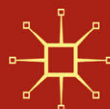


PLEASURE AND POWER IN NAZI GERMANY



**Edited by PAMELA E. SWETT, COREY ROSS
and FABRICE d'ALMEIDA**



Pleasure and Power in Nazi Germany

Edited by

Pamela E. Swett

Associate Professor of History, McMaster University, Canada

Corey Ross

Professor of Modern History, University of Birmingham, UK

Fabrice d'Almeida

*Professor of Contemporary History, Université Panthéon-Assas
(Paris II), France*

2011

palgrave
macmillan

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	x
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	xi
1 Pleasure and Power in Nazi Germany: An Introduction <i>Pamela E. Swett, Corey Ross and Fabrice d'Almeida</i>	1
Part I Consumption and the Privileges of Pleasure	
2 Driving, Shopping and Smoking: The Society for Consumer Research and the Politics of Pleasure in Nazi Germany <i>S. Jonathan Wiesen</i>	19
3 Selling Sexual Pleasure in 1930s Germany <i>Pamela E. Swett</i>	39
4 Luxury and Distinction under National Socialism <i>Fabrice d'Almeida</i>	67
Part II Entertainments and the Aesthetics of Pleasure	
5 The Structure of Aesthetic Pleasure in the Nazi Reception of Goethe's <i>Faust</i> <i>David Pan</i>	87
6 'German Humour' in Books: The Attractiveness and Political Significance of Laughter during the Nazi Era <i>Patrick Merziger</i>	107
7 Pleasure, Practicality and Propaganda: Popular Magazines in Nazi Germany, 1933–1939 <i>Karl Christian Führer</i>	132
8 Radio, Film and Morale: Wartime Entertainment between Mobilization and Distraction <i>Corey Ross</i>	154

Part III The Pleasures of Community and Consensus

9	Seeing the World: Photography, Photojournalism and Visual Pleasure in the Third Reich <i>Elizabeth Harvey</i>	177
10	The Pleasures of being a 'Political Soldier': Nazi Functionaries and Their Service to the 'Movement' <i>Daniel Mühlenfeld</i>	205
11	The Pleasure of Terror: Belonging through Genocide <i>Thomas Kühne</i>	234
12	The Pleasures of Opposition: Leisure, Solidarity and Resistance of a Life-Reform Group <i>Mark Roseman</i>	256
	<i>Bibliography</i>	278
	<i>Index</i>	293

Illustrations

3.1 & 3.2	Magnus Hirschfeld and his Berlin Institute	45–46
3.3	Titus Pearls classified, ‘On the see-saw of marriage’	50
3.4	Titus Pearls classified, ‘Blocked path to fulfilment’	51
3.5	Titus Pearls classified, ‘Two men of the same age?’	55
3.6 & 3.7	Lovers in different eras: two covers from <i>Neues Leben</i>	56–57
3.8	Hormones and the ageing process among males	59
3.9	‘Why discouraged?’	60
8.1	Camera crews recording the victorious capture of Dunkirk, June 1940	160
8.2	Zarah Leander singing for wounded Wehrmacht soldiers	162
8.3	Soldiers stationed in Austria enjoying a ‘3-mal Wunschkonzert’ show, 12 February 1941	164
9.1	Competition for readers of <i>NS-Frauenwarte</i> , June 1941: identifying landmarks from ten countries under German occupation	183–184
9.2	‘Germany’s sixth biggest city: Litzmannstadt’	187–188
9.3	‘The transformation of Nera’	190
9.4	NS-Frauenschaft members and soldiers walking through Kiev	193
9.5	‘Pictures from Romania’	195–196
9.6	Romanian women ambulance drivers	198
11.1 & 11.2	Close together: sexist and racist wall cartoons in the German casino of Nowy Sącz	243

Acknowledgements

This volume originally took shape out of a workshop organized by the editors and generously hosted at the German Historical Institute, Paris. We would like to express our sincere thanks to Stefan Martens and Werner Paravicini of the German Historical Institute both for opening their doors to the conference and for further financial support on behalf of the Institute. The editors would also like to thank the London and Washington DC offices of the German Historical Institute, the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung and the Institut d'histoire du temps présent for generously supporting the conference, as well as the Arts Research Board of McMaster University for covering the costs attached to the publication of this volume. Dagmar Herzog, Martin Sabrow and Richard Wetzell also deserve a note of appreciation. All three were key contributors to the initial workshop and pushed all of us to clarify and deepen our analyses. We also appreciate the assistance we received from our editor at Palgrave, Ruth Ireland, and the anonymous readers for their words of encouragement and thoughtful suggestions for revision. A final word of thanks goes to our translator Wayne Yung, indexer Ruth Pincoe and bibliographer Jeff Hayton who saved us a lot of time and effort.

Pamela E. Swett, Corey Ross and Fabrice d'Almeida

Contributors

Fabrice d'Almeida is Professor of Contemporary History at University Panthéon-Assas, Paris II. In addition to his publications in French, he is the author of *High Society in the Third Reich* (2008).

Karl Christian Führer is Professor of History at the University of Hamburg, Germany. He has published widely on the history of social policy, media history and the cultural history of twentieth-century Germany.

Elizabeth Harvey is Professor of History at the University of Nottingham, UK. She has research interests in gender history and the history of twentieth-century Germany, particularly National Socialism and the Second World War. Her publications include *Women and the Nazi East: Agents and Witnesses of Germanization* (2003), translated as *Der Osten braucht dich! Frauen und nationalsozialistische Germanisierungspolitik* (2010).

Thomas Kühne is the Strassler Professor of Holocaust History at Clark University, USA. His most recent book is *Belonging and Genocide: Hitler's Community, 1918–1945* (2010). He has been awarded major research grants from the German Research Foundation, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation and the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

Patrick Merziger is Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter at the Free University of Berlin. He is the author of *Nationalsozialistische Satire und Deutscher Humor. Politische Bedeutung und Öffentlichkeit populärer Unterhaltung 1931–1945* (2010).

Daniel Mühlenfeld is finishing his doctoral thesis at Heinrich-Heine University Düsseldorf concerning the 'Reich Ministry for People's Enlightenment and Propaganda'. He has published articles on the Propaganda Ministry and Nazi Party structure, including recent contributions in *German History* and *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*.

David Pan is Associate Professor of German at the University of California, Irvine. He has published *Primitive Renaissance: Rethinking German Expressionism* (2001). He is currently working on a manuscript concerning sacrifice as a trope in the work of Goethe, Kleist, Juenger and Kafka.

Mark Roseman is Pat M. Glazer Chair in Jewish Studies and Professor of History at Indiana University, Bloomington. He is the author of several books and collections on modern German History and on the Holocaust. With Norbert Reichling he is currently writing the history of the Bund Gemeinschaft für sozialistisches Leben.

Corey Ross is Professor of Modern History, University of Birmingham, UK. He is the author of several books on modern Germany including *Media and the Making of Modern Germany: Mass Communications, Society and Politics from the Empire to the Third Reich* (2008).

Pamela E. Swett is Associate Professor of History at McMaster University, Ontario. Her publications have focused on political radicalism and everyday life in Weimar-era Berlin and advertising and commercial culture under the Nazi dictatorship.

S. Jonathan Wiesen is Associate Professor of Modern European History at Southern Illinois University, USA. He has published widely on the themes of consumer culture, historical memory, German business and transatlantic cultural relations. His most recent book is *Creating the Nazi Marketplace: Commerce and Consumption in the Third Reich* (2010).

1

Pleasure and Power in Nazi Germany: An Introduction

Pamela E. Swett, Corey Ross and Fabrice d'Almeida

Although scholars generally (and with good reason) associate the Third Reich above all with pain, fear and violence, we cannot hope to understand its underlying social and cultural dynamics without seriously considering the role of pleasure. After all, one of the most important promises the Nazi movement made, both before but especially after the seizure of power, was '*Freude*', a term combining a sense of pleasure, happiness and joy. One struggles to find other dictatorial regimes in the twentieth century that made so much of this theme. For the National Socialists, *Kraft durch Freude*, or 'strength through joy', was more than just the name of a leisure organization: it denoted a broader idea, a programme of action, a promise of national fulfilment. In the competitive racial worldview of the Nazis, pleasure and power were inseparable, even mutually reinforcing. Strength came through joy and joy through strength. A contented people was a more productive and thus stronger people; and only a strong people could expect to achieve lasting contentment in the eternal struggle between the races. Pleasure in the Third Reich was both a means and an end.

If the years since the First World War were widely viewed in Germany as a time of suffering, an ordeal born of defeat and externally imposed weakness, the national 'reawakening' promised by the Nazis connoted not only the restoration of German power but also the dawn of happier times. Indeed, this is very much how the pre-war years of the Third Reich were later remembered, as 'good times' sandwiched between the ordeals of depression and war.¹ But what did these 'good times' actually consist of? What role did small, everyday pleasures and amusements play in the construction of this memory? Did they represent a sanctuary of 'normal' private life amid the ever-growing demands of the state, or did they rather serve to bolster Nazi mobilization efforts? Were they

a constituent part of the machinery of the National Socialist regime, or were they rather secondary, unremarkable epiphenomena little different in principle from the entertainments and diversions readily observable elsewhere?

These are difficult questions that historians have only recently begun to address. Over the past couple of decades, the role of entertainment and leisure has undoubtedly occupied an increasingly prominent place in social and cultural historical research in general. Although this trend has been somewhat less visible in the particular case of Nazi Germany than for, say, Victorian Britain or France in the Belle Époque, it has gradually made its mark on the vast literature on the history of National Socialism. Ever since the appearance of Hans Dieter Schäfer's *Das gespaltene Bewußtsein* in 1981, and certainly since the appearance of Hans-Ulrich Thamer's *Verführung und Gewalt* in 1986, numerous studies have focused on the evolution of leisure, entertainments and patterns of consumption under the Nazis, all of which have been viewed as an integral part of the attempt to neutralize the political energy of the population and to satisfy the elemental human desire for fun and sociability.² Scores of works have tackled various aspects of the media as purveyors of propaganda and 'distraction', most intensely in the case of film, and more recently in the area of radio.³ At the same time scholars have also turned increasing attention to the realms of sport, leisure organizations (especially *Kraft durch Freude*), travel and tourism, even smoking, as areas in which social values and a degree of consensus and stability could be constructed within the repressive outer parameters of life under the Nazi regime.⁴

Among the most notable early contributions to this ever-growing literature was Peter Reichel's *Der schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches*, which introduced the concept of 'fascination' as a means of showing how millions of ordinary Germans participated – both emotionally and physically – in the broader societal project of National Socialism. More recently, Götz Aly has argued that the capacity of the regime to integrate and mobilize the populace was based principally on the many material advantages it afforded them via its welfare system and requisitioned goods from the occupied territories, effectively turning the mass of ordinary Germans into 'Hitler's beneficiaries'.⁵ As stimulating and controversial as Aly's book has been, however, it largely leaves aside the question of emotional needs and involvement with the regime that Reichel's earlier work had begun to investigate. Admittedly, this is difficult analytical terrain for historians. But as Frank Bajohr's fascinating study of spa towns *Unser Hotel ist judenfrei* has shown, the problem of

sensibility and emotion is crucial for understanding the relationship between thought and action, or more precisely what causes people to act on certain thoughts and not on others.⁶ Over recent years, these complex interconnections have become a central theme in the wave of research on sexuality in the Third Reich, which has greatly improved our understanding of the ways in which cultural and political constraints shape social customs, and vice versa.⁷

By and large the picture that has emerged over the past two decades reflects the expanding interest in cultural history and the impact of 'cultural studies' approaches that look beyond the mechanisms of political steering and elite control to emphasize instead the ways in which cultural values, activities and objects are used and given meaning by ordinary people for their own ends.⁸ From this point of view, cultural goods such as package getaways, sporting spectacles and radio programmes are not primarily tools of manipulation but rather offerings that can be 'plundered' by users to suit, at least to a considerable degree, their own interests and needs. This is by no means to say that such activities are rendered politically useless in the process. Rather, it highlights the necessity of even as repressive a regime as that of the Nazis to cater to popular cultural expectations. The fact that these expectations and desires generally revolve around some sense of *pleasure* is the basic rationale behind the chapters that follow.

There can be little doubt that pleasure and enjoyment promised far greater returns as a means of social stabilization and political acquiescence than outright repression or indoctrination ever could. Although Nazi cultural authorities themselves seemed to recognize this, the question of whether pleasure should exist 'for its own sake' or merely as a means to an end was never definitively resolved. There was an inherent tension between the overarching goal of national mobilization and the tactics of gratification. While wedding a sense of satisfaction to demands for self-sacrifice was a strategy deliberately employed by the regime, this was a difficult amalgamation to achieve. And indeed, as Peter Fritzsche has recently emphasized, a certain sense of pleasure could be found – even 'sold' and marketed, as it were – in giving to the Winter Relief campaigns or in making other personal sacrifices at the behest of the state and party.⁹ We also should not overlook the fact that victims of the regime too sought pleasure to the best of their abilities after 1933. Marion Kaplan's lauded study of Jews in Nazi Germany quite plainly shows that, despite the struggles of the 1930s, German Jews continued to find pleasure in their daily lives – falling in love, marrying and starting families.¹⁰ Some survivors of the camp system remembered

stolen moments of enjoyment as essential to maintaining the will to survive.¹¹ Marianne Ellenbogen, the subject of Mark Roseman's gripping tale of survival underground in Germany, enjoyed picnics and outings in the depths of the war, exhibiting a gaiety that her friends remembered as both astounding and critical to her ability to 'pass' as a non-Jew.¹² Ultimately these countervailing tensions between control and release, between gratification and abstinence, and between resistance and escapism, are common to all societies at all times. However, the contradictions that were involved, as shown by these and other examples in the chapters that follow, were greatly magnified and thrown into especially sharp relief by the total claims of National Socialism and its violent, expansionist aims.

The purpose of this volume is to explore the relationship between pleasure and power in the Third Reich in a more focused manner than has hitherto been undertaken. There are, to be sure, many studies that have tackled this topic in some form or another, and the chapters that follow explicitly build on this literature. Yet none have taken pleasure per se as the focal point. One possible reason for this is the ambiguity surrounding the term 'pleasure' itself. Although one can to some degree contrast it with pain and discomfort, and associate it with leisure, fun and satisfaction, people can also derive a sense of pleasure from work and effort, from discipline and duty, and even from having coped with the experience of pain and discomfort. Moreover, the connotations of terms such as *Freude* or *Vergnügen* have changed significantly over time. Whereas in the early part of the twentieth century *Vergnügen* carried certain negative undertones of self-indulgence and idleness, its meaning has become more neutral over the following decades. Clearly, notions of pleasure are not fixed and immutable but are socially constructed. And as such, they reflect not only changes in social values over time but also differences between certain social groups. For instance, the forms of pleasure and sociability prevalent at the corner pub and the bourgeois gentlemen's club were obviously quite distinct. But it is precisely because of this fluidity and contingency that notions of pleasure can be of interest to historians as a lens through which to investigate patterns of social and cultural change.¹³ From this point of view it makes little sense to impose analytical limits on the term from the outset. Rather, the aim here is to explore a selection of the diverse meanings of pleasure and pleasure-seeking under the Nazis and above all the ways in which they interacted with other priorities and necessities in social and political life.

Apart from these conceptual uncertainties, another reason why the theme of pleasure has not featured centrally in the historiography of

the Third Reich is of course the brutality of the regime. Indeed, the very association of Nazism with notions of 'pleasure' or 'enjoyment' can be disconcerting. Given the enormity of the regime's crimes, it seems in some ways trivial to ask about how Germans – let alone those who were incarcerated or fell under German occupation – enjoyed themselves during the Nazi period. Yet the question of enjoying oneself can be posed very differently, and depending on how one approaches the topic such matters were far from inconsequential. Rather than enquiring into the history of amusements, luxuries and leisure for their own sake, the more pressing concern is to try to understand their social and political functions in what became a genocidal society.¹⁴

Exploring the history of pleasure under the Nazis thus requires us to approach it not only as a matter of sentiment and feeling, but also in relation to a variety of other factors, including the level of material comfort enjoyed by the populace, the availability of goods and services and the creation of institutions for the purpose of providing them. In other words, we must approach pleasure not merely in terms of social practices and cultural values, but also as a question of politics. Naturally, this is not to say that pleasure in the Third Reich was reducible to political decisions and control. But nor was it immune from them. To offer an example, in Nazi Germany (as elsewhere) the consumption of alcohol and tobacco, and the meanings attached to them, depended not only on social customs, cultural expectations and the level of popular demand, but also on the willingness of the state to ensure their provision in certain quantities at certain prices. The uses and cultural meanings of goods can change dramatically depending on whether they are plentiful or scarce, officially favoured or disfavoured. The importance of such political controls becomes even more visible in the case of the armed forces. Clearly, the consumption of alcohol by soldiers depended directly on strategic decisions taken by army command. Much the same can be said about prostitution, which was often 'rationed' to troops or even camp guards in very calculated amounts. In Auschwitz, for instance, the general command allowed its personnel to frequent the nearby bordello in downtown Oświęcim precisely twice a week, Monday and Wednesday from 6.00 pm to 11.00 pm. And such deliberate decisions about access to pleasures directly affected non-Aryans as well: the Auschwitz commandant also provided the forced labourers with a bordello within the camp. In these and many other ways, the contours and forms of pleasure in the Third Reich were powerfully shaped by political decisions.

While it is therefore crucial to consider the role of such structural factors in shaping the history of pleasure, the history of emotions and

perceptions, inspired by the work of Alain Corbin and others, can also help us to refine our questions further by introducing a number of additional factors such as physical sensations, people's horizons of expectation and collective cultural sensibilities.¹⁵ It would obviously be illusory to think that the complex framework of the senses could function in Nazi Germany as if in a laboratory experiment, excluding the multiplicity of variables at work in real life to test the single factor of political control in isolation. The pleasure industry of urban nightlife, for instance, by no means conformed completely to the ideals of cultural ideologues. In the cabarets in the Reich capital itself, striptease went on despite the many criticisms of nude, lascivious dancing by prudish elements both within and outside the party. Far from inevitably leading to the closure of such establishments, such complaints more often simply led to recommendations to make the nature of the performances clearer at cabaret entrances so as to avoid the embarrassment of straitlaced spectators who might unsuspectingly wander into a show. Claire Waldoff, the famous singer of the 1920s, continued to appear on stage long after Alfred Rosenberg's Combat League for the Protection of German Culture had attacked her performances – largely because so many First World War veterans, including many Nazi officials, enjoyed her act.

As the insights of cultural studies showed us long ago, popular pleasures and amusements – including even the most heavily commercialized and centrally mediated cultural artefacts – can function as a technology of domination as well as a site of creativity and emancipation. This is applicable not only to democratic societies but also to totalitarian ones. Indeed, as Philippe Braud has emphasized in his work on emotion and politics, it makes little sense to deploy conceptual models that approach this subject too rigidly or that uphold distinctions without careful examination.¹⁶ Contrary to the common liberal tendency to criticize the appeal to emotion and feeling as inappropriate for an ideally rational public sphere, he argues that it is crucial to pay attention to such issues if we want to understand public discourse in democratic systems. If we extend Braud's observations to the case of Nazi Germany, then it is clear that neither a liberal 'Habermasian' approach to public communication nor an older model of the totalitarian state that stresses only terror and indoctrination are adequate for understanding politics and culture in the Third Reich. Even before 1933, the Nazi movement proved highly adept at stirring emotions for political purposes. Once in power, this emphasis on feeling became thoroughly institutionalized. The Nazis understood better than most political movements of the

day how to channel emotions for the purpose of mobilization, largely through the accumulation of small pleasures and satisfactions that created a diffuse sense of well-being and group cohesion.

Of course, the history of pleasure and its political and social functions in Germany did not begin in 1933. In terms of explicitly political expression, we can already see it in eighteenth-century discussions of a *Wohlfahrtsstaat* and certainly in the nineteenth-century concerns with the well-being of the people. After 1880 the development of psychology and then psychoanalysis gave rise to a heightened interest in human emotions and sentiment. Human behaviour itself was increasingly seen as an indicator of people's thoughts, a means of decoding their relationship to reality. This was very much the logic behind, for instance, studies of the human smile after 1890. Together, the philosopher Henri Bergson, the sociologist Gabriel Tarde and the psychologist Georges Dumas created a new means of interpreting emotions in the light of their social functions.¹⁷ It is therefore no surprise that Gustav Le Bon, in his famous *Psychologie des foules*, explains collective behaviour largely as a matter of psychological instincts centred on the satisfaction of primary needs and impulses, not least the desire for pleasure. Interestingly, Le Bon argued that the revolutionary mob of the late eighteenth century took pleasure in their violence against the aristocracy. According to him, the chief executioners of September 1792 deliberately organized the massacres of nobles in such a way as to enable the people to take pleasure in the spectacle. In his view, this particular sense of pleasure was very similar to that experienced by hunters enjoying the evisceration of their prey.¹⁸

Hitler personally had read Le Bon, as had most of the Nazi leadership. For them, war, violence and combat were themselves sources of pleasure, and indeed ones that needed to be channelled and directed for political ends. In their eyes, pleasure was thus never first and foremost a matter of individual enjoyment, but rather a means of political mobilization. This did not, of course, preclude them from enjoying private pleasures of their own and indeed from taking certain privileges in this respect. Hitler, for instance, enjoyed watching banned films (like Chaplin's *The Dictator*) considered unfit for public consumption. Goebbels, for his part, took great pleasure in works of 'degenerate art', even hanging such works in his own office in the Ministry of Propaganda. And during the war, Göring led the lifestyle of a neo-aristocratic gourmand in spite of the increasing shortages of goods for ordinary Germans.¹⁹

Admittedly, these privileged pleasures are not so different from those of the French bourgeoisie in the Third Republic or the inter-war British

elite. Moreover, Nazi political elites were not alone in their specific ideas about which types of small pleasures were appropriate for the ordinary populace. Nevertheless, what was different in the Third Reich was the attempt to provide a new structure and aesthetic of pleasure centred on the racial community and ultimately on the state itself – one that was to be shared by all ‘national comrades’ regardless of class, milieu and previous political affiliation. For the Nazis, the regime and the society it sought to construct were to become the source of happiness. The role of government in the Third Reich was not to guarantee the individual’s right to the private pursuit of happiness, but rather to turn happiness itself into a collective good, or in Claudia Koonz’s formulation a ‘civic virtue’, one actively provided by an all-encompassing welfare state as a force for political stability and social harmony.²⁰ Following Hannah Arendt, we can view this as a primary aspect of the effacement of private life in the Third Reich.²¹ Under Nazism, pleasure was officially conceived not as a matter primarily for the individual but rather as a concern of the state, a state which claimed direct responsibility for, and authority over, the well-being of the populace. Naturally, the willing participation of the populace remained a crucial element in the equation, and indeed public participation frequently looked – in the cinemas, the dance halls, the popular magazines – very much like it did in other countries and under radically different political systems. The need to appeal to popular expectations and orientations that vastly transcended those favoured by the regime set narrow limits to the attempts at moulding pleasure into a Nazi ‘civic virtue’. It is precisely the interaction between these two imperatives – catering to older, often private notions of pleasure while also actively seeking to reshape and collectivize them – that gave popular culture in the Third Reich its particular hue.

The history of pleasure in the Third Reich, and the place of the Third Reich in the wider history of pleasure, thus raises a host of questions that the following chapters will address. One set of issues revolves around the extent to which the regime sought to steer and instrumentalize pleasure. How far could it be controlled, and by which means? Did this differ in different realms (entertainment, advertising, sex, sport, luxury non-essentials), and why? Another central issue concerns the relationship between collective and individual pleasure. Did the act of pleasure-seeking and the attempt to cater to it exert a politically stabilizing or disintegrative effect, whether at home or in occupied lands? Was there a significant difference in this regard between individual versus more communal forms of pleasure-seeking? Clearly, the Nazi

regime deliberately conjured images of future gratification and plenty for Aryan Germans and those willing to collaborate in their social and racial project, even if this required self-sacrifice and conquest in the here and now.²² How far did this successfully tap popular desires, how far did it rather undermine the regime's authority by awakening expectations that could not be fulfilled? There is also the question of how far pleasure in the Third Reich represented a continuation or break with earlier trends. How did the Nazis' relatively populist impulse on matters of pleasure and entertainment map against earlier elite emphases on the need for 'rational recreation' and 'raising tastes' (*Veredelung*)? And to what extent did this reflect shifting expectations in German society more broadly? Finally, what place did pleasure-seeking and the provision of pleasurable goods and services hold in relation to the violent crimes of the regime and its supporters? Should the emphasis lie on escapism or did pleasure form a more integral part of a daily existence that involved killing? Naturally, it is impossible to tackle all of the questions raised by the problem of pleasure under National Socialism in one volume. Although the themes covered here are necessarily selective, taken together they explore a significant swathe of the broader landscape of pleasure in Nazi Germany.

The first section is comprised of three chapters on the links between pleasure and consumption. Their central focus lies on whether and how various consumer practices may have changed after 1933, and the extent to which the regime allowed or even encouraged the satisfaction of individual pleasure through consumable goods. In **Chapter 2** on consumer research in Nazi Germany, we learn from S. Jonathan Wiesen that economic thinkers and business leaders were keenly aware of citizens' continued desire to find pleasure in the act of consuming and in the enjoyment of the products they purchased. In the context of enforced austerity and import controls during the rearmament drive of the 1930s, as well as the increasing scarcity of basic consumer goods over the course of the war, such findings furnished leaders with important information for maximizing consumer contentment with the limited resources available. At the same time, Wiesen also makes clear that perceptions of pleasure were culturally contingent and to a large extent beyond state control. Respondents to market research studies on cigarettes openly acknowledged that cigarettes provided a pleasure that fitted the fast-paced nature of modern society – regardless of the regime's racially motivated anti-smoking campaigns. In **Chapter 3**, Pamela Swett examines the marketing of sexual pleasure as expressed in the advertising campaigns for anti-impotence products in Nazi Germany.

While similar claims for sexual aid products were being made elsewhere at the time, in Germany such goods faced unique hurdles owing to economic policies that dampened consumer spending and racist thinking that rejected the work of Jewish sexologists. However, as the makers of 'Titus Pearls' found out – and as Nazi advertising regulators accepted – there remained a strong market throughout the 1930s and into the war years for a product that claimed to recognize the stresses of men's lives and promised them pleasure and self-confidence in the bedroom and beyond through a full revitalization of the body. In **Chapter 4** Fabrice d'Almeida covers the paradoxical nature of luxury in the Third Reich. Although the party's propaganda was continually couched in a populist, everyman rhetoric, and although extravagance displayed by 'Jews' and foreign 'plutocrats' was aggressively condemned, after 1933 the party and state elite became well known for their luxurious lifestyles. D'Almeida explains this contradiction by demonstrating how luxury could be divorced from wealth and therefore be understood as benefiting the race as a whole. Deriving pleasure from rare goods and services, particularly during the war years, was portrayed as the prerogative of a racial elite.

In the book's second section, four chapters investigate the role of entertainments and the 'aesthetics' of pleasure. All of these contributions reflect the move away from dichotomous portrayals of cultural entertainment in the Third Reich – the perception that audiences were fed either escapist fluff or political propaganda – in favour of approaches that highlight the participation of both audiences and producers of entertainments in the negotiation of the boundary between discipline and distraction. David Pan's **Chapter 5** on the popularity of stage performances of *Faust* in the Third Reich demonstrates that the pleasure derived from the classic Goethe drama was by no means limited to the escapism provided by immersion in the performance, but was also derived from its subtle echoes of the National Socialist present. In contrast to scholars who have argued that Nazi directors distorted the author's original intentions in their productions of *Faust*, Pan asserts instead that the aesthetic structure of the tragedy suggested a particular understanding of morality that could aid the acceptance of the moral imperatives Nazi ideology placed on Germans. In other words, part of the aesthetic pleasure of the play, Goebbels and others hoped, lay in its engagement with moral issues, including the inescapability of violence, thus suggested the need for similar sacrifices in Germany's quest for greatness. In **Chapter 6** on 'German Humour', Patrick Merziger focuses on

an often-overlooked aspect of comedic pleasure in the Third Reich: the humorous bestseller. Relatively free from censors' intervention before 1939, such mass-circulation humour books provide a valuable gauge of what was considered pleasurable reading. Merziger maintains that a particular 'German Humour' became increasingly popular in this era. Though not a National Socialist concept per se, this type of humour was somewhat unique in that it offered inclusion to 'right-thinking' Germans while at the same time highlighting the need to target others for exclusion, including Jews or foreign powers, by laughing at their expense or not letting them in on the joke. Even if such books cannot be considered propaganda in the conventional sense, this form of humour nonetheless encouraged ideological uniformity, and its popularity indicates that most Germans preferred to laugh with the regime rather than at it. In Karl Christian Führer's **Chapter 7** on popular magazines, it becomes clear, once again, that escapism was not the primary form of pleasure taken from the illustrated magazines and other publications geared toward middle-class women. Rather than escaping to a dream world of prosperity, women readers were especially drawn towards advice columns reassuring them that all tasks were manageable, even on meagre means. Rising circulation numbers seem to confirm the conclusion that middle-class women found pleasure in this sort of self-help. If the general interest magazines and illustrated journals offered a sense of escapist entertainment, it was provided for through the omission of any discussion of the more oppressive actions of the government. So while readers of the daily press were faced with extensive coverage of the Reichskristallnacht pogrom in November and December 1938, readers of magazines could avoid all but the most superficial anti-Semitic propaganda. In **Chapter 8** on radio and film during the Second World War, Corey Ross makes the case, as does Merziger, that the most popular forms of entertainment may have been those that brought the audience along with the regime. Newsreels were a source of immense popular gratification as a vicarious and ultimately safe way to experience the Wehrmacht's victories during the early years of the war. And the most popular films of the day, like *Wunschkonzert* and *Die Große Liebe*, combined the fantasy of a love story with contemporary crises and concerns. Both film and radio bound individuals to the collective fate of the nation in ways that served the regime, while also creating a welcome sense of community for members of the *Volk*, particularly in the heady days of early military success. Only during the latter half of the war did the participation in the dream of a Nazi world appear less

persuasive and less pleasurable. According to Ross, it was principally at this point that the audience sought – and the regime supplied – purely escapist kinds of entertainments.

The third section's four chapters tackle the significance of pleasure in individual and group identity formation. With selections on violent perpetrators and enthusiastic witnesses the first three contributors seek to understand the role of certain pleasures in the lives of those directly involved in building the 'new Europe'. As an important counterbalance, the final chapter highlights the mechanisms by which oppositional pleasures could promote a commitment to resistance. To begin, in **Chapter 9** Elizabeth Harvey probes the pleasures derived from participating in the realization of the Nazi worldview through her examination of female photojournalists who benefited professionally from the regime's desire to create a positive image about their expansionist war. Though they did not fashion themselves as propagandists per se, Liselotte Purper and others like her greatly enjoyed the travel and freedom their positions afforded them; like so many creative talents, what drove them to work for the regime was as much the pleasure they derived from their work as it was ideological commitment. Seeing what they believed to be the positive progress of empire-building, and transmitting those images to the pages of illustrated magazines for others to experience, gave them a sense of purpose and hope for the future that lasted even into the dark days of the conflict's final phase. In **Chapter 10**, Daniel Mühlenfeld examines the importance of pleasure as a motivation for becoming a National Socialist functionary, challenging the party's ideal of the ascetic political soldier. On the ground, drunkenness and patronage were the clear privileges taken by those who had come into positions of power at the start of 1933. It was, however, obvious to the public and party elites that low-level functionaries who prioritized socializing and pleasure-seeking damaged the image of the movement, especially once the war began and soldiers for the cause were dying in the millions.

Thomas Kühne in **Chapter 11** tackles the manifold yet often concealed links between the horrific brutality engaged in by the SS and police troops in occupied territories and the pleasurable sense of camaraderie and group belonging that such acts fostered among the perpetrators. At one level, this reflected a particular version of the broader phenomenon of (usually male) community-formation via criminal or illicit activities and the boasting that went with it. Indeed, the genocidal circumstances that prevailed behind the eastern front furnished

extraordinarily fertile ground for such behaviour. Yet at another level it also reflected peculiar structures of militaristic socialization in inter-war Germany that glorified comradeship for its own sake, even – perhaps especially – if the process of initiation into the group involved a breach of civic morality. The parallels to the wider Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft* are striking: at its core was the same sense of group belonging based on an illicit act of coercive exclusion. Ultimately, he argues, the pleasure of being ‘just us Germans now’ was the glue that held the ‘national community’ together. In **Chapter 12**, Mark Roseman turns our attention away from the perpetrators in his examination of the Ruhr-based oppositional group known simply as the ‘Bund’. Emerging in the early Weimar Republic, the Bund attracted as many as 200 leftist Germans interested in developing a utopian life-reform community based on freedom and commitment (*Verpflichtung*). Roseman follows the members of the Bund into the Third Reich to examine how the group’s ostensibly non-political lifestyle, marked by intellectual collaboration, unique methods of body-training and other leisure activities, could develop into a political counter-identity – one in which the pleasures of physical and mental health, self-fulfilment and commitment to their ideals could ultimately fuel a resistance network that saved the lives of a number of Jews and half-Jews in the region.

Taken together, the 11 chapters presented here discern a number of differences and commonalities between various forms and manifestations of pleasure. A number of the contributions focus on how pleasure was perceived and influenced by the regime, and how it aided or undermined political and social stability. Others emphasize how pleasure was understood by a German populace being disciplined for the collective national cause, yet also being promised the prospect of the good life. Though there are many other private and collective forms of pleasure that could, and most likely will, be examined elsewhere, the volume demonstrates that the place of pleasure within Nazi society and state policy was anything but trivial. Rather, the extent to which the regime was successful in shaping the forms of pleasure available to the populace and the extent to which the pleasurable spaces made available to individuals assisted their conversion to the ideology of the ‘new era’ made all the difference in building and maintaining the *Volksgemeinschaft*. It is essential, therefore, for historians to continue this investigation of the relationship between emotion and action, as a way to tap into the appeal of community and sacrifice, racism and even violence.

Notes

1. U. Herbert, 'Good Times, Bad Times: Memories of the Third Reich' in R. Bessel (ed.), *Life in the Third Reich* (Oxford, 2nd revised edn. 2001).
2. H.-D. Schäfer, *Das gespaltene Bewußtsein. Über deutsche Kultur und Lebenswirklichkeit, 1933–45* (Munich, 1981); H.-U. Thamer, *Verführung und Gewalt. Deutschland 1933–1945* (Berlin, 1986).
3. As examples, see E. Rentschler, *Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and its Afterlife* (Cambridge, 1996); S. Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich* (Austin, 2002); and J. Fox, *Film Propaganda in Britain and Nazi Germany: World War II Cinema* (Berg, 2007).
4. See e.g. K. Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany: Tourism in the Third Reich* (Houndmills, 2005); S. Baranowski, *Strength through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 2004); R. Proctor, *The Nazi War on Cancer* (Princeton, 1999); J. Perry, 'Nazifying Christmas: Political and Popular Celebration in the Third Reich' in *Central European History* (Vol. 38, no. 4, 2005), 572–605; J. Schutts, 'Die erfrischende Pause: Marketing Coca-Cola in Hitler's Germany', in P. E. Swett, S. J. Wiesen and J. R. Zatlin (eds), *Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth Century Germany* (Durham, 2007). For inroads into the literature on sport, see: L. Peiffer, *Sport im Nationalsozialismus: zum aktuellen Stand der sporthistorischen Forschung; eine kommentierte Bibliografie* (Göttingen, 2004); for propaganda: D. Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda*, 2nd edn (London, 2002); on the media more generally: C. Ross, *Media and the Making of Modern Germany* (Oxford, 2008).
5. P. Reichel, *Der schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches. Faszination und Gewalt des Faschismus* (Munich, 1991); G. Aly, *Hitler's Beneficiaries: Plunder, Racial War, and the Nazi Welfare State*, trans. J. Chase (New York, 2007).
6. F. Bajohr, 'Unser Hotel ist judenfrei': *Bäder-Antisemitismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a. Main, 2003).
7. See, above all, D. Herzog (ed.), *Sexuality and German Fascism* (New York, 2005); idem, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-century Germany* (Princeton, 2005); E. R. Dickinson and R. Wetzell, 'The Historiography of Sexuality in Modern Germany' in *German History* 23 (July 2005), 291–305.
8. For a recent overview, see A. A. Berger (ed.), *Making Sense of Media. Key Texts in Media and Cultural Studies* (Malden, 2005).
9. P. Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich* (Cambridge MA, 2008), 54.
10. M. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (Oxford, 1998), 75.
11. See for example, F. Fénelon, *Playing for Time*, (trans. J. Landry), (Syracuse, 1997), 26 and A. Nader, *Traumatic Verses: On Poetry in German from the Concentration Camps, 1933–1945* (Camden House, 2007).
12. M. Roseman, *A Past in Hiding: Memory and Survival in Nazi Germany* (New York, 2000), 289, 312–313. For more on Ellenbogen see Roseman's chapter in this volume.
13. These issues have rarely been made explicit in the literature. The most notable exception has been the work of Alain Corbin: in addition to his works cited in note 15, see esp. *L'harmonie des plaisirs – Les manières de jouir du Siècle des Lumières à l'avènement de la sexologie* (Paris, 2008). For useful insights

- into the pleasures of eating, see A. Rowley, *Une histoire mondiale de la table: stratégies de bouche* (Paris, 2006). Michel Foucault remains central to any attempt to place these issues in a broader philosophical and historical perspective: see esp. M. Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France, 1978–1979* (Basingstoke, 2008); also P. Veyne, *Michel Foucault – sa pensée, sa personne* (Paris, 2008).
14. For a broader historiographical survey of these problems, see D. El Kenz, *Le massacre objet d'histoire* (Paris, 2005).
15. See esp. A. Corbin, *Time, Desire and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses* (Cambridge, 1995); A. Corbin and J. Csergo, *L'avènement des loisirs, 1850–1960* (Paris, 1995); and of course A. Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Cambridge MA, 1986).
16. P. Braud, *L'émotion en politique: problèmes d'analyse* (Paris, 1996); idem, *The Garden of Democratic Delights: For a Psycho-emotional Reading of Pluralist Systems* (Westport CT, 1998), orig. 1993.
17. See H. Bergson, *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic* (trans. F. Rothwell) (London, 1914); G. Tarde, *The Laws of Imitation*, trans. E. Clews Parsons (New York, 1903); G. Dumas, *Le sourire – Psychologie et physiologie* (Paris, 1946).
18. G. Le Bon, *Psychologie des foules* (Paris, 1921), 36, 99.
19. F. d'Almeida, *High Society in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 2008); For discussions of the leadership's art tastes and acquisition strategies, see J. Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill, 1996).
20. C. Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience* (Cambridge MA, 2003), especially chapter 4.
21. H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951).
22. Promises of future pleasures are best understood according to Hartmut Berghoff's concept of 'virtual consumption'. See H. Berghoff 'Methoden der Verbrauchslenkung im Nationalsozialismus' in D. Gosewinkel (ed.), *Wirtschaftskontrolle und Recht in der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur* (Frankfurt a. Main, 2005), 281–316; and idem. 'Enticement and Deprivation. The Regulation of Consumption in Pre-war Nazi Germany' in M. Daunton and M. Hilton, (eds) *The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America* (Oxford, 2001), 165–184. For more on the 'people's products,' as examples, see W. König, *Volkswagen, Volksempfänger, Volksgemeinschaft: 'Volkprodukte' im Dritten Reich. Vom Scheitern einer nationalsozialistischen Konsumgesellschaft* (Paderborn, 2004). Nancy Reagan's work on domestic sacrifice is also helpful in this regard: *Sweeping the German Nation: Domesticity and National Identity in Germany, 1870–1945* (New York, 2006), chapter 5.

Part I

Consumption and the Privileges of Pleasure

2

Driving, Shopping and Smoking: The Society for Consumer Research and the Politics of Pleasure in Nazi Germany

S. Jonathan Wiesen

How did people enjoy themselves during the Third Reich? In light of the Nazis' barbarism, the question seems potentially crass. Yet, recent scholarship has revealed multiple forms of entertainment under a dictatorship and the ability of popular amusement to bolster a brutal regime. Whether on cruise ship tours sponsored by the Nazis' Strength through Joy organization or in drinking Coca-Cola at the 1936 Olympics, Germans who were deemed racially acceptable found multiple opportunities for pleasure, which in turn helped Hitler promote his vision of a *völkisch* economic and spiritual recovery.¹ The year 1933 did not represent a break of such proportions that modern forms of enjoyment – film, music, radio – were altered beyond recognition. The Nazis employed these media both to propagate their ideological vision and to give the public familiar forms of visual and aural satisfaction.²

This was not only an issue of top-down-manipulation. Scholars have recognized that the reach of any dictatorship is more limited than older totalitarian models allowed, and people went about their daily business with the ability to compartmentalize their relationships to family, jobs and the state. The recent interest in mass consumption during the Nazi years reflects this insight that daily life and pleasure-seeking in the Third Reich was still about working, shopping and finding diversions.³ We are, nonetheless, left with a question that has dogged historians of the Nazi period: How do these revelations that many aspects of life remained 'normal' shed light on the dynamics of power and persecution during the Third Reich? This essay addresses this question by

looking at consumer research in Nazi Germany. It argues that business and marketing professionals took a keen interest in the consumer and his/her desires and that their investigations into consumption and leisure habits open a window onto the relationship between pleasure and politics in the Third Reich. More specifically, it looks at the work of the Society for Consumer Research (*Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung* – GfK), an organization founded in 1934 with the purpose of learning how people spent their time and money in a modern, industrial society.

Consumer research comes to Germany

Consumer research emerged in Europe and North America in the first decades of the twentieth century. It was a response to the rise of what historian Victoria de Grazia has referred to as ‘market capitalism’, which reflected a new emphasis on mass consumption and mass marketing as the driving forces behind commercial and social relations.⁴ While the United States represented the consumer society par excellence, Europe’s business leaders were also committed to understanding the possibilities opened up by mass consumption. In Germany, companies had traditionally produced their goods for a limited and elite clientele, yet selling to a broader consumer base held the promise of enormous profits. By the turn of the twentieth century, the most obvious means of reaching the consumer was through advertising, which became an important tool in a company’s publicity arsenal.⁵ Despite the growing attention to and professionalization of German advertising, however, ‘marketing’, premised on a wider collection of strategies for selling goods to a wider public, still garnered less attention in Germany than in the United States. Economists had long recognized the theoretical importance of consumption (Adam Smith had pointed out, perhaps obviously, that consumption is the sole end of production⁶), but before 1914 German business leaders did not give priority to understanding why the consumer bought what s/he did and how companies could influence purchasing motivations. Even with the growth in advertising revenues, there was a deep-seated assumption that a product, if produced well, would effectively sell itself.⁷

After the First World War, business leaders and politicians gave more thought to new forms of mass persuasion, both in politics and the economy. As Corey Ross has shown, the German military defeat (and the supposed superiority of British and American wartime propaganda methods) provided an impetus for elites to devise more sophisticated ways of influencing the public.⁸ Against this backdrop,

'economic propaganda' exploded in popularity. At business schools and within companies, scholars conducted research into how best to sell a product.⁹ They engaged in new forms of 'market' or 'economic' observation, examining what goods were being sold and in what volume, how certain sectors performed and what constituted the basis for regional and national productivity.¹⁰ With the help of applied psychology, market professionals also began considering the idiosyncratic behaviours of consumers.

This increased attention to the consumer was given even greater impetus by the Great Depression, which prompted elites to think extensively about the effects of the economy on average citizens (psychologically and materially) and how one gained access to the motivations of the shopper. In an economy devastated by shortages and low purchasing power, what did people choose to buy? In posing this question, economic elites reflected not only on the effects on businesses but also on the cultural ramifications of the Depression. They lamented the turning away from the great brand-name products of the past towards cheaper and poorer-quality goods that the majority of the population could afford. If the economic crisis signalled, in the title of advertising expert Hanns Brose's book, 'the apocalypse of brand-name goods', this was also part and parcel of a broader 'massification' of society, whereby social levelling led to vulgar cultural expressions and the loss of quality in the marketplace.¹¹ While some German elites bemoaned the levelling effect of mass consumption, others saw these social changes as both inevitable and exciting.

The Society for Consumer Research emerged from these economic and cultural discourses. It was the brainchild of two economic leaders. The first was Wilhelm Mann, a director of IG Farben, inventor of the famous Bayer Cross logo, and future president of the GfK. The second was economist Wilhelm Vershofen, a keen America-watcher, market researcher and novelist who taught at the Nuremberg Business School and who spent his career thinking about the relationship between human beings and the goods they bought.¹² Together with future GfK colleague (and future West German chancellor) Ludwig Erhard, the two men studied marketing and consumer research practices in the United States, where individual companies sent correspondents across the country to determine which products sold and why.¹³ Mann proposed the idea of a German consumer research organization that would improve upon American conventions by making its work more in-depth and socially relevant.¹⁴ Mann and the people who surrounded Vershofen – the so-called Nuremberg School – hoped to centralize German consumer

research in one organization by building up a network of paid employees and well-trained correspondents who would conduct in-depth interviews with consumers in diverse regional settings. It was not enough to look at buying habits through statistics. They would have to hear ‘the voice of the consumer’ through a network of correspondents wielding elaborate questionnaires.¹⁵

The Society for Consumer Research began its work at an inauspicious moment. Hitler was reshaping the economy along militaristic lines, and with the Four-Year Plan for war readiness proclaimed in 1936, the Nazi economy was marked by the regulation of consumer goods and the enactment of price controls. In these circumstances, any attempt to observe consumer behaviour within a free market economy could not be realized. Nonetheless, the profit motive remained very much alive in the Third Reich, and the GfK and its business affiliates understood the power of the consumer to choose between different brands. In January 1936, the GfK issued its first report, commissioned by Bayer’s president Wilhelm Mann. It was titled ‘The Trademarked Image: An Investigation into the Degree of Recognition of the Bayer Cross Logo (with a simultaneous consideration of the advertising effectiveness of the trademarked image more generally)’.¹⁶ Some 2,668 opinions were gathered in select areas of Southern and Southwest Germany, Hamburg, Berlin and East Prussia. Consumers expressed their positive opinions about Bayer products like Aspirin and Pyramidon painkiller tablets and also offered their perceptions of a number of companies with recognizable branded goods: Kupferberg sparkling wine, Zeiss-Ikon cameras, Kaiser’s coffee, Reemstma cigarettes and J. A. Henckels Zwillingsswerke knives.

This first report by the GfK satisfied many of the initial goals of the organization. It combined quantitative and qualitative data, and it served the needs of the sponsoring company. It also spoke to larger economic and cultural themes – such as the Depression-era shifts in consumption trends. Finally, it brought to light the consumer’s voice, albeit in short snippets, as students, homemakers and tradespeople revealed which products brought them pleasure. Subsequent reports revealed the panoply of products that marked the everyday lives of Germans in the Third Reich: Salamander shoes and Goldpfeil women’s handbags occupied the attention of the GfK, as did Germans’ favourite food brands, such as Maggi, Knorr, Kornfrank and Dr Oetker.¹⁷ One report dealt with Pfeilring beauty products and another with Wolff and Sohn toiletries, revealing the GfK’s persistent interest in products that satisfied the human desire to look and feel good.¹⁸ Finally, the GfK was fascinated by the car culture that Hitler was promoting. A 1939 study

of automobiles found that the majority of Germans interviewed made plans to purchase an Opel. The popularity of this car eclipsed that of the not-yet-manufactured Volkswagen, which came in second place (presumably not in first place because of the long wait for it), as well as Mercedes, Ford and Chrysler. Consumers praised Opel's durability, performance and modest use of oil and gasoline.¹⁹

Through these reports the GfK brought to the fore the contradictions that marked consumption under National Socialism. On the one hand, the regime was gearing resources toward the military sector in the run-up to war. Consumers thus felt the increasing absence of favourite products and the constant appeals to thriftiness and self-sacrifice. On the other hand, the consumer research reports of the 1930s reveal a population very much enjoying the products of an unfolding consumer society. The GfK publications are filled with discussions of goods as diverse as wristwatches, vacuum cleaners and flower vases, which indicates how much Germans by the mid-1930s had moved beyond the scrimping of the early Depression years.²⁰ When the GfK drew attention to trends in the purchase of porcelain, it revealed the possibilities for luxury in the Third Reich.²¹ When it wrote about the sale of cameras and camping stoves, it exposed a population that made time for leisure and hiking.²² In short, in the pre-war Third Reich, the population did not enjoy the standard of living of the United States, a point of which Hitler was keenly aware.²³ But the regime made every effort to promote high levels of consumption as the birthright of racially pure Germans, and the GfK reports indicate the extent to which the population partook of the pleasures offered by mass consumption.

Had they simply offered a glimpse into consumption habits, the Nuremberg economists might be dismissed as propagandists who were feeding images of a happy populace to companies and the regime. But in their newsletters and books, scholars affiliated with the GfK also addressed the broader significance of consumption. Discussions about individual desire, the origins of consumer motivations, and the role of the unconscious filled the pages of the GfK newsletters and journals and gave a scholarly depth to the potentially mundane theme of shopping.²⁴ Here we see how the practice of consumer research dovetailed with other inter-war intellectual developments. The GfK was intrigued by, but generally rejected, behavioural psychology, arguing that the organization was less interested in scientific predictability than in applying Max Weber's and Werner Sombart's concept of *Verstehen* ('understanding').²⁵ How could the GfK understand people in all their complexities? What sociological and psychological factors affected consumers' desires and

choices while shopping? For Vershofen and his colleagues, the GfK was a humanistic endeavour to understand the human being and the family and community influences that accounted for individual decisions in the marketplace.²⁶

Given the GfK's dialogue with international trends in psychology and marketing, one might expect the Nazi leadership to have looked askance at the work of the Nuremberg School. In fact, the GfK generally found support within the Nazi leadership; indeed the organization received annual contributions from the German Labor Front.²⁷ To be sure, the Gestapo became suspicious of correspondents wandering around asking people questions. Occasionally GfK correspondents would even be arrested.²⁸ Likewise the government expressed concern that the Nuremberg School economists were unqualified to be 'leaders' according to National Socialist principles.²⁹ However, within the context of the Nazi state, the Nuremberg School's desire to situate individuals in a larger community resonated with organic ideals promoted by Nazi authorities. 'Private economic interests,' wrote Vershofen, 'must be placed second to communal economic interests'.³⁰ It was one thing to say this, but when the GfK directed its focus at diverse forms of consumer pleasure, it sometimes found this advice difficult to follow.

Class, gender and relaxing in the Third Reich

From the moment it came to power, the National Socialist leadership faced the challenge of squaring its desire for self-sacrifice and communal thinking with the reality that people experienced desires, needs and pleasure as individuals. If the Nazis wanted to motivate people to build a racial utopia, they understood that they could not simply negate the forms of individual gratification available in other political contexts. Thus they tried (not always successfully) to regulate the consumer marketplace such that the population could find diversions that did not run counter to the broader aims of the regime. While arms manufacturers found a ready place in the Third Reich, so, too, did the makers of ideologically privileged consumer goods like 'people's radios'³¹ and even producers of unlikely items like harmonicas, which presumably provided a musical outlet for the Volk.³² But what happened when consumers sought goods that were anathema to the ideological aims of the regime? Could consumers always square their desire for pleasure with the common weal?

These questions came to the fore when public health issues were at stake. In particular, daily pleasures like alcohol and coffee consumption

presented the regime with the challenge of promoting everyday forms of enjoyment while protecting the health of the 'Volk body'. Women's organizations and the Hitler Youth attacked drinking as a dangerous distraction from one's ideological commitments, and health officials labelled it as a 'genetic poison' that led to racial degeneration. Despite such dire warnings, the regime never denied Germans the right to drink for pleasure.³³ Doctors and health experts also denounced caffeinated coffee as a poison linked to the rise of nervous disorders, but this did not translate into the banning of caffeine (though coffee became unavailable during the war).³⁴ Indeed the Third Reich was saturated with drinks and foodstuffs that went against the health aims of the state: beer and wine flowed freely in bars and clubs, coffee advertisements were omnipresent in magazines, visitors to trade fairs drank caffeinated soft drinks, and members of the Hitler Youth sipped on KABA brand hot chocolate.³⁵

Perhaps the biggest gustatory challenge to the regime was smoking, for it forced the regime to acknowledge the massive popularity of cigarettes while also attempting to protect the public from dangerous substances. One of the most interesting studies to emerge from the GfK makes this quandary clear. It was a nearly 200-page report from the summer of 1939, titled 'The Cigarette in the Judgment of Consumers', and it is worth focusing on at some length, as it opens a window onto the limits of ideological control in the Third Reich and the complicated relationship between pleasure and power in the Third Reich.³⁶ The report, issued a few weeks before the outbreak of the Second World War, came out at a time, according to Robert Proctor, when Germany was the only country to have 'a broad medical recognition of both the addictive nature of tobacco and the lung cancer hazard of smoking'.³⁷ In their quest to engineer a hygienically pristine race, the Nazis waged a frontal assault on smoking by banning ads for cigarettes, prohibiting smoking in public spaces like party offices and waiting rooms, and launching anti-smoking educational campaigns that emphasized, among other things, the dangers of tobacco to the male libido.³⁸ These attacks entailed certain risks for the state. On the one hand, policymakers adhered to the ideological demand to create a healthy populace. On the other hand, the state and private companies had a stake in fulfilling consumers' desires for relaxation and small pleasures, among which smoking featured very prominently.

Reading the GfK report on smoking, one would never guess that it was conducted in such a restrictive environment. Ten thousand smokers across Germany were asked which brands they smoked, what these

brands connoted, and which were more satisfying. The goal was to determine the resonance of a number of brands, notably Astra, which sponsored the study. In keeping with GfK practice, the answers were broken down by gender, age, income and region, among other categories.³⁹ The report concerned itself not only with sociological factors behind consumer choice; it argued that Germany's political context also had an effect on sales. 'During so-called nervous times or times of political high tension,' the report asserted, the market value of cigarettes peaked.⁴⁰ Why was this the case? A GfK correspondent wrote:

The cigarette is a symptom of our present age: concentrated enjoyment on account of a dearth of time. It is certainly not philosophical when I assert that the wide-reaching transformations that have taken place since the war in our public and private lives, in our professional and in our intimate spheres of life, have brought with them a change in the feelings of and demands for enjoyment that the cigarette has and will continue to fulfill.⁴¹

These observations, issued less than a month before the outbreak of the Second World War, can be read as a commentary on politics and its intimate connection to leisure. While the correspondent used familiar language about the speed-up of modern life, he or she was also reflecting more directly on the psychological effects of the changes Germans had undergone in recent years. While the cigarette represented a quick retreat from the pressures of work and family life, it was also a respite from the anxiety-producing uncertainties of the prior two decades: military defeat, the inflation, the Depression, the Nazi political reordering and the new fears of war brought about by the Munich crisis and the Nazis' overrunning of Czechoslovakia. Almost 30 per cent of respondents said that they had begun smoking more 'in recent years', while only 12 per cent had cut down on their smoking.⁴² Indeed between 1930 and 1937 per capita consumption of cigarettes in Germany went up by 21 per cent⁴³ and in 1938 rose by 11 per cent, from 609 to 676 per capita.⁴⁴

One would be hard-pressed to conclude from these statistics that the demands for relaxation were uniquely high in Nazi Germany; throughout industrial countries cigarette use was increasing in the 1930s, reflecting the power of advertising, the social pressure to smoke and the desire for respite from increasingly busy lives.⁴⁵ But it was striking how much consumers in the Third Reich pined for a less frantic life. This nostalgia was embodied in the cigar. In contrast to the anxious connotations

of the cigarette, many people cited the cigar as a symbol of an earlier, seemingly more placid era in German history, when old-world leisure had not yet been interrupted by the traumas of war and economic instability. Young people, the report determined, preferred cigarettes, still looking for the quick delight. But one had to be 40 years old to realize that there is more to expect from life; at that point, one seeks 'the intensification of the remaining enjoyments', such as the cigar.⁴⁶ 'The cigar is a means of enjoyment for the satisfied, for the pensive, for the *vita contemplativa*; the cigarette is a symbol for the hurrying, for the urgent, for the money-time relationship – in short, for the nervousness of our time'.⁴⁷ Sadly, for most Germans the age of the cigar had passed. Thus even while savouring the fruits of economic recovery in the late 1930s, Germans in the Nazi years worried about political developments and the debilitating effects of consumer society.

The GfK study focused not only on consumer gratification but also on advertising strategies used to sell cigarettes. At this point, however, it is worth focusing on the report's specific theme of enjoyment, for it speaks to the politics of pleasure in Nazi Germany in three ways. First, it sheds light on the contradictions between Nazi ideological prescriptions and the reality of consumer behaviours. It was one thing to wage a campaign against smoking. It was quite another to ban it altogether at the risk of creating an edgy and unproductive populace. As in any modern state, what health professionals or state agencies advocate (either for scientific or ideological reasons) does not necessarily have immediate or long-range effects on the population. In fact, while Hitler and physicians spoke vociferously about the dangers of tobacco, there was no intention of banning smoking altogether.⁴⁸ Even with anti-smoking mandates in place, the Nazi regime could never claim to regulate every aspect of an individual's private behaviour. Nor did it necessarily want to. While the GfK report did not refer to the anti-smoking laws, it nonetheless drew attention to the reality that smoking played an important social, cultural, psychological and economic role in a society marked by political and economic uncertainty. There is no evidence that the Nazis took this specific report to heart, but they undoubtedly understood that the morale of the population was dependent on simple pleasures like smoking.

Second, the smoking report also called into question the power of the regime to expunge class analysis from sociological research. Whether or not the regime approved, the GfK was committed to coming as close to social reality as possible.⁴⁹ It therefore gathered statistics on household incomes, with special attention to whether a family was in

a rural or urban setting and how tax burdens affected its purchasing habits.⁵⁰ Class was therefore indispensable to understanding patterns of pleasure-seeking in the Third Reich. The term 'class' itself never appears in GfK reports (which favoured the less value-laden term *Schicht* or 'stratum'), but the organization was nonetheless able to reveal through its statistics that smoking habits were socially varied, with workers smoking in great numbers and opting for stronger tobacco, and wealthier elites maintaining the time for the luxury of a pipe or indulging in the status of a lighter cigarette. In short, pleasure was mediated through class, region, occupation and gender, and the GfK made this explicit in the cigarette study and in other reports. For example, the GfK looked at the class and regional dimensions of clothes shopping. It found that unmarried, urban women with high incomes revelled in the enjoyment of buying new clothes before their old ones were worn out, while working-class women and rural housewives could not partake of such frivolous behaviour; nor did they care for 'luxury items' like cosmetics and pantyhose that urban women favoured.⁵¹ These are not surprising findings, but they remind us that despite the regime's claims to be crafting a homogeneous racial community, the population remained internally differentiated in consumption habits and attitudes, and the regime widely accepted this fact in practice.

