PROFILES IN POWER

Hitler

specialized, in Hitler and the Third Reich.' History ... this short book ought to be read by everybody with any interest, whether general or

and the globe. Adolf Hitler has left a lasting mark on the twentieth century, as the dictator of Germany and instigator of a genocidal war, culminating in the ruin of much of Europe

he used it. This innovative best-seller explores the nature and mechanics of Hitler's power, and how

On the face of it, Adolf Hitler was an unlikely candidate for dictatorial power.

- Why, of all the fanatics in Germany after the First World War, was it Hitler who found such mass appeal?
- How did such an unimpressive figure come to take control of the machinery of a complex modern state?
- Why contrary to all expectations was his authority not curtailed by the traditional ruling classes and constitutional constraints?
- What did his personal role in the shaping of policy amount to?
- Was he personally taking the key decisions, right to the very end.

Hitler

character and exercise of Hitler's dictatorial power. Professor Kershaw answers these questions to provide a lucid introduction to the

biography Hitler, 1889-1936: Hubris (1998) and a second volume due in 2000. widely on Hitler and the Third Reich and is author of the now definitive comprehensive lan Kershaw is Professor of Modern History at the University of Sheffield. He has written

In addition to his publications, he was consultant to the BAFTA-winning BBC-TV series. The Nazis: A Warning from History, to the BBC2 programme War of the Century, to ZDF's Hitler: eine Bilanz and to ZDF's series in preparation on the Holocaust

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POWER OF THE 'IDEA'

community' which saw greatness in Hitler. ciples. Looking for a cause and a leader before they 'found' Nazism and Hitler, they formed the core of the 'charismatic devoted followers, his most committed 'inner circle' of disimpact was upon the circle of the earliest, most fanatically his power. Nor, however, should it be ignored. Its greatest Hitler's personality should not be overrated as a factor in

who became some of the most important personages in the Third Reich. the personality and ideas of Hitler of his early followers gence of the 'conviction politician', and the response to the masses. In this chapter, therefore, we examine the emershowed from the moment he entered active politics to sway among his close followers, was rooted in the power which his political credo, together with the remarkable ability he flowed - for those already open to it - from his 'idea', The 'charisma' in Hitler's own personality, so influential

anxious not to be seen in public in them). His slightly necessitated him wearing reading glasses (though he was the deterioration in his formerly good eyesight eventually smartly dressed. His teeth were poor and in later years concealed by the drooping forelock. The centre-point of his protruding eyes and unblinking gaze were his most striking face seemed to be his trimmed moustache. He never looked to dominate the whole of his body. His high forehead was was of medium height and fair complexion. His head seemed In physical appearance, Hitler was unprepossessing.1 He

at the same time rather quirky. He held as far as poss-Hitler's personal habits were repetitive, conservative, but

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and architecture, he considered himself particularly expert. range of subjects. On anything connected with history, art sleep, read avidly and widely (though unsystematically), and drink coffee, and had a fetish for cleanliness which saw the early 1930s onwards) vegetarian, did not smoke or ible to fixed daily routines, was near teetotal and (from an utter contempt for 'intellectuals' dependent upon a formonopolised conversation with opinionated views on a wide possessed an extraordinary memory for factual detail. He him washing with abnormal frequency. He needed little mal education. There is no doubt, however, that, though He was also especially interested in medicine and biology. inflexible, he was intelligent and sharp-witted. his knowledge was half-baked, one sided and dogmatically His reliance upon his self-learning went hand in hand with

great consideration in trivial matters, such as what to give in human terms distant and unapproachable, he could show of his comrades who had endured sacrifices to support him mimicry. And he had a strong sense of loyalty towards those around him laugh with a cutting humour and a talent for them, especially if they were beautiful. He could make those women, and was invariably courteous and gracious towards from the early days. his secretaries as birthday presents. He liked the company of Though, even in his regular entourage, Hitler remained

