

● PSF: Subject File

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Analysis of the Personality  
of Hitler Pts. 3B-6

B. VIENNA DAYS

1908 - 1913

The chief facts pertinent to the present analysis are these:

1. Klara Hitler was operated on for cancer of the breast in the early summer of 1907. On December 21, 1907, she died. Two months before her death, Adolf Hitler went to Vienna and was examined by the Academy School of Art. He failed. He moved to Vienna in the winter of 1908, and the following October presented himself again at the Academy. But the drawings he brought as illustrations of his work were considered so lacking in talent that he was not allowed to take the examination. He was told he would make a better architect than painter, though he himself reports that he was a better colorist than draftsman.

2. Some account of these years has been given us by Hanisch, a "bum" from Bohemia who befriended him. They were fellow members of the same hostel, or flophouse. The first thing Hitler said to Hanisch sounds like a projection of (1) press Rejection and (2) press Aggression. He said (1) his landlady had dispossessed him and now he was without shelter, and

(2) he had begged a drunken man for a few pennies but the latter had raised his cane and insulted him. Hitler was very bitter about this.

3. Hitler wore a beard during this period and in his long overcoat looked very much like a certain type of Oriental Jew not uncommon in Vienna. Hitler had a number of Jewish acquaintances and sold post-cards that he painted to Jewish dealers. There was no evidence during these first years of any hostility to Jews. Only later, after he had listened excitedly to the speeches of the anti-Semitic mayor, Lueger, did he become an avowed, and somewhat later a fanatical, Anti-Semite himself.

4. Hitler was exceedingly lazy and procrastinating in doing his little water colors during these days. He was much more interested in haranguing the other inmates of the hostel on the subject of politics. Already he had vague notions of founding a party.

5. He devoted some time to thinking up little devices for making money through trickery. According to one informant, his name is in the Vienna police records as having been accused of theft, and it is suggested that his departure for Munich in 1913 was prompted by a desire to avoid serving a term in jail.

6. Hitler's friendship with Hanisch came to an abrupt end when he accused the latter of stealing money from him. This has the flavor of a typical Hitlerian projection.

7. Hanisch reports that Hitler's love for Germany and his hate for Austria were vociferously expressed on all occasions during these years.

8. Hitler was shocked by what he saw of sexual practices in Vienna. Hanisch speaks of his having a purity complex.

9. According to one informant, Hitler is down in the police records of Vienna as a sex pervert.

10. In 1913, Hitler left Vienna and entered the country of which he had long yearned to be a citizen. He became a resident of Munich.

11. The press of Rejection is perhaps the outstanding feature of the Vienna period. There was in the first place the rejection by the Academy of Arts, which Hitler felt was based on his inadequate education. This left a resentment against intellectuals generally which was never stilled. The following excerpt sums up his conclusions on this point.

(1) Generally, it is the children of higher place, momentarily well-to-do parents who in turn are deemed worthy of a higher education. Hereby questions of talent play a subordinate rôle.

Many other passages speak eloquently of insults to his pride received at the hands of the privileged world of the gay capital.

(i) ...the graciously patronizing attitudes of a certain part of the fashionable world (both in skirts and trousers) whose 'sympathy for the people' is at times as haughty as it is obtrusive and tactless.

(ii) Vienna, the city that to so many represents the idea of harmless gaiety, the festive place for merrymaking, is to me the only living memory of the most miserable time of my life.

12. Hitler spent five years in Vienna. Living as he was, penniless among the penniless of the lower class, he himself experienced, and he was in close touch with others who experienced, the basic wants and viewpoints of the depressed victims of civilization. Here, certainly, was much food for thought. He also attended sessions of parliament and numerous political mass meetings, and observed the proceedings critically. From the start he was constantly pre-occupied with the question: why does this political movement fail and that one succeed? It was natural for him to think realistically and strategically; not

to make the common mistake of supposing man to be better than he is, and yet taking full account of his heroic potentialities, having observed that millions of simple untutored men will gladly fight and sacrifice their lives for an ideal vividly presented. In addition, Hitler spent many hours in the public library looking over histories and books dealing with social questions. MEIN KAMPF proves that the young man from Linz who could not get through High School was capable of profiting by what he saw and read, and that these five years of drifting and irregular employment were by no means wasted. The flophouse and the beer hall were his Heidelberg and University of Vienna. He writes:

(i) So in a few years I built a foundation of knowledge from which I still draw nourishment today. (M.K. 29).

(ii) At that time I formed an image of the world and a view of life which became the granite foundation for my actions. (M.K. 30).

13. For the Vienna period the critical question psychologically is this: why did Hitler, living among the proletariat, find the developed ideology of communism repellent and the embryonic ideology of fascism appealing? The chief determinants of his choice, as they occur to me are these:

(i) Hitler's father belonged to the lower middle class. Having moved one rung up the ladder by years of effort, his pride compelled him to draw a sharp line between himself and those below him. No one has stated this principle of behavior better than his son:

(i - 1) The reason for that which one could almost call 'hostility' is the fact that a social class, which has only recently worked its way up from the level of manual labor, fears to fall back into the old, but little esteemed, class, or at least fears being counted in with that class. In addition, many remember with disgust the misery existing in the lower class; the frequent brutality of their daily social contacts; their own position in society, however small it may be, makes every contact with the state of life and culture, which they in turn have left behind, unbearable.

This explains why members of the higher social class can frequently lower themselves to the humblest of their fellow beings with less embarrassment than seems possible to the 'upstarts'.

For an upstart is anyone who, through his own energy, works his way up from his previous social position to a higher one.

Finally, this relentless struggle kills all pity. One's own painful scramble for existence suffocates the feeling of sympathy for the misery of those left behind. (M.K. 31-32).

Brought up by such a father, it was natural for Adolf Hitler to envy and admire his social superiors and look with contempt upon those of a lower station. As the American editors of MEIN KAMPF have put it,

(ii) Hitler, conscious of belonging to a higher social caste than his fellow-workers...instinctively retreats from the idea of accepting solidarity with them. (M.K. 56).

(iii) Hitler had already been identified for some years with the German Nationalist movement and so his unit of insociation (group identification and belongingness) was greatly threatened by the communists' unit of insociation, the manual workers of the world. The former would lead logically to a war between nations, the latter to a war between classes. Communism was the greatest enemy of nationalism.

(iv) Parallel to his naturalistic sentiments was Hitler's enthusiasm for the military, a professional class which is antipathetic to communists generally. The former finds its goal in Power and Glory; the latter in Peace and Prosperity.

(v) Hitler had great reverence for the strong and contempt for the weak and therefore favored a stratified social system, a dictatorship

of the elite. There was no compassion in his make-up; he had little sympathy for the under-dog. His ideology was founded on the rise to power of nature's supermen involving relationships of dominance and submission among men. Communism was founded on the notion of equality.

WAR EXPERIENCES

1914 - 1918

The record of these years is conflicting, but the following points are probably true and pertinent to our theme.

1. In enlisting in the Army, Hitler became incorporated for the first time. Never before had he been an accepted member of a respected institution. This was not only a great relief to him, enabling him to forget the long series of past failures, but it provided a ground for pride and a sense of security. At last he and the German nation were one.

2. There is no evidence that Hitler was ever in a front line trench. It seems that he served as a messenger and was required to traverse ground that was being shelled by the enemy. Hitler, it appears, was quick to offer himself for dangerous tasks of this kind and was said to be an adept at running and then falling or seeking shelter behind some obstacle when the fire became intense. In this he showed courage. There is no record, however, in the War Department of any episode such as has been described in connection with his winning the Iron Cross, First Order. Apparently he was awarded this

medal after he had left the Front, supposedly gassed in one of the last offensives of the Allies.

3. Informants have commented on Hitler's marked subservience to the superior officers, offering to do their washing and perform other menial tasks, courting their good graces to such an extent that his comrades were disgusted.

4. Hitler was the only man in his company never to receive any mail or packages from home, and at Christmas and other occasions when the others were receiving gifts and messages he sulked moodily by himself. Here is another instance of press rejection.

5. It is hard to explain the fact that in four years of service he was not promoted above the rank of corporal. The comment by one of his officers that he was a neurotic fellow is the only explanation that has been advanced.

6. It seems certain that Hitler was not gassed to any serious extent in 1918, but that he suffered from a war neurosis, hysterical blindness, which also deprived him of his voice and perhaps his hearing. This psychosomatic illness was concomitant with the final defeat of his Mother Germany, and it

was after hearing the news of her capitulation that he had his vision of his task as savior. Suddenly his sight was restored.



Hitler with fellow patients  
at Pasewalk, 1918

7. In 1918 Hitler, the soldier, became very disturbed at the surprising success of Allied propaganda and then occurred a reaction that was typical of his whole character, namely, to admire and then to acquire the technique powerful opponent.

(1) We had a chance to become acquainted with the incredible disciplines of our opponents' propaganda, and still today it is my pride to have found the means...for beating finally its very makers. Two years later I was master in this craft.

D. POST-WAR HISTORY

1919 -

From 1919 to the present Hitler's doings are less obscure than for the periods so far reviewed. A great many of the facts are a matter of common knowledge and we will not review them in this section here. A few points, however, are worthy of being highlighted.

1. For a year or two after his release from the military hospital, Hitler was more or less foot-loose, "a stray dog looking for a master," according to one informant. Undoubtedly there were more instances of press rejection to embitter him.

2. He was still a member of the Reichswehr when his superior officer, discovering his ability in public speaking, assigned him the task of indoctrinating the soldiers with the desired ideology. Later he was asked to speak to a civilian group. This success encouraged him to go further and enter politics for life. Hitler's realization that he had the power to sway large masses of people was the second crucial factor, next to his revelation in the hospital while blind, in determining his career. His phenomenal success hinged on his mass-rousing talent.

3. After hearing Feder speak, Hitler was prompted to join a small group that called itself the National Socialist Workers' Party. Within a year he was its moving spirit and sole leader, and it might fairly be said that he was its creator as it now exists, the difference between its status before he joined and soon afterwards being so great.

No doubt Hitler had been making speeches in fantasy since his boyhood and had done a good deal of informal haranguing throughout this whole period, first as the adolescent ringleader of the young Nationalists at school, second as a ham politician among the derelicts of the Vienna slums, and third as a corporal behind the lines, but his sudden emergence as a spiritual force during the period 1921 - 1923 brought him into a much magnified sphere of activity which was qualitatively different. A selection from MEIN KAMPF, which is unquestionably autobiographical in reference, might be quoted here as a hint of how the transformation was apperceived by him:

In the monotony of everyday life even important people often seem unimportant and they hardly stand out over the average of their surroundings; but as soon as they are faced by a situation in which others would despair or go wrong, out of the plain average child the ingenious nature grows visibly, not infrequently to the astonishment of all those who

hitherto had an opportunity to observe him, who had meanwhile grown up in the smallness of bourgeois life, and therefore, in consequence of this process, the prophet has rarely any honor in his own country. Never is there a better opportunity to observe this than during war. In the hours of distress, when others despair, out of apparently harmless children, there shoot suddenly heroes of death-defying determination and icy coolness of reflection. If this hour of trial had never come, then hardly anyone would ever have been able to guess that a young hero is hidden in the beardless boy. Nearly always such an impetus is needed in order to call genius into action. Fate's hammer stroke, which then throws the one to the ground, suddenly strikes steel in another, and while now the shell of everyday life is broken, the erstwhile nucleus lies open to the eyes of the astonished world. (M.K. 402-3).

4. It seems clear that it was (1) the defeat of Germany and (2) the opposition against which he had to strive that acted as instigators to his behavior from then on, which became more and more aggressively dominant. The idea of being a revolutionary was a necessary impetus to action.

We National Socialists know that with this opinion we stand as revolutionaries in the world of today, and that we are branded as such. But our thinking and acting must not be determined by the applause or the rejection of our time. (M.K. 595-6).

5. Hitler was chiefly attracted during these early years to a homosexual, Ernst Roehm, a superior officer with an upperclass background. The physical

strength and social assurance of Roehm were much envied and, to have the political backing of such a figure, gave Hitler a sense of security.

6. Up to the famous Munich Putsch, 1923, Hitler was conspicuous in his worship of and flattering subservience to ranking officers in the Army, especially in these days in his relations with General Ludendorff, but from 1924 on, although he never entirely lost a certain embarrassment in the presence of his former superiors, there was a change from abasement to dominance and even arrogance in dealing with aristocrats and war lords.

