SECTION I

Condensed Review of the Entire Memorandum
CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

containing

A. Brief Analysis of Hitler's Personality.
B. Predictions of Hitler's Behavior.
C. Suggestions for the Treatment of Hitler.
D. Suggestions for the Treatment of the German People.

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A. Brief Analysis of Hitler's Personality

I. Dynamical Pattern, Counteractive Type.

There is little disagreement among professional, or even among amateur, psychologists that Hitler's personality is an example of the counteractive type, a type that is marked by intense and stubborn efforts (i) to overcome early disabilities, weaknesses and humiliations (wounds to self-esteem), and sometimes also by efforts (ii) to revenge injuries and insults to pride. This is achieved by means of an
Idealego Reaction Formation which involves (1) the repression and denial of the inferior portions of the self, and (ii) strivings to become (or to imagine one has become) the exact opposite, represented by an idealego, or image of a superior self successfully accomplishing the once-impossible feats and thereby curing the wounds of pride and winning general respect, prestige, fame.

This is a very common formula, normal (within limits) and widely admired in Western cultures, but in Hitler's case all the constituent forces of the pattern are compulsively extreme, and based on a weak neurotic structural foundation. The chief trends are these: (1) Counteractive Need for Dominance, Superiority; (2) Counteractive Aggression, Revenge; (3) Repression of Conscience, Compliance, Love; (4) Projection of Criticizable Elements of the Self.

1. Counteractive Need for Dominance, Superiority. - The developmental formula for this is as follows: (i) intolerable feelings of inferiority (partly because of yielding to the will of a harsh and unjust person), leading to (ii) contempt of own inferior traits (weakness, timidity,
submissiveness) and the fixed determination to repress them in oneself and to condemn them in others, accompanied by (iii) admiration and envy of power in others and a vision of self as ultimately superior (idealego) leading to (iv) repeated efforts to become superior (counteraction out of wounded pride), encouraged by moments of extreme self-confidence in which one believes oneself the equal of one's vision.

This, as we have said, is a very common form of development, but in Hitler the trend is so intense and the commonly balancing forces (affection, conscience, self-criticism, humor) are so weak that we are justified in speaking in speaking of **megalomania** (delusions of omnipotence), despite the fact that the man has succeeded in getting a large proportion of the German people to believe that he is superior: (i) that he has been divinely appointed to lead them to power and glory, and (ii) that he is never wrong and hence must be followed with blind obedience, come what may.

Hitler's underlying inferiority feelings, his basic self-contempt are shown by his choosing as criteria of superiority (traits of idealego) attributes and capacities that are the very opposite of what he
is himself or once was. This may be illustrated by his fervent eulogy of (a) brute strength; (b) purity of blood; and (c) fertility.

1. (a) Admiration of Brute Strength, Contempt of Weakness.- Hitler has always worshipped physical force, military conquest, and ruthless domination. He has respected, envied, and emulated the techniques of power, even when manifested by a hated enemy. From first to last he has expressed contempt of weakness, indecision, lack of energy, fear of conscience;

and yet—

Hitler has many Weaknesses.- There is a large feminine component in his constitution. As a child he was frail and sickly, emotionally dependent on his mother. He never did any manual work, never engaged in athletics, was turned down as forever unfit for conscription in the Austrian Army. Afraid of his father, his behavior was outwardly submissive, and later he was annoyingly subservient to his superior officers. Four years in the Army, he never rose above the rank of corporal. At the end he broke down with a war neurosis, hysterical blindness. Even lately, in all his glory, he suffers frequent emotional
collapses in which he yells and weeps. He has nightmares from a bad conscience; and he has long spells when energy, confidence and the power of decision abandon him. Sexually he is a full-fledged masochist.

1. (b) Admiration of Pure Noble German Blood. Contempt of Jewish, Slav and other Blood. - Hitler has always extolled the superior qualities of pure, unmixed, and uncorrupted German blood. He admires the aristocracy. Concurrently he has never ceased expressing his contempt of the lower classes and his aversion to admixtures of the blood of other races, of Jewish blood especially;

and yet -

Hitler's own Origins are Not Noble or Beyond Reproach. - Hitler comes from illiterate peasant stock derived from a mixture of races, no pure Germans among them. His father was illegitimate, was married three times, and is said to have been conspicuous for sexual promiscuity. Hitler's mother was a domestic servant. It is said that Hitler's father's father was a Jew, and it is certain that his godfather was a Jew; and that one of his sisters managed a restaurant for Jewish students in Vienna and another was, for a time, the mistress of a Jew.
Hitler's appearance, when he wore a long beard during his outcast Vienna days, was said to be very Jewish. Of these facts he is evidently ashamed. Unlike Napoleon, he has rejected all his relations.

As a partial explanation of his complex about impurity of blood it may be said that as a boy of twelve, Hitler was caught engaging in some sexual experiment with a little girl; and later he seems to have developed a syphilophobia, with a diffuse fear of contamination of the blood through contact with a woman. It is almost certain that this irrational dread was partly due to the association in his mind of sexuality and excretion. He thought of sexual relations as something exceedingly filthy.

1. (c) Advocacy of Fertility. - Fertility, the family as the breeding ground of warriors, multiplication of the German race - these have been cardinal points in Hitler's ideology;

   and yet -

Hitler himself is Impotent. - He is unmarried and his old acquaintances say that he is incapable of consummating the sexual act in a normal fashion. This infirmity we must recognize as an instigation to exhorbitant cravings for superiority. Unable to
demonstrate male power before a woman, he is impelled to compensate by exhibiting unsurpassed power before men in the world at large.

1. (d) **Achievement of Power through Oratory.**—Hitler could neither change his origins nor decree his potency, and unlike Mussolini he has never tried to develop himself physically, but he became for a while the most powerful individual in the world, primarily by the use of mass-intoxicating words. Aristotle has said that the **metaphor is the most potent force on earth,** and Hitler, master of crude metaphor, has confirmed the dictum in this generation. By seducing the masses with his eloquence, and getting them to accept him as their divinely appointed guide, he compelled the smaller circles of industrialists, politicians and military leaders to fall into line also.