and the conviction with which he expressed it transformed purely personal terms, detached from his political philosoan audience by the force of his public speaking. Seen in isolation from his political world view and his ability to sway cient to single out Hitler for attention had they existed in phy, Hitler was indeed a mediocrity. But his political creed him into a personality of quite extraordinary dynamism. These personal characteristics would have been insuffi-

of interrelated ideas - however repulsive and irrational empty phrases of the power-thirsty demagogue, that the man which congealed by the mid 1920s into a cohesive ideology. however, that behind the vague missionary appeal lay a set the classical tyrants of old. It is now universally recognised, behind the message was as devoid of genuine ideas as were Reich that Hitler's message consisted of no more than the While Hitler's fixed ideas, which remained unchanged in It was for long thought after the collapse of the Third

essentials down to his death in 1945, could not individually or in themselves go far towards explaining his mass appeal, or the growth of the NSDAP, they did amount to a personal driving-force of unusual strength. They provided Hitler with the all-encompassing world view which gave him the opportunity exclusivist ideologies offer of ordering every idea within his own comprehensive philosophy and of ruling out as absolutely untenable any alternative proposals. They gave him, too, the 'missionary' zeal of the leader who appears to combine the vision with the certainty that his path is the right one – in fact, the only one which can

others on the extreme Right. made him indispensable and assured him of the support of contacts to leading circles of Munich's moneyed bourgeoisie völkisch Right in which he mixed in the early 1920s. And and evil in which everything was reduced to absolutes -To those in his proximity, who shared his general prejudices leading propaganda exponent of such views and opened up 'attributes' made him a notable figure in the circles of the unyielding tenacity with which his views were upheld. Such all or nothing - was matched by the fanatical ferocity and dualistic world-view of a Manichean struggle between good the strength and certainty of conviction, extending beyond actions, Hitler never wavered about the certainty of his ideas. the fact that his public appearances rapidly made him the in establishing his personal supremacy. The simplicity of his irrevocable formula for a glorious future, was a major factor that of the average bigot or crank into a grandiose and Though he was often indecisive about precise political

The essence of Hitler's personal world-view comprised a belief in history as racial struggle, radical anti-Semitism, a conviction that Germany's future could be secured only through conquest of *Lebensraum* ('living space') at the expense of Russia, and the uniting of all these strands in the notion of a life-or-death fight to the finish with Marxism — most concretely embodied in the 'Jewish Bolshevism' of the Soviet Union. These interlocking ideas were significant not only in the sense that they were held to with extraordinary tenacity for over twenty years, but above all in that the ideological aims arising from them came to be put into actual practice during the Second World War. We have to

take them seriously, therefore, in an evaluation of Hitler's power. Before proceeding further we need to look at their formation, development and content.

Exactly when, how and why Hitler's fanatically held ideas took their hold on him is far from clear. But the gradual forging of the various strands of his thinking into a composite ideology was completed by the time of the writing of Mein Kampf in 1924, and scarcely wavered thereafter. An important formative period was his time in Linz in 1905–6 after leaving school and especially in Vienna from 1907 to 1913. The experience of war and, quite traumatically, of Germany's defeat was a second, even more vital influence upon Hitler. Finally, the years 1920 to 1924 saw some crucial modifications to his ideas, under the impact, not least, of the Russian civil war.

Jewish doctor.4 Apart from the fact that Hitler had been more speculative is the attempt to link Hitler's pathological been Jewish is more plausible, but cannot be proved.3 Even himself was of part-Jewish descent is without foundation.² anti-Jewish paranoia can be attributable to the fact that he theories are outrightly fanciful. The notion that Hitler's but can still not be established with absolute certainty. Some causes of his visceral anti-Semitism have been much discussed one of his water-colour paintings as a present,5 this theory grateful enough to the doctor at the time to give him mother in 1907 following a gas anaesthetic delivered by a from mustard gas poisoning at the end of the First World hatred of Jews to his hysterical trauma while suffering That he feared or believed that his father's father had ignores the evidence for Hitler's anti-Semitism during his War, which he allegedly associated with the death of his Vienna days. Hitler's deepest hatred was of the Jews. The roots and

