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National socialism, the German tragedy

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NATIONAL SOCIALISM: THE GERMAN TRAGEDY

by

Susan Hall

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Preface

While this study purports to offer nothing new or original to the enormous body of research pertaining to Nazism, the purpose of this thesis is to provide an examination of the political core contained in this particular ideology. The components of National Socialism and their ultimate effect on Germany will be the major focus of this thesis. Nazism, as a political ideology, was an extreme force that shook the foundations of the twentieth-century world.

After an intensive survey of the literature in this field, the author realized that little could be added. The objective, here, is to examine the historical roots from which Nazism developed, its ideological core, and its effect upon the German state.

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I have often felt a bitter sorrow at the thought of the German people, which is so estimable in the individual and so wretched in the generality . . .

- Goethe

A thousand years will pass and the guilt of Germany will not be erased.

- Hans Frank, Governor General
of Poland, before he was
hanged at Nuremberg

Prologue

National Socialism developed in Germany because conditions there were favorable to it. As with all countries, Germany was a product of historical and political circumstances. In the first chapter of this study, Germany's historical and political development will be reviewed. Nazism triumphed at a time when severe problems evident in prewar Germany had been intensified by the crises of the war and inflation, depression and the danger of Marxism in the postwar years. Germany suffered under a double burden during the prewar years: late emergence as a modern nation-state and the strain that accompanied its rapid industrialization. Moreover, the formation of a new and large German nation upset the traditional balance of power in Europe. France, in particular, felt threatened and alienated. Germany was acutely sensitive to the possibility of disruption from within and also anticipated the danger of expansionism exhibited by other nations. This sensitivity gave rise to a growing national spirit, nationalism.

It was at this time, the late nineteenth century, that Germany witnessed and participated in the violent persecution of the Jews. To justify and provide the rationale for such

persecution, there arose an ideology that explained the destruction of racially "pure" nationalities by contamination through the intermingling with the "poisoners of civilizations"--the Jews. The superior Aryan race was in danger of losing its pureness, hence, the Jew must be eradicated. The Jew was the contaminator of German civilization--he was a Marxist, an internationalist, and a perpetrator of a foreign culture.

Along with the development of racial theories that provided the German people with a superior racial concept, there emerged a growing consensus among the masses of the acceptance of the leadership principle and the belief in the military supremacy of their country. Bismark and Field Marshal von Hindenburg created the modern "strong man" concept, easily accepted when Hitler availed himself of full dictatorial power. Militarism willed Lebensraum, the expansion of living space; but it worked both ways. Living space was secured through the conquering of lands, primarily in the East.

The volkisch movement, at the time of the turn of the century, expressed great dislike for the growing forces of capitalism, liberalism, internationalism, and socialism. It advocated a return to an idealized pre-industrial society in which traditional authority was respected in every sphere. The worship of nature and natural elements were emphasized.

Dreams, yearnings and emotional outpourings typified this movement, and this helped set the tone for mass acceptance of Hitler's policies. Irrationalism was also an important element. It explained that man could not understand the intricacies of life, and only a chosen few could begin to understand the functions of society and its government. The few who could understand, were obliged to serve the masses. In return for service, the leader would demand and receive total obedience, loyalty, and unquestioning support.

These components of National Socialism developed during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Many writers, not all German, contributed to the ideas that made up National Socialism. As a political ideology, National Socialism comprised the components already listed: Anti-Semitism, the race theories, Lebensraum, nationalism, the volk theory, irrationalism, German romanticism, and militarism. The second section of this study will deal with the components of National Socialism.

Finally, the last section of this thesis will address the German state as it existed during the Third Reich. The dictatorship of Adolf Hitler will be examined and how, through his immense personal and political power, Germany was "Nazified":

. . . A powerful national Reich . . . can offer freedom within, without having to fear for the stability of the state A powerful national government

can undertake and accept responsibility for great limitations on the freedom of the individual . . . if in such measures the individual citizen recognizes a means toward the greatness of his nation¹

Hitler did establish a nation that was united, cohesive and uniformly regimented. Personal liberties and freedoms succumbed. The Third Reich had been born.

¹Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943), p. 572.

Chapter 1

AN OVERVIEW OF GERMANY'S HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT:

" . . . and they demanded discipline and trust from all."

- Pinson

German history began at no precise date or place. The origins of German ancestry can be traced back to many tribes of people who intermixed and subsequently formed a people many historians label the Teutons.¹

The Teutonic tribes were nomadic by nature, settling nowhere for very long. As a migrating people, they continually sought lands and food which ultimately led them to the south, and the Roman Empire. By the end of the second century B.C., they, the Cimbri and the Ambrones mounted a vicious and formidable attack upon the Roman Empire. The name Teuton became a synonym for the barbarian attack from the north.²

Germany, as a geographical term, has changed and has been molded by the powers and forces of many empires and nations. Its borders have been expanded and retracted throughout the centuries. Germany's geographical location in Europe

¹Emil Ludwig, The Germans: Double History of a Nation (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1941), pp. 5-7.

²Donald S. Detwiler, Germany, A Short History (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1976), pp. 6-7.

has always been vulnerable. Located near no natural barriers, Germany has suffered intrusions from bellicose foreigners, religious wars, and foreign domination. Preoccupation with a military build-up, and the desire for expanding its "living space" are factors that can be traced back to historical and geographical foundations.

At the time of the Roman Empire, Germany, as a geographical entity, comprised the lands east of the Rhine River. Germania Barbara (barbarian), east of the Rhine, was the land the Roman Empire tried to conquer. Eventually the Romans, after fierce resistance from the Germanic tribes, did subdue and conquer the area east of the Rhine. The ambitious Roman, Germanicus, wished to extend the Roman Empire all the way to the Elbe River. After several disastrous attempts to accomplish this feat, he was called back to Rome by his uncle, and ruler, Tiberius. Tiberius had come to realize the limits of Roman power and the danger of territorial overextension of the Empire. Tiberius decided against any other attempt to secure Germanic lands west of the Elbe.³

To many historians, this was a critical point in Germany's political development. Had the Romans permanently settled the lands between the Rhine River and the Elbe River, the division between the "old" Christian Germany of the South and West and the "newer" lands of the East, converted

³Will Durant, Caesar and Christ (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1944), pp. 478-481.

to Christianity during the Middle Ages, could have been avoided. During the Reformation and the Wars of Religion, the "newer" lands of the Northeast developed into centers of Protestantism; the South and the West became the centers of Catholicism. With this religious polarization came a political polarization developed in the Northeast: a racist national spirit indigenous in these untainted lands. This racist nationalism was Germanic by nature, not influenced or touched by Roman civilization, which was in its final stages of decline.⁴

The Germanic tribe that moved into the Roman Empire in the early centuries of the Christian period was the Franks. Their ruler, Charlemagne, was crowned emperor in 800 A.D. by the Pope in Rome. This Frankish empire stretched throughout most of Western Europe. The Carolingian Empire under Charlemagne was unable to hold onto the tenuous hegemony in Western Europe; furthermore, unlike the Roman Empire that established governmental institutions in the conquered lands, the Franks had minimal success in establishing any unified states within their empire.⁵

The centuries after Charlemagne's reign saw tremendous strife between the secular and religious worlds. By the early years of the ninth century, the division between church

⁴Detwiler, op. cit., pp. 18-20.

⁵George Sabine, A History of Political Theory (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), pp. 192-196.

and state manifested itself in an internecine civil war within the Germanic territories. With the signing of the Concordat of Worms in 1122, Henry V surrendered to the church complete control in the appointment of local bishops. By 1122 the power of Germanic ruler had been reduced. The division between church and state had been realized by the early twelfth century.⁶

With the ascent of the Hohenstauffen Dynasty (1138-1250), the Germanic empire received a ruler who was dedicated to the restoration of a strong feudal monarchy. Frederick Barbarossa's sagacious winning of the local princes' loyalties allowed the empire to unify and develop. After Barbarossa's death (1190), divisions and conflicting loyalties continued to surface and any attempt by succeeding rulers to restore a unified monarchy was thwarted by foreign interference and domestic turmoil.⁷ It seems evident that throughout German history, unification was accomplished less by popular consensus than by the will and determination of single individuals. Frederick Barbarossa, Frederick the Great, Bismark and Hitler all achieved unification in varying degrees.

With the promulgation of the Golden Bull (1356) by Charles IV, the empire continued on its course of deep divisions and separated localities. This constitution regulated the succession to the throne of all kings for the following

⁶Durant, The Age of Faith (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1950), pp. 661-663.

⁷Detwiler, op. cit., pp. 38-44.

four hundred and fifty years. The king of the empire was to be chosen by seven prince electors. Because of their long struggle against a centralized monarchy, the local princes applauded their rise in power politics, locally and nationally. Although their power was not absolute, it was sufficient enough to compete with the king's power; this dualism was to have a profound effect on the empire.⁸ Thus, the Golden Bull of 1356 formally constitutionalized the weaknesses of the central monarchy and further fragmented the empire.

The House of Hapsburg (1438-1806) ruled the empire during the early stirrings of the Reformation. In 1495, "Eternal Peace" was proclaimed by the Imperial Diet of Worms. The Diet established uniform codes on law and law enforcement. A supreme court was set up to hear and decide cases arising in the many principalities. Furthermore, an Imperial Governing Council was established as part of the executive branch under, but not submissive to, the king. Princes, nobles, burghers, and electors served on the council. As the approaching Reformation gave way to religious quarreling, the Council, instead of unifying into a cohesive body, fell to petty bickering and further fragmented an already fragmented empire.⁹ Germany, from the time of the Christian period, had developed into local provinces, unable to consolidate into a centralized, cohesive entity.

⁸ Durant, op. cit., pp. 658-660.

⁹ Durant, The Reformation (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1953), pp. 357-363.

When Martin Luther nailed his religious thesis to the door of the cathedral in Wittenberg, the Reformation had its official beginning. His eloquent document, citing the abuses of the Catholic Church, incited a revolutionary fever that spread throughout Europe. In his book, German History, Hans Kohn cites the importance of Martin Luther as he influenced the German attitude: "In the Western concept, man sins by the abuse of power; in the German Lutheran concept man sins by revolting against power."¹⁰ From Luther we received the command to be subject to authority indicating his view of man and his relationship with his government. This authoritarian concept of the state was found by Kohn and other historians to be deeply ingrained in the German political experience. The separation of German tradition, thought and political experiences from the developing liberalism in the rest of Western Europe can be traced from Luther through Hegel, Fichte to Treitschke.

The Thirty Years' War, fought over religious differences between Catholicism and Protestantism ended with signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Along with perpetuating the status quo ante bellum concerning the empire's boundaries, the Treaty marked the formal and final cleavage between the two denominations. Unlike France, England and Spain, Germany continued as an empire deeply divided between the two religions.¹¹

¹⁰ Hans Kohn, German History (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1954), p. 17.

¹¹ Durant, The Age of Reason Begins (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1961), pp. 556-568.

In the period between the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia and the French Revolution, the Germanic empire resembled a cross-work quilt consisting of three hundred principalities and three hundred monarchs consumed with consolidating their personal political power. The empire of Frederick Barbarossa had been divided and broken into tiny, quasi-autonomous principalities. Rivalry abounded among these localities, but one was to evolve which would overshadow and ultimately dominate the rest: Brandenburg-Prussia.

Along with the rise of Brandenburg-Prussia, political disunity continued to plague the empire. The cleavage between Catholicism and Protestantism, national and local interests, Austria and Prussia, and the centralized monarchy vis-a-vis the local princes ran deeply through the German political experience.

In the seventeenth century, England, France and Spain saw the demise of feudalism; in Germany it lingered on for several centuries afterward. The former developed into modern nation-states, an elusive goal for the Germans. Feudalism, agrarianism, and the lack of a middle class would cause Germany to remain far behind these Western European countries in terms of its political development.¹²

As we have seen, feudal Germany witnessed the emergence of a feudal principality, Prussia, which began to

¹²Koppel S. Pinson, Modern Germany (New York: Macmillan, 1954), pp. 5-6.

dominate the affairs within the empire. Under the reign of the Great Elector, Brandenburg-Prussia brought in three other counties to the union: Mark, Revensburg, and Cleves. This unification of several counties was accomplished with help from the Junkers, the landed aristocracy, who, along with the Great Elector, imposed a centralized bureaucracy throughout the union. Another achievement marking the reign of the Great Elector was the introduction of a standing army.¹³ Militarism had been formally legalized and would be equated with Prussian imperialism. From the first barbarian attack upon the Roman Empire to the collapse of the Third Reich, the Germanic people appear to have exhibited a predilection for military aggression. Hegel, in his essay on the Constitution of Germany, 1802, supplied the rationale for this aggressive behavior. He stated that war rather than peace made a state show its mettle and strength and allowed it to rise to its potential.¹⁴

Hegel continued to write on the affairs of Europe and the importance of a unified Germany. He had made an analysis concerning the decline of the empire dating from the Treaty of Westphalia. Hegel concluded that particularism and provincialism had caused the weaknesses inherent in the empire. He stated that the empire had lost its past greatness and was wholly out of accord with the realities of European politics.

¹³Ralph Flenley, Modern German History (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1968), p. 37.

¹⁴Horst von Maltitz, The Evolution of Hitler's Germany (New York: McGraw Hill, 1973), p. 246.

In A History of Political Theory, George Sabine paraphrases Hegel's thoughts: "In particular it (Germany) must be contrasted with the unified national governments which modern monarchy has produced in Spain, France and England, and which has failed to develop in Germany and Italy."¹⁵

Frederick William I and Frederick II continued to rule Brandenburg-Prussia after the death of the Great Elector in the latter years of the seventeenth century. Under Frederick the Great, Prussia consolidated its power and grew to become one of the powers in Western Europe. By the time of his death in 1786, Frederick the Great had brought Prussia into the world as a powerful state.¹⁶

The French Revolution had a profound effect upon Western Europe, but had less influence in the Germanic principalities. The great liberal principles of the Revolution were lost on the agrarian, feudal lands of the empire. According to Horst von Maltitz in his book, The Evolution of Hitler's Germany, everything French was regarded with suspicion:

. . . the Germans saw the French, far from bringing them liberty and equality, had brought them foreign imperialism. It was the case of a deep German feeling of being rejected and of an intense reaction to it. . . .

Horst von Maltitz continues:

. . . Fichte's all important Addresses to the German Nation developed the consciousness of

¹⁵ Sabine, op. cit., p. 632.

¹⁶ Detwiler, op. cit., pp. 90-103.

a German uniqueness, the budding concept of the German Volk as a substitute for a unified state which did not yet exist. The emotional and intellectual break with the West cut very deep across modern German history, and it was not completely healed until after 1945.¹⁷

German political nationalism was a product of the French Revolution. Nationalism before the Revolution had been completely cultural; the great German nationalist, Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) had promulgated cultural nationalism vis-a-vis the French influence upon German literature. Herder concluded that Germany had, and would always have, a "fixed national spirit."¹⁸ Herder was concerned with German culture and how it would rid itself of French influence. German literature, according to Herder, free from Western influence, would establish a native culture based on German folk traditions. This "volk" concept was promulgated by Herder and the German intelligentsia at the time of the French Revolution. Arndt, Gorres, Fichte, Schleiermacher, and Herder all advocated a national consciousness by which the Germans would construct a nation.¹⁹ The French Revolution was responsible for the budding of German nationalism.

Closely associated with German nationalism at this time was the development of an irrational, emotional

¹⁷ von Maltitz, op. cit., p. 297.

¹⁸ Sabine, op. cit., p. 574.

¹⁹ Pinson, op. cit., pp. 40-49.

philosophy. Mythos, or Sehnsuct, was the yearning for the unattainable, the lost, and dreams. Muller, Schlegel, Gorros, Schleiermacher and Fichte, as the core of the German intelligentsia, developed a peculiar form of romanticism based on Sehnsuct. These men promulgated a concept of the state based upon this type of romanticism, leading away from individual feelings toward an organic community, founded within a collective, nationalistic state. The Reichs of Bismark and Hitler had political, emotional and cultural roots sown in the centuries before German unification.²⁰

With the subtle appearance of German consciousness came the break-up of the Holy Roman Empire. With the defeat of Napoleon's armies, the Congress of Vienna established the German Confederation which consisted of thirty-nine states under the presidency of Austria. The several hundred principalities which had once comprised the German empire were never restored.

The period following Napoleon's defeat was known as the period of the Restoration. This period witnessed the ongoing battle between conservatives and liberals. Koppel S. Pinson writes in his book Modern Germany that Georg Hegel (1770-1831), a great German philosopher cited earlier in this chapter, represented a synthesis of these two currents:

. . . Hegel combined the rationalism of the eighteenth century with the new individualizing historicism of the nineteenth. His theory of the

²⁰ Ibid.

dialectic was an attempt to find logic and inner meaning in the process of history that was open to rational and scientific observation and analysis. His views on constitutionalism were closely akin to the moderate British type of liberalism of the time. But his emphasis on the idea of development and change, his concept of the Volksggeist . . . , his elaboration of the idea of the Machtstaat with its worship of the powerful state as the highest political entity, subject to no other law but its own; and his acceptance of the Prussian patriarchal state of his own time as the concrete realization of his political ideal, all marked a definite break with the liberal, rational and universal tradition of the Enlightenment and a closer affinity with romantic and historical nationalism and conservatism. . . .²¹

The Restoration saw an end of the old, emotional, and cultural nationalism as represented by Herder and others, and witnessed the development of a new conflict centered around the liberal and conservative ideologies competing for control of the governments in Europe at that time. The popular uprising in Germany--the Revolution of 1848--was launched in an effort to liberalize the governments in the German states. German attachment to order, tradition, and authority left little room for such concepts as natural rights, popular sovereignty, and democratic reforms.²²

Hajo Holborn, in his book, A History of Modern Germany, lists a variety of factors which led to the revolt of 1848. Holborn cites the growth of capitalism, the rise of the intellectual classes, the growth of liberalism in Europe, and the influence of nationalism upon the war veterans as the

²¹Pinson, op. cit., p. 51.

²²Ibid, pp. 51-52.

core of the revolution. These blended together to launch the attack upon the anachronistic monarchy in Germany. The aims of the Revolution were,

. . . the transformation of the authoritarian into a popular state and the achievement of German national unification. Both aims had proved unattainable. The revolutionary tide, which in March of 1848 had engulfed all of Germany quickly receded and dissolved. In the spring of 1848, the revolutionary movement seemed to have succeeded not only in winning great visible concessions but also in shaking the faith of the ruling class in the moral foundations of the old political order. But as soon as the governments had indicated their willingness to compromise, the popular movement had begun to lose its inner unity. Diversities of social and political objectives came to light which sapped the power of the revolutionary movement and made eventual victory of the counter-revolution possible. The causes of the failure of the German revolution lay deep in the historical structure of German political and social life. . . . 23

Emil Ludwig in his book The Germans tends to agree with Holborn in his analysis of the Revolution of 1848.

Ludwig writes:

. . . on March 18, 1848, a royal decree promised the desired Constitution. The King, Ludwig II, promised the people fulfillment of all their demands. On March 21, the King proclaimed that Prussia would be dissolved into Germany. There was universal hope that the new Prussian Constitution would set off a new unification of Germany. Between so weak a king and so patient a people, no revolution could evolve.²⁴

In Modern Germany, Koppel S. Pinson writes:

. . . the most widespread and prevalent explanation for the failure of the Frankfurt assembly holds

²³ Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany, Vol. III (New York: Knopf Press, 1969), p. 259.

²⁴ Ludwig, op. cit., pp. 313-314.

that it was due to too much talk, too much theorizing and too many doctrinaires and professors among the delegates. The victory of the counter-revolution was one over constitutional reform, over parliamentary and social revolutionary democracy.

. . . Politics became materialistic, authoritarian, and Realpolitik. The governments had to prepare themselves against any possible repetition of such outbreaks and they demanded discipline and trust from all. The master achievement of the counter-revolution was to diffuse among the German people the belief that they had no political talent and that they should leave politics to the few who know its ways better than they do.²⁵

Even Frederick Engels offered his opinion on the collapse of liberalism in Germany: "Thus, vanished the German Parliament and with it the first and last creation of the Revolution. . . . Political liberalism, the rule of the bourgeoisie . . . is forever impossible in Germany."²⁶

The period of time after the Revolution until the establishment of the Second Reich was characterized by domestic and foreign instability. It was also time for the inevitable showdown between Austria and Prussia, in terms of which one would dominate the Germanic hegemony. Ultimately Prussia would prevail and would set the stage for German unification into a modern nation-state.

Emerging at this time was a group of political historians, namely, Max Duncker, Gustav Droysen, Heinrich von Sybel and Heinrich von Treitschke. These men were responsible for encouraging nationalism and popular support for

²⁵Pinson, op. cit., pp. 106-107.

²⁶Friedrick Engels, Revolution and Counter-Revolution (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 111-112, cited by Pinson, op. cit., p. 106.

Prussia. They also developed a theory of the state similar to Hegel's which ultimately led to the foundations on which the Second Reich was founded. These men were opposed to a democratic form of government, and really advocated a centralized monarchy.²⁷

The Second Reich, with its centralized monarchy, was born in the latter part of the nineteenth century after a series of "unifying" wars: the Danish War of 1864, the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian War of 1871. Germany had become a modern nation-state. Its constitution contained nothing regarding individual rights, principles guaranteeing freedoms, or limits on the federal government. It provided for a king to head the Reich. The constitution of the Second Reich showed some liberal tendencies, especially with respect to the Reichstag, which was the popular assembly elected by universal manhood suffrage of all citizens over twenty-five, but exhibited conservative tendencies evident in Germany since the middle years of the nineteenth century. The Prussian army retained great power within the Reich. Its political influence was evident in the body politic of the Reich. Prussia dominated the Second Reich.²⁸

With Bismark at the helm, the Second Reich developed into an authoritarian, militaristic and nationalistic entity.

²⁷ Holborn, op. cit., pp. 268-272.

²⁸ Alan Bullock, Hitler, A Study in Tyranny (Revised ed.; New York: Bantam Books, 1961), p. 19.

The faith in force, "blood and iron" and deep Germanic beliefs in racial supremacy and uniqueness, left little room for liberalism to grow. Industrial and economic growth encouraged a military build-up and Germany traded its last vestiges of liberalism for military security. Germany's geographical position in Europe was partly responsible for its concern about military preparedness. By the last years of the nineteenth century Germany had developed into a powerful European state. Dominated by Prussia, the German state allowed constitutionalism, liberalism and individualism to silently succumb.²⁹

In the period between the foundation of the Second Reich and World War I, Germany witnessed an incredible economic and industrial revolution. By 1913, Germany was the outstanding competitor of England and the United States in world trade, in banking and in shipping. This industrial boom saw a rapid rise in population, widespread urbanization, and the extension of world trade.³⁰ The backward, agrarian land had been transformed into a modern, industrial state. The state was careful to regulate certain vital businesses: electrical power plants, gas works, water works, and other utilities. Government also engaged in industrial and business enterprises as an entrepreneur. Breweries, tobacco factories, mining, forestry and large-scale agriculture were

²⁹Pinson, op. cit., pp. 287-297.

³⁰Ibid., p. 219.

taken over by the government. Imperial Germany regulated an economic system of mixed private and public ownership. This allowed for a smooth transition into Hitler's war economy state.³¹

It was during this period that the social sciences received special attention. Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) and his disciples were instrumental in diffusing the Hegelian concept of the Machstaat and the continuing development of German nationalism. The German historians in this period gave their attention to the romantic interpretation of the spiritual history of man, deviating from the generalizing, rationalistic and universalistic traditions of the stoic, Christian and natural-law doctrines and movements. Great emphasis was placed on German romanticism and naturalism.³² These two concepts would resurface fifty years later as important components of National Socialism.

One of the towering figures of the Romantic era was Richard Wagner. He took over the racial theories of Comte de Gobineau and became a chief propagandist for Nordic racism. Wagner also was an Anti-Semite, and spearheaded the Anti-Semitic movements, which, by the end of the nineteenth century were becoming forces of considerable strength in

³¹Pinson, op. cit., pp. 228-230.

³²Holborn, op. cit., pp. 519-527.