Finally, the cigarette study brought into stark relief a preoccupation with gender and consumption that had been a hallmark of advertising and company publicity since the turn of the century and that would remain so throughout the Third Reich. The GfK determined that Astra was considered a women's cigarette, unlike the 'stronger' brands *Bergmann*, *Salem* and *Maryland*. As a 'trendier' cigarette with low nicotine, Astra was a fashionable lady's cigarette.⁵² The brand name reminded one Swabian salesman of a 'lovely and vivacious woman'.⁵³ Similar light-hearted quotes can be found throughout this report. Studying gender, however, was not a frivolous exercise for the GfK; the organization hoped to address modern consumers – their desires and modes of thinking – specifically as men and women. How did each sex behave in the marketplace? How did each react to the other's purchasing habits? Several GfK reports and discussions tried to examine these questions.⁵⁴ In a study about beauty products, the GfK found that while women liked to douse themselves with especially fragrant beauty creams and perfumes, men complained about being constantly immersed in an atmosphere of fragrances, the majority of which smelled 'too cheap'. Rather than being overpowered by scents, the correspondent concluded, 'the small secrets of women should remain just that – secrets'.⁵⁵

Other reports tackled gender issues in a less whimsical manner, for instance, an internal 1937 assessment entitled 'Differences in the consumer behaviours of both sexes'.⁵⁶ One might assume that, in the context of a gender-conservative Nazi society, the GfK would simply reproduce common stereotypes about women as shoppers – compulsive, overwhelmed by the bounty of products and intellectually vulnerable in the face of aggressive sales pitches. But the report forthrightly challenged such assumptions. One might be tempted to assume, the report argued, that women were more 'instinctive' while men were more 'rational' in their purchasing habits. 'Quite the contrary!' declared the study: 'women think and behave more rationally... than men'.⁵⁷ Men go to one store, and if they cannot find what they are looking for right away they settle for something potentially inferior, just to be free from the torments of shopping. On the other hand, the GfK argued, women had no problem going from store to store to find a product that satisfied their desires and that represented a better value for the cost, even if they had to pay more money for it. Depending on the product, shopping habits rested on deeper differences between how men and women conceived of a product's uses. When it came to toiletries, for example, men saw products in terms of utility and women in terms of the impression it made on others. Whether or not one agreed with such specific assertions regarding gender, few marketers would argue with the GfK's claim that 'the feminine psyche... (was) one of the most important objects of consumer research'.⁵⁸

This interest in gender reveals one of the many tensions in official understandings of consumption and pleasure during the Third Reich. While on a rhetorical level the Nazis aimed to move women back into the household, the GfK found that women still engaged in shopping rituals associated with political and economic liberation – the enjoyment of shopping for its own sake, the 'rational' search for sensible and gratifying products and the act of indulging in a cigarette to relax. The persistence of pre-1933 gender norms during the Third Reich is, of course, not a new insight; the working, leisure and sexual practices of women under Hitler were more complex than Nazi propaganda would have it.⁵⁹ But the consumer reports reveal that organizations like the GfK were able to interrogate women qua women without making undue reference to the regime's ideological priorities. This absence of ideology came through clearly in the cigarette report as well. Even with the close ties between Vershofen, Mann and Nazi officials, the GfK felt no obligation to incorporate the regime's public health aims into their report. While the cigarette study revealed the persistence

of a habit the Nazis deemed dangerous, it provided a useful look into the public mindset and thus the regime deemed it more useful than threatening. The regime did not shut down all discourses that ran counter to Nazi aims; rather it gave licence to organizations to explore ideas that enabled a broader understanding of Germans' everyday lives. Whether focusing on class, gender, smoking or driving, the GfK inquiries before 1939 bore little mark of the reactionary ideology upon which National Socialism was based, and the Nazis as such did not find this problematic.

The GfK and the complaining consumer

Thus far we have focused on questions of consumer pleasure, its perception by business and official circles, and its role in shaping purchasing patterns. But it would be facile to suggest that the consumer economy was defined by enjoyment alone. The persistence of class divisions, coupled with real strains on the consumer sector, meant that there was plenty of room for displeasure as well. Consumers had much to say about economic conditions under National Socialism, and the GfK was not hesitant to record these attitudes. Indeed, a striking feature of the GfK reports from the organization's inception is how willing consumers were to express their complaints on record. In certain respects the nature of this grumbling closely echoed Nazi grievances, especially when it came to aggressive advertising, which both the state and consumers regularly attacked.⁶⁰ But consumers went further, often bemoaning the material conditions that were a product of state policies. A January 1939 GfK study found that women were bitterly unhappy about the seemingly diminished quality of Persil laundry detergent at a time when the fats used to manufacture it were in short supply. 'What's wrong with Persil?' (*Was ist los mit Persil?*) women asked, as they cited examples of their favourite detergent creating holes in their clothes and leading to a 'Persil sickness' that caused rashes on their skin.⁶¹ While the product's manufacturer Henkel insisted that Persil's ingredients had not changed, housewives swore that something was amiss.⁶²

After the outbreak of the Second World War, complaints about shortages, economic sacrifices and the disappearance of brand-name goods increased. A GfK study prepared shortly after the invasion of Poland in the fall of 1939 found that Germans were experiencing a 'shopping psychosis', hoarding brand-name goods and clearing store racks in the hope that consumer goods would bear some value if the currency collapsed.⁶³ Farmers, who did not typically buy luxury goods, were

purchasing grand pianos so that they could have something of material value. Consumers also complained about government attempts to influence the purchase and use of certain goods. In 1943 the GfK studied the reception of propaganda issued by the National Committee for Economic Enlightenment (*Reichsausschuss für Volkswirtschaftliche Aufklärung* – RVA). The GfK reported that people did not like constant reminders about how to cook or wash clothes efficiently. Housewives were offended, and many people found the RVA propaganda to be ‘a waste of paper!’ or ‘yet another piece of trash’.⁶⁴

The fact that people could complain quite forthrightly about products and propaganda has a direct bearing on our understanding of consumption in the Third Reich. Far from being intimidated into quiet conformity, German consumers asserted themselves not only in the company of family and friends, but also in front of strangers holding questionnaires. In sending messages to the GfK (and by extension to companies and the government), individual Germans were, of course, not exercising the kind of organized political force available in democratic settings. But they were making it clear that the lifestyles and simple everyday pleasures they had come to expect from the state were not being sustained, and that they disliked appeals to make do with less. Grumbling was a function of entitlement, and the fact that Germans complained does not mean that they were turning against their leaders. Rather, it means that they grew accustomed to a comfortable standard of living by 1939, and they feared the loss of the pleasures that had come to define the pre-war Third Reich.

Conclusion

This glimpse into the world of shopping and leisure through the Society for Consumer Research touches on a number of issues about pleasure, politics and consumption in the Third Reich. The success of the GfK, for one, is testament to the growing power of the consumer in the 1930s to attract the attention of policymakers and intellectuals. By 1937 the GfK employed 400 correspondents covering 500 ‘consumption districts’, and on the eve of the Second World War it had about 700 correspondents. One hundred research and staff members helped process the data they gathered.⁶⁵ During the Third Reich, then, consumer research became a significant enterprise, serving at once the business needs of a company and the intellectual project of understanding mass society. In this regard, one may see the work of the GfK not as a reflection of specific developments in Germany after 1933, but as an expression of

transnational attempts to exploit widening economic opportunities in the twentieth century.

The fact that the Nuremberg School could pursue its work relatively unencumbered by state prerogatives also reveals that the Third Reich maintained pockets of freedom for elites to engage in practical and intellectual work that transcended the political and geographic space of Nazi Germany. Throughout the Nazi years, GfK associates studied business models, research methods and consumer reports from abroad. The United States, as we have seen, captured the attention of the Nuremberg School, both as an object of intellectual curiosity and an overly 'scientific' counterpoint to 'German' consumer research, which refused to derive rules of consumer behaviour from its studies.⁶⁶ This freedom of inquiry into foreign methods did, admittedly, diminish during the Second World War. Moreover, the GfK was drawn into the Nazi war machine, eventually producing market studies for the Vienna Institute for Economic Research, which was an affiliate of the Nazi research organization Southeastern Europe Society. This latter institute played a key role in the expropriation of resources and the planning of economic policy in the occupied and unoccupied areas of Southeastern Europe.⁶⁷ There is not the space in this chapter to consider this damning episode of the GfK's history, but it is worth keeping in mind that during the war the Nazis' expansionist desires were inseparable from a vision of a racially pure consumer utopia that spread across Europe.

If we move away from the GfK's relationship to National Socialist policies, we can see how its investigations shed light on daily life in Nazi Germany. In their explorations into the everyday thoughts and lives of the German consumer, the GfK allows the historian to observe the combination of normality and deprivation that defined Germany, at least before September 1939. On the one hand, we are faced with images of consumption that could be found in other Western industrial economies. The GfK reports are filled with vivid descriptions of perfumes, automobiles, fancy clothes and the attending human desires for status, free time and sex appeal; they reflected both the public sphere of shopping and the private world of wants and needs. The photographic record of the Third Reich bolsters these images: bustling Christmas markets, curious window shoppers and overflowing cafes defined the pre-war cityscape.⁶⁸ On the other hand, social differences and economic fluctuations make it difficult to generalize about consumption and pleasure during the Nazi period. If wealthier people had time to reflect on their favourite beauty cream, working-class Germans, ill-served by the Nazis' low wage policies and austerity programmes, had little time

for such luxuries. In short, pleasure in the Third Reich was mediated through existing social structures, a point that the GfK itself repeatedly asserted.⁶⁹

As the GfK also understood, however, gratification was as much psychological as it was material, and here social differentiation is less significant. The widespread perception of economic abundance and the reality of diminished unemployment were powerful antidotes to the insecurities created by the economic changes and government restrictions.⁷⁰ Moreover, consumers maintained some hope – via the work of institutions like the GfK – that the government and private companies were really listening to their needs and that the shopper maintained some power under a dictatorship. This was not a substitute for the political power that Germans lost after 1933. But the GfK did give the impression of a dynamic society that rested not only on enthusiasm for Nazi policies, but also on the ability of Germans to enjoy themselves. Likewise, by trying to square individual desire with the needs of the family and the nation, the GfK offered a gift to the regime. It gave life to the Nazis' goal of channelling a 'bourgeois' individualism into a more 'völkisch' form of self-expression. The average German, according to the GfK, existed in many guises – as worker, consumer and as a member of a whole – and through the work of consumer research, the Nazi regime felt it had greater access to the self-understanding of its population and, arguably, more tools with which to control it.

While the GfK effectively furthered the Nazis' ideological goals and later aided in its expansionism, we must not overstate the complicity of consumer research as such in state policies; nor should we overemphasize the ability of the regime to manipulate its population. For in their intellectual mission the Nuremberg economists came to a conclusion that their colleagues had also reached in democratic settings: private yearnings and pleasurable habits cannot be entirely subsumed under the political. To be sure, in Germany the state prescribed and restricted certain behaviours and products according to its aim of creating a racially pure society. But Nazi ideology was porous and its implementation imperfect. Consumption and the desire for material happiness persisted in peacetime and wartime, during times of abundance and shortages, in democracies and under dictatorships. In Nazi Germany, consumer researchers discovered an inner life that could not be entirely colonized by the state.

In sum, the work of the GfK complicates our picture of popular consent and pleasure in Nazi Germany. If historian Götz Aly sees a population whose loyalty was bought through access to material goods, the

consumer research of the 1930s and 1940s belies such a simple conclusion.⁷¹ The universal desire for creature comforts was met at times by consumer satisfaction but at other times – especially during the war – by a sense of loss, frustration and nostalgia. Germans pined for their favourite products that were off the market, complained about shortages, grumbled about ersatz goods, and dismissed Nazi propaganda as wasted ink. But they felt secure enough about their basic material existences and possibilities for pleasure that they could continue to channel their hopes and disappointments into the consumer economy. Aly's claim that the Nazis created a consumer-friendly welfare state begs the question about what average Germans actually thought about their material existence. Did Germans in the 1930s and 1940s see themselves as the beneficiaries of a national economic well-being? The answer to this question is difficult to pin down. But the consumer research reports, at the very least, give us insight into the combination of pleasure, optimism and frustrations that marked everyday life in Nazi Germany.

In the end, we are reminded that support for a government is never all-encompassing. Loyalty to the Nazi regime was not based on a static experience of material gratification. Nationalism, belief in the Führer, racism, concern for loved ones on the battlefield – a constellation of emotions and commitments explain more about the origins of consent than any ill-begotten riches or a sense of entitlement. The Society for Consumer Research reveals the complex dialectic between comfort and deprivation, pleasure and denial that existed in the Third Reich.

Notes

1. See S. Baranowski, *Strength through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 2004); K. Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany: Tourism in the Third Reich* (Houndmills, 2005); and J. Schutts, 'Die erfrischende Pause: Marketing Coca-Cola in Hitler's Germany', in P. E. Swett, S. J. Wiesen and J. R. Zatlin (eds) *Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Durham, 2007), 151–181.
2. See the chapters by Pan, Merziger, Führer and Ross in this volume.
3. W. König, *Volkswagen, Volksempfänger, Volksgemeinschaft: 'Volkspunkte' im Dritten Reich: Vom Scheitern einer nationalsozialistischen Konsumgesellschaft* (Paderborn, 2004);
I. Guenther, *Nazi Chic? Fashioning Women in the Third Reich* (Oxford, 2004); R. Bavaj, *Die Ambivalenz der Moderne im Nationalsozialismus. Eine Bilanz der Forschung* (Munich, 2003), 69–71; H. Berghoff, 'Enticement and Deprivation: The Regulation of Consumption in Pre-War Nazi Germany', in M. Daunton and M. Hilton (eds) *The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America* (Oxford, 2001), 165–184.

4. V. de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth Century Europe* (Cambridge, 2005), 75–129.
5. On German advertising before 1945, see D. Reinhardt, *Von der Reklame zum Marketing: Geschichte der Wirtschaftswerbung in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1993). On the Nazi years specifically, see U. Westphal, *Werbung im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1989) and Swett in this volume.
6. W. Vershofen, *Handbuch der Verbrauchsforschung*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1940), 16. On Smith and consumption see also J. Z. Muller, *The Mind and the Market: Capitalism in Modern European Thought* (New York, 2002), 53–60.
7. See Introduction in Swett et al. (eds), *Selling Modernity*, 7.
8. C. Ross, 'Mass Politics and the Techniques of Leadership: The Promise and Perils of Propaganda in Weimar Germany', *German History* 24, 2 (2006), 184–211. See also F. Schönemann, *Die Kunst der Massenbeeinflussung in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1924).
9. D. E. Lindenfeld, 'The Professionalization of Applied Economics: German Counterparts to Business Administration,' in G. Cocks and K. H. Jarausch (eds), *German Professionals, 1800–1950* (Oxford, 1990), 213–231.
10. On market research in the Nazi period, see G. Bergler, *Die Entwicklung der Verbrauchsforschung in Deutschland und die Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung bis zum Jahre 1945* (Kallmünz/Oberpfalz, M., 1959, Laßleben, translator); C. Conrad, 'Observer les consommateurs. Études de marché et histoire de la consommation en Allemagne, des années 1930 aux années 1960' in *Le Mouvement Social*, no. 206 (2004), 17–39; S. Schwarzkopf, 'Kontrolle statt Rausch? Marktforschung, Produktwerbung und Verbraucherlenkung im Nationalsozialismus zwischen Phantasien von Masse, Angst und Macht', in Á. von Klimó and M. Rolf (eds), *Rausch und Diktatur: Inszenierung, Mobilisierung und Kontrolle in totalitären Systemen* (Frankfurt, 2007), 193–209; and P. Heinelt, *PR Päpste: Die kontinuierlichen Karrieren von Carl Hundhausen, Albert Oeckl und Franz Ronnenberger* (Berlin, 2003), 49–54.
11. H. W. Brose, 'Götterdämmerung des Markenartikels? Neue Wege zu neuen Käufern' (Gärtner, 1934), 7–8. See also V. de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, 220–221.
12. B. S. Ivens, *Wilhelm Vershofen: Professor der Absatzwirtschaft? Ein Rückblick zu seinem 125. Geburtstag*, Arbeitspapier Nr. 109 (Lehrstuhl für Marketing, Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 2003).
13. On American practices, see Vershofen, *Handbuch*, 115.
14. The Nuremberg School rejected Gallup-style polls in the United States, which were often satisfied with yes or no answers. On Gallup and market research in the United States, see S. E. Igo, *The Averaged American: Surveys, Citizens, and the Making of a Mass Public* (Cambridge, 2007).
15. 'Die Stimme des Verbrauchers' was a phrase the GfK began to use in the 1930s, and it would become one of its key slogans after the Second World War.
16. 'Das Warenzeichen: Eine Untersuchung über den Bekanntheitsgrad des Warenzeichen 'Das Bayerkreuz'', S 1900 001, GfK Archive, Nuremberg (hereafter GfKA). For Mann's reflections on this report, see W. R. Mann, 'Das Bayer-Kreuz,' 1.13.1, (1976), 17–22, Bayer Archiv, Leverkusen.
17. 'Verbraucher und Markenartikel in den ersten Kriegsmonaten' (no date – autumn 1939), S1939 015, GfKA.

18. 'Untersuchung über die Bedeutung des Warenzeichen in den Augen der Verbraucher unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Pfeilring-Zeichens', S1900 72 (January 1936); 'Untersuchung über den Markennamen 'Wolff'' (June 1939), S1939 012, GfKA.
19. 'Untersuchung bei Automarke "Opel"' (June 1939), S1939 013, GfKA.
20. On watches see 'Verbraucherwünsche', *Vertrauliche Nachrichten für die Mitglieder der GfK*, no. 7 (May 1938), 14–15, GfKA; on vases see 'Verbraucherwünsche', *Vertrauliche Nachrichten*, no. 6 (February 1938), 22., GfKA
21. On luxury, see d'Almeida's chapter in this volume and idem, *High Society in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 2008).
22. 'Verbraucher und Markenartikel in den ersten Kriegsmonaten.'
23. See A. Tooze, *Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy* (New York, 2006), 138–147.
24. See in particular the issues of the GfK publication *Markt und Verbrauch*.
25. See H. Proesler, 'Problematik des Verstehens', *Markt und Verbrauch*, 11 (1939), 157–166, and idem, 'Über das Verstehen in der Verbrauchsforschung', 13 (1941), 279–284.
26. 'Verbraucherforschung – Ein Meinungsaustausch' (between C. Hundhausen and W. Vershofen) *Markt und Verbrauch* 12, nos. 11 and 12 (1940), 258–273.
27. Vershofen to Mann, 9 December 1941, Nachlass W. Vershofen, MS 2763, Box 9, Universitätsarchiv, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen–Nürnberg.
28. Bergler, *Entwicklung der Verbrauchsforschung*, 126.
29. L. Erhard to Vershofen, 8 November 1937, GfKA, courtesy of Volker Preuss.
30. Vershofen to Professor S. Helander, 6 March 1937, GfKA, courtesy of Volker Preuss.
31. König, *Volkswagen, Volksempfänger, Volksgemeinschaft*.
32. H. Berghoff, *Zwischen Kleinstadt und Weltmarkt: Hohner und die Harmonika 1857–1961: Unternehmensgeschichte als Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (Paderborn, 1997).
33. G. D. Smith, S. A Strobele and M. Egger, 'Smoking and Health Promotion in Nazi Germany', *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 48 (1994), 220–223.
34. Niederschrift der Wissenschaftlichen Gespräche mit Generalkonsul Dr. h.c. Ludwig Roselius, von Dr. Ing. Wilhelm Roselius, 2 June 1974, 00576642, Kraft Foods International Archiv (hereafter KFA). See also 'Kaba. Der Plantagentrank: Urteile von Ärzten, Groß-Verbrauchern und Verbrauchern,' (1935), box R2 94/7, file 0096 3556 (folder 2), KFA.
35. On one company, Kaffee Hag's, provision of drinks to the German public and the Hitler Youth, see *HAG-Post* no. 7 (22 September 1937), KFA.
36. 'Die Zigarette im Urteil des Letzten Verbrauchers' (August 1939), S1939 006-1, p.2, GfKA.
37. R. N. Proctor, *The Nazi War on Cancer* (Princeton, 1999), 173.
38. *Ibid.*, 174–175, 189.
39. 'Die Zigarette im Urteil des Letzten Verbrauchers', 2.
40. *Ibid.*, 4.
41. *Ibid.*, 12.
42. *Ibid.*, 17.

43. J. Lewy, 'A Sober Reich? Alcohol and Tobacco Use in Nazi Germany' in *Substance Use & Misuse*, 41, 8 (2006), 1179–1195.
44. Smith, Strobele, Egger, 'Smoking and Health Promotion in Nazi Germany'.
45. On smoking in the 1930s, see L. Garfinkel, 'Trends in Cigarette Smoking in the United States,' *Preventive Medicine* 26, no. 4, (1997), 447–450; and e.g. S. Lock, L. A. Reynolds and E. M. Tansey (eds), *Ashes to Ashes: The History of Smoking and Health* (Amsterdam/Atlanta, 1998), 199–200.
46. 'Die Zigarette im Urteil des Letzten Verbrauchers', 15.
47. *Ibid.*, 12.
48. Lewy, 'A Sober Reich?' 1187.
49. Bergler, *Entwicklung der Verbrauchsforschung*, 97.
50. Vershofen, *Handbuch*, 92–109.
51. 'Die Verbraucherhaltung verschiedener sozialer Schichten', *Vertrauliche Nachrichten*, no. 3 (June 1937), 1–5, GfKA.
52. 'Die Zigarette im Urteil des Letzten Verbrauchers', 82 and 83 respectively.
53. *Ibid.*, 82.
54. On gender and market research, see also H. Proesler, *Handbuch der Verbrauchsforschung* (Volume Two as companion to Vershofen's first volume) (Berlin, 1940), 29–45, and Conrad, 'Observer les consommateurs'.
55. 'Verbraucherwünsche', *Vertrauliche Nachrichten*, no. 6 (1938), 21.
56. 'Verschiedenheiten in der Verbraucherhaltung der beiden Geschlechter', *Vertrauliche Nachrichten* no. 4 (1937), 1–6.
57. *Ibid.*, 1.
58. *Ibid.*, 2.
59. D. Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton, 2005), 10–63; J. Stephenson, *Women in Nazi Germany* (Harlow, 2001); E. D. Heineman, *What Difference Does a Husband Make? Women and Marital Status in Nazi and Postwar Germany* (Berkeley, 1999).
60. See H. Berghoff, '"Times Change and We Change with Them": The German Advertising Industry in the Third Reich – Between Professional Self-Interest and Political Repression', *Business History*, 45, 1 (2003), 128–47.
61. 'Hausfrau und Waschmittel' (January 1939), S 1939 007, GfKA.
62. On women's reactions to the Four-Year Plan austerity measures, see N. R. Reagan, *Sweeping the German Nation: Domesticity and National Identity in Germany, 1870–1945* (New York, 2007), 110–180.
63. 'Verbraucher und Markenartikel in den ersten Kriegsmonaten.'
64. 'Die Arbeit des Reichsausschusses für Volkswirtschaftliche Aufklärung im Urteil des Verbrauchers', S 1943 008, 13. GfKA.
65. 'Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung im Vereinsjahr 1937', *Vertrauliche Nachrichten*, no. 7 (May 1938), 1.
66. On Germans' interest in the United States during the Third Reich, see P. Gassert, *Amerika im Dritten Reich: Ideologie, Propaganda und Volksmeinung, 1933–1945* (Stuttgart, 1997), 104–116; and H. D. Schäfer, 'Amerikanismus im Dritten Reich', in M. Prinz and R. Zitelmann, (eds), *Nationalsozialismus und Modernisierung* (Darmstadt, 1991), 199–215.
67. On this organization, see D. Orlow, *The Nazis in the Balkans: A Case Study in Totalitarian Politics* (Pittsburgh, 1968), 16–66. On advertising in Nazi dominated Europe, see P. E. Swett 'Preparing for Victory: Heinrich Hunke, the

- Nazi *Werberat*, and West German Prosperity', *Central European History*, 42, no. 4 (2009), 675–707.
68. See Nazi-era photographs of Berlin housed in the Landesarchiv Berlin (filed by street name). On Christmas in the Third Reich, see J. Perry, 'Nazifying Christmas: Political and Popular Celebration in the Third Reich', *Central European History*, 38, no. 4 (2005), 572–605.
69. Vershofen, *Handbuch*, pp. 92–109.
70. U. Herbert, 'Good Times, Bad Times: Memories of the Third Reich', in R. Bessel (ed.), *Life in the Third Reich*, 2nd revised edition (Oxford, 2001), 97–111.
71. See the introduction to this volume and G. Aly, *Hitler's Beneficiaries: Plunder, Racial War, and the Nazi Welfare State* (New York, 2007).

3

Selling Sexual Pleasure in 1930s Germany

Pamela E. Swett

Historians have long recognized that in the immediate post-war period, most Germans had fond memories of the years 1933 to 1939. It is easy to dismiss these happy memories as a romanticization of life in the eye of the storm – the fleeting calm in an era of devastation.¹ But scholars have begun to take seriously the possibility that, at least for ‘racially valuable’ Germans, these years marked a period of considerable enjoyment and pleasure. In this chapter I examine how advertisers and some representatives of state authority negotiated competing, and sometimes conflicting, priorities when it came to channelling, creating and responding to individual consumer desires. In particular, I focus on the ways in which sexual pleasure was presented in print advertisements and product literature for a popular anti-impotence treatment, ‘Titus Pearls’. I argue that there were significant changes to the way sexual pleasure was pictured and discussed by the product’s manufacturer, and by German advertisers more generally, after 1933. In the last years of the Weimar Republic, sexual pleasure was promoted by the company as essential to the companionate marriage and the individual satisfaction of both spouses. While the company continued its pro-sex marketing after 1933, promotional literature for Titus Pearls in the Nazi era emphasized the role of sex as key to maintaining and regaining a more holistic (spiritual and physical) vision of pleasure for the male alone. This shift, I will argue, was the outcome of a large constellation of forces, including international trends in biomedical research on sexual dysfunction, national socialist ideals concerning gender, individual pleasure and consumption, and corporate interests that aimed to meet consumer desires and remain viable in the new Nazi marketplace.

Consumption and sex in Nazi Germany

Trying to get at the elusive category of pleasure, in this case as something that can be promoted for sale and purchased, is a complicated task. Scholars of consumption in the Third Reich rarely focus on pleasure as part of the consumer experience. Rather the aim has been to describe the attempts of the Nazi state to regulate consumption in order to prioritize war preparations. Hartmut Berghoff has done the most to theorize the tensions that existed between production and consumption with his tripartite model of consumption regulation. He argues that while some goods were forced on Germans and the consumption of others was suppressed, there was also a third group of products, particularly big-ticket items, that could only be 'virtually' consumed:² these were goods that would be available for the enjoyment of all after the sacrifices of war secured the means for future abundance.³ Nancy Reagan and Irene Guenther, among others, have emphasized the disappointment and even deprivation faced by many Germans, particularly after the implementation of the Four-Year Plan in 1936. Was the relationship between pleasure and consumption, then, limited to the possibilities of a post-victory prosperity, or did pleasure remain a marketable commodity in the years before, or even during, the war?

Naturally, individuals did continue to derive enjoyment from both non-state-sanctioned and state-sanctioned goods even in the shrinking consumer market of the Nazi era. As Jonathan Wiesen points out in his chapter in this volume, cigarettes remained hot sellers despite extensive state propaganda against the habit. Though officials were unwilling to prohibit the sale of tobacco products for fear of angering the smoking public, the state was willing to ban their use in certain venues, like party offices, as one of the regime's many attempts to shape the definition of acceptable pleasures. This sort of cautious regulation of consumer behaviour was typical of the regime, particularly in the years before the war. The best-studied example of state-directed consumption was the travel programme offered by Strength through Joy (*Kraft durch Freude*, KdF).⁴ Even though KdF was sponsored by the Nazi Party's German Labor Front (DAF), Shelley Baranowski argues that KdF tourists experienced considerable independence on these trips – often in defiance of KdF rules and to the dismay of their security service (SD) chaperones. Granted, the KdF holiday remained a vicarious experience to millions of Germans with meagre means, but many nonetheless took advantage of the tours, with more workers participating in domestic rather than foreign travel. KdF leaders were willing to overlook the inevitable flouting of trip rules

by merry-makers, argues Baranowski, because of the high level of satisfaction most vacationers took home; these trips, in short, were fun. In the minds of officials, the trips represented a communal form of consumption – group tours that allegedly possessed a certain classless quality. In addition, the trips toured the beautiful German countryside, encouraging a greater sense of national belonging and offering evidence for claims of German superiority. Even the international tours fostered German nationalism, because tours were only available to poorer European nations like Portugal; the homeland always came off well in comparison. KdF trips benefited everyone: the regime had an opportunity to enlighten travellers about National Socialism while showing them a good time, and whether KdF consumers bought all the messages or not, most returned home proud of their country and grateful to this state-sponsored organization for an affordable holiday.

As is clear in this example, there were many interests at play in determining the relationship between pleasure and the consumption of goods and services in Nazi Germany. Here the KdF officials and their superiors in the DAF attempted to sell a certain view of pleasure to Germans, who had their own plans for enjoying their holiday. Conflict and negotiation were inevitable. One of the many fault lines that emerged between the pleasure-seeking tourists and the DAF trip administrators and SD chaperones was the issue of sex. While many tourists saw KdF travel as an opportunity to find romance, party officials were wary of bawdy public behaviour – or worse, the possibility that physical relationships might develop between ‘aryans’ and members of ‘inferior’ races at the various ports of call. Though views of Nazi Germany as a society in which sexuality was uniformly repressed have been overturned, it should not surprise us that sexual activity was one flashpoint around which officials and tourists clashed. There was no coherent policy with regard to sexual matters, owing largely to the divergence of views among state and party officials as well as among the broader public. Some sexual conservatives in the party and beyond were still swayed by Christian moral traditions that forbade premarital sex and other erotic activities. And even those ‘pro-sex’ Nazis who rejected such moralizing as a thing of the past often claimed that sex had to be cleansed of the trashy decadence of the republican era. Despite some inconsistency in public pronouncements and programmes, Dagmar Herzog and others have shown convincingly that overall the Nazi movement encouraged the majority of Germans to pursue sexual relationships, not only for reproductive purposes (though this was vitally important), but also for the sheer pleasure of the experience.⁵

While tension existed among party and state officials who hoped to direct the forms of pleasure-seeking available to Germans, and at times between the ideals of pleasure championed by officials and the intimate desires of individuals, private companies, too, had their own interests to defend. However, the common corporate strategy of appealing directly to the individual consumer's most personal desires was also under some attack in the new Germany. Selfish indulgence was supposed to be replaced by rational consumer decision-making that benefited the community; essentially, the goal was to channel consumption in ways that supported the preparations for and eventual waging of war. Responding to the calls for a more 'enlightened' marketplace, some manufacturers of luxury goods sought new ways to package their images. Companies that previously vied against each other for customers chose to work in unison to create non-competitive advertisements that would educate consumers about the uses of the commodity, without appealing to individual wants or drawing attention to the differences between various makes and models.⁶

Moreover, under the authority of the newly founded Nazi Ad Council, which had been created to oversee this shift in the nation's advertising culture, advertisements were required to present a truthful estimation of a product's merits and avoid offending the 'moral righteousness of the German Volk'. Such a pronouncement reflected the state's uneasy relationship towards sexual pleasure. While officials actively supported the public consumption of erotic imagery – the most obvious examples being the preference for nudes in statuary, and photo spreads in general interest magazines and advice journals like *Liebe und Ehe (Love and Marriage)* – they wanted to have it both ways. As Dagmar Herzog put it, the regime wanted to see itself 'as the guardian of good taste and pristine morals and pander to the pleasures of looking'.⁷ The old adage that 'sex sells', therefore, though alive and well in Nazi Germany, was facing new pressures. Aggressive sales campaigns and aggressive sexuality were both coded as Jewish and dangerous. Companies that advertised sex-related products, in turn, found themselves in a potentially difficult position. Much AG of Berlin-Pankow was one such company.

Weimar-era sex reform, the marketplace and the coming of National Socialism

A well-established pharmaceutical manufacturer, Much AG had a number of products on the market, from its popular dependable pain-killer 'Spalt-Tabletten' to formulas that promised weight loss, stress

relief, breast enhancement, and more. The company introduced its impotence treatment 'Titus Pearls' to the market in 1927, under the name Testifortan, and adopted the new name two years later. Taken in pill form, Titus Pearls was one of many similar products brought to the market in Germany in the late 1920s. As Angus McLaren explains in his book on the history of impotence, the inter-war period saw a flood of such products in Europe and North America. Each hoped to convince doctors and individual purchasers of the efficacy of hormone treatments to cure male sexual dysfunction. McLaren argues that this growth in impotence treatments in the 1920s was a response to the massive upheaval and loss of life caused by the First World War and the deadly influenza epidemic that accompanied the peace.⁸ The confidence in finding a hormonal solution to this and other sexual deviations was also greatly bolstered by the terrific medical success that insulin represented for diabetics at the start of the new decade.⁹ As Chandak Sengoopta has put it: 'The 1920s were the heroic age of the endocrine glands, and specifically the gonads'.¹⁰

Looking to hormonal treatments of impotence was not just about replenishing the depleted populations of war-ravaged countries, however. The quest was part of the global eugenics movement, which sought also to improve the 'race' in Germany and elsewhere, by creating physically and mentally fitter men and women. One of the key terms in this transnational dream was 'rejuvenation', which if achieved meant an end to impotence as part of a larger cluster of symptoms related to ageing, including declining mental and physical strength and loss of interest in leisure and professional pursuits. McLaren is surely correct when he highlights the excitement around the possibilities of rejuvenation as central to the inter-war popularity of products like Titus Pearls. Less convincing, however, is his limitation of the definition of rejuvenation to 'making humans more efficient, virile, and productive'.¹¹ Pleasure was also a key part of the project of rejuvenation. In this context, Titus Pearls not only promised an end to impotence but also provided 'new life' to the customer: sensual gratification and with it an overall sense of well-being and happiness at work and home.¹²

Even though the potential for revitalization through hormonal treatments was championed throughout Europe and North America, Much AG rightly worried about finding a place in the new Reich. Since the late 1920s the company had placed advertisements for Titus Pearls in major newspapers, men's and women's magazines, medical journals, shop windows and on the radio. In the depths of the Depression, when most consumer products manufacturers were slashing their marketing

budgets, the manufacturers of Titus Pearls bragged in a large magazine ad that promotional spots for its product appeared 27,000 times in similar publications in April 1932 alone.¹³ And there is evidence that during the early months of 1933, before the Ad Council had been struck, the company was already considering the best ways to continue enticing men (and women) to maximize their sexual pleasure with the help of their product, without running afoul of the new regime.

Perhaps Much AG's initiative is not surprising, given that Titus Pearls was the co-invention of the vilified Weimar sexologist, Magnus Hirschfeld, one of the leading figures in the international sex reform movement. With support from the governing Prussian Social Democrats in 1919, Hirschfeld had established the Institute for Sexual Science in Berlin. Hirschfeld and his colleagues at the Institute were active politically in the campaigns to overturn the laws that criminalized sodomy, abortion and the publicizing of contraceptives, but his reform agenda was much broader, calling for a rational approach to all questions of sexuality and reproduction. In addition to his public lectures and writings on topics that ranged from congenital explanations of homosexuality to masturbation and the proper uses of contraceptives, his Institute also offered the public a popular sex counselling clinic and evening question-and-answer forums. The message in all these venues was clear: repressed sexuality was irrational; sexual pleasure was not only essential to individual well-being and good health, but also an important social justice issue.¹⁴

Before 1933, Much AG had used Hirschfeld's eminence as a chief selling point to differentiate its treatment from others on the market. Hirschfeld's portrait and a sketch of his world-renowned Institute for Sexual Science in Berlin graced the introductory pages of the Titus Pearls brochure (Figures 3.1 & 3.2). His name appeared in every single print advertisement, and his signature, emblazoned on every package, was offered as proof of its authenticity. After 1933, the connection to Hirschfeld was an obvious liability. In May 1933, the Gestapo coordinated the ransacking of the Institute by Stormtroopers and students (to the accompaniment of a brass band!), because of its leftist politics, commitment to sex reform and tolerance of sexual 'deviance', and because its founder was both gay and Jewish.¹⁵ Even among pro-sex Nazis, Hirschfeld symbolized all that was wrong with sexual liberation in the Weimar era. Away from Germany on a propitiously scheduled international speaking tour when the NSDAP came to power, Hirschfeld would never return to his homeland. His colleague at the Institute and co-inventor of Titus Pearls, Dr Bernhard Schapiro, would soon follow him into exile.



SANITÄTSRAT DR. MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD

Figure 3.1 & 3.2 Continued



Figure 3.1 & 3.2 Magnus Hirschfeld and his Berlin Institute

Source: These images graced the inside cover of the *Neues Leben* product brochure for Titus Pearls before 1933. Images courtesy of the Landesarchiv Berlin (A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 100).

Yet the removal of Hirschfeld's endorsements from product promotions for Titus was a drawn-out process. It is not clear whether the delays simply reflected the fact that the sheer number of references to the famed sexologist and his work made them difficult to weed out, or whether the company consciously stalled the process in order to hold on to the less obvious references to their expert endorser as long as possible, believing them still to be an effective marketing strategy even after 1933. What is clear is that some packages with the Hirschfeld signature were still in circulation in late 1935 when *Der Stürmer*, the sensationalist anti-Semitic party newspaper, ran a picture of a shop window displaying boxes of Titus Pearls. The caption announced the product's paternal link to one of the regime's most hated 'enemies'. Hoping to stop a potential public relations nightmare, the company immediately asked its representatives around the country to check all the pharmacies along their routes for similarly 'offensive' materials. If any packages with Hirschfeld's signature were found, the instructions were clear: 'at that time and place, and in your presence, [the product] should be destroyed'.¹⁶

The rants against Titus Pearls came not only from anti-Semitic crusaders who wrote for *Der Stürmer*, but also from industry competitors who from time to time tried to make some gains in market share against Much AG by drawing attention to the firm's links with 'Jewish science'.¹⁷ This tactic, however, did not have any impact on the company's relationship with the branches of state government that might have had the power to limit or halt the sale of Titus Pearls.¹⁸ Although representatives from the Ad Council and Health Ministry were in contact with the firm's directors on a variety of occasions in the 1930s, in the private correspondence the product's links to Hirschfeld do not appear to have affected their opinions of the treatment's quality. In fact, as late as 1938, Much AG continued to rely on the scientific testimony of Hirschfeld's colleague at the Institute, the Jewish sexologist Bernhard Schapiro. From his exile in Switzerland, Schapiro wrote a number of reports defending the product at the request of the firm. These letters were submitted to government agencies, and their author was recognized as an acceptable scientific expert.¹⁹ In other words, though state offices insisted on the disassociation of Hirschfeld from all promotional materials for Titus Pearls, the pleasures the product claimed to provide remained attractive to officials and untainted by links to these Jewish researchers.

Besides the connections to Hirschfeld, the makers of Titus Pearls also had to consider whether their representations of sexual pleasure in the product's promotional literature met the regime's new standards for 'German advertising'. In the autumn of 1933 the new government had set out to cleanse the advertising industry of its shady reputation.²⁰ The key institutional change was the establishment of the Ad Council, placed under the authority of Joseph Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry, for the purpose of controlling the profession by issuing and revoking licenses to all advertising practitioners, ranging from ad executives to graphic artists and even shop window dressers. One outcome of these changes was the purging of Jews and other so-called enemies from the profession. The Council was also charged with making the business of advertising more transparent and less prone to illegal practices. The Council's third and most ambitious mandate was to cleanse ad content and style through its censorship authority. Advertising would be overhauled to eliminate international influence and do away with all forms of manipulation and false claims. Henceforth, both the form and content of the new advertising were to reflect a truthful estimation of the product's quality, promote fair business practices, and in no way offend the moral righteousness of the German Volk.²¹ This last point was strengthened in 1935 by the Ad Council's order to advertisers to

remove 'descriptions or explanations of sexual intercourse' from their work.²²

The regime, of course, also fashioned itself as the chief promoter of healthful living among the racially pure.²³ The Ad Council had been given an important role in this mission: to seek out hucksters who promised miracle cures or failed to disclose potential side-effects or dangerous ingredients in healthcare products. In response to this mandate, the Ad Council issued its 17th *Bekanntmachung* in 1936, which dealt solely with the advertising of pharmaceutical products.²⁴ Much AG, therefore, had two new causes for concern with regard to the Ad Council. Company managers had to be sure that Titus Pearls ads were forthcoming about the safety and efficacy of the treatment, and they had to be vigilant that the sexual content of the product literature did not offend the Council's view of moral standards. Comparing Titus Pearls sales literature before and after 1933 and examining the correspondence between the firm and the Ad Council make it clear that the company largely overcame these concerns. Even before explicit directions were handed down by the Ad Council or other official bodies, Much AG began to alter the images and text used in the brochure and print ads in order to emphasize the product's ability to ensure the individual male's spiritual and corporeal pleasure rather than the happiness of the heterosexual couple. Even at the expense of highlighting the possibilities of increasing reproduction, which was a stated goal of the regime, sexual pleasure as central to the rejuvenation of the male organism was prioritized. This new direction, they hoped, would appeal to potential governmental watchdogs and consumers alike.

In order to trace the changing role of sexual pleasure in Titus Pearls' advertising strategies during the Nazi era, it is necessary to begin in the last years of the Weimar Republic. From the start, company literature for Titus Pearls emphasized the hard science behind its product. The lengthy Titus Pearls brochure, *New Life*, emphasized the 'clinical controls' used in the formulation of Titus Pearls and noted that even the Prussian government had recognized the work done by Hirschfeld's Institute. There was no shying away from the more controversial topics of Hirschfeld's research. The brochure explained proudly that the doctor was the founder of the field of sexual science, had devoted 34 years to its study, and had written important texts on 'transvestitism, homosexuality, and the groundbreaking standard texts on sexual pathology (3 volumes)'.²⁵

According to the manufacturers, the causes of impotence in the Weimar Republic were largely social: 'much responsibility [for the recent increase of impotence within developed nations] falls on the war and the post-war conditions'. The situation had not eased in the decade

since the armistice, explained the booklet. 'Practically all people' continued to face a 'difficult struggle for survival', which caused the stress that led to a weakening of the nerves and sexual strength.²⁶ Though the emphasis was on male sexual dysfunction, similar disorders plagued Germany's women too. Titus Pearls offered a female version to address the low libido and failure to reach orgasm that 40 per cent of women faced, according to *New Life*. The brochure explained that many marriages were undermined by female sexual dysfunction, making the condition's treatment a 'social task'.²⁷ The 'normal' course of the sexual act, diagrammed for the reader, included mutual simultaneous orgasms. Problems leading to female dissatisfaction could arise from her 'potency disruption' or her partner's. Clearly, company literature reflected the 1920s trend, spearheaded by Hirschfeld's Institute and others, that recognized the physiological effects of social stressors and the belief that providing rational education on sexual matters could assist in the attainment of sexual satisfaction for both partners.

Before 1933, Titus Pearls print advertisements also promoted healthy companionate marriages, in which sexual pleasure played a central role. In Figure 3.3 we see a heterosexual couple, described by the text as married, on a see-saw.²⁸ The text and image allude to the ups and downs of married life and the importance of a healthy sexual life for both partners. The woman sits at the bottom, head back, mouth slightly open. The man is off-balance, teetering in midair. He looks down at his wife, weak and afraid, while she gazes upward, hoping (but still waiting) to be lifted to climax. This goal will only be achieved, the text makes clear, if she takes matters into her own hands by purchasing Titus Pearls for her husband.

Other Titus Pearls print ads from the Weimar era were similar and had titles such as 'Joy in Marriage'.²⁹ Those addressing a female audience spoke explicitly about achieving a harmonious marriage through sexual fulfilment. Some ads even noted that 'the wife suffered the most under the weakened condition of the husband'.³⁰ Ads aimed at male readers frequently showed a man in a deep state of melancholy gazing at a pair of lovers in cheerful banter and wishing that same joy for himself. In one such example, we see a couple lounging romantically on the bank of a stream, while another man (the implied reader of the advertisement) reaches out for a taste of their happiness from the other side of the water. His 'way to fulfilment' (both the reader and the man pictured) is blocked by a hormonal deficiency that only Titus Pearls can rectify (Figure 3.4).³¹ Even the sketch that illustrated the cover of *New Life* from this period depicted male and female nudes from behind walking arm in arm. Their similarly formed silhouettes move in unison as they stride together towards the sunlight on the horizon. (See Figure 3.6).

Auf der Wippschaukel der Ehe

sollten beide Partner, vornehmlich aber auch die Frau, die höchstmöglichen Punkte des Erlebens erreichen können! Diese unerläßliche Voraussetzung für eine harmonische und glückliche Ehe ist aber nur gegeben, wenn Mann und Frau so „normal-gesund“ sind, daß weder der eine noch die andere unter Erscheinungen leidet, die sich als Nervenschwäche, Unter- oder Übererregbarkeit, als Unlust, Mattigkeit, vorzeitige Ermüdung, kurz als **Sexualstörungen** in einer der mannigfaltigsten Formen unliebsam bemerkbar machen. - Überall dort, wo - auch oft uneingestandenermaßen - die Ehebeziehungen in dieser Weise kranken oder kränkeln, kann durch eine energische und systematische Kur mit den bekannten „Titus-Perlen“ Besserung und Heilung erzielt werden, also die Grundlage zur Rettung der gefährdeten Ehegemeinschaft. - Da die erwähnten Störungen zumeist auf unzureichender Versorgung des Organismus mit Keimdrüsen- und Hypophysen-Hormonen beruhen, erscheint nichts logischer, als dem Sexualapparat eben die fehlenden Stoffe zuzuführen. Wenn eine solche Behandlungsweise bisher an technischen Schwierigkeiten bei der Gewinnung der lebenden Hormone gescheitert war, ist es neuerdings dem in aller Welt berühmten wissenschaftlichen Institut der

Dr. Magnus-Hirschfeld-Stiftung in Berlin gelungen, ein Herstellungsverfahren auszuarbeiten, bei dem die kostbaren Hormone lebenswirksam in die „Titus-Perlen“ überführt werden.

Die nach diesem Spezial-Verfahren gewonnenen „Titus-Perlen“ gelten als führendes Sexualtherapeutikum und sind vom Institut für Sexualwissenschaft in Berlin von zahlreichen Mitteln

als wertvollstes Präparat der Ärzteschaft empfohlen worden.

Titus-Perlen

Proben kostenlos!

Sie sollen sich von der einzigartigen Wirkung selbst überzeugen, deshalb senden wir Ihnen eine Probe gratis, dazu die illustrierte wissenschaftl. Abhandlung (verschlossen ohne Firmenangabe). Wir versenden keine unverlangten Nachnahmen.

Preise:
 100 Stück „Titus-Perlen“ für Männer RM 9,80. „Titus-Perlen“ für Frauen RM 10,80.
 Neu! Bei Übererregbarkeit (Vorzeitigkeit) „Titus-Kerne 3“ 50 Stück RM 5,—.

Zu haben in allen Apotheken!

Gratis-Gutscheine

● Friedrich-Wilhelmstädtische Apotheke, Berlin NW 6/146, Luisenstraße Nr. 19.

Senden Sie mir eine Probe sowie die wissenschaftliche Abhandlung gratis. 40 Pfg. in Briefmarken für Porto füge ich bei.

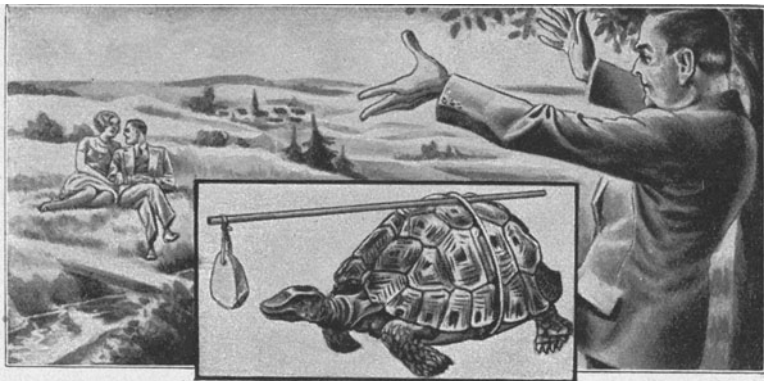
Herr
 Frau/Frl.
 Ort:
 Straße:

Figure 3.3 Titus Pearls classified, 'On the see-saw of marriage'

Source: Titus Pearls advertisement from the late Weimar era. Image courtesy of the Landesarchiv Berlin (A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 99).

Selling sex after 1933

After January 1933 little changed in terms of the extent of the Titus Pearls ad campaign. Magazine and newspaper advertisements continued unabated; even Titus-themed pharmacy window decorations were



Versperrte Wege zur Erfüllung

Die Natur ist nicht vollkommen! Da statet sie beispielsweise einen Menschen mit Wünschen aus, legt aber gleichzeitig in ihn selbst die Schranken gegen die Erfüllung: in einem Falle das völlige oder teilweise Unvermögen, im anderen Falle die Übererregbarkeit. Diese krankhaften Erscheinungen sind auf fehlerhaftes Arbeiten der innersekretorischen Drüsen zurückzuführen. Da die Funktion der Drüsen von den Hormonen reguliert wird, muß sich also ein natürliches Arbeiten der Keimdrüsen durch Hormonzufuhr bewirken lassen. — In jüngster Zeit wurde nun im wissenschaftlichen Institut der Dr. Magnus-Hirschfeld-Stiftung ein Verfahren entdeckt, durch welches — im Gegensatz zu den früheren Methoden — die kostbaren Verjüngungshormone zu einem Präparat verarbeitet werden können, ohne ihre lebendige Energie zu verlieren! Dieses Präparat sind die „Titus-Perlen“. Auf Grund des neuen Verfahrens ist es nicht verwunderlich, daß die „Titus-Perlen“ meist auch da wirken, wo andere Mittel versagen. Eine große Zahl ärztlicher Gutachten und eine noch größere Zahl Dankschreiben aus dem Publikum bezeugen die Einzigartigkeit der Titus-Kur. „Titus-Perlen“ sind vom „Berliner Institut für Sexualwissenschaft“ der Ärzteschaft als wirksamstes Präparat empfohlen worden.

Proben kostenlos!

Sie sollen sich von der einzigart. Wirkung selbst überzeugen, deshalb senden wir Ihnen eine Probe gratis, dazu die wissenschaftl. Abhandlung, die Ihnen durch zahlreiche Illustrationen die Funktion der menschl. Organe vor Augen führt. (Verschloß. ohne Firmenangabe.) Wir versenden keine unverlangten Nachn.

Titus-Perlen



Preis 100 Stck. „Titus-Perlen“ f. Männer M. 9.80
 „Titus-Perlen“ für Frauen M. 10.80
 „Titus-Likör“ M. 9.75
 Probeflasche (50 g) M. 2.70
 Neu! Bei Übererregbarkeit (Vorzeitigkeit)
 „Titus-Kerne 3“, 50 Stück M. 5.—
Zu haben in allen Apotheken!

Gratis-Gutschein

• Friedrich-Wilhelmstädtische Apotheke,
 Berlin NW 6 / 147, Luisenstraße Nr. 19.
 Senden Sie mir eine Probe sowie die wissenschaft-
 liche Abhandlung gratis. 40 Pfg. in Briefmarken
 für Porto füge ich bei.

Frau/Frl.
 Herr

Ort:

Straße:

Figure 3.4 Titus Pearls classified, 'Blocked path to fulfilment'

Source: Titus Pearls advertisement from the late Weimar era. Image courtesy of the Landesarchiv Berlin (A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 99).

used regularly. Titus also continued to send discreet letters and the detailed *New Life* brochure to those who requested further information after reading the ads in the daily and weekly press.³² And yet there was a significant shift in the way the product was presented to

consumers after 1933. It would appear that most of the alterations were initiated by the company itself. Though some changes may have been attempts to pre-empt criticism from officials representing the regime, the regulations circulated by the Ad Council were notoriously lengthy and jargon-filled, making it likely that companies had difficulty interpreting the directives.³³ Moreover, when the Council did contact the company directly in the late 1930s, Much AG repeatedly stood its ground on a variety of issues associated with their marketing of Titus Pearls and other products. We can tentatively conclude, therefore, that the firm was not cowed by the Council's ability to revoke the company's license to advertise, but instead shifted its campaign after 1933 largely in response to what they believed were broader societal trends.

The first noticeable development, beyond the removal of references to Hirschfeld and his Institute, is the disappearance of almost all images of women and discussions of female sexuality, marriage and the role of sex within the harmonious permanent union. Ads that address women directly as shoppers for their male partners after 1933 do not exist, which is noteworthy given the company's previous strategy and the fact that women most likely remained the primary purchasers throughout the period. Though the female version of Titus Pearls was never advertised aggressively, no ads for the treatment of female sexual dysfunction could be found for the years after 1932, though the product was still available. Gone too are the ads in which the man looks longingly at a loving couple in the distance. The authors of the *New Life* brochure, which was updated annually, also removed the images of the female sex organs and much of the language about the importance of female sexual satisfaction, including all references to male dysfunction as the cause for female displeasure. Rather, after 1933 the brochure explained that female dissatisfaction was the result of damage done to the hormonal system by the 'excessive spiritual and mental strains' of working in men's jobs over the previous 25 years.³⁴ While procreation had never been named explicitly as a reason to use Titus Pearls, the removal of much of the language about building happy marriages and ceasing the production of ads aimed at female readers made it even less likely that women or men who were struggling to start or grow a family would be drawn to the product. Though one could argue that combating male sexual dysfunction would lead to pleasure for their female partners too, the fact cannot be ignored that after 1933 female sexual pleasure was shown far less attention in the discreet product literature and fell out of the press ads entirely.

The absence of promotional materials that discussed female satisfaction seems to indicate the company's acceptance of the regime's privileging of male power and male pleasure. We can see this even more clearly by turning to the representation of male sexuality in Titus Pearls ads. Before 1933, as noted, impotence was largely explained as a function of social upheaval. The uncertainties of the post-war period had led to anxieties among men that weakened their self-confidence and hindered their ability to lead fulfilling lives in the bedroom, at work and elsewhere. After 1933, the company no longer favoured this explanation. Growing enthusiasm internationally for the medicinal uses of hormones led the firm to emphasize hormonal deficiency as the reason for male impotence over social woes that appeared far more difficult to counteract. The optimism felt by some that economic and political stability were returning to Germany may have also encouraged the firm's marketing team to emphasize physiological shortcoming over external stressors. Furthermore, the writers of these ads may have recognized too that focusing on hormonal imbalances allowed them to avoid language that could be construed as finding fault with the new National Socialist order.³⁵

This shift in the identification of the problem as a hormonal one reflected a larger overhaul of the company's promotional efforts. After 1933 Titus Pearls promised that the replenishment of a man's hormones would resuscitate not just his sex life but his *joie de vivre*. Sensual gratification, furthermore, was no longer linked to finding or improving a heterosexual relationship. Rather, sex was enmeshed within the larger project of the spiritual and physical rejuvenation of the man. While one could argue that this prioritization of male rejuvenation is evidence that companies like Much AG felt that sexual pleasure had become taboo in the 'new Germany', there is another way of seeing this shift in Titus ads. The company was making the case that sexual pleasure did not exist in isolation. Rather sex and other forms of male pleasure – found at work, in social situations, or in personally spiritual ways – were all connected. In other words, instead of reflecting a decision to hide sex, this shift was an attempt to draw attention to a more holistic understanding of male happiness. Hormones were key, because they could provide the man with a total solution that fit the new era: youthful looks and feelings, greater mental and physical strength, sexual and spiritual contentment.

In a print advertisement from 1934, the company noted that '1/3 of all men must forgo the beauty of life. Lack of energy, nervousness, disinterest in work, and failure with women are the marks of the

spiritually and physically restricted man. Science now teaches that the causes [of the symptoms described] are largely of a biological nature: Hormones are to blame'. The image that accompanies this text shows a crowd of well-dressed middle-aged men sitting in a theatre. The profile of another man, presumably the researching doctor, focuses in on them with his magnifying lens.³⁶ Other ads also promised the combination of spiritual and physical fulfilment. One example that unusually included a female figure (albeit only as an indirect object of desire) appeared mid-decade in the nation's most popular illustrated magazine, *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung*, and depicted a man in his forties, sitting in front of a coffee cup, while an older-looking man with greying hair stands nearby chatting to a young attractive woman with whom he does not yet appear to be involved (Figure 3.5). The bolded text reads: 'Two men of the same age?' The smaller print begins: 'In years, yes, in life-strength no. There is no point in being jealous of "the other guy" because of his overwhelming manliness and assured success. One must do the same as him...The organism must be renewed. What is missing are the necessary hormones.'³⁷ Replenishing these hormones with a purchase of Titus Pearls, a similar ad recommends, is the way to become a 'whole man', who is 'energetic and powerful in spiritual and bodily ways'.³⁸ The ideal man, then, was not hedonistic nor was he a bureaucrat with no life beyond his desk. And even though these ads pictured men of an age who were likely to be married, the ideal did not necessarily include a wife. Rather success with women was the aim of these ads, in which, when included at all, the women pictured were far younger than the men. Ads for Titus Pearls now stressed individual male happiness; through science, the hormonal supplement promised harmony between body and spirit.³⁹

This shift was also captured in the representation of men and masculinity in the *New Life* brochure. In the mid-1930s the nude couple on the cover still strides towards the bright horizon, but the imagery has changed. Comparing the two covers in Figures 3.6 & 3.7, the man appears to be leading the woman in the latter image, with his super-human elongated arm and enlarged chest. She no longer wraps her arm around his waist, symbolizing their partnership. Wind blows her hair violently, obscuring the feminine profile of the earlier image. For a while the introductory pages of the brochure continued to include plain textual description of the stages of the 'normal' male sex act from arousal and erection to ejaculation in orgasm, but by mid-decade this language was replaced by much less explicit references to 'physical readiness' and 'blood flow to the sexual region'. The pre-1933 section

Zwei gleichaltrige Männer?



An Jahren wohl, an Lebenskraft aber nicht. Es hat aber keinen Zweck, „den andern“ wegen seiner überlegenen Mannhaftigkeit und Erfolgssicherheit zu beneiden. Man muß es ihm gleichtun; natürlich ohne Körper und Nerven aufzupeitschen. Der Organismus muß erneuert werden. Was ihm fehlt, sind ja die nötigen Hormone. Und diese kann man dem Körper in einfacher Weise durch Titus-Perlen zuführen. War es früher nicht möglich, die maßgebenden Hormone unter Erhaltung eines ganz bestimmten Wirkungsgrades zu präparieren, so wurde diese Aufgabe zum erstenmal mit den Titus-Perlen gelöst. Auf Wunsch übersenden wir Ihnen gern kostenlos eine Probe und die hochinteressante Broschüre „Neues Leben“.

Titus-Perlen



Preis 100 Stück Titus-Perlen für Männer RM 9.80, Kleinpackung 50 Stück RM 5.—. 100 Stück Titus-Perlen für Frauen RM 10.80. In all. Apoth. zu haben.

Gutschein

Friedr.-Wilhelmstädt. Apotheke, Berlin NW7/146, Luisenstr. 19
 Senden Sie mir eine Probe sowie wissenschaftliche Abhandlung gratis. 40 Pfennig in Briefmarken für Porto füge ich bei.
 Frau/Frl./Herr.....
 Ort:.....
 Straße:

Figure 3.5 Titus Pearls classified, 'Two men of the same age?'

Source: Titus Pearls advertisement, mid 1930s. Courtesy of the Landesarchiv Berlin (A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 99).