In fact, we remain in the dark about why Hitler became a manic anti-Semite. Psychological explanations revolving around sexual fantasies and a persecution complex bear differing degrees of plausibility but ultimately amount to no more than guesswork. All that can with some certainty be presumed is that Hitler's personal frustrations at the discrepancy between his own self-esteem and his drop-out existence as a failed artist and social outsider found a focus in an ever stronger negative image which provided both

explanation for his own failure and also 'proof' that history was ultimately on his side.⁶

embryonic prejudice. At any rate, it seems to have marked from the rest of humanity'. 10 saw, the more sharply they became distinguished in my eyes Hitler, 'wherever I went, I began to see Jews, and the more I the change in him from the conventional anti-Semite of up anti-Semitic literature, confirming and sharpening his seems likely that it does reflect some telling experience of whom he later described, in a rare show of admiration time he became greatly impressed by the vehemently antino doubt that whatever views he already had on Jews were he remained to the end of his days. From this time, wrote the Linz period to the manic obsessive anti-Semite which Though the 'Kaftan Jew' story is probably embellished, it for others, as 'the greatest German mayor of all times',9 Semitic demagogue Karl Lueger, the mayor of the city, inordinately strengthened while he was in Vienna. At this was even then an admirer of the Austrian anti-Semite and was probably a dramatisation. Hitler was already reading Hitler during this period, when he was obviously soaking pan-German leader Georg von Schönerer.8 But there seems pan-German anti-Semitic newspapers in his Linz days and figure with black hair locks in the streets of Vienna.7 This version to anti-Semitism after encountering a kaftan-garbed Hitler's own story, retailed in Mein Kampf, tells of his con-

ideology based on burning revulsion towards existing society and plunged him thereby into contemplation of the 'social crass social injustices of bourgeois society at hrst hand, its place as the dominant ingredient, the essentials of an to the Schönerer movement in his Linz days. 11 Once his nationalism which he had soaked up since his attachment part of his already pronounced, fanatical German hyperdoctrine. His detestation of the Habsburg monarchy was led to a violent rejection of its class-based, anti-nationalist question'. His encounters with Viennese social democracy the Viennese underprivileged meant that he tasted the if not accurate in detail - his own 'drifting' existence among cording to his own account - plausible in its general tone development of other aspects of Hitler's world-view. Acrecognition of the Jew as the 'culprit' for all these ills took The Vienna years were also a formative period in the

coupled with a utopian vision of a future order to be created by the strong and ruthless authority of an ethnically German national state began to slot into place.

Hitler's world-view was, then, already formed in good measure by the time he served in the trenches. A core element – the social Darwinistic view of history as a struggle between individual races with victory going to the strongest, fittest and most ruthless – seems to have occupied its place at the centre of this world-view by 1914–18 at the latest. 12 His hysterical reaction, while lying blinded in the Pasewalk hospital, at the news of the triumph of the forces he hated with all the fibre of his being appears to have led to an intensification of his already fixed dualistic world-view – above all, his conviction that guilt for the catastrophe which had befallen him and all he believed in lay at the door of the ubiquitous Jew. 13

Jew. The assassination of Eisner in February 1919 by a recognisable from the city he had left in 1914. Political rectly. Still in the army, he returned to a Munich scarcely 19.8in active politics came less self-consciously and more india politician. 15 In reality, the 'decision' to involve himself tary hospital, he claimed, he took the decision to become become an architect or a politician.14 While in the milicomrades at the front whether after the war he would republic of Soldiers' and Workers' Councils - several of conditions were in turmoil. After the revolution, government and this in turn was within weeks bloodily overthrown by whose leaders were Jewish - being proclaimed in April; young right-wing aristocrat led to political chaos and a had been headed by a left-wing socialist, Kurt Eisner, a forces of the paramilitary Right. Hitler had apparently earlier discussed with one of his

Hitler refrained from any active involvement. But from his army barracks, he observed what was taking place and read widely in right-wing tracts, which presumably confirmed his own diagnosis of events. During the late spring and summer he attended army indoctrination courses. These introduced him to deeper consideration of the workings of international finance capital — a topic on which he was influenced by the ideas of Gottfried Feder, the economic 'guru' of the early Nazi Party. He also attended lectures and seminars on German history, socialism in theory and practice, the

economic situation and the peace conditions, Russia under Bolshevik rule, price policy, and the question of Bavaria and Reich unity. He became noted for his impassioned and opinionated views.