7. The chief points in his political program were these:

- (a) wiping the Versailles Treaty off the books,
- (b) denial of war guilt,
- (c) resurrection of Germany as a military power of the first order,
- (d) militaristic expansion, dominated by the motive of revenge against the Allies, and
- (e) Anti-Semitism. Soon afterwards
- (f) the purification of the German people by a variety of hygienic measures was added as an essential aim or policy.

8. During the years from 1923 and 1933, Hitler's emotional outbursts, his tantrums of rage and indignation, his spells of weeping and threats of self-annihilation increased in frequency and intensity. This can be partly accounted for by the fact that they were effective in bringing his associates around to his point of view. Instead of antagonizing the group of revolutionists who with him were plotting to usurp power, these frightful orgies of passion served to intimidate them. Everyone sought to avoid topics that would bring about the fits.

9. Among the reasons given in extenuation of the cold-blooded purge of 1934 were (a) that the victims were disgusting homosexuals and (b) that they were plotting to snatch the power and supersede him.

10. During the last twenty years, rumors have periodically arisen and spread to the effect that Hitler was enamored of this or that young woman; most of these were either fabricated for one reason or another or premature, since the appeal that certain women, of the stage particularly, had for Hitler was generally short-lived. The one affair that stands out is that with a nineteen-year-old Angela

(Geli) Raubal, his niece. Hitler was often in her company and was pathologically jealous of any attentions shown her by other men. Two informants have stated positively that Hitler murdered the girl, but the official report was suicide. Whichever story is correct, however, we gain the impression of a peculiar and stormy relationship. Rumors have it that Hitler's sexual life, such as it is, demands a unique performance on the part of the women, the exact nature of which is a state secret.

11. A great deal has been made in Germany of Hitler's asceticism, but this, when you come down to it, amounts to a vegetarian diet, served him by the best chef in the Reich, and a great variety of soft drinks in place of hard liquor. It is said that he did not permanently give up meat until after the death of his niece Geli.

V. PERSONALITY STRUCTURE

A. EGO, SUPEREGO, AND ID

1. Ego

According to the criteria we are accustomed to use in measuring ego strength and structure, Hitler's ego is surprisingly weak. Here we are of course using the term ego to apply to an institution of the personality (not to narcissism, or self-esteem). Hitler is conspicuously low in the following powers:

(a) Deficient ability to organize and coordinate his efforts.

(i) During his boyhood, especially at the time he was living as an indulged youngster in his mother's apartment, Hitler's activities were markedly irregular and aimless. He was unable to apply himself except when his impulse prompted him to do so.

(ii) Hanisch reports that in Vienna Hitler was never an ardent worker, was unable to get up in the morning, had difficulty in getting started, suffered from paralysis of the will. He always stopped work the moment he had earned a little money, explaining that "he must have some liesure, he was not a coolie".

(iii) According to Rauschnig, "He does not know how to work steadily. Indeed, he is incapable of working. He gets ideas, impulses, the realization of which must be feverishly achieved and immediately got rid of. He does not know what it is to work continuously. Everything about him is 'spasm', to use a favorite word of his.

(iv) Although Hitler prescribes disciplined order of work for those about him, he himself lives like an artist or Bohemian. His habits are as erratic and irregular as his temper. He may go to bed at eleven P.M. or four A.M., getting up at seven or at noon. He is rarely punctual.

(v) According to Rauschnig again, "Hitler seems a man of tremendous will power, but the appearance is deceptive. He is languid and apathetic by nature, and needs the stimulus of nervous excitement to rouse him out of chronic lethargy to spasmodic activity..."

(b) Deficient ability to resolve conflicts. - Hitler has always suffered from periods of indecisiveness and mental confusion that incapacitate him to the extent of being unable to make any decision or come to any conclusion. Then quite suddenly his

inner voice will speak, but as a rule, not until the situation has become threatening. As Roehm says, "Usually he solves suddenly, at the very last moment... only because he vacillates and procrastinates."

(c) Deficient ability to control emotion.-

His tantrums have been often described, and even thought it be admitted that Hitler has a capacity to turn them on and off as he sees fit, still, such unmanly display of infantile intolerance to frustration, of tears and shrieks, is entirely out of keeping with his own ideal of the Iron Supermensch.

(i) Rauschnig: "My own experience of him and what I have learned from others indicate a lack of control amounting to total demoralization."

(d) Deficient objectivity.- Distortion of human behavior and social events by frequent projections giving rise to delusions of all sorts.

(e) Disjunctivity of thought and speech.- All of Hitler's writings and reported speeches exhibit a disorganization of ideas and verbal expression which at times verges on the pathological.

(f) Insight deficiency. - Hitler has never shown any capacity to perceive or admit his errors and defects. Part of this is a conscious determination to follow the policy of denying them, this being considered by him politically expedient.

(g) Inability to keep his word and fulfill obligations.

(1) It has been said that "Hitler discards with perfect ease everything that a moment before has passed as a fixed principle. His political attitude is characterized by two things: first, an unbelievable capacity to tell falsehood, and second, a quite disarming naivete, a total innocence of promises and assertions made only a moment before."

(h) In contrast to these signs of weakness, Hitler is high, sometimes very high, on the following criteria:

- (i) power to do what he wants to do and has the capacity to do,
- (ii) counteractive restraining,
- (iii) power to resist undesirable coercions from society,
- (iv) power to resist dictatorship of conventional superego,
- (v) initiative and self-sufficiency,
- (vi) ability to take responsibility and effectively direct others,
- (vii) long apperceptive span (taking account of a distant future in making decisions).

(i) The situation may be briefly formulated by stating that Hitler operates on thalamic energy rather than on conscious will and rational planning.- Possessed by fanatical passion he can accomplish things which those who act on cooler and more moderate

plan fail to achieve. The force, in other words, comes from the id, and the ego is used in its service. This combination is typical of the gangster; but Hitler is different from the ordinary type, having some of the attributes of the romantic artist. He is a compound, say, of Lord Byron and Al Capone.

2. Id

Under the term id I am including all unconscious psychic processes -- principally affective and conative processes which emerge suddenly without voluntary effort and take possession of the ego but also unconscious intellectual processes resulting in sudden judgments and decisions. Such processes are an important part of every man's psychology. It is only when they play an unusually dominant rôle in determining action that we stress them. They are especially prominent in the intuitive type, Hitler being one of these. Hitler's sentiments in this regard conform to his behavior.

(i) We must distrust the intelligence and the conscience and must place our trust in our instincts. We have to regain a new simplicity. (Quoted by Rauschnig).

(ii) ...Over-educated people, stuffed with knowledge and intellect, but bare of any sound instincts...

(iii) ...Of secondary importance is the training of mental abilities. (M.K. 513).

Hitler's basic assumption, as Max Lerner points out, is that there are no logical categories in the perception of values but only an intuitionism that is its own principle and its own justification. He functions, in other words, as does a creative artist, which is unusual in one who chooses politics as his field. It is his dependence on involuntary processes that gives rise to his inability to make decisions about a hundred and one little matters that come to him in the routine of his daily occupation. He must wait upon the spirit.

(iv) In the subconscious the work goes on. It matures, sometimes it dies. Unless I have the inner incorruptible conviction: this is the solution, I do nothing. Not even if the whole party tried to drive me to action. I will not act; I will wait, no matter what happens. But if the voice speaks then I know the time has come to act. (Quoted from Rauschning).

Many acquaintances have remarked on Hitler's periods of abstraction and reverie. He "spent his time building castles in the air", Hanisch reports. "I had the impression," writes Rauschning, "that he was not listening...his thoughts were far away." Another informant, Roberts, believes that Hitler,

wrapped up in his dream world, is unaware of a large part of the practical activities and even brutalities of his party. His movements would be impossible without the continued coöperation of men like Goebbels, Goering, and Himmler. Because of the tremendous downward pull of unconscious processes Hitler must often pull himself up by the bootstraps, as it were, to meet an emergency.

(v) I go my way with the certainty and security of a somnambulist.

Among id processes we should stress particularly that dynamic pattern of energy bolted up in him which we call the unity and orienting themas. This compound of motivations, which amounts to a monomaniacal idea, will be fully described later. It is a rigid, fanatical, and incurable reservoir of the thalamic energies which, on release, have two or three times the potency that a normal man brings to bear upon any one reasonable object. The ego is in collaboration with this unconscious complex, operates in its service, and can, within limits, call it into play or check it momentarily. On appropriate occasions, indeed, Hitler makes good use of his capacity to be possessed by the complex. He dramatizes it, whips it up, and intoxicated by the words that pour out of his mouth, deliriously gives vent to his passion.

Also characteristic of one who so readily acquiesces to the demi-urge is Hitler's superstitiousness, his feeling that he is an object of divine protection, his tendency to interpret striking events as signs or omens of success or failure. Like many a religious leader he is said to hear voices and see spirits. Here we would compare him to Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, the chief difference being that Smith's voices gave him permission to free the sex instinct, whereas Hitler's voices encourage brutality and destruction. Hitler also bears comparison to Mary Baker Eddy.

1. Hysteroid Personality. - It is clear from what has been said that Hitler has manifested many features of the hysteroid type of make-up. Besides the definitely recorded hysterical attack of blindness and aphonia (in 1918), there are his paroxysms of emotion, his hallucinations, coming out of nightmares, his sudden revelations and hearing of inner voices, and the periods of day-dreaming and abstraction, all of which are reminiscent of hysterics, inspired and uninspired, of which the history of religion furnishes so many striking examples. Here he might be likened, perhaps, to Joan of Arc.

2. Schizophrenic Features.- It will be made clear as we go on that Hitler is possessed by a complete semi-delusional system characteristic of paranoid schizophrenia. Beside this, many of the symptoms which have been listed in the previous paragraph under hysteroid personality are also typical of schizoid states. The enormous banked-up hate and revengefulness in the man and the acts of cruelty which he is able to execute apparently without the normal recriminations of conscience are also symptomatic of schizophrenia.

Although it might be said that Hitler is an hysteric on the verge of schizophrenia, and this may be truer today than it was a while ago, still it must be acknowledged that conditions in Germany have been such and the man's success in imposing his delusional system on his fellow countrymen has been so phenomenal that he has remained within the boundaries of technical sanity.

3. Superego

It seems clear that Hitler is not an amoral brute like Goering or the majority of his followers, that is to say, his close followers. He has a super-ego but it is repressed, the mechanisms of the ego

being set up against its interference. The conditions that usually prevail might be described as an alliance between the ego and the instinctual forces of the id against the dictates of the superego. A great deal of endopsychic energy is wrapped up in this effort to repress and deny the superego and the guilt feelings that it gives rise to. Its activity, however, can be judged by (1) the vehemence of his affirmations of brutality (and thus his denial of conscience), (2) the justifications that he feels called upon to give when his actions are particularly repellant to the conscience of his world, and (3) certain symptoms that are generally recognizable as indications of unconscious superego activity.

Surely Hitler is speaking of himself as well as of others when he writes:

(i) Only when the time comes when the race is no longer overshadowed by the consciousness of its own guilt, then it will find internal peace and external energy to cut down regardlessly and brutally the wild shoots, and to pull up the weeds.

That Hitler sees himself as the destroyer of an antiquated Hebraic Christian superego is shown by many passages:

(ii) I am freeing men from the restraints of an intelligence that has taken charge; from the dirty and degrading modifications of a

chimera called conscience and morality, and from the demands of a freedom and personal independence which only a very few can bear.

(iii) We must be ruthless. We must regain our clear conscience as to ruthlessness. Only thus shall we purge our people of their softness and sentimental Philistinism, and their degenerate delight in beer-swilling.

(iv) I recognize no moral law in politics.

(v) Conscience is a Jewish invention. It is a blemish like circumcision.

Obviously Hitler is posing here as the Nietzschean Anti-Christ who is going to create a new superego for mankind, the exact antithesis of that which has prevailed since the establishment of Christianity. This pose, however, is for the benefit of his close followers such as Rauschning, who has recorded the above assertions. "Moral commonplaces," he affirms, "are indispensable for the masses. Nothing is more mistaken than for a politician to pose as a non-moral superman." The tenor of many of Hitler's public speeches, however, proves that he has not entirely conquered his superego, acquired during early years under the influence of his pious mother, the Catholic monastery at Lambach, and his teachers at school. The following may be taken as examples of an unquiet conscience:

(vi) It (Storm Troop) did not want to establish violence as its aim, but it wanted to protect the messengers of the spiritual aim against oppression by violence. (M.K. 790).