Figure 3.6 & 3.7 Continued

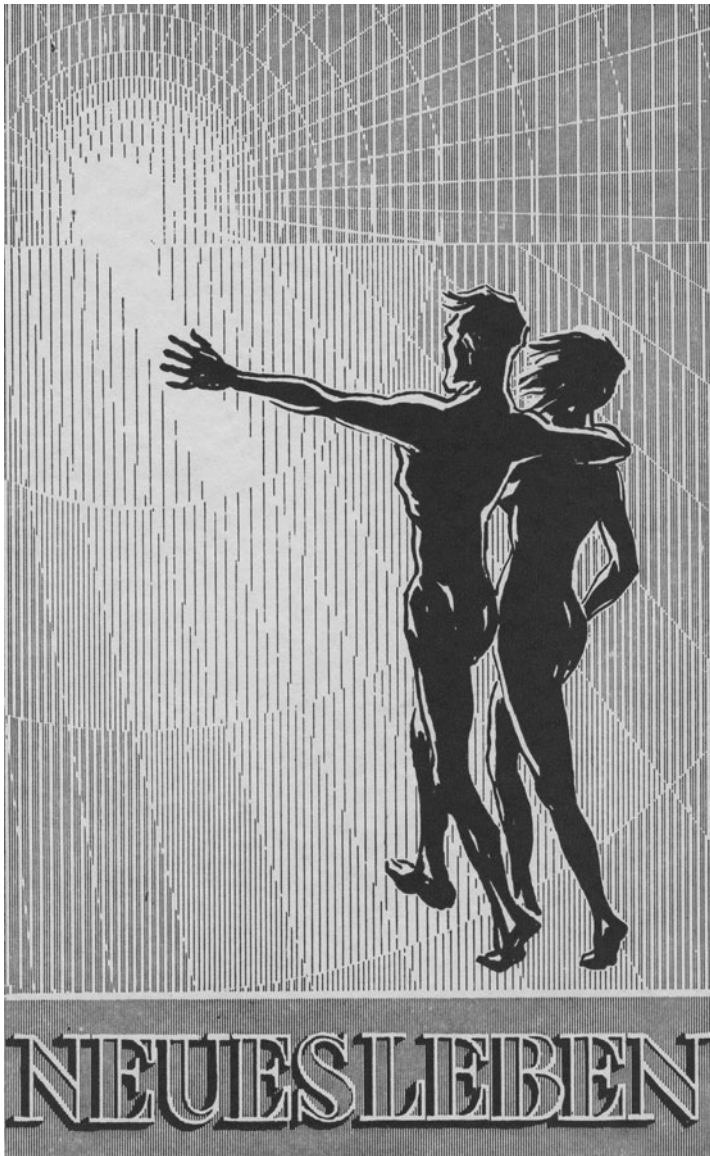


Figure 3.6 & 3.7 Lovers in different eras: two covers from *Neues Leben*

Source: The product brochure for Titus Pearls. Courtesy of the Landesarchiv Berlin (A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 100). Figure 3.6 comes from an early edition of the booklet, c. 1930. Figure 3.7 is the cover of the 9th edition, likely 1938.

titled 'healing of impotence' became first 'treatment of impotence' and eventually 'treatment of hormonal disruption' as the decade wore on.⁴⁰ However, beyond these individual changes, the general tenor of the marketing campaign changed as well. Indeed, in the last years of the 1930s the company increasingly emphasized that rejuvenation meant not only sexual satisfaction as central to a greater sense of overall contentment but also *Verjüngung* (regeneration), a full-scale turning back of the clock.

In the first *New Life* booklet of the late 1920s, the title page refers to the product as containing *Verjüngungs-Hormone*, and one paragraph describing the ability of 'gonadal and pituitary' hormonal supplements to fight the signs of ageing is buried towards the end of the text.⁴¹ This language was then removed by the company, however, until its return after 1935. In the last years of the decade nude male sketches are introduced to the brochure. The drawings in Figure 3.8 depict the 'natural stages of ageing' from childhood to late in life as compared to the unnatural degeneration of the body that can follow a hormonal shortfall. Older men suffering from this unpleasant state became the centre-piece of the company's late-1930s print advertisements. In one example, we see a bald man in his fifties, nicely dressed, but tired and depressed-looking with his head resting in his hand: 'Why discouraged?' reads the text in Figure 3.9. The ad copy continues: 'Lack of energy, disappointments of a business or personal nature are signs of ageing, which one can delay. Youthfulness is not a matter of age but of hormones. Here is where Titus Pearls can help.'⁴² This quest for a younger, happier self was not new. The modern German origins of the search to recapture youthfulness have been traced to the nineteenth century, but it became a central element of National Socialist ideology.⁴³ Another Titus Pearls advertisement used land reclamation for its metaphor of holding back or even reversing the hands of time. Under the title 'Lost Land' the ad explained: 'Men never give up land, even when nature appears to be the stronger. If the sea pushes into the land, dikes and jetties are built to win back the lost land. If manly energy is left behind, and the triumphant land of youth and vitality [*Lebenskraft*] appears lost, then one is determined to win it back with Titus Pearls!'⁴⁴

Unfortunately for Much AG, the Ad Council found that this campaign for youthfulness violated other consumption-related priorities of the regime. Reports submitted to the Ad Council by medical experts concluded that the ads promised more than Titus Pearls could deliver, and covered up potentially dangerous side-effects of the pills. Beginning in 1937 and continuing through the first half of 1938, the Ad Council

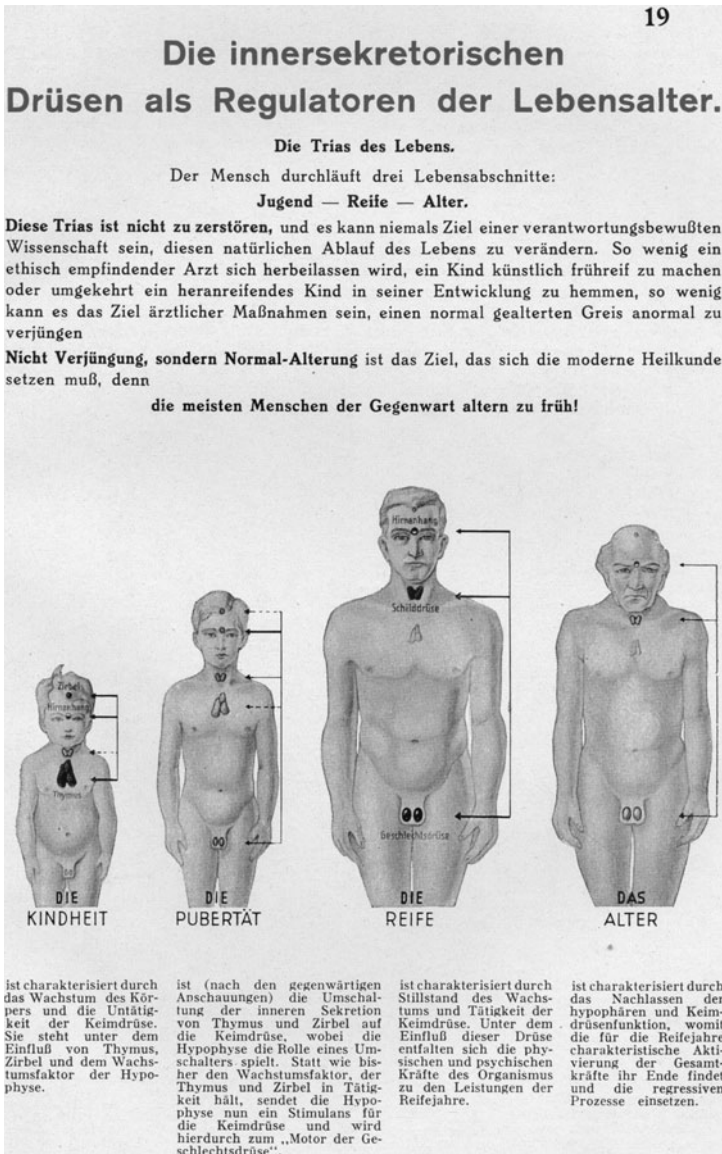


Figure 3.8 Hormones and the ageing process among males

Source: From the Titus Pearls brochure, *Neues Leben*, late 1930s. Courtesy of the Landesarchiv Berlin (A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 100).

Aus der Ju-gendzeit, aus der Ju-gendzeit, Lied mir im-mer-dar

Warum mutlos?

Energielosigkeit, Mißerfolge geschäftlicher und persönlicher Art sind Alterserscheinungen, die man abstellen kann. Jugendkraft wohnt nicht im Geburtsjahr, sondern in den Hormonen. Hier setzen die Titus-Perlen an. Titus-Perlen bestehen aus den Hormonen, die dem menschlichen Körper durch Ueberarbeitung, seelische Strapazen, Krankheit oder Alter verlorengehen. Fehlen die Hormone, dann fehlt dem Organismus der Antrieb und dem Geist der Auftrieb! Ein schwacher Körper kann nun die Hormone nicht selbst in genügenden Mengen entwickeln. Darin liegt die Bedeutung der Titus-Perlen. War es früher nicht möglich, die maßgebenden Hormone unter Erhaltung eines ganz bestimmten Wirkungsgrades zu präparieren, so wurde diese Aufgabe zum erstenmal mit den Titus-Perlen gelöst. Auf Wunsch übersenden wir Ihnen gern kostenlos eine Probe und die hochinteressante Broschüre „Neues Leben“.

Preis: 100 Stück Titus-Perlen für Männer RM. 9.80, Kleinpäckung, 50 Stück, RM. 5.—. 100 Stück Titus-Perlen für Frauen RM. 10.80.

— In allen Apotheken zu haben.

Titus-Perlen



Friedr.-Wilhelmstadt. Apotheke, Berlin NW 7/244, Luisenstraße 19

Senden Sie mir eine Probe sow. wissenschaftl. Abhandl. **gratis**. 40 Pfg. in Briefm. f. Porto füge ich bei.

Frau/Fräul./Herr

Ort:

Straße:

Gutschein

Figure 3.9 'Why discouraged?'

Source: Titus Pearls print advertisement from the mid-1930s. Courtesy of the Landesarchiv Berlin (A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 99).

instructed company executives to remove all claims that the treatment fought the ageing of certain organs, and demanded that the literature note explicitly that the product contained Yohimbe, a West African herbal supplement that while effective at promoting erections has serious health risks associated with it.⁴⁵ The Ad Council even reminded the company that it unwisely still used Hirschfeld's now-defunct institute

as proof of the legitimacy of the science behind Titus Pearls. And as an example of the discord that continued among different state ministries on the subject of sex, the Ad Council pointed the finger elsewhere, noting that 'the National Socialist health leadership did not wish to see pronounced ads for sexual strengtheners'.⁴⁶ The Ad Council was in a difficult position. Its members saw themselves as friends of industry and worked to ensure that they were not held responsible for the criticism they were delivering. Despite their mandate to create a 'German advertising' culture, the Ad Council had little real power to force any of these changes through.⁴⁷ Whether the company knew this or not is unclear, but it did stand firm in correspondence with the Ad Council, insisting that claims made in the ads were accurate and that the level of Yohimbe content was insignificant. In the end, therefore, it appears that the extensive changes to the marketing strategy for Titus Pearls were made largely on the company's own initiative beginning in 1933 in response to international trends and their own reading of the marketing landscape. Despite the company's unwillingness to meet all Ad Council demands, including the refusal to cut all links to Hirschfeld's former Institute for Sexual Science, Titus Pearls succeeded in holding on to its domestic and export markets until late 1941, when shortages of necessary ingredients finally brought an end to production.⁴⁸

Conclusion

What does this look at Titus Pearls tell us about pleasure in the Third Reich? Does the Titus Pearls campaign represent an example of 'virtual consumption'? I would argue that it does not. The product was certainly readily available to middle-class consumers, unlike the unattainable durable goods that were promoted as coming attractions. Perhaps it promised a life of youthful pleasures that was just out of reach, but so do many consumer items. In terms of standards for truthful advertising, Titus Pearls was not as bad as many other companies. Yohimbe is still used today to promote erections and has also been used as an anti-depressant. Much AG was fastidious about responding to and retaining customer complaints, and there are few letters of disappointment in the archival records for this product. Perhaps disappointed men were too embarrassed to write, but we do have individual stories of success included in the *New Life* brochure.⁴⁹ Regardless of the pills' active ingredients, it is also likely that the optimism and confidence gained by taking the supplement went part of the way towards easing the personal anxieties that led in some cases to impotence and feelings of depression in the first place.

The makers of Titus Pearls, like all companies in the 1930s, were trying to interpret the boundaries of the new marketplace, while continuing to respond to the needs and desires of their customers. Company officials no doubt hoped that they had read the signs correctly. They gambled on a shift away from blatant sexual language and the ideal of a happy marriage towards a more holistic sense of physical and spiritual pleasure for the male alone. Company literature picked up on the state's ideological messages that emphasized the need for rebirth and regeneration, and the naturalness and importance of pleasure for male members of the privileged race, while ignoring other Nazi messages like the call for larger families. When the company overstepped the boundaries and was slow to cut ties with its Jewish inventors and supporters, or made claims that could not be backed up, little was done by the Ad Council to discipline the firm. With regard to the history of consumption in Nazi Germany, the relative corporate autonomy demonstrated here is a further sign that state representatives and company leaders could negotiate their interests, and find a middle ground from which both hoped to maintain their popularity.

More importantly for our concerns here, however, the case of Titus Pearls illustrates broader changes in the treatment of sexual pleasure. During this period, the discourse emphasized sexual pleasure, particularly for the man, as elemental to spiritual and physical health and not necessarily directed towards building or maintaining marriages. In some ways, this shift reflects trends we see elsewhere and in Germany's earlier democratic era, but the emphasis on male pleasure and on the spiritual significance of sex appear to be more representative of the Nazi period. The payoff for the regime, if Titus Pearls worked, was great: happier male citizens. In particular, Titus Pearls could, according to its ads, deliver men who stood a little more closely to the National Socialist ideal: more content, youthful, virile and confident in their ability to control their world. Of course the advantages the regime might have seen in Titus Pearls were not far from the desires of potential customers. Facing the realities of a changing economy, the uncertainties of a new government, and another war on the horizon, the middle-class male consumers of Titus Pearls sought a product that promised success in the bedroom and beyond – a product that would return pleasure to their lives.

Notes

1. U. Herbert, "‘Die guten und die schlechten Zeiten’: Ueberlegungen zur diachronen Analyse lebensgeschichtlicher Interviews", in L. Niethammer (ed.),

- 'Die Jahre weiss mann nicht, wo man die heute hinsetzen soll': Faschismuserfahrungen im Ruhrgebiet, Vol. 1 (Berlin, 1986), 67–96.
2. For more on Berghoff's tripartite analysis see 'Methoden der Verbrauchsenkung im Nationalsozialismus', in D. Gosewinkel (ed.), *Wirtschaftskontrolle und Recht in der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur* (Frankfurt a. M., 2005), 281–316. Berghoff's 'virtual consumption' is also discussed extensively in 'Enticement and Deprivation. The Regulation of Consumption in Pre-war Nazi Germany' in M. Daunton and M. Hilton, (eds), *The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America* (Oxford, 2001), 165–184.
 3. For work on new products and their frequent unavailability in the Third Reich, see W. König, *Volkswagen, Volksempfänger, Volksgemeinschaft: 'Volksprodukte' im Dritten Reich: Vom Scheitern einer nationalsozialistischen Konsumgesellschaft* (Paderborn, 2004). See also M. Heßler, *Mrs. Modern Woman: Die Modernisierung des Alltags. Zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der Haushaltstechnisierung* (Frankfurt a. M., 2001); I. Guenther, *Nazi Chic? Fashioning Women in the Third Reich* (Oxford, 2004); and N. Reagin, *Sweeping the Nation: Domesticity and National Identity in Germany, 1870–1945* (New York, 2007), 110–180.
 4. S. Baranowski, 'Selling the Racial Community: Kraft durch Freude and Consumption in the Third Reich' in P. E. Swett, S. J. Wiesen and J. R. Zatlín (eds), *Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Durham, 2007), 127–150 and idem. *Strength through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 2004).
 5. D. Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton, 2005), 10–63. On the tensions inherent in studying sex during the Third Reich, see E. Heineman, 'Sexuality and Nazism: The Doubly Unspeakable?' in D. Herzog (ed.), *Sexuality and German Fascism* (New York, 2005), 22–66. For a literature review on the subject, see E. Dickinson and R. F. Wetzell, 'The Historiography of Sexuality in Modern Germany', in *German History*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (2005), 291–305 and F. Eder, *Kultur der Begierde: Eine Geschichte der Sexualität* (Munich, 2002) for a brief overview of some of the major topics under study in the field.
 6. For articles on the need to create these *Gemeinschaftswerbung* (communal ads) see the leading professional journal of the era, *Die Deutsche Werbung*.
 7. Herzog, *Sex After Fascism*, 40.
 8. A. McLaren, *Impotence: A Cultural History* (Chicago, 2007), 181–207.
 9. One Titus Pearls competitor even claimed their product, DIBIL, could save a marriage like insulin could rescue a diabetic. See DIBIL brochure, LAB, A. Rep, 250-02-00, Nr. 103, no date.
 10. On the history of impotence from a social history of medicine perspective see C. Sengoopta, *'The Most Secret Quintessence of Life'* (Chicago, 2006), especially chapter 3. The quotation is found on p. 69. The related issue of male sterility first drew the interest of medical researchers in the previous generation. See further C. Benninghaus, "'Leider hat der Beteiligte fast niemals eine Ahnung davon..." – Männliche Unfruchtbarkeit, 1870–1900', in *Medizin, Gesellschaft und Geschichte*, 27 (2007), 139–155; and on the Nazi period, F. Vienne, 'Die Geschichte der männliche Sterilität schreiben – Das Beispiel der NS-Zeit', in *Feministische Studien*, 23 (2005), 143–149.

11. A. McLaren, *Impotence*, 202.
12. *New Life* was the name of the sales brochure for Titus Pearls from its introduction in the late 1920s until it ceased production in the early 1940s.
13. Landesarchiv Berlin (Hereafter LAB), A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 99, Titus Pearls print advertisement, April 1932.
14. On the German sex reform movement and Hirschfeld's role in it, see A. Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform* (New York, 1995), especially 16, 38, 130.
15. For an eyewitness account of the destruction of the Institute, see G. Grau (ed.), *Hidden Holocaust? Gay and Lesbian Persecution in Germany 1933–1945* (London, 1995), 31–33. See also Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*, 146.
16. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 44, Rundschreiben, Nr. 34, 28 September 1935. Though the company claimed that Hirschfeld's signature had been removed from packaging in 1933, it also appears that brochures that mentioned the sexologist were reproduced for some time later.
17. Cf. F. Bajohr and J. Szodrzynski, "'Keine juedische Hautcreme mehr benutzen!'" Die antisemitische Kampagne gegen die Hamburger Firma Beiersdorf 1933/1933', in A. Herzig (ed.), *Die Juden in Hamburg 1590–1990* (Hamburg, 1991), 515–526.
18. Titus Pearls' makers had a bitter rival in Okasa pharmaceuticals that led both sides to hurl anti-Semitic slurs at each other, LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 44, Rundschreiben Nr. 36, 11 October 1936. Even the *Mitteilungsblatt of the Reichsapothekerkammer* made claims that Much AG had Jewish roots. See the company's response, LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 44, Rundschreiben Nr. 59, 17 May 1938.
19. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 98, Victor Taussig to Schapiro in Zürich, 10 March 1938 and the letter from Schapiro dated 19 July 1938, in which he confirms that he has used Titus Pearls for years to treat patients 'with good results in most cases'.
20. For more on the reputation of ads in the republican era and Nazi reactions, see C. Ross, 'Visions of Prosperity: the Americanization of Advertising in Interwar Germany', in Swett et al. (eds), *Selling Modernity*.
21. See the Werberat's Second *Bekanntmachung* from 1 November 1933 in *Die Reklame (Deutsche Werbung)*, 1 October 1933, Nr. 17, 566–569. On the Werberat and advertising in Nazi Germany more generally see U. Westphal, *Werbung im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1989) and M. Ruecker, *Wirtschaftswerbung unter dem Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt a. M., 2000). The Werberat existed within the Propaganda Ministry as an independent bureau parallel to, rather than part of, the Reich Chamber of Culture. Yet Alan Steinweis's monograph on the RCC provides a useful model of how censorship in advertising likely functioned: 'as a fluid agglomeration of official proscriptions, unofficial pressures, and self-imposed constraints'. A. E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chamber of Music, Theater and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill, 1993), 132.
22. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Memo from the manufacturers of Titus Pearls, 30 March 1935.
23. For a long-range view of the German state's interest in public health see P. Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945* (Cambridge, 1989). For an examination of the Nazi

- state's preoccupation with public health see R. Proctor, *The Nazi War on Cancer* (Princeton, 1999).
24. The regime had encouraged the various states to introduce their own regulations of pharmaceutical products before 1936 – legislation that was now replaced by this decree. The 17th decree was predated, for example, by the Prussian Police order of 2 June 1933 that made it illegal to advertise health products that had potentially dangerous side-effects for consumers. In addition, only medical professionals could offer endorsements for medical treatments, and announcements for health products that made misleading claims were banned. For more on the legal history of pharmaceuticals advertisements in Nazi Germany, see U. Lill, *Die Pharmazeutisch-Industrielle Werbung in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1990), 381–409.
 25. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 100, *Neues Leben* (Berlin, no date, early 1930s), 3–4.
 26. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 100, *Neues Leben*, early 1930s, 10.
 27. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 100, *Neues Leben*, early 1930s, 22.
 28. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 99, Titus Pearl advertisement 'Auf der Wippschaukel der Ehe', early 1930s.
 29. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 99, Titus Pearls advertisement 'Glück in der Ehe', c. 1929.
 30. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 99, Titus Pearls advertisement 'Arbeitsfreude und Eheglück', c. 1929.
 31. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 99, Titus Pearl advertisement 'Versperrte Wege', early 1930s. Notice also the reference to Hirschfeld in the ad copy.
 32. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 44, Rundschreiben, Nr. 41, 10 November 1937.
 33. Berghoff reports that in 1938 the Werberat was only able to cover part of their regulations in a 266-page single-spaced publication. H. Berghoff, "'Times Change and We Change with Them': The German Advertising Industry in the Third Reich – Between Professional Self-Interest and Political Repression', in *Business History*, vol 45, no. 1, (2003), 134.
 34. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 100, *Neues Leben*, 9th edition, mid-1930s, 23.
 35. In private correspondence with the Ad Council, however, Titus Pearls representatives continued to emphasize the social upheaval of the times, and even the First World War, as the chief causes of the 'tremendous spread of the illness'. In public, these origins of the disorder fell out of favour by 1933. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 175, Letter by Dr Bernhard Schapiro for Much AG, 26 March 1934. He relies on Steckel, *Die Impotenz des Mannes* (Berlin, Vienna, 1923), 391. Schapiro's endorsement forms the basis for the letter from Much AG to the Werberat, 5 April 1934.
 36. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 175, this Titus Pearls advertisement drew the unwanted attention of the Ad Council in early 1934 for indicating that impotence was such a widespread problem among German men.
 37. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 99. The advertisement was placed in the *BIZ* some time after 1933.
 38. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 99, 'Welcher Mann gefällte den Frauen?', Titus Pearls ad mid-1933.
 39. This uniting of science and spirituality, the rational and irrational, was a common formulation in the Nazi era. See J. Herf's now classic study,

Reactionary Modernism: Technology, culture and politics in Weimar and the Third Reich (Cambridge, 1984).

40. Compare, for example, the image on page 6 of the 9th edition of *Neues Leben* with page 9 of what is likely the 2nd edition from the late Weimar period. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 100.
41. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 100, *Neues Leben*, late 1920s, title page and p. 26.
42. LAB, A. Rep. Nr. 250-02-00, Nr. 99, Titus Pearls advertisement 'Warum mutlos?' mid-1930s, appeared in *Der Deutsche Jäger*, among other magazines.
43. H. Stoff, *Ewige Jugend: Konzepte der Verjüngung vom späten 19. Jahrhundert bis ins Dritte Reich* (Köln, 2004). Stoff sees the Final Solution as the ultimate attempt to achieve the rejuvenation of Germans. Stoff, *Ewige Jugend*, 268.
44. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 99, Titus Pearls advertisement 'Verlorenes Land?', late 1930s.
45. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 174, Werberat to Ballowitz, 11 January 1938. In some instances, correspondence about Titus Pearls on Ballowitz stationery. Ballowitz and Titus were sister companies under the parent Much AG. Yohimbe has been associated with dangerously increasing blood pressure, seizures and renal failure. It is currently banned in Germany. The American Food and Drug Administration has at times listed it as a dangerous herbal supplement.
46. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 174, Werberat to Ballowitz, 2 March 1938. This distaste for such ads at the Ministry of Health was more likely the result of concerns about the potential side-effects and claims made by the product rather than anti-sex sentiments.
47. The Council could have attempted to revoke the company's permission to publish ads, but it would have likely faced opposition from rival branches of government that challenged their authority to make legal or economic policy. Ruecker, *Wirtschaftswerbung*.
48. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 44, See correspondence between the manufacturer and its salesmen about shortages and temporary stoppages of sales through 1941.
49. LAB, A. Rep. 250-02-00, Nr. 100, *Neues Leben*, 8th edition, mid-1930s. The 9th and 10th editions no longer included men's or women's personal profiles.

4

Luxury and Distinction under National Socialism

Fabrice d'Almeida

Karl Krause, Hitler's chief valet from 1934 to 1940, recounts in his memoirs how he used to add a spoonful or two of caviar to make the Führer's meals tastier, as they were sometimes prepared in too simple a way. He knew how much his master loved beluga. Yet Krause was a man of the people, and very much aware that caviar was seen as a luxury item and needed to be concealed from the 'common folk'. In his memoirs, he also praised the simplicity of the cuisine which Hitler requested.¹ In so doing, Krause thus helped foster the illusion of a Führer obsessed with power, living a modest life. It was an image that was largely concocted by Hitler and his personal photographer Heinrich Hoffmann, as witnessed not least in photographs of the Führer picnicking. Millions of these photographs, depicting Hitler eating fruit or a crusty chunk of bread, were diffused by the cigarette manufacturer Reemstma.² These official photos belied the reality of the items ordered for the Berghof in 1934 from Munich's Dallmayr, the most fashionable fine food store in existence at the time.³ The list included French cheeses and fine spirits, some of which were imported, and revealed a remarkable level of opulence.

The aim of this chapter is not to criticize Hitler's taste in culinary matters but rather to explore the conception of luxury that prevailed during the Third Reich. It will focus in particular on fashion broadly defined – not merely clothing but also furnishings, food and other items that could be used as a mark of distinction, a realm in which a certain aesthetic was expressed and enjoyed.⁴ By focusing on fashion, on what privileged groups considered 'up to date' and stylish, historians can gain some measure of how closely form and external appearance corresponded to gradations of wealth and power.

From a historical point of view, luxury is not a fixed entity; its definition varies from one era to another. For years, anything superfluous in society

was considered luxury – that is, any surplus from production above and beyond basic needs that resulted in an accumulation of wealth for certain people and/or lavish spending habits.⁵ The emergence of industrial societies and the arrival of the ‘masses’ on the stage of public and political life produced two shifts in this perspective. First, the notion of luxury no longer revolved so much around the level of production in a given country, but instead defined the activities engaged in by a particular clientele of affluent people. As a result, luxury was associated less with the possessions of social groups than with their patterns of consumption. Second, luxury became enmeshed in the rather mercurial game of public perception. Sometimes luxury was something concealed, hidden away in an individual’s private life. At other times, however, it was highly visible and flaunted in public arenas, serving as an instrument for asserting one’s social status rather than as a matter of personal enjoyment per se – what in Victorian parlance became known as ‘conspicuous consumption’.

These shifts provide a valuable clue to understanding what was unfolding in Germany from 1933 to 1945 in terms of luxury and the various pleasures derived from it. On the one hand, officials of the Third Reich sought to delegitimize the concept of luxury prevalent during the Weimar Republic and thereby exclude a significant segment of the population from the luxury sectors of the economy and social fabric by means of racial criteria. This move was part and parcel of the policy of forced Aryanization of businesses, undertakings and enterprises in which Jews were involved.⁶ On the other hand, Nazi dignitaries sought to promote a supposedly new kind of luxury in line with their populist doctrine by underscoring the Germanic ideal, notably with respect to fashion.⁷ This held true in other respects as well, from personal comportment to the very social values attached to it. A true German was expected to act in a free, spontaneous manner. The higher an individual rose within a given supposedly ‘organic’ hierarchy, the more he had to be able to break free of the rules imposed on others. Manoeuvring room and the ability to speak out or act on one’s own will thus served as criteria for evaluating the luxury which a person enjoyed and to which he or she was entitled. Luxury, when construed in this way, was no longer merely an inert entity tied to goods and services: it became a means for exploring the recomposition of social relationships under the Third Reich. Götz Aly’s thesis about the socially populist thrust of the Third Reich, therefore, requires further nuance, as we shall see.⁸

Looking at luxury reveals that the Nazi state was more than a populist regime whose structure and history focused exclusively on benefiting the common people. Of course, Nazism offered certain advantages

to those Germans considered 'racially valuable', but at the same time it also granted extraordinary benefits to the elite of the 'New Order'. At the very core were a little more than 200 men and women, who were systematically invited to official dinners, and received greetings and gifts on their birthdays from state and party leaders. This most elite cohort was made up of mostly, though not all, state ministers and state secretaries, important party and SS officials, and a few more from the SA and other advisers with strong or influential personalities. While socially mixed, the number of military men in this circle who benefited from their noble backgrounds coloured the overall composition of the group. Because all at the centre were united in their loyalty to the movement and enjoyment of the privileges and power that accompanied such fealty, this inner core was incredibly stable, changing only slightly at the margins due to death and reassignments. The actions of the wives of male members of this inner sanctum should not be overlooked. In most cases they were surprisingly well informed and used their own celebrity to work in favour of their husbands and friends.

The second tier was broader, including between 600 and 800 people, who were called on regularly for particular occasions which fitted with their areas of expertise or spheres of influence. This level also included many who were not state or party officials: actors and artists, diplomats and members of Berlin high society were frequently seen at a range of events covered closely by the press. In addition to invitations to official and social galas, they might receive special treatment like luxurious hotel accommodation or personal transportation to and from the event. In the third tier, about 4,000 to 5,000 individuals were occasionally admitted to the Reich's official celebrations: members of noble families, regional party officials, athletes and artists, businessmen, mayors and others. While holding less power in their own right, these men and women had much greater contact with large swathes of the German population and in return for their admission to some aspects of Nazi high society, they spread the ideology among their own circles of friends, family and business contacts. Beyond these three circles were the 3 to 4 million Germans, who before 1933 already enjoyed a rather privileged lifestyle due either to birth or wealth, including the upper stratum of the *Bildungsbürgertum*. Before 1933, few of these families embraced Nazism, but many changed their minds in the mid-1930s, when they saw the opportunities available to them as traditional notables in the officer corps or, eventually, in a colonial career.⁹

This chapter will consider how the restructuring of pleasures according to National Socialist ideology involved common practices that

redefined the very notion of luxury itself. Second, it will explore how the society's new elites, alongside the nobility, upper middle class and other traditional elites positioned themselves in relationship to the new requirements for luxury as a means of distinguishing their place in the new era. And finally, the chapter will speculate about the redefinition of pleasure and privilege among those imprisoned or employed within the camp system.

The concept of luxury

The subject of luxury was a sore spot for Nazi ideologues long before the NSDAP's accession to power. Hitler explicitly mentions it in *Mein Kampf*, demonstrating how the contrast between rich and poor had become more acute during the First World War.¹⁰ He cited the ostentation of wealth as a principal cause of social conflict and condemned the excessive visibility of luxury, or more precisely the inappropriate use of wealth. Hitler was quick to link this analysis of conflict over wealth to supposed racial conflict. The race war, according to Hitler, was characterized by an unfair distribution of wealth and by a monopoly by Jews over the control and enjoyment of various goods. He described their position during the war as an advantageous one, sheltered from the front where German soldiers were dying. He went as far as denouncing what he saw as Jewish women taking leisurely walks, all the while enjoying enormous advantages away from the war zone, whereas Aryan German women were reduced to misery.

This kind of talk was not exclusive to Hitler: many Germans shared these beliefs, having been marked by the anti-Semitic discourse of the Pan-German League and the Anti-Semitic League in the 1880s.¹¹ Where the National Socialists innovated was in their desire and ability to set luxury apart from wealth as a distinct issue. Luxury remained legitimate as long as it served the Aryan race, whereas it lost all value as soon as it became the prerogative of another race.

This conception fostered an ambiguous relationship to luxury among the National Socialists. Hannah Arendt understood the crucial importance of this ambiguity in the very formation of the movement itself.¹² According to Arendt, Nazism capitalized on the alliance between the masses – the proletariat oblivious of its own worth – and former elites who had lost their status. The latter were motivated by a yearning to bring back the splendours of yesteryear and once again to frequent the salons with their former peers. Their greed, coupled with the public display of their political success via the regime's heavy-handed system

of propaganda and ritualized ceremonies, went hand in hand with their desire for social revenge.

However innovative Arendt's interpretation may have been, it tends to downplay the dynamism from which the Nazi movement profited, especially in view of its ability also to attract highly successful entrepreneurs and executives who were guaranteed to climb even higher under a future Nazi government and be rewarded with pleasures befitting their new status. It is therefore necessary to look at the concrete relationship between social groups and luxury to better understand the specificities of this period. It is necessary, in short, to examine the common practices involving wealth, rarity and privilege.

The connotation of the word 'luxury' changed radically during the Third Reich. A brief survey of dictionaries reveals how the definition took on increasingly nationalistic overtones. In 1854, the Brockhaus dictionary defined luxury (*Luxus*) as 'an individual effort to go beyond what is considered normal life in a remarkable or excessive manner'.¹³ In 1938, the collective adventure of the New Germany imposed its own standards, and the dictionary now defined the term as 'Luxuriance, the high life. Every effort that, in a given space and time, enables part or all of a nation to rise above life's demands'.¹⁴

These modifications in language under National Socialism revealed the Nazi regime's intention of extending luxury to the entire population (democratization), the famous 'people's community' (*Volksgemeinschaft*). The idea was to foster the illusion that all members of the Volk were working to create a surplus and that the material existence of the nation was better than ever, surpassing anything Germans had experienced up until then in terms of quality and quantity. This illusion suggested that the citizens of the Reich were akin to guests at the lords' table. This was markedly different from most notions of 'democratization of consumption'; it was rather a highly paradoxical message of privileged access for all. One of the primary features of Nazism was its anti-liberal emphasis on the superiority of the collective over the individual. Yet its penchant for competition and the glorification of individual distinction introduced a peculiar slant to the ideal of the collective Volk, fostering not only self-sacrifice for the common cause but also efforts to gain individual distinction and a self-centred quest for exclusive benefits.

Luxury and social distinction in Nazi Germany

Flaunting oneself and one's luxury were thus essential components of the National Socialist ethos, which helps explain why certain symbolic

objects of ostentatious luxury among the privileged milieu continued to appear on the front pages of newspapers in spite of all the populist rhetoric that championed social levelling and self-sacrifice. Luxury came in a variety of forms that were staged theatrically according to the idiosyncrasies of National Socialist ideology.

Notions of luxury thus went beyond flashy items accrued through financial gain and other signs of personal economic success. They also transcended the connection which the regime sought to make between its self-proclaimed economic efficiency and the promise of the good life for all. Luxury also functioned as a crucial mode of distinction separating people involved within the movement and the regime from those who remained outside of it and therefore had no access to this small additional pleasure which the recognition and feeling of belonging to a privileged circle provided. The nobility seized on the renewed opportunities offered by a military career to regain their wealth and enjoy the good times being heralded. 'Aryan' bankers and insurers seized the good bargains made available by the dismantlement of Jewish financial competitors.¹⁵ Everyone who was anyone was consuming the fruits of the 'New Germany' with great gusto.

In this way, luxury items and the pleasures they presented contributed to the establishment of an elite that was in many ways fairly similar to elite groups in other countries at the time. Nazi officials were found delving into expensive daily pleasures, taking advantage of the fame they had acquired in order to receive gifts and special perks, sealing off their social circles to common people in order to go beyond the scope of the rules and regulations they insisted were valid for the masses.

The automobile provides a good example. Members of the privileged set, accompanied by impressive retinues, preferred powerful engines surrounded by large steel frames that showed off their lavish lifestyle. Instead of the tiny Volkswagen, launched in 1934 and geared to ordinary people, the leaders chose large Mercedes with custom-tailored features ranging from armour-plating to special seat upholstery. Young members of the elite bought beautiful convertibles whose garish colours were not readily reproduced in photographs taken just before the war. How could anyone have imagined that Hitler's first car – a gift from friends of his – was red? Even if Hitler was unable to drive, he liked the sense of distinction attached to owning a luxury vehicle. When he took power, Hitler rewarded old companions like the Bruckmanns – important Munich-based printers and early patrons of the Nazi movement – by giving them Mercedes coupés.¹⁶ SS Reich Leader Heinrich Himmler was also the proud owner of a Mercedes convertible. The Führer's personal

adjutants carefully groomed their images by acquiring sports cars. They also took advantage of their boss's sizeable fleet of automobiles to travel throughout Germany, even vacationing abroad, like Julius Schaub, who loved travelling to Italy. Schaub was Hitler's personal adjutant and one of his closest aides. Like all the faithful helpers of the Führer he enjoyed state-sponsored privileges for his private journeys. He was even granted authority to carry a weapon, a privilege denied to ordinary tourists, and brought along his wife and a few friends.¹⁷ Schaub was also a member of the prestigious Automobile Klub, which solemnly hosted a lunch for Hitler in 1937.¹⁸

Not all of the politicians who were part of the 'New Germany' took advantage of such privileges, however. Reinhard Heydrich, shortly after promotion to the highest officer in Bohemia and Moravia in 1942, was mortally wounded following an attack on his car, which was not armour-plated. Hitler claimed that he was alarmed by such a lack of foresight, which he saw as nearly tantamount to a lack of taste.¹⁹ The automobile, which had become a sign of prestige for the owner, continued to serve as an object demarcating exception, even in wartime and death. It conveyed a powerful message of virility of which Nazi officials were so fond. Automobile engineering and design embodied the model of power and coordination which Fascist and Nazi ideologists so longed for, influenced by the Futurist aesthetic – hence the predilection for sports cars during the Third Reich. One Olympic champion racing car driver lauded by the regime, Manfred von Brauchitsch, was none other than the nephew of the future Wehrmacht commander appointed by Hitler. He risked his life during several motor races, like a soldier on the battlefield. During funeral services for the racing car driver Bernd Rosemeyer, Hitler paid homage to the elite guild of racers and to their heroism in bravely pushing the limits of technology and human skill.²⁰ An air of chivalry wafted over German automobiles.

For women, fashion played a similar role. Haute couture in the 'New Germany' was significantly disrupted during the initial phase of the regime. Too many tailors were Jewish, the Nazis maintained, frowning on the wealthy Berliner clientele frequenting Paul Kuhnen's workshop, and famous actresses ordering designs by Richard Goetz.²¹ The wives of highly placed Nazi officials were keen to take action against such sartorial miscegenation. Joseph Goebbels's wife, Magda, kept a close eye on the fashion sector. Her objective was to Aryanize the industry while shielding certain designers, notably the great couturier Fritz Grünfeld, a close acquaintance.²² As early as 1933, for example, she emphasized the need to continue organizing the traditional fashion

show at the racetrack club in Berlin, deigning to discuss the issue with Bella Fromm, a fashion and society columnist who was frankly open about her Jewish background and who had defined elegance during the Weimar Republic.²³ Jewish journalists, however, were banned from the profession and quickly disappeared from the fashion shows and other society events. Young Slav models, who had to abandon the catwalk following the adoption of Nazi race laws, soon followed. Eventually, even Fritz Grünfeld was forced to stop working following a mudslinging campaign in 1938, despite the fact that he had received a gold medal at the Paris World Fair where he was officially representing Germany.

The standards of femininity and those who created them had to be in line with the totalitarian programme. Barely five months after taking power in 1933, the government founded the *Deutsches Mode Institut* (German Fashion Institute) in Berlin. The organization was granted ministerial status and aimed to promote typical German fashion. It backed the founding of specialized schools in Frankfurt and Munich that aimed to Aryanize the textile and fashion industries and to develop a purely Germanic style that could compete abroad.²⁴ Fashion thus served as a national ideological vehicle while also signalling membership in a worldwide elite. Despite the seeming paradox, there was a certain coherence to this dual assertion. The regime wanted to increase the status of traditional costumes like the *Dirndl*,²⁵ and high society women wished to be in sync at embassy receptions and fashion shows, where Hollywood standards were gaining in importance. The German press reflected both of these dimensions. It published images of the interiors of Nazi officials' homes, presenting them as aesthetic standards to follow. A book on the Berghof's interior design was officially published, providing glimpses of interiors on a par with those of palaces. Hermann Göring's estate, *Karinhall*, also was covered extensively by the press, as was Goebbels's house at *Schwannenwerder* and the residence which the City of Berlin placed at the disposal of the *Gauleiter* (regional party leaders).

When it comes to housing, size matters. The truest luxury, it is often said, is simply to have plenty of space. In this respect, the Nazi elite led lives of extraordinary luxury. Top-level dignitaries were not only provided with prestigious residences connected to their official positions; many had their own enormous private estates and second homes. Hitler, himself a multimillionaire, owned not only his chalet in Obersalzberg but also large apartments in Berlin and Munich. Besides *Karinhall*, Göring also owned several homes in Berlin, Munich and Obersalzberg. Speer, too, had a chalet in Obersalzberg in addition to a country estate

and a home in Berlin. Ribbentrop's real estate list was even more expansive, including numerous country homes and urban residences. By comparison, Himmler's property portfolio was relatively modest, including a house in the capital's leafy Dahlem district and a country house in Gmund in Upper Bavaria.

In some respects this is unsurprising, as such opulent residences often performed a representative role, much as the residences of elites in other countries. As a result, the decor and furnishes of these dwellings were often designed to fulfil particular functions. City dwellings in particular were not only private residences but also places of work and diplomatic representation. There was little sense here of the rustic, pseudo-agrarian charms that often adorned the hunting lodges or country retreats of the Nazi elites. In addition to their internal decor, all of these dwellings benefited greatly from their physical locations. Their proximity to parks, mountains, lakes or beaches endowed them with a host of privileges that made them seem like reservoirs of pleasure. One needed only to step outside the door to go sailing or skiing or to walk on one's expansive private lands.

Whether in the city or countryside, the homes of the first and second rank of the elite were equipped with all the modern comforts, not the least of which was generous heating. Though perhaps a seemingly trivial point, this was in fact a huge advantage over ordinary folk at the time. Solid domestic fuels, on which nearly all homes relied, were remarkably expensive in the 1930s and 1940s. Even the wealthy had to economize with their coal stoves, not to mention the use of inefficient fireplaces. And of course, anyone who could not afford domestic staff – an exceedingly rare luxury in Germany after the First World War – had to rekindle the stove in the morning, when the temperature inside was usually well below that when they went to bed. For these reasons, some elite homeowners installed state-of-the-art central heating systems. Göring, for example, prided himself on his newfangled boiler and pump, whose manufacturer gladly cited Göring's patronage as a selling point when dealing with other potential clients. Apparently it worked, for among these clients was none other than Hitler, who decided to have central heating installed at the Berghof.²⁶ Needless to say, all of this was a long way from the frugal, spartan lifestyle celebrated in official Nazi rhetoric.

As is often the case in the homes of the rich and powerful, rooms were often designed with a special function in mind. Both Ribbentrop and Hitler had billiard rooms, for example. Göring had an entire room devoted to a sprawling miniature railway set, replete with tunnels,

miniature mountains and buildings, even a tiny plane on a wire that dropped small caps as bombs.²⁷ Rooms specially equipped for showing films were particularly popular among the first rank of Nazi dignitaries. Goebbels, Göring and Hitler all had one; Hitler's home cinema at the Berghof was even set up by UFA engineers who installed the latest professional equipment – such as colour films and stereo sound – and regularly updated it over the years. This was a far cry from the silent Super 8 projectors that the upper middle classes were just beginning to purchase. Naturally, such home cinema installations could also be used for work purposes, particularly for previewing newsreels or other material. But for the most part they served as a means of relaxation and leisure.²⁸

These rare luxury buildings and furnishings were objects for personal enjoyment as well as publicity products conveying the tastes of the Third Reich – this odd mixture of Germanic tradition and technical modernity. Officials were remarkably keen to display to foreigners the luxuries on offer in National Socialist Germany. As a 1937 reference book on tourism put it, 'Germany is not only a beautiful country, it is also a hospitable country, whose restaurants and inns offer a rich, multifaceted culinary culture.'²⁹ The service that foreign guests received in restaurants and hotels became a live political issue. This was more than simply a matter of satisfying customers and increasing tourism income; it was also about public relations. As the Ministry of Economics made clear to the restaurant and hotel industry, foreigners should leave Germany not only satisfied with their stay but feeling good about the National Socialist regime. The aim was thus, at least in part, to shape luxury services into conformity with Nazi ideology.

This was a tricky proposition in a number of respects, not least in balancing the need for cosmopolitan appeal with the required emphasis on the delights of quintessentially German cuisine. Travel guidebooks of this era seem to reflect this emphasis in their choice of restaurant listings. Even in the big cities, few foreign restaurants are listed, for the most part Italian restaurants (for example, in Berlin, Dresden and Vienna), with the occasional Russian, Japanese or Chinese establishment. Interestingly, the Baedeker recommends no French restaurants in Berlin, of which there were several. All of this would suggest a gradual impoverishment of culinary practices. Yet in reality the emphasis on German cuisine is not so clear-cut as this would suggest. The major establishments all served French wines and champagne, Italian aperitifs and Scotch whisky; caviar, exotic fruits and French dishes remained on the menus in high-end restaurants. As for hotels, all of the famous luxury

establishments feature prominently, such as the Adlon and Kaiserhof in Berlin, the Bellevue in Dresden, the Atlantic in Hamburg and the Vier Jahreszeiten in Munich. Yet there was also a tension between the sense of exclusivity attached to such luxury venues and Nazi rhetoric of social inclusion. Judging from the Baedeker guides of the day, it was, in practice, the logic of social partition which carried the day. There are separate listings for wine restaurants, gourmet restaurants and beer halls serving less refined cuisine, where it was expected that the less wealthy would prefer to dine in accordance with their means. At the same time, however, the Nazi shift towards populism and demagoguery also led many elites to parade their consumption of economical dishes. Hitler's beloved Weisswurst and pretzels were praised as never before. Even those Germans with the most discerning palates were keen to associate themselves with the dominant figures of the regime by displaying, or at least affecting, modest 'folksy' tastes.³⁰

An elite *art de vivre* under the Nazis thus began to take shape; it had little to do with the modesty and austerity put forth in speeches as restrictions began to come into effect, especially with defeat looming on the horizon in 1943. Granted, after 1939 luxury restaurant menus no longer listed fowl and game, which they had previously acquired as a result of the privileges and special favours of Nazi officials. Privileged customers now had to speak with the maître d'hôtel. Goebbels, for his part, wanted to shut down Göring's favourite restaurant, Horcher, for such violations.³¹ Yet even during the worst period of the collapse, certain culinary pleasures remained for the innermost circle of dignitaries. Champagne was never lacking in Hitler's bunker, nor were fine spirits, which Martin Bormann downed before attempting to flee, only to be killed by an exploding anti-tank shell.³²

Luxury and racial distinction

The stories of Nazi robbery of Jewish luxury goods in Germany and throughout Europe are infamous in their scope and savagery. But they are also instructive when it comes to understanding the place of luxurious pleasures in the lifestyle of the elite. For example, following the March 1933 elections local SA men crossed over to the Berlin island of Schwannenwerder and raised the party colours over the upper-class residential enclave. In the ensuing months and years, the small island became a retreat for the NSDAP's leaders and friends – a sign of their success – as the original owners, many of whom were Jewish, were forced into exile, selling their beautiful homes well below market value

in order to escape. Joseph Goebbels moved in during 1935 and in 1938 added the adjoining lot to his compound. The head of the Nazi women's organizations, Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, set up a training school in 1938 on the island in the home of an industrialist who had since fled. Hitler's physician, Dr Theo Morell, moved in not far from the lot purchased in 1939 by the Chancellery for Hitler's private use. Actors and actresses too bought up 'aryanized villas'. Albert Speer purchased the property of Baroness Goldschmidt-Rothschild, but when he realized he preferred living closer to the centre of town, he eventually sold it at great profit to the German Railway company. By 1939 the island was *Judenrein* ('free of Jews') and, in today's parlance, it had become a 'gated community'; a small house was built for a guard in 1936 at the entrance to the island to keep out the unwanted. But what is most important about this typical example of Jewish exclusion is that the new tenants made use of the former Jewish owners' property without changing them in the least – despite the countless speeches about 'toxic Jewish culture', these leading lights of the regime were happy to immerse themselves in the same material pleasures as their 'racial inferiors'. And doing so, rather ironically, was seen as evidence of their superiority.³³

Beyond the procurement of superior or lavish goods, the special treats enjoyed by the Nazi elite also included various symbolic distinctions such as medals (positive sanctions, said Durkheim) and badges of honour awarded by the party to its most senior members. Within such practices, a penchant for luxury dovetailed with the idea of rareness and selection, which themselves were imbricated with notions of racial selection and superiority. Luxury was proclaimed off-limits to Jews early on, and then to Slavs living on Reich territory.³⁴ Jews were banned from the Berlin tennis club and golf club from 1933 on, as well as from nobiliary organizations. Hunting was prohibited for German Jews in 1935 when the right to bear firearms was revoked. The sealing-off of medical, legal, artistic and academic careers caused the financial ruin of entire families, who were forced to lower their standards of living and relinquish their jewels and other luxury objects to make ends meet or flee the country. After January 1939, Jews could no longer own businesses and thus increasingly found themselves in hopeless misery. Soon survival itself would become a 'luxury' that very few could afford, for existing was itself a privilege reserved for those who could certify their 'Aryanness' and who – given the extent of the Third Reich government's destructive campaign against those they branded as 'parasites' and 'social deviants' – were in good physical and mental health.

There were various subtle links between this genocidal elimination campaign and a worldview that favoured a small group of privileged individuals – especially individuals selected for their affinity with Nazi leaders, either for ideological or for interpersonal reasons (friendship, romance, family ties, even mafia-style ties). Nowhere is this better illustrated than at the site of the Dachau concentration camp – the first camp opened after accession to power. Dachau camp was also the location of the Allenbach House porcelain factory, which regularly manufactured gifts for high-ranking figures and SS members.³⁵ Among those designing the models was the wife of Philipp Bouhler, head of Hitler's Chancellery and chief administrator of the *Aktion T-4* 'euthanasia' programme, who eventually became closely involved in the Final Solution. The reason for this seemingly odd choice of location is simple: inmates provided cheap labour and thus reduced production costs.

'Aryanness', or being a member of the Aryan race, therefore played a growing role in access to precious and rare goods, as it did in the opportunity to enjoy advantageous or merely pleasant situations. The war only reinforced this tendency, indeed in two ways. Not only did it accentuate existing disparities and provide new varieties of luxurious goods, it also spread the National Socialist conception of luxury 'haves' and 'have nots' on a European scale. Now the entire Aryan population in Germany could benefit from the looting of Europe and for several years could enjoy a level of material comfort which, given the utter destitution in many occupied lands, could be seen on a par with privileged luxury.

Luxury and survival in the death camps

The concentration and extermination camps provide an acute reflection of what luxury ultimately signified in all occupied countries and in wartime Germany.³⁶ The camp was conceived around a hierarchy of living standards and lifestyles, laid out by high authorities from the state and Nazi party. At the bottom of the hierarchy were deported Jews who were taken to the gas chambers upon arrival in one of the extermination camps, like the half a million Hungarians murdered at Auschwitz in the summer of 1944. Next in the hierarchy came those Jewish prisoners who had been spared selection for the gas chambers, barely surviving a few months as their bodies wasted away. The most fortunate slim minority, frequently protected by their position or professional expertise, survived the Holocaust. Their living conditions were only slightly inferior to that of Slavic prisoners, primarily Russians, who were subjected to

severe famine. Next came political prisoners who, while denied access to decent living conditions, received better food rations. Generally Aryan, they tended to be communists or socialists and received particularly poor treatment during the early stages of the regime. Their situation was reassessed as the war progressed and nationalist and racist criteria prevailed. German common law criminals as a group had slightly better living conditions. Prison conditions could be improved if a prisoner could be useful in some way to the administration.

At the top of the population of desperate souls in the camps came those who benefited from production surpluses and even excess goods. Wardens and camp guards were paid salaries two to three times higher than those paid to workers elsewhere, enabling them to escape their humble backgrounds. They became wealthier in part by expropriating prisoners' belongings. Wardens and SS soldiers employed servants and used other workers to improve their lifestyles.³⁷ The most senior among them, sub-officers and officers, sometimes benefited from accommodation usurped from Slavs, who had been granted housing as a result of their jobs. These camp guards and SS auxiliaries of Ukrainian or Baltic origin still saw great improvements to their standard of living thanks to their collaboration with the Germans. The troops were housed in barrack buildings. Most often, experts and officers were given access to houses or apartments in housing estates (*Siedlungen*) built by the SS near work sites, in Germany and elsewhere. When married, they lived in these complexes with their wives and children.³⁸ Newer constructions had central heating and architectural innovations that made them more similar to dwellings reserved for the elite. The children had schools and playgrounds. Given the austere context of territories under occupation, such amenities can justly be considered as luxuries – indeed, luxuries that went hand in hand with the remarkable shift in status from which Germans (and their collaborators) benefited in relation to conquered peoples.

The SS were the only ones with access to specially conceived leisure activities, provided by the central administration exclusively for them. The example of Auschwitz, where the commandant had the prisoners build a chalet in the mountains where wardens and camp staff could relax, and where parties with freely flowing alcohol were held with military authorities, came to light when the Höcker album was published.³⁹ This was the private photo album of an SS officer who arrived in Auschwitz I in May 1944. The pictures show the 'good times' of his stay at the camp until December 1944, shortly before the Soviets arrived. The images convey a strong sense that service in the camp was

made more palatable by a wide range of small pleasures according to one's position in the camp hierarchy. Among other privileges, officers had priority access to front-row seats in movie theatres and could frequent specially reserved brothels. Free time and recreation were a privilege: wardens at Auschwitz enjoyed organizing and betting on boxing matches between prisoners. They diverted rations from other prisoners to feed the men they had pegged as champions. The Frenchman Victor 'Young' Perez, a former world boxing champion, was assigned to work in the kitchens, which enabled him to fight in some 40 matches before being shot during the evacuation of the camp in 1945. Even the use of violence became a privilege that could be indulged in on a daily basis by camp guards. The Majdanek camp staff, for instance, saw this prerogative as a way of affirming their superiority.⁴⁰ They were the ones with the monopoly on physical violence and the right to kill, which ranked them far superior to the prisoners and reflected the power of German domination of occupied territories.

The point here is not that all forms of distinction in the camps or in the occupied territories were reflections of 'luxury'. The point is, rather, that the sheer scope of the contrasts made normal life itself appear as a luxury.⁴¹ For the vast majority of Europeans living under the colonial dominion of the Third Reich, access to adequate food and lodging was sheer fantasy. They enviously watched German profiteers and colonists as they pillaged industrial resources, seized food supplies, and made sure to entertain themselves at all of Europe's chicest nightclubs and restaurants: Maxim's and the Grand Hôtel in Paris, the Bacchus and the Silberne Rose in Warsaw, and the Krakau Haus, south-east of Adolf-Hitler Square in Krakow, were just some of the favourite nightspots.

In the meantime, the situation within Germany itself during most of the war was marked by many continuities from the pre-war years. For all the bombing raids and mobilization efforts they experienced, the Germans had access to adequate food supplies until the end of 1944. They could pursue other activities much as they had done in the 1930s for almost as long. In fact, within the upper reaches of German society the particular forms of distinction and luxury that developed before the war and that were linked to participation and seniority within the regime persisted right up to the bitter end. Nazi leaders had priority access to the lists of plundered goods. Göring, Goebbels and Ribbentrop intervened in the art market and seized stolen masterpieces.⁴² Their collections expanded to include several hundred paintings, statues and Gobelins tapestries. Hitler alone possessed 5,000 works destined for the museum he planned to open in Linz. Top Nazi officials also intervened

in despoliation policies to confiscate luxury furniture produced by French craftsmen during the Ancien Régime. The less elegant furniture was made available to German victims of bombing raids and distributed in predetermined batches prepared by an administration run by Alfred Rosenberg.

The quest for material comfort and for the provision of life's small pleasures preoccupied Nazi officials until the end, inevitably linked in part to the memories of deprivation and eventual revolution experienced during the First World War. This haunting threat of plummeting morale prompted Nazi officials to offer compensation for the war and the dictatorship to prevent any hint of capitulation on the home front, as in November 1918. Luxury thus became a strategic tool in a twofold plan. On the one hand, it designated an elite heavily invested in the regime – some hundreds of thousands of individuals making up the Nazis' structural elite. On the other hand, it encompassed millions of Germans benefiting from the perversely exploitative administration of occupied lands by a remorseless and rapacious government.

Notes

1. K. W. Krause, *Kammerdiener bei Hitler 10 Jahre Tag und Nacht* (Hamburg, 1949).
2. H. Hoffmann, *Hitler wie ihn keiner kennt – Bilddokumentation* (Munich, 1934); H. Hoffmann, *Hitler abseits vom Alltag – 100 Bilddokumente aus der Umgebung des Führers* (Berlin, 1940).
3. Bundesarchiv Berlin, NS 10/119, fos 63–71.
4. I. Guenther, *Nazi Chic? Fashioning Women in the Third Reich* (New York, 2004); on France in the same period, D. Veillon, *La mode sous l'occupation* (Paris, 1990).
5. G. Lipovetsky and E. Roux, *Le luxe éternel* (Paris, 2003).
6. R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of European Jews* (New Haven, 2003); S. Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1933–1945*, 2 vols (New York, 1997–2007); P. Burrin, *Ressentiment et Apocalypse. Essai sur l'antisémitisme nazi* (Paris, 2004).
7. F. d'Almeida, *High Society in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 2008), 113–140.
8. G. Aly, *Hitlers Volksstaat – Raub, Rassenkrieg und Nationaler Sozialismus* (Frankfurt a. M., 2005).
9. F. d'Almeida, *High Society in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 2008), 42–45.
10. A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, vol. 1 (London, 1974), chapter 10.
11. H. Berding, *Histoire de l'antisémitisme* (Paris, 1991).
12. H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1951).
13. *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Enzyklopädie*, Leipzig, 1854, 400.
14. *Enzyklopädie*, Leipzig, 1938, 136.
15. G. D. Feldman, *Allianz and the German Insurance Business, 1933–1945* (Cambridge, 2001).

16. BAB, NS 10/123, fos 7–12.
17. BAB, NS 10/119, letter of 9 June 1934.
18. BAB, NS 10/43, fos 224–225
19. See the recent biographical approach of E. Husson, *Heydrich et la solution finale* (Paris, 2008).
20. See his widow's book E. Beinhorn-Rosemeyer, *Mein Mann, der Rennfahrer* (Berlin, 1938).
21. Guenther, op. cit., 133.
22. Idem, 154.
23. B. Fromm, *Als Hitler mir die Hand küßte* (Berlin, 1993), 34.
24. d'Almeida, op. cit., 169
25. Guenther, op. cit., 109–118
26. BAB, NS 10/117, fos 6–11, 37.
27. A. F. Poncet, *Souvenirs d'une ambassade à Berlin* (Paris, 1946), 276–277.
28. Institut für Zeitgeschichte, ED 100, vol. 209, Henriette Hoffmann, 5–6.
29. F. Tepel, *Gastlichkeit im neuen Deutschland* (Düsseldorf, 1937), 7.
30. d'Almeida, op. cit., 134–137.
31. Idem, 287.
32. For details see J. Fest, *Les derniers jours d'Adolf Hitler* (Paris, 2004).
33. d'Almeida, *High Society in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 2008), 88–89.
34. W. Benz, *Bilder vom Juden. Studien zum alltäglichen Antisemitismus* (Munich, 2001).
35. BAB, NS 19/44 and NS 19/1337, passim.
36. K. Orth, *Das System der Nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager – Eine politische Ordnungsgeschichte* (Hamburg, 1999); H. Langbein, *Hommes et femmes d'Auschwitz* (Paris, 1975); E. Kogon, *Der SS Staat – Das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager* (Munich, 1946).
37. A. Mendel, *Zwangsarbeit im Kinderzimmer* (Frankfurt a. M., 1994).
38. G. Schwarz, *Eine Frau an seiner Seite – Ehefrauen in der « SS-Sippengemeinschaft »* (Berlin, 2001).
39. See website 'Auschwitz through the lens of the SS: Photos of Nazi leadership at the camp', www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/ssalbum/?content=2.
40. E. Mailänder Koslov, *Gewalt im Dienstalltag – Die SS-Aufseherinnen des Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslager Majdanek 1942–1944* (Hamburg, 2009).
41. S. Steinbacher, *'Musterstadt' Auschwitz – Germanisierungspolitik und Judenmord in Ostoberschlesien* (Munich, 2000).
42. J. Petropoulos, *Kunstraub und Sammelwahn – Kunst und Politik im Dritten Reich* (Hamburg, 1999).