Hitler speaking before a large audience is a man possessed, comparable to a primitive medicine man, or shaman. He is the **incarnation of the crowd's unspoken needs and cravings;** and in this sense he has been created, and to a large extent invented, by the people of Germany.
Hitler has compared the masses to a woman who must be courted with the arts and skills known to passion only; and it is not unlikely that the emotional source of his orgiastic speeches were childhood tantrums by which he successfully appealed to his ever-indulgent mother.

1. (e) **Significance of the Counteractive Pattern.** - Counteraction is essential to the development of strength, but in Hitler's case it has been extravagant and frantic. He has not ascended step by step, building the structure of his character solidly as he went; but instead has rushed forward with panting haste, pretentiously. As a result, there is a great distance between Hitler at his best and Hitler at his worst; which means that when he is overcome at last by a greater force he will collapse suddenly and completely - and as an utter wreck.

2. **Counteractive Aggression, Revenge.** - That the will to power and the craving for superiority can not account for the whole of Hitler's psychology is evidenced by his immeasurable hatred, hatred expressed in the absence of an adequate stimulus, an incessant need to find some object on which to vent his pent-up wrath. This can be traced back with relative certainty to experiences of insult, humiliation
and wounded pride in childhood. The source of such insults, we have many reasons to believe, was Hitler's father, a coarse boastful man who ruled his wife (twenty-three years younger than himself) and his children with tyrannical severity and injustice.

2. (a) **Explanation.** — The hypothesis is advanced, supported by much evidence, that as a boy Hitler was severely shocked (as it were, blinded) by witnessing sexual intercourse between his parents, and his reaction to this trauma was to swear revenge, to dream of himself as reestablishing the lost glory of his mother by overcoming and humiliating his father. The boy's relative weakness made this action impossible, and so the drive and passion of revenge was repressed and locked up within him under tension. Only much later when a somewhat similar stimulus occurred — the subjugation and humiliation of his motherland (Hitler's term for Germany) in 1918 — was this energy of revenge released, after a short period of shock and hysterical blindness.

This would explain the fact that Hitler exhibited no energetic ambitious drive of his own from the age of 13 years (when his father, the enemy, died) to the age of 29 years (when a new enemy, the conqueror).
of the motherland, appeared). It also helps to account for Hitler's relentless devotion to the rehabilitation of Germany, a fact which is hard to explain in a man who is so extremely egocentric in other relations. In Mein Kampf Hitler repeatedly speaks of Germany as a beloved woman.

(Note. In this connection it may be said that the evidence is in favor of Hitler's having experienced the common Oedipus Complex (love of mother, hate of father), but that in his case this pattern was repressed and submerged by another pattern: profound admiration, envy and emulation of his father's masculine power and a contempt of his mother's feminine submissiveness and weakness. Thus both parents were ambivalent to him: his father was hated and respected; his mother was loved and depreciated. Hitler's conspicuous actions have all been in imitation of his father, not his mother.)

Whether this genetical hypothesis is correct or not, it is certain that there is a vast reservoir of resentment and revenge in Hitler's make-up which accounts for his cult of brutality and his many acts of inexcusable destructiveness and cruelty. He is possessed by what amounts to a homicidal compulsion.
which has no vent in a "weak piping time of peace" (unless he became an outright criminal), and therefore he has constantly pushed events toward war, or scapegoating.

2. (b) Significance of Revenge. - As a result of the fact that resentment is the mainspring of Hitler's career, it is forever impossible to hope for any mercy or humane treatment from him. His revengefulness can be satisfied only by the extermination of his countless enemies.

3. Repression of Conscience, Compliance, Love. - Unlike Goering and other associates, Hitler is no healthy amoral brute. He is a hive of secret neurotic compunctions and feminine sentimentalities which have had to be stubbornly repressed ever since he embarked on his career of ruthless dominance and revenge (instigated by real or supposed insults). Every new act of unusual cruelty, such as the purge of 1934, has been followed by a period of anxiety and depletion, agitated dejection and nightmares, which can be interpreted only as the unconscious operation of a bad conscience. Hitler wants nothing so much as to arrive at the state where he can commit crimes without guilt feelings; but despite his boasts of having transcended Good and Evil this had not been
possible. The suicidal trend in his personality is eloquent testimony of a repressed self-condemning tendency.

In conjunction with the repression of conscience and the advance of hate there has been a repression of affection and sympathy as if "his spirit seemed to chide such weakness as unworthy of its pride," a reaction which sometimes occurs in childhood after an experience of unbearable disillusionment occasioned by the felt treachery of a beloved person. One may find "a vigilance of grief that would compel the soul to hate for having loved too well." Hitler's affiliative tendencies have always been very weak; he has never had any close personal friends; he is entirely incapable of normal human relationships. This is due, in part, to the cessation in early life of sexual development.

3. (a) **Self-Vindicating Criminality.** Paradoxical as it may seem, Hitler's repeated crimes are partly caused by conscience and the necessity of appeasing it. For having once set out on a life of crime, the man can not turn back without reversing his entire ground for pride and taking the humiliating path of self-abasement and atonement. The only method
he has of subduing his mounting unconscious guilt is to commit another act of aggression, and so to prove, as it were, by the criterion of success, that his policy is favored by fortune and therefore justified and right. Failure is the only wrong.

3. (b) Significance of the Repression of Conscience by Successful Criminality. - As soon as the time comes when repeated offensive actions end in failure, Hitler will lose faith in himself and in his destiny, and become the helpless victim of his repressed conscience, with suicide or mental breakdown as the most likely outcome.

4. Projection of Criticizable Elements of the Self. - Hitler perceives in other people the traits or tendencies that are criticizable in himself. Thus, instead of being devoured by the vulture of his own condemning conscience or of his own disdain, he can attack what he apperceives as evil or contemptible in the external world, and so remain unconscious (most of the time) of his own guilt or his own inferiority. This mechanism whereby a man sees his own wicked impulses or weaknesses in others, is called projection. It is one way, the paranoid way, of maintaining self-esteem. The mechanism
occurs so constantly in Hitler that it is possible to get a very good idea of the repudiated portions of his own personality by noticing what he condemns in others - treachery, lying, corruption, war-mongering, etc. This mechanism would have had more disastrous consequences for his sanity if he had not gained some governance over it by consciously adopting (as good political strategy) the practice of blaming his opponents.

