

six of the ninety who earned certificates are working at their trades—including fifteen of the sixteen bricklayers—or at related jobs. Twelve others have found work in different fields. One of them, the sixteenth bricklayer, exemplifies an important side benefit of the training: the self-discipline that comes with having seen something through. His big handicap always had been a violent temper, which flared up a few times early in the training and rendered his future dubious. He learned to control it, and because he had, was recommended to an agency that supplies guards for stores. Not long after being hired, he broke his hand while defending a supermarket against young hoodlums who had been vandalizing it, and became something of a local hero.

Especially striking was the impact of the project on segregation. One graduate became the telephone company's first Negro lineman in Norfolk at \$72 a week. A previously all-white automobile assembly plant took on four trainees, two for the assembly line at \$3.50 an hour and two for maintenance work at \$2.52 an hour. One of the assemblers made \$200, with overtime, his first week on the job.

To be sure, some members of the unusual graduating class have not been so fortunate. It is believed that one trainee was fired from a good job because he refused to change an elaborate hair style that his white co-workers found offensive. Another joined the Black Muslims upon graduation. Eight of the trainees found jobs at a plant in North Carolina, only to be laid off in short order for reasons that have not been made clear.

But on balance, the project must be reckoned a worthwhile experiment. In a recent progress report, Dr. William M. Cooper, who directed the project, wrote: "We are continuing our efforts to place and upgrade trainees. Co-operation of the employment offices has been good. The employment situation is fluid and ever-changing. Our trainees are responding to these changes to better their employment and pay. . . . Our hope is that this report will help in promoting the total manpower effort."

At the very least, it looks like a step in the right direction.

VIEWS & REVIEWS

What the Germans Are Reading About Hitler

GORDON A. CRAIG

IN MAY an American writer named David L. Hoggan was the recipient of awards bearing the names of Germany's most famous historian, Leopold von Ranke, and one of its most courageous humanists, Ulrich von Hutten. The awards apparently were made in recognition of a very long book by Hoggan that was published in Germany in 1961 but not in the United States. In this work, which is called *Der erzwungene Krieg*, Hoggan argues that the responsibility for bringing war upon the world in 1939 was not Adolf Hitler's, but rather that of the foreign ministers of Great Britain and Poland, Lord Halifax and Colonel Józef Beck. Hence his title, which might properly be translated as "The War Forced on Germany."

Since both Hoggan's thesis and the curious ways he uses documents in his efforts to support it had been subjected to devastating criticism in the leading historical journals of the United States and Germany, the news of the awards touched off a row of major proportions. The *Berliner Tagesspiegel* deplored these "spectacular honors for a historical distortion," both as an effort to launch a new historical legend and as an affront to Ranke and Hutten, two Germans who fought steadfastly for freedom and truth. The Association of German Writers and the executive board of the German Trade Union Council have echoed these sentiments. In the Bundestag, Minister of the Interior Hermann Höcherl described the awards as "crude impertinence" on the part of right-radical groups and promised an investigation. Finally, the government of Baden-Württemberg refused to permit the award of the Hutten Prize to take place in Heidelberg Castle, and the Bavarian Bureau of State Palaces, Gardens, and Lakes

ruled that the Münchener Residenz could not be used for a reception in Hoggan's honor.

All this uproar doubtless served to advertise Mr. Hoggan's views, and to keep Hitler at the center of controversy in Germany, where the Hoggan fuss was preceded by the Schramm affair.

EARLIER this year the Seewald Press published a new edition of Henry Picker's book *Hitlers Tischgespräche* ("Hitler's Table Talk"), a valuable source book, first published in 1951, which includes a record of the conversations the Führer had with—or rather the monologues he delivered to—his intimate circle of associates in the years 1941 and 1942. This new edition includes a long introduction by the Göttingen historian Percy Schramm, in which he describes Hitler's private life, his relations with the members of his Table Round, the sort of things he liked to talk about, his taste in music, art, books, and food, his gift of mimicry, his delight in jokes (as long as they were clean), his charm and his arts of ingratiation, particularly with women, his loyalty to his old comrades, and other aspects of his personality.

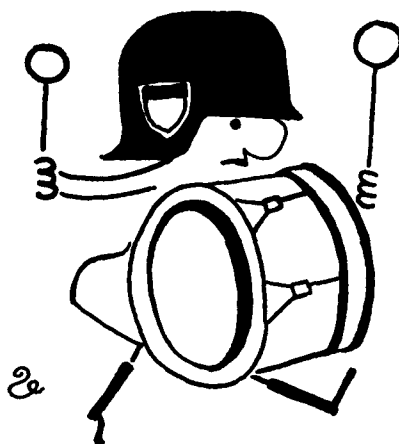
Schramm's introduction was serialized in the weekly news magazine *Der Spiegel*, starting with the issue of January 29. Almost immediately, the editors were deluged with letters from readers who felt that the professor was presenting a "Biedermeier Hitler" and providing "advertising for fascists, even if indirectly." One reader wrote ironically: "The fact that Hitler loved dogs and children is not new and cannot move anyone any longer. But that he secretly raised the wages of ballet girls three hundred per cent in order to save them from the threat of a life of prostitution brings tears to the eyes

of the most hard-bitten amongst us." The historian Golo Mann, son of Thomas Mann, took a more serious view: "All the things that Percy Schramm describes may be true. But doesn't the professor understand that a complete picture is a matter of how the details are ordered? Doesn't he understand that a man should be judged by his deeds and not by his love of children and animals?"

