Bückeberg near Hameln. In his speech, he announces the recent passage of the *Reicherbhofgesetz* (Law on Reich Hereditary Estates), which will guarantee the inviolability of ownership of family farms against fragmentation.

**2 October:** Hitler flies to East Prussia and visits Hindenburg on his estate at Neudeck, to wish him well on his 86th birthday. Hitler obtains Hindenburg's approval for the planned dissolution of the *Reichstag*.

**3 October:** The Czechoslovak government disbands the DNSAP for anti-state activities; Konrad Henlein, leader of the *Turnerschaft* (German Gymnastic Association), decides to set up the *Sudetendeutsche Heimatfront*, which in five years will be the main instrument for breaking up the Czechoslovak Republic.

**4 October:** At a meeting of German jurists in Leipzig, Hitler declares that the idea of law is conditioned by race. The Reich Press Law is promulgated, stipulating that all newspaper editors must be German citizens, of Aryan descent and not married to Jews.

**5 October:** Hitler receives the American diplomat, Charles R. Crane.

**14 October:** In a radio address to the nation, Hitler announces his decision to leave the League of Nations. He blames the Western powers, France in particular, for discriminating against Germany by not granting her equal rights. On the domestic front, Hitler claims that 'in no country in the world is there greater calm and order than in Germany of today' (Baynes, pp. 1088–1104). The *Reichstag* is dissolved and new elections planned to take place on 12 November, on which date Hitler's policy will be subjected to an all-German referendum for approval.

**15 October:** Hitler delivers a short speech at the laying of the foundation stone for the new House of German Art in Munich.

**17 October:** Hermann Rauschning, returning from Geneva, meets Hitler in Berlin, who asks him to arrange a visit by Marshal Józef Piłsudski, the Polish dictator, with whom he was ready to sign a non-aggression pact. On the same day, Hitler receives US Ambassador William E. Dodd.

**18 October:** Hitler addresses a meeting of party leaders in Berlin on foreign policy issues; later in the day he flies to Frankfurt, where he speaks at a press conference.

**19 October:** The *Daily Mail* publishes a long interview between Hitler and G. Ward Price, recorded the previous day. Hitler assures British readers that towards them he harbours nothing but a deep feeling of friendship.

**22 October:** Hitler opens the election campaign by speaking at Kelheim, near Regensburg.

**24 October:** Hitler's speech in the Sports Palace is broadcast nationwide; in it, Hitler makes an extraordinarily dramatic declaration: 'I appeal to the whole German people. If in this I ever make a mistake, or if the people should ever believe that it cannot support my actions, then it can put me to death – I will calmly stand my ground!' (Baynes, pp. 1110–21). On the same day Hitler receives the new UK Ambassador, Sir Eric Phipps, to whom he says that there are only two options left for Germany: either the other states will disarm, or Germany must rearm. He suggests, therefore, that Germany should be allowed to increase the army from the present 100,000 to 300,000 men.

**25 October–9 November:** Hitler's 'sixth flight over Germany'.

**25 October:** Hitler speaks in Hanover.



**26 October:** Hitler speaks in Cologne.

**28 October:** Hitler speaks in Stuttgart.

**29 October:** Hitler speaks in Neumarkt; then in Frankfurt.

**31 October:** Karl von Wiegand, representing the Hearst Press, interviews Hitler.

**1 November:** Hitler speaks in Weimar. Neurath confers with Hitler on the Polish question.

**2 November:** Hitler speaks in Essen.

**4 November:** Hitler speaks in Breslau.

**5 November:** Hitler speaks in Elbing.

**6 November:** During the flight from Danzig, Hitler's aeroplane goes off course, but the Führer helps to rectify the situation. On that evening, Hitler speaks in Kiel.

**8–9 November:** Celebrating the 20th anniversary of the *putsch* in Munich, Hitler declares: 'We are a revolutionary movement, we shall win power, we shall break this State into pieces and subdue it to our will, and yet we refuse to desert the path of legality' (Baynes, pp. 1137–9). After the memorial address in the *Bürgerbräukeller*, Hitler attends several other meetings and processions in Munich.

**10 November:** Hitler addresses workers at the Siemens works in Berlin: 'Once I myself was a workman, and through industry, through learning, and, I may say also through hunger, I slowly worked my way up ... It was not the intellectual classes which gave me the courage to undertake this gigantic work. I gained that courage only because I myself knew the German workman and the German peasant ... All class organizations, not merely the trade unions, had been destroyed ... If it is objected that the standard of living has not risen, I answer: the first thing was to get men back to work. The unemployment figures have already sunk from 6,200,000 to 3,710,000 ... The next thing will be to raise the power of consumption ... I am the guarantor in Germany that this community shall not result in the favouring of one section of our people. You can look upon me as the man who does not belong to any class, who belongs to no rank, who stands above all that. I have nothing but the ties which bind me to the German people' (Baynes, pp. 1139–43).

**12 November:** In the National Referendum, 40,500,000 voters (95.1 per cent) approve Hitler's policy, and 2,100,000 vote against (4.9 per cent). Simultaneously, the *Reichstag* elections for a unitary list of the NSDAP are taking place and result in a 92 per cent vote for the Nazis. The new *Reichstag* will have 639 National Socialist deputies out of 661; there will also be 22 'guest' deputies. Hitler has finally achieved his aim: a completely Nazi-dominated *Reichstag*. In future there will be no more parliamentary debates, just acclamations of Hitler's speeches.

**15 November:** Hitler and Neurath receive the newly accredited Polish minister to Berlin, Józef Lipski. Hitler also receives Dr Hans Steinacher, head of the Association for Ethnic Germans Abroad.

**20 November:** Hitler arrives at Obersalzberg to rest from the strains of the election campaign.

**22 November:** *Le Matin* publishes an interview between Hitler and Fernand de Brinon on the nature of Franco-German relations; Hitler denies any aggressive intentions towards France.

**24 November:** Hitler receives the French Ambassador, François-Poncet.

**26 November:** Foundation of largest German agency for organized leisure, *Kraft durch Freude* (Strength through Joy) as part of the Labour Front. Hitler delivers a sharp attack on the Austrian government during the funeral of Michael Schumacher in Nuremberg. Schumacher, a *Reichswehr* soldier, was killed in a border incident with Austrian guards.

**1 December:** Hitler's Government issues the 'Law to Secure the Unity of the Party and Reich', whereby the NSDAP is proclaimed the only 'carrier of the German State idea after the victory of the National Socialist Revolution' (Domarus, p. 336). Hitler appoints Rudolf Hess and Ernst Röhm as Reich ministers.

**5 and 8 December:** Hitler is discussing rearmament questions with the British Ambassador Sir Eric Phipps. He is prepared to concede substantial rearmament to

England in order to drive a wedge between London and Paris. He said he was ready to sign a naval treaty with England, in which he would accept the total abolition of submarines. 'Germany would never dream of competing against England at sea,' Hitler declares to Phipps, 'but would like a few big ships after 1935, until which date she would remain within the limits prescribed by the Treaty' (*DBFP*, ii/ vi, no. 99).

**11 December:** Hitler addresses the newly elected *Reichstag* members of the NSDAP: 'Of this new *Reichstag* it must one day be said that it had been the youngest, the most courageous and the boldest, and that it had solved the great problems set by history' (Baynes, pp. 429–31). Hitler receives the French Ambassador François-Poncet, with whom he discusses items such as disarmament and the plebiscite in Saarland.

**12 December:** Hitler welcomes the crew of the returning cruiser *Köln* at Wilhelmshaven.

**13 December:** Hitler is back in Berlin where he receives Fulvio Suvich, the Italian under-secretary to the Foreign Office, with whom he discusses the question of Austria and the disarmament problem. He also receives Jacques Chastenot, director of *Le Temps*.

**14 December:** Hitler signed a decree approving the ambitious plans for staging the next Olympic Games in Berlin, in 1936. General Ludwig Beck, Chief of the Army General Staff (*Truppenamt*), signed a memorandum on the formation of the 300,000-man 'peace army', based on conscription, to be introduced on 1 October 1934 (*ARK, Reg. Hitler, I,2*, no. 273).

**18 December:** Hitler issues a declaration concerning the problem of disarmament; he demands a stop to the arms race and an army of 300,000 men for Germany.

**24 December:** Hitler is invited to a Christmas party by the Munich SS and SA; he spends Christmas Eve alone in his Munich apartment at Prinzregentenstrasse contemplating the memory of his dead niece, Geli Raubal.

## 1934

**1 January:** In his New Year message, Hitler declares the National Socialist Revolution victorious and Marxism 'destroyed and Communism trodden underfoot ... and just as the Marxist foe of our people has been annihilated, so in the same way have the bourgeois parties been destroyed. The organizations of class-division, of class hatred, and of class war have on both sides been dissolved and swept away ... The National Socialist principle of the authority of the leadership has conquered parliamentary incompetence ... A mighty network of roads is in course of construction. The threatened ruin of the whole of German housing was averted ... National Socialism places no value upon a purely theoretical rule of the working class, but lays all the more value on the practical improvement of their conditions of life and way of living ... We National Socialists see in private property a higher grade of human economic development ... Bolshevism destroys not only private property but also private initiative and zest for personal responsibility. In this way it has failed to save millions of men from starvation in Russia, the greatest agrarian State in the world' (*VB*, 1–2 January 1934). This revolutionary message has not stopped Hitler from putting on a tail-coat while leading the procession of his ministers to the President, and from addressing him in a distinctly conservative tone (Domarus, p. 346).

**2 January:** *Völkischer Beobachter* publishes, among a dozen others, Hitler's personal letter to Ernst Röhm, which stands out for its unusual friendliness and warmth, and because it is the only one in which Hitler employs the intimate form

of the second person singular: 'My dear Chief of Staff ... it is primarily due to your services if after a few years this political instrument [the SA] could develop that force which enabled me to face the final struggle for power and to succeed in defeating the Marxist opponent.' Reacting to earlier complaints by the Czechoslovak envoy, Vojtěch Mastný (13 and 18 October 1933) about exporting aggressive Nazi propaganda and agents across the border, Hitler's deputy, Hess, issues a strict ordinance forbidding the offering of assistance to Sudeten Germans coming illegally to the Reich under the pretext of organizing political meetings, or joining the SA, SS, HJ and the *Arbeitsdienstlager*, and taking Nazi propaganda material back with them into Czechoslovakia; German NSDAP members were strictly forbidden to take part in such activities (*ARK, Reg. Hitler*, I,2, no. 233).

**10 January:** The Dutch communist, Marinus van der Lubbe, the assumed arsonist involved in the *Reichstag* fire, is decapitated. Hitler and his Cabinet refused requests by the Dutch government to mitigate the death sentence reached by the *Reichsgericht* in Leipzig on 23 December 1933 (*ARK, Reg. Hitler*, I,2, p. 1063).

**24 January:** Hitler participates in Munich at the funeral of Professor Paul Troost, his chief architect. Albert Speer, then only 28 years old, is to take over.

**26 January:** Germany and Poland sign a Non-Aggression Pact for a period of ten years.

**30 January:** On the first anniversary of the Nazi takeover, Hitler speaks before the members of the *Reichstag*. He covers almost every subject while depicting the National Socialist model revolution: religious issues, enforced sterilization, economic problems, foreign policy, the Treaty of Versailles and racism. On the same day it is announced that the last vestiges of provincial autonomy, the *Landtage* (State parliaments) will be abolished.

**1 February:** The new Army C-in-C, General von Fritsch, is received by Hitler.

**2 February:** Hitler addresses the *Gauleiters'* conference in Berlin.

**7 February:** Speaking before university students in Berlin, Hitler warns them of the dangers of Marxism.

**9 February:** Dr Kurt Rieth, German minister to Austria, reports to Hitler for the first time about the present crisis in Austria. He urges Hitler to employ peaceful means only, should he be tempted to intervene.

**14 February:** The *Reichsrat*, the Upper House of the Federal Parliament, is dissolved.

**16 February:** Hitler grants an interview to G. Ward Price, which the *Daily Mail* publishes on the following day. Hitler denies any active German assistance during the recent unrest in Austria: 'We sympathize neither with Herr Dollfuss, nor with his opponents ... The only way to succeed in a revolution is to entice your opponents over by convincing them!' When asked whether the three Bulgarian communists, Georgii Dimitrov, Blagoi Popov and Vasilii Tanev, acquitted by the *Reichstag* Fire Tribunal at Leipzig, will be allowed to leave Germany, Hitler declares that the Court's verdict will be fulfilled.

**19 February:** On Hitler's initiative, Hindenburg orders the German armed forces to adopt the Nazi insignia. Henceforth, the party eagle clutching the swastika will be worn on military uniforms.

**20–21 February:** On both days, Hitler receives Anthony Eden, Lord Privy Seal, to whom he repeats the idea of an Anglo-German Naval Treaty, stipulating the German strength as one-third of the Royal Navy's.

**22 February:** Hitler receives the Chinese minister to Germany, Liu Chung Chiech.

**24 February:** On the 14th anniversary of the founding of the NSDAP, Hitler addresses the old guard at the *Hofbräuhaus* in Munich.

**26 February:** Hitler orders that the three ex-Bulgarian communists (who received Soviet citizenship on 21 February), Dimitrov, Popov and Tanev, should be set free

and despatched to Russia without delay. All three were involved in the *Reichstag* Fire Trial, but acquitted before the *Reichsgericht* in Leipzig (ARK, Reg. Hitler, I,2, no. 310).

**28 February:** In an attempt to achieve a compromise between the rebellious SA and the Army, Hitler invites the SA and *Reichswehr* leaders to the War Ministry, where he implores them to forget their quarrels in the service of the creation of a new living-space (*Lebensraum*) for Germany's surplus population. However, a people's militia, as suggested by Röhm, in which the army grey would be absorbed by the SA brown, would not be suitable for swift and decisive military action. Hitler announces that an efficient national army, equipped with the most modern weapons, must be evolved and maintained. In his presence Röhm and Blomberg have to conclude an agreement recognizing the *Reichswehr* as the sole bearer of arms; the SA is made responsible for pre- and post-military training (O'Neill, pp. 65–70). Later, in the presence of his followers, the outraged Röhm explodes: 'I have not the slightest intention of keeping this agreement. Hitler is a traitor and at the very least must go on leave ... If we can't get there with him, we'll get there without him' (Höhne, p. 88).

**1 March:** Hitler receives King Boris iii of Bulgaria.

**6 March:** Hitler attends the Spring Industrial Fair in Leipzig and the laying of the foundation stone for the Richard Wagner monument.

**7 March:** Hitler opens an international automobile exhibition in Berlin and receives the US ambassador, Dodd.

**19 March:** Addressing the Party veterans in Munich, Hitler tells them that the National Socialist Revolution must go on.

**21 March:** Speaking at a construction site on the new motorway near Munich, Hitler inaugurates the *Arbeitsschlacht* (Battle of Labour) against unemployment. He extols the virtues of German workers and technicians; he promises to solve German economic problems in 'battle' terms: to encourage capital formation, to advance motorization, to help the small businessman, to take out of production the young women, who are to be offered marriage loans, and, above all, he urges: 'We must wage the campaign against unemployment with still greater fanaticism ... with ruthless severity' (Baynes, pp. 878–81).

**22 March:** Hitler addresses the provincial governors in the Reich Chancellery.

**26 March:** The first Italian edition of *Mein Kampf*, with Hitler's preface, appears in Milan (Bompiani editors). Within three months two more editions will follow. The translator's name – because the Germans found it embarrassing since he was an Italian Jew – was removed from the book's title page.

**Before 31 March:** The *New York Times* publishes an interview between Hitler and the representative of the Associated Press, Louis P. Lochner, who is curious to learn how Hitler keeps in contact with the common man. 'You ought to sit at my daily lunch table upstairs,' Hitler answers with a laugh, 'you would see how every day new faces turn up. My house is like a beehive ... always open for my co-fighters, no matter how humble their rank ... from everywhere my followers come to Berlin and drop in on me. Over that lunch table they then tell me about their worries and troubles' (Lochner, p. 105).

**11–15 April:** Hitler participates in naval manoeuvres in the Baltic on board the pocket battleship *Deutschland*. It is alleged that, in the presence of the Army and Navy commanders, Hitler repeats his pledge to curb Röhm and his SA, in exchange for the support of the armed forces in recognizing him as the head of state, in the event of Hindenburg's death.

**17 April:** After thanking the *Gauleiters* for their effort during the Winter-Help Campaign, Hitler attends the Spring Concert of the SS in the Sports Palace. He is seated between Blomberg and Röhm. This was the last time Röhm was seen with Hitler in public.

**19 April:** Hitler receives the Bulgarian prime minister Mushanov, to whom he indicates that he does not like the idea of a Balkan Pact.

**19–24 April:** Hitler celebrates his birthday by touring several regions, mainly in Bavaria.

**24 April:** Joachim von Ribbentrop, a prosperous international wine merchant and one of the Führer's preposterous 'foreign experts', is appointed by Hitler as German Representative for Disarmament Questions.

**26 April:** Hitler's government rejects the Soviet proposal of 28 March, in which Moscow suggests that the two countries guarantee the independence of the Baltic states.

**1 May:** Over 1,500,000 people listen to the Führer's speech at the *Tempelhof* airfield; Hitler defends the introduction of compulsory labour service.

**4 May:** Rosenberg reports to Hitler on foreign policy issues (Russia, Poland, Italy) and complains about the intrigues of the Foreign Office. Hitler tells him to wait until Hindenburg (the 'old man') dies before putting 'under lock several dozens of these conspirators' (Michaelis, 10, p. 22).

**7 May:** Vice-Admiral Matsushita, with a delegation of Japanese naval officers, are received by Hitler. On the same day Hitler addresses 400 Nazi editors in the *Kaiserhof* hotel.

**12 May:** In an attempt to outshine the foreign ministry, Rosenberg submitted to Hitler a memorandum entitled 'England and Germany', in which he proposed a medium-term trade strategy in south-eastern Europe and the Near East aiming to acquire for Germany a dominant position in the Balkans, Turkey and Persia (Seraphim, pp. 137–40).

**16 May:** Addressing the Second Workers' Congress in Berlin of the 'co-ordinated' Labour Front, Hitler can boast: 'We should not have been able to overcome this world in a few months and destroy the trade unions if men had still had faith in the rightness of their own idea ... Events have but confirmed our view that the overwhelming majority of German workers was no longer attached to Marxism' (Baynes, p. 195).

**27–30 May:** Hitler participates in the 'Reich Theatre Week' in Dresden, where he receives the composer Richard Strauss.

**2 June:** Admiral Erich Raeder, C-in-C German Navy, is told by Hitler that Germany's construction of submarines must be kept secret.

**5 June:** Private meeting between Röhm and Hitler. According to Hitler's version in his *Reichstag* speech six weeks later, he accused Röhm and some of the SA leaders of preparing a 'Nationalist-Bolshevik Revolution'. 'I implored him for the last time,' Hitler maintains, 'to voluntarily abandon this madness ...'. Hitler also criticized Röhm for his scandalous homosexual behaviour (Baynes, p. 316). Röhm allegedly promises 'to do everything possible to put things right'. He declares himself suffering from neuralgia and ready to rest at Bad Wiessee. In addition, the entire SA is due to begin its regular summer leave on 1 July – some 4,500,000 men.

**6 June:** Hitler orders the increase of the *Reichswehr* from 100,000 to 300,000 (21 divisions).

**14–16 June:** Hitler flies to Venice on his first state visit abroad, to meet Benito Mussolini.

**17 June:** While Hitler delivers a speech in Gera, Vice-Chancellor Franz von Papen speaks at the University of Marburg, warning against the threat of a 'second revolution', though certain passages of his speech could be interpreted as a criticism of Nazism in general.

**20 June:** Hitler's Government rejects the Soviet project of 'Eastern Locarno' in Central Europe, which the Soviet Foreign Minister Litvinov puts forward to Konstantin von Neurath during his visit to Berlin. Hitler is at Hermann Göring's estate to attend the transferring of the remains of the latter's first wife, Karin, to a new mausoleum.

**21 June:** Hitler visits Hindenburg on his estate at Neudeck to report on his meeting with Mussolini. He also meets Blomberg, who is believed to pass on a message from the *Reichswehr* with a disguised threat of intervention unless Hitler himself makes a move against the SA.

**25 June:** Fritsch puts his troops on a state of alert. In an interview published by the *News Chronicle*, Hitler tells Vernon Bartlett: 'The people are more behind me than they were a year ago.'

**28 June:** Together with Hermann Göring, Hitler attends the wedding of *Gauleiter* Josef Terboven in Essen and visits the Krupp works. In the evening he orders all senior SA leaders to a conference scheduled for 30 June at Bad Wiessee.

**29 June:** After touring Labour Service camps in Westphalia, Hitler arrives for the weekend at the *Dreesen* hotel in Bad Godesberg. While preparations for the bloody suppression of the SA are going on behind the scenes, Hitler appears on the balcony after dinner to listen to a recital of songs by the local Hitler Youth.

**30 June:** At 2 a.m. a small party, including Hitler and Joseph Goebbels, leaves Bonn by air and arrives in Munich at 4.30 a.m., where they are met by an SS murder squad. Hitler continues by car to Bad Wiessee, where he arrives shortly before 7 a.m. He assists personally in the arrest of Ernst Röhm and Edmund Heines; then returns to Munich where he declares Röhm deposed and appoints SA *Obergruppenführer* Viktor Lutze as the new SA chief of staff. At about 5 p.m. Hitler confirms the first death sentences to the SS execution squad commander Sepp Dietrich, which are carried out immediately on the first batch of SA leaders in the Stadelheim prison. At 8 p.m. Hitler leaves Munich by air, arriving in Berlin at 10 p.m., where Göring and Himmler await him with a list of their victims, including Generals von Schleicher and von Bredow, Otto Ballerstedt, Gregor Strasser, Edgar Jung and Erich Klausener. Many distinguished personalities are eliminated because the SS, Hitler or Göring want to settle their accounts. An 'official death roll' counted 83 names; historians calculated that between 150 and 200 was closer to the mark (ARK, *Reg. Hitler*, I,2, p. 375, no. 375).

**1 July:** The 'Night of the Long Knives' continues. While Röhm is murdered in his prison cell, Hindenburg and General Blomberg are thanking Hitler profusely for eliminating the threat of a *putsch* by the radical Nazi left. On the same day, the Hitler Government, in a clear violation of the Versailles Peace clauses, creates the *Luftwaffe*, Germany's air force; by the end of September 1935 over 4,000 military aircraft will be available.

**2 July:** Hitler and Neurath meet the visiting royal couple from Thailand.

**3 July:** At an emergency Cabinet session Blomberg congratulates Hitler on the suppression of the SA. Not a single Cabinet member dares to protest; even the Minister of Justice approves of the bloodbath. Papen, however, refuses to attend the meeting and insists, in a private conversation with Hitler, on his resignation. He requests from Hitler an immediate judicial inquiry into his own house arrest and the murder of his collaborators. The Cabinet approves the bill which declares the events of 30 June–2 July an 'emergency defence of the State'. Hitler then flies to East Prussia to report to Hindenburg.

**4–6 July:** Hitler addresses senior Nazi officials on the suppression of the Röhm *putsch*.

**6 July:** Hitler grants an interview on the Röhm affair to a Professor Pearson from Drake University in Des Moines, USA, who will publish the story in the *New York Herald* (Paris) on 11 July (ARK, *Reg. Hitler*, I,2, no. 377).

**11 July:** Hitler receives a delegation from Danzig led by *Gauleiter* Forster and the Senate President Rauschnig (ADAP/C/III, p. 182).

**13 July:** In a speech addressed to the *Reichstag* in the *Kroll* opera house, Hitler offers his public justification of the recent bloodbath against 'revolutionaries who favour revolution for its own sake and desire to see revolution established as a permanent condition'. He insists that without the preventive action the threat of mutiny by the SA would have led to 'the night of long knives'. On the question of

legality, Hitler says: 'If anyone reproaches me and asks why I did not resort to the regular courts of justice ... then all that I can say to him is this: in this hour I was responsible for the fate of the German people, and thereby I became the supreme Judge of the German people! ... I gave the order to shoot those who were the treacherous ringleaders.' Although it is estimated that more than 200 people were murdered, Hitler mentioned a mere 74 executions and three suicides (Baynes, pp. 290–328).

**16 July:** The Austrian Nazi conspirators meet in Theo Habicht's Munich flat and decide – presumably with Hitler's knowledge – to launch a coup on 24 July.

**20 July:** In Munich, Hitler orders that the SS be released from its dependence on the SA chief of staff, 'in view of the great services rendered in connection with the events of 30th June', and promotes it to the status of an independent organization within the NSDAP (Höhne, p. 118).

**22 July:** Hitler arrives at Bayreuth to attend the Wagner Festival.

**25 July:** The Austrian Nazis attempt an abortive coup in Vienna, during which they kill Chancellor Dollfuss. Hitler, who was listening to Wagner's *Rheingold* in Bayreuth when the news reached him, pretends indifference. Mussolini is outraged by Hitler's betrayal and orders Italian troops to occupy the Austrian border.

**25 July:** Hitler appoints his former vice-chancellor von Papen as ambassador on a 'special mission' to Vienna, in which position he will be directly responsible to the Führer. Hitler recalls Habicht from his position as Regional Inspector of the Austrian NSDAP.

**1 August:** Hitler visits the dying Reich president in Neudeck. The sclerotic Hindenburg addresses him as 'Majesty'. The impatient Hitler does not wait till the Reich president dies, and induces his Cabinet to promulgate the new law on the head of state, according to which he is to assume the title 'Führer and Reich Chancellor' with all the prerogatives of the Reich president's office, including the most important one, that of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. In the future senior civil servants, commanding generals and admirals will have to take the personal oath of loyalty to Hitler (Domarus, p. 429).

**2 August:** Death of Hindenburg. Hitler sets the date for a National Referendum on 19 August; he appoints the *Reichsbank* president, Dr Hjalmar Schacht, as the caretaker Reich Minister of Economics.

**3 August:** Hitler decides for reasons of state to dissolve the leadership of the Austrian NSDAP. Commanders-in-Chiefs – General von Fritsch for the Army, General Göring for the *Luftwaffe*, Admiral Raeder for the Navy, General von Blomberg for the Ministry of War – take the oath of loyalty before Hitler (ARK, Reg. Hitler, ii, 1, p. 94).

**6 August:** The *Daily Mail* publishes an interview with Hitler by G. Ward Price. Hitler tries to play down his recent involvement in the failed Nazi *putsch* in Austria and persuade the British public that Germany wishes neither war nor border revision. 'Believe me,' Hitler stresses, 'we shall never fight again except in self-defence ... Unless England attacks us, we shall never come into conflict with her on the Rhine or anywhere else ... I would not sacrifice the life of a single German to get any colony in the world ... The increase in Britain's air fleet does not cause the slightest resentment in Germany. You can double, quadruple, your air force, or expand your fleet to any strength you like. It does not concern us, since we have no intention of attacking you. It is not the extent of armaments that produces danger of war, but inequalities of armaments ... We shall not attack Austria, but we cannot prevent Austrians from seeking to restore their ancient connection with Germany.' Finally, Hitler indicates that Germany may rejoin the League of Nations, provided it is guaranteed absolute equality, and addresses a strong racialist appeal to the British people: 'Germanic nations such as ours ought to be friends by sheer force of natural instinct. The Nazi movement would regard war between Germany and England as a racial crime.'

**7 August:** Hitler attends the funeral of Hindenburg at the Tannenberg Battle Memorial; he announces an amnesty affecting several thousand political prisoners, including over 1,000 people detained during the Röhm affair.

**17 August:** In his only election speech to the shipyard workers in Hamburg, Hitler declares that the state under his leadership will rest on two pillars, the party and the army, and that 'the period of the German Revolution is now a closed chapter' (VB, 18 August 1934).

**19 August:** A National Referendum to approve the abolition of the office of the Reich president and the transfer of its prerogatives into Hitler's hands (84 per cent voted in favour; over 5,000,000 against). Hitler's title will change to 'Führer and Reich Chancellor'.

**20–22 August:** Hitler visits Nuremberg and Obersalzberg.

**26 August:** Hitler speaks to 400,000 Germans from the Saar at Koblenz.

**27 August:** Senior Reich officials take a new oath of loyalty and obedience to the 'Führer and Reich Chancellor' (ARK, *Reg. Hitler*, i,2, no. 384).

**4–10 September:** The 6th NSDAP Rally at Nuremberg, during which Hitler delivers several speeches. In his first proclamation, read by *Gauleiter* Adolf Wagner, Hitler announces that 'in the next thousand years no revolutions will take place in Germany any more' (VB, 6 September 1934). This Party Rally is best known for its stunning visual propaganda captured in Leni Riefenstahl's film *The Triumph of the Will*. At the suggestion of the young architect Albert Speer, Hitler approves the use of 130 anti-aircraft searchlights, which during the night send their beams skywards, thus producing the first 'cathedral of light ... not only my most beautiful architectural concept, but ... the only one which has survived the passage of time' (Speer, p. 101).

**8 September:** Addressing Nazi women, Hitler speaks against the concept of emancipation as a Jewish invention and declares that a German woman must see her life ambition centred on the child and in supporting the man. There is no place for women in politics, and certainly not in the parliament. 'I would not leave to women what I intend to take away from men,' Hitler sums up (VB, 10 September 1934).

**12 September:** On the occasion of taking over the Palace of the Reich president Hitler receives foreign diplomats accredited to Berlin. He grants an interview to Lucien Lemas, editor of the *Intransigeant*.

**30 September:** 700,000 farmers gather on the Bückeberg to hear Hitler's address at the annual harvest festival.

**8 October:** Hitler meets his former fellow prisoners and wardens in Landsberg.

**9 October:** Hitler opens the Second Winter-Help Campaign (*Winterhilfe*) in Berlin.

**16 October:** The Reich Government – with the exception of the military members who had done so earlier (see 3 August) – take the oath of loyalty to Hitler (ARK, *Reg. Hitler*, ii,1, no. 22).

**24 October:** By virtue of the new regulations signed by Hitler, every German worker is compelled to join the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* – DAF (German Labour Front). Hitler receives the new Soviet ambassador, Suritz and the French ambassador, François-Poncet.

**26 October:** Germany and Poland upgrade their legations to the status of embassies.

**29 October:** Hitler approves of plans to expand the main airport Berlin-Tempelhof into the 'largest and most beautiful in the world' (ARK, *Reg. Hitler*, ii,1, no. 32).

**October:** The first major wave of arrests of homosexuals.

**2 November:** During a naval conference with Admiral Raeder, Hitler indicates that he wants to strengthen the German Navy, 'because it would be impossible to wage war if the navy were not able to safeguard imports from Scandinavia' (IMT, xxxiv, pp. 775–6). Hitler also orders the construction of the first six submarines – thus violating again the Peace Treaty of Versailles.

**5 November:** Hitler discusses with Raeder the need to conclude a bilateral naval agreement with England, suggesting that the future German strength should not



exceed one-third of the Royal Navy's displacement. Hitler appoints the Lord Mayor of Leipzig, Karl Goerdeler, as the Reich Commissar for Price Supervision.

**8 November:** On the anniversary of the Beer Hall *putsch*, Hitler speaks in the *Bürgerbräukeller*.

**12–13 November:** Hitler sends Joachim von Ribbentrop to London to sound out British readiness for the naval agreement.

**14 November:** The new Polish ambassador, Józef Lipski, is received by Hitler.

**18 November:** *Le Matin* publishes an interview with Hitler by Jean Goy, chairman of the French veteran association.

**23 November:** Hitler receives Dr Visser, deputy president of the Senate of the Union of South Africa, who declares his admiration for Nazi Germany, especially in combating Bolshevism and Jewish supremacy. Hitler addresses assembled *Gauleiters*.

**13 December:** During the Cabinet meeting Hitler signs the law declaring Hermann Göring his deputy and successor in the event of his death. This law will retain its validity until the signing of Hitler's Testament on 1 May 1938 (*ARK, Reg. Hitler*, ii, 1, no. 58, 63).

**15 December:** On his second trip to London under Hitler's instructions, Ribbentrop meets Sir John Simon and Anthony Eden.

**19 December:** Hitler gives a formal party to promote Anglo-German friendship. He receives the British newspaper magnate, Lord Rothermere, his son, and the journalist Ward Price.

**19 December:** Hitler receives the representatives of the French veteran association, *Union Fédérale*, Messieurs Pichot and Randoux.

**22 December:** Hitler visits Cuxhaven for just one hour in his special train to thank the captain and the crew of the German steamer *Newyork* for saving the lives of sixteen Norwegian seamen.

**24 December:** Hitler has a Christmas Eve lunch with old party comrades in Munich.

## 1935

**1 January:** In his New Year message, Hitler expresses this ardent wish for the return of Saarland, which 'through the voice of its blood on 13 January will declare before all the world its indissoluble community with the German Reich' (Baynes, p. 1193). Hitler gives a reception for the diplomatic corps and stresses in his address Germany's need for peace.

**3 January:** Hitler summons the leaders of the NSDAP, the state, and the armed forces to the State Opera in Berlin and makes an emotional appeal for unity to them on the eve of the Saarland plebiscite.

**13 January:** The plebiscite in Saarland takes place under the supervision of the League of Nations.

**15 January:** The results of the Saarland plebiscite are announced: almost 91 per cent voted for the return of Saarland to Germany, 8.8 per cent to retain the status quo, and a mere 0.4 per cent for joining France. Hitler prefers to stay away from Berlin during the critical period – a habit that he will turn into a rule – and receives the news of the plebiscite in Obersalzberg. He immediately gives an enthusiastic radio speech over the telephone from the Berchtesgaden post office.

**16 January:** Pierre Huss from the Hearst Press is granted an interview with Hitler who reiterates that 'after the return of the Saar district Germany will not make any further territorial demands on France' (*VB*, 17 January 1935). Hitler declares that the German Navy should accelerate its pace of rearmament.

**17 January:** In an interview with G. Ward Price (*Daily Mail*, 18 January 1935), Hitler makes an eloquent plea for peace, thereby 'giving expression to the profoundest and most sincere wish of the German people'. In any future European war, 'the only gainers would be the Communists ... I will say two things quite plainly: (1) Germany for her part will never break the peace. (2) If anyone should attack us, they will fall on a hornets' nest – for we love freedom just as much as we love peace.' Asked whether Germany would ever rejoin the League of Nations, Hitler counters with a rhetorical reply: 'We shall go back to that organization only as equals. Does defeat in war mean dishonour, disgrace and disrespect for ever?'

**22 January:** At a diplomatic dinner in the Palace of the Reich president, Hitler shows great friendliness to the Polish ambassador, Lipski. He dismisses the notion of hereditary Polish-German hatred and stresses instead the idea of co-operation based on common interests such as defence against the Bolshevik threat from the East.

**25 January:** On the first anniversary of signing the Polish-German Declaration of Non-Aggression, Hitler grants an interview to K. Smogorzewski of the *Gazeta Polska*. On the same day he also receives Lord Allen of Hurtwood.

**27–31 January:** Hitler sends Hermann Göring to Warsaw to sound out Polish readiness to co-operate with Germany against the Soviet Union; the Ukraine is to fall under Polish influence, the Baltic coast under German.

**29 January:** Lord Lothian is received by Hitler in the presence of Rudolf Hess and Joachim von Ribbentrop; they discuss the question of disarmament and the envisaged naval treaty between the two countries. 'I am convinced that Hitler does not want war,' Lord Lothian writes on his return (Gilbert, *Britain and Germany*, p. 99).

**30 January:** Hitler makes a speech on the second anniversary of the Nazi seizure of power.

**2 and 8 February:** Rosenberg discusses foreign policy with Hitler (Seraphim, pp. 53–5).

**7 February:** Hitler receives the new Japanese ambassador, Count Mushakoji.

**Early February:** Unity Mitford writes to her sister Diana after meeting Hitler in *Ostera Bavaria*: 'He invited me to his table ... paid for my lunch ... I think I am the happiest girl in the world' (Joachimsthaler, *Hitler's Liste*, p. 522).

**14 February:** At the opening of the International Automobile Exhibition in Berlin, Hitler boasts about the superiority of German motor cars and motorcycles. He announces that the new popular car, the *Volkswagen*, will be tested during the second half of 1935. According to Hitler, the German motor industry employed 600,000 men, and 400,000 were working on building the new motorways.

**15 February:** Hitler's government replies evasively to the Anglo-French Declaration of 3 February, in which Germany was urged to become part of a new convention for collective security in Central and Eastern Europe (Eastern Locarno).

**21 February:** Hitler visits the garrison of Frankfurt-an-der-Oder; he also receives the Polish ambassador, Lipski and the French industrialist, Louis Renault.

**24 February:** On the 15th anniversary of the founding of the NSDAP Hitler speaks in the Munich *Hofbräuhaus*.

**26 February:** At a Cabinet meeting, Hitler declares that, as from 1 March, the *Luftwaffe* will become, along with the Army and Navy, the third independent service branch of the *Wehrmacht*.

**1 March:** Hitler speaks at Saarbrücken during the celebrations marking the return of the province to the Reich.

**5 March:** Hitler is displeased by the publication of the British White Paper on German Rearmament. He refuses to receive the planned British visitors, Sir John Simon (Foreign Secretary) and Anthony Eden (Lord Privy Seal), who are coming to Berlin to discuss German rearmament.

**9 March:** The existence of the *Luftwaffe* (in breach of Article 198 of the Versailles Treaty) is made public.

**16 March:** Hitler reintroduces conscription; the peacetime strength of the *Wehrmacht* is fixed at 36 divisions, or 580,000 men. The proclamation denies any aggressive intention and claims that the new German Army will become 'exclusively an instrument of defence and therefore an instrument for the maintenance of peace'. After the proclamation Hitler reviews the troops at 'Unter den Linden' and departs for Munich (VB, 17–18 March 1935).

**17 March:** In an interview with Ward Price, Hitler repeats several times: 'The German nation wants no war. It wants to be peaceful and happy. It wants, above all, to be able to respect itself' (*Daily Mail*, 18 March 1935).

**18–21 March:** England, France and Italy protest against the reintroduction of conscription in Germany; the Polish Government does not protest.

**19–24 March:** Hitler visits Augsburg, Stuttgart, Heidelberg, Darmstadt and Wiesbaden.

**25–26 March:** Anglo-German conversations take place in Berlin between Hitler, Neurath, Ribbentrop, Sir John Simon and Anthony Eden. Hitler refuses to join in any collective pact that would include the Soviet Union. When asked to justify German rearmament, he counters: 'Did Wellington, when Blücher came to his assistance at Waterloo, first ask the legal experts of the Foreign Office whether the strength of the Prussian Army exceeded the limits fixed by treaty?' (Bullock, p. 334).

**31 March:** Hitler invites Eva Braun and her sister to dinner at the *Vierjahreszeiten* hotel in Munich.

**9 April:** Hitler arrives, uninvited, at General Ludendorff's 70<sup>th</sup> birthday party. He walks up to the general and tries to thrust a piece of paper into his hands with the following reported comment: 'I have decided to name you General Field-Marshal on this day of honour!' Ludendorff slams his fist on the table and is said to shout in response: 'You cannot yet nominate anyone Field Marshal, Herr Hitler! An officer is named General Field Marshal on the battlefield! Not at a birthday tea-party in the midst of peace!' Hitler leaves the room, speechless, with the piece of paper in his hands (Parkinson, p. 224).

**10 April:** Hitler appears as the best man at Göring's marriage to the actress Emmy Sonnemann in Berlin.

**11–14 April:** The heads of state of England, France and Italy, meeting at Stresa, condemn the reintroduction of conscription in Germany. Hitler responds by a more conciliatory declaration of German readiness to join Eastern Locarno (12 April), and by inviting the Polish Ambassador Lipski to a discussion in private.

**Mid-April:** Sir Oswald Mosley, the leader of the British Union of Fascists, is invited to lunch by Hitler in his private apartment in Munich; three more people are present: the Duchess of Brunswick, the Kaiser's daughter, Winifred Wagner, and Unity Mitford, whose sister, Diana, Mosley will marry the following year. Campaign against Jehovah's Witnesses (*Bibelforscher*) who are banned from all civil service jobs.

**1 May:** Hitler addresses the Labour Day rally at the Tempelhof airfield.

**2 May:** Franco-Soviet Treaty of Mutual Assistance is signed in Paris. Each party undertakes to assist the other in case of an unprovoked attack. Two weeks later the Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty will be signed, obliging the Soviet Union to aid Czechoslovakia militarily, pending French action to the same effect.

**3 May:** Hitler receives Dr Khristov, the new Bulgarian minister to Berlin.

**6 May:** Hitler inspects the new Alpine motorway between Inzell and Berchtesgaden.

**10 May:** The *Daily Telegraph* publishes an interview with Hitler by Edward Price Bell. 'In no circumstances would Germany fight for the Bolsheviks,' Hitler stresses, 'rather than sign such pact I would hang myself!' Referring to former German colonies, Hitler says that their return would be the prerequisite for the recognition of German equality.

**18 May:** Hitler participates at the Catholic requiem mass in Berlin in memory of the late Marshal Pilsudski. He sends Göring to Cracow to attend the burial of the Polish statesman.

**19 May:** Hitler opens the first stretch of the Frankfurt and Darmstadt *Autobahn*.

**21 May:** Hitler promulgates the 'Reich Defence Law' that makes him the supreme commander of the *Wehrmacht* (the new name for the old *Reichswehr*) (ARK, Reg. Hitler, II, 1, no. 159). Thereafter he makes an important speech in the *Reichstag*, in which he emphasizes that National Socialism belongs to the European heritage whereas Bolshevism belongs to barbarism. Referring to the Versailles Treaty clauses, he reminds the West that contractual obligations in the Peace Treaty to disarm is binding not only for Germany but also for other states. 'Germany wants to rearm,' Hitler claims, 'only because she wants to be equal; otherwise she does not threaten anybody.' But Germany will respect, Hitler assures, 'all obligations arising out of the Locarno Treaty, so long as the other partners are on their side ready to stand by that pact'. As for the demilitarized zone in the Rhineland, this will be respected, however humiliating the conditions are. Hitler concludes by reciting the desire of the German people for peace and their readiness to conclude bilateral non-aggression pacts with all their neighbours (VB, 22 May 1935).

**23 May:** The leading Berlin otorhinolaryngologist, Professor Karl von Eicken, performs an operation on Hitler's throat and removes a polyp from his vocal cords.

**28–29 May:** Eva Braun makes a second suicide attempt. She takes an overdose of twenty-five sleeping tablets before her sister finds her in a comatose state.

**1 June:** In preparation for the forthcoming naval negotiations in London, Hitler appoints Ribbentrop Ambassador Extraordinary for Special Missions.

**18 June:** The Anglo-German Naval Agreement is signed in London, whereby Germany will be permitted to build its navy up to 35 per cent of the Royal Navy's strength.

**21 June:** Hitler attends the Bach Festival in Leipzig.

**22–24 June:** Hitler attends the Reich Theatre Week in Hamburg.

**26 June:** General von Seeckt, who has returned from China where he served as military adviser to Chiang Kai-Shek, reports to Hitler about his impressions.

**29 June:** Before his departure for Munich, Hitler gives a friendly reception at the Tempelhof airport to a delegation of Polish naval officers visiting Germany for the first time.

**30 June:** Hitler opens the first 25 km of the new Munich–Salzburg *Autobahn*.

**3–4 July:** Colonel Józef Beck, Polish Foreign Minister, visits Berlin as Hitler's guest. He meets Hitler in the presence of Neurath, Ribbentrop, Göring and Lipski.

**15 July:** Hitler receives a delegation of British war veterans led by Major Fetherston-Godley.

**20 July:** Hitler makes a speech on foreign policy to construction workers at Nuremberg.

**2 August:** Hitler bestows the title of 'The Capital of the Movement' on the city of Munich (*Hauptstadt der Bewegung*).

**11 August:** Hitler speaks at Rosenheim.

**13 August:** Leo Amery, Churchill's friend, meets Hitler, whom he finds 'unattractive', with the appearance and manners 'of a shopwalker' (Gilbert, *Britain and Germany*, p. 99).

**26 August:** Hitler visits the naval base at Kiel harbour.

**29 August:** Visiting a construction site in Schleswig-Holstein, Hitler addresses the workers on political and economic matters.

**6–7 September:** Hitler attends army manoeuvres on Lüneburg Heath.

**8 September:** Hitler receives the newly appointed Italian ambassador, Bernardo Attolico.

**10–17 September:** At the 7th NSDAP 'Freedom Rally' at Nuremberg, Hitler promulgates three important laws: (1) The *Reichsflaggengesetz* (Law on the National Flag), whereby the swastika banner of the NSDAP becomes the national flag of Germany; (2) the *Reichsbürgergesetz* (Reich Citizenship Act); (3) the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour, forbidding marriages between

Jews and Germans, and finalizing the disenfranchisement of the German Jews as an underprivileged category of non-citizens.

**14 September:** Speaking to 50,000 assembled Hitler-Youth members, Hitler makes the often-quoted appeal: 'In our eyes the German youth of the future must be slim and slender, swift as the greyhound, tough as leather, and hard as Krupp steel. We must educate a new type of manhood so that our people does not go to ruin amongst all the degeneracy of our day' (Baynes, pp. 542–5).

**15 September:** Hitler's three new laws are promulgated at a special session of the *Reichstag* summoned to Nuremberg and addressed by the Führer.

**16 September:** Hitler introduces the '*Wehrmacht* Day' for the first time; he appeals to assembled soldiers. All three services of the *Wehrmacht* parade in front of Hitler who is acknowledged as the Supreme Commander (*Oberster Befehlshaber*). They are led by the Minister of War, General von Blomberg, the Army C-in-C, General von Fritsch; the C-in-C of the Navy, Admiral Raeder; and the C-in-C of the new *Luftwaffe*, General Göring. The Army's prerogative to become the 'sole bearer of arms' is being seriously challenged by the appearance of two special SS regiment (*SS-Verfügungstruppen*) the forerunners of the *Waffen SS*.

**24 September:** Hitler speaks at the NSDAP leaders' conference in Munich.

**29 September:** The Hungarian premier, Gömbös, meets Hitler in the presence of Göring.

**1–3 October:** Hitler is touring East Prussia; he visits Hindenburg's grave at the Tannenberg Battle Memorial, Elbing, Marienburg and Königsberg.

**6 October:** Hitler speaks at the annual harvest festival on the Bückeberg.

**8 October:** Hitler opens the 'Winter-Help Campaign' in Berlin.

**9 October:** Hitler receives Sven Hedin, the celebrated Swedish explorer of Central Asia.

**18 October:** On Hitler's orders, student fraternities are dissolved. They meet for the last time at the historical castle Wartburg. The Law for the Protection of Hereditary Health of the German People, discussed within the Cabinet in Hitler's presence since March, is promulgated with the aim of regulating marriages as well as abortions on medical and racial grounds (*ARK, Reg. Hitler*, II, 2, no. 246). The law introduced sterilization (under Nazi terminology, called euphemistically *Entfruchtbarmachung*) of people with mental schizophrenia, epilepsy, blindness, deafness, etc., to be determined by special 'health hereditary tribunals' (*Erbgesundheitsgerichte*). Between 250,000 and 300,000 were sterilized in the Third Reich without arousing any protest – unlike the euthanasia of mentally handicapped, which led to serious protests and succeeded in bringing 'mercy killing' to a halt.

**19 October:** The *Gauleiter* of Danzig, Albert Forster, discusses the expansion of his position with Hitler.

**25 October:** Foreign Minister Konstantin von Neurath threatens to resign if Hitler appoints Ribbentrop Secretary of State at the Foreign Office.

**5 November:** Hitler receives the International Olympic Committee led by Count de Baillet-Latour.

**7 November:** On the occasion of the first call-up under the new conscription, Hitler orders the soldiers of the *Wehrmacht* to take an oath on the new German war flag. In a letter to Franz Seldte, the *Stahlhelm* leader, Hitler announces the dissolution of the veteran organization and its merger with the paramilitary formations of the NSDAP.

**8 November:** After delivering his traditional speech in Munich's *Bürgerbräukeller* on the anniversary of the 1923 *putsch*, Hitler reviews a night procession in front of the *Feldherrnhalle* (War Memorial), where the remains of the sixteen shot dead are buried.

**11 November:** Hitler attends the funeral of Friedrich Nietzsche's sister, Frau Förster-Nietzsche at Weimar.

**21 November:** Hitler receives the French ambassador, François-Poncet.

**Before 27 November:** In an interview with Mr Baillie, president of United Press International, Hitler declares: 'Germany is the bulwark of the West against Bolshevism ... Germany will continue to fight Communism with whatever weapons ... We will meet propaganda with propaganda, terror with terror, and violence with violence' (Baynes, p. 668).

**29 November:** Hitler opens the *Deutschlandhalle* – the great indoor stadium in Berlin.

**3 December:** Hitler issues directives for the 'Physical Strengthening of the Entire German Youth between the Ages of 10–18'.

**6 December:** Hitler receives Dr A. L. Sinha, of the Indo-German News Exchange and tries to convince him that the racist policy of Nazism is not being conducted against the Indian people.

**8 December:** Speaking at Nuremberg on the centenary of the *Deutsche Reichsbahn* (German State Railways), Hitler makes one of his attacks against private capitalism and in favour of socialism: 'The railway is the living proof that one can satisfactorily carry out an undertaking in the interest of the community without any private-capitalistic tendency' (Baynes, p. 921).

**11 December:** Hitler receives Count von der Schulenburg, the German ambassador to Moscow.

**13 December:** Hitler receives Sir Eric Phipps, the British ambassador, to discuss limitations on armaments.

**18 December:** During a conversation with the Polish ambassador, Lipski, Hitler declares that he is resolutely opposed to any kind of co-operation between the West and Bolshevik Russia (Baynes, p. 1256).

**24 December:** On Christmas Eve, Hitler speaks to old party veterans in the *Wagner* hotel, Munich.

## 1936

**1 January:** Hitler's New Year message is read on the radio by Joseph Goebbels. It emphasizes the successful economic rebuilding of Germany and the determination to remain the 'bulwark of national European discipline and culture against the Bolshevik enemy of mankind' (Baynes, p. 648).