5. **Paranoid Symptoms.** - Hitler's dynamical pattern, as described, corresponds closely to that of paranoid insanity. Indeed he has exhibited, at one time or another, all of the classical symptoms of paranoid schizophrenia: hypersensitivity, panics of anxiety, irrational jealousy, delusions of persecution, delusions of omnipotence and messiahship.

How is it, then, that Hitler has escaped confinement as a dangerous psychopath? This interesting question will be considered later.

5. **Reactions to Opposition and Frustration.** - Opposition is the stimulus which startles Hitler into life. In the face of it his powers are gathered and augmented. When opposition becomes stronger resulting in severe frustration, his reaction has
often been as follows: (i) emotional outburst; tantrum of rage and accusatory indignation ending in tears and self-pity; succeeded by (ii) periods of inertia, exhaustion, melancholy and indecisiveness (accompanied sometimes by hours of acute dejection and disquieting nightmares) leading to recuperation; and finally (iii) confident and resolute decision to counterattack with great force and ruthlessness. The entire cycle may run its course in 24 hours, or it may be weeks before the aggressive decision of the third stage is reached.

For years this pattern of reaction to frustration has met with success; each counterattack has brought Hitler nearer to his goal. Since the turn of fortune on the Russian front, however, the number of frustrations have increased and Hitler's counterattacks have failed, at times disastrously. There is no structure for defense in Hitler's personality: he can only strike when inflated with confidence, or collapse when confidence abandons him.

As time goes on, therefore, we can anticipate an increase in the intensity, frequency and duration of Hitler's periods of collapse, and a decrease in the confidence and power of his retaliations.
A point to be remembered about Hitler is that he started his career at scratch, a nonentity with nothing to lose, and he selected a fanatical path for himself which requires as an ending—complete success (omnipotence) or utter failure (death).

No compromise is possible. Since it is not he personally who has to do the fighting, his collapses can occur in private at Berchtesgaden, where he can recuperate, and then once again come back with some new and always more desperate plan to destroy the enemy. There is a powerful compulsion in him to sacrifice himself and all of Germany to the revengeful annihilation of Western culture, to die, dragging all of Europe with him into the abyss. This he would feel was the last resource of an insulted and unendurable existence.

7. Need for Creation, Painting, Architecture, German State, Legend of Self.—We surmise that Hitler's early enthusiasm for painting was due to the fact (i) that this was the one exercise at which he excelled in school (and thus it offered a compensatory form of achievement); (ii) that it provided an acceptable outlet for a destructive soiling tendency repressed in infancy; and (iii) that painting, and
especially architecture later, also called for much constructiveness, which served to balance (operate as a reaction formation to, and atonement for) the primitive tendency to destroy. Hitler has always enjoyed the painting of ruined temples (just as he has liked to contemplate the destruction of cities inhabited by his enemies); but he has likewise taken pleasure in painting immense castles (just as he has occupied himself designing buildings for the Third Reich).

A careful study of Hitler's writings and conduct has convinced us that he is not entirely devoted to destruction, as so many claim. In his nature there is a deep valid strain of creativeness (lacking, to be sure, the necessary talent). His creativity has been engaged in combining elements for an ideology, in organizing the National Socialist Party, and in composing the allegory of his own life. He is the author and leading actor of a great drama.

Unlike other politicians, Hitler has conducted his life at certain seasons as a Romantic artist does, believing that it is the function of a nation's first statesman to furnish creative ideas, new policies, and plans.
8. Repressed Need for Passivity and Abasement, Masochism.—Hitler's long-concealed secret heterosexual fantasy has been exposed by the systematic analysis and correlation of the three thousand odd metaphors he uses in Mein Kampf. The results of this study were later confirmed by the testimony of one who "claims to know". It is not necessary to describe its peculiar features here; suffice it to say that the sexual pattern has resulted from the fusion of (i) a primitive excretory soiling tendency, and (ii) a passive masochistic tendency (hypertrophy of the feminine component in his make-up). The second element (masochism) derives much of its strength from an unconscious need for punishment, a tendency which may be expected in one who has assiduously repressed, out of swollen pride, the submissive reactions (compliance, cooperation, payment of debts, expression of gratitude, acknowledgment of errors, apology, confession, atonement) which are required of everybody who would adaptively participate in social life. While Hitler consciously overstrives to assert his infinite superiority, nature instinctively corrects the balance by imposing an erotic pattern that calls for infinite self-abasement.
This erotic pattern, however, is not a strong force in Hitler's personality, nor does it comprise his entire libidinal investment. It alternates with other patterns — repressed (or as some claim overt) homosexuality, for example.

What is important to recognize here is that the purpose of Hitler's prolonged counteractive efforts is not solely to rise above his humble origins, to overcome his weaknesses and ineptitudes, but rather to check and conquer, by means of a vigorous idealego reaction formation, an underlying positive craving for passivity and submission. There is no space here for the mass of evidence bearing on this point, but a few examples can be briefly listed: (i) the large feminine component in Hitler's physical constitution, also his feminine tastes and sensibilities; (ii) his initial identification with his mother; (iii) his exaggerated subservience, in the past, to masterful superiors (army officers, Ludendorff, etc.); (iv) attraction to Roehm and other domineering homosexuals; (v) Hitler's nightmares which, as described by several informants, are very suggestive of homosexual panic; (vi) some of Hitler's interpretations of human nature, such as when he says that the people "want someone to frighten them and make them shudderingly
submissive"; (vii) Hitler's repeated assertions that he intends, like Sulla, to abdicate power (after an orgy of conquest with full catharsis of his hate) and live quietly by himself, painting and designing buildings; and finally, (viii) recurrent suicidal threats.