Hitler's own awareness of the impact he had as a speaker in such circles constituted his own first step into active politics. And when he himself was assigned to work in the army 'educational unit', he was singled out as 'a born popular speaker who through his fanaticism and populist style positively compelled his audience to take note and share his views'. 16 'All at once,' noted Hitler, 'I was offered an opportunity of speaking before a larger audience; and the thing that I had always presumed from pure feeling without knowing it was now corroborated: I could "speak". '17 It was above all in autumn 1919, as Hitler came into contact with the newly formed German Workers' Party and began to realise what an impact he could have on an audience, that his way into politics – though only on the beerhall fringes – opened up.

into politics and the writing of Mein Kampf. role, underwent significant modification between his entry on the Jews, and not least on his own future leadership ideas on the direction of Germany's future foreign policy, remained to be taken in the early 1920s. In particular, his enemies of Germany. And the Jews were attacked above all as the agents of finance capital. Hitler himself claimed the war. But vital steps towards the completed ideology still that his world-view had already been decisively built before France and Britain, not Russia, were seen as the main the lost colonies, and the uniting of Germany and Austria. against the Versailles Treaty dominated his early speeches. groups which abounded in Munich at that time. Agitation the pan-Germans or of other vehemently racist-nationalist Right. There was nothing to distinguish them from those of cal views - though held and expressed with extraordinary He demanded — as did all pan-Germans — the return of populist demagogue in the Munich beerhalls, his politifanaticism — r<mark>emained the conventional fare of the extrem</mark>e At the time that Hitler began to make his mark as a

Apart from his own voracious – if unsystematic and one-sided – reading, which included influential social–Darwinist and geopolitical tracts, a crucial part in amending Hitler's

extirpation of 'Jewish Bolshevism' has become synonymous of Hitler's ideology. By the time we reach Mein Kampf, the of Bolshevism. This provided the keystone to the edifice cementing in Hitler's mind the notion of the Jewish essence Elders of Zion'. And the two Balts played a decisive role in world conspiracy' contained in the forged 'Protocols of the now, Rosenberg acquainted Hitler with the ideas of a 'Jewish neither Russia nor Bolshevism had figured prominently. But anti-Bolshevik circles. In the early ideology of the Nazi Party, extreme anti-Semites, and both were in touch with violently Both had experienced the Russian Revolution, both were Scheubner-Richter were even more influential in focusing bring forth new leaders and true socialism. Rosenberg and Jewishness' as the prerequisite of a genuine revolution – in contrast to the 'false' revolution of 1918 – which would uted his own philosophy of struggle to overcome 'soulless Scheubner-Richter and Alfred Rosenberg. Eckart contribthinking in these years was played by the Bavarian poet for 'living space' with the destruction of the Soviet Union in the German quest Hitler's mind on the 'Jewishness' of Russian Bolshevism. Dietrich Eckart, and by the Baltic Germans Max Erwin von

The shifts in Hitler's world-view between 1919 and 1924 can be followed in his speeches and writings over this period. Under the influence of Rosenberg and Scheubner-Richter, the relationship of anti-Semitism and anti-Marxism in Hitler's thinking underwent a transformation during these years. Though both strands of thought had already long been present in his mind – with anti-Semitism dominant – they became systematically conjoined only in this period through the catalytic image of Bolshevik Russia.