**4–7 January:** Hitler relaxes in Munich. He finds time to appreciate Sonja Henie's figure-skating, opens a section of the Munich–Rosenheim motorway, and visits the State Library.

**10 January:** Hitler receives the diplomatic corps in the presidential palace.

**15 January:** Hitler speaks at Detmold, commemorating the *Landtag* Election in Lippe in January 1933.

**25 January:** A French journalist, Madame Titayna of *Paris Soir*, interviews Hitler, who answers her questions with great skill. Asked about his plans to revise the Versailles Treaty Hitler cleverly refers to two kinds of consequences, territorial victory and moral victory. Preferring to remain vague about his territorial claims, he fully exploits the moral humiliation of the German people as the consequence of Versailles: 'Every decision which degrades a people's personality creates only bitterness and hatred amongst the oppressed' (Baynes, p. 1261). The interview ends amiably with Hitler's invitation to French visitors to the forthcoming Olympic Games in Germany.

**25 January:** In a speech to the National Socialist Student Union at Munich, Hitler calls for the perpetual domination of the world by the white race, which 'has

been ordained to rule, to lead and to dominate the rest of the world' (VB, 26 January 1936).

**28 January:** Hitler attends the funeral service for King George V, in the Anglican chapel of St George in Berlin.

**30 January:** Before 30,000 assembled SA men in Berlin's *Lustgarten*, Hitler delivers the anniversary speech marking the seizure of power.

**4 February:** Hitler receives Lord Londonderry, former British Minister of Air Transport. The latter will later write of Hitler that he, 'restored the sense of national pride and self-respect' (Gilbert, *Britain and Germany*, p. 97).

**5 February:** Hitler greets the Swedish king, Gustav V, who is travelling through Germany.

**6 February:** Hitler opens the Winter Olympic Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Each victorious member of the German team receives a personal telegram of congratulations from the Führer.

**12 February:** Hitler speaks in Schwerin at the memorial service in honour of Wilhelm Gustloff, leader of the NSDAP branch in Switzerland, who was murdered in Davos on 4 February by a Yugoslav Jew. (Hitler's first reaction was to ban all Swiss organizations and clubs on German territory – but later rescinded his order (ARK, *Reg. Hitler*, III, p. 120). Hitler tell his military adjutant Major Hossbach that he intends to reoccupy the Rhineland soon.

**15 February:** Hitler opens the International Automobile Exhibition in Berlin.

**19 February:** Ambassador von Hassell is recalled from Rome to Berlin for an urgent conference with Hitler. He wants to know how Mussolini will react if Germany denounces the Locarno Treaty and moves troops into the Rhineland in response to the ratification of the Soviet–French Pact.

**21 February:** Bertrand de Jouvenel of *Paris Midi* interviews Hitler, who states: 'I wish to succeed in making a detente with France.' Asked why he does not amend his strong anti-French comments in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler replies: 'But I am no writer, I am a politician. How am I going to rectify it? I am doing it every day in my foreign policy directed towards friendship with France!' Hitler warns the French about the consequences of their recent Pact with the Soviet Union: 'Do you realize what you are doing?! You let yourselves become involved in a diplomatic game of a power which has only one desire and this is to create disorder among the great European nations ... Soviet Russia is a political factor which has at its disposal an explosive revolutionary idea and gigantic armaments ... In Germany Bolshevism has no chance of succeeding. But there are other great nations which are less immune to the Bolshevik virus ... You'd better think seriously about my offer of an agreement. Never has a German leader made such an overture, neither has he repeated it so many times. And from whom is this offer coming? From a pacifist charlatan who has become specialised in international relations? No, it is coming from the greatest nationalist who has ever led Germany! I am offering you something which no one could have ever offered you: an agreement which will be approved by 90 per cent of the German nation, 90 per cent which follow me! ... Here is your chance. If you don't take it, think of your responsibility towards your children! You're confronting a Germany where nine-tenths show full confidence in their leader, and this leader is telling you: "Let's be friends!" ' (*Paris Midi*, 28 February 1936). The publication of this interview in French was held back until the day after the ratification of the Franco–Soviet Pact by the Chamber of Deputies in Paris.

**24 February:** On the anniversary of the founding of the NSDAP, Hitler speaks in Munich's *Hofbräuhaus*.

**27 February:** Hitler receives two newly accredited diplomats to Berlin, the Chinese ambassador Dr Cheng Tien-Fong and the Mexican Minister Dr Almazan.

**28 February:** Hitler receives the Afghan foreign minister, Zakaria Faiz Muhammad Khan, and the Director of the state theatre in Berlin, Gustav Gründgens. He also has a meeting with the historian Arnold J Toynbee, director of the Royal Institute

of International Affairs, whom he assured that in return for an alliance with London, he would be prepared to assist in the protection of the British empire. Hitler offers specifically to defend India from a possible Japanese attack, with a force of up to twelve infantry divisions and the entire German Navy to be sent to Singapore (Toynbee, pp. 276-95).

**2 March:** The French ambassador François-Poncet has a meeting with Hitler, who subsequently holds a secret conference with his military commanders – Blomberg, Fritsch, Raeder and Göring. Ribbentrop and Goebbels are also present. They discuss the reoccupation of the demilitarized zone in the Rhineland. Thereafter, Blomberg issues the order for starting the operation coded 'Winter Exercise'.

**6 March:** At a Cabinet meeting on Friday, at 9.15 p.m., Hitler orders the *Wehrmacht* to march into the Rhineland the next morning (ARK, *Reg. Hitler*, III, no. 39). The actual crossing of the Rhine was carried out by a mere three battalions of infantry under orders to withdraw if the French Army intervened. 'I asked myself the same question,' Hitler recalled later: 'What will France do? Will she oppose the advance of my handful of battalions? I know what I would have done, if I'd been the French: I should have struck and I would not have allowed a single German soldier to cross the Rhine' (Hoffmann, p. 84).

**7 March:** While German troops are marching into the Rhineland, Hitler orders Neurath to summon the ambassadors of England, France and Italy, who are presented with a far-reaching peace proposal that Hitler repeats in his speech delivered at noon before the *Reichstag*. In place of the Locarno Pact, Hitler suggests, Germany would sign a series of bilateral non-aggression treaties with all her neighbours, in East and West, valid for twenty-five years; then Germany would re-enter the League of Nations unconditionally. Not he, but France broke the Locarno Pact by its recent agreement with the Soviet Union: 'This new Franco-Soviet Agreement introduces the threatening military power of a mighty empire into the centre of Europe by the roundabout way of bolstering Czechoslovakia, the latter country having also signed an agreement with the Soviet Union.' This, Hitler says, he would never tolerate. He further claims that the Red Army had a peace strength of 1,350,000 men, which could be brought up to 17,500,000 in times of war. Moreover, it has the largest tank and air forces in the world. 'The introduction of this most powerful military machine into Central Europe,' Hitler emphasizes, 'would destroy the European equilibrium.' He concludes his speech by pronouncing a sacred vow: 'We will never yield before a foreign power' ... and quickly adds his standard reassurance, 'we have no territorial demands to make in Europe' (Baynes, pp. 1271-1302). After frenetic applause the *Reichstag* is dissolved because the Führer wishes new elections on 29 March. Goebbels comments: 'The Führer's joy has no limits ... we all swim in happiness ... England remains passive, France does not want to act alone, Italy is disappointed and America disinterested' (Goebbels, *Reuth* 3, p. 935).

**11 March:** The *Daily Mail* publishes an interview between Hitler and Ward Price, recorded two days earlier. Hitler reassures the British correspondent that his recent offer to bilateral non-aggression pacts applied equally to Austria and Czechoslovakia, and that 'Germany would be glad if some other power, Britain for instance, would come forward as "honest broker".' He tries to impress the British reader that his foremost desire was the preservation of peace in Europe, and that it was the Franco-Soviet pact, not his reoccupation of the Rhineland, which went against the spirit of Locarno.

**12-29 March:** *Reichstag* election campaign and national referendum in support of the Führer's policy. Hitler speaks in eleven cities.

**12 March:** The official declaration of the German government on the re-occupation of the Rhineland is published. Hitler, speaking at Karlsruhe, justifies the act by emphasizing the necessity of promoting German unity.

**14 March:** Speaking in Munich, Hitler declares: 'Neither threats nor warnings will move me from my path. I go with the certainty of a sleepwalker along the path



laid out for me by Providence. My aim is peace, peace founded on equality' (VB, 16 March 1936).

**16 March:** Hitler speaks in Frankfurt-am-Main.

**18 March:** In a speech delivered in Königsberg, Hitler insists that 'Germany has no wish for conquest in Europe' (VB, 20 March 1936).

**20 March:** In Hamburg, Hitler reminds his audience: 'I come from the people. In fifteen years I have slowly worked my way up together with this Movement' (VB, 22 March 1936).

**22 March:** Hitler speaks at Breslau.

**24 March:** Speaking in Berlin's *Deutschlandhalle*, Hitler boasts: 'I would thank Providence and the Almighty that He has chosen me in particular to wage this fight for Germany' (VB, 26 March 1936).

**25 March:** Speaking in Ludwigshafen, Hitler declares: 'I do not intend to draw up any secret documents or conclude any secret alliances. I assure you, my fellow-countrymen, I will never pledge Germany to anything without informing the whole German people ... Now they say that we must go down on our knees again. What is the world thinking of? We are not a tribe of negroes but a highly civilized people of 67 million Germans' (VB, 27 March 1936).

**26 March:** Hitler speaks in Leipzig.

**27 March:** Addressing factory workers in Essen, Hitler says: 'I have not upheld the rearming of the German people because I am a shareholder. I am perhaps the only statesman in the world who has no banking account ... You yourselves know how often I have held out the hand to the other powers; always I met only with rebuffs. I proposed, in order that no one could feel himself threatened, that all should disarm completely. We are prepared to disarm if the others will do the same. That proposal was rejected. I declared my readiness to accept an army of 200,000 men. That was also rejected. I then declared that I would be content with an army of 300,000 men. That too was rejected. Finally, I declared myself ready for an agreement on an air force under equal conditions. Once again that was rejected ... The German people desires peace, desires understanding, desires calm. It wishes to work ... to earn its bread and live decently. If anyone does not believe this, we cannot help him ... I have within my own nation so many tasks ... I have no time to puzzle out what ought to be done in France ... What concern is that of mine? Germany is my concern! I have work to do here in abundance, work for peace of unimaginable extent. Millions are badly housed, millions are badly clothed ... To help them, that is my programme ... I must draw German people nearer to each other; it is in that sphere that there are possibilities of equalizing social conditions ... Let the statesmen go into factories, let them ask the workmen "Do you wish to reject this offer?" And I am convinced that everywhere they will find one single answer: "Don't speak of gestures and symbolic acts, but make and keep peace. That is the wish of the people!"' (VB, 29 March 1936).

**28 March:** Hitler speaks in Cologne.

**29 March:** Hitler's policy receives almost 44,500,000 votes (98.8 per cent) of approval during the National Referendum. Goebbels' comments: 'The first votes are coming in ... a historic victory ... the Nation has spoken. The Führer has united the Nation. Even in our wildest dreams we couldn't imagine something like that. ... The Führer has won a mandate vis-à-vis the outside world' (TB/G, 3/II, p. 52).

**31 March:** At a Cabinet meeting, Hitler congratulates himself on the success of the referendum because of the 'overwhelming avowal of the German people to the Party and State leadership' (VB, 1 April 1936).

**1 April:** Ribbentrop presents to Anthony Eden, the British foreign secretary, Hitler's new and very detailed 'Peace Plan'.

**4 April:** Hitler issues a secret order to improve Germany's combat readiness by a series of autarchic measures affecting the national economy. He makes Göring responsible for the control of raw materials and foreign exchange.

**20 April:** During the celebration of his birthday Hitler promotes his war minister,

General von Blomberg, to the rank of Field-Marshal; Göring and Fritsch become Colonel-Generals; and Raeder, Admiral of the Fleet.

**24 and 25 April:** Hitler meets Lady Diana Guinness (née Mitford) at Goebbels' house in Schwanenwerder, near Berlin. She has been sent by Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the British Union of Fascists (the Blackshirts), who offered to mediate the transfer of credit worth £50 million to £100 million from the Morgan Bank. The next day, banker Kurt von Schroeder joins the group. Hitler wants a Morgan Bank representative to come over to Germany and discuss the details of the credit transfer with Schroeder (*TBJG*, 1/2, p. 605).

**1 May:** Speaking in Berlin on Labour Day, Hitler appeals to German youth: 'We wish you to be first and foremost an idealistic youth ... that you should be strong in character ... We cannot use a generation of "mother's boys" or spoiled children' (*VB*, 2 May 1936).

**14 May:** Ambassador Sir Eric Phipps discusses with Hitler the latter's 'Peace Plan' of 1 April. The British government refused to take it seriously, wondering whether Hitler was capable of honouring any signed treaty.

**17 May:** Hitler receives Thomas Jones, a Welsh liberal and friend of prime minister Stanley Baldwin.

**19 May:** Hitler attends the funeral of his chauffeur Julius Schreck at Gräfelfing, near Munich.

**29 May:** Hitler attends naval manoeuvres at Kiel.

**9 June:** Hitler receives the Japanese ambassador Mushakoji, the Egyptian minister Dr Nadjat Pasha, and the Afghan war minister Shah Mahmud Khan.

**13 June:** With Hitler's authorization, the *Reichskolonialbund* (Reich Colonial League) is founded by General von Epp.

**17 June:** Hitler appoints Heinrich Himmler, the Reich Leader of the SS, as Chief of the entire German Police – but subordinate to the Minister of the Interior.

**27 June:** The new world boxing champion Max Schmeling, returning from the USA where he has just defeated Joe Louis is invited with his wife and mother to be Hitler's guests of honour.

**29 June:** Ambassador von Hassell takes Hitler's message to Rome. The offer considers the recognition of the new Italian empire centred on the Mediterranean. Hitler indicates that he was not primarily interested in that area.

**3 July:** Celebrating the 10th anniversary of the first NSDAP rally in Weimar, Hitler gives one of his notorious 'peace speeches'. In his presentation, it is always peace with qualification: 'before this peace we want always to write the word honour and under this concept of peace we want always to include the concept of freedom' (*VB*, 5 July 1939).

**11 July:** Exchange of telegrams between Schuschnigg and Hitler on the occasion of signing the Austro-German Agreement, whereby Hitler promised to recognize Austria's full sovereignty, to abstain from interfering in the country's internal affairs, and to respect Austria's special relationship with Italy and Hungary. In return, the Austrian government agreed to allow respectable crypto-Nazis such as Glaise-Horstenau and later Seyss-Inquart to hold senior administrative posts.

**12 July:** Construction begins of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp at Berlin-Oranienburg.

**19 July:** Hitler leaves Berlin for Bayreuth to attend the annual music festival.

**22 July:** The Japanese military attaché General Oshima is received by Hitler in the *Haus Wahnfried*. The two men discussed how to fight Communism and the Soviet Union.

**25 July:** After listening to Wagner's *Siegfried*, Hitler received two Germans arriving from Spanish Morocco with a personal letter from General Francisco Franco, who had started an insurgence against Madrid and was asking for military help. Hitler immediately sends for Göring and Blomberg to discuss Franco's urgent appeal. Initially, Neurath, Ribbentrop and even Göring were against giving assistance. Hitler, however, was able to turn Göring around, and he seized the chance of

testing the young *Luftwaffe*. 'If Spain really goes communist,' Hitler speculated, 'France ... will also be bolshevised in due course, and then Germany is finished. Wedged between the powerful Soviet bloc in the East and a strong Communist French-Spanish bloc in the West, we could do hardly anything if Moscow chose to attack us.' Under the appropriate Wagnerian codename 'Operation *Feuerzauber*' (Magic Fire) Hitler orders the despatch of twenty Junkers-52 transport aircraft to ferry Franco's troops from Morocco to Spain. In the course of the next three years, Germany was to equip and send the *Condor* Air Legion, large quantities of material and up to 6,500 personnel to help Franco (Toland, p. 534; Kershaw II, pp. 15-17).

**30 July:** Hitler returns to Berlin.

**1-16 August:** Hitler opens the 11th (modern) Olympic Games in Berlin.

**6 August:** Romanian politician Octavian Coga meets Hitler to discuss joint action against Bolshevism and the Jews.

**7 August:** Hitler has an audience with King Boris of Bulgaria, who wants to buy German weapons. The *New York Times* publishes Hitler's answers to questions put to him by the North American Newspaper Alliance. Asked whether he thought war was inevitable and how it could be avoided, Hitler replies briefly: 'By common sense.'

**8 August:** Goebbels describes Hitler watching the soccer game Germany versus Norway, which Germany lost: 'The Führer is very excited' (*TBJG*, I/2).

**11 August:** Hitler appoints Ribbentrop as German ambassador in London.

**12 August:** Hitler receives Lord Kemsley, and Lord Camrose of the *Daily Telegraph*, twenty Japanese deputies, and Count Szembek, the Polish secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the evening, Hitler gives a reception for his foreign guests, to which the *Daily Mail* journalist Ward Price, the President of the International Olympic Committee, Count de Baillet-Latour, and Sir Robert Vansittart, the permanent undersecretary at the Foreign Office and an expert on Germany, are invited.

**14 August:** Konrad Henlein, the leader of the Sudeten German Party in Czechoslovakia, who is visiting Berlin for the Olympic Games, has a brief meeting with Hitler, and many longer sessions with government officials. Hitler avoids any political discussion with Henlein on the Sudeten problem. He decides, however, to nominate three radical Sudeten emigrés who had fled from Czechoslovakia under the threat of arrest: Rudolf Jung, Hans Krebs and Leo Schubert, as deputies to the *Reichstag*.

**22 August:** Hitler receives the Hungarian head of state, Admiral Horthy, in his new residence, named *Berghof* at Obersalzberg near Berchtesgaden, which was built around the old chalet, *Haus Wachenfeld*, following Hitler's own plans. From now on, Eva Braun will spend most of her time here as the unofficial companion of the Führer. She is introduced to Hitler's inner circle but will not be allowed to meet any of the prominent guests who are entertained here.

**24 August:** In a five-line directive issued at Obersalzberg, Hitler announces the raising of the period of compulsory military service from one to two years. He also orders an embargo on the export of arms to the Spanish Republic while increasing supplies to General Franco.

**End of August:** Hitler has composed a detailed memorandum on long-term rearmament and economic policy, which will form the foundation of the new Four-Year Plan. The threat against which Hitler wants Germany to be ready is clearly communism, which, 'through its victory in Russia has established one of the greatest empires as a forward base for its future operations ... For a victory of Bolshevism over Germany would lead not to a Versailles Treaty, but to the final destruction, indeed to the annihilation, of the German people. ... If we do not succeed in bringing the German *Wehrmacht* in the shortest time to the rank of the premier army in the world, so far as its training, raising of units, armaments, and above all its spiritual education also is concerned, Germany will be lost! The

German Army and the German economy must be operational within four years' (Michaelis, 10, pp. 534–42).

**4 September:** David Lloyd George visits Hitler at the *Berghof*. 'I have never doubted the fundamental greatness of Herr Hitler as a man. ... I only wish we had a man of his supreme quality at the head of affairs in our country today,' wrote Lloyd George (Gilbert, *Britain and Germany*, p. 102). At the Cabinet meeting in Berlin, Göring gives details of Hitler's memorandum on the Four-Year Plan. He demands an autarchic national economy and substantial savings in foreign exchange: 'All measures must be taken as if we were actually at the stage of imminent mobilization. The execution of Führer's order is an absolute command' (Noakes, pp. 408–9).

**8–16 September:** Hitler attends the NSDAP rally in Nuremberg.

**9 September:** Hitler's proclamation is read to the delegates; it contains references to the forthcoming Four-Year Plan.

**14 September:** After delivering speeches to Nazi women, Labour servicemen, and the *Wehrmacht*, Hitler devotes his closing speech to a vitriolic attack on Communism: 'Bolshevism turns flourishing countrysides into sinister wastes of ruins; National Socialism transforms a Reich of destruction and misery into a healthy State and flourishing economic life. That is the contrast between the two revolutions' (Baynes, p. 674).

**16–25 September:** Hitler spends most of the time in Berlin; he will attend the great autumn army manoeuvres.

**17 September:** In the company of the Goebbelses and Lady Guinness (Diana Mitford), Hitler discusses plans to prepare a secret wedding between her and Sir Oswald Mosley in three weeks' time at the Goebbels' home. Goebbels is not keen, but resigned: 'The Führer wants it so' (*TBJG*, 1/2 p. 679).

**27 September:** Hitler speaks to workers near Breslau on the completion of the first 1,000 km of the new *Autobahn* (motorway) network.

**3 October:** Hitler is in Wilhelmshaven at the launching of the battleship *Scharnhorst*.

**4 October:** Hitler speaks at the annual harvest festival on the Bückeberg.

**6 October:** Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the British Union of Fascists (the Blackshirts), has a privately arranged wedding with Lady Diana Guinness (Diana Mitford) in Goebbels' home. Her sister Unity, a pro-Nazi fanatic, is present, and so is Hitler (*TBJG*, 1/2, p. 694).

**7 October:** In Goebbels' home in Schwanenwerder, near Berlin, Hitler lectures the Mosleys on the fundamentals of Nazi propaganda, tactics and organization (*TBJG*, 3/11, pp. 205–6). In the evening Hitler launches the 'Winter-Help Campaign' and then leaves for Munich.

**17 October:** Prince Paul, the regent of Yugoslavia, visits Hitler in Obersalzberg.

**18 October:** Hitler signs the directive for the Four-Year Plan; Göring is put in charge of its execution.

**24 October:** Count Galeazzo Ciano, the new Italian foreign minister and Mussolini's son-in-law, meets Hitler in Obersalzberg to discuss the creation of a common front against Bolshevism. Hitler promises that Germany will recognize the Italian conquest of Abyssinia and the Franco regime in Spain. There should be no clash of interest between Germany and Italy. The Mediterranean, Hitler assured Ciano, was an Italian Sea (*Ciano's Diary*).

**30 October:** Hitler gives a speech in Berlin on the 10th anniversary of the *Gau* Greater Berlin. On the same day he receives Lord Londonderry.

**8 November:** On the anniversary of the 1923 *putsch*, Hitler holds the traditional oration in Munich's *Bürgerbräukeller*, during which he admits: 'I can confess quite calmly that from 1919 to 1923 I thought of nothing else than a *coup d'État*' (VB, 10 November 1936).

**9 November:** Hitler participates in the programme of anti-communist activities in Munich: the opening of an Anti-Bolshevik exhibition and an international anti-communist conference.

**10 November:** In his Munich apartment, Hitler receives Lord Castlereagh and Lady Stanley.

**13 November:** In Berlin, Hitler attends the concert by the London Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham.

**15 November:** Hitler tells Goebbels he is happy about the pace of rearmament: 'which is costing us a fabulous amount of money. We should be ready by 1938 when the showdown with Bolshevism comes ... The army is now completely won over by us. Führer is untouchable ... It is as good as certain that we shall dominate Europe. Thus rearm. Führer is ready for anything. He must, therefore, win in the end ... I am heading home after four hours of discussion. What a wonderful man. I am completely taken in by him.' Hitler also tells Goebbels that, regarding Austria, a new secret propaganda campaign will be launched. On the other hand, he is unwilling to give money to Mosley, the leader of the Fascists in England: 'It is impossible at the moment; he is asking too much' (*TBJG*, 1,2 p. 727).

**18 November:** Hitler and Mussolini announce their recognition of the Franco regime in Spain.

**20 November:** Hitler addresses 800 NSDAP functionaries at Vogelsang Castle in the Eifel Mountains.

**25 November:** Germany and Japan sign the Anti-Comintern Pact.

**27 November:** Hitler visits the meeting of the Reich Chamber of Culture and speaks there to the composer Franz Lehár and the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin.

**1 December:** At a Cabinet meeting, Hitler makes a declaration on foreign policy; several laws are issued, among them the Law Against Economic Sabotage.

**2 December:** In Berlin, Hitler receives the Italian road constructor Senator Puricelli, the builder of the first *autostrada*. The two men discuss plans for a future Berlin–Rome motorway. On the same day, Reinhold Hanisch, Hitler's buddy from the vagabond years before 1914, is arrested in Vienna. Hanisch produced two manuscripts of reminiscences, which the Gestapo will try to acquire and destroy.

**7 December:** Hitler attends the launching of the battleship *Gneisenau* in Kiel.

**9 December:** Hearing the news that King Edward VIII has abdicated, Hitler telephones his ambassador Ribbentrop in London: 'Now that the king has been dethroned, there is certainly no other person in England who is ready to play with us. Report to me on what you've been able to do. I shan't blame you if it amounts to nothing' (Toland, p. 548).

**13 December:** Hitler addresses SA and HJ leaders in Obersalzberg.

**16 December:** In Berlin, Hitler receives an Afghan delegation consisting of the prime minister Muhammad Hashim Khan, and the minister of commerce Abdul Majid Khan.

**17 December:** Speaking to representatives of the German economy, Hitler exhorts them to participate in fulfilling the Four-Year Plan: 'The word impossible does not exist here!' (Domarus, p. 658).

**21 December:** Hitler and his military leaders discuss the subject of military intervention in Spain. Despite the urging of General Faupel, Germany's representative to Franco, to send out at least one full German division with an extra cadre of training officers in order to save Franco from defeat, the military leaders decide against any larger German involvement in the Spanish Civil War.

**24 December:** Hitler celebrates Christmas Eve by lunching with the old party members in Munich's *Löwenbräukeller*.

**25 December:** On the recommendation of his photographer, Hoffmann, Hitler selects Dr Theo Morell, a dermatologist from Berlin, as his personal physician. Apparently for the first time since his army days, Hitler agrees to have a complete physical examination. It is known that he suffers from stomach cramps and from eczema, and from meteorism (uncontrollable flatulence), aggravated by his vegetarianism. Morell supplements Hitler's diet with large doses of vitamins, often administering them intravenously together with glucose for energy. He also succeeds within a short time in clearing up Hitler's eczema (Toland, p. 549).

**30 December:** In Berlin, Hitler attends the funeral of General von Seeckt, chief organizer of the former *Reichswehr*.

## 1937

**1 January:** Hitler's New Year message is published via the media. Hitler himself stays at Obersalzberg.

**7 January:** At the *Berghof*, Hitler receives the British newspaper publisher, Lord Rothermere.

**11 January:** Hitler receives the diplomatic corps in Berlin.

**30 January:** In a three-hour speech before the *Reichstag*, Hitler rounds off his first four years of office. He formally abrogates Germany's signature from those clauses of the Versailles Treaty that limit his notion of equality and German sovereignty. Four of the boldest tasks have been accomplished, Hitler claims, in restoring German honour: the re-introduction of conscription, the creation of the *Luftwaffe*, the reoccupation of the Rhineland, and the reconstruction of the Navy. On the same day, Hitler issues instruction for the incorporation into the Foreign Office of the NSDAP Foreign Organization (*Auslands-organisation* – A/O) under *Gauleiter* Ernst-Wilhelm Bohle.

**3 February:** For the first time, Hitler gives a dinner for the diplomatic corps in Berlin. Hermann Göring, Konstantin von Neurath, Hjalmar Schacht and Joseph Goebbels are also invited.

**4 February:** Hitler addresses a delegation of the *Reichsbahn* (National Railways) in the Reich Chancellery.

**14 February:** Franz Kroll, a 33-year-old butcher, makes an attempt on Hitler's life, but is arrested by the security guards.

**15 February:** In Berchtesgaden, Hitler issues an order empowering the Reich Minister for Church Affairs to prepare elections of the new General Synod of the German Evangelical Church, with whom Hitler cannot reach an agreement. Hitler authorizes Göring to visit Warsaw for political talks.

**17 February:** In Obersalzberg, Hitler addresses the Standing International Commission of Frontline Fighters, representing fourteen nations. Hitler declares: 'Frontline soldiers knew that war was a great, but a ghastly experience, they all had but one wish: that such a war might never recur' (Baynes, pp. 1347–8).

**20 February:** Hitler opens the International Automobile Exhibition in Berlin.

**21 February:** On the *Heldengedenktage* (War Heroes' Memorial Day), Hitler reviews troops on Unter den Linden.

**24 February:** On the anniversary of the foundation of the NSDAP Hitler addresses the party old guard in Munich's *Hofbräuhaus*: 'Today, we have once more become a world power!' (VB, 26 February 1937).

**26 February:** On the occasion of the reception of the former President of the Swiss Confederation, Dr Schulthess, Hitler makes an official declaration: 'At all times, come what may, we shall respect the inviolability and neutrality of Switzerland' (Baynes, p. 1349). This is one of the very few promises Hitler kept.

**5 March:** Hitler visits Nuremberg.

**12 March:** Hitler addresses assembled NSDAP leaders.

**13 March:** At the jubilee celebration of the 40 years' service of Field-Marshal von Blomberg in the War Ministry, Hitler intimates: 'From the very beginning it has been the aim of the NSDAP to create both a new strong army and the political,

economic, and psychological conditions necessary for that creation ... this reformation of the German Army could be successfully accomplished without friction ... and the old Army and the young Party have met as allies ... An army cannot live in a vacuum: it must stand on the basis of a *Weltanschauung*' (VB, 15 March 1937).

**15 March:** Hitler receives the Danish king, Christian X, during his visit in Berlin.

**19 March:** Hitler recalls Ambassador Ulrich von Hassell from Rome to attend a political conference.

**30 March:** At last Hitler succeeds in being received by Ludendorff in a private audience – after many years of ill-concealed hostility. Their meeting is widely publicized when Ludendorff issues a communiqué expressing thanks for Hitler's tolerance of his peculiar religious movement called the 'German Divine Perception' (*Deutsche Götterkenntnis*).

**8 April:** Hitler pays tribute to the industrialist Emil Kirdorf, a wealthy supporter of the NSDAP during its difficult years, by visiting him on his 90th birthday at his private residence in Mülheim.

**16 April:** Hitler addresses the party organizers of the 'Winter-Help Campaign' at the Reich Chancellery. On the same day he receives the pro-Nazi interior minister of Austria, Dr Glaise-Horstenau.

**19 April:** The British Labour politician George Lansbury is received by Hitler. The Führer is visibly bored by Lansbury's presentation of pacifist plans and breaks off the audience rather abruptly. Lansbury was nevertheless impressed: 'He is simple and clear cut, as was Lenin, and sure he is right, as was Lenin, and as determined to stand by German independence ... He is ruthless and quite cynical with everything that seems to stand in his way. He will not go to war unless pushed into it by others ... He is a good conversationalist and did not monopolise more time than I did' (Gilbert, *Britain and Germany*, p. 102).

**20 April:** Hitler authorizes the creation of the NSFK, the National Socialist Flying Corps, while dissolving the *Deutscher Luftsportverband* – DLV (German Aviation Sport League), under whose cover the *Luftwaffe* had remained camouflaged until 1935. As for his birthday, Hitler celebrates it by reviewing troops during the morning in Berlin's *Tiergarten* and by flying to Munich in the afternoon.

**22 April:** The *Gauleiter* of Danzig Albert Forster is received by Hitler at *Berghof*. Hitler authorizes Göring to visit Italy for talks with Mussolini.

**29 April:** Addressing 800 party district leaders at Vogelsang Castle in the Eifel Mountains, Hitler offers his cynical advice on how the masses should be manipulated: 'An organization only has a future if it subdues in a natural manner the freedom of the individual so that the whole benefits'; and how the democratic leaders should be despised: 'They are soft, they are not worth anything, they have no resistance ... Imagine burdening such a little human worm with the final decision, for example, of the Rhineland crisis!' Turning then to the problem of selecting genuine leaders for the party, Hitler affirms that it is only ability that counts: 'It matters not what their fathers are, what their mothers were. They only must have the stuff of leadership in them. Pure abstract thinking is of no value. The Führer must be able to lead. He must be able to say: "This has to be done. I recognize it!"' Hitler finally gives a few sinister hints on how he intends to solve the Jewish question: 'The question to me is never to take a step that might have to be retracted and bring harm to us. You know, I always go to the very brink of boldness but not beyond. One has to smell out: "What can I get away with and what can't I?" I am not going to challenge my opponents immediately to a fight. I don't say, "Fight", just for the pleasure of fighting. Instead I say, "I will destroy you." And now cleverness helps me to manoeuvre you into such a corner that not a blow will be struck until you get a thrust into your heart! That is it!' (Toland, pp. 562-3).

**30 April:** In a speech to the Chamber of Labour, Hitler points out: 'The economic life may remain free only so long as it is able to solve the problems of the nation. If it cannot do it, then it must cease to be free' (Baynes, p. 939).

**1 May:** During the May Day celebrations in Berlin, Hitler speaks in the morning to 120,000 boys and girls at the Olympia Stadium, and to an estimated crowd of 1,200,000 at Berlin's *Lustgarten* at noon.

**4 May:** Hitler receives Franz von Papen and Lord Lothian.

**5 May:** In Hamburg, Hitler attends the launching of the KdF ship, *Wilhelm Gustloff*.

**6 May:** Hitler continues his journey by ship to Kiel.

**11 May:** The newly accredited British ambassador, Sir Nevile Henderson, is received by Hitler.

**20 May:** Hitler addresses construction workers in Obersalzberg during the inauguration of the local cinema.

**22 May:** *Le Journal de Paris* publishes an interview with Hitler by Abel Bonnard, recorded two days earlier: 'People abroad believe that Germany is living under a dictatorial regime ... The people support me because I really do care for their problems ... This is why I have among the people my greatest supporters and I am more loved by them than any monarch ever was.' Hitler then mentions with particular pride what has been achieved so far for the average German under National Socialism.

**25 May:** Franz von Papen comes from Vienna to discuss the Austrian question with Hitler.

**26 May:** Hitler receives a Japanese naval delegation led by Rear-Admiral Kobayashi in Berlin.

**30 May:** Hitler opens the Agricultural Fair in Munich. During the ceremony the news arrives that the German battleship *Deutschland* had been bombed by the 'Red' Spanish air force and several German sailors killed or wounded. Hitler issues a declaration that Germany will carry out reprisals, and returns to Berlin the same evening by air.

**31 May:** After holding a conference with Raeder, Neurath, Blomberg and Göring, Hitler orders German warships to bombard the Spanish city of Almeria, which results in 21 dead and 53 wounded among the civilian population (Domarus, p. 697).

**2 June:** Hitler addresses the assembled *Reichsleiter*s and *Gauleiter*s.

**6 June:** Addressing some 200,000 party members in Regensburg, Hitler sums up the tasks of the Nazi movement as fourfold: (1) To create a single people; (2) To secure to the people its daily bread through work; (3) To protect the people ... and restore its freedom, honour and power; (4) Within this people, to raise a new higher social community. Commenting on disarmament, Hitler observes: 'It is remarkable that people apparently begin to realize the blessing of disarmament only at the moment when Germany is once more protected with men and with munitions ... The German people is not a people which begins a war today or tomorrow. The German in his whole character is not only peaceable and peace-loving but before everything else conciliatory. He wants to work! ... In order to defend our freedom and thereby our honour we have built up this great new German Army ... And this security is essential for the realization of our economic policy. There can be no spirit of enterprise in economic life if the steel shield of national defence is not held above it' (VB, 7 June 1937).

**16 June:** In Berlin, Hitler addresses a delegation of the Italian Fascist Youth, the *Balilla*.

**17 June:** In Wilhelmshaven, Hitler attends the funeral of the sailors killed in action on the battleship *Deutschland*.

**21-22 June:** After the German cruiser *Leipzig* had been attacked by an unidentified submarine off the Spanish coast, Hitler holds two conferences with his military leaders and with Neurath about intensifying German participation in the Spanish Civil War.

**23 June:** Hitler addresses construction workers at the opening of a section of the Dresden-Meerane *Autobahn*. In the evening he is back in Berlin attending the guest performance from La Scala Milan.



**27 June:** Hitler speaks at the regional party rally in Würzburg.

**29 June:** Hitler receives the Peruvian minister Ugartecke, accredited to Germany, a Japanese politician Ishida, and the Canadian prime minister Mackenzie King.

**2 July:** Hitler addresses the assembled *Reichsleiter*s and *Gauleiter*s.

**9 July:** Conversation between Hitler and Neurath at Obersalzberg on the recent Italian plan for creating a Four-Power Alliance of Italy, Germany, Hungary and Austria. Hitler recommends dilatory action.

**12 July:** Ambassador von Papen and the Führer's economic adviser Wilhelm Keppler, confer with Hitler on the subject of Austria.

**18 July:** Hitler arrives in Munich for the celebration of the Day of German Art.

**19 July:** Speaking at the opening of Munich's House of German Art, Hitler declares that there is no place in National Socialist Germany for what he calls 'international art', which he calls decadent, Bolshevik and Jewish, full of distortion and ugliness: 'The artist does not create for the artist. He creates for the people, and we will see to it that the people in future will be called in to judge his art! ... The new age of today is at work on a new human type. Men and women are to be more healthy, stronger, there is a new joy of life.' By contrast, the decadent modern artists produce nothing but 'deformed cripples and cretins, women who inspire only disgust, men who are more like wild beasts, children who, were they alive, must be regarded as cursed of God' (Baynes, pp. 584-92). In parallel with the exhibition in the 'House of German Art', a select collection of confiscated works by such 'modern' artists as Barlach, Corinth, Feininger, Grosz, Klee, Kokoschka and Nolde, along with a number of works by foreign painters, including Braque, Cézanne, van Gogh, Matisse and Picasso, are exhibited in Munich as a deterrent to the healthy taste of German people under the title *Entartete Kunst*. The exhibition of 'Degenerate Art', however, which is later to tour Germany, attracts five times more visitors than Hitler's National Socialist House of German Art.

**21 July:** At the *Berghof*, Hitler receives the new Soviet ambassador Konstantin Yureniev. The two men stress the importance of maintaining normal relations between the two countries, and of respecting the principle of non-interference in the affairs of another state.

**23-30 July:** Hitler attends the annual Music Festival at Bayreuth.

**1 August:** Hitler speaks to a huge crowd at the Festival of the League of German Singers. In the evening he returns to Berlin.

**6 August:** Hitler receives Franco's ambassador, Marquis de Magaz.

**13 August:** At Obersalzberg, Hitler welcomes the participants of the Franco-German youth camping movement.

**14-16 August:** Hitler supervises the preparations for the NSDAP rally in Nuremberg.

**17 August:** Hitler returns to Bayreuth to attend Wagner's *Götterdämmerung*.

**4 September:** The *Daily Mail* publishes Hitler's letter to Lord Rothermere: 'All hope for the future is dead, so far as human eyes can see, unless it comes from England and Germany ... I am no new advocate of an Anglo-German understanding. I have made between four and five thousand speeches ... yet there is no single speech of mine, nor any line I have written, in which I have expressed anything contrary to this concept or against an Anglo-German understanding ... Such an agreement between England and Germany would represent the weight of influence for peace and common sense of 120 million of the most valuable people in the world. The historically unique colonial aptitude and the naval power of Britain would be combined with one of the first military nations of the world. If this understanding could be still further enlarged by the adhesion of the American nation, it would be absolutely impossible to see who in the world could disturb a combination for peace which would never, of set purpose or intent, neglect the interest of the white people.'

**6-13 September:** NSDAP 'Rally of Labour' in Nuremberg.

**7 September:** Three important achievements are stressed in Hitler's opening proclamation: (1) The Treaty of Versailles is dead; (2) Germany is free; (3) The guarantee of our freedom is our *Wehrmacht*. Explaining the nature of power in National Socialist Germany, Hitler deliberates: 'The Party stands as a living organism of the people behind its leadership, the Party is the people. The Party is the organization of the political leadership of the people, and, further, the Party is, precisely as everything in life, the result of a process of selection ... The Party is a body of picked men ... Thus the Party is the leadership and in fact the legislature.' Boasting of his success in curtailing unemployment, Hitler asserts: 'The way in which we in National Socialist Germany direct all our efforts towards the solution of social problems is a contribution towards the education of our individual fellow countrymen into a consciousness of social duty which as its final result will also produce the community of the people in the noblest sense of that word. And this is certain: we in National Socialist Germany are a thousand times nearer to that community than are those in the Marxist States, torn asunder as those States are by economic and class conflicts' (Baynes, pp. 202, 687 and 1357).

**12 September:** In his closing speech Hitler delivers a long tirade against those who refuse to recognize the international menace posed by Bolshevism: 'We know with absolute certainty that if Spain was finally to become Bolshevik and if this wave had spread wider, perhaps over the rest of Europe ... then that for Germany would mean a severe economic catastrophe' (Baynes, p. 706). In an informal conversation with journalists, Hitler refers to the colonial question: 'It is not a question of war or peace but of common sense ... What we have a moral right to in the question of colonies is that which belonged to us before the War ... Europe will never be able to settle down until the colonial question has been settled' (*The Times*, 13 September 1937).

**19 September:** Hitler attends the rehearsal of army manoeuvres in Mecklenburg before the forthcoming visit of Mussolini.

**25–29 September:** Mussolini's first state visit to Germany; under Hitler's orders it is prepared in grand style.

**25 September:** Mussolini arrives by train in Munich where he is welcomed by Hitler. The two men conduct their first political conversation in Hitler's private apartment in the Prinzregentenstrasse. They agree to support Franco in Spain and to co-operate towards the weakening of British and French positions in Europe; both countries should aspire towards friendship with Japan, so that the envisaged Berlin–Rome Axis could one day be extended to Tokyo. No written agreement is signed, but the two leaders agree verbally that Italy should have a free hand in the Mediterranean, while Germany's sphere should include Austria, and that neither should draw too close to Britain. As the ultimate Fascist reward, Mussolini appoints Hitler an 'Honorary Corporal of the Fascist Militia', which is somewhat ambiguous for the former corporal of the old Imperial German Army and the present supreme commander of the *Wehrmacht*.

**26 September:** Hitler and Mussolini attend army manoeuvres in Mecklenburg. Hitler holds a brief conference with Göring and Neurath on the Austrian question. He still favours an evolutionary solution.

**27 September:** Accompanied by Hitler, Mussolini visits the Krupp works at Essen and chemical plants at Hanover. In the afternoon, the two special trains carrying Hitler and Mussolini arrive, side by side, in Berlin. Mussolini is impressed by German efficiency. Hitler gives a gala dinner for his guest.

**28 September:** Mussolini is sightseeing in Potsdam and Berlin. In the evening both dictators deliver speeches at the Tempelhof airfield. Mussolini insists on reading his address in German, but has difficulties in finishing it since the text is rendered illegible by a sudden torrential rain. Nevertheless, Mussolini declares his determination to march together with his friend Hitler, regardless of the terrible weather, 'to the very end'. 'And if this word is not enough and when threatening circumstances will require it, then we'll have to take up arms, as we have done in

Spain, where thousands of Italian Fascist volunteers died for the deliverance of European culture' (VB, 29 September 1937). Despite the heavy rain, the Italian dictator is forced to make the slow trip across Berlin in an open car.

**29 September:** After another splendid show of German efficiency performed by the Berlin garrison. Mussolini departs in the afternoon.

**2 October:** Hitler visits an exhibition in Düsseldorf.

**3 October:** Hitler attends the annual harvest festival on the Bückeberg, where he makes a speech reclaiming former German colonies.

**5 October:** Hitler opens the 'Winter-Help Campaign' with a speech in Berlin.

**13 October:** The Reich Government declares its willingness to respect the neutrality of Belgium.

**15 October:** Hitler visits Coburg to celebrate the 15th anniversary of German Day.

**20 October:** The Aga Khan is received by Hitler at Obersalzberg. Hitler tells him that both Austria and Czechoslovakia, as well as the Polish Corridor and Danzig, must be incorporated into the Reich before the drive for the *Lebensraum* in the East can begin.

**22 October:** The Duke of Windsor and his wife visit Hitler at the *Berghof*.

**28 October:** Hitler receives the newly accredited Hungarian minister to Germany, Dome Sztójay, in the Reich Chancellery.

**5 November:** Hitler receives the Polish ambassador Lipski, reassuring him that Germany recognizes that 'Danzig is bound up with Poland' (Baynes, p. 1368). In connection with the joint German-Polish Declaration on the Reciprocal Protection of Minorities, published on the same day, at noon Hitler receives three Poles representing the *Bund der Polen in Deutschland* (Alliance of Poles in Germany). 'The effort of the German government is directed towards creating a harmonious and internally peaceful cohabitation of the Polish national group with the German people of the Reich,' Hitler tells them. He also speaks favourably of the many-sided cultural activities displayed by the Polish national minority in Germany, and shows his approval of the recent opening of an additional Polish high school. However, all these advantages, Hitler stresses, will be enjoyed only as long as corresponding rights are given to the German national group inside Poland (Baynes, p. 1368).

In the evening, Hitler holds a secret military conference attended only by Göring, Blomberg, Fritsch, Raeder, Neurath and his military adjutant, Colonel Hossbach, whose memorandum on the conference survived. Although Hitler's original motive might have been his desire to settle a dispute among the services over the allocation of raw materials, his address leads to a full exposition of Germany's long-term plan of conquest, which he explicitly recommends them to consider, 'in the event of his death, as his last will and testament'. After a long introduction dealing with the problems of autarchy and the weak raw materials situation, Hitler then goes on: 'The history of all ages – the Roman Empire and the British Empire – had proven that expansion could be carried out only by breaking down resistance and taking risks; setbacks are inevitable ... The question for Germany was: where could she achieve the greatest gain at the lowest cost? German policy had to reckon with two hate-inspired antagonists, Britain and France, to whom a German colossus in the centre of Europe was a thorn in the flesh.' Significantly, he did not mention the Soviet Union in the same category, despite his abundant public utterances about the Bolshevik menace. While France was being torn apart by its unstable domestic situation, Hitler observes, the British Empire had difficulty in holding together because of the Irish problem, Indian emancipation, the Japanese expansion in the Far East and Italian rivalry in the Mediterranean. Hitler then concludes: 'Germany's problem could be solved only by the use of force, and this was never without attendant risk ... The questions "When?" and "How?" still remain to be answered.' Thus, three contingencies were foreseen by Hitler: the first would be reached by 1943–5, because after that Germany's military equipment would become obsolete and the other powers

sufficiently rearmed. However, the necessity for action might arise before that time, thereby invoking the second and third contingencies, which provide for the case of either internal strife in France, entirely absorbing her army, or France being embroiled in a war with another state. In both these cases, Hitler insists, 'our first objective ... must be to overthrow Czechoslovakia and Austria simultaneously in order to remove the threat to our flank in any possible operation against the West'. Hitler was confident that Poland would stay neutral *vis-à-vis* Czechoslovakia and that 'Britain almost certainly, and probably France as well, had already tacitly written off the Czechs and were reconciled to the fact that this question would be cleared up in due course by Germany'. Notwithstanding Hitler's incorrect forecast of dates, his strategic assessments as to how his potential adversaries would react was amazingly accurate. He does not expect a French attack without Britain's support. Even with her support, a French attack was likely to be brought to a standstill on Germany's western fortifications, Hitler insisted. In his view, 'Italy is not expected to object to the elimination of the Czechs', and 'her attitude on the Austrian question depended essentially upon whether the Duce were still alive'. 'Everything will depend on the degree of surprise and the swiftness of our action,' Hitler maintained. Furthermore, Poland will be checked by the Soviet Union at her rear, and the Soviet Union itself by the Japanese threat in the Far East. Once Austria and Czechoslovakia had been overrun, Germany's strategic position would improve considerably and might add a further twelve divisions to its military strength. Among the Hitler's listeners, only Göring showed any enthusiasm for Hitler's plans; Blomberg and Fritsch were highly sceptical, believing Hitler had underestimated the French army and the Czech fortifications. Neurath was not at all convinced that France and Italy were going to clash as early as Hitler seemed to think. Least convinced was Raeder, who preferred not to join in the argument at all (*DGFP/D/I*, no. 19).

**6 November:** Upon learning that Italy joined the Anti-Komintern Pact Hitler expressed his thanks in a telegram to Mussolini.

**8–9 November:** Hitler celebrates the anniversary of the 1923 *putsch* among old party fighters in Munich.

**19 November:** Lord Halifax, Lord President of the Council, former Viceroy of India and future foreign secretary, visits Hitler at the *Berghof*. He suggests to the Führer that, with regard to the status quo of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Danzig, the British attitude was entirely flexible. However, all territorial adjustments, Halifax insists, must be carried out peacefully. On the same day, Konrad Henlein, the leader of the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia, sends a letter of submission to Hitler.

**21 November:** In a speech delivered at Augsburg, Hitler asserts the right of the German people for living space in colonies. He also declares that his new *Wehrmacht* and 'my great building programme [are] tonic[s] against the inferiority complex' (*New York Times*, 22 November 1937).

**25 November:** In Berlin, Hitler receives the Hungarian premier Daranyi and his foreign minister Kanya.

**26 November:** Dr Schacht is sacked by Hitler as Minister of Economics, but retains the title of Minister without Portfolio. Hitler orders that until 15 January 1938, Göring will be in charge of the Ministry, thereafter Walther Funk should take over.

**27 November:** At the laying of the foundation stone of the new building for the Faculty of Military Sciences, Hitler announces his plans for rebuilding Berlin as the new capital of a millennial Reich.

**30 November:** Over lunch, Hitler tells Goebbels that Italy will leave the League of Nations the following month, and Japan will soon conquer China. Once China is under Japanese control, the clash between Tokyo and Moscow is inevitable. 'Then our great hour will strike,' Goebbels noted, 'the Jews must get out of Germany; yes, out of entire Europe. It will take some time, but it will and must happen. The Führer is firmly decided on it' (*TBJG*, 1/3, p. 351).

**17 December:** On the completion of the first 2,000 km of motorways, Hitler addresses the construction workers at a gathering in Berlin: 'The motor car has become a big factor in German foreign trade ... there is no car of better appearance, more reliable, and of better wearing qualities than the German car ... The final objective was that in Germany, as in the United States, there should be a car to every five inhabitants.' He announces that instead of the 7,000 km originally planned, Germany's final *Autobahn* network should contain some 10,000 to 12,000 km: 'Magnificent roads were better evidence of the civilization of a people than the so-called freedom of the press ... This network of motorways would prove a means of binding together the new people's State; it would help to increase the production of motorcars and lead to a large amount of employment. ... Every year a thousand kilometres of motorways would be opened until the greatest network undertaken in the history of mankind had found its completion' (*The Times*, 20 December 1937).