II. E.S. Ideocentricity. Dedication to the Making of an Ideally Powerful Germany. — No true German, friend or foe, has ever claimed that Hitler is not sincere in his devotion to the Prussian militarists' ideal for Germany. Thus we can say that he has been ideocentric (dedicated to an idea) for the last twenty years. Because the idea consists of a plan for a society from which the majority of his fellow countrymen will supposedly benefit, we can speak of him as sociocentric (S) also. But since this interest in his countrymen is clearly secondary to his personal ambition — fame, immortality — we put egocentricity (E) first; and so write — E. S. Ideocentricity. It is rare to find so much ideocentricity in a narcissistic personality; but only those who are incapable of such dedication are likely to doubt the reality of it in Hitler.

1. Insociation in Germany. — Since Hitler and
a large body of the German people are mutually agreeable, we can speak of him as insociated, accepting and accepted. It is Hitler's intense affection for the Reich (perhaps felt to this extent only by a nationalist born outside its boundaries) that has acted as a decisive factor in (i) his winning the support of the people and so satisfying his will to power; (ii) giving him the feeling of vocation, the sense of mission; (iii) providing moral justification (in his own mind) for many illegal acts; and (iv) keeping him relatively sane, by bringing him into association with a group of like-minded men and so delivering him from the perils of psychological isolation.

(Note. - The supposition that in Hitler's mind Germany is identified with his mother helps to explain the fervor of his dedication.)

III. Sentiments. -

Most of Hitler's sentiments are well known and have already been listed: his high valuation of Power, Glory, Dictatorship, Nationalism, Militarism, and Brutality; and his low valuation of Weakness, Indecision, Tolerance, Compassion, Peace, Rational Debate, Democracy, Bolshevism, Materialism, Capitalism,
the Jewish Race, Christianity. A simplification would be that of regarding him as the advocate of the aggressive instinct (War, Power and Glory) vs. the acquisitive instinct (Business, Peace and Prosperity). Two questions deserve special consideration: (1) Why, when he was living as an outcast in Vienna, did Hitler not become a Communist? and (2) What is the explanation of Hitler's extreme Anti-Semitism?

1. Determinants of Hitler's Anti-Communism.

   1. (a) Hitler's father was an upward mobile individual. Starting as a peasant, he worked his way into the lower middle class, establishing a boundary between himself and those below him. Both parents respected their social superiors. Thus Hitler instinctively retreated from too close association with the workmen of Vienna.

   1. (b) Hitler was too frail for construction work, was unable to hold a job, and therefore had little opportunity to become associated with a union.

   1. (c) Having been an ardent nationalist since the age of 12, Hitler's line of cleavage (conflict between nations) did not conform to the communists' line of cleavage (conflict between classes).
1. (d) Hitler has always been an advocate of the hierarchical principle: government by the fittest, rigorously trained and proved in action. The ideal of Communism, on the other hand, calls for a wide distribution of power among those untrained to rule.

1. (e) Hitler's sentiments have been with militarism from earliest youth. The materialism of Communism never appealed to him.

1. (f) Lacking sympathy for the underdog, the humanitarian aspect of Communism did not attract him. Hitler has always been a bully.

2. Determinants of Hitler's Anti-Semitism.

2. (a) The influence of wide-spread Anti-Semitic sentiments (represented especially by such men as Lueger and Feder), traditional in Germany.

2. (b) Hitler's personal frustrations required a scapegoat as focus for his repressed aggression. The Jew is the classic scapegoat because he does not fight back with fists and weapons.

2. (c) The Jew was an object upon whom Hitler could suitably project his own inferior self (his sensitiveness, weakness, timidity, masochistic sexuality).
2. (d) After the Versailles Treaty the German people also needed a scapegoat. Hitler offered them the Jewish race as an act of political strategy.

2. (e) Having assembled a veritable army of gangsters (Nazi troopers) and aroused their fighting spirit, it was necessary for Hitler to find some object upon whom these men could vent their brutish passions, to canalize anger away from himself.

2. (f) Jews, being non-militaristic, could only impede his program on conquest. In eliminating them he lost no sizeable support.

2. (g) Jews were associated with several of Hitler's pet antipathies: business, materialism, democracy, capitalism, communism.

2. (h) Some Jews were very rich and Hitler needed an excuse for dispossessing them.

IV. Formal Structure, Hysteria, Schizophrenia.

Hitler has a relatively weak character (ego structure); his great strength comes from an emotional complex which drives him periodically. Usually he can not voluntarily force himself to stick to a routine of work; he must be compelled from inside, lifted on a wave of passion. His id (instinctual forces) and ego (voluntary control) are in league; his superego (conscience) is repressed.
1. **Hysteria.** - Hitler has exhibited various forms of hysterical dissociation, most notably in the two symptoms which constituted his war neurosis in 1918, namely blindness and aphonia (mutism). He experiences periods of marked abstraction, violent emotional outbursts, visions of hallucinatory clarity. In speaking before crowds he is virtually possessed. He clearly belongs to the sensational company of history-making hysterics, combining, as he does, some of the attributes of the primitive shaman, the religious visionary, and the crack-brained demagogue—consummate actors, one and all.

   It is important to note, however, that Hitler has a large measure of control over his complexes. He uses an emotional outburst to get his own way, turning it on or off as the occasion requires. As Erikson says, he "knows how to exploit his hysteria... On the stage of German history, Hitler senses to what extent it is safe and expedient to let his own personality represent with hysterical abandon what lives in every German listener and reader."

2. **Schizophrenia.** - Psychiatrists are not unfamiliar with borderline states lying between hysteria and schizophrenia. In some cases the former develops
into the latter (a serious variety of insanity). Since Hitler, as noted above, has exhibited all the symptoms of paranoid schizophrenia, the possibility of a complete mental breakdown is not remote.

Here again, however, it should be observed that paranoid dynamics can be used very effectively in rousing and focussing the forces of a minority party or of a defeated nation. The strategy consists chiefly in (i) painting vivid and exaggerated word-pictures of the crimes and treacherous evil purposes of your powerful opponents (delusions of persecution); (ii) persuading your own group of its innate superiority and glorious destiny (delusions of grandeur); (iii) subduing conscience by asserting that your common end justifies the means, that your opponents have used the most dastardly means in the past; and (iv) blaming your enemies for every frustration, every disaster that occurs. In consciously employing these tactics Hitler has exploited his own paranoid trends and retained some governance over them.