Part II

Entertainments and the Aesthetics of Pleasure

5

The Structure of Aesthetic Pleasure in the Nazi Reception of Goethe's *Faust*

David Pan

Theatre in the Nazi period

The question of aesthetic pleasure in the Nazi period brings issues of the relation of aesthetics and politics to the fore, as the intense politicization of everyday life in this period transformed both the possibilities for and the affective responses to entertainment. But the idea of pleasure in the Third Reich seems immediately anomalous if one presumes that the Nazis subordinated desire and happiness to ideological conformity and that they were only able to maintain their rule based on a system of terror that left little room for pleasure. The discovery of genuine pleasure in the Nazi period forces us to squarely confront these preconceptions about both the character of Nazi rule and the degree of popular support for this rule. An analysis of theatre in the Third Reich reveals a complicated set of compromises between Nazi ideological goals and their desire to use theatre as a place of pleasure and distraction.

As a look at theatre life after January 1933 reveals, the goal of Nazi theatre policies was to create enthusiasm for their ideology in a way that combined ideology with pleasure. This meant that, though Joseph Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry established ideological standards for the censorship of theatres in Germany, he was still interested in creating theatre that was popular with audiences. In a speech to theatre personnel concerning the tasks of the German theatre, Goebbels points to two primary goals: 'Only art which is connected to the community will survive the end of the world because it will set the example of German intelligence, of German feeling and thought. Of course we do not want to vilify theatre performances which amuse our people

after a hard day of work. The theatres will not only carry ideology, they will also provide amusement so that the people will not collapse from pressure and distress.¹ Within the bounds set by Goebbels, then, the enjoyment of theatre contains two elements: 1) uplifting moral education towards a set of values that accord well with Nazi goals and 2) entertainment in the sense of an escapist diversion from everyday realities.

Goebbels sought to promote this linkage between ideology and aesthetic pleasure by pursuing a policy in which theatres were supported by the Nazis through subsidies but individual theatres were left financially and managerially independent. Rather than directly taking over theatres, Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry controlled theatre life through the Theatre Department, which included three bureaus that enforced: 1) censorship rules requiring that all theatre programmes be submitted to the ministry for approval; 2) the forced dismissal of politically and racially 'undesirable' actors, directors and managers; and 3) new subsidies for theatres that resulted in more performances and more jobs overall.² Because theatres remained independent operations that had to maintain adequate revenues in order to be financially viable, they were forced to consider audience tastes in addition to the demands of Nazi censorship. Thus, while they were obliged to stage ideologically appropriate works, financial constraints also pushed directors and theatre managers towards productions that successfully entertained their audiences and filled their theatres. In spite of the censorship, theatre managers still had a certain degree of latitude in their decisions if they could argue that they were meeting audience preferences.

This relative freedom was greatest in Berlin, where a rivalry between Goebbels, who controlled the Deutsches Theater through his ministry, and Hermann Göring, who maintained administrative control of the Preussisches Staatstheater due to his position as prime minister of Prussia, resulted in a competition between Goebbels and Göring for talent. Both attempted to find the finest directors, actors and managers, even at the expense of making ideological compromises. Goebbels, for instance, engaged Heinz Hilpert as manager of the Deutsches Theater, in spite of both his Jewish girlfriend, whom he was allowed to visit in Switzerland, and his long association with the 'decadent' Max Reinhardt. At the same time Göring hired Gustaf Gründgens as his manager at the Preussisches Staatstheater in spite of his homosexuality and his lack of ideological commitment to the Nazis. Göring even ceded to Gründgens in allowing Jürgen Fehling to remain as director after a 1937 staging

of Shakespeare's *Richard III* that created an uproar due to its thinly disguised critique of the Nazis.³

For Goebbels and Göring the creation of genuine pleasure for German theatregoers was consequently a key goal that should harmonize with a National Socialist ideological agenda. To the extent that audiences took pleasure in watching ideologically correct theatre, one could conclude that these audiences still maintained emotional support for the Nazi movement, and both Goebbels and Göring were anxious to develop theatre as an ideological tool. But as it became obvious that plays by contemporary 'Nazi' writers could not be counted on to be successful with audiences, Goebbels and Göring ceded to audience tastes while still maintaining an ideological agenda.⁴

The compromise solution they arrived at was to encourage production of primarily German and selected foreign classics. A quick look at the repertoires of the Deutsches Theater and the Preussisches Staatstheater from 1933–1943 shows a strong emphasis on German classical drama by Schiller, Goethe, Kleist, Lessing, Hebbel and Büchner, and also of European classics such as Shakespeare, Shaw, Ibsen, Molière and Calderón.⁵ This emphasis on the classics was not just a reflection of the independence of the theatre managers from their Nazi caretakers. Rather, the Propaganda Ministry actively encouraged and at times even dictated the inclusion of more classics in the programme. As becomes clear in one exchange of letters between Goebbels and his *Reichsdramaturg* Rainer Schlösser, who was in charge of the censorship of theatre programme plans, they even obliged Hilpert to include more German classics in the 1943 programme than he had originally planned.⁶ Theatres made room for these classics at the expense of plays by German writers of the 1920s and 1930s, whose share of the total programme in Germany went from about 30 per cent in the 1929 to 1933 period to just 5.56 per cent in the 1933–1934 season.⁷ While Barbara Panse points out that this shift resulted from an avoidance of contemporary history due to the social and political questions that such history would raise,⁸ the 'classical' bent of Nazi theatre policy may have also had an affirmative (rather than just a reactive) aspect as well. It would not be inaccurate to say that the primary effect of Nazi censorship in theatres was to enforce a kind of *Bildungsbürgertum* cultural policy, limiting the repertoire to classical works and a few, ideologically acceptable yet also relatively popular contemporary pieces. This aspect of their policy would tend to confirm Georg Bollenbeck's argument that there was a troubling affinity between the Nazi condemnation of 'cultural Bolshevism' and the aesthetic views of the *Bildungsbürgertum*.⁹ At the

very least, this meant that Nazi ideology was tolerable to this class, even if they did not embrace it. But the popularity of German classics such as Goethe's *Faust* and the success of theatre managers and directors like Hilpert and Gründgens that specialized in the classics points to an even closer complicity between Nazi ideology and the *Bildungsbürgertum* that I would like to investigate by considering the outlines and mechanics of pleasure in the Nazi theatre.

Goethe's *Faust* presents an especially interesting example in this context for three reasons. First, this drama received both a favourable academic reception from Nazi-oriented critics and was staged in a number of renowned productions in this period, including those at the Deutsches Theater, the Volksbühne, the Salzburg Festival and the Preussisches Staatstheater. Though it is typically argued that this appropriation misrepresented the play, an argument can be made that the play's anti-religious tendencies and affirmation of an ethic based on individual development may have had affinities with a Nazi value system. Second, the play itself stages a dialectic between the escapist fantasy of the 'Walpurgis Night' scenes on the one hand and the tragic violence of the Gretchen and Baucis and Philemon tragedies on the other hand. The particular way the two contradictory parts of the play were staged and received can provide an indication of the way in which the two modes of entertainment, escapism and value affirmation, might have interacted with each other during the Nazi period. Finally, the history of *Faust's* reception allows insight into how the structure of aesthetic pleasure in this era fits in with larger reception patterns in Germany, thus providing insights into the specific interplay between the reception of Goethe's aesthetic conception and the development of Nazi culture. Taken together, these three approaches to the reception of Goethe's *Faust* in the Nazi period point to a troubling similarity between the type of aesthetic pleasure engendered by this play and the Nazi worldview.

The first indication of an affinity between Goethe's *Faust* and Nazi ideology is the popularity of the play among both German audiences and the Nazi censors. *Faust I* was performed 368 times on German stages in 1940/41, 339 times in 1941/42, and 310 times in 1942/43, making it one of the most frequently performed plays of the war years.¹⁰ Lothar Müthel directed Gründgens's breakthrough role as Mephisto at the Preussisches Staatstheater in 1932, and Gründgens's own production of *Faust I* was hailed as one of the finest theatrical events of the period, premiering in 1941 and continuing for 54 performances.¹¹ He went on to stage *Faust II* as well in the following season for an 18-performance

run. Yet, it would be difficult to argue that Nazi stagings and particularly Gründgens's production at the Preussisches Staatstheater distorted Goethe's work for ideological ends. In fact, as Hostetter points out, Gründgens's production stood out in its faithfulness to the text and the limited use of props and costumes that would detract from the original dialogues. Contemporary reviewers noted that Gründgens's great accomplishment was to have rendered the dialogue clear and accessible to the audience in his performance while retaining as much of Goethe's original language as possible.¹² That this faithfulness to Goethe's text should have pleased both audiences and Nazi censors provides another indication of an affinity between *Faust* and a Nazi worldview. There are both aesthetic arguments and historical reception evidence that indicate that this affinity was not an anomaly but should be considered a possible, though by no means necessary, consequence of the structure of Goethe's play.

Aesthetic structure of sacrifice in Goethe's *Faust*

Goethe's *Faust* is a particularly appropriate example of the merging of entertainment with ideology in the Nazi period because it does not just involve a kind of escapist fantasy that skirts real-world problems. The pleasure involved in tragedy is always a particularly difficult one to explain, but generally involves a recognition of the legitimacy of conflicting moral goals in a situation in which there is no happy solution. As a consequence, tragedy can only attain its effects through an engagement with moral issues, and the tragic results of this engagement become a source of pleasure only to the extent that there is an ethical dimension. In the case of *Faust*, the Nazi interpretations focused on how its tragedy involves a recognition of the necessary violence that results from Faust's pursuit of his developmental goals for himself and a wider humanity. If a German audience could derive pleasure from this action, it was not a result of an escape from difficult moral dilemmas. Rather, *Faust*'s structure provides a particular approach to morality that could be incorporated into an acceptance of the moral imperatives that Nazi ideology placed on Germans.

In pointing out the affinities between the structure of aesthetic pleasure established in *Faust* and the particular way in which Nazi ideology established its own system of morality within the German people, the goal here is not somehow to brand Goethe a proto-Nazi, but to understand the ways in which Nazi morality was not an anomalous event nor an inexplicable interregnum in German cultural history,

but a plausible extension of a longer development of German culture. If *Faust* could become the source of officially sanctioned aesthetic pleasure and the productions did not distort the content or structure of the play, it may be because there was something 'Faustian' in Nazi morality that could become the basis for a sublime aesthetic pleasure.

The aesthetic structure of Goethe's drama provides a first indication of how his particular staging of the relation between individual development and sacrifice could fit within a National Socialist ideological programme. The main difficulty in reconciling Goethe's work with Nazi ideology is the contradiction between Goethe's defence of individual development as an ideal and the Nazi commitment to the sacrifice of the individual for the community. In his 1933 speech to theatre managers, Goebbels notes: 'In contrast to the conquered system, the essence of the new movement which marched victoriously into the state dethrones the idea of the individual and allows the adoration of the community to take its place.'¹³ By contrast, Goethe consistently argues in his works against sacrifice as a cultural phenomenon and attempts to establish the sanctity of the individual against attempts to sacrifice the individual. Yet, the opposition to the sacrifice of the individual does not necessarily lead to a reduction in violence but rather to a new structure of violence in which the limitations on the individual imposed by a sense of sacrifice have been lifted. *Faust* provides the model for the sovereign individual whose violence can no longer be criticized from the point of view of a morality that would place principles above individual well-being.

Even though the basic structure of *Faust* establishes a world without sacrifice, the result is not a reduction of violence, but a tragedy built around the conflict between violence and escapist diversion that we have already seen in Goebbels's call for a theatre that could provide both ideologically serious drama and a diversion from everyday realities. Because Goethe's tragedy provides a sense of the inescapability of violence while at the same time offering ironic and satirical entertainment, it was well suited for the role of both diverting from but also preparing the German people for the kinds of violence that the Nazis carried out during their rule. Consequently, the Nazi aesthetic pleasure in *Faust* may have stemmed from its ability to establish a culture that would at least tolerate racist and anti-Semitic principles if they were perceived as necessary for the greater good and in spite of the violence they implied. The rejection of sacrifice in *Faust* functions not to quell violence, but to remove the limitations on the individual sovereign will that a system of repression requires.

Critical reception of *Faust* in the Nazi period

There are two key points to be made about this critical reception of *Faust* in the Nazi period. The first concerns the complicity of *Faust's* reception with Nazi goals and the second indicates that a longer tradition supported this reception. Both of these factors indicate that the moral pleasure engendered by *Faust* was both compatible with a Nazi cultural agenda and part of a gradually established structure of ethical judgement and aesthetic pleasure that had been developing in Germany since at least 1870 based upon the structure of Goethe's drama.

Accounts of *Faust's* reception agree that the ideological goals with respect to violence, sacrifice and the individual's role in society developed by the Nazis were not a falsification but an outgrowth of the ideas that were promoted by Goethe critics in Germany beginning in the early nineteenth century and becoming institutionalized by the end of the nineteenth century. Hans Schwerte points out that there was an overwhelming (though not unanimous) complicity of the *Germanistik* profession with the goals of National Socialism,¹⁴ and Karl Robert Mandelkow nuances this judgement by demonstrating a conflict within Goethe criticism in this period between a more ideologically hard-line Nazi group and a conservative, but non-Nazi, group that emphasized the aesthetic and 'play' character of Goethe's work over the ideological elements.¹⁵ The differentiation between the two groups is especially significant for understanding *Faust's* reception, because it neatly describes the dichotomy between the ideological direction of the tragedy and the 'play' character especially evident in the Walpurgis Night scenes. If the two strategies for reading the drama are either an ideological support for the Nazi movement or a turn away from ideology towards the purity of aesthetic play, the ability of both interpretive strategies to co-exist within a single Nazi-dominated reception context – indeed within single Nazi-oriented critics – indicates the complementary relationship of the two strategies that also exists within the drama itself.

For the first group, the congruence between readings of *Faust* and Nazi ideology occurred at the basic level of the idealization of striving and the role of violence in Goethe's text, as George Schott, an often-cited interpreter during the Nazi era describes:

Faust is the ingenious man who cannot be content with having and possessing either material or spiritual possessions. In this man there lives a drive to become a genius of the world and of the deed. The paltry contentment and the merely pleasurable that are the essence

of the philistine are foreign to him, at least to the *truly* Faustian man. His life is characterized by a certain restlessness that compels him to search ceaselessly for the primal foundations of being. 'So I perceive the inmost force/ That bonds the very universe': this is what guides all his deliberations. Yet, we must express this more clearly and more powerfully: here in the Faustian man there lives a passionate will that surges from the primal depths and does not shy away from any means of fulfilling the numerous tasks with which life confronts him – even to the point of allying himself with the devil!¹⁶

Schott links the ideal of activity and continual development with a trivialization of the violent side-effects of this ideal and lays out this fearlessness in the face of violence as the motivator of the tragic effect of the Gretchen and Baucis and Philemon stories. The originality of Goethe's structuring of tragedy lies in the push towards an 'amoral' attitude that can see beyond the injustice of the tragedy in order to recognize the legitimacy of the higher goals for which Gretchen and her family and Baucis and Philemon are sacrificed.¹⁷ Finally, he links the ideal of individual development to a development of the entire people. Citing Faust's dream of opening up land for an entire people to develop in freedom ('Such teeming would I see upon this land,/ On acres free among free people stand' (ll. 11579–11580)) Schott claims that this link to the people is the final triumph of the 'Faustian man': 'This is the Faustian man who has arrived at the pinnacle of life: his breast filled with a thousand plans and ideals, sweeping across the farthest distances, boldness extending to impudence, craving the impossible, self-forgetful, elevating the people's welfare to the highest law.'¹⁸ This final connection between the ideal of development and the good of the people becomes the element that indicates how the Nazis embodied these *Faustian* ideals.

Though Belgum, Kirst-Gundersen and Levesque read Schott as one of many second-rate writers who engaged in mere 'propaganda', they point out that 'in sheer numbers, they far outweighed that group of Germanists from the 1930s whose names are still remembered'.¹⁹ But more than that, Schott essentially captures the ethical structure of sacrifice embedded in Goethe's *Faust* and which was confirmed by the leading Goethe scholars in the entire period from 1870 to 1940.

Schott himself relies on earlier scholarship by Kuno Fischer, whose original 1877 *Faust* lectures were compiled into 'the most illustrious and consequential work on *Faust* of the decade' and went through six editions by 1901.²⁰ His interpretation already sets up the basic arguments

that both Schott and Korff later develop. He celebrates the ideal of striving that forms the key to understanding Faust's redemption as both 'the law of his own development' and the merging of his goals with those of the people, in which Faust's 'pleasure is the fruit of his labour and the gaze upon the great and blessed sphere of influence that he has created: the land he has wrested from the elements, cultivated, and transformed into a human world and an arena for striving generations in his image'.²¹ Individual striving, culminating in a collective striving, forms the ethical core of this *Faust* interpretation that is at once positivist in its claim to objectivity and nationalist in its ideological presuppositions.

But as historians of the secondary literature on Faust all agree, Fischer was also just one voice out of many.²² The Nazi interpretation of Faust was not an anomaly, nor did it represent a break with earlier *Faust* readings. Rather, the basic outlines of the Nazi reception of Faust had already been established in the period from 1871 to 1933 in readings by some of the most prominent and established Goethe scholars of their times. Writers such as Friedrich Theodor Vischer, Gustav von Loeper, Hermann Grimm, Heinrich von Trietschke, Karl Goedeke, Franz Dingelstedt, Wilhelm Scherer and Erich Schmidt prepared the way for an anti-religious, pro-nationalist ideology of individual development that was at the same time consonant with most academic scholarship.²³ The unity of the critical scholarship and the canonical status of *Faust* increased in the late nineteenth century to the point that the text attained the status of a 'world Bible',²⁴ that is, an uncriticizable source of absolute truth.²⁵ Scholz emphasizes the overwhelming enthusiasm of the late nineteenth-century reception for such an ideological interpretation of the drama: 'Whoever reads through the *Faust* literature encounters such interpretations at every turn, not just with the lesser spirits, but also in works that make a claim to academic rigor. The scale of ardent and lofty ideological interpretation is so incredible as to be difficult to properly communicate to the reader of a research report.'²⁶

The exceptions to this rule demonstrate the linking of Goethe's text to the ideology that grew out of it. For, the most prominent critics of the 'perfectibilistic' interpretation that idealizes the figure of Faust were also critics of Goethe's project in general. These critics, including Protestant and Catholic critics, such as Joseph Görres, Joseph von Eichendorff, Ludwig Wachler, Carl Daub and Karl Ernst Schubarth in the early nineteenth century, Wilhelm Molitor, Wilhelm Gwinner and Alexander Baumgarten by the end of the century, and Karl Barthes and Friedrich Gogarten in the early twentieth century, attacked Goethe's anti-religious tendencies and saw in *Faust* an attempt to overturn

religion in favour of a this-worldly, secular ethic.²⁷ Their need to resort to an outright rejection of the text in order to come to a proper critique of the developmental ethic of the Faust figure indicates that the amoral structure inheres in the text of Goethe's *Faust* itself.

Compared to these religious condemners of *Faust*, the aestheticizing interpretation developed in the Nazi period by critics such as Wilhelm Böhm, Max Kommerell, Dorothea Lohmeyer and Wilhelm Emrich fitted within the bounds of the drama and did not seek to attack the text itself.²⁸ While Böhm condemns the ideological development of the Faust myth, these critics avoid discussing the ideological component of Goethe's text by confining themselves to positivist studies of sources and biographical connections as well as purely formal analyses. Significantly, these critics concentrate their arguments on the extensive play of form and symbolism in *Faust II*, confirming the diversionary character of these episodes as compared with the tragic aspects of the drama. Kommerell's reading, though focusing for the most part on interpreting the formal structures of *Faust II*, nevertheless affirms that the hero of *Faust* is 'not *one* person, but *the* person, the person as a self-constructing principle of human existence that organizes the material physically and morally, thereby subjugating lesser centres of life; the highest forming power at nature's disposal; the person as achievement within her household'.²⁹ While he recognizes that the self-creating and world-subordinating individual person becomes the principle of human life and the highest expression of nature's formative power in the drama, Kommerell retreats from any attempt to define the consequences of this individualist vision for the tragic character of the play as a whole or for German culture. Instead, his interpretation is content to affirm the heroization of a Faustian individualism in the text and its similarity to Goethe's own character traits.³⁰ So while the insights into the structure of the drama accord well with Korff's explicitly pro-humanist ideas, Kommerell's refusal to draw conclusions about the overall meaning of the text and its tragic character allows him to avoid any discussion of its social or political consequences and remain at the level of formal analyses.

Faust's humanist faith

Hermann August Korff, whose work on Goethe spans the period from 1922 through the Nazi period and into the 1950s and who held a professorship in Leipzig as well as a 1934 visiting professorship at Harvard University, provides an emblematic example of a leading Goethe scholar

whose humanist goals ended up harmonizing well with a Nazi-oriented perspective. Throughout his career, he consistently defends Faust as a figure who incarnates a 'humanist faith' that justifies the errors that accompany its fulfilment, but this stance takes on a special political charge during the Nazi period. His work offers a reading of Goethe's *Faust* that is insightful and cogent and yet at the same time confirms the Nazi aesthetics of violence, not because he was a convinced Nazi, but because, in his passion for Goethe's humanism, Korff's analysis ends up following the amoral aesthetics of violence and power that were instrumental in legitimating the Nazi vision of pan-German expansion through repression and war. The point here is not to condemn either Korff or Goethe, but to demonstrate how Goethe's humanism does not present an alternative to the Nazi approach to culture but in fact establishes the basic parameters for it by rejecting traditional sacrifice as a limitation on individual freedom.

Korff summarizes his perfectibilistic Faust interpretation in his 1938 *Faustischer Glaube: Versuch über das Problem humaner Lebenshaltung*, which combines a reading of the drama with the elaboration of a humanist worldview. Korff's main point is that Goethe's *Faust* forms the basis of a humanist faith that establishes itself in place of Christianity. In rejecting the type of metaphysical and transcendental approaches to the world provided generally by religion, Korff recognizes that the non-transcendental form of meaning that he is seeking cannot be grounded rationally, but must establish itself as a kind of 'human faith' that was developed in German idealism as a system for understanding the world.³¹ Korff sees this 'human faith' as a belief system that has its roots in the literature of German classicism, particularly Goethe and Schiller, and the interpretation of this literature forms the theological exegesis that establishes this faith as an alternative to Christian faith.³² Affirming that such a humanist faith has no more powerful literary expression than *Faust*,³³ Korff's interpretation seeks not just to illuminate the drama for the reader but to use Faust's example to present the outline of this secular faith. *Faust* is not just any story but an exemplary story in which the fundamental ideals of a humanist man are established.³⁴ It is for this reason that Korff considers *Faust* to be a 'modern Bible' due to its ability to reinterpret a Christian story in terms of this new faith.³⁵

Korff's insistence that humanism must be grounded in faith, and not in reason, follows the romantic critique, according to which reason alone cannot establish the type of metaphysical truths that are necessary for grounding human meaning. Korff lays out this approach by pointing out

at the beginning of his book that the basis of the humanist faith is the treatment of nature as the ground of reality. Korff emphasizes repeatedly that Goethe's view of ideals is grounded in nature rather than in a spiritual world. In place of Christian piety, Goethe has a feeling for nature,³⁶ and the point of *Faust* is the attempt to develop a meaning of life that considers 'earthly life as in itself meaningful'.³⁷ As Korff reaffirms in his *Geist der Goethezeit*, nature becomes Goethe's 'new God', which 'reveals itself' in the drama in the form of the earth spirit.³⁸ Yet, this turn to nature is not an affirmation of pure materiality or an embracing of a kind of natural science that reduces nature to raw material. The immanent meaning of the world would be both independent of a religious context and yet avoid the regression to simple material, animal life. It is only in this sense of a non-religious meaning of life that Korff sees the possibility of contentment, and this individual satisfaction with life's immanent meaning becomes the ultimate goal for Korff.³⁹

As opposed to the Christian orientation towards metaphysical goals, Goethe establishes a natural determination of human existence in which the 'ideal of humanity' is the central point. This ideal is natural in that it establishes the full unfolding of human powers as the goal of human existence.⁴⁰ Just like every plant and animal, humans strive for self-fulfilment, which becomes the natural goal and immanent meaning of human life.⁴¹ While the immanence of the natural world is the starting point and ending point for human activity, the world also fulfils itself in human consciousness. In a Hegelian dialectical movement that excludes a transcendent God, both world and human 'come through each other to themselves'.⁴² The establishment of meaning in the world consequently becomes the hidden foundation of all other symbolic meanings, which themselves become mere masks for this fundamental interaction of human and world. As a consequence, Korff interprets Faust's autonomy not as a prideful emancipation, but as the pious acceptance of a task that has been given by the world. The limitation to worldly considerations forces humans into a vision of objective meaning and truth that is purely immanent and thus exclusively focused on the autonomy of the self.⁴³ Autonomy of the self becomes for Korff 'the possibility, in place of God, to pass judgment on oneself, according to criteria, however, that are only valid in this world'. This restriction of the conscience to the natural world provides the human with a 'feeling for the objective value and the objective truth of his life'.⁴⁴

By arguing for the objective truth of this approach, Korff uses a thought structure that is similar to Ernst Jünger's idea of the *Gestalt*,

in which the responsibility before the authority of the self establishes itself as an objective idea that is grounded in the individual spirit.⁴⁵ Even though the truth of a particular faith cannot be permanently established, Goethe, by citing God and having him speak the final judgement, establishes the literary truth of Faust's faith. This establishment of a literary truth has far-reaching implications to the extent that Goethe thereby outlines and legitimizes a secular faith that is to replace a religious one,⁴⁶ and the congruence of Korff's work with Jünger's ideas confirms the cultural and social authority that this new faith has attained by the 1930s.

The key social consequence is the transformation of morality that follows when nature has become the basis of reality, and morality is subordinated to 'natural development'. Because Goethe's humanistic faith does not seek ideals beyond nature but rather through nature and the real world, it must also affirm the natural conditions of the ideal. This means for Korff that if 'one believes in self-fulfilment as the natural and longed-for meaning of life, one must also accept the higher right of all that is necessary to achieve this self-fulfilment'.⁴⁷ In this context, sacrifice cannot be understood as a limitation of the self and its subordination to a metaphysical ideal. Instead, sacrifice must refer here to the violence done to others in the course of the subject's striving for self-fulfilment. For Korff, these sacrifices are not to be considered as counter-arguments against this striving. Instead, Korff states that 'a great human life can legitimize the sacrifices that would morally crush a smaller life'. The measure of greatness here is the ability to accept violence as a condition of one's own self-fulfilment. Accordingly, Goethe's God is 'not a moralistic one, but a natural-idealistic one', and this God judges not by what man is guilty of but by what man has achieved.⁴⁸ The new morality leads to a rejection of traditional sacrifice in favour of an acceptance of the idea that individual power is the highest value and that violence is the price of progress. This overcoming of the tragedy is the acceptance of the violence, not as sacrifice for an ideal, but as a regrettable but necessary step towards Faust's fulfilment of his individual experiential goals.⁴⁹

Korff points to the Gretchen tragedy as an example of this morality beyond good and evil. The Gretchen tragedy results from Faust's connection with the 'primal foundations of life', against which normal mortals try to protect themselves through religion or a bourgeois lifestyle.⁵⁰ In the end Gretchen must recognize Faust for what he is: 'the Übermensch who has fallen victim to his inner demon and has, not coincidentally, taken Mephisto as his companion'.⁵¹ Faust overcomes

the Gretchen tragedy by finding both the power to leave the past behind and the courage to strive again towards the highest form of existence.⁵² The sacrifice of Gretchen is not considered a sacrifice but a 'heavy disappointment' and 'moral despair' that must be overcome through a remorse that puts Faust back on the path towards heaven. Yet, Korff recognizes that he cannot point to any moment of remorse.⁵³ In fact, far from remorse, which would require an attempt to make good the offence that had been inflicted, Korff indicates that Faust profits from the adventure with Gretchen and uses it to advance his development.⁵⁴ The legitimacy of Faust's ethic of striving is finally confirmed by Gretchen's appearance at the end of *Faust II* as an angel that forgives Faust and still loves him. Korff reads this final forgiveness from the perspective of a heavenly total perspective, rather than an earthly guilt, and asserts that her metaphysical fate was to be sacrificed for his development and striving.⁵⁵

Faust's challenge in this context is to accept good and evil as a part of his experience in the same way that he must accept both pleasure and pain. Because morality no longer has ultimate authority over him, he must move to a perspective in which morality becomes a 'sublated moment' within his overarching ideal in which he gains 'super-moral' character beyond good and evil.⁵⁶ The primary measure of the self is no longer the consequences of actions on others, but rather the individual's strength of character that allows the continuation of striving in spite of the consequences. Korff argues that the ethic of continual striving and the self-fulfilment of the individual involve the ability to remain steadfast, even if this ethic leads to the depths of tragedy.⁵⁷

With an almost good conscience, such a personality sacrifices everything else outside of itself in order to reach self-fulfilment, no matter what kinds of boundaries must be transgressed.⁵⁸ Korff indicates that the power of Goethe's *Faust* lies in its establishment of this 'law of nature' according to which great personalities swallow up the smaller ones. He calls the resulting ethic that ignores moral scruples a 'Renaissance-oriented amoral confirmation of nature' that grounds Faust's character as a self-centred one.⁵⁹ The effect of the play is to fill us with a terrified amazement at Faust and a mysterious sympathy for him that annuls our ethical concerns. Faust's demonic character thereby touches the demonic character within ourselves and gives us pleasure in the dramatic experience of events from which we would turn away in our bourgeois existence. Consequently, the play establishes a new aesthetic approach to violence that replaces a traditional one.⁶⁰

In this new approach, guilt does not apply to Faust in terms of any normal morality, but only in terms of adherence to a human idealism. The violence that he does to others is not deciding, but considered as a temporary setback in his individual advancement. Only those who do not strive for the ideal have failed to fulfil God's demands because they remain in the realm of the material. The key determiner of guilt is then the strength of character, which proves itself through its resistance to anything that seeks to turn the character away from form and direction. This strength of character becomes the final value, and the main danger is that, tempted and disturbed by the tragic structure of life that never allows full satisfaction, the character of man weakens. Within this ethic, there is no specific set of values that are to be defended. Rather, in the struggle to maintain an idealistic fervour, strength of character itself becomes the content of the task set by God for humans.⁶¹ Values are reduced to strength of character itself, making the affirmation of the individual self into the sole ultimate value.

To sum up, Korff argues that if one believes in self-fulfilment as the natural and longed-for meaning of life, one must also accept the higher right of all that is necessary to achieve this self-fulfilment. As Korff remarks, '*everything in the realm of nature has its price*'.⁶² In this context, sacrifice refers to the violence done to others in the course of the subject's striving for self-fulfilment, and the measure of greatness is the ability to accept violence as a condition of this self-fulfilment. This ethic clearly differentiates between those self-centred individuals such as Faust, whose individual goals are to be realized, and those victims such as Gretchen, whose lives are to be regrettably but necessarily sacrificed for the benefit of the Faustian individual's striving.

Korff's argument is significant here, not just because of its obvious utility in justifying Nazi violence, but also because it develops as the product of a humanist perspective. His claim concerning the 'amoral' quality of the drama has been echoed more recently by Jane Brown,⁶³ and his perspective does not exhibit any explicitly Nazi-oriented rhetoric. Rather, his commitment to a humanist perspective suffices to justify the defence of the Faustian perspective that he lays out. Korff's humanist defence of this perspective indicates that the difficulty lies not in the purported falsifications of Nazi Goethe scholars, but rather in the problematic ethics of violence and tragedy embedded in Goethe's text. For only the basic form of this text and its structuring of moral pleasure can account not just for the broad popularity of the Nazi-promoting *Faust* interpretation offered by Schott but also for the dominance, first, of similar trends in Faust scholarship in the Nazi period

that, though diverging from Schott's model, 'were equally sympathetic to Fascist ideals but couched in a more sophisticated language',⁶⁴ and, second, a tradition of Goethe scholarship dating back at least to 1870 which Schott and others like him could draw on to substantiate their arguments.

Play and tragedy

Korff's work provides the most cogent example of how Goethe's humanism remained compatible with and even provided an important moral justification for Nazi ideas. Given the way in which this humanist faith functioned, it did not even matter that Korff's work does not take any explicitly political positions. The rejection of political context itself fits into both the needs of a Nazi reception and the constant shifting between ironic play and violence within *Faust*. Here, even Schwerte's critique of the Faust myth recapitulates the tendency of the play's developmental ethic to shift back and forth between an individualist-escapist and a nationalist-ideological one. Schwerte's primary argument in favour of the benign character of Goethe's text is to blame the Nazi reception on the ideologization of poetic concepts, while the antidote to this ideological appropriation is 'to hold the poetic word within its formal borders'.⁶⁵ By imagining an enclosure of the work of art within a poetological space without social and political consequences, Schwerte repeats a mistake that can be also be attributed to the *Bildungsbürgertum* attitude of directors and managers such as Hilpert and Gründgens, but not to Goethe or Goebbels. Neither of the latter, in their respective stagings of escapes into a Walpurgis Night of theatrical illusion, ever imagined that the illusion would permanently prevent an awakening or a reckoning. Though the diversion is useful for allowing the spirit to rest and gather strength, the final moral and ideological conflict is still the main event, and the diversion only serves to make the necessary violence more palatable. From this perspective, the insistence on the poetological purity of the text becomes an escapist ruse that ultimately serves the very ideological ends that are being downplayed.

And, in fact, the case of Hans Schwerte is the best example for the tendency of the *Bildungsbürgertum* attitude to shift into the National Socialist one and back again in a kind of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde manner. For, as has become well known, Schwerte's career as a demasker of Faustian ideology only began after he secretly gave up a career as Hans Schneider, the Nazi SS officer working within Heinrich Himmler's

research project on 'German ancestral heritage' (*Deutsches Ahnenerbe*).⁶⁶ While, as Claus Leggewie has argued,⁶⁷ there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of his conversion from Nazi to *Bildungsbürger* in his *Faust* book, there is reason to question the meaning of this conversion and the extent to which it represented a real rupture rather than an underlying continuity. For the Nazi ideological project that promoted an ethic of individual striving that culminates in a people's freedom and that trumps all other morals not only co-existed with but was actively linked to a vision of art that could divert attention from the violence engendered by the ideology.

The structure of aesthetic pleasure in the Nazi period included both a serious acceptance of violence as the price for progress and an entertainment that diverted attention from the real price that was being paid. In order to arrive at this structure, the Nazis could build upon a tradition of aesthetic experience and reception that was set up by Goethe's *Faust* and established in the history of its academic reception and then repeated in the actual theatrical performances. This conclusion should neither lead us to condemn Goethe's work as something proto-fascist nor somehow 'normalize' Nazism into a symptom of an inevitable broader process of modernization. Rather, *Faust's* role in establishing a structure of aesthetic pleasure that fit Nazi ideological goals indicates how Nazi ideology was compatible with the attempt to escape traditional notions of sacrifice. If Goethe's work helped to reject a Christian notion of sacrifice of individuals for the sake of spiritual ideals and to establish the humanist idea that individuals should be defended against sacrifice, it also was able to recognize that the pursuit of this idea had its price. The larger tragedy of *Faust* seems to lie in just how high this price turned out to be.

Notes

1. J. Goebbels, 'Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels vor den deutschen Theaterleitern: "Wir halten der Kunst unsere Hand hin!"' *Völkischer Beobachter*, 10 May 1933, 7. English translation from E. Schulz Hostetter, *The Berlin State Theater under the Nazi Regime: A Study of the Administration, Key Productions, and Critical Responses from 1933–1944* (Lewiston, 2004), 202.
2. W. Grange, 'Ordained Hands on the Altar of Art: Gründgens, Hilpert, and Fehling in Berlin', in G. W. Gadberry (ed.) *Theater in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theater in Nazi Germany* (Westport and London, 1995), 78–79.
3. W. Grange, 'Ordained hands on the Altar of Art', 79–83. On the Fehling episode, see C. Riess, *Gustaf Gründgens: Eine Biografie* (Hamburg, 1965), 212–214.

4. Hostetter, 125.
5. 'Berlin Staatstheater Repertories of Twelve Seasons' (1932–1944), Hostetter, 191–198. See also the catalogue of plays staged at the Deutsches Theater, Berlin under the direction of Heinz Hilpert from 28 August 1934 until his forced resignation in August 1944, contained in Zentrales Staatsarchiv Potsdam (ZSP), RfVuP Akte Nr. 278, Bl. 483, 484, 485, 486, 487; reprinted in J. Wardetzky, *Theaterpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland: Studien und Dokumente* (Berlin, 1983), 357–360. E. Kühlken, *Die Klassiker-Inszenierungen von Gustaf Gründgens* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1972).
6. See letters by Schlösser to Goebbels, 3 June 1943 and 17 June 1943. ZSP, RfVuP Akte Nr. 278, Bl. 395, 396, 397, 403, 404. Reprinted in J. Wardetzky, *Theaterpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland: Studien und Dokumente* (Berlin, 1983), 357–360.
7. B. Panse, 'Censorship in Nazi Germany: The Influence of the Reich's Ministry of Propaganda on German Theater and Drama, 1933–45', in G. Berghaus (ed.) *Fascism and Theater: Comparative Studies on the Aesthetics and Politics of Performance in Europe, 1925–1945* (Providence and Oxford, 1996), 144.
8. Panse, 145–146.
9. G. Bollenbeck, 'German Kultur, the Bildungsbürgertum, and its Susceptibility to National Socialism', *The German Quarterly* 73.1 (Winter 2000), 67–83.
10. B. Drewniak, *Das Theater im NS-Staat: Szenarium deutscher Zeitgeschichte 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf, 1983), 171.
11. Hostetter, 134–135, 197.
12. Hostetter, 136–137.
13. Goebbels, translated in Hostetter, 200.
14. H. Schwerte, *Faust und das Faustische: Ein Kapitel deutscher Ideologie* (Stuttgart, 1962), 189–190. On this point, see also K. Belgum, K. Kirst-Gundersen and P. Levesque, '"Faust im Braunhemd": Germanistik and Fascism', in R. Grimm and J. Hermand (eds), *Our Faust? Roots and Ramifications of a Modern German Myth* (Madison, 1987), 154–163. See also R. Scholz, *Goethes 'Faust' in der wissenschaftlichen Interpretation von Schelling und Hegel bis heute: Ein einführender Forschungsbericht* (Rheinfelden, 1983), 41–44. Scholz cites 'fascistisches und faschistoide' interpretations by K. Gabler, *Faust-Mephisto der deutsche Mensch* (Berlin, 1938); R. H. Grützmacher, *Goethes Faust: ein deutscher Mythos* (Berlin, 1936); J. Bertram, *Goethes Faust im Blickfeld des XX. Jahrhunderts: Eine weltanschauliche Deutung* (Hamburg, 1939); and R. Buchwald, *Führer durch Goethes Faustdichtung: Erklärung des Werkes und Geschichte seiner Entstehung* (Stuttgart, 1942).
15. K. R. Mandelkow, *Goethe in Deutschland: Rezeptionsgeschichte eines Klassikers, Band II: 1919–1982* (München, 1989), 88–89.
16. Georg Schott, *Goethes Faust in heutiger Schau* (Stuttgart, 1940), 12, my translation. See also K. Gabler, *Faust-Mephisto der deutsche Mensch* (Berlin, 1938).
17. Schott, 17–18.
18. Schott 18–19, my translation.
19. Belgum, Kirst-Gundersen and Levesque, 159.
20. Schott, 9, 13. K. Fischer, *Goethes Faust*, 6th edition (Heidelberg, 1st edition 1878). Quote from Schwerte, 169.
21. K. Fischer, *Goethe's Faust. Ueber die Entstehung und Composition des Gedichts*. Cited in Mandelkow, 3:57, 3:55–56, my translation.

22. Schwerte, 155, 168–171. R. Scholz, *Goethes 'Faust' in der wissenschaftlichen Interpretation von Schelling und Hegel bis heute: Ein einführender Forschungsbericht* (Rheinfelden, 1983), 29–35. K. R. Mandelkow, *Goethe in Deutschland: Rezeptionsgeschichte eines Klassikers, Band I: 1773–1918* (Munich, 1980), 240–261.
23. Schwerte, 148–190.
24. G. G. Gervinus, *Neuere Geschichte der poetischen Nationalliteratur der Deutschen. Zweiter Theil: Von Goethes Jugend zis zur Zeit der Befreiungskriege* (Leipzig, 1842), 116. H. A. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube: Versuch über das Problem humaner Lebenshaltung* (Leipzig, 1938), 3. Already in 1841, Heinrich Gelzer criticizes this perspective on Goethe for replacing Christian faith with a kind of secular religion. H. Gelzer, *Die deutsche poetische Literatur seit Klopstock und Lessing: Nach ihren ethischen und religiösen Gesichtspunkten* (Leipzig, 1841), 303.
25. R. Scholz, *Goethes 'Faust' in der wissenschaftlichen Interpretation von Schelling und Hegel bis heute: Ein einführender Forschungsbericht* (Rheinfelden, 1983), 33, my translation.
26. Scholz 35.
27. J. Görres, *Die Walfahrt nach Trier* in *Eine Auswahl aus seinen Werken und Briefen*, ed. W. Schellberg (Köln, 1927), 538. J. Freiherr von Eichendorff, *Neue Gesamtausgabe der Werke und Schriften*, ed. G. Baumann (Stuttgart, 1957–58), 4, 239. W. Molitor, *Ueber Göthes Faust* (Mainz, 1869). On Görres and Eichendorff, see Mandelkow, 162–163. On Wachler, Daub, Schubarth and Gwinner, see Schwerte, 44–50, 197–202, 223–231. On Molitor, see Schwerte 143–147 and Mandelkow, 168. On Baumgarten, see Mandelkow, 168–171. On Barthes and Gogarthen, see Mandelkow, 49–51.
28. W. Böhm, *Faust, der Nichtfaustische* (Halle an der Saale, 1933). M. Kommerell, *Geist und Buchstabe der Dichtung: Goethe, Schiller, Kleist, Hölderlin* (Frankfurt am Main, 1944). D. Lohmeyer, *Faust und die Welt: Zur Deutung des zweiten Theils der Dichtung* (Potsdam, 1940). W. Emrich, *Die Symbolik von Faust II: Sinn und Vorformen* (Berlin, 1943).
29. M. Kommerell, 'Faust Zweiter Teil: Zum Verständnis der Form', *Corona* 7: 2–3 (München/Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1937), 22. Reprinted in Idem., *Geist und Buchstabe der Dichtung: Goethe, Schiller, Kleist, Hölderlin* (Frankfurt am Main, 1944), 218, my translation.
30. On the parallels between Faust and Goethe, see Kommerell, *Geist und Buchstabe der Dichtung*, 17, 92.
31. H. A. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube: Versuch über das Problem humaner Lebenshaltung* (Leipzig, 1938), 2.
32. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 2.
33. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 3–4.
34. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 168.
35. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 3.
36. H. A. Korff, *Goethes deutsche Sendung* (Leipzig, 1932), 8–9.
37. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 1.
38. H. A. Korff, *Geist der Goethezeit: Versuch einer ideellen Entwicklung der klassisch-romantischen Literaturgeschichte, II. Teil, Klassik*, 7. unveränderte Auflage (Leipzig, 1964), 280–281.
39. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 1.
40. Korff, *Goethes deutsche Sendung*, 9.

41. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 164.
42. 'Der Mensch erfüllt sich *mit* der Welt, und die Welt erfüllt sich *im* Bewußtsein des Menschen; beide kommen durcheinander zu sich selbst.' Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 156.
43. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 124.
44. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 124.
45. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 125. See E. Jünger, *Der Arbeiter: Herrschaft und Gestalt* (Hamburg, 1932), 34–38, and D. Pan, 'The Sovereignty of the Individual in Ernst Jünger's *The Worker*', *Telos* 144 (Fall 2008), 66–74.
46. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 129.
47. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 164.
48. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 164.
49. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 90, 162.
50. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 80.
51. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 82.
52. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 82.
53. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 82.
54. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 83.
55. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 165.
56. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 161.
57. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 160–161.
58. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 162–163.
59. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 163.
60. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 163.
61. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 150.
62. Korff, *Faustischer Glaube*, 164.
63. J. K. Brown, *Goethe's Faust: The German Tragedy* (Ithaca, 1986), 45–47.
64. Belgum, Kirst-Gundersen and Levesque, 159–160.
65. 'das poetische Wort in seiner Gestaltgrenze zu halten', Schwerte, 240–241, my translation.
66. For a detailed description of Schwerte's unmasking, see *Ungeahntes Erbe: Der Fall Schneider/Schwerte: Persilschein für eine Lebenslüge: Eine Dokumentation*, ed. Antirassismus-Referat der Studentischen Versammlung an der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg (Aschaffenburg, 1998) and J. Lerchenmueller and G. Simon, *Masken-Wechsel: Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999).
67. C. Leggewie, *Von Schneider zu Schwerte: Das ungewöhnliche Leben eines Mannes, der aus der Geschichte lernen wollte* (Munich, 1998), 228–241.

6

'German Humour' in Books: The Attractiveness and Political Significance of Laughter during the Nazi Era

Patrick Merziger

(translated by Wayne Yung)

Cultural products triggering laughter, that most conspicuous expression of pleasure, were a central component of popular entertainment during the Nazi era. After falling under National Socialist control in 1933, the media initially became dominated by a 'sanctified earnestness' and 'heroic pathos' that was further intensified by an over-eager obedience on the part of writers and producers.¹ However, the public's desire for pleasure, especially for laughter, could not be ignored for very long. Public interest groups called for 'more humour', asserting that laughter was healthy and should also have a place in Nazi society.² Such accusations of excessive solemnity soon prompted National Socialist propagandists to declare 'We're not like that at all',³ and from 1935 onwards the media was dominated once again by comedic formats. Looking at the volume of comedic products on the market during the Nazi years, it seems the audience was laughing more than ever.⁴ This chapter will examine popular laughter of the Nazi era, analysing the reasons for its attractiveness as well as its significance within the National Socialist state.

The idea that anyone laughed at all during the Nazi era stands in stark contrast to the widespread image of the 'gloomy years' from 1933 to 1945. According to popular accounts, this humourless regime subdued 'the Germans' and stifled all pleasure. In its place there prevailed a 'bestial seriousness'⁵ in which laughter itself could even prove fatal.⁶ This image of a time without laughter arises from an overall impression that under National Socialism propaganda was the sole arbiter of the media

and thus of the public sphere in general. Peter Longerich summarized this view thus: the public arena under National Socialism was 'the echo chamber for [National Socialist] propaganda..., the space for reproducing the guiding principles and interpretive frameworks propagated by the regime, and an arena for the demonstration of enthusiastic agreement with the regime's policies'.⁷ In the context of such a controlled and predetermined National Socialist public sphere, it would seem that only informal and potentially resistant counter-public spheres were possible.

This image of a politically controlled public sphere is often repeated in analyses of the comedic. Satire, especially in the form of caricature, is generally considered the classic genre of the National Socialist regime. Here, satire is seen as a way to communicate political ideas in a popular and humorous fashion. The flipside was the so-called *Flüsterwitz* ('whispered joke'), through which the populace would then vent their feelings, thereby expressing opposition to National Socialism. However, these two genres will play no part in the present chapter: although satire and the 'whispered joke' were certainly comic forms of the Nazi era, they played only a secondary role in the laughter of National Socialism.

This impression that satire was the main form of National Socialist humour survives to the present day, because studies examining satire generally end with the year 1934. Apparently nothing would change after this point because the National Socialists now had comprehensive control of all media, allowing them to impose their propaganda satires.⁸ Some authors bolster these claims with statements from Nazi cultural policymakers who promoted satire as National Socialism's comedic speciality; however, this begs the question of whether the genre actually sold well.⁹ In fact, despite the persistent promotion of satire as a propaganda tool, it was clear that this comic form was rapidly losing impact. To mention just one example of this lack of popularity: in 1931, the Nazi Party put great effort into establishing the *Brennessel* ('Stinging Nettle') as an exemplary satirical magazine, but already in 1938, it had to be discontinued due to low readership.

Conversely, the alleged ubiquity of the 'whispered joke' is a myth that only emerged with the publication of several anthologies during the post-war era, and that helped to reinforce a certain political agenda. By publishing such political jokes, the editors of these anthologies wanted to prove that 'the Germans' had been not the least bit supportive of the Nazi regime.¹⁰ In most cases, the sources for these anthologies were either unclear or at least unverified; in some cases, the editors admitted having compiled these jokes only after 1945.¹¹ When the anthology

editors did describe the selection criteria for these jokes, it became clear that they only printed those which could be understood as critical of the regime.¹² Therefore, these publications had little in common with the real-life practice of telling jokes.¹³ Later years saw the publication of many new compilations based on these first few anthologies,¹⁴ so that the sheer number of 'whispered joke' titles came to reinforce the impression that this resistant form of humour was widespread during the National Socialist period.¹⁵

Even when serious consideration is given to popular comedy as it actually existed during the Nazi era, the humour on display is often regarded as apparently harmless and insignificant.¹⁶ At most, researchers have considered these entertainment products as a way for Nazi propagandists to lull the populace so that they would be more ready to fight for National Socialism. My thesis is that the emphasis on satire and the 'whispered joke', as well as the general assumption that humour represents at most a tool for lulling the populace or at least a simple form of relaxation, allows a central form of pleasure to remain unanalysed and its significance misunderstood. This chapter will focus instead on a genre known by contemporaries as *Deutscher Humor*, or 'German Humour'. This was a special comic form that became very popular during the Nazi era, and it was neither meaningless nor simply part of a devious distraction strategy.

Browsing through the books of the period, it becomes clear that 'German Humour' was not just a National Socialist concept established in the media by propagandists; instead, its popularity reflected a more or less conscious choice by readers to purchase a product that satisfied their desires. Here, even the seemingly indiscriminate consumption of comedy becomes significant. From this perspective, it quickly becomes apparent that 'German Humour', which successfully outcompeted other comic forms on the market, was certainly not considered harmless by contemporaries. The relevant authors themselves understood that through this laughter, the audience was signifying agreement with a worldview that was prepared to ostracize social minorities in the pursuit of overall harmony. However, the political implications of humorous texts were not always openly stated – that would undermine their function as entertainment.¹⁷ By focusing here on four comedic anthologies in which four important authors of 'German Humour' reflect on their own writing practices, I hope to offer insights into the attractiveness and political significance of this comic genre.

I hope to show that the products of popular culture are not just meaningless babble compensating for the dreadful conditions of

everyday life in the Nazi era, significant only for being unpolitical and therefore distracting from real politics. I take my cue from research of the past few years showing that the significance of popular culture lies in the active choices people make for particular products, in terms of both form and content. From this perspective, popular entertainment becomes highly meaningful, and its manifestations allow one to draw conclusions about a society's overall constitution,¹⁸ especially the world of the 'common people'. Here, it should also be remarked that the 'wilfulness' of these 'common people', an unspoken assumption that frequently underlies such research, was also to be seen in the Nazi era: ultimately, public tastes do prevail. However, the public tastes of the period testified more to a general agreement with the central ideologies of the National Socialist regime than to any mood of resistance.

The medium of books and the success of 'German Humour' on the book market

The medium of books under National Socialism is particularly suitable for developing the thesis of this chapter. Like theatre, books number among the 'forgotten mass media'. During the twentieth century, and especially in regard to the Nazi era, the term 'mass media' has meant primarily radio, film and the daily press.¹⁹ However, books were most certainly a medium for 'the masses', and at least for comedy they represented a leading medium; in fact, books are better than any other medium for allowing one to read the public tastes of the Nazi era.

The widespread proliferation of books is well known. In addition to individual sales, the privately organized trade in lending books played an especially prominent role until 1939. This new business model emerged in the early 1930s as a consequence of the world economic crisis. The introduction of lending without deposit eliminated a last financial barrier, and heavy competition drove prices down to just one pfennig per book per week.²⁰ In 1933, there were 20,000 of these lending libraries. The National Socialist government, especially through the *Reichsschrifttumskammer* (RSK or 'Reich Literary Board'), put heavy pressure on this commercial sector because they considered these lending libraries to be distributors of 'filth and trash'. Nonetheless, some 6,500 to 7,000 lending libraries still existed in 1938.²¹ During the Second World War, the RSK finally had to recognize the important role these libraries played in providing books to the public, and even began supporting their establishment.²²

Raimund Kast calculated that there were 97 million book loans per year, and that lending libraries reached some 10 million readers, accounting for 25 per cent of people between the ages of 14 and 60.²³ Despite all attempts to 'cleanse' the collections and put 'worthwhile' National Socialist works on the shelves, these libraries primarily carried best-selling, leisure-time literature.²⁴ Heinrich Spoerl, the most popular comedic author of the Nazi era, estimated in 1937 that for every reader who bought his book, another 30 people read it through a lending library.²⁵

After 1939, books became the prime medium of everyday life in wartime, especially because they proved to be ideal for soldiers. Books were easy to deliver, requiring no equipment like radios and projectors. Furthermore, it was not necessary to transport theatre troupes or individual entertainers.²⁶ Books were much more durable than newspapers or magazines and could therefore be read many times over. One statistic helps to illustrate the importance of books during the war: between 1939 and 1945, the ten leading publishers that produced special editions for the Wehrmacht printed almost 65 million books for this market sector alone.²⁷

At the same time, books were a key medium for comedic innovations. Material that found success in the book market was later adapted for films, magazines and radio; the reverse flow was practically nonexistent.²⁸ The fact that books were such trailblazers was certainly due to the very diverse offerings of the book market. While the German film industry produced approximately 92 feature films per year,²⁹ the book market saw at least 20,000 new releases for every year between 1933 and 1939, with first editions outnumbering re-releases by a ratio of four to one.³⁰

The great diversity within the book market was partly a result of – in comparison to other media – the relative heterogeneity and independence of the publishing scene. Theatre was generally dependent on subsidies coming primarily from municipal funds before 1933, and then increasingly from the Reich itself.³¹ As financial support was diverted away from the National Socialist Film Credit Bank, smaller independent film companies began to disappear,³² while the bigger ones were successively taken over by the Nazi state.³³ Radio broadcasting had essentially been state broadcasting since 1932,³⁴ and with the rapid replacement of staff with National Socialist officials, it became the Nazi Party voice after 1933.³⁵ In the periodicals industry, the National Socialists forced the closure of Jewish presses as well as those of the Social Democrat Party and the Communist Party, while Christian publishers also found themselves under heavy pressure.³⁶ As head of Eher Publishing, Max

Amann gradually bought out numerous periodical publishers: through these takeovers and the loss of competition, Eher Verlag and its holding companies came to control up to 90 per cent of the daily press.³⁷ In contrast, a multitude of publishers still survived in the book industry, contributing to the high rate of new releases.

At the same time, the book market was relatively unregulated. Not only were the individual products difficult to regulate, so, too, was the audience reaction. It is difficult to say how much control was exercised over 'leisure literature'. Jan Pieter Barbian assumes that all books in this category, including comedic titles, were each subjected to a thorough inspection. He surmises this from a 1935 'Decree for the Advancement of Good Leisure Literature'. However, this decree only states that publishers may be obliged to submit books for inspection. Here, Barbian claims that 'it was in no way a discretionary clause, but in fact an obligation to submit [a book for inspection], with which book censorship was carried out ...'.³⁸ He cites a single case as evidence of this legal procedure. However, he draws this case not from the files of the theoretically responsible department, but rather from a dossier on the publisher Wilhelm Goldmann. Ever since causing a hit sensation by publishing the novels of Edgar Wallace, Goldmann's publishing house stood for 'filth and trash' like no other, so that efforts to monitor him were hardly surprising and could represent an exceptional case. The book industry as a whole had an annual release rate of at least 20,000 titles, even in the worst years, which is why Reinhard Wittmann considers universal inspections to have been impossible owing to the 'sheer volume of new publications'. He rules out any generally applied obligation to submit titles for inspection.³⁹

Therefore, one could expect a very diverse range on the book market, due to the great number of products, the many publishers, and the relative freedom of production. A wide plethora of different strategies for making people laugh co-existed on the book market. In addition, the market dynamics for the book trade remained relatively undisturbed until at least 1939. Books that became bestsellers were very likely to be an accurate reflection of public tastes, much more so than films or radio. In fact, authors that succeeded in the book market were relatively sure bets not only for the film industry in particular, but also for magazines and radio, because success in books generally resonated in other media.

Furthermore, if one wishes to accurately identify public tastes, the book market is eminently suitable because the decision for a book is particularly meaningful. Until the start of the Second World War, the

choice of book remained a conscious and relatively free decision on the part of the consumer. Here, purchase and reaction continued to be very individual acts, much more so than in other media. In cinema, radio and theatre, there were audience associations, organized outings,⁴⁰ special presentations, matinee shows and screenings for particular target groups,⁴¹ each promoting a certain show or movie. Such actions allowed propagandists not only to create an audience for preferred films, but also to frame their reactions within a political context and forestall undesirable reactions, especially open displeasure. Book purchases could hardly be motivated in the same way, as bookshops were still private businesses and book purchases remained the actions of individual consumers.

The act of book purchase itself was also a much more complex decision, first because of the diversity of the book market, but also because of the purchasing conditions. Cinemas and theatres were considered sites of sociability and leisure, the radio droned on without effort, and periodicals could be picked up at corner kiosks or delivered daily to your door. In contrast, book purchase required a more conscious and self-directed effort, and each book had to be picked out of a much larger selection. One had to leave the house and then usually visit a bookshop or a lending library, neither of which was marked as a leisure site. The best-selling humorist Heinrich Spoerl said that no propaganda strategy or emergency decree could solve the basic problem inherent in books: they cost money and must be purchased.⁴²

In contrast, it is much harder to say how much influence the audience had on the development of film and radio, because their production processes – and to some extent reactions to them – were too clearly controlled by the state and Party.⁴³ With books, one can say that the great majority sold in the National Socialist period up until 1939 were accurate reflections of popular tastes, much more so than with any other medium, and that the choice of book was largely motivated by the contents of the book itself.

It was within this market that 'German Humour' established itself, especially in the form of the *Humoreske* (a collection of humorous anecdotes or stories); within a few years, 'German Humour' became the new popular genre of National Socialist Germany, without its authors having received any special support from the Nazi cultural bureaucracy. A typical example was the career of Fritz Müller-Partenkirchen. His most successful novel, *Kramer und Friemann*, had already been released in 1920, but had sold only some 17,000 copies by 1933. In 1936, he switched from the Hamburgische Verlagsanstalt (a publisher closely tied to the National Socialist 'movement'), to the Protestant-influenced

Bertelsmann publishing house. This was when the novel became successful: by 1939 it had sold another 68,000 copies, and by 1945 it had reached a grand total of 420,000 copies.