**22 December:** Hitler attends Ludendorff's funeral in Munich.

**23 December:** Hitler visits the construction site of the NSDAP rally at Nuremberg; in the evening he watches a performance of Franz Lehar's *The Merry Widow*.

**24 December:** Hitler gives his traditional speech before party veterans in Munich's *Löwenbräukeller*.

## 1938

**1 January:** Hitler issues the New Year proclamation from Munich.

**11 January:** Returning to Berlin, Hitler receives the new Japanese ambassador, Shigenori Togo. He also receives the entire diplomatic corps for the New Year celebration.

**12 January:** Hitler and Hermann Göring appear as witnesses at the wedding of the war minister, Field-Marshal von Blomberg and Erna Gruhn, his secretary.

**14 January:** Józef Beck, the Polish minister of foreign affairs, meets Hitler in Berlin.

**17 January:** Hitler receives the Yugoslav prime minister, Dr Milan Stojadinovic, who declares that Yugoslavia will not become part of any anti-German coalition.

**22 January:** Hitler opens an exhibition of architecture in Munich.

**26 January:** Conversation between Hitler and General von Fritsch, during which the Army C-in-C denies the trumped-up charges of homosexuality made by Göring and Himmler, who wish to discredit him. The indignant Fritsch refuses to defend himself and is sent on indefinite leave. A similar plot by Göring and the SS is being hatched against Field-Marshal von Blomberg by exploiting Frau von Blomberg's questionable past. When Hitler received the evidence he reportedly broke down and murmured: 'If a German Field-Marshal marries a whore, then everything is possible on this Earth' (Wiedemann, p. 112; *TBJG* I/3 Kershaw I., 415–17).

**2 February:** Hitler meets King Gustav V at the Swedish Embassy.

**4 February:** Hitler strikes against dissenting generals who failed to support him on 5 November 1937 by demoting Blomberg and Fritsch, allegedly for breaches of the officers' code of honour. He abolishes the War Ministry and appoints himself Blomberg's successor, thereby spoiling Göring's ambitions. To replace the War Ministry, Hitler sets up the Armed Forces High Command (*OKW – Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*), with General Wilhelm Keitel as its chief. A widespread purge among the generals results in fifty transfers and forced retirements. General Walter von Brauchitsch becomes Fritsch's successor and Hitler promotes Göring to the rank of Field-Marshal to console him. The purge extends to the Foreign Office, where Joachim von Ribbentrop replaces Konstantin von Neurath, who is

appointed President of the new Cabinet Privy Council (which will never meet). Moreover, three key ambassadors are recalled from their posts: von Dirksen (Tokyo), von Hassell (Rome) and von Papen (Vienna).

**12 February:** Hitler summons the Austrian chancellor Schuschnigg to the *Berghof* and subjects him to a humiliating barrage of noisy invective: 'The whole history of Austria is just one uninterrupted act of high treason ... I am absolutely determined to make an end of all this. The German Reich is one of the great powers and nobody will raise his voice if it settles its border problems ... I have achieved everything that I set out to do, and have thus become perhaps the greatest German in history' (Bullock, p. 423). Hitler then presents Schuschnigg with an ultimatum, demanding the readmission of the NSDAP to Austria; an amnesty for all imprisoned Nazis; the appointment of a second National Socialist – Dr Seyss-Inquart – as minister of the Interior in the Austrian Cabinet; close economic and military links between the two countries. Hitler gives Schuschnigg three days to fulfil his demands. Should he not comply, Hitler threatens, 'I will order the march into Austria.'

**18 February:** At the opening of the International Automobile Exhibition in Berlin, Hitler praises the German car industry. About his favourite subject, the new cheap people's car, the *Volkswagen*, he says it will help to overcome class differences between high and low income groups and become 'the general means of transport of the whole German people' (Baynes, p. 949).

**20 February:** Hitler addresses the *Reichstag* deputies in a speech which is televised in Berlin on an experimental circuit for the first time. It is the customary speech that Hitler usually delivered on 30 January, the anniversary of his seizure of power. On this occasion, he was prevented from doing so by the Blomberg and Fritsch affair. According to Hitler, the National Socialist Revolution is 'the greatest transformation in the history of our people'. He stresses in particular the fact that 'it took place without even the least destruction ... and without bloodshed'. He concentrates his attacks against Austria and Czechoslovakia, pointing to the fate of 'ten million National Comrades (*Volksgenossen*), still illegally detached from the Reich' (VB, 21 February 1938).

**24 February:** On the 18th anniversary of the founding of the NSDAP, Hitler speaks in Munich's *Hofbräuhaus*. He dwells with particular excitement on his plans for the gigantic architectural reconstruction of German cities, which will take decades to complete.

**26 February:** In a conversation with five leading Austrian National Socialists, Hitler declares that he is still in favour of solving the crisis through evolution rather than by force, since 'the Austrian question could never be solved by a revolution' (DGFP, D/1, no. 328).

**3 March:** Hitler receives in audience the new US ambassador, Hugh R. Wilson. Ambassador Sir Nevile Henderson discusses with Hitler the new British offer, concerning the German claim on her former colonies in Africa, in order to gain Hitler's collaboration 'in the pacification of Europe'. But Hitler is not interested in renouncing his aggressive ambitions in Europe for the sake of some minor territorial gains in Africa. 'The colonial problem is not ripe for settlement as yet,' he told Henderson, 'one could wait quietly for four, six, eight or ten years' (DGFP, D/I, no. 138).

**8 March:** Hitler receives the former US president, Herbert Hoover, who is touring Europe.

**9 March:** Hitler reacts angrily to Schuschnigg's announcement in Innsbruck that Austria will hold a national referendum on Sunday 13 March; he holds an emergency conference with his generals and diplomats.

**10 March:** Hitler orders partial mobilization of two army corps in Bavaria. The planned invasion of Austria will be ordered, 'if other measures proved unsuccessful' (Bullock, p. 427).

**11 March:** At 2 a.m. Hitler decides to carry out the annexation (*Anschluss*) of Austria, codenamed 'Operation Otto'. Bloodshed should be avoided at all costs

but should the *Wehrmacht* encounter armed opposition, this must be crushed 'with maximum recklessness' (ND, C-102). Meanwhile Glaise-Horstenau lands in Vienna with Hitler's instructions that the original plebiscite must be cancelled and substituted by another to be held in three weeks. Once this request is secured, Hitler steps up his demands, which are communicated to Vienna by Göring: the resignation of Schuschnigg and the appointment of Seyss-Inquart as his successor. However, the Austrian president, Wilhelm Miklas, sticks to his refusal until it is too late. At 8.45 p.m. Hitler orders the invasion pending Mussolini's declaration of neutrality, which will be the signal for the *Anschluss*. At 10.25 p.m. a telephone call is received from Rome that Mussolini has agreed. 'Tell Mussolini,' Hitler instructs the messenger, 'that I shall never, never, never forget this! ... If he should ever need any help or be in any danger, he can be convinced that I shall stick to him, whatever may happen, even if the whole world were against him' (ND, 2949-PS).

**12 March:** While German troops enter Austria in the early morning, high-ranking German agents have been preparing the ground in Vienna for the *Anschluss*. At 10 a.m. Hitler arrives by plane in Munich and then proceeds slowly by car towards Austria. He crosses the border near Braunau, his place of birth, and enters his native country to the sound of church bells. In Linz he speaks to the jubilant crowd: 'If Providence once called me forth from this town to be the Führer of the German Reich, in so doing it must have charged me with a mission, and that mission could be only to restore my dear homeland to the German Reich' (Baynes, p. 1422).

**13 March:** At the *Weinzinger* hotel in Linz, Hitler signs the 'Bill of Reunification of Austria with the German Reich'. He sets 10 April as the date for the secret plebiscite in which the Austrian voters will determine their future. In Linz, Hitler also meets his sister Paula and visits the grave of his parents at Leonding. Hitler grants an interview to G. Ward Price for the *Daily Mail*. In it Hitler blames his move against Austria on Schuschnigg's deception. He ends on an optimistic note: 'Wait a little and see what I will do for Austria ... you will see how much better off and happier the people of Austria will be.'

**14 March:** Hitler arrives in Vienna in the afternoon, where he is received with the same enthusiasm as in Linz. He stays at the *Imperial* hotel, where Eva Braun joins him to share his triumph.

**15 March:** After delivering one more speech in Vienna, Hitler returns to Munich by air. Before leaving he gives an interview to the *Popolo d'Italia*.

**16 March:** Hitler arrives in Berlin by air from Munich. He addresses the hysterical crowds that greet him like a conqueror: 'Germany has now become Greater Germany and will so remain' (VB, 19 March 1938).

**18 March:** Hitler delivers a triumphant speech to the *Reichstag* in the *Kroll* opera house.

**19 March:** Hitler addresses the assembled *Reichsleiter* and *Gauleiter*.

**25 March–9 April:** Hitler conducts his last election tour during which he speaks in fourteen towns.

**25 March:** Hitler opens the election campaign in Königsberg.

**26 March:** Hitler speaks in Leipzig.

**28 March:** Hitler speaks at Berlin's Sports Palace. During the day he receives Konrad Henlein, the leader of the Sudeten German Party in Czechoslovakia, together with his deputy, Karl Hermann Frank. Hitler approves of the main tactical principle to be applied by the Sudeten Germans to create permanent unrest inside Czechoslovakia: 'We must always demand so much that we can never be satisfied.' In addition, Hitler recommends that Henlein should demand from the Prague government the establishment of separate German regiments, with German officers and German as the language of command, knowing that this would be unacceptable to the Czechs (DGFP, D/1,1, no. 107).

**29 March:** Hitler attends the launching of the KdF liner *Robert Ley* in Hamburg; he delivers a speech from the town hall.

**30 March:** Hitler speaks in Cologne.

**31 March:** Hitler speaks in Frankfurt-am-Main.

**1 April:** Hitler speaks in Stuttgart.

**2 April:** Hitler speaks in Munich, then leaves for Austria.

**3 April:** Hitler speaks in Graz.

**4 April:** During his election speech in Klagenfurt, Hitler meets his former history teacher from Linz, Dr Leopold Pötsch.

**5 April:** Hitler speaks in Innsbruck.

**6 April:** Hitler speaks in Salzburg.

**7 April:** Hitler makes the first dig on the planned Salzburg–Vienna motorway and addresses the construction workers. Later he gives his election speech in Linz.

**8 April:** For the first time in thirty years Hitler meets August Kubizek, the only intimate friend of his youth. He wants Kubizek to resume his musical career but Kubizek declines and remains a minor official in the local government of the town of Eferding. Although he accepts the Führer's invitation to attend the Wagner Festival in Bayreuth, he never exploited his former friendship with Hitler, who nevertheless insists on taking care of the education of Kubizek's three sons.

**9 April:** In his last election speech held in Vienna, Hitler does not hesitate to invoke the Lord Almighty as his protector: 'I believe that it was God's will to send a boy from here into the Reich, to let him grow up, to raise him to be the leader of the nation so as to enable him to lead back his homeland into the Reich ... When on 9 March Herr Schuschnigg broke his agreement, then in that second, I felt that now the call of Providence had come to me ... In three days the Lord has smitten them! ... Tomorrow may every German recognize the hour and measure its import and bow in humility before the Almighty who in a few weeks has wrought a miracle upon us!' (Baynes, pp. 1457–9).

**10 April:** When the results of the plebiscite reach Hitler, and 99.08 per cent in Germany and 99.75 per cent in Austria approve the *Anschluss*, he exclaims jubilantly: 'For me this is the proudest hour of my life!' (Baynes, p. 1459).

**20 April:** Hitler celebrates his 49th birthday by receiving delegations and reviewing troops. He attends the first showing of Leni Riefenstahl's film *Olympia*.

**21 April:** Hitler orders the OKW to prepare an updated version of the plan of attack against Czechoslovakia, code-named 'Operation Green'.

**22 April:** Hitler tells the Hungarian minister in Berlin that his country would receive all the territory lost at the end of the war if Czechoslovakia were to be partitioned.

**23 April:** Hitler issues a series of orders legalizing the *Anschluss* of Austria. He appoints *Gauleiter* Bürckel as Reich Commissar for the Reunification of Austria with the German Reich; Austria becomes *Ostmark* and her historical provinces Upper and Lower Austria are changed to *Gau Oberdonau* and *Gau Niederdonau*.

**24 April:** In Karlsbad Konrad Henlein issues the Eight-Point Programme demanding full autonomy and complete self-government for the Sudeten Germans living in Czechoslovakia.

**1 May:** At the May Day celebrations in Berlin, Hitler declares that the slogan 'never again war' is not enough. The watchword must be: 'Never again civil war! Never again class war! Never again domestic strife and discord!' (VB, 2 May 1938).

**2 May:** Accompanied by almost 500 diplomats, military and party leaders, as well as journalists, Hitler's special train leaves Berlin for Rome. The same day, Hitler dictates his first testament in which he nominates Göring as his successor and the Nazi party as the sole executor of his will. In the event of Hitler's death, his body is to be taken to Munich's *Feldherrnhalle*, the War Memorial, where the Nazi martyrs of the 1923 *putsch* are buried, but his coffin is not to be different from the others. Hitler leaves his property to the party and gives instructions to pay the following pensions monthly: to Eva Braun, his companion, 1000 Marks; to his sisters, Angela and Paula, 1000 Marks each; his brother Alois should receive one single payment of 60,000 Marks; smaller amounts of money are envisaged for



Hitler's servants and valets, and for his relatives in Spital. In a special paragraph Hitler remembers his niece Geli and instructs the executors of the will that it should be left up to her mother Angela to decide what to do with Geli's room, which he has kept as a shrine, allowing no one to enter it. The pensions were to be paid from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* royalties, which was one of the best-selling books in the world. Against this, his income as Reich Chancellor was minimal: 1000 Marks per month. There is no conclusive theory as to what prompted Hitler to prepare his last will on this day. Perhaps, the fear of approaching war, which he himself helped to generate (Sudholt, *Drei Testamente*).

**3 May:** Hitler arrives in Rome in the evening.

**4 May:** Victor Emanuel III, king of Italy, gives a state banquet in Hitler's honour at the Quirinal. The royal family treats Hitler with extreme coolness.

**5 May:** Hitler and his party attend manoeuvres of the Italian Fleet at Naples. During the naval review an unknown attacker threatens Eva Braun with a knife; Hitler's mistress is in Italy incognito.

**6 May:** Hitler attends a military parade in Rome during which the Italian soldiers display their new marching step, *Passo Romano*, adopted from the Prussian military 'goose step'.

**7 May:** Mussolini and Hitler dine in the former's residence in the *Palazzo Venezia*.

**9 May:** Hitler's special train leaves Rome; Mussolini accompanies his guest to Florence. Hitler extracts Mussolini's assurance that in the forthcoming action against Czechoslovakia, Italy would support the German action.

**20–22 May:** The so-called 'weekend crisis'. The Czechoslovak government, alarmed by reports of German troop concentrations near the frontier (which will later prove to be exaggerated), orders a partial mobilization and mans its border fortifications. Hitler reacts with a fit of uncontrollable fury.

**20 May:** General Keitel, on behalf of the OKW, submits to Hitler the new draft of 'Operation Green'. For the time being, the intention 'to smash Czechoslovakia by military action in the immediate future', remains conditional, 'unless an unavoidable development of political conditions inside Czechoslovakia forces the issue, or political events in Europe create a particularly favourable opportunity which may perhaps never recur'. The directive itself represents the first blueprint for a *Blitzkrieg*: how to launch and complete a surprise assault within four days, exploiting the superiority of the *Luftwaffe* in co-ordination with mechanized formations that were expected to break through Czech fortifications or to take them from the rear. The cohesion of Czechoslovakia is to be disrupted by indiscriminate use of propaganda working in two directions: in preventing Czechoslovakia's allies, France and the Soviet Union, from rendering military assistance, and in mobilizing the Sudeten Germans inside Czechoslovakia to perform acts of sabotage. In addition, 'the hopelessness of the Czech military position should also provide an incentive to those states which have territorial claims upon Czechoslovakia (i.e. Hungary and Poland) to join in immediately against her' (*DGFP*, D/II, no. 175).

**22 May:** In the morning Hitler opens the construction site of the new underground railway in Munich. He returns to Obersalzberg to receive Konrad Henlein, who has come to Germany to report on the Sudeten Germans and the political crisis inside Czechoslovakia.

**26 May:** Hitler speaks at the laying of the foundation stone of the new Volkswagen plant at Fallersleben (later renamed Wolfsburg), on his favourite theme of how mass ownership of a cheap popular car was to overcome class barriers in Germany.

**28 May:** Hitler holds a military conference in Berlin with his senior commanders, and Neurath and Ribbentrop. Infuriated by the recent Czech mobilization, he orders an increase in the strength of the German Army and Air Force, and the immediate construction of fortifications along the western border with France, which will be carried out by *Organisation Todt*, the largest paramilitary construc-

tion firm in the world, named after Fritz Todt, Hitler's chief highways expert, responsible for Germany's new motorways. At the same time, he orders 'Operation Green' to be revised so that military operations against Czechoslovakia can start on 1 October.

**30 May:** Hitler signs the revised draft of 'Operation Green', which opens with the sentence: 'It is my unalterable decision to smash Czechoslovakia by military action in the near future' (*DGFP*, D/II, no. 221). In Munich, Hitler releases instructions for the new Nazi decoration – the *Blutorden* ('Blood Order'), to be awarded to participants of the 1923 *putsch* and all subsequent victims of anti-Nazi persecution in both Austria and Germany.

**31 May:** Hitler signs the decree for the construction of a gigantic suspension bridge over the River Elbe in Hamburg. On the same day he signs a decree ordering the confiscation of all items considered to be 'degenerate art'. Finally, he issues instructions to General Adam, commanding the garrisons in western Germany, to add a further 12,000 pillboxes along the Western Wall fortification (*Westwall*), promising Adam assistance through the Labour Service and *Organisation Todt*.

**12 June:** Hitler speaks in Stettin, at the regional NSDAP rally.

**13 June:** Hitler addresses his senior generals at a conference convoked on a military airfield at Barth, near Stralsund. The main topics are the forthcoming action against Czechoslovakia, the *Westwall*, and the rehabilitation of General von Fritsch, the former Army C-in-C. Although Hitler admits that the general has been proved innocent, he gives the reasons why he cannot restore Fritsch to his former position, let alone promote him.

**14 June:** Speaking in Berlin at the laying of the foundation stone for the House of German Tourism, Hitler uses the occasion to expose his views on the future grandiose reconstruction of Berlin.

**Second half of June–First Week of July:** Hitler stays at Obersalzberg, preoccupied mainly with the problem of avoiding a two-front war during the planned invasion of Czechoslovakia – hence the importance of the *Westwall* fortifications, whose construction now receives priority above housing projects for workers and the *Autobahn* expansion.

**28 June:** Hitler attends military manoeuvres at Grafenwöhr, near the Czech border.

**30 June–1 July:** Preoccupied with the *Westwall*, Hitler dictates at Obersalzberg in the course of one night a memorandum on fortifications: *Zur Frage unserer Festungsanlagen* (IMT-PS-1802). This little-known 32-page document is Hitler's last known text; he produced it in an attempt to impress everyone with his expertise on trench warfare, including the importance of latrines, gained during the First World War. Since the nascent *Blitzkrieg* doctrine had never been tested, Hitler anticipated that the success of the future war over Czechoslovakia would depend on the strength of the *Westwall*. (Six copies of the memorandum were distributed, but there is no evidence that Hitler's challenging views attracted the slightest amount of attention among general staff officers.)

**8–10 July:** Hitler attends the 'Day of German Culture' in Munich.

**10 July:** Speaking at the opening of the 2nd exhibition of German Art, Hitler attacks modern art and artists.

**13 July:** In Berlin, Hitler receives the newly appointed Soviet ambassador, Alexei T. Merekalov, and the accredited Egyptian minister, Sir Ahmed Pasha.

**16 July:** Hitler attends the funeral of Emil Kirdorf at Gelsenkirchen.

**24–28 July:** Hitler is in Bayreuth at the annual Wagner Festival.

**31 July:** Hitler appears at the German Gymnastic Rally in Breslau, which is conceived as an anti-Czech demonstration. Many Sudeten Germans, including their leader, Henlein, are present.

**1 August:** Hitler returns to Bayreuth to be present at the closing performance of Wagner's *Götterdämmerung*.

**August:** Hitler stays most of the month in Obersalzberg, leaving the *Berghof* only to inspect fortifications along the *Westwall*.

**10 August:** During a military conference at the *Berghof*, Hitler gives a three-hour address to junior generals and staff officers on how to defeat Czechoslovakia while keeping France at bay. For the first and last time, he invites discussion, in the hope of receiving a positive response from the younger generation of Army officers. General von Wietersheim tells him bluntly that the *Westwall* could be defended only for three weeks. Hitler explodes and shouts back: 'I assure you, General, the position will not only be held for three weeks, but for three years!' (Bullock, p. 451).

**15 August:** Hitler holds a demonstration of artillery bombardment against replicas of the Czech border fortifications at Jüterbog, to which he has invited all his senior generals, in order to demonstrate how easily Czechoslovakia could be overrun, and how superior was his knowledge in matters of fortifications. The construction of bunkers was Hitler's hobby at the time, as one of his adjutants recalled later (Below, p. 115). After the artillery demonstration, Hitler delivers a 90-minute address to his generals along similar lines to these on 5 November 1937 and 28 May 1938. He tries to convince his hesitant generals that neither France nor the Soviet Union will intervene, and that Czechoslovakia will be psychologically paralysed after three months of incessant propaganda, so that the lightning attack will amount to a mere *coup de grâce*.

**17 August:** Hitler arranges a similar contrived display for his generals at the infantry school at Döberitz. He also issues instructions for the separation the SS *Verfügungstruppe* from both the *Wehrmacht* and the police, and to transform the SS troops into 'a standing army unit at my exclusive disposal' (Domarus, p. 881).

**18 August:** General Ludwig Beck, chief of the Army General Staff, who exemplified the generals' resistance to Hitler, resigns in disagreement with the optimistic forecast as embodied in the OKW's 'Operation Green'. During the summer he prepared several memoranda for the Army C-in-C, General von Brauchitsch, who was scared to show them to Hitler. Despite verbal support from other generals, no one is prepared to challenge Hitler openly, let alone to carry out a coup aimed at assassinating the dictator. For political reasons, Hitler orders no publicity regarding Beck's resignation and appoints General Franz Halder to replace him. On the same day Hitler receives in the Reich Chancellery General Vuillemin, chief of staff of the French Air Force, who is touring Germany at Göring's invitation. In the course of a cleverly planned display of the most advanced German warplanes, Vuillemin gained the impression that the *Luftwaffe* must be vastly superior in numbers to the French Air Force.

**19 August:** Hitler attends army manoeuvres at Gross-Born in Pomerania.

**22–26 August:** The Hungarian government delegation led by the Regent, Admiral Miklós Horthy, is invited by Hitler to launch the heavy cruiser *Prinz Eugen* at Kiel. Hitler's main objective is to secure Hungary's participation in the German attack on Czechoslovakia in return for territorial compensations in the shape of Slovakia and the Carpatho-Ukraine. He fails to convince the Hungarians, who fear that Hitler's attack on Czechoslovakia will unleash a general European war in which Germany will be defeated.

**24 August:** After visiting Hamburg in Hitler's company, the Hungarian delegation arrives in Berlin. Thereafter Hitler receives Admiral Raeder, who warns him about the formidable strategic problems Germany will be facing fighting Britain at sea.

**25 August:** Hitler and his guest Horthy review a grandiose military parade in Berlin.

**26 August:** The Sudeten leader, K. H. Frank, is received by Hitler.

**27–29 August:** Hitler tours the *Westwall*.

**29 August:** Outraged by General Adam's defeatism, Hitler declares in front of the generals: 'Only a scoundrel could not hold this front!' (Irving, *Path*, p. 128).

**30 August:** Hitler is back in Munich, visiting architects and art galleries. He lunches with Martin Bormann and Unity Mitford at the *Osteria*, his favourite Italian restaurant. In the evening he arrives at the *Berghof*.

**2 September:** Hitler's interview with Alphonse de Chateaubriant is published by *Le Journal de Paris*. At the *Berghof*, Hitler meets Henlein, who tells him about the

fact-finding mission of Lord Runciman, sent to Czechoslovakia by the British government to collect information about the alleged repression of the Sudeten Germans. Hitler sends Henlein back with instructions to undermine any compromise scheme leading to reconciliation between Czechs and Germans (*TBJG*, 1/6, p. 69).

**3 September:** Hitler holds a military conference at the *Berghof* with Brauchitsch and Keitel. He shows scepticism about the planned pincer strike from Silesia against Moravia because of the strong Czech fortifications in that area. Instead, he recommends concentrating tank and motorized divisions in Bavaria for a surprise strike into Bohemia in the direction of Pilsen and Prague.

**6–12 September:** The NSDAP 'Rally of Greater Germany' is held at Nuremberg.

**9–10 September:** Hitler holds a late-night military conference in the *Deutscher Hof* hotel at Nuremberg, with Brauchitsch, Keitel and Halder. He repeats his reservations about the likelihood of breaking through the strong Czech defences in northern Moravia; recalling the Verdun complex of massacring attacking columns against powerful fortifications and urging the generals to redeploy the motorized formations for a quick breakthrough in the direction of Prague. Hitler is now less confident that he can defeat the Czechs in two or three days, as he had stipulated in the original Directive for 'Operation Green'. He thinks now that eight days would be a more realistic proposition (*ADAP*, D/II, no. 448).

**10 September:** Henlein attends the NSDAP rally and meets Hitler and Goebbels. Henlein tells Goebbels that he cannot hold back his people any more (*TBJG*, 1/6, p. 83).

**12 September:** In a speech to the armed forces Hitler boasts of the enormous strength of the *Westwall* in order to bluff France and Britain into passivity during the forthcoming attack on Czechoslovakia. In the evening, Hitler gives the closing speech at the rally. He threatens the Czechs, 'I am in no way willing that here in the heart of Germany a second Palestine should be permitted to arise. The poor Arabs are defenceless and deserted. The Germans in Czechoslovakia are neither defenceless nor are they deserted, and people should take notice of that fact' (*VB*, 13 September). Hitler's inflammatory speech sparks off a series of local uprisings among the Sudeten Germans. Prague declares martial law over the Sudeten districts.

**14 September:** From the Sudeten town of Asch, which is temporarily off-limits for the Czech authorities, K. H. Frank, Henlein's deputy, telephones Hitler, asking him to send in troops and tanks right away. He is told to bide his time (Irving, *Path*, p. 136). Through the British Embassy, Hitler receives the message that the prime minister, Neville Chamberlain, wants to meet him urgently in order to find a peaceful solution to the Czechoslovak crisis. Hitler agrees.

**15 September:** Chamberlain, flying for the first time in his life, lands in Munich and is taken to Berchtesgaden to meet Hitler at the *Berghof*. In an attempt to avert war, Chamberlain tries to appease Hitler by agreeing in principle to the annexation of the Sudetenland to the German Reich; he tells Hitler that Britain and France will prevail upon the Czechs.

**16–18 September:** Henlein and his lieutenants flee to Germany. Hitler is bitterly disappointed that no mass uprising has taken place in the Sudetenland. From across the border Henlein instructs the Sudeten Germans to set up *Freikorps* units, armed with old Austrian rifles, who will engage in local fighting with the Czech gendarmerie and troops. There is still no armed intervention from across the border. The Czechoslovak government suppresses the rising without difficulty. Hitler admits to Goebbels that Chamberlain's visit may have disrupted his plans to aggravate the Sudeten uprising. Goebbels is upset that Henlein fled from Czechoslovakia and deserted his fighters (*TBJG*, 1/6, p. 97).

**19 September:** The *Daily Mail* publishes an extensive interview with Hitler by G. Ward Price: 'I am convinced of Mr Chamberlain's sincerity and goodwill ... This Czech trouble has got to be ended once and for all, and ended now. It is a

tumour which is poisoning the whole European organism ... It was the existence of Czechoslovakia as an ally of Soviet Russia, thrust forward into the very heart of Germany that compelled me to create a great German Air Force ... I have studied the Maginot Line and learned much from it, but we have built something according to our own ideas which is better still ... The creation of this heterogeneous Czechoslovak Republic after the war was lunacy ... To set an intellectually inferior handful of Czechs to rule over minorities belonging to races like the Germans, Poles, Hungarians, with a thousand years of culture behind them, was a work of folly and ignorance ... After the war the Allied Powers declared that Germany was unworthy to govern blacks, yet at the same time they set second rate people like the Czechs in authority over 3,500,000 Germans of the highest character and culture ... If Henlein is arrested, I myself shall become the leader of the Sudeten Germans!' (Baynes, pp. 1500–4).

**20 September:** At the *Berghof* Hitler receives the Hungarian delegation – the prime minister, foreign minister and the chief of the General Staff. He urges them to demand a plebiscite in the Hungarian districts of Czechoslovakia; they agree reluctantly, but still fear a war. Afterwards, the Polish ambassador Lipski sees Hitler and the two men quickly come to an agreement that Poland would demand a plebiscite for the Teschen district (Těšín, Cieszyn) and apply military threats along with the *Wehrmacht*.

**21 September:** When leaving Munich for Godesberg, Hitler reveals his plans to Goebbels. He will present Chamberlain with very clear territorial demands, with the demarcation line pushed as far as possible to include Czech fortifications. He will insist that the Czechs must evacuate this territory within eight days, while German mobilization would continue at high speed. If there are objections to the demarcation line, Hitler is ready to escalate the issue by demanding a referendum before Christmas. The radical military solution will be adopted only if the neighbouring states attack Czechoslovakia first. Poland might do so; Hungary, however, was too sheepish and would not be rewarded by the division of the spoils. On 28 September, Germany's military preparations will be completed; until then a solution must be found, either way. Hitler says that, after Czechoslovakia's break-up, he will give Slovakia a 'far-reaching autonomy'; the Czech lands, however, would have to be absorbed. One million of the racially most valuable people would be amalgamated; the rest suppressed, little by little (*TBJG*, 1/6, p. 107).

**22 September:** Chamberlain travels to Germany, for the second time by air, to meet Hitler. This time the conference takes place in the *Dreesen* hotel at Bad Godesberg. Chamberlain fails to appease Hitler, who has increased demands following the riots in the Sudetenland. If his conditions are not fulfilled immediately, Hitler threatens, he will occupy the Sudetenland and hold a referendum afterwards. The meeting ends in a deadlock.

**23 September:** The two statesmen continue to exchange letters from their residences across the Rhine – but to no avail. They finally meet at 10.30 p.m., after the Czechoslovak government has declared general mobilization. With perfect timing, Hitler concedes his 'final concession' to the British prime minister: he will extend the date for the Czech evacuation of the Sudetenland till 1 October. Chamberlain is deeply impressed when Hitler solemnly states once more that 'the Czech problem was the last territorial demand which he had to make in Europe' (*DGFP*, D/II, no. 583). Before his departure, Chamberlain extracts a promise from the reluctant Hitler that he will not attack Czechoslovakia before the deadline indicated (that is, 28 September at 2 p.m.) in the so-called 'Godesberg Ultimatum', which he would take with him and pass on to the Czechoslovak government.

**25 September:** Hitler receives King Boris of Bulgaria. He meets Goebbels over lunch and they both discuss whether Beneš will accept the Godesberg Ultimatum. Goebbels believes he will, but Hitler is determined to follow the military solution: by 28 September, Beneš will find German troops deployed along the borders. The German mobilization, however, will start only after that, and take up to ten days.

At this point Hitler seems to have contemplated invading Czechoslovakia in two stages. He speculates that if he attacked the Czechs before the occupation of the Sudetenland, the conflict would take two to three weeks. But if the occupation of the Sudetenland came first, it would be easier and take no more than eight days (*TBJG*, I/6, p. 113).

**26 September:** Sir Horace Wilson, Chamberlain's political adviser, delivers the prime minister's letter informing Hitler that the Prague government had rejected Hitler's ultimatum as stipulated in the 'Godesberg memorandum'. This is not news to Hitler, since he is able to read the mind of the Czechoslovak government through intercepted wiretaps. In a fit of rage, Hitler rejects Chamberlain's offer to mediate in bringing the Czech and German sides together in a conference. Hitler also receives an urgent telegram from the US president F. D. Roosevelt, appealing to him 'not to break off negotiations looking to a peaceful, fair, and constructive settlement of the questions at issue' (*DGFP*, D/II, no. 632). Later, Hitler goes to the Sports Palace to deliver a vitriolic speech, regarded as 'a masterpiece of invective' (Bullock, p. 461). He cleverly builds the speech, contrasting himself with President Beneš of Czechoslovakia: 'This Czech State began with a single lie and the father of this lie was named Beeeenesch ... There is no such thing as a Czechoslovak nation, but only Czechs and Slovaks, and the Slovaks do not wish to have anything to do with the Czechs ... so in the end through Herr Beneš these Czechs annexed Slovakia. Since this State did not seem fitted to live, out of hand 3,500,000 Germans were taken in violation of their right to self-determination ... Now two men stand arrayed one against each other: there is Herr Beneš, and here am I. We are two men of a different make-up. In the great struggle of the peoples, while Herr Beneš was sneaking about through the world, I as a decent German soldier did my duty. And now today I stand over against this man as a soldier of my people! ... I am grateful to Mr Chamberlain for all his efforts. I have assured him that the German people desires nothing else than peace, but I have also told him that I cannot go back behind the limits set to our patience. I have further assured him, and I repeat it here, that when this problem is solved there is for Germany no further territorial problem in Europe ... We want no Czechs! ... with regard to the problem of the Sudeten Germans my patience is now at an end! I have made Herr Beneš an offer which is nothing but the execution of what he himself has promised. The decision now lies in his hands: Peace or War. He will either accept this offer and now at last give the Germans their freedom, or we will go and fetch this freedom for ourselves ... I have never been a coward ... We are determined! Now let Herr Beneš make his choice' (Baynes, pp. 1508–27).

**27 September:** In the morning, Hitler meets Sir Horace Wilson briefly, who warns him that if Germany attacks Czechoslovakia, France and Great Britain will come to the support of their ally. This only makes Hitler more furious: 'Let them do so. It's a matter of complete indifference to me. I am prepared for every eventuality. It is Tuesday today and by next Monday we shall all be at war' (Schmidt, p. 103). Before departing, Wilson makes one last attempt, appealing to Hitler that a catastrophe must be avoided at all costs, and promising: 'I will still try to make those Czechs sensible.' Wilson takes with him a letter to Chamberlain in which Hitler rejects the charges made by the Czechoslovak government and appeals to the prime minister 'to bring the Government in Prague to reason at the very last hour' (*DGFP*, D/II, no. 635). The same day, Hitler replies to President Roosevelt's telegram, refusing to accept any responsibility for precipitating the crisis, and concludes: 'It does not now rest with the German Government, but solely with the Government of Czechoslovakia to decide whether it wishes peace or war' (*DGFP*, D/II, no. 633). In the afternoon, Hitler lets the 2nd panzer division pass through Berlin to test the mood of the population. He is shocked by their passivity and indifference: 'With this people it is impossible to go to war!' (Shirer, p. 117). On the same day, Admiral Raeder requests a meeting with Hitler to bring him the news that the British have just mobilized the Royal Navy.

**28 September:** Hitler receives the French ambassador François-Poncet. After him, he meets the Italian ambassador Attolico, who carries Mussolini's message that he is ready to mediate between the Western powers and Germany. Mussolini also asks Hitler to postpone the mobilization. Thereafter, Hitler receives the British ambassador Henderson, who brings him Chamberlain's reply proposing to convoke an international conference at once.

**29 September:** The conference of four European powers – Germany, Italy, France and Great Britain (Czechoslovakia is excluded) – opens in Munich's *Führerbau* at noon. The first session ends in the evening. The British and French delegates decline Hitler's invitation to attend the banquet he has arranged. After 10 p.m. the four leaders and their advisers meet again. According to Göring, neither Chamberlain nor the French premier, Edouard Daladier, were interested in risking anything to save Czechoslovakia, although they must have known the strategic value of the country's armaments industries and fortifications (Toland, pp. 673–6).

**30 September:** The Munich Conference ends at 1.30 a.m. with the signing of a joint declaration, stipulating a four-stage evacuation of the Sudetenland by the Czechs, to begin on 1 October. Chamberlain meets Hitler again in his private apartment and proposes signing a joint statement in which both leaders will renounce the use of arms and promise to solve their mutual problems through consultation. Hitler agrees and signs the short paper that Chamberlain is to wave at the jubilant crowds on his return to London. When Ribbentrop expresses his worries as to whether it was wise to sign such a document, Hitler mutters in response: 'Ach, don't take it all so seriously. That piece of paper is of no further significance whatever' (Irving, *Path*, p. 151). On his return to Berlin, Hitler exclaims angrily to his entourage: 'That fellow Chamberlain has spoiled my entry into Prague!' (Bullock, p. 471). (In retrospect, Hitler never ceased to regret that he had given in at Munich. In February 1945, he lamented: 'I ought to have seized the initiative in 1938 instead of allowing [myself] to be forced into war in 1939 ... It was the last chance we had of localizing the war. But they gave way all along the line to all our demands ... At Munich we lost a unique opportunity of easily and swiftly winning a war that was in any case inevitable ... We ought then and there to have settled our disputes by force of arms and disregarded the inclination of our opponents to meet all our demands ... A war waged in 1938 would have been a swift war – for the emancipation of the Sudeten Germans, the Slovaks, the Hungarians and even of those Poles who were under Czech domination. Britain and France, taken by surprise ... would have remained passive ... If [they] had made war on us in these circumstances they would have lost face. Finally, Poland, the main prop of French policy in Eastern Europe, would have been at our side ... Once our arms had spoken, we could have left till later the settlement of the remaining territorial problems in Eastern Europe and the Balkans without fear of provoking the intervention of the two powers, already discredited in the eyes of their protégé. As far as we ourselves were concerned, we should thus have gained the time required to enable us to consolidate our position, and we would have postponed the world war for several years to come. In fact, in these circumstances I doubt very much whether a second world war would, indeed, have been inevitable' (Genoud, pp. 67, 95–7).)

**2 October:** Hitler tells Goebbels he is determined to destroy whatever remains of Czechoslovakia (*TBJG*, 1/6, p. 127).

**3 October:** On his tour of the Sudetenland, Hitler delivers his first speech in the town of Eger and uses the term Greater German Reich (*Grossdeutsches Reich*)!

**4 October:** Hitler speaks in Karlsbad.

**5 October:** Back in Berlin, Hitler opens the 'Winter-Help Campaign'.

**6–7 October:** Hitler inspects Czech frontier fortifications in northern Bohemia and Moravia, delivering short speeches in Rumburg and Friedland.

**9–13 October:** Hitler goes on a widely publicized tour of the *Westwall*.

**9 October:** Hitler opens the new opera house in Saarbrücken.

**14 October:** Hitler receives the new Czech foreign minister František Chvalkovský in Munich. He threatens to destroy Czechoslovakia in twenty-four, or even eight, hours – if it ever steps out of line.

**18 October:** At the *Berghof*, Hitler receives the Japanese ambassador Togo, and later the French ambassador François-Poncet, who is also the first foreigner Hitler takes up to his *Teehouse*, situated 300 metres above Obersalzberg on the Kehlstein peak. It is accessible only via a specially constructed lift cut inside the mountain. Hitler tells François-Poncet that he is ready to sign a Franco-German treaty with a guarantee regarding borders between the two countries.

**20 October:** Driving from Linz, Hitler enters southern Bohemia to deliver brief addresses in the annexed towns of Böhmisches Krumau and Kalsching. In the evening he is back at Obersalzberg, where he orders the *Wehrmacht* to transfer the control of administration in the Sudetenland into the hands of the civilian authorities.

**21 October:** Hitler issues new directives to the *Wehrmacht*, in which he stipulates the following priorities: (1) Protection of the Reich against aerial attack; (2) Liquidation of the remainder of the Czech state; (3) Seizure of Memelland (*DGFP*, D/IV, p. 99). He also received Magda Goebbels at Obersalzberg, who arrived to demand his permission for a divorce, complaining about the impossible behaviour of her husband, who is having an affair with the Czech actress Lída Baarová.

**23 October:** Hitler discusses with Fritz Todt the idea of constructing a railway line and a motorway across the Polish Corridor.

**24 October:** Hitler instructs Ribbentrop to formulate German demands against Poland before his meeting with Ambassador Lipski: that is, the return of Danzig; permission to build the extraterritorial railway and motorway to East Prussia; and Polish adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact. He also confers with Brauchitsch about the steps to be taken against conservative officers who opposed the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Finally, Hitler receives the entire Goebbels family at the *Berghof* to promote publicity about the reconciliation between husband and wife.

**25 October:** Hitler visits Engerau, a former Czech defence bridgehead protecting Bratislava. He then returns to Vienna, where he visits art galleries and the *Hofburg*.

**26 October:** Using his special train, Hitler travels to the annexed parts of southern Moravia; he visits the border fortifications and delivers a speech in Znaim.

**27 October:** Hitler delivers a speech at Nikolsburg and finishes his tour of Sudetenland.

**30 October:** Hitler orders the creation of the *Gau Sudetenland*, with Reichenberg (Liberec) as its capital, Konrad Henlein as the new *Gauleiter* and K. H. Frank as his deputy. Henlein is ordered to merge his dysfunctional Sudeten German Party (SdP) with the NSDAP as from 5 November.

**1 November:** An important naval conference between Hitler and Raeder about the expansion programme for the Navy. Hitler criticizes Raeder, saying that the existing German warships were wholly unsuited for naval warfare with England.

**6 November:** Hitler speaks at a NSDAP regional rally in Weimar.

**8 November:** On the anniversary of the 1923 *putsch*, Hitler speaks in the *Bürgerbräukeller*, reasserting Germany's right to rearm: 'The one thing which would disturb me would be the German nation's failure to arm!' He also attacks the principles of democratic rule: 'I, as an arch-democrat, have removed two dictatorships, namely that of Herr Schuschnigg and that of Herr Beneš. I tried peacefully to influence these two dictatorships to establish finally in a democratic way the right of self-determination for those concerned. I failed in this attempt. Not till then did I apply the power of the great German people in order to establish democracy in these countries – that is, in order to give oppressed peoples their freedom' (*VB*, 10 November 1938).

**9–11 November:** While Hitler is still in Munich commemorating the *putsch* anniversary, the first anti-Jewish pogrom in Germany since the Middle Ages is organized by Goebbels, involving the burning of synagogues and Jewish shops. During this so-called 'Night of Broken Glass' (*Kristallnacht*), thousands of Jews are



rounded up and sent to concentration camps; at least 91 Jews are murdered. The pretext for the mass pogrom was the assassination of Councillor von Rath at the Paris Embassy by a Polish Jew. When Hitler learns about the pogrom he gives his additional endorsement which, translated into legal acts, will result in further restriction on German Jews: they will not be allowed to participate in cultural performances, their children prohibited from attending any but Jewish schools, Jewish doctors and lawyers barred from practising their professions, and their businesses will be 'aryanized'. A collective fine of over 1,000 million Marks is imposed on all German Jews.

**10 November:** Speaking to 400 Nazi newspaper editors and journalists in Munich, Hitler gives an appallingly frank interview in which he explains how much he owes his success to methods of psychological warfare: 'For years circumstances have compelled me to talk about almost nothing but peace. Only by continually stressing Germany's desire for peace and her peaceful intentions could I achieve freedom for the German people bit by bit and provide the armaments which were always necessary before the next step could be taken ... [Thereafter it became] necessary to re-educate the German people psychologically and to make it clear that there are things which must be achieved by force if peaceful means fail ... That meant, portraying certain events in such a way that the conviction automatically grew in the minds of the broad mass of the people: if things cannot be settled amicably, force will have to be used ... Many people did not understand this, gentlemen; many thought all this was rather exaggerated. Those were the over-cultured intellectuals who have no idea, even when the thunder and lightning start, how one gets a nation to stand together ... Furthermore, it was necessary to use the press and other propaganda methods to influence the enemy which confronted us, namely Czechoslovakia ... After 21 May it was quite clear that this problem had to be solved one way or another! ... Now we know also that it was, I would say, the last moment at which this problem could be solved in the way it was solved ... a delay of only one or two years would have put us into an extraordinarily difficult position from the military point of view. Our enemies in the rest of the world would have remained. The aircraft carrier in the heart of Germany [Czechoslovakia] would have strengthened and fortified itself more and more, and gradually all the additional weapons produced by our rearmament programme would have been swallowed up by the task of having to solve this problem first before tackling any other ... The preparations which – for the first time, at that – had to be carried through and completed with the ultimate consequence in mind, were of such a massive nature that any question of camouflaging them seemed hardly imaginable ... For months now there has been continuous firing, by day and by night, on every rifle-range around the profile of Czechoslovakia; ceaseless firing at Czech fortifications, ceaseless firing with live ammunition, you are indeed drawing everyone's attention to it! I was convinced that by means of these activities carried on for several months, I would in fact slowly but surely destroy the nerves of those gentlemen in Prague ... At the moment of ultimate and decisive pressure the nerves of the other side cracked, without any need at the final stage for us to take up arms ... We were, let us say, sufficiently prepared to help ourselves, or sufficiently lacking in conventional good behaviour, call it what you will, to do the natural thing and to tap telephone conversations, we were able to assess, every day, what effect our propaganda was having ... As I said, it is success that counts and it is a success, gentlemen, a gigantic success! It is a fabulous success, so great that our present-day world is hardly able to assess its true significance. I myself became most aware of the grandeur of this success when I stood for the first time in the middle of the Czech fortified line. Then and there I realized what it means to take possession of fortifications representing a front of almost 2,000 kilometres long without firing one single shot of live ammunition. Gentlemen, this time, by means of propaganda in the service of an idea, we have obtained 10 million human beings with over 100,000 square kilometres of land. That is something really magnificent!' (Kotze, pp. 268–86).

**11 November:** Hitler in Obersalzberg.

**15 November:** All Jewish children are expelled from state schools.

**17 November:** Hitler in Düsseldorf.

**21 November:** Hitler receives several foreign diplomats accredited to Germany at the *Berghof*: the new Japanese ambassador General Oshima, the Belgian ambassador Count Davignon, and representatives of Albania, the Dominican Republic and of Manchukuo.

**22 November:** Hitler receives the new French ambassador Robert Coulondre.

**24 November:** King Carol II of Romania visits Hitler at the *Berghof*. Hitler also receives Oswald Pirow, South African minister for economics and defence, who proposes a workable solution for Germany's Jewish problem: (1) Germany should raise an international loan for emigration and resettlement of her Jews; and (2) she should agree in advance that one of her former colonies should be put at the disposal of the Jews for this purpose. But Hitler does not want anything resembling a peaceful solution. He tells Pirow that he considers the Jews of Europe the advance troops for the Bolshevization of the world; he does not want to export the Jews, nor the idea of National Socialism, but only the idea of anti-Semitism (Krausnick, p. 61). On the same day, Hitler revises his earlier directives for the preparation of the military occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Memelland and Danzig.

**2 December:** Hitler speaks to the Sudeten Germans in Reichenberg.

**4 December:** Plebiscite and by-elections for the German *Reichstag* in the Sudetenland, which gives Hitler 98.9 per cent of the votes.

**5 December:** Hitler and his senior generals participate in military manoeuvres in northern Sudetenland and Silesia.

**8 December:** In Kiel, Hitler attends the launching of the first German aircraft carrier, *Graf Zeppelin*.

**10 December:** In Munich, Hitler opens the Second German Exhibition of Applied Arts and Architecture.

**14 December:** Hitler addresses 3,000 selected construction workers whom he has invited to Berlin to celebrate the completion of the first 3,000 kilometres of motorway.

**17 December:** On Hitler's instructions, Keitel issues a complementary order to the *Wehrmacht* to prepare, unobtrusively, the complete takeover of rump Czechoslovakia.

**23 December:** Hitler addresses 7,000 workers who are engaged in the building of the New Reich Chancellery.

**24 December:** Hitler celebrates New Year's Eve with the old party members in Munich's *Löwenbräukeller*.

## 1939

**1 January:** In his New Year Proclamation, Hitler concentrates on three main tasks: (1) to transform the German people into the National Socialist Community; (2) to build and strengthen the *Wehrmacht*; and (3) to execute the 'Four-Year Plan' in solving the problem of labour shortage and the economic integration of the newly annexed Reich territories (Baynes, p. 1561).

**5 January:** At Hitler's direct invitation the Polish foreign minister comes to Obersalzberg. Hitler assures Beck that Poland has nothing to fear from Germany, but that a solution must be found for the Corridor and Danzig. Beck remains uncommitted despite Hitler's gesture to guarantee the present Polish borders. Hitler also makes a personal attempt – his last – to win Poland over to an alliance against the Soviet Union.

**7 January:** Hjalmar Schacht and seven other directors of the *Reichsbank* address a memorandum to Hitler, warning him about the dangerous inflationary pressures caused by rearmament and the expansionist foreign policy.

**9 January:** On returning to Berlin, Hitler addresses 8,000 construction workers who have just completed the New Reich Chancellery within twelve months. Albert Speer was the chief architect. Hitler hails the new building as the first architectural monument of the Greater German Reich (Baynes, p. 601).

**12 January:** At the New Year diplomatic reception in the new Reich Chancellery, Hitler – to everyone's surprise – initiates a brief conversation with the Soviet ambassador Alexander Merekalov.

**13–14 January:** Hitler addresses assembled *Reichsleiters* and *Gauleiters*.

**16 January:** Hitler receives the Hungarian foreign minister Count Csáky.

**17 January:** A conference between Hitler and Admiral Raeder, who presents the so-called *Z-Plan* for the expansion of the German Navy. Hitler is dissatisfied; he insists on the completion of six new battleships by 1944: 'If I could build up the Third Reich in six years, the Navy should after all be able to build these six ships within six years too!' (Dülffer, p. 499).