Thus the answer to the question, How has Hitler escaped veritable insanity? might be this: (i) he has gained a large measure of control over his hysterical and paranoid trends by using them
consciously and successfully in the achievement of his aims; (ii) he has identified himself with and dedicated himself to a sociocentric purpose, the creation of an ideal Germany, which has served to diminish the pains and perils of an isolated egocentrism; and (iii) he has been supremely successful in imposing his visions and delusions (conforming, as they did, with existent trends) upon the German people, and so convincing them of his unparalleled superiority. Thus his irreal world has become real, insanity is sanity.

V. 1. Abilities and Effective Traits. - Hitler's success has depended to a large extent upon his own peculiar abilities and traits:

1. (a) The ability to express with passion the deepest needs and longings of the people.

1. (b) The ability to appeal to the most primitive as well as to the most ideal tendencies in men.

1. (c) The ability to simplify complex problems and arrive at the quickest solution.

1. (d) The ability to use metaphor and draw on traditional imagery and myth in speaking and writing.
1. (e) The ability to evoke the sympathy and protectiveness of his people. The leader's welfare becomes a matter of concern to them.

1. (f) Complete dedication to his mission; abundant self-confidence; and stubborn adherence to a few principles.

1. (g) Mastery of the art of political organization.

1. (h) Tactical genius; precise timing.

1. (i) Mastery of the art of propaganda.

2. **Principles of Political Action.**

Among the guiding principles of Hitler's political philosophy the following are worth listing:

2. (a) Success depends on winning the support of the masses.

2. (b) The leader of a new movement must appeal to youth.

2. (c) The masses need a sustaining ideology; it is the function of the leader to provide one.

2. (d) People do not act if their emotions are not roused.

2. (e) Artistry and drama are necessary to the total effect of political rallies and meetings.
2. (f) The leading statesman must be a creator of ideas and plans.

2. (g) Success justifies any means.

2. (h) A new movement can not triumph without the effective use of terroristic methods.

B. Predictions of Hitler's Behavior

Whatever else happens it can be confidently predicted that Hitler's neurotic spells will increase in frequency and duration and his effectiveness as a leader will diminish: responsibility will fall to a greater or less extent on other shoulders. Indeed there is some evidence that his mental powers have been deteriorating since last November, 1942. Only once or twice has he appeared before his people to enlighten or encourage them. Aside from the increase in neurotic symptoms the following things might happen:

1. Hitler may be forcefully seized by the Military Command or by some revolutionary faction in Germany and be immured in some prison fortress. This event is hard to envisage in view of what we know of the widespread reverence for the man and the protection that is afforded him. But if this were to occur the myth of the invincible hero would end
rather ignominiously, and Hitler should eventually be delivered into our hands. The General Staff will no doubt become the rulers of Germany if Hitler's mental condition deteriorates much further (Option #5).

2. Hitler may be shot by some German. - The man has feared this eventuality for many years and today he is protected as never before. Germans are not inclined to shoot their leaders. This is possible but not very likely.

3. Hitler may arrange to have himself shot by some German, perhaps by a Jew. - This would complete the myth of the hero - death at the hand of some trusted follower: Siegfried stabbed in the back by Hagen, Caesar by Brutus, Christ betrayed by Judas. It might increase the fanaticism of the soldiers for a while and create a legend in conformity with the ancient pattern. If Hitler could arrange to have a Jew, some paranoid like himself, 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 might try to indulge his insatiable revengefulness for the last time.

4. Hitler may get himself killed leading his elite troops in battle. - Thus he would live on as a
hero in the hearts of his countrymen. It is not unlikely that he will choose this course, which would be very undesirable from our point of view, first because his death would serve as an example to all his followers to fight with fanatical death-defying energy to the bitter end, and second, because it would insure Hitler's immortality - the Siegfried who led the Aryan hosts against Bolshevism and the Slav. This is one of Hitler's favorite poses.

5. Hitler may go insane. - The man has been on the verge of paranoid schizophrenia for years and with the mounting load of frustration and failure he may yield his will to the turbulent forces of the unconscious. This would not be undesirable from our standpoint, because, even if the fact were hidden from the people, morale would rapidly deteriorate as rumors spread, and the legend of the hero would be severely damaged by the outcome. If Hitler became insane, he should eventually fall into the hands of the Allied Nations.

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 refuge that was built for him on the top of the mountain behind the Berghof (Berchtesgaden). There alone he will wait until troops come to take him prisoner. As a grand climax he will either (i) blow up the mountain and himself with dynamite; or (ii) make a funeral pyre of his dwelling and throw himself on it (a fitting Götterdämmerung; or (iii) kill himself with a silver bullet (Emperor Christophe); or (iv) throw himself off the parapet. This outcome, undesirable for us, is not at all unlikely.

7. Hitler may die of natural causes.

8. Hitler may seek refuge in a neutral country. This is not likely, but one of his associates might drug him and take him to Switzerland in a plane and then persuade him that he should stay there to write his long-planned Bible for the German folk. Since the Hero's desertion of his people would seriously damage the legend, this outcome would be more desirable than some of the other possibilities.

9. Hitler may fall into the hands of the United Nations. This is perhaps the least likely, but the most desirable, outcome.
In making these predictions we have been swayed most by the supposition that Hitler's chief concern is the immortality of his legend and consequently he will endeavor to plan his own end according to the most heroic, tragic and dramatic pattern. Options #5 (insanity to some extent) and #5 (dramatic suicide), or #4 (death at the front), strike us as most probable today.

Propaganda measures should, if possible, be devised to prevent #4 and #3.