Germany. Paganism, the worship of Teutonic gods, was another legacy left to the Nazis by Wagner.³³

Friedrich Nietzsche, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Heinrich von Treitschke and a host of others all supplied the foundations upon which the Second Reich and, more importantly, the Third Reich rested.³⁴

The Bismarkian Empire lasted half a century. William II was forced to abdicate at the end of World War I. Germany had entered a disastrous war, and was humiliated by its defeat, and the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. After the collapse of the Second Reich, the allies instituted a democratic parliamentary government known as the Weimar Republic. The young Republic struggled with postwar inflation, massive unemployment, the Great Depression and the growing forces of Marxists. Along with these cataclysmic events, Germany struggled with the new government which had no cultural, social, historical, philosophical, or political foundation. Authoritarianism, nationalism, conservatism, militarism, and racism were the German experience. The Weimar Republic imposed upon the Germans by foreigners was doomed from the beginning. Germany had had no experience in democratic government.

³³ William Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), p. 101.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 90-113.

From the Weimar Republic, a democratic state, a man and an ideology would emerge; they, together, would impose one of the most anti-democratic regimes the world had ever known. The Third Reich had deep historical foundations, it did not develop in a vacuum.

Chapter 2

THE COMPONENTS OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

Anti-Semitism

"First the Jews must bleed, only then shall we be free."

- SA song

The end of democratic government in Germany was hastened by the rise of the Nazi Party; its power was sufficient enough to propel its leader, Adolf Hitler, to the office of chancellor on January 30, 1933. "He was the legal chancellor called to power by the President in accordance with the constitutional powers vested in him by the Weimar Constitution. Thus, the Weimar Republic came to an end, not by assault from forces without, but, . . . by committing suicide."¹

The Third Reich replaced the Weimar Republic. Its political foundation, Weltanschauung, referred to an orderly, complete and real system of political beliefs which permeated all aspects of German life. Many trends and philosophies, not all German, converged to form the ideology embraced by the National Socialists. Many writers, not all German, contributed to the political theories upon which a nation based its existence.

¹Koppel S. Pinson, Modern Germany (New York: Macmillan, 1954), p. 478.

It has been argued that many political ideologies defy definition. Vagueness, conflicting points of view and juxtaposed theories all haunt political scientists in their search for what is political reality. While it is true that National Socialism comprised certain elusive patterns of thought, several seem quite apparent and easily discernible. We will turn to these now.

Probably the easiest component of National Socialism to recognize is Anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism was not a German invention entirely; its history dates far back into antiquity. No European country has been free of Anti-Semitism; the causes of such have been varied and complex. In Martin Luther's era, hatred of the Jews was highly evident. Luther himself was an Anti-Semite; in 1542 he published an essay entitled Against the Jews and Their Lies. Luther felt the Jews were a heavy burden, a plague on Germany.² Luther called for the expulsion of all Jews from German soil.

From Luther to the latter part of the nineteenth century, Anti-Semitism spread at an increasingly rapid pace. The Jewish Problem as a Problem of Race, Ethics and Culture was published by Eugen Dühring in 1881. According to Dühring the Jews were the lowest creatures of nature.³ In 1886, an "Anti-Semitic congress" was established and ultimately led

²Horst von Maltitz, The Evolution of Hitler's Germany (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), p. 76.

³Ibid., p. 77.

to a union of many anti-Jewish organizations. Heinrich von Treitschke gave his stamp of approval on Anti-Semitic movements in Germany; while Theodor Fritsch, in 1887, published The Anti-Semitic Catechism, which was republished during the Third Reich and earned him the honored title of the "old maestro."⁴

At this time, two influential non-German writers received special recognition in Germany for their Anti-Semitic publications. From the Frenchman, Gobineau, Germany received the "legal" foundation of racial superiority and the rationale for its Anti-Semitic behavior. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Richard Wagner's son-in-law, published The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century in 1900; it was also to furnish the German middle class with Anti-Semitic teachings.⁵ Chamberlain met Hitler in August 1914, and wrote him a letter a few days later. In the letter, Chamberlain expressed deep admiration for Hitler, stating that he (Chamberlain) felt Hitler would transform Germany into a new, great nation. Gobineau and Chamberlain furnished the bulk of racial writings upon which the foundation of the Third Reich rested.⁶ We will examine more closely the influence of these men in the section dealing with the race theories.

⁴George L. Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 112.

⁵William L. Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1960), pp. 107-108.

⁶Ibid., p. 109.

One of the most virulent propagators of Anti-Semitism was Hermann Ahlwardt. Ahlwardt took his hatred of the Jews to the brink of violence. Published in 1890 Der Verzweiflungskampf der Arischen Volker mit dem Judentum (The War of Desperation Between the Aryan Peoples and Judaism) became the cornerstone of Anti-Semitism in Germany, advocating the hanging of Jews, the imposition of restrictions on all Jews, and finally, if these two measures were not employed, Ahlwardt, in his book, urged the deportation of all Jews from Europe while all their assets were to be confiscated. Fifty years after the publication of this book, the National Socialist regime was to consider its implications in what was called the "Madagascar Plan."⁷ Hitler's sentiments embodied in his writings reflected the influence of Hermann Ahlwardt. Compare these two quotes, the first from Ahlwardt, the second from Hitler:

. . . the people (Volk) which rids itself of the Jews first and most radically and thus frees the way for the natural development of its culture will be summoned to be the bearers of culture and consequently also to be the ruler of the world. . . .⁸

. . . a State that in this age of race poisoning dedicates itself to the best racial elements must some day become the ruler of the world. . . .⁹

⁷ von Maltitz, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

⁸ Herman Ahlwardt, The War of Desparation (Frankfurt: [n.n.], 1890), p. 239, cited by von Maltitz, op. cit. p. 79.

⁹ Adolph Hitler, Mein Kampf (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1943), p. 782.

Ahlwardt went as far as to say Jews should be exterminated, a policy Hitler would follow with undying vigor.

One can see the extent of Anti-Semitism in Germany, if one examines the events of the last, hectic days of the Third Reich. The extermination camps were operating until the Allies overran them in 1945; and Hitler, in the last days of his life, wrote his political testament stating that Europe would be eternally grateful to him and National Socialism for eradicating the Jews from Europe. He wrote:

. . . I have fought the Jews with an open visor. I gave them a final warning when the war broke out. I left them in no doubt that they would not be spared this time, should they once more thrust the world into war-- that the vermin in Europe would be exterminated once and for all. . . . I have lanced the Jewish abcess, like the others. For this, the future will be eternally grateful to us . . . the world will be eternally grateful to National Socialism that I have extinguished the Jews in Germany and Central Europe. . . .¹⁰

Extinguish the Jews, Hitler almost did: conservative figures estimate six million Jews succumbed during the Third Reich.¹¹

Two other men were to have a profound influence on Hitler during his early years in Vienna. Georg Ritter von Schonerer and Karl Lueger, the mayor of Vienna at the time, were ardent Anti-Semitic politicians.¹² When Hitler came to

¹⁰ Last Testament dictated to Martin Bormann, Feb. 13, 1945, cited by John Toland, Adolf Hitler (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976), p. 191.

¹¹ Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, Documents on Nazism 1919-1945 (New York: The Viking Press, 1974), p. 493.

¹² Shirer, op. cit., p. 24.

power in 1933, he fused their writings and ideologies with his own. All three men were Austrians, indicating that Anti-Semitism was not confined to Germany, but was evidenced throughout most of Europe in varying degrees.

From the early years of the new century to the defeat of Germany in World War I, Anti-Semitic movements were in a relative period of decline. Anti-Semitism, however, was still very much alive. The decline of Anti-Semitic group activities seems linked to the emergence, at that time, of German imperialism and industrial expansion. The middle class, the major source of Anti-Semitism, was involved in the period of grandeur: the greatness of the Kaiser, the expansion of the navy, and the threats of war. By the early years of the nineteenth century, Anti-Semitism had ceased to be an overt movement, it had succeeded in inculcating itself into the minds of a great segment of the German populace. It had become an indigenous, accepted tenet within Germany.¹³

The defeat of Germany in 1918 left it with a new government, soaring inflation, unemployment, growing socialism, and bitter humiliation.¹⁴ Anti-Semitism surfaced again much more violently than before. The promulgation of the German defeat was laid to the hands of the Jews. A view held by a vast number of Germans concerning the cause of Germany's

¹³ Marshall Dill, Germany (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1970), p. 167.

¹⁴ Pinson, op. cit., p. 487.

defeat in World War I centered around the Jewish-Communist coalitions that surfaced during the war. To many Germans, the war had not been lost in the trenches but by treason, treachery, and sabotage inflicted by these coalitions that "stabbed Germany in the back." Walter Laqueur in Out of the Ruins of Europe found that many Jews were members and leaders of left-wing organizations numerous in Germany during and after the war.¹⁵ Hitler summed up this widespread sentiment sweeping Germany at that time with this statement from Mein Kampf:

. . . if at the beginning of the War and during the War twelve or fifteen thousand of these Hebraic corrupters of the people had been held under poison gas . . . , then the sacrifice of millions at the front would not have been in vain. . . .¹⁶

Sigmund Freud commented on the growing Anti-Semitic movement within Germany. He believed that the intense hatred of the Jews by many nations had several causes. Some of the causes were derived from reality, some from deep secret sources.¹⁷ It has been stated that National Socialism invented none of the causes of Anti-Semitism, but intensified those causes with brutalizing effect.

One cause of Anti-Semitism with deep historical roots was the deep-seated religious cleavage evident in Germany throughout many centuries of its historical and political development. As we have seen, Germany had been the scene of

¹⁵Walter Laqueur, Out of the Ruins of Europe (New York: Library Press, 1971), p. 479.

¹⁶Hitler, op. cit., p. 472.

¹⁷von Maltitz, op. cit., p. 93.

fierce religious battles that took place between the Catholics and Protestants. The decades before the establishment of the Nazi government witnessed the growing hatred of the Jews by Christian Germans. To many Germans, the Jews were "Christ killers," while the Jews upheld themselves as the "chosen people." This difference of opinion found its way, more or less unchanged, into the minds of the Germans. In his book, T. W. Adorno illustrates the long and profound effect these religious differences had upon the conscious and unconscious German mind:

. . . the fight against the Jews seems to be modeled after the fight between the Redeemer and the Christian Devil; that the hatred toward Jewish bankers and money-lenders has its biblical archetype in the story of Jesus driving the usurers from the temple; that Judas betrays not only Jesus but also the in-group to which he had been admitted, presumably the counterpart of the German Volk community. It is possible, in fact, that the resemblance between the German word Jude, meaning Jew and the traitor's name Judas, established an ineradicable connection in the German unconscious between Jews and hateful treason. . . .¹⁸

It is interesting to note that the predominance of Jews in money lending and financial businesses was a result of laws passed early in the twentieth century prohibiting Jews from owning land. The Jews, subsequently, gravitated to urban areas where they established trades and businesses.¹⁹ The Jews were particularly ubiquitous in Vienna where Hitler had formed his first and most enduring impressions.

¹⁸ T. W. Adorno, The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), pp. 728-729.

¹⁹ Shirer, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

Sigmund Freud, already cited, was writing concurrently with the Hitler regime, and examined the religious causes for the intense hatred of the Jews. He concluded:

. . . the deeper motives of the hatred of the Jews are rooted in times long past. . . . I venture to contend that the jealousy of the people who claimed to be the first-born preferred child of God the Father has still not been overcome by the others. . . . Moreover, among the customs by which the Jews segregated themselves, circumcision made an unpleasant, sinister impression . . . and finally the latest motive in this series: one should remember that all those nations who now excel in the hatred of the Jews did not become Christians until late in history, often driven to it by bloody force. . . . They have not overcome their resentment of the new religion that was forced upon them, but they have shifted this resentment to the sources from which Christianity came to them. The fact that the Gospels tell a story which takes place among Jews and, in actual fact, deals only with Jews has facilitated this shift. Their hatred of the Jews is basically hatred of Christianity, and it is not surprising that in the national socialist revolution this intimate relationship between the two monotheistic religions is expressed so plainly by the hostile treatment of both. . . . 20

Jews, then, by religion and race were identified as foreign, sinister, and suspicious. Germany's religious differences spawning many centuries culminated in an intense polarization of political, social and religious ideas. The German solution to these unwanted and "inferior" influences of Judaism was the Final Solution.²¹

²⁰ Sigmund Freud, Der Mann Moses, Vol. 16 (London: London Press, 1950), pp. 197-198, cited by von Maltitz, op. cit., pp. 105-106.

²¹ Alan Bullock, Hitler, A Study in Tyranny (New York: Bantam Books, 1961), p. 274.

The immigration of scores of Jews in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries compounded and intensified the differences between them and the Aryan Germans. Many of these Jews arrived from Eastern Europe and quickly established themselves in the larger cities within the empire.²²

Many of these immigrants were shabby and dirty. The establishment of the Jews in the ghettos of the large cities made them an exceedingly visible target for the taunts and harassment inflicted by elements of the German populace. Their presence was repulsive to many Germans who witnessed their wanderings up and down the city streets. The presence of these Jews, and more coming from other European countries, was a unifying force among the Germans. The Germans watched in horror the rapid rise of Jews in positions of authority throughout factories, businesses, shops and universities. The Germans witnessed the new and strange habits and culture the Jews brought to their country, and almost all Aryans could agree that the Jew brought an inferior, frightening, and undesirable existence into the Germanic community.²³

With the support of the middle class, Adolf Hitler turned on the Jew, his thoughts were succinctly expressed in this statement: "For a people like the Germans, it is particularly necessary to indicate one sole enemy, to march

²² Shirer, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

²³ von Maltitz, op. cit., pp. 110-115.

against one sole enemy."²⁴ There could be little doubt that in 1925 when this view was part of an early speech of Hitler's that that enemy was the Jew.

Along with the development of Hitler's "visible enemy" theory, another phenomenon was surfacing that allowed many Germans to circumvent the disastrous debacle of World War I. Alluded to earlier in this section the scapegoat for the defeat of the mighty, brave German soldier was the Jew.

This popular belief was further strengthened, when, after the war, soviets, or councils, began to spring up throughout Germany. The Jew was held responsible for introducing Marxism in Germany, and on the other hand embracing such "Western" ideologies as parliamentarianism, liberalism, and democracy. As a cosmopolitan, the Jew was viewed as one who revered international interests over national ones.²⁵

This was particularly abhorrent to a people who honored nationalism, authoritarianism, and agrarianism. Erich Kahler points to the following as crucial in understanding Anti-Semitism:

. . . and when we examine the arguments raised against the Jews by modern Anti-Semites, we find the crucial point to be the . . . connection of Jewish internationality with the survival as a special folk group; the claim to be citizens of modern nation-states and citizens of the modern world, while at the same time remaining Jews. . . .²⁶

²⁴ Leon Poliakov, The History of Anti-Semitism (New York: Norton, 1965), p. 833, cited by von Maltitz, op. cit., p. 129. (An early speech by Hitler, Feb. 27, 1925.)

²⁵ Sabine, op. cit., pp. 905-906.

²⁶ Erich Kahler, The Jews Among the Nations (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1967), pp. 11, 27.

National Socialism adopted a pseudo-Darwinistic theory to further justify the persecution of Jews during the Third Reich. The survival of the fittest theory was adopted to explain that only a superior race was capable of enduring and thriving in the natural order of things. The Germanic race was biologically superior among races, and this superiority carried with it the responsibility of keeping itself clean and free from contamination from less superior races. National Socialism promulgated the notion that the Jews were the most inferior of races, they were vermin--subhuman. It is interesting to note that this "vermin" was exceedingly successful in many areas of endeavor: the arts, the sciences, business, and had, in fact, produced some of the greatest minds of the twentieth century: Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, and Karl Marx. The achievements of the Jews made the idea of German superiority extremely difficult to rationalize; therefore, an even more virulent Anti-Semitism evolved that was based more upon irrational, mindless notions than anything else.²⁷

The German word Zersetzung means decay, decomposition, putrefaction. According to those who believed in the pseudo-Darwinistic approach manufactured by the Nazis, Zersetzung was synonymous with the Jew. The eminent nineteenth century historian, Heinrich von Treitschke, mentioned earlier, lent his respected name to Anti-Semitic agitation during the last

²⁷ Pinson, op. cit., pp. 485-490.

years of the nineteenth century. Treitschke believed the Jew was responsible for the decay of civilized nations. He held that the Jew was instrumental in destroying pure Germanic values.²⁸ Hitler eagerly grasped Treitschke's ideas and voiced them in a philosophical, yet violent way:

. . . many Jews . . . were not aware of the destructive nature of their existence. But anyone who destroys life exposes himself to death, and nothing else will happen to them! . . . We don't know what meaning there is in this arrangement of things that we see the Jews destroy the nations. Is it that nature has created them (the Jews) so that they, by their destructiveness, may stir up other nations? If so, Paul (St. Paul) and Trotzky would be the most estimable Jews, because they made the greatest contribution to this. By their actions, they generated resistance. . . .²⁹

In fairness, it should be pointed out that there were Jews living in Germany in the twentieth century who did wish to destroy the German state. Kurt Tucholsky, a German-Jewish writer (1890-1935), was a fairly typical representative of the Jewish intelligentsia during the Weimar Republic. In 1919 Tucholsky stated that the remotest black Zulu in Africa was closer to the Jews than the Germans could ever be.³⁰ Tucholsky, in his book

²⁸ Richard Grunberger, The Twelve-Year Reich (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971), p. 15.

²⁹ Hitler, op. cit., pp. 498, 743.

³⁰ von Maltitz, op. cit., p. 145.

Deutschland, Deutschland uber Alles, attacked every facet of German life and was as close in the intensity of his emotions as Hitler was in his own. In 1926 Tucholsky wrote that his indifference to the German state was not a betrayal, for he felt nothing had been entrusted to him.³¹ Patriotism to him was non-existent within the Jewish intelligentsia. He further stated that he would deliver any secret of the German Army to any foe. All of this, he concluded, would be for the sake of peace and the love of Europe.³² This represents a fairly typical sampling of Jewish opinion, especially among the Jewish elite. Jewish radicalism was a powerful force in Germany in the early years of the twentieth century. The penetration of the Jews into the free professions (lawyers, doctors, dentists, scholars) was considerable, and Jewish operated or owned newspapers were instrumental in supporting Jewish causes. Many magazines printed in Germany at this time were also Jewish. Hence, Jewish journalists, often at odds with German attitudes, could daily expound their views via the newspapers, journals, and magazines. It is interesting to note that in 1914, the three most influential newspapers in Berlin and Frankfurt were Jewish owned or operated.³³

³¹Ibid., p. 148.

³²Ibid.

³³Peter Pulzer, The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria (New York: Wiley, 1964), p. 13.

Regardless of so-called Jewish radical elements within Germany, the Third Reich carried its hatred of a race of people to unbelievable heights. George Sabine describes this Anti-Jewish policy as the "acme of inhumanity."³⁴ Sabine agrees with Horst von Maltitz in the assessment of Jewish agitation within the Third Reich. The Jew provided a visible target who aided in his demise by vocalizing international, Marxist, and capitalistic sentiments in a land that regarded these as poison. This single, tangible enemy unified all classes of Germans in their hatred, fears, and resentments. Sabine writes:

First, Anti-Semitism made it possible to transmute a variety of hatreds and fears . . . and class antagonisms into the fear of a single tangible enemy. The fear of communism became fear of Jewish Marxism; resentment against employers became hatred of Jewish capitalism; national insecurity became fear of a Jewish plot to dominate the world; economic insecurity became hatred for the Jewish control of big business.³⁵

Erich Fromm succinctly addresses the psychological need of many Germans at the time of the National Socialist regime, in terms of their intense ragings against the Jews. Fromm believes the Germans were sadists:

. . . racial and political minorities within Germany and eventually other nations which are described (by the National Socialists) as weak or decaying are the objects of sadism upon which the (German) masses are fed. . . .³⁶

³⁴ Sabine, op. cit., p. 909.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 909-910.

³⁶ Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. 221.

Anti-Semitism was the cornerstone of National Socialist ideology. The racial theories of German superiority culminated in the unyielding belief that the extermination of the Jew was Germany's only salvation. Lebensraum was necessary to provide space for the developing master race. Military might was employed to secure the new living space and a national spirit made it possible for the German masses to unite and carry forth a policy of genocide.

Chapter 3

THE RACE THEORIES

"I am working toward a condition in which everyone knows: he lives and dies for the maintenance of the species!"

- Hitler

At the very core, and closely associated with Anti-Semitism, was the concept of race and all its implications. Most of the National Socialist racial doctrine was taken from the writings of two men who were not Germans; French Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882), and an odd Englishman, Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927).¹ Other men, other philosophers and writers were also important in supporting and advocating the "Prometheus of humanity," the Aryan race. All these men professed an indomitable belief in the superiority of the Nordic or Aryan race. The "purity" of the Aryan race was of prime importance to such doctrine, all civilizations of the past decayed or disappeared because of racial mixture. All creativity, all culture, all outstanding endeavors were products of a pure, untainted Aryan race. The real purpose of the state according to Adolf Hitler was the cultivation of racial purity. Unlike Hegel's concept of the

¹William L. Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), p. 103. Both men have already been referred to in Chapter 2 of this paper.

state as an end in itself and for itself, Hitler's concept of the state was principally only a means to an end and conceived this end to be the preservation of the racial existence of man. The true mission of the Third Reich was to gather all the best racial elements throughout Europe and to bring them up to the dominant position in the state. The state "must place race as the central point of the life of the community and must guard the preservation of its purity." The state was to educate and preserve the "bearer of the state."²

The French Count de Gobineau's major contribution to the evolution of the race theories was a four-volume work entitled Essai sur l' Inegalite des Races Humaines (Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races).³ It is interesting to note that Gobineau was "chef de cabinet" to the distinguished author of Democracy in America, Alexis de Tocqueville. In 1848, however, Gobineau was more influenced from his contact with the Germans when he journeyed to Hanover; that same year Gobineau dedicated his work to the King of Hanover, his work presented the key idea that civilizations rise and fall in accordance with the superiority or inferiority of the indigenous race. "The racial question dominates all the other problems of history . . . the inequality of races

² Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943), p. 442.

³ Louis Snyder, German Nationalism: The Tragedy of a People (New York: Kennikat Press, 1969), p. 202.

suffices to explain the whole unfolding of the destiny of peoples."⁴ According to Gobineau, there were three major races: white, yellow and black. The white race was superior. History shows that all civilization flows from the white race, that no civilization can exist without the cooperation of this race. The gem of the white race was the Aryan, ". . . this illustrious human family, the nobles among the white race,"⁵ who he traced back to Central Asia. Gobineau saw the southern Europeans as a superior race, however, tainted with the blood from inferior peoples. The northern Europeans, on the other hand, had survived throughout centuries, more or less superior, with minimal intermarriage among less superior peoples. To Gobineau, these northern Europeans were the ancestors of the modern Germans, hence the Nordic, Aryan, or Germanic peoples were the purest.⁶

Gobineau viewed the Germans, or at least the West Germans, to be the best of all the Aryans. Wherever the Teutons went, they brought change and improvement. The Teutons, mounting vicious raids on the Roman Empire, helped achieve the demise of the empire, doing civilization, as a whole, a great service. By that time of the early centuries A.D., the Romans had fallen into moral decadence and

⁴Count de Gobineau, Essay on the Inequalities of the Human Races (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1915), p. 210.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Snyder, op. cit., pp. 202-204.

indolence. The masterful, pure Aryans brought the Roman Empire to its knees. Gobineau believed that everything the Germans thought, said, and did was of major importance. The German, to Gobineau, was a powerful creature.⁷

Gobineau's ideas and racial theories were quickly accepted in Germany during the first decades of the twentieth century. Gobineau societies sprang up all over Germany; interestingly though, not in France. Ludwig Schemann, another writer on racialism, was instrumental in setting up and supporting the Gobineau societies, while espousing with great zeal his own particular racial beliefs.

Perhaps the most important man to make popular the "master Aryan" race theories in Germany was an eccentric Englishman, Houston Stewart Chamberlain. His book, Die Grundlagen des XIX Jahrhunderts (The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century), published in 1900,⁸ lists the great achievements (especially cultural) as culminated by the Germanic peoples. According to Chamberlain, three races of people existed: the Germans, the Jews, and the "half-breed" Latins of the Mediterranean--who he determined to be a chaotic race.⁹ The Germans alone were destined to be the rulers of the world. As for the Jews, Chamberlain conceded that they were not inferior, merely different. At a closer

⁷ Shirer, op. cit., p. 104.