**18 January:** Addressing 3,600 newly commissioned lieutenants of the *Wehrmacht* in the New Reich Chancellery, Hitler proclaims: 'I demand of you, my young officers, an unconditional belief that one day ... our German Reich will be the dominant power in Europe, that no other power will be in a position to stop us, let alone to break us!' (Irving, *Path*, pp. 173–4).

**19 January:** Hitler summons Schacht to dismiss him from the chairmanship of the *Reichsbank*, replacing him with Walter Funk, who has already filled Schacht's previous post as minister of economics. Hitler also decides to dismiss Captain Wiedemann, his personal adjutant, who was his immediate superior in the First World War.

**21 January:** Speaking to the Czech foreign minister Chvalkovský in the New Reich Chancellery, Hitler spells out unambiguously his intention to destroy the Jews: 'This vermin must be annihilated. The Jews are sworn enemies and at the end of this year there will not be a Jew left in Germany. The day of reckoning has come' (Krausnick, p. 62). From the Prague government he expects drastic reduction of the armed forces and neutral foreign policy.

**25 January:** Speaking to officers of the armed forces after a dinner in the Chancellery, Hitler urges them to imitate those Englishmen who built the British Empire: 'All the world empires have been won by deeds of daring and lost through pacifism. If, in all the centuries of its existence, the British Empire had been governed by the forces and trends that it is now claiming to preserve, the empire would never have been won in the first place' (Irving, *Path*, p. 174).

**27 January:** Hitler signs the *Z-Plan*, an ambitious naval rearmament programme, which implies the priority allocation of steel and skilled labour to the *Kriegsmarine* rather than to the Army and the Air Force. On the same day, Hitler signs a decree transferring the responsibility for pre-military education and training in the field of motorization to the NSKK.

**30 January:** On the sixth anniversary of the seizure of power, Hitler addresses the 'first *Reichstag* of the Greater German Reich' in the *Kroll Opera*, with a violent speech, in which he reveals his sinister intentions *vis-à-vis* the Jews: 'Should the international Jewish finance capital succeed, in and outside Europe, in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the Bolshevization of the planet and thus the victory of the Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race throughout Europe' (Domarus, p. 1058).

**1 February:** Hitler orders the reorganization of the *Luftwaffe* into three air fleets, commanded by generals Kesselring, Felmy and Sperrle, and makes a number of appointments within the service.

**10 February:** Behind closed doors, Hitler tells his senior officers that he is determined to launch a war, from which he had been prevented in September 1938: 'It's the duty of all of us to set forth on this new path calmly and courageously, seizing every opportunity we can ... I have taken it upon myself to solve the German problem. That is the German space problem ... as long as I live, this ideal will govern my every action. Take heed too, the moment I believe that I can make

a killing, I'll always strike immediately and I won't hesitate to go to the very brink ... So, don't be surprised if over the coming years every opportunity is taken to attain these German objectives, and please give me your blindest support. Above all, take it from me that I will always have scrutinized these matters from every possible angle first – and that once I announce my decision to take this or that course of action, that decision is irrevocable and I will force it through whatever the odds against us ... I can't be satisfied just with the German officer paying lip-service to my orders – particularly when everything's going well – I must demand of the German officer that even if the whole nation should desert me in my fight for our *Weltanschauung*, then he must stand at my side, man to man, with the entire officer corps and the German soldier too' (Irving, *Path*, pp. 174–6).

**12 February:** Hitler receives in Berlin Professor Vojtěch Tuka, an extremist leader from the Slovak People's Party. He maintains that the Slovaks must exploit the unique opportunity right now and separate themselves from the Czechs who will never cease intriguing against the Reich. He could no longer guarantee the Czecho-Slovak state and wants the Slovaks to declare independence. Tuka, who is accompanied by the leader of the German minority in Slovakia, Franz Karmasin, was said to declare: 'I lay the destiny of my people in your hands, my Führer; my people await the complete liberation from you' (*DGFP*, D/IV, no. 168).

**14 February:** Hitler speaks in Hamburg on the occasion of the launching of *Bismarck*, the largest German battleship.

**17 February:** At the opening of the International Automobile Exhibition in Berlin, Hitler announces the arrival of the cheap people's car, the Volkswagen, which will be within the reach of the lower income groups.

**24 February:** Hitler speaks in Munich at the *Hofbräuhaus*.

**8 March:** Before a few confidants Hitler reveals his immediate plans: 'first we'll occupy rump-Czechoslovakia (*Rest-Tschechei*), thereafter it will be Poland's turn' (*TBJG* vol. 6).

**10 March:** On hearing the news that the Czech government has proclaimed martial law in Slovakia, Hitler seizes this unique opportunity and sends his 'annexation specialists', *Gauleiter* Bürckel and Wilhelm Keppler, to Bratislava, where they meet Slovak leaders and urge them to declare independence.

**13 March:** Hitler summons Monsignor Tiso, the deposed Slovak prime minister and leader of the Slovak People's Party, and his foreign minister Dr Duřčanský, to Berlin. 'Does Slovakia wish to conduct her own affairs or not?' Hitler challenges the irresolute Slovaks. He urges them to decide now whether they want to declare Slovakia independent – or to be annexed by Hungary (ND, 2802–PS). Tiso complies with Hitler's wish and declares himself prepared to read out the next morning before the Slovak Parliament the text of the proclamation of independent Slovakia, a draft of which has been already supplied by Ribbentrop in the Slovak language. The Prague government makes one last effort to avert a German invasion by appealing directly to Hitler.

**14 March:** At noon, General Keitel reports to Hitler that the army was positioned on the Czech border ready to invade the next morning. Certain German units were to cross the border during the night. Hitler summons the Czech president Dr Emil Hácha, and his foreign minister Chvalkovský to Berlin.

**15 March:** Not until 1 a.m. does Hitler receive Hácha and Chvalkovský, in the presence of Hermann Göring, Joachim von Ribbentrop and Wilhelm Keitel. Hitler tries similar tactics on Hácha as he applied successfully on Schuschnigg and Tiso. The frail Hácha faints when Göring threatens to bomb Prague; he has to be revived by several injections administered by Dr Morell, Hitler's personal doctor. Finally Hácha succumbs to the ceaseless intimidation and agrees to advise his Cabinet to accept the surrender of national territory, and of all military aircraft and weapons. This booty will be sufficient to equip forty divisions and will place two major armaments complexes of world repute under German control: the *Škoda* works in Pilsen and the *Zbrojovka* of Brno. Shortly before 4 a.m. Hácha signs the prepared document, stating that he 'confidently placed the fate of the Czech people in the hands of the Führer' (ND: 49–TC). Hitler rejoices. He invites his secretaries to kiss

him on both cheeks: 'Children ... Hácha has signed! This is the greatest day of my life. I shall go down to history as the greatest German!' (Zoller, p. 84). Two hours later, German troops cross the frontier. At 8 a.m., while Hácha is still asleep in his hotel, the Führer's special train pulls out of Berlin. At 3 p.m. he leaves the train at Böhmisches Leipa (Česká Lípa) and continues his journey in a car convoy through a snowstorm to Prague, where he arrives unnoticed at dusk. He spends the night in the Hradčany Castle, the ancient residence of Bohemian kings.

**16 March:** In Prague, Hitler issues a proclamation establishing the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia: 'For a thousand years the provinces of Bohemia and Moravia belonged to the *Lebensraum* of the German people' (Domarus, p. 1098). To show who is the true master, Hitler receives at the castle in Prague president Hácha, who has returned from Berlin in the meantime, and General Syrový, the former prime minister. Before he leaves Prague in the afternoon to return to his special train, Hitler reviews, with Himmler and Heydrich, several hundred students of the German University of Prague, dressed in brownshirts. (Reflecting on his Prague triumph six years later, however, Hitler takes a different stand: 'In March 1939, for the first time, we put ourselves in the wrong in the eyes of world opinion. No longer were we restricting ourselves to reuniting Germans to the Reich, but were establishing a protectorate over a non-German population' (Genoud, p. 96).)

**17 March:** Hitler's special train arrives in Brno, where he reviews the troops and is cheered by the local Germans. Thereafter he continues his journey to Vienna. On the same day, Chamberlain, speaking in Birmingham, warns Hitler that Britain was not prepared to tolerate any more German aggression.

**18 March:** In the morning, Hitler orders the drafting of the Treaty of Protection between Germany and Slovakia. Ribbentrop telephones him that the British ambassador has been recalled in protest against the occupation of Czechoslovakia. Hitler authorizes Ribbentrop to recall the German ambassador from London in retaliation. Hitler also receives his former foreign minister von Neurath, whom he appoints Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia. He leaves Vienna before noon for Berlin, but stops in Linz for several hours.

**23 March:** Annexation of Memelland. Hitler arrives at Memel on board the battleship *Deutschland* and delivers a speech to the population.

**26 March:** Hitler learns from Ribbentrop the outcome of the latter's meeting with Ambassador Lipski: the Polish government will consider any German attempt to change the status of the Free City of Danzig as *casus belli*.

**28 March:** Hitler sends a telegram to General Franco, congratulating him on the capture of Madrid.

**31 March:** On learning that the British government has made an unconditional offer of assistance to Poland in the event of her independence being threatened by Germany, Hitler burst out: 'I'll cook them a stew that they'll choke on!' (Fest, p. 578).

**1 April:** At the launching of the battleship *Tirpitz* at Wilhelmshaven, Hitler attacks Britain's encirclement policy, while declaring that 'Germany has no intention of attacking other peoples' (VB, 3 April 1939). He promotes Admiral Raeder, C-in-C Navy, to the rank of *Grossadmiral* and orders the OKW to draft a plan for attacking Poland by 1 September ('*Fall Weiss*'). Thereafter Hitler boards the KdF liner *Rober Ley* to spend a few days holidaying.

**2-4 April:** Cruising on *Robert Ley*.

**4 April:** Hitler interrupts his holiday at Hamburg and returns to Berlin by train.

**6 April:** On hearing that the Anglo-Polish Treaty of Assistance had been signed, Hitler considers this event as another piece of anti-German provocation and a breach of the Polish-German Treaty of 1934.

**8 April:** Hitler is furious when the news arrives that Mussolini has ordered the invasion of Albania without consulting him. 'But he could understand, for he himself, thank God!, did not ask the talkative Italians for advice' (Kotze, p. 45).

**11 April:** Hitler's directive, Operation 'White' (*Fall Weiss*), is issued to the *Wehrmacht*. Its aim is the destruction of the Polish armed forces and annexation

of Danzig. Hitler implies that the attack against Poland is to begin without a formal declaration of war (ND: 120–C).

**14 April:** President Roosevelt appeals to Hitler and Mussolini to give a ten-year guarantee against aggression towards thirty listed countries.

**17 April:** Hitler attends army manoeuvres in Austria (Ostmark) and appoints Franz von Papen as ambassador to Turkey.

**19 April:** During a private conversation with the Romanian foreign minister Gafencu, Hitler declares: 'Well, if England wants war she can have it. But it will not be an easy war as they like to think, nor a war fought in the way the last one was. England is no longer going to have the whole world on her side; at least one half will be with us. And it will be a war of such destructiveness no one can imagine. How can the English, by the way, think of conducting a modern war, when they are not even capable of putting two fully equipped divisions anywhere in the field?' (Domarus, p. 1143).

**20 April:** On his 50th birthday, having the Czech President Hácha as his guest of honour on the rostrum, Hitler spends four hours reviewing a mighty military parade of his armed forces on the newly opened East–West Axis boulevard in Berlin. Before the parade he allegedly addressed in private his three C-in-Cs and Keitel in his study: 'Gentlemen, the first half-century of my life is now over ... I am now at the very peak of my vitality and vigour, and no other German will possess the strength or authority to complete what I have set out to achieve. The next years will be crucial for our Reich. Until 1942 or 1943 we shall still have the lead in the arms race with the Western powers, but with each passing year this lead narrows. So if anything is to be won, it must be fought for now!' (Irving, *Path*, p. 199).

**26 April:** Hitler receives Dr Markovic, the Yugoslav foreign minister.

**28 April:** Hitler delivers one of his most effective speeches before the *Reichstag*. He sums up the enormous military booty taken in Czechoslovakia, enough to provide weapons for forty divisions; he abrogates the naval agreement of 1935 with Britain. He leaves his sarcasm for Roosevelt's recent peace appeal, lecturing the American president about the basic facts of European history and geography: 'I have brought back to the Reich provinces stolen from us in 1919, I have led back to their native country millions of Germans who were torn away from us and in deep misery, I have re-established the thousand-year-old historic unity of the German *Lebensraum*, and, Mr President, I have endeavoured to attain all this without spilling blood and without bringing to my people, and consequently to others, the misery of war, I, who 21 years ago was an unknown worker and soldier of my people, have attained this, Mr President, by my own energy, and can, therefore, claim from history to be included amongst those who achieved the Highest ... You, Mr President, have it infinitely easier in comparison' (Domarus, pp. 1148–79).

**1 May:** Hitler participates in the May Day festivities in Berlin.

**3 May:** Hitler leaves Nuremberg for Berchtesgaden.

**6 May:** Hitler in Weimar.

**9 May:** Albert Speer discusses with Hitler at the *Berghof* plans for the new opera house in Linz.

**10 May:** Hitler dictates special emergency measures in the event of economic warfare, to be attached to his directive of 11 April.

**14–20 May:** Hitler visits the *Westwall*.

**22 May:** The signing of the Steel Pact in Berlin between Germany and Italy by the two foreign ministers, Ribbentrop and Ciano, in Hitler's presence.

**23 May:** Hitler addresses his C-in-Cs and the chiefs of staff about his foreign policy. It is the fullest exposition of the *Blitzkrieg* doctrine, but he retains his timetable of 5 November 1937: to complete the rearmament programme by 1944. 'Danzig is not the objective at stake,' he explains, 'we're concerned with expanding the *Lebensraum* in the East and securing our food supplies ... We cannot expect a repetition of the Czech solution. This time there will be fighting. Our task is to isolate Poland ... a simultaneous conflict with the West [France and Britain] must be avoided.' Hitler prefers to launch the attack while taking full

advantage of surprise and recklessly employing all the means at his disposal. To Raeder's query as to what he really has in mind, Hitler replies that he recognizes three kinds of secrets: 'The first is between you and me, the second I keep secret to myself, and the third concerns problems of the future which even I have not completely thought through to their logical conclusion' (*DGFP*, D/vi, no. 433).

**30 May:** Mussolini writes to Hitler that Italy cannot fight in a war before the end of 1942.

**31 May:** Germany and Denmark sign a Non-Aggression Pact.

**1–5 June:** Prince Paul, the regent of Yugoslavia, and his wife, Princess Olga, visit Berlin as Hitler's guests. Hitler is still trying through the dynastic connection with the Britain royal family to re-open the door to an understanding with Britain. Princess Olga may have succumbed to Hitler's charm. When the conversation turned to children, she noticed, 'tears come to his eyes ... clear blue, and honest-looking'. He told her that he had a dual personality, 'that of an artist and architect, but that fate had decreed that he should also be a politician, a military man and the builder of a new Germany ... that music is his chief relaxation'. During the performance of *Die Meistersinger* he shut his eyes 'as though he were in a trance' (Irving, *Path*, p. 210).

**4 June:** Hitler speaks in Kassel to German war veterans.

**6 June:** Hitler addresses the volunteers of the *Legion Condor*, returning from Spain.

**7 June:** Hitler visits the construction site of the *Volkswagenwerk* near Fallersleben before leaving for Obersalzberg.

**10–12 June:** Hitler appears unexpectedly at the theatre festival in Vienna. On the last day he visits the grave of Geli Raubal. He leaves for Linz by car and on his way to Obersalzberg revisits localities connected with his childhood: Lambach, Hafeld and Fischlham.

**17 June:** Hitler receives Sheik Yussuf Khalid al-Hud, King Ibn Saud's special representative, who recommends that Germany should stop her support for Jewish emigration to Palestine. Hitler rejects al-Hud's criticism. On the same day, Hitler authorizes Josef Goebbels to deliver a strong anti-Polish speech in the city of Danzig. The British ambassador, Sir Nevile Henderson, writes to Lord Halifax, the Foreign Secretary: 'From beginning to end the world has made the fatal mistake of underestimating Hitler. At first he was either a mountebank or a kind of Charlie Chaplin, an Austrian house-painter or inferior sort of Corporal and now he is a madman or a paranoiac. While in fact he is one of those extraordinary individuals whom the world throws up from time to time, sometimes for its ultimate good but generally for its immediate misfortune ... It does not help to underestimate a man who is the absolute master of 80,000,000 Germans and saying "No" to dictators is not a policy in itself' (*DBFP*, iii/vi, p. 706).

**22 June:** Hitler issues supplementary directives concerning the *Fall Weis*.

**25 June:** Hitler speaks in Munich to 500 Italian war veterans.

**3 July:** Hitler inspects the new *Luftwaffe* prototypes at the airfield of Rechlin in Brandenburg.

**5 July:** In Berlin, Hitler receives the Bulgarian prime minister Khosseivanov.

**6 July:** Hitler flies for the first time in the new four-engine Focke-Wulf *Condor* around Berlin.

**10 July:** Hitler issues directives for staging the annual Nuremberg NDSAP rally on 2–11 September; its name, ironically, was to be the 'Party Rally of Peace'.

**14 July:** Hitler has a conversation with Raeder at the *Berghof*. The admiral does not approve of the marriage between Hitler's naval adjutant Albrecht and a bride who was apparently below the naval officers' code of acceptability. While Raeder threatens to resign, Albrecht is released from the Navy, but Hitler retains him as his personal adjutant.

**14–17 July:** Hitler attends the annual exhibition of German Art at Munich.

**23 July:** Mahatma Gandhi writes a personal letter to Hitler imploring him not to start a war in Europe.

**25 July–3 August:** Hitler attends the annual Wagner Festival at Bayreuth.

**28 July:** Hitler is entertained by Winifred Wagner in the presence of Unity Mitford and her sister, Lady Mosley.

**29 July:** Hitler flies to the Saarland for the day, to inspect the *Westwall*.

**3 August:** On his last day in Bayreuth, Hitler meets August Kubizek, his closest childhood friend, at Richard Wagner's villa, *Wahnfried*. They both visit the composer's tomb and recall that extraordinary night after seeing Wagner's *Rienzi* in Linz in January 1905. 'That was the hour it all began!' Hitler agrees with Kubizek (Kubizek, pp. 338–43).

**4 August:** Hitler returns to Obersalzberg and stays there for the next three days.

**7 August:** The Danzig *Gauleiter* Albert Forster confers with Hitler at the *Berghof*.

**8 August:** Hitler meets the Hungarian foreign minister Count Csáky, at the *Berghof*. Hitler reacts violently to the recent announcement by Prime Minister Teleki, who wrote to Hitler on 24 July that his country, though pro-*Axis*, could not participate in a war against Poland.

**9 August:** Hitler attends the Salzburg Music Festival.

**11 August:** Hitler tells Carl J. Burckhardt, the League of Nations High Commissioner for the Free City of Danzig, that his anti-communism remains as strong as ever: 'Everything I undertake is aimed at the Soviet Union. If the West is too stupid and too blind to see this, I shall be forced to come to an understanding with the Russians, defeat the West, and then marshal my forces against the Soviet Union. I need the Ukraine so that they cannot starve us out, as they did in the last war' (Burckhardt, p. 348).

**12 and 13 August:** Ciano meets Hitler twice at the *Berghof* and tries to pass on to him Mussolini's message that Italy is not ready for war, and that a settlement should be sought instead. Hitler ignores it.

**19 August:** Hitler orders twenty-one U-boats to take up positions in the North Sea; two German pocket battleships, *Graf Spee* and *Deutschland*, sail for Atlantic waters.

**20 August:** Hitler dictates a personal telegram to Stalin, pressing for a speedy conclusion of the Non-Aggression Pact between the two countries: 'In my opinion it is desirable, in view of the intentions of the two empires, to enter into a new relationship and not to lose any time' (*DGFP*, D/VII, no. 142).

**21 August:** Stalin's reply arrives as Hitler is dining in the *Berghof*. He reportedly bangs his fist on the table so hard that the glasses start rattling and exclaims: 'I have them! I have them!' (Speer, p. 234).

**22 August:** While Ribbentrop leaves for Moscow, Hitler summons his senior commanders to the *Berghof* for an urgent conference. Anticipating the signing of the pact with the Soviet Union in a few days, Hitler shows off his supreme confidence: 'It was clear to me that a conflict with Poland had to come sooner or later. I had already made this decision in the spring, but I thought I would first turn against the West in a few years, and only afterwards against the East. But the sequence could not be fixed ... All depends on me, on my existence, because of my political talents. Probably no one will ever again have ... more authority than I have. My existence is, therefore, a factor of great value. But I can be eliminated at any time by a criminal or a lunatic ... The enemy had another hope, that Russia would become our enemy after the conquest of Poland ... I experienced those poor worms Daladier and Chamberlain in Munich ... They won't go beyond a blockade. Against that we have our autarchy and the Russian raw materials ... I was convinced that Stalin would never accept the English offer ... Litvinov's dismissal was decisive ... The day after tomorrow Ribbentrop will conclude the treaty. Now Poland is in the position in which I wanted her ... I shall give a propagandist reason for starting the war, no matter whether it is plausible or not. The victor will not be asked afterwards ... Close your hearts to pity. Act brutally. 80,000,000 people must obtain what is their right ... Genghis Khan has sent millions of women and children into death knowingly and with a light heart ... for the goal to be obtained in the war is not that of reaching certain lines but of phys-



ically destroying the opponent. And so for the present only in the East I have put my death-head formations in place with the command relentlessly and without compassion to send into death many women and children of Polish origin and language. Only thus can we gain the living space that we need. Who after all is today speaking about the destruction of the Armenians? ... Poland will be depopulated and settled with Germans. My pact with the Poles was merely conceived to gain time. As for the rest ... the fate of Russia will be exactly the same ... After Stalin's death – he is a very sick man – we will break the Soviet Union. Then there will begin the dawn of the German rule of the earth. The little States cannot scare me. After Kemal's death Turkey is governed by cretins and half idiots. Carol of Romania is through and through the corrupt slave of his sexual instincts. The King of Belgium and the Nordic kings are soft jumping jacks who are dependent upon the good digestions of their over-eating and tired peoples. We shall have to take into the bargain the defection of Japan. I gave Japan a full year's time ... My going with Japan was never popular. We shall continue to create great disturbances in the Far East and in Arabia. Let us think as 'gentlemen' and let us see in these peoples as best lacquered half maniacs who are anxious to experience the whip. The opportunity is as favourable as never before. I have but one worry, namely that Chamberlain or some other such pig of a fellow [*Saukerl!*] will come at the last moment with proposals ... He will fly down the stairs, even if I shall personally have to trample on his belly in the eyes of the photographers ... The attack upon and the destruction of Poland begins on Saturday early [26 August]. I shall let a few companies in Polish uniforms attack in Upper Silesia. Whether the world believes it, makes no difference. The world believes only in success' (ND, 798–PS, 1014–PS; *DBFP*, iii/vii, no. 314).

**23 August:** In the afternoon, Sir Neville Henderson brings Chamberlain's letter of 22 August to the *Berghof*, confirming that Britain will stand by its guarantee to Poland. Hitler prepares a long reply, which he concludes with his usual reassurance that 'all my life I fought for Anglo-German friendship. The attitude adopted by British diplomacy – at any rate up the present – has, however, convinced me of the futility of such an attempt. Should there be any change in this respect in the future, nobody could be happier than I' (Baynes, p. 16 85). Handing his letter over to Henderson, however, Hitler adds threateningly: 'At the next Polish provocation I'll act. The question of Danzig and the Corridor must be settled, one way or another' (Domarus, p. 1249). In the evening, Ribbentrop telephones from Moscow to obtain Hitler's confirmation that the Baltic ports Libau (Liepaja) and Windau (Ventspils) should belong to the Soviet sphere of influence. Hitler naturally gives his consent.

**24 August:** After 1 a.m. Ribbentrop telephones again from Moscow, announcing that the Non-Aggression Pact was signed shortly before midnight. At Stalin's request a secret protocol has been attached to the Pact dividing the spheres of interest between the two powers: the Soviet Union claims Eastern Poland, the Baltic States, Finland and Bessarabia. In the afternoon, Hitler flies to Berlin where he arrives after 6.30 p.m. Meanwhile President Roosevelt sends another peace appeal to Hitler who ignores it. The whole evening Hitler listens with excitement to the description of Stalin by his photographer, Heinrich Hoffmann, who was sent to Moscow in order to find out whether the two dictators could meet. Ribbentrop tells Hitler that he felt very much at ease among Stalin and his associates, 'as if he were among old Party comrades' (Bullock, p. 531).

**25 August:** In the morning, Hitler dictates a long letter to Mussolini explaining why he concluded the Pact with Stalin. Thereafter Hitler listens to the summary of speeches delivered on the previous evening by Chamberlain and Halifax in Parliament, in which they both stated that the British attitude to Poland remained unaffected by the Hitler–Stalin Pact. At 1.30 p.m. Hitler receives Henderson, to whom he makes a 'magnanimous offer' of an alliance with Britain, coupled with a guarantee of the continuing existence of the British Empire and an

offer of German assistance, 'regardless of where such assistance might be required'. In return, Hitler demands that German obligation towards Italy remain untouched, and that German colonial claims should be satisfied by peaceful methods, but he also insists that 'the problem of Danzig and the Corridor must be solved' (Baynes, pp. 1686–9). At 3 p.m. Hitler gives Keitel the definite order to open the attack on Poland at 4.30 a.m. the next day. Then he receives two more ambassadors – Attolico, who disappointingly arrives without Mussolini's reply, and Coulondre at 5.30 p.m., who will receive Hitler's verbal message for Prime Minister Daladier. Coulondre's solemn declaration that in the event of a German attack on Poland, France will declare war on Germany, is not taken seriously by Hitler. Meanwhile, the news arrives that Britain and Poland have ratified the Pact of Mutual Assistance of 6 April. A second blow follows in the form of Mussolini's reply, stating that Italy could not join Germany in a general European war until the end of 1942, unless Hitler replenished Italy's exhausted stocks of raw material and weapons. Hitler immediately decides to call off the invasion of Poland; and by the narrowest margin he succeeds. Then he dictates another letter to Mussolini asking him to specify Italy's shortages.

**26 August:** At 1.30 p.m. Mussolini's catalogue of Italy's annual needs arrives. According to Ciano, 'it's enough to kill a bull, provided the bull could read it' (Ciano, p. 131). Hitler only gasps as he reads what the Duce regards as indispensable: 6 million tons of coal, 7 million tons of oil, 2 million tons of steel, 1 million tons of timber ... and 150 anti-aircraft batteries. Hitler promptly replies that he could meet some of the Italian demands, though not in oil, copper or nickel. But he orders the immediate despatch of thirty anti-aircraft batteries (*DGFP*, D/vii, pp. 313–14). In the afternoon, Coulondre brings Daladier's letter to Hitler, who promises to reply the next day. Thereafter, Hitler issues assurances to the governments of Belgium, The Netherlands, Luxemburg and Switzerland, to respect their neutrality. He sends one more telegram to Mussolini asking him to support the German action at least in words if he cannot by deeds.

**27 August:** Shortly after midnight, Hitler and Göring receive Birger Dahlerus, a Swedish mediator, who has just arrived from London by air with a letter from Lord Halifax. After boasting about the strength of the *Wehrmacht*, Hitler suddenly asks Dahlerus why it is that the English have constantly refused to accept his offers. When Hitler receives the answer that it was because they could not trust him, he explodes: 'Idiots! Have I ever told a lie in my life?' (Domarus, p. 1271). In the afternoon Hitler speaks to the assembled *Reichstag* deputies in the New Reich Chancellery. He had invited them originally to announce to them the attack on Poland. He also replies at length to Daladier. Around 11 p.m. Dahlerus returns from London with the British reply to Hitler's offer. To his surprise, Hitler accepts the terms.

**28 August:** At 10.30 p.m. Hitler receives from Henderson the official reply to his communications of 23 and 24 August. Reiterating their pledge to Poland, the British government ask that direct negotiations between Berlin and Warsaw should commence at once.

**29 August:** At 7.15 p.m. Hitler hands his reply to Henderson, in which he gives the Polish plenipotentiary 24 hours to travel to Berlin. But the Poles, having no intention of emulating Schuschnigg and Hácha, ignore this.

**30 August:** At 5 a.m. Dahlerus is sent once more to London by Göring, this time in a German military plane. Meanwhile, in the morning, Hitler receives the Danzig *Gauleiter* Forster and gives him the final instructions for the uprising that is to take place in the city. Hitler orders that a special Ministerial Council for the Reich Defence be set up, with Göring as chairman. In the middle of the afternoon the news arrives that the Polish government has declared a general mobilization. Hitler instructs Ribbentrop that he can receive Henderson once more and read out to him his final proposals, divided into sixteen points, but he is not to allow Henderson to see the text.

**31 August:** Dahlerus returns from London shortly after midnight, but Hitler is no longer interested in seeing him. He sends a telegram to the Duke of Windsor, the former King Edward VIII, thanking him for his message of 27 August. At 12.40 p.m. Hitler issues the final order, Directive No. 1, to attack Poland the following morning. It was after this that the Polish ambassador Lipski called on Ribbentrop, but he was still without plenipotentiary powers to negotiate, as requested by Hitler. Meanwhile, the peace appeal from the Pope arrives, but Hitler has no intention of answering it, just as he ignores the frantic, last-minute attempts by Mussolini to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. Hitler is now determined to stick to his timetable. At 8 p.m. the German radio station at Gleiwitz in Silesia is attacked by an SS commando group in Polish uniforms, to provide the necessary pretext for a German retaliation.

**1 September:** At 4.45 a.m. German troops begin their assault on Poland. Hitler issues a proclamation to the *Wehrmacht*, announcing the attack on Poland without a formal declaration of war. He issues a secret order to speed up the killing (euthanasia) of incurable invalids and mentally sick persons; *Reichsleiter* Bouhler, head of the Führer's Chancellery for party matters, and Dr Brandt, Hitler's physician since 1934, are endowed with full powers 'of enlarging the authority of certain physicians ... in such a manner that persons who are incurably sick may, upon critical evaluation of their medical condition, be accorded a mercy death (*Gnadentod*)' (ND, 630-PS). Hitler presumably signed the order at the end of October 1939 but pre-dated it to 1 September. Roughly 100,000 Germans will be put to death under the euthanasia programme over the next two years.

At 10 a.m., wearing a new field-grey uniform, Hitler delivers his first war speech before the *Reichstag* at the *Kroll opera*, demanding the return of Danzig and the annihilation of the Polish armed forces. He also sends two telegrams to Mussolini in an attempt to justify his actions. He calls Göring to bring in Dahlerus, whom he tells that if Britain still wanted to talk, he would be willing to meet halfway. But, 'if England wants to fight one year', he suddenly begins to shout at the Swedish mediator, 'I am ready to fight ... And if necessary, we'll fight ten years!' (Domarus, p. 1320). In the evening, British and French ambassadors are allowed to present their protest notes demanding the immediate withdrawal of German troops from Polish territory.

**3 September:** Britain and France declare war on Germany after Hitler decides to ignore the British ultimatum that expired at 11 a.m. Chief interpreter Paul Schmidt describes Hitler's reaction when he finished translating the ultimatum: 'Hitler sat immobile, gazing before him. He was not at a loss, as was afterwards stated, nor did he rage as others allege. He sat completely silent and unmoving. After an interval, which seemed an age, he turned to Ribbentrop ... "What now?" asked Hitler with a savage look, as though implying that his foreign minister had misled him about England's probable reaction' (Schmidt, p. 464). Thereafter Hitler dictates several proclamations and receives the Soviet ambassador Shkvtsev and the chief of the Soviet military mission Purkaev. Hitler issues Directive No. 2 for the conduct of the war against the West, in which only the German Navy is ordered to begin offensive actions. At 9 p.m. Hitler leaves Berlin in his special train, *Adler*, converted into a mobile HQ.

**5 September:** William Patrick Hitler publishes an article about his uncle in *Paris Soir*.

**7 September:** During a military conference on his special train *Adler* Hitler declares that he does not believe that the British and French will attack in the West. He instructs the Army not to interfere when special SS units engage in exterminating Polish Jews and intelligentsia.

**8-13 September:** Hitler's mobile HQ is stationed at Illnau near Oppeln.

**9 September:** Hitler signs Directive No. 3, dealing with the destruction of the Polish armed forces. Colonel Wagner, attached to the OKH, notes in his diary: 'It is the Führer's and Göring's intention to destroy and exterminate the Polish nation. More than that cannot even be hinted at in writing' (Irving, *War*, pp. 15-16).

**17 September:** Soviet forces invade Eastern Poland.

**19–25 September:** Hitler moves his mobile HQ to Zoppot near Danzig.

**19 September:** Hitler delivers a speech in Danzig at the *Artushof*.

**21 September:** Heydrich announces the Führer's decision to clear the newly incorporated territories of Jews. Those from Western Poland are to be concentrated in a ghetto near Lublin.

**25 September:** Hitler signs Directive No. 4, concerning military measures to be taken in the West and against the remnants of Polish opposition in Modlin and Warsaw.

**26 September:** After returning to Berlin, Hitler receives Dahlerus in the hope of resuming unofficial contact with London.

**27 September:** On the day Warsaw surrenders, Hitler holds a major military conference in Berlin with his C-in-Cs. He wants to attack the West as soon as possible in order 'to force England down on her knees and to smash France into pieces' (Halder, *KTB I*, p. 90).

**28 September:** Hitler sends Ribbentrop to Moscow for the second time to sign the Soviet–German Friendship and Border Treaty, which will confirm the partition of Poland into two occupational zones. During a visit to the U-boat station at Wilhelmshaven, Captain Dönitz, C-in-C of submarines, tells Hitler in Raeder's presence that in order to hit Britain decisively he needed a minimum of 300 submarines (at the outbreak of war he had no more than 56, of which only half could be employed against the British Isles). Only then a decisive 'break-through success' could be achieved with this weapon. Hitler makes no comment (*KTB OKW I*, p. 204E).

**30 September:** Hitler decorates the C-in-Cs and Army commanders with the Knight Cross and issues Directive No. 5, concerned with the new demarcation line across Poland between German and Soviet forces, and with naval and air warfare in the West.

**1 October:** Meeting between Ciano and Hitler in Berlin. Hitler tries to impress the Italian foreign minister with German military strength, knowing that the message will find its way to London and demonstrate the hopelessness of the British position.

**5 October:** Hitler flies to Warsaw to attend the victory parade. He returns the same day to Berlin. At noon, Hitler delivers a 'Victory Oration' to the *Reichstag*.

**6 October:** With great propaganda effect, Hitler makes public his peace offer to Britain, which he concludes with an appeal: 'I believe even today that there can only be real peace in Europe and throughout the world if Germany and England come to an understanding' (Bullock, p. 556).

**9 October:** Anticipating that his peace feelers to the West will meet with no response, Hitler prepares a memorandum for his military leaders in which he justifies a full-scale attack in the West by the autumn. His Directive No. 6, signed on the same day, spells out the details for such an offensive against the West, intended first to eliminate Luxemburg, Belgium and The Netherlands.

**10 October:** Hitler orders the establishment of the *General Gouvernement* in central Poland and appoints Hans Frank as the first governor general. During a naval conference, Raeder tells Hitler that the German Navy must hold the Norwegian coast for strategic reasons. Hitler goes on to deliver an opening speech for the 'Winter-Help Campaign' at Berlin's Sports Palace.

**12 October:** Chamberlain contemptuously rejects Hitler's peace offer.

**16 October:** Sven Hedin, the Swedish explorer, visits Hitler in Berlin in order to find out from him what the German attitude will be in the event of a Finnish–Soviet war.

**17 October:** In the presence of Keitel, Hitler declares that Germany's task in Poland is to prevent the Polish intelligentsia from resuming its leading role ever again.

**18 October:** Hitler signs Directive No. 7, providing further instructions for Directive No. 6 of 9 October, code-named Operation 'Yellow' – *Fall Gelb*.

**21 October:** Hitler receives the accredited Slovak minister in Berlin, Matuš Černiak, to whom he promises the return of former Slovak territories annexed by Poland a year earlier. Hitler gives a dinner for NSDAP *Reichsleiters* and *Gauleiters*.

**24 October:** The pro-German Japanese ambassador, General Oshima, has a farewell audience with Hitler.

**25 October:** Hitler holds a conference with Brauchitsch and Halder, during which he orders that 'Operation Yellow' must begin on Sunday, 12 November.

**27 October:** Brauchitsch tries to convince Hitler that the Army is not prepared to launch an offensive in the West before 26 November, but Hitler insists on his deadline of 12 November.

**Beginning of November:** A group of army officers (Halder, Stülpnagel, Oster) meet secretly to consider a military *putsch* to remove Hitler from power should he insist on attacking the West before winter, as this would result in a disaster.

**5 November:** Brauchitsch makes the last attempt to convince Hitler to postpone the deadline for the attack against the West. Hitler flies into a rage, orders the Army C-in-C to shut up, and reiterates his decision to attack on 12 November.

**7 November:** Hitler reluctantly agrees to postpone the deadline for the attack to 12 or 15 December because of bad weather forecasts (in total, Hitler will change the deadline for the attack against France twenty-nine times).

**8 November:** Hitler arrives in Munich by train. He visits Unity Mitford in a clinic, where she has been taken with a bullet lodged in her temple after she had tried to kill herself when the news of the British declaration of war on Germany reached her. In the evening Hitler commemorates the 1923 *putsch* anniversary in the *Bürgerbräukeller*. He ends his speech 30 minutes earlier than usual in order to catch his train back to Berlin. Thirteen minutes later, an exploding bomb wrecks the beer-hall, killing seven and wounding over sixty people. The bomb was planted by Georg Elser, a skilled artisan and a solitary opponent of the Nazi regime. When Hitler learns in Nuremberg about the explosion, he exclaims: 'Now I am completely content! The fact that I left the *Bürgerbräukeller* earlier than usual is a corroboration of Providence to let me reach my goal' (Zoller, p. 181).

**11 November:** Hitler again visits Munich for the funeral of the victims of the explosion, which was intended to kill him. In the afternoon he flies back to Berlin.

**16 November:** Hitler summons Neurath, K. H. Frank, General Friderici, C-in-C in the Protectorate, and Chvalkovský, now the Czech envoy to Berlin, and gives them a dressing down for the recent anti-German demonstration in Prague. He threatens that unless Czech agitation ceases immediately, he would treat the inhabitants as he had the Poles, reducing Prague itself to ashes. Unless the students stop their insane activities, he will not hesitate to shoot them one by one.

**17 November:** Following Hitler's instructions to K. H. Frank, about 1,900 students are arrested in Prague by the Gestapo. Nine randomly selected students are shot in the morning; Czech universities and colleges are ordered to close.

**20 November:** Hitler issues Directive No. 8 concerning preparations for the speedy occupation of The Netherlands and Belgium.

**23 November:** Hitler addresses about 200 senior officers of the *Wehrmacht* in the Reich Chancellery. It is a speech full of boastful determination. Hitler says that, despite the present Pact with Stalin, he considered a clash with the Soviet Union inevitable because of conflicting interests between the two empires in the Balkans and in the Persian Gulf. He ruled out revolution in the interior. 'My decision is unalterable,' he continued, 'I shall attack France and England at the most favourable opportunity. Breach of the neutrality of Belgium and Holland is irrelevant. No one will question that when we have won ... I ask you to pass on the spirit of determination to the lower echelons ... I shall shrink from nothing and shall destroy everyone who is opposed to me ... I shall stand or fall in this struggle. I shall never survive the defeat of my people. No capitulation to the enemy, no revolution from within' (ND, 789-PS). All Jews in German-occupied Poland are required to wear white badges with a blue Star of David on them.

**25–26 November:** Hitler visits Munich.

**29 November:** Hitler signs Directive No. 9 on economic warfare against Britain.

**12 December:** Raeder reports to Hitler about his meeting with Vidkun Quisling, a Norwegian politician and a strong pro-Nazi sympathizer, whom he had met on the previous day. Raeder argues strongly in favour of German control over Norway as an absolutely essential prerequisite for a successful war against Britain.

**14 and 18 December:** Hitler twice receives Vidkun Quisling.

**18 December:** Rosenberg submitted a detailed memorandum on the APA's strategy in Afghanistan, which countered the foreign ministry's plan to restore ex-King Amanullah to power through a coup. Hitler agreed with Rosenberg and cancelled the Amanullah Plan (Seraphim, p. 155; Hauner, p. 166).

**19 December:** After receiving the new Japanese ambassador Saburo Kurusu, Hitler departs for Munich and Obersalzberg.

**21 December:** From the *Berghof*, Hitler sends a telegram to Stalin on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

**23–25 December:** Hitler tours the *Westwall* visiting the troops.

**26–30 December:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**31 December:** Hitler arrives at the *Berghof*.

## 1940

**3 January:** Hitler receives a long letter from Benito Mussolini, who pleads for the re-establishment of the Polish state, and against a German attack in the West, since the USA will not tolerate the complete destruction of Western democracies. He is also deeply sceptical of the Russo-German friendship and reminds the Führer that 'the solution of your living space lies in Russia and not elsewhere!' Russia cannot be made from 'world enemy number one' into 'friend number one' (*DGFP*, D/VIII, no. 1). Hitler regards the letter as an effrontery and does not reply for two whole months.

**5 January:** Hitler leaves Obersalzberg for Munich and Berlin.

**7 January–6 February:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**10 January:** Hitler sets the date for the beginning of the attack in the West as 17 January. However, because of a forced landing of a German military plane on the same day in Belgium, which carried part of the 'Yellow' operational plan, Hitler decides to postpone the attack yet again.

**11 January:** Hitler releases the 'Fundamental Order No 1' (*Grundsätzlicher Befehl Nr. 1*) regarding the preservation of military secrets. In future, no one who is not involved directly in actual planning and decision-making should have any knowledge of military directives.

**16 January:** Hitler orders the postponement of the attack on the West until the spring.

**24 January:** Hitler speaks to 7,000 officer candidates in the Sports Palace.

**27 January:** Hitler instructs, through General Keitel, all three C-in-Cs to prepare operational plans for the invasion of Denmark and Norway.

**30 January:** Hitler delivers the anniversary speech in the Sports Palace.

**7–9 February:** Hitler visits Munich.

**10–23 February:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**17 February:** Conversation between Hitler and General von Manstein, who as chief of staff of Army Group A in the West has drafted an unorthodox plan for attacking France that was at variance with the OKH scheme to advance through Belgium, as was done in 1914. Manstein instead recommends the establishment of a point of concentration in the centre and to advance through the Ardennes,

hitherto regarded as impassable for tanks, from where the enemy front could be cut in half. Hitler, who is thinking along the same lines, overrides the strong opposition of the OKH planners and orders the redrafting of 'Yellow' in accordance with Manstein's ideas. On 24 February the new variant will receive the code-name 'Operation Sickle Cut' (*Sichelschnitt*). Hitler would say contemptuously of the unimaginative army staff planners: 'They should have read more of Karl May' (Toland, p. 826).

**21 February:** General von Falkenhorst is appointed by Hitler as C-in-C of the planned Norwegian expedition.

**24 February:** Hitler speaks in Munich's *Hofbräuhaus* on the anniversary of NSDAP's foundation.

**26 February–17 March:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**1 March:** Hitler signs the first draft of the Directive *Weserübung* (Weser Exercise) for the invasion of Denmark and Norway, 'to have a character of a peaceful occupation, designed to protect by force of arms the neutrality of the Northern countries' (*Directives*, p. 62).

**2 March:** Hitler receives the US under-secretary of state, Sumner Welles, who is touring Europe on a peace mission. As long as the Western powers desire to destroy Germany as their principle war aim, Hitler tells Sumner Welles, there can be no peace.

**4 March:** Hitler meets Sven Hedin, who has come to Berlin to plead for German support for the Finns against the Russians. Hitler refuses categorically to aid the Finns. Asked whether he saw any hope for peace between Germany, France and Britain, Hitler replies: 'No, there will be no major peace – the battle must be fought out now; a stop must be put to British arrogance now!' (Hedin, p. 77). Then Hitler receives James D. Mooney, director of General Motors' overseas division, who brings him personal greetings from President Roosevelt and offers his services as an 'honest moderator' for any peace feelers between Germany and her Western enemies. Hitler declares to Mooney that Germany has no war aims *vis-à-vis* England and France, whereas the two powers desire to destroy Germany. He would be prepared to conclude peace if the Western powers gave up their war aims and recognized Germany as a world power (Hillgruber, I, pp. 80–6). (Since the purchase of the Opel works in 1929, General Motors controlled over 50 per cent of German car production. Throughout the war, Opel and Ford of Cologne supplied the *Wehrmacht* with 90 per cent of its light and 70 per cent of its heavy lorries; Opel also manufactured a sizeable proportion of aircraft engines for the *Luftwaffe* bombers.)

**5 March:** A military conference concerning the occupation of Denmark and Norway between Hitler and three C-in-Cs. Hitler also receives Y. Aikawa, president of the Heavy Industry Development Company in Manchuria.

**8 March:** Hitler writes a long letter to Mussolini, rejecting point by point Il Duce's arguments from 3 January; also advising him how to handle Sumner Welles. 'Fundamentally, Germany has no other war aim than the peace!' he lectures Mussolini. Since Britain's and France's war aim is the destruction 'of totalitarian nation states, and therewith Germany, she must therefore fight until this warmonger plutocratic clique is compelled to give up this aim' (*DGFP*, D/VIII, no. 663).

**9 March:** During a military conference with Keitel and Jodl, chief of the OKW Operations Staff (*Wehrmachtführungsstab*), Hitler flies into a rage when he learns that one of the Hohenzollern princes, Oskar of Prussia, son of ex-Kaiser William II, who has never commanded a regiment, has been recommended to command an infantry division. Hitler cannot be pacified until all the Hohenzollerns are removed from the Army.

**10 March:** Hitler speaks on 'War Heroes Memorial Day' in Berlin's Old Arsenal (*Zeughaus*) and opens the exhibition 'The Campaign in Poland'. Ribbentrop is instructed to take Hitler's letter to Mussolini to Rome. As a bait, Hitler offers Mussolini the delivery of a million tons of coal each month.

**12 March:** The Russo-Finnish war is terminated. Hitler receives the German traveller, Colin Ross.

**15 and 16 March:** Hitler holds military conferences with Halder and all senior commanders.

**17 March:** Hitler appoints Dr Fritz Todt as Minister of Armaments and Munitions.

**18 March:** Hitler meets Mussolini and Ciano at the Brenner Pass. Hitler does most of the talking, displaying his phenomenal memory by pouring out figure after figure about Germany's military might, thereby reducing *Il Duce* virtually to silence (*DGFP*, D/IX, no. 1).

**20 March:** In Berlin Hitler receives the Icelandic poet Gunnar Gunnarsson.

**22–25 March:** Hitler stays at the *Berghof*.

**26 March–9 May:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**26 March:** After conferring with Admiral Raeder, Hitler decides that *Weserübung* should start before launching the general attack in the West.

**2 April:** Hitler decides on 9 April as the beginning of Operation *Weserübung* – thus disrupting British preparations aimed at forestalling his invasion of Norway.

**9 April:** The German invasion of Denmark and Norway begins at 5 a.m. German envoys in Copenhagen and Oslo have to present Hitler's long memorandum to the respective governments. While the Danish government makes verbal protests, the Norwegians resist and sink three German cruisers. Hitler remarks to Rosenberg: 'Just as Bismarck's Reich dates from the year 1866, so today has seen the birth of the Greater Germanic Reich' (Domarus, p. 1490).

**10 April:** Hitler writes to Mussolini.

**11 April:** Mussolini's reply is delivered to Hitler by Ambassador Attolico.

**13 April:** Hitler receives Wiljam Hagelin, collaborator in the new Quisling government in occupied Norway, and Arne Scheel, the accredited Norwegian minister in Berlin.

**16 April:** Hitler receives the C-in-C of the Swedish Navy, Vice-Admiral Tamm.

**17 April:** A dramatic end to Hitler's nervous crisis concerning the fate of General Dietl's small detachment at Narvik after the scuttling of ten German destroyers there. General Jodl persuades Hitler to change the order advising Dietl to evacuate Narvik rather than to 'try to resist as long as you can' (Irving, *War*, pp. 108–11).

**18 April:** Hitler writes to Mussolini.

**19 April:** Hitler appoints *Gauleiter* Josef Terboven of Essen as the Reich Commissioner for Norway.

**20 April:** Public celebration of the Führer's birthday.

**26 April:** Hitler writes to Mussolini.

**27 April:** Himmler orders the establishment of the concentration camp at Auschwitz.

**30 April:** Hitler's proclamation to German soldiers in Norway. Later he presents Franz Lehár, the operetta composer, on his 80th birthday, with the Goethe Medal for Arts and Sciences.

**1 May:** Hitler decides to launch the attack in the West, on Sunday, 5 May.

**2 May:** Discussion between Hitler, Göring and other *Luftwaffe* generals, about carrying out airborne operations in Belgium and The Netherlands.

**3 May:** Hitler addresses 6,000 officer candidates in the Sports Palace; he also dictates a letter to Mussolini.

**7 May:** Hitler makes the final changes for 'Operation Yellow'; the attack is to begin on 9 May.

**9 May:** In the morning, Hitler postpones 'Operation Yellow' to 10 May; writes another letter to Mussolini and gives a farewell audience to Ambassador Attolico and his wife. At 4.35 p.m. he boards his special train under the most secretive arrangements.

**10 May:** Hitler's special train arrives at Euskirchen in the Eifel Mountains in the early morning; while he occupies his HQ, *Felsennest* at Rodert near Münster-eifel, a full-scale attack on Belgium and The Netherlands begins. Winston Churchill replaces Chamberlain as prime minister of Britain.