(vii) However, I did not wish to carry out my purposes by force, instead I did my utmost to accomplish my purpose by persuasion alone.

(viii) It never has been my intention to wage wars, but rather to build... (M.N.O. 836).

(ix) I forbade the sacrifice of more human lives than was absolutely necessary. (Speaking of the war with Poland. M.N.O. 723).

There is no question that Hitler succeeds in repressing his superego most of the time. He has consciously and openly committed most of the crimes on the calendar, so much so that the diagnosis "psychopathic personality" or "moral imbecile" seems almost justified; however, there are many indications that a superego of sorts operates unconsciously. After the bloody purge of 1934, for example, it is said that he was not able to sleep quietly for weeks. At night he prowled restlessly up and down. His depressions and fearful nightmares can be explained in part as resultants of disquieting guilt feelings. Also to be included in this category are his frequent thoughts of suicide. These are often avowed, to be

sure, with the purpose of impressing his close followers, but they are also in conformity with an unconscious tendency. According to our hypothesis, in fact, we would attribute a good many of Hitler's later acts of aggression to his superego. They are crimes to appease conscience. Having once started on a career of brutality, he can only quiet the pain of a bad conscience by going on with ever greater ruthlessness to achieve successes, and so to demonstrate to himself and others that God approves of him and his methods. This dynamism, however, can work only in so far as his aggressions are successful; that is, only good fortune can prove that conscience (anticipatory anxiety) was wrong -- there was nothing to be afraid of after all. Failure will undoubtedly be followed by guilt feelings.

Further evidences of superego activity can be found in the character of the projections so common in Hitler's speeches and writings, as we shall now show.

4. Ego Defense Mechanisms: Projection.

By far the most common form of defense mechanism in Hitler's personality is that of projection. This works in the service of self-esteem, in blinding him both to his guiltiness and to his inferiority. There is no record of any case in which this process is used so often and so intensely. It operates so promptly and consistently, indeed, that by paying close attention to the objects that Hitler scorns and condemns one gets a fairly accurate and comprehensive view of his own id. His case is rather unusual in that he has consciously adopted and furthered what was once no doubt a purely unconscious mechanism. For example, he says, "As soon as by one's own propaganda even a glimpse of right on the other side is admitted the cause for doubting of one's own right is laid." The necessary corollary to this proposition would be: As soon as one's own wrong is admitted the cause for doubting the wrong of one's opponent is laid. He also has enough knowledge to realize that accusations are evidences of guilt, for he says, "If they now say that this is the signal that Germany now wants to attack the entire world, I do not believe that this is meant seriously:

such could only be the expression of a bad conscience."  
-- a remarkable statement to be made by the world's  
greatest projector.

Two or three illustrations would suffice to make plain the nature of Hitler's projections, but they represent such unique descriptions of himself that a larger collection of examples will be of interest to psychologists.

(1) In Vienna, Hanisch tells us, Hitler wore a long coat given him by a Jewish friend, "an incredibly greasy derby on the back of his head. His hair was long and tangled, and he grew a beard on his chin such as we Christians seldom have, though one is not uncommon in...the Jewish ghettos...Hitler at that time looked very Jewish, so that I often joked with him that he must be of Jewish blood, since such a large beard rarely grows on a Christian's chin."

Compare this to Hitler's account of the first conspicuously Jewish person he met in Vienna. "I suddenly came upon a being clad in a long caftan, with black curls. Is this also a Jew? was my first thought." Then he goes on to list the repellent traits of the Jew: "Later the smell of these caftan

wearers often made me ill. Added to this was their dirty clothes and their none too heroic appearance." Recalling Hitler's immorality at school and the fact that he is down (according to one informant) in the Vienna police records as a sex pervert, the following statement is pertinent: "Aside from the physical uncleanliness, it was repelling suddenly to discover the moral blemishes of the chosen people."

(ii) Hitler was charged with theft in Vienna, according to one informant, and yet Hitler broke off his friendship with Hanish by wrongfully accusing him of having misappropriated a water color of his worth fifty Kronen.

(iii) In daily life Hitler oscillates between extreme energy and utter listlessness, and yet --

Hitler: "All passivity, all inertia...is senseless, inimical to life."

(iv) Hitler has never admitted to being wrong. According to the Nazi creed, Hitler is always right, and yet --

Hitler: "These impudent rascals (intellectuals) who always know everything better than anybody else..."

"The intellect has grown autocratic, and has become a disease of life."

(v) Hitler has often affirmed that he was governed by instinct and intuition rather than by reason.

Hitler: "The people...are so so feminine in their nature and attitude that their activities and thoughts are motivated less by sober considerations than by feeling and sentiment."

(vi) Roehm has said: "He doesn't even seem to be aware how dishonest he is." By now the whole world agrees that Hitler is a monumental liar.

Hitler: "What a race (Jews): As such they have been nailed down forever...the great masters of lying."

(vii) Hitler has a way of staring at people as if he were attempting to hypnotize them.

Hitler: "They...tried to pierce me even with their eyes. Innumerable faces were turned toward me with sullen hatred."

(viii) Hitler's favorite entertainment is to witness private performances of naked dancing.

Hitler: "Chicherin -- and with him a staff of over two hundred Soviet Jews -- visits the cabarets, watches naked dancers perform for his pleasure..."

(ix) Below I have listed a miscellany of Hitler's statements which are more accurate as descriptions of himself than they are of others.

a. In such hours I had sad forebodings and was filled with a depressing fear. I was faced by a doctrine (Social Democrats) consisting of egoism and hatred; it could be victorious, following mathematical laws, but at the same time it could bring about the end of mankind.

b. Social Democracy directs a bombardment of lies and calumnies towards the adversary who seemed most dangerous, till finally the nerves of those who had been attacked give out and they, for the sake of peace, bow down to the hated enemy.

c. They (opponents at Nazi meetings) resembled a powder keg that might blow up at any moment, and to which the burning fuse has been attached.

d. For his (the Jew's) entire activity is unrestricted by moral obligations.

e. I talked until my tongue was weary and till my throat was hoarse... of the destructiveness of their Marxist doctrine of irrationality.

f. ...we will not let the Jews slit our gullets and not defend ourselves.

g. (Jew)...the higher he climbs, the more alluringly rises out of the veil of the past his old goal, once promised to him, and with feverish greed he watches in his brightest heads the dream of world domination step into tangible proximity.

h. They (Marxists) began to treat us as genuine chief criminals of humanity.

i. For this peace proposal of mine I was abused, and personally insulted. Mr. Chamberlain, in fact, spat upon me before the eyes of the world...

j. ...it was in keeping with our own harmlessness that England took the liberty of some day meeting our peaceful activity with the brutality of the violent egoist.

k. ...the outstanding features of Polish character were cruelty and lack of moral restraint.

The intensity and frequency of these projections amply justify the diagnosis of paranoid delusion.

##### 5. Idealego

The idealego, as we define it, is a compound of images, engendered in the mind of the subject, which represent what he would like to be, his level of aspiration, his best self at the height of his career, the man reaching the goal of his ambition. The idealego may be the figure of a master criminal or that of a great benefactor or prophet, its exact nature being dependent upon a host of factors stemming from the id, ego, and superego. In Hitler's case it is clear that the idealego is the dominant force of his conscious and unconscious life. We shall discuss it presently in connection with his major configuration of drives and sentiments.

B. MAJOR CONFIGURATION OF OVERT DRIVES AND SENTIMENTS

As a rule it is difficult to demonstrate a clear-cut integration of overt drives and sentiments in an individual, either (1) because the majority of people are not integrated according to a very fixed and consistent pattern or (2) because the configurations, such as they are, are not wholly discernible, important elements being repressed and unconscious to the subject. We use the term orienting thema to include both conscious and unconscious elements. In Hitler's case, however, it is not expedient to make a distinction between the major configurations of overt drives and sentiments and the orienting thema, because the latter has been made explicit in word and deed and is of a relatively consistent and obvious type. Hitler is one of the relatively few men who has largely lived out his fantasy. The main elements of his major configuration are the following:

1. Positive Cathexis\* of Power

Hitler's sentiments in favor of power as opposed to all forms of weakness may be divided into (a) cathexis of powerful nations and (b) cathexis of powerful rulers.

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\* Positive cathexis = value, attraction, power to evoke love, respect.  
Negative cathexis = the reverse: power to evoke aversion, scorn, hate.

(i) Positive cathexis of powerful groups (nations).

The very first enthusiasm entertained by the boy Hitler was an admiration for Germany. We have already noted his membership in the Nationalist movement as a school boy and listed the determinants of this enthusiasm. The following quotations will illustrate the persistence of this attitude in later life.

a. Hanisch: Hitler always took the Government's part...invariably approved of all such violent methods as necessary for the State's sake.

b. Hitler: In Vienna I continued as I had done before, to follow up all events in Germany with the fiercest enthusiasm, no matter whether political or cultural questions were concerned. With proud admiration I compared the rise of the Reich with the decline of the Austrian State. (M.K. 69-70).

c. Hitler: Prussia, the germ cell of the Reich, was created by resplendant heroism and not by financial operations or commercial affairs, and the Reich itself was in turn only the most glorious reward of political leadership and military death-defying courage. (M.K. 201).

It was Hitler's love of power that attracted him to the history of Great Britain.

d. Hitler: No nation has more carefully prepared its economic conquests with the sword with greater brutality and defended it later more ruthlessly than the British. (M.K. 189).

e. Hitler: England did not conquer India by the way of justice and law: she conquered India without regard to the wishes, to the views of the natives, or to their formulations of justice, and, when necessary, she has upheld this supremacy with the most brutal ruthlessness. (M.N.O. 103).

Hitler has always admired the ruling classes everywhere as opposed to the underprivileged.

f. Hitler: Our big industrialists have worked their way to the top by reason of their efficiency. In virtue of this selection, which merely proves their higher race, they have a right to lead.

(ii) Positive cathexis of powerful individuals (rulers).

It is difficult to say whether it was the figure of a powerful individual or the vague sense of a powerful class or nation that first excited Hitler's admiration, but certainly in the course of his life there have been a series of heroes who have stirred his enthusiasm and shaped his ego ideal. Among these may be mentioned his teacher of history, Ludwig Poetsch; the fervent anti-Semitic, Georg von Schoenerer; the Viennese mayor, Karl Lueger; Richard Wagner; Frederick the Great; Bismarck; the Kaiser; and Mussolini.

a. Hitler: It infuriated me even more than the Viennese Press... expressed its objections against the German Kaiser...Such things made the blood rush to my head.

b. Hanisch: He said...Wagner was a fighter, there was more greatness and power in Wagner.

c. Over Hitler's desk hangs a portrait of Frederick the Great, whom, of all Germany's historic characters, Hitler has chosen as his hero.

d. Heiden: Roehm's frank brutal energy seemed to inspire a blissful sense of security in Hitler.

e. Hitler: In those days -- I admit it openly -- I conceived the most profound admiration for the great man... what will rank Mussolini among the great of this earth is the determination not to share Italy with Marxism.

The figure of power admired by Hitler is marked by courage, military valor, brutality, and absence of sympathy or compassion. It is characteristic of him to interpret humane feeling as weakness.

## 2. Need for Deference toward Power.

Differing from a good many other would-be dictators or revolutionists, Hitler displayed, and still to some extent displays, a marked deference towards his superiors, exhibiting thereby, no doubt, a pattern that he was forced to adopt in the presence of his overbearing father.

(1) Heiden: Subordination he took seriously down to the smallest details: to respect one's superior officers, never to contradict, to submit blindly. Hitler displayed a servile solicitude for the clothes boots and food of his superior officers.

(ii) Strasser; Hitler's attitude towards the General was obsequious; he was in agreement with everything Ludendorff said.



Hitler and President Hindenburg  
on the Day of Potsdam  
March, 1933

(i) Hitler: A stronger generation will drive out the weaklings, because in its ultimate form the urge to live will again and again break the ridiculous fetters of a so-called "humanity" of the individual, so that its place will be taken by the "humanity" of nature, which destroys weakness in order to give its place to strength.

