

resistance following Heydrich's appointment on Reich Protector. Hitler spoke of ways 'to make the ten hostages for every act of sabotage where the found was one method. Another - as usual, the car was to improve food-rations in factories where the age. His third means was the deportation of the Jews. He was speaking about three weeks after he had agreed to their deportation from the Reich and the Protectorate. His comments reveal at least one of the reasons why he agreed to deport them: he continued to believe in the Jews as dangerous 'fifth-columnists', spreading sedition among the population. It was exactly what he had thought of the role of the Jews in Germany during the First World War. 'All Jews must be removed from the Protectorate,' he declared around the lunch-table, 'and not just into the General Government, but straight away further to the east. This is at present not practical merely because of the great demand of the military for means of transport. Along with the Protectorate's Jews, all the Jews from Berlin and Vienna should disappear at the same time. The Jews are everywhere the pipeline through which all enemy news rushes with the speed of wind into all branches of the population.'¹⁴⁰

On 21 October, a month after the deportation order, as part of a diatribe comparing 'Jewish Christianity' with 'Jewish Bolshevism', he compared the fall of Rome with latter-day Bolshevization through the Jews. 'If we eradicate (*ausrotten*) this plague,' he concluded, 'we will be carrying out a good deed for mankind, of the significance of which our men out there can have no conception.'¹⁴¹ Four days later his guests were Himmler (a frequent visitor to the Wolf's Lair during these weeks) and Heydrich.¹⁴² The conversation again revolved mainly around the connections of Jewry and Christianity.¹⁴³ Hitler reminded his guests and his regular entourage of his 'prophecy': 'This criminal race has the two million dead of the World War on its conscience,' he went on, and 'now again hundreds of thousands. Don't anyone tell me we can't send them into the marshes (*Morast*)! Who bothers, then, about our people? It's good when the horror (*der Schrecken*) precedes us that we are exterminating Jewry. The attempt to found a Jewish state will be a failure.'¹⁴⁴ These notes of Hitler's rantings were disjointed. But, although lacking coherence, they point to his knowledge of the attempts - eventually given up - in the summer to drown Jewish women by driving them into the Pripet marshes.¹⁴⁵ Hitler's allocation of guilt for the dead of the First World War and the current war to the Jews, and the recourse once more to his 'prophecy', underline his certainty that the destruction of Jewry

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was imminent. But, other than the reference to the efficacy of rumours of extermination, there was no suggestion of the looming 'Final Solution'. With Himmler and Heydrich as his guests, it was scarcely necessary to dissemble. However, no significance ought to be attached to the absence of any reference.¹⁴⁶ By mid-October the consequences flowing from the deportation order of the previous month had still to merge into the full genocidal programme.

On the evening of 5 November, remarks about the 'racial inferiority' of the English lower class led Hitler once more into a monologue about the Jews. As usual, he linked it to the war. This was the 'most idiotic war' that the British had ever begun, he ranted, and would lead in defeat to an outbreak of antisemitism in Britain which would be without parallel. The end of the war, he proclaimed, would bring 'the fall of the Jew'.¹⁴⁷ He then unleashed an extraordinary verbal assault on the lack of ability and creativity of Jews in every walk of life but one: lying and cheating. The Jew's 'entire building will collapse if he is refused a following,' he went on. 'In one moment, it's all over. I've always said the Jews are the most stupid devils that exist. They don't have a true musician, thinker, no art, nothing, absolutely nothing. They are liars, forgers, deceivers. They've only got anywhere through the simple-mindedness of those around them. If the Jew were not washed by the Aryan, he wouldn't be able to see out of his eyes for filth. We can live without the Jews. But they can't live without us.'¹⁴⁸

The links, as he saw them, between the Jews and the war that they had allegedly inspired, now also, after years in which he had scarcely mentioned the Jews, found a prominent place in his public speeches. But, whatever the rhetorical flourishes, whatever the propaganda motive in appealing to the antisemitic instincts of his hard-core supporters in the Party, there cannot be the slightest doubt, on the basis of his private comments, that Hitler believed in what he said.