⁸ Snyder, op. cit., p. 206.

⁹ Shirer, op. cit., p. 106.

examination of his book, it appears evident that Chamberlain does indeed resort to crude Anti-Semitic remarks. He contradicts himself several times on the Jews; early in the book they are merely different from the Germans, at the end he finds the Jews becoming a negative race, so that Aryans were justified in "denying" Israel. The philosophical basis of Nazi Anti-Semitism stemmed from Chamberlain's The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century.¹⁰

The impact of Chamberlain was greatest upon those who needed an "ideology" to support the legitimacy of Anti-Semitism and the so-called racial theories. As William Shirer writes:

. . . his racial theories and burning sense of the destiny of the Germans and Germany were taken over by the Nazis, who acclaimed him as one of their prophets. . . .¹¹

Chamberlain and his book taught the eager Germans that they alone could save the world. One of the most enthusiastic readers of The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century was Kaiser Wilhelm II.¹² Both men corresponded for a number of years. In a letter to the Kaiser before the outbreak of World War I, Chamberlain wrote:

Once Germany has achieved the power, and we may confidently expect her to achieve it--she must

¹⁰Houston Stewart Chamberlain, The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century, Vol. 2, trans. John Lees (London: [n.n.], 1911), pp. 11-22.

¹¹Shirer, op. cit., p. 108.

¹²Ibid.

immediately begin to carry out a scientific policy of genius. Augustus undertook a systematic transformation of the world, and Germany must do the same. . . . Equipped with offensive and defensive weapons, organized as firmly and flawlessly as the Army, superior to all in art, science, technology, industry, commerce, finance, in every field, in short; teacher, helmsman, and pioneer of the world, every man at his post, every man giving his utmost for the holy cause--thus Germany . . . will conquer the world by inner superiority. . . .¹³

Houston Chamberlain firmly believed the way of salvation rested upon the great Teutonic race, and that the Teutons, the Germans, were the highest-endowed for they had inherited the best qualities of the Indo-Aryans and the Greeks. These outstanding qualities gave the Germans the right to rule and to become the rulers of the world. He stated that God blessed the Germans solely. The Germans were capable of anything and they certainly would be the future rulers of the world.¹⁴

Chamberlain's The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century established the "legitimate" foundations for the development of the "master race" phenomenon that swept over Germany in the years before and concurrent with the Third Reich. William Shirer labels Chamberlain as the "spiritual founder"¹⁵ of National Socialist Germany. His influence was felt by a host of lesser-known racists, among them being Alfred Rosenberg,

¹³ Shirer, op. cit., p. 108.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 109.

¹⁵ Ibid.

one of Hitler's mentors, Ludwig Schemann, Julius Langbehn, Friedrich List, Adolph Wagner, and a great favorite of Hitler's, the great Romantic composer, Richard Wagner.¹⁶ Chamberlain, himself, met Hitler in Beyreuth in 1923. Ill and half-paralyzed, he was swept off his feet by the charming young Austrian. Chamberlain was convinced Adolf Hitler was Germany's savior. Chamberlain truly believed Hitler could transform the German state.¹⁷

In 1925, the Nazi Voelkischer Beobachter, a newspaper that enjoyed wide circulation in Germany, hailed Foundations as the "gospel of the Nazi movement."¹⁸ The Pan-German Association eagerly adopted the racist teachings of Chamberlain, hence, Chamberlain was responsible for influencing budding politicians and political organizations. Eventually, his influence was felt throughout Germany during the Third Reich. In Mein Kampf Hitler expressed the regret that Chamberlain's words were not heeded during the Second Reich.¹⁹

The Pan-German Association, founded in 1891, comprised some of the most respectable elements from German society: professors, teachers, nobles, politicians and businessmen. The Association was strongly racist and highly nationalistic. This is clearly indicated in the following

¹⁶ Koppel S. Pinson, Modern Germany (New York: Macmillan, 1954), pp. 496-499.

¹⁷ Shirer, loc. cit.

¹⁸ Snyder, op. cit., p. 205.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 75, 90.

quotation taken from the Association's Journal Alldeutsche Blatter, 1913:

The racial-biological ideology tells us that there are races that lead and races that follow. Political history is nothing but the history of struggles among leading races. Such men can conquer, may conquer, and shall conquer, and they shall be masters-- for their own benefit and for the benefit of others. That is true of our age just as it was true of the classical age. For not destruction but higher development is the result of the invasion by a high-minded noble race. This race serves the Lord of the army legions, and what it does is the work of the Savior. . . . 20

Nazi Anti-Semitism and Nazi racialism far from supporting "the work of the Savior," did a great deal to launch an attack upon Christianity. The official program of National Socialism declared itself in favor of Christianity. Hitler, a Catholic, publicly professed admiration for the lone spiritual hero of Nazareth. However, National Socialism in fact took the theme of Nietzsche's Genealogy of Morals and attacked Christianity as a form of Judaism. The Nazis rejected Christianity as an "essentially alien idea, foreign to the pure racial culture"²¹ of the early Germans. The Germans preferred Teuton paganism, portrayed so vividly in the music dramas of Richard Wagner. The true hero to the Germans was not Charlemagne who forced

²⁰ Hermann Huss and Andreas Schroder, eds., Anti-Semitism (Frankfurt: [n.n.], 1965), p. 27, cited by Horst von Maltitz, The Evolution of Hitler's Germany (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), p. 33.

²¹ Pinson, op. cit., p. 496.

the Germans to accept Christianity, but Widukin, the fearless leader of the pagan Saxons who fought the efforts of Chalemagne. Hitler remarked once, "Antiquity was better than modern times because it did not know Christianity and syphilis."²² Nazi ideology had no place in it for humility, mercy, love or charity. It valued force, strength, and racial purity. In a letter to Alfred Rosenberg on February 22, 1940, Martin Borman wrote:

Christianity and National Socialism are phenomena that arose out of quite different foundations. Both are so different from each other that it will be impossible to construct a Christian doctrine that could be approved from the standpoint of National Socialist Weltanschauung, in the same way that the Christian faiths will never understand how to recognize the full value of National Socialist Weltanschauung. . . .²³

National Socialism declared that Christianity was not compatible with its attitudes toward racial purity, marriage, family and so on. In fact, Hitler once declared, "One is either a German or a Christian. You can't be both."²⁴

Christianity, Judaism, and democracy were all attacked by the Pan-German Association. To many, National Socialism was the child of the Pan-Germans. The founder of the Pan-German Nationalist Party was George Ritter von Schoenerer

²²Trials of War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals, xiii, p. 422, cited by Pinson, op. cit., p. 496.

²³Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, xxv (Nürnberg, 1947-1949), 42 vols., no. 098-PS, pp. 192-193, cited by Ibid., p. 497.

²⁴P. E. Schramm, Hitler's Table Talks (Frankfurt: [n.n.], 1965), p. 304.

who Hitler deeply admired. Hannah Arendt, author of The Origins of Totalitarianism, contends that "Nazism . . . owes more to Pan-Germanism . . . than to any other ideology or political movement."²⁵ Although Hitler saw the mistakes made by the Pan-Germans in not accepting the masses as a political tool in their struggle against the powerful institutions of the state, the Army, the churches and governmental institutions, he described himself as a Pan German in his beliefs and convictions.²⁶

The development of the concept of racial superiority was aided by a group of intellectuals who influenced generations of Germans throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Johann Gottlieb Fichte, in 1807, from the University of Berlin, began his famous Addresses to the German Nation by stating that Latins, Jews, and the French were decadent races. The Germans, on the other hand, had the power to regenerate the German language--the purest, and under them a new era of history would blossom. As William Shirer writes, "It (Germany) would reflect the order of the cosmos. It would be led by a small elite which would be free of any moral restraints of a 'private' nature."²⁷ Hitler borrowed many of Fichte's ideas, as one can see when reading Mein Kampf.

²⁵Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966), p. 222.

²⁶Werner C. Maser, Adolf Hitler, trans. A. Pomerans, 1st ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), p. 176.

²⁷Shirer, op. cit., p. 98.

In 1814 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel succeeded Fichte at the University of Berlin. Hegel's glorification of the state as supreme in human life paved the way for the Second and Third Reichs. Hegel saw the state of Germany as rising up to crush all weaknesses and become the ruler of the world. The superiority of the Germans allowed them to conquer all who stood in the way of the supreme German state.

Hegel wrote:

World history occupies a higher ground. . . . Moral claims which are irrelevant must not be brought into collision with world historical deeds and their accomplishments. The litany of private virtues--modesty, humility, philanthropy and forbearance--must not be raised against them. . . . So mighty a form (the State) must trample down many an innocent flower--crush to pieces many an object in its path.²⁸

Heinrich von Treitschke came to the University of Berlin in 1874. As a professor of history, his influence on German thought was enormous. Although he perceived the state as supreme, he held the Germans in low esteem. To him, the people were to be little more than slaves to the great State. Friedrich Nietzsche, like Treitschke and Goethe held no high opinion of the German people. Nietzsche thundered against Christianity, democracy, Judaism, and parliamentarianism. Nietzsche summed up his views on the German people with these thoughts: the Germans were a terrifying race. They were responsible, Nietzsche believed, for all great crimes

²⁸ Georg Wilhelm Hegel, Lectures on the Philosophy of History, Vol. 1, trans, J. Sibree, 3 vols. 1892-1896 (London: Routledge, Kegan, Paul, 1902), p. 34.

committed against civilization during the four preceding centuries. He concluded with the statement that all Germans were irresponsible and responsible for all the great disasters of civilization.²⁹ This statement offers the reader an insight into the mind of Nietzsche and illustrates a contradictory mind. From The Will to Power, Nietzsche concluded that a daring and ruler race was developing, the Germans. They would become the lords of the earth.³⁰ There can be little doubt as to whom Nietzsche viewed in the role of the superman--of course, he must be German. "Lords of the Earth" is a familiar statement in Mein Kampf, for Hitler probably assumed he was the superman of Nietzsche's prophecy.³¹

Richard Wagner, the late nineteenth century Romantic composer, was also important in the development of Germany's racial theories. Racialists from Chamberlain to Alfred Rosenberg and Hitler revered Wagner and placed him in their pantheon of Teutonic gods. Wagner's racial Anti-Semitism, his revolt against middle class morality, his hostility to liberalism and his devout admiration of the Germanic peoples

²⁹ Shirer, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 100.

³¹ Ibid.

led the Nazi leaders to extol Wagner as the musical and spiritual giant of the nineteenth century and especially crucial in lending an emotional, irrational background for the Nazi racial theories.³² His music dramas, Tristan and Isolde, and the Ring of the Nibelunger, offered the German people a myth centered around strong, fierce, and heroic Teutons--blond, blue-eyed, and handsome. Wagner, with his music dramas, gave Germany, and especially the Third Reich, a great deal of its primitive mythos.³³ Frederick Schelling, noted German philosopher (1775-1854), stated mythos was vital in the development of a nation's spirit and culture. He believed that a nation is born with its mythology which provides a collective philosophy from which a nation would base its existence.³⁴ Wagner's music lauded Siegfried, Kriemhild, Brunhild, Hagen, all heroes and heroines with whom the many Germans wished to identify themselves. The pure, primitive, fearless, ancient Teutons, strong and magnificent were the "soul of the nation." Wagner's influence was felt through all sectors of Germany during the Third Reich.

National Socialism and Hitler also adopted a kind of pseudo-Darwinistic rationale to support their racial theories.

³² von Maltitz, op. cit., pp. 30-32.

³³ Ibid., pp. 479-497.

³⁴ Hans Kohn, German History (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1954), p. 189.

The already mentioned idea of the "survival of the fittest" was addressed by Hitler when he spoke to a group of young army officers in 1942:

A profoundly serious statement of a great military philosopher says that struggle and therefore, war is the father of all things. Anyone who looks at nature as it really is will find that statement confirmed as to all living beings. . . . The entire universe seems to be dominated only by this one thought, that an eternal selection takes place in which the stronger one in the end stays alive and maintains the right to live, and the weaker one falls. One man may say that nature thus is cruel and pitiless, but another will understand that, in being so, nature follows only an immutable logical law. . . . That law will continue in force. Anyone who believes that, because of his suffering, his feelings or his attitude, he can rebel against this law, will do away, not with the law, but only with himself.

History proves that people become weak. They did not eliminate the law, but they disappeared without trace. Other peoples remained strong. They, too, had to make their sacrifices; but in the end, as a whole, they were given life. . . .

The fight . . . consequently leads to a continuous and eternal selection, to the selection of the better and tougher ones. In this fight, we see, therefore, an element of the building process of everything that lives and is alive. We recognize this in primitive nature. . . .

This is the world order (Weltordnung) or force and strength. There is no world order of weakness and surrender, but only a fate of surrender. This fate means disappearance and extinction.³⁵

Hitler was, in 1942, convinced that the Germans were the "better and tougher ones." How interesting it is to examine his words in 1945, on the eve of Germany's tremendous defeat:

. . . the German people have shown themselves to be the weaker ones . . . the future belongs exclusively

³⁵Schramm, op. cit., pp. 493-504.

to the stronger Eastern people. (Ostovolk) . . .
 the ones who will be left over after this fight
 will be inferior, anyway, because the valuable
 ones have been killed. . . . ³⁶

The practical application of the race theories took many forms during the Third Reich. Heinrich Himmler, Hitler's henchman, wanted to "steal" children from the "racially" pure Slavs to be raised by German families. He also advocated that the conquered people in the East receive minimal education because their only concern was to be obedient to the Germans. In 1943, Himmler proclaimed:

. . . whether 10,000 Russian women keel over from exhaustion while digging an antitank ditch interests me only to the extent that the antitank ditch is finished for Germany. We Germans, who are the only ones in the world who have a decent attitude toward animals, will also show a decent attitude toward these human animals, but it would be a crime against our own blood to worry about them. . . . ³⁷

Herman Goring, a high ranking official in Hitler's regime remarked to the Italian Foreign Minister, Count Galeazzo Ciano in 1941:

This year, between 20 and 30 million persons will die in Russia of hunger. Perhaps it is well that it should be so, for certain nations must be decimated. . . . ³⁸

³⁶ Karl Bracher, The German Dictatorship [Hitler's remark was reported by General Heinz Guderian] (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 442, cited by von Maltitz, op. cit., p. 37-38.

³⁷ Trials of Major War Criminals, xxix, Doc. 1919-PS, Himmler's speech to SS Officers in Posen on Oct. 4, 1943, pp. 122-123, cited by Ibid., p. 41.

³⁸ Joseph Goebbels, The Goebbels Diaries 1942-1943 (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 88.

Besides these drastic measures, the regime was interested in developing a German "master race" through arranged marriages among "pure" Aryans. Arranged marriages were common during the Third Reich. Himmler addressed the SS men on many occasions regarding their duty to Germany:

It must be a matter of course that the most copious breeding should be by this (SS) Order, by this racial elite of the Germanic people. In 20 to 30 years we must really be able to furnish the whole of Europe with its leading class.³⁹

Marriage or intimate relations between a Jew and a German carried severe punishment. The Aryan race, in order to become absolutely pure, was necessarily isolated from inferior groups: Jews, Poles, Russians, and Slavs.⁴⁰

As has been stated, the Nazis had a two-fold plan in perpetuating racialism. Domestically, pure Aryans were encouraged to marry other Aryans; marriages were often arranged to secure "unadulterated" blood through the birth of Aryan babies. In foreign dealings, the Nazis did not hesitate to exterminate, starve, abuse and sterilize large segments of the population of conquered lands. Large groups of Poles, Slavs, and Russians were resettled.⁴¹

Insofar as these measures prevailed, the basis for the selection of a pure, master race was predominantly

³⁹ Schramm, op. cit., p. 334.

⁴⁰ Sabine, op. cit., pp. 905-907.

⁴¹ Joachim Remak, The Nazi Years (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), p. 133.

physical. If one was blond, blue-eyed and possessed Aryan features and had no Jewish lineage, it was safe to assume one was of the "chosen" race. An extremely interesting dialogue took place between Himmler and a blond Jewish young man who was to be shot at an extermination camp during the war:

Himmler: Are you a Jew?

Young man: Yes.

Himmler: Are both your parents Jews?

Young man: Yes.

Himmler: Do you have any ancestors who were not Jews?

Young man: No.

Himmler: Then I can't help you.⁴²

Obviously, Himmler was willing to spare an Aryan, but was quite comfortable with the execution of a Jewish life.

Hitler clearly had devised a nation that was constructed upon theories of racial superiority:

. . . I want violent, imperious, fearless cruel young people. . . . The free magnificent beast of prey must once again flash from their eyes . . . I want youth strong and beautiful . . . , and athletic youth . . . in this way I shall blot out thousands of years of human domestication. I shall have the pure, noble stuff of nature. . . .⁴³

⁴² Report by SS Leader Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski in *Aufbau*, New York of August 25, 1946, p. 2, cited by von Malitz, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁴³ Hermann Rauschning, Conversations with Hitler (London: [n.n.], 1939), p. 237.

Chapter 4

LEBENSRAUM

" . . . the Reich will be the master of all Europe. Tomorrow it will be the whole wide world."

- SS song

Lebensraum, the concept of living space, was closely associated with the racial theories promulgated by the Nazis. The master race, growing and developing, needed space--living space. In Mein Kampf Hitler examined the problem of living space as it applied to Germany. He wanted to found a new German state, based upon race, which would include all Germans living outside the Reich. The new lands Hitler desired were in the East. The Hohenzollern Empire, Hitler declared, had been mistaken in taking colonies in Africa. "Territorial policy cannot be fulfilled in the Cameroons but today almost exclusively in Europe,"¹ Hitler stated. He seemed unconcerned that most of Europe had already been settled. Before World War II, Hitler declared:

. . . but nature has not reserved this soil for the future possession of any particular nation or race; on the contrary, this soil exists for the people which possesses the force to take it . . . the law of self-preservation goes into effect; and what is refused to amicable methods, it is up to the fist to take. . . .²

¹ Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), pp. 152, 742.

² Ibid., pp. 138-139.

In this passage, one can see a direct link between the expansion of living space and the force necessary to secure it.

Suggestions of Lebensraum ideas are contained in the writings of the German patriot, Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860); the term Lebensraum, in its geopolitical meaning, was first used by a German geopolitician, Friedrich Ratzel in 1901. By World War I, a plethora of Lebensraum theories abounded, but it was an Englishman, Sir Halford John MacKinder (1861-1947) who propounded the idea of a "Eurasian heartland," which he viewed as central to world domination.³

Combining the concept of future "world domination" with a pseudo-Darwinistic approach, Hitler, in his Second Book, 1928, outlined his Lebensraum doctrine:

Uncounted are the species of all living beings on earth; unlimited in each one is his drive to survive and the urge to procreate, but limited is the space in which this whole process of life unrolls.

. . . It is this limitation of the Lebensraum which forces us into the fight for life but, on the other hand, the fight for life is the basis for higher development.⁴

Later, during the war, Hitler continued to speak on the necessity of acquiring land:

Each people appears on earth with the task to procreate and each people is restricted in doing so by the limitations of the Lebensraum. Here is the eternal conflict: If the population is to grow--which is what Nature orders and what

³ George Sabine, A History of Political Theory (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), pp. 911-912.

⁴ Hitler, Second Book (New York: Grove Press, 1961), p. 47.

Providence wants--then the Lebensraum must grow with the population. . . . ⁵

Hitler theorized that the certain growth of population coupled with the lack of living space necessitated war. The stronger races of people would subjugate the weaker ones and expropriate their land. The right to acquire land, according to Hitler, belonged to those who were sufficiently strong enough to fight and win it. He believed this was the eternal law of nature, a surely Darwinistic approach to the securing of lands, primarily in the East.

In order to expand Germany's boundaries to provide enough living space for its expanding population, Hitler had to reckon with the "hate-inspired antagonists," France and England. While it is true Hitler had turned his eyes East to Russia in terms of expansionism, living space in the West was also desirable. Germany had to consider these two nations' reactions. Ultimately, Germany rolled into Austria, the Sudetenland, and achieved the conquest of Poland before France and England entered the war.

Hitler was obsessed with seeking land, "space in the East," largely at the expense of Russia. In defining prewar foreign policy, Hitler continued his covert wish for land in the East. He declared:

If land was desired in Europe, it could be obtained by and large only at the expense of Russia, and this meant that the new Reich must

⁵ P. E. Schramm, Hitler's Table Talks (Frankfurt: [n.n.], 1965), p. 497.

again set itself on the march along the road of the Teutonic Knights of old, to obtain by the German sword sod for the German plow and daily bread for the nation.⁶

Hitler continued:

. . . only an adequate large space on this earth assures a nation of freedom of existence. . . . Without consideration of "traditions" and prejudices (the National Socialist movement) must find the courage to gather our people and their strength for an advance along the road that will lead this people from its present restricted living space to need land and soil. . . . The National Socialist movement must strive to eliminate the disproportion between our population and our area--viewing this latter as a source of food as well as a basis for power politics. . . . We must hold unflinchingly to our aim . . . to secure for the German people the land and soil to which they are entitled. . . .⁷

Hitler rejected the idea of establishing the boundaries of 1914, wishing to set the frontiers established six centuries earlier when the Germans were pushing the Slavs back in the East. Hitler remarked, "Today we count eighty million Germans in Europe! This foreign policy will be acknowledged as correct only if after scarcely a hundred years, there are two hundred fifty million Germans on this continent."⁸ Hitler's plan was to establish an expanded Reich, covering most of the land mass of Europe, and parts of Asia. Hitler's eye turned eastward, and his policy from the beginning was to vanquish Russia and usurp its land. "The giant empire in the East is ripe for collapse," Hitler

⁶Hitler, op. cit., p. 140.

⁷Ibid., pp. 643, 646, 652.

⁸Ibid., p. 675.

remarked. "And the end of Jewish rule in Russia will also be the end of Russia as a state."⁹ Hitler's ultimate goal, which he clearly stated, was the subjugation of Austria, the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia, the western portion of Poland, and finally Russia. England, Africa, the United States and France were secondary, although desired in future plans in the expansion of Lebensraum. The pertinent question William Shirer asks in his definitive The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich is relevant here: "Why was the world so surprised, then, when Chancellor Hitler, a bare few years later, set out to achieve these very ends?"¹⁰

Apart from the imperialistic drives and the pseudo-Darwinistic tendencies of Hitler, he cited two rational reasons for the need of expanding Germany's living space. One was that the agricultural lands of Germany were too poor to support its steadily increasing population. The idea of free trade, trading industrial goods for food seems to have been overlooked by Hitler. His second reason carried more validity and had to do with the vulnerable geographical position Germany had in the center of Western Europe. For centuries, Germany, more than any other European land, had been overrun with warring factions, religious and political. He pointed out that smaller countries are more likely to be

⁹ Ibid., p. 654.

¹⁰ William Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), p. 84.

overrun by enemies than larger countries. Germany was small in comparison to Russia, but this desire for land at the expense of Russia, spelled Hitler's ultimate defeat.¹¹

In The Evolution of Hitler's Germany, Horst von Maltitz sums up the ideas behind the doctrine of Lebensraum:

All in all, it is . . . apparent that the Lebensraum doctrine was a melange of several ideas of various sorts: a law of nature, racial and social Darwinistic thoughts, the need of space and food for an expanding population, and strategic military consideration. Yet, in Hitler's statements about it, one can vaguely sense a deliberate effort to expound a rational ideological basis for aggressive warfare and territorial acquisitions. . . . It is possible, at any rate, that psychologically much of the Lebensraum doctrine represented a rationalization of general destructive drives, not only on the part of Hitler but also of many other Germans.¹²

Hitler, in his Table Talks, claimed that his territorial expansion program was "without historical parallel," however this was far from true. During World War I, and before, the Kaiser's government sought to sever the Ukraine from Russia and bring it under Germany's domination. It also turned eager eyes towards Latvia and Lithuania, plus a section of Poland.¹³

In the enthusiastic mood of 1914, several German professors, most of whom were Pan-Germans, had demanded a German world leadership. Professor Karl Lamprecht echoed this attitude, calling for German world leadership. He

¹¹Horst von Maltitz, The Evolution of Hitler's Germany (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), p. 66.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Schramm, op. cit., p. 458.

believed the Germans alone were capable of the highest achievements in the world. Naturally, according to Lamprecht, this implied world domination.¹⁴

All the plans for expanding Germany's living space in World War I were truly quite similar to the corresponding plans in World War II, however, two differences surfaced: Hitler's goals reached out further into the territory of the enemy and, the basis for Lebensraum, during the Hitler regime, had racial and social-Darwinistic considerations. During World War I, expansionism took on the overtones of sheer imperialism and traditional realpolitik not equated with the future concerns of racial integrity, ubiquitous during the Third Reich.¹⁵

It has been stated here, that Hitler's goal, in terms of expanding Germany's living space, centered upon the East. Russia was to be secured. Hitler once remarked that some day he wanted to have the entire previously Russian country settled by Germans. The aim of his policy in the East--at long range--was to open up a settlement area for about 100 million Germanic people.