(ii) Hitler: ...these upper layers (of intellectuals) lack the necessary will power. For will power is always weaker in these secluded intellectual circles than in the masses of the primitive people.

(iii) Hitler: ...the Jewish Christ-Creed with its effeminate pity-ethics. (Rauschning).

(iv) Hitler: Anybody who is such a poltroon that he can't bear the thought of someone near by having to suffer pain had better join a sewing-circle, but not my party comrades. (Rauschning).

(v) Hitler: Unless you are prepared to be pitiless, you will get nowhere. Our opponents are not prepared for it, not because they are humane...but because they are too weak. (Rauschning).

#### 4. Idealego, Powerful Individual.

The process involved here is merely that of the internationalization of the positively cathected powerful individual described above. What was once external became internal and was accepted as the goal of endeavor. Around this central notion of the powerful individual there has developed an ideology based on the so-called aristocratic principle in nature. The final conception is that of a super superman, leader

of a nation of supermen who govern the globe. This notion is deeply imbedded in the German character as a result of (1) the autocratic position of the father in German family structure; (2) systematic indoctrination in the home and in the schools; and (3) the position of Germany among the European nations, a powerful community encircled and for a long time eclipsed in power and glory by France and then Great Britain. The main sources of Hitler's ideology are such men as Carlyle, through his life of Frederick the Great, Gobineau, Wagner, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Nietzsche, and Georges Sorel (Reflexions sur la Violence). Not that Hitler read all or even most of these authors but their ideas were transmitted to him through various secondary sources which he read eagerly and took to heart during his years in Vienna. The following quotations give an outline of Hitler's philosophy.

(i) Hitler: ...most important precondition in life -- namely, the necessity to be strong. (M.N.O. 325).

(ii) Hitler, quoted by Rauschning: But fortune follows where there is a firm will.

(iii) Hitler: Always before God and the world the stronger has the right to carry through what he will. (M.N.O. 50).

(iv) Hitler, quoted by Rauschning: Brutality is respected. Brutality and physical strength. The plain man in the street respects

nothing but brutal strength and ruthlessness. (N.B., This is an excellent example of self-projection and sums up in a nutshell the crux of Hitler's personality.)

(v) Hitler: In the end, only the urge for self-preservation will eternally succeed. Under its pressure so-called "humanity", as the expression of a mixture of stupidity, cowardice, an imaginary superior intelligence, will melt like snow under the March sun. (M.K. 175).

(vi) Hitler: Every view of life... will remain without importance...unless its principles have become the banner of a fighting movement. (M.K. 575).

(vii) Hitler: Terror is not broken by power of mind but by terror. (M.K. 494-5).

(viii) Hitler: The terror in the workshops, in the factory, in the assembly hall, and on occasions of mass demonstrations will always be accompanied by success as long as it is not met by an equally great force and terror. (M.K. 58).

##### 5. Social Ideal, Powerful Folk.

One will not be able to understand Hitler's personality, its extraordinary force, its maintenance this side insanity, and its influence on the German people without taking full account of his emotional identification with an ideal Germany as he conceives it and the dedication of his efforts to the creation of such a Germany. The principles of his program are expressed in the following series of quotations:

(i) Hitler, quoted by Rauschnig: There will be a Herren-Class, an historical class tempered by battle and welded from the most varied elements.

(ii) Hitler: ... (The Folkish view) feels the obligation in accordance with the Eternal Will that dominates this universe to promote the victory of the better and stronger, and to demand the submission of the worst and the weaker. (M.K. 580).

(iii) Hitler: We recognize that freedom can eternally be only a consequence of power and that the source of power is the will. Consequently, the will to power must be strengthened in a people with passionate ardor. (M.N.O. 24).

(iv) Hitler: His (Youth's) entire education and development has to be directed at giving him the conviction of being absolutely superior to the others. (M.K. 618).

(v) Hitler: The parliamentary principle of decision by majority, by denying the authority of the person and placing in its stead the member of the crowd in question since against the aristocratic idea of Nature. (M.K. 103).

(vi) Hitler: We want to be the supporters of the dictatorship of national reason, of national energy, of national -- brutality and resolution. (M.N.O. 66).

(vii) Hitler, quoted by Rauschnig: One thing is and remains eternally the same: force. Empires are made by the sword, by superior force-- not by alliances.

What must be pointed out here is (1) that Hitler came in to Germany as an outsider (he was not reared in the system), (2) that he started operating with a relatively simple, clear-cut, fanatically held conception

of the proper social pattern, (3) that he started with a small nucleus and built a rapidly growing party according to his preconceived social ideal, (4) that this party usurped power and spread to include most of the nation:

(viii) Hitler: The N. S. G. W. P. must not be the masses' slave, but their master! (M.K. 698).

and, finally, (5) that Hitler's social ideal is not confined to the German people within the national boundary but to the German folk or race wherever they are. It is a world dominion that he envisages by people that are constitutionally alike.

What we have here in the simplest terms is the Master-Slave pattern of social relationships to the exclusion of all other patterns. What is most distinctive is not the presence of this idea, which is as old as the history of man, but the absence of other patterns, the complete substitution of contempt for sympathy.

6. Need for Dominance, Ruthless Will to Power.

Hitler's positive cathexis of a powerful nation and a powerful ruler has been described, as well as his creation of a social ideal in which Power was to be carried to its furthest point. His deference, even obsequiousness when face to face with representatives of power has also been described. What we have

now to deal with is the problem of the gradual change of emphasis from deference to dominance. We can say, I think, with some justification that if Hitler's ideal social pattern had existed in Germany, that the nation had been under the dictatorship of an iron man, he might have been willing to take his place in the system as a subordinate, just as he did as a corporal in the army, but the fact that such a social pattern was not in operation stimulated him to inaugurate it. He became dissatisfied with one political leader after another, Kahr, Ludendorff, etc., and by degrees forced himself into the rôle that according to his scheme somebody must fill. It is as if a masochist, finding no one to play a rôle sufficiently sadistic to gratify his eroticism, were to decide to adopt that rôle himself. We have to take account here of the possibility of vicarious pleasure in either rôle. Listening to Hitler's words, we often get a certain sense of his identification with the sadist when he is adopting the submissive rôle, and his identification with the masochist when he is acting as a brutal tyrant. To explain the identification with the sadist, we must assume an elementary need for dominance, or will to power, which gets satisfied in this roundabout way. Anyhow, it is clear that as

time went on during the years after World War I, Hitler's attitude underwent some modification. From the obtrusively submissive corporal he became the obtrusively dominant leader of a party.

(i) Heiden: ... (As time went on) he felt himself superior to his recognized superiors. The obedient soldier was transformed into one who knew better, the underling into one who could do things better.

This change was concomitant with Hitler's discovery of his own oratorical powers. He gave way more and more to the demon within him. The ambitious sadist, his infantile belief in omnipotence being reactivated by the hysterical approval of the masses, came into his own. We are dealing here with a personality who enviously admires his enemies. His enemies are those who dominate and oppose and frustrate him with force. He hates the person who embodies this force but he worships the force and as so patterns himself on the object of his hate. This explains why Hitler was attracted to the Marxists and their methods for gaining power.

(ii) Lerner: He went to school not only to the Marxists. He has a great admiration for the organization and methods of the Catholic Church. He speaks again and again of how much he learned by studying the propaganda the British used during the war. And he expresses admiration for American advertising technique.

(iii) Hitler: We had a chance (during World War I) to become acquainted with the incredible discipline of our opponents' propaganda. And still today it is my pride to have found the means...for beating finally its very makers. Two years later I was master in his craft.

The picture we get here is that of a man who, like a great number of Germans, entertains the conception of an iron man who will save Germany, and wonders at the same time whether he himself has not the necessary genius to be that iron man. As time went on, Hitler came more and more to identify himself with the hero, but even at the moment that he was approaching the very summit of his power he was overcome with misgivings. Perhaps he was not this superman but merely the bridge to the superman, as Nietzsche often said of himself.

(iv) Hitler: We all are, in a small way, like St. John (the Baptist). I wait for Christ!

(v) Hitler, quoted by Rauschnig: The new man is among us! He is here! Now are you satisfied? I will tell you a secret. I have seen the vision of the new man -- fearless and formidable. I shrank from him!

(N.B. Here is a suggestion that beyond the exercise of power there is a greater enjoyment -- shrinking before a still greater force.)

7. Identification with Idealego.

A few quotations will be sufficient to show the extent of Hitler's identification with his own (and the average German's) idealego.

(i) Hitler, quoted by Russell:

Who won the campaign in Poland?

I did!

Who gave the orders?

I did!

Who had all the strategic ideas which made victory possible?

I did!

Who ordered the attack?

Ich, Ich, Ich, Ich!

(ii) Hitler, addressing Schuschnigg,  
quoted by Fuchs:

Do you not realize that you are in the presence of the greatest German ever known to history!

(iii) Hitler: I am one of the hardest men Germany has had for decades, perhaps for centuries, - equipped with the greatest authority of any German leader...but above all, I believe in my success. I believe in it unconditionally. (M.N.O. 871).

(iv) Hitler, addressing the Supreme Commanders before the Polish campaign, quoted by Lochner:

In the last analysis there are only three great statesmen in the world, Stalin, I, and Mussolini...our strength consists in our speed and in our brutality. Genghis Khan led millions of women and children to slaughter with premeditation and a happy heart, History sees in him solely the founder of a state. It's a matter of indifference to me what a weak western European civilization will say about me. I have issued the command -- and I'll have anybody who utters but one word of criticism executed by a firing squad -- that our war aim does not consist in reaching certain lines, but in the physical destruction of the enemy. Accordingly, I have placed my death-head formations in readiness...with orders to them to send to death mercilessly and without compassion, men, women, and children of Polish derivation and language.

Hitler sees himself not only as Germany's greatest strategist and war lord but as the chosen instrument of God, the savior of the German folk, and the founder of a new spiritual era which will endure, as Christ's kingdom was designed to endure, for a thousand years. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Hitler has often identified himself with Christ,

(v) Hitler: Therefore, I believe today that I am acting in the sense of the Almighty Creator: By warding off the Jews I am fighting for the Lord's work. (M.K. 84).

Hitler: My feeling as a Christian points me to my Lord and Savior as a fighter. It points me to the man who once in loneliness, surrounded by only a few

followers, recognized these Jews for what they were and summoned men to the fight against them and who, God's truth! was greatest not as a sufferer but as a fighter. In boundless love as a Christian and as a man I read through the passage which tells us how the Lord rose at last in his might and seized the scourge to drive out of the Temple the brood of vipers and adders...I recognize more profoundly than ever before the fact that it was for this that He had to shed his blood upon the cross. (M.N.O. 25).

Hitler: When...I see these men standing in their queues..then I believe I would be no Christian, but a very devil, if I felt no pity for them, if I did not, as did our Lord two thousand years ago, turn against those by whom today this poor people is plundered and exploited. (M.N.O. 27).

Hitler may very well have realized that he could not make of his physique anything very imposing or resplendent. Perhaps it was an uncanny wisdom on his part that caused him to adopt, or at least, retain, the appearance of a typical lower middle class man. Anyhow, he stands out among others of his type by an adherence to the uniform of a commonplace storm trooper or the vestments of an average citizen. He has not yielded to the temptation of dressing himself up in a fine uniform or in imperial robes as did Napoleon. After the war, he went about in jack-boots swinging a hippopotamus-hide whip and a plastic surgeon has removed superfluous fat from his nose, and he has

studied as consciously as any actor the walk, the gestures, and the manner suitable to his position; but still, despite these and many other efforts to create a satisfying visual impression, he has preserved certain modesties that have ingratiated him with certain classes in Germany. According to the legend, he is a humble ascetic man, and this holds, despite the known fact that in his study at the Berghof a huge portrait of himself as Fuehrer hangs over him eternally.

8. Need for Aggression, Sadism.

The Marquis de Sade maintained that his cruelties were not inflicted with the purpose of giving others pain but rather to increase to the utmost his own sense of power; thus, according to his version, aggression was subsidiary to dominance. In Hitler's case, however, although the will to power is the central principle, fused with it is a vindictiveness which takes pleasure in the painful humiliation of his adversaries. Enough illustrations of the sadism mixed up with Hitler's need for dominance have already been given; we only need to point out here what is known the world over, namely, that his ideology of power has been expressed in definite actions of aggression,

particularly against weaker, helpless individuals and groups. Statements such as the following have been the precursors of unprecedented brutality:

(i) Hitler, quoted by Rauschnigg: I shall spread terror by the surprise employment of all my measures.