The shrillness of some of the letters published in *Der Spiegel* suggests that the Germans have still a long way to go before they will be able to view their recent past without nervousness. "Why," asked one reader, "is this iron *still* so red hot?" Professor Schramm, who has written extensively and critically of Hitler's conduct of the war, had not the slightest intention of trying to "humanize" Hitler. His purpose was rather to show that the Führer was a much more complicated person than is commonly realized and the more menacing for that very reason. If we go on thinking of Hitler in terms of stereotypes like "the house painter" or "the carpet-chewer" or "the drummer," Schramm wrote in a recent letter to *Die Zeit* of Hamburg, if we continue to think of him only "as a gifted propagandist, a master in the art of seducing the masses, whose menace the German people recognized only when it was too late, then the Third Reich takes on the character of a railway accident, which could have been avoided by greater vigilance and which can never happen again." But this kind of explanation is superficial and will certainly not satisfy the younger generation who want to know how their elders could have "fallen for" Hitler.

Some of the people who wrote to *Der Spiegel* appreciated Schramm's intentions. More than one student wrote to say that since Hitler was the most destructive force in modern history, everything about him had significance, even his inordinate love of sweets, and one girl wrote: "It is a bitter necessity for us to know such things and to continue to work away at the Hitler phenomenon because the ambivalent nature of our own people is bound up with it."

ANYONE who enters a German bookstore today will discover that the shelves are filled with books about



the Führer and his régime. None of them, however, is as charitable toward Hitler as Hoggan's, not even Johann Recktenwald's neuropsychiatric study *Woran hat Adolf Hitler gelitten?* ("What Was Adolf Hitler Suffering From?"), a not entirely convincing attempt to prove that the Führer was the victim of post-encephalitic Parkinsonism. ("Oh, dear!" said the charming lady who sold me my copy. "Now they'll be saying that the poor fellow was ill and couldn't help himself!") And most of the new volumes, implicitly or explicitly, reject the picture of a Hitler who was conciliatory and peaceful, of a war that was *erzwungen*.

Take, for instance, the monumental *Die Nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung* ("The National Socialist Seizure of Power"), by Karl Bracher, Wolfgang Sauer, and Gerhard Schulz. Anyone who wants to know whether Hitler wanted war or not in 1939 should consult this volume, in which Sauer demonstrates that from 1936 onward German economic policy was based, by a conscious and avowed decision by Hitler himself, on the assumption that war was coming and would solve all economic problems. Hannah Vogt's *Schuld oder Verhängnis*, a book for younger readers which has sold more than 400,000 copies and which will be published in the United States later this year under the title *The Burden of Guilt*, demolishes such legends as the legality of Hitler's assumption of power and the wisdom of his economic policy, and makes hash of the myth of Hitler as peace-lover. Werner Klose, in his *Hitler: Ein Bericht für junge Staatsbürger* ("Hitler: A Report for Young Citizens"), makes his position clear by

entitling the chapter on the origins of the 1939 conflict "*His Second World War*." After describing the crimes committed during that war, Klose says: "If it had not been for the heroism of the women and men of the resistance, what right would our people have to look those of other nations in the eye?"

OF THE most recent publications, two are particularly interesting. In *Das Gesicht des Dritten Reiches* ("The Face of the Third Reich"), J. C. Fest has undertaken to give "a profile of a totalitarian ruling system." Based on a series of radio programs which the author wrote for RIAS in Berlin, this book analyzes the nature and policies of the Third Reich by brilliantly written sketches of such paladins as Goebbels, Himmler, and Bormann, such lesser figures as Ribbentrop ("The Degradation of Diplomacy"), Speer ("Technological Immorality"), the Auschwitz commandant Hoess ("The Man from the Crowd"), and three faceless figures, General X, Professor NSDAP ("The Intellectuals and National Socialism"), and German Wife and Mother.

The key chapters, however, deal with Hitler himself, whom the author sees as the product, on the one hand, of the general decline of European security and traditional values and, on the other hand and more specifically, of "that fatal German conception which makes politics either a contemptible occupation for dubious types or a business for 'strong men,' which compensates for lack of civil liberty by escaping into 'inner freedom,' and . . . which regards the state, not as a system of balanced powers that exists to protect the liberties of the individual, but rather as an absolute essence with far-reaching claims to subordination."

More substantial than the Fest volume is the first major German biography of Hitler in ten years, Hans Bernd Gisevius's *Adolf Hitler: Versuch einer Deutung* ("Adolf Hitler: An Attempt at an Interpretation"). The author, whose book *To the Bitter End* in 1947 was the first account to give American readers a picture of the nature and scope of the German resistance, opens with a statement of motive similar to that of Professor Schramm. "It is time,"

he writes, "to stop painting Hitler in blacks and whites. . . . He reached too deeply into our lives for us to go on being content with clichés . . ."