C. Suggestions for the Treatment of Hitler

1. After the Defeat of Germany, if Hitler is taken into custody by the United Nations. Any one of the conventional punishments - a trial followed by execution, by life imprisonment or by exile - will provide a tragic ending for the drama of Hitler's sensational career; and thus contribute the element that is necessary to the resurrection and perpetuation of the Hitlerian legend. What can the Allies do that will spoil the tragedy and thus kill the legend? As an answer to this question, the following plan is suggested. It should work if properly executed.
1. (a) Bring the Nazi leaders to trial; condemn the chief culprits the death, but proclaim Hitler mentally unbalanced.

1. (b) Commit Hitler to an insane asylum (such as St. Elizabeth's, Washington, D. C.) and house him in a comfortable dwelling specially built for his occupancy. Let the world know that he is being well treated.

1. (c) Appoint a committee of psychiatrists and psychologists to examine him and test his faculties at regular intervals. Unknown to him, have sound-films taken of his behavior. They will show his fits and tirades and condemnations of everyone in the world, including the German people.

1. (d) Exhibit regularly to the public of the entire world selected segments of these sound-reels, so that it can be seen how unbalanced he is, how mediocre his performance on the customary tests. If taken in a routine, scientific and undramatic manner the pictures will become quite tiresome after a while and the people will get bored with Hitler in a year or so. (Trust science to take the drama out of anything.)

1. (e) Hitler's case should be presented to the world as a lesson: "This is what happens to
crack-brained fanatics who try to dominate the world." As such it could serve as a powerful deterrent to others with fantasies of world domination.

1. (f) A thorough study of Hitler's personality would be of considerable importance to psychiatry; and the publication of a carefully documented book on the subject would not only act as a deterrent (published in popular form) to future would-be Hitlers, but would be a significant contribution to science.

2. Between Now and the Cessation of Hostilities. The aim should be either (i) to accelerate Hitler's mental deterioration, to drive him insane; or (ii) to prevent him from insuring the perpetuation of his legend by ending his life dramatically and tragically.

There are various psychological techniques available for accelerating Hitler's nervous breakdown, but they will not be considered here. None could be so certainly effective as repeated military setbacks.

We shall limit ourselves to a few measures which might serve (2. (a)) to deter Hitler from arranging a hero's or a martyr's death for himself, and (2. (b)) to make him believe that the immortality of his legend will not suffer if he falls into the hands of the United Nations.
2. (a) Flood Germany with communications (leaflets, short-wave, long-wave, official speeches, underground transmission from Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey) telling the people that Hitler cannot be trusted, that he is planning (quoting Hess, Strasser, Hanfstaengel, Rauschning and other Nazis in England and America) to leave them treacherously to their fate by getting himself killed. This will be a sly trick of his to insure his own prestige and future fame. He does not care for the German people; he cares only for his own glory. He is no better than a sea-captain who quits his ship, leaving his crew to drown. Drop vivid cartoons of Hitler rushing ludicrously forward to his death on the Russian front (out of a guilty conscience over the noble Germans he has condemned to die there for his glory); also cartoons of his arranging to have himself shot, and others of his committing suicide. Interpret this as the easy way out, a cowardly betrayal of his people, the act of a bad conscience, the quintessence of vanity. Warn the people against him, the false prophet, the Judas Iscariot of the German Revolution, etcetera. If hundreds of these leaflets, pamphlets,
streamers are dropped over Berchtesgaden, the chances are that some of them will fall in places where Hitler himself is likely to come on them. He is very susceptible to ridicule, and if the cartoons are clever enough to make suicide seem cowardly, grotesque, or ridiculous, it may be enough to deter him. Prediction will spoil the startling effect.

2. (b) Flood Germany with another series of communications in which the people are told that the Nazi leaders who led them into this disastrous war are going to be executed—allexcept Hitler, who will be exiled to Saint Helena where he can brood over his sins for the rest of his life. Write as if we thought that this was the most terrible of all punishments. But actually this idea should appeal to Hitler, who greatly admires Napoleon and knows that the Napoleonic legend was fostered by the man's last years at Saint Helena. This treatment would be better than any he could now be hoping to receive from his enemies. It might positively attract him. He would imagine himself painting landscapes, writing his new Bible, and making plans for an even greater German revolution to be carried out in his name thirty years hence.
By the repeated and not too obvious use of these two messages Hitler would be faced by a conflict between (1) a self-annihilation which might be interpreted as a cowardly betrayal, and (2) a peaceful old age at Saint Helena. He might choose the latter and so allow himself to be taken by the Allies. Only later would he discover that there was to be no Saint Helena for him. This trick of ours is justified by the necessity of preventing the resurrection of the memory of Hitler as a superman to rouse future generations of criminals and revolutionaries.

D. Suggestions for the Treatment of the German People

I. Hastening the Breakdown of Germany's Faith in Hitler.—The German people have put their whole trust in Hitler. He is their man, as no military commander representing a special class could be their man. Having taken the entire responsibility for the conduct of affairs, he has become their conscience and so relieved them temporarily of guilt. The pride-system and security-system of each individual German is thus based on Hitler's genius and success. The bulk of the people will not easily be persuaded of
his incompetence and falseness. They will cling as long as possible to the illusion of his omniscience because without this they have nothing. When it comes, the disenchantment will be sudden and catastrophic to German morale generally.

The Allies can rely on the march of physical events to bring about the eventual disenchantment of the German people; but since events will march faster and the war will end sooner if this disenchantment can be hastened by other means, the Allies should not overlook the power of words to change sentiments and attitudes. The following suggestions may prove of some value.

1. (a) Technique of communication.—One effective method would be that of printing leaflets containing the names, rank and regiments of German soldiers recently taken prisoner. The Gestapo could hardly succeed in preventing anxious parents from picking up these leaflets to obtain the latest news of their sons at the front. Communications of this sort might start somewhat as follows: NEWS FROM THE FRONT. Among the 20,000 German soldiers who surrendered to the World Army in Sicily the following were happy at the prospect of going to America, the land of free
speech and free action: Corp. Hans Schmidt, Capt. Heinrich Wittels, etc. etc. "Why are you laughing?" they were asked. "Because," they answered, "we are going to the United States; whereas you are going to the land of the False Prophet and the Gestapo!" etc., etc.