The success of 'German Humour' very much depended on a conscious act of choosing, as the highly diverse book market still offered all other forms of comedy, at least until 1939. The choice in favour of 'German Humour' was a decision against other comic genres such as satire, jokes or grotesque literature, which had largely defined the comedy of the Weimar Republic. This trend can be seen somewhat in the example of Duncker Publishing, which continued releasing National Socialist satires as part of its ethno-nationalist, anti-Semitic agenda, but without achieving success. Here, the writer Wilhelm Hammond-Norden (who also published in the Nazi Party satirical magazine *Die Brennessel*) sold only 6,000 copies of his timely satires.⁴⁴ In contrast, Eugen Roth (still widely known as a middle-class voice of the 'inner emigration')⁴⁵ was highly successful at the very same publishing house: his poetry book *Ein Mensch* ('A Human'), which conformed well to the paradigm of 'German Humour',⁴⁶ sold about 450,000 copies by the end of the war.

Formal aspects of 'German Humour' in the bestsellers of the Nazi era

In order to explore the formal aspects, attractiveness and significance of 'German Humour', I will now focus on four comedic books that reflect the genre's success while also providing broader insights into the market for comedic literature in general. These four *Humoreske* collections were released from 1937 to 1940. They were intended not only to provoke laughter; the authors were also presenting their popular writings in the format of 'German Humour' as a well-functioning model for comedy in the Nazi era.

A successful example of the style, mixing bold self-reflection with *Humoreske* elements, is seen in the short stories of Heinrich Spoerl. In 1937 he addressed the reader directly with his *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen* ('Feel free to talk about it');⁴⁷ this book sold some 921,000 copies by 1945, making it the most successful single-volume work between 1933 and 1945. Two other humorists would address the reader with an exclamation mark. In 1938, Willy Reichert released *Lerne lachen, ohne zu klagen!*, inviting the reader to 'Learn to laugh, without complaining!'⁴⁸ By 1944, this collection had sold 91,000 copies. Then in 1939, Arthur-Heinz Lehmann published *Mensch, sei positiv dagegen!*, telling the reader 'Man, take a positive stand against it!'⁴⁹ In the first year, some 50,000

shoppers were convinced. Finally in 1940, Felix Riemkasten refrained from the exclamation mark with *Mit Lachen geht's leichter* ('It goes easier with laughter'),⁵⁰ still managing to sell some 32,000 copies.

These four authors worked in various media, including books, cinema, radio and periodicals, and were able to successfully adapt their 'German Humour' for each particular field. Heinrich Spoerl was a novelist and script-writer for cinema: even today, his *Die Feuerzangenbowle* (novel in 1933, films in 1934 and 1944) is considered a film comedy classic. However, his other works were even more popular at the time: *Wenn wir alle Engel wären*, *Der Maulkorb* and *Der Gasmann* (books in 1936, 1936 and 1940, followed by films in 1936, 1938 and 1941). Willy Reichert worked primarily in radio, with his sketches becoming even more widespread through gramophone records. As half of the Swabian comic duo *Häberle und Pfeleiderer*, he became one of the most popular comedians in Germany. Arthur-Heinz Lehmann was known for his youth literature, writing humorous novels and novellas for young people and the young at heart; especially popular were his horse novels such as *Rauhbautz hilft uns siegen* ('Rauhbautz helps us win'). Finally, Felix Riemkasten was the journalist among this group. As a press correspondent, his anecdotes were widely published in newspapers and magazines; among others, he regularly wrote for the successful SS magazine *Das Schwarze Korps* ('The Black Corps'), where he contributed to the frequently forgotten humour pages.

These four collections, each directly addressing the reader with a suggestive title, exemplify how a good *Humoreske* should look. Here, the stories always follow a similar pattern. Heinrich Spoerl can serve as a prime example. His entire oeuvre essentially consists of variations on two stories, and these two archetypical stories are also told by the other authors. In one of his jovial tales, Spoerl tells of a schoolboy who is very intelligent, but rather odd and recalcitrant. He wears the same pair of black trousers every day, with a hole held together by a safety pin. At first his classmates make fun of him, but then they become proud of having such a character around, sharing a sense of solidarity through their inclusion of this poorly dressed boy. This tolerance becomes even easier when the boy's intelligence makes a good impression on outsiders. However, one day he starts writing *Päng* ('hurrah') after every answer on his maths test. This deviation from the norm does not go unnoticed. Punishments ensue, from a red mark in the class book to a parent-teacher conference. After all, the school cannot permit such a provocation. The punishments prove useless, as does the proposed compromise that he should just write an exclamation mark instead. Finally the authorities give in, considering the *Päng* to be just a tick. At the end,

Spoerl comments: 'It was not some tick of his, not some irresistible urge. It was defiance. A bit of revolution.' Nonetheless, the school pretends it was just a tick: 'They actually knew better. *Päng*.'⁵¹

In the second story, *Angina geht als Engel* ('Angina goes as an angel'),⁵² Spoerl uses another a structure typical of 'German Humour'. Here, Spoerl tells the story of Angina, a girl who wants to attend a masquerade ball. Her father fears for her innocence, and her mother wants to save money. It is decided that she will dress as an angel. The costume costs nothing, being made of a nightgown, and the father is reassured because the home-made wings will guarantee her innocence, since 'the delicate structures on her shoulder blades wouldn't survive that' – a none too subtle reference to losing her virginity. The angel costume functions accordingly: her friends are dressed as a Spanish girl, a 'gypsy' and Mozart's Queen of the Night, and each finds her man, but nobody wants the angel, since an 'angel is neuter'. Angina sits in the corner and gets drunk. She starts dreaming that she has flown to heaven where she is granted a wish, and imagines herself as a cross between Greta Garbo and Lil Dagover, both cosmopolitan and ladylike. She wishes for a dance partner with the fine moustache of Adolf Wohlbrück (a.k.a. Anton Walbrook), a movie actor who often played mildly decadent upper-class gentlemen. Angina abruptly wakes up and falls from her chair, destroying her wings. Now a 'fallen angel', she seems to become much more interesting and several men come to help her. One is especially bold and barely hesitates before removing the damaged wings and dancing Angina through the ballroom. If the reader did not already catch Spoerl's less than subtle metaphor, the gentleman then proceeds to take her virginity, as she is too drunk to defend herself. This dance partner has neither a moustache nor any particular charm. In conclusion, Spoerl writes: 'he was no dream figure, but absolute reality. Angina was always one for the real; that's how she was raised.'⁵³

Here, the stories always portray the ridiculousness of someone deviating from the norm, while at the same time expressing great sympathy for this deviation. The comedy of the text emerges from precisely this deviation. Great focus is then placed on the ending: either a higher authority shows mercy and takes back the prodigal character, or else life relentlessly moves on and drags the prodigal along. In these stories, the sense of development is only illusory: ultimately, the harmonious situation of the beginning is reproduced at the end. Angina had always preferred the real, and the schoolboy simply remains an integrated misfit, now marked by '*Päng*' in addition to his torn trousers. Each protagonist's ultimate reintegration back into the community serves to illustrate

a more broadly applicable general principle: the higher authorities of nature and the state will always take you back – at least according to these stories.

This formula, as demonstrated here by Spoerl, was a resounding success. Spoerl himself was especially enamoured by variations on the story of drunken Angina. In *Wenn wir alle Engel wären* ('If we were all angels') it is the respectable citizen from a town on the Mosel who visits Cologne and has a drunken encounter with a prostitute; the book recounts his absurd attempts to cover up this indiscretion.⁵⁴ In *Der Maulkorb* ('The dog muzzle') it is the public prosecutor of a town on the Rhine who, in a drunken stupor, puts a dog muzzle on a public statue of the local lord; the book recounts his ridiculous investigations to uncover the culprit, i.e., to discover it was himself.⁵⁵ In both books, the actual problem itself is never resolved; instead, the story brushes past the misdemeanour, and after a bit of excitement, life returns to its old routines. In the first story, absolution is dispensed by the courts; in the second, by the local lord himself. This formula, offering even imperfect citizens the possibility of reintegration, was a best-selling formula, and these two novels sold 485,000 and 365,000 copies respectively.

Turning to the next author, Fritz Müller-Partenkirchen achieved success as a humorist during the National Socialist era, but has since been largely forgotten. His favourite protagonist was the schoolboy or the trainee. In 1942, Waldemar Oehlke made the pithy remark: 'It makes little difference, which of M.-P.'s stories one reads'.⁵⁶ Repetition was part of the programme and apparently a formula for success. Whereas Spoerl was strongly encouraged by his publishers to expand his short stories into novel format, Müller-Partenkirchen simply strung the same *Humoreske* stories one after another to create his putative novel *Kramer und Friemann*. A trainee at the company 'Kramer and Friemann' makes mistakes due to his inexperience, but does not notice them and thereby appears ridiculous. However, he can always count on his superiors to show forbearance, time and again. The narrator finds no satisfying way to conclude his book other than using the superficial excuse that 'suddenly, the training period was over'.⁵⁷ Müller-Partenkirchen does not furnish a story with an ending that would mark a novel's end. Instead, the focus is always on repeating the experience of unpleasant ludicrousness and heartening integration. This novel's only developmental arc shows the trainee arriving at the same place where he began. At the end – as in the beginning – he must make a choice between entering university or going into business, and just like in the beginning, he ultimately decides for the business world.

'So warm and soft and cosy'. The attractiveness of 'German Humour'

This formula of repeatedly reintegrating those who deviate was a great success in both short stories and novel-length narratives. It would be a mistake to identify a 'potential for criticizing the system'⁵⁸ in these *Humoreske* texts simply because they portray deviance per se; such an analysis ignores the developmental arc and the outcome of these stories. One could try reading these stories as an attempt at disciplining the audience⁵⁹ if they had been spoon-fed to the public and distributed as National Socialist propaganda; the purpose would have been to keep guiding their 'fellow countrymen' back onto the true path of virtue. This analysis might have a certain validity in the case of cinema, due to the production conditions and the possibilities for influencing the presentation framework. However, with books (as described above), success depended much more on the conscious choices of the consumer. At least for this medium, currently prevalent analyses offer no explanation for the success of 'German Humour'. After all, it would be difficult to explain why a consumer would consciously reach for a book that tries to discipline him, instead of offering pleasure and entertainment.

These four collections reveal not only the structural aspects of such stories, but also attempt to explain why the public is attracted to 'German Humour'. Willy Reichert wrote a veritable '*Witzologie*' ('Jokology'),⁶⁰ analysing the pleasures of the *Humoreske*. These were essentially the result of people's suppressed desires:

There's so much we're not permitted to do, because it would be inappropriate, or ill-mannered. Nonetheless, you'd like to, just once ... just out of the blue ... and with such pleasure ... maybe with the hand ... or even the heel ... completely without regard! And then you could also ... oh God, there's so much you'd want to do!⁶¹

With his stories, Reichert promises to fulfil these unspoken desires: a momentary dispensation is allowed for suppressed aggression and wanton release, without fear of negative judgements. This acceptance is the primary promise of all these *Humoreske* texts. These forbidden fantasies are played out in fiction, and are even framed as a necessary tonic for each and every human soul. Spoerl called one of his *Humoreske* stories '*Ferien vom Du*' ('Vacation from you'),⁶² thus summarizing the function he intended for his storytelling: the reader is momentarily released from the rules of others, letting him relax and be true to himself.

However, it is only a vacation: one's familiar surroundings are not permanently abandoned. The reader may experience utter ridiculousness in these dreamed-up and dreamlike excursions, but can ultimately count on being reintegrated into the community. In his books, Arthur Heinz-Lehmann promised a '*Hellgrau-Philosophie*' ('light-grey philosophy').⁶³ He offered the chance to be part of the group, even without being perfect. However, there was one caveat: the deviation must not stray too far from the rules. One should certainly not stray into the darkness, not even into the grey zone, but the light grey was permitted. In *Wenn wir alle Engel wären*, Spoerl summarizes this attitude thus: 'It is desired that each person crosses the line once – but of course with complete respect, and without stepping on anyone's toes. Thus is the world a happy, liveable place.'⁶⁴

It is no accident that children, youths and drunk people were consistently chosen as protagonists. In his '*Witzologie*', Willy Reichert explicitly sees them as the 'most rewarding subjects' for comic stories,⁶⁵ because children and drunk people offer certain advantages for the logical progression of these stories. First, the deviation is of a momentary nature from the very outset. The drunk person will sober up and the child will grow up; therefore, the final integration simply seems logical. Furthermore, both are in a condition of reduced culpability, so that these figures are released from responsibility for their deviations. One can hardly blame the drunk person or the child; this allows the final integration to pass more easily.

This final act of integration seems to be what made this form of humour so attractive, shown on the one hand by the consistent repetition of this structure, and on the other hand by descriptions of the feelings precipitated by this aspect of 'German Humour'. In his '*Witzologie*', Willy Reichert poetically contrasts humour with cutting jokes: 'If lightning strikes from the clouds of everyday life, it's a joke; but if sunlight shines through those clouds, it's humour.'⁶⁶ For Willy Reichert, reading a *Humoreske* was like basking in the sun; for him, humour equalled warmth.

Reichert also pointed to a second technique for simulating the effect of humour: alcohol consumption. However, he considered this nothing more than a pale imitation. By contrast, Heinrich Spoerl considered this a very apt comparison. For him, the drunk person is a humorist. His stories could also be read as a call to moderate or even immoderate alcohol consumption, in order to attain a condition resembling the feeling of humour itself. Spoerl called it the 'great, sacred drink'.⁶⁷ He particularly admired the punch bowl, which binds people together, with even women joining in; sitting at the centre of the table, it acquires a symbolic character by knitting together the

destinies of those crowded around it. Spoerl called it 'a liquid stew'.⁶⁸ The punch bowl's effect is preferable to that of hard liquor or lively bubbly: 'Soft and warm, it envelops the soul, leaving the weight of the world behind, dissolving all into haze and mist.' Communion and harmony were the goals of alcoholic euphoria, similar to the effects of 'German Humour'.

Felix Riemkasten discovered the same feeling in his remembered childhood, and this feeling was the ultimate goal of his *Humoreske* stories. His greatest success was a collection of stories about his daughter, *Alle Tage Gloria* ('Glory every day'). By 1933, he had only sold 12,000 copies, but by 1945 it was another 83,000.⁶⁹ These stories all follow the same pattern. The child, named Mananne, stubbornly disobeys her parents' instructions, with comic effect. Riemkasten reinforces this comic aspect with photos showing the girl either smiling or making funny poses. For example, the tousle-haired girl reaches in vain for a sugar bowl, but in the next photo she sits on the floor while licking the bowl clean.

In his stories too, the end result is typically a reconciliation, especially one in which the adults become childlike themselves. After a clash with his daughter, sweet affection returns: 'And Daddy is once again your dearest Daddy, and Mananne is once again my very, very, awfully dear daughter...'⁷⁰ Ultimately, the mother is also drawn into the reconciliation: 'And now all three are forever dearest Daddy and dearest Mummy and very, very dear daughter Mananne.'⁷¹ As the father, Riemkasten lapses into baby talk: the German text uses the diminutives 'Vati' and 'Mütti' ('Daddy' and 'Mummy'), the ellipsis 'is'n' ('is then'), as well as superlative through doubling 'ganz, ganz dolle, liebe Tochter' ('very, very, awfully dear daughter'). The book repeatedly portrays his character becoming childlike.

In the closing sentence, Riemkasten suddenly changes the tone by stepping outside the text and reporting as an objective observer: 'It's so warm and soft and cosy, like a nest for little hatchlings among the downy feathers.'⁷² In his stories, Riemkasten tried to create this feeling of security within the intimate circle of the nuclear family, the imagined harmony of childhood. Where Spoerl had to drink alcohol, Riemkasten had to become a child.

'The weeds are not part of the story.' The political significance of 'German Humour'

This form of humour invited one to enter a world that was soft and warm, close-knit and communal. For contemporaries, it was apparently

an extraordinarily attractive vision, although from another perspective it might seem somewhat limited. In fact it *was* limited, and this limitation reveals the true meaning of these stories. This exclusionary aspect of 'German Humour' has largely remained unnoticed even though the stories themselves, with their titles directly addressing the reader and their proud display of 'German Humour', always included visible examples of the author's exclusionary thinking.

In 1940, Felix Riemkasten was still only hinting at these exclusions. At the beginning of his book *Mit Lachen geht's leichter*, he describes a residential neighbourhood with strictly regimented gardens. For him, this tidiness is a metaphor for the humourlessness of the residents, stemming from their excessive conformity to rules and regulations. He implies that this world could use a little disorder, and that the residents should learn how to accept some deviation, or the 'light-grey philosophy' of 'German Humour'. However, he places certain limits on deviation. Riemkasten argues that although a bit of disorder might be entirely acceptable, there are also other plants in the garden that did not deserve further comment:

The unplanted are also growing there: weeds, but the weeds are not part of the story, which is why I'll leave them out. I won't mention them, even if a garden connoisseur wags his finger and raises the objection that one cannot just leave out the weeds simply because they're not part of the story, for they unfortunately grow in the garden nonetheless, even where they don't belong.⁷³

Through his attack against the 'garden connoisseurs' and their toleration of weeds, Riemkasten signals that he was well aware that his garden metaphor was employed in another context. 'Weeding the garden' was also used to describe the necessity of removing undesirables from among the German population.⁷⁴ The metaphor had a strong anti-Semitic connotation as National Socialists referred to 'the Jews' as weeds that would overgrow, crowding out the 'Volksgemeinschaft'.⁷⁵ By this digression, Riemkasten is refuting those who would claim that even people declared '*Unmenschen*' ('non-persons') still deserve a place in German society.

In his 1939 book *Mensch, sei positiv dagegen!*, Arthur Heinz Lehmann's attitude is much more explicit, although still expressed in the form of an allegory. In portraying a group of laughing Germans, he also shows how negatively they react to interlopers. Six gentlemen share a train compartment and are enjoying their comfortable seating conditions.

After all, the train is overflowing and every compartment is supposed to hold eight passengers. Every attempt to occupy the two vacant spots is repelled by the Viennese passenger, who in an earnest and convincing tone says that 'We're full, two have just gone to walk the dog!'⁷⁶ The others laugh about the fact that the interlopers never ask for an explanation. There is a feeling of happiness and camaraderie, because 'the best companionship is always shared by those who found each other by accident'.

Only 'the man who boarded the train in Plauen' insists on his rights: he asks for the seat and sees through their boorishness. Despite the dirty looks, he 'bores' his way into a seat between two of the men. They try to sound him out, but the man who boarded the train in Plauen reacts coolly or remains silent. The conversation then continues, and one man tells a Hitler joke that meets with roaring laughter. Only the man who boarded the train in Plauen remains serious: 'I would like to inform you that the telling of political jokes is forbidden, or at least not wanted.' The others become threatening, and the Bavarian passenger lets his Nazi Party button show, as if by accident. The gesture leaves the man who boarded the train in Plauen momentarily sheepish.

However, the man refuses to be intimidated, and accuses the others of not taking the problems of the day seriously. That is when he gets a forthright explanation of the ideology behind 'German Humour': 'There are two ways you can do a job: either just with seriousness, or else with seriousness and humour. If you look at the programme called "Kraft durch Freude" ["strength through joy"], you might come to the conclusion that working with both seriousness and humour has become a legal obligation in Germany.' He still refuses to show understanding, and the men leave the compartment, but not without threatening to beat him. The six gentlemen later speculate whether they had been dealing with a 'disgruntled *Eintänzer* ["taxi dancer"] that should have been put to useful work'. In any case, they were sure he was a '*Popanz*', a destructive spirit wandering restlessly through the world.

Lehmann's choice of imagery is no more (and no less) explicit than necessary: the man who boarded the train in Plauen was 'the Jew'. In describing the man as a restless destructive spirit, Lehmann is recalling the anti-Semitic stereotype of the Wandering Jew, who never settles down and has no homeland. By speculating that he is an '*Eintänzer*', the man is assigned a job that plays on one of the greatest fears of anti-Semites: as a 'taxi dancer', the Jew seduces German women by selling his charms on the dance floor. The desire to put him to useful work is nothing less than a cover for the hope that he will land in a concentration

camp. It turns out that the six gentlemen could ultimately rely on the state authorities. The man is arrested upon arrival in Berlin, and the policeman calls to the six gentlemen: 'He's been illegal for a long time now! It was just hard to catch him, because he was changing trains all over like a *Popanz!*'

In this story, Lehman is talking about those who would spoil his fun, 'the Jews', who intrude on the camaraderie of the laughing Germans, have no sense of fun, and are pushy when complaining about their treatment. In Lehmann's circle, humour was part of good manners, and was even a citizen's obligation. Among such people, the *Flüsterwitz* was not a sign of political resistance, but rather the badge of a true German, who mastered his life with humour. This is why the humorist is so satisfied over the illegality of 'the Jew' and that the state authorities are finally giving serious attention to this dour stranger: 'In any case, we and all the merry people of our time could rest assured that this destructive spirit would haunt us no longer.' Lehmann did not want or need to write any more on the subject of 'the Jews', because they could no longer spoil his mood: by 1939, they had practically disappeared from the everyday life of the Germans. This disappearance was necessary for Lehmann's 'German Humour', because the memory of 'the Jews' would have made his laughter untenable.

Finally, that great role model of the humorists himself, Heinrich Spoerl, was unusually forthright when he said in 1937 that the warmth and harmony of 'German Humour' – that lovely feeling of a 'nest for little hatchlings among the down feathers' – was ultimately dependent on taking aggressive action against minorities and all those who deviated too far from the norm. This stood in stark contrast to the 'light-grey philosophy' he demonstrated in *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen*, where he proved to be very indulgent towards German weaknesses. He even fended off attacks against kitsch by saying that one had to be tolerant, and that everyone had the right to entertainment suiting their tastes; after all, 'earthly pleasures are scanty enough'. Even the friendly Herr Spoerl suddenly becomes hostile, however, when he says that certain forms of art deserve no such consideration. He points to jazz music as an example, calling it 'nigger rhythms'. In musical tastes, he advises one to follow the National Socialist line concerning '*entartete Kunst*' ('degenerate art'); here, one is correct in 'crucifying' artists and artworks that model themselves according to the 'nigger fetish'.⁷⁷

Despite Spoerl's explicit statements, many people continue to frame his work as critical of the system. Heinrich Spoerl himself,⁷⁸ as well as his son Alexander Spoerl, have cited numerous examples of the brave

'resistance' shown by their family. However, upon closer examination, these turn out to be either myths⁷⁹ or misinterpretations. For example, some have tried to point out resistant aspects in the story about Angina (from *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen*) that was described above. In this interpretation, Spoerl supposedly showed bravery in his 'favourable reference to Adolf Wohlbrück's little moustache' despite Wohlbrück having been forced to emigrate due to his mother being Jewish.⁸⁰ However, this is not quite correct. Wohlbrück had to emigrate because he was a homosexual, and the reference is certainly not favourable, but instead derisive of his homosexuality. Wohlbrück belongs to the ridiculous dream world of a naive girl who yearns for sexual satisfaction from a homosexual. The man who ultimately takes Angelina's virginity, so boldly and without regard to her drunken state, is quite explicitly clean-shaven. He is neither a homosexual nor a dream, but instead a real and potent man, and therefore, in Spoerl's view, certainly preferable. Wohlbrück had no place in the everyday life of Germany, which he himself recognized, fortunately before it was too late.

Conclusion

'German Humour' was not at all kind-hearted – and certainly not harmless or apolitical. Homosexuals, blacks and Jews, 'vermin' and itinerants, people who cannot laugh along, the unsettled and the 'weeds': these were not amusing for 'German Humour', and there was no reconciliation for them. Outside of the present analysis, they do not appear even once. 'German Humour' cannot incorporate such stark contrasts, because the texts of 'German Humour' must ultimately conclude with a harmonious reintegration.

It is no accident that these titles directly addressing the public appeared in the period from 1937 to 1940, and that the authors proudly included coy ruminations on their own practices and formal considerations. In his book *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen*, Spoerl begins by saying: 'I am for self-sufficiency in the field of German comedy.' This self-sufficiency was achieved in the genre of the *Humoreske*. By 1938 at the latest, these authors had established their own German form of comedy and were now proudly demonstrating it.

In neither theory nor practice was 'German Humour' a National Socialist invention. Instead, its intellectual roots were found in existing middle-class traditions, and its practical expression was actually avoided by committed National Socialist authors in the beginning. Right up until the end of the Second World War, the primary form of National Socialist

comedy was the satire, which received enthusiastic support from Nazi cultural policymakers. By choosing 'German Humour' instead, the public was opting for its very own, apparently non-Nazi form of comedy. This independent wilfulness on the part of the public, which was successful in asserting itself and required far more than just passive participation, is the first characteristic that defines the political significance of 'German Humour'. The other significant characteristic is that this wilfulness did not in any way represent an act of rebellion or resistance to National Socialist ideas. On the contrary: 'German Humour' fitted very well into the National Socialist worldview, even though it remained alien to the Nazi propagandists. The emphasis on harmony, as well as the promise of integration, warmth and community, demonstrates clear parallels with the concept of '*Volksgemeinschaft*' ('ethno-national community'). The texts of 'German Humour' carry a latent message that becomes blatant in propaganda promoting the '*Volksgemeinschaft*': the promised, all-encompassing community is always based on the complete ostracism of those who truly deviate.

At least the authors themselves were conscious of these exclusions, understanding that 'German Humour' ignored those who deviated, which was a great advantage to this genre. They could take comfort from the fact that these *Humoreske* stories did not require them to engage with serious deviations from the norm, which might have been too unpleasant. At the same time, it was only by denying real contrasts that they could evoke this appealing image of a harmonious society that was strong enough to integrate all deviations – but always with the implicit warning that these deviations must remain within 'normal' limits.

Of course, the public's preference for 'German Humour' was probably not much influenced by such conscious considerations. Here, the decisive factor seemed to be the ideals of community and harmony promised by the *Humoreske* stories, as well as the feelings of warmth and security they created. Other forms of comedy, such as satire, jokes and grotesque literature, allowed for more extreme contrasts and easily incorporated 'the Jew'; but these genres became much less popular after 1933, allowing one to conclude that the broader public also shared this yearning for a harmoniously constituted, unambiguous community, which depended on enormous and invisible acts of exclusion.

The culture and comedic products of the Weimar Republic had been seen as 'chaotic', 'fractured' and 'extreme' by large sections of the populace. Peter Gay speaks of a 'culture of the outsider' existing between 1918 and 1933, which, even if it did not entirely dominate cultural life, was nonetheless the focus of attention. 'German Humour' was welcomed

as something new, refreshing and genuinely popular. Its focus on harmony and a circumscribed lifestyle was a soothing contrast to the perplexing times that preceded it. The popularity of 'German Humour' is thus a sign that the central ideologies of National Socialist propaganda, especially that of '*Volksgemeinschaft*', satisfied real yearnings in the populace, and that the politics of exclusion were not limited to a political 'elite', but were instead a popular project.

Ultimately, the titles of these four collections, which might have been puzzling at first, find new meaning within the context described here. Inside the community of 'German Humour', one could 'Feel Free to Talk About It'. The ludicrous protagonists could be assured that their stories were just a prelude to integration. Furthermore, one felt free to talk about minor deviations because 'German Humour' would certainly never address the truly shocking, or portray real-life contradictions and acts of exclusion. 'German Humour' incorporated only minor indiscretions. In these stories, the reader is presented with a veritable invitation to deviate: 'Man, take a positive stand against it!' The author encourages the reader to go ahead and take a little jaunt, because people with a genuine sense of humour will always fall back into line. These little diversions increase one's tolerance for the quirks of others: you 'Learn to laugh, without complaining' and take less seriously the annoyances of everyday interactions, thus improving the sense of community. In 1940, Felix Riemkasten summarized it once more for the National Socialist state at war: 'It goes easier with laughter'. One feels better after a good laugh, one laughs away the hardships and worries of everyday life, while the crimes of National Socialism remain deliberately invisible.

Notes

1. G. Foerster, 'Können wir heute Humor haben?', *Der Tag*, 93, 19 April 1934.
2. 'Die Brücke', on the theme 'Gesund durch Lachen'. Supplement to *Berliner Tageblatt*, 613, 31 December 1933.
3. W.K. 'Ist in Deutschland der Humor ausgestorben? Kritischer Büchergang zur Beantwortung einer Gewissensfrage', *Der Angriff*, 220, 20 September 1935.
4. For a general overview of the large and expanding share of comedic formats in film, theatre and books: G. Albrecht, *Nationalsozialistische Filmpolitik. Eine soziologische Untersuchung über die Spielfilme des Dritten Reichs* (Stuttgart, 1969); T. Eicher, 'Spielplanstrukturen 1929–1944. In: Theater im "Dritten Reich"', in H. Rischbieter (ed.) *Theaterpolitik, Spielplanstruktur, NS-Dramatik* (Seelze-Velbe, 2000), 279–486. However, only the number of productions are counted here, and not the number of performances. If one counts the performances, comedies actually accounted for 75 per cent, cf.: H. J. Beyer,

- 'Die große Spielplan-Statistik 1935/36', in *Neues Theater-Tageblatt* 8, 31 and 32 (1936), 1–2. Concerning books see T. Schneider, 'Bestseller im Dritten Reich. Ermittlung und Analyse der meistverkauften Romane in Deutschland 1933–1944', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 52, 1 (2004), 77–97. However, his analysis does not include short story anthologies, which were particularly popular.
5. R. Grunberger, *A Social History of the Third Reich* (London, 1971), 331.
 6. R. Wiener, *Als das Lachen tödlich war. Erinnerungen und Fakten 1933–1945* (Rudolstadt, 1988).
 7. P. Longerich, 'Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!' *Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung 1933–1945* (Munich, 2006), 24.
 8. K. Schulz, *Kladderadatsch. Ein bürgerliches Witzblatt von der Märzrevolution bis zum Nationalsozialismus 1848–1944*, Bochumer Studien zur Publizistik und Kommunikationswissenschaft 2 (Bochum, 1975), 202; U. Appel, *Satire als Zeitdokument. Der Zeichner Erich Schilling. 1885 Suhl/Thüringen – 1945 Gauting bei München. Leben – Werk – Zeit – Umwelt*, Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte 11, (Witterschlick/Bonn, 1995), 259.
 9. K. Reumann, *Antithetische Kampfbild. Beiträge zur Bestimmung seines Wesens und seiner Wirkung* (Berlin, Phil. Diss, 1966), 108–136.
 10. For example, R. Hermes, *Witz contra Nazi. Hitler und sein Tausendjähriges Reich. An 500 Anekdoten, Zoten, Absonderlichkeiten und Flüsterwitze; botanisiert und geketschert, vor den Luchsäugen der Gestapo verborgen, präpariert und aufgespießt und in ein System gebracht* (Hamburg, 1946), especially 23. P. Poddell [real name Josef Ludwig Müller], *Flüsterwitze aus brauner Zeit (Die heiteren Kabinettbändchen)* (Munich, 1954), 5–6.
 11. In the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in October 1945, there was a call for submissions of such jokes, which were then published as originals, cf. R. Hartmann (ed.), *Flüsterwitze aus dem Tausendjährigen Reich*, 2nd edn (Munich, 1984), 9–10.
 12. J. A. Meier, 'Wie diese Sammlung entstand', in K. Sellin (ed.) *Vox populi: Geflüstertes. Die Hitlerei im Volksmund* (Heidelberg, 1946), 142–146, 144; M. Buchele, *Der politische Witz als Meinungsäußerung gegen den totalitären Staat. Ein Beitrag zur Phänomenologie und Geschichte des inneren Widerstandes im Dritten Reich* (Munich, Phil. Diss, 1955), 157.
 13. Although the importance of the 'whispered joke' in everyday life has certainly been overstated, its actual prevalence can no longer be determined. It is now clear that in prosecuting deviancy, the 'whispered joke' did not have the significance that had been previously assigned to it. Meike Wöhlert has shown that in such prosecutions, the 'whispered joke' was only a trigger. In fact, citizens who generally showed 'good' behaviour were not prosecuted, cf. M. Wöhlert, *Der politische Witz in der NS-Zeit am Beispiel ausgesuchter SD-Berichte und Gestapo-Akten*, Europäische Hochschulschriften. Series 3. Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften 725, (Berlin, 1997); in cases of misdemeanours against the so-called *Heimtücke-gesetz* ('maliciousness law') around 4 to 5 per cent of the charges were due to 'whispered jokes', cf. B. Dörner, *'Heimtücke': Das Gesetz als Waffe. Kontrolle, Abschreckung und Verfolgung in Deutschland 1933–1945* (Paderborn, 1998), 69–70.
 14. R. Wiener, *Hinter vorgehaltener Hand. Der politische Witz in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 2003); R. Herzog, 'Heil Hitler, das Schwein ist tot!' Humor unterm Hakenkreuz. Television special. Das Erste channel. Wednesday, 30 August

2006. This television special uses sombre images of ruins to illustrate a gloomy Germany where 'whispered jokes' were the only ray of light. On the other hand, while the companion volume by Rudolph Herzog presents mostly 'whispered jokes', their significance as a form of resistant expression is at least put into question.
15. K. Hansen, 'Lachen über Hitler. Erörterungen am Beispiel des "Flüsterwitzes"', in *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 53,12 (2002), 737–748.
 16. H. W. von der Dunk, *Kulturgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols (Darmstadt, 2004), volume II, 86; especially concerning comedy: H. Haarmann, 'Pleite glotzt euch an. Restlos'. Satire in der Publizistik der Weimarer Republik. Ein Handbuch (Opladen, 1999), 169.
 17. H.-O. Hügel, *Lob des Mainstreams. Zu Begriff und Geschichte von Unterhaltung und Populärer Kultur* (Cologne, 2007), 13–32.
 18. A similar appraisal of entertainment in M. Baumeister, *Kriegstheater. Großstadt, Front und Massenkultur 1914–1918*, Schriften der Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte – Neue Folge 18 (Essen, 2005), 16–17; a general analysis in K. Maase, 'Selbstfeier und Kompensation. Zum Studium der Unterhaltung', in Idem (ed.) *Unterwelten der Kultur. Themen und Theorien der volkswissenschaftlichen Kulturwissenschaft* (Cologne, 2003), 219–242; concerning the medium of books see K. Amann, 'Literaturbetrieb 1938–1945. Vermessungen eines unerforschten Gebietes', in E. Talos et al. (eds), *NS-Herrschaft in Österreich 1938–1945, Österreichische Texte zur Gesellschaftskritik* 36 (Vienna, 1988), 283–300, here 283.
 19. K. C. Führer, 'Die Tageszeitung als wichtigstes Massenmedium der nationalsozialistischen Gesellschaft', in *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 55, 5 (2007), 411–434, 425 and Führer's chapter in this volume; K. Hildebrand, *Das Dritte Reich*, Oldenbourg Grundriss der Geschichte 17, 6th edn (Munich, 2003), 244. D. Welch, *The Third Reich. Politics and Propaganda* (London, 2002), 30–49. An exception would be H. U. Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte (IV) Vom Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs bis zur Gründung der beiden deutschen Staaten 1914–1949* (Munich, 2004), 831–837; although he does at least include books as a mass medium, he otherwise sketches the medium's descent into insignificance. He does this through his use of statistics (a stable and active book production rate until 1939 is shown as a steadily decreasing line by selecting the figures from certain years) and by limiting himself to less relevant sources (he calls a 'longseller list' a 'bestseller list'; therefore, older books that sold over decades and predominantly before 1933 appear in his analysis to be the most popular books after 1933).
 20. R. Kast, 'Der deutsche Leihbuchhandel und seine Organisationen im 20. Jahrhundert', in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 36 (1991), 165–349, 177–185.
 21. *Ibid.*, 233 and 273.
 22. R. Kast, 'Die Leihbibliotheken im Nationalsozialismus', in P. Vodosek and M. Komorowski (eds), *Bibliotheken während des Nationalsozialismus. Part I* (Wiesbaden, 1989), 515–528, here 524–528.
 23. R. Kast (1991), 233.
 24. *Ibid.*, 273–276. Insights into this practice, although for the years after 1945, can be found in B. von Arnim and F. Knilli, *Gewerbliche Leihbüchereien*.

- Berichte, Analysen und Interviews* (Gütersloh, 1966), 135–182. This study offers little information for the National Socialist era, but does confirm the general preference for 'novels of little value' and a core readership consisting of common people, especially housewives.
25. H. Spoerl, 'Bücher haben ihr Schicksal', in Idem (ed.) *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen. Heitere Geschichten und Plaudereien* (Berlin, 1938), 128–133, here 131.
 26. On how distribution was organized: H.-E. Bühler and E. Bühler, *Der Frontbuchhandel 1939–1945. Organisationen, Kompetenzen, Verlage, Bücher. Eine Dokumentation*, Archiv für die Geschichte des Buchwesens, Studien 3 (Frankfurt a. M., 2002).
 27. S. Friedländer et al. *Bertelsmann im Dritten Reich* (Munich, 2002), 423.
 28. A first attempt was made by Heinrich Spoerl, who published a film script as a book. However, this publication required a foreword in which he tried to discount claims that 'a film script is not for reading, but for shooting', H. Spoerl, *Das andere Ich. Ein Film* (Berlin, 1942), 5.
 29. See Albrecht, *Nationalsozialistische Filmpolitik*, 101.
 30. For these figures, see the annual statistics in the *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel*.
 31. H. Rischbieter, 'NS-Theaterpolitik', in Idem (ed.) *Theater im 'Dritten Reich'. Theaterpolitik, Spielplanstruktur, NS-Dramatik* (Seelze-Velbe, 2000), 9–277, here 59–61.
 32. J. Spiker, *Film und Kapital. Der Weg der deutschen Filmwirtschaft zum nationalsozialistischen Einheitskonzern*, Zur politischen Ökonomie des NS-Films 2 (Berlin, 1975).
 33. K. Kreimeier, *Die Ufa-Story. Geschichte eines Filmkonzerns* (Munich, 1992), 300–312.
 34. H. Pohle, *Der Rundfunk als Instrument der Politik. Zur Geschichte des deutschen Rundfunks von 1923/38*, Wissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe für Rundfunk und Fernsehen 1 (Hamburg, 1955), 118–144 and 150–152.
 35. D. Munkel, 'Produktionssphäre', in I. Marßolek et al. (eds), *Zuhören und Gehörtwerden I. Radio im Nationalsozialismus. Zwischen Lenkung und Ablenkung* (Tübingen, 1998), 45–128, 51–62.
 36. O. J. Hale, *Presse in der Zwangsjacke 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf, 1965), 83–107.
 37. *Ibid.*, 311–312.
 38. J.-P. Barbican, *Literaturpolitik im 'Dritten Reich'. Institutionen, Kompetenzen, Betätigungsfelder*, 2nd edn (Munich, 1995), 568.
 39. R. Wittmann, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. Ein Überblick*, 2nd edn (Munich, 1999), 368.
 40. W. Horn, 'Der Reichssender Köln und der "Frohe Samstagnachmittag"'. Ein Regionalprogramm im Einheitsrundfunk in W. Först (ed.) *Rundfunk in der Region. Probleme und Möglichkeiten der Regionalität*, Annalen des Westdeutschen Rundfunks 6 (Cologne, 1984), 187–204, 192–196; U. C. Schmidt, 'Radioaneignung', in A. von Saldern et al. (eds) *Zuhören und Gehörtwerden I. Radio im Nationalsozialismus. Zwischen Lenkung und Ablenkung* (Tübingen, 1998), 243–360, here 304–338.
 41. B. Kleinhaus, *Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Kino. Lichtspiel in der braunen Provinz*, Neue kleine Bibliothek 88 (Cologne, 2003), 117–127; C. Zimmermann, 'Landkino im Nationalsozialismus', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 41 (2001),

- 231–242; G. Stahr, *Volksgemeinschaft vor der Leinwand? Der nationalsozialistische Film und sein Publikum* (Berlin, 2001), 89–97 and 108–111.
42. H. Spoerl, 'Bücher haben ihr Schicksal', in Idem (ed.) *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen*, 128–133, here 131.
43. This problem is clearly outlined in K. Witte, *Lachende Erben, Toller Tag. Filmkomödie im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1995), 42–48. He discredits the idea that films simply displayed the ideology of the producers and that information about the audience cannot be found in Nazi films. This simple analysis is challenged by K. Hickethier, 'Der Ernst der Filmkomödie', in H. Segeberg (ed.) *Mediale Mobilmachung I: Das Dritte Reich und der Film*, Mediengeschichte des Films 4 (Munich, 2004), 229–246, here 229–231. However, in his summarization of Karsten Witte's work, Hickethier also leaves open the question of whether these films were simply propaganda, or whether one could come to a conclusion concerning the audience's preferences and ultimately the constitution of the National Socialist society.
44. W. Hammond-Norden, *Der Zerr-Spiegel. Parodien* (Weimar, 1937).
45. M. Schütte, *Facetten des 'Menschen'*. *Studien zur Biographie und zum Erzählwerk Eugen Roths (Zeit und Text 2)* (Münster, 1993), 45–51.
46. E. Roth, *Ein Mensch ... Heitere Verse* (Weimar, 1935).
47. H. Spoerl, *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen. Heitere Geschichten und Plaudereien* (Berlin, 1938).
48. W. Reichert, *Lerne lachen ohne zu klagen* (Stuttgart, 1938).
49. A. H. Lehmann, *Mensch, sei positiv dagegen!* (Dresden, 1939).
50. F. Riemkasten, *Mit Lachen geht's leichter. Heitere Lebensweisheiten* (Leipzig, 1940).
51. H. Spoerl, 'Päng', in Idem. *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen*, 53–56.
52. H. Spoerl, 'Angina geht als Engel', in Idem. *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen*, 143–147.
53. Ibid., 147.
54. H. Spoerl, *Wenn wir alle Engel wären* (Berlin, 1936).
55. H. Spoerl, *Der Maulkorb* (Berlin, 1936).
56. W. Oehlke, *Deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1942), 326.
57. F. Müller-Partenkirchen, *Kramer & Friemann. Eine Lehrzeit*, 11th edn (Gütersloh, 1942), 322.
58. Schneider, 'Bestseller im Dritten Reich', 92, concerning the novels of Spoerl and Müller-Partenkirchen.
59. Hickethier's analysis in *Der Ernst der Filmkomödie*, 243 (note 43). Hickethier sees a similar structure in popular comedic films, stating that comedy is repeatedly implicated in dramaturgy's 'relentless' pursuit of 'the business of discipline'.
60. W. Reichert, 'Lachen entrümpelt' in Idem. *Lerne lachen!*, 33–60, here 49.
61. Ibid., 43.
62. H. Spoerl, 'Ferien vom Du', in Idem. *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen*, 73–76.
63. Lehmann, 'Wieviel Ärger kann der Mensch vertragen? – Hellgrau-Philosophie' in Idem. *Mensch, sei positiv dagegen!*, 120–122.
64. Spoerl, *Wenn wir alle Engel wären*, 159.
65. W. Reichert, 'Lachen entrümpelt' in *Lerne lachen!*, 33–60, here 49.
66. Ibid., 55.

67. H. Spoerl, 'Vom großen Heiligen Trunk', in Idem. *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen*, 96–99.
68. H. Spoerl, 'Man gibt sich die Ehre', in Idem. *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen*, 90–95.
69. F. Riemkasten, *Alle Tage Gloria. Geschichten von unserer Tochter Mananne* (Berlin, 1928).
70. Ibid., p. 72.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. F. Riemkasten, 'Gruß aus der Unterwelt', in Idem. *Mit Lachen geht's leichter*, 11–15, here 11.
74. A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf. Zwei Bände in einem Band*, 851–855. thsd. (Berlin, 1943), 30.
75. S. Friedländer, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden. Die Jahre der Vernichtung 1939–1945*, 2nd edn (Munich, 2006), 408–409.
76. A.-H. Lehmann, 'Der Mann, der in Plauen in den Zug stieg', in Idem. *Mensch, sei positiv dagegen!*, 24–28.
77. H. Spoerl, 'Was ist Kitsch', in Idem. *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen*, 123–127, here 125.
78. In his foreword to the post-war edition of *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen*, Spoerl strongly implies that he showed resistance 'between the lines', without naming a single example. He also explains that there were a few alterations, since some things had allegedly become 'irrelevant or incomprehensible'. This was Spoerl's vague way of describing the deletion of his tirades against 'niggers' and Jews, which had highlighted his National Socialist sensibilities. H. Spoerl, *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen. Heitere Geschichten und Plaudereien*. 938–947. Tausend (Munich, 1948), 5.
79. G. Vitz, 'Die Spoerls. Zwischen Legende und Wirklichkeit', in *Die Schulkonferenz des Geschwister-Scholl-Gymnasiums Düsseldorf* (ed.) *Spuren und Wege* (Düsseldorf, 1997), 49–63.
80. J. A. Kruse, '"Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen. Heitere Geschichten und Plaudereien". Heinrich Spoerls kleinste Formate', in Idem. *Heinrich Spoerl. Buch – Bühne – Leinwand* (Düsseldorf, 2004), 35–44, 43.

7

Pleasure, Practicality and Propaganda: Popular Magazines in Nazi Germany, 1933–1939

Karl Christian Führer

General interest magazines were an important part of everyday life in Nazi Germany: appearing every week or in some cases fortnightly, they provided millions of readers with entertainment, non-fiction reporting and advice articles. Although these mass market periodicals formed a major part of the Nazi propaganda machine, they are still decidedly under-researched. Even the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (*BIZ*), Germany's most popular pictorial magazine during the 1930s and 1940s, has attracted little scholarly attention; many other journals that also enjoyed a wide circulation among Germans after 1933 are totally forgotten.¹ This neglect is surprising since popular magazines clearly merit close attention when we address the history of pleasure and its political and social functions in the Third Reich. Unlike newspapers, general interest magazines offered most of all unpolitical content meant to entertain. Buying the *BIZ* or one of its competitors must therefore be seen as an act of pleasure-seeking while the magazines were designed to channel and satisfy this need in such a way that it helped the purposes of the Nazi regime.

Given the sparse available information several basic questions must be settled before we look more closely at the role of general interest magazines as constituent parts of Nazi Germany's media machinery and their contribution to the fulfilment of personal pleasure. Which magazines achieved high circulation figures? Can we discern why readers preferred these journals on a market that offered many choices and can such findings help to characterize German society under the rule of the NSDAP? Were general interest magazines just as *gleichgeschaltet* (forced into line) and tightly controlled as the daily press or

did they enjoy a wider room for manoeuvre in terms of politics and propaganda?

This chapter will address these questions, using contemporary statistics that have so far been overlooked and drawing on a comparative reading of many of the most popular German magazines of the 1930s. As will be demonstrated, Germans favoured magazines that not only provided entertainment and information but also served practical purposes by carrying a broad range of household advice. In doing so, they opted for a special kind of pleasure (besides the more obvious fun of distraction) since practicality as offered by these magazines promised self-improvement and a better personal life. This amalgamation of entertainment and practical guidance seems to have worked as the major pull for German magazine readers during the reign of the NSDAP.

However, it would be misleading to underestimate the importance of political propaganda among the topics covered by the mass market journals of Nazi Germany. By considering the different forms of propaganda used in the daily press and in general interest magazines, the chapter will prove that negative messages were conspicuously absent in the latter: while positive propaganda celebrating the regime and its leaders featured prominently on their pages they tended to play down any expression of hatred aimed at the various political and 'racial' enemies of the NSDAP. This absence of negative propaganda points to the specific task that popular journals served as part of the mass media of National Socialist Germany. Unlike daily newspapers they must be regarded as a tool to generate only positive emotions and an optimistic outlook, both with regard to the *Volksgemeinschaft* and the reader's personal prospects.

A market in motion: German general interest magazines and their readership

It is both easy and difficult to assess the popularity of a German magazine during the 1930s. On the one hand, it is easy since the Nazi regime (unlike the Weimar Republic) has left us with press statistics that provide reliable information.² For the years 1934 to 1936 it is even possible to name the actual distributed circulation (*abgesetzte Auflage*) of any given journal, comprising subscriptions, newsstand sales and the number of free or discounted copies used as gifts to attract new customers. For the remaining years up to 1939 we know the number of printed copies (*Druckauflage*).³ Surprisingly, historians have so far ignored these

figures although they offer a very detailed picture of German readership and developments in the market of printed media.

On the other hand, these statistical findings are yet to some extent inconclusive since Germans also read magazines they had not bought. First, *Lesezirkel* (magazine subscription clubs) greatly increased the readership of some journals by circulating loaned copies among their members (more about this specifically German form of media distribution later). Second, after 1933 virtually all National Socialist mass organizations provided members or at least all functionaries and offices with free copies of their respective official mouthpiece, swamping the German press market with journals that reached wide circulation despite the fact that they were hardly, if ever, sold at newspaper stands. The journal *Arbeitertum* published and distributed by the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* in 4 million copies is just one example of these magazines that served as National Socialist propaganda brochures. Clearly, such periodicals operated under very different conditions than unsubsidized journals that had to compete for readers on the free market.⁴ The strength of widely circulated official mouthpieces such as *Arbeitertum* closely reflected Nazi Germany's political structures, and it seems only reasonable to assume that readers paid less attention to these media than to magazines they actually bought for themselves and for their families. In the following, my focus is therefore on those periodicals that reached a wide circulation after 1933 without any direct or indirect help from the party or other mass organizations.⁵

Under this qualification the precise press data collected by the Nazi regime provides us with a list of 22 magazines selling at least 200,000 copies per issue in 1934. With few exceptions they were all published in Berlin. Table 7.1 lists all 22 titles and their respective circulation per issue from 1934 until 1936, using not the figure of printed copies but the more telling number of actually distributed copies that reached readers (*abgesetzte Auflage*). Great success with the buying public was obviously rare on the German magazine market: all in all customers could choose between more than 6,000 different journals but the vast majority of these achieved only minor circulation figures. By contrast, a leading group of just under two dozen high-selling periodicals had a combined circulation of more than 9.3 million distributed copies during the autumn of 1934. As this figure proves, general interest magazines were a major media force in the Third Reich. Also in 1934, the total number of German daily newspapers – their number exceeding 3,000 – jointly sold 14.15 million copies per issue, reaching nearly 80 per cent of all households.⁶ Magazines and journals were obviously running close

Table 7.1 Germany's most popular general interest magazines, 1934–1936

Title	Category	Distributed circulation		
		1934	1935	1936
<i>Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung</i>	Pictorial magazine	945,472	969,027	886,684
<i>Allgemeiner Wegweiser</i>	Family magazine (with optional insurance)	778,850	809,067	861,869
<i>Illustrierter Beobachter</i>	Pictorial magazine	778,087	581,684	557,206
<i>Bobachs Familienhilfe</i>	Insurance journal	579,609	566,580	551,845
<i>Mein Blatt</i>	Insurance journal	558,928	568,658	602,569
<i>Deutsche Illustrierte</i>	Pictorial magazine	499,722	569,444	567,690
<i>Die Grüne Post</i>	Family magazine (with optional insurance)	494,196	515,793	492,916
<i>Deutsche Radio-Illustrierte</i>	Radio programme guide	488,144	779,027	821,783
<i>Die Braune Post</i>	Family magazine	480,346	272,214	300,736
<i>Das Blatt der Hausfrau</i>	Women's magazine	451,797	436,376	444,270
<i>Münchener Illustrierte Presse</i>	Pictorial magazine	351,314	374,631	358,927
<i>Stadt Gottes</i>	Catholic family magazine	349,161	341,972	340,000
<i>Nach Feierabend</i>	Insurance journal	333,199	310,719	288,316
<i>Familienhort</i>	Insurance journal	309,322	297,503	290,623
<i>Sonne ins Haus</i>	Insurance journal	304,869	313,159	329,594
<i>Modenschau</i>	Women's magazine	269,838	301,692	317,995
<i>Praktische Frauen-und Kindermode</i>	Women's magazine	266,463	244,713	239,586
<i>Mode und Heim</i>	Women's magazine	240,430	212,054	183,582
<i>Europa-Stunde</i>	Radio programme guide	222,086	220,324	191,771
<i>Berlin hört und sieht</i>	Radio programme guide	206,574	516,646	782,873
<i>Unser Freund</i>	Insurance journal	204,102	191,200	195,411
<i>Funk-Wacht</i>	Radio programme guide	201,646	346,323	375,103

Average distributed circulation per issue; 1934: third quarter, 1935 and 1936: second quarter. The distributed circulation (*abgesetzte Auflage*) is added up from subscriptions, newsstand sales and free copies. Due to the lack of detailed figures italicized numbers signify the printed circulation of the magazine in question. All figures calculated after: *Zeitungskatalog des Reichsverbandes der deutschen Anzeigenmittler 1935* (Berlin, 1935); *Zeitungskatalog des Reichsverbandes der Deutschen Werbungsmittler 1936* (Berlin, 1936); *Zeitungskatalog... 1937* (Berlin, 1937).

behind. Prices certainly helped to secure a wide readership: selling at the most for 20 *Pfennige* per single copy, general interest magazines cost as little as one single issue of a daily paper.

Compared to the figure of 17.7 million families and households established by the national census of May 1933 the individual circulation of even the most successful magazines (see the figures in Table 7.1) may appear as less than impressive. On a national basis even the *BIZ* (950,000 sold copies) and the *Allgemeiner Wegweiser* (779,000 sold copies), the country's two best-selling periodicals, reached only a minority of Germans. However, the circulation of these and other magazines was boosted considerably by the *Lesezirkel* mentioned above that offered journals for rental. Established already during the late Wilhelmine *Kaiserreich* magazine subscription clubs (that still exist in Germany today) remained for some reason an exclusive feature of the Germanic world – except for Austria and Switzerland the idea never caught on in other European countries. *Lesezirkel* rented magazines to readers for a certain length of time. As a rule subscribers received a folder (*Mappe*) containing no less than 12 different magazines for one week. When the period of rental had gone by the folder was recollected and passed on to other subscribers. Changing hands in this manner for up to three months the magazines became increasingly outdated and heavily thumbed – but customers could still be found because the fee charged by the club decreased by the week. In 1935, a subscriber who wanted magazines hot from the press typically paid 2 RM for the folder while the rent for the 'oldest' circulating *Mappe* was only 30 *Pfennige*. At the kiosk the latter sum would not have been sufficient to buy two recent magazine issues while the rent of 2 RM saved roughly 20 per cent on the combined retail price of all 12 journals contained in the typical folder.⁷

Lesezirkel thus traded topicality in magazines for greater savings. Surprisingly many Germans regarded this as an attractive offer. In 1938, the clubs served about a million customers (with strongholds in the northern parts of Germany). Most memberships were held by families but hairdressing salons, cafes, pubs and doctors' offices also ordered folders to entertain patrons and patients.⁸ Circulating a vast number of magazine copies both in the public realm of waiting rooms or lounges and in the private sphere of living rooms and kitchens the subscription clubs greatly increased the readership of general interest periodicals in 1930s Germany. Unfortunately the extent of this multiplying effect cannot be determined with any precision since we lack crucial information about *Lesezirkel*, but there can be no doubt that these journals were

read (if only occasionally) by many more people than the circulation figures suggest.⁹

In a recent essay offering a comparative look at statistical findings on the use of mass media in the Third Reich, I argued that German society during the 1930s must be regarded as a society of readers despite increasing audiences for the cinema and the wireless.¹⁰ This argument, which was most of all concerned with the market of daily newspapers, is both sustained but to some extent also qualified by a closer look at Table 7.1. From 1934 until 1936 the joint circulation of the 22 listed magazines increased by some 670,000 copies (a gain of 7.2 per cent), reaching a combined total of nearly 10 million copies sold per issue. Reading matter as a consumer item, so it seems, went from strength to strength during the early years of the Nazi regime.

However, this gain in the circulation of general interest magazines was exclusively due to the success of radio programme guides. As the figures in Table 7.1 show, they alone registered new readers while nearly all other journals had to cope with stagnating or declining figures. In 1936, even the *BIZ*, the unquestioned leader among German popular magazines, suffered from a slump in sales. The list assembling the editorial hits of Nazi Germany therefore saw considerable change between 1934 and 1936. Thanks to an increase in sold copies of no less than 280 per cent the radio guide *Berlin hört und sieht* advanced from an 'also ran'-position to fourth place; the *Deutsche Radio-Illustrierte*, established with only moderate success on the list in 1934, attracted more than 330,000 new customers in less than two years, taking third place (by a narrow margin) after the *BIZ* and the *Allgemeiner Wegweiser* in the spring of 1936.

Obviously the increased popularity of the wireless, fostered by intense advertising campaigns and by the introduction of relatively inexpensive radio sets (*Volksempfänger*), was the driving force behind the divergent fortunes of radio programme guides on the one hand and other popular magazines on the other hand. From 1934 to 1936, 2 million families were registered as new radio listeners.¹¹ Since only programme guides, credited by the Ministry of Propaganda with great importance as a means of 'leading' listeners, were allowed to print comprehensive information on the schedule, the radio boom also boosted business for nearly all publishing houses that offered such a magazine.¹²

With some justification this double success may be regarded as a major achievement of Nazi media policy but at the same time it should not be overlooked that the figures in Table 7.1 also illustrate how one segment

of the media world could negatively impact another. The declining circulations of illustrated magazines and other popular journals clearly prove that media consumption in Germany came up against limiting factors during the first years of the Third Reich, despite the highly remarkable economic upturn engineered by the NSDAP after 1933 and also despite the party's great interest in perfecting and fostering all means to disseminate propaganda. Budgetary strain, it seems, forced many people to choose among mass media even during these crucial years of Nazi Germany's 'economic miracle' since high taxation and a strictly controlled wage freeze jointly kept the real income of gainfully employed people on average as low as it had been in 1932, at the lowest point of the Great Depression.¹³ The surge both in radio participation and in the readership of programme guides clearly created problems for other popular magazines (and for daily papers too): they failed to gain from the quick recovery of Germany's economy.¹⁴ Paradoxically, the radio boom was therefore only a qualified success for Joseph Goebbels and the Ministry of Propaganda.