**10–31 May:** Apart from making a few flights to the front line, Hitler stays at his *Felsennest*.

**13 May:** Crossing of the Meuse by German panzers at Dinant and Sedan. Hitler writes a letter to Mussolini.

**14 May:** Hitler issues Directive No. 11 dealing with the campaign in the West; German troops march into Paris.

**18 May:** Hitler issues Directive No. 12 to the OKH (the text has not survived); he receives the newly accredited Italian ambassador Dino Alfieri at his HQ. Hitler dictates a letter to Mussolini, decrees the reincorporation of the Eupen-Malmédy salient to the Reich, and appoints Seyss-Inquart as the Reich Commissar for the occupied Netherlands.

**21 May:** In a conversation with Brauchitsch and Halder, Hitler declares that Germany must try to reach an understanding with Britain, 'on the basis of a division of the world' (Halder, I, p. 308). One hour later, in a conversation with Raeder, Hitler accepts his suggestion that preparations should be made to invade Britain.

**24 May:** Hitler issues Directive No. 13, ordering 'the annihilation of the French, English, and Belgian forces which are surrounded in Artois and Flanders' (*Directives*, p. 67), while ordering Kleist's tank group to halt mop-up operations against the British Expeditionary Force at Dunkirk for two days.

**25 May:** Hitler writes a letter to Mussolini and approves Himmler's proposals for racial screening of the newly acquired 23 million subjects in the East. All children who cannot be assimilated, Himmler has proposed, should be taught only the essentials: 'Simple counting up to 500, how to write their names, and lessons on the divine commandment to obey the Germans, to be honest, industrious, and well-behaved' (Irving, *War*, p. 134).

**28 May:** While King Leopold III of Belgium signs the capitulation of his country, Hitler discusses with Brauchitsch the reduction and reorganization of the German Army after the French surrender: the present wartime strength of some 160 divisions should be reduced by two-thirds, but the number of armoured and motorized divisions increased to 24 and 12 respectively (Halder, I, p. 324).

**30 May:** Hitler instructs Hans Frank that 'whatever leading stratum we have now identified in Poland must be liquidated' (Haffner, p. 134).

**31 May:** In the *Dreesen* hotel at Bad Godesberg, Hitler receives Alfieri who carries with him Mussolini's letter, promising that Italy will declare war on France and England on 5 June.

**1–2 June:** Hitler leaves *Felsennest* to inspect the troops in Artois and Flanders via Brussels.

**3–6 June:** Hitler back at *Felsennest*.

**7–17 June:** Hitler moves to a new HQ, *Wolfsschlucht* at Bruly-le-Pêche in Belgium.

**8 June:** Hitler signs Directive No. 14, dealing with the campaign in the West.

**9 June:** King Haakon VII of Norway orders the cessation of hostilities and escapes to Britain. Hitler dictates a letter to Mussolini.

**10 June:** As Italy declares war on France and England, Hitler sends an enthusiastic telegram to Mussolini.

**13 June:** Interview between Hitler and the American journalist, Karl von Wiegand. Hitler, who wants to keep the USA out of Europe, naturally supports the Monroe Doctrine: 'This I am saying, America to the Americans, Europe to the Europeans!' (Domarus, p. 1524).

**14 June:** As German troops march into Paris, Hitler issues Directive No 15.

**16 June:** Hitler meets General Vigón, chief of the Spanish General Staff, at the Acoz Castle in France.

**17 June:** France is suing for peace.

**18 June:** While General Charles de Gaulle, the self-appointed leader of the Free French, announces from London the continuation of French resistance, Hitler travels to Munich to meet Mussolini and Ciano to discuss the capitulation of

France. Hitler has to curb *Il Duce's* enormous appetite for French territories. He and Ribbentrop also mention to Mussolini the 'Madagascar Plan' for the resettlement of European Jewry.

**19–27 June:** Hitler's HQ remains at Bruly-le-Pêche.

**20 June:** Second naval conference between Hitler and Raeder in preparation for the invasion of the British Isles.

**21 June:** Franco-German armistice signed. Hitler receives the French delegation in Compiègne in the same railway carriage in which Germany's surrender had been signed twenty-two years earlier. The document of armistice is signed by General Huntzinger and General Keitel.

**23 June:** Hitler visits Paris between 5 and 6 a.m. His sightseeing tour includes the Eiffel Tower, Madeleine Opera and Hotel des Invalides with the tomb of Napoleon, where he stays for a long time contemplating. In the evening he decides that Albert Speer, who accompanied him to Paris, should in his name resume full-scale work on the Berlin buildings. 'Wasn't Paris beautiful?' he quizzed his architect, 'but Berlin must be made far more beautiful. In the past I often considered whether we would not have to destroy Paris. But when we are finished in Berlin, Paris will only be a shadow. So, why should we destroy it?' (Speer, p. 248).

**25 June:** Cessation of hostilities between France and Germany. France is divided and the Southern Zone under the government of Marshal Pétain is allowed to retain a small army, air force and, most importantly, the navy and the overseas territories.

**25–26 June:** Together with his fellow soldiers of the Great War, Max Amann and Ernst Schmidt, Hitler visits the old places in Artois and Flanders where they fought together.

**27 June–5 July:** Hitler moves his HQ to *Tannenberg* at Kniebis in the Black Forest.

**30 June:** Himmler shows Hitler his detailed plan for settling the eastern provinces with strong German stock: seven-eighths of the indigenous Polish population are to be displaced into the *General Gouvernement*, which is to serve as a reservoir of cheap labour. 'The Führer said that every point I made was right', notes Himmler (Irving, *War*, p. 135).

**1 July:** Hitler receives Ambassador Alfieri at *Tannenberg*.

**2 July:** The OKW issues a directive stating that Hitler had decided that, under certain conditions, such as air superiority, a landing in England was possible. All preparations are to begin immediately but on the basis that the invasion was still only a plan.

**6 July:** Hitler's triumphant return to Berlin – his popularity among the German population has probably reached its peak.

**7 July:** Ciano arrives in Berlin and meets Hitler.

**8–10 July:** Hitler stays in Munich, where he receives the Hungarian delegation led by Premier Count Tékely and the Foreign Minister Count Csáky. He approves of their territorial claims *vis-à-vis* Romania.

**10–18 July:** Hitler stays at the *Berghof*.

**13 July:** Hitler discusses global strategy with Halder: 'The Führer is most concerned about the question of why Britain will not yet make peace ... that Britain still has hopes of the Soviet Union. He reckons therefore that Britain will have to be compelled to make peace by force. But he does not like doing this ... if we crush Britain's military power her world empire will collapse. That is of no use to Germany. We would achieve with German blood something which would only be of use to Japan, America, and others' (Halder, II, p. 21).

**16 July:** Hitler signs Directive No. 16, code-named *Seelöwe* (Sea-lion), which opens: 'Since England, in spite of her hopeless military situation, shows no sign of being ready to come to an understanding, I have decided to prepare a landing operation against England, and, if necessary, to carry it out' (Directives, p. 74).

**19 July:** In his *Reichstag* speech, Hitler makes a final 'peace appeal' to England – which is rejected by Lord Halifax three days later. Hitler promotes twelve generals

to the rank of Field Marshal (*Generalfeldmarschall*) and rewards Göring with the unique rank of *Reichsmarschall*.

**21 July:** Before his departure for Weimar, Hitler instructs Brauchitsch to start drafting plans for a military campaign against the Soviet Union.

**23 July:** Hitler attends Wagner's *Götterdämmerung* at the Bayreuth Festival and has a last reunion with his old friend Kubizek. 'This war,' Hitler tells him, 'is depriving me of my best years. You know how much I still have to do, what I still want to build ... You know best all those plans which kept me busy since my youth. I have been able to realize only a fraction of it. I still have so infinitely much to do. Who should do it?' (Kubizek, pp. 343–7).

**24–25 July:** Hitler is back in Berlin to meet his military leaders.

**26 July–4 August:** Hitler stays at the *Berghof*.

**26 July:** Hitler receives the Romanian prime minister Ion Gigurtu, and foreign minister Hamai Manoilescu, whom he advises to accept the Hungarian claims on Transylvania.

**27 July:** Hitler receives the Bulgarian prime minister Bogdan Filov and foreign minister Ivan Popov. He tells them he is in favour of their claims against Romania (Southern Dobrudja).

**28 July:** Hitler receives the Slovak delegation led by President Tiso, premier and foreign minister Vojtěch Tuka and interior minister Alexander Mach.

**29 July:** Hitler instructs the OKW Operations staff planners, Generals Jodl and Warlimont, to postpone the date of the contemplated campaign against the Soviet Union from Autumn 1940 to Spring 1941.

**31 July:** Hitler agrees with Raeder to schedule the planned invasion of England for 15 September, but subject to an intensive eight-day aerial bombardment, to precede it. Then Hitler holds a military conference with Brauchitsch, Halder, Jodl and Keitel. He is determined to smash the Soviet Union in the spring of 1941 in a rapid campaign lasting about five months: 'Britain's hope lies in the Soviet Union and America. If hope in the Soviet Union is eliminated, America too is lost for Britain, because elimination of the Soviet Union will tremendously upvalue Japan in the Far East. The Soviet Union is Britain's and America's Far Eastern sword against Japan ... With the Soviet Union smashed, Britain's last hope will be shattered. Germany will then be master of Europe and the Balkans ... The sooner we crush the Soviet Union, the better. The operation makes sense only if we can smash the [Soviet] State with one blow' (Halder, II, p. 49).

**1 August:** In Directive No.17, Hitler orders the intensification of air and sea warfare against Britain.

**5–8 August:** Hitler returns to Berlin.

**7 August:** Hitler flies to Essen to attend the birthday party of Herr Krupp von Bohlen and to visit the steel mills. He returns to Berlin on the same day.

**8–12 August:** Hitler stays at the *Berghof*.

**13–16 August:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**16 August:** Before his departure for Obersaxlberg, Hitler meets Quisling.

**17–29 August:** Hitler stays at the *Berghof*.

**30 August–3 October:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**2 September:** Hitler decides to send a military mission to Romania. He receives the Spanish ambassador Espinosa de los Monteros, the Iranian minister Moussa Noury Esfandiary, and the Portuguese minister Nobre Guedes.

**3 September:** Hitler postpones the date for 'Operation Sea-lion' until 21 September.

**4 September:** Hitler opens the 'Winter-Help Campaign' with a speech in the Sports Palace.

**5 September:** Hitler receives Quisling and the Reich Commissioners, Seyss-Inquart and Terboven.

**6 September:** Naval conference between Raeder and Hitler. As an alternative to the risky invasion of Britain, Raeder proposes that the main German war effort

should concentrate on eliminating the British position in the Mediterranean by capturing Gibraltar and the Suez Canal. Furthermore, Raeder demands the seizure of Dakar and of the Atlantic islands – the Azores, Canaries and Cape Verde – in order to conduct an effective war against British shipping.

**10 September:** Hitler receives the Hungarian envoy Count Dome Sztöjay.

**11 September:** Hitler receives Quisling and Terboven.

**14 September:** Hitler holds a military conference with his three C-in-Cs. Göring remains optimistic about destroying the RAF and establishing German air superiority over Britain.

**17 September:** After the heavy losses suffered by the *Luftwaffe* in the 'Battle of Britain', Hitler decides to postpone 'Sea-lion' indefinitely, though preparations for the invasion should continue in order to confuse the enemy. Hitler receives the Spanish interior minister Serrano Suñer.

**23 September:** Hitler receives the Dutch fascist leaders, Anton Mussert, Rost van Tonningen and Gelkerken.

**25 September:** Hitler receives Serrano Suñer, who brings Franco's reply to Hitler's letter of 18 September.

**26 September:** Raeder informs Hitler that the current preparations for 'Sea-lion' cannot be maintained at the present level after mid-October. He demands that Hitler make up his mind whether the invasion of Britain is to be carried out at all. Raeder then takes up the Mediterranean strategy. Germany, he insists, must wage war against Britain with all the means at its disposal, and without delay, before the United States is able to intervene effectively; the Mediterranean must be cleared of the British during the coming winter months. Then the Soviet problem will appear in a different light and it might be easier to encourage Soviet expansion towards the Persian Gulf and India in order to provide an outlet to the Indian Ocean, which would be more important to the Soviet Union than the Baltic Sea. With the Suez Canal in *Axis* hands the Italian Navy could then venture into the Indian Ocean and it might be even possible to feign an operation against India. Hitler seems to accept Raeder's alternative strategy.

**27 September:** Signing of the Tripartite Pact (*Axis*) between Germany, Italy and Japan. Hitler meets the Japanese ambassador Kurusu; he also receives Ciano and dictates a letter to Mussolini.

**1 October:** Hitler receives Roberto Farinacci, secretary general of the Italian Fascist Party.

**2 October:** During a conference with Hans Frank and others, Hitler outlines his policy towards the Poles in the *General Gouvernement*: 'There should be only one master for the Poles and this is the German; there could not be two masters, this must not happen. Therefore all representatives of the Polish intelligentsia are to be exterminated. This may sound harsh, but such is life ... The lowest German worker and the lowest German peasant must always stand economically ten per cent above any Pole' (Domarus, p. 1591).

**4 October:** Mussolini and Hitler meet at the Brenner Pass to discuss their common policy *vis-à-vis* France and Spain. Hitler also tries to win over *Il Duce* to Ribbentrop's scheme of allotting the Soviet Union a new sphere of interest in the direction of the Indian Ocean and thereby diverting her ambitions from Europe.

**5–9 October:** Hitler stays at the *Berghof*.

**5 October:** Hitler receives Neurath and K. H. Frank. He agrees with their proposals to initiate a long-term programme of Germanization in the Protectorate, but that all racially undesirable or hostile elements, particularly among the intelligentsia, must be eliminated.

**9–16 October:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**12 October:** Hitler finally decides to postpone 'Operation Sea-lion' until next spring; preparations should continue solely for the purpose of maintaining political and military pressure on England.

**13 October:** Ribbentrop writes on Hitler's behalf to Stalin to invite the foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov to Berlin for political talks.

**16–20 October:** Hitler stays at the *Berghof*.

**17 October:** Hitler receives the Italian Crown Princess Marie-José, sister of Leopold III, king of Belgium.

**22 October:** Meeting at Montoire between Hitler and Pierre Laval, deputy prime minister of Vichy France.

**23 October:** Franco meets Hitler at Hendaye. However, Spain fails to join the war on Germany's side. German plans for the capture of Gibraltar have to be postponed.

**24 October:** Marshal Pétain meets Hitler at Montoire in the presence of Laval and Ribbentrop. Hitler urges that France should join the new European coalition under German leadership, but Pétain refuses to commit himself.

**25 October:** Hitler learns of the proposed Italian attack on Greece, scheduled for 28 October.

**28 October:** Mussolini and Ciano receive Hitler in the *Palazzo Vecchio*, Florence.

**29 October:** Hitler arrives in Munich.

**30 October–6 November:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**3 November:** General von Thoma reports to Hitler about his recent reconnaissance trip in Libya, where he examined possibilities of deploying German tanks. Hitler decides to wait first for the outcome of the Italian offensive against Egypt, which started on 13 September.

**4 November:** Military conference between Hitler and Brauchitsch, Göring, Halder, Keitel and Jodl at the Reich Chancellery. Hitler agrees with the plans to occupy Gibraltar and the Atlantic islands and is in principle willing to assist Italy should the offensive against Greece fail.

**8 November:** Hitler speaks in Munich's *Löwenbräukeller*.

**10–16 November:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**11 November:** Hitler visited the Goebbels' home twice during the day to congratulate Magda Goebbels on her anniversary. When he visited in the evening he stayed until 4 a.m. the next day, discussing everything. 'The Führer looks very relaxed like in peacetime,' noted Goebbels. He ended up recommending vegetarianism – the religion of the future (*TBJG*, 1/8, p. 415).

**12 November:** Hitler signs Directive No. 18, designed to achieve the complete isolation of Britain by attacking Gibraltar (Undertaking *Felix*) and the Atlantic islands. Hitler also approves of plans to capture the Suez Canal with German assistance, and for a supporting German attack on Greece from Bulgaria. In the afternoon Hitler and Ribbentrop receive Molotov for confidential talks about the price at which the Soviet Union would be prepared to join the *Axis*. Hitler and Ribbentrop try to lure the Soviet Union into the 'Continental Bloc', formed of the Axis Powers plus the Soviet Union, against the British Empire.

**13 November:** Hitler and Ribbentrop continue their secret conversation with Molotov; they try to deflect Soviet ambitions from the Balkans towards the Persian Gulf and India. Molotov appears not to be interested in taking the bait and requests instead the recognition of Soviet claims in the Baltic, the Balkans and the Turkish Straits.

**14 November:** During a naval conference, Raeder defends strongly before Hitler the Navy's alternative view: a concentration on submarine warfare instead of the continual air bombardment of the British Isles; and the postponement of the confrontation with the Soviet Union until after victory over England. Later, Hitler receives a delegation of workers from the armaments industry.

**15 November:** Hitler attends a reception at the Japanese Embassy. The Warsaw Ghetto, established only in October, is sealed off with approximately 350,000 Jews inside.

**16–19 November:** Hitler stays at the *Berghof*.

**18 November:** Hitler receives King Boris III of Bulgaria, Serrano Suñer and Ciano.

**19 November:** Audience with King Leopold III of Belgium.

**20 November:** In Vienna, Hitler attends the ceremony celebrating Hungary joining the *Axis*. After meeting the Hungarian government, Hitler receives Ciano and dictates a letter to Mussolini.

**21–26 November:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**22 November:** Audience with the Romanian dictator, General Ion Antonescu. Romania joins the *Axis* on the following day.

**25 November:** Stalin repeats conditions for Soviet participation in the *Axis*, mentioned already by Molotov in Berlin. Hitler ignores the letter.

**27 November–2 December:** Hitler stays at the *Berghof*.

**28 November:** Hitler receives the Yugoslav foreign minister Cincar-Marković.

**3–11 December:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**3 December:** Hitler receives Parvan Draganov, the Bulgarian Minister accredited to Berlin.

**4 December:** Admiral Canaris, chief of the *Abwehr* (Army Intelligence), discuss with Hitler how to win over General Franco for a joint attack on Gibraltar.

**5 December:** Hitler receives Sven Hedin, followed by a military conference with Brauchitsch, Halder, Keitel and Jodl, discussing the invasion plans against Greece (Operation *Marita*), the capture of Gibraltar, and the invasion of the Soviet Union.

**8 December:** Hitler receives Alfieri, who admits that Italy has suffered a debacle in Greece.

**10 December:** Hitler signs Directive No. 19 (Undertaking *Attila*) for the scheduled occupation of French (Vichy) territory to prevent the French Fleet escaping to the enemy and to prepare the staging ground for the entry of German troops into Spain. His directive ends with a warning: 'The Italians will be given no information about our preparations and intentions' (*Directives*, p. 90). At noon, Hitler addresses the workers of an armaments plant in Berlin (*Rheinmetall-Borsig*): 'Only a madman can say that I ever had a complex of inferiority *vis-à-vis* the English! ... Where a German soldier stands, no one else can stay! There is no power in the world which can push us out against our will from the conquered territory! They wanted the war, and they made no secret of it. For seven years Churchill has been saying, 'I want war'. Now he has it!' (*VB*, 11 December 1940).

**11 December:** Hitler gives a reception to the assembled *Gauleiters* in the New Chancellery and then leaves for Munich by train, where he stays for two days.

**13–16 December:** Hitler stays at the *Berghof*.

**13 December:** Hitler signs Directive No. 20 (Undertaking *Marita*) to provide direct military assistance to Italian troops in Greece, and to destroy the British expeditionary force there.

**14 December:** Audience with the Queen Mother of Romania.

**17–22 December:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**18 December:** Hitler signs Directive No. 21 (Case *Barbarossa*), stating clearly in the opening sentence: 'The German armed forces must be prepared, even before the conclusion of the war against England, to crush Soviet Russia in a rapid campaign' (*Directives*, p. 93). On the same day, Hitler speaks to 5,000 officer candidates in the Sports Palace, stressing the theme: 'Strike, or you will be struck – kill, or you will be killed!' (Domarus, p. 1638).

**19 December:** Hitler receives the newly accredited Soviet ambassador Vladimir G. Dekanozov. He also receives Ambassador Alfieri.

**23–26 December:** Hitler undertakes a Christmas tour of German troops stationed in France.

**25 December:** Hitler has a dramatic meeting in his special train near Beauvais with Admiral Darlan, Pétain's new deputy. He hardly allows Darlan to utter a few sentences and shows his outrage at the dismissal of Laval (13 December), a supporter of a close collaboration with Germany.

**27 December:** Hitler–Raeder conference in Berlin, during which the admiral fails to convince Hitler that the Russian campaign must not start before the defeat of

Britain. Hitler insists that the Army must assume first position in resource allocation, not the Air Force or the Navy.

**28 December:** Hitler arrives at the *Berghof*, where he stays until 27 January 1941.

## 1941

**4 January:** Hitler receives the Bulgarian prime minister Filov.

**8–9 January:** Hitler holds a military conference with senior generals (except Göring). He tries to present his plan to attack the Soviet Union as a preventive war, accusing Stalin of being 'a cold-blooded blackmailer, who would, if expedient, repudiate any written treaty at any time!' As a power, he portrays Russia as Britain's pawn, 'set in motion against us'. 'If America and Russia should enter the war against Germany,' Hitler continues, 'the situation would become very complicated. Hence any possibility for such a threat to develop must be eliminated at the very beginning. If the Russian threat were non-existent, we could wage war on Britain indefinitely. If Russia collapsed, Japan would be greatly relieved. This in turn would mean increased danger to America.' Hitler agreed with Raeder that Japan should be encouraged to capture Singapore, 'even if this may entail the risk that the US is thus forced to take drastic steps' (*FCNA*, 1941, p. 13). Hitler also decides to send motorized and armoured units to assist the Italians in Libya.

**11 January:** Hitler signs Directive No. 22, Operation 'Sunflower' (*Sonnenblume*) to aid the Italians in the Mediterranean, implying the transfer of German troops to Tripoli after 20 February, and the assistance of an entire German air corps, recently transferred to Sicily.

**13 January:** Audience with King Boris of Bulgaria.

**14 January:** General Antonescu of Romania is received by Hitler and offers him the support of his country in the war against the Soviet Union. But he also requests Hitler's support for his internal feud with the Iron Guards led by Horia Sima, which he obtains.

**20 January:** The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem writes to Hitler demanding immediate German support for Arab independence. Hitler ignores the appeal.

**19–20 January:** Mussolini and Ciano visit Hitler. The Italians accept German operational leadership for the Mediterranean area. Hitler informs *Il Duce* about his decision to salvage the Italian reputation by direct military assistance in Greece and North Africa, but he does not reveal his *Barbarossa* Plan.

**20–23 January:** During the coup in Romania, staged by the Iron Guard with the support of the SS, Hitler backs the conservative General Antonescu and orders German troops in the country to stand by.

**28 January–6 February:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**29 January:** Hitler receives the Hungarian defence minister Bartha.

**30 January:** On the eighth anniversary of his seizure of power, Hitler delivers his traditional speech in the Sports Palace.

**31 January:** Japanese military delegation led by General Yamashita is received by Hitler.

**3 February:** Halder presents Hitler with the tentative operational deployment of German troops for *Barbarossa* on the basis of the OKH document completed on 31 January.

**4 February:** Raeder presents Hitler with the naval staff memorandum dealing with Japan and the Tripartite Pact and reiterates the urgent need for the capture of Singapore by the Japanese.

**6 February:** Hitler signs Directive No. 23 dealing with the conduct of economic warfare against the British Empire.

**6 February–14 March:** Hitler stays at the *Berghof* most of the time.

**12 February:** Hitler appoints General Erwin Rommel as commander of the German Africa Corps from 25 February.

**14 February:** Abortive negotiations between Hitler and the Yugoslav delegation led by Cvetković and Cincar-Marković about Belgrade joining the *Axis*.

**17 February:** Hitler instructs the OKW Operations Staff to prepare a new directive (later Directive No. 24) concerning co-operation with Japan, and a study for an advance from Afghanistan against India after the completion of the Russian campaign.

**24 February:** Hitler speaks in Munich's *Hofbräuhaus* on the anniversary of the NSDAP Foundation Day.

**28 February:** The newly appointed Japanese ambassador, General Hiroshi Oshima, presents his credentials to Hitler.

**1 March:** On the occasion of Bulgaria joining the Tripartite Pact (the *Axis*) Hitler gives a reception in the presence of the Bulgarian premier Filov, Ribbentrop, Ciano and Oshima. After dictating a letter to the Turkish President İnönü, Hitler leaves for Linz.

**2 March:** German troops in Romania are ordered to begin their move across the Danube into Bulgaria. Hitler returns to the *Berghof*.

**3 March:** Hitler issues instructions to the OKW operations staff to work out 'Guidelines on Special Tasks' for Directive No. 21, based on the following principles: 'It is not enough to defeat the enemy by the force of arms; it is a conflict between two *Weltanschauungen*; no nationalist Russia must emerge after the defeat of Bolshevism; the Judeo-Bolshevik intelligentsia, the existing oppressors of the people, must be destroyed; the SS should take care of the immediate elimination of Bolshevik chiefs and commissars – without court martial!' (*KTB OKW* I, pp. 341–3). A Jewish ghetto is established in Cracow, followed rapidly by others across former Polish territory, in Kielce, Lublin, Radom, Czenstochowa, Bialystok and in the Baltic states, including Kowno and Riga.

**4 March:** Prince Paul of Yugoslavia is received by Hitler. They reach an agreement that Yugoslavia will join the *Axis* under most favourable terms: no military assistance to Germany, no transit of German troops across Yugoslavia, promise of Thessalonica upon the defeat of Greece and Europe's 'New Order'.

**5 March:** Hitler signs Directive No. 24, 'Co-operation with Japan', designed to bring the Japanese into the war against the British by directing them towards the seizure of Singapore: 'The common aim of strategy must be ... swift conquest of Britain in order to keep America out of the war. Apart from this, Germany has no political, military, or economic interests in the Far East, which need in any way inhibit Japanese intentions.' At the same time, Hitler states explicitly that 'no mention whatever of Operation *Barbarossa* will be made to the Japanese' (*Directives*, p. 106).

**13 March:** Hitler visits the *Hermann-Göring-Werke* near Linz.

**15–20 March:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**16 March:** On the Heroes' Memorial Day Hitler delivers a speech in the old arsenal in Berlin (*Zeughaus*).

**17 March:** Hitler receives Hans Frank. During a conference with his military advisers, Hitler discusses the operational details for *Marita* and *Barbarossa*. He recalls his special guidelines of 3 March: 'The Stalinist intelligentsia must be destroyed. The administrative machinery of the Greater Russian Empire must be smashed into pieces' (Halder, ii, p. 320). The *Wehrmacht* and the SS agreed that special extermination squads, SS *Einsatzgruppen*, should be granted more freedom for action than during the Polish campaign: 'Within the framework of these tasks the *Reichsführer* (Himmler) will act independently and on his own responsibility' (ND, 447–PS). In the evening Hitler receives the Turkish ambassador Hüsrev Gerece, who delivers him President İnönü's reply to his letter of 1 March.



**18 March:** Raeder reiterates to Hitler that Germany should now concentrate on bringing Japan into the war against the British Empire, and that Singapore must be captured, since the opportunity will never again be so favourable. Raeder also recommends that the Japanese foreign minister Matsuoka, who was travelling across the Soviet Union to Berlin, should be informed about *Barbarossa*.

**21–24 March:** Hitler visits Munich.

**21 March:** Hitler receives the new Hungarian foreign minister László Bárdossy.

**22 March:** Hitler spends the evening with Munich artists at Bormann's house in Pullach.

**25 March:** Official ceremony at the Belvedere Castle in Vienna on the occasion of Yugoslavia joining the *Axis*. Hitler meets Cvetković and Cincar-Marković, Ribbentrop, Ciano and Oshima. He also sees briefly his sister Paula, who is working incognito as 'Frau Wolf' in a military hospital.

**26 March–10 April:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**27 March:** Military coup in Belgrade that ousted the pro-German government. On receiving the news, Hitler summons the diplomatic representatives of Hungary and Bulgaria to secure their continued co-operation. While the Japanese foreign minister Matsuoka was kept waiting in another room, Hitler called in his senior generals and ordered them 'to make all preparations to destroy Yugoslavia militarily and as a national unit' (ND, 1746–PS). The punishment of the Yugoslavs will have to be carried out without mercy and at lightning speed, Hitler insists. Despite this improvisation, Hitler signs Directive No. 25 in the evening, outlining the attack against Yugoslavia in conjunction with his operation against Greece (*Marita*). General Jodl and his staff work all night in the chancellery in order to re-deploy German and *Axis* troops so the attack can take place on 6 April. Hitler writes to Mussolini requesting him to halt operations in Albania and to cover the Yugoslav sector. A major setback for Hitler is the necessity of postponing *Barbarossa* by four weeks. Finally, Hitler receives Matsuoka, whom he tries to impress with German military strength, but fails to extract any specific promise that Japan will attack the British soon, let alone to seize Singapore. Hitler makes no mention of *Barbarossa* to Matsuoka.

**30 March:** In the morning, Hitler summons about 250 senior generals to outline his fundamental ideas of how to defeat the Soviet Union and combat Bolshevism: 'Struggle between two *Weltanschauungen* ... Bolshevism is the equivalent of social delinquency ... We must get away from the standpoint of soldierly comradeship. The Communist is no comrade of ours either before or afterwards. This is a war of extermination ... We are not waging a war to preserve the enemy. Future state structures: Northern Russia belongs to Finland. Protectorates for the Baltic states, Ukraine, White Russia. Fight against Russia: extermination of the Bolshevik commissars and the Communist intelligentsia ... A new intelligentsia must be prevented from emerging. A primitive Socialist intelligentsia is sufficient there. The struggle must be fought against the poison of subversion. It is not a question of court martials. The leaders of the troops must know what is involved. They must take the lead in the struggle. The troops must defend themselves with the methods with which they are attacked. Commissars and GPU peoples are criminals and must be treated as such ... The struggle will be very different from that in the West. In the East, toughness today means mildness tomorrow. The leaders must make sacrifices and overcome their scruples' (Halder II, pp. 336–7).

**31 March:** The OKH immediately incorporates Hitler's utterance from the previous day into its first draft, the so-called 'Commissar Order', stipulating that Red Army commissars are to be segregated from other prisoners and handed over to the SS extermination squads for liquidation.

**3 April:** Hungary's prime minister, Count Tóteki, commits suicide in protest against Hitler's pressure to force his country to participate in the attack on Yugoslavia. Hitler sends Raeder with a wreath to Tóteki's funeral. In order to secure the co-operation of Germany's allies in the Balkans (Bulgaria, Hungary,

Romania) for the modified Undertaking *Marita*, Hitler issues a new plan of campaign in Directive No. 26. On the same day Hitler receives Admiral Naokuni Nomura, the chief Japanese delegate to the Tripartite Pact Military Committee.

**4 April:** After his return from Rome, where he met Mussolini and Ciano, Matsuoka conducts talks with Hitler and Ribbentrop, who still do not want to inform him about *Barbarossa*.

**6 April:** Germany opens Undertaking *Marita* against Yugoslavia and Greece at 5.15 a.m., while in Moscow a Friendship Treaty between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia is signed (then pre-dated to 5 April and subsequently nullified by the Soviets). Ambassador Alfieri brings a reply from Mussolini to Hitler's recent letter. Hitler issues a 'Proclamation to the German People'.

**9 April:** Conversation between Goebbels and Hitler, who believes that it was Otto Strasser who organized the attempt on his life in Munich on 9 November 1939. The two men also discuss the *Reichstag* fire of 28 February 1933 without the slightest indication that this fire could have been started by an SS undercover operation (*TBJG*, 1/9, p. 237). Subhas Chandra Bose, former President of the Indian National Congress who opted for the *Axis*, sends his first memorandum to the 'German government'. (Having escaped from India, Bose travelled via Afghanistan and the Soviet Union and arrived in Berlin on 2 April. There is no evidence that Ribbentrop's office forwarded his memorandum to the Reich Chancellery; Hitler refuses to meet Bose until May 1942.)

**10 April:** After a devastating night raid by the RAF on the centre of Berlin, Hitler has a heated exchange with Göring, whom he reproaches for the failure of the *Luftwaffe*. In the evening, as Italy and Hungary join in the attack on Yugoslavia, Hitler leaves Berlin via Munich for his new HQ *Frühlingssturm*, south of Vienna.

**11–25 April:** Hitler stays most of the time in his special train at the HQ *Frühlingssturm* near Mönichkirchen.

**13 April:** While Matsuoka signs the Soviet–Japanese Non-Aggression Pact in Moscow, and German troops enter Belgrade, Hitler issues Directive No. 27, a supplement to *Marita*, stipulating the occupation and partition of Yugoslavia and concerning the ensuing operations, in co-operation with Italy and Bulgaria, against the British forces in Greece and North Africa.

**15 April:** Hitler sends a telegram to Ante Pavelić, congratulating him and General Kvaternik on the proclamation of the independent state of Croatia.

**19 April:** Hitler receives King Boris III and the Hungarian minister, Count Sztójay.

**20 April:** Surrender of Greece. Ciano arrives to congratulate the Führer on his 52nd birthday; so does Raeder, who asks repeatedly whether Matsuoka was informed about *Barbarossa*. Hitler admits that he gave the Japanese foreign minister only an evasive hint. Hitler's assessment of the Soviet–Japanese Non-Aggression Pact is surprisingly positive, as it enables Japan to attack Singapore instead of Vladivostok. Rosenberg is appointed by Hitler to take charge of 'Questions concerning the East European Space'.

**24 April:** Admiral Horthy arrives at Hitler's HQ to discuss Hungary's claims on the defunct Yugoslavia.

**25 April:** In Directive No. 28, 'Undertaking Mercury' (*Merkur*), Hitler outlines the necessity for a German landing on the island of Crete, to secure air bases against British forces in the Eastern Mediterranean and the planned seizure of Suez.

**26–27 April:** Hitler visits Graz and Klagenfurt, where he meets his old history teacher, Dr Leopold Poetsch.

**28 April–4 May:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**28 April:** Count von Schulenburg, Germany's Ambassador to Moscow, comes to Berlin and tries to convince Hitler that there is no danger of the Soviet Union attacking Germany.

**29 April:** As the last British forces are evacuated from Greece, Hitler delivers a speech to 9,000 officer candidates in the Sports Palace.

**30 April:** Hitler discusses with General Jodl the last details for *Barbarossa* before the orders are sent out to senior commanders; Hitler sets the date of attack as 22 June. He also visits Ribbentrop, on the latter's 48th birthday, at his home in Berlin.

**2 May:** As British Indian troops occupied Basra and the oilfields, the pro-Axis government of Baghdad continues to lay siege to the RAF base at Habbaniyah and to appeal for German military assistance.

**4 May:** Hitler addresses the *Reichstag* on the Balkan campaign.

**5 May:** Hitler inspects the battleships *Bismarck* and *Tirpitz* at Gottenhafen (formerly Polish Gdynia).

**7–8 May:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**9 May–11 June:** Hitler stays at the *Berghof*.

**10 May:** At 6 p.m., Rudolf Hess, the Führer's Deputy, secretly takes off in a long-range fighter plane for Scotland. His intention is negotiate the termination of hostilities between Germany and England before *Barbarossa* is launched.

**11 May:** At noon, Hitler is handed Hess's farewell letter. He also meets Admiral Darlan, with whom he signs an agreement about the use of French bases in Syria and German collaboration in supplying war material to Iraq in support of the pro-Axis government of Rashid Ali al-Gailani.

**12 May:** Hitler approves an official communiqué on Hess's disappearance to be broadcast on German radio underlining the case that the Führer's Deputy has become insane. Hitler orders the wholesale arrests of astrologers, occultists and clairvoyants, under suspicion of their being involved in Hess's secret trip to Scotland. Many people from Hess's entourage are imprisoned on the orders of Martin Bormann, Hess's deputy, whom Hitler appoints head of the party chancellery.

**13 May:** All *Reichsleiters* and *Gauleiters* are summoned to listen to Hitler's version of Hess's defection. He also issues an order stipulating that, in the forthcoming invasion, Russian civilians should be considered outlaws, which gives the *Wehrmacht* commanders a free hand in conducting a war of extermination.

**17 May:** Hitler signs Directive No. 29, dealing with the consolidation of the conquered space in south-east Europe and the air assault on Crete ('Operation Mercury'), scheduled for 20 May.

**23 May:** After weeks of hesitation, Hitler signs Directive No. 30, to assist 'the Arab Freedom Movement', specifically in Iraq. On the one hand, Hitler proclaims 'the Arab Freedom Movement is our natural ally against Britain in the Middle East', but on the other he deferred the venture in the Middle East until the outcome of his campaign in Russia: 'Whether ... it may be possible, in conjunction with an offensive against the Suez Canal, finally to break the British position between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, is a question which will be decided only after *Barbarossa*.' The same double standards were applied to German propaganda in the Middle East: 'The victory of the Axis will free the countries of the Middle East from the British yoke, and will give them the right to self-determination. All who love freedom will therefore join in the fight against England. No propaganda will be carried out against the French in Syria' (*Directives*, pp. 122–5). At this point, however, Iraqi troops are retreating; the pro-Axis Iraqi government is to collapse within a week. Hitler receives John Cudahy, former US ambassador in Brussels and now a *Life* magazine correspondent.

**26–27 May:** During the night Hitler follows through radio contact the agony of the sinking of the *Bismarck* and its crew.

**2 June:** During their meeting at the Brenner Pass, Hitler tells Mussolini that after the war every Jew must get out of Europe and settle in Madagascar, but he does not mention preparations for *Barbarossa*.

**3 June:** Hitler receives Ambassador Oshima.

**5 June:** Hitler approves of the new *Barbarossa* timetable.

**6 June:** On the basis of Hitler's statements of 30 March, the OKW drafted the so-called 'Commissar Order', stipulating that Red Army political commissars should

be segregated from other prisoners-of-war and handed over to the SS for liquidation. Raeder tries in vain again to convince Hitler to exploit the present British weakness in the Mediterranean by concentrating the main German war effort there and not against Russia. Hitler also receives the *Poglavnik* Dr Ante Pavelić, the head of the new fascist state of Croatia.

**7 June:** Hitler receives King Boris III of Bulgaria.

**9 June:** Hitler signs Directive No. 31, concerning the division of the spoils in the Balkans.

**11 June:** The OKW issues (without Hitler's signature) Directive No. 32, 'Preparations for the Period after *Barbarossa*', when Germany and Italy, having destroyed the Soviet armed forces, will be military masters of the European Continent. It outlines the principles of the three-pronged invasion of the Middle East, from North Africa, from Bulgaria through Turkey, and from Transcaucasia against Iraq, while exploiting the Arab Freedom Movement.

**12 June:** In Munich, Hitler meets General Antonescu. In return for Romanian military assistance against Russia, Hitler promises that he will restore to Romania's former provinces, Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia, that were annexed by Stalin in June 1940.

**13–23 June:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**14 June:** Last great conference between Hitler, C-in-Cs and army commanders, before the launching of *Barbarossa*.

**17 June:** Hitler's instruction is that *Barbarossa* is to begin on Sunday, 22 June, at 3 a.m.

**19 June:** Hitler tells Hans Frank that no fresh ghettos for the Jews are to be established in the *General Gouvernement*, which is to serve as a mere transit camp. One day after the conclusion of the Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and Turkey, Hitler receives Ambassador Gerede, who brings with him a letter from President İnönü.

**21 June:** At last, Hitler decides to inform Mussolini in a personal message that *Barbarossa* will begin in a few hours. Similar letters are sent to the Finnish president Ryti, and the Hungarian regent Horthy. Hitler instructs the Naval Staff that until *Barbarossa* is well under way he wishes to avoid any incidents with the USA; in the next weeks all attacks by German U-boats on US naval vessels in the closed areas should cease.

**22 June:** At 3.15 a.m., 152 German divisions with their Finnish, Hungarian, Slovak and Romanian allies, spread from the Arctic to the Black Sea, assault the Soviet Union. There is no declaration of war by Hitler, only a 'Proclamation to the German People', read by Goebbels over the radio.

**23 June:** At noon, Hitler leaves the capital for his new HQ *Wolfsschanze* (Wolf's Lair), near Rastenburg in East Prussia, where he says he will spend no more than about four weeks, until 15 July 1941.

**23–27 June:** Pressed by Hitler, the governments of Slovakia, Finland and Hungary declare war on the Soviet Union.

**29 June:** Hitler decrees that, in the event of his death, Göring will become his successor.

**5 July:** To his confidants, Hitler reveals his vision of New Europe: 'The beauties of the Crimea, which we shall make accessible by means of an *Autobahn*. For us Germans, that will be our Riviera ... it's the road that will bring people together. What progress in the direction of New Europe! Just as the *Autobahn* has caused the inner frontiers of Germany to disappear, so it will abolish the frontiers of the countries of Europe. To those who ask me whether it will be enough to reach the Urals as a frontier, I reply that for the present it is enough for the frontier to be drawn back as far as that. What matters is that Bolshevism must be exterminated ... Moscow, as the centre of the doctrine, must disappear from the earth's surface, as soon as its riches have been brought to shelter. There's no question of our collaborating with the Muscovite proletariat' (TT, p. 5).

**8 July:** Hitler announces his 'firm decision to level to the ground Moscow and Leningrad in order to prevent the population staying there, which we would have to feed in the winter' (Halder, III, p. 53).

**9 July:** Following the US landing in Iceland on 7 July, Raeder presses Hitler to consider this as an act of war and to give permission to sink US ships.

**11 July:** Talking to his entourage, Hitler admits that, to him, 'Stalin is one of the most extraordinary figures in world history ... he owes nothing to rhetoric and governs from his office, thanks to a bureaucracy that obeys his every nod and gesture ... Stalin, that cunning Caucasian, is apparently quite ready to abandon European Russia, if he thinks that a failure to solve her problems would cause him to lose everything. Let nobody think Stalin might reconquer Europe from the Urals!' (TT, p. 8).

**12 July:** Hitler receives a memorandum from Rosenberg, who is against sending Werner Otto von Hentig to Kabul on Ribbentrop's instructions as the new German minister to Afghanistan. This denunciation was the outcome of a fierce inter-departmental struggle between the offices of Rosenberg and Ribbentrop. Hitler decides in favour of Rosenberg, thus thwarting once again one of the most extravagant projects of the Foreign Office, to foment an anti-British uprising in the centre of Asia (Hauner, p. 309).

**14 July:** Hitler signs the supplement to Directive No. 32, making the *Luftwaffe* the chief recipient of scarce resource allocations after the defeat of the Red Army. The Navy's requirements should remain confined to the submarine warfare priority against Britain, and, should the occasion arise, against the USA. As for the Army, infantry divisions are to be reduced drastically, but armoured and motorized divisions almost doubled in number. Talking to Ambassador Oshima at his field HQ, Hitler, for the first time, invites Japan to attack the Soviet Union from the rear by advancing along the Trans-Siberian railway. German troops will be ready to shake hands with their Japanese comrades in the Urals. (Neither Hitler nor Oshima are aware that, on 2 July, the Imperial Conference in Tokyo had already decided to 'strike South'.) Hitler furthermore tells Oshima that Germany and Japan should combine their forces and crush America too (Hillgruber, I, pp. 541–51).

**16 July:** At a conference attended by Rosenberg, Lammers, Keitel, Göring and Bormann, Hitler defines the objectives of the German subjugation of Russia: 'It was essential that we should not proclaim our aims before the whole world ... but the chief thing was that we ourselves should know what we wanted ... We shall then emphasize again that we were forced to occupy, administer and secure a certain area; it was in the interest of the inhabitants that we should provide order, food, traffic, etc., hence our measures. It should not be made obvious that a final settlement is thereby being initiated! We can nevertheless take all necessary measures – shooting, resettling, etc. – and we shall take them. But we do not want to make enemies of any people prematurely and unnecessarily. Therefore we shall act as though we wanted to exercise a mandate only. It must be clear to us, however, that we shall never withdraw from these areas ... In particular, the Crimea must be evacuated by all foreigners and be settled by Germans only ... In principle we have now to face the task of cutting up the giant cake according to our needs, in order to be able, firstly to dominate it, secondly to administer it, and thirdly to exploit it. The Russians have now given an order for partisan warfare behind our front [an allusion to Stalin's decisions of 3 and 14 July to apply scorched earth and partisan warfare against the Nazi invader]. This partisan war again has some advantage for us; it enables us to exterminate everyone who opposes us. Never again must it be possible to create a military power west of the Urals ... We must never permit anybody but the Germans to carry arms! This is especially important; even when it seems easier at first to enlist the armed support of foreign, subjugated nations, it is wrong to do so. This will prove some day to be absolutely and unavoidably to our disadvantage. Only the German may carry arms, not the Slav, nor the Czech, nor the Cossack, nor the Ukrainian! – In this

respect we must learn absolutely from the Englishman ... here again the conduct of the British in India towards the Indian princes, etc., ought to be an example' (DGFP, D/xii, pp. 149–56).

**17 July:** Hitler appoints Rosenberg as Minister for the 'Occupied Eastern Territories' (*Ostministerium* for short), and the *Gauleiters* Erich Koch and Heinrich Lohse as Reich Commissioners for the Ukraine and *Ostland* (the Baltic provinces and Byelorussia).

**19 July:** Hitler signs Directive No. 33, ordering that the attack on Moscow should be carried out by infantry while the fast divisions, motorized and armoured, are to be diverted towards the northern and southern sectors of the front.

**21 July:** Hitler receives the Croatian defence minister, Marshal Slavko Kvaternik, and tells him that he is determined to solve the Jewish Question in Europe once and for all by sending those 'germ carriers, either to Siberia or Madagascar – he doesn't care where'. Kvaternik informs Hitler about certain 'Communist disturbances' in Yugoslavia (meaning the declaration by Josif Broz Tito on 4 July against the Fascist occupation) (Hillgruber, I, pp. 551–7).

**22–23 July:** Chatting during the night, Hitler tells his select audience what he thinks about the Anglo–German relationship: 'It is quite certain that England's Empire won't be able to exist in future without German support. I believe that the end of this war will mark the beginning of a durable friendship with England. But first we must give her the knockout – for only so can we live at peace with her; the Englishman can only respect someone who has first knocked him out' (TT, p. 12).

**25 July:** Raeder complains to Hitler that the number of submarines built in German shipyards is entirely inadequate. He also asks Hitler whether Operation Sea-lion 'is now only going to serve as a camouflage, or whether it is actually to be carried out', to which Hitler replies that he cannot answer definitely, but it certainly will not be carried out before Spring 1942 (FCNA, 1941, p. 93).

**27 July:** In his HQ, Hitler visualizes the Eastern *Lebensraum*: 'It should be possible for us to control this region to the East with 250,000 men plus a cadre of good administrators. Let's learn from the English, who, with 250,000 men in all, including 50,000 soldiers, govern 400,000,000 Indians ... We'll take the southern part of the Ukraine, especially the Crimea, and make it an exclusively German colony' (TT, p. 15).

**30 July:** Challenging the opinion of the OKH, Hitler orders in Directive No. 34 the Army Group Centre to halt the drive to Moscow. He insists that more sweeping victories are to be won in the North and in the South, where he is attracted by the proximity of the Caucasus.

**31 July:** Göring issues the first known written order for the liquidation of European Jews (*Endlösung*), in a memorandum to Heydrich.

**4 August:** To General Guderian, the tank expert, Hitler allegedly admits: 'Had I known they had so many tanks as that, I'd have thought twice before invading' (Irving, *War*, p. 312). (By the end of July, about 12,000 Russian tanks had been destroyed or captured – and still they came.)

**6 August:** Hitler flies to the Army Group South HQ at Berdichev, where he decorates the Romanian leader General Antonescu with the Knight's Cross. After discussing the military situation with Field Marshal Rundstedt, Hitler returns to Rastenburg.

**8–11 August:** On three consecutive nights Hitler sermonizes about Germany's future world domination: 'The basic reason for English pride is India. 400 years ago the English did not have this pride ... What India was for England, the territories of Russia will be for us. If only I could make the German people understand what this space means for our future ... The German colonist ought to live in handsome, spacious farms ... we shall have a belt of handsome villages connected by the best roads. What exists beyond that will be another world, in which we mean to let the Russians live as they like. It is merely necessary that we should rule them. In the event of a revolution, we shall only have to drop a few bombs

on their cities, and the affair will be liquidated. Once a year we shall lead a troop of Kirghiz through the capital of the Reich, in order to strike their imaginations with the size of our monuments ... We must no longer allow Germans to emigrate to America. On the contrary, we must attract the Norwegians, the Swedes, the Danes and the Dutch into our Eastern territories. They'll become members of the German Reich. Our duty is methodically to pursue a racial policy ... If America lends her help to England, it is with the secret thought of bringing the moment nearer when she will reap her inheritance. I shall no longer be there to see it, but I rejoice on behalf of the German people that one day we will see England and Germany marching together against America ... They have an unexampled cheek, these English! It doesn't prevent me from admiring them. In this sphere, they still have a lot to teach us' (TT, pp. 23–6).

**14 August:** Upon learning that Churchill and Roosevelt had announced the Allied war aims in the Atlantic Charter on 12 August, Hitler becomes excited, particularly about point 6, in which the 'final destruction of Nazi tyranny' is proclaimed: 'They will never succeed in achieving that,' Hitler declares (Below, p. 287).

**18 August:** Goebbels arrives at Hitler's HQ with fresh proposals for the intensification of the persecution of German Jews in Germany. He receives permission from Hitler to start with the deportation of some 76,000 Berlin Jews. Hitler also reminds him of the prophecy he uttered in his January 1939 speech before the *Reichstag*, in which he warned that the entire European Jewry would be eliminated if it came to another world war (TBJG, II/1, pp. 257–260). Army (OKH) C-in-C Brauchitsch submits his protest against Hitler's order to stop the advance on Moscow.

**21 August:** Hitler rebukes the OKH protest in a directive reaffirming his own views that 'the most important aim to be achieved before the onset of winter is not to capture Moscow, but to seize the Crimea and the industrial and coal region on the Donets, and to cut off the Russian oil supply from the Caucasus area. In the North, the aim is to cut off Leningrad and to join with the Finns' (Halder, III, p. 192).