We suggest that NEWS FROM THE FRONT be distributed at regular weekly intervals, like a newspaper; in order that the Germans will learn to expect it and look forward to it, since it will contain news that they can not obtain in any other way.

Mixed in with the lists of German prisoners could be printed the messages that we wish to impart to the people.

1. (b) Name for Hitler. - In the minds of many Germans the word "Hitler" is still surrounded by a layer of reverential feelings which protect his image from attack. Therefore it would be better not to refer to him (except occasionally) by name. Much more subtly effective would be the use of another term: False Prophet or False Messiah. Later more derogatory terms - the Amateur Strategist, Corporal Satan, World Criminal No. 1 - might be effective.
1. (c) Substitution of a Higher Symbol.

The German character-structure is marked by a strong need to worship, obey, and sacrifice. When this can be focussed on some entity - God, the Absolute, the German State, the Fuehrer - they are happy and healthy. Consequently, it will be easier to break their present allegiance to Hitler if a satisfactory substitute is presented. The Germans will not readily accept a value that is identified in their minds with the special preferences of an enemy-nation (Democracy, etc.); it must be something higher, something supra-national that will excite the respect of all peoples alike. There is a great need now, rather than later, for some form of World Federation. But lacking this, the Allies in their message to Germany, should use terms that suggest its spirit. Against Hitler, the False Prophet, the propagandists should speak of the World Conscience (the name of God can not be used without hypocrisy), and should speak of the forces of Russia, Great Britain, France, and the Americas as the World Army. (N.B. Suggestion for one leaflet: Question: Who has seduced the German people from their true path? Who has turned their hearts against the Conscience of the World? Who is responsible this time for Germany's encirclement by the World Army?). To be effective the terms "World Conscience"
and "World Army" must be repeated frequently. "World Police Force" might also be used.

1. (d) A collection should be made of passages from the first unexpurgated edition of Mein Kampf demonstrating Hitler's cynical contempt of the Masses. Each NEWS FROM THE FRONT should end with one of these quotations.

1. (e) Identification of Hitler with Mussolini. — Mussolini provided the model for the development of the Nazi Party and Hitler publicly expressed his admiration for the Italian leader. (His words on this point should be reprinted.) Mussolini's fall will do much to undermine German morale, and no opportunity should be missed to stress the connection between Hitler's destiny and Mussolini's defeat — the Decline and Fall of the Unholy Alliance.

1. (f) The Conception of Destiny. — Germans believe in predestination (the wave of the future), and all communications addressed to them should be written as if the defeat of the False Prophet were a foregone conclusion. Some messages should come from the 'Voice of History'.

1. (g) Taking Advantage of Hitler's
Waning Powers. - Hitler's precise status and rôle in German politics at this moment is not definitely known; but the decreasing frequency of his appearances is probably due to a growing incapacity to fulfill his former function. His mental state is evidently deteriorating. This should be assumed in talking to the German people. For example: "Now that Mussolini has collapsed and Hitler is in the hands of mental specialists, what has become of the Spirit of Fascism?" or "Do you still believe that a man whose sanity has been completely undermined by Guilt can lead the German people to victory against the World?"

1. (h) Germany's One remaining Ally, Japan. - The Nazi régime should be constantly coupled with Japan in an ironical or satirical manner. For example: "The Nazis and their blood-brothers, the Japanese, have both demonstrated their willingness to die for Satan - this summer one million of them have thrown away their lives in a futile attempt to destroy civilization." "Who is responsible for this ignoble league of Germany and Japan against the Conscience of the World?" "A fact to be explained: Germans are dying every day fighting with Japanese against German-Americans. Why is that? Who is responsible."
1. (i) Munich Student Manifesto. - In planning messages to Germany hints for one line of propaganda can be obtained from the revolutionary manifesto distributed last year by students at the University of Munich.

2. Peace Terms, Trial of War Criminals. -

2. (a) Psychologically it is important that Hitler, or the leader of the Nazi Party, be the one to surrender and sign the peace treaty. The Allies should insist on this, should drag the gangsters without ceremony from their hiding places and force them to sign. (A little trickery at this point would be justified.) The terms should be severe at first. Later when a more representative government has been established the terms can be made more lenient. Thus in the future the dictators will be recalled in connection with the humiliation of unconditional surrender; whereas the democratic government will get the credit of securing milder terms.

2. (b) A World Court, at least one member of which is a Swiss and one a Swede, should immediately publish a list of war criminals, as complete as possible, and neutral countries should be officially warned that no man on this list must be given sanctuary.
The Allies should be prepared to invade any country that harbors a world criminal.

2. (c) The trial of the war criminals should be carried out with the utmost despatch. It must not be allowed to drag on for months, as this would give the Germans a convincing impression of our moral weakness and incompetence, and postpone their regeneration. In connection with the trial a short readable book should be published in German explaining the nature of international law (the brotherhood of nations) and exposing the crimes committed by the Fascists in A.B.C. language.

A pamphlet comparing the terms of the Versailles Treaty with Germany's method of dealing with conquered countries should be given wide circulation.

3. Treatment of the German People after the Cessation of Hostilities.

It is assumed that Germany will be invaded and occupied by Allied forces, that simultaneously there will be uprisings of slave labor and of civilians in occupied territories; that much German blood will be spilled. This is as it should be - a fitting Nemesis. The Allied troops will march in and eventually restore order. This function of restoring order will make their presence more acceptable to the Germans.
It can be predicted that we will find the German people profoundly humiliated, resentful, disenchanted, dejected, morose, despairing of the future. Accustomed to obeying an arbitrary external authority, they will have no dependable inner guides to control behavior. There will be a wave of crime and suicide. Apathy will be widespread. Having passed through a period of intense unanimity and cooperation, Germany as a social system will fall apart, each man to suffer pain and mortification in private.

Disorganization and confusion will be general, creating a breeding ground for cults of extreme individualism. A considerable part of the population will be weighed down by a heavy sense of guilt, which should lead to a revival of religion. The soil will be laid for a spiritual regeneration; and perhaps the Germans, not we, will inherit the future.