In the West, Hitler stated that his French headquarters between Soisson and Laon were to be precisely on the German western border.¹⁶ To the East, Hitler envisioned a

¹⁴ von Maltitz, op, cit., p. 68.

¹⁵ Sabine, op. cit., pp. 911-915

¹⁶ von Maltitz, op. cit., p. 70.

German-Soviet border along a line from Archangel on the White Sea in the North to Astrakhan on the Caspian Sea in the South. Heinrich Himmler once spoke of stationing troops throughout the South of Africa.¹⁷ The final goal, no doubt, was mastery of the world, although this was seldom mentioned and then only in secrecy. Hitler did say, in Mein Kampf that, "A country which, in the age of the poisoning of the races, dedicates itself to taking care of its best racial elements, must someday become master of the world."¹⁸ This is documented in Dr. Goebbel's diary:

The Fuehrer gave expression to his unshakable conviction that the Reich will be master of all Europe. We shall yet have to engage in many fights, but these will undoubtedly lead to the most wonderful victories. From there on, the way to world domination is practically certain. Whoever dominates Europe will thereby assume the leadership of the world. . . .¹⁹

From the Arctic to Italy and from the Atlantic to Russia, the Third Reich was to extend. After that, it was Africa and ultimately world domination. Horst von Maltitz writes, ". . . it represented a case in megalomania and narcissism quite unprecedented in dimensions. . . . It would have meant the establishment of a German political and military complex . . . rivaling or exceeding the United States."²⁰

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 69.

¹⁸ Hitler, Mein Kampf, p. 286.

¹⁹ Joseph Goebbels, The Goebbels Diaries, 1942-1943, Eng. trans. (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 359, cited by von Maltitz, op. cit., p. 71.

²⁰ von Maltitz, op. cit., p. 72.

This SS marching song epitomized the German attitude .
during the Third Reich:

Today we own Germany
Tomorrow it will be the whole wide world.²¹

²¹Ibid., p. 71.

Chapter 5

NATIONALISM

"Germany, Germany above all!" - Hitler Youth Motto

Another important component in National Socialist ideology was nationalism. The Germany before and during the Third Reich exhibited a national spirit unequalled by other European nation-states. Let us turn to the particular tendencies and historical background that allowed nationalism to reach such fever pitch in Germany.

As we have seen, Germany was late in developing into a modern nation-state, far behind England, Spain, and France. Germany, well into the nineteenth century, remained predominantly agrarian and feudal with a very small middle class. Interests in Germany either were local or, on the other hand, universal in nature. Nationalism was relatively absent in Germany until the latter decades of the nineteenth century, when Bismark unified the empire into a modern nation-state.¹

Historian Koppel S. Pinson writes:

Only Italy and Germany had to wait until the middle of the nineteenth century . . . to attain national unity. In the case of both Italy and Germany there

¹Koppel S. Pinson, Modern Germany (New York: Macmillan, 1954), pp. 4-5.

were many similar factors that prevented the early realization of national independence and unity. In both, the retarding of national unity also induced a more aggressive and militant nationalism. It is no mere accident, therefore, that fascism and National Socialism, the most extreme forms of modern nationalism, found their most developed forms in Italy and Germany. . . . In Germany the chief obstacle to German unity was the Zerrissenheit of the Germans themselves. The resentment was chained inward. . . . The greater the feeling of their own inferiority, the more extreme was the compensation in the form of arrogant superiority. . . . ²

German nationalism, then, developed late and became intense as the Germans themselves began to develop a unity and loyalty to their homeland. German nationalism was to develop as a reaction to external events in Europe at the time of Napoleon's drive to dominate that continent.

Historian Hans Kohn calls the year 1806 the turning point in the development of German nationalism.³ Before this time, nationalism was not political in nature, but cultural. Johann Gottfried von Herder, cited in Chapter I, was a cultural nationalist, that is to say, he was concerned with ridding German literature of French influence.⁴ He had minimal interest in the state or the glories of Frederick the Great. Freidrick von Schiller (1759-1805) promulgated not national unity, but the importance of the individual.

² Ibid., p. 10.

³ Hans Kohn, The Mind of Germany (New York: Scribner, 1960), p. 69.

⁴ George Sabine, A History of Political Theory (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), pp. 628-630.

This individual could only be completely realized in universality.⁵ Schiller maintained that an interest in a nation, or homeland, was reserved only for immature nations.

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) agreed with Schiller that the individual was the most important; and a free man was autonomous. To Kant, man exists as a complete entity.

Freedom wills self-determination, the highest goal attainable to man.⁶ Kant rejected Frederick the Great's dictum which stated that one could reason as long as one obeyed.⁷ Kant, then, opposed nationalism and was truly a universalist, as was Johann von Goethe (1749-1832), who stated that nationalism was primitive and utterly undesirable. He went on to say that man needed to be protected from what he labeled "Roman patriotism."⁸ These German philosophers and historians truly considered themselves world citizens and opposed the idea of a national spirit and loyalty. German nationalism would have to wait a century after these men to develop.

The invasion of the German states in 1806 by Napoleon, stimulated the true beginning of a German national spirit. The philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte, cited previously, was instrumental in promulgating the spirit of nationalism within the German states at that time. In his Addresses to the German Nation (Reden an die deutsche Nation),

⁵ Pinson, op. cit., p. 15.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., p. 16.

Fichte laid the foundations of nationalism that would serve generations of Germans well throughout the Third Reich. Fichte, in 1807 and 1808, addressed the German people and delivered a statement as to their role in the world. The Germans, according to Fichte, were superior in mind, soul, and body; and, only the Germans were capable of true patriotism. The development of a national character was divinely inspired. Only the Germans, according to Fichte, were able to develop this national character, as they had the most originality and possessed superior, unique culture. This German culture was based upon the concept that the German people together offered the highest hope for mankind; the individual was not important, only in contributing to the greater cause. Fichte supplied the glorification of the German mind, its creativeness, uniqueness and superior culture. This, in turn, supplied the foundation for the development of nationalism, a feeling of being different, special and superior.⁹ His Addresses became a classic during the Third Reich.

Another man, at the time of Fichte, previously mentioned in this study, contributed to the glorification of a national spirit through the state: G. W. F. Hegel. Hegel believed in the state, as the complete organ of national

⁹Francis W. Coker, Recent Political Thought (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934), pp. 486-492.

interests. According to Hegel, the state had a divine mission. Hegel viewed the state as a transpersonalistic, national individuality and organism whose essence was Macht. The state was the guiding force, the individual was only a part of it.¹⁰

The German poet, F. von Schlegel (1772-1829) contributed to the developing national spirit in Germany, through his poems which praised the German soil and promoted German mysticism. Another German poet, Ernst Arndt (1769-1860), also was responsible for influencing nationalism. To Arndt, Germany was the soul of Europe. He hated Jewish cosmopolitanism, and urged the German states to unite.¹¹

Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-1896) was also instrumental in promulgating nationalistic views. Treitschke was profoundly influenced by the Italian war for unity in the mid-nineteenth century:

Whoever . . . has not lost his understanding of true human greatness, must gaze at this utmost joy, how within fifty years a nation, sunk to the lowest moral depths, has raised itself to honorable unity and readiness to self-sacrifice and, out of the mere geographical expression of Italy, has become a political reality. . . .¹²

¹⁰ Ralph Flenley, Modern German History (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1968), pp. 254-257.

¹¹ Horst von Maltitz, The Evolution of Hitler's Germany (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), pp. 223-224.

¹² Heinrich von Treitschke, Historische und Politische Aufsätze, 5th ed. (Leipzig: [n.n.], 1886), p. 219 cited by Pinson, op. cit., p. 114.

The Germans, according to Treitschke, should learn a lesson from the Italians and should emulate their self-sacrifice, their willpower, "the persevering, almost nervous passion which, whether awake or in dreams, can think of only one thing: my country, my country, and always my fatherland."¹³ It has been said that Treitschke, through his writings, led the German people away from the ideas of Kant, Goethe and other universalists and set the stage for Bismark and the budding of modern nationalism.

Intense nationalism developed during the Bismark era. Germany was not the only country to develop such an intense national spirit. France was experiencing nationalism also. After the German unification in 1871, both countries witnessed intense nationalism. France, many historians agree, handled it better than Germany did. Again, the crucial point seemed to be the lateness of German national development:

By and large, it seemed to me, only those people had been able to cope successfully with the emotional power of national feeling who had known national identity in the dynastic era--in the period before the Napoleonic wars--before the currency of the romantic linguistic nationalism of the nineteenth century. For those who acquired the sense of national identity after that time, for the Germans in particular, national feeling was heady wine. Prior to the establishment of the German Reich in 1870, the Germans had been no more or no less of a problem to their neighbors than anyone else in Europe. It was their attempt, beginning at this time, to think of themselves

¹³Ibid., p. 220.

as a single national community, unified on the primitive basis of a common tongue, and competing in this quality with the older established powers of Europe, that had caused the trouble. . . .¹⁴

Houston Stewart Chamberlain, referred to in Chapters 1, 2 and 3, also was an important contributor to the development of nationalism, but differed greatly with the sentiments stated above. Chamberlain, in The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century (Die Grundlagen des XIX Jahrhunderts) 1900, typified the German people as a race that alone could achieve the highest form of a nation state:

Germany is destined--or, let us say, would be destined to become the heart of mankind. . . . Today, the Lord relies on the Germans alone. That is the knowledge, the certain truth which has filled my soul for years. To serve it, I have given up my peace; for it, I shall live and die. . . .¹⁵

Chamberlain, then, was an intense German nationalist, although he was not German in nationality, and, it can be argued, neither was Hitler. Both men played crucial roles in perpetuating the German national spirit.

From the unification of the German states until the outbreak of World War I, Germany developed a kind of nationalism that typified the coarse, brassy, and aggressive nature inherent in the Second Reich. Bismark had used the national

¹⁴George Frost Kennan, Memoirs 1925-1950 (1st ed.; Boston: Little, Brown, 1967), p. 416.

¹⁵Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Politische Ideale, trans. John Lees (London: [n.n.], 1915), p. 120, cited by von Maltitz, op. cit., pp. 226-227.

spirit to unite the German states during the early years of the Reich, and promoted nationalism during World War I.¹⁶

In 1918, Hitler stated the reason for combining nationalists and socialists in his party. Germany, Hitler said, was a nation torn into two parts.¹⁷ The nationalistic section had become impotent after Germany's defeat in World War I. The other section, the working class, had become organized into Marxist parties that rejected national interests. Hitler saw that these parties were necessary for the resurrection of nationalism in Germany, hence, Hitler's goal was the nationalization of the masses.

George Sabine, noted historian, reviews the nationalization of the masses as a key point in National Socialism. In order to unite all the diverse social and economic elements in Germany, Hitler used the policy aimed at the preparation for war. Sabine writes:

Accordingly fascism and national socialism were in essence war governments and war economies set up not as expedients to meet a national emergency, but as permanent political systems. In a situation where national self-sufficiency was not a feasible plan for political order in Europe, they meant the regimentation of national resources for imperialists' aggression against other nations and the organization of the . . . German peoples for imperialist expansion. . . .¹⁸

¹⁶W. N. Medlicott, Bismark and Modern Germany (London: The English Universities Press, Ltd., 1965), pp. 66-67.

¹⁷Sabine, op. cit., p. 887.

¹⁸Ibid.

Nationalism, then, was closely aligned with militarism, and it was also used to promulgate Anti-Semitism. The Jews, with their cosmopolitan and international tendencies found no place in the ultra-nationalistic Germany during the Third Reich. Nationalism was also used to support the theory that the Germans were truly the "chosen people" and at countless mass meetings and demonstrations, the effective propaganda techniques, developed by Dr. Goebbels, characterized the German nation as a strongly unified, determined people.¹⁹ Albert Speer described these meetings as "raging masses who were guided to ever-increasing fanatic furies of rapture and hatred--a witch's cauldron of unleashed passion."²⁰ Speer was responsible for designing one nationalistic mass meeting at Nuremberg that included thousands of Nazi flags, and over one hundred searchlights. These effects were aimed at creating a pseudo-religious ceremony of delirious nationalism, racism and self-adoration.

Hitler, according to Hermann Rauschning, spoke of nationalism and racism as evolutionary concepts. Hitler began his discourse by examining the idea of nationhood. To him, it was an empty concept, that ultimately would be

¹⁹ Hans Kohn, Prophets and Peoples--Studies in Nineteenth Century Nationalism (New York: Macmillan, 1944), pp. 31-38.

²⁰ Albert Speer, Inside the Third Reich (New York: Macmillan, 1970), pp. 71, 112.

replaced by a racial concept, which would establish an "antihistorical order"²¹ and would melt the nations into a higher order.²² Hitler stated:

It (race) dissolves what is past and gives the possibility of new bonds. . . . With the concept of race, National Socialism will carry its revolution through to a new world order.

. . . our revolution . . . is the final step . . . toward recognition of purely biological values. And throughout Europe and the whole world I shall set in motion that new (biological) selection that National Socialism represents in Germany. . . . Nothing much will then be left of the customary local nationalism, not even among the members of the same valuable master-race, though they speak different languages. . . .²³

This passage clearly elucidates Hitler's ultimate goal of eliminating traditional nationalism, supplanting it with racial determinism.

Hitler did view the expansion of the Reich as a "desirable" necessity. Racial determinism was a goal to be reached after the Reich had expanded its boundaries. The racially Germanic countries such as the Scandinavian countries, Holland and Austria, were to have formed a federation with Germany whose capital would have been Berlin, renamed

²¹Hermann Rauschning, Conversations with Hitler (London: [n.n.], 1939), pp. 218-220.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid.

"Germania." Hitler would have welcomed it if these countries had voluntarily joined the Reich. In Table Talks he stated:

We must, of course, proceed very cautiously in discussing these questions (of political incorporation) with the Dutch and Norwegians. . . . I always pointed out (to the Austrians) that I wanted to unite them with Germany in a greater German Reich. In the same way, we must again and again make clear to the Germanic people of the Northwest and North that what is involved is the Germanic Reich, simply 'the Reich' which merely finds its strongest source of ideological and military power in Germany.²⁴

It must be pointed out that these countries that were to be incorporated would have entered as nonsovereign states. Also, while welcoming voluntary entrance into the Reich, Hitler, the pragmatic politician, knew force would have to be used in these countries and other ones having less desirable racial elements. Austria was annexed in 1938, but not without political intimidation and terror aimed at high Austrian officials. The fate of the "Northwest and North" would not have been much different from Austria's. In assuming the primacy of race over nation, Hitler was allowing Germany a more flexible criteria for the determination of the nation-state. Hitler was pushing his frontier forward from the narrow one of the nation to the much more distant one of race. He told Rauschning the race concept would enable him to establish a new world order and it was assumed that Germany would be the master of that order. This kind of

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P. E. Schramm, Hitler's Table Talks (Frankfurt: [n.n.], 1965), p. 254. (In a direct speech transposed.)

racial nationalism was aimed at securing a union of Germanic peoples, while obtaining non-Germanic countries to serve as colonies or protectorates to the Reich.²⁵

Nationalism, in conclusion, arrived late in Germany, this due to the fact that Germany was late in developing into a nation-state. When it did arrive, during the Bismarkian Era, it took on a character of unparalleled dimensions. It replaced religion--"Ye shall have no other god but Germany,"²⁶ and allowed the National Socialists to cement a diverse, disparate, and humiliated people into a unified state. It preached a glorious and great Germany, future master of the world. It lauded Germany's racial purity, the superiority of Germanic people who would one day supplant nations and other races that were characterized as subhuman. "Breaking the chains of Versailles" was a popular slogan of the Nazis after World War I, which allowed them to cement support for future expansion.

The former National Socialist Minister Hans Schlange-Schoeningen wrote in retrospect in 1948 about the effect Hitler had in his demands for a united, nationalistic Germany. Schlange-Schoeningen argued that Hitler's speeches could be resolved into a simple formula:

For fourteen years an accursed system has deliberately ruined Germany, but now I will lead you

²⁵Ibid., p. 398.

²⁶Pinson, op. cit., p. 499.

all, every single one of you, to a glorious future. And the German people, distracted by terrible difficulties, gradually let this lying and stupid refrain be driven into their heads until finally they succumbed. . . . ²⁷

The twentieth century German philosopher Karl Jaspers agreed with Schlange-Schoeningen. Jaspers, remarking on the fanatical nationalism evident during the Third Reich, stated:

. . . the consciousness of the nation-state grew into a more dreadful disaster than at any other time in history. . . . ²⁸

THE VOLK CONCEPT

Closely associated with the race theories and nationalism inherent in National Socialism was the concept of the volk or "folkish" state. The central idea in this theory was that of an organic or racial people who were identified with the nation-state.²⁹ George Sabine defines this theory as one in which the people, or "organic folk" are blended into a cultural unit through learned or acquired characteristics:

It meant a 'people' in the collective sense but it was regularly spoken of as if it were a mystical essence of which an actual person is at any given time merely the bearer. Stefan George called it the 'dark womb of growth. . . .' From the dark womb of growth, the racial folk, the individual emerges; to it he owes all that he is and all that he does; he shares in it by virtue of his birth and he is important only because for the moment he embodies its infinite potentialities. . . .

²⁷ Hans Schlange-Schoeningen, The Morning After (London: [n.n.], 1948), p. 23, cited by Ibid., p. 500.

²⁸ Karl Jaspers, Freiheit und Wiedervereinigung (Munich: [n.n.], 1960), p. 55, cited by von Maltitz, op. cit., p. 236.

²⁹ Sabine, op. cit., p. 901.

He is united to his fellows by the 'mystic holiness of the blood tie.' His highest training is discipline for its service, and his highest honor is to be expended for its preservation and growth. . . .³⁰

An individual's values were derived from the folk, and ultimately the folk divided into three elements within the political entity: the leader, the elite, and the masses. Hitler held the masses to be neither good or bad, merely mediocre, in need of a superior leader. On the other hand, Hitler never doubted that his political base was supported by the masses:

All great movements are movements of the people, are volcanic eruptions of human passions and spiritual sensations, stirred either by the cruel Goddess of Misery or by the torch of the word thrown into the masses. . . .³¹

The masses were to provide the weight and bulk of the movement, however, their position was one of following a leader who was chosen through a continuing struggle for power which was characteristic of nature. The survival of the fittest was employed to explain the superiority of the German volk and its leaders:

A view of life which, by rejecting the democratic mass idea, endeavors to give this world to the best people . . . has logically to obey the same aristocratic principle also within this people and has to guarantee leadership and highest influence . . . to the best heads.³²

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1943), p. 107.

³² Schram, op. cit., p.598.

The glorification of the German volk, or race, did not reach its zenith until the years of the Third Reich. A great deal of pride in German heritage was present during the nineteenth century, but National Socialism carried the veneration of the blond, blue-eyed, strong, tall Aryan to an incredible height. Richard Wagner's Der Ring des Nibelungen glorified the German people, their heritage, and contributed to the intense feelings of German superiority. An excerpt from a teachers' magazine of 1892 shows how Wagner influenced German thought:

Without doubt, the saga of our ancient heroes has high educational value, even if we completely disregard the national (patriotic) background which in itself justifies extensive consideration of the heroic mythology in the teaching of German. What could be more suitable than the shining images of Dietrich, Hildebrand, Beowulf, Siegfried and Kriemhilde, Herwig and Gudrun, in giving to the child a vivid picture of the ideals, encountered daily, such as loyalty of men, courage, tender devotion, and perseverance? In these figures, elevated to the superhuman, the youthful imagination will see images equal to those of its own creation. . . . But while the heroes of Greek and Roman mythology will always remain alien to our native soil, the images of our German mythology are to this day linked to our emotions by many ties.³³

Several prominent writers expounded upon the superiority of the German cult. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, the racial theorist, cited in previous chapters, quoted Tacitus who stated, "The various tribes of Germania, uncontaminated

³³Journal for the Teaching of German, 1892, p. 544, cited by von Maltitz, op. cit., p. 185.

by marriage with foreign peoples, have always constituted a special, unmixed people which resembles no one else."³⁴

According to Chamberlain, the Germans were the saviors of "culture and civilization."³⁵ Another writer, Erich Leiser, promulgated the notion that Germanic blood was linked to the ancient gods. He felt the Jews were the obstacles preventing the Germans from reaching their god-like stature. The Jews, then, must be destroyed, Leiser theorized. Alfred Schuler also believed the German race was traced back to high gods, the race was endowed with special and unique characteristics.

Some of the professors at the German universities perpetuated the myth of German "uniqueness." One professor, Gustav Roethe contributed the following address to his students:

The science of Germanistics professes the German word. Hold the German word in honor! . . . Goethe, a friend of peace, yet was also a determined prophet of creative action. The false doctrine that action is sinful . . . is un-German through and through . . . the call of the science of Germanistics is to proclaim through you the German spirit, the German thought to our whole German people through the German word. The great task is waiting for you, German youth, who once were leaders, to let creative German action rise from German thought, the crowning achievement as it was with our forefathers. May God grant it!³⁶

³⁴ Chamberlain, op. cit., p. 551, cited by von Maltitz, op. cit., p. 187.

³⁵ Ibid., cited by Ibid.

³⁶ Gustav Roethe, speech of 1923, Deutsche Reden (Berlin: [n.n.], 1927), p. 456, cited by Ibid., p. 188.

The Nazis venerated the ancient Teutons, glorified their heritage and perpetuated a myth that identified the German volk with the ancient gods. With the superiority of the Germans, came a cry for land, and control of other less superior races. War, aggression and imperialism were equated with those who were endowed with natural superiority. The SS Main Office in Berlin issued this quotation from a guide book in 1941:

. . . but what the Goths, the Vikings, and the single wanderers of Germanic blood could not achieve, in this we, a new Germanic migration, and our Fuehrer now succeed, the Fuehrer of all the Germanic people. Now the onslaught from the Russian plains is being beaten back, now Europe's eastern boundary is definitely being made safe, now comes the fulfillment of the ancient dreams of the Germanic fighters in the plains and forests of the East. Today, a chapter of 3,000 years of history receives its glorious ending. The Goths are riding again--since the 22nd of June 1941--each of us a Germanic fighter! . . . 37

The masses of German soldiers were filled with this romantic notion, and carried their duty and obedience to an unbelievable extreme. To the masses, in general, the glorification of the Teutons, the German heritage, yielded into a powerful motivating force. The Nazis used it as a potent political and propagandistic tool. It served in peace, and it served to justify war. Sigmund Freud remarked upon the strong effect the Germanic volk and its glorification had,

³⁷ Walther Hofer, Der Nationalsozialismus: Dokumente 1933-1935, cited by Ibid., p. 196.

not only on the German populace, but on the world with, "every piece that returns from oblivion gains acceptance with special power, exerts an irresistible claim to truth against which any logical objection remains without power."³⁸

A parallel found today is Erik Erikson's investigation of the Sioux Indians, and that to them, "the prehistoric past is a powerful psychological reality."³⁹

Hitler made the following statement in Mein Kampf, clarifying his definition of the "folkish concept":

In opposition to (the bourgeois and the Marxist Jewish worlds), the folkish philosophy finds the importance of mankind in its basic racial elements. In the state it sees only a means to an end and construes its end as the preservation of the racial existence of man. . . .

We sense that in the distant future humanity must be faced by problems which only a highest race, become master people and supported by the means and possibilities of an entire globe, will be equipped to overcome. . . .