**24 August:** Under pressure from the Catholic Church, especially from Bishop Galen of Münster, Hitler orders a discontinuance of the euthanasia programme – but the elimination of 'incurables' in Germany is to continue despite this order.

**25 August:** Soviet and British troops invade Iran to prevent the envisaged *Axis* penetration of the Middle East. At his HQ, Hitler receives Ambassador Oshima, followed by Mussolini with Ciano.

**26–28 August:** Hitler takes his Italian guests to the southern front, flying first to Brest-Litovsk. After eating a meal issued by the field kitchen, Hitler flies back to the *Wolfsschanze* the same night without the Italians.

**26 August:** The OKW issues a memorandum, approved by Hitler, admitting that the campaign against the Soviet Union cannot be completed in 1941 and that planned operations into the Middle East and north-west Africa will have to be postponed until 1942.

**27–28 August:** In the morning, Hitler arrives with his train *Amerika* from his HQ to Strzyżów, where Mussolini and Ciano also arrive in their special train. They spend the night in the unfinished HQ complex *Askania South* (Seidler-Zeigert, p. 208). Next morning they fly together in the 'Führer's plane' FW-200 *Condor* from Strzyżów to Uman in Ukraine to visit an Italian unit fighting alongside the Germans. Hitler flies back to Strzyżów the same evening and continues by train to *Wolfsschanze* (ibid.).

**1 September:** Hitler receives, at his HQ, General Muñoz Grandes, commander of the Spanish 'Blue' Division, serving on the Eastern front.

**6 September:** Hitler signs Directive No. 35, confirming his orders of 21 August.

**8–10 September:** The Hungarian delegation led by Admiral Horthy is visiting the *Wolfsschanze*. Hitler takes them on a trip to Marienburg and the Tannenberg Memorial. Horthy demands the withdrawal of the Hungarian motorized corps from the Russian front.

**11 September:** Hitler receives the Spanish ambassador Count Mayalde and the Portuguese minister Count Tovar.

**14–15 September:** Taking up the theme during his late-night soliloquy of potential revolution at home, Hitler reveals what kind of precautions he has taken: 'I've ordered Himmler, in the event of there some day being reason to fear troubles back home, to liquidate everything he finds in the concentration camps. Thus at a stroke the revolution would be deprived of its leaders' (TT, p. 29).

**16 September:** Hitler orders General Hoepner's tank group to halt short of Leningrad, since he does not want to take the city but rather to eliminate its population by starvation.

**17 September:** Hitler requests Raeder that care be taken to avoid any incident with US ships.

**17–18 September:** Hitler is chatting about his future *Lebensraum* in Russia, comparing it with India: 'The Slavs are a mass of born slaves, who feel the need of a master. As far as we are concerned, we may think that the Bolsheviks did us a great service ... If the English were to be driven out of India, India would perish. Our role in Russia will be analogous to that of England in India ... The Russian space is our India. Like the English, we shall rule this empire with a handful of men. It would be a mistake to claim to educate the native ... We must likewise prevent them from returning to Christianity. That would be a great fault, for it would be giving them a form of organization. I am not a partisan, either, of a university at Kiev. It's better not to teach them to read ... Even to give them a locomotive to drive would be a mistake. And what stupidity it would be on our part to proceed to a distribution of land! ... We'll supply grain to all in Europe who need it. The Crimea will give us citrus fruits, cotton and rubber ... We'll supply the Ukrainians with scarves, glass beads and everything that colonial peoples like. The Germans – this is essential – will have to constitute amongst themselves a closed society, like a fortress. The least of our stable-lads must be superior to any native ... The Germans must acquire the feeling for the great, open spaces. We must arrange things so that every German can realize for himself what they mean. We'll take them on trips to the Crimea and the Caucasus' (TT, pp. 33–5).

**22 September:** Hitler signs Directive No. 36, concerning operations against Murmansk in the far north.

**21–24 September:** Hitler is sorting out the crisis in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. He summons to the *Wolfsschanze* the *Reichsprotector*, K. von Neurath, and his state secretary, K. H. Frank; accuses Neurath of leniency towards the Czechs, and appoints SS *Obergruppenführer* Reinhard Heydrich to succeed him (on 27 September).

**24 September:** Hitler, Himmler, Heydrich and Hans Frank fly together to Borisov to visit the Army Group Centre HQ. Hitler insists before the C-in-C, Field Marshal von Bock, that the assault on Moscow must be resumed.

**28 September:** On his arrival in Prague, Heydrich declares a state of emergency over the whole Protectorate and orders the arrest of the Czech premier General Eliáš.

**2 October:** As the great assault for the encirclement of Moscow (Operation Typhoon) begins, Hitler addresses the 'Soldiers on the Eastern Front', promising 'to smash the enemy before the outbreak of the winter' (VB, 10 October 1941).

**3 October:** Hitler arrives in Berlin at 1.15 p.m. to open the 'Winter-Help Campaign' in the Sports Palace, assuring the audience that the Soviet Union 'is already defeated and will never rise again' (VB, 5 October 1941). He departs for his HQ immediately afterwards, at 7.15 p.m.

**6 October:** Over lunch, Hitler declares that all Jews in the Protectorate are to be deported to the East. As for the Czechs, if they 'still don't behave themselves', Hitler threatens that he will 'amend their protectorate status and detach Moravia completely from Bohemia and hand large parts to the Lower Danube Gau ... After



this war all the racially valueless elements will be transplanted to the East' (Irving, *War*, p. 345).

**7 October:** Hitler orders that no formal surrender of Moscow should be accepted by the Army. Like Leningrad, the Soviet capital is to be encircled and wiped out by fire and bombardment; its population is destined to starve to death.

**10 October:** Hitler signs Directive No. 37, concerning the protection of the Petsamo nickel mines and the eventual capture of Murmansk.

**14 October:** Hitler orders the German troops advancing on Murmansk to stop.

**17 October:** By October 1941, the future German empire reached through conquest 7 million sq. km, in size between British India and the USA, it contained 530 million subjects under German influence, 360 million of them under direct rule. No wonder Hitler felt intoxicated enough to boast: 'Once we are masters of Europe we can dominate the entire world. We'll have 130 million in the Reich, 90 in the Ukraine, together with other nations of the New Europe we'll reach 400 million. We can easily take it up against 130 million Americans' (Heim, p. 110).

After dinner, Hitler expands his vision of the new Eastern Territories after the German victory to his special guests, Reich Minister Todt, *Gauleiter* Sauckel and Albert Speer: 'We'll take away its character of an Asiatic steppe, we'll Europeanise it. With this object, we have undertaken the construction of roads that will lead to the southernmost point of the Crimea and to the Caucasus. These roads will be studded along their whole length with German towns, and around these towns our colonists will settle ... I shall no longer be here to see all that, but in twenty years the Ukraine will already be a home for 20,000,000 inhabitants besides the natives. In 300 years the country will be one of the loveliest gardens in the world. As for the natives, we'll have to screen them carefully. The Jew, the destroyer, we shall drive out ... We shan't settle in the Russian towns, and we'll let them fall to pieces without intervening. And, above all, no remorse on this subject! ... We'll confine ourselves, perhaps, to setting up a radio transmitter under our control. For the rest, let them know just enough to understand our highway signs, so that they won't get themselves run over by our vehicles! For them the word 'liberty' means the right to wash on feast days. If we arrive bringing soft soap, we'll obtain no sympathy ... There's only one duty: to Germanise this country by the immigration of Germans and to look upon the natives as Redskins. If these people had defeated us, Heaven have mercy! ... All those who have the feeling for Europe can join us in our work. In this business I shall go straight ahead, cold-bloodedly. What they may think about me, at this juncture, is to me a matter of complete indifference. I don't see why a German who eats a piece of bread should torment himself with the idea that the soil that produces this bread has been won by the sword. When we eat wheat from Canada, we don't think about the despoiled Indians ... I'm glad that this call to the East has taken our attention off the Mediterranean. The South, for us, is the Crimea. To go further would be nonsense. Let us stay Nordic' (*TT*, pp. 68–70).

**20 October:** Hitler receives at his HQ a Slovak delegation led by President Tiso.

**21 October:** Hitler approves the execution of fifty French hostages by firing squad as a reprisal for the killing of one German officer.

**24 October:** The OKH Operations Staff presents Hitler with the first blueprint for a German advance to the Caucasus.

**25 October:** In the morning, Hitler receives Ciano, who brings him Mussolini's 'personal wish' to contribute to the German war effort in kind. Hitler offers the deployment of Italian troops, especially of the *Alpini* Mountain Division, in his 1942 planned operation in the Caucasus and that they 'might be also possibly used for the fighting against India' (Hillgruber, i, p. 636). In the evening he rants about the Jews to his special guests, Himmler and Heydrich: 'From the rostrum of the *Reichstag* I prophesied to the Jewry that in the event of war's proving inevitable, the Jew would disappear from Europe. That race of criminals has on its conscience the 2,000,000 dead of the First World War ... Let nobody tell me that

all the same we can't dump them in the marshy parts of Russia! Who's worrying about our troops? It's not a bad idea, by this way, that public rumour attributes to us a plan to exterminate the Jews. Terror is a salutary thing ... I have numerous accounts to settle, about which I cannot think today. But that doesn't mean I forget them ... One acts more shrewdly when one bides one's time' (TT, pp. 87–90).

**29 October:** Hitler writes to Mussolini.

**8 November:** Hitler arrives in Munich for his customary speech in the *Löwenbräukeller* on the anniversary of the 1923 *putsch*.

**9 November:** Hitler addresses assembled *Reichsleiters* and *Gauleiters* in Munich; he selects one of the *Gauleiters*, Josef Wagner, for an exemplary punishment. Thereafter, he immediately departs for the *Wolfsschanze*.

**13 November:** Raeder obtains Hitler's approval for a new set of directives for the conduct of German ships on encountering US forces.

**15 November:** Hitler replies to Ribbentrop's memorandum of 13 November, in which the Foreign Office pleaded for a more active German oriental policy based on an intensified propaganda campaign towards the Arab states and India, and on exploiting the Panturanian issue, including the establishment of a federation of Turkish states on the territory of the Soviet Union. Hitler agrees only with the use of soldiers of Turkic origin by the *Wehrmacht*, but objects strongly to the idea of arousing 'a Panturanian feeling of solidarity directed against the Russians'. This would be contrary to German interests, he enlightens Ribbentrop, since 'our first objective is to get control there and to organize the country for our purposes; the last think we would therefore want there is any sentiment of national solidarity' (Hauner, p. 352).

**19 November:** Hitler declares the Caucasus to be the chief strategic objective for the 1942 campaign.

**21 November:** Hitler attends the funeral in Berlin of General Udet, who committed suicide on 17 November.

**24 November:** Inauguration of a 'model concentration camp' for Jews in Theresienstadt.

**25 November:** Hitler inspects new equipment for the *Wehrmacht* at Arys.

**27 November:** Hitler arrives in Berlin to attend the ceremony staged for the extension of the Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936. After lunch, he has private conversations till 9 p.m. with the foreign ministers of Finland (Witting), Hungary (Bárdossy), Bulgaria (Popov), Denmark (Scavenius), and Croatia (Lorković). In a surprising turn, the following gloomy remark by Hitler is recorded: 'on this point I am icily cold. If one day the German Nation is no longer sufficiently strong or sufficiently ready for sacrifice to stake its blood for its existence, then let it perish and be annihilated by some other strong power. I shall shed no tears for the German Nation' (Haffner, p. 160).

**28 November:** Hitler receives Muhammad Ali Amin al Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, whom he tells that the Arabs will have to wait for a German declaration on Arab independence until *Axis* troops have crossed the Caucasus. Then he has an audience with the Romanian King, Michael I, and his mother, Queen Helen. He also receives the Foreign Minister of Romania, Mihai Antonescu.

**29 November:** Hitler receives Ciano, the Spanish Foreign Minister Serrano Suñer, and the Slovak Prime Minister Vojtěch Tuka. When Speer suggests that the grandiose projects should be discontinued because of the war, Hitler interrupts him bluntly: 'The buildings must begin even while this war is still going on. I am not going to let the war keep me from accomplishing my plans!' (Speer, p. 259). In the evening, Hitler leaves for the *Wolfsschanze*.

**2 December:** Hitler signs Directive No. 38, designed to counter the British offensive launched from Egypt on 18 November. Later he flies via Kiev and Poltava to the HQ of Army Group South at Zhdanov (Mariupol) to discuss the critical situation that has developed at Rostov. On the same day, forty Uzbek prisoners-of-war

send a petition to Hitler, addressed: 'To the esteemed Führer of the world-conquering German Government and the Liberator of all peoples in the world' (Hauner, p. 352).

**3-4 December:** On the return flight, Hitler had to spend the night near the Poltava air base because of bad weather. He was irritated and apparently complained to his valet that he would never again leave his HQ to seek direct contact with the army in the field: 'Linge, I'm glad you're sitting behind me instead of a *Gruppenführer* who could shoot me in the back!' (Domarus, p. 1788).

**5 December:** As the Russians launch their counter-strike from around Moscow, a crisis of confidence between Hitler and his military advisers reaches its peak. Army C-in-C Brauchitsch resigns. Hitler orders the transfer of the entire 2nd Air Fleet from Russia to Sicily and Libya; its commander, Field Marshal Kesselring, becomes C-in-C South (Mediterranean and North Africa).

**7 December:** Hitler authorizes the OKW order 'Night and Fog', providing for the internment without trial of potential enemies in occupied France. Hitler receives the Spanish General José Moscardo, and dictates a letter to Antonescu and King Gustav V of Sweden. Shortly before midnight Hitler learns of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. He is said to have rejoiced: 'Now it is impossible for us to lose the war; we now have an ally who has never been vanquished in 3,000 years' (Irving, *War*, p. 385).

**7 December:** Hitler signs Directive No. 39, in which he finally accepts the harsh realities on the Eastern front. The troops are ordered to take to their winter quarters – the *Blitzkrieg* is over. In the evening Hitler leaves his HQ.

**9-15 December:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**11 December:** Speaking to the *Reichstag*, Hitler unexpectedly declares war on the USA, accusing President Roosevelt of warmongering: 'First he incites war, then falsifies the causes and puts up imperious claims, then odiously wraps himself in a cloak of Christian hypocrisy and slowly but surely leads mankind to war' (Domarus, p. 1807).

**12 December:** Hitler holds a naval conference with Raeder, who complains that the German Navy is running out of fuel. In the afternoon, Hitler receives the Dutch fascist leader Mussert. In the evening, Hitler speaks to the assembled *Reichsleiter*s and *Gauleiter*s; he makes an unambiguous announcement to begin the mass murder of Jews (Gerlach, p. 116ff).

**13 December:** During an audience with Oshima, Hitler outlines his three major strategic aims for 1942: elimination of the Soviet Union, crossing the Caucasus into the Middle East, and continuation of the tonnage warfare against the Anglo-Saxons. However, he answers evasively to Oshima's request for German participation in the planned invasion of India.

**16 December:** Hitler appeals to German soldiers in Russia to resist the Red Army with 'fanatical determination'. Before Walter Hewel, Ribbentrop's delegate at his HQ, Hitler brings up his sense of guilt at helping the 'Yellow Peril' to defeat the white race and that 'England fights together with the Bolshevik swine against Europe!' (Hauner, p. 31).

**18 December:** 'What is happening in the Far East is happening by no will of mine,' Hitler tells Himmler during the lunch: 'For years I never stopped telling all the English I met that they'd lose the Far East if they entered into a war in Europe. They didn't answer, but they assumed a superior air. They're masters in the art of being arrogant! ... The Japanese are occupying all the islands, one after the other. They will get hold of Australia, too. The white race will disappear from those regions' (TT, p. 150).

**19 December:** Hitler decides that no one is better suited for the post of Army C-in-C, vacated by Brauchitsch, than himself: 'This little job of operational command is something anybody can do. The Army C-in-C's job is to educate the Army for the National Socialist idea and I know of no army general who could do that as I want it done' (Toland, p. 955).

**20 December:** Goebbels reads over the radio Hitler's appeal to the German population to collect winter clothing for the frozen soldiers on the Eastern front.

**23 December:** Hitler orders that anybody trying to appropriate for himself any item from the collected winter clothing will be punished by death.

**28 December:** In an order issued to the troops in the East, Hitler justifies the necessity of a 'last stand' resistance against the enemy.

**29 December:** In a conversation with Dr Todt, Hitler accepts the necessity of employing Russian labour in German mines and factories.

**30–31 December:** During the night, Hitler conducts a three-hour telephone conversation with Field Marshal von Kluge, C-in-C Army Group Centre, who wants to withdraw his exhausted forces. Hitler refuses to grant permission and orders him to stand fast.

**31 December–1 January 1942:** Hitler's thoughts at the New Year are on the fate of the white race in the Far East threatened by the 'Yellow Peril'. Thus he soliloquizes before his late-night audience: 'It would have been possible to hold the Far East if the great countries of the white race had joined in the coalition for the purpose. If things had been thus arranged, Japan would never have been able to make her claims prevail' (*TT*, p. 159).

## 1942

**January:** Mass gassing begins at the concentration camps of Auschwitz–Birkenau. Gassing operations continue until November 1944, accounting for approximately 1 million victims.

**1 January:** In his New Year message, Hitler repeats yet again his ominous warning: 'The Jew will, however, not exterminate the people of Europe; he will be victim of his own machinations instead' (Domarus, p. 1821).

**3 January:** Ambassador Oshima meets Hitler at the *Wolfsschanze*. Although Hitler agrees with Oshima that Britain should be considered the chief enemy of the *Axis*, and that the loss of India would mean the end of the British empire, he refuses to authorize declarations of independence or to offer direct assistance to the emancipation movements in India and in the Arab world until German troops have crossed the Caucasus. He is still confident that the *Wehrmacht* can finish off the Russians on its own, without Japanese help: 'We shall certainly not go under in face of the Russians' (Hillgruber, II, pp. 31–43). Over lunch, Hitler speaks of Himmler as a man of 'an extraordinary quality ... I see in Himmler our Ignatius de Loyola' (*TT*, p. 167).

**5 January:** At lunchtime, Hitler is thinking aloud what he would have done had he been in the British position: 'I'd say, "It will be impossible to reconquer India once it's lost." My chief care would be to put everything I had on the road there, even if it were only one division ... They can trumpet abroad their intentions concerning Europe, but they know very well that it's the possession of India on which the existence of their Empire depends.' Hitler describes Japan's entry into the war as a turning point in history: 'It means the loss of a whole continent, and one must regret it, for it's the white race which is the loser' (*TT*, pp. 180–1). During a late-night conversation, Hitler returns to the subject of Russia: 'Stalin pretends to have been the herald of the Bolshevik revolution. In actual fact, he identifies himself with the Russia of the Tsars, and he has merely resurrected the tradition of Pan-Slavism ... What confirmed me in my decision to attack without delay, was the information brought by a German mission lately returned from Russia that a single Russian factory was producing by itself more tanks than all our factories together. I felt that this was the ultimate limit' (*TT*, p. 182).

**7 January:** 'When the English have abandoned Singapore,' Hitler declares during the evening's table conversation, 'I don't quite see how they can face Japan with any chance of success.' 'The important question for England,' he repeats at least twice during the evening, 'will be whether she can hold India. It might be possible to negotiate a separate peace which would leave India to England.' As for the United States, Hitler expressed his disgust at its racial composition: 'I don't see much future for the Americans. In my view, it's a decayed country. And they have their racial problem, and the problem of social inequalities ... In spite of everything, I like an Englishman a thousand times better than an American. It goes without saying that we have no affinities with the Japanese ... My feelings against Americanism are feelings of hatred and deep repugnance ... Everything about the behaviour of American society reveals that it's half *judaised*, and the other half *negrified*. How can one expect a State like that to hold together? ... From this point of view, I consider the British State very much superior' (TT, pp. 186–8).

**10 January:** A Führer's order concerning resource allocations for 1942 determines that the Army should come first. In the evening, Hitler is again concerned with the disintegration of the British Empire: 'There's not a single Englishman, at this moment, who isn't thinking constantly of India. If one were to offer the English this alternative, to keep India whilst abandoning Europe to Germany, or to lose India while retaining Europe, I'm sure that 99 per cent of them would choose to keep India ... for it's on India she built the Empire' (TT, p. 199).

**Night of 12–13 January:** Hitler predicts that, 'when Singapore falls, Churchill will fall, too; I'm convinced of it ... I don't think the Japanese will embark on the conquest of India. They'll surely confine themselves to blockading it ... If suddenly the 350 million declare they won't fight any more, what are the English to do? I suppose that in Germany, at the time of the Weimar Republic, if a general strike would have been rigorously applied – what could an army of a 100,000 men have done against that? ... In India, revolt is an endemic condition. Gandhi tried to succeed by pacific methods, but whatever be the methods chosen, the Indians are unanimous in their desire to shake off the British yoke. Some of them would like to try Bolshevism for that purpose, others would like to try us. Others would prefer to owe nothing to the foreigner. For all the aim is the same, it's liberty – and nobody cares about the state of anarchy that will follow in India upon the departure of the English.' Turning then to his omnipresent secretary: 'Mark my words, Bormann! I'm going to become a religious figure. Soon I'll be the great chief of the Tartars. Already Arabs and Moroccans are mingling my name with their prayers' (TT, pp. 202–3).

**13 January:** Hitler reflects on the role of Czechs in his life: 'I know the Czechs ... If the Austrian State had acted energetically towards them, it would have avoided dismemberment ... The Czechs' behaviour towards the old Austria was a complete expression of the meaning of the phrase, "passive resistance". The most impertinent are always those who are treated with the greatest respect. In their eyes, consideration is a sign of weakness or stupidity. I'd rather be regarded as a brute than as an idiot. I'm convinced that the Czechs will end by regarding Hácha as one of the greatest political figures in their history! ... At present I receive from Hácha the warmest messages of sympathy. I don't publish them, so as not to create the impression that we need the support of an underdog' (TT, pp. 204–5).

**18 January:** In a secret military convention, signed by Germany, Japan and Italy, the Axis powers divided Eurasia into two zones of operation along the meridian of 70 degrees east.

**20 January:** The Wannsee Conference, chaired by Heydrich, outlines Germany's *Endlösung* (Final Solution) of the Jewish Problem. 'Instead of emigration,' Heydrich announces, 'there is now a further possible solution to which the Führer has already signified his consent – namely deportation to the East' (Toland, p. 962).

**22 January:** During a naval conference with Admiral Fricke, Chief of the Naval Staff, Hitler fears that the Norwegian coast is too much exposed to possible Allied raids. He decides that all available naval surface vessels are to be sent there.

**23 January:** At lunchtime, Hitler describes the character of the peoples Germany has subjected to her control: 'Every Czech is a born nationalist who naturally relates everything to his own point of view. One must make no mistake about him; the more he curbs himself, the more dangerous he is ... Neurath let himself be completely diddled by the Czech nobility. Another six months of that regime and production would have fallen by 25 per cent. Of all the Slavs, the Czech is the most dangerous, because he's a worker. He has a sense of discipline, he's orderly, he's more a Mongol than a Slav ... Now they'll work, for they know we're pitiless and brutal. I don't despise them, I have no resentment against them. It's destiny that wishes us to be adversaries. To put it briefly, the Czechs are a foreign body in the midst of the German community. There's no room both for them and for us. One of us must give way. As regards the Pole, it's lucky for us that he's idle, stupid and vain ... If I think of shifting the Jew, our bourgeoisie becomes quite unhappy: "What will happen to them?" Tell me whether this same bourgeoisie bothered about what happened to our own compatriots who were obliged to emigrate? One must act radically. When one pulls out a tooth, one does it with a single tug, and the pain quickly goes away. The Jew must clear out of Europe ... For my part, I restrict myself to telling them they must go away. If they break their pipes on the journey, I can't do anything about it. But if they refuse to go voluntarily, I see no other solution but extermination. Why should I look at a Jew through other eyes than if he were a Russian prisoner-of-war? In the prisoner-of-war camps, many are dying. It's not my fault, I didn't want either the war or the prisoner-of-war camps. Why did the Jew provoke this war?' (TT, pp. 234–6).

**Night of 25–26 January:** Hitler continues his soliloquy about his fondness for dogs, the arts, women, and the universe. He explains why marriage would have been disastrous for him as a man who devoted himself entirely to politics. He needed to concentrate on his superhuman tasks and could not afford to be distracted in order to please his wife. Finally, he admitted that, at the bottom, his natural inclinations have always been towards the arts and not politics. However, when the war is over, he would wish to retire, 'to devote five or ten years to clarifying my thought and setting it down on paper. Wars pass by. The only things that exist are the works of human genius. This is the explanation of my love of art. Music and architecture' (TT, pp. 247–51).

**27 January:** At the height of the winter crisis on the Eastern front, when Russian units break through German lines, Hitler forbids his troops to retreat. It is all a question of racial superiority for him. He adds a sinister warning for the future: 'In this respect, I remain ice-cold [*eiskalt*]. If the German people are not prepared to give everything for the sake of their self-preservation, very well! Then let them disappear!' (Schramm, p. 28).

**30 January:** Hitler goes to Berlin to deliver his annual speech in the Sports Palace. He repeats his warning menacingly to the Jews: 'On 1 September 1939 I have already gone on record in the German *Reichstag* – and I am careful not to make any hasty prophecies – that this war ... will end in the destruction of Jewry ... They rightfully hate us, just as much as we hate them ... We are well aware that this war could eventually end and that they be uprooted from Europe or that they disappear' (Domarus, p. 1829). Thereafter, Hitler returns to the *Wolfsschanze*.

**6 February:** Chatting after dinner, Hitler compares the aggressive behaviour of Germany and Japan to a giant python, which can quickly kill its prey but takes time to devour it: 'Japan ... is not capable of digesting India, and I doubt whether she has any interest in occupying Australia and New Zealand ... There's one thing that Japan and Germany have absolutely in common – that both of us need fifty to a hundred years for purposes of digestion: we for Russia, they for the Far East ... Japan's entry into the war is an event that will help to modify our strategic situation. Whether via Spain or via Turkey, we shall gain access to the Near East' (TT, p. 301).

**8 February:** Dr Fritz Todt, builder of the *Autobahn* network and the *Westwall*, dies in a mysterious plane crash. Hitler immediately appoints Albert Speer as Todt's successor in all his posts, the most important being as Minister for Armaments and Munitions.

**11 February:** Hitler receives Marshal Antonescu at his HQ. During the conversation he anticipates the Japanese capture of Singapore: 'This is wonderful, though perhaps also sad, news', he tells Antonescu (Hillgruber, II, p. 48).

**12 February:** Hitler arrives in Berlin to attend Todt's funeral.

**13 February:** Vidkun Quisling and Josef Terboven are received by Hitler in the Chancellery. Raeder urges Hitler to give full support to a joint German-Japanese offensive towards the Indian Ocean, which would also exploit the latent anti-colonial movements in the area. If the co-ordination with the Japanese, already pressing into the Indian Ocean, succeeds, Raeder is certain it will have 'the decisive significance on the outcome of the war' (FCNA, 1942, pp. 11-15). Hitler ignores Raeder's far-reaching proposal, but shows his enthusiasm about the successful break-out of three heavy German ships from Brest – *Scharnhorst*, *Gneisenau* and *Prinz Eugen*. All three managed to get through the Channel undamaged.

**14 February:** Hitler receives the new Croatian minister to Berlin, Dr Mile Budak. After seeing Hitler, Goebbels noted in his diary: 'The Führer once more expressed his determination to clean up the Jews in Europe pitilessly. There must be no squeamish sentimentalism about it. The Jews have deserved the catastrophe that has overtaken them. Their destruction will go hand in hand with the destruction of our enemies. We must hasten this process with cold ruthlessness. We shall thereby render an inestimable service to a humanity tormented for thousands of years by the Jews ... The Führer expressed this idea vigorously and repeated it afterwards to a group of officers who can put that in their pipes and smoke it' (Lochner, *Goebbels*, p. 86; *TBJG*, II/3, p. 320).

**15 February:** Hitler gives a stirring speech to 10,000 officer candidates in the Sports Palace. On learning that Singapore has fallen to the Japanese, Hitler forbids Ribbentrop to release a laudatory press communiqué: 'We have to think in terms of centuries. Who knows, in the future the "Yellow Peril" may well be the biggest one for us' (Irving, *War*, p. 407).

**16 February:** Hitler returns to the *Wolfsschanze*. He decrees that sexual intercourse between German soldiers and Polish women be prohibited, and that homosexuality within the SS will in future be punished by death.

**17 February:** Hitler receives Marshal Antonescu, who seeks help against the fascist Iron Guard at home.

**26 February:** Hitler's table-talk during the evening belongs to his Balkan allies: 'If something happened to Antonescu, I'd tremble for Romania. Who'd succeed him? King Michael? He didn't even help his mother to get down from her carriage! ... The Romanian peasantry are merely wretched cattle. As for the ruling class, it's rotten to the marrow ... The Hungarians are better governed than the Romanians. What a pity they can't install Croats instead of Romanians! The Hungarians are wildly nationalist. They assimilate the Germans with extraordinary speed ... We shall not succeed in preserving the German minorities in Hungary except by taking over control of the State – or else we shall have to withdraw our minorities from Hungary ... In our plans for colonisation in Russia, we'll find room for these minorities ... If I settle the 1,500,000 Germans of our minorities in the Eastern territories, I'll build an *Autobahn* 1,500 kilometres long, dotted at intervals of 50 to 100 Kilometres with German agglomerations, including some important towns' (TT, pp. 338-9).

**3 March:** Over lunch, Hitler again compares British rule in India with his wishful image of Russia under German control: 'If ever we allow a country conquered by us to have its own army, that would be the end of our rights over that country – for autonomy is the way to independence ... If the English give India back her liberty, within 20 years India will have lost her liberty again ... Above all, nobody

must let loose the German schoolmaster on the Eastern territories! ... The ideal solution would be to teach this people an elementary kind of mimicry. One asks less of them than one does of the deaf and dumb. No special books for them! The radio will be enough to give them the essential information' (*TT*, p. 354).

**7 March:** Hitler is given the naval staff memorandum of 20 February, which strongly recommends the instant capture of Suez and co-operation with the Japanese in the Indian Ocean. Hitler agrees in principle but refuses to endorse it, because German forces for the Suez operation were not strong enough.

**12 March:** Raeder tries in vain to win Hitler over to the Suez campaign. Hitler promises, however, to discuss the question with Mussolini at their next meeting.

**15 March:** Hitler arrives in Berlin to deliver a speech on the Heroes Memorial Day.

**20 March:** Goebbels, visiting the *Wolfsschanze*, notes that 'the Führer practically lives in a concentration camp ... and that the whole method of working there ... has an extraordinarily depressing effect upon the Führer' (*TBJG*, II/3, pp. 500–515). Goebbels sums up what he heard from Hitler: 'The Führer had a plan that was bound to lead to victory. Had Brauchitsch done what was asked of him ... our position in the East today would have been entirely different from what it is. The Führer had no intention whatever of going to Moscow. He wanted to cut off the Caucasus ... But Brauchitsch always urged going to Moscow ... The Führer described him as a coward and a nincompoop ... The Führer again has a perfectly clear plan for the coming spring and summer. He does not want to overextend the war. His aims are the Caucasus, Leningrad, and Moscow. If these aims are attained by us, he is determined under all circumstances to end the campaign at the beginning of next October and to go into winter quarters early. He intends possibly to construct a gigantic line of defence and to let the Eastern campaign rest there. A winter like the past can never again surprise us. Possibly this may mean a hundred years' war in the East, but that need not worry us. Our position towards what remains of Russia would then be like that of England towards India ... The Führer, incidentally, has rather high regard for the Soviet war leadership. Stalin's brutal hand has saved the Russian front. To hold our own we shall have to apply similar methods on our side ... The Führer is full of admiration for the Japanese army. Aside from that, however, he naturally views the strong ascendancy of the Japanese in Eastern Asia and the recession of the white man with certain misgivings. But there is nothing to be done about it. The English didn't want it otherwise ... Finally, we talked about the Jewish question. Here the Führer is as uncompromising as ever. The Jews must be got out of Europe, if necessary by applying most brutal methods' (Lochner, *Goebbels*, pp. 130–8).

**21 March:** Hitler appoints *Gauleiter* Sauckel as Plenipotentiary-General for Labour Mobilization. He will have ultimate responsibility for mobilizing about 30 million German men and women and 7.5 million so-called 'foreign workers', commandeered to Germany from the occupied territories.

**22 March:** Ambassador Ulrich von Hassell notes in his diary: 'It is said that Hitler himself is not entirely enthusiastic about the gigantic Japanese successes, and has said he would gladly send the English 20 divisions to help throw back the yellow men!' (Hassell, p. 245).

**23 March:** Hitler signs Directive No. 40, concerning the defence of the European coastline. He receives Ambassador Oshima.

**24 March:** Hitler has audience with King Boris of Bulgaria, but does not succeed in persuading him to declare war on Russia.

**27 March:** At lunch Hitler shows that he is worried about the possible success of the Cripps Mission to India: 'I hope that Cripps will be sunk by the fiasco of his mission to India – the most difficult mission with which an Englishman can now be charged ... Between Churchill and Cripps I have no hesitation of choosing. I prefer a hundred times the undisciplined swine who is drunk eight hours of every twenty-four, to the Puritan. A man who spends extravagantly, an elderly man



who drinks and smokes without moderation, is obviously less to be feared than the drawing-room Bolshevik who leads the life of an ascetic ... One must therefore eagerly hope for the failure of his mission to India (*TT*, pp. 368–9).

**4 April:** Hitler agrees to the formation of the Central Planning Board (ratified on 15 April), as proposed by Speer, which is to control the whole armaments industry with regard to the allocation of raw materials.

**5 April:** Hitler signs Directive No. 41. Its main objective is to break through Southern Russia into the Caucasus and the oil wells of Baku. Hitler decides that the new defensive line along the River Don should be protected by the *Axis* allies, Hungarians, Italians and Romanians.

**6 April:** Hitler receives the Romanian chief of staff, General Steflea.

**12 April:** Hitler orders the occupation of Voronezh, as the starting point of the drive to the south.

**13 April:** Raeder urges Hitler to inform the Japanese about the objectives of the German summer offensive so the Japanese Navy could shift its activities into the western part of the Indian Ocean.

**20 April:** Hitler celebrates his birthday at the *Wolfsschanze*.

**25 April:** Hitler arrives in Berlin from East Prussia.

**26 April:** Delivering a speech before the *Reichstag*'s last session, Hitler secures the passage of a special act that will invest him with unlimited powers justified by 'the life-and-death struggle in which the German people is engaged'. In future the Führer will be in a position 'to compel, with all the means at his disposal, every German, if necessary ... to fulfil his duties. In the event of violation of these duties, the Führer is entitled, regardless of so-called established rights, to punish and remove the offender from his post, rank and position, without introducing the prescribed procedures' (Noakes, p. 663). In the evening, Hitler discusses with Speer his plans for the 'world city of Linz'.

**27–28 April:** Hitler stays in Munich. He discusses with architect Giesler a fantastic plan for constructing a giant 4m-gauge railway with double-deck carriages, to connect Upper Silesia and the Donets Basin: 'This alone will enable us to realize our plans for the exploitation of the Eastern territories' (*TT*, p. 447).

**28 April:** Hitler meets Mussolini in the presence of Ribbentrop and Ciano at Klessheim Castle near Salzburg.

**30 April:** The Hitler–Mussolini meeting continues at the *Berghof* in the presence of Keitel, Kesselring, Cavallero, Jodl and von Rintelen. The main subject is the joint *Axis* strategy in the Mediterranean. The conclusion is that the *Axis* forces should advance to Tobruk instead of concentrating on the capture of Malta. According to the War Diary of Supreme Command (*KTB OKW*), the list of total casualties reached 1,167,835; in other words, one in three men who had marched in on 22 June 1941, when Germany attacked Russia, had fallen (Schramm, p. 25).

**3 May:** Hitler is back at the *Wolfsschanze*.

**6 May:** Under the pressure of Russian resistance Hitler is compelled to mitigate temporarily the 'Commissar Order': 'As an experiment the lives of Soviet commissars and *politruks* should be spared in order to strengthen the inclination of encircled Russian forces to surrender' (Noakes, p. 620).

**12 May:** At dinner, Hitler speaks of his determination to remake Alsace and Lorraine into authentic German provinces by driving out 'all those who do not voluntarily accept the fact that they are Germans' (*TT*, p. 471).

**14 May:** Admiral Dönitz, C-in-C of U-boats, reports to Hitler about the submarine warfare in the Atlantic.

**17 May:** In the evening, Hitler mentions again the '*Yellow Peril*', but this time he argues that the German–Japanese *Axis* cannot be regarded as 'betrayal of our own racial principles', because 'the present conflict is one of life and death, and that the essential is to win – and to that end we are quite ready to make an alliance with the Devil himself' (*TT*, pp. 488–9).

**20 May:** Hitler declares to his entourage at lunchtime that he is 'firmly opposed to any attempt to export National Socialism' (*TT*, p. 490).

**21 May:** Hitler decides to postpone indefinitely the capture of Malta (Operation *Hercules*). In the evening he leaves East Prussia for Berlin.

**22 May:** In Berlin, Hitler attends the funeral of *Gauleiter*, Carl Röver.

**23 May:** Walther Darré, Reich minister of agriculture, is dismissed from his post by Hitler.

**24 May:** Hitler returns to the *Wolfsschanze*. His first meeting is with Albert Speer and the Reich Railway Minister Heinrich Dorpmüller on the exploitation of Eastern Territories by means of the giant 4m-gauge railway, which could substitute maritime transportation and bring food, fuel and raw materials from as far as the Urals and the Caspian region in goods carriages designed as separate containers. Those could then be lifted by crane and lowered on to standard-gauge under-carriages (Picker, p. 373). He also receives Admiral Dönitz, who reports to him on submarine warfare.

**26 May:** General Rommel opens the *Axis* advance on Egypt.

**27 May:** Hitler sends a telegram to the King of Afghanistan on his country's independence day. *SS Obergruppenführer* Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Security Police (*Sicherheitsdienst*) and Security Service Main Office (*RSHA*), and since September 1941 also the deputy protector of Bohemia and Moravia, is mortally wounded by Czechoslovak commandos parachuted from England. In reprisal, Hitler first wants to execute 10,000 Czech hostages, but later recalls his orders after a telephone call from K. H. Frank, who warns that such mass executions might hamper the war effort in the Protectorate. By the end of June, more than 1,300 Czechs will have been executed under martial law. Hitler receives the Indian nationalist, Subhas Chandra Bose, for the first time. He thinks that the chances of an anti-British uprising in India will be better served with Japanese assistance, since German troops were still very far away, and could reach India only 'over Russia's dead body'. He would not even authorize the publication of a declaration of independence to peoples in India and in the Arab world before he had as many as half-a-dozen panzer divisions south of the Caucasus. As 'an old revolutionary', he would advise Bose that British rule could only be broken by combining the internal revolution in India with the military thrust of the *Axis* powers. For his voyage to Japan, Hitler offered Bose the use of a German submarine (Hauner, pp. 484–7).

**29 May:** Hitler arrives in Berlin; he signs Directive No. 42, containing instructions for operations against unoccupied France and the Iberian peninsula (codenames *Anton* and *Illona* – previously *Attila* and *Isabella*). At lunch, Hitler repeats that Western Europe must, after a certain time, be completely free of Jews.

**30 May:** Hitler addresses 10,000 officer cadets in the Sports Palace.

**30–31 May:** During the night, while Hitler is returning in his special train to the *Wolfsschanze*, he learns that the RAF has launched its first raid against Cologne with more than 1,000 bombers.

**June:** Opening of the extermination camp at Treblinka and the first mass-gassing at Auschwitz.

**1 June:** Hitler flies to the Army Group South HQ at Poltava to discuss the operational details for the forthcoming attack in this sector.

**4 June:** Hitler flies from Rastenburg to Finland to boost the morale of his allies. He has a perfect pretext: the 75th birthday of Field Marshal Mannerheim. Hitler is met by Mannerheim and President Ryti at the Mikkuli airport near Wyborg. He returns to *Wolfsschanze* the same day, to learn that Heydrich has died. His angry comment: 'That a man as irreplaceable as Heydrich should expose himself to unnecessary danger, I can only condemn as stupid and idiotic!' (*TT*, p. 512).

**6 June:** Hitler receives at his HQ the Hungarian prime minister, Kállay.

**9 June:** Hitler arrives in Berlin to attend the state funeral for Heydrich. He warns President Hácha and the members of his government that he would tolerate no further hostile acts in the Protectorate. Should any occur, the entire Czech popu-

lation would be deported. At this, according to Hitler, 'Hácha collapsed like a pricked balloon, as did also his colleagues' (TT, p. 557). Later, Hitler holds a secret conference with Himmler, Bormann, K. H. Frank, and the newly appointed Reich Protector from Bohemia and Moravia, *SS Obergruppenführer* Kurt Daluge. He approves of the destruction of the Czech village of Lidice, near Prague, where on the following day all male inhabitants will be summarily executed as a reprisal for Heydrich's assassination.

**10 June:** Hitler stops in Munich to meet Frau Troost and Winifred Wagner at his favourite Italian restaurant, *Osteria*.

**11–13 June:** Hitler stays at the *Berghof*.

**14 June:** Hitler flies for one day to the *Wolfsschanze*.

**15–20 June:** Hitler stays at the *Berghof*.

**15 June:** Conferring with Raeder, Hitler again postpones the capture of Malta until after the seizure of Tobruk.

**21 June:** On his way from Munich to Berlin, Hitler receives the news that Tobruk has been taken by Rommel.

**22 June:** Hitler promotes General Rommel to the rank of Field Marshal and claims his own contribution to Rommel's victory in the North African desert by fostering the production of the Volkswagen, 'which is now giving so magnificent an account of itself in the desert ... It is the car of the future ... After the war, when all modifications dictated by war experience have been incorporated in it, the Volkswagen will become the car *par excellence* for the whole of Europe, particularly in view of the fact that it is air-cooled, and so unaffected by any winter conditions. I should not be surprised to see the annual output reach anything from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000' (TT, p. 528).

**24 June:** Hitler returns to the *Wolfsschanze*.

**27 June:** Hitler receives Field Marshal Mannerheim. During dinner, Hitler asserts that he wants to follow the example of the Romans and construct roads in Russia in order to control its vast spaces. He warns, however, that at present the Soviet Union holds a most potent trump card against Britain as regards India: 'I think it may well be this option which they hold on India that is causing the Soviet Union to avoid at all costs a state of war with Japan. That need not to worry us, for the very fact that a state of non-belligerence exists between the Soviet Union and Japan strengthens our hand *vis-à-vis* India in the game we have to play against England' (TT, p. 539).

**28 June:** Beginning of the German offensive in southern Russia in the direction of the Caucasus.

**1 July:** 11th Army captures Sevastopol after a long siege; its commander, General von Manstein, is promoted by Hitler to the rank of Field Marshal.

**8 July:** Hitler rejoices at the catastrophic losses of the Russian-bound British PQ-17 convoy, which came under heavy attack by German aircraft and U-boats. In the evening he extols the virtues of vegetarianism: 'When I later gave up eating meat, I immediately began to perspire much less ... my thirst, too, decreased considerably ... I shall be interested to see whether my dog eventually becomes a complete and confirmed vegetarian' (TT, p. 572).

**9 July:** At dinner, Hitler confirms that Egypt should be part of the Italian sphere. As for Germany, he feels that the Eastern territories will keep the country more than busy. 'The life of the German colonists,' Hitler maintains, 'must be kept as far separate from that of the local inhabitants as possible. In the pubs in which the natives spit all over the shop no German must be allowed to enter. The Germans must have their own pubs' (TT, p. 575).

**11 July:** Hitler signs Directive No. 43, dealing with the follow-up operation after the German capture of the Crimea.

**12 July:** Hitler receives the Spanish general Muñoz Grandes.

**13 July:** Talking to the Turkish ambassador Gerede, Hitler admits that Russian soldiers are very good, and he is very impressed by Russian technical achieve-

ments, especially their tanks, which are far superior to those of any other military power.

**15 July:** The advance in the south does not progress according to Hitler's wishes. He sees the main culprit in the person of the C-in-C Army Group B, Field Marshal von Bock, whom he replaces with General von Weichs. The fugitive former Iraqi prime minister, Rashid Ali al Gailani, visits Hitler at the *Wolfsschanze*.

**17 July–31 October:** Hitler stays at the new HQ *Werwolf* near Vinnitsa.

**18 July:** 'I am absolutely determined to link up the whole Eastern territories ... by a network of *Autobahnen* radiating from Berlin', Hitler declares. (TT, p. 578).

**19 July:** Three days after talking to Hitler, Himmler orders the resettlement of the entire Jewish population in the *General Gouvernement* to be completed by the end of the year.

**21 July:** Hitler signs Directive No. 44, dealing with operations in northern Finland.

**22 July:** After dinner, Hitler indulges in one of his notorious monologues about the future German rule in the East. As a prerequisite, he first praises the Soviet *Stakhanovite* system, because 'the arms and equipment of the Russian armies are the best proof of its efficiency in the handling of industrial manpower. Stalin, too, must command our unconditional respect. In his own way he is a hell of a fellow! He knows his models, Genghis Khan and the others, very well, and the scope of his industrial planning is exceeded only by our own Four-Year Plan.' Furthermore, he is extremely worried about the high fertility among the Ukrainians: 'We must take all the measures necessary to ensure that the non-German population does not increase at an excessive rate ... no inoculations and other preventive measures for the natives! ... It is, furthermore, essential to avoid doing anything which might give rise to a feeling of superiority or of racial pride among the natives ... For these reasons, the local population must be given no facilities for higher education ... there is no need to teach them much more than, say, the meaning of the various road-signs. Instruction in geography can be restricted to one single sentence: the Capital of the Reich is Berlin, a city which everyone should try to visit once in his lifetime. Finally, elementary instruction in reading and writing in German will complete the course. Mathematics and such like are quite unnecessary ... What is the use of talking about progress to people like that? Jodl is quite right when he says that notices in the Ukrainian language "Beware of Trains" are superfluous; what on earth does it matter if one or two more locals get run over by the trains? ... Germans will in no circumstances live in a Ukrainian town ... the Russian and Ukrainian towns are not in any circumstances to be improved or made more habitable. It is not our mission to lead the local inhabitants to a higher standard of living' (TT, pp. 586–90).

**23 July:** Hitler signs Directive No. 45, the continuation of Operation *Braunschweig*, aiming at Baku and the Caucasian passes (codename *Edelweiss*). Another army group is to thrust forward to Stalingrad, to occupy the city and to block communications along the Volga.

**24 July:** During the table conversation in the evening Hitler shows his impatience that the process of 'cleansing' the German cities of Jews is not advancing as fast as he would like to see it, to make them 'free of Jews' (*Judenfrei*).

**3 August:** Writing to Mussolini, Hitler expresses his scepticism as to whether the Axis troops could reach Suez.

**4 August:** Hitler receives Ambassador Alfieri.

**5 August:** Field Marshal Kesselring is visiting Hitler's HQ. 'We must at all costs advance into the plains of Mesopotamia and take the Mosul oil-fields from the British. If we succeed here, the whole war will come to an end,' Hitler insists (TT, p. 615).

**6 August:** During a midday conversation, Hitler reiterates that 'St Petersburg must disappear utterly from the earth's surface. Moscow, too. Then the Russians will retire into Siberia. As for the ridiculous Slavs,' he continues, 'we will mould the best of them to the shape that suits us, and we will isolate the rest of them in

their own pig-sties; and anyone who talks about cherishing the local inhabitant and civilising him, goes straight off into a concentration camp!' (TT, p. 617).

**9 August:** Chatting on the subject of Russia again during the evening, Hitler cannot pass unmentioned his great antagonist: 'Stalin is half beast, half giant. To the social side of life he is utterly indifferent. The people can rot, for all he cares. If we had given him another ten years, Europe would have been swept away, as it was at the time of the Huns' (TT, p. 624).

**14 August:** Hitler receives at the *Werwolf* HQ the Bulgarian envoy Draganov and the newly accredited Turkish Ambassador Saffet Arian.

**18 August:** Hitler is reaping the fruits of his extermination policy in Russia. He has to issue Directive No. 46, 'Instructions for Intensified Action against Banditry in the East'. He insists on annihilating the guerrillas (*partisans*) by the winter (Directives, pp. 197–202).

**21 August:** Hitler is raging for hours after he learned that a detachment of German mountain troops had planted the German war flag on Mount Elbrus, the highest peak in the Caucasus: 'These crazy mountain climbers, pursuing their idiotic hobbies ... belong before a court martial!' (Speer, p. 332).

**22 August:** During an evening conversation, Hitler shows that he is clearly aware of the impact caused by the ongoing anti-British uprising in India – a major rebellion inside the Allied camp during the war. Instead of taking advantage of it, he still prefers the British to rule in India: 'If the British are ever driven out of India, the repercussions will be swift and terrible. In the end, the Russians will reap the benefit' (TT, p. 654).

**23 August:** Manstein receives orders from Hitler to prepare to cut off Leningrad from its supply corridor and to occupy the city with the intention of levelling it to the ground.

**25 August:** Hitler orders the construction of the 'Atlantic Wall' on the Channel coast of France. Stalingrad is besieged by the German 6th Army.

**26 August:** During a naval conference, Raeder tells Hitler that there was an insoluble dilemma between two major tasks of German strategy: the struggle for *Lebensraum* in Russia and the naval warfare against the Anglo-Saxons.

**8 September:** Hitler gives his reluctant agreement that non-Russian peoples of the Caucasus can be promised independence if they offer to collaborate with German troops. It is understood that the same policy should be applied *vis-à-vis* the Turko-Tatar and Finno-Ugrian peoples, living between the Volga, the Urals and Central Asia.

**9 September:** Hitler removes Field Marshal List from the command of Army Group A, which will now be under his own command. A serious crisis of confidence breaks out between Hitler and his military advisers in the OKH and OKW. Hitler considers replacing General Jodl with General Paulus, C-in-C of the 6th Army at Stalingrad; and Keitel by Kesselring.