A more sweeping increase in media consumption can be observed only after 1936. In contrast to the preceding years, gains in customers were by now more or less evenly distributed among the competing mass media of the Third Reich. While radio and cinema audiences still grew, not just programme guides but also other periodicals scored well during the last years before the Second World War. In the *Altreich* daily papers attracted nearly 1.7 million additional buyers (equalling 12.2 per cent) from 1936 until 1939, and general interest magazines too did well. The *BIZ* can serve as an example to demonstrate how the market had changed: the printed circulation (*Druckauflage*) of Germany's most popular magazine was 1.5 million copies per issue in the spring of 1939 instead of 1.16 million in 1936 or 1.1 million copies in 1934. Using the precise information on actual sales during the early years of the Nazi reign it can be calculated that the *Berliner Illustrierte* reached some 1.2 million customers in 1939 while the same figure had been only 890,000 in the spring of 1936.¹⁵ At the same time strong competitors of the *BIZ* such as *Allgemeiner Wegweiser*, *Deutsche Illustrierte*, *Berlin hört und sieht* and *Deutsche Radio-Illustrierte* also reported significant gains in circulation.¹⁶

The rearmament boom of the final pre-war years, leading to a severe shortage of labour that gradually undermined the wage freeze, must be seen as the social background to this comprehensive increase in mass media consumption. Longer working hours also added greatly to this development, raising wages well above their former level. Although it

Table 7.2 Germany's most popular general interest magazines, 1938–1939

Title	Category	Printed edition	
		1938	1939
<i>Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung</i>	Pictorial magazine	'more than 1.3 million'	1,500,000
<i>Berlin hört und sieht</i>	Radio programme guide	1,099,214	1,406,554
<i>Deutsche Illustrierte</i>	Pictorial magazine	1,010,308	1,210,032
<i>Deutsche Radio-Illustrierte</i>	Radio programme guide	983,970	1,137,616
<i>Allgemeiner Wegweiser</i>	Family magazine (with optional insurance)	977,769	1,009,615
<i>Die Grüne Post/Die Braune Post</i>	Family magazine (with optional insurance)	'more than 740,000'	722,760
<i>Mein Blatt</i>	Insurance journal	736,772	762,877
<i>Illustrierter Beobachter</i>	Pictorial magazine	700,000	835,369
<i>Münchner Illustrierte Presse</i>	Pictorial magazine	'more than 625,000'	722,070
<i>Das Blatt der Hausfrau</i>	Women's magazine	575,000	'more than 600,000'
<i>Bobachs Familienhilfe</i>	Insurance journal	537,663	529,062
<i>Unser Freund/Familienhort</i>	Insurance journal	524,909	527,461
<i>Nach Feierabend/Für Dich</i>	Insurance journal	514,580	498,233
<i>Das Illustrierte Blatt (Frankfurter Illustrierte)</i>	Pictorial magazine	469,077	666,842
<i>Hier Berlin und alle deutschen Sender</i>	Radio programme guide	440,000	'more than 600,000'
<i>Koralle</i>	Pictorial magazine	425,000	'more than 500,000'
<i>Funk-Wacht</i>	Radio programme guide	406,642	455,993
<i>Sonne ins Haus</i>	Insurance journal	373,333	388,483
<i>WERAG</i>	Radio programme guide	'more than 334,000'	'more than 400,000'
<i>Funk-Woche</i>	Radio programme guide	307,711	373,692
<i>Modenschau</i>	Women's magazine	300,798	295,618
<i>Deutsche Moden-Zeitung</i>	Women's magazine	296,545	305,342

Continued

Table 7.2 Continued

Title	Category	Printed edition	
		1938	1939
Familien-Magazin	Family magazine	270,000	305,166
Kölnische Illustrierte Zeitung	Pictorial magazine	262,307	318,115
Stadt Gottes	Catholic family magazine	'more than 250,000'	261,500

Average printed circulation (*Druckauflage*) per issue; 1938: third quarter, 1939: second quarter. All figures calculated after: *Zeitungskatalog des Reichsverbandes der Deutschen Werbungsmittler* 1939 (Berlin, 1939); *Ala-Zeitungskatalog* 1941 (Berlin, 1941).

would be misleading to speak without reservation of 'fat years', there can be no doubt that many average Germans finally had more discretionary money in their pockets during the period of the Four-Year Plan, inaugurated in 1936 to prepare the economy and the army for Hitler's war.¹⁷

As Table 7.2 shows in more detail, general interest magazines greatly profited from the additional spending power of the buying public. In 1938 German press catalogues recorded 27 different magazines and journals that each claimed a *Druckauflage* of 250,000 copies or more per issue.¹⁸ Jointly they printed 17 million copies of their issues in the spring of 1939, while at the same time the total *Druckauflage* of all daily papers in the *Altreich* was less than 16.6 million copies. Clearly, general interest magazines not only kept their share among Nazi Germany's mass media after 1933; they also grew in the favour of readers, most of all in the years between 1936 and 1939, when they overtook the daily newspapers in terms of popularity.¹⁹

It was therefore not an idle boast when the National Association of German Magazine Publishers (*Reichsverband der Deutschen Zeitschriftenverleger*) declared in 1939 that its products were read 'even in the most remote parts of our fatherland'. Earlier on the magazine publishers had presented themselves as a vehicle of popular instruction for the national community (*Volksgemeinschaft*): general interest magazines would reach so many Germans and cover so many different topics that they would greatly help in spreading a broad all-round education (*Allgemeinbildung*).²⁰ With regard to the sheer number of readers these claims were certainly justified. The editorial content of popular magazines, however, still needs a closer look before we can discuss how they contributed to German social life and to the realm of everyday pleasure during the Nazi era.

Attracting readers: Entertainment and practical advice in popular magazines

Using contemporary categories the small group of Germany's most popular magazines and journals can be divided into pictorial magazines (*Illustrierte*), family magazines (with insurance journals – *Versicherungszeitschriften* – as an important subgroup), radio programme guides, and women's magazines.²¹ However, in practice all general interest magazines had much in common and were edited on the basis of an only slightly varied formula mixing entertainment, advice and non-fiction reporting. Only pictorial magazines like the *BIZ*, the *Illustrierter Beobachter* or the *Deutsche Illustrierte* were in some respect really set apart: large-format photographs reporting current affairs remained a peculiar feature of their layout that was lacking in other popular magazines. Usually the extensive front section of each issue of an *Illustrierte* carried little else apart from such illustrations, accompanied by brief captions. Struck by the small amount of text on these pages, some journalists criticized the preponderance of photographs as 'the all-powerful ruler' in illustrated magazines, but both publishers and readers saw no reason for change since the abundance of photographic images provided by the *BIZ* and similar magazines compensated for the lack of topical illustrations in daily papers caused by technological problems and high costs.²² Unlike other popular magazines, *Illustrierte* kept their customers literally in the picture and in doing so they served a specific task among the various forms of reading matter in 1930s Germany.

Another distinctive feature of illustrated magazines was 'piquant' photos of young attractive women. While the other general interest magazines of Nazi Germany strove to avoid anything that might cause moral offence, *Illustrierte* offered at least some doses of sex and glamour. In particular, the *Münchener Illustrierte Presse* (MIP) regularly printed photos of dancers and actresses baring well-formed legs, but pictorial magazines also regularly featured more or less eroticized images of women – much to the dismay of National Socialist defenders of high moral standards.²³ If rising sales after 1936 are any indication, readers seemingly felt no such qualms about the public image of the 'German woman'.

These differences between *Illustrierte* and other general interest magazines should not be overrated. On the whole, similarities prevailed. This is even true of radio programme guides, although the Ministry of Propaganda actively intervened to determine their content. Eager to use the radio magazines as a tool 'to lead listeners' for propaganda purposes

(*Hörerführung*), the ministry ruled in March 1934 that the content of these periodicals should focus on general questions of the wireless and on topics related to the current radio programme. Correspondingly, their publishers gained the sole right to print the complete table of programme announcements.²⁴ The decree should have caused a marked change in this segment of the German magazine market, but in practice the readers of radio programme guides were still treated to a fair share of 'general entertainment' well after 1934. *Berlin hört und sieht* for example, Nazi Germany's fastest growing radio magazine, praised itself for offering 'gripping novels, high-quality sketches and features, crossword puzzles and jokes'.²⁵

Typically enough, novels took first place on this list of the editorial attractions of *Berlin hört und sieht*. Serialized fiction (*Fortsetzungsromane*) fuelled much of the magazine industry's business. Contemporaneous experts were convinced that general interest magazines would 'stand or fall' by the quality of their fictional offerings. A really gripping novel could raise circulation by tens of thousands of copies; when readers were bored sales declined. Frequently the start of a new serial was announced on posters and billboards and also in newspaper ads; in some cases issues carrying the first instalment were handed out for free to get new customers hooked.²⁶

Written to meet a set of exact requirements, the average serialized novel was a decidedly light read: presenting a cast of colourful characters in a fast-moving plot strong in surprise and emotional confrontations it ran normally for ten or at the most for 12 instalments, leading invariably to some sort of happy ending. Otherwise this *Gebrauchsliteratur* (literature for everyday use) knew little rules. The serials published by the BIZ during the first six months of 1937 may serve to illustrate the broad range of content and style that readers experienced. From January until March the *Berliner Illustrierte* offered its customers *Die rote Mütze* (The Red Cap), a present-day small-town drama set among minor civil servants and railway workers, revolving around hidden family secrets, a premarital pregnancy and blackmail. This studiously 'realistic' novel, vaguely modelled on Gerhard Hauptmann's sombre classic *Bahnwärter Thiel*, was followed by an exercise in exuberant fantasy: *Gloria über der Welt* (Gloria Above the Skies), started already several weeks before the readers of *Die rote Mütze* finally learned how the bad were punished and the good rewarded, had world-renowned (yet young and handsome) scientists, glamorous women, American billionaires and high-ranking politicians of all Western countries (except Germany) among its lineup. In only eight instalments this 'fantastic novella' chronicled a global

catastrophe caused by the meteor Gloria, the demise of modern civilization and the end of nearly the entire human race only to discover in the end the beginnings of a new and better world among sturdy peasants in the Swiss Alps, led by the charismatic astronomer who had discovered the fateful meteor.

March, April and June brought still other thrills: the adventures of an escaped Austrian prisoner of war in First World War Italy, using false identities to make his way home; a historic novel, based on facts, about the career of a self-made mining magnate in early nineteenth-century Germany; a stylistically more ambitious story, recounting with some irony the eventful but in the end futile quest for the mystical *Nibelungen* treasure in the Hungarian plain. In July and August 1937 the *BIZ* serial was once again set in present-day Germany: *Maja zwischen zwei Ehen* ('Maja torn between two husbands') turned out to be yet another mystery-cum-romance story that saw flamboyant artists, well-bred members of Berlin's upper class, mysterious women and down-to-earth sportsmen plunged into the inevitable 'whirl of events'.²⁷

If there is anything common to all these highly divergent serials (except the very obvious gender stereotypes of all contemporaneous commercial culture) it is a conspicuous void: Nazi Germany with all the major characteristics of its everyday life was missing. Even in *Die rote Mütze* nobody ever used 'Heil Hitler!' as a form of greeting; none of its railway workers was organized in the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* or the SA; the NSDAP was never mentioned. Similarly, Berlin was not at all recognizable as the capital of the Third Reich in *Maja zwischen den Ehen*. In this respect, the *BIZ* serials of 1937 can be regarded as representative: with very few exceptions serialized novels in Nazi Germany's general interest magazines (and in the daily papers too) never alluded to the reign of the NSDAP or to any topical political question. Observing the well-established conventions of light entertainment even novels set in present-day Germany portrayed a strangely de-politicized society which knew neither Hitler nor the NSDAP.

Fiction published in popular magazines, so it seems, rarely served propaganda purposes. Instead serialized novels and shorter fiction offered a refuge from the highly politicized everyday life of the National Socialist *Volksgemeinschaft* – just like most of the feature films produced under the strict control of the Ministry of Propaganda. Like these movies popular fiction served as a means of distraction, offering the simple pleasure of seemingly plain entertainment – but in a dictatorial system this diversion carried, of course, strong political implications. With good reason Joseph Goebbels has been called a 'Minister of Entertainment':

time and again he used his influence on Nazi Germany's mass media to keep overt political propaganda at bay since he felt that the fickle public would quickly turn away from too much proselytizing.²⁸ In choosing their fictional offerings the editors of general interest magazines thus acted not only with readers' tastes in mind (as is proved by the German book-market of the 1930s that had light entertainment faring best), but also according to the interest of the regime.²⁹ Announcing a new serial in April 1937 (a 'high-class thriller' brimming with 'abductions, drug-induced schizophrenia and grand-scale speculation on the foreign exchange market') the *Illustrierter Beobachter* used words that characterize the social purpose of the entire genre: 'Read this sensational novel to set yourself happily free from the constraints of everyday life'.³⁰

As already briefly mentioned, advice articles were another important ingredient in the editorial formula of general interest magazines. In fact, advice for self-improvement and better living featured so prominently among their content that it characterized them just as strongly as escapist serials. This is especially true of all family magazines (including the insurance journals). The top-selling *Allgemeiner Wegweiser*, for example, advertised itself as a 'counsellor in all matters of everyday life', and it certainly lived up to this promise. Readers were treated to recipes, advice in childcare, gardening and housekeeping and in psychological matters such as 'Can shyness be overcome?' or 'Does sickness change the character?'; among many other things they learned how to treat varicose veins and how to look after leather settees. Even extremely trite hints such as 'Be careful! Christmas trees easily catch fire!' were presented with great gravity. Finally, very single issue of the *Allgemeiner Wegweiser* carried a paper pattern for a piece of 'wearable fashion', accompanied by attractive drawings illustrating the finished garment.³¹

Domestic themes also dominated Nazi Germany's most successful women's magazines: *Das Blatt der Hausfrau* and the fashion journals listed in Tables 7.1 and 7.2 all shunned glamour and celebrity gossip for decidedly 'decent' and practical content. Once again, patterns for women's and also for children's clothes were a regular offering. Parenting information and tips on how to build a stable marriage featured just as often as recipes and other housekeeping advice. Such mundane matters also filled many pages in radio programme guides. With some justice it might be said that all popular general interest magazines in 1930s Germany (*Illustrierte* being the sole exception) were more united by the common trait of an aspiration to domesticity than set apart by clear-cut editorial strategies catering for different needs and standards.

Although these domestic themes were not invented by the NSDAP, after 1933 their social function differed from the years of the Weimar Republic. In Nazi Germany, the focus on practical matter became the officially promoted editorial norm while more glossy and more escapist magazines (for example *Die junge Dame* or *Elegante Welt*) received scathing indictments from the SS. Acting as guardian of the true National Socialist 'Weltanschauung', the official mouthpiece of the SS *Das Schwarze Korps* complained in 1935 that the *Elegante Welt* contained only 'nonsense' (*Blödsinn*). Along the same lines, *Die junge Dame* was called an 'impudence' (*eine Frechheit*) since the magazine would promote 'elegance, painted nails and a movie star smile' as the most important female attractions.³²

The fact that most advice articles in Nazi Germany's popular general interest magazines were clearly targeted at married women not only hints at their strong position as customers on the press market, but also tells us much how 'female' needs and wishes were constructed in Nazi Germany's public sphere. Conspicuously, the art of consumption played only a modest role in popular magazines. Editorial matter strongly favoured modesty, common sense and strategies to make ends meet over the promises of consumer culture, casting a positive glow on domestic chores and the feminine task to organize and control all household matters. Even advertisements mostly promoted minor lifestyle accessories such as cosmetics or cigarettes instead of expensive or long-lasting consumer-goods. At first glance the fact that Nazi Germany's general interest magazines hardly if ever defined the 'home' as a site of luxury consumption seems to contradict the escapist tendencies prevailing in their fictional offerings since they denied readers access to a dream-world where financial constraints and social barriers were non-existent, but in my view such a notion fails to recognize advice articles as yet another promise of satisfaction. Just like modern self-help literature the vast repertoire of hints and how-to-do knowledge carried by these general interest magazines served as a means by which to fantasize about better selves and a more satisfying personal life.³³ If customers actually followed any of this advice is hardly important since these practical hints became meaningful in the very act of reading through brief moments in which the editorial content provided affirmation and reassurance by fostering the dream of individual perfectibility. Since the NSDAP hardly kept the far-reaching social promises made to the Germans in the early 1930s this pleasure served as an antidote against grumbling caused by the regime's failure to deliver a greater degree of common prosperity. The increasing circulation figures prove that many Germans (and maybe most of

all women) were actively seeking the subdued positive glow offered by general interest magazines.

Popular journals and political propaganda

Compared to their colleagues working for daily newspapers the editors of Nazi Germany's magazines and journals were less tightly controlled by the Ministry of Propaganda. While newspapers received an ever-increasing number of detailed orders about what to print and how to comment the editorial staff of magazines enjoyed more leeway. In 1935, the National Association of German Magazine Publishers noted the Ministry's almost liberal attitude towards their work since 1933: 'The state did not interfere with the business of magazine publishing houses since it was not regarded as important to have every serialized novel promoting blood and soil...or to have every monthly journal...carrying articles on eugenics, race and hereditary diseases twelve times a year.' Although instructions failed to materialize magazine editors were, however, still very much part of the Nazi propaganda machine: they had to heed not only the *Zeitgeist* but – as the Association's leader Willi Bischoff put it – as members of the *Reichskulturkammer* they also breathed 'the air of the state' (*die Luft des Staates*).³⁴

In practice, the editorial staff of magazines and journals seem to have used the room for manoeuvre granted by Joseph Goebbels to concentrate on positive propaganda, glorifying the achievements of the Third Reich and rarely attacking the regime's supposed enemies. This discrepancy is best discernible in the year 1938 which saw three of Hitler's greatest political triumphs (Austria's *Anschluss*, the Treaty of Munich, the annexation of the Sudetenland) and in November also a brutal unleashing of all the regime's destructive powers in the pogroms of the so-called *Reichskristallnacht*. All general interest magazines carried lots of editorial content about the events leading to the creation of the *Grossdeutsches Reich*, but they remained almost silent on the latter incident. Anyone who read only these magazines would, in fact, hardly realize that National Socialist anti-Semitic policy took a radical turn in November 1938.

The *BIZ*, for example, celebrated the swift and easy entry of the German army into Austria and Hitler's ensuing triumphal procession towards Vienna in March 1938 in a special edition, containing nothing but large-scale photographs of jubilant masses and their *Führer*. In the same week the *Münchener Illustrierte Presse* carried 11 pages exclusively filled with photographs from Austria. During the following weeks not only *Illustrierte* like the *BIZ* and the *MIP* but all general interest

magazines stridently campaigned for the pseudo-democratic plebiscite on Austria's *Anschluss* under the slogan 'Your YES for the Führer!' (*Dein JA dem Führer!*). This is even true of family journals, women's magazines and radio programme guides which rarely reported on politics. In October, during and after the conference in Munich, insistent praise for Hitler, the 'chancellor of peace', and the NSDAP once again marked all popular magazines.³⁵

The pogroms of 9 November, however, were passed over in virtual silence. Furthermore, general interest journals and magazines played only a minor role in the severe anti-Semitic press campaign started by the Ministry of Propaganda on 17 November to foster post-ante acceptance for the violent *Reichskristallnacht* among the population. Guided by constant demands for even more venomous agitation all German dailies transformed themselves into crude anti-Semitic propaganda sheets during this *Judenaktion* which lasted well into December, carrying countless tendentious news articles and polemical commentaries in all sections.³⁶ In marked contrast, top-selling general interest magazines like *Allgemeiner Wegweiser*, *Deutsche Radio-Illustrierte*, *Mein Blatt*, *Das Blatt der Hausfrau* (plus all the other women's magazines) remained totally untouched by this campaign of vilification: none of them printed anti-Semitic content in November and December 1938. Other popular journals – among them the *BIZ*, the *Münchener Illustrierte Presse* and *Berlin hört und sieht* – made some efforts to join the hateful proselytizing, but compared to the daily press their offerings (that could easily be skipped by unobservant readers) look like exercises in ritual conformity.³⁷ Only the editors of the *Illustrierter Beobachter*, the pictorial magazine published by the official NSDAP publishing house, tried in the autumn of 1938 to observe the official demand that for the time being anti-Semitic propaganda should be the 'basic tenet' (*Grundsatz*) for the entire German press.³⁸

Since anti-Semitism was at the very heart of the National Socialist worldview and a matter of the highest political importance, the low profile of Nazi Germany's popular general interest journals and magazines in this matter even during a high time of orchestrated journalistic Jew-bashing cannot be put down to accident or to some mismanagement of the Ministry of Propaganda. Tellingly, the same discrepancy between the anti-Semitic fury of the daily newspapers and the reticence of the popular magazines can also be observed in the spring of 1943 when Joseph Goebbels whipped up yet another press campaign aimed at 'international Jewry'.³⁹ The fact that magazines and journals were allowed to avoid such crudely negative propaganda clearly points to their specific

task in Nazi Germany's tightly controlled mass media: most of all, general interest magazines provided readers with subject matter to generate positive feelings and positive memories. In their non-fiction reporting they promoted the pleasure of belonging to an optimistic, unified *Volksgemeinschaft* that successfully overcame economic depression and national disgrace. Political messages contradicting this positive worldview by pointing to the enemies of the Third Reich were rare. Serialized fiction and service articles further strengthened the character of popular magazines as 'feel-good' mass media: leading their readers into a de-politicized dreamland of adventure and thrills, *Illustriertenromane* offered distraction and escapist entertainment while practical hints and educational matter promised a cosy home and a better life for everyone despite the constraints of the Nazi rearmament boom that primarily served the interests of the state. Recently Rolf Sachsse coined the phrase '*Erziehung zum Wegsehen*' to characterize the social function of photography during the years of Hitler's dictatorship: people were 'taught to look the other way'.⁴⁰ In a broader sense Nazi Germany's popular magazines were very much part of this 'training to look away'. The pleasures they offered were therefore anything but innocent and harmless.

Bestselling journals provide a rich source for analysing both Nazi policy on media and popular culture – a source which should be much more thoroughly investigated. Therefore some suggestions for more detailed research may serve as a conclusion to this essay. First, since *Illustrierte* like the *BIZ*, the *Illustrierter Beobachter* and the *MIP* provided their readers most of all with pictures of topical events it would be useful to know precisely how the editorial staff of these magazines used the international pool of current photography to report, for example, both on international conflicts such as Italy's war in Abyssinia or the Spanish Civil War and on the situation in major foreign countries like Great Britain, France or the United States of America. German correspondents, so it seems, rarely contributed to such photographic reports. Editors therefore had to use the supply of international news agencies like Associated Press or Reuters while working according to the rules of the 'controlled press'. A closer look at their work might tell us how strongly the meaning and message of pictures can be shaped and altered by the context in which they are seen.

Second, the serialized novels offered in an endless sequence by all general interest magazines should be assessed and examined as a major part of Nazi Germany's popular culture. As was shown above, most of these serials can be regarded as a printed equivalent to contemporaneous German feature films, but to state that light entertainment ruled

supreme in magazine fiction just as strongly as in films is not to say that both these cultural offerings originated and operated outside the system of National Socialist propaganda. Alongside the escapist movies which Joseph Goebbels cherished and fostered, magazine serials should be scrutinized for subtle meanings and hidden agendas to determine how they contributed to Nazi Germany's tightly controlled public sphere. A promising starting point for such an examination might be found in the numerous serialized novels that use the First World War as a seemingly apolitical background for adventure stories.⁴¹

Third, and maybe most importantly, the history of Nazi Germany's popular magazines during the years of the Second World War still awaits investigation. Without a doubt the beginning of the war marked an important change in this segment of the press market. Magazine editors were given strict orders in matters of content from the Ministry of Propaganda and the task to distract and entertain readers became even more important; but at the same time a severe shortage of paper forced the *Reichspressekammer* to close down many magazines and journals. After 1940/41 readers had less and less choice; by 1943 only a handful of the most prominent magazines still existed. As reading matter, however, they were more popular than ever before.⁴² High-ranking members of the Nazi propaganda apparatus emphasized strongly that magazines should now above all aim for a 'strengthening of the soul' (*seelische Stärkung*): in times of war readers – especially female readers – would need 'rest, new strength, reassurance, briefly: comfort (*Trost*)'.⁴³

The task to provide emotional pleasure, so it seems, still characterized general interest magazines even after 1939, but it was now much more narrowly and more precisely defined than before the beginning of the war. How magazine journalists put this guideline into practice is an open question. It is largely unknown how the few still appearing general interest magazines (with the *BIZ* once again as the unquestioned leader) served their dual purpose to mollify readers and to report (most of all in photographs) on current events, i.e., on the war.⁴⁴ This glaring gap is yet another reminder that the history of pleasure and its social functions in Nazi Germany will necessarily remain incomplete when we fail to assess the contribution of popular journals and magazines.

Notes

1. So far, sound research has only been done on radio programme guides and on a small segment of the thriving market of women's magazines. See: T. Bauer,

- Deutsche Programmpresse 1923–1941. Entstehung, Entwicklung und Kontinuität der Programmzeitschriften* (Munich, 1993); S. Lott, *Die Frauenzeitschriften von Hans Huffzky und John Jahr. Zur Geschichte der deutschen Frauenzeitschrift zwischen 1933 und 1970* (Berlin, 1985). As a rare example of research into the content of illustrated magazines see: E.-M. Unger, *Illustrierte als Mittel zur Kriegsvorbereitung in Deutschland 1933 bis 1939* (Cologne, 1984).
2. For details compare: K. C. Führer, 'Die Tageszeitung als wichtigstes Massenmedium der nationalsozialistischen Gesellschaft', in *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 55 (2007), 411–434, here 415–417.
 3. The detailed figures for the years 1934–1936 can be found in *Zeitungskatalog des Reichsverbandes der deutschen Anzeigenmittler* 1935 (Berlin, 1935); *Zeitungskatalog des Reichsverbandes der Deutschen Werbungsmittler* 1936 (Berlin, 1936); *Zeitungskatalog...* 1937 (Berlin, 1937). The two remaining volumes of the *Zeitungskatalog* (1938, 1939) give only the number of printed copies. The reason for this change is unclear. With the beginning of the Second World War in September 1939 the press statistic was totally discontinued.
 4. The practice to provide all members of a mass organization with a free copy of the official journal was effectively banned only in August 1937. 'Leistungskampf', *Der Zeitschriftenverleger* (ZSV) 39, (1937), 389–390.
 5. Only the pictorial magazine *Illustrierter Beobachter* (IB) may be regarded as a doubtful case: it appeared in the NSDAP publishing house *Franz Eher Verlag* alongside the party's official daily paper *Völkischer Beobachter* and carried the party badge in its masthead. However, there is no evidence that party members were obliged to subscribe to the IB.
 6. Führer, *Tageszeitung*, 418–20.
 7. Carl Schneider, 'Die Zeitschrift im Lesezirkel', in: ZSV 37 (1935), 73–5, here 75. See also: Helmut Schlien, 'Lesezirkel und Zeitschrift', in: ZSV 40 (1938), 457–9.
 8. Schlien, *Lesezirkel*, 457–8.
 9. The sole exception was radio programme guides which were considered as unsuitable for *Lesezirkel* since their content, consisting mostly of programme announcements, was quickly dated. Compare the retrospective account: W. Carlsson, 'Probleme des Lesezirkels', in *Der neue Vertrieb*, 5 (1953), 190–192, here 190.
 10. Führer, *Tageszeitung*.
 11. W. König, *Volkswagen, Volksempfänger, Volksgemeinschaft. 'Volksprodukte' im Dritten Reich. Vom Scheitern einer nationalsozialistischen Konsumgesellschaft* (Paderborn, 2004), 83.
 12. For details see: Bauer, *Programmpresse*, 234–236.
 13. See, for example: A. Steiner, 'Zur Neueinschätzung des Lebenshaltungskostenindex für die Vorkriegszeit des Nationalsozialismus', in *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 2 (2005), 129–152.
 14. For the daily papers see the figures in: Führer, *Tageszeitung*, 418.
 15. Like all other *Illustrierte* the *BIZ* suffered from a large number of returns. In 1936, nearly 24 per cent of all the printed copies were not sold. For 1939 we lack this precise information but there is strong evidence that this problem still existed. See the figures for a select group of illustrated magazines in: 'Die Gesamtauflage der deutschen Zeitungen', *Zeitungsvierteljahr* 41, (1940), 374–376. For the increase in the readership of daily papers see: Führer, *Tageszeitung*, 418.

16. See the figures in Table 7.2.
17. See for example: R. J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power* (London, 2005), 477–483.
18. With some justification this figure can be regarded as an equally meaningful yardstick of performance among popular magazines than the number of 200,000 actually sold copies used in Table 7.1. See the remarks in note 14.
19. To some extent the emergence of the *Grossdeutsches Reich* in 1938, incorporating both Austria and the Sudetenland, also contributed to this development, if only since the disappearance of borders made business in the two annexed territories easier for German publishing houses.
20. Tagung der Zeitschriften-Verleger, in *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* no. 40, 10. 2. 1939; K. W. Schade, 'Die Zeitschrift im Kulturhaushalt des deutschen Arbeiters', *ZSV*, 41 (1939), 453. Empirical evidence that magazines were indeed read even in remote villages see in: A. Schmidt, *Publizistik im Dorf* (Dresden, 1939), 98–101; J. Müller, *Ein deutsches Bauerndorf im Umbruch der Zeit. Sulzthal in Mainfranken. Eine bevölkerungspolitische, soziologische und kulturelle Untersuchung* (Würzburg, 1939), 118–119.
21. In terms of content insurance journals closely resembled family magazines, offering also 'sound entertainment' for different age groups plus educational topics and service articles aimed at both sexes. What made them different was only their specific marketing strategy: without an additional fee subscribers of insurance journals enjoyed the benefit of a personal insurance policy covering accidents and – in case of death – also funeral costs. Of course, the extra was meant as a continual incentive to prolong the subscription. For details see: M. J. Baldsiefen, 'Abonnentenversicherung', in W. Heide (ed.), *Handbuch der Zeitungswissenschaft*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1940), 1–8. For the history of German insurance journals before 1933 compare: G. Reuveni, *Reading Germany. Literature and Consumer Culture in Germany before 1933* (New York, 2006), 117–122. To complicate things the two most popular family magazines (*Allgemeiner Wegweiser* and *Die Grüne Post*) of the 1930s were at least partly also insurance journals since they offered subscribers insurance for an additional fee. Unfortunately, we lack precise data on how many of their customers wanted such insurance.
22. For critical remarks on *Seine Majestät das Photo* and the corresponding neglect of journalistic texts in illustrated magazines, see: H. Schlien, 'Fortsetzung von Seite 5607 ...', *ZSV*, 40 (1937), 323–324, here 233. For the lack of photos in daily papers see G. Ulmer, *Das Lichtbild in der Münchner Presse* (Würzburg, 1939), 119–143.
23. See D. Herzog, *Sex after Fascism. Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton, 2005), 37–42. For examples of such 'piquant' photos see in the *Münchner Illustrierte Presse* (1938), no. 7, no. 10, no. 11, no. 15, no. 17, no. 18.
24. For details see Bauer, 234–236.
25. *Ala-Zeitungskatalog 1941. Abteilung Anzeigen* (Berlin, 1941), 286.
26. A. Klein, 'Probehefte und Prospekte', *Der Zeitschriften-Buchhandel*, 54 (1933), 348–350, here 348; G. Ecker, 'Der Roman in der Zeitschrift', *ZSV*, 39 (1937), 153–154.
27. See: *BIZ* (1937), nos 1–31. Except for the Austrian A. Lernet-Holenia, author of *Der Mann im Hut*, the serial set in Hungary (nos 22–31). All the writers

- of these BIZ-novels are literary no-names. Lernet-Holenia's novel has been credited with subversive meaning (R. Roček, *Die neun Leben des Alexander Lernet-Holenia. Eine Biographie* (Cologne, 1997), 207–210), but the heavily truncated version published in the BIZ hardly sustains such a reading.
28. Compare, for example: F. Moeller, *The Film Minister. Goebbels and the Cinema in the Third Reich* (Fellbach, 2001); L. Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich. Illusions of Wholeness in Nazi Germany* (Durham, 1996).
 29. For the bookmarket see: T. Schneider, 'Bestseller im Dritten Reich. Ermittlung und Analyse der meistverkauften Romane in Deutschland 1933–1944', in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 52 (2004), 77–97.
 30. *Illustrierter Beobachter* (1937), no. 18.
 31. All examples drawn from *Allgemeiner Wegweiser* (1938), nos 47–49.
 32. 'Sprechen Sie noch?' *Das Schwarze Korps* 1 (1935), no. 29; 'Eine Leserin schreibt uns', *ibid.*, no. 28.
 33. See, for example: J. Hermes, *Reading Women's Magazines. An Analysis of Everyday Media Use* (Cambridge, 1995), 62–65; D. Gauntlett, *Media, Gender and Identity. An Introduction* (London, 2002), 152–210.
 34. 'Jahrestagung der Zeitschriften-Verleger', in *ZSV*, 37 (1935), 269–281, here 272.
 35. See many examples in: E. H. Lehmann, *Die deutsche Zeitschrift im politischen Kampf* (Leipzig, 1938), 3–38. 'Der Führer in Österreich!', BIZ special edition, 15 March 1938; 'Das Grossdeutsche Reich ist erstanden!', MIP 1938, no. 12.
 36. H. Obenaus, 'The Germans: "An Antisemitic People". The Press Campaign after 9 November 1938' in D. Bankier (ed.), *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism. German Society and the Persecution of the Jews, 1933–1941* (New York, 2000), 147–180.
 37. See: 'Als die Juden den Rundfunk beherrschten' in *Berlin hört und sieht* 1938, no. 49; 'Das Welt-Problem: Die Juden', in: BIZ 1938, no. 49; 'Das jüdische Hauptquartier', in: MIP 1938, no. 49; 'Geschäft mit den Beinen', in: *ibid.*, no. 50; 'Schönheits-Königinnen – eine jüdische Erfindung', in: *ibid.*, no. 51.
 38. H. Bohrmann and G. Toepser-Ziegert (eds), *NS-Presseanweisungen der Vorkriegszeit. Edition und Dokumentation. Vol. 6/III: 1938. Quellentexte September bis Dezember. Bearb. v. Karen Peter* (Munich, 1999), 1084. For the IB see: 'Die jüdische Armee in Palästina', in: IB 1938, no. 45; 'Dass wir das nicht lieben – nimmt uns die Welt übel', in: *ibid.*, no. 47; 'Auswurf der Menschheit', in: *ibid.*, no. 48.
 39. D. Bankier, 'Signaling the Final Solution to the German People', in: D. Bankier and I. Gutman (eds), *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution* (Jerusalem, 2003), 15–39, here 21–24. For isolated anti-Semitic content see for example: 'Der ewige Ahasver', in: BIZ 1943, no. 22; 'Es mehren sich in unserem Lande die Anzeichen einer antijüdischen Bewegung', in: *ibid.*, no. 27; 'Hochfinanz und Judenstern Hand in Hand', in: IB 1943, no. 7; 'Sensation und Judenfax', in: *ibid.*, no. 13; 'Freibeuter Roosevelt pachtet die Welt', in: *ibid.*, no. 19.
 40. R. Sachsse, *Erziehung zum Wegsehen. Fotografie im NS-Staat* (Dresden, 2003).
 41. See for example the two serials: F. X. Kappus, 'Sie sind Viotta!' in BIZ (1937), nos 12–22; L. Trenker, 'Leuchtendes Land', IB (1937) nos 8–19.
 42. See, for example: W. Stiewe, 'Zeitschriftenarbeit im Kriege', in *ZSV* 43 (1941), 42–43.

43. O. E. Sutter, 'Zuflucht bei der Zeitschrift', in ZSV 44 (1942), 265–266. See also: E. H. Lehmann, *Die Zeitschrift im Kriege* (Berlin, 1940), 29–34.
44. As a beginning see R. Rutz, *Signal. Eine deutsche Auslandsillustrierte als Propagandainstrument im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Essen, 2007). *Signal* was a pictorial magazine that was sold only outside Germany in occupied countries, but its editorial staff worked in close collaboration with the *BIZ*.

8

Radio, Film and Morale: Wartime Entertainment between Mobilization and Distraction

Corey Ross

Popular pleasures in the Third Reich: From indolence to integration

Historians have often struggled to gauge the importance or irrelevance of 'pleasure' and 'leisure'. While on the one hand such non-essentials can seem trivial in comparison to the history of government, wars, economics and religion, there can be little doubt that they have come to occupy more of our time and energy over the past century, and are a crucial element in any understanding of popular culture. Part of the reason might be a lingering sense of anxiety about a surfeit of 'pleasure' itself, anxieties with a remarkably long pedigree. The 'Protestant' spirit dissected by Weber always tended to associate pleasure with sloth and to assume that too much enjoyment posed a danger to individuals and society as a whole. In the nineteenth century, the productive, utilitarian commercial bourgeoisie largely defined itself in contrast to an effeminate, self-indulgent aristocracy. By the turn of the century, this new commercial elite was itself pilloried as the latest manifestation of a parasitical 'leisure class' (following T. Veblen). As living standards rose and more social groups could afford simple pleasures, this strand of critique evolved into elaborate schemes for 'rational recreation' and wholesome alternatives to commercial amusements. It is certainly not hard to find echoes of this reformism under National Socialism, from the productivist thrust of *Kraft durch Freude* to the constant appeals to discipline and heroic self-sacrifice.

Yet as in so many areas, the First World War and the years that followed it marked an important if subtle shift in how popular pleasures were

perceived. The blurred boundary between home front and battlefield highlighted the central importance of public morale and social accord in the era of 'total war'. Henceforth the ready availability of public amusements – the specific form of 'pleasure' under discussion here – was increasingly seen as a means of bolstering state authority and social stability. For many inter-war intellectuals, the immense complexity of industrial society and the 'democratic' prioritization of individual interest over bonds of loyalty were a matter of deep concern. For a growing number of social scientists, the mass media held the key to mitigating these centrifugal forces of modern society by sponsoring a commonly shared set of values and experiences.¹ In this sense, mass entertainments promised not only to promote social cohesion, but also to harmonize popular expectations with the prevailing political and economic system. From this point of view, pleasure and leisure activities no longer represented a problem of modern society but also a solution to some of its ills.

The idea that popular entertainments should be harnessed not merely for profit but also for the purpose of social and political cohesion was common to most of the industrialized world in the inter-war period, especially during the Depression. Yet for a variety of reasons, the deliberate recourse to such pleasure-centred 'integration propaganda' was especially evident in Nazi Germany. For one thing, as a non-material form of gratification, public amusements represented an ideal target of consumer spending amid the breakneck rearmament drive of the 1930s, which could ill afford to compete with consumer demand for scarce material resources. The unusual level of attention the Nazis paid to the mass media was based in no small part on the need to mould patterns of consumption and pleasure-seeking in accordance with this overarching priority. Second, one of the avowed goals of the National Socialist movement was to overcome the competing class, regional and religious loyalties in Germany through the cultivation of a wholesome and assimilationist national culture shared by all 'national comrades'. But most importantly, as a movement whose very existence was based on Germany's defeat and humiliation in 1918, the Nazi party fervently believed it had learned the 'lessons of the war': namely that, in Goebbels's words, 'we did not lose the war because our artillery gave out but because the weapons of our minds did not fire'. What Wilhelmine elites had allegedly failed to recognize was that 'the mobilization of the mind is as necessary as, possibly even more important than, the material mobilization of the nation'.²

Hence the execution of the Second World War was to be totally different from the mistakes of the First. In stark contrast to 1914, when most belligerent governments radically curtailed public amusements, in 1939

the Nazi leadership – like their opponents – regarded entertainment as a vital factor for popular mobilization. Even seemingly ‘frivolous’ amusements were now legitimated in the eyes of political elites as an integral part of psychological warfare. As Goebbels confided in his diary, ‘entertainment is nowadays politically crucial, perhaps even decisive for the war (*kriegsentscheidend*)’.³ Yet it is important to recognize that the Nazi government never regarded entertainment as an end in itself, and was not about to do so in the midst of a war. Amusement was deliberately conceived as a lure to political programming, just as recreation in general was regarded as a factor of production. Although it is extremely difficult to discern any specifically ‘Nazi’ characteristics among most of the actual artefacts themselves during this period – the countless films, radio shows and musical hits that appeared over the latter 1930s and early 1940s – entertainment and pleasure were ultimately conceived as a means of achieving political goals.

If the aim was to mobilize popular support, the trick, as always, was to stir desires while channelling them in a particular direction. Put differently, the challenge was to strike a balance between release and control. In the context of wartime Germany, this balance could obviously not be attained via heavy-handed ideological indoctrination. While a hard line might be feasible for the representative arts, in the realm of mass entertainments the forms and messages needed to be more subtle and appealing. This was of course the logic behind the Propaganda Ministry’s famous ‘orchestra principle’ whereby different media and cultural outlets played different communicative roles. But certain sections of the orchestra were always more prominent than others. Pleasure and entertainment formed the bedrock of popular culture in the Third Reich, especially during the war. Perverse though it may seem, the very years in which the Nazis unleashed the most destructive war in history actually marked a high point in the legitimation and popular consumption of public amusements. Never before were Germans so encouraged to indulge in light entertainment, and never before was it so accepted by governing elites. Paradoxically, it was precisely amid the mounting calls for discipline and self-sacrifice that the regime placed the greatest emphasis on pleasure.

This resulted in a powerful set of contradictions and tensions that escaped straightforward political control. Although the fuzzy boundary between political mobilization and consumer-centred entertainment was already more blurred than ever under the Nazis, there was nonetheless an inbuilt dissonance between the desire to steer popular views and the need to provide amusement and distraction. Naturally, these

two strategies are not mutually exclusive. 'Mere entertainment' can undoubtedly function as political propaganda, and propaganda is at its most effective when it is also entertaining. But ultimately they are aiming at different ends and, despite their overlap, tend to diverge from one another.⁴ The Nazi leadership clearly recognized this. From the very beginning of the regime, the aim of its chief propaganda officials was to steer views without spoiling the atmosphere through overt didacticism. As the newly appointed Propaganda Minister proclaimed in March 1933, 'The correct political attitudes must be conveyed, but this need not be boring... You must use your imagination, an imagination that is based on firm foundations and that employs every means available to bring to the masses the new way of thinking in a modern, up to date, interesting and appealing manner; instructive but not preachy.'⁵ As Goebbels in particular recognized, pleasure and gratification were of the utmost importance. The aim was to forge a subtle union of political values with sensory experience, and the key to merging a positive inner experience with Nazi sensibilities was to make it enjoyable.

In the event, the actual balance that was struck between collective mobilization on the one hand and individualized pleasure-seeking on the other crucially depended on the wider military and political context in which they operated. And of course this wider context changed dramatically over the six years of the war, in terms of both military fortunes and in everyday life on the home front, of which public amusements were an integral part for the bulk of the populace. As the following discussion very briefly seeks to show, German popular entertainments thus underwent a noticeable evolution from mobilization to distraction over the course of the Second World War, not only in terms of what was on offer, but also – though this is more difficult to trace and conclusions must therefore remain more provisional – in terms of popular demand. While the overall trend towards a more widely shared and socially integrative culture of entertainment in many ways reached its pinnacle during the early years of the war (which witnessed a huge expansion of audiences as well as some of the most popular films and radio shows of the twentieth century), the focus on individual appeal and the parallel potential of the media to divide audiences increasingly came to the fore as the war dragged on. We can roughly divide this process into two phases: the first from 1939 to 1941, in which the surging demand for entertainment was relatively easily harnessed to the war effort; and the second from 1942 to 1945, during which the erstwhile amalgamation of political mobilization and pleasure gradually dissolved into its constituent parts, for producers and consumers alike.

The thrill of victory

One of the most remarkable features of the German home front during the Second World War was the huge surge in popular demand for access to the mass media. This was evident literally within the first few days of the war, as demand for cinema tickets and radio sets suddenly skyrocketed. Barely a month after the attack on Poland there were already reports in the film press of an 'onslaught that recalled the best periods of high season' and of 'crowds of people thronging the ticket counters'.⁶ The record box office figures over the fourth quarter of 1939 surpassed all industry expectations. Even Goebbels was amazed by the unprecedented surge in ticket sales, noting in his diary in October that 'we're making genuine war profits'.⁷ Similarly, demand for wireless sets reached record levels during the first few months of the war. From September to December 1939 officials registered the largest increase to date for one quarter, with applications for radio licenses continuing to grow throughout 1940–1941.⁸ Naturally, this boom in media demand was based on a variety of factors, and reflected much more than a sudden yearning for pleasure-seeking. For one thing, the wartime shortage of consumer goods on which to spend one's money and the resultant surplus of purchasing power greatly favoured investment in entertainment. More importantly, whether or not people had loved ones at the front, there was also an immense hunger for information about the fighting. This was especially evident with the launch of the western offensive in summer 1940, when it was reported that 'the population is literally clinging to the loudspeakers' and 'fevering ... for reports from the front'.⁹ Yet alongside the understandable eagerness for news, there was also an unprecedented demand for entertainment and diversion. And since most of the German military news was good throughout the first two years of the war, much of the official news coverage could itself be presented in an upbeat, entertaining manner.

This was clearly the case with film. During the first year of the war in particular, the newsreels metamorphosed from a cinematic side dish into an extraordinarily popular – and gratifying – medium of communication, uniting the functions of information and entertainment to the mutual enhancement of both.¹⁰ They were not only uniquely capable of offering audiences an *audiovisual* account of the battles taking place, but also possessed the added attraction of authenticity, of putatively showing the 'real thing'. As early as the end of September 1939 cinemas were already reporting that the newsreels 'have become popular with astonishing speed. From Friday the theatres are heavily frequented, and

on Saturdays and Sundays they were especially full.' Demand did not slacken after the end of the Polish campaign in October. Two months later the Security Service still reported a 'burning interest in the newsreels' in spite of the military quiet.¹¹ There is even evidence that they were pulling in viewers who had never gone to the cinema before and who were uninterested in the rest of the programme.¹² For moviegoers such as these, the newsreels had supplanted the feature as the main attraction, a situation to which cinema operators responded by offering special newsreel-only programmes.¹³ The attraction of the newsreels reached its apex during the invasion of Belgium and France in May and June 1940, when, according to the journal *Film-Kurier*, 'the cinemas in many cases simply could not cope with the crush of patrons' eager to get an impression of the fighting against French and British forces.¹⁴ By this time the astonishing success of the newsreels had already spawned a pair of feature-length military documentaries about the Polish campaign: *Feldzug in Polen* and *Feuertaufe*. But it was the documentary about the victorious western offensive, *Sieg im Westen*, that proved most successful of all, offering a visual extravaganza of the Wehrmacht's triumphs that carefully avoided drawing attention to the fact that Germany was still at war with Britain.¹⁵ In some respects the newsreels had by this time become a source of diversion as much as information. Indeed, they had become so 'entertaining' in terms of style and content that the Nazi authorities eventually worried that their mobilization function would be compromised. As the Security Service in Chemnitz complained in June 1940, 'it occasionally appears that the narrow-minded philistine (*Spießler*) forgets, in the safety of the cinema, that the war newsreels are not meant for entertainment or giving viewers the creeps, but rather are an experience of a very special kind that obliges people to regard them with reverence'.¹⁶ But given that the newsreels were deliberately made into entertaining spectacles of the fighting, it was hardly surprising that audiences viewed them in this manner.

This attempt to fuse aesthetic appeal and political mobilization was also clearly manifested in the string of big-budget feature films that were made during 1939–1941. Nowhere was this more apparent than among the historical dramas of the period, which clearly reflected the concern among Nazi filmmakers to make 'political' films as entertaining as possible. While several big productions sought to draw none-too-subtle parallels between Germany's leaders past and present (e.g. *Bismarck*, 1940; *Friedrich Schiller*, 1940; *Der große König*, 1942), others demonized Germany's chief enemies: the plutocratic Brits (*Carl Peters* and *Ohm Krüger*, both 1941), the barbaric Bolsheviks (*GPU*, 1942) and



Figure 8.1 Camera crews recording the victorious capture of Dunkirk, June 1940
Source: Courtesy of Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

of course ‘international Jewry’ (*Jud Süß* and *Die Rothschilds*, both 1940). Despite their fairly overt political character, many of these dramas were extremely successful at the box office, especially *Jud Süß*, which was seen by more than 20 million viewers.¹⁷

Yet even more popular than the genre of historical dramas were the contemporary revue films of the period. Given the palpable sense of national triumph around 1940–1941, anything that demonstrated what the director Fritz Hippler called a ‘proximity to the present’ was bound to exert a certain pull.¹⁸ It is thus no coincidence that the two most commercially successful movies of the entire Nazi period, *Wunschkonzert* (1940) and *Die große Liebe* (1942), were essentially personalized accounts of Germany’s recent years of triumph. Both also conveyed a clear political message, revolving around the topical themes of duty, sacrifice and loyalty.¹⁹ In *Wunschkonzert*, the young couple Inge and Herbert fall in love at the Berlin Olympics but soon lose contact when Herbert is posted to Spain as a pilot during the civil war. Shortly after the attack on Poland, they regain contact through the popular radio request show ‘Wunschkonzert’, only to be frustrated once again when Herbert is called to fly a mission over the Atlantic and is shot down. After years of waiting, the two lovers are

improbably reunited at a mutual friend's hospital bedside. What made *Wunschkonzert* such a hit with audiences was, according to the Security Service, its interweaving of contemporary events, even recent news-reel footage, with a dramatic plot.²⁰ But undoubtedly the particular 'happy end' it peddled also went down remarkably well: namely, that loyalty and perseverance are eventually rewarded in private happiness as in national victory. This convergence of personal fulfilment and national destiny is also the central theme of *Die Große Liebe*, in which pilot Paul and cabaret singer Hanna fall in love during a short furlough in Berlin. Here, too, duty calls the warrior away from his lover, and personal happiness is threatened by the wheels of fate. Yet the two are eventually reunited after Paul forfeits his personal wishes to the greater good and becomes injured while fulfilling his duty. Personal fulfilment and pleasure once again go hand in hand with loyalty and sacrifice for the national cause.

In both of these films, as in countless mass cultural artefacts of the time, pleasure itself is depicted as a sure reward for current hardship. If the war invariably caused great pain and suffering in the meantime, its ostensible purpose was always portrayed as delayed gratification. In this sense, wartime entertainments did not so much function – as has often been suggested – as a veil behind which the killing took place, but rather integrated Nazi aggression into everyday life. Despite the seemingly 'apolitical' emphasis on personal pleasure, Nazi mass culture thus forged subtle connections between individual enjoyment and violent conquest. The promise of future satisfaction after German victory was not only an implicit theme of films such as *Wunschkonzert* and *Die große Liebe*, but was also explicitly presented as a principal war aim. On 31 May 1942, as Cologne literally still burned from the RAF's first '1,000 bomber raid', Goebbels argued in a widely publicized article entitled 'What's it all for?' that the purpose of the war was not merely to defend the Fatherland but above all 'to secure the preconditions for a national prosperity which will give our people the amount of earthly happiness they deserve'. At base, military conquest was nothing other than a struggle for the good life, for plentiful raw materials, adequate food stocks and housing, for a living standard befitting a racially and culturally superior people. 'We as a nation want at last to cash in (*einkassieren*) ... to enjoy the fruits of our endless working and fighting, of all our efforts and our patience.'²¹ If performing one's duty represented the clearest path to individual fulfilment, then killing for the national cause was ultimately the means to a better future. The wages of victory would be enjoyment.²²



Figure 8.2 Zarah Leander singing for wounded Wehrmacht soldiers

Source: Scene from the film *Die große Liebe*; here as back cover of army magazine *Signal*. Courtesy of Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

This same blend of national unity, self-sacrifice and personal pleasure also shaped wartime radio programming. Although the transition to a more popular and entertaining programme had been going on since 1935, the outbreak of the war significantly accelerated the trend. By 1939, 'light entertainment' and relaxation were a key priority of Nazi radio, marking an unambiguous departure from the Weimar-era conception of German radio as a 'cultural factor' towards a new emphasis on consumer wishes. One indication of the change was the expansion of music broadcasts at the expense of lectures. Even more indicative were the scheduling changes whereby popular music was, for the first time, given pride of place in the programming timetable. Whereas broadcasters had hitherto reserved the primetime slot of 2000–2200 hours for classical music or other demanding material, by the second half of the 1930s it was dominated by light entertainment concerts, variety shows and dance music.²³ But once again, the provision of popular amusement was never for its own sake. The overarching goal was to 'bind' listeners to the radio and thereby make them receptive to political messages. In the words of one contemporary study, 'political broadcasts, always accounting for only a small portion of broadcasting time, first acquire their value through the existence of entertaining broadcasts that lead listeners to the receiver'.²⁴

But the line between 'political' and 'entertaining broadcasts' was always fuzzy, and especially so during the early years of the war. Indeed, the most popular programme of the entire war era, the *Wunschkonzert für die Wehrmacht*, was a hybrid of politicized entertainment *par excellence*. Under the motto 'the front holds out its hands to the homeland', it represented the pinnacle of the 'national community on the airwaves' that the Nazis had long strived for.²⁵ These request shows, which ran weekly from October 1939 to May 1941, were based on a tried-and-tested format first developed during the Weimar years and subsequently adapted for the Winter Aid programme in 1936. Soldiers could send in musical requests along with a personalized message to loved ones at home, and the selected songs were performed before a live studio audience of military and emergency personnel. The first wartime *Wunschkonzert*, held on 1 October 1939, was an instant hit, and immediately triggered a 'maelstrom' of postal requests. Within roughly two months around one half of the entire population tuned in. The enormous success of this programme was reflected not only in listening figures, but also in the production of the blockbuster film as well as the publication of a best-selling anthology of highlights.²⁶ Indeed, it was arguably the single most successful piece of 'integration propaganda' of the entire Nazi era.

'Whoever heard one of the request shows knows how the nation and army felt bound together into a single great family during those hours,' noted its moderator Heinz Goedecke.²⁷ For the most part, what this vast and socially diverse audience shared on Saturday afternoons was a fairly standard amalgam of amusement and pleasure: comic sketches, hit songs and guest appearances by popular stars. But what truly set the *Wunschkonzert* apart from other variety shows, and what also seems to have made it so extraordinarily popular, was its deliberate conjuring of a sense of national unity, a common national experience in real time. At its final broadcast on 25 May 1941, the *Wunschkonzert* was celebrated as 'a golden bridge' enabling 'millions of hearts to find each other through the miracle of radio'.²⁸ It was, in short, the epitome of a virtual 'national community', not only in the eyes of its producers but also, it would seem, for millions of loyal listeners.

But if the *Wunschkonzert* was highly effective at boosting national morale, other developments in radio broadcasting threatened to undermine it. Ever since its inception the German broadcasting system suffered from the inefficiencies of its federal structure, in which the nine



Figure 8.3 Soldiers stationed in Austria enjoying a '3-mal Wunschkonzert' show, 12 February 1941

Source: Courtesy of Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

regional companies filled around half of airtime in their respective broadcasting areas. Given the wartime demand for technical personnel and resources, it was only a matter of time before programming structures would undergo a significant overhaul. The broadcasting system was thus duly amalgamated on 9 July 1940 into a single, standardized Reich-wide radio programme. The problem was that such savings as were made came at the expense of a huge reduction in choice for listeners, which threatened to undermine the very popularity of radio itself. Although officials soon moved to a dual programme for part of the day, which gave listeners a choice of at least two programmes, this still represented a significant reduction of variety on the preceding system.²⁹

Broadcasters thus found themselves in an awkward position. Whereas the Nazi leadership regarded radio as the single most important conduit between regime and populace, the standardization of the programme made it more difficult to fulfil this mission. The pressures this generated all pointed in one direction: since maximizing the number of listeners by offering a choice of programming was no longer feasible, the only solution was to cater unambiguously to the majority. In practice, what this boiled down to was a further expansion of light entertainment at the expense of *Kultur*. Over the winter and spring of 1940–1941, amid rising concerns about the popularity of the BBC among German soldiers (which prompted the launch of the soldiers' station Radio Belgrade in April 1941, whose cheery tone was highly popular among civilians too³⁰), there were mounting calls for a more entertaining national programme. These calls grew all the louder over summer and autumn 1941 as popular anxieties surrounding the invasion of the Soviet Union (in particular the elusiveness of victory in spite of repeated proclamations that the Russians were on their last legs) began to undermine confidence in the official news sources. The fact that the radio programme underwent its most far-reaching overhaul during autumn and winter 1941–1942, just when the German war effort began to encounter serious problems, was thus no coincidence. As the string of military triumphs began to dwindle, and as the thrill of victory could no longer pull in the audience by itself, it became increasingly apparent that the most promising means of 'binding' listeners to the radio was to provide light entertainment. When the revamped programme was rolled out in October it reportedly 'met with almost universal approval. The shift of the programme towards almost exclusively cheerful and light broadcasts is highly conspicuous'.³¹ The blatantly populist tone that would dominate Nazi wartime radio was subsequently buttressed by the restructuring of the Reich Broadcasting Company in February

1942. Just as the regime became more vicious and tyrannical than ever, it also became more concerned with listening pleasure.

The agony of defeat

Yet by early 1942 no amount of entertainment could halt the rising tide of distrust.³² Although this rarely manifested itself in the form of open dissent, the growing sense of scepticism nonetheless signalled a fundamental change of mood. As the news gradually turned bad, propaganda officials, filmmakers and broadcasters increasingly shifted the emphasis away from triumphalist renditions of topical themes towards more escapist forms of entertainment as a means of maintaining morale. How far this was deliberately intended to distract attention from military failures and how far it was a response to changing audiences' expectations is difficult to say. It is in all events worth noting that audience figures remained extraordinarily high, reaching record levels during the second half of the war. But this strategy nonetheless entailed certain trade-offs, for the resort to escapist amusements threatened to unravel the very sense of collective purpose that the media had helped to fabricate over the previous several years. As the hopes for final victory gradually succumbed to Allied bombs and Soviet guns, the enthralling combination of self-gratification and national mobilization from the early war years began to separate. More and more, pleasure-seeking became just that.