Before the fusion with anti-Marxism, Hitler's vicious anti-Semitism had, in his public speeches, initially focused more intensively upon anti-capitalism. His first noted public comments on the 'Jewish Question' occurred in August 1919 in the context of a 'lecture' on capitalism, while he was employed by the Reichswehr to provide political indoctrination for 'unreliable' soldiers returning from captivity. ¹⁸ It was also in this capacity that his superior officer asked him, a few weeks later, to reply to an enquiry on the 'Jewish problem'. In his letter, the earliest surviving text of his statement on the subject, Hitler spoke of the Jews as a race, not a

seen as the power of money, 'the gleam of gold'. Marxism was not mentioned, though Hitler regarded the Jews as the again there was explicit mention neither of Marxism nor of expressed in the Nazi Party programme of February 1920, driving force behind the revolution and social democracy the 'removal of the Jews altogether'. 19 Jewish power was necessitate the removal of their legal rights and ultimately While the exclusion of legal rights for Jews was prominently means, not simply on the basis of emotion. This would Bolshevism. religious group, and of the need to combat them by rational

against German national interests. 23 into this thinking, international capital was seen as working real evil. Once 'Jewish Bolshevism' had been incorporated and flourishing 'Jewish finance capital', which constituted the and parasites. Over and again he demanded hanging for repeated intense attacks upon usurers, profiteers, racketeers hand in hand with the 'international element in Soviet Russia distinguished between essentially healthy industrial capital meant to be an anti-Semite.22 Under Feder's influence, he Jewish racketeers. 21 Genuine socialism for him, stated Hitler, financiers dominated many of his early speeches. There were at the front could have been saved if 'twelve to fifteen millions of German dead. So fundamental was this point been held under poison gas'.20 The fury at 'Jewish' war thousand of these Hebrew corrupters of the people had Kampf, he claimed that the lives of a million Germans killed to his thinking that later, in a notorious passage in Mein responsibility of the Jews for the war, the defeat and the Hitler's early speeches was linked to his allegations of the The heavy concentration upon Jewish finance capital in

of our people' by internment in concentration camps. 26 basic solution: 'removal of the Jews from our people'.25 He spoke of the prevention of the 'Jewish undermining order to extirpate the evil of Jewry.24 He demanded the biological terminology suggestive of the eradication of germs. the answer to the problem, but said Germans should be of September 1919, emotional 'pogrom' anti-Semitism as His language, violent in the extreme, became coloured with prepared to enter a pact with the devil if necessary in most vicious terms. He rejected, as he had done in his letter In speech after speech Hitler denounced the Jews in the

He proclaimed in August 1920

and don't think that you can combat racial tuberculosis Jewry will never pass away, and the poisoning of the causative organ of racial tuberculosis. The impact of without seeing to it that the people is freed from the ing its causative organ, without destroying the bacillus, Jew, is not removed from our midst.²⁷ people will not end, as long as the causal agent, the Don't think that you can combat an illness without kill-

a formidable force. It offered him a vision of the future switched from the Jews as the exponents of international emphasis had taken place in his expressions of anti-Semitism. summed up the entire Party programme in the one point with the 'Jewish Question' mattered, and a few months later in his view only the 'single, total and exclusive' concern which, in all its ruthless brutality, he could comprehend as in its Bolshevik manifestation amounted to a Weltanschauung with his dismissal of effete bourgeois democracy, Marxism Bolshevik Marxism, the 'Jewish world conspiracy' presented Hitler with the image of an indomitable foe. But compared behind Marxism, and explicitly behind Marxism's practical element of his anti-Semitism - to the Jews as the power that no Jew could be a people's comrade.²⁸ But a change of In a speech to the SA in February 1922, Hitler stated that which, in his eyes, only the racial struggle under Germany's the controller of international capital or as the controller of political manifestation in Soviet Bolshevism. Either way, as finance capital - not that he ever forgot or ignored this Under the influence of events in Russia, Hitler's main target leadership could prevent.