The folkish state . . . must set race in the center of all life. . . . A folkish state must . . . begin by raising marriage from a level of a continuous defilement of the race and give it the consecration of an institution which is called upon to produce images of the Lord. . . .⁴⁰

Until Hitler appeared on the scene, German nationalism had little to do with racism or the "folkish" state.

³⁸ Sigmund Freud, Der Mann Moses, Vol. 16 (London: London Press, 1950), p. 190, cited by Ibid., p. 205.

³⁹ Erik H. Erikson, Identity, Youth and Crisis, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1968), p. 48, cited by Ibid., p. 206.

⁴⁰ Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), pp. 383-384, 402-404.

When Hitler came to power, he was driven by an enormous obsession to impose his racial views on Germany. His appeal to fierce passions and irrational minds was largely successful. Rassenreinheit (racial purity) was to be the goal of the Third Reich. The "blood" substance of the Aryan race was hailed as the greatest asset of the entire world. Blood, soil and the Fatherland combined within the concepts of nationalism and the "folkish" state.

Many prominent figures in Germany espoused the myth of the volk and its relationship to the state. Professor Ernst Hauer linked blood to the soil and the Fatherland. He believed that the worship of the soil and the Fatherland had religious overtones. God, to Hauer, had blessed the Fatherland alone.⁴¹ Other writers, philosophers and members of the intelligentsia contributed to the myth of racial purity and a unique national spirit experienced in its highest form by the Germans.

To understand the national character of the German people, one must examine the forces operating in the late eighteenth century. It is a study in negatives. The Enlightenment and the Age of Reason brought to Western Europe and the United States ideas of constitutionalism, liberty, equality, parliamentarianism and the emphasis and exaltation of the individual. This wave of liberalism by-passed Germany. It did not take root there. The ideas of John Locke,

⁴¹N. Gangulee, The Mind and Face of Nazi Germany (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), p. 56.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Baron de Montesquieu, Jeremy Bentham and other rationalists and liberal philosophers did not conquer the German mind. Instead, German intellectuals rejected the importance of the individual and stressed the omnipotence of the state.⁴²

By the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the tradition of submission to the state was firmly established. Discipline, loyalty, obedience, a passion for law and order and worship of authority allowed Otto von Bismark, and subsequently Hitler, to impose a regime that was highly nationalistic in temperament.⁴³ All was given for the glorification of the state. During the Third Reich, the volkish state was exalted. The Fuehrer accomplished what Bismark had not; he imposed an authoritarian regime supported by the nationalistic cravings of his people. Hence, nationalism was closely linked to the volk idea, for they supported one another. Hitler envisioned a future German state that would be based upon the "folkish" concept, replacing past historical hegamonies situated in Europe. Nationalism, or the national spirit would be exhibited in its truest and highest form by those who were the most capable, the purest, the most superior--the Germans.

⁴²Louis L. Snyder, The Roots of German Nationalism (London: Indiana University Press, 1978), pp. 221-222.

⁴³Ibid., p. 222.

Chapter 6

IRRATIONALISM AND ROMANTICISM

". . . Seigfried and Kriemhild were always in the people's soul."

- Max Mell

An important part of National Socialism was the all-encompassing philosophy through which it legitimized or realized its goals of political socialization. All the components of National Socialism, Anti-Semitism, race theories, militarism, nationalism, Lebensraum were accepted by a majority of Germans during the Third Reich. The acceptance of these components was due, by and large, to the acceptance of an irrational view of life.

The philosophy of irrationalism had formed a persistent thread throughout the nineteenth century, in Europe and particularly in Germany. This philosophy viewed life and man, not in a rational way, but in a mystical, romantic way. As George Sabine writes:

A philosophy whose immediate political purpose was national expansion by war must of necessity be an adventurer's philosophy. By no rational calculation either of the individual advantage or of tangible national benefit could such a purpose be made plausible. It must assign a mystical rather than a calculated value to national greatness, some remote and glittering goal of national "creativity" that would at once allay the individual's moral scruples and persuade him to accept discipline and heroism as ends to which no rational purpose need

be assigned. In short, it must set up will and action as self-justifying. . . .¹

Sabine continues with a succinct overview of how National Socialism used irrational philosophy to secure its hold on the German people and to meet its ends. National Socialism taught the populace that self-sacrifice, duty and discipline were the highest of achievements, while counter-productive forces of freedom, liberty and liberalism had no place in German society. The people were indoctrinated with the idea that life, and hence man, were too complex to explain in rational terms. Intelligent and scientific reasoning were replaced with the assertiveness of will and action.² Individuals were only important when considered part of the whole. National Socialism instructed people to forsake reason and concentrate on action. Action and will, according to the Nazis, were the basis of life.³

Two writers of the nineteenth century were instrumental in promulgating this kind of irrationalism in Germany: Arthur Schopenhauer and Friedrich Nietzsche. Schopenhauer, a true pessimist, saw the "will" being the single most important aspect in explaining human life. To Schopenhauer, "will" was an "endless striving without purpose, a restless and

¹George Sabine, A History of Political Theory (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961), pp. 808-809.

²Francis W. Coker, Recent Political Thought (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934), pp. 450-455.

³Sabine, loc. cit.

meaningless effort that desires all things and is satisfied with nothing, that creates and destroys but never attains."⁴ According to Schopenhauer, the human mind was powerless in determining the meaning of life, men were basically miserable and the only hope for man was to realize that struggle and achievement were illusions. Only the artist, genius, or saint were capable of mastering the will, "not by controlling it but by denying it."⁵ Hence, Schopenhauer laid the foundations for National Socialism by denying reason, freedom and liberty of the individual, and glorifying a select few who were able to distinguish the philosophies of the "will."

Nietzsche, far from agreeing with Schopenhauer, devised his own irrational philosophy. To Nietzsche, irrationality was, and should be, affirmed morally as well as intellectually. In place of the ordinary, heroes must arise:

All moral values must be 'transvalued' . . . in place of equality, the recognition of innate superiority; in place of democracy, the aristocracy of the virile and the strong, in place of Christian humility and humanity, hardness and pride; in place of happiness, the heroic life; in place of decadence, creation. . . .⁶

As Nietzsche stated, this philosophy was not intended for the masses, or rather, it assigned the masses to their proper place as beings of a lower order whose healthy instinct was to follow their leader. If this instinct is corrupted, the masses would be reduced to mere slaves. Nietzsche saw

⁴Ibid., p. 810.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., p. 811.

the creation of a "Big Blond Beast" who oppresses the weak, stamps out opposition, foresakes happiness and makes its own rules.⁷

Irrationalism permeated every facet of Nazi thought and ideology. The intensification of German nationalism was due to the drift of nineteenth century German thinking from idealism to irrationalism. The early German idealists, Kant, for one, stressed duty and freedom. The idealists regarded efficiency, order and discipline as high moral qualities but failed to foresee the dangers and consequences of unlimited worship of the state. Few German philosophers, or the members of the German intelligentsia conceived the value of rational, empirical observations and judgments. The predilection of the German intelligentsia for abstract subjectivity and mysticism affected the complete range of German culture and education.

By the early years of the twentieth century, German irrationalism and romanticism became an emotionally destructive movement. The refusal to examine scientifically the affairs at hand, the contempt for understanding, and a complete abandonment to the emotions allowed the German people to easily accept such Nazi tenets as submission to authority and the disbelief in one's own intellect and will in terms of shaping and controlling one's life. This central idea was to have tragic consequences for the German people.

⁷ Ralph Flenley, Modern German History (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1968), pp. 298-299.

Besides the two men mentioned earlier in this chapter, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, several other men were responsible for promoting irrationalism as an integral component in Nazi ideology. Houston Steward Chamberlain and Count Arthur de Gobineau mentioned and discussed in the chapters dealing with the race theories and Anti-Semitism, were irrationalists. Oswald Spengler, one of the most publicized writers of the post-World War I period, was the author of the now classic work, The Decline of the West. As a pessimist and a believer in instinct, feelings, and intuition, Spengler rejected analytical thought, pragmatic and dialectic theories and, the whole of science. He stated, "No hypothesis, no science can ever get in touch with that which we feel when we let ourselves sink into the meaning and sound of such words as luck, doom, conjuncture, vocation."⁸ Spengler saw, as Hegel had, the need for and the inevitability of war. "War is the creator of all great things. All that is meaningful in the stream of life has emerged through victory and defeat."⁹

Although Spengler was regarded as a Nazi hero, he soon alienated party leaders by his independence of spirit. His legacy to National Socialism was great; the slogans of the blood and soil, half-truths, emotional and fanatical tendencies all greatly contributed to the ideology of the Nazis.

⁸ Oswald Spengler, The Decline of the West (New York, [n.n.], 1932), translated by Charles Francis Atkinson, Volume I, p. 117.

⁹ Ibid., Volume II, p. 363.

Another man who contributed irrationalistic teachings to Nazi mythology was Alfred Rosenberg. As the editor of Volkischer Beobachter, Rosenberg influenced the German mind, bringing forth notions of Aryan superiority, extreme nationalism and the glory of war. Liberty, equality, Christianity, and fraternity, according to Rosenberg were creations of Judaistic-Christian decadence, which had to be repudiated for they were "idiotic principles designed to enslave the Nordic people."¹⁰

Rosenberg's Mythus des XX Jahrhunderts (The Myth of the Twentieth Century) was published in 1930. The book purports a new world history, one based on the "Mythus of the Blood, which, under the sign of the Swastika, released the World Revolution. It is the Awakening of the Soul of the Race which, after a period of long slumber, victoriously puts an end to racial chaos."¹¹ Rosenberg's myth-of-the-blood marked the transition from German irrationalism to extreme Nazi mysticism. What remained of German humanism, rationalism, and idealism was dissolved into a spurious, confused neo-romanticism.

German irrationalism was closely associated with Nazi mythology which promoted the race theories, and the organic

¹⁰ Serge Lang and Ernest von Schenck, eds., Memoirs of Alfred Rosenberg, trans., Eric Posselt (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1949), p. 91.

¹¹ Thomas Reveille, The Spoil of Europe (New York: N. W. Norton & Co., 1941), p. 98.

glorious state. The mythology prepared the German people for the natural evolution into a state where unconditional obedience to the ruler, and the replacement of responsibility by blind obedience were accepted principles. Rosenberg's Weltanschauung became the official philosophy of Nazi Germany. The Germans were entirely receptive to the infantile mysticism of the National Socialists. The so-called neo-romanticism of the Nazi ideology, along with the predilection for irrational leanings allowed Hitler to shape a nation that was most extreme in all of its undertakings. The importance of irrationalism and romanticism, as they colored Germany, particularly Nazi ideology, can not be overlooked; they provided the moral basis from which National Socialism legitimized its regime.

GERMAN ROMANTICISM

Another aspect of the prevailing ideology that swept Germany into the Third Reich was the romantic notion closely aligned with irrationalism. The Romantic Movement swept through all of Western civilization during the nineteenth century and found fecund grounds in Germany. This movement saw as its goals a return to nature, and a refusal to incorporate the elements of classicism and the Enlightenment. It stressed the dominance of emotions over reason and intellect, it was a revolution against rationalism and emphasized a

yearning or dreaming for the past.¹² Oswald Spengler, cited earlier, was a true romanticist and remarked that romanticism was stronger than all proof.¹³

Germany, during the nineteenth century, was particularly vulnerable to the yearnings of the Romantic Movement:

Basically the Germans, perhaps more than any other people seemed naturally open to a romantic sense of mystery and wonder, to the excitement of purely intuitive experience close to the sources of nature, and to a high valuation of the unconscious and irrational. . . .¹⁴

Formless thought, intuition, "soul," yearnings and extensive symbolism were not rejected by the German mind. They were embraced, and not infrequently these were combined with a conscious, contemptuous disregard for cold facts that could not be made to fit into the dream. All this was probably good for the creation of great music and poetry (Holderlin, Rilke, Beethoven, Schubert, Liszt, Schumann, Wagner, Brahms, etc.) but it was not good, and sometimes disastrous, in social and political affairs.

Romanticism, then, colored the German experience and led to what the German's themselves called das Uferlose das Masslose (the boundless, the uncontrolled, the "oceanic"),¹⁵ which referred to the extent they could and would carry an

¹²Hans Kohn, German History (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1954), pp. 18-19.

¹³Horst von Maltitz, The Evolution of Hitler's Germany (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), p. 206.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 207.

¹⁵Ibid.

idea or ideology. The practical consequences were lost to those who disdained prudence, circumspection, deliberation and moderation.

German Romanticism developed into a different movement from the one sweeping Europe in the early nineteenth century. It turned away, and inward toward the "uniquely German." It glorified the Volk (German people), the landed peasants, the return to primeval culture; politically, the Romantic Movement stressed the notion of allegiance to a man, a leader, instead of developing a healthy predilection for parliamentarianism which was common in many European countries.¹⁶

During the Third Reich, Romanticism was carried to its ultimate zenith. It was particularly appealing to the youth, and two movements, the Volkisch Movement and the Jugendbewegung (Youth Movement) emphasized the return to nature and faith, undying and absolute faith in their leader, Adolf Hitler. These movements became a cadre of those who rebelled against urbanization, modernity, and the old generation. Popular slogans of the movements extolled the virtues of youth and denegated the old.¹⁷ The youth movements carried fanaticism to an extent unparalleled in modern history.

¹⁶Henri Lichtenberger, The Third Reich (New York: The Greystone Press, 1937), p. 30-33.

¹⁷von Maltitz, op. cit., p. 211.

National Socialism received many contributions from the Romantic Movement. The idea or myth of blood and soil, the hatred of rational, big-city Jew, the propensity to carry ideas to extremes, the emphasis on youth, the undying faith in German uniqueness, the denial of liberal, democratic political systems, and the fanatic response to a leader, a single man who would lead them in a political utopia typified the effect Romanticism had on National Socialism. The mood of Romanticism was adopted by Nazi Germany, a mood developed through German literature, poetry and, above all, music. Wagner's contribution should never be overlooked for, as Hitler remarked, to know National Socialism one must know Richard Wagner.¹⁸

Romanticism did unite the German nation due to the romantic elements in its ideology:

. . . every German of nearly every social level had been brought up on a solid diet of romantic literature, music and art. Almost everyone had read . . . the romantic novels of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, including the romantically Anti-Semitic novels, historical novels of heroism, and novels of rural nostalgia. . . . They had learned to commune with nature . . . had sat on mountain tops, dreamily gazing down on old castles and medieval towns. . . .¹⁹

Romanticism created a climate that perpetuated a world of dreams, emotional longings, inexact thinking and

¹⁸ Kohn, op. cit., pp. 20-23.

¹⁹ von Maltitz, op. cit., p. 217.

an intense rejection of rational and deliberate thought. "Information derived from romantic dreams and preconceived ideas were officially accepted as superior to available objective evidence."²⁰ Hitler said: "What luck for governments that people don't think. Thinking may be done only when an order is given or executed. If this were different, human society could not exist."²¹

Romanticism provided the National Socialists with several concepts: the faith of the people in a coming utopia; the myth of blood and soil; the propensity to deal in extremism; the hatred of urbanity; the love of the agrarian life; the dislike of democracy and of liberalism; and the raging hatred of the big-city Jews. The Nazis derived great support from the yearnings and dreams of the Romanticists.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 217.

²¹ Percy Ernst Schramm, Hitler's Table Talks (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), p. 159, cited by Ibid.

Chapter 7

MILITARISM

"Have faith, obey, fight--nothing else." - SS Motto

The German tradition of militarism can be traced far back in German history, as far back as the Teutonic attacks upon the Roman Empire, in the early years of the Christian era. Today, the image of Hitler's marching columns, in goose step and eyes left, remains as a vivid reminder to those who recall the extent of military aggression activated by the National Socialists. The German experience, as one sees, is rich with a predilection for military strength. Lebensraum, the need for living space, was achieved with, by and large, force. The underlying theme of the racial theories was that of extolling the "Big Blond Beast" to action, to fight for the honored Fatherland. Passionate nationalism contributed the zeal and zest for uniting the people in a common cause aimed at protecting and expanding their country. Militarism, then, was a natural extension and a necessity within the ideology of the Nazis.

One can see, if one examines Germany's historical development, that the military enjoyed an exalted position as far back as the barbaric period and extending to the days of

the Prussian Empire. In feudal times the knights and their followers rendered military service to the ruler in return for land ownership or other advantages, and this led, naturally, to an allegiance to the king but not to the nation. The warriors had no abiding interest in peace, for their business was war. They scoffed at the businessmen of the day, and soon they were considered an elite set apart from the ordinary people of the land.¹

By the late nineteenth century, the military in Germany and Prussia continued to swear unconditional allegiance and obedience to the monarch, an allegiance which had no legal limits. They were the knightly servants of the monarch and, only to a small degree, the nation. During the Third Reich, the army spoke its oath to the person, the person being Adolf Hitler. The army, up to the end of World War I, remained under the domination of the nobility, which gave rise to its wide acceptance and undying support it received from practically all segments of the German population.²

Militarism, few would disagree, was the dominant feature of the Prussian Empire. This was almost inevitable in a country surrounded by larger, more powerful neighbors. Having few secure, natural barriers, Germany was in a

¹ Hans Kohn, German History (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1954), p. 15-18.

² Ibid.

geopolitical position vulnerable to attack. Throughout the centuries, Germany, more than its neighbors, saw warring factions overrun its territory. Religious wars were common during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The idea of being encircled and having to break out of this encirclement by force was a prevalent concept in the German mind stretching far back in history.³ The psychiatrist Erik H. Erikson, a refugee from Hitler's Germany, remarked on this phenomenon:

It is impossible to characterize what is German without relating Germany's familial imagery to her central position in Europe. For . . . even the most intelligent groups must orient themselves and one another in relatively simple subverbal, magic design. Every person and every group has a limited inventory of historically determined spatial-temporal concepts, which determine the world image, the evil and ideal prototypes, and the unconscious life plan. In German history, such outstanding configurations are encirclement versus Lebensraum. . . . Nothing can be more fatal in international encounters than the attempt to belittle or to argue another nation's mythological space--time. The non-German does not realize that in Germany these words carried a conviction far beyond that of ordinary logic. . . .⁴

Heinz-Erich Fick, a German writer, agrees with Erikson in his analysis of how Germany's geographical position in Europe contributed to imperialism and how it gave rise to the development of militarism. Fick stated that the development of a small remote hinterland (i.e., Germany) into a great

³Horst von Maltitz, The Evolution of Hitler's Germany (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), p. 244.

⁴Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1963), p. 345, cited by Ibid, pp. 244-245.

European power, accomplished by military force, led to the rise of extreme militarism in Nazi Germany.⁵

The French historian, Jacques Droz, after years of intense studying, reduced the German attitude toward its military with this summation: the Germans loved military might and their armies. Their quest for power, for domination culminated in a policy of expansionism.⁶ Droz continued with his theories on German militarism with this startling conclusion: the Prussian tradition could not be equated with blood and iron. Bismark only considered war as a political tool. The military, however, was considered necessary and was held in high regard.⁷

William Shirer does not concur with Droz in his statement that Prussia, guided by Bismark, did not use force and aggression with the ultimate objective of conquering large areas of Europe. Bismark, in 1862, declared that the important questions of the day would be settled not by resolution or compromise, but by blood and iron.⁸

Bismark first built up the Prussian Army and when the parliament refused to vote the additional credits he merely raised them on his

⁵ von Maltitz, op. cit., p. 244.

⁶ Karl D. Brachner, The German Dictatorship (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 69.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ William L. Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1960), p. 94.

own and finally dissolved the chamber. With a strengthened army he then struck in three successive wars. . . .⁹

Horst von Maltitz tends to agree with William Shirer that Germany had had a long history of military inculcation:

The Prussian kings were the great educators in militarism, starting with the 'soldier king,' Frederick William I (1713-1740) and, above all, his son Frederick II (the Great 1740-1786). These two were followed by a long, tenacious line of Prussian kings and German emperors, able generals and statesmen who unyieldingly continued the promotion of the militaristic way of life. Prussia became a Militarstaat, that is, a state which was thoroughly permeated with a military spirit. It was characterized, as Fick says, by '. . . the primacy of the military over the political, . . . our ecstatic faith in blood and iron--that was our school, our philosophy, our whole life, down to the silly imitation of military gestures by the civilians. . . .' ¹⁰

The spirit of militarism, then, was inculcated into practically every aspect of German life. Prussia had furnished the modern foundation of militarism. The Count Honoré Gabriel Victor Mirabeau remarked that Prussia was not a state with an army, but was an army with a state.¹¹ The philosophical foundations that supported militarism were laid by several German historians, one of the most important men was Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel.

When Hegel (see previous chapters) succeeded Fichte at the University of Berlin, 1814, he wrote and spoke about

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ von Maltitz, op. cit., p. 245.

¹¹ Shirer, op. cit., p. 93.

the glorification of the State. To Hegel, the State was everything. He said:

It is the highest revelation of the world spirit; it is the actuality of the ethical idea . . . ethical mind . . . knowing and thinking itself; the State has the supreme right against the individual whose supreme duty is to be a member of the State . . . for the right of the world spirit is above all special privileges. . . . 12

Hegel continued with his thoughts about the individual, the State, and war:

World history is no empire of happiness. The periods of happiness are the empty pages of history because they are the periods of agreement, without conflict. War is the great purifier . . . it (war) makes for the ethical health of peoples corrupted by a long peace, as the blowing of the winds preserves the seas from the foulness which would be the result of a prolonged calm. . . . So mighty a form (the State) must trample down many an innocent flower--crush to pieces many an object in its path.¹³

Heinrich von Treitsche, also mentioned in previous chapters, came to the University of Berlin after Hegel and continued to glorify war and military might:

Martial glory is the basis of all the political virtues; in the rich treasure of Germany's glories the Prussian military glory is a jewel as precious as the masterpieces of our poets and thinkers. To play blindly with peace . . . has become the shame of the thought and morality of our age.¹⁴

¹²Georg F. Hegel, Lectures on the Philosophy of History, trans. J. Sibree (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1902), pp. 31-32.

¹³Ibid., pp. 34, 70.

¹⁴Heinrich von Treitschke, History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century, Vol. 1, trans. Eden Paul and Cedar Paul (London: [n.n.], 1915-1919), p. 482.

He continued with these statements:

War is not only a practical necessity, it is also a theoretical necessity, an exigency of logic. The concept of the State implies the concept of war, for the essence of the State is power. . . . That war should ever be banished from the world is a hope not only absurd, but profoundly immoral. It would involve the atrophy of many of the essential and sublime forces of the human soul. . . . A people which becomes attached to the chimerical hope of perpetual peace finished irremediably by decaying in its proud isolation.¹⁵

Nietzsche, previously cited, agreed with Hegel and Treitschke on the subject of militarism and the need for war:

Ye shall love peace as a means to new war, and the short peace more than the long. You I advise not to work, but to fight. You I advise not to peace but to victory. . . . Ye say it is the good cause which halloweth even war? I say unto you: it is the good war which halloweth every cause. War and courage have done more great things than charity.¹⁶

These German philosophers were instrumental in influencing the later generations of Germans, and particularly Hitler and National Socialism. The years preceding World War I saw a growing enthusiasm for the military and, after Germany's defeat in World War I, the nascent German Workers' Party instituted paramilitary units within its ranks. The National Socialist Party continued to use paramilitary units, namely the SA, the Hitler Youth, and the SS.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Frederich Nietzsche, Thus Spake Zarathustra, trans. Thomas Common (New York: Modern Library, 1917), p. 42

It is interesting to note that Hitler valued the army also as a political tool. On his path to power, Hitler often remarked about the importance of having political institutions such as the army supporting his cause. In fact, General Kurt von Schleicher and other generals were instrumental in urging the aged Hindenburg to appoint Hitler as Chancellor of the Reich on January 30, 1933. If the army had opposed Hitler, it seems evident he would have had little chance to succeed.¹⁷

Hitler, himself, had a high regard for the German army. Although he experienced difficulties with the ranking generals, he felt the German people owed the army everything.

Hitler was an extreme militarist;¹⁸ however, it seems that Hitler used the army to secure political power, obtain Lebensraum, subjugate inferior races, and to establish Germany's political hegemony in Europe and, perhaps later, the world. Hitler, in many ways, was disdainful of many generals, and some historians have gone so far as to state that Hitler wanted to destroy the military that existed during the Third Reich. This seems incongruent with his statement from Zweites Buch (Second Book), 1928:

. . . All in all, around the turn of the century the German army was still the most grandiose organization in the world, and its work was more than a blessing for our German people. . . . (The Army) was the breeding ground of German discipline,

¹⁷ Koppel Pinson, Modern Germany (New York: Macmillan, 1954), pp. 508-509.