What is important to recognize is that this shift in the relationship between mobilization and distraction did not reduce demand for entertainment *per se*. Quite the opposite: while popular trust in the news declined, light entertainment was more sought after than ever. Audience figures alone leave little doubt about this. Radio ownership reached a peak in 1943 with 16,179,000 registered sets, or 190 sets per 1,000 inhabitants, representing a rise of around one-quarter since 1939.³³ Cinema admissions also peaked in 1943–1944 at over 1.1 billion, or 14.4 annual admissions per person, roughly a 40 per cent increase over 1939.³⁴

How we should interpret these audience figures is, however, far from straightforward. Are they evidence of a persistent flow of communication between regime and populace, or rather of an increasingly individualistic means of fleeing the demands of the regime and the stresses of everyday life? In quantitative terms, it is clear that the booming war-time demand for the media continued right through 1944. Yet there is evidence that the qualitative reasons for this changed somewhat over

time. The fact that propaganda officials drew less and less attention to the war effort in popular entertainments is all too understandable, and relatively easy to demonstrate. Far more difficult to gauge are popular tastes, though there are indications that audiences also increasingly sought a reprieve from the war the longer it dragged on and the worse it seemed to progress. Put rather pointedly, it seems that the persistent demand for radios and cinema tickets after 1941 represented not a continuing mobilization of the populace but rather a desire temporarily to flee all such mobilization by withdrawing into one's own individual fantasies.³⁵ The Propaganda Ministry, for its part, was perfectly willing to indulge such wishes in an attempt to buoy morale. By this time the 'positive' attempt to rally the nation behind the war had in any event largely given way to the 'negative' task of defusing dissatisfaction. In stark contrast to the entertainment programmes of 1939–1941, war references in popular amusements were henceforth kept to a minimum. As Goebbels wrote in his diary in early 1942: 'Optimism is now an integral part of warfare. One cannot win any battles with head hanging or ideological theories... The seriousness of war is approaching us without our summoning it; it therefore does not need to be constantly conjured up anew.'³⁶

The prescribed antidote to such head hanging was not a rousing call to arms but a steady diet of cheerful fare. Nowhere was this more evident than in the musical efforts of the Reich Propaganda Ministry (RMVP). From late 1941 through 1942 it commissioned some of Germany's foremost popular composers to write songs specially geared towards lifting morale. At the end of 1942, there was even a competition to determine the best 'optimistic hit song' in the midst of the debacle at Stalingrad. Although precious few of these commissioned songs became genuine 'hits' – e.g. Franz Grothe's *'Wir werden das Kind schon richtig schaukeln'* ('We'll manage perfectly fine') and Albert Vossen's *'So sind wir, wir pfeifen auf die Sorgen'* ('That's how we are, we don't care about our worries') – the cinema more than compensated with a whole string of highly successful 'optimistic hits', most notably Zarah Leander's *'Davon geht die Welt nicht unter'* ('It's not the end of the world') and *'Ich weiß, es wird einmal ein Wunder geschehen'* ('I know a miracle will happen someday'), both from the film *Die große Liebe*.³⁷ Such music quickly came to dominate German radio programming after the reforms of autumn 1941. But amid escalated bombing raids at home and setbacks at the front there were limits to how far the cheerful tone could be taken.³⁸ Despite the general popularity of the lighter radio programme, people sometimes found such material inappropriate. For instance, listeners in Cologne were outraged in summer

1942 by the broadcast of a cheery polka directly after a report of 200 deaths in a recent bombing raid, much as Ruhr listeners found the lyrics of the hit song '*Ich tanze mit Dir in den Himmel hinein*' ('I'll dance with you into the heavens') grotesquely out of place under the hail of bombs in spring 1943.³⁹ Broadcasters were well aware of such sensitivities and normally avoided excessively merry tunes in moments of acute distress, such as when the news about Stalingrad was released in January 1943. For many critics the RMVP's optimistic line made for a jarring incongruity between pain and pleasure. But even so, the emphasis on cheery, upbeat music was retained as far as possible, and according to internal reports was generally welcomed apart from occasional excesses.⁴⁰

If Nazi radio put a premium on joviality over the second half of the war, the cinema was even more thoroughly dominated by light amusement. In terms of production, the shift of emphasis was more or less simultaneous with the introduction of the new broadcasting programme, though because of the amount of time involved in film-making it took some time for this to appear on the silver screen. As Gerd Albrecht argued years ago, the years 1941–1942 were actually the high-water mark of 'manifestly propaganda films'. He calculated that the proportion of such films peaked in 1941 at 34 per cent and in 1942 at 25 per cent (against an average of 14 per cent throughout the entire period of the Third Reich and a low of only 7 per cent in 1936), with the proportion of comedies correspondingly falling to 38 per cent and 35 per cent respectively, well below the average of 48 per cent. In 1943, however – i.e., largely films that were first conceived in 1941–1942 – the pendulum swung back with a vengeance, as the quota of comedies rose to over 55 per cent while propaganda films slumped to a mere 8 per cent.⁴¹ Though one can argue with Albrecht's category boundaries, the overall trend is clear enough. Indeed, the abrupt quantitative shift suggested by his figures is mirrored by qualitative trends. If the war furnished the central theme of the smash hits of 1940–1942 (*Die große Liebe*, *Fronttheater*), it all but disappeared from the most successful films of the following years. From the opulent romance of *Die Frau meiner Träume* (1944) to the titillating comedy *Das Bad auf der Tenne* (1943, remade in 1956) to the still beloved *Feuerzangenbowle* (1944), one could scarcely imagine films more divorced from the suffering taking place. Many were unadulterated escapism, such as the ice-dance revue *Der weiße Traum* (1943) whose popular hit song '*Kauf Dir einen bunten Luftballon*' perhaps marked the pinnacle of wartime escapism: 'Buy yourself a bright balloon/ Take it firmly in your hand/ Imagine that you fly away/ To a far-off fairyland'.⁴²

As the destruction within Germany mounted, the simple pleasures peddled by the mass media gradually came to represent much more than a mere source of enjoyment or pause from reality. Just as the boom in amusements after the armistice in 1918 had served as a primary symbol of the return to some semblance of 'normality', so the maintenance of certain key aspects of civilian life offered Germans in the Second World War a comforting symbol of pre-war days and an alluring token of the good life they could hopefully look forward to after the war. Nazi authorities were well aware of this, and invested considerable efforts in keeping bomb-damaged cinemas open and maximizing the supply of radio sets in spite of the near collapse of civilian wireless production. Amid the dwindling supply of semi-luxury goods and leisure opportunities, aspirations for personal pleasure became inordinately focused on media-based entertainments, which consequently became so coveted as to cause considerable social tension. Although the radio represented the only regular source of amusement for many time-strapped and rural-dwelling Germans, it was undoubtedly the shortage of cinema tickets that caused the most conflict. There was widespread anger and envy among those who lacked the time required to queue for tickets, and even in the queues there were frequent scuffles between exasperated people who felt they had a 'right' to a little light entertainment. The upshot was a raft of measures that effectively sought to ration the availability of amusement, from limiting ticket sales to banning minors from evening screenings to needs-based distribution of radios and gramophones (all undermined by black-market trading).⁴³

Yet as the military situation continued to deteriorate there was precious little scope for harnessing pleasure and entertainment as a means of mobilizing the populace. The last time this formula showed much hope of success came with the brief string of German victories during summer 1942, which just so happened to coincide with the film *Die große Liebe* and the hit songs it popularized, all of which were geared to stabilize morale. After Stalingrad, however, the message of delayed gratification – the idea that duty and sacrifice in the present marked the surest route to personal happiness in the future – was unpersuasive. For many Germans the future looked increasingly bleak, an outlook that was ironically reinforced by the regime's own atrocity propaganda.⁴⁴ The attempt to convey political messages to an increasingly sceptical audience subsequently required so much packaging (in the form of entertainment) that there was eventually little room for anything else.

Nevertheless, the RMVP's 'orchestra' kept on playing despite being viewed, as one observer in Berlin put it, 'like a band eagerly playing

on board a sinking ship'.⁴⁵ Although propaganda officials were probably correct to conclude that morale was best maintained by assiduously ignoring the mounting evidence of defeat, by 1944 at the latest some Germans resented the crass incongruity between the calamitous military situation and the continual supply of cheerful escapism. Just as during the First World War, there were popular calls to ban all public amusements as unbefitting the 'seriousness of the times', especially after the clampdown on unnecessary travel in summer 1944.⁴⁶ And indeed on 1 September 1944 all theatres, cabarets and concert halls were closed indefinitely, leaving film and radio as the sole means of entertainment for the bulk of the populace.

Of course, the banning of other leisure opportunities meant that demand for film and radio entertainment was stronger than ever. When broadcasters temporarily abandoned the light primetime format in late 1944 it triggered widespread popular complaints that 'too little light and entertainment music is being broadcast. Instead one hears some "Opus 296" or the like that would be better placed in the late-night slot'.⁴⁷ And as cinema seats became scarcer, squabbles in the queues and at the ticket counters became more and more common.⁴⁸ Thus Germany's cinemas and airwaves, which only a couple of years earlier had served as the site of a virtual 'national community' united by the collective experience of pleasure and triumph, had now become a source of individual escape and social conflict. Instead of aiding the cause of popular mobilization or invoking a sense of unity, mass entertainments by 1944–1945 were primarily sought after as a refuge amid the wider processes of social disintegration. This does not, however, exclude the possibility that they may have helped stabilize the home front. Even if they had given up on rallying the troops, so to speak, the sense of civilian 'normality' conjured by upbeat dance music or screwball comedies could also serve as a reminder of a world beyond the war, a world that would eventually return if one continued to carry on through the current mayhem.

The point to highlight, then, is that the continuing demand for Nazi-approved entertainments towards the end of the war was no longer a sign of the regime's strength but rather of its weakness. In this sense Goebbels completely misread the high level of cinema admissions in early 1945 as evidence that 'the German people demonstrates a vitality and positive attitude to life that is absolutely astonishing; proof that we haven't the slightest reason to doubt them. They will follow us through thick and thin'.⁴⁹ Far more convincing was a government assessment of morale that followed a few weeks later: 'A large portion of the population has got used to living merely day by day. Every available source of

pleasure is exploited. An otherwise trivial occasion is seized upon to drink the last bottle that was initially set aside for the victory celebration, for the end of blackouts and the return of husbands and sons.⁵⁰ Delayed gratification could hardly be further from anyone's mind. As faith in a better tomorrow dwindled, there was an understandable tendency to grab any pleasure one could find in the here and now.

Conclusions

To return to the questions raised at the outset of this chapter, it thus seems that the role of mass media entertainments in the Third Reich was fundamentally based on the changing social and political context in which they operated. The extent to which they supported or undermined the regime, promoted or contradicted its political values, united or divided audiences was not simply a reflection of their inherent characteristics but was also shaped by the intentions of those making the films, radio shows and the like, as well as the audiences who used them. Obviously, the circumstances for everyone changed radically over the course of the war, and as I have tried to outline above, the relationship between mobilization and distraction shifted accordingly. From the standpoint of both producers and consumers, the provision of pleasure was a continual must; the key question was what users would find alluring enough to spend their time and money on. So long as Germany was triumphant, current-events 'infotainment' and the conflation of sacrifice with personal fulfilment were winning formulae. But in the face of defeat they were increasingly displaced by amusing distractions that did their best to avoid undue reference to war and politics.

This shift of emphasis from mobilization to distraction also entailed a corresponding change in the role of media amusements as a means of social and political integration. Although mass entertainments are by their very nature a form of collective pleasure, this does not of itself answer whether their actual content and mode of appropriation tended to promote or undermine a sense of communal enterprise. If the war-time media initially helped unify Germans by merging a collective experience of pleasure with a sense of victory and by bringing it to a wider audience than ever before, during the latter stages of the war the perception of radio and especially cinema as a haven of 'politics-free' enjoyment, coupled with the divisive social effects caused by their scarcity, reflected the broader disintegration of the social fabric. Put differently, whereas the act of pleasure-seeking via cinema and radio tended to bring audiences closer to the regime up to 1941, thereafter it

distanced them from it. Of course, the appeal of light, escapist entertainment may well have helped defuse discontent after 1942. But at the same time the actual manner in which it was exploited by an audience increasingly preoccupied by survival and desperate for a brief respite from destruction and looming defeat could still exert a corrosive social effect. The precise context of production and consumption always powerfully shapes the social role of mass cultural 'pleasures', and this was nowhere more apparent than under the intense pressures of the Second World War.

Notes

1. e.g. H. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (London, 1927), reprinted as *Propaganda Technique in World War 1* (Cambridge MA, 1971); J. Plenge, *Deutsche Propaganda. Die Lehre von der Propaganda als praktische Gesellschaftslehre* (Bremen, 1922). See generally H. Berking, *Masse und Geist. Studien zur Soziologie in der Weimarer Republik* (Berlin, 1984).
2. Address to radio executives, 24 March 1933, reprinted in D. Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda* (London, 2002), 183.
3. Entry of 8 February 1942: E. Fröhlich (ed.), *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, Part 2, vol. 3 (Munich, 1994), 274.
4. A point also emphasized by B. Kundrus, 'Totale Unterhaltung? Die kulturelle Kriegführung 1939 bis 1945 in Film, Rundfunk und Theater', in J. Echternkamp (ed.), *Die deutsche Kriegsgesellschaft 1939 bis 1945. Zweiter Halbband. Ausbeutung, Deutungen, Ausgrenzung* (Munich, 2005), 93–157.
5. Quoted from H. Heiber (ed.), *Goebbels-Reden*, vol. 1: 1932–1939 (Düsseldorf, 1971), 95.
6. 'Die Westdeutschen Filmtheater sind stark besucht', *Film-Kurier* (hereafter FK) (2 October 1939), 2; see also 'Ueberall im Reich starker Filmtheaterbesuch', FK (5 October 1939), 1.
7. Entry of 21 October 1939: Fröhlich (ed.), *Die Tagebücher*, Part 1, vol. 7, 162.
8. 'Die Einzelhandelsumsätze 1939', *Radio-Händler* (hereafter RH) 17 (14 August 1940), 352–353; RH 17 (3 January 1940), 8; generally, H.-J. Koch, *Das Wunschkonzert im NS-Rundfunk* (Cologne, 2003), 53–54.
9. H. Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen aus dem Reich. Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS 1938–1945*, vol. 4 (Herrsching, 1984), 1154, 1165, reports of 20, 23 May 1940.
10. On the NS-era newsreels in general, U. Bartels, *Die Wochenschau im Dritten Reich. Entwicklung und Funktion eines Massenmediums unter besonderer Berücksichtigung völkisch-nationaler Inhalte* (Frankfurt a. M., 2004).
11. Quotes from 'Wochenschau-Vorstellungen stark besucht', FK (26 September 1939), 1; Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen*, vol. 3, 527 (4 December 1939).
12. Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen*, vol. 2, 384.
13. 'Die Abrechnung bei Sonderveranstaltungen', FK (5 October 1939), 1.
14. 'Millionen sahen bereits die neue Wochenschau', FK (27 May 1940), 1; Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen*, vol. 4, 1221 (6 June 1940).

15. See, generally, T. Sakmyster, 'Nazi Documentaries of Intimidation: "Feldzug in Polen" (1940), "Feuertaufe" (1940) and "Sieg im Westen" (1941)', in *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 16 (1996), 485–514.
16. Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen*, vol. 4, 1266 (17 June 1940).
17. H. Segeberg, 'Die großen Deutschen. Zur Renaissance des Propagandafilms um 1940', in H. Segeberg (ed.), *Mediale Mobilmachung. Das Dritte Reich und der Film* (Munich, 2004), 267–291; S. Lowry, *Pathos und Politik. Ideologie in Spielfilmen des Nationalsozialismus* (Tübingen, 1991), 269–270.
18. F. Hippler, *Betrachtungen zum Filmschaffen* (Berlin, 1942), 80; see also Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen*, vol. 5, 1655–6 (10 October 1940).
19. By the end of the war *Wunschkonzert* boasted 26.5 million admissions worth 7.6 million RM, *Die große Liebe* some 28 million admissions and revenues over 9 million RM: K. Kreimeier, *The Ufa Story: A History of Germany's Greatest Film Company, 1918–1945* (Berkeley, 1999), 316.
20. Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen*, vol. 6, 2007 (17 February 1941)
21. Reprinted in J. Noakes (ed.), *Nazism 1919–1945: A Documentary Reader*, vol. 4 (Exeter, 1998), 486–487.
22. Generally, G. Aly, *Hitlers Volksstaat. Raub, Rassenkrieg und nationaler Sozialismus* (Frankfurt a. M., 2005).
23. Generally, K. Dussel, *Deutsche Rundfunkgeschichte*, 2nd edn (Konstanz, 1999), 91–100.
24. G. Eckert, *Der Rundfunk als Führungsmittel* (Berlin, 1941), 179, italics in the original.
25. See, generally, H.-J. Koch, *Das Wunschkonzert im NS-Rundfunk* (Cologne, 2003), esp. 168–223.
26. H. Goedecke and W. Krug, *Wir beginnen das Wunschkonzert für die Wehrmacht* (Berlin, 1940), 39. Figures from N. Dreschler, *Die Funktion der Musik im deutschen Rundfunk 1933–1945* (Pfaffenweiler, 1988), 131; Koch, *Das Wunschkonzert*, 211.
27. Goedecke and Krug, *Wir beginnen*, 8.
28. Koch, *Das Wunschkonzert*, 220.
29. See the complaints in Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen*, vol. 5, 1494 (22 August 1940); also, generally, Dussel, *Deutsche Rundfunkgeschichte*, 104, 113.
30. Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen*, vol. 7, 2290 (12 May 1941).
31. Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen*, vol. 8, 2931 (30 October 1941).
32. See, for instance, Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen*, vol. 9, 3164 (15 January 1942).
33. Koch, *Das Wunschkonzert*, 53–54. It is unclear, however, how many of these sets were rendered unserviceable due to the dire shortage of spare parts since 1941.
34. J. Spiker, *Film und Kapital. Der Weg der deutschen Filmwirtschaft zum nationalsozialistischen Einheitskonzern* (Berlin, 1975), 197, 231.
35. A point emphasized also by G. Stahr, *Volksgemeinschaft vor der Leinwand? Der nationalsozialistische Film und sein Publikum* (Berlin, 2001), 292.
36. Entry of 27 February 1942: Fröhlich (ed.), *Die Tagebücher*, Part 2, vol. 3, 383.
37. Koch, *Das Wunschkonzert*, 304–306.
38. Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen*, vol. 9, 3199 (22 January 1942).
39. Dreschler, *Die Funktion*, 139; Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen*, vol. 13, 4970 (18 March 1943).

40. Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen*, vol. 13, 4873 (1 March 1943); also Koch, *Das Wunschkonzert*, 129, 132.
41. G. Albrecht, *Nationalsozialistische Filmpolitik. Eine soziologische Untersuchung über die Spielfilme des Dritten Reichs* (Stuttgart, 1969), 110.
42. Lowry, *Pathos*, 120, 236–237, 270.
43. G. H., 'Filmtheaterbesitzer haben sich bewährt', *FK* (27 November 1942), 1; 'Wiederaufbau kriegszerstörter Filmtheater', *FK* (7 October 1942), insert; G. H., 'Wenn Eintrittskarten Mangelware werden', *FK* (13 October 1942), 1–2; G. H., 'Fronturlauber sind Ehrengäste der Filmtheater. Bevorzugte Kartenzuteilung bei starkem Andrang', *FK* (19 November 1942), 1; 'Maßnahmen zur Steuerung des Filmtheater-Besuchs', *FK* (22 February 1943), 1; 'Aktuelle Fragen des Filmtheaterbesuchs', *FK* (25 July 1944), 1; Stahr, *Volksgemeinschaft*, 258–261.
44. Kundrus, 'Totale Unterhaltung?', 126–129, 154.
45. Report from Berlin, 31 March 1945, in W. Wette, R. Bremer, D. Vogel (eds), *Das letzte halbe Jahr. Stimmungsberichte der Wehrmachtpropaganda 1944/45* (Essen, 2001), 310.
46. Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen*, vol. 17, 6657 (22 July 1944); Wette et al. (eds), *Das letzte halbe Jahr*, 234 (report from Berlin, 1 February 1945).
47. Quote from report on Berlin, 7 November 1944, Wette et al. (eds), *Das letzte halbe Jahr*, 145; see also subsequent January reports, 196, 208, 224; also Koch, *Das Wunschkonzert*, 137, 141.
48. See Wette et al. (eds), *Das letzte halbe Jahr*, 142 (report from Berlin, 7 November 1944); also 172 (Berlin, 9 December 1944); 209 (Berlin, 9 January 1945).
49. Entry of 23 January 1945: Fröhlich (ed.), *Die Tagebücher*, Part 2, vol. 15, 190.
50. Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen*, vol. 17, 'Bericht aus Akten der Geschäftsführenden Reichsregierung Dönitz von Ende März 1945', 6737.

Part III

The Pleasures of Community and Consensus

9

Seeing the World: Photography, Photojournalism and Visual Pleasure in the Third Reich

Elizabeth Harvey

In October 1942, the then 30-year-old photojournalist Liselotte Purper wrote from Berlin to her fiancé Kurt Orgel, then stationed on the Eastern Front, describing her recent successes placing work in the illustrated press. A two-page spread with photos she had taken in Romania in summer 1942 and which she had been allowed to select herself was forthcoming in *Frauenkultur*, an illustrated magazine published by the Reich Women's Leadership (*Reichsfrauenführung*) – to her delight, it was even going to feature a picture of her at work. Conjuring up the image for Kurt, she described the photo taken by her colleague and travelling companion Margot Monnier, the picture editor in the Reich Women's Leadership press office: with camera hung round her neck, hair blowing in the wind, a large straw hat against the background of a field of maize and a cheeky expression. She looked forward to him seeing it: 'You'll find it fun!' she promised (*'Du wirst Deinen Spass an der Sache haben!'*). Meanwhile, she went on, she had received copies of recent publications containing her pictures: a feature on soldiers convalescing by the shores of the Black Sea (also taken in summer 1942) 'very nicely laid out' (*'sehr schön aufgemacht'*); some portraits of Labour Service girls in Dithmarschen, folk costumes from Tirol, and scenes from a feature entitled 'Strasbourg, a site of German culture' (*'Strassburg, eine Stätte deutscher Kultur'*). She then told him about how she had developed the films he had sent her from the front and how much she was enjoying looking at the ones of him and commented: 'Don't you get more out of life when you can take photos?' (*'Hat man nicht mehr vom Leben, wenn man fotografieren kann?'*)¹

Purper's letter suggests a close connection between the act of taking a picture and of looking at photographs, on the one hand, and fun,

enjoyment and pleasure on the other. In this chapter I discuss this connection and its propagandistic purpose in wartime Nazi Germany by examining Purper's travel photography and photo-reportage for illustrated periodicals. I argue that these well-established forms of photojournalism took on a new meaning in Germany during the Second World War when the Wehrmacht quickly conquered vast parts of Europe. At this time, for many Germans both photography and travel became closely tied to the military victories of the Third Reich. Other historians have written about the way in which Wehrmacht soldiers and officers went sightseeing and taking photographs in territories conquered and occupied by Nazi Germany.² In Purper, we have a professional woman photographer doing something similar, who – luckily for the historian – reflected on her ambitions and experiences in her letters and diaries.

Purper's wartime work typically sought to illustrate the impact of 'womanly work' not only on the home front, but also in the conquered territories and within Axis-dominated Europe.³ Between 1939 and 1944, she took photographs in Poland, Alsace, Romania, Ukraine, the Sudetenland, Prague, Norway and Luxemburg. On these journeys Purper used photography in different ways to establish and express German supremacy over occupied countries and to document German influence in countries allied to the Axis. Her work invited observers and her audience to 'see' – and thereby to experience – the expanding sphere of German domination as a realm of fun and personal freedom, not just for men but also (and perhaps even especially) for women. Photography and photojournalism thus became forms of 'emotional management' that tried to tie the notion of space to pleasurable feelings associated with the Nazi New Order in Europe.

Purper, who had established herself in Berlin in 1937/8 as a photojournalist through contacts with the press office of the Reich Women's Leadership, was not a household name, but she was prominent enough to be mentioned along with five others in a wartime article by Willy Stiewe on female photojournalists.⁴ As a 'house photographer' for the National Socialist women's organization (NS-Frauenshaft), her work typically appeared in Party publications like *NS-Frauenwarte* and *Frauenkultur*, but she also – as the quotation at the beginning shows – placed her work elsewhere. She managed to sell pictures and obtain commissions from a number of illustrated periodicals, including the *Münchener Illustrierte Presse* and the Luftwaffe newspaper *Der Adler*, as well as women's magazines such as *Elegante Welt* and *die neue linie*.

In the following, I explore the pleasures, visual and otherwise, that could be derived from 'seeing the world' during wartime, and consider

what sort of 'visual pleasure' Purper and other women photojournalists sought to evoke with their photographs. I begin by asking what scope existed in the wartime illustrated press, alongside the extensive coverage of military campaigns, for images of 'places and peoples' (*'Land und Leute'*), scenery and 'sights' in the expanded homeland (*Heimat*) and in the wider world. Purper's wartime career trajectory also raises the question of how women photographers more generally built their careers and secured travel assignments for themselves, particularly in wartime when frontline coverage was the monopoly of the Wehrmacht propaganda corps (*Propagandakompanien*) from which women were excluded.⁵ To assess how typical or unusual Purper was as a roving woman photojournalist in wartime, I will compare her work with that of two other women photographers mentioned in Stiewe's article who were singled out particularly for their travel assignments: Erika Schmachtenberger (1906–1992) and Ilse Steinhoff (1906–1974). Finally, I ask what Purper's wartime assignments and her comments on them in diaries and letters tell us about her enjoyment of wartime travel, her delight in photography, and the different sorts of pleasure associated with wartime expansion that her work expressed: the exhilaration of conquest, the aesthetic enjoyment of picturesque vistas in the 'new Europe', and the exuberance of women cooperating across Europe for Axis victory.

Press images of home and abroad: From the 'shrinking world' to the expansion of Nazi domination

Travel reportage in the Third Reich was in some respects a continuation of a genre which had developed before 1933. Some of this was to be found in specialist magazines including the upmarket *Atlantis: Länder, Völker, Reisen* (founded 1929 and edited by Martin Hürlimann) and *Weltreise-Zeitung: Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Reise und Verkehr*, produced in association with Thomas Cook's German headquarters. But travel features reached much larger readerships through the major illustrated periodicals such as *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* or the *Münchner Illustrierte Presse*, whose strength lay not in delivering the latest news but in providing a varied and cosmopolitan menu to interest and entertain its readers.⁶ If daily newspapers covered unfolding events, the illustrated press reflected those events in 'images of the week' but laid more emphasis on the novelty and variety of features that were not dictated by the day's headlines. Travel features underlined the claim of the illustrated press to offer a 'window on the world' using photographs designed to catch the attention and intrigue the reader. In the course of the 1920s

travel features in the illustrated press diversified. Alongside the established 'expedition reports' from inaccessible regions of the globe, a new type of feature emerged where foreign countries were presented as potential tourist destinations. Regardless of the actual (very small) numbers of people who might afford a trip to Egypt or New York, travel features invited readers to be 'eyewitnesses' to the scenes captured by photojournalists, enabling them to encounter the landscape and the customs of the country and compare them with those at home.⁷

The Nazi regime transformed photojournalism and the illustrated press, expelling Jewish and left-wing journalists and photographers and imposing a new organization for photojournalists (*Bildberichterstatter*) within the Reich Association of the German Press (*Reichsverband der deutschen Presse*) to which all photojournalists were compelled to belong.⁸ The forced exodus of talent doubtless created, as Rolf Sachsse has suggested, additional career opportunities for photographers of both sexes who could demonstrate 'Aryan' background and were prepared to conform politically.⁹ Most illustrated periodicals were classified broadly as 'political' publications and were correspondingly subject to political controls: however, in terms of intervention in their content, the regime operated with a lighter touch than with daily newspapers. That said, they still functioned smoothly as instruments of regime propaganda, particularly in terms of acclaiming the Nazi leadership, its foreign policy coups and in wartime its conquests, as well as offering a varied, if formulaic, diet of items calculated to distract and entertain.¹⁰

There was a degree of continuity from the Weimar period in the types of reportage on foreign countries that appeared after 1933, which ranged, as it had done before, from reportage on life in New York or Saudi Arabia to the 'Himalayan expedition' and more obviously tourist-oriented pieces that described cruising on the Nile or travel by airship to Latin America. On the face of it, this was at odds with the regime's promotion of tourism in the Heimat and its restrictions on the export of foreign currency that hampered private holidays abroad.¹¹ One way of reading this reportage is that the 'window on the world' provided by the illustrated press served as a substitute for actual foreign travel.¹² However, it may equally have tended to encourage readers' aspirations to see more than just Hitler's Germany. In fact, for all its insistence that Germans should 'travel in the Heimat first', the regime did continue to allow private foreign travel as well as the famous Strength through Joy (*Kraft durch Freude*) overseas cruises to Norway and Madeira.¹³ As Kristin Semmens suggests, this policy may have served to promote an image of the Third Reich's 'normality'.¹⁴ The continuing possibility of foreign

holidays probably bolstered in particular within the middle classes a sense that things in the Third Reich were going their way. But if foreign holidays were not an immediate possibility for most, travel features in the press could serve to remind readers that they were 'citizens of the world' and travellers of the future, part of a shrinking world that was increasingly accessible to all thanks to modern means of transport and to a government that supported such innovations. Constant excitement was whipped up by the illustrated press about the latest airship, the latest record-breaking transatlantic voyage times or the latest passenger aircraft.

How travel photoreportage was read and received must remain largely speculation, but it is perhaps possible to deduce what function it fulfilled from the point of view of the illustrated press as well as its propaganda value for the regime. From the point of view of the illustrated press, photographs of foreign 'lands and peoples' sustained the mission of the *Illustrierte* to provide readers with a sense of being modern subjects capable of imagining the world's variety and diversity, witnesses to a world in transformation through technology and speed.¹⁵ They could also be a source, in endless variation against a series of foreign backgrounds, of that staple of the illustrated press, portraits of attractive young women: 'Hungarian girls are pretty!' declared the *Münchener Illustrierte* in October 1936.¹⁶ But features on foreign countries and cultures could also be vehicles for politically charged messages about national and racial identity, tradition and modernity. The diverse range of travel features published in the press reflected the contradictory trends within Nazi culture that on the one hand sought to cater to a widespread popular aspiration for foreign travel and contact with a wider world, and on the other hand insisted on the need to uphold the cultural and racial boundaries of the *Volkgemeinschaft*. Travel features in the illustrated press and magazines could also be invitations to compare poverty and backwardness abroad with conditions in Hitler's Germany. Features on south-west Africa could remind readers of lost colonies in Africa while conveying a racist message in its portrayal of the indigenous population as 'colourful' but reassuringly subservient, caught in transit between traditional customs and the mimicking of European ways.¹⁷

A survey of selected illustrated publications in 1938–1939 – the *Münchener Illustrierte*, *Atlantis* and *Weltreise-Zeitung* – showed travel features increasingly reflecting both Germany's territorial expansion and the forging of closer ties with other fascist regimes as preparations for war moved up a gear. Features on Italy and its colonization efforts in

Libya¹⁸ or on Spain after Franco's victory suggested to readers new or revived tourism opportunities within the expanding international domain of fascist rule. In June 1939, the *Münchener Illustrierte* had a feature on youth in 'liberated' Spain, and a month later the *Weltreise-Zeitung* promoted Spain as a tourist destination once again under the headline 'Back to Spain'.¹⁹ Meanwhile, in what Kristin Semmens has termed the 'touristification' of newly annexed territories, the illustrated press and magazines like *Atlantis* and *Weltreise-Zeitung* in 1938 and 1939 carried features on Austria and the Sudetenland that presented the reunion of Germans within an expanded homeland and highlighted their potential as travel destinations for patriotic Germans from the Altreich.²⁰

The outbreak of war, as Rudy Koshar and others have shown, created a new 'travel culture' in which the war brought for many Germans the chance to see the world. German soldiers travelled over most of Europe and even to North Africa, sometimes revisiting old haunts, often encountering new sights which they came primed – perhaps due not least to years of travel features in the illustrated press – to see with the eye of the tourist as well as that of the conqueror.²¹ The war generated a huge upsurge of interest in photography within the Wehrmacht, whose members typically sought to capture souvenirs of places and people in the conquered territories as well as taking pictures of themselves and their comrades in moments of relaxation.²² Meanwhile, the photographers in the propaganda units of the Wehrmacht supplied the illustrated press with a flood of images of territories and peoples overrun, shattered and subdued by the war. Coverage of military campaigns became an extensive feature of the mainstream illustrated press: to take the *Münchener Illustrierte* as an example, such coverage, coupled with a progressive reduction in the number of pages per issue, meant that other varieties of reportage were increasingly squeezed out. These included the travel features that had been one of its staples before 1939. The reports that the *Münchener Illustrierte* did carry from elsewhere in Europe (and Japan) served the purpose of celebrating the ascendancy of fascism, showing the cheerful and well-ordered lives of those under fascist rule, and advertising the contributions to the war effort made by Germany's Axis partners. Features on other parts of the globe were linked to developments in other theatres of war.

The constantly repeated visualization through the wartime media of the world under German rule, meshing the tourist gaze with that of the conqueror, was neatly encapsulated in a competition feature in the periodical *NS-Frauenwarte* in June 1941. 'In this time of war we have had plenty of opportunity to develop our knowledge of European

geography,' it noted. 'Good pictures in newsreels, daily newspapers and the illustrated press bring the countries that we are occupying closer to us. These reports and descriptions make us familiar with people and places, with economic and cultural conditions.' The magazine went on to challenge its female readers to correctly identify postcard-style images

UNSER DIESTÄHRIGES
In welchen Ländern Europas weht

Liebe Leserinnen!

Wir alle haben mit brennender Anteilnahme den Siegeszug unserer Gruppen verfolgt. Was die Welt für unendlich heil, wird dankbar, es gibt kein flüchtiges, kein fremdes für den deutschen Soldaten, von dem der Säbner selbst in seiner Reihe am 4. Mai sagte: „Dem deutschen Soldaten ist nichts unmöglich!“ Solche Ereignisse denken wir unseren Soldaten und unseren großen Säbnern.

Landkarten werden herangezogen, und wir verfolgen mit dieser den Siegeszug unserer Heere. In dieser Kriegszeit haben wir reichlich Gelegenheit, unsere Kenntnis in europäischer Geographie zu vertiefen. In Wochenenden, Tageszeiten und Abenden werden uns in guten Aufschauen die Länder nahegebracht, die wir befragen. Diese Berichte und Schilderungen machen uns mit Land und Leuten, mit wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Verhältnissen bekannt.

In diesen Tagen nun haben wir — damit kommen wir auf den Kern der Sache — unser Dreissigstündiges wieder ganz neu beleuchtet. Auch können wir euch schon verraten, daß die Aufgabe dieses Mal besonders leicht ist, das freut euch doch sehr. Ihr sollt nur angeben — raten oder schon gar nicht der richtige Ausbruch sein, hierbei soll man nicht, man weiß einfach —.

Wo die deutsche Heidekriegsflagge weht.

Wir haben aus jedem Land, in dem deutsche Gruppen einrückten und unsere Fahne aufpflanzen, eine typische Aufnahme gemacht, entweder ein allgemein bekanntes Gebäude oder eine charakteristische Landschaft, die ihr hier mit Hammer ausgegründet habt. Ihr, liebe Leserinnen, könnt nun nur eine Dreierliste von Land zu nehmen und darauf die Zahlen von 1-10 untereinander eintragen. Dieser Jahr soll ihr die Namen des Landes, aus dem wir eine Aufnahme mit der gleichen Zahl veröffentlichten. Daß der Schwierigkeit in Paris liegt, alle Seiten der inneren anderen Dreissigstündigen berichtet, weiß wohl jede von euch. Nicht wollen wir nicht verraten. Wer von euch die Ereignisse dieses Krieges aufmerksam verfolgt hat —, und wer hat nicht unsere Gruppen bei ihren Überwachungen mit heissen Herzen begleitet! — dem wird es ein leichtes sein, die richtige Lösung zu finden.

Figure 9.1 Continued

GROSSES PREISAUSSCHREIBEN
heute die siegreiche Fahne Großdeutschlands?

Die Postkarte III mit dem Dornet „Preisaußschreiben“ zu versehen und mit der Bildseite: Schriftführung der NS-Frauenkarte, Wänden 11, Kassenplatz 2. – Namen und genaue Bildseite des Bilders nicht vergessen! Die Lösungen des 2. Teiles unseres Preisaußschreibens auf 5. 399 bitte gefordert einpendeln.

Einkaufsgehalt ist der 1. August!

Unter den vielen richtigen Einsendungen, die lieberlich bei uns eingehen, sind wieder wie früher das Los entfallen, auf wen die einzelnen Preise fallen. Die Entscheidungen sind nicht anfechtbar.

Wird im Dezember so viele gute Anregungen aus Küche und Nähstube bei uns eintrafen, haben wir auch in diesem Jahre noch ein prächtiges Preisaußschreiben veranstaltet, was auch wieder viel Stoffung findet. Alle weiteren Bedingungen hierüber erfolgt Sie auf Seite 399.

In einem Septemberheft werden wir die Lösungen der Preisaußgaben bekannt geben.

Der Verlag hat RM. 6000.– für Preise ausgesetzt

Ausstellung der zur Verteilung kommenden Preise im Gesamtsumme von RM. 6000.–.

Sie die erste Aufgabe wurden folgende Preise bestimmt:

ein 1. Preis von RM. 100.–	20 Gelbpreise von RM. 10.–
ein 2. Preis von RM. 50.–	20 Gelbpreise von RM. 7.50
ein 3. Preis von RM. 35.–	50 große Silberbilder (Kunstdruck im Passpartout)
10 Gelbpreise von RM. 30.–	15 farbige Silberbilder (Kunstdruck im Passpartout)
15 Gelbpreise von RM. 25.–	50 Bücher (Romanen)
20 Gelbpreise von RM. 20.–	100 NS-Frauenkalender 1942
20 Gelbpreise von RM. 15.–	1000 Trostpreise

Figure 9.1 Competition for readers of *NS-Frauenwarte*, June 1941: identifying landmarks from ten countries under German occupation

Source: *NS-Frauenwarte* vol. 9 (1940/1), no. 24 (Juni 1941), p. 389.

ranging from the Grande Place in Brussels to the Acropolis, representing the ten countries now under German occupation²³ (Figure 9.1).

Some illustrated magazines of general and cultural interest in wartime continued to offer outlets for travel writing and photography that gave readers glimpses of a world beyond that of fascism, as did *Atlantis* until

it closed down in October 1943 (going out with a bang with a stunning colour feature on Peru).²⁴ Nevertheless, for readers of major illustrated periodicals such as the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* or *Münchener Illustrierte* during wartime, or Party periodicals such as the *NS-Frauenwarte*, 'seeing the world' now meant overwhelmingly seeing the world made by the war, whether at the front or behind the lines. As they undertook their wartime travel assignments, photojournalists like Purper sought to capture and evoke elements of pleasure, enjoyment and excitement that could be associated with the emergence of this new world.

Travels with a camera: The careers of Erika Schmachtenberger and Ilse Steinhoff

The domain of travel reportage that Purper sought to break into during the war was one in which other women photographers had already established themselves in the pre-war period. Two notable examples, as already mentioned, were Erika Schmachtenberger and Ilse Steinhoff. In 1933 Erika Schmachtenberger became a press photographer for the *Illustrierter Rundfunk*, a Munich-based magazine for radio listeners.²⁵ The magazine also published travel features, promising readers that the pleasure of listening would be enhanced by the enjoyment of looking at pictures as well ('eine Unterstützung des Ohrengenusses durch einen solchen für die Augen').²⁶ Schmachtenberger also contributed to its sister publication, the *Münchener Illustrierte*. Between 1933 and 1939 she regularly provided cover pictures (above all for the *Illustrierter Rundfunk*) and travel features ranging from New York, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Sicily to southern France. For Ilse Steinhoff, for whom Africa became something of a speciality, *Atlantis* was from 1938 a major outlet for her work, along with the periodical *Kolonie und Heimat*.²⁷

Both women created from the outset of their careers as travel reporters an image and a repertoire of themes that were characteristic of the times and of the illustrated press. Both presented themselves as women with dash and daring who flourished in the fast-moving world of modern communications. Erika Schmachtenberger liked driving fast and learned rock-climbing in pursuit of mountain shots. In her recollections, *Meine liebsten Fotos*, she highlighted the glamour and excitement of her pre-war travel assignments. She made much of her adventures dangling from ropes in the Alps and driving the length and breadth of Europe, involving occasional collisions and amusing encounters with mountain goats.²⁸ Her first main travel assignment was a 1934 trip across the Atlantic to New York: she was accompanied by a blonde

model to 'enliven the shots'.²⁹ Another highlight was taking aerial photographs on a flight from Berlin to Munich for a feature published in the *Illustrierter Rundfunk* in August 1933. Apart from the excitement of flying, this involved being grabbed around the waist by a co-pilot and held as she took photographs from a trapdoor in the floor of the plane.³⁰

Ilse Steinhoff's self-image is perhaps summed up in the pictures in which she posed like a model on a catwalk against various exotic or dynamic backdrops, surrounded variously by Albanian children or Luftwaffe officers. *Kolonie und Heimat* did its bit to play up the image of the globetrotting female reporter with its breathless proclamation in 1939 that it was dispatching 'white women to the Dark Continent' – one of them being Steinhoff travelling to Libya: 'By aeroplane, driving their own car, riding on horseback or on the back of a camel, our female reporters and photojournalists make their journeys across the hot continent.'³¹

Both women built up a repertoire in the pre-war years of recording traditional customs in Germany, Austria and the Balkans (in the case of Schmachtenberger) and south-west Africa (in the case of Steinhoff). For *Illustrierter Rundfunk* in 1934, Schmachtenberger photographed gypsies in Croatia and Hungary and peasants in Bosnia and Dalmatia, in each case emphasizing both the 'colourfulness' and otherness of the people she had encountered (including the 'pure-blooded Gitan') as well as the harshness of their existence.³² For *Atlantis* in 1939, Steinhoff portrayed the Hereros, 'the black master race in South-West Africa' ('*das schwarze Herrenvolk in Südwestafrika*'), evoking their 'closeness to nature' while suggesting, using the example of playful, fashion-conscious Herero women who added frills to their traditional costume and danced the foxtrot, that old customs were giving way to European aspirations and 'civilized' ways.³³

The themes and approach developed by Schmachtenberger and Steinhoff in their pre-war careers continued to find expression in wartime assignments portraying life in the territories incorporated into the Greater German Reich and in other parts of Nazi-dominated Europe. Schmachtenberger's wartime travel assignments took her to Spain in 1941, courtesy of the connections between the League of German Girls (BDM) and the Falangist youth organization.³⁴ She also travelled to Poland: among her wartime features in the *Münchener Illustrierte* was a two-page feature on Łódź/Litzmannstadt in the Nazi-annexed 'Reichsgau Wartheland' in 1941 (Figure 9.2). Her sequence of photos included images to illustrate the city's German heritage and its modernization under Nazi rule, including night spots (*Vergnügungsstätten*)

'to rival those of any city in Germany': the picture showed a casino. Alongside the evocation of Litzmannstadt's pleasure palaces, two photos showed the ghetto: one depicting the bridge connecting two parts of the ghetto and one taken through the fence into the ghetto. The Jews

Münchener Illustrierte Presse

Deutschlands sechst- größte Stadt: Litzmannstadt

Ausschnitt aus: Litzmannstadt

Nach wem es nicht allzuweit im Reich, das — nach Berlin, Wien, Hamburg, München und Köln — Litzmannstadt mit seiner Dreiviertelmillion Einwohner Deutschlands lebhafteste Stadt ist. Litzmannstadt reich an seine Umgebung deutschen Unternehmen, die mit einer beispiellosen Tätigkeit und einem nicht untergeordneten Grad hier eines der größten Textilzentren Europas haben — einen Fabrikbezirk, der, rechnet man die Bestände hinzu, heute nahezu eine Million Menschen umschließt. Bei allen aus der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Welt überlieferten Hauptstädten ist die Stadt doch von einer freudigen Kraft, von einer fest



Auf mehreren
Häuserfronten
sehen dem Stadtbild
nicht. Das (obere) Bild
zeigt den Gebäude der
Kriegsfabrik der RIGMA.

Casino

Einfach:
Zum beliebigen Gehen
der Stadtmittel gehören
nicht selten zahlreiche
Kneipen und Lokale,
deren Programm die Kom-
fortierung mit ihrer be-
sonderen Wahlkraft in Europa
braucht

Rechts:
Der Mensch,
mit dem deutschen Geist
Litzmannstadt zum leb-
haften Textilzentrum er-
wählte, bildet auch heute
noch ein Kennzeichen des
deutschen Gewerbes
Vorbild der Stadt, in dem
sich von heute bis
zum großen Industrie-
men, alle Formen der in-
dustriellen Produktion ver-
einen haben




Figure 9.2 Continued



Figure 9.2 'Germany's sixth biggest city: Litzmannstadt'

Source: Photos by Erika Schmachtenberger. *Münchener Illustrierte Presse* vol. 18, no. 1 (2 January 1941).

were visible only as a crowd or as a group, remote dark figures separated physically from the viewer: the images were not designed to engage the reader with Jewish life in Nazi-ruled Litzmannstadt but simply to register their existence and to present them as contained and controlled. The

final image of the two-page layout, designed to sum up the future development of the city under German rule, was of a line of BDM girls with the caption 'Litzmannstadt's future lies with ethnic German youth' (*Litzmannstadts Zukunft liegt bei der volksdeutschen Jugend*). What other photographs Schmachtenberger may have taken in Łódź/Litzmannstadt I have not managed to establish: none are included in her book *Meine liebsten Fotos* nor in the most recent volume to appear on her work.³⁵ Nor, indeed, did she include among her 'favourite photos' any examples of the many other photographs she published during the war in the illustrated press of laughing young women – on skis, dancing, exercising against a mountain backdrop, or passing on their javelin-throwing techniques to eager girls from the Falangist youth organization.³⁶

Steinhoff's wartime travels took her to Albania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Romania and Sicily, trips which generated publications in *Atlantis*, the *Münchener Illustrierte* and the *Berliner Illustrierte*, and in 1942 she was in Libya again (following an earlier trip in 1939). Her typical theme was the transformation and modernization of life under Fascist or Nazi rule and the resulting colourful contrasts between 'authentic customs' (*unverfälschte Bräuche*) preserved in rural settings and modern industrial production and city life.³⁷ Attractive young women who adapted and combined the old and new in their lives were a favourite subject for Steinhoff's reportages. A feature on Albania that appeared in *Atlantis* in 1941 included a picture captioned 'Nermin, one of the most beautiful girls in Tirana, wears the treasured traditional costume only on special occasions. In everyday life she is a girl with a modern education and who wears – as Roman girls do – modern clothes. She is engaged to an Italian officer.'³⁸ A feature for the *Berliner Illustrierte* in 1943 showed the 'transformation' (*Wandlung*) of a young Muslim woman in Mostar (then part of the nominally independent fascist state of Croatia) who worked for the Organisation Todt (OT): this was the regime's construction agency responsible for infrastructure projects in support of the war effort. Shots of her daily life showed 'das Mädchen Nera' 'always in different guise – but always having fun' (*immer anders – aber immer lustig*), appearing variously in traditional dress at home with her family, going out in her traditional hooded cloak to see a Heinz Rühmann film, and – in the main image – stepping out in her modern work garb, a summery outfit showing her knees, arm in arm with a woman friend: the two women advance towards the camera 'in step with' a column of uniformed OT men, with a minaret and hilly landscape as backdrop³⁹ (Figure 9.3). The tone – typical for Steinhoff – was at once playful, patronizing and trivializing, suggesting that wartime work for the occupying power



Figure 9.3 'The transformation of Nera'

Source: Photoreportage by Ilse Steinhoff. *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* 1943, no. 52 (30 Dec. 1943), p. 616.

was a source of fun, freedom and new choices for spirited young women. While Uta Poiger has interpreted this feature as representing German rule in Yugoslavia as a 'civilizing mission' to liberate Muslim women from the veil, one could read the images of traditional Muslim culture here as more exotic than oppressive, with the whole feature suggesting a benign juxtaposition of old and new.⁴⁰

The focus on attractive youthful faces, the contrast between old and new, the cooperation of different nationalities under German leadership, and in particular the representation of a positive future embodied in the lives of girls and women, formed a staple of wartime propaganda for the illustrated press showing life unfolding under Nazi occupation

and Axis rule.⁴¹ If Schmachtenberger and Steinhoff left contradictions in their work between celebrating the preservation of authentic rural ways and the transformation from 'old' to 'new womanhood', this was precisely what the genre of photoreportage thrived on: striking contrasts and intriguing juxtapositions were staple devices to achieve visual effect. During wartime, such displays of contrasting lifestyles could help reinforce the message of the rich diversity of the Nazi New Order as well as its overarching pursuit of modernizing and mobilizing populations for Nazi goals. Only rarely – such as in the glimpses of Jews in Litzmannstadt – did such reportage pay any heed to those at whose expense this 'new Europe' was being constructed.

Liselotte Purper and her wartime travels

Liselotte Purper's wartime photographs contributed to these representations of life in the Greater German Reich and in Europe under National Socialist leadership, where women appeared as making a distinctive contribution to 'peaceful construction' in the midst of war. Much of Purper's work focused on the NS-Frauenschaft/Deutsches Frauenwerk and the Reich Women's Labour Service, and the fields of activity that opened up for women at home and further afield with the expansion of German power. Her career took off during the war as she consolidated her place within the regime's female propaganda networks, and she particularly relished every assignment that took her abroad. Her satisfaction at her success is vividly documented in her private wartime writings. Writing to her fiancé Kurt at the front and recording her experiences in travel diaries, she recounted the new sights her journeys gave her, her delight in capturing them on film and her excitement at seeing her images disseminated within Nazi-dominated Europe.

Purper described the physical rigours of wartime travel, but also the unexpected pleasures and the moments of 'living it up' in various parts of Europe. In November 1940 she revelled in restaurant meals, shopping and sightseeing in Belgrade.⁴² As part of her trip to Romania in summer 1942, a ride in a chauffeur-driven car through Bucharest, an audience with the Antonescus and a flight in a specially chartered plane from Konstanz to Odessa gave her and her colleague Margot Monnier a gratifying taste of the grand lifestyle.⁴³ In January 1943 it was winter sports in the Tatra mountains, staying in an SS convalescent home in Zakopane in the General Government, photographing local arts and crafts there and skiing, with *Glühwein* to round off her final evening.⁴⁴ In July 1943, she found herself in Copenhagen with a group of women

journalists en route to Norway, shopping, sightseeing, seeing a variety show and visiting the city's top cafe and cake shop, where 'dreams come true were piled up on the table'.⁴⁵ The treats continued into 1944: as she wrote from Colmarberg, a castle in Luxemburg in May 1944 now housing an elite Nazi school for girls (*Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt*), 'If it weren't for the war, I would certainly not be lying – as I was just now – on a bed in one of the Grand Duke's guest rooms!'⁴⁶

There were other, perhaps less obvious, pleasures to be gained from travelling as a member of the conquering nation in Nazi-dominated Europe. Gathering impressions of the regime's impact on subjugated territories and populations could offer intriguing sights for the visitor. In Poland in 1939 and 1940, Purper took some photos of Jews on the streets in Łódź and Stryków. Her surviving diaries and letters shed no light on these pictures, which appear to have been for her own record. Elsewhere in her private writings, she made only minimal reference to the presence and treatment of Jews, for instance commenting in October 1940 on Jews walking in the roadway in the small town of Wielun 'thereby obstructing the traffic'.⁴⁷ Her photographs seem to reflect a passing curiosity common to many Germans posted to or stationed in the occupied and annexed territories at the time.⁴⁸ In Kiev in October 1942, Purper took pictures that suggested the conqueror's sense of mastery and fascination at the spectacle of destruction: one sequence showed smiling members of the NS-Frauenschaft taking a stroll through an almost deserted ruined district in Kiev in the company of Wehrmacht soldiers (Figure 9.4). Such images can be set alongside the private snapshots of members of the Wehrmacht taken with the 'gaze of the occupier' upon ruins left in the wake of combat. Such photographs could be read as expressing a sense of triumph, awe and relief at the subjugation of the enemy.⁴⁹

However far Purper's journeys took her, she dreamed of going further. In December 1942 she joked with her journalist colleague Lydia Reimer about their plans to get out and see the world: 'she wants to go to Africa as a war correspondent, I only want to go as far as the Crimea'.⁵⁰ What she had dreamed of doing, she wrote to Kurt in February 1943, was to go to the Crimea in spring and to produce a book with colour photographs: 'On the country, the people, the towns, the history, on our places in this war. It would have begun with Perekop and ended with Kertsch. I wanted to take photos no-one had ever taken before, in colour too, and it was to all be in April because you get all the different seasons in that month.' The project was also to be a memorial for her brother Heinz who had been killed there in June 1942. But now, she wrote, thanks to



Figure 9.4 NS-Frauenschaft members and soldiers walking through Kiev

Source: Photo by Liselotte Purper, October 1942. Courtesy of Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

the military setbacks in the East, she would not get there, at least for the present; though she still hoped to get there one day.⁵¹

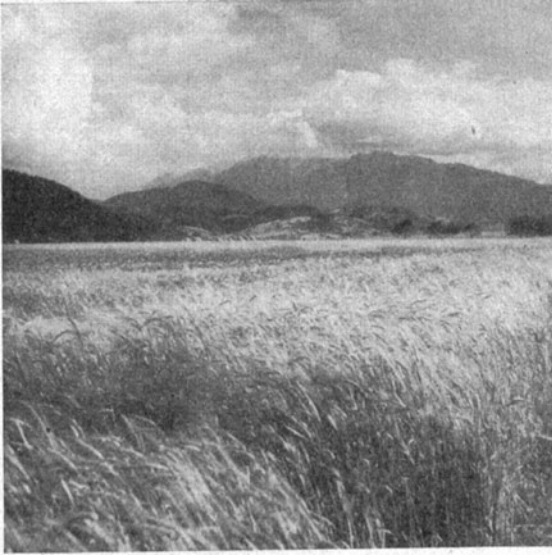
Describing her assignments to Kurt allowed Purper both to chronicle her career and to underline to him her independence as a career woman. She had no desire to play the part of the woman stuck at home worrying about her man, and felt that by travelling she was keeping pace with him. As she wrote to him in June 1942, 'I want to get out there, to see things and experience them. I want to get out there too and then I am that much closer to you.'⁵² She too was having adventures far away from home; she too had knowledge of the war, even though she

was never at the front; if he had military promotions to be proud of, she too had successes to share. She boasted to him of her commissions and attached to one letter a thumbnail picture of her 'firm' – herself with her two assistants.⁵³

Just as Purper enjoyed her travels, so she was excited at the idea of her photos being seen in the farthest corners of fascist-dominated Europe: 'Just imagine, we have sold photos via the Reich government to Spain, Italy, Romania and Norway. Did I tell you that in a tiny hovel in that godforsaken "village" Rogow in the expanses of former Poland there was a photo of mine hanging on the wall? Isn't that fun? You do understand don't you? Or that they showed an advertising slide with one of my pictures in the cinema in Lodsch? Or the brochure "The Family in the New Germany" written by my Frau Reimer, illustrated partly by L.P., that they've sold 100 000 copies of abroad.'⁵⁴ Doing some dissemination of her own, she supplied Kurt with prints of typical German landscapes to distribute to his comrades in response to their request for pictures to decorate their bunker and told him how much she liked the idea of her pictures cheering up a bunker in the midst of a 'gloomy Russia in winter'.⁵⁵

Purper's photography, like that of Schmachtenberger, Steinhoff and other women photographers in wartime, created advertising material for Nazi women's organizations and their counterparts elsewhere in fascist Europe, together with picturesque images conveying the expanding sphere of German rule. She helped create positive images of Himmler's programme as 'Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germandom' to resettle ethnic Germans from different parts of eastern Europe in the annexed territories of Poland by focusing on the care and support provided by German women to the incoming settlers.⁵⁶ Her photos showed the incorporation of the women of occupied or 'friendly' nations into the German sphere of domination and their collective mobilization for the Axis war effort. At the same time, she suggested with images of sunlit fields and peasant customs a more timeless and peaceful world enduring despite the war.

Purper's photos are full of the visual clichés characteristic of Nazi propaganda photography. A number of these are evident in her 1942 photo-essay on Romania (Figure 9.5). Subjects were selected that were suitable for the projection of an upbeat message, and portrayed in ways which drew on established conventions for 'beautiful' landscapes and 'striking' human portraits. The main picture on the left-hand page, captioned 'view of the southern Carpathians', combined attractive scenery with ripening corn; the image of the fortified church in Heltau



Bilder aus

Blick auf die Südkarpaten. Zu beiden Seiten der dichtbewaldeten Bergketten breiten sich fruchtbare Ebenen aus, die besonders den südlich gelegenen Landstrichen den Charakter einer wahren Kornkammer geben. — Eine Kirchenburg in Heltau in Siebenbürgen. In diesen Kirchenburgen suchte die deutsche Bevölkerung einst Zuflucht vor dem Eindringen östlicher Völkerschaften. Heute stehen die Männer der deutschen Volksgruppe in den Reihen der rumänischen Wehrmacht im Kampf gegen die bolschewistische Bedrohung, und die Heimat erweist sich ihrer würdig, indem sie alle Kräfte für die Erringung des Sieges einsetzt. Unser Bild zeigt volksdeutsche Frauen beim Sammeln von Lebensmitteln, die an durchfahrende Soldaten verteilt werden sollen. — Das Wohnzimmer einer volksdeutschen Familie in Siebenbürgen.



Rumänien



Der Hausrat wird zum größten Teil durch Generationen vererbt und entstammt dem Schaffen eines bedeutenden Kunsthandwerks. — Das arbeitsreiche Leben im Kampf ums tägliche Brot hat die Züge dieser Bäuerin aus dem siebenbürgischen Weinland geprägt. Der zur Feiertagsracht gehörende Schleier umrahmt malerisch das feingeschnittene braune Gesicht. — Auch in Rumänien gehört es zu den vornehmsten Aufgaben der rumänischen und volksdeutschen Frauen, Verwundete zu pflegen und zu betreuen. Dieses Bild zeigt Besuch in einem Bukarester Lazarett. — Ambulanzfahrerinnen des Rumänischen Roten Kreuzes. In tatkräftigem Einsatz an der Front und in der Heimat tut ein großer Teil der rumänischen Frauen Dienst in den Lazaretten. Aufn. im Auftrage der Reichsfrauenführung: Liselotte Purper, Berlin.



Figure 9.5 'Pictures from Romania'

Source: Photos by Liselotte Purper. *Frauenkultur: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Frauenwerkes*, November 1942, pp. 6–7.

in Transylvania placed Romanian German women in the foreground gathering foodstuffs for soldiers passing through, thus juxtaposing the long history of the Romanian Germans with their up-to-the-minute engagement in the war effort; the image of the farmhouse interior reinforced a notion of rich peasant heritage preserved among the Transylvanian Saxons, while the main top-right image showed a Transylvanian Saxon woman photographed by Purper in the village of Rode. Purper enthused in her diary about this woman's tanned face, her delicate purple veil and her 'Holbein expression' and sought to capture this (in her words) 'old master' quality in her photograph.⁵⁷ This representation of traditional womanhood contrasted with the bottom two images on the right-hand page showing modern women 'in action': women with wounded soldiers in a military hospital in Bucharest, and Romanian women ambulance drivers working in Bucharest for the Red Cross.⁵⁸ In another image from the same series, Purper has the Romanian ambulance drivers smiling broadly at each other, one with a cigarette in her hand (Figure 9.6).

When an exhibition of her work was shown in the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin in 1997, Purper tried to defend herself from the charge that she was a propagandist for the regime by saying that she did not write the captions for her pictures and was therefore not responsible for a message that was an ensemble of images and text.⁵⁹ In fact, she and Margot Monnier worked very closely to put pictures and texts together: a letter from Monnier to Kurt Orgel in October 1944 described how the two women had Purper's pictures all over the floor in Purper's quarters in Osterburg while Monnier composed the texts.⁶⁰ Moreover, Purper's diaries and letters underline how far her privately expressed views were in tune with the message her photographs were used to project. Purper supported Nazi conquests and the idea of a Greater German Reich. She wrote in 1940 of her joy to see her birthplace Strasbourg back under German rule, and in 1943 how she rebuked inhabitants of Tirol who did not regard themselves as being 'from the Reich'.⁶¹ She was enthusiastic about Himmler's resettlement programme. Having visited Volhynian German settlers in their new homes in occupied Poland in October 1940, she echoed in her diary entry the clichés used in the Nazi press about settlers setting an example to other Germans: she commented on how 'grateful' the Volhynian Germans were to be 'on German soil again' and how their 'readiness to make sacrifices puts us to shame'.⁶²

Just as the enthusiasm that Purper expressed privately about Germany and its conquests was in accord with the message that her images were



Figure 9.6 Romanian women ambulance drivers

Source: Photo by Liselotte Purper (1942). Courtesy of Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

meant to promote, so her own tastes underpinned the drive to deliver what was required: she enjoyed finding and photographing the attractive faces and athletic bodies that the illustrated press expected. For Purper, as it seems to have been for Steinhoff and Schmachtenberger, it

was axiomatic that images of attractive women were needed to sum up whichever theme she happened to be documenting. For Purper, a successful photoshoot of Labour Service girls meant lining up the entire camp and picking out the photogenic faces to photograph on the spot before the sun went in.⁶³ Following a troublesome session in January 1943 in the freezing cold taking pictures at the airfield near Lemberg in the General Government, she commented 'our women could have been a lot better looking, but there was nothing to be done about that'.⁶⁴ Aspiring herself to the tanned, sportif look, she was captivated by the sight of bronzed and gilded youth. Photographing snow scenes in February 1944 in Tirol, she wrote: 'there are very very good-looking people here, wonderfully well-dressed and chic... Most people here are excellent skiers, the girls too. With short curly hair, slim and supple, swooping towards us, they're a real joy to the eye.'⁶⁵ To Purper's delight, in 1944 she had her first cover image with a major illustrated periodical: a photograph of Norwegian girls that appeared on the cover of the foreign edition of the *Hamburger Illustrierte* to go with a feature inside entitled 'curly-headed blondes from the North' (*'blonde Wuschelköpfe aus dem Norden'*).⁶⁶

Having traversed the Nazi empire at its zenith in 1942, by 1944 Purper's world was getting smaller as the borders of the Reich drew inwards, and ever more focused on the local. Having been bombed out of her flat in Berlin in November 1943, she was by now renting a couple of rooms in the small rural town of Osterburg near Berlin. Turning down offers of assignments to document young women working in munitions factories that involved travelling by train in the midst of bombing raids, Purper preferred in the final months of the war to stay close to home. In Osterburg, she began to take photographs against payment in kind: she cultivated the local mayor's family by taking portraits of them all and was invited there for meals in exchange.⁶⁷ As long as she had photographic supplies, Purper could provide a desired commodity at a time of general shortages: portraits of loved ones in a time of chaos and danger. At the same time, images conjuring up a Heimat that was intact, timeless and expansive acquired a heightened value. As the supply of new images dwindled, the press was content to recycle old ones. A photo taken by Purper of Tirol in February 1944 was published the following winter by the Luftwaffe newspaper *Luftwaffenkurier-Ost*, and Purper and a journalist friend exchanged notes in November 1944 about how they could carry on for several months drawing on their stock of old work.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, Purper consoled herself with photos she had taken earlier in the war from all corners of the then far-flung Reich. In her own 'bunker'

in Osterburg, she hung round the walls of her bedroom a panorama of the Greater German Reich and conjured it up in a description for Kurt:

There is the Black Sea, the Baltic, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Carinthia, the High Tatras, there is Goethe's river Ilm and Strassburg's river Ill. And when I lie in bed looking at the pictures I find myself in our whole wonderful Greater German Reich. No sense of being hemmed in, just glorious – and I am completely happy! Then I think of the terrible war and am completely unhappy.⁶⁹

Conclusion

Purper was convinced that attractive photographs contributed importantly to the war effort and to the maintenance of German power. She was captivated by the spectacle of Germany at its most powerful, and her frieze of the Greater German Reich at its zenith cheered her in the dark days of 1944. Meanwhile, she did her best to keep at bay the thought of the 'terrible war' which had destroyed her home, killed her brother and would in February 1945 also bring the death of her husband.