change in tone was noted by the 'Jewish' press and Hitler of Marxism.²⁹ The Jews were not mentioned. When the a national revolution in the hope of overthrowing the Reich when, in the Bürgerbräukeller in Munich, he had proclaimed indeed changed his stance: while working on Mein Kampf, he was asked about it, he replied in typical fashion that he had Nazi Movement knew only one enemy, the mortal enemy to be was the breaker of Marxism, and asserting that the government, Hitler was telling the court that what he wanted following the failed putsch attempt on 8-9 November 1923 By the time of his trial for high treason in spring 1924,

international power of Jewry was completely annihilated. people, but for all peoples, 'for Juda is the world plague'.30 'Jewish Question' was not of concern solely for the German had realised that he had hitherto been too mild, and that the The struggle would not be victorious, therefore, until the

Russia in the picture of the brutal rule of the Jews, for combining the images of Bolshevism, Marxism and Soviet which social democracy was allegedly paving the way in being destroyed by the Jews. By July 1920 he was explicitly catastrophic effect of Bolshevism in Russia and on Russia he first came to comment on a number of occasions on the intonation. It was in spring and early summer 1920 that Jewry is the crucial additive responsible for the change in The connection in Hitler's mind between Bolshevism and

and extermination of the Marxist Weltanschauung'.33 Nazi Party could, therefore, be simply stated: 'Annihilation entire Christian-western culture altogether.' The aim of the Bolshevisation of Germany . . . means the annihilation of the nifies the complete extermination of the opponents The only be victors and the annihilated. The example of Russia were incapable of coexistence. In this struggle there could nate his political mission to the end. In October he wrote of a race. 32 And by autumn 1922 his conception of the absolutely had shown what this meant. 'A victory of the Marxist idea sigfight for life and death between two Weltanschauungen which had reached the point of development which was to domipivotal relationship of anti-Semitism and anti-Bolshevism The state was merely the means to the end of upholding the forces of good united against the mortal enemy of the Jew. German people in the struggle against Bolshevism with the istic and the materialistic, representing the mission of the numerous occasions during the following months. By June 1922 he was envisaging a struggle of two ideologies, the ideal-The theme of Bolshevik Russia preoccupied Hitler on

cept of Germany's future foreign policy, from a traditional with 'Jewish Bolshevism' that a shift took place in his concoming to conceive of his mission as a life-or-death struggle vik Russia for his racial philosophy had obvious implications it was precisely around the time, about 1922, when he was for his foreign-policy thinking. It is, therefore, of note that Hitler's changing awareness of the significance of Bolshe-

> conventional diplomatic considerations in the reordering of mind into an obsessive determination to destroy 'Jewish war in Russia and the threat of Bolshevisation in Germany, the influence of the success of 'Jewish Bolshevism' in the civi continental expansionism at the expense of Russia. Under foreign policy goals. the fusion of anti-Semitism and anti-Bolshevism in Hitler's pan-German concern with colonialism to the notion of a Bolshevism' was a far more powerful determinant than

of the inevitably hostile stance of Britain and France. His wards the 'national' people of Russia, negative towards the He continued to harbour a dualistic view - positive to-His attitude towards Russia was ignorant and ambivalent. main target was, of course, the foreign policy of Weiman intentions in foreign policy. He repeatedly berated the policy towards Russia. increasingly aware of the essential division of interest between non-Bolshevik Russia against Britain. By late 1922 he was 'Jewish-Bolshevik' rulers – and to favour an alliance with a though without a clear concept of a future alliance strategy. mained down to 1922 essentially anti-western in his thinking, governments, which he scourged at every opportunity. He re-Russia instead of siding with Austria-Hungary, and spoke failures in the post-Bismarck era to ensure peace with France and Britain. But above all, he was rethinking future In his early speeches, Hitler conveyed little of any future

outlined in Mein Kampf, and which remained at the heart policy against Russia. interest of winning over Britain for support in a continental policy of commercial and colonial rivalry with Britain in the dential discussion at that time, he turned his back on the old of Hitler's thinking to the end, were formulated. In a confi-By December 1922 the foreign policy goals which were

give Germany sufficient land for German settlers and a wide field of activity for German industry. Then England would have to be attempted. Russia would interests. The destruction of Russia with the help of a purely continental policy avoiding harm to English Germany would have to adapt herself [he stated] to England would not interrupt us in our reckoning with