**10 September:** Hitler receives a delegation of Italian officers at the *Werwolf*.

**23 September:** Conversation between Hitler and the Romanian deputy prime minister, Mihai Antonescu.

**24 September:** Conversation between Hitler and the *Poglavnik* of Croatia, Ante Pavelić. The conflict between Hitler and General Halder, Chief of Army General Staff, ends with the latter's resignation. Hitler speaks of 'the necessity for educating the General Staff in fanatical faith in the idea of National Socialism; he is determined to enforce his will also in the Army' (Halder, III, p. 528). Hitler appoints General Zeitzler as Halder's successor.

**27 September–4 October:** Hitler stays in Berlin.

**28 September:** Hitler speaks to 12,000 officer cadets in the Sports Palace.

**29 September:** At a military conference, Hitler announces the construction of the 'Atlantic Wall' against a possible Allied cross-Channel invasion.

**30 September:** During a speech with which he opens the 'Winter-Help Campaign' in the Sports Palace, Hitler boastfully declares that German soldiers

will never retreat; but he also adds an ominous warning for the Jews, recalling his prophetic pronouncement of 1 September 1939: 'Some time ago the Jews laughed about my prophecies in Germany, too. I do not know whether they are still laughing today or whether they have stopped laughing already. I can only assure you even now – they will stop laughing everywhere' (Domarus, pp. 1913–20).

**1 October:** Hitler addresses the *Reichsleiters* and *Gauleiters*; he also receives Rommel.

**2 October:** Hitler receives the newly accredited Bulgarian minister S. Zagorov.

**5 October:** Hitler is back at the *Werwolf*.

**1 October:** Himmler visits Hitler at his HQ to discuss the 'Final Solution'.

**14 October:** Hitler declares the German Army well prepared for the winter, and the Red Army seriously weakened by the recent fighting. He orders all Army commanders on the Eastern front to hold their positions until the next offensive, in 1943.

**17 October:** Hitler receives the Hungarian defence minister Nagy.

**18 October:** Hitler issues the so-called 'Commando Order', instructing German troops 'to annihilate ruthlessly' members of the Allied Commandos wherever they are encountered in combat (ND, 498–PS).

**1 November:** The Führer's HQ is transferred from Vinnitsa (*Werwolf*) to Rastenburg (*Wolfsschanze*).

**3 November:** After receiving Rommel's message recommending retreat from El Alamein – where the British offensive began on 23 October – Hitler orders the German troops in North Africa to hold their ground at all costs.

**4 November:** In defiance of Hitler's, order Rommel begins the withdrawal from El Alamein.

**6 November:** Hitler departs in his special train from Rastenburg to Munich.

**8 November:** On learning about the allied landing in Algeria and Morocco, Hitler enquires whether Germany can expect Vichy's fully-fledged support in the war against the Anglo-Americans; Premier Pierre Laval is invited to Munich. At the same time, the OKW issues an ultimatum to Vichy announcing the transfer of German troops to Tunisia. In the evening, Hitler delivers his ritualistic oration at the *Löwenbräukeller* in Munich on the anniversary of the 1923 *putsch*. He repeats his determination to annihilate the European Jewry and justifies the Stalingrad undertaking.

**9 November:** Ciano arrives in Munich to confer with Hitler.

**10 November:** Hitler confers with Laval in the presence of Ciano and Ribbentrop; he dictates a long letter to Marshal Pétain and an 'Appeal to the French People'. He does not tell Laval that he has ordered German troops to occupy the southern zone of France the following day (Operation *Anton*).

**12 November:** Hitler decides to transfer his HQ temporarily from East Prussia to Berchtesgaden. The skeleton staff of the 'Small Reich Chancellery' and the OKW with Keitel and Jodl settle down in Berchtesgaden; the special train with the *Wehrmachtführungsstab* (OKW Operations Staff) is parked at Salzburg; the Führer's military adjutants are housed near the *Berghof*. The Army General Staff, with General Zeitzler, remain in East Prussia.

**16 November:** Hitler issues a decree concerning the Reich Commissaries of Defence (*Reichsverteidigungskommissare*) and the unification of economic management.

**22 November:** As Hitler begins his return journey from the *Berghof* to the *Wolfsschanze*, the offensive pincers of the Red Army meet at Kalach, thereby completing the encirclement of 250,000 German and Romanian troops at Stalingrad.

**24 November:** Hitler rejects the request from General Paulus to allow the 6th Army to break out from the encirclement; he accepts instead Göring's offer that the *Luftwaffe* will supply 300 tons of supplies daily to the encircled troops. On Hitler's orders, Field Marshal von Manstein assumes the command of the newly formed Army Group Don, which will be entrusted with the task of relieving the 6th Army.

**26 November:** In a long letter to Pétain, Hitler tries to justify the occupation of the southern zone of France.

**28 November:** Rommel arrives unexpectedly at the *Wolfsschanze*, demanding permission from Hitler to evacuate North Africa. Hitler rejects Rommel's arguments and sends Göring to Rome to improve the supply line to Tunisia.

**9 December:** On Hitler's orders, General von Arnim takes over command of the 5th Tank Army, the former Afrika Korps, in Tunisia.

**10 December:** The Dutch Fascist leader Anton A. Mussert is received by Hitler.

**12 December:** During a military conference, Hitler takes up the subject of non-Russian auxiliary units raised by the *Wehrmacht* from among Soviet citizens and POWs: 'One has to be frightfully careful ... raising battalions from these Caucasian peoples is very risky; on the other hand I see no danger in raising purely Mohammedan units. They're always ready to fight' (Heiber, pp. 73–4).

**13 December:** Hitler receives the departing commander of the Spanish 'Blue Division', General Muñoz Grandes.

**18 December:** Ciano arrives at the *Wolfsschanze*, carrying Mussolini's message that Germany should seek a separate peace with Russia, following the Brest-Litovsk example of 1918, in order to concentrate the *Axis* war effort against the Anglo-Saxons in the Mediterranean. Hitler rejects the idea emphatically.

**19 December:** Conversation between Laval and Hitler, in the presence of Ciano, Ribbentrop and Göring. Later, Hitler confers with Ciano and Marshal Cavallero, Chief of the *Comando Supremo* (Italian High Command); he decides against *Axis* withdrawal from North Africa.

**20 December:** At their final meeting, Hitler repeats to Ciano his refusal to conclude an armistice with the Soviet Union before the Red Army is defeated: 'to expect the Russians to honour a treaty is like requesting the devil to undertake a saintly mission' (Hillgruber, II, p. 193). From Himmler's report, Hitler learns that between August and November over 663,000 Jews were executed in the East.

**22 December:** During a naval conference, Raeder tries in vain to prevent Hitler's decision to disband the crews from big surface ships. In the Führer's opinion, they were nothing more than 'playthings of the decadent democracies'. Hitler wants to send all German naval vessels to the Norwegian fjords, 'since all available reports lead him to fear that the enemy will attempt an invasion during the Arctic night' (FCNA, 1942, p. 68).

**22–23 December:** Hitler refuses to allow the 6th Army to break out from Stalingrad and meet the advancing German spearhead in the south.

**27 December:** Hitler reluctantly approves of the withdrawal of Army Group A from the Caucasus.

**28 December:** Hitler signs Directive No. 47, dealing with defence measures in the Balkan Peninsula and Eastern Mediterranean.

## 1943

**1 January:** Hitler's New Year Proclamation is issued at the *Wolfsschanze*.

**4 January:** Speer discusses with Hitler the armaments programme for 1943.

**8 January:** A Soviet offer to General Paulus of an 'honourable surrender' is rejected categorically by Hitler. The Bulgarian war minister, General Mikhov, is received by Hitler at his HQ.

**10–12 January:** Marshal Antonescu visits the *Wolfsschanze*. Hitler assures him of his support against Horia Sima, the fugitive leader of the 'Iron Guard'. After discussing the debacle of two Romanian armies, annihilated recently by the Soviets, Hitler speaks with great respect about Stalin, whom he considers his only worthy

adversary. The issue was now one of 'existence or non-existence', he tells Antonescu. If they prevail, the Anglo-Saxons would be victors in a limited sense only: 'The result would be a mighty Bolshevik empire with a powerful industrial plant, boundless raw material resources, and vast manpower reserves, which would pursue the old expansionist goals of Russia' (Schramm, p. 29).

**13 January:** Hitler approves of special measures for the 'total mobilization' of German men and women.

**15 January:** Hitler puts Field Marshal Milch, state secretary in the ministry of aviation, in charge of the air bridge supplying the besieged 6th Army at Stalingrad.

**21 January:** Hitler receives Ambassador Oshima.

**22 January:** Hitler orders that tank production should in future constitute the first priority in Germany's armament programme. Urged by Manstein, Zeitzler asks Hitler whether Paulus should be authorized to capitulate; Hitler refuses: 'The 6th Army should fight to the last man' (Warlimont, p. 286).

**27 January:** Authorized by Hitler, *Gauleiter* Sauckel orders that all men between the ages of 16 and 65, and all women of 17 to 45 should register for work required for the country's defence.

**30 January:** On the tenth anniversary of the Nazi seizure of power, Hitler stays at the *Wolfsschanze*, but orders Göring to hold the ritual oration and Goebbels to read the Führer's proclamation over the radio. His entire attention is concentrated on the 6th Army, whose surrender must not coincide with the 1933 anniversary. He promotes General Paulus to the rank of Field Marshal. When he is informed that his own nephew, Leo Raubal, has been wounded at Stalingrad and has a chance of being evacuated by air, he replies that he must stay with his fellow soldiers. Hitler appoints *SS Gruppenführer* Ernst Kaltenbrunner to become Heydrich's successor as the head of *RSHA*, and replaces Raeder by Dönitz as Navy C-in-C, and promotes him to the rank of *Grossadmiral*.

**31 January–2 February:** The remainder of 91,000 men, including 24 generals, led by Paulus, surrender at Stalingrad. Hitler is outraged. According to him, the defenders should have 'closed ranks, formed a hedgehog, and shot themselves with their last bullets ... What hurts me the most is that I promoted him [Paulus] to field marshal ... That's the last field marshal I shall appoint in this war ... I don't understand it at all.' Hitler is equally bitter about the other generals: 'Within a week,' Hitler predicts, '[Generals] Seydlitz and Schmidt, and Paulus too, will all be speaking on the (Soviet) radio ... They'll be taken to Ljubljanka, and there the rats will get at them. How can they be such cowards?' (Heiber, pp. 120–42).

**6 February:** Manstein arrives at the *Wolfsschanze* with the intention of demanding that Hitler surrenders his post as the Army C-in-C because of the disastrous conduct of the war in the East. But he fails to challenge Hitler.

**7 February:** Hitler addresses the *Reichsleiters* and *Gauleiters* at his HQ.

**17–19 February:** Hitler visits the Army Group South HQ at Zaporozhie on the eve of a German counter-offensive between the rivers Dnieper and Donets, to be launched on 22 February by Manstein.

**15 and 18 February:** Goebbels delivers the 'Do you Want Total War?' speech at Düsseldorf and in Berlin's Sports Palace. Hitler described it as a 'psychological and propaganda masterpiece' (Lochner, *Goebbels*, p. 284).

**19 February:** Hitler transfers his HQ to *Werwolf*, near Vinnitsa, where he will stay until 13 March.

**21 February:** Hitler appoints General Guderian to Inspector General of Armoured Troops.

**24 February:** Hitler's proclamation on the 'NSDAP Foundation Day' is prepared in his HQ; he does not travel to Munich. He repeats his determination to annihilate the European Jewry in this war. On the same day, he issues a Special Order No. 7, investing military commanders with powers to execute on the spot any soldier lacking discipline.



**9 March:** Hitler appoints General von Arnim to replace Rommel as C-in-C Army Group Africa.

**10 March:** Hitler inspects briefly the HQ of Army Group South near Zaporozhie.

**13 March:** Hitler issues the first operational order for undertaking 'Citadel' in the Kursk area. While Hitler is returning from Vinnitsa to Rastenburg, he makes a stopover at Smolensk at the HQ of Army Group Centre, commanded by Field Marshal von Kluge, who is part of the anti-Hitler conspiracy. An explosive device, provided by two of his officers, Fabian von Schlabrendorff and Henning von Tresckow, is smuggled on board – but fails to explode after takeoff.

**15 March:** Hitler summons leading industrialists for a conference at the *Wolfsschanze*.

**18 March:** Hitler receives General Martinez Campos, chief of Spanish military intelligence, in charge of negotiations for the delivery of German arms.

**20 March:** At his doctor's urging, Hitler leaves the *Wolfsschanze* for a three-month vacation. In the evening, he arrives in Berlin and has a long conversation with Goebbels, whom he tells that Soviet manpower will soon be exhausted, since 'they simply cannot stand such bloody losses for long, though of course nobody can say how long ... We must continue to fight stubbornly and tenaciously ... until the enemy is knocked out. At that moment a decisive turn will have come in the war. Then we shall have a *Wehrmacht* that can be regarded as the best and the most experienced in the world ... Then we need no longer fear the Anglo-American invasion, which at present is still something of a nightmare with us.' Goebbels also confirms that Hitler seemed happy when he heard from him that the Jews had been for the most part removed from Berlin (Lochner, *Goebbels*, pp. 313–14; *TBJG*, II/7, p. 592).

**21 March:** Hitler decorates SS *Obergruppenführer* Sepp Dietrich with the Knight's Cross and Oak Leaves for the recapture of Kharkov by SS troops. In the early afternoon he delivers his Heroes Memorial Day (*Heldengedenktage*) speech in Berlin's old arsenal (*Zeughaus*). Colonel Rudolf von Gersdorff, a member of the anti-Hitler conspiracy, is ready to blow himself up in the vicinity of the dictator, but Hitler leaves earlier than expected, and Gersdorff has great difficulty in defusing the bomb.

**22 March:** In the evening, Hitler arrives via Munich at the *Berghof*.

**1 April:** Hitler receives General Garibaldi, C-in-C of the 8th (Italian) Army deployed in Russia.

**3 April:** Hitler receives King Boris of Bulgaria.

**5 April:** Hitler's new operational order for 'Citadel' specifies 3 May as the date of attack.

**7–10 April:** Hitler is host at Klessheim Castle to the Italian delegation led by Mussolini, including Under Secretary Bastianini, who replaced Ciano, and General Ambrosio, chief of *Comando Supremo*.

**12 April:** Martin Bormann is confirmed in his position as Secretary to the Führer.

**12–13 April:** Conversations between Marshal Antonescu and Hitler at Klessheim Castle. The Führer is worried about secret Romanian peace feelers with the enemy, and warns Antonescu that he is determined to carry on his fight for the *Lebensraum* in the East, which can only end in a clear-cut victory or total defeat. On the Jewish question, Hitler disapproves of Antonescu's moderate approach and tells him that 'the more radical the policy against the Jews is, the better.' By now he is firmly convinced that 'there [are] only two possible outcomes of the present war: 'either a clear victory or absolute annihilation' (Hillgruber, II, pp. 214–34).

**Mid-April:** Pressured by Dönitz and Speer, and despite his recent decision of 22 January on the allocation of strategic raw materials, Hitler orders that the Navy, especially the construction of U-boats, should rank first.

**14 April:** With Hitler's approval, Goebbels opens a violent anti-Soviet campaign following the discovery of mass graves of murdered Polish officers at Katyn near Smolensk (*TBJG*, II/8, pp. 104, 110).

**16–17 April:** During two meetings with Admiral Horthy at Klessheim Castle, Hitler openly criticizes the mild attitude of the Hungarian authorities towards the Jews. When Horthy asks in desperation what he should do with all the Jews, that he cannot kill them all, Hitler replies that this is not necessary, the Hungarians could, like the Slovaks, send their Jews to concentration camps. All in all, Hitler assures Horthy, he should not blush if a few thousands are killed. One should have no pity with them, since the Jews are responsible for the war! He declares further: 'If the Jews don't want to work there (in the East), then they will be shot. If they cannot work, then they must die. One has to treat them as one treats the TBC bacilli from which a healthy body could catch infection. This could not be considered cruel if we realize that completely innocent animals, like hare and deer, must be killed. Why should we spare these beasts if they want to import Bolshevism to us?' (Hillgruber, II, pp. 234–63).

**18 April:** Hitler receives Ambassador Oshima and Admiral Nomura at the *Berghof*.

**19 April:** Hitler receives the Norwegian prime minister Quisling at the *Berghof*. Beginning of the uprising in the Jewish ghetto of Warsaw.

**20 April:** Hitler spends his birthday in the company of Eva Braun and his private circle at the *Berghof*.

**22 April:** Hitler receives the Slovak delegation headed by President Tiso at Klessheim Castle.

**24 April:** After seeing Hitler at the *Berghof*, Speer intimates to Goebbels that 'the Führer is more convinced than ever that Total War is our salvation; he won't let anybody push him off the course on which he has started' (Lochner, *Goebbels*, p. 342).

**27 April:** Hitler receives the Croatian delegation led by Ante Pavelić at Klessheim Castle.

**29 April:** Hitler confers at the *Berghof* with Pierre Laval; he refuses to issue a declaration about the future of France when the war is over.

**2 May:** Hitler leaves Obersalzberg for Munich and Berlin.

**4 May:** Military conference between Hitler and generals involved in preparation of *Citadel* in Munich. Hitler declares that he wants to postpone the operation till mid-June (confirmed by his order of 11 May).

**7 May:** In Berlin, Hitler attends the funeral of SA chief of staff, Viktor Lutze, killed in a car accident. Admiral Horthy writes a letter in response to Hitler's criticism of weak measures applied in Hungary against the Jews.

**10 May:** Hitler cables General Arnim to stand fast. It is of no avail. Three days later 250,000 *Axis* troops will surrender in Tunisia.

**12 May:** Hitler flies to *Wolfsschanze*.

**13 May:** Speer reports to Hitler on the successful increase of Germany's arms production.

**14 May:** New tank models and anti-tank weapons are demonstrated to the Führer. They include the monster tank 'Mouse', weighing over 100 tons. During a naval conference, Dönitz tells Hitler that for the first time Germany was losing the tonnage war because of superior Allied anti-submarine counter-measures.

**15 May:** Hitler holds a secret speech before his generals, on the implications caused by the defeat in North Africa.

**16 May:** The end of the Jewish uprising in Warsaw.

**19 May:** Hitler summons a briefing conference on the catastrophic military situation in the Mediterranean, anticipating Italy's collapse.

**21 May:** Hitler flies from East Prussia to Berchtesgaden. Himmler orders the liquidation of all ghettos and the deportation of all Jews in them to concentration camps.

**31 May:** At the *Berghof*, Dönitz tells Hitler repeatedly that the tonnage warfare cannot be won; the U-boats are fighting against impossible odds and are being destroyed with their crews at an unacceptable rate.

**2 June:** Hitler summons leading managers of the armament industry to Obersalzberg; he praises Speer's achievements very highly.

**8 June:** At a military conference with Keitel and Zeitzler at the *Berghof*, Hitler categorically refuses to give his approval to the establishment of combat units raised from Russian prisoners-of-war: 'We shall never raise a Russian Army, it's a phantom of first magnitude ... I don't need a Russian Army which I would have to strengthen with too many German "corset sticks". The purpose is much better served if I can get Russian workers instead.' However, because of the severe manpower shortage in the *Wehrmacht*, Hitler grudgingly accepts the fact that several hundred thousand *Hilfswillige* will have to remain with German troops as valuable non-combatants. While Hitler will continue to oppose the raising of a 'Russian Liberation Army' under General Vlasov, non-Russian volunteers from among prisoners-of-war have already been formed into combat battalions to fight against the Red Army (Heiber, pp. 252–68).

**10 June:** Hitler receives Ambassador Alfieri.

**16 June:** Hitler makes the final decision to go ahead with Operation *Citadel*, which will become the last German large-scale offensive on the Eastern Front.

**18 June:** Speer points out to Hitler that a personal inspection of the Ruhr, damaged by air bombing, is urgently necessary. He replies that he will go as soon as he finds time.

**19 June:** Himmler reports to Hitler on the progress of evacuating Jews from the ghettos in Poland and Russia. Hitler insists that the evacuation must be carried out radically despite the unrest it might cause.

**24 June:** Baldur von Schirach, *Gauleiter* of Vienna, tells Hitler during a visit to the *Berghof* that the war must be terminated in one way or another. 'How does he imagine to do that?' Hitler comments: 'He knows exactly as I do that there is no way out – unless I drive a bullet through my head' (Below, p. 340).

**29 June:** Hitler flies to the *Wolfsschanze*, where he stays until 7 November.

**4 July:** On the eve of launching Operation *Citadel* against the Kursk salient, Hitler issues a proclamation to his troops: 'This strike, which the German forces are about to launch, must be of decisive importance and bring about a turn in the war. The strike must be the last battle for the victory of German weapons' (Domarus, p. 2022).

**10 July:** Hitler receives a Turkish military delegation headed by General Toydemir. As the Allied forces land in Sicily, Hitler urges Mussolini to come to a meeting with him.

**13 July:** Hitler summons Field Marshals von Manstein and von Kluge to his HQ to discuss the failure of Operation *Citadel*. Hitler reckons that he must recall the operation because of the heavy losses and the Soviet counter-offensive.

**18 July:** Hitler flies to Salzburg and spends the night at the *Berghof*.

**19 July:** Hitler flies to Treviso to meet Mussolini in San Fermo.

**20 July:** Hitler flies back to Rastenburg.

**25 July:** Goebbels complains in his diary that the Führer has not yet visited a single German city damaged by air bombing, to boost civilian morale. Goebbels considered it 'very necessary that the Führer do this, despite the heavy burdens on the military sector; one cannot neglect the people too long'. His diary entry coincided with the launching of the most devastating series of air raids against Hamburg, resulting in the death of more than 40,000 civilians and an unprecedented material destruction: 'a catastrophe, the extent of which simply staggers the imagination' (Lochner, *Goebbels*, pp. 404, 419).

**25 and 26 July:** Hitler holds several military conferences at his HQ about the dramatic developments in Italy following the overthrow of Mussolini, the dissolution of the Fascist Party and the proclamation of a new government under Marshal Badoglio. Hitler orders Rommel to take over command of German forces in Greece.

**26 July:** Speer obtains Hitler's consent to place the entire production of submarines under his own ministry. Hitler signs Directive No. 48, in which he still presumes that the main Allied invasion was to be directed against Greece.

**29 July:** Despite the fact that Mussolini was under arrest, Hitler let it be known that he had sent him a special birthday present – the complete works of Friedrich Nietzsche.

**31 July:** Instead of Directive No. 49, Hitler issues a series of individual orders anticipating Italy's defection and a German military take-over.

**2 August:** A Jewish uprising in the extermination camp of Treblinka; the camp will be dismantled in November.

**9 August:** Members of the *Kreisau* Circle, one of the anti-Hitler conspiracy groups, drafted a new constitution for Germany for the post-Hitler era.

**12 August:** Hitler orders the immediate erection of an East Wall, the so-called *Panther* position, along the river Dnieper.

**14–15 August:** King Boris of Bulgaria visits Hitler at the *Wolfsschanze*.

**16 August:** German troops entering the ghetto of Bialystok, to liquidate the remaining 30,000 Jews, are met by resistance.

**17 August:** Hitler receives the Hungarian defence minister Csátay.

**18–19 August:** General Hans Jeschonnek, the Air Force chief of staff, commits suicide. Hitler asks Göring to represent him at the funeral.

**20 August:** Hitler dismisses the Reich interior minister Frick and appoints him Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia. Himmler takes over the Interior Ministry.

**27 August:** Hitler flies to Vinnitsa to confer at his former HQ *Werwolf* with Manstein.

**28 August:** Hitler receives the Croatian minister Ratković and his Romanian colleague Gheorghe at the *Wolfsschanze*. King Boris of Bulgaria dies unexpectedly.

**2 September:** Hitler issues the order for the 'Concentration of War Economy' and a new dispensation for the *Organisation Todt*; Speer is invested with new full powers and his title is changed to Minister of Armaments and War Production (*Rüstung und Kriegsproduktion*).

**2–3 September:** Marshal Antonescu visits Hitler at the *Wolfsschanze*.

**3 September:** Manstein and Kluge confer with Hitler at the *Wolfsschanze* about further necessary withdrawals in the East.

**7 September:** Hitler discusses with Professor Messerschmitt the development of German jet fighters.

**8 September:** Hitler flies to the HQ of Army Group South at Zaporozhie – his last trip to an army group HQ on the Eastern Front – to give his approval for the planned withdrawal behind the *Panther* position. On his return to Rastenburg, Hitler learns that an armistice has been concluded between the Badoglio Government and the Allies. He immediately releases the code word *Axis*, which will result in the occupation of Rome by German troops and the disarming of Italian units. Hitler also issues a press communiqué on 'Badoglio's Treachery'.

**9 September:** Hitler asks Goebbels to come to his HQ for an intimate discussion. Asked by Goebbels, 'whether anything might be done with Stalin sooner or later,' Hitler replies: 'Not for the moment ... it would be easier to make a deal with the English than with the Soviets' (Lochner, *Goebbels*, p. 435; *TBJG*, II/9, p. 464).

**10 September:** Dr Peter Kleist, who has been involved in secret peace feelers with the Russians in Stockholm on Ribbentrop's behalf, submits a memorandum to Hitler, proposing that Germany change her brutal occupational policy in the East. 'I cannot turn back now,' Hitler is alleged to have replied. 'Any change in my attitude would certainly be misunderstood as giving in, the military situation being what it is, and would bring a landslide ... It's an illusion ... I cannot forget the future for the sake of a few momentary successes. In a hundred years Germany would be a nation of 120,000,000. For that population I need empty space. I cannot grant the Eastern peoples any sovereign rights of independence and replace Soviet Russia with a new national Russia ... Space is the deciding question

for me in the East!’ (Toland, p. 1054). Goebbels finally persuades Hitler to record a speech to the German People, which is broadcast shortly after 8 p.m.

**12 September:** Hitler signs a decree giving Speer total control of the armament industry in northern Italy. On Hitler’s orders, German paratroopers under the command of Otto Skorzeny kidnap Mussolini from his place of detention in a mountain resort on Gran Sasso.

**14–18 September:** Mussolini stays as Hitler’s guest at the *Wolfsschanze*.

**15 September:** At Hitler’s instigation, Mussolini announces the reconstitution of the Italian Fascist Party and the formation of a new government in northern Italy with a seat in Salò on Lake Garda. Hitler confers with Manstein and Kleist about further withdrawals on the Eastern front.

**18 September:** Hitler receives the Serbian premier General Nedić.

**23 September:** Hitler invites Goebbels to his HQ to discuss the Italian treachery. He anticipates further betrayals from his Balkan allies – with the exception, perhaps, of Marshal Antonescu (Lochner, *Goebbels*, p. 480).

**28 September:** Hitler issues Directive No. 50, preparing for the withdrawal of German troops to northern Norway in the event of Finland opting out of the war.

**4 October:** Hitler orders the contraction of the front in Italy to the defence line Gaeta–Ortona. Himmler speaks in Posen to senior SS officers about the ‘Final Solution’, the physical extermination of the Jews in the East.

**5 October:** Hitler discusses with Göring the failure of the *Luftwaffe* to protect German cities from Allied bombers; the question of ‘Kamikaze pilots’ is suggested, but Hitler disapproves of the idea.

**7 October:** In a speech to assembled *Reichsleiters* and *Gauleiters* at the *Wolfsschanze*, Hitler declares that the whole German people must hold out in this life-and-death struggle, that ‘the bridges behind us are burned down; there is only one path left pointing ahead ... till the final victory’ (Domarus, p. 2045). The same *Gauleiters* and *Reichsleiters* listened to Himmler’s speech on the ‘Final Solution’ on the previous day, during which he told them the same gruesome details as he did to his SS officers on 4 October.

**11 October:** Hitler appoints Speer as the Chief Planner of all cities damaged by bombing, with a view to their reconstruction.

**12 October:** Hitler receives at his HQ General Estaban Infantes, commander of the Spanish ‘Blue’ Division, which was in the process of withdrawing from the Eastern front.

**13 October:** Hitler receives Marshal Graziani, Mussolini’s new C-in-C, on the same day as the Badoglio Government declares war on Germany.

**18–19 October:** The Bulgarian regency council, led by Prince Kiril, visits Hitler at his HQ.

**28 October:** Hitler prevents the withdrawal of 17th Army from the Crimea, which is threatened with being cut off from the mainland by advancing Soviet forces.

**3 November:** Hitler signs Directive No. 51, to reinforce defences in the west against the threat of an Anglo-American invasion.

**5 November:** The Bulgarian premier Bozhilov and foreign minister Shishmanov are received by Hitler at the *Wolfsschanze*. Hitler appoints Rommel ‘C-in-C for Special Duties’; his responsibility will include the fortifications of the ‘Atlantic Wall’.

**7 November:** Conference between Hitler and Manstein, who proposes to retake Kiev. Hitler insists on saving the Crimea by an assault from the bridgehead of Nikopol. In the evening, Hitler leaves *Wolfsschanze* in his special train.

**8 November:** Hitler delivers his ritual oration before the Nazi party veterans in Munich’s *Löwenbräukeller*, after which he retires to the *Berghof*.

**12 November:** Hitler issues a decree proclaiming the firm Friedrich Krupp, Germany’s leading arms manufacturer, a family enterprise.

**16 November:** On his return to *Wolfsschanze*, Hitler receives Ambassador von Papen, who has come from Ankara with important secret information provided

by the agent *Cicero*, concerning British preparations for the cross-Channel assault on the French coast.

**20 November:** Hitler flies to Breslau for one day to deliver a speech to 20,000 officer cadets.

**22 November:** Hitler receives General Steflea, the Romanian chief of staff, at the *Wolfsschanze*.

**26 November:** Göring and Hitler are inspecting the *Luftwaffe's* latest secret weapons at the Insterburg airfield. Hitler is especially interested in the V-1 flying bomb and the Me-262 jet fighter; he demands that the Me-262 be converted into a fast bomber.

**6 December:** Hitler issues orders for the Christmas counter-offensive against Zhitomir and, eventually, Kiev.

**7 December:** Hitler receives the Dutch Fascist leader, A. A. Mussert. Goebbels and Hitler speak on the telephone regarding the communiqué issued by Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill at the Teheran Conference (28 November–1 December). They both agreed that the communiqué was harmless, and that it can be published almost verbatim in the German press, since 'it contains nothing dangerous to us' (Lochner, *Goebbels*, p. 544).

**15 December:** Hitler orders the preparation of a reprisal attack on London on 15 February 1944 with all missiles available.

**22 December:** In the evening, Hitler holds a military conference on German preparations against the anticipated Allied invasion. He is obsessed with the idea of using flame-throwers as defensive weapons on the beaches and instantly issues orders for tripling their production.

**22 December:** The 'OKW National Socialist Leadership Staff' is decreed by Hitler in response to Soviet-sponsored subversion through the 'National Committee Free Germany' and the 'League of German Officers'.

**Christmas:** Hitler spends Christmas at the *Wolfsschanze*.

## 1944

**1 January:** 'The year 1944 will make severe and heavy demands on all Germans. During the course of this year, this momentous war will approach its climax', announces Hitler in his New Year proclamation. He does not say a word about Stalingrad, but promises to rebuild all damaged German cities, big and small, so that 'in a few years after the end of the war nobody will recognize them again' (Domarus, pp. 2071–7).

**Beginning of January:** Joseph Goebbels sends a 40-page memorandum to Hitler, recommending the conclusion of an armistice with Stalin. There is no reaction from the Führer.

**2 January:** Hitler decides to transfer the responsibility for radar production from the *Luftwaffe* to Albert Speer's ministry.

**4 January:** Manstein, visiting the *Wolfsschanze*, has another heated argument with Hitler about further necessary withdrawals on the Southern Front. In the presence of Zeitzler, he recommends Hitler to appoint a C-in-C East, like Field Marshal Rundstedt in the West and Field Marshal Kesselring in Italy. Hitler rejects the idea, as he does not believe that his successor would wield the same authority: 'Even I am not obeyed by my field marshals! Do you think that they would, for instance, obey you any better?' (Domarus, p. 2077). Hitler then holds a conference with Field Marshal Milch, Fritz Sauckel and Albert Speer on manpower problems. Over 4 million additional workers will be needed in 1944; Hitler still objects

to the recruitment of women on a scale comparable to Soviet Russia and wartime England.

**8 January:** Hitler issues an order on the importance of ideological training for soldiers, stipulating that every officer must be familiar with the booklet *Wofür kämpfen wir* ('What are we fighting for?').

**10 January:** Hitler finally managed to arrange for a special court in Verona to sentence to death, 'in the name of the Duce', most of the members of the Great Fascist Council who approved Mussolini's resignation on 24 July 1943. Among those executed is Ciano, Mussolini's own son-in-law.

**13 January:** Hitler receives the Norwegian premier Quisling at his HQ.

**22 January:** Soviet successes in the Baltic area lead Hitler to replace Field Marshal von Kuchler, C-in-C Army Group North, by General Model. On the same day he receives Ambassador Oshima at his HQ.

**24 January:** Hitler receives the Hungarian chief of staff, General Szombathelelyi.

**27 January:** Hitler speaks to the summoned field marshals and commanding generals, on the necessity of National Socialist education for the soldiers: 'Gentlemen, if the worse comes to the worst, then I hope you will stand by me on the barricades with daggers drawn!' Unexpectedly, he hears Manstein's voice from the front row: 'And so it will be, *mein Führer*' (Domarus, p. 2080).

**27–28 January:** That night Bormann records Hitler's views on how to replace Germany's heavy casualties after the war, when up to four million German women will find themselves without husbands. 'How many divisions shall we be lacking in the next 20 to 45 years!?' Hitler exclaims. Radical steps, challenging the established bourgeois code, must be taken immediately, Hitler says, to secure procreation, even outside marriage. The term 'illegitimate' must be completely wiped from the legal vocabulary (Jacobsen, *Grundzüge*, pp. 199–202).

**28 January:** Alarmed by the US landings at Anzio and Nettuno, Hitler sends a special order to Kesselring: 'All officers and men ... must be penetrated by a fanatical will to end this battle victoriously ... until the last enemy soldier has been destroyed or thrown back into the sea. The battle must be fought in a spirit of holy hatred for an enemy who is conducting a pitiless war of extermination against the German people, who is prepared to adopt any means to this end, and who, without any higher ethical purpose, seeks only the annihilation of Germany and, with her, of European culture!' (*Directives*, p. 233).

**30 January:** On the 11th anniversary of his seizure of power, Hitler speaks on the radio: 'One thing is absolutely certain – in this struggle there can be only one victor, and this will be either Germany or Soviet Russia! Germany's victory means the preservation of Europe, the victory of Soviet Russia its destruction!' (VB, 31 January 1944).

**6 February:** Hans Frank reports personally to Hitler on the situation in the General Government.

**14 February:** Hitler orders Himmler to amalgamate the OKW Intelligence Service (*Abwehr*) and the SD (*Sicherheitsdienst*).

**15 February:** General Steflea, Romanian chief of staff, visits Hitler at his HQ.

**24 February:** After meeting the *Reichsleiter*s and *Gauleiter*s, Hitler leaves the *Wolfsschanze* by train for Berchtesgaden so that the bunkers of the Führer's HQ can be reinforced against air raids.

**26–28 February:** Marshal Antonescu visits Hitler at Klessheim Castle to reassure him of his loyalty.

**28 February:** Hanna Reitsch, the famous aviator, is received by Hitler at the *Berghof*. She suggests to him that the inaccurate V-1 flying bombs should be piloted by volunteers and offers to undertake the suicide mission herself.

**1 March:** The Croatian prime minister Mandić and foreign minister Perić are received by Hitler at Klessheim Castle.

**5 March:** Hitler discusses shortages in armaments production with Milch and Karl Saur, Speer's deputy. Hitler agrees to make fighter aircraft a top priority; important aircraft factories will be transferred underground.

**8 March:** The Führer's Order No. 11 is dispatched, calling for the erection of fortified areas on the Eastern Front, stretching from Reval on the Baltic to Nikolayev on the Black Sea, from which counter-attacks can be launched. It signals Hitler's definite acceptance of the defensive war in the East.

**9 March:** Another attempt on Hitler's life is foiled, because the assailant, Major von Breitenbuch, is not admitted to the conference room at the *Berghof* (P. Hoffmann, p. 200).

**15 March:** On the anniversary of German occupation of Czechoslovakia, Hitler sends a personal letter to President Hácha, praising his exemplary collaboration with Germany: 'If the Czech people continues to fulfil its duty towards its homeland, the Reich and Europe, then it will also take part in the acquisitions of our victory' (Domarus, p. 2090).

**16 and 17 March:** Conversations between the Bulgarian Regency Council and Hitler at Klessheim Castle.

**18 March:** Dramatic encounter between Horthy and Hitler at Klessheim Castle. The Hungarian regent is subjected to humiliating treatment. After one of Hitler's hysterical attacks, accusing the Hungarian government of double-dealing, Horthy storms out of the room, red with indignation. Finally, he succumbs to Hitler's pressure and gives his consent to the military occupation of his country by German troops, which will begin at 4 a.m. the next day (Operation *Margarethe*). When Horthy returns to his residence in Budapest, a German 'guard of honour' is awaiting him. The SS move in to round up Hungarian Jews.

**19 March:** Field Marshals Rundstedt and Rommel report to Hitler on the state of defences in the West. Thereafter, on behalf of all the field marshals, Rundstedt recites a declaration of loyalty to the Führer.

**23–24 March:** Encouraged by the recent German occupation of Hungary, Marshal Antonescu meets Hitler at Klessheim Castle and demands the recovery of former Romanian territories annexed by Hungary. Hitler advises restraint.

**25 March:** On Hitler's orders, fifty British officers from the prisoner-of-war camp at Sagan are executed for their attempt to escape.

**30 March:** Hitler replaces two field marshals: Manstein as C-in-C Army Group South by General Model, who is promoted to Field Marshal, and Kleist, C-in-C Army Group A, by General Schörner.

**1 April:** Hitler nominates Goebbels as City President of Berlin.

**2 April:** 'The time has now come to bring the Russian advance to a standstill,' announces Hitler in his Operation Order No. 7. He believes that the Soviet steam-roller could be held indefinitely on the old frontier of 1938 (*Directives*, p. 237).

**9 April:** Hitler orders that Sevastopol must be defended in spite of the encirclement of the 17th Army in the Crimea.

**17 April:** Hitler attends the funeral of *Gauleiter* Adolf Wagner in Munich, where he addresses the surviving *Gauleiters* and *Reichsleiters*.

**20 April:** Hitler celebrates his 55th birthday at the *Berghof* in the presence of his favourite general, Hans Hube, Commander of the 1st Panzer Army, who has just escaped from a Soviet encirclement.

**21 April:** General Hube is killed in an air crash.

**22–23 April:** Mussolini comes to Klessheim Castle for talks with Hitler, who declares that the Allied coalition is most unnatural and must soon disintegrate because of its inner contradictions: 'One could imagine much easier a German–Russian coalition than one between the egoistic capitalism of England and America with the egoistic Bolshevism or anti-capitalism!' (Hillgruber, II, p. 420).

**26 April:** Hitler attends the funeral of General Hube in Berlin.

**5 May:** Himmler speaks to army generals on the 'Final Solution', and declares unambiguously that he was killing the Jews on the Führer's explicit order.

**8 May:** Late that evening, Hitler finally concedes defeat and orders German and Romanian troops to evacuate the Crimea by sea.



**12 May:** President Tiso, with a Slovak delegation, meets Hitler for talks at Klessheim Castle.

**15 May:** Rommel and General von Stülpnagel, the military commandant of France, are plotting the arrest of Hitler and his trial by a German tribunal.

**May 15–July 9:** Over 43,000 Hungarian Jews are deported to Auschwitz, where most of them were gassed.

**16 May:** Hitler announces the employment of ‘secret weapons’ in the air warfare against England. The long-range bombardment is scheduled to begin with V-1 flying bombs from mid-June.

**23 May:** Hitler holds a conference at the *Berghof* on recent aircraft production. He still insists that the Me-262 jet fighter must be converted into a high-speed bomber.

**26 May:** In a secret speech to his generals at Obersalzberg, Hitler tackles the ‘Final Solution’ as the necessary choice in Germany’s struggle for survival: ‘My dear generals, we are fighting a battle of life and death. If our enemies are victorious in this struggle, the German people will be extirpated. The Bolsheviks will butcher millions upon millions of our intellectuals ... This entire bestiality has been organized by Jews. Today incendiary and other bombs are dropped on our cities although the enemy knows he is hitting just women and children ... In one night in a city like Hamburg we lost over 40,000 women and children, burned to death. Expect nothing else from me, but that I do just what I think best suits the national interest and in the manner best serving the German nation. Kindness here as indeed anywhere else would be just about the greatest cruelty to our own people. If the Jews are going to hate me, then at least I want to take advantage of that hatred. The advantage is this: now we have a cleanly organized nation, in which no outsider can interfere. Look at the other countries ... Hungary! The entire country subverted and rotten, Jews everywhere, Jews and still more Jews right up to the highest level ... Here too I intervened, and this problem is now going to be solved too ... On 1 September 1939 I announced in the *Reichstag*, if any man believes he can extirpate the German nation in a world war, he is wrong; if Jewry really tries that, then the one that will be extirpated is Jewry itself’ (Irving, *War*, p. 691).

**27 May:** Hitler receives Ambassador Oshima at the *Berghof*.

**31 May:** Bormann circulates among the *Gauleiters* special instructions by the Führer outlining the task of the party in case of an invasion of the Reich.

**1 June:** On Hitler’s orders, Admiral Canaris is sacked from his post as head of the *Abwehr*.

**3 June:** Eva Braun’s sister Gretl marries SS General Hans Fegelein in Salzburg.

**4 June:** On the day the Allies enter Rome, Hitler receives at the *Berghof* the Croatian envoy, Vladimir Kosak.

**5 June:** Hitler receives the Hungarian envoy, Alexander Hoffman von Magyösetag.

**6 June:** Allied landing in Normandy.

**7 June:** Meeting the new Hungarian premier, Sztójay at Klessheim Castle, Hitler accuses the regent Horthy of being too squeamish in the use of violence. Again he recalls his *Reichstag* speech at the outbreak of war and asserts that the Jews must be extirpated: ‘Nobody can expect from me to have the least pity with this world plague’ (Hillgruber, II, p. 464).

**10 June:** Units of the SS division *Das Reich* destroyed the French village of Oradour-sur-Glâne, near Limoges; about 600 inhabitants, including women and children, were massacred.

**15 June:** Following Hitler’s directive of 16 May, the bombardment of London with V-1 flying bombs begins.

**16 June:** Hitler flies to Metz.

**17 June:** Hitler arrives at Margival, near Soissons, to inspect the new HQ *Wolfsschlucht II* and to confer with Rommel and Rundstedt about forestalling the Allied invasion in Normandy. The field marshals are not reassured by Hitler’s reference to the ultimate success of his secret weapons. Rommel urges him to bring

the war to an end. In the afternoon Hitler drives back to Metz, from where he flies to Salzburg.

**19 June:** Hitler issues a decree concerning the concentration of armaments and war production.

**22 June:** While the Soviets open their great summer offensive, Hitler addresses his senior officers and about 200 armaments experts in Obersalzberg on the nature of war and revolution: 'Our anti-Semitism will spread throughout the world, just like once the ideas of French Revolution preceded the French armies, thereby making Napoleon's victory easier' (Jacobsen, *Grundzüge*, p. 202).

**24–26 June:** Hitler sends Ribbentrop to Helsinki to prevent the Finns from concluding a ceasefire with the Soviets.

**27 June:** Hitler forbids the withdrawal of the Army Group Centre, threatened by encirclement after the successful Soviet breakthrough at Vitebsk and Bobruisk.

**28 June:** After the collapse of the Army Group Centre, Hitler replaces its C-in-C, Field Marshal Busch, with Field Marshal Model.

**29 June:** Commanding generals from the Western Front are summoned to a conference at the *Berghof*. Rommel and Rundstedt describe to Hitler the hopeless situation in France. Hitler decides to replace Rundstedt by Field Marshal von Kluge.

**1 July:** Hitler attends the funeral of General Dietl in Berlin.

**4 July:** Over 200 managers from war industry are summoned by Hitler to Obersalzberg.

**9 July:** Hitler flies to the *Wolfsschanze* for a situation conference reviewing the disintegration of the Army Group Centre. He returns to Obersalzberg the same day.

**6 and 11 July:** Colonel von Stauffenberg attends Hitler's staff conferences at the *Berghof*, ready to explode a bomb, but decides not to because Göring and Himmler were absent.

**13 July:** Hitler signs two decrees delineating the authority of the party and the *Wehrmacht* in the event of German territory being invaded; he also addresses some 160 commanders and staff officers of the newly raised military units.

**14 July:** Rommel writes to Hitler about the critical situation at his army group because of the heavy losses, of both men and materials, that cannot be replaced. He concludes: 'I must ask you immediately to draw the necessary conclusions from this situation' (Domarus, p. 2121). Two days later, Rommel is seriously wounded.

**16 July:** Hitler flies back to his HQ in East Prussia. He will never come back to his home at the *Berghof*.

**20 July:** At 12.42 p.m. Stauffenberg's bomb explodes in Hitler's conference room. Hitler emerges from the wrecked hut relatively unscathed, though he is full of wood splinters, heavily bruised and his trousers hang in shreds. Both his eardrums are ruptured, but he will suffer some loss of hearing only for a short time. In the afternoon, he greets Mussolini, who arrived on a scheduled visit to *Wolfsschanze*: 'It isn't for the first time I've miraculously escaped death. After my rescue from the peril of death today I am more than ever convinced that I am destined to carry on our great common cause to a happy conclusion!' (Domarus, p. 2124). Meanwhile, Stauffenberg returns to Berlin by plane, convinced that the Führer had been killed in the explosion. He joins General Beck and other conspirators at the OKH HQ in the Bendler Strasse, where they decide to go ahead with the coup (code name 'Operation Valkyrie'). At 5 p.m., an order comes from the *Wolfsschanze* to arrest Stauffenberg. At 6 p.m., Hitler appoints Himmler C-in-C of the Reserve Army, whose previous commander, General Fromm, is kept under arrest by the conspirators. At 6.35 p.m., Hitler orders Major Remer, Commander of the Guards Battalion *Grossdeutschland*, to smash the conspiracy. Around 11 p.m., Stauffenberg and three other conspirators are summarily executed by firing squad; General Beck commits suicide. The army officers' coup is over. On the same day, Hitler decides to appoint General Guderian as the new Army chief of staff, replacing General Zeitzler. Shortly after midnight, Hitler's voice is heard over all German

radio stations: 'If I speak to you today, I do so for two reasons. Firstly, so that you may hear my voice and know that I myself am uninjured and well. Secondly, so that you may also learn the details about a crime that has not its like in German history. A very small clique of ambitious, wicked and stupidly criminal officers forged a plot to eliminate me and along with me virtually the entire *Wehrmacht* leadership. The bomb, planted by Colonel Count von Stauffenberg, burst two meters to the right of me ... I myself am completely uninjured except for some very small scrapes ... I regard it as a confirmation of my assignment from Providence to carry on my life's goal as I have done hitherto ... The group represented by these usurpers is ridiculously small. It has nothing to do with the *Wehrmacht*, and above all with the Army. It is a very small coterie of criminal elements, which will be now mercilessly extirpated ... We shall settle accounts the way we National Socialists are accustomed to settle them!' (Domarus, p. 2128).

**21 July:** Hitler receives Admiral Horthy's messenger, General Miklós-Dálnóki.

**22 July:** Goebbels visits Hitler at the *Wolfsschanze*.

**23 July:** Hitler appoints General Schörner as C-in-C of the Army Group North. He confers with Goebbels, Göring, Himmler, Speer and Bormann on measures to be taken to intensify Germany's war effort through the mobilization of idle manpower. Soviet troops liberate the extermination camp at Majdanek, which the Germans failed to destroy.

**25 July:** While sixteen recently captured German generals from the Army Group Centre issue an appeal to German soldiers and officers in the East to lay down their arms, Hitler steps up the war effort by another proclamation of Total War.

**26 July:** Hitler meets with heads of German war industry.

**28 July:** Speer sends Hitler another report on the catastrophic situation in the production of synthetic fuels, largely destroyed by systematic Allied bombing.

**31 July:** Hitler comments on his own state of health and recovery; he complains that he could no longer risk flying in aeroplanes with his eardrum damage: 'I would not dare to speak in front of 10,000 people ... because I could easily suffer an attack of vertigo and collapse.' However, the trembling in his legs had disappeared because of the blow, but when it returned after two months the trembling became worse and also affected his left hand (Heiber, p. 607).

**1 August:** Beginning of the Warsaw uprising. Hitler orders the crushing of the rebels and the levelling of the city. He steps up the persecution of the conspirators from 20 July by decreeing the so-called *Sippenhaft* – arrest of the next of kin.

**4 August:** On Hitler's orders, the 'Army Court of Honour', presided over by Keitel, Rundstedt and Guderian, is set up to expel from the Army all indicted officers connected with the plot of 20 July. Hitler summons for the last time all *Reichsleiter*s and *Gauleiter*s from their convention in Posen to the *Wolfsschanze*. In his speech he is mainly preoccupied with miracles: his own survival on 20 July, and Germany winning the war thanks to new 'wonder weapons' (*Wunderwaffen*).

**5 August:** Talking to his guest, Marshal Antonescu, Hitler openly praises the 'former shoemaker's apprentice', Tito, the leader of the Yugoslav partisans, who keeps twenty German divisions engaged. 'If the German generals showed the same resolution, boldness, courage and obstinacy, under no circumstances could the war be lost!' (Hillgruber, II, p. 493).

**7–8 August:** Opening session of the People's Court, presided over by Roland Freisler, whom Hitler characterized as 'our Vishinsky'. The first eight conspirators, including Field Marshal von Witzleben and General Hoepner, are executed by hanging. Almost 5,000 men and women will be executed in connection with the 20 July plot. Hitler will receive films of the executions, showing the last twitches of the condemned.