The Gisevius book has its faults, chief among which is the lack of balance between its parts, over half of the stout volume being devoted to the years between 1933 and 1938, with the war years receiving a relatively cursory treatment. But no book before this one has taken Hitler with such deadly seriousness, or described so convincingly his undoubted intellectual gifts, his diplomatic skill, and his tactical virtuosity, or brought out more clearly his ability to make not only the German masses but the elite groups as well into his willing accomplices. Gisevius leaves no doubt that both Hitler's economic policy and his expansionist philosophy pointed clearly to war, and that this was known to the ruling group as early as 1935. "I did not raise the Wehrmacht in order *not* to strike," Hitler said on November 23, 1939. "The determination to strike was in me all the time."

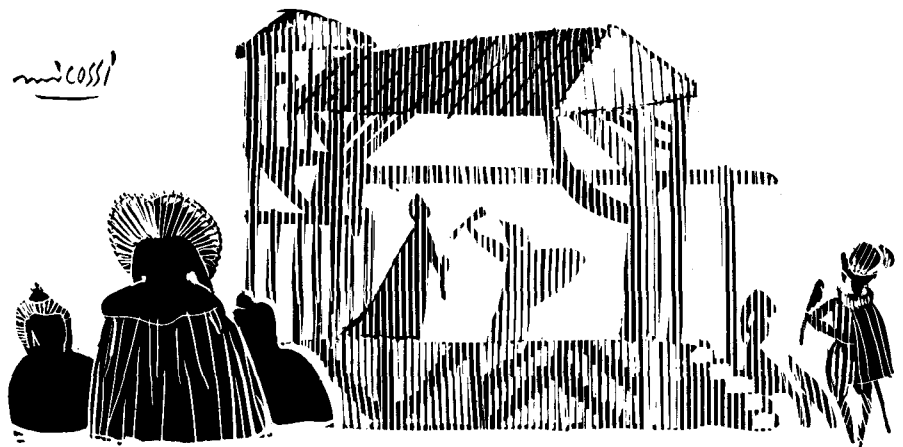
GISEVIUS's book is currently sharing table space in many German bookstores with the most widely read and most frequently cited biography of Hitler, the English historian Alan Bullock's *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, which has just been reissued by the Fischer Press in a handsome two-volume paperback edition. All German writing on Hitler has been dependent to some extent on Bullock's pioneer work. This is clear even in the most recent publications, for Gisevius's account of Hitler's career before 1933 does not differ essentially from Bullock's, and Schramm's introduction to the "Table Talk" was in marked respects anticipated by Bullock's brilliant seventh chapter, which analyzes the character of the dictator at the height of his power and points to "that mixture of calculation and fanaticism, with the difficulty of telling where one ends and the other begins, which is the peculiar characteristic of Hitler's personality."

The Fischer paperback will doubtless be followed soon by a German translation of Bullock's second edition, which has recently appeared in England and the United States. In this edition, which has been revised

in the light of the new documentary sources that have become available and the large number of important monographs that have been written in the last ten years, Bullock has not changed his interpretation of Hitler in any basic way. He still sees him as a man who conquered Germany and most of Europe because he "possessed talents out of the ordinary which in sum amounted to political genius"; and he still sees "those remarkable powers . . . combined with an ugly and strident egotism, a moral and intellectual cretinism," and a complete imperviousness to "all ideas save one—the further extension of his own power and that of the nation with which he had identified himself."

The most substantial changes and additions in Mr. Bullock's new edi-

tion have to do with the origins of the war of 1939, for it is here that the new documents are most plentiful. None of the alterations will comfort revisionists like Hoggan. Bullock's account of the period between March and September, 1939, reveals some uncertainty on Hitler's part and much of that tactical elasticity which was always characteristic of his statecraft, but it shows also that his purpose never faltered. As he said to his officers on May 23, 1939, in one of those declarations Hoggan prefers to skip over, "There is no question of sparing Poland, and we are left with the decision: to attack Poland at the first suitable opportunity. . . . The idea that we can get off cheaply is dangerous; there is no such possibility. We must burn our boats."



Gide's Hamlet

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

HAMLET has survived all manner of interpretations—stylish modern dress, a bare rehearsal stage, an all-Negro cast, even a woman in the title role. As John Barrymore, Sir John Gielgud, Richard Burton, and many great actors have agreed, the play can be rediscovered and re-created every decade or so. Indeed, no performance of the past is ever definitive—not even in the career of a single actor who is fortunate enough to play it in several revivals. Each novel production throws new light on that perennially fascinating masterpiece.

Similarly, *Hamlet* has survived translation into most modern languages, being played to foreign audiences who may often have wondered what English-speaking people saw in the play and why it stood in a category by itself. And just as any translation, even of a paragraph of prose or four lines of verse, cannot but be an interpretation, each new version of *Hamlet*, in whatever language, is bound to provide a personal commentary. Within a single language, no translation can be final, for in such matters, thank heaven,