Two years before the writing of Mein Kampf, therefore, Hitler's personalised world-view was to all intents and purposes complete. The struggle to destroy the power of international Jewry, the struggle to annihilate Marxism, and the struggle to obtain 'living space' for Germany at the expense of Russia amounted in effect to three forms of expression of the same integral thought. And this was embedded in, and took its justification from, an understanding of history which, turning Karl Marx's belief in the centrality of socio-economic motive forces on its head, dogmatically held to a view of historical development as the unfolding of a constant struggle between races – ethnic, biological peoples. Hitler wrote:

All great cultures of the past perished only because the originally created race died out from blood poisoning.... Blood mixture and the resultant drop in the racial level is the sole cause of the dying out of old cultures.... All occurrences in world history are only the expression of the races' instinct of self-preservation, in the good or bad sense.³⁵

the German nation would destroy Jewry for ever. the vampire sooner or later dies too'.38 But before this stage of 'Jewish Bolshevism'. 'The end is not only the end of the culmination is the 'fanatical savagery' and 'inhuman tortures' and govern the peoples with a dictatorial and brutal fist'. 37 The mass of Marxism', which 'allows him [i.e. the Jew] to subjugate the cataclysmic showdown with the rejuvenated racial force of of this parasite upon the nations. After the death of his victim, stage after control of liberal democracy is 'in the organised undermining and destruction of other pure races. The next was greater than in other peoples, enabling the Jew to thrive highest racial entity, the Aryan, the instinct of self-preservation freedom of the peoples oppressed by the Jew, but also the end Ultimate Jewish dominance would come about through the Though for Hitler the Jewish race was the antithesis of the 'as a parasite in the body of other nations and states'.36

The linkage of this definitive turning-point in world history to German foreign policy is left to one of the last chapters of *Mein Kampf*. The land necessary to support Germany as a world power was to come from Russia. There, 'Jewish Bolshevism' had destroyed and replaced the former

Germanic ruling strata. But, 'as a ferment of decomposition', the Jew had weakened the Russian empire which was now 'ripe for collapse'. 'And the end of Jewish rule in Russia will also be the end of Russia as a state.'39 The mission of the Nazi Movement was to prepare the German people for this task. The rebuilding of the German people to a level of strength capable of accomplishing the destruction of 'Jewish Bolshevism' was the task of a 'Germanic state of the German nation'. 40 The state itself was but the means to attaining this end. 41 But this could be achieved only under leadership of genius attuned to the task. While in prison in the Landsberg fortress in 1924, serving a five-year sentence for high treason from which he was released within nine months, Hitler came to see himself as that great leader for whom the German people was waiting.

of personality, and that as leader of the NSDAP he saw his early 1920s. Initially, Hitler had seen his own role solely as were commonplace on the extreme Right in Germany in the short imprisonment. shape only after his return to politics in 1925 following his task 'in accepting responsibility'.43 By the time of his trial in commented that salvation could be found only in the value dictator a people ready for him.42 Two months later, he leader who would arise. The example of Mussolini's success that of the propagandist – the 'drummer boy' for the great triumph, his conception of his own role was emerging into mission he would carry out. As late as May 1923 Hitler stated but demanding their unconditional obedience for the historic personality and heroic leadership, responsible to the people 1923 he spoke more frequently about the importance of in Italy in 1922 was a stirring one for Hitler. In 1922 and the fully-fledged heroic leadership self-image which took 1924, in which he turned the putsch fiasco into a personal that he was still only preparing the path, to give the coming Ideas of heroic, quasi-messianic leadership in a new Reich

By the mid 1920s, then, Hitler had developed a rounded philosophy which offered him a complete view of the world, its ills, and how to overcome them. Its substance never changed down to his death. When, in the 1940s, Hitler's ideas on all subjects under the sun were expounded at length to his cronies in his dinner-table monologues, the self-same underlying tenets of his world-view which he had developed