¹⁸ von Maltitz, op. cit., pp. 250-251.

German efficiency, decent convictions, plain courage, bold dare deviltry, tough tenaciousness and rocklike honesty. The concept of honor, held by one caste, slowly and imperceptibly became the common property of an entire nation.¹⁹

During World War II, Hans Frank, a high ranking Nazi spoke of the German attitude toward the military and its leader, Adolf Hitler. Frank stated that Hitler was chief of state, chief of government and supreme commander of all of the armed forces. An oath to him was binding before God and the German people. During the war, Frank stated, Germany acted correctly, exhibiting the characteristics of a true, loyal, military nation of honor.²⁰

Militarism, then, ultimately permeated German life during the Third Reich. The army was used to wage war and to deliver the necessary living space; children and young adults were organized into paramilitary organizations. Their passwords were Hitler, Bismark and Frederick the Great. The SS and the SA, as paramilitary units within the Nazi party, instituted a martial way of life upon the civilian population. With the help of these paramilitary units, Jews were persecuted, order was kept, and German life was regulated. Militarism was a spirit and a reality during the years of the Third Reich.²¹

¹⁹ Adolf Hitler, Second Book (New York: Grove Press, 1961), p. 64.

²⁰ von Maltitz, op. cit., pp. 250-251.

²¹ Ralph Flenley, Modern German History (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1968), pp. 370-371.

In conclusion, one must regard the military spirit in Nazi Germany as a continuation from feudal days, and more importantly, from the Bismarkian Empire. Germany's geopolitical position had always played an important role in its development. Rightly or wrongly, the German mind perceived its nation as encircled by hostile neighbors. As the population grew, Germany sought to provide the living space needed to support its people. The deep regard for the military, evident during the Third Reich, had its roots in ancient times. Germans had undying faith in the supremacy of their armed forces, and the first few years of World War II were successful ones. This is not to say that the army and its Supreme War Lord concurred on military strategy at all times. This, however, was not common knowledge shared with the German people. To them, the glorious war would set them free from Jewish-Marxist domination, it would allow them to expand and grow. It also supported the mythos of a superior people yearning and dreaming of the day when Germany would take its rightful place in the sun. The ultimate goal of the Nazis was world domination where inferior peoples would be reduced to servants and slaves to the master race. This dream was ended in the spring of 1945, when the noble, superior German forces were overrun by the Allies.²²

Dr. Goebbels once remarked that National Socialism was truly designed for the person who had in his heart, and

²² Ibid.

what was most important, in his fist, whatever he does not have in his brain.²³ This thinking was pervasive among the German people. The price paid for this attitude was very high.

Finally, as Supreme War Lord, Hitler remained in the besieged capital, Berlin, to "fight" the soldier's fight. When it was announced in Germany that Hitler had died, it was stated that he died a soldier's death. In one of his final documents, Hitler epitomized the German military spirit:

From the sacrifices of our soldiers, and from my own bond with them unto death, in one way or another the seed will rise in German history and there will be a radiant rebirth of the National Socialist movement, and thus there will be established a true racial community.²⁴

Hitler, at the very end, saw his role as one of a soon to perish soldier, dying for the Fatherland and hoping that one day the great Aryan race would rise again to create a nation based upon the ideology that had created the Third Reich. In the ashes of the burned capital, one might feel a sense of the sheer passion for the glorification of force, of war, and of the ringing words that typified the German attitude towards war:

That which the Goths, the Varangians, and all the individual migrants of Germanic blood failed to achieve, that we now shall--a new Teutonic

²³ von Maltitz, op. cit., pp. 194-195.

²⁴ Adolf Hitler, Apr. 29, 1944; Hans Adolf Jacobsen, 1939-1945, Der Sweite Weltkrieg in Chronik und Dokumenten (Darmstadt, 1959), pp. 379-380, cited by Joachim Remak, The Nazi Years (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), p. 131. (Nuremberg Document 3569-PS).

migration, brought about by our Leader, the Leader of all Teutons. Now we shall beat back the storm of the steepe, now we shall finally secure Europe's eastern frontier. Now there will be fulfilled what Germanic fighters once dreamt of in the forests and vastness of the East. A 3000-year-old chapter of history today reaches its glorious conclusion. Once again, since June 1942, the Goths are riding-- each one of us a Teutonic fighter!²⁵

²⁵ SS Leitheft in Walther Hofer Der Nationalsozialismus Dokumente 1933-1945 (Frankfurt, [n.n.], 1957), p. 250, cited by Ibid., pp. 118-119.

Chapter 8

THE TOTAL STATE

" . . . Government . . . must control every act. . . ."

Germany, during the National Socialist regime was molded into a country where practically every aspect of human life was controlled, or at the very minimum, monitored.

George Sabine writes:

Government may, indeed must control every act and every interest of every individual or group in order to use it for enhancing national strength; government is not only absolute in its exercise but unlimited in its application. Nothing lies outside its providence. Every interest and value--economic, moral, and cultural--being part of the national resources were to be controlled and utilized by government.¹

All safeguards of liberties became non-existent in Germany during the Third Reich. Political parties, save the National Socialist Party were banned by 1933. The universities, schools, unions, trade associations, even leisure and recreation were controlled by the "monolithic" Nazi regime. There was, during the Third Reich, no area of privacy or personal autonomy that remained. The effective propaganda techniques

¹George Sabine, A History of Political Theory (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 916.

employed by Dr. Goebbels, were partly responsible for indoctrinating an entire generation into accepting the feasibility of a state where books were destroyed, human life defiled and ultimately a whole world was plunged into a devastating war.

The manipulation of the masses was achieved by the Nazi party and the Fuehrer. A more careful examination of the totalitarian and authoritarian state established by the Nazis is called for now.

The Structure of the Government of the State

At the apex of the government structure stood the Fuehrer, Adolf Hitler. By August 1, 1934, the office of Chancellor and President, as proclaimed by law by the Reichstag, was delivered into the hands of Adolf Hitler. This was to be put into effect upon the death of President von Hindenburg. Therefore, Hitler became both head of state and head of government.² This was one of the crucial steps he would take to consolidate his political power base. After the death of Hindenburg, little resistance was offered that could hinder Hitler's final transformation of a republican form of government into a totalitarian and authoritarian form of government. As stated before, political parties other than the Nazi party were banned as of July 14, 1933.³ The absolute

² Joachim Remak, The Nazi Years (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), pp. 54-55.

³ Alan Bullock, Hitler: A Study in Tyranny (New York: Bantam Books, 1961), pp. 232-233.

power and authority of the Fuehrer is clearly illustrated in a speech made by Hans Frank, the head of the Nazi Association of Lawyers, 1938. Hans Frank stated that there could be no doubt concerning the judicial foundations of the Third Reich. According to Frank, at the apex of the Reich stood the leader of the NSDAP, Adolf Hitler, who would serve as its leader for life. He, alone, would decide the future for all Germans. Frank discoursed on the powers of the Fuehrer for several paragraphs. The Fuehrer was Head of State, Chief of Government and Commander-in-Chief of all armed forces within the Reich.⁴

The Fuehrer also retained the power to decide upon the form of the Reich, its structure, and general policy. As supreme judge of the nation, the Fuehrer was independent from constitutional restraints and he alone decided what the law was and what it meant. The Fuehrer, owing to the overwhelming support of the German people, was able to achieve and enforce a legal system dependent upon him. He was the law. The Fuehrer was not encumbered by written laws or a writted constitution. The entire state was regulated by the decisions or whims of the Fuehrer.⁵

⁴ Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, Documents on Nazism 1919-1945 (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1966), pp. 253-254.

⁵ Ibid.

Such a concentration of power in the hands of an individual surpassed all known examples of a "personal regime." Constitutionalism had been abrogated, the Fuehrer retained executive, judicial and legislative supremacy. The Fuehrer stood as the "representative of the people," and his legitimacy as Fuehrer seemed to be based upon the Hobbesian concept of absolutism. Hitler was, then, absolute in the powers of Germany's government. He, alone, had been chosen; he, alone, had been called to represent the will of the state. Viewed as an organic one, the German nation approved and accepted Hitler's claim to omnipotence and omniscience. The state, therefore, was a living entity, governed by a man who claimed absolute personal power derived from a mystical source, perhaps divinely inspired. Laws, reason, and constitutional safeguards were dismissed as unnecessary and undesirable, for the Fuehrer rose above them into a position higher than law, reason, rational judgments, and expressed the will of the people and of the nation. There were no limitations on the Fuehrer's powers, for he, again, was omnipotent.⁶ In an article for Voelkischer Beobachter, Dr. Goebbels spoke about the emerging belief in Hitler's divine nature. Dr. Goebbels believed that Hitler was the

⁶ Henry Meyer, The Long Generation: Germany From Empire to Ruin 1913-1945 (New York: Walker, 1973), pp. 274-276.

instrument of divine will, who would reshape history with fresh passion.⁷

Hitler, through legal means fused the institutions of government and assured himself absolute, total power. The Reichstag, during the Third Reich, was controlled by the Nazi Party, since all other political parties had been banned by 1933. The judiciary received a traumatic censure in 1942, when Hitler, before the Reichstag, accused them of ignoring the laws of the Third Reich. Most legalists before this date had witnessed a gradual erosion of judicial independence. The so-called People's Court was staffed by Nazis. It became standard practice for judges and lawyers to confer in advance of a trial and agree on the outcome. This was a welcome development to some judges, for it absolved them from the sole responsibility of making judicial decisions. Criticism of the regime made in the privacy of one's home was a punishable offense. Sexual intercourse between a German and Jew often carried the death penalty for both. Personal liberties were subjugated in favor of public interests. The slogan, "public interests over private ones," was commonplace in Germany during the Third Reich. In essence, judicial and legislative independence ended when Hitler assumed the position of authority.⁸

⁷ William Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1960), p. 129.

⁸ Bullock, op. cit., p. 235.

Chancellor and President, he ordered the German society into a racial community, built on the foundations of the National Socialist ideology and personal authority. As Commander-in-Chief, Hitler was absolute master of the Army, which he assumed under his direct command. By 1942 Hitler oversaw the offensive at the Russian front and forbid any German retreat.⁹

George Sabine succinctly describes the German totalitarian system of government under the control of the Nazis:

. . . national socialist totalitarianism never achieved a rational division of functions in any branch of government, or an organization into governing agencies with legally defined powers that acted predictably according to known rules. These bureaucratic qualities, which far more than political liberalism had been principles of German constitutionalism, were in fact destroyed by the rise of national socialism to power. Existing administrative and judicial agencies were left standing but they were infiltrated by party personnel, often for the express purpose of breaking down their customary procedures. . . .¹⁰

National Socialism completely wrecked the German ideal of a Rechtsstaat, which referred to an orderly constitutional system. National Socialist totalitarianism was a jumble and combination of political functions and legal powers. There was no constitutional theory surrounding the Nazi party or its relation to the government, although by law it was the only party allowed to exist. Due process and equality before the law was a farce, Sabine concludes:

⁹ Shirer, op, cit., p. 930.

¹⁰ Sabine, op. cit., pp. 916-917.

What totalitarianism meant in practice was that any person whose acts were regarded as having political significance was quite without legal protection if the government or the party or one of their many agencies chose to exert its power. . . . ¹¹

The Nazi party was not amenable to any legal or political control, except Hitler's. The Elite Guard (Schutzstaffel), the Storm Troops (Sturmbteilung), and the Hitler Youth enjoyed all legislative and judicial powers and extra-legal privileges. The party was the state, and the state was, for all practical purposes, Hitler's own.

In conclusion, the National Socialist regime was a totalitarian, authoritarian dictatorship. Independence of the branches of government did not exist. Agencies within the branches were staffed by party members. Complete control over every aspect of German life rested in the hands of the Fuehrer. He was worshipped as a near immortal. His decisions were law, binding all in the German society. He had no political restraints, and no constitutional curbs on his power. He controlled the party, which in turn controlled the daily workings of government. His support stemmed from the German people who gave up freedom, liberty and ethics from the Christian era. The Fuehrer was the state, and the state was the all-encompassing force that was superior and above the German individual. Government, the state, was absolute in exercising its control over its citizens.¹² "Nothing lies outside its

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Bullock, op. cit., pp. 331-332.

province." Sabine continues, every interest and value-- economic, moral, and cultural--being part of the national resources were to be controlled and utilized by government."¹³ This certainly was the case with the Third Reich.

The Leadership Principle

As alluded to in the previous section of this chapter, Adolf Hitler legitimized his political power base with the concept identified as the leadership principle or Fuehrer-prinzip. What this referred to was the idea that one man stood above the masses, capable of governing as an infallible, uncontradictable leader. The Fuehrer was mystically endowed, his will was indistinguishable from the will of the organic, volkish state. His power was innate, not acquired or learned. The Fuehrer was the bearer of the collective will of the people, his will was the people's will. He alone was capable of governing and interpreting the will of the organic state. With the help of modern technology, Hitler established a totalitarian state that exulted this personal complete rule.

Hitler, early in the development of the Nazi party, addressed the idea of personal leadership. By 1921, the leadership principle, known as the Fuehrerprinzip, was accepted by the rank and file of the Nazi party. In essence, the Fuehrerprinzip referred to a dictatorship that Hitler would set up during the Third Reich. Democracy, parliamentarianism, and

¹³Sabine, op. cit., p. 916.

representative government, as we know it, would have no place in the Nazi regime. Hitler believed the state, based upon racial purity, was to be governed by one man. He adopted the authoritarian principle of the Prussian army, which was authority of every leader downward and responsibility upward. In Mein Kampf Hitler outlined the principles of Fuehrerprinzip:

There must be no majority decisions, but only responsible persons. . . . Surely every man will have advisers by his side, but the decision will be made by one man . . . only he alone may possess the authority and the right to command . . . it will not be possible to dispense with Parliament. But their counselors will then actually give counsel. . . . In no chamber does a vote ever take place. They are working institutions and not voting machines. This principle--absolute responsibility unconditionally combined with absolute authority--will gradually breed an elite of leaders such as today, in this era of irresponsible parliamentarianism, is utterly inconceivable.¹⁴

These words, unheeded by many, became the nucleus of a political philosophy that was instrumental in changing the entire governmental structure that existed during the Weimar Republic. By 1934, popular assemblies in the Federal States had been abolished. The Reich Government could issue any new constitutional laws. The Reich Governors were placed under the supervision of the Reich Minister of the Interior. On April 26, 1934, the Reichstag was, for all practical purposes, phased out of its existence. The rubber-stamp Reichstag passed a law that gave Hitler absolute power and suspended any laws which might have stood in his way. The law stated:

¹⁴ Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), pp. 449-450.

In the present war, in which the German people are faced with a struggle for their existence or their annihilation, the Fuehrer must have all the rights postulated by him which serve to further or achieve victory. Therefore--without being bound by existing legal regulations--in his capacity as Leader of the nation, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, Head of Government and supreme executive chief, as Supreme Justice and Leader of the Party--the Fuehrer must be in a position to force with all means at his disposal every German, if necessary, whether he be common soldier or officer, low or high official or judge, leading or subordinate official of the party, worker or employer--to fulfill his duties. In case of violation of these duties, the Fuehrer is entitled after conscientious examination, regardless of so-called well-deserved rights, to mete out due punishment . . . without introducing prescribed procedure.¹⁵

Hitler, as leader, became the law of Germany. The total, organic state had a complete, powerful leader. He stood at the apex of the party structure and governmental authority. He retained the power of life and death over his people. Hitler was, as some historians point out, a medium between divine providence and the German people. The masses followed his dictates, the Fuehrer concentrated the total power of the state into his hands. As Richard Grunberger writes:

It was a popular will and authoritative fiat: populated by virtue of Hitler's mass following and authoritarian because his investiture had been at the hands of Hindenburg. . . .¹⁶

¹⁵ Shirer, op. cit., p. 867. (Part of the Nuremberg documents)

¹⁶ Richard Grunberger, The Twelve Year Reich (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), pp. 18-19.

The total state based on the concept of the volk was administered by the authoritarian principle of which we have referred to as the Fuehrerprinzip. The folkish state would look for its leader among those who,

. . . bear in their hearts fanatical faith in the victory of a movement, but also . . . indomitable energy and will, and if necessary . . . brutal ruthlessness. . . . For this only being were fitted in whom spirit and body had acquired those military virtues which can perhaps best be described as follows: swift as greyhounds, tough as leather, and hard as Krupp steel.¹⁷

From these elite, one man would step forward to assume the responsibility of leading a nation: the Fuehrer, Adolf Hitler. The state was, in reality, what he dictated it would be. March 23, 1933, amid threats from the storm troopers, the Reichstag had capitulated to Hitler. By 441 to 84 the Reichstag passed the Enabling Act that amounted to a gift of absolute power. Hitler was the state, the party, the government. It was a full-blown dictatorship.

The Nazification of Germany

". . . it is to stress, . . . that which it has chosen to represent. . . ."

- Hitler

The cement that held the National Socialist regime together was its efficient, overwhelming and fanatical use of propaganda. Every aspect of German life, during the Third Reich was regulated, as we have seen. The regulation of the peoples' lives and the absolute power held by the state were

¹⁷Hitler, op. cit., p. 356.

made possible by the daily barrage of information geared at reducing peoples' opinions into a cohesive, non-questioning, obedient conformity. Adolf Hitler, in 1942, remarked, "We have to put a stop to the idea that it is a part of everybody's civil rights to say whatever he pleases."¹⁸

In Mein Kampf, Hitler spelled out the principles of effective mass persuasion:

It is not the task of propaganda to weigh various rights. Rather, it is to stress, to the exclusion of all others, that which it has chosen to represent. Propaganda must not engage in an objective search for the truth (which might equally serve the other side) and then submit it to the people with doctrinaire honesty. Rather, it must unceasingly, serve its own truth.

The great majority of a people does not consist of professors or diplomats. The small amount of knowledge it possesses channels its reactions into the realm of emotion. Here attitudes are either positive or negative. The masses are receptive only to forceful expressions pointing to either the positive or the negative, never to a half-way station between the two. But this emotion--directed attitude also makes for some extraordinary stability. Faith is harder to shake than knowledge. Love is less subject to change than respect. Hatred is more lasting than dislike. And the driving force behind the world's most profound revolutions has at all times been not so much some scholarly insight dominating the masses as it had been the fanaticism which ruled them, and sometimes the hysteria which drove them forward. . . .¹⁹

Fanaticism and hysteria were the goals achieved by the propaganda engineers during the Third Reich. One can recount the banning and burning of books, the Anti-Semitic slogans and posters, the demise of the free press, the demise of the last

¹⁸Statement by Adolf Hitler in a conversation, Feb. 22, 1942, cited by Remak, op. cit., p. 83.

¹⁹Hitler, op. cit., p. 200.

vestiges of parliamentarianism, the "Nazification" of German schools and universities, and the ultimate demand for German domination of Europe, to see how effective propaganda was in determining the total Nazi culture, based upon ideological principles, and the acceptance of the articulated goals of the Nazis. Little resistance was evident during the Third Reich. Most Germans simply followed the dictates of the Nazi government, quite confident in the total scheme of things. A strong, unified Germany necessitated the loss of personal, selfish rights and privileges, and surrendering personal rights was a small price paid for the glorification, the exultation of a nation-state denied so much in the postwar era. The German people, then, supported and, truthfully demanded an emotional, hysterical form of propaganda, and Hitler, ever the pragmatic politician seized the opportunity to elevate propaganda techniques to a new high.²⁰

Hitler, in 1933, after assuming the office of Chancellor, began his program of "Nazification" in Germany, using the tactics designed to promote and provoke hysteria and fanaticism. After the Reichstag fire, Hitler issued a decree "For the Protection of the People and the State." It suspended the seven sections of the constitution which guaranteed individual and civil liberties. It stated:

. . . restrictions on personal liberty, on the right of free expression of opinion, including

²⁰ George L. Mosse, Nazi Culture (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1966), pp. 111-116.

freedom of the press, on the rights of assembly and association; and violations of the privacy of postal, telegraphic and telephonic communications; and warrants for house searches, orders for confiscations as well as restrictions on property, are also permissible beyond the legal limits otherwise prescribed. . . . ²¹

The decree also authorized the central government to take over the complete power in the federal states and to punish any dissenters with the death penalty. All this was done in order to protect Germany from the Communist goal of taking over the country.²² The Reichstag fire was blamed on the Communists, and "documents" were uncovered to support the propagandistic messages from Hitler to the German people. These documents allegedly proved that the Communists were planning to terrorize the German populace by burning down homes, mansions and government buildings. Children and women were to be sent in front of firing squads. These documents also contained information that the Communists were going to incite a general civil war.²³ The so-called Communist conspiracy gave the Nazis a prime motivation and opportunity to impress the German people with its political objectives and its plans for dealing with those who would destroy the German nation. The publication of these Communist documents that proved a widespread conspiracy was promised but never made.

²¹Part of documents on Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression from Nuremberg, pp. 968-970, cited by Shirer, op. cit., p. 194.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., p. 195.

The March 5th election in 1933 had witnessed the most intense propagandistic campaign Germany had ever seen. As Shirer points out, the campaign was financed by big business. It was the first time, but not the last, that State-run radio carried the voices of Hitler, Goering and Dr. Goebbels to every part of Germany:

The streets, bedecked with swastika flags, echoed to the tramp of the storm troopers. There were mass rallies, torchlight parades, the din of loudspeakers in the squares. The billboards were plastered with flamboyant Nazi posters and at night bonfires lit up the hills. The electorate was in turn cajoled with promises of a German paradise, intimidated by the brown terror in the streets and frightened by 'revelations' about Communist revolution. . . . ²⁴

The March 5 election gave the Nazis 44 percent of the total vote, giving the Nazi party a majority of 16 in the Reichstag. Total control of the government would have to wait; not long, however, for by July 14, 1933, all political parties other than the Nazi party had been officially and legally banned. Through clever propaganda techniques, the German people were "re-educated" to accept the ban of political parties, which further aided Hitler in his grasp for total power.

On March 23, 1933 the Reichstag met in the Kroll Opera House in Berlin, to debate and vote on a piece of legislation that would inevitably lead to the personal dictatorship of Hitler, and inexorably alter the German state and the lives of the German people. The Enabling Law, or the "Law

²⁴Ibid., pp. 194-195.

for Removing the Distress of People and Reich" (Gasetz zur Behebung der Not von Volk und Reich), initiated several important governmental functions that were to be transferred from the control of the Reichstag to the control of the Fuehrer. With this "Enabling Act," Hitler possessed complete control of the Nazi state.

The early months of 1933 saw an overwhelming attack on the last vestiges of pre-Nazi Germany. The federated states' governments were turned aside and replaced by Nazi ones. By early May, trade union headquarters were occupied, funds confiscated, unions dissolved and leaders arrested. Collective bargaining was ended. The Left had been destroyed, but the Right remained. Dr. Goebbles and Ernst Roehm wanted to liquidate huge financial institutions plus the Prussian Army, but Hitler, the pragmatic politician, realized they were necessary supports of the Nazi state. Indeed, these were the groups he had counted on to sweep him into the political scene.

Through terror and clever political maneuvering, Hitler had, by 1934, succeeded in establishing a personal dictatorship. He crushed all resistance to the Nazi movement. Parties were dissolved, unions smashed, state governments staffed by Nazis, freedom of speech, press and opinion abolished, the courts ceased to function independently and the Jew had been successfully driven out of public and professional

life. Hitler was readying his war machine. The political, economic, and social life of an ancient and cultivated people had been "Nazified."

Propaganda aided the Nazis in establishing a total state. We now turn to a brief discourse on the propaganda techniques employed by the Nazis to establish and retain complete control over the German people.