(ii) Hitler, quoted by Heiden: There will be no peace in the land until a body is hanging from every lamp post.

(iii) Hitler, quoted by Rauschnigg: But even if we could not conquer them, we should drag half the world into destruction with us, and leave no one to triumph over Germany. There will not be another 1918. We shall not surrender.

An account of Hitler's personal aggressiveness against another man is given by Heiden:

(iv) (At the Munich Putsch) The first to be arrested was the Standard leader, Count Spreti. The young Count was set in front of Hitler; he made a movement toward his pocket, as though to grasp his pistol. Thereupon Hitler raised his whip, struck Count Spreti on the head with the stout ironbound end, and threshed him on the face in blind fury until Count Spreti collapsed.

The purge of 1934, the anti-Semitic atrocities, the unspeakable crimes committed in Poland, these and many other actions executed or ordered by Hitler demonstrate the extent of his sadism and revengefulness.

9. Need for Insociation (Collective Identification)

Hitler's psychology cannot be understood if he is considered apart from his identification with the German people, or rather with his ideal for Germany. From the very beginning, we have evidence of his desire to become a member of the Reich, which, to be sure, was more in the nature of a fantasied insociation with a vaguely conceived tradition than it was a desire for relationship with concrete individuals. Until he enlisted in the German Army, there are no definitive instances of his ever belonging to an organized group, unless it was a little Nationalist's Club in school. No doubt this long period of egocentric isolation increased his need for insociation. We note that at school he showed tendencies to be an agitator; and Hanish tells us that in Vienna he was continually talking up the idea of forming an association among his flophouse friends for financial or political purposes. Although in a sense he was a lone wolf (he went by the name of Wolf), it was also true that he had to have followers about him.

One of the first things he created was a bodyguard and the creation of the National Socialist Party was essential to his achievement. Hitler is inconceivable without the masses, but it was not so much the concrete individual party members whom we have in mind here, rather Hitler's conception of the German Volk, with whom in his imagination he was identified. He believed, and the people believed, that he loved Germany, and if Germany is perceived in his terms there is no reason to doubt this dedication. Without this, he would have become a criminal or lived out his life as a futile and penniless painter of postcards. It was this feeling of oneness with Germany and the fact that he could identify his revengefulness with the need for aggression latent in the German nation which enabled him to hold his ground this side insanity. Once the Party had conquered the German people, he could function corporocentrically rather than egocentrically. It was this that saved him and won him adherents.

10. Need for Creation (Social)

It was not Germany as it was or had been that Hitler represented but rather the ideal social pattern which he wished to impose on the country. Not only

during his days of rumination in Vienna but later it was necessary for him to construct an ideology from diverse sources in terms of which he could preach to the people. None of the elements were original with him but some inventiveness was required in developing the precise combination of principles that became the creed of the Nazi Party. Besides this, he was continually preoccupied with inventing means to his goals, which involved a considerable amount of creative thought; thus, to a certain extent, he functioned as a creative artist and certainly conceived of himself as such.

(1) Hitler: Or must not the task of the leading statesman be seen in the birth of a creative idea or plan in itself, rather than in the ability to make the ingenuity of his plans understandable to a flock of sheep and empty-heads for the purpose of begging their gracious consent? (M.K. 101-102).

#### 11. Need for Exposition.

Having arrived at his major policy, his ideological goal with its subsidiary aims, it was necessary to communicate these to the people, and so to create a Party and later a nation dedicated to the achievement of the determined goal. Here the need for exposition took the form of writing MEIN KAMPF, but more especially the form of speech-making. Hitler is eloquent in

stressing the importance of the orator as opposed to the writer when it comes to immediate potency in instigating action. We must certainly rate the need for exposition as maximally strong in Hitler's personality. In boyhood he was already haranguing his schoolmates and his family. Likewise in Vienna and at Company Headquarters during the war, and everlastingly from then on he has continued to make speeches to real or imaginary audiences. His chief function, perhaps, as he conceived it, was to convert the German people to his way of thinking and thus to create the Germany that he was devoted to in his imagination.

One final point: insociation, creation, and exposition were fused by Hitler's conception of himself as mouthpiece of the whole people. He was not creating an individualistic philosophy and imposing it on Germany, but rather, as he saw it, giving voice to the deepest needs and longings of the masses. Here the editors of MEIN KAMPF have something to say:

(1) The leader is he who most strongly senses the needs and desires of the unified nation, and not he who -- as Nietzsche and Stefan George believed -- makes use of the "slaves" in order to assure the triumph and happiness of a more regal aristocracy than the world has known. In short, for all his elements of patriotic mysticism, Hitler is no Platonist, but a Spartan in the simplest sense. That is why Germans have found it so difficult to resist him. As one of them has put it, "He flatters us all into acquiescence." (M.K. Note, 127-8).

In so far as Hitler conforms to this rôle, he is egocentric, corporocentric, and ideocentric all at once.

12. Orienting Thema

Much evidence could be brought to bear to demonstrate that Hitler's energies would never have been fully involved if it had not been for Germany's defeat and collapse. Up to that time, he had political convictions, to be sure, but the sufficient stimulus was lacking. The critical point came, as was mentioned above, when he lay blind in the military hospital and made his vow to reinstate his fallen motherland. Therefore, we would be inclined to put Hitler's orienting thema, the plot of his active striving, in these words: The treacherous, overpowering, and contaminating, the weakening and depreciation, of a pure and noble object is the tragic spectacle which arouses the hero and incites him to agitate revenge. As Leader and Messiah, he compels the object, by sheer will and eloquence, to adopt a course of ruthless aggression, the goal being to annihilate the contaminator and aggressor, and so, guided by its almighty ruler and redeemer, to become supremely pure, powerful, and superior, and thus everlastingly respected. His work done, the

hero relinquishes power and dies, revered as the progenitor of an uncorrupted and masterful race that will live on in fulfilment of his word.

(N.B., The elements of purity and contamination will be fully discussed later.)

13. Lack of Need Affiliation, Need Nurture.

Hitler's strong drives for aggressive dominance and self-assertion have been described. These are the features of the man's personality which have attracted and shocked the world but what is more distinctive perhaps is not the presence of these all-too-human tendencies but the lack of opposing drives which in normal people balance and mitigate the evil effects of rampant egocentrism. Hitler has shown extraordinarily little ability to establish and maintain friendships, to adjust himself to the needs and wishes of other people and a minimum of sympathy for human suffering and affliction. Whatever tendencies of this sort he once possessed have been long-since trampled under foot.

### C. MINOR CONFIGURATIONS OF NEEDS AND SENTIMENTS

Hitler is a peculiarly single-minded fanatic and the greater part of his energies have been caught up in the major configuration outlined in the previous section. Anyhow, other configurations and patterns of behavior are of relatively little consequence in a summary analysis of this sort. Suffice it to mention:-

#### 1. Need for Sex.

Although the Press has led the German people to believe periodically that Hitler had found the girl he was looking for all these years, a good many close observers have come to the conclusion that he is asexual. It is generally said that Germany is his beloved, his mother and his wife, and that when he addresses the masses, whom he thinks of as feminine, he is courting, appealing to, complaining to, and arousing the woman of his heart. That this is not entirely satisfying to his sex instinct will be indicated in a later section.

#### 2. Need for Creation (Architecture).

Hitler's ambitions to become an architect were frustrated by his lack of education and talent, but

since he has become supreme ruler of Germany he has given free play to this interest. He has had a part in planning and designing a number of the recent buildings, system of roads, etc. This tendency is only of significance to us in so far as we can infer from the products of his mind certain underlying forces; therefore, we will postpone consideration of this side of his character until a later section.

It should be noted here that Hitler's interest in architecture is very real. It forms an essential ingredient in his system of sentiments. The evidence for this is not limited to his own statements but is furnished by a close study of his metaphors. He speaks of architecture as the queen of the arts. No doubt painting and architecture were connected to some extent with a certain voyeurism, but they also had other significances. The following passage is suggestive of voyeurism:

(1) I had eyes for nothing but the buildings...all day long, from early morn until late at night, I ran from one sight to the next, for what attracted me most of all were the buildings. For hours on end I would stand in front of the opera or admire the Parliament Buildings; the entire Ringstrasse affected me like a fairy tale out of the Arabian Nights. (M.K. 26-27).

In accordance with the conventions of symbolic interpretation, it is possible to conceive of these impressive buildings as psychic equivalents of the mother whom he has lost. We are also reminded here of the unique claustrum which Hitler had constructed for himself on the top of the mountain behind his retreat at Berchtesgaden.

D. TYPE OF PERSONALITY STRUCTURE: COUNTERACTIVE NARCISM

The drives, sentiments, and traits so far listed and discussed -- Hitler's high idealism, his pride, his dominance and aggression, and his more or less successful repression of the superego -- indicate that his personality structure corresponds to that of Counteractive Narcism. The implication of this term is that the manifest traits and symptoms of Hitler's personality represent a reaction formation to underlying feelings of wounded self-esteem. When one examines systematically the common manifestations of Counteractive Narcism, one finds that the majority of them are clearly exhibited in Hitler's behavior; therefore, by running over the list of these common characteristics we can bring together some loose ends and subsume them all under one formulation. Here we

shall not attempt to be exhaustive but satisfy ourselves with some of the more typical manifestations.

1. Narcisensitivity:- low tolerance of belittlement, depreciation, criticism, contradiction, mockery, failure; inability to take a joke; tendency to harbor grudges, not forgetting and forgiving.

(i) Hanisch: Hitler could never stand any criticism of his paintings.

(ii) Hanisch: Hitler could not stand to be contradicted. He would get furious. He couldn't restrain himself, would scream and fidget with his hands.

(iii) Rauschnig: He looked round apprehensively and suspiciously, with searching glances at us. I had the impression that he wanted to see if anyone was laughing.

2. n Recognition (Self-Exhibition):- self-display; extravagant demands for attention and applause; vainglory.

(i) Hitler's appearance at meetings and rallies are dramatized to the fullest extent. He is careful to have electric lights shining on him in such a way as to produce the most striking effects possible, etc., etc. However, one gets the impression the exhibitionism is limited to talking before a crowd -- at which times it is extreme -- but that ordinarily he is self-conscious and ill at ease, and does not particularly enjoy showing himself in public, although he must do this to maintain his power.

3. n Autonomy (Freedom):- self-will; to insist on a sufficient area of liberty, on free thought, speech and action. Resistance or defiance in the face of forceful coersions or restraints; to combat tyranny.

(i) It is said that Hitler was unruly as a youth, intolerant of frustration. After his father's death he was given his own way and after leaving school became increasingly resistant to rules and regulations. He was never able to hold a job. He wanted to be an artist and live like a Bohemian. We must therefore place him high on this variable although in him it does not take its usual form (defensive individualism), due to his political ambitions -- Hitler needed the alliance of the masses.

(ii) Hitler: The thought of being a slave in an office made me ill; not to be master of my own time, but to force an entire life-time into the filling in of forms. (M.K. 12).

(iii) Heiden: Feder...also said that the Fuehrer must be educated in systematic work. For this purpose he had selected an officer, who was to serve Hitler as secretary, to map out the day's work according to the clock and, in general, to introduce order and a programme into the Fuehrer's activity. When Hitler heard this, he banged his fist on the table and shouted, "Who do those fellows think they are? I shall go my own way, as I see fit." But he accepted the secretary.

4. n Dominance (Self-Sufficiency): - "When one is in a position of authority, to plan and make decisions without consulting others; to refuse to change an announced decision; to resent disagreements and interferences; to be annoyed by opposition; to insist on being sole ruler of one's province -- home, business, political party, nation.

(i) Heiden, quoting Hitler: I am not contending for the favor of the masses...I alone lead the movement, and no one can impose

conditions on me so long as I personally bear the responsibility. And I once more bear the whole responsibility for everything that occurs in the movement.

5. Refusal of Subordinate Position:- to avoid, refuse, or leave a position which does not do justice to one's felt powers or accomplishments; to want the first place or nothing (fusion with n Autonomy).

(1) Hitler's refusal to accept membership in the Cabinet in 1932. He insisted on complete power.

6. Reluctance to Admit Indebtedness:- to be disinclined to express gratitude or acknowledge help received, to deny or minimize the contribution of others.