In his speech to the 'Old Guard' of veterans of the Putsch, on 8 November 1941, Hitler pressed home the theme of Jewish guilt for the war. Despite the victories of the previous year, he stated, he had still worried because of his recognition that behind the war stood 'the international Jew'. They had poisoned the peoples through their control of the press, radio, film, and theatre; they had made sure that rearmament and war would benefit their business and financial interests; he had come to know the Jews as the instigators of world conflagration. England, under Jewish influence, had been the driving-force of the 'world-coalition against the German people'. But it had been inevitable that the Soviet Union, 'the greatest servant of

- rendered, money and valuables worth around 180 million Reich Marks were placed in the Deutsche Reichsbank for the future use of the SS. Mistakenly, SS men involved in the 'Action' attributed the name to Reinhard Heydrich (Benz, Graml, and Weiß, *Enzyklopadie*, 354-5).
125. *Faschismus*, 374-7; *Kommandant in Auschwitz*, 157-8; Lang, *Eichmann-Protokoll*, 76-7; Browning, *Fateful Months*, 24; Breitman, *Architect*, 203.
126. Kershaw, 'Improvised Genocide?', 63, 65-6.
127. *Faschismus*, 278; Kershaw, 'Improvised Genocide?', 71, 73; Longerich, 451-2.
128. BDC, Personalakte Arthur Greiser, Brandt to Koppe, 14 May 1942: 'Der letzte Entscheid muß ja in dieser Angelegenheit vom Führer gefällt werden.'
129. BDC, Personalakte Arthur Greiser, Greiser to Himmler, 21 November 1942: 'Ich für meine Person glaube nicht, daß der Führer in dieser Angelegenheit noch einmal befragt werden muß umso mehr, als er mir bei der letzten Rücksprache erst bezüglich der Juden gesagt hat, ich möchte mit diesen nach eigenem Ermessen verfahren.'
130. Kershaw, 'Improvised Genocide?', 65ff., 70-74.
131. Hilberg, *Destruction*, 232; Longerich, *Politik*, 461-5.
132. *TBJG*, II.2, 503 (14 December 1941). See Burrin, 124-5, and Ulrich Herbert, 'Die deutsche Militärverwaltung in Paris und die Deportation der französischen Juden', in Herbert, *Vernichtungspolitik*, 170-208, here 185-93, for the background to the deportation of the French Jews; and Leni Yahil, 'Some Remarks about Hitler's Impact on the Nazis' Jewish Policy', *Yad Vashem Studies*, 23 (1993), 281-93, here 288-9, for Hitler's role in the moves leading to the deportation.
133. Krausnick/Wilhelm, 566-70 (Jeckeln testimony), quotation 566; Fleming, *Hitler und die Endlösung*, 87-104; Longerich, *Politik*, 464.
134. Gerlach, 'Wannsee', 7-44, here 17; Longerich, *Politik*, 463.
135. Gerlach, 'Wannsee', 12; Fleming, *Hitler und die Endlösung*, 88 and n.184, 103-4; Longerich, *Politik*, 464.
136. Longerich, *Politik*, 466.
137. A point emphasized by Eberhard Jackel in his hitherto unpublished paper on Heydrich's role in the genesis of the 'Final Solution'.
138. Longerich, *Politik*, 466.
139. *IMG*, xxix, 145, Doc. PS-1919.
140. Koeppen, 42 (6 October 1941).
141. *Monologe*, 99; Koeppen, 60-61 (21 October 1941).
142. Himmler visited FHO nineteen times - more frequently than any other guest - between July 1941 and January 1942 (Bullock, *Hitler and Stalin*, 800-801).
143. Koeppen, 71 (25 October 1941).
144. *Monologe*, 106. The translation of the passage in *Hitler's Table Talk, 1941-1944*, London, 1953, 87, is not wholly accurate, and includes a phrase - 'Terror is a salutary thing' - not found in the German text.
145. Himmler had spoken on 1 August about driving female Jews into the Priepet marshes. The SS had done this, but the swamps had proved too shallow for drowning (Burrin, 111-12; Browning, *Path*, 106).
146. It is difficult to see why Irving, *HW*, 331, infers from the comments that Hitler did not favour the extermination of the Jews.
147. *Monologe*, 130.
148. *Monologe*, 130-31; Koeppen, 78 (5 November 1941).
149. Domarus, 1772-3.
150. *Monologe*, 148; Picker, 152.
151. Kershaw, 'Improvised Genocide?', 66 n.71 for the conflicting evidence about the precise date of the commencement of the gassing; and for the extermination at Chelmino, see above all Adalbert Rückerl (ed.), *NS-Vernichtungslager im Spiegel deutscher Strafprozesse*, Munich, 1977, Part 2.