**13 August:** Hitler receives Ambassador von Papen, who was recalled from Ankara after Turkey had broken off diplomatic relations with Germany. Papen offers to mediate between Germany and the Western powers, but Hitler rejects the idea.

**15 August:** Allied landing in southern France meets no opposition. Hitler replaces Kluge by Model as C-in-C West.

**17 August:** On Hitler's orders, Marshal Pétain and his government are interned in Belfort.

**18 August:** Field Marshal von Kluge, implicated in the 20 July conspiracy, commits suicide on his way to Germany. In his farewell letter, he urges Hitler to put an end to the hopeless struggle.

**20 August:** Hitler sends Keitel to Helsinki to induce the new Finnish president, Marshal Mannerheim, to continue fighting as Germany's ally. First US bombing raid on Auschwitz, which failed to destroy the gas chambers.

**23 August:** General Vörös, Hungarian Chief of Staff, is received by Hitler at the *Wolfsschanze*.

**24 August:** After learning that Marshal Antonescu was arrested by King Michael, and that Romania had changed sides, Hitler orders an air attack on Bucharest. However, all attempts to retain Romania as Hitler's ally failed: in a few days the bulk of German troops in Romania will be destroyed or captured by the Red Army. Hitler orders the release of the imprisoned leader of the Iron Guard, Horia Sima, who forms a Romanian 'national government' in exile. The Bulgarian government demands the withdrawal of German troops from its territory. On the same day, Hitler signs the directive for the construction of a continuous chain of fortified positions in the West to protect the Reich from the Allied invasion.

**25 August:** The new Romanian government declares war on Germany. General de Gaulle makes his triumphant entry into Paris.

**29 August:** German troops are sent into Slovakia to crush the popular uprising.

**31 August:** During a situation conference at his HQ, Hitler declares: 'It is impossible to imagine a greater crisis than the one we have already experienced in the East this year. When Field Marshal Model went there, [the] Army Group Centre was actually nothing but a hole ... We will fight even on the Rhine if need be. It doesn't matter in the least. Come what may, we will continue this struggle until, as Frederick the Great said, one of our accursed enemies becomes tired of continuing the fight, and until we obtain the peace which will guarantee the life of the German nation for the next fifty or a hundred years, and which, above all, does not dishonour us a second time, as happened in 1918 ... I am grateful to Providence, nevertheless, that I was left alive. The time will come when the tensions between the Allies will become so great that the break will occur. Throughout history, coalitions have always gone to pieces sooner or later. One has only to wait for the moment, no matter how hard the going.' With reference to Rommel's and Kluge's demands for the immediate termination of the war, Hitler has nothing but a rebuff: 'I said right away that the time is not yet ripe for a political decision. That I am also in the position to achieve political successes I have, I believe, adequately proved in my life. That I would not let such an opportunity pass, I do not need to explain to anyone. But to hope, at a time of serious military defeats, for a favourable political moment, is naturally childish and naive. Such moments only come when one has successes' (Heiber, pp. 609-20).

**1 September:** At the *Wolfsschanze*, Hitler receives French collaborators, de Brinon, Darnand, Doriot, Déat and Marion.

**4 September:** Hitler receives Ambassador Oshima, who urges him again to sign an armistice with the Soviet Union.

**8 September:** V-2 rockets are fired for the first time on London.

**9 September:** The new Bulgarian government declares war on Germany.

**12 and 13 September:** General Vörös, Hungarian chief of staff, is received by Hitler at his HQ.

**12 September:** Hitler signs a directive ordering the fortification of southern Austria against a possible attack from the Adriatic coast.

**16 September:** In a special order to troops defending German territory near Aachen, Hitler demands 'fanatical determination' from 'every able-bodied man'. 'There can no longer be any large-scale operations on our part,' he admits, 'all we can do is to hold our positions or die. Officers of all ranks are responsible for kin-

dling this fanaticism in the troops and in the general population' (*Directives*, p. 281).

**17 September:** As the Allies attempt to seize the bridges over the Meuse and the Rhine by a bold airborne attack at Arnhem, Hitler suffers a heart attack and is temporarily confined to bed.

**18 September:** Hitler receives at the *Wolfsschanze* the Croatian delegation headed by the *Poglavnik*, Pavelić. In the course of their conversation Hitler admits that the *Wehrmacht* suffered three major crises during the year: the collapse of the Army Group Centre on the Eastern front; the destruction of the 6th Army in Romania; and what he called 'the French crisis' (Hillgruber, II, p. 511).

**19 September:** Following the signing of the armistice between Finland and the Allies, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, in Moscow, all German troops must leave Finland within two weeks. Hitler issues two new decrees delineating the authority of the party and the *Wehrmacht*, thus replacing two previous decrees signed on 13 July.

**25 September:** Hitler issues a mobilization order for all men between the ages of 16 and 60 years of age, to form the people's resistance units, the *Volkssturm* (to be published on 18 October). At the same time he decides to prepare for a major counter-offensive in the West.

**End of September:** For at least a week, Hitler suffers from acute stomach cramps.

**1 October:** Hitler is examined thoroughly by Dr Giesing, who diagnosed jaundice. After consulting with Dr Brandt and Dr von Hasselbach, two surgeons at the Führer's HQ, Giesing informs Hitler that he has been poisoned by Dr Morell's experimental pills containing strychnine and belladonna. However, it is not Morell who will be dismissed, but Brandt and Hasselbach.

**3 October:** Hitler orders German forces to withdraw from Greece, southern Albania and Macedonia.

**14 October:** Rommel commits suicide after being visited by Hitler's 'death messengers', Generals Burgdorf and Maisel.

**15 October:** Admiral Horthy announces on the radio a ceasefire between Hungary and the Allies. In response, Hitler orders German troops to occupy Budapest. Ferenc Szálasi, leader of the 'Arrow Cross' movement, replaces Horthy, who is interned in Germany and forced to renounce his ceasefire proclamation.

**30 October:** The last Jewish transport from Theresienstadt arrives at Auschwitz.

**31 October:** Dr Stumpfegger, an SS doctor, comes to Hitler's HQ as the new surgeon.

**10 November:** Hitler signs operational orders for the Ardennes offensive.

**12 November:** Instead of the usual ritual oration on 8 November, Himmler travels to Munich to read Hitler's proclamation.

**20 November:** In the afternoon, Hitler leaves the *Wolfsschanze* for good. He arrives in Berlin the following day. He will live in the Reich Chancellery with Eva Braun, who arrives from Obersalzberg to join him.

**22 November:** Hitler undergoes a minor operation in a Berlin clinic; Professor von Eicken removes a small polyp from his vocal chords.

**25 November:** Signs of desperation mixed with nihilistic fanaticism are shown in Hitler's special order to *Wehrmacht* units being encircled by the enemy: 'The war will decide whether the German people shall continue to exist or perish. It demands selfless exertion from every individual. Situations which have seemed hopeless have been redeemed by the courage of soldiers contemptuous of death, by the steadfast perseverance of all ranks, and by inflexible, exalted leadership ... Therefore I order: should a commander, left to his own resources, think that he must give up the struggle, he will first ask his officers, then his non-commissioned officers, and finally his troops, if one of them is ready to carry on the task and continue to fight. If one of them will, he will hand over command to that man, regardless of his rank, and himself fall in. The new leader will then assume the command, with all its rights and duties' (*Directives*, p. 288).

**30 November:** During a tea-time conversation, Hitler makes a long statement on the nature of Judaism and Christianity, contrasting Jesus with St. Paul. Hitler refuses to believe that Jesus was a Jew, since Judaism is to be equated with greedy materialism and social revolt of the inferiors against their racial superiors: 'The religion of St. Paul was nothing else but Communism ... Since then the Jews have not changed fundamentally. Everywhere the Jews have constituted the leadership of the underprivileged classes against the rulers. They contaminated and poisoned the atmosphere ... they taught the theories of class struggle. Every rejection of the class struggle is therefore anti-Jewish, every anti-Communist ideology is anti-Jewish, every anti-Christian ideology is anti-Jewish and vice versa. Consequently, our own anti-Socialist ideology is entirely anti-Jewish' (Heim, pp. 412–13).

**2 December:** Conference between Hitler and army commanders of the Western Front in Berlin; Hitler sets 10 December as the start date of the Ardennes offensive.

**4 December:** In the Reich Chancellery, Hitler receives the Hungarian delegation, headed by Ferenc Szálasi; and later during the day the Slovak envoy Galvanek.

**5 December:** Hitler orders that the *Westwall* must be held at all costs.

**10 December:** At 5 p.m. Hitler leaves Berlin in his special train for his new HQ *Adlerhorst*, near Bad Nauheim, to direct the Ardennes offensive.

**11 and 12 December:** In two separate groups, the commanders of the attacking units are summoned by Hitler to the *Adlerhorst*, where he will address them: 'Never in the history of the world have there been coalitions like that of our enemies, composed of so many heterogeneous elements with such totally divergent aims ... Ultra-capitalist states on the one hand, ultra-Marxist states on the other. On the one hand, a dying empire, England, on the other, a colony bent upon inheritance, the USA ... trying to become England's heir. The Soviet Union tries to gain the Balkans, the Straits, the Iranian oil and the Persian Gulf. England tries to hold her possessions and to strengthen herself in the Mediterranean ... These antagonisms grow stronger and stronger from hour to hour. If one can deliver a few more heavy blows, then this artificially bolstered common front may collapse at any moment with a gigantic thunder ... We must allow no moment to pass without showing the enemy that, whatever he does, he can never reckon on a capitulation. Never! Never!' (Heiber, pp. 713–23). Hitler determines the definitive date of the Ardennes offensive as 16 December; its aim is to occupy the port of Antwerp.

**16 December:** Opening of the Ardennes offensive (Operation *Herbstnebel*). After initial success, German troops are thrown back on the defensive because of lack of fuel and air cover.

**24 December:** Hitler refuses to transfer reinforcements to the Eastern front, where the Russians are preparing for another massive strike.

**26 December:** Bormann complains that Hitler's health has seriously deteriorated; his trembling has increased and spread from his leg to his left arm and hand.

**28 December:** Hitler again summons his commanding generals to the *Adlerhorst*. He analyses the failure of the Ardennes offensive and informs them that he wants to launch yet another attack, this time into northern Alsace. Nothing will change his mind: 'Never in my life have I accepted the idea of surrender, and I am one of those men who worked their way up from nothing. The situation, in which we find ourselves today, is, therefore, nothing new to me. Once upon a time my own situation was entirely different, and far worse. I say this only so that you can grasp why I pursue my goal with such fanaticism and why nothing can wear me down' (Heiber, pp. 738–58). Hitler admits privately to his air force adjutant, Nikolaus von Below, that he knew the war was lost; the odds were too overwhelming ... he realized after the 20 July that he was betrayed ... the best thing to do is to put a bullet through my head right now. We lack hard men like Model, Dietrich and Rudel ... the last one could replace me one day.' Then he recovers and his traits become harder: 'We shall never capitulate. Never. We may all perish. But we shall take the world with us' (Below, p. 398).

**29 December:** Upon learning from Speer's deputy, Karl Saur, that the production of tanks and assault guns can be increased to 1,500 per month, Hitler is determined to throw them into the Western Front in order to renew the attack.

**30 December:** Hitler's last offensive in the West, Operation *Nordwind*, begins in northern Alsace.

## 1945

**1 January:** In his New Year Proclamation, Hitler blames Germany's misfortune on his treacherous allies, the Italians, Finns, Hungarians, Romanians and Bulgarians. He orders the last massive attack by the *Luftwaffe*, Operation *Bodenplatte*, comprising over 1,000 combat planes attacking Anglo-American airfields in the West. The most successful *Luftwaffe* pilot, Colonel Rudel, receives from Hitler the highest German war decoration, the Knight's Cross with golden leaves, swords and brilliants, which Hitler had created only a few days earlier.

**3 January:** A massive US air raid over Berlin heavily damages the Reich Chancellery.

**8 January:** Hitler reluctantly agrees to withdraw Sepp Dietrich's 6th SS Panzer Army from the Ardennes.

**9 January:** During the situation conference, Hitler refuses adamantly to listen to Guderian's plea to strengthen the Vistula line, where a Soviet offensive was anticipated. 'The Eastern front,' Hitler asserts, 'must help itself and make do with what it has' (Toland, p. 1153). Two days later, the pitiful German defences collapsed under vastly superior Soviet forces who opened a giant offensive along the entire front, stretching from East Prussia across Poland to Hungary.

**16 January:** The Führer's special train arrives in Berlin in the morning, having left the western HQ, the *Adlerhorst*, on the previous day. Hitler will now be confined to the Reich Chancellery, still inhabitable in some parts, and to the underground bunker nearby. In appearance, he looks like an old man; it is no longer only his left foot and hand that are trembling, but the whole left side of his body. He walks awkwardly and stoops more than ever; he has to have a chair pushed beneath him when he wishes to sit down.

**19 January:** Martin Bormann and Eva Braun arrive from Obersalzberg to join the Führer.

**21 January:** Hitler signs an order requesting all commanding generals to divisional level to inform to him personally of every operational movement of their units: 'They must ensure that I have time to intervene in their decisions if I think fit, and that my counter-orders can reach the frontline troops in time' (*Directives*, p. 289).

**22 January:** When Goebbels mentions that the official Soviet daily newspaper, *Pravda*, had charged that Britain was negotiating secretly with Germany, Hitler denies it furiously. There is no sign of compromise, certainly not from Churchill, Hitler complains bitterly (*TBJG*, II/15, p. 198).

**23 January:** At a situation conference, Hitler declares that Hungary and Austria must be given priority in defence because of their oil fields, which provide 80 per cent of Germany's current stocks.

**24 January:** Hitler approves the withdrawal of German troops from Slovakia and appoints Heinrich Himmler as C-in-C of Army Group Vistula.

**27 January:** Discussing the anticipated British offer of a ceasefire, Hitler discloses that he has instructed Ribbentrop to place in British hands the information that the Soviets had indoctrinated 200,000 German prisoners-of-war for infiltration purposes: 'This is something which will have an effect on them, like a prick with a

needle!' (Heiber, p. 861). Soviet troops liberate Auschwitz–Birkenau, which the Germans had evacuated ten days earlier, leaving about 7,000 prisoners behind.

**28 January:** Hitler receives the Norwegian prime minister, Quisling, in the Reich Chancellery. This will be his last diplomatic audience. He signs a directive specifying that *Volkssturm* units, consisting of old men and teenagers drawn from the *Hitlerjugend*, are to be deployed, together with regular units.

**30 January:** Hitler relieves General Hossbach, his former chief *Wehrmacht* adjutant, of his post as C-in-C of 4th Army in East Prussia, because the general decided on his own initiative to withdraw his troops from the threat of encirclement. In his last radio speech, Hitler declares: 'However grave the crisis may be at the moment, in the end it will be mastered by our unalterable will, by our readiness for sacrifice, and by our abilities. We will overcome this emergency also. And in this struggle it will not be the interior of Asia which will win, but Europe, represented by that nation, which for 1,500 years has defended and will always defend Europe against the East – our Greater German Reich, the German Nation!' (VB, 31 January 1945).

**End of January:** Hitler accepts an invitation to tea at Josef Goebbels' home at Schwanenwerder. Since he still cannot trust anybody apart from his bodyguards, he brings with him his own thermos flask and a bag of biscuits.

**4 February:** In a conversation, recorded by Bormann, Hitler regrets that Britain refused to negotiate peace with him, and opposed his policy aiming at the unification of Europe: 'At the beginning of this war I did my utmost to act as though I believed Churchill to be capable of grasping the truth of this great policy. Later, when I attacked eastwards and lanced the Communist abscess, I hoped thereby to rekindle a spark of common sense in the minds of the Western Powers ... I had underestimated the power of Jewish domination over Churchill's England. For the degenerate elite of England, he's just the very man they want; and it is in the hands of this senile clown to decide the fate of a vast empire and, at the same time, of all Europe. The traditional England would have made peace. But the Jews would have none of it. And their lackeys, Churchill and Roosevelt, were there to prevent it. Peace then, however, would have allowed us to prevent the Americans from meddling in European affairs. Under the guidance of the Reich, Europe would speedily have become unified. Once the Jewish poison had been eradicated, unification would have been an easy matter. At the same time the two Germanic Powers would have had to renounce their pretensions in North Africa and the Near East; and that would have allowed Europe to pursue a bold policy of friendship towards Islam. As for England, relieved of all European cares, she could have devoted herself to the well-being of her Empire. And lastly, Germany, her rear secure, could have thrown herself heart and soul into her essential task, the ambition of my life and the *raison d'être* of National Socialism – the destruction of Bolshevism. This would have entailed the conquest of wide spaces in the East. We ourselves were disposed to compromise. We were ready to throw our forces into the scales for the preservation of the British Empire' (Genoud, pp. 37–45).

**6 February:** Bormann further records Hitler's self-reflections about past mistakes and present hopes: 'No game is lost until the final whistle. A desperate fight remains for all time a shining example. Let us remember Leonidas and his 300 Spartans! No! There is no such thing as a desperate situation! ... During the Seven Years' War Frederick found himself reduced to desperate straits ... then, behold ... the Tsarina died unexpectedly, and the whole situation was miraculously reversed ... if Churchill were suddenly to disappear everything could change in a flash!' (Genoud, p. 48).

**7 February:** Hitler repeats his opposition to the traditional colonial expansion: 'It is eastwards, only and always eastwards, that the veins of our race must expand ... the rigorous climate of the East ... will allow the German peoples to retain their qualities as hardy and virile men; and the vivid contrasts they find there to help to keep fresh their longing for their own country. Transplant a German to Kiev,



and he remains a perfect German. But transplant him to Miami, and you make a degenerate of him – in other words, an American' (Genoud, p. 54).

**9 February:** Professor Hermann Giesler, who has replaced Speer as Hitler's court architect, unveils the model for the reconstruction of the city of Linz after the war. The model is installed in Hitler's underground shelter and he spends hours lost in contemplating it.

**10 February:** Reflecting on his experience with the Spaniards, Hitler concludes that 'this war will have clearly demonstrated at least one thing – the irremediable decadence of the Latin countries' (Genoud, p. 58).

**13 February:** General Guderian, serving at the time as the Army chief of staff, described Hitler's rage during a two-hour argument with him: 'His fists raised, his cheeks flushed with rage, his whole body trembling, the man stood in front of me, beside himself with fury and having lost all self-control. After each outburst of rage Hitler would stride up and down the carpet-edge, then suddenly stop immediately before me and hurl his next accusation in my face. He was almost screaming, his eyes seemed about to pop out of his head and the veins stood out on his temples.' As Guderian remained unyielding, Hitler suddenly underwent a complete change and added with his most charming smile: 'Now please continue with the conference. Today the General Staff has won a battle' (Bullock, p. 773). Hitler then started another tirade against the Jews: 'I have always been absolutely fair in my dealings with the Jews. On the eve of war, I gave them one final warning. I told them, if they precipitated another war, they would not be spared and that I would exterminate the vermin throughout Europe, and this time once and for all. To this warning they retorted with a declaration of war ... Well, we have lanced the Jewish abscess; and the world of the future will be eternally grateful to us' (Genoud, p. 66).

**14 February:** Next to the disastrous alliance with Italy, our greatest political blunder', Hitler declared that evening, was the collaboration with France: 'Our obvious course should have been to liberate the working classes and to help the workers of France to implement their own revolution. We should have brushed aside, rudely and without pity, the fossilized bourgeoisie ... just look at the sort of friends our geniuses of the Wilhelmstrasse [German Foreign Office] have found for us in France! Petty, calculating little profiteers, who hastened to make love to us as soon as they thought that we were occupying their country in order to safeguard their bank balances, but who were quite resolved to betray us at the first possible opportunity ... We were equally stupid as regards the French colonies. That, too, was the work of our great minds in the Wilhelmstrasse! Diplomats of the old, classic mould, soldiers of a bygone regime, petty country squires – of such were those who were to help us to revolutionize all Europe!' Germany's lack of space, according to Hitler, meant that it could not act at the most propitious time: 'The disastrous thing about this war is the fact that for Germany it began both too soon and too late. From the purely military point of view, it would have suited us better if it had started sooner. I ought to have seized the initiative in 1938 ... but from the point of view of our moral preparedness, it has come far too soon. My disciples have not yet had time to attain their full manhood. I should really have had another 20 years in which to bring up this new elite to maturity. The tragedy for us Germans is that we never have enough time. Circumstances always conspire to force us to hurry. And if at this point time is lacking, it is primarily because we lack space. The Soviets with their vast expanse can afford the luxury of refusing to be hurried. Time works in their favour, but against us' (Genoud, pp. 67–72).

**15 February:** Hitler reflects on the reasons that led him to attack the Soviet Union. It was the American war potential, and the proximity of the English coast, that made it 'highly inadvisable for us to become bogged down in a war of long duration. For Time – and it's always Time, you notice – would have been increasingly against us. In order to persuade England to pack up, to compel her to make

peace, it was essential to rob her of her hope of being able still to confront us, on the Continent itself, with an adversary of a stature equal to our own. We had no choice, we had at all costs to strike the Soviet element out of the European balance sheet. We had another reason, equally valid, for our action – the mortal threat that Russia constituted to our existence. For it was absolutely certain that one day or other she would attack us ... Why 1941? Because, in view of the steadily increasing power of our western enemies, if we were to act at all, we had to do so with the least possible delay. Nor, mind you, was Stalin doing nothing ... I came to my decision after Molotov's visit to Berlin in November [1940], for it then became clear to me that sooner or later Stalin would abandon us and go over to the enemy' (Genoud, pp. 73–6). Hitler carried out his last inspection of the front line near Frankfurt an der Oder. After his return, Hitler moves his HQ from the Chancellery into the bunker.

**17 February:** Hitler resumes his harangue about the Italians, admitting that 'my unshakeable friendship for Italy and the *Duce* may well be held to be an error on my part ... a source of embarrassment to us everywhere. It was this alliance, for instance, which prevented us from pursuing a revolutionary policy in North Africa. Had we been on our own, we could have emancipated the Moslem countries dominated by France; and that would have had enormous repercussions in the Near East, dominated by Britain, and in Egypt. But with our fortunes linked to those of the Italians, the pursuit of such a policy was not possible. All Islam vibrated at the news of our victories. The Egyptians, the Iraqis and the whole of the Near East were all ready to rise in revolt. Just think what we could have done to help them, even to incite them, as would have been both our duty and in our own interest! We had a great chance of pursuing a splendid policy with regard to Islam. But we missed the bus, as we missed it on several other occasions, thanks to our loyalty to the Italian alliance!' (Genoud, pp. 79–81).

**18 February:** Hitler's appraisal of the Japanese alliance was almost entirely positive. The attack on Pearl Harbor was not a fatal error on the part of the Japanese, for Roosevelt and the Jews 'were more obsessed than ever with the idea of the "Yellow Peril"' and would have dragged America into war regardless. It is, of course, regrettable that the Japanese did not enter the war against Russia at the same time as ourselves,' Hitler added hypocritically. 'Had they done so, Stalin's armies would not now be besieging Breslau or squatting in Budapest. We should have liquidated Bolshevism by the time winter came ... In the same way I am sorry that Japan did not capture Singapore as early as 1940, immediately after the fall of France. The United States was then on the eve of a presidential election and would have found it impossible to intervene. That, then, was one of the turning points of the war. In spite of everything, we and the Japanese will remain staunchly side by side. We will conquer or die together' (Genoud, p. 88).

**20 February:** Commenting on the missed opportunities during the war, Hitler said he ought to have taken Gibraltar in the summer of 1940, immediately after the fall of France. Again, the Latin countries were to blame for his failure to exploit the opportunity. Regarding his relationship with Mussolini, 'despite the complete confidence I had in him personally', Italian verbosity compelled Hitler not to provide *Il Duce* with the information of his most important military decisions: 'Just as I had complete confidence in Mussolini, he had complete confidence in Ciano – and he, of course, had no secrets from the pretty ladies who fluttered like butterflies around him' (Genoud, pp. 90–2).

**21 February:** Keitel reiterates Hitler's order to hold each square metre of German soil.

**24 February:** Hitler's speech, prepared for the NSDAP Foundation Day, is read in Munich by Hermann Esser. It is yet another exhortation to the population's strength and endurance. During a situation conference, Hitler is full of praise for the behaviour of *Gauleiter* Hanke of Breslau, who ordered the execution of his deputy mayor for alleged cowardice. Talking in the evening to his entourage,

Hitler described the war against America as a tragedy: 'It's illogical and devoid of any foundation in reality.' However, the fact that 'world Jewry has chosen just that country in which to set up its most powerful bastion ... that alone has altered the relations between us and has poisoned everything' (Genoud, p. 100).

**25 February:** Hitler is again complaining about the constraints imposed on his actions by the lack of space and time: 'The Russians are lucky in possessing both ... I myself am fated to being compelled to try to accomplish everything in the short space of a human lifetime. To help me I have but a realistic idealism, based on tangible facts, from which flow promises that can certainly be fulfilled, but which forbids me to promise the moon. Where others have all eternity at their disposal, I have but a few short, miserable years' (Genoud, pp. 104–5).

**26 February:** With Hitler's approval, Himmler issues an order to set up special emergency tribunals, *Sonderstandgerichte*, to impose the threat of capital punishment in order to prevent the rapid disintegration of German resistance. Before the circle of the faithful Hitler reverts to the theme of his decision to attack the Soviet Union: 'Throughout the winter of 1940, and even more so in the spring of 1941, I was haunted by the obsession that the Soviets might take the offensive ... Yugoslavia's volte-face ... compelled us to drag the Balkans into the war; and that was something which at all costs I had desired to avoid. For once we had become involved in that direction we might well have been tempted to go still further ahead. I need hardly say that in the spring of 1941 we could rapidly have liberated the Near East with only a small fraction of the forces which we were about to employ against the Soviet Union. But to have removed the necessary forces from their place in our order of battle at that juncture would have been to incur the indirect danger of giving the Soviets a signal to attack. They would have done so in the summer, or at latest in the autumn, and under conditions so disastrous from our point of view, that we could never have hoped to win the day.' Hitler then summed up his reasoning: 'If I felt compelled to decide to settle my accounts with Bolshevism by force of arms, and, indeed, arrived at my decision on the very anniversary of the signing of the Moscow Pact [August 1939], I have every right to believe that Stalin had come to the same decision even before he signed the Pact. For a whole year I adhered to the hope that an *entente* ... could be established between the Third Reich and Stalin's Russia. I imagined that after 15 years of power, Stalin, the realist, would have rid himself of the nebulous Marxist ideology and that he was preserving it merely as a poison reserved exclusively for external use. The brutal manner in which he decapitated the Jewish intelligentsia ... encouraged me in that belief ... in which a durable *entente* would have been possible – by defining precisely the zones of influence to be attributed to each party, by rigorously restricting our collaboration to the field of economics ... An *entente*, in short, watched over by an eagle eye and with a finger on the trigger!' (Genoud, pp. 108–12).

**2 March:** During a situation conference, Hitler declares to Guderian that Germany must withdraw – now, in the last days of the war – her signature from the Geneva Convention for the Treatment of Prisoners-of-War, because German soldiers fighting in the West were more inclined to surrender than those fighting in the East against the Russians, who did not respect the Convention (Heiber, p. 905).

**3 March:** For the last time Hitler visits the battle front along the river Oder. He is driven to the Harnekop castle near Wriezen to discuss the deployment of the 9th Army with General Busse and returns to Berlin the same evening.

**5 March:** Goebbels discusses with Hitler the possibility of 'an accommodation with the Soviet Union and then to pursue the struggle against England with brutal violence'. Both agreed that Stalin was in the best position to do an about-turn in war policy, since he did not need to take into account public opinion (Goebbels, *Diaries 1945*, p. 44; *TBJG*, II/15, p. 424).

**9 March:** For the third time, Hitler dismisses Field Marshal von Rundstedt as C-in-C West, to be replaced by Field Marshal Kesselring.

**11 March:** The customary speech on the Heroes Memorial Day, usually delivered by Hitler, is read by Göring instead.

**12 March:** Under the influence of his personal physician, Kersten, Himmler issues instructions contravening a 'Führer's Order' that in the event of Allied forces approaching, concentration camps should be destroyed and their inmates killed.

**16 March:** Hitler strictly forbids Ribbentrop to continue peace feelers with the Soviet Union via Stockholm.

**18 March:** Hitler replies to Speer's memorandum, containing the plea that at least some material basis be preserved so that the people, however primitively, might survive: 'If the war is to be lost, the people will be lost also. It is not necessary to worry about what the German people will need for elementary survival. On the contrary, it is best for us to destroy even these things. For the nation has proved to be weaker, and the future belongs solely to the stronger Eastern nation. In any case only those who are inferior will remain after this struggle, for the good [will] have already been killed' (Speer, p. 588).

**19 March:** In direct response to Speer's memorandum, Hitler issues the 'Scorched Earth' Order, nicknamed the 'Nero Ordinance', instructing demolition on a vast scale, including all industrial establishments and communications that might be used by the enemy. On the same day, eight officers who failed to blow up a bridge were shot on Hitler's orders.

**20 March:** Hitler's last public appearance in the garden of the Reich Chancellery, when he reviewed twenty *HJ* boys. He pats some of the boys on the shoulder and cheek. The youngest, Alfred Czech, is only 12 years old. He will be rewarded with the Iron Cross for 'the rescue of 12 wounded men and the arrest of Russian spy'. This was the last occasion on which Hitler was filmed.

**22 March:** At an armaments conference, Hitler orders the rearming of the jet plane Me-262 from a fast bomber to an interceptor.

**23 March:** During a situation conference, Hitler is outraged that weapons should be wasted on non-German units, such as the Ukrainian units and the Indian Legion: 'The Indian Legion is a joke; there are Indians who could not bring themselves up to kill a flea. They are not going to kill any British either ... Why should they fight with us more courageously than those Indians under Bose's leadership in India!?' (Heiber, p. 940).

**28 March:** Hitler replaces General Guderian with General Krebs as Chief of the Army General Staff.

**30 March:** Hitler signs a new decree on the scorched earth policy, drafted by Speer, who sought to mitigate its impact somewhat.

**2 April:** Bormann takes notes of Hitler's last recorded monologue, predicting Germany's complete destruction. Resurrection will follow, but only if the German people respect 'those racial laws which we laid down for it'. 'In a world,' Hitler continued, 'which is becoming more and more perverted through the Jewish virus, a people which has remained immune to the virus must in the long run emerge supreme. From this point of view, National Socialism can justly claim the eternal gratitude of the people for having eliminated the Jew from Germany and Central Europe ... the only white peoples who have any chance of survival and prosperity are those who know how to suffer and who still retain the courage to fight, even when things are hopeless, to the death. And the only peoples who will have the right to claim these qualities will be those who have shown themselves capable of eradicating from their system the deadly poison of Jewry' (Genoud, pp. 115-21).

**7 April:** Speer extracts Hitler's signature on a yet another demolition order, which he drafted in order to diminish the effects of the scorched earth policy. Between 18 March and 7 April, no fewer than twelve contradictory decrees were issued on this question.

**April 11–12:** US troops liberate the Buchenwald concentration camp; 20,000 prisoners are found to be still alive.

**12 April:** On receiving the news that President Roosevelt has died, both Hitler and Goebbels are in ecstasy. The latter keeps repeating again and again: 'The miracle of the House of Brandenburg! Once again the Tsarina has died; the historic turning point has come!' Still wild with excitement, Goebbels suggests that Speer should use 'one of our long-range planes to fly to meet Truman, the new American President' (Speer, p. 619). In an order, signed by Bormann, Himmler and Keitel, Hitler declared that all German cities must be defended 'till the bitter end'.

**15 April:** Dr Morell accepts a diagnosis of Parkinson's syndrome in Hitler. Hitler issued his last Order of the Day, a proclamation to soldiers on the German Eastern front, exalting them to defend German women and children against the barbarous Jewish Bolsheviks: 'Thanks to your resolution and fanaticism, thanks to your weapons, and under your leadership, the Bolshevik assault will be choked in a bath of blood. At this moment, when Fate has removed from the earth the greatest war criminal [that is, President Roosevelt], the turning-point of this war will be decided' (*Directives*, p. 301). The 1st Belorussian Front (under Marshal Zhukov) and the 1st Ukrainian Front (under Marshal Konev) begin their final assault on Berlin with 750,000 men, 1,800 tanks and 17,000 guns and mortars. On the same day Hitler signs an order anticipating the interruption of land communication between north and south Germany, after the encirclement of the largest German troop concentration in the Ruhr. Admiral Dönitz is to command the Northern area, Field Marshal Kesselring the South. British troops liberate the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where they find 60,000 prisoners.

**18 April:** During a military conference, Hitler tells General Hilpert, C-in-C of Army Group Curlandia: 'If the German people loses the war, it will have proved itself unworthy of me!' (Schramm, p. 176).

**20 April:** For the last time, the entire Nazi hierarchy is present on Hitler's 56th birthday: Göring, Himmler, Goebbels, Speer, Ribbentrop and Bormann are present, together with the OKW and the chiefs of the three services. Hitler holds the last military conference under the gloomy perspective of complete encirclement. Preparations are under way to move Hitler and his HQ to the 'small capital' of the Reich – Obersalzberg. Here, a last stand, in the so-called 'Alpine Redoubt', is to be made. But Hitler, while racked with indecision, refuses to leave Berlin.

**21 April:** On the day when the commander of the 325,000 encircled men in the Ruhr basin, Field Marshal Model, commits suicide, and the first Russian artillery shells start falling on the centre of Berlin, Hitler orders an all-out attack on the Red Army besieging Berlin: 'Any commander who holds back his troops will forfeit his life in five hours.' 'You yourself,' he shouts at General Koller, *Luftwaffe* chief of staff, 'will guarantee with your head that the last man is thrown in' (Bullock, p. 783). The attack never takes place. Hitler dismisses Dr Morell and asks Dr Stumpffegger to replace him.

**22 April:** During the final situation conference, Hitler curses and denounces all present of cowardice, treachery and incompetence. Then, exhausted, he finally sees that further fighting is hopeless and gives permission to his court to disperse. The general exodus from the Reich Chancellery shelter to Obersalzberg begins. He himself decides to stay behind and die, at the last moment, by shooting himself and having his corpse destroyed to avoid 'Jews and Communists, parading him as a trophy'. He repeats his decision to die to General Jodl, regretting only that he did not make the decision back in November 1944, and as a result should never have left his HQ in East Prussia (Jodl's memorandum of 1946, in Schramm, p. 204).

**23 April:** In a telegram sent from Berchtesgaden, Göring claims his right of succession, based on the Führer's decree of 29 June 1941: 'If no reply is received by

ten o'clock tonight, I shall take it for granted that you have lost your freedom of action, and shall consider the conditions of your decree as fulfilled' (Trevor-Roper, p. 169). Hitler is outraged and accuses Göring of treachery; he strips him from all his posts and appoints General von Greim as the new *Luftwaffe* C-in-C, promoting him to the rank of field marshal. Meanwhile, the flight from the bunker to Berchtesgaden, codenamed *Seraglio*, is carried out; at least ten planes managed to take off. Late in the day, Speer arrives for the last time at the Führer's bunker, 'overpowered by the desire to see him once more', and to make a full confession of his activities contravening Hitler's demolition orders. According to his own account, the lifeless Hitler bids farewell without punishing him on the spot (Speer, pp. 635–48). On the same day, Hitler's confidant and factotum, Julius Schaub, flies from Berlin to Munich with instructions to clear the contents of Hitler's safes at his private apartment at 16 Prinzregentenplatz and his study at the *Berghof*. (Three days later, Schaub personally supervised the destruction of the contents at Zell am See and Mallnitz, where the Fuehrer's Special Train was also blown up (Joachimsthaler, *Korrektur*, p. 262).)

**24 April:** Field Marshal Schörner, C-in-C Army Group Centre, which was still largely intact, urges Hitler to join him in the mountains of Bohemia. In Lübeck, Himmler is conducting negotiations for Germany's surrender to the Western powers through the Swedish mediator, Count Bernadotte.

**26 April:** General Greim, the new *Luftwaffe* C-in-C, is summoned by Hitler to his bunker. He is piloted to the centre of Berlin in a small aircraft by Hanna Reitsch, Hitler's favourite test pilot.

**27 April:** In a further attempt to justify his last stand in Berlin, Hitler declares: 'I also remain here for the reason ... of a moral right to act against weakness ... I cannot continually threaten others if I myself run away from the capital of the Reich at the critical hour. In this city I have had the right to give orders. Now I must obey the orders of Fate. Even if I could save myself, I would not do it. The captain also goes down with his ship' (Schramm, p. 179).

**28 April:** Towards the evening, SS General Fegelein, Eva Braun's brother-in-law, is brought in from his hiding place, and found guilty at Hitler's insistence. Fegelein is promptly executed outside the bunker on charges of cowardice, as he attempted to escape, and treachery, as he knew about Himmler's secret negotiations with the Western powers.

**29 April:** Greim and Hanna Reitsch leave the Führer's bunker around 1 a.m. with Hitler's order to arrest Himmler at all costs. Thereafter, the wedding ceremony of Hitler and Eva Braun takes place, with Bormann and Goebbels as witnesses. During the night Hitler dictates to his secretary, Traudl Junge, two testaments. In his private will, Hitler explains his marriage to Eva Braun, disposes of his property, and justifies his and her decisions to die: 'My possessions, in so far as they are worth anything, belong to the Party. My paintings in the collections bought by me ... solely for the establishment of a picture gallery in my home town of Linz on the Danube ... As executor, I appoint my most faithful Party comrade, Martin Bormann ... He is permitted to hand over to my relatives everything of worth as a personal memento, or is necessary to maintain a petty-bourgeois standard of living, especially to my wife's mother and my faithful fellow workers of both sexes ... I myself and my wife choose to die in order to escape the shame of overthrow or capitulation. It is our wish that our bodies be burnt immediately in the place where I have performed the greater part of my daily work during the course of my twelve years' service to my people! The general part of his political testament belongs to the condemnation of 'those finally responsible for everything, International Jewry, and its helpers'. 'It is untrue', Hitler begins, 'that I or anyone else in Germany wanted the war in 1939. It was desired and instigated exclusively by those international statesmen who were either of Jewish descent or worked for Jewish interests ... I also made it quite plain that, if nations of Europe are again to be regarded as mere shares to be bought and sold by these interna-

tional conspirators in money and finance, then that race, Jewry, which is the real criminal in this murderous struggle, will be saddled with the responsibility ... I do not wish to fall into the hands of an enemy who is looking for a new spectacle organized by the Jews for the amusement of their hysterical masses. I have decided, therefore, to remain in Berlin and there of my own free will to choose death.' The second part of Hitler's political testament contains provisions for the succession. He begins by expelling Göring and Himmler from the party and all offices and appoints Dönitz as Reich President and Supreme Commander of the *Wehrmacht*. *Gauleiter* Karl Hanke becomes the new SS Reichsführer, *Gauleiter* Paul Giesler the new Reich minister of the interior; Goebbels is rewarded with the post of the Reich chancellor, Bormann with that of party minister. Ribbentrop is replaced by Seyss-Inquart, Speer is replaced by Saur. Schörner becomes the new Army C-in-C. The Cabinet has one great survivalist since the days of the Weimar Republic: Count Schwerin von Krosigk, who retains his post as minister of finance. Hitler's final message reflects the dominant obsession of his life: 'Above all I adjure the leaders of the nation and those under them to scrupulous observance of the laws of race and to merciless opposition to the universal poisoner of all peoples, International Jewry' (ND: 3569-PS). During the rest of the day, a few more messengers set out from the bunker with copies of Hitler's testament and other appeals. Hitler learns about Mussolini's grisly execution and that of his mistress, Clara Petacci, which happened two days earlier: their corpses were hanged and maltreated by the mob in Milan. This gruesome news strengthens Hitler's determination to have his remains cremated after the planned suicide. He orders his Alsatian bitch, Blondi, to be destroyed by one of his own prussic acid ampoules to test its efficiency. US troops liberate the Dachau concentration camp, where they find 32,000 prisoners.

**30 April:** At 3.30 p.m. Hitler and his wife commit suicide. Both swallow potassium cyanide ampoules, and Hitler, in addition, shoots himself with his pistol, whether through his mouth or temple has not been satisfactorily established. Their bodies are carried into the garden of the Chancellery, soaked in petrol and set alight.

Bormann sends a telegram to Grand Admiral Dönitz, informing him that the Führer has appointed him his successor – but he does not reveal the fact that Hitler is no longer alive. The new Reich Chancellor Goebbels, in agreement with Bormann and General Krebs, decides to arrange a ceasefire with the Russians. After establishing contact by wireless, General Krebs is sent at midnight to the Russian HQ. He carries a letter to Marshal Zhukov, to be forwarded to Stalin, informing him of Hitler's death and a request for Reich Chancellor Goebbels to negotiate an armistice between Germany and the Soviet Union.

**1 May:** After presumably contacting Moscow, Zhukov, speaking through General Chuikov, insists on unconditional surrender. Krebs returns with the negative reply during the morning. Only in the afternoon is Dönitz informed about Hitler's death, in a telegram signed by Goebbels, who himself commits suicide, together with his wife, having first poisoned their six children. General Krebs also commits suicide. In the evening, several groups, one including Bormann, attempt to break out from the bunker. Meanwhile, German Radio announces, around 10 p.m., and accompanied by strains from Wagner's operas, that the Führer had died fighting to the end. This was followed by Dönitz's own announcement of both Hitler's death and his succession as Reich president and supreme commander. He said that the Führer had fallen 'this afternoon' and that he died fighting 'at the head of his troops'. Both statements were untrue (Trevor-Roper, p. 240).

**5 May:** US troops liberate 17,000 prisoners at the Mauthausen concentration camp.

**EPILOGUE:** What happened to the remains of Adolf Hitler, Eva Braun, the Goebbels family and General Krebs, which were found in a varied state of decom-

position on 2 May when the Russian troops entered in the gardens of the Reich Chancellery, has remained a mystery because of the inaccessibility of Soviet records. Thanks to *perestroika* the mystery has been to some extent explained through the opening of Soviet secret ('trophy') archives. Hitler's remains were never taken to Russia, but were kept in wooden boxes mixed with the bones of the other victims found near the bunker. An autopsy was carried out on all the corpses in early May 1945; people from Hitler's staff, such as his valet Heinz Linge, his pilot Hans Baur, the SS adjutant Otto Günsche, and others, were interrogated extensively and their information used to reconstruct the last moments in the dictator's life. However, one part of what was suspected to be Hitler's skull, with a bullet hole, was taken to Moscow and hidden, together with six files filled with documents and photographs, in the State Special Trophy Archive. This evidence was not welcomed by Stalin who, for reasons of his own, spread the news at the Potsdam Conference that Hitler had not died, but had escaped by submarine and was in hiding either in Spain or Argentina. In 1950, as can be seen in the Soviet film *The Fall of Berlin*, Soviet censorship allowed the change of the Hitler-survivalist myth back to the suicide story. In that version, however (as exemplified in Lev Bezymenski's 1968 book), Hitler was not allowed to shoot himself like a manly officer, but had to die like a rat from poison.

As for Hitler's remains and those of other victims found in the Chancellery garden – still packed in the wooden boxes, they were taken in February 1946 to Magdeburg and buried in the courtyard of the '*Smersh* Counter-Intelligence' unit, assigned to the HQ of the Soviet Third Army. There the remains rested for a quarter of a century. In the spring of 1970, when the *Smersh* unit was to be transferred, its commander asked his KGB superior Yuri Andropov what should be done with Hitler's remains? Moscow responded on 26 March 1970: disinter and burn them, and dispose of the ashes. The order was carried out on 5 April on waste ground near Schönebeck, eleven kilometres from Magdeburg, and the ashes thrown into the Bideritz, a tributary of the Elbe (Petrova/Watson, pp. 87–9).



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# Bibliographical Note

The selected bibliography that follows provides full titles of works I have used and referred to throughout the text. Wherever possible, I have used the English edition available. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

In preparing this guide I have examined over 10,000 items of data related to Hitler's life (speeches, proclamations, articles, directives, meetings, diary entries, letters and other writings), about a third of which I have selected and incorporated into the Chronology. Despite many revisions and amendments between the first and second editions, occasional errors will have inadvertently occurred – I would be grateful to any reader who brings those to my attention.

In order to assist the reader, I have in principle relied on published primary sources. Direct quotes have reference sources cited in brackets; occasional square brackets are reserved for my interjected comments. In a very few cases, however, I have had to fill the gap by citing unpublished archival sources available in the *NSDAP Hauptarchiv*, indexed by Grete Hainz and Agnes E. Peterson in 1964 for the Hoover Institution Microfilm Collection at Stanford.

**1889–1918:** The first thirty years of Hitler's life have remained the most obscure, since information on this is very porous and incomplete. During this stage Hitler's incomplete education took place, culminating in his sojourn in Vienna and transfer to Munich, followed by his fundamental life experience as a soldier in the First World War. Hitler, however, was a late developer par excellence. We are still guessing today about the origins of his violent brand of anti-Semitism. Throughout his adolescence, and especially during the First World War, Hitler is said to have written poetry, and several of these poems were taken at their face value. Prof. Eberhard Jäckel, who's monumental *Hitler – Sämtliche Aufzeichnungen 1905–1924*, has become my chief source for this period, warned me after the scandal with the *Hitler Diaries* (1983) that the genuineness of many items attributed to Hitler – for example, poems, cannot be proven. I have therefore removed them from this second edition, relying on the errata list published in the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (1, 1984, pp. 163–9). On Hitler's childhood, I have used Bradley Smith's book (1967), supplemented by Brigitte Hamann's superbly researched *Hitler's Vienna* (1996). Apart from Jäckel's collection already cited, I have used carefully Hitler's own account in the first volume of *Mein Kampf*, which pretends to be autobiographical, combined with *Table Talk*, the only record of Hitler reminiscing over his early years. From other evidence I have used the accounts of his only friend of his youth, August Kubizek, and, with caution, those of his Viennese companion, Reinhold Hanisch. The researches of the Linz archivist, Franz Jetzinger, and of Werner Maser are useful, if not always accurate. Only at one point, in the year 1912, when evidence about Hitler is so meagre, have I replaced the compressed style of entries by a looser text providing a brief summary of the three main ideologies the 23-year-old Hitler might have been exposed to.

**1919–23:** This was a relatively brief but very intense stage in Hitler's life, marking his transition from soldier to political propagandist. These crucial four years are well covered in Jäckel's collection. Earlier documents on Hitler's speeches include the 1963 article by R. H. Phelps, and Ernst Deuerlein's published collections of documents. Further useful documents are to be found in Albrecht Tyrell's two books. As far as accuracy goes, Anton Joachimsthaler's *Korrektur einer Biographie: Adolf Hitler 1908–1920* (1989), and the expanded and revised edition of 2000, *Hitlers Weg begann in München 1913–1923*, have no equals.

**1924–32:** The late 1920s still remain the least documented period in Hitler's political career. Apart from using the older *Daten der Geschichte der NSDAP* by Hans Volz, in this new edition I have relied heavily on the monumental *Hitler: Reden-Schriften – Anordnungen 1925–1933*, published in twelve volumes by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich since 1992. Before these became available I had to rely on Norman Baynes' *Speeches of Adolf Hitler 1932–1939* (1942), the first available translation of Hitler's texts. In addition to the Deuerlein and Tyrell collections, I have often referred to *Documents on Nazism*, edited by Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham. I have also used, with caution, Ernst 'Putzi' Hanfstaengl's first book (1957). Regarding the most frequently exploited private source for Hitler's biographies, namely the various versions of *Goebbels Diaries*, I have checked earlier versions of the Goebbels diaries used in the 1983 edition against the ultimate integrated edition of all the fragments available, the *Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels – Sämtliche Fragmente*, edited by Elke Fröhlich under the aegis of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich since 1993. Another revealing source is Otto Wagener, the SA chief of staff, whose papers were edited by Henry A. Turner in 1978. Comparing it with the first edition of 1983, I have decided to drop the extensive quotes from the two conversations between Hitler and the journalist Richard Breiting, allegedly conducted in 1931, as the Calic book (1971), on which these quotes were based, turned out to be a forgery (see the evidence in Corino, 1990). Regarding the remarkable Hermann Rauschning's conversations with Hitler (1939): while Theodor Schieder (1972) still noted at least thirteen encounters between Rauschning and Hitler, verifications have established only four. I have taken out the extensive quotes by Hitler attributed to Hermann Rauschning's *Hitler Speaks* of 1939, since their authenticity is doubtful, but left references to four proven encounters of Rauschning and Hitler between the years 1932 and 1934 (Hensel, 2003).

**1933–38:** In addition to Baynes' collection of Hitler's speeches, the main reference guide on Hitler's whereabouts still remains Max Domarus's *Hitler's Speeches and Proclamations 1932–1945* (1962, 1990), which is strictly chronological. Diplomatic documents are also quoted occasionally from the printed collections (*ADAP*, *DGFP* and *DBFP*), as are the *Nuremberg Documents* from the International Military Tribunal (*IMT*).

**1939–45:** There is an abundance of printed sources on Hitler during the war years. I have used the major biographies (Alan Bullock, Joachim Fest, Ian Kershaw and John Toland), as well as David Irving's two books, not because I agree with the latter's interpretation, but because they contain a great deal of information on Hitler's day-to-day conduct of the war and convey the atmosphere as if the writer were sitting in the driver's seat. In order to provide an alternative German strategic view, I have referred frequently to Hitler's naval conferences with Admirals Raeder and Dönitz (cited as *FCNA*). There are a great many memoirs of differing

qualities written by witnesses from Hitler's immediate entourage (Nicolaus von Below, Christa Schröder, Traudl Junge and so on). *Das Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht* contains an excellent chronology that has been reprinted in a separate volume, *Chronik des Zweiten Weltkrieges* (1966), edited by Andreas Hillgruber and Gerhard Hümmelchen. Prof. Hillgruber has also compiled a reliable itinerary of Hitler's movements during 1939–41 in his magisterial *Hitlers Strategie* (1965).

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