(1) Rauschnig: Hitler has always been a poseur. He remembers things he has heard and has a faculty of repeating them in such a way that the listener is led to believe that they are his own.

7. Counteractive Achievement:- persistent efforts in the face of unexpected obstacles; or restraining after a defeat; or repeated and enduring attempts to overcome fears, anxieties, deficiencies or defects; efforts to defeat a once successful rival.

(1) Heiden: When others after a defeat would have gone home despondently, consoling themselves with the philosophic reflection that it was no use contending against adverse circumstances, Hitler delivered a second and a third assault with sullen defiance. When others

after a success would have become more cautious, because they would not dare put fortune to the proof too often and perhaps exhaust it, Hitler persisted and staked a bigger claim on destiny with every throw.

(ii) The very first condition for such a manner of fight with the weapons of pure force is, and will always be, perseverance...As soon as intermittent force alternates with indulgence, the doctrine to be suppressed will not only recover again and again, but it will be able to draw new values from every persecution... Only in the eternally regular use of force lies the preliminary condition to success. (M.K. 222).

8. n Rejection (Verbal Depreciation):- to belittle the worth of others, especially if they be superiors, rivals, and potential critics (fusion of verbal Rejection and Aggression).

(i) Rauschning: Hitler distrusts everyone who tries to explain political economy to him. He believes that the intention is to dupe him, and he makes no secret of his contempt for this branch of science.

(ii) Hitler: My mind was tormented by the question: Are these still human beings, worthy of being part of a great nation? A torturing question it was...(M.K. 54).

(iii) Hitler: ...it brought me internal happiness to realize definitely that the Jew was no German. (M.K. 77).

(iv) Hitler: ...armed in one's mind with confidence in the dear Lord and the unshakeable stupidity of the bourgeois. (M.K. 565).

9. Counteractive Aggression: to repay an insult in double measure -- a tooth for a tooth; to revenge an injury; to attack opponents, superiors, and frustrators.

(i) Verbal: to accuse, condemn, curse, damn, depreciate, or mock an enemy to his face, or behind his back by criticism, slander, subtle undermining of prestige, smear campaigns, etc.

There are hundreds of illustrations of this. It is Hitler's conviction that: "One can only succeed in winning the soul of a people if, apart from a positive fighting of one's own for one's own aims, one also destroys at the same time the supporter of the contrary." (M.K. 468).

(ii) Physical: to attack or kill the depreciating, injuring or frustrating object.

Purge of 1934, Anti-Semitism, Wars, etc.

10. Intraderference (Compliance): - obedience to own intuitions and impulses; self-trust; fidelity to own feelings, sentiments, tastes, judgments, experiences.

(i) Hitler: But I knew just the same that my place would be there where my inner voice directed me to go.

(ii) Hitler: Nothing will move me to go another way but the way which experience, insight, and foresight tell me to go. (M.N.O. 374).

(N.B., Illustrations of this are plentiful; see Id.)

11. Creation and Cathexis of an Idealego:- satisfaction with one's ideal, with the height of one's aspirations; identification with this ideal.

(i) Many illustrations have been given under Idealego and Identification with Idealego.

12. Idealego Intradeference (Respect):- self-esteem; satisfaction with conduct, abilities and accomplishments of self.

(i) Although, as I shall attempt to prove, Hitler's character structure is a reaction formation to tendencies of which he is highly contemptuous, both these tendencies and the contempt are largely unconscious to him. Much more conspicuous in his conscious psychology are his superiority feelings, his self-esteem, his outlying self-confidence.

(ii) Hitler (at the age of nineteen years): I waited with pride and confidence to learn the result of my entrance examination. I was so convinced of my success that the announcement of my failure came like a bolt from the blue. (M.K. 27).

(iii) Hitler: I devoted myself enthusiastically to my passion for architecture... I was able to read or draw late into the night. I was never tired. Thus my belief that my beautiful dream of the future would become reality, perhaps only after many years, was strengthened. I was firmly convinced that some day I would make a name as an architect. (M.K. 45).

(iv) (Hitler believed himself a man of destiny even while serving as a corporal): In those months, for the first time, I felt fully the whims of fortune which kept me at the front in a place where any lucky move on the part of a negro could shoot me down, while somewhere else I would have been able to render a different

service to my country. For I was bold enough to believe even then that I would have succeeded in this. (M.K. 244).

(v) Hitler addressing Schuschnigg, quoted by Fuchs: Do you not realize that you are in the presence of the greatest German ever known to history!

13. n Defendance: to defend one's self-esteem verbally -- by offering excuses and justifications, by blaming others, by depreciating the judges, by exalting other aspects of one's personality, etc.

Hitler's prime method of defending the status of his self is by blaming others (extrapunitive reaction). Two other common methods are these:

(i) Connecting self with other (respectable or great) people, who have done the same, or had the same happen to them, or suffered from the same defect (n Rec).

Hitler: If we committed high treason, then countless others did the same. I deny all guilt so long as I do not find added to our little company those gentlemen who helped... (M.N.O. 80).

(ii) Proclaiming worth of criticized part of self, or another part, or of self as a whole (n Rec): to assert the merit of what others condemn; to balance a defect with an asset; to wipe out a failure by recalling one's successes in this or in some other field.

Hitler: I believe that as a Nationalist Socialist I appear in the eyes of many bourgeois democrats as only a wild man. But as a wild man I still believe myself to be a better European... (M.N.O. 404).

Throughout the whole of Hitler's spoken and written words are to be found many evidences that he highly approves of the traits attributed to him in this section and, more than that, advocates their adoption as the preferred pattern of behavior for the whole nation.

Hitler: ...if a people is to become free it needs pride and will-power, defiance, hate, hate and once again hate. (I.N.O. 49).

14. Insult as stimulus:- It is characteristic of the proud counteractive type of personality that his energies are not engaged unless he has been insulted or injured or imagined himself belittled in some way. Thus the man of this sort will often actively seek such a stimulus. The following quotation illustrates this important principle:

(i) Hitler: If we had been attacked at that time, nay, if one had only laughed at us, we would have been happy in both events. For the depressing thing was neither the one nor the other, but it was only the complete lack of attention we encountered at that time. This was true most of all for my person. (H.K. 490).

15. Compulsive Criminality:- Having started on a course of revengeful aggression instigated by a real or supposed insult the individual is often led to act or to plan actions which are opposed by

his conscience. Therefore he is compelled, if he is to fulfill his resolution of revenge, to repress his superego. This often results in a condition of mounting unconscious guilt which must be further subdued by a repetition or extension of the criminal behavior in order, as it were, to prove, by the success attending this conduct, that it is favored by fortune and hence right. This is demonstrated in Hitler's case and is an important dynamical principle of his personality. It is necessary for him to commit crimes, more crimes, in order to appease his superego. As soon as successful offensive action becomes impossible, the man will become a victim of a long-repressed superego, a condition which will lead to suicide or mental breakdown.

VI. DYNAMICAL INTERPRETATION  
OF THE MAJOR CONFIGURATION

A. REVENGEFUL DOMINANCE AS A COUNTER-  
ACTION TO INSULTED NARCISM

Almost all psychologists who have analyzed Hitler's personality have interpreted it by referring, among other concepts, to Adler's formula: craving for superiority coming out of unbearable feelings of inferiority. We also agree to this conception with special stress laid upon the press of Insult (wounded narcissism) and the consequent residual tension of revenge bolted up for years and then finding expression in the Cult of Brutality. Even some of his non-psychological associates reached essentially the same conclusion.

(i) Rauschning: Every conversation, however unimportant, seemed to show that this man was filled with an immeasurable hatred. Hatred of what? It was not easy to say. Almost anything might suddenly inflame his wrath and his hatred. He seemed always to feel the need of something to hate.

(ii) Rauchning: In the harshness and unexampled cynicism of Hitler there is something more than the repressed effect of a hypersensitiveness.

which has handicapped its bearer. It is the urge to reprisal and vengeance, a truly Russian-nihilistic feeling.

(iii) Rauschnig: Hatred -- personal hatred -- rang out in his words, revenge for early years of poverty, for disappointed hopes, for a life of deprivation and humiliation.

(iv) Heiden: Anyone acquainted with the unhappy life of this lonely man knows why hatred and persecution mania guided his first political footsteps. In his heart he nursed a grudge against the world, and he vented it on guilty and innocent alike. His cracking voice, his jerky gait, his sawing gestures expressed a hatred of which all who saw him were conscious.

Hitler has experienced almost all the varieties of press that in our experience are capable of giving rise to wounded narcissism; chiefly the following deserve mention:

1. Physical inferiority:- Hitler's youthful frailty and general bodily awkwardness and weakness has already been described.

2. Press of aggressive dominance (insult):- Knowing something of the character of Alois Hitler, we can safely infer experiences of abasement and humiliation suffered by the son.

3. Press of rejection:- Some evidence for this has already been given, (Sec.IV), and more will follow.

4. Press of lack (poverty and low social status):- Here we would point especially to the four years of living among the derelicts of Vienna.

5. Press of failure:- The failure to graduate from the Realschule; the failure to pass the examinations of the Academy of Arts; and the failure to make his living in Vienna -- these and many others were summated to produce feelings of humiliation and inadequacy.

6. Press of subordinate office, success of rivals:- The fact that Hitler was not promoted in the Army beyond the position of corporal and that he must have seen many younger men being advanced above him helped to aggravate his wounded pride.

7. Sexual inferiority:- Perhaps crucial in this whole cluster of debasing press is Hitler's reported inability to have sexual intercourse. This may be due to physical or psychic impotence.

8. Breakdown of courage:- Hitler's war neurosis is a sign of a breakdown of nervous stamina in the face of overwhelming odds, which was probably experienced by him as a humiliation, especially in view of his ego ideal.

(a) Our own hypothetical reconstruction of the traumatic events which led to the feeling of insulted pride would be somewhat as follows:

(i) Abasement and humiliation of the mother as the result of the press of aggressive dominance and insult from the father, leading eventually to the death of the mother. According to our hypothesis the boy Hitler identified with his mother on the lowest level of his nature. This led to the desire for revenge: aggressive dominance and humiliation of the father.

(ii) Press of rejection coming from the father and perhaps to some extent from the mother (birth of younger sibling). This led to the boy's desire for suprafiliation, incorporation in a larger and more powerful group, namely, Germany, and a feeling of superiority (glory) in this fantasied alliance, together with the justification of releasing aggression against his Government, Austria.

(iii) Abasement and humiliation on self as a result of the press aggressive dominance and insult from his father. This is similar to the trauma in (i) except here it is on his own account entirely.

It led to the same counteractive need for aggressive dominance and vengeance, the goal being humiliation of the father and omnipotence for himself. The death of his father when he was thirteen years old and the five subsequent years when he had his mother pretty much to himself may have served to engender the confidence (enjoyed throughout his life) that he would eventually succeed as ruler.

(iv) Humiliation of self in Vienna as the result of press rejection, press deprivation, and press aggressive dominance. Since many of the prominent positions in Vienna were held by Jews, some of Hitler's anti-Semitism, as well as his hatred of Vienna, can be attributed to humiliations received from the upper classes during these years. These wounds to pride helped to augment the mounting residual tension of aggressive dominance. Later his acceptance as a soldier in the German Army served to relieve his painful feelings and give him feelings of exultation similar to those experienced when he joined the Nationalist's Club as a boy.

(v) Humiliation of self (war neurosis) concomitant with the humiliation and abasement of his motherland as the result of press aggressive

dominance and insult (Versailles Treaty) at the hands of the Allies. As in the previous four cases, this led to the need for aggressive dominance with the aim of reinstating the power and glory of Germany and wreaking vengeance on the Allies.

The hypothesis of identification with the mother on a physical erotic level calls for the assumption of strain of femininity in Hitler, combined with a trend of passive homosexuality and for this we must now list the evidence.

I. Femininity, Passive Homosexuality, Masochism.

(a) The feminine component in Hitler's physical constitution had already been described

(i) Feminine traits. Hitler's sentimentality, his emotionality, his shrieking at the climax of his speeches, his artistic inclinations, his sudden collapses, his occasional softness -- these are all typical not so much of a woman as of a woman in man.

(ii) Identification with mother. Hitler's belief that he is going to die of cancer as did his mother is suggestive of an underlying empathic relationship.