152. *TBJG*, II.2, 498-9 (13 December 1941). Though Hitler's extreme comments undoubtedly gave further impetus to the gathering momentum of genocide, Gerlach, 'Wannsee', 28, in my view goes too far in seeing his speech to the Gauleiter as the announcement of a 'basic decision' to murder all the Jews in Europe. See also Kershaw, *Nazi Dictatorship*, 2000, 126-30.
153. *IMG*, xxvii.270, Doc. PS-1517; and see Gerlach, 'Wannsee', 24.
154. *DTB* Frank, 457-8 (16 December 1941); trans., slightly amended, *N & P*, iii.1126-7, Doc.848.
155. *IMG*, xxxii.435-7, Docs. PS-3663, PS-3666 (quotation, 437).
156. *Dienstkalender*, 294. It is extremely unlikely that the entry can be equated in the way Gerlach, 'Wannsee', 22 interprets it, with a 'basic decision' to extend the extermination from Soviet Jewry to the rest of Europe, seeing European Jews in general as 'imaginary partisans'. As far as is known, Hitler did not use the term 'partisan' in connection with Jews in the Reich or in western Europe. (See Longerich, *Politik*, 467 and 712 n.234.)
157. The following is taken from the minutes of the Conference: Longerich, *Ermordung*, 83-92; trans., *N & P*, iii.1127-34, Doc.849. See Eichmann's comments on the minutes during his interrogation in Jerusalem in 1961 in Longerich, *Ermordung*, 92-4.
158. See Jeremy Noakes, 'The Development of Nazi Policy towards the German-Jewish "Mischlinge" 1933-1945', *LBYB*, 34 (1989), 291-354, here 341ff.
159. Longerich, *Ermordung*, 93.
160. Longerich, *Politik*, 470-71.
161. Longerich, *Ermordung*, 91.
162. Longerich, *Politik*, 514-15.
163. *Dienstkalender*, 73.
164. Domarus, 1829. Hitler had also issued a threat to those seeking through 'Jewish hatred' to bring about destruction through the war in his 'New Year's Appeal' (Domarus, 1821). Two weeks later, Hitler spoke to Goebbels of the Jews deserving the catastrophe that was befalling them. 'With the destruction of our enemies they will also experience their own destruction,' Goebbels reported Hitler as saying (*TBJG*, II/3, 320 (15 February 1942)).
165. *MadR*, 3235.
166. Martin Broszat and Norbert Frei (eds.), *Das Dritte Reich im Überblick. Chronik-Ereignisse-Zusammenhänge*, Munich/Zurich, 1989, 270, give the date of 17 March for the beginning of the mass killing in Belzec. The decision to exterminate most of the Jews of the districts of Lublin and Galicia had probably been taken at the beginning of March (Longerich, *Politik*, 513).
167. *TBJG*, II/3, 513 (20 March 1942).
168. *TBJG*, II/3, 561 (27 March 1942).

CHAPTER II: LAST BIG THROW OF THE DICE

- Schroeder, 129.
- TBJG*, II/3, 501-2 (20 March 1942).
- TBJG*, II/3, 511 (20 March 1942).
- Schroeder, 129-30.
- TBJG*, II/3, 513 (20 March 1942). The absence of any genuinely personal contact with Hitler was underlined by Gerda Daranowski, one of his secretaries, who nevertheless still thought well of him many years after the war. (Library of Congress, Washington, Adolf Hitler Collection, tape C-63A interview with John Toland, 26 July 1971.)
- Koeppen, Fol. 67 (24 October 1941).
- Guderian, 266.
- Breloer, 100 (29 January 1942).