Propaganda

The control of films, radio and the press. During the years after 1934 until the collapse of the Third Reich, editors and correspondents of German newspapers met with Dr. Goebbels at the Propaganda Ministry and were told what news to print and what news to suppress. The Reich Press Law of October 4, 1933, stipulated that all editors must possess German citizenship, be of Aryan descent and not married to a Jew. The Press Law contained information regarding what the German newspapers could or could not print. Anything considered "misleading" was deleted in order to preserve the strength and unity of the Reich.²⁵ Most of the important German editors were Nazis and easily followed the dictates of Dr. Goebbels. The conformity that resulted from the state owned and operated press caused many Germans to view the press stories as dull, inane and boring. However, by and large, the Germans accepted the

²⁵Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, op. cit., pp. 336-337.

stories and held the opinion that they propounded the truth. William Shirer was living in Germany during the Third Reich. He recalls some salient observations:

It was surprising . . . to find that not withstanding the opportunities I had to learn the facts . . . a steady diet over the years of falsifications and distortions made a certain impression on one's mind and often misled it. No one who has not lived for years in a totalitarian land can possibly conceive how difficult it is to escape the dread consequences of a regime's calculated and incessant propaganda.²⁶

Shirer, conversing with Germans from many walks of life, discovered that most people parroted what was printed in the newspapers, or heard over the radio. Albert Speer, Hitler's personal architect and War Armaments Administrator, testified at the Nuremberg Trials that Hitler achieved such a complete dictatorship due to the advancement of modern technology.

Speer stated:

Hitler's dictatorship was the first dictatorship of an industrial state in this age of modern technology, a dictatorship which employed to perfection the instruments of technology to dominate its own people.²⁷

Speer cited the use of the radio and public address systems as instrumental in transmitting the Nazi message to the eighty million German people. The telephone, teletype and radio made it possible to transmit commands from the highest levels to the lower organs of authority. These instruments of

²⁶ Shirer, op. cit., p. 205.

²⁷ Albert Speer, Inside the Third Reich (New York: Macmillan, 1970), p. 520.

technology allowed the Nazi leaders to maintain a close watch over all its citizens and to keep criminal operations secret.

The importance of all this was clearly stated by Speer:

To the outsider this state apparatus may look like the seemingly wild tangle of cables in a telephone exchange; but like such an exchange it could be directed by a single will. Dictatorships of the past needed assistants of high quality . . . men who could think and act independently. The authoritarian system in the age of technology can do without such men. The means of communication alone enable it to mechanize the work of the lower leadership. Thus the type of uncritical receiver of orders is created.²⁸

Hence, Hitler's personal dictatorship and the Nazi state were aided by the technology that created mass communication.

Shirer agreed with Speer's observations, he stated:

. . . one realized how useless it was even to try to make contact with a mind which had become warped and for whom the facts of life had become what Hitler and Goebbels, with their cynical disregard for truth, said they were.²⁹

The radio and films contributed to the pervasive sentiment in German minds and emotions that Shirer spoke of in his commentary. Dr. Goebbels made brilliant use of the radio, the chief instrument of propaganda in Germany at that time. Goebbels gained complete control of broadcasting and "shaped it to his own ends." Films remained in the hands of private companies, but the Propaganda Ministry and the Chamber of Films controlled every aspect of the motion-picture industry. Films were made to promulgate the ideological goals of

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 520-521.

²⁹ Shirer, op. cit., pp. 205-206.

National Socialism. It is interesting to note that the movie-goer in Germany found such films to be so utterly boring that they frequented the few theatres that showed Hollywood B-grade movies.

The media in the Third Reich served the purposes of the State. Information disseminated was closely scrutinized and approved only if it served the purposes of the Nazis. The media was used to further re-educate the people and provide for a society where conformity, unity and total acceptance were the rule.

Education

The government of the Third Reich needed the control of the educational systems to further provide a complete indoctrination of the German people. Hitler envisioned a system of education that would emphasize not independent academic pursuits, but one that would provide physical training which would culminate with the induction of young people into military service. In Mein Kampf Hitler wrote:

The whole education by a national state must aim primarily not at the stuffing with mere knowledge but at building bodies which are physically healthy to the core.³⁰

After Hitler became dictator of Germany, he continued to speak about the need for "educating" the German youth. In a speech on November 6, 1933, he remarked:

³⁰Hitler, op. cit., pp. 150-151.

When an opponent declares, 'I will not come over to your side,' I calmly say, 'Your child belongs to us already . . . what are you? You will pass on. Your descendants, however, now stand in the new camp. In a short time they will know nothing else but this new community. . . . This new Reich will give its youth to no one, but will itself take youth and give to youth its own education and its own upbringing. . . . 31

This was exactly what happened. The Reich oversaw the education of all young Germans. All teachers, from kindergarten to the university level were required to join the National Socialist Teachers' League, which by law was held responsible for the execution of the ideological and political coordination of all teachers in accordance with the National Socialist doctrine. The Civil Service Act of 1937 stated that teachers were to be the executors of the will of the party-supported state. All teachers took an oath to be loyal and obedient to Adolf Hitler. Jews could not teach. All teachers were subject to racial laws which stipulated that instructors must be of Aryan descent.

By 1933, local autonomy regarding public instruction was replaced by the Reich Ministry of Education, where all facets of the educational system were regulated at the federal level. Dr. Rust, appointed by Hitler in 1934, ran the ministry with an iron hand. He appointed the deans of universities who were good party members, and he also appointed the leaders of the university students' unions to which all

³¹ Ibid.

students had to belong, and of the lecturers' union which comprised all instructors. The National Socialist Association of University Lecturers, under Dr. Rust, selected who could teach and decided what was to be taught in accordance with Nazi ideology.³²

Textbooks were written that glorified the Aryan people, the master race. The natural sciences lost the great men of that field: Einstein, Franck, Haber, Willstaetter and Warburg. Science was taught to justify the Nazi claim of racial superiority. The German professor, a Nazi, Rudolphe Tomaschek, summed up the German view concerning the objective of science. Tomaschek stated that science was the creation of the German spirit. Science, or the study of science, was the complete instrument of German thought.³³ German education, then, was reduced to glorifying and perpetuating the German racial theories of superiority.

Many university professors either suprisingly accepted docilely the "Nazification" of higher learning or were avowed Nazis themselves. Professor Roepke, himself dismissed by the Nazis from the University of Marburg in 1933, wrote that

³² Mosse, op. cit., pp. 130-133.

³³ P. Lenard, German Physics (Munich: Munich Press, 1936), p. v.

the honorable history of German learning had been prostituted.³⁴ Professor Julius Ebbinghaus, after the war, stated that the German universities has failed to oppose the complete destruction of the Weimar Republic. Had they done so, Ebbinghaus stated, perhaps the beacon of freedom would have continued to burn throughout the whole of Germany.³⁵

Education throughout Germany had failed to provide a bulwark of rationalism, and instead was brilliantly used by the Nazis to further their control over the German mind.

The National Socialists, after achieving conformity within the existing public school system, turned their attention to the development of organizations that would provide Spartan, political and military training. On July 20, 1933, Hitler outlawed the Catholic Youth Association and established the Hitler Youth:

All of the German youth in the Reich is organized within the Hitler Youth.

The German youth, besides being reared within the family and schools, shall be educated physically, intellectually, and morally in the spirit of National Socialism . . . through the Hitler Youth.³⁶

From the age of six to eighteen, boys and girls were conscripted into the Hitler Youth. At eighteen, boys were

³⁴ Wilhelm Roepke, The Solution of the German Problem (Munich: Munich Press, 1935), p. 61.

³⁵ Frederic Lilge, The Abuse of Learning: The Failure of the German University (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1948), p. 170.

³⁶ Shirer, op. cit., p. 253.

conscripted into the Labor Service, organized along the lines of the SA. The girls entered the Land Jahr, which was equivalent to the Labor Service of the young men. There the girls worked for a year on farms. All youth was required to serve in these organizations or run the risk of being taken away from their parents and placed in orphanages.³⁷

Three other types of schools were organized by 1937: the Adolf Hitler Schools, the National Political Institutions of Education and the Order Castles. All were dedicated to upholding Nazi ideology and military training.³⁸

Thus the educational system in Germany supported and strengthened the National Socialist regime. The Nazis used the schools as prime disseminators of propaganda. Hence, Nazi ideology and the German government were able to make tremendous progress in the Nazification of the nation. The total State was supported by a cohesive, complete populace. Nazi power was complete.

³⁷Mosse, loc. cit.

³⁸Ibid.

EPILOGUE

The purpose of this thesis has been to examine the political ramifications that allowed the Third Reich to exist. Clearly, the National Socialist state was not a mere happenstance, nor an accident visited upon a people who involuntarily succumbed to Hitler's regime. The historical past of Germany offered some clues to the impending disaster that Germany witnessed during the years of the Third Reich. Obviously, Nazism was a complex phenomenon that contained many factors--social, economic, historical and psychological. It seems to this writer, that Germany seemed vulnerable to an ideology that was one of the most brutal, tyrannical and oppressive. Beyond this, Germany, by and large, embraced National Socialism with a zeal that stunned most of the world.

Germany accepted Hitler and Nazism. From 1924 until 1933, the Nazi party gained in political strength until Hitler assumed power in 1933. From that time until the collapse of Nazi Germany in 1945, the Fuehrer controlled and dictated the will of the German people. He was the law, the state, the government. The secret police, the concentration camps, the torchlight parades, and the grandiose mass meetings were all a part of this monolithic state. The state was supreme, glorified and supported by an overwhelming majority of Germans.

Why this occurred in a country that produced Beethoven, Brahms, Albert Einstein and numerous other great men is difficult to pinpoint. Germany, indeed, had had much exposure to and experience with authoritarianism, militarism and irrationalism and had little experience with parliamentary government, liberalism or democracy. The National Socialists and Adolf Hitler adopted the writings and teachings of virulent Anti-Semites, and broadened their ideology that seemed to offer a panacea for the ills of the German state. German history is rich with examples of religious and political cleavages, disunity and the retardation in developing into a modern nation-state. Germany's geographical position in Europe caused it to desire military supremacy. After World War I, a depression and high inflation partly caused the demise of the only democratic system Germany had experienced. The stage was set for a fanatical man and his ideas to appeal to the needs of the German populace. The liberal ideas of the French Revolution had been lost on the Germans, they, instead, showed a predilection for extreme, authoritarian measures.

This belief in the invincibility and superiority of a chosen man, rising from a chosen people, led Germany into the totalitarian state--the Third Reich. Germany's ambitious plans for expanding its living space led directly to World War II. The war ended Germany's world-wide plan for conquest. The Third Reich which, according to Hitler, would last a thousand years, ended in charred rubble after twelve years.

In the spring of 1945 National Socialism, its leader, and the terrorist aggressive state succumbed. No longer would the sight of the goose-stepping storm troopers, eyes left, be witnessed through the streets of Berlin, Munich or Bonn. They had passed into history.

The Third Reich had slipped into history.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

1. The Program of the National Socialist German Workers' Party

The Program of the German Workers' Party is a program for the times. The leaders have no intention, since the aims announced in it have been achieved, of setting up new ones merely in order to ensure the continued existence of the party through artificially stimulated discontent of the masses.

1. We demand the union of all Germans to form a Great Germany on the basis of the right of self-determination of nations.
2. We demand the equality of Germany with other nations, and the abolition of the Peace Treaties of Versailles and Saint-Germain.
3. We demand land and territory (colonies) for the sustenance of our people and for settling our superfluous population.
4. None but members of the nationality may be citizens of the state. None but those of German blood, irrespective of religion, may be members of the nationality. No Jew, therefore, is a member of the nationality.
5. Anyone who is not a citizen of the state may live in Germany only as a guest and must be subject to the law for aliens.
6. The right to determine the leadership and laws of the state is to be enjoyed only by citizens of the state. We demand, therefore, that all public offices of whatever kind, whether in the Reich, in the states, or in the municipalities, shall be filled only by citizens of the state. We oppose the corrupt parliamentary system of filling posts merely with a view to party considerations and without reference to character or ability.

7. We demand that the state shall make it its first duty to promote the industry and the livelihood of the citizens of the state. If it is not possible to maintain the entire population of the state then the members of foreign nations (non-citizens) must be expelled from the Reich.
8. All further immigration of non-Germans must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who entered Germany subsequent to August 2, 1914, shall be forced to leave the Reich forthwith.
9. All citizens shall enjoy equal rights and duties.
10. The primary duty of every citizen is to work either intellectually or physically. The activities of the individual must not clash with the interests of the community but must be realized within the frame of the whole and to the advantage of all.

We therefore demand:

11. Abolition of incomes unearned by either work or effort.

Breaking of the Bonds of Interest Slavery--

12. In view of the enormous sacrifices of property and life demanded of a people in every war, personal enrichment through war must be regarded as a crime against the nation. We demand, therefore, ruthless confiscation of all war profits.
13. We demand nationalization of all trusts.
14. We demand profit sharing in large concerns.
15. We demand the extensive development of old age pensions.
16. We demand the creation and maintenance of a healthy middle class, immediate communalization of department stores, and their lease at cheap rates to small merchants and extreme consideration for all small merchants in purchases by the federal government, states and municipalities.

17. We demand land reform adapted to our national needs, the enactment of a law for confiscation without compensation of land for public purposes; abolition of land interest and prevention of all speculation in land.
18. We demand a most ruthless struggle against whose activities are injurious to the public interest. Base crimes against the nation, usurers, profiteers, etc., irrespective of creed or race, must be punished with death.
19. We demand the substitution of a German common law for the materialistic cosmopolitan Roman law.
20. In order to make it possible for every talented and diligent German to acquire a higher education and thus be able to occupy leading positions, the state must carry out a thorough reconstruction of our entire educational system. The curricula of all educational institutions must be the goal of the school (through civic education). We demand the education of intellectually gifted children of poor parents without regard to class or occupation, and at the expense of the state.
21. The state must take care of improvement in public health through protection of mothers and children, through prohibiting child labor, through increasing physical development by obligatory gymnastics and sports laid down by law, and by the extensive support of all organizations concerned with the physical development of young people.
22. We demand the abolition of mercenary troops and the formation of a national army.
23. We demand a legal battle against deliberate political lies and their dissemination by the press. In order to make possible the creation of a German press we demand:
 - (a) all editors and contributors of newspapers appearing in the German language must be members of the German nationality.
 - (b) non-German newspapers must require express permission of the state before they appear. They must not be printed in the German language.

- (c) non-Germans must be forbidden by law to participate financially in German newspapers or to influence them. As punishment for violation of this law we demand that such a newspaper be immediately suppressed and the non-German participating in it be immediately expelled from the country. Newspapers which give offense to the national welfare must be suppressed. We demand legal battle against any tendency in art and literature which exercises a disintegrating influence on our national life. Institutions which violate the above mentioned demands must be shut down.
24. We demand liberty for all religious confessions in the state, in so far as they do not in any way offend the moral sentiment and the customs of the Germanic race. The party as such represents the standpoint of positive Christianity without binding itself confessionally to a particular faith. It opposes the Jewish materialistic spirit within and without and is convinced that permanent recovery of our people is possible only from within and on the basis of the principle of: General Welfare Before Individual Welfare.
25. In order to carry out all these demands we call for the creation of a strong central authority in the Reich with unconditional authority by the political central parliament over the entire Reich and all its organizations, and the formulation of chambers of classes and occupations to carry out the laws promulgated by the Reich in the various individual states of the federation. The leaders of the party promise that they will fight for the realization of the above mentioned points and if necessary even sacrifice their lives.¹

Munich, February 24, 1920

¹Feder Gottfried, Das Programm der N.S.D.A.P. und seine weltanschaulichen Grundgedanken (Munich: [n.n.], 1932), pp. 19-22, cited by Joachim Remak, The Nazi Years (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), pp. 155-156.

APPENDIX B

THE JEWS¹

Chronology

- 1933
1 April First official boycott of Jewish shops, lawyers, and doctors. Demands for the removal of Jewish pupils and students from schools and universities.
- 1934
Aryan origin gradually becomes the prerequisite of professional life in many spheres; anti-Jewish propaganda and incitement increases.
- 1935
15 September Promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws for the protection of German blood and German honour.
- 14 November National Law of Citizenship. First decree of the National Law of Citizenship: definition of the term Jew and of the Mischlinge (mixed-blood) status. The Aryan paragraph becomes a pre-condition of every official appointment. First decree of the law for the protection of German blood and honour. Marriages between Jews and second-generation Mischlinge prohibited.
- 1936
Summer A decline of the anti-Semitic campaign because the Olympic Games were taking place in Berlin.
- 1937
Spring Intensification of the Aryanization process by which Jewish owners lose their businesses without any legal justification.
- 12 June Secret order from Heydrich concerning protective custody of sacral violators after they have served their prison sentence.

1938

- 13 March The Anschluss of Austria, where all anti-Jewish legislation in force in the Reich is applied immediately.
- 26 April Decree concerning the registration of all Jewish wealth exceeding 5,000 marks.
- 9 June Destruction of the Munich synagogue.
- 14 June Third decree of the Reich Citizenship Law: the registration and marking of all remaining Jewish enterprises.
- 10 August Destruction of the Nuremberg synagogue.
- 17 August Second decree of the law concerning change of first names and surnames: the introduction of the compulsory prefixes Sarah and Israel, to come into force on 1 January, 1939.
- 5 October Passports for Jews are only valid if they have the red letter J stamped in them.
- 28 October Expulsion of 17,000 former Polish Jews domiciled in Germany.
- 7 November Assassination of von Rath, Chancellor of the embassy in Paris, by Herschel Grunspan.
- 9 and 10 November "Crystal Night" program takes place throughout Germany. Destruction of synagogues, shops, flats. More than 20,000 Jews imprisoned.
- 12 November Decrees concerning elimination of German Jews from the economy. Jews have to pay a collective fine of 1.25 thousand million marks and in addition pay for all destruction caused by the Nazis in the course of the program.
- 15 November Expulsion of all Jewish pupils from schools.
- 3 December Decree concerning compulsory Aryanization of all Jewish enterprises and shops.

1939

30 April Confiscation of all Jewish valuables. Law concerning Jewish tenancies. Legal preparation for the concentration of Jewish families in "Jewish houses."

1 September Jews forbidden to be out of doors after 8:00 p.m. in winter and 9:00 p.m. in summer.

23 September Confiscation of all wireless sets owned by Jews.

1940

12 and 13 February First deportation of Jews from Germany, mainly from the province of Pomerania.

22 October Deportation of Jews from Baden, the Saar, and Alsace-Lorraine.

1941

7 March Employment of German Jews as compulsory labour.

31 July Heydrich charged by Goering with the evacuation of all European Jews in German-occupied territories.

1 September Decree compelling Jews to wear the yellow star from 19 September. Further limitation of Jewish freedom of movement.

17 and 18 September Beginning of the general deportation of German Jews.

1942

20 January The Wannsee Conference concerned with the "final solution" of the Jewish question.

24 April Ban on Jews using public transportation.

June Beginning of mass gassing at Auschwitz.

18 September Drastic reduction of food rations for Jews in the Reich.

30 September Hitler declares publicly that the Second World War will result in the destruction of European Jewry.

1943
27 February Start of deportation of Jews employed in
the Berlin Armaments industry.

1944
Start of the death marches, by which SS
drives back inmates of concentration camps
threatened by the advance of the Red Army
into the interior of Germany.

End of October Last gassings at Auschwitz.

27 November The Auschwitz crematoria are blown up.

1945
26 January Auschwitz liberated by Soviet troops.

15 April British troops liberate Bergen-Belsen.

¹Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, Documents on Nazism 1919-1945 (New York: The Viking Press, 1974), pp. 467-469.

APPENDIX C

THE JEWS ARE TO BLAME! By Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels

World Jewry's historic guilt for the outbreak and extension of this war has been so abundantly proven that no additional words need to be lost over the matter. The Jews wanted their war. Now they have it. But what is also coming true for them is the Führer's prophecy which he voiced in his Reichstag speech of January 30, 1939. It was that if international financial Jewry succeeded in plunging the nations into another world war, the result would not be the Boshevization of the world and thus the victory of Jewry, but the destruction of the Jewish race in Europe.

We are now witnessing the acid test of this prophecy, and thus Jewry is experiencing a fate which is hard but more than deserved. Pity or even regrets are entirely out of place here. World Jewry, in starting this war, made an entirely wrong estimate of the forces at its disposal, and is now suffering the same gradual process of destruction which it had planned for us, and which it would apply without hesitation were it to possess the power to do so. It is in line with their own law, "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," that the ruin of the Jews is now taking place.

In this historic conflict every Jew is our enemy, no matter whether he is vegetating in a Polish ghetto, or still supporting his parasitical existence in Berlin or Hamburg, or blowing the war trumpet in New York or Washington. By reason of their birth and race, all Jews are members of an international conspiracy against National Socialist Germany. They wish for its defeat and destruction, and do whatever is in their power to help bring it about. That in Germany itself, the means at their disposal toward this end are small, certainly is not due to their being loyal here, but solely to the fact that we took those measures against them which we judged to be proper.

One of those measures is the introduction of the Jew's star, which every Jew is obliged to wear visibly. This is designed to mark him externally, too, above all so that if he should make the least attempt to injure German national community, he can immediately be recognized as a Jew. It is an extraordinarily humane order, a prophylactic health measure, as it were, designed to keep the Jew from creeping into our ranks, unrecognized, to sow disunion among us.

When the Jews, a few weeks ago, appeared in the streets of Berlin adorned with their Jew's stars, the first impression among the capital's citizens was one of general amazement. Only a very small number among us knew that there were still so many Jews in Berlin. Everyone discovered, in his district or his neighborhood, some fellow who acted as

though he could not harm a fly, who had, it was true, attracted some occasional attention by his griping and complaining, but whom no one would have suspected of being a Jew. Who among us, please, had any idea that the enemy was standing right next to him, that he was a silent, or a cleverly prompting, listener to conversations in the street, in the subway, or in the line that was forming in front of the tobacco shop? There are Jews who can hardly be told apart any more by their looks. As much as they could, they have assimilated themselves in this respect too. They are the most dangerous ones. It is symptomatic that any measure we take against the Jews is reported the very next day in the British and American press. The Jews, then, even now have their secret lines of communication to the enemy nations, and use them not only in their own cause, but in all matters that are militarily vital to the Reich. Thus the enemy is right in our midst. What, therefore, is more obvious than to make him at least externally recognizable to every citizen?

. . . How sad, compared with this international problem which has bothered mankind for millennia are the stupid, sentimentally thoughtless arguments of some still extant pals of the Jews! How their eyes, noses and mouths would fly open if they ever saw their dear Jews in the possession of power. But then it would be too late. And therefore, it is the duty of a national leadership to make sure, by the means it deems proper, that this will never come to pass.

There is a difference between humans and humans, just as there is a difference between animals and animals. We know good and bad humans, just as we know good and bad animals. The fact that the Jew still lives among us is no proof that he is one of us, no more than the flea's domestic residence makes him a domestic animal. If Herr Bramsig or Frau Knoterich feel a touch of pity as they look upon an old woman wearing a Jew's star, let them remember please that a distant cousin of this old lady, Nathan Kaufman by name, is sitting in New York and has prepared a plan according to which all Germans under 60 would be sterilized. Let them remember that the son of her distant uncle is a warmonger by the name of Baruch or Morgenthau or Untermayer, who is standing behind Mr. Roosevelt, urging him to go to war, and if he should succeed in that aim, some decent but ignorant American soldier might shoot Herr Bramsig's or Frau Knoterich's son quite dead--all to the glory of Jewry, of which this old woman is a part, too, no matter how fragile or pity-inspiring she might act. . . .

So superfluous though it might be, let me say once more:

1. The Jews are our destruction. They provoked and brought about this war. What they mean to achieve by it is to destroy the German state and nation. This plan must be frustrated.
2. There is no difference between Jew and Jew. Every Jew is a sworn enemy of the German people. If he fails to display his hostility against us, it is merely out of cowardice and slyness, but not because his heart is free of it.