(iii) Abesement to superiors, strong males. Instances of exaggerated submissiveness to powerful superiors have already been listed.

(iv) Cathexis of male symbols. Hitler has a special liking for a multiplicity of tall, conspicuous columns in architecture and for paintings of stallions (they must never be mares).

(v) Attraction to homosexuals followed by their murder. It is known that Hitler had a special admiration for Roehm; whether it was this individual or Hitler himself who was chiefly responsible in attracting such a large proportion of homosexuals to the Nazi Party is uncertain, but it is known that after two or three months of anxiety and delusions to the effect that Roehm and his fellow homosexuals were plotting to usurp power Hitler had them all murdered in the purge of 1934.

(vi) Homosexual panic. Some of the nightmares described by several informants are very suggestive of homosexual panic.

Rauschning: Hitler wakes at night with convulsive shrieks. He shouts for help. He sits on the edge of his bed, as if unable to stir. He shakes with fear, making the whole bed vibrate. He shouts confused, totally unintelligible phrases. He gasps, as if imagining himself to be suffocating...Hitler

stood swaying in his room, looking wildly about him. "He! He! He's been here!" he gasped. His lips were blue. Sweat streamed down his face. Suddenly he began to reel off figures, and odd words and broken phrases, entirely devoid of sense...then he suddenly broke out, "There, there! In the corner! Who's that?" He stamped and shrieked in the familiar way...

A number of metaphors used by Hitler, images of being stabbed in the rear, recur in his writings.

(vii) Hitler: The development has shown that the people who stab with stilettos in Germany are more powerful than before.

(viii). Hitler: Slowly the fear of the Marxist weapon of Jewry sinks into the brains and souls of decent people like a nightmare. (M.K. 447).

(ix) Hitler: One begins to tremble before the terrible enemy, and thus one has become his final victim. (M.K. 447).

(x) Hitler: There can never be unity between those who manned the walls in the hour of danger, and those who in the last moment pushed the stiletto into their backs.

(xi) Hitler: God be thanked, this is just the meaning of Germanic democracy, that no unworthy climber or moral shirker can come in the back way to rule his fellow citizens...but should, nevertheless, such a fellow try to sneak in, then he will be easily found out and ruthlessly rebuffed. Out with you, cowardly wretch! Step back, you are soiling the steps; the front stairs leading to the Pantheon of History is not for sneaks but for heroes. (M.K. 117).

Pertinent at this point, perhaps, is Hitler's fear of being poisoned by some deathly powder sprinkled on his bedclothes; as was shown on his visit to Rome

and at other times, his bed must be made up by a woman in a particular way, never by a man.

(b) Need for abasement: - Hitler's exaggerated submissiveness has been described (B, 1 (ii)), but a few more notable quotations should be added to transmit the passion that sometimes accompanies this tendency in Hitler. They are all strongly suggestive of masochism.

(i) Hitler, quoted by Rauschnig: The plain man in the street respects nothing but brutal strength and ruthlessness -- women, too, for that matter, women and children. They need wholesome fear. They want to fear something. They want someone to frighten them and make them shudderingly submissive.

(ii) Hitler, quoted by Rauschnig: I have seen the vision of the new man -- fearless and formidable. I shrank from him.

(iii) Hitler: Like a woman, whose psychic feeling is influenced less by abstract reasoning than by an undefinable, sentimental longing for complementary strength, who will submit to the strong man rather than dominate the weakling, thus the masses love the ruler rather than the suppliant. (M.K. 56).

(N.B., Another excellent example of projection of self).

(iv) Hitler: He who would win the great masses must know the key which opens the door to their hearts. Its name is not objectivity, that is, weakness, but will power and strength. (M.K. 458).

Hitler has a peculiar habit of falling to the ground suddenly when faced by a critical situation or insurmountable frustration. He does not struggle persistently until he is completely overpowered but he makes an enormous show of strength and, when he sees the odds are against him, unexpectedly collapses.

Together with these critical abasements, we might include the intraggressive tendencies: his preoccupation with suicide and death.

(c) Cathexis for Hitler Youth.

(i) Hitler, quoted by Reuschning: But my magnificent youngsters! Are there finer ones anywhere in the world? Look at these young men and boys! What material! With them I can make a new world

(ii) Hitler: ...how did the eyes of my boys (Hitler youth) shine when I made clear to them the necessity of their mission. (M.K. 729).

(iii) Hitler: ...vanity in a beautiful, well shaped body (to be encouraged by men wearing less concealing clothes).

It is reported by Rauschning that Hitler has had overt homosexual relations and in this connection has mentioned three lovers, one, Forster (Gauleiter of Danzig).

II. Repression of Femininity, Counteraction by Identification with Powerful Male Idealego

The ruthless aggressiveness of Hitler is the trait which first strikes the eyes of the whole world,

but it is not the healthy aggressiveness of a full-blooded male animal but a reaction formation to the tendencies which we have subsumed under inferiority, femininity, passive homosexuality. Hitler's aggressiveness is the compulsive frantic hate of a neurotic for some unrevenged insult of infancy. The varieties of expressions of this vindictive will to power have already been fully listed. There remains only to be mentioned the many indications that we have of an intense and unrelenting self-contempt which has caused him to admire what he is not, the very opposite of himself.

III. Need for Intrarejection (Self-Contempt)

Under the heading projections, we enumerated many instances of where Hitler attributed the traits of his inferior and rejected self to external objects. All of these, and there were many of them, might be cited as evidences of self-contempt, since they represent refusals to acknowledge aspects of himself. Here we have to call attention to the opposite tendency, namely that of praising the antithesis of what he is or has been in reality.

(a) Hitler has talked incessantly of superiority of breed. He has praised the aristocracy as the noble result of the process of natural selection -- the nobility were the superior race. He, in contrast, was born of lowly stock, several members of his family being mentally retarded, one feeble-minded. His mother was a simple peasant and domestic servant, and his father an illegitimate son who begot an illegitimate child.

(b) Hitler has scarcely one of the attributes which his own experts ascribe to the Nordic race, and he could never become a member of his own élite guard; and yet he says: "Strong and handsome must my young men be. I will have them fully trained in all physical exercises. I intend to have an athletic youth -- that is the first and chief thing." Note that Hitler has never had the slightest aptitude for athletics.

(c) Hitler is unmarried and has no children, and yet preaches increase of population, the sanctity of the family, and the necessity of bearing more and more Germans.

(d) Hitler's own life is one of individualistic anarchy -- self-willed and disorderly and yet he preaches "my new order" and demands punctilious discipline from his subordinates.

All these contrasts, and there are many more of them, are pitiful demonstrations of Hitler's self-loathing and as such clinch the diagnosis that we have outlined here. The nearest to a recorded confession of his own self-contempt that has ever come to us is a statement of Hitler's reported by Rauschnig.

(i) I am beginning with the young. We older ones are used up. Yes, we are old already. We are rotten to the marrow...we are cowardly and sentimental. We are bearing the burden of a humiliating past, and have in our blood the dull recollection of serfdom and servility. But my magnificent youngsters! etc.

(ii) The uninitiated but pure man is tempted to abandon himself in Klingsor's magic garden, to the lusts and excesses of corrupt civilization, instead of joining the elite of knights who guard the secret of life, pure blood... all of us are suffering from the ailment of mixed, corrupted blood. How can we purify ourselves and make atonement? ...mount the steps of a new nobility.

#### IV. Negative Cathexis of the Jewish Race.

This is as good a place as any to mention Hitler's Anti-Semitism and to list what seems to have been, in his case, the chief determinants of this sentiment:

1. The influence of a number of political thinkers and speakers whom he admired: Lueger, Feder, Eckart, etc.

2. His repressed hatred and the need to find an object on which to vent it: the suitability of the Jew as a scapegoat because he does not fight with fists and weapons.

3. The suitability of the Jew as an object on which to project his own repudiated background and traits: his Jewish god-father (and possibly his Jewish grandfather), his physical timidity and sensitiveness, his polymorphous sexual impulses.

4. The recognition that the repressed aggression in the German people after the Versailles Treaty required a scapegoat; condemnation of the Jew as good political strategy.

5. The realization, after having once embarked on the road to militarism, that the stirred-up aggression of his followers needed some outlet -- a warming up period -- during the years they had to wait before they were strong enough to declare war on a foreign power. Directing aggression against a common enemy would greatly diminish the likelihood of its being turned against himself.

5. The intensity of his Anti-Semitism is partly accounted for by one of his principles of political action: focus hostility on a single enemy at a time.

7. In building his military machine the anti-militaristic Jewish people could not be of much help to him. At bottom Fascism is the advocacy of the aggressive drive over and above the acquisitive drive (with which the Jew has generally been identified), and, by the same token, it is the substitution of Power and Glory for Peace and Prosperity, a materialistic paradise on earth (with which Communism and the Jew have also been identified). Finally, the Nazi doctrine of fanatical irrationality (thinking with the blood) is antipathetic to the intellectual relativism of the Jew. Thus there are several fundamental points of opposition (as well as certain points of kinship) between Nazi ideology and Jewish ideology.

VI. SECTIONS B, C, D, E.  
DEVELOPMENT OF HITLER'S SEX COMPLEXES

(Omitted from this edition)

By careful study of the three thousand metaphors that are to be found in MEIN KAMPF it was possible to work out the chief patterns of Hitler's emotional and perverse sexual complexes. The conclusions reached by the use of this method were later verified in a conversation with a man who has questioned two of the women with whom Hitler has had relations. There were no discrepancies between the conclusions reached here and these first hand reports. Although the discovery of these sexual patterns is helpful to a psychiatrist in arriving at a complete formulation of Hitler's character and therefore indirectly pertinent to the final diagnosis and the predictions of his behavior, it has no bearing on the political situation. Consequently, the sections dealing with this aspect of his personality have been omitted.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

We have been unable to locate any other edition of this study. We have found only this single copy of Dr Murray's study among the collections in this Library.

RHP  
8-30-72

## VII. ABILITIES AND PRINCIPLES OF ACTION

Hitler has a number of unusual abilities of which his opponents should not be ignorant. Not only is it important to justly appraise the strength of an enemy but it is well to know whether or not he possesses capacities and techniques which can be appropriated to good advantage. Hitler's chief abilities, realizations, and principles of action as a political figure, all of which involve an uncanny knowledge of the psychology of the average man, are briefly these:

1. Full appreciation of the importance of the masses in the success of any movement:- Two quotations might serve to bring out this point.

(i) Hitler: The lack of knowledge of the internal driving forces of great changes led to an insufficient evaluation of the importance of the great masses of the people; from this resulted the scanty interest in the social question, the deficient and insufficient courting of the soul of the nation's lower classes... (M.K. 138).

(ii) Heiden speaks of "Hitler's frequently noted incapacity to impose his will in a small circle, and his consummate skill in winning over a crowd prepared by publicity and stage management, and then, with its aid, vanquishing the small circle, too."

2. Recognition of the inestimable value of winning the support of youth; realization of the immense momentum

given a social movement by the wild fervor and enthusiasm of young men and women. Here we must also include the importance of early training and indoctrination.

3. An identification, through feeling, with the deepest needs and sentiments of the average German and the ability to give passionate expression to these longings.

4. Capacity to appeal to the most primitive, as well as the most ideal, inclinations in man, to arouse the basest instincts and yet cloak them with nobility, justifying all actions as means to the attainment of an ideal goal. Hitler has seen that men will not combine and dedicate themselves to a common purpose unless this purpose be an ideal one capable of survival beyond their generation. He has perceived also that although men will die only for an ideal their continued zest and enterprise can be maintained only by a succession of more immediate and earthly satisfactions.

5. Appreciation of the fact that the masses are as hungry for a sustaining ideology in political action as they are for daily bread. It is with the masses that religious belief has taken root and maintained itself and in the last decades the

ideologies of communism and fascism have also flourished among the common people. It is an error to believe as many democratic leaders do that the average man cannot understand and cares nothing for political philosophy. Hitler is most specific on this point, two quotations from his writings being particularly pertinent.

(i) All force which does not spring from a firm spiritual foundation will be hesitating and uncertain. It lacks the stability which can only rest on a fanatical view of life. (M.K. 222).

(ii) Every attempt at fighting a view of life by means of force will finally fail, unless the fight against it represents the form of an attack for the sake of a new spiritual direction. Only in the struggle of two views of life with each other can the weapon of brute force, used continuously and ruthlessly, bring about the decision in favor of the side it supports. (M.K. 223).