It is assumed that the Allies will demilitarize Germany, will insist on efficient guarantees against future conspiracies, will take steps to liquidate the Junker Class, will prevent rearmament and the misuse of raw materials. As Dr. Foerster has said: 'a soft peace for Germany will be a very hard peace for the German people, delivering them to the Prussian caste who led them astray.'
Nothing permanent, however, can be achieved by such measures alone. What is required is a profound conversion of Germany's attitude: abandonment of the idea (1) that they are innately superior; (2) that they are destined to govern the earth; (3) that there is no human law or authority higher than the good of the German State; (4) that power is to be admired above everything; and (5) that Might makes Right.

In treating the Germans psychologically we must realize that we are dealing with a nation suffering from paranoid trends: delusions of grandeur; delusions of persecution; profound hatred of strong opponents and contempt of weak opponents; arrogance, suspiciousness and envy - all of which has been built up as a reaction to an age-old inferiority complex and a desire to be appreciated.

Possibly the first four steps in the treatment of a single paranoid personality can be adapted to the conversion of Germany. In attempting this we must not forget that the source of their psychic sickness is wounded pride.

3. (a) **First Step.** - The physician must gain the respect of the patient.

   (i) **Individual paranoid.** - Paranoics can not be treated successfully if they are not impressed
(consciously or unconsciously) by the ability, knowledge, wisdom, or perhaps mere magnetic force, of the physician. Special efforts must sometimes be made to achieve this end, since paranoids, being full of scorn, are not easy to impress.

(ii) Germany. - The regiments that occupy Germany should be the finest that the United Nations can assemble - regiments with a history of victories, composed of tall well-disciplined soldiers commanded by the best generals. Rowdiness and drunkenness should not be permitted. The Germans should be compelled to admit: "These are splendid men, not the weak degenerates (democratic soldiers) or barbarians (Russian soldiers) we were led to expect." The Germans admire orderliness, precision, efficiency.

3. (b) Second Step. - The potential worth of the patient should be fully acknowledged.

(i) Individual paranoid. - The indwelling burning hunger of the paranoid is for recognition, power and glory - praise from those whom he respects. This hunger should be appeased as soon as possible, so that the paranoid thinks to himself: "The great man appreciates me. Together we can face the world." It is as if he thought: "He is God the Father and I am his chosen son."
(ii) Germany.- Germany's countryside, its music, historic culture and monuments of beauty should be appreciated and praised. The army of occupation should manifest intense interest in the culture of Old Germany and complete indifference to all recent developments. The troops should be instructed and coached by lectures and guide-books covering the district they will occupy. They should be told that the war is not won until the heart of the German people has been won.

Germans of the old school should be hired to teach the German language, to guide the soldiers on tours of the country and of museums, to teach native arts and skills. Concerts should be arranged, omitting pieces that have been specially favored by the Nazis. Editions of books burned by the Nazis should be published and put on sale immediately.

All this will serve a double purpose. It will provide education for our troops and occupy their time; thus helping to maintain morale. Also the submerged inferiority feelings and resentments of the Germans will be alleviated.
3 (c) Third Step. - Insight should be tactfully provided, a little at a time.

(i) Individual paranoid. - Very gradually, step by step, the patient is enlightened as to his own paranoid mechanisms. Pride in being uncriticizable and always in the right must be gradually replaced by pride in being able to rise above his own mechanisms and criticize himself, pride in being strong enough to admit some weaknesses and errors. He should be made to understand that he has been victimized by unconscious forces which gained control over his proper self. During the course of these talks the physician should freely confess his own weaknesses and errors, the patient being treated as an equal.

(ii) Germany. - The last ten years of German history should be interpreted as a violent infectious fever, a possession of the spirit, which took hold of the people as soon as they gave ear to the false prophets of Fascism.

A series of articles, editorials, essays and short books should be written now by Germans in this country (Thomas Mann, Reinhold Niebuhr, Foerster, and others), aided possibly by suggestions from psychiatrists, to be published in German newspapers and distributed
soon after the occupation. They should be therapeutic essays essentially - perhaps signed by a *nom de plume* as if written by a minister, physician, or writer in Germany.

Not too much should be said in any one paper; but, in time, the lies, delusions, treacheries and crimes of the Nazis should be reviewed objectively in historical sequence. The German people should be made to understand that the world regards them as unwitting and unhappy victims of instinctual forces. The Allies should be magnanimous enough to admit their own errors and misdeeds.

3. (d) Fourth Step. - The patient should be *insociated in a group.*

   (i) Individual paranoid. - Having attained a measure of satisfaction by winning the respect and friendship of his physician and then having gained some insight and control, the patient is ready for group therapy. Later, he can be persuaded to join outside groups. Gradually he must learn to take his place and cooperate on an equal basis with others. The group he joins should have a goal.
(ii) Germany.— If Germany is to be converted, it is of the utmost importance that some strong and efficient super-government be established as soon as possible, providing a new world conscience, that her people can respect. As said above, Germans must have something to look up to - a God, a Fuehrer, an Absolute, a national ideal. It cannot be a rival nation, or a temporary alliance of nations. It must be a body - a strong body with a police force - which stands above any single state.

A supranational symbol would eventually attract the deference that is now focussed upon Hitler. Lacking such a symbol, many Germans will certainly fall into a state of profound disillusionment and despair. At the proper time Germany should be insociated as an equal in whatever league or federation of nations has been established.

From here on the therapy of a single paranoid personality fails as an analogy, principally because the German people will not be in the position of a patient who comes willingly to the physician's office. The Nazis will be in no mood to be educated by their enemies. Furthermore it would be very presumptuous of us to try it. The most that the Allies could do
would be to close all schools and universities until new anti-fascist teachers and faculties had been recruited. The greatest problem will be in dealing with a whole generation of brutalized and hardened young Nazis. (Perhaps exhibition games of soccer, football, lacrosse and baseball between American and English regiments would serve to introduce ideas of fair play and sportsmanship; but much else must be done - by German educators.)

For the conversion of Germany the most effective agency will be some form of world federation. Without this the Allied victory will have no permanently important consequences.