3. Every German soldier's death in this war is the Jews' responsibility. They have it on their conscience; hence they must pay for it.
4. Anyone wearing the Jew's star has been marked as an enemy of the nation. Any person who still maintains social relations with him is one of them, and must be considered a Jew himself and treated as such. He deserves the contempt of the entire nation, which he has deserted in its gravest hour to join the side of those who hate it.
5. The Jews enjoy the protection of the enemy nations. No further proof is needed of their destructive role among our people.
6. The Jews are the messengers of the enemy in our midst. Anyone joining them is going over to the enemy in time of war.
7. The Jews have no claim to pretend to have rights equal to ours. Wherever they want to open their mouths, in the streets, in the lines in front of our stores, or on public transportation, they are to be silenced. They are to be silenced not only because they are wrong on principle, but because they are Jews and have no voice in the community.
8. If Jews pull a sentimental act for you, bear in mind that they are speculating on your forgetfulness. Show them immediately that you see right through them and punish them with contempt.
9. A decent enemy, after his defeat, deserves our generosity. But the Jew is no decent enemy. He only pretends to be one.
10. The Jews are to blame for this war. The treatment we give them does them no wrong. They have more than deserved it. . . . ¹

November 16, 1941
Das Reich

¹Joseph Goebbels, "Die Juden sind schuld," Das Reich, November 16, 1941 in Hans Dieter Muller, Facsimile Querschmitt durch, Das Reich (Munich: [n.n.], 1964), pp. 98-101 cited by Joachim Remak, The Nazi Years (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), pp. 155-156.

APPENDIX D

Heydrich's Decree on the Identification of Jews,

1 September 1941

Article 1

1. Jews over six years of age are prohibited from appearing in public without wearing a Jewish star.
2. The Jewish star is a yellow piece of cloth with a black border, in the form of a six-pointed star of the size of the palm of the hand. The inscription reads, Jew, in black letters. It shall be worn visibly, sewn on the left chest of the garment.

Article 2

Jews are forbidden:

- a. to leave their area of residence without written permission of the local police, carried on their person;
- b. to wear medals, decorations, or other insignia.

Article 3

Articles 1 and 2 shall not apply:

- a. to a Jewish husband living in a mixed marriage if there are children born of this marriage who are not considered as Jews. This also applies if the marriage is dissolved or if the only son was killed in the present war;
- b. to a Jewish wife in a childless mixed marriage for the duration of the marriage.

Article 4

1. Anyone who violates Articles 1 and 2 intentionally or carelessly will be punished with a fine up to 150 Reichsmarks or with imprisonment not exceeding six weeks. . . . ¹

¹Walther Hofer, Der Nationalsozialismus: Dokumente, 1933-1935 [n.p., n.d.], cited by Joachim Remak, The Nazi Years (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), p. 151.

APPENDIX E

The Wannsee Conference, 20 January 1942

The Wannsee Conference was held at Interpol at the Wannsee (a lake to the west of Berlin) to coordinate arrangements for the "final solution." Present were Heydrich, Eichmann, SS leaders and officials from the various ministries. Below are the partial minutes of the meeting:

The Chief of the Security Police and the SD, SS Obergruppenfuhrer Heydrich, began by announcing his appointment by the Reich Marshal (Goring) as the agent responsible for the preparation of the final solution of the European Jewish question, and pointed out that this meeting was being held to achieve clarity in the basic questions. The Reich Marshal's wish that he should be sent a draft on the organizational, technical, and material matters regarding the final solution of the European Jewish question made it necessary that all central authorities immediately concerned with these questions should deal with them in advance so as to ensure the coordination of the lines to be taken. The supervision of the final solution of the Jewish question was, regardless of geographical boundaries, centralized in the hands of the Reichsfuhrer SS and Chief of the German Police (i.e., Himmler). . . .

III. The evacuation of the Jews to the east has now emerged, with the prior permission of the Fuehrer, as a further possible solution instead of emigration.

These actions, however, must be regarded only as a secondary solution. But already the practical experience is being gathered which is of great importance to the coming final solution of the Jewish question. . . .

In the process of the final solution, the Jews will be conscripted for labour in the eastern territories

under appropriate administrative provisions. Large labour gangs of those fit for work will be formed, with the sexes separated, which will be sent to these areas for road construction, and undoubtedly a large number of them will drop out through natural elimination. The remainder who survive--and they will certainly be those who have the greatest powers of endurance--will have to be dealt with accordingly. For, if released, they would, as a natural selection of the fittest, form a germ cell from which the Jewish race could build itself up again. (This is the lesson of history.)

In the process of carrying out the final solution, Europe will be combed through from west to east. . . . ¹

¹Wannsee, ND-PS2709, cited by Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, Documents on Nazism 1919-1945 (New York: The Viking Press, 1974), p. 489.

APPENDIX F

The Final Solution at Auschwitz, Poland

In December, 1941, a permanent extermination camp was opened at Chelmno, Poland. It was followed by others-- Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, and Majdanek; all of these camps were operating by 1942. From the summer of 1942, Auschwitz-Birkenau became the main destination of the Jews from all over Europe. In Auschwitz, alone, three to four million Jews were put to death. At the Nuremberg Tribunal, Rudolf Hoess testified as to methods of extermination used at his camp:

The 'final solution' of the Jewish question meant the complete extermination of all Jews in Europe. I was ordered to establish extermination facilities at Auschwitz in June 1942 . . . so when I set up the extermination building at Auschwitz, I used Cyclon B, which was a crystallized prussic acid which we dropped into the death chamber from a small opening. It took from three to fifteen minutes to kill the people in the death chamber, depending upon climatic conditions. We knew when the people were dead because their screaming stopped. We usually waited about half an hour before we opened the doors and removed the bodies. After the bodies were removed our special squads took off the rings and extracted the gold from the teeth of the corpses.

. . . the way we selected our victims was as follows: we had two SS doctors on duty . . . to examine the incoming transports of prisoners. The prisoners would be marched past one of the doctors who would make spot decisions as they walked by. Those who were fit for work were sent into the camp. Others were sent immediately to the extermination plants. . . . At Auschwitz we endeavored to fool the victims into thinking that they were to go through a delousing process.

Of course, they often realized our true intentions and owing to that we sometimes had riots and difficulties. . . . We were required to carry out these exterminations in secrecy but of course the foul and nauseating stench from the continuous burning of bodies permeated the entire area and all the people living in the surrounding communities knew the exterminations were going on at Auschwitz. . . .¹

¹Final Solution ND PS3868, cited by Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, Documents on Nazism 1919-1945 (New York: The Viking Press, 1974), pp. 490-491.

APPENDIX G

Himmler on the extermination of the Jews

In October 1943, Himmler addressed the SS leaders on the subject of the Jewish extermination:

I also want to talk to you quite frankly about a very grave matter. Among ourselves it should be mentioned quite frankly, and yet we will never speak of it publicly. Just as we did not hesitate on 30 June 1934 (the night of the Rohm purge) to do our duty as we were bidden, and to stand comrades who had lapsed up against the wall and shoot them, so we have never spoken about it and will never speak of it. It was that tact which is a matter of course, and which I am glad to say is inherent in us, that made us never discuss it among ourselves, never speak of it. It appalled everyone, and yet everyone was certain that he would do it the next time if such orders should be issued and if it should be necessary.

I am referring to the clearing out of the Jews, the extermination of the Jewish race. It's one of those things it is easy to talk about. 'The Jewish race is being exterminated,' says a Party member. 'That's quite clear it's our programme--elimination of the Jews--and we're doing it, exterminating them.' . . . We have taken from them what wealth they had. . . . We have exterminated a bacterium because we do not want in the end to be infected by the bacterium and die of it . . . all in all, we can say that we have fulfilled this most difficult duty for the love of our people. And our spirit, our soul, our character has not suffered from it. . . .¹

¹The Night of the Roehm Purge, NDPS 1919, cited by Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, Documents on Nazism 1919-1945 (New York: The Viking Press, 1974), pp. 492-493.

APPENDIX H

The Extermination of the Jews:

	Losses			
	Previous Num- ber of Jews	Lowest Estimate	Highest Estimate	
1. Poland	3,300,000	2,350,000	2,900,000	= 88%
2. USSR	2,100,000	700,000	1,000,000	= 48%
3. Romania	850,000	200,000	420,000	= 49%
4. Czechoslovakia	360,000	233,000	300,000	= 83%
5. Germany	240,000	160,000	200,000	= 83%
6. Hungary	403,000	180,000	200,000	= 50%
7. Lithuania	155,000	-	135,000	= 87%
8. France	300,000	60,000	130,000	= 43%
9. Holland	150,000	104,000	120,000	= 80%
10. Latvia	95,000	-	85,000	= 89%
11. Yugoslavia	75,000	55,000	65,000	= 87%
12. Greece	75,000	57,000	60,000	= 80%
13. Austria	60,000	-	40,000	= 67%
14. Belgium	100,000	25,000	40,000	= 40%
15. Italy	75,000	8,500	15,000	= 26%
16. Bulgaria	50,000	-	7,000	= 14%
17. Denmark	-	(less than 100)	-	-
18. Luxemburg	-	3,000	3,000	-
19. Norway	-	700	1,000	-
Total		4,194,200	app. 5,721,000	= 68% ^a

^aHans-Adolf Jacobsen, Extermination of the Jews, Der Zweite Weltkrieg: Grundzuge der Politik und Strategie in Dokumenten (Frankfurt, [n.n.], 1965), p. 186, cited by Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, Documents on Nazism 1919-1945 (New York: The Viking Press, 1974), p. 493.

APPENDIX I

Excerpt from The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century:

. . . when, in this book, I say 'Teuton' I mean the various North European races which appear in history as Celts, Teutons, and Slavs, and from which, in irreversible intermingling, the nations of modern Europe are descended. That they originally belonged to a single family is certain; . . . however, the Teuton, in the strict Tacitean sense of the term, has proved himself so superior among his kinsmen intellectually, morally, and physically, that we are justified in letting his name serve as the quintessence of the entire family. The Teuton is the soul of our culture. Today's Europe, with its many branches that stretch over the whole globe, is the chequered result of an infinitely manifold mingling of races; what binds us all together and makes an organic unity of us is our Germanic blood. If we look around us today, we see that the importance of each nation as a living power is proportionate to the amount of truly Teutonic blood among its population. Only Teutons sit on the thrones of Europe.

What came earlier in world history, to us are but prolegomena. True history, that history which controls the rhythm of our hearts and pulses through our veins, inspiring

us to hope and to creation, begins at that moment when the Teuton seizes the legacy of antiquity with his masterful hand. . . . ¹

¹Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts [Foundations of the Nineteenth Century] (Dover: [n.n.], 1911) 3rd ed., Chapter 1, pp. 495-496 and 259-260, cited by Joachim Remak, The Nazi Years (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), pp. 5-6.

APPENDIX J

Editorial Law, 4 October 1933

The erosion of the independence of the press, was gradual in Germany during the early years of the Third Reich, however, as early as 1933, racial background was considered before the hiring of editors. Section 5 of the Editorial Law of 1933 was explicit about the racial heredity of editors:

Section 5

Only those persons can be editors who:

1. possess German citizenship;
2. have not lost their civic rights . . . ;
3. are of Aryan descent and are not married to a person of non-Aryan descent;
4. have completed their 21st year;
5. are competent at business;
6. have been trained in the profession;
7. have the qualities which the task of exerting intellectual influence on the public requires.¹

¹Document ND 2435-PS, cited by Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, Documents on Nazism 1919-1945 (New York: The Viking Press, 1974), p. 337.

APPENDIX K

The Principles of Lebensraum

The following passages illustrate Hitler's basic view of expanding Germany's boundaries:

. . . the ultimate aim of his eastern policy was to open up an area of settlement in this territory for about a hundred million Germanic people. Everything would have to be done, and done with utter toughness, to make million after million Germans move there. Ten years from now at the latest he wished to hear the report that in the eastern territory reincorporated into Germany or occupied by our troops, there lived at least 20 million Germans. . . .

. . . Germany resolves to change to a clear, far-sighted policy of expansion. It shall thus turn away from all attempts at world trade and international industrial enterprise, and instead, concentrate all its forces on providing our nation with sufficient living space--and thus a way of life as well--for the next hundred years. Since such space can lie only in the east, the needs of being a naval power recede into the background. It is by means of building a major land power that Germany shall try once again to battle for its interest. . . .¹

¹Adolf Hitler, Second Book (New York: Grove Press, 1961), pp. 78-79, cited by Joachim Remak, The Nazi Years (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), pp. 121-122.

APPENDIX L

VOW

You, Fuhrer, are our commander!

We stand in your name.

The Reich is the object of our struggle,

It is the beginning and the Amen.

Your word is the heartbeat of our deeds;

Your faith builds cathedrals for us.

And even when death reaps the last harvest

The crown of the Reich never falls.

We are ready, your silent spell

Welds our ranks like iron,

Like a chain, man beside man,

Into a wall of loyalty round you.

You, Fuhrer, are our commander!

We stand in your name.

The Reich is the object of our struggle,

It is the beginning and the Amen.¹

¹Document ND 2436-PS, cited by Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, Documents on Nazism 1919-1945 (New York: The Viking Press, 1974), p. 358.

APPENDIX M

The Common Interest Before Self-Interest

What is the first commandment of every National Socialist?

Love Germany more than anything, and your fellow Germans more than yourself!

What is the aim of the National Socialist idea of liberty?

To create the national community of all honestly creative Germans!

What is the content of that national community?

Freedom and bread for every German!

Who is a fellow German, a racial comrade?

Every honestly creative German is provided his blood, his customs, his culture are German, and provided he speaks the German tongue.

What is the basic economic principle with which National Socialism wishes to replace the present economic warfare of all against all?

The Common Interest Before Self-Interest.¹

¹Joseph Goebbels, *Das Kleine abe des Nationalsozialisten* (Elberfeld: [n.n.], [n.d.]m pp. 3, 22, cited by Joachim Remak, *The Nazi Years* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), p. 39.

APPENDIX N

Percentage of votes cast in favor of the NSDAP

Reichstag elections:	4/1924	7/1924	1928	1930	7/1932	9/1932	1933
Number of seats:	32	14	12	107	230	196	288
National vote:	6.5	3.0	2.6	18.3	37.3	33.1	43.9
<u>District</u>							
1. East Prussia	8.6	6.2	0.8	22.5	47.1	39.7	56.5
2. Berlin	3.8	1.6	1.4	12.8	24.6	22.5	31.3
3. Potsdam II	6.5	2.9	1.8	16.7	33.0	29.1	38.2
4. Potsdam I	5.8	2.8	1.6	18.8	38.2	34.1	44.4
5. Frankfurt a.d.Oder	5.0	3.2	1.0	22.7	48.1	42.6	55.2
6. Pomerania	7.3	4.2	1.5	24.3	48.0	43.1	56.3
7. Breslau	4.0	1.4	1.0	24.2	43.5	40.4	50.2
8. Liegnitz	1.5	1.5	1.2	20.9	48.0	42.1	54.0
9. Oppeln	2.6	1.5	1.0	9.5	29.2	26.8	43.2
10. Magdeburg	4.9	3.0	1.7	19.5	43.8	39.0	47.3
11. Merseburg	8.7	4.3	2.7	20.5	42.6	34.5	46.4
12. Thuringia	9.9	5.4	3.7	19.3	43.4	37.1	47.2
13. Schleswig-Holstein	7.4	2.7	4.0	27.0	51.0	45.7	53.2
14. Weser-Ems	7.4	4.8	5.2	20.5	38.4	31.9	41.4
15. East Hanover	8.6	4.4	2.6	20.6	49.5	42.9	54.3
16. South-Hanover							
Brunswick	7.6	3.4	4.4	24.3	46.1	40.6	48.7
17. Westphalia-North	3.5	1.3	1.0	12.2	25.7	22.3	34.9
18. Westphalia-South	1.5	1.1	1.6	13.9	27.2	24.8	33.8
19. Hesse-Naussau	5.6	2.5	3.6	20.8	43.6	41.2	49.4
20. Cologne-Aachen	1.5	0.6	1.1	14.5	20.2	17.4	30.1
21. Koblenz-Trier	1.3	-	2.1	.419	28.8	26.1	38.4
22. Dusseldorf-East	3.9	1.6	1.8	17.0	31.6	27.0	37.4
23. Dusseldorf-West	2.6	0.9	1.2	16.8	27.0	24.2	35.2
24. Upper Bavaria-							
Swabia	17.0	4.8	6.2	16.3	27.1	24.6	40.9
25. Lower Bavaria	10.2	3.0	3.5	12.0	20.4	18.5	39.2
26. Franconia	20.7	7.5	8.1	20.5	39.9	36.4	45.7
27. Palatinate	5.7	1.9	5.6	22.8	43.7	42.6	46.5
28. Dresden-Bautzen	4.5	1.5	1.8	16.1	39.3	34.0	43.6
29. Leipzig	7.9	1.8	1.9	14.0	36.1	31.0	40.0
30. Chemnitz-Swickau	7.7	4.2	4.3	23.8	47.0	43.4	50.0
31. Wittemberg	4.1	2.1	1.9	9.4	30.3	26.2	42.0
32. Baden	4.8	1.9	2.9	19.2	36.9	34.1	45.4
33. Hesse-Darmstadt	2.9	1.3	1.9	18.5	43.1	40.2	47.4
34. Hamburg	6.0	2.3	2.6	19.2	33.7	27.2	38.9
35. Macklemburg	20.8	11.9	2.0	20.1	44.8	37.0	48.0 ^a

^aJeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, Documents on Nazism 1919-1945 (New York: The Viking Press, 1974), p. 116.

APPENDIX O

August 13, 1932: A Conversation between President
von Hindenburg and Adolf Hitler

Below is an extraction from the minutes of a conversation between the President and heir apparent, Adolf Hitler. From these minutes, one can see the difference of opinion held by both men concerning the political role that was ultimately to be exercised by the Nasis. President Hindenburg distrusted Hitler and the Nazis. Ultimately, on January 30, 1933, Hindenburg gave in and Hitler was appointed Chancellor under the constitution of the Weimar Republic:

President von Hindenburg opened the conversation by telling Herr Hitler that he was prepared to let the National Socialist Party and its leader Hitler participate in the government of the Reich, and that he would welcome their cooperation. He then asked Herr Hitler whether he was prepared to join the present von Papen government. Herr Hitler declared that for reasons which he had explained to Chancellor von Papen at some length that morning, joining the present government or cooperating with it, was out of the question. Considering the importance of the National Socialist movement, he would have to demand the full and complete leadership of government and state for himself and his party.

President von Hindenburg thereupon stated emphatically that he had to respond to his demand with a clear and determined 'No.' He could not, before God, his conscience, and the fatherland, bear the responsibility of entrusting all governmental authority to

a single party, a party moreover, which held to such a one-sided attitude toward people with convictions different from theirs. . . . ¹

¹Memorandum by State Secretary Meissner, 1932 in Walter Hubatsch Hindenburg und der Staat (Göttingen: [n.n.], 1966), p. 338, cited by Joachim Remak, The Nazi Years (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), p. 50.

APPENDIX P

February 1, 1933: Hitler's Proclamation

On February 1, 1933, Hitler outlined the basic conservative tenets that were to one day circumvent the constitutional system set up under the Weimar Republic. His message is veiled, yet one can see the political philosophy that would found the Third Reich:

. . . Thus the new national government will consider it its first and supreme duty to restore our nation's unity of will and spirit. It will safeguard and defend the foundations on which the strength of our nation rests. It will firmly protect Christianity, the basis of our entire morality; it will safeguard the family, the nucleus of our body politic and our state. It will, beyond estates and classes, make our people aware again of its national and political unity, and the duties that evolve therefrom. It wants to base the education of Germany's youth on a reverence of our great past, on pride in our old traditions. It will thus declare war on spiritual, political, and cultural nihilism, Germany must not and will not become prey to anarchic Communism.

In place of turbulent instincts, the government will once again make national discipline our guide. In so doing, it will consider the great care-all institutions which are the true guarantors of the strength and power of our nation.

The national government will solve the great task of reorganizing our nation's economy in two great Four Year Plans:

Saving the German farmer, so the nation's food supply and the very basis of its existence shall be secured.

Saving the German worker by a powerful and comprehensive attack on unemployment. . . . 1

One can see, after reading this proclamation that Hitler was supporting a policy of Lebensraum by advocating the supremacy of the farmer and land. Hitler envisaged an expansion of farm land to supply enough food for Germany's rapidly growing population. Unemployment in Germany was "comprehensively" solved by producing armaments and heavy industrial products used in waging war.

¹Appeal of the Government to the German people, February 1, 1933, Johannes Hohlfeld, ed., Dokumente der Deutschen Politik, cited by Joachim Remak, The Nazi Years Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), p. 51.

APPENDIX Q

Law for Terminating the Suffering of People and Nation of March 24, 1933

The Reichstag Law passed the following law, which has been approved by the Reichsrat. The requirements of legal Constitutional change having been met, it is being proclaimed herewith.

Article 1

In addition to the procedure outlined for the passage of legislation in the Constitution, the government also is authorized to pass laws. This applies equally to legislation in Articles 85, paragraph 2 and 87 of the Constitution.

Article 2

Laws passed by the government may deviate from the constitution, provided they do not deal with the institutions, as such, of Reichstag and Reichsrat. The prerogatives of the President continue unchanged.

Article 3

The laws passed by the government shall be issued by the Chancellor and published in the official gazette. In the absence of contrary provisions, they shall enter into effect on the day after they have been published. Articles 68 to 77 of the Constitution do not apply to laws passed by government.

Article 4

Treaties with foreign nations which bear on matters of domestic law do not require the approval of the institutions involved in such domestic legislation. The government shall decide on the regulations necessary to implement such treaties.

Article 5

The law is valid as of the day it is proclaimed.
Its terminal date is April 1, 1937; it shall also
cease to be in force if the present government
should be replaced by another.

- Berlin, March 24, 1933¹

The President
/s/ von Hindenburg
The Chancellor
/s/ Adolf Hitler
The Minister of Foreign Affairs
/s/ Baron von Neurath
The Minister of Finance
/s/ V. Krosigk

¹Hans-Adolf Jacobsen and Werner Jochmann, eds.,
Ausgewählte Dokumente zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus
I, 1933-1945 (Bielefeld: [n.n.], 1961, cited by Joachim Remak,
The Nazi Years (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall,
1969), pp. 52-53.

APPENDIX R

Law Against the New Formation of Parties
of July 14, 1933

The government has passed the following law, which is
being proclaimed herewith:

Article 1

The sole political party existing in Germany is the
National Socialist German Workers' Party.

Article 2

Whoever shall undertake to maintain the organization
of another party, or to found a new party, shall be
punished with a sentence of hard labor of up to three
years, or of prison between six months and three years,
unless other regulations provide the heavier punish-
ment.

- Berlin, July 14, 1933¹

The Chancellor
/s/ Adolf Hitler
The Minister of the Interior
/s/ Frick
The Minister of Justice
/s/ Gurtner

¹Johannes Hohlfeld, Dokumente, IV, p. 83, cited by
Joachim Remak, The Nazi Years (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey:
Prentice Hall, 1969), p. 54.

APPENDIX S

Law Concerning the Head of the German

State of August 1, 1934

The Government has passed the following law, which is being proclaimed herewith:

Article 1

The office of President shall be combined with that of Chancellor. Thus all the functions heretofore exercised by the President are transferred to the Fuehrer and Chancellor Adolf Hitler. He has the right to appoint his deputy.

Article 2

The law is in force as of the date of the death of President von Hindenburg.¹

¹Johannes Hohlfeld, *Dokumente*, IV, p. 175, cited by Joachim Remak, *The Nazi Years* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), pp. 54-55.

APPENDIX T

Chancellorship Into Dictatorship:

Gleichschaltung

From the beginning, Hitler meant to refashion German society. Political institutions, lawyers' guilds, unions, theatres, medical associations, universities and schools, all were to be shaped into a policy of alignment or Gleichschaltung that conformed with National Socialist principles.

Below is a selection that illustrates the extent to which the Nazis wished to indoctrinate the German society:

On January 30, 1933, the National Socialist Party was entrusted with the political leadership of the country. The end of March saw the outward conclusion of the National Socialist revolution--a conclusion insofar as taking complete possession of political power was concerned. But only a person who truly failed to comprehend the essence of this mighty struggle could believe that it meant the conclusion of the battle between ideologies. This would only have been the case had the National Socialist movement wanted nothing more than what the customary political parties did. These parties indeed are in the habit of reaching, on the day they assume power, the zenith of their desires and their existence. Ideologies, however, consider the assumption of power nothing but a prerequisite for the fulfillment of their true mission. . . . ¹

¹Adolf Hitler, Reichstagung in Nurnberg 1933, September 1, 1933 (Berlin: [n.n.], 1934), pp. 75-76, cited by Joachim Remak, The Nazi Years (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), p. 55.