5. The ability to analyze complex social conditions into a few dominant human forces:- Hitler is speaking the truth when he says, "I have the gift of reducing all problems to their simplest foundations... A gift for tracing back all theories to their roots in reality." He has the ability, Rauschning tells us, "of breaking through the wall of prejudices and conventional theories of the experts, and in so doing, he has frequently discovered amazing truths."

7. The ability to portray conflicting human forces in vivid, concrete imagery that is understandable and moving to the ordinary man. This comes down to the use of metaphors in the form of imagery which, as Aristotle has said, is the most powerful force on earth. Public speakers of recent years seem to have overlooked the importance of this principle, relying more on the marshalling of cold, objective facts and figures.

8. The ability to draw on the traditions of the peoples and by reference to the great classical mythological themes evoke the deepest unconscious emotions in his audience. The fact that the unconscious mind is more intensely affected by the great eternal symbols and themes, (that it naturally thinks in these terms,) is not generally understood by speakers and writers. Undoubtedly in Hitler's case the permeability of his ego to unconscious processes has made this form of utterance more natural than it would be for others.

9. Realization that enthusiastic political action does not take place if the emotions are not involved. Hitler has always insisted that he was bringing about a veritable conversion in the

personalities of his adherents rather than a mere intellectual agreement with his views.

10. Realization of the importance of artistry and dramatic intensity in the conductance of large meetings, rallies, and festivals. This involves not only an appreciation of what the artist -- the writer, musician, and painter -- can accomplish in the way of evoking popular support but also the leader's recognition of the necessity of his participation in the total dramatic effect as chief character and hero. Thus Hitler has become master of all the arts of high-lighting his own rôle in the movement for a greater Germany. Democratic leaders, on the other hand, disregarding the fact that the artist is trained above all others to animate the human spirit, have disregarded this important aspect of life.

11. The ability to appeal to the sympathetic concern and protectiveness of his people, to represent himself as the bearer of their burdens and their future, with the result that many people, particularly the women, feel tenderly and compassionately about him, being always careful to avoid inflicting undue annoyance or suffering on their leader. The intense loyalty of Hitler's Body Guard is an illustration of this protectiveness.

12. Dedication to his mission. This most essential of all Hitler's characteristics should perhaps have been mentioned first. What is involved here is an intense and profound insociation with the German people, or at least with his vision of what the German people might become. All close observers have agreed that Hitler is sincere in this feeling, and whether this is strictly true or not, he has succeeded in convincing his people that he is a passionate and devoted patriot. It is the spectacle of his far-seeing dedicated vision and firm dedicated utterances which arouse the selfless energies of his followers. Citizens of democratic countries who have been brought up in the tradition of extreme individualism cannot readily appreciate this submission of the leader to a social purpose. They are naturally skeptical of Hitler's sincerity and believe that it is forced and artificial. I submit, on the contrary, that it is this insociation, as we have stressed above, which is responsible for the maintenance of Hitler's partial sanity, despite the presence of neurotic and psychotic trends.

13. Self-confidence and sense of infallibility.  
This might have been detrimental to Hitler's popularity

if his decisions had often met with failure, but in as much as his rise to power was almost phenomenal and events proved that he was so often right in his predictions, his claim to infallibility was accepted and his word was eventually revered as a divine pronouncement.

14. Fanatical stubbornness in his adherence to a few principles and to one common goal.

(i) Hitler, quoted by Deuel: Only a storm of glowing passion can turn the destinies of nations, but this passion can only be roused by a man who carries it within himself.

(ii) ...the forceful impression of great overwhelming viewpoints...the convincing force of unconditional belief in them. (M.K. 570).

15. Mastery of the art of political organization. Here undoubtedly Hitler was assisted by several of his shrewder associates, but his own judgment in matters of organization was usually influential above that of the others.

16. Ability to surround himself with devoted aides whose talents complement his own. In many respects Hitler is deficient, especially in the practices of orderly administration, but he was capable of finding sufficient skill among his adherents and make them work for him regardless of their failings in other respects.

17. Hitler is unusual in history in his conception of the leader as a creator of social forms. Holding this view, it is natural that he should conduct his life at certain seasons as an artist does, seeking rest and seclusion and waiting for the vision or plan to develop in his subconscious. What other politicians refer to as his bohemianism, his disorderly and romantic style of life is very comparable to the pattern which authors have found most effective in the production of their works. Temperamentally indeed, Hitler is the arch-romantic. One might suppose that this way of governing one's life has no place in politics, but without question in this instance many of the startling innovations introduced by the Nazis are the results of Hitler's reliance upon the creative imagination directed toward social issues.

18. Most of the world will concede that Hitler has tactical genius. The particular feature that has impressed most observers has been his uncannily precise timing of decisions and actions. As Thyssen has put it, "Sometimes his intelligence is astonishing...miraculous political intuition, devoid of all moral sense, but extraordinarily precise. Even in a very complex situation he discerns what is possible, and what is not."

19. The fact that Hitler has repudiated the operation of conscience in arriving at political decisions has eliminated once and for all the force which checks and complicates the forward-going thoughts and resolutions of most socially responsible statesmen. Thus, Hitler's course is immensely simplified since it is not incumbent upon him to respect the dictates of conscience and so reject a path of action which appeals to him as being most effective. Other statesmen, on the contrary, must either renounce certain programs or pull their punches.

20. Hitler has boasted that he learned the use of terror from the communists and employed it with more effectiveness than his instructors.

21. Mastery of the art of propaganda. This has consisted in the following of certain rules such as: never to admit a fault or wrong; never to accept blame; concentrate on one enemy at a time; blame that enemy for everything that goes wrong; take advantage of every opportunity to raise a political whirlwind.

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Many of the specific abilities listed above are exercised as part and parcel of his quite unusual

power as a popular orator. So much has been written about Hitler's ability to galvanize an audience by his gestures, the cadence of his sentences, the resoluteness of his declarations, the passion of his appeals that any further description here would be superfluous. It is clear that Hitler becomes transported during a speech and exhibits a personality that is kept in the background at other times. When face to face with his public he becomes a clairvoyant, shaman in a trance, as he relinquishes normal controls and allows his emotions full sway.

SECTION IV

Predictions of Hitler's Behavior in the Coming Future

(See Section I, Part B)

PREDICTIONS

I shall assume that from now on the Allied Nations will be closing in on Germany; that Hitler will be confronted by an increasing number of military setbacks in the field, by the devastation of one industrial center after another, and by the spread of a defeatist spirit among the civilian population. How will he behave? There are various possibilities, some of which are more or less desirable, others more or less undesirable, from the Allied standpoint. It is possible, however, that some of the less desirable final acts of his career may be prevented. The chief possibilities are these:

1. Hitler's behavior will become increasingly neurotic: - his capacity to make correct decisions, to devise effective strategy, to encourage his people, will diminish steadily. For eight months there have been signs of such a breakdown of psychic strength. Hitler has not appeared and spoken in public at customary occasions, or, if he has spoken, his words have lacked confidence and sustaining value. Several times there have been rumors that he had retired to Berchtesgaden, the victim of

nervous illness. Whether this is true or not, it can be certainly predicted that Hitler will experience an increasing number of hysterical seizures in which he will pace and stamp the floor, shriek with rage, and eventually collapse in tears. He will seek the solitude of his refuge in the mountains where he will be tormented by dreadful nightmares and melancholia, and become inert.

Then, after a period of recuperation, he will arrive at a new plan of aggressive offense. If his military staff are opposed to it, he will assume command himself, and lead his troops on another desperate assault against the Russian lines. If unsuccessful, he will have more nervous seizures, relinquish command, and again retreat to Berchtesgaden. Hitler has no capacity for sustained defense.

He will speak less and less in public, because he cannot face his people if his star is not ascending. He can speak only when he anticipates progress or after a victory. The Russians have shattered Hitler's confidence; and without confidence he is paralyzed. If he stood before his followers now he would probably weep.

Without doubt he will become increasingly fearful of being poisoned, betrayed, or shot.

Whatever else happens, the above course of events will almost certainly occur. Hitler will become less and less of a leader; others will take over. On the one hand, the military staff; and, on the other, Himmler, Ribbentrop, Goering, Goebbels, Förster and Koch. There will be dissensions between the Army and the Party; as well as between the Party leaders. But the people will be kept ignorant as long as possible of Hitler's failing nerves, and they will not easily lose their faith in him. Furthermore, he will always reserve and exercise the right to step in at any moment and dictate what shall be done. Thus we can expect to hear nothing of him for a while and then suddenly he will appear unheralded at some spot and something new will happen.

2. Hitler may go insane: - He has the make-up of a paranoid schizophrenic, and the load of frustration and failure that is coming to him may crack his resistance, causing him to yield his will to the turbulent forces of his unconscious. This is not undesirable; because, even if the truth be kept hidden from the people, the greatest source of strength

in Germany will be removed from the scene of action, and morale will rapidly deteriorate as rumors spread. Furthermore, the Legend of the Hero will be severely damaged by such an outcome. There is no good historical instance of the deification of a military or political leader who was defeated and went insane. Finally, if Hitler became insane, he would probably fall into the hands of the Allied Nations, and this, as I shall argue, would be the most desirable possible outcome.

3. Hitler may get killed in battle: - At a critical moment Hitler may decide to lead his élite troops against the Russians, exposing himself so that he will get killed, and so live in the hearts of his countrymen as a valiant hero. He is very likely to choose this course, most undesirable from our Allied point of view. It is undesirable, first, because his death will serve as an example to all his followers to fight with fanatical death-defying energy to the bitter end, and second, because it will insure Hitler's immortality -- the Siegfried who led the Aryan hosts against Bolshevism and the Slav.

4. Hitler may be killed by a German: - Hitler is most efficiently protected and it is not likely that anyone will wilfully attempt to kill him. But he may contrive to have someone, a half-crazy perenoid

like himself, instigated to do the deed at some prearranged moment when he purposely exposes his person in public. If he could arrange to have a Jew kill him, then he could die in the belief that his fellow countrymen would rise in their wrath and massacre every remaining Jew in Germany. Thus, he would get his ultimate revenge. This would be the most dastardly plan of all, and the very most undesirable. It would increase the fanaticism of the soldiers, and create a Legend in conformity with the ancient pattern, Siegfried stabbed in the back by Hagan, Caesar by Brutus, Christ betrayed by Judas -- except that here the murderer would not be a close follower. However, it is just possible that Hitler could persuade the beloved Förster to kill him.

5. Hitler may commit suicide: - Hitler has often vowed that he would commit suicide if his plans miscarried; but if he chooses this course he will do it at the last moment and in the most dramatic possible manner. He will retreat, let us say, to the impregnable little fortress he has built for himself on the top of the mountain beyond the Berghof (Berchtesgaden). There alone he will wait until troops come to take him prisoner. As a climax he will blow up the mountain and himself with dynamite, or make a funeral

pyre of his retreat and throw himself on it (a suitable Götterdämmerung) or kill himself with a silver bullet (as did the Emperor Christophe), or possibly throw himself off the parapet. This is not at all unlikely. For us it would be an undesirable outcome.

6. Hitler may seek refuge in a neutral country: -

It is not likely that Hitler, concerned as he is with his immortality on earth, would take so cowardly a course. But one of his followers might drug him, and take him in a plane bound to Switzerland, and then persuade him that he should stay there to write his long-planned Bible for the Germanic folk. Since the hero's desertion of his people would considerably damage the Legend, this outcome would be much better than either 3 or 4.

7. Hitler may die: -There is no reason to believe that Hitler will die of natural causes in the next three or four years; but he might poison himself and have it announced that he had died of cancer of the stomach, or some other incurable illness. This outcome would be natural.

8. Hitler may be seized by the military command or by a revolutionary faction in Germany before the end of the war and immured in some prison fortress.

This event is difficult to envisage from what we surmise and have been told of the popularity of the man and the protection afforded him, but if it were to transpire, it would put an ignominious end to the myth of the invincible leader and eventually deliver him into our hands.

9. Hitler may fall into our hands before or after the Germans have surrendered: - This would be the next most desirable outcome after 8 but is perhaps the least likely.

SECTION V

Suggestions for the Treatment of Hitler,  
Now and After Germany's Surrender

(See Section I, Part C)

Section VI

Suggestions for the Treatment of Germany

(See Section I, Part D)