The case of Purper sheds light both on a female presence in the Nazi press world, and on the way in which the regime's propaganda about the 'new Europe' was produced and disseminated. Like Schmachtenberger and Steinhoff, Purper carved out a niche in wartime by covering life away from the front line within an expanded Greater German Reich and further afield. Their focus tended to be on 'life-enhancing' and 'positive' scenes. A characteristic theme of their coverage was a new type of international fascist womanhood embodying the Nazi ideal, combining caring femininity and a regard for authentic cultural traditions with combative efficiency and a new body culture. Various attired in uniform, folk costume or sports gear, these were the international poster girls for the Nazi New Order in Europe. The allure of smiling young women attending to wounded soldiers, entertaining children or jogging in the mountains could function as a source of visual pleasure to a wartime readership. Such images evoked an idyll that could counteract the relentless spectacle of technologized warfare. This positive vision played up the 'constructive' steps already being put in place to realize the racial 'New Order', for instance in the resettlement programme in the conquered East, while suggesting a peaceful 'future after the victory'. The images also advertised to other women the prospect of getting 'out there' themselves, discovering female comradeship

and new horizons. In this way, the images of wartime travel reportage in the illustrated press conjured up gratifying visions of individual and collective fulfilment associated with the spatial expansion of German power.

In the process of generating these images, as the case of Liselotte Purper shows, women photographers could enjoy the privileges of travelling as Germans in occupied Europe. In embracing this fantasy, it appears that they pushed to the margins of the visual record (or at least the visual record they have bequeathed) a sense of what Nazi conquest and colonization meant for the majority of the population in the conquered countries. If they occasionally glanced in the direction of those for whom there was no place in the New Order, as Purper and Schmachtenberger evidently did, they soon looked away.

Notes

I would like to thank Pamela Swett, Karl Christian Führer and Nick Baron for their help and comments on earlier drafts.

1. Liselotte Purper to Kurt Orgel, 7 October 1942. Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin [DHM] Bildarchiv.
2. P. Bopp, 'Fremde im Visier: Private Fotografien von Wehrmachtssoldaten', in A. Holzer (ed.), *Mit der Kamera bewaffnet: Krieg und Fotografie* (Marburg, 2003), 97–117; T. Starl, *Knipser: Die Bildgeschichte der privaten Fotografie in Deutschland und Österreich von 1880 bis 1980* (Munich, 1995), 115–117; P. Jahn and U. Schmiegelt (eds), *Foto-Feldpost: Geknipste Kriegserlebnisse 1939–1945* (Berlin, 2000).
3. K. Protte, 'Bildberichterstatlerin im "Dritten Reich": Fotografien aus den Jahren 1937 bis 1944 von Liselotte Purper', *DHM Magazin* 20/1997 (Berlin, 1997).
4. W. Stiewe, 'Die Frau als Bildberichterstatlerin', photocopy in Ordner L. Purper, Tagebuch September 1940 – July 1943, Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.
5. On the careers of women photographers in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s, see Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (ed.), *Frauenobjektiv: Fotografinnen 1940 bis 1950* (Cologne, 2001); on the *Propagandakompanien*, see B. Boll, 'Die Propaganda-Kompanien der Wehrmacht 1938–1945', in C. Stadelmann and R. Wonisch (eds), *Brutale Neugier: Walter Henisch, Kriegsfotograf und Bildreporter* (Vienna, 2004), 37–46; G. Paul (ed.), *Bilder des Krieges, Krieg der Bilder: Die Visualisierung des modernen Krieges* (Paderborn, 2004), 225–232.
6. K. Pohl, 'Die Welt für jedermann: Reisefotographie in deutschen Illustrierten der zwanziger und dreißiger Jahre', in Idem (ed.), *Ansichten der Ferne: Reisefotographie 1850-heute* (Darmstadt, 1983), 96–127.
7. Pohl, 'Die Welt', 116.
8. On the Nazi regime's imposition of controls on photojournalists, see R. Sachsse, *Die Erziehung zum Wegsehen: Fotografie im NS-Staat* (Dresden, 2003), 26–33.

9. R. Sachsse, 'Im Schatten der Männer: Deutsche Fotografinnen 1940 bis 1950', in Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (ed.), *Frauenobjektiv*, 13–25.
10. See Karl Christian Führer's contribution in this volume.
11. On restrictions on travel abroad and the promotion of Germany as a travel destination, see K. Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany: Tourism in the Third Reich* (Houndmills, 2005); on the promotion of the Heimat as a subject for professional and amateur photography, see R. Sachsse, 'Heimat als Reiseland', in Pohl (ed.), *Ansichten der Ferne*, 129–150. For examples of travel reportage in the German illustrated press in the 1930s, see K. Kaindl, *Harald P. Lerchenberg: Pionier des Fotojournalismus 1929–1937* (Salzburg, 1990).
12. H. Stahr, *Fotojournalismus zwischen Exotismus und Rassismus. Darstellungen von Schwarzen und Indianern in Foto-Text-Artikeln deutscher Wochenillustrierter 1919–1939* (Hamburg, 2004), 2.
13. S. Baranowski, *Strength through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 2004), 134–143.
14. Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 129–131.
15. Examples from *Münchener Illustrierte* in August–September 1936: 'Hinter Monrovia und Grand Bassa. Ein Spaziergang an der westafrikanischen Negerküste', Jg. 13, Nr. 35, 27 August 1936; 'Unter Bären, Räubern und Dämonen: Deutsche Tibetforscher', Jg. 13, Nr. 37, 10 September 1936; 'Zwischen Wundertempel und Fremdenführer', Jg. 13, Nr. 37, 10 September 1936.
16. 'Ungarinnen sind hübsch!', *Münchener Illustrierte* Jg. 13, Nr. 43, 22 October 1936.
17. Stahr, *Fotojournalismus*, 489–490.
18. 'Alltag in Tripolis', *Münchener Illustrierte* Jg 16, Nr. 32, 10 June 1939; 'Tripolitanien: ein neues Reiseland', *Weltreise-Zeitung* Jg 24 (1937/8) Nr. 1, October–December 1937, 12.
19. 'Lachende Jugend im befreiten Lande', *Münchener Illustrierte* Jg. 16, Nr. 24, 15 June 1939; 'Wieder nach Spanien', *Weltreise-Zeitung* Jg 25 (1938/9), Nr. 4, 20.
20. Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 170–171; 'Was einst Grenzland war', *Atlantis* Jg. 10 (1938) Heft 5, 241–256; 'Wintersport Deutschland: Erster Skiwinter im Großdeutschen Reich', *Weltreise-Zeitung* Jg 25 (1938/9) Nr. 2, January–March 1939, 2–7.
21. R. Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford, 2000), 149–152; Wachtmeister Schlosser, 'Mit der Camera bei Rommels Panzerarmeen in Afrika', *Photoblätter* Jg 19 (1942) Heft 11 and 12.
22. 'Soldaten photographieren Soldaten', *Photoblätter* Jg. 18 (1941) Heft 1, 29.
23. 'Unser diesjähriges großes Preisausschreiben', *NS-Frauenwarte* Jg. 9 (1940/1), Heft 24 (June 1941), 389.
24. For instance *Koralle* and *Silberspiegel*: 'Gevattern-Tag in den Anden', *Koralle*, 24 March 1940; 'Am Ende der Welt: Seltene Bilder aus der entlegendsten Ecke der Welt', *Koralle* 28 February 1941; E. Schucht, 'Über Hongkong und Shanghai: Aus meinem Reisetagebuch', *Silberspiegel*, February 1942, 59–60. Feature in the final issue of *Atlantis*: 'Andenfahrt in Peru', *Atlantis* Jg. 13, Heft 24 (October 1943).
25. C. Dippold and M. Kania-Schütz (eds), *Im Fokus: Die Bildberichterstatteerin Erika Groth-Schmachtenberger und ihr Werk* (Würzburg, 2008), 19–22.

26. '50 000 Redakteure gesucht. Einladung an unsere Leser und Leserinnen', *Illustrierter Rundfunk*, Jg. 7 (1933), Heft 14; on the *Illustrierter Rundfunk* and its circulation, see T. Bauer, *Deutsche Programmpresse 1923–1941* (München, 1993), 255.
27. Haus der Geschichte (ed.), *Frauenobjektiv*, 142; Stahr, *Fotojournalismus*, 324–328.
28. 'Kleiner Zwischenfall auf dem Grossglocknerstrasse', *Münchener Illustrierte*, Jg. 14, Heft 41, 4 October 1937; E. Groth-Schmachtenberger, *Meine liebsten Fotos: Erinnerungen einer Bildberichterin aus sechs Jahrzehnten* (Würzburg, 1984), 38–39.
29. *Ibid.*, 22.
30. Groth-Schmachtenberger, *Meine liebsten Fotos*, 34–35; 'Ein Stück Deutschland von oben', *Illustrierter Rundfunk*, Jg. 7, Heft 34, (1933), 31.
31. 'Weisse Frau im schwarzen Erdteil', *Kolonie und Heimat*, Jg 3 (1939) Folge 9 ('Auf dem Flugzeug, im selbstgesteuerten Kraftwagen, zu Pferde und auf dem Kamel durchreisen unsere Schriftstellerinnen und Bildberichterstatterinnen den heißen Erdteil').
32. Groth-Schmachtenberger, *Meine liebsten Fotos*, 25; 'Musik der Pußta', *Illustrierter Rundfunk* Jg. 8, Heft 43, (1934).
33. I. Steinhoff, 'Die Hereros, das schwarze Herrenvolk in Südwestafrika', *Atlantis* Jg. 11, 1939, 250–256.
34. Groth-Schmachtenberger, *Meine liebsten Fotos*, 52–53.
35. Dippold and Kania-Schütz (eds), *Die Bildberichterstatterin Erika Groth-Schmachtenberger*.
36. 'Die Besten', *Münchener Illustrierte* Jg. 18, Heft 5, 30 January 1941; 'Im letzten Märzenschnee', *Münchener Illustrierte* Jg. 18, Heft 13, 27 March 1941; 'In Luft und Sonne', *Münchener Illustrierte* Jg. 19, Heft 17, 23 April 1942; cover image, *Deutschland* Jg. 8, Heft 15, October 1941 ('Bei einem BDM-Lager in 1700m Höhe'); 'Falangisten beim BDM', *Münchener Illustrierte* Jg. 18, Nr. 26, 26 June 1941.
37. I. Steinhoff, 'Junges Ungarn', *Atlantis* 12 (1940), Heft 4, 105–120; 'Rumänische Legionärinnen: Von unserer nach Rumänien entsandten Mitarbeiterin Ilse Steinhoff', *Münchener Illustrierte* Jg. 18, Heft 3, 16 January 1941; 'Die Eiserne Garde baut auf', *Münchener Illustrierte* Jg. 18, Heft 4, 23 January 1941; 'Serajewo 1941', *Münchener Illustrierte* Jg. 18, Heft 23, 5 June 1941.
38. I. Steinhoff, 'Alte und neue Zeit in Albanien', *Atlantis* 13, Heft 7, (1941), 322–325, here 325.
39. 'Die Wandlung des Mädchen Nera. Ein Bericht für die Berliner Illustrierte von Ilse Steinhoff', *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* 1943, Nr. 52, 30 December 1943, 616.
40. U. Poiger, 'Imperialism and Empire in Twentieth-Century Germany', *History & Memory* 17, 1/2, (Fall 2005), 117–143, here 134–135.
41. On the effort to give Nazi 'New Europe' propaganda a popular 'human interest' angle, see R. Rutz, *Signal: Eine deutsche Auslandsillustrierte als Propagandainstrument im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Essen, 2007), 279–284.
42. Liselotte Purper, diary, 2 November 1940. DHM, Bildarchiv.
43. Liselotte Purper, diary, 25 and 26 July 1942. DHM, Bildarchiv.
44. Liselotte Purper, diary, 17 January 1943–22 January 1943. DHM, Bildarchiv.

45. Liselotte Purper, diary, 'Norwegen-Fahrt v. 18. – 31.7.1943'. DHM, Bildarchiv.
46. Liselotte Purper to Kurt Orgel, 5 May 1944. DHM, Bildarchiv.
47. Liselotte Purper, diary, 2 October 1940. DHM Berlin, Bildarchiv.
48. Jahn and Schmiegelt (eds), *Foto-Feldpost*, 29; Harvey, "'Ich war überall": Die NS-Propagandaphotographin Liselotte Purper', in S. Steinbacher (ed.), *Volksgenossinnen: Frauen in der NS-Volksgemeinschaft* (Göttingen, 2007), 138–153, here 149–150.
49. Jahn and Schmiegelt (eds), *Foto-Feldpost*, 30, 110–112.
50. Liselotte Purper to Kurt Orgel, 29 December 1942. DHM Berlin, Bildarchiv.
51. Liselotte Purper to Kurt Orgel, 22 February 1942. DHM Berlin, Bildarchiv.
52. Liselotte Purper to Kurt Orgel, 20 June 1942. DHM Berlin, Bildarchiv.
53. Liselotte Purper to Kurt Orgel, 9 October 1944. DHM, Bildarchiv.
54. Liselotte Purper to Kurt Orgel, 9 February 1941. DHM, Bildarchiv. The brochure was L. Reimer, *Die Familie im neuen Deutschland* (Berlin, 1940).
55. Liselotte Purper to Kurt Orgel, 11 October 1942. DHM, Bildarchiv.
56. Articles on the annexed territories of Poland and on the provision of welfare for resettlers, with photos by Purper: 'Aufbruch und Weisung: ein Jahr Frauenarbeit im befreiten Gebiet des Gaues Danzig-Westpreußen, NS-Frauenwarte Jg. 9 (1940/41) Heft 8, October 1940; 'Für eine neue Zukunft im Deutschen Osten', NS-Frauenwarte Jg. 9 (1940/41), Heft 19, April 1941; 'Die Ansiedlerbetreuung ist voll im Gange', *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*, 8 February 1941.
57. Liselotte Purper, diary, 29 June 1942. DHM, Bildarchiv.
58. 'Bilder aus Rumänien', *Frauenkultur*, November 1942, 6–7.
59. Sender Freies Berlin, *Abendschau Express*, Studiogespräch 7 August 1997; Sender Freies Berlin, 'Ticket', 14 August 1997.
60. Margot Monnier to Kurt Orgel, 9 October 1944. DHM Berlin, Bildarchiv.
61. Liselotte Purper to Kurt Orgel, 27 February 1944. DHM Berlin, Bildarchiv.
62. Liselotte Purper, diary, 2 October 1940. DHM, Bildarchiv.
63. Liselotte Purper to Kurt Orgel, 13 June 1944 and 14 June 1944, DHM Berlin, Bildarchiv.
64. Liselotte Purper, diary, Lemberg 13 January 1943. DHM Berlin, Bildarchiv.
65. Liselotte Purper to Kurt Orgel, 18 February 1944. DHM Berlin, Bildarchiv.
66. Liselotte Purper to Kurt Orgel, 4 June 1944. DHM, Bildarchiv.
67. Liselotte Purper to Kurt Orgel, 20 September 1944. DHM, Bildarchiv.
68. Liselotte Purper to Kurt Orgel, 10 November 1944; Annaliese Wiener-Theiler to Liselotte Purper, 13 November 1944. DHM, Bildarchiv.
69. Liselotte Purper to Kurt Orgel, 15 April 1944. DHM, Bildarchiv.

10

The Pleasures of being a 'Political Soldier': Nazi Functionaries and Their Service to the 'Movement'

Daniel Mühlenfeld

(translated by Wayne Yung)

How pleasurable was the work of a functionary in the Nazi movement? In order to answer this question, one needs to examine the self-image and public perceptions of its subaltern functionaries. For many National Socialist activists, the term '*politischer Soldat*' ('political soldier') captured the ideals of their engagement. The contemporary image of the soldier was a highly positive one, implying a particular constellation of personal characteristics: moral integrity; readiness for action, up to and including self-sacrifice for a higher ideal or collective; and the defence by force of those sharing the same political views. Furthermore, the soldierly habitus also meant accepting a specific mode of exercising violence.¹ This understanding of politics was caught within militaristic categories of friend or foe, and in an essential inability to compromise. It championed a political maximalism (a characteristic not limited just to National Socialism) that, when it could not be stopped, led almost inevitably to the destruction of the parliamentary order.

Over the course of the Third Reich, this label underwent a shift in meaning as it gradually became applied to different groups of people,² e.g. the *Waffen-SS*.³ Originally, however, it was applied exclusively to those longstanding National Socialists who had helped to bring down the hated Weimar Republic and put the Nazis in power, especially as members of the SA before 1933.⁴ In examining the development and transformation of the topos of the 'political soldier' during and beyond the interruptions represented by the years 1933 and 1939, this article will offer potential insights into the role played by 'pleasure' in encouraging commitment to the Nazi Party. Here, two major aspects need to be taken into consideration. First, the soldierly self-image itself carried

implications that predisposed the protagonist towards particular experiences of pleasure, strongly influencing both its content and its intensity. Simply put, those who acted like soldiers also experienced soldierly pleasures: the triumph of surviving a (street) battle unscathed, the ribald camaraderie shared during downtime, etc.⁵

Second, one should also not forget the tradition of the perverted (soldierly) deontological ethic that was so significant in the history of ideas. Borrowing from Immanuel Kant, if the peak of morality was represented by compliance with and fulfilment of one's duties towards a higher ideal, then pleasure and duty were not diametrically opposed, but instead contingent upon one another.⁶ A (political) soldier derived particular pleasure from the act of fulfilling a duty precisely when it also involved an element of self-conquest. However, the question of what goals and ideals an (enlightened) individual should pursue unconditionally, as an expression of maximum morality in one's life choices, is certainly one that Kant himself would answer differently than someone like Adolf Eichmann, who tried to justify his actions by explicitly citing Kant during his 1961 trial in Jerusalem.⁷

I

As Michael Wildt has plainly put it, 'National Socialism emerged from the spirit and violence of the First World War.'⁸ The heyday of the Nazi movement, and especially its *Sturmabteilung* or SA, had been shaped since the late 1920s by an experience of the front line that was more idealized than real. By this time, the membership of the Party and the SA consisted mostly of those born after 1900; these were not veterans of the front line, but instead members of the so-called '*Kriegsjugendgeneration*' ('war-youth generation').⁹ As such, they had experienced the war only as non-participating spectators. However, these were precisely the ones who would yearn to finally serve as soldiers, and later did so by joining the SA, *Freikorps* ('free corps'), as well as other paramilitary groups. At the age of 16, Heinrich Himmler wrote in his diaries of his burning desire to serve in the war; being himself born in 1900, his age and eventual career profile in the Third Reich were prototypical for this politically radicalized war-youth generation.¹⁰

For these young men, the war's end denied them the chance to prove themselves through military combat. Therefore, they bore a particular grudge against the Weimar Republic, which they saw not only as the result of betrayal and defeat, but as also depriving them personally of this supposed opportunity.¹¹ Participation in the Nazi movement thus

served a compensatory function. The disgraceful defeat of the First World War would be redressed by a victory over those domestic enemies who were allegedly to blame, and the numerous young National Socialists of the war-youth generation would finally get the chance to test themselves 'militarily'.¹² For many of the Nazi movement's members and sympathizers, violent resistance against the new state was not only legitimate, it was actually a national duty. In 1963, Friedrich Wilhelm Heinz looked back at how he and other members of the *Freikorps* viewed themselves in the struggle against their declared enemies, the '... communists... the fatherlandless, the climbers and wheeler-dealers, the unscrupulous and the traitors. They considered the elimination of these to be their duty to the Fatherland.'¹³

Therefore, it is no wonder that it was precisely the ones lacking first-hand experience of the war front who would most eagerly internalize the military forms and symbolism of the SA. This (para)military self-image culminated in the concept of the 'political soldier'. Here, the soldierly self-image and its corresponding traits became closely connected to both the behaviour and public perception of SA members.¹⁴ The external trappings of this military habitus included uniforms (which were not always standardized), public appearances with regimental flags, and marching in formation. This also meant adopting a National Socialist death cult that openly borrowed from the symbolic language of the memorial culture surrounding the First World War.¹⁵ The National Socialist 'brown army', especially under Ernst Röhm (who even took the title of *Stabschef* or 'Chief of Staff'), tried to evoke the traditional 'grey army' of the German Kaiser, as seen in the numbering system of the SA regiments, which were based on the regimental numbers of the old army. The former 'army service regulations' were also generally adopted as SA service regulations; for example, if a needy SA member requested housing in SA quarters, he required a permit similar to that of a soldier in barracks.¹⁶

However, equally important were the value system and rules of conduct that defined the everyday political life of an SA member. Being a soldier meant joining a structure of command and obedience, as well as accepting a commitment to duty that ultimately encompassed the entire person. One was either 'on duty' or temporarily 'off duty', leaving hardly any room for a residual civilian life. Even more significant was that the soldierly self-image implied an acceptance of violence as a matter of course. Both the SA member and the National Socialist had to be willing to give and receive deadly violence: one was '... prepared for battle and death'.¹⁷ This mentality allowed National Socialists to feel no shame or guilt concerning brutally violent crimes, such as the murder

of an ethnically Polish worker by SA members in Potempa (Polish: Potępa), Upper Silesia.¹⁸

This mindset also affected how National Socialists perceived their broader environment. In believing that they were suffering increasing persecution under a regime they considered illegitimate,¹⁹ National Socialists saw political skirmishes simply as a continuation of the First World War by other means, to freely adapt a well-known maxim by Clausewitz. The difference was not so much in the mobilized potential for violence, but simply in the more limited armamentarium of these skirmishes, generally involving fists, blunt instruments, knives and pistols. But how did the general public respond to this self-proclaimed political virtuousness, with its central precepts of 'traditional values, self-restraint and self-discipline'?²⁰ In looking at the rise of National Socialism amid the crisis of the Weimar Republic, recent attention has focused on the importance of political expectations in the shaping of public opinion.²¹ In this context, the electoral choice for a particular party signified a shift in political focus towards the future, with voters banking on a time to come. The great majority saw themselves in the midst of a fundamental social crisis, prompting more and more Germans in the early 1930s to see National Socialism as a political beacon of hope, and even – as proclaimed by a well-known 1932 Nazi campaign poster – 'our final hope'.²²

Here, the Nazi Party, with its conscious appropriation of the symbols and forms of military values and traditions, presented itself as a guarantor of orderliness, dependability and therefore (social) security, which the chronically fragile Weimar Republic apparently could not offer. In looking back at that period, the author Heinz Flügel, born a diplomat's son in 1907, wrote that the average citizen

...saw himself suddenly subjected to a freedom that seemed to consist of arbitrariness, disorder, and a lack of traditional morals... The possibilities of freedom were not savoured. For most of us, the fascinating democratic arrangements and derangements of the various intellectual strands of the 1920s were worth less than the uniform order, the bringing into line, the marching in lockstep. One wanted to march. Human disorderliness was sacrificed for inhuman orderliness. One felt a need for the creation of orderliness.²³

Especially in the eyes of young men, this coveted orderliness was embodied by National Socialism, especially its SA.²⁴ However, National Socialism was not only associated with the hope of restoring a social

stability considered lost; the movement's youthful aspects also gave the impression of a particular modernity, with a zest so typical for the time, often associated with automobiles.²⁵ National Socialism seemed to represent an opportunity to reconcile tradition with modernity, within a new, more equitable order.²⁶

II

After the National Socialist takeover, the self-image of the 'political soldier' did not undergo any fundamental change, at least not initially. However, there emerged a growing trend towards expanding this image beyond the SA to include the Nazi Party's functionary cadre, despite the SA's efforts to contrast their own militant character against the civilian character of Party functionaries.²⁷ This was countered by Josef Grohé, the *Gauleiter* ('regional leader') of Cologne, in a March 1934 speech to *Politischer Leiter* ('Political Leaders') at the *Gauführerschule* ('regional leadership school') in Wahn-Heide: 'In our soul and being, we are soldiers ...'²⁸ It is significant that functionaries within the formal political organization of the Nazi Party were entitled to wear official uniforms indicating rank, and sometimes even to carry a service pistol. The magazine entitled *Der Schulungsbrief* ('The Training Dispatch') – initially published by the Nazi Party's Central Training Office and later by the its Reich Organizational Leader – referred to members of the Nazi movement as 'soldiers of the revolution', already in its first issue dated March 1934.²⁹ A few pages later, the political career of Reich Training Leader Otto Gohdes during the Weimar Republic was described as the '... 14 soldierly years' of Gohdes.³⁰

The magazine's images also attempted to draw a line of continuity from the German soldier to the Nazi movement, especially the SA. In the summer of 1935, *Der Schulungsbrief* featured a double-page spread with two contrasting photos: on the left was an SA man presenting a Nazi flag at attention; on the right was a portrait of two soldiers in half-profile wearing German army helmets. The gaze of the SA man met that of the soldiers. An accompanying poem put the pictures into the appropriate interpretive context:

- 1) As those in German lands
Knew yet nothing of the sun
We were standing there,
The Reichswehr. The SA.
- 2) The one were able to show
Their courage in craven times.

- The other had to keep silent
But were ready nonetheless.
- 3) The one were able to strike
Infamy in the face.
The other had to bear
A grim duty to Prussia.
- 4) There stormed the SA regiments
Victorious through the dark night –
The other had to wait in silence
Like Hagen on the watch.
- 5) With laurel, always anew
The world crowns the victor –
One speaks not of the faith
Kept by Hagen of Tronje.
- 6) You ones, in troubled times
Did not want what came to pass –
We knew who we were:
The Reichswehr! The SA!³¹

In the mid-1930s, Heinrich Heppner, a National Socialist from Frankfurt, expressed similar sentiments in retrospect regarding his commitment to the Nazi movement:

Just like the unknown soldier who silently and selflessly sacrificed his blood for the Fatherland, a fighter for the Third Reich should remain humble and unselfish while never losing sight of the Führer's ultimate goal: 'A united, free and strong Germany!' My struggle until now has been for this, and I want to continue this struggle until the end of my life.³²

The Nazi Party tried to reinforce this self-identification by using statistics: *Der Schulungsbrief* published a table showing that more than 40 per cent of Party members had been active participants in either the war or in the paramilitary *Freikorps*; notable here is the unquestioned equivalence drawn between the two groups, revealing the Nazi Party's argumentation to be ultimately circular in logic. Among the functionaries, or so-called 'Political Leaders', the proportion was significantly higher at 49 per cent. Furthermore, if one were to subtract from this group of 'Political Leaders' all those who must have been too young to serve in the war, then one arrives at the impression that nearly 100

per cent of all the remaining Nazi Party functionaries had been either front-line soldiers or *Freikorps* paramilitaries.³³

It was precisely this younger generation that continued to be strongly attracted by the soldierly forms and symbols of National Socialism, even after it came to power. This was described, for example, in the reports of the Swiss francophone author and intellectual Denis de Rougemont; with the help of Otto Abetz, who would later become the German ambassador to the collaborationist government at Vichy.³⁴ Rougemont visited Germany for one year (1935/36), working as a lecturer in Romance Studies at the University of Frankfurt. In return, he promised Abetz that he would publish his everyday impressions of National Socialism.

Abetz was clearly hoping for an opportunity to influence public opinion in France, especially among intellectuals: if not in favour of the new Germany, then at least mildly disposed towards it. Rougemont ultimately did publish his impressions in 1938, under the title 'Journal d'Allemagne'.³⁵ In the entry for 15 January 1936, he described a conversation with a student who was in the SA. Although he had recently completed his doctorate, he nonetheless attended Rougemont's seminars out of personal interest. Rougemont confronted him with the French perspective on the situation in Germany:

This obsession with wearing boots without riding, these uniforms, the daggers hanging from your belts, the wild marching – in French, this all means war... When the French see young people marching in unison in orderly rows – and especially if these people are doing it for pleasure – then only one explanation is possible: namely that they are preparing for war.³⁶

The answer of this SA man with the PhD – that this behaviour was '... simply a predilection of ours' – simultaneously said much and said little, so he added: 'That has nothing to do with war, not with a war against any particular country.'³⁷

The SA man did not contradict Rougemont's assertion that German youths took pleasure in marching, uniforms and military conduct. However, even though he actually says that this behaviour really was a common predilection of his generation, it still begs the question: did the purported pleasure really reflect a widespread sentiment? Among those who actually experienced this pleasure, was it in fact provoked by the uniforms and marching per se, or did it not perhaps emerge instead from the collateral significance of these phenomena as a way to express

and flaunt their National Socialist sensibilities? In other words, were uniforms and public displays of military behaviour the goal, or rather the means to a goal? After the National Socialist takeover, did not a large part of this pleasure derive from the assurance of now being on the politically correct side, that of the victors? This last point is especially supported by the many reports of attacks committed by groups of SA men, apparently intoxicated by power and/or alcohol, not only against political opponents, but also representatives of the state.³⁸ This pleasure in exercising power, often committed with violence and sadism, was an important factor – together with frustrations due to the sluggish economic recovery – that led to the first, serious crisis of confidence experienced by the Nazi regime in the winter of 1933/34.³⁹

Whatever weight one assigns to each individual factor helping to motivate a commitment to National Socialism, one should not underestimate the attractive power of the uniform, especially among youths. When a shortage of Hitler Youth uniforms was seen in several regions of the Reich during the war, these same areas reported a decreasing interest among young people. For example, a man named Erkelenz, who was a *Kreisleiter* ('district leader') in the administrative region Cologne-Aachen, wrote: 'The boy without a uniform feels himself second-rate. He lacks a real desire to participate and march along. We should not forget this, even now.'⁴⁰ The fact that the uniforming of a group could actually lead to a certain unfathomable fascination can also be seen in the reminiscences of Bruno K. As one of three sons of a single working mother in Berlin during the Second World War, he was sent to a children's evacuation camp in the countryside near Warsaw.⁴¹ During his stay, he came into contact with Volga Germans, who had arrived as new settlers. Bruno described how one day, he and the other boys from his camp entered a village where the Volga Germans lived:

So we marched into the village the one time with a flapping flag, and anyway they really liked that. And now those kids wanted to be like that too ... But for us, they were all milksops. Then we had the nerve, that was in January, we marched into the village wearing summer uniforms, and that meant shorts, even though we actually had winter uniforms. But we resolved to be hard. So we marched in, and the 'people', or the boys in the village, saw us; they also had uniforms, they had all joined up too [i.e., the Hitler Youth or Jungvolk, D.M.]. But they were still wearing these three-quarter coats and then with these wool stockings with garters, and for us that was just absurd.⁴²

Wearing the uniform, and in a particular fashion, thereby served to emphasize a particular trait of the wearer: in this case, the proverbial hardness of the German youth, which itself was highly compatible with the ideal of the 'political soldier'. This self-portrayal of an individual within a group obviously borrowed from contemporary soldierly ideals, with pleasure arising from being hard on oneself as a highly successful method for acquiring status in the social order of the Third Reich. If one accepts the narrowest definition of the term 'political soldier', as it gradually came to be applied to all classes of male Nazi functionaries after the Party came to power, then it is clear that seeking pleasure was certainly not a primary goal of Party work. At most, one might derive indirect pleasure through the flawless execution of professional duties.

In contrast, women could not be soldiers at all, due to their gender. Nonetheless, everyday life for women in the Party was organized along similar lines, as members and functionaries of the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* and the *NS-Frauenschaft* ('League of German Girls' and 'National Socialist Women's League'). Therefore, when Melita Maschmann, who was a 15-year-old schoolgirl during the Nazi takeover, recalls her political evolution into a high-ranking functionary in the *Reichsjugendführung* ('Reich youth leadership'), it is not surprising how very fascinated she was by the marching Party formations she saw on 30 January 1933. This fascination, as well as her declared desire to escape the confines of her conservative middle-class family home, ultimately helped inspire her to join the Hitler Youth – at first without her parents' knowledge. However, her first impressions turned out to be disheartening. Beyond these public exhibitions laden with military symbolism, everyday life in the Party often proved to be tedious: 'Evening meetings at the hall, which took place in a dark and dirty cellar, were marked by a deadly meaninglessness. We killed time by collecting dues, updating countless lists, and memorizing songs whose lyrical insipidness I could not ignore, in spite of my best efforts.'⁴³

Despite the boredom of communal everyday life, Maschmann – who also experienced latent feelings of isolation as a so-called '*höhere Tochter*' ('bourgeois daughter') among her largely lower-middle-class colleagues – remained faithful to the Nazi movement. In the face of all obstacles, she remained inspired by the hope '... that within a few generations, we would succeed in cultivating every German into a respectable National Socialist. In this project towards betterment, I wanted to do my part. That's why I remained in the Hitler Youth. I wanted to help realize the *Volksgemeinschaft* ['ethno-national community'], where people would live together like one big family.'⁴⁴ This resolution endured, although

in hindsight even the more varied weekend outings, including scouting games, nature hikes and campfire romanticism, failed to offset the lack of meaning in one's other 'duties'. Even within Maschmann's sense of idealism – certainly exaggerated in retrospect – it is clear that 'pleasure' was not a category that figured in the soldierly self-image of the Nazi functionary. Her account of remaining true to the cause, despite significant obstacles, implicitly shows that she had internalized a sense of duty inculcated by National Socialism, with its deliberate appropriation of military language and habits. In remaining true to the greater cause, she proves herself to be a good National Socialist, the kind she hopes to help her fellow citizens also to become.

Nonetheless, her impressions of the vapidness of the everyday life of the Party and Hitler Youth were not unusual. In August 1934, a Gestapo report from Aachen reported that 'no less outspoken were complaints about the meaninglessness and superficiality of many local Party meetings'.⁴⁵ It was especially the better-educated among the young (such as Melita Maschmann) who showed the most annoyance, demonstrated by their scanty participation in the Hitler Youth. This was once again noted by the Gestapo of Aachen in their monthly status report of July 1935, with their conclusion that young people were becoming less enthusiastic about Party work. In order to counteract this, it was recommended that a programme be created to 'make participation in Party work enjoyable for all Hitler Youth'.⁴⁶

This desire to make service to the movement an enjoyable affair, and to state this so openly and make it a primary goal of the Hitler Youth, is hardly surprising. After all, membership in the Hitler Youth had not yet been declared mandatory, and especially in a strongly Catholic region like Aachen, it faced considerable competition from church youth groups. Therefore, the cultivation of pleasure and 'job satisfaction' was in the best interests of the Hitler Youth, because all recruitment campaigns would be useless 'if the Hitler Youth leadership does not ensure that those youth who do enrol actually remain for the long term, eventually growing up to be committed National Socialists'.⁴⁷ Even here, pleasure in serving the Nazi Party had a purely functional character. Although conviviality and its attendant pleasures were certainly an important aspect of Party life, they always served as compensation for the real or perceived hardships of Party work, as evidenced by the supplementary social events of the Nuremberg Rallies.

In the mid-1930s, the unvarying main-stage programme at Nuremberg seemed to provoke primarily feelings of monotony and boredom, as the Social Democrats were quick to note in their exile reports.

Although the Social Democrats concluded that this waning of visible enthusiasm did not signify any fundamental estrangement between the populace and the Nazi movement, it was clear that a remedy was needed.⁴⁸ The result was that the supplementary social offerings began to occupy more and more space, with side stalls, beer tents, all-star football matches and fireworks. Tellingly, these fairground attractions began to figure prominently in the memories of attendees, especially the younger ones, more so than the official pomp and cult of the 'Führer', with his quasi-military call to action. For one schoolgirl, the most vivid memory of her visit to the Nuremberg Rally was a performance by tightrope walkers; on the other hand, one boy reported being impressed by a football game between the local team Nürnberg-Fürth and the visiting champions Schalke 04.⁴⁹ This strategy did have some success: even in their own accounts, one political opposition group had to admit that 'reliable accounts direct from Nuremberg report that a good mood was provided for and also achieved'.⁵⁰ But this good mood among the visitors resulted not simply from the politically ideological main-stage programme, but rather from the accompanying fairground-style entertainment.

However, Party members found other conditions at the Nuremberg Rallies to be less enjoyable. These conformed more closely to the soldierly ideal of spartan self-denial. It was not only that visitor numbers far exceeded the accommodations available in Nuremberg and vicinity; the organizers of the Rally were also incapable of efficiently deploying the resources at their disposal, leading to constant complaints by guest functionaries. For visiting Party members, especially for 'Political Leaders', who generally stayed for the entire duration of the Rally, this often meant spending the night on straw in mass accommodations.⁵¹ Such conditions may very well have helped to propagate (especially after a few rounds of beer) a pleasurable feeling of soldierly camaraderie, recalling the movement's so-called *Kampfzeit* ('time of struggles') during the Great Depression when some Party members had no place to sleep other than a mattress or bag of straw at the SA hall.⁵² Indeed a few surviving amateur films do depict the conviviality of these mass accommodations.⁵³ However, the fun and campfire romanticism could quickly end when the campsites became flooded after a downpour, so that makeshift quarters sank entirely into the quagmire and even a military mustering on the grounds was no longer possible.⁵⁴ In view of such hardships, it is hardly surprising that even 'Political Leaders' would seek their compensatory pleasure elsewhere, namely in Nuremberg's '*Dirnenstraßen*' ('prostitute streets'). After two years of service to visiting

functionaries, the area was closed off during the 1935 Rally by a dedicated roadblock with sentries. Such measures did not, however, prevent numerous functionaries from at least trying to slip through.⁵⁵ Strictly speaking, this behaviour also corresponded well to the habits of soldiers off duty, especially after a long period in barracks or on the front. On the other hand, the SA man's soldierly potential for violence could also find expression at the Nuremberg Rally (itself not dissimilar to a military encampment), especially when alcohol was involved. During the Rally of 1934, an SA internal report enumerated six deaths and several injuries in a single night, due to stabbings, fistfights, violent attacks on innocent passers-by and several accidents; all incidents occurred under the influence of alcohol.⁵⁶

Even these incidents showed that there still existed accepted forms of pleasure within the SA and functionary corps of the Nazi Party, despite all attempts to cultivate soldierly self-discipline. The main condition was that this pleasure had to be compatible with the forms and symbols of the soldierly self-image. The core element of these male-bonding leisure activities was usually a beer-soaked conviviality that could result in either an outbreak of violence, as previously described, or in boyish rascalion stories in the style of Bavarian author Ludwig Thoma. A typical case was reported by Wilhelm Hosenfeld, a teacher sent to a training seminar of the National Socialist Teachers' League: 'Last night a camaraderie event at Ziegelhütte... Intellectual low point of conviviality. Amusements consisted of buffoonery and whooping it up. Very much beer.'⁵⁷ The seminar concluded with a no less merrily soaked '... farewell binge. I'm not cut out for such banalities and inane chatter. Where others shout their approval, I can only feel boredom.'⁵⁸ It was precisely Hosenfeld's elitism, as well as his social and intellectual refinement, that allowed him to paint such a clear picture of profane everyday life in the Party.

Several film sources depict what was described here as banalities and buffoonery. Besides the aforementioned short film depicting laughing, tussling SA members in straw-filled group accommodations during a mid-1930s regional Nazi rally in Saxony, another film stands out, documenting the activities of the SA on the home front during the Second World War. This silent film was shot in the Ruhr city of Mülheim during May 1940 with a simple handheld camera and depicts how the communications section of SA Regiment 159 in Mülheim was assigned to lay a backup telephone cable in case of aerial attack.⁵⁹ A title card explains to the viewer that the SA are working on a Sunday when they actually had a day of rest.

After a longer section showing the laying of the telephone cable, another title card appears, proclaiming that a short break in the labour will follow. We see the SA troop sitting on a wall, eating bread. One of the men has moved somewhat apart; apparently his wife has also packed a piece of a sausage to go with his bread. He is trying to eat this unobserved, probably because he does not want to share it with his comrades. His plan to go unnoticed fails. As a group, the other SA men back themselves up around their comrade, who unsuspectingly continues eating. While one of the sneaking men distracts him with a tap on the shoulder, another grabs the sausage. For a few moments, a struggle ensues over the stolen sausage, clearly borrowing cinematic elements from classic silent film slapstick routines. This only ends when the troop leader concludes the break – again through a title card – with the terse military order '*Weitermachen!*' ('Back to work!') The romping SA men immediately snap to attention and put away their snacks; the robbed colleague is given the remains of his sausage.

Only a few minutes long, the film's message is clear. First, it establishes the importance of the SA in the proper functioning of the war effort on the so-called home front, thus reinforcing its (para)military character. Second, the soldierly image of the SA is emphasized by the military commands signalling the suspension and resumption of work. Third, the work-break sequence shows that fun and buffoonery – in other words 'pleasure' – have a place in the everyday life of the SA, but only when decreed in strict conformity to the organization's structures of command and obedience. Fourth, the act of stealing a sausage from a comrade reluctant to share his tastier provisions suggests that an egalitarian morality exists within the SA. This is further supported by the fact that it was only after each colleague had bitten off his fair share that the remains of the sausage were readily returned.

However, such images did not help improve the less than positive public image of the subaltern functionary corps of the Nazi Party, its subunits and associated organizations. In this context, it is easy to understand why the Party leadership made special effort to highlight the duties and attendant burdens taken up by Party functionaries in their service to the movement and the '*Volkgemeinschaft*'. The Party's official events were not to suggest the appearance of a leisure-time activity. Therefore, SA evenings were traditionally divided between an official segment and a social segment; it was only during the second that smoking and drinking were permitted.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the Reich finance minister issued a decree in April 1935 that explicitly exempted from entertainment tax all Nazi Party events commemorating the

birthday of the 'Führer', Labour Day on 1 May, the Harvest Festival, and the so-called '*Heldengedenktag*' ('Heroes' Memorial Day'). According to the Reich deputy director of propaganda, Hugo Fischer, this also applied, in agreement with the German Labour Front, expressly to '... social events of businesses...that are intended to commemorate the national holidays of the German people, but which solely and verifiably due to difficulties in procuring facilities or due to operational reasons (e.g. shift changes) cannot take place on 1 May'.⁶¹ Although this decision was certainly not financially insignificant for the Nazi Party, its symbolic meaning seemed to be the overriding factor, because it helped emphasize the legitimate and official character of these celebrations.

Around the same time as this entertainment tax decree, a directive issued by the regional propaganda chief of Cologne, Toni Winkelnkemper, showed that professional zeal among Party functionaries was much reduced, just three years after the Nazis came to power. Winkelnkemper decreed that monthly film screenings

...are to be considered compulsory Party events, to be supported by the relevant authorities using all available means. According to reports submitted by the film office directors, it has emerged that most local group leaders have utterly failed in providing their local group film office directors with the support they need to implement preparatory work, such as propaganda and ticket sales, and were also otherwise completely passive.⁶²

Winkelnkemper concluded by saying that he expected more commitment and participation in the future from 'Political Leaders'. It certainly offers pause for thought when Nazi functionaries were showing so little appetite for even these events which, in light of their character as entertaining media, ought be seen as rather enjoyable professional duties. After all, the programmes offered by the regional film offices were certainly not limited to just educational films made by the Party, but actually consisted mostly of commercial entertainment films.⁶³ In this development, one could read either the persistence or the steady erosion of an originally soldierly self-image on the part of the persons involved. While it suggests a persistence in the sense that such films may have been considered as frivolous and 'unsoldierly', what is more conspicuous, and what caught the eye of Nazi leaders, is the disciplinary laxity it displayed towards following orders most likely as a subsidiary effect of having become accustomed to the comforts of power and its not infrequent material advantages.

To combat this apparent weakening of the soldierly ethic, a standard expression became common in the Party's lower ranks – that one was serving 'on the front'. Although this expression certainly fit the ideal, it provoked considerable criticism from the Reich Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, who complained that it artificially created '... a contrast to the work of the central Party headquarters, degrading it to a "rear" position'. This was neither accurate nor acceptable: 'The front line of the Party exists wherever National Socialist men are fighting for the good of the German people and against its enemies, regardless of whether they stand before a crowd delivering a speech, or they sit behind a desk formulating policies for our movement.'⁶⁴ An internal differentiation in self-perception according to one's rank in the Party hierarchy was a danger to be avoided at all costs.

III

The work dissatisfaction that had been growing among Party functionaries since the mid-1930s, as evidenced by numerous reports, was a multifaceted phenomenon. On the one hand, in the years since the Nazi takeover, the inaugural pleasures of exercising power (particularly the countless attacks unleashed against the regime's real and imagined opponents, especially by the SA) had eventually evaporated. On the other hand, these widespread acts of misconduct perpetrated by Nazi functionaries had caused a considerable drop in the social prestige of the Party and its 'little Hitlers'. As the officials of the Nazi movement came into the crosshairs of blanket criticisms directed at the Party, the pleasure of holding office must have lost its shine, especially for the cadres of subaltern functionaries who were particularly exposed to such complaints.⁶⁵

Although the Nazi Party was keen to publicly condemn functionaries who were guilty of misconduct, especially acts of financial fraud,⁶⁶ this failed to staunch the loss of respect for the Party, as eloquently described by the exile reports of the Social Democrats. In January 1935, they reported no less than 21 cases, more or less publicly exposed, of corruption and embezzlement by functionaries of the Party and the National Socialist *Volkswohlfahrt* ('People's Relief Agency'),⁶⁷ solely within the framework of that year's annual campaign to collect donations for the *Winterhilfswerk* ('Winter Relief Campaign').⁶⁸ A year later, the same period still saw 16 cases, which was not much of an improvement.⁶⁹ There were more and more reports of fraud and embezzlement by members of the *Winterhilfswerk*, ranging from grassroots solicitors

to regional officials, in amounts of just a few Reichmarks to upwards of 30,000. In 1934, the Nazi *Kreisleiter* of Meißen committed suicide because his fraud had been uncovered. In the small Pomeranian town of Gartz, the local manager of the *Winterhilfswerk* embezzled funds and was also guilty of the sexual coercion of single and needy women in the course of his duties.⁷⁰ In the context of the aforementioned connection between (on the one hand) the soldierly habitus and (on the other hand) military and sexual violence, as witnessed even within the German army,⁷¹ it could be argued with great cynicism that these crimes might ultimately suggest the uninterrupted propagation of the National Socialist self-image of the 'political soldier', taken to the extreme.

Furthermore, although such cases were condemned and punished by the Party, public opinion hardly differentiated – if at all – between them and cases of National Socialist political patronage,⁷² which from the Party's point of view were not to be seen as the awarding of sinecures, but rather as appropriate material compensation for injustices allegedly caused by the Weimar state. This included the preferential hiring of Nazi Party and SA members for civil service jobs, not to mention the self-serving policies of several regional Party leaders.⁷³ While those who still believed in the idealism of National Socialism sought refuge in the formula 'if only the Führer knew about this...', discontent continued to grow not only among the general public, but also among many older Party members who felt themselves overtaken by the numerous '*Märzgefallener*' and '*Maiveilchen*' ('March fallen', a wordplay on the martyrs of March 1848 but referring here to the many new applicants for party membership during spring 1933; and 'May violets' that likewise only appeared in the spring) who were advancing their careers through the Third Reich.⁷⁴ Occasionally, insulting a Party member by calling him a '*Märzgefallener*' could be enough to escalate a barroom argument into a gunfight.⁷⁵

The fact that this '*Märzgefallener*' label had attained such pejorative connotations, even within the Party itself, shows how numerous long-standing Party members were losing their taste for Party work. Those who had joined the Party before 1933 had been hoping that this new political power would bring redemption not only morally, but also materially, for the disadvantages they had suffered under the so-called Weimar system, allegedly as a result of their commitment to the Nazi movement.⁷⁶ Instead, satisfaction soon gave way to resentment, due to the more or less rapid advancement of brand-new Party members.⁷⁷ This provoked a clear bitterness, as expressed in this acerbic joke: 'What's the

difference between veterans and old Party hands? There are less and less veterans, and more and more old Party hands.⁷⁸

Patronage remained a hot topic within the functionary corps. In May 1935, the official organ of the Reich propaganda ministry, entitled '*Unser Wille und Weg*' ('Our Will and Way'), published an article giving suggestions on how one might combat the promotion-hunting that had become endemic within the Party.⁷⁹ In the October issue of that same year, a minor official from Berlin contributed a satirical character sketch of someone called 'Party Comrade Strebing' (sounds like '*Streben*' or '*Ambition*').⁸⁰ He continually pursued opportunities to advance his own career, and since the moment he received permission to don the uniform of a 'Political Leader', he was never seen in civilian clothing. In his professional enthusiasm, he even took it upon himself to direct traffic on the street. Furthermore, Party Comrade Strebing was also 'higher up ... well favoured'. He could count on a successful career. The text, framed as a dialogue between two 'old Party hands', ends with the telling passage: 'You're smirking? – Oh, maybe you think I'm fibbing, and this Party Comrade Strebing doesn't actually exist? – Oh no, dear friend, he exists ... unfortunately.'⁸¹

There were actually two ways in which this type was distasteful to this pair of longstanding Party comrades. First of all, for someone who, in his own view, had made personal sacrifices towards the triumph of the Nazi movement in 1933, it might certainly be depressing to see these alleged careerists lying comfortably in the bed that had been so hard to make. Second, the zealotry and pushiness that 'Party Comrade Strebing' applied to his work life contributed to the declining respect for the Nazi Party among the public. It was not for nothing that in popular parlance, the Nazi Party's common abbreviation NSDAP stood for '*Na, suchst Du auch Pöstchen?*' ('So, you also looking for a cosy appointment?')⁸²

This downward trend in public opinion was further reinforced by the at times very visible discrepancy between the ideal and the reality of the Party functionary. When even members of the SA or SS were clearly not measuring up to their own codes of conduct, with service to the 'Führer' and the '*Volksgemeinschaft*' often degenerating into communal drinking binges, extravagance and even corruption, it is hardly surprising that the reputation of the Party and its work became tarnished.⁸³ The reputation of Party work ultimately sank so low within the ranks of its own next generation that the percentage of Hitler Youth boys and girls applying for Nazi Party membership upon reaching adulthood became a source of disappointment for Party officials.⁸⁴ In the eyes of

'numerous youths, Party membership was certainly not a goal very much worth striving for, but was instead seen as simply "the done thing", or as a "necessary evil"'. According to a domestic report prepared by the SS *Sicherheitsdienst* ('security service') in the late summer of 1943, only a small proportion of young people wished to join the Nazi Party due to ideological reasons. The majority viewed Party membership as purely functional, a necessity for the successful development of future career paths.⁸⁵ Already in 1935, Nazi Party statistics were recording among its functionaries an annual turnover of at least 10 per cent. A quarter of them, or 2.5 per cent of the total cadre of functionaries, were being dismissed due to professional misconduct. Among Party functionaries who were voluntarily resigning, there were those who were already anticipating a dismissal from service, and those who no longer found satisfaction in their jobs – possibly and not least because of declining social respect and the resulting dissatisfaction with Party work.⁸⁶

In light of the declining reputation of the Party and its functionaries between 1933 and 1939, the onset of war must have been seen as an opportunity for the Party and its functionaries to redeem the soldierly self-image that had become so tarnished. Reclaiming some pleasure in Party work would then follow as a consequence of recovered social prestige and the chance to live out one's soldierly habitus. Thus, in the opening phase of the war up until the Battle of Moscow in the winter of 1941/42, one saw a trend towards voluntary military enrolment, not only among Party functionaries, but also among senior ministerial staff, because they suspected – not so inaccurately – that proof of front-line service would be invaluable for future career advancement after the 'ultimate victory' that was expected in the near future.⁸⁷ The 'home front' was still largely peaceful during this period, and the Party made a point of demonstrating its importance for civilian defences, especially against aerial attack, as seen in the aforementioned short film by the Mühlheim SA. It was not for nothing that the Party possessed its own mobilization department led by Rudolf Hess, the Deputy to the Führer, and saw itself as the 'backbone of the inner front' during wartime.⁸⁸

The more the war began affecting German civilians, the more intensely the Nazi Party worked at holding the 'home front' together: collections were organized to gather books, winter clothing and other recyclables for the benefit of front-line troops, services were held for fallen soldiers, the bereaved were cared for and resources went into civilian air-raid protection as well as emergency relief for the victims of Allied bombings. This last aspect became ever more important in the face of increasing aerial attacks, helping reinforce the Party's militant,

soldierly self-image while also boosting its social reputation.⁸⁹ However, this was possible only so long as the Party's responsible bodies actually remained somewhat capable of dealing with the aerial war's effects. As soon as the sheer number of bombing victims in need of housing and provisions overwhelmed the capacities of the local Party organs and the National Socialist *Volkswohlfahrt*, and reports of Nazi functionaries misappropriating relief supplies began circulating through the populace, the mood turned once more against the Party.⁹⁰ Despite this – or even because of this – Nazi propaganda continued right up until the end of the war to emphasize (to no avail) the soldierly character of the Party's membership and functionaries, as well as the importance of their contributions towards the well-being of the '*Volksgemeinschaft*'. According to the Nazi Party, enemy agitation 'logically targeted that which was recognized as the most essential political force [Party functionaries]'. Belittling the Party's extraordinary contributions to the war effort would thus allegedly undermine morale on the home front. Furthermore, the Party's readiness for self-sacrifice was ostensibly proven by the many air-raid casualties suffered by the cadre of subaltern functionaries in particular.⁹¹ An obvious corollary was that as the effects of war became increasingly serious, Nazi functionaries could hardly have been deriving much pleasure from their jobs anymore, even on the not so inaccurately named 'home front'.

However, the effects of aerial warfare did not hit all regions of the Reich with equal intensity. In places where the 'home front' was relatively quiet and local Nazi functionaries did not have the necessary opportunity to prove the Party's vital role in the war effort, and thus the soldierly credentials of its representatives, the populace began to perceive with increasing alienation the comparatively easy situation of these homeland defenders in Party uniform. This is how it came to pass that a front-line soldier on furlough, walking the streets of his hometown with his adolescent brother, deliberately avoided saluting a Nazi Party functionary in uniform. When asked to explain his refusal, he responded that he did not salute anyone without feeling justified in doing so.⁹² Furthermore, widespread public support for measures expanding the conscription of those 'Political Leaders of the Nazi Party fit for military service' shows that, in the context of increasingly radical sacrifices for the war effort, there was generally little sympathy for the '... continuing presence at home of expendable Political Leaders who were old enough for military service'.⁹³ Here, the distance of many Nazi functionaries from the realities of the front line helped underline the falseness of their soldierly self-identification. It did not matter how

many 'Political Leaders' died through air-raid attacks. In comparison to dying on the battle front, such a death could not be considered soldierly, because such a fate could strike any German living in vulnerable regions and did not require a specifically soldier-like readiness for danger. It is therefore not surprising that the Nazi Party attempted to equate the victim status of fallen soldiers with that of bombing casualties, or that Party leaders reached further back to connect the dead of the First World War with those Nazi Party activists who fell in the Weimar struggles and the contemporary dead (both air-raid victims and fallen soldiers) of the Second World War. They were all to be commemorated together without differentiation. The High Command of the German Armed Forces even endorsed this practice by allowing the 'Iron Cross' to be included as a badge of honour on the gravestones of air-raid victims.⁹⁴

By order of the 'Führer', similar efforts were made in the winter of 1943/44 by Reich Organizational Chief Robert Ley, who compiled detailed statistics on the participation of Nazi Party members and 'Political Leaders' in *Wehrdienst* and *Kriegsdienst* ('military service' and 'war service'). *Wehrdienst* included those enlisted in the Wehrmacht, the Waffen-SS, the police forces and the National Socialist Motor Corps. *Kriegsdienst* covered air-raid and fire-fighting officers, workers of the Organisation Todt, the Reich Labour Service, and the *Technische Nothilfe* ('Emergency Technical Corps').⁹⁵ Without making any further differentiation, the final results showed that from a total of approximately 1.5 million 'Political Leaders', 39.6 per cent were or had once been in *Wehrdienst* or *Kriegsdienst*. Around 58 per cent had not yet served, and 2.5 per cent had meanwhile died. While the bulk of non-serving 'Political Leaders' came from those born in 1900 and earlier, a quarter of all those born in 1906 or later had also still not yet served. The percentage of Nazi functionaries who had never served was especially high in Berlin (63 per cent), Essen (63.7 per cent), Halle-Merseburg (64.2 per cent), Wartheland (65.3 per cent) and Westphalia-South (66.2 per cent). Another six administrative districts registered similar figures over 60 per cent. Only East Prussia (43.5 per cent) managed to fall below 50 per cent.⁹⁶ These figures hardly helped to combat the general feeling of dissatisfaction with the level of military commitment among Nazi functionaries.

If one were to draw a dichotomy between enjoyment and duty or conscientiousness as a mark of soldierly virtue (which would thus help in reinforcing the self-image of the 'political soldier'), then it could be concluded that the lack of enjoyment in Party work might help strengthen such a soldierly self-image through the fulfilment of one's duties despite

all obstacles. Instead, there were increasing cases of behaviour among Party functionaries that resembled less the fulfilment of duties, and more (to frame it in military terms) the act of desertion:

From a cost-benefit point of view, working as a Nazi Party 'Political Leader' became very unattractive as of 1943. Increasing burdens and dangers ... were no longer balanced by adequate compensation, in the view of many lower Party functionaries. The social prestige of wearing a National Socialist uniform became almost null in the public's eyes as of 1943. Numerous minor officials were therefore increasingly withdrawing into private life, failing to contact the Party after changing residence or being bombed out, and skipping mandatory meetings.⁹⁷

Although this assessment of a creeping dissolution of organizational structures and therefore the authority of the Nazi Party applied specifically to Hamburg, where local functionaries were especially affected by the aerial war and its social and material after-effects, it was also valid for parts of the Reich that were less bombarded, as can be seen in a revealing anonymous letter from a *Blockleiter* ('neighbourhood leader') received by the Reich Ministry of Propaganda in early 1943. Here, the unknown functionary complained about suffering the 'toilsome existence' of a *Blockleiter*, supporting this assertion by detailing his monthly activities from mid-November to mid-December 1942.

According to the *Blockleiter's* testimony, during this period he had to conduct a meeting of his street and of his building, and update the address registry for his block. He sold admission tickets and copies of *Der Schulungsbrief* several times, supervised the laying of rat poison, completed an air-raid drill, took part in an evening training session and a leadership meeting, and collected magazines for the troops as well as other recyclables for the war effort. He also verified the military postal codes of Party members from his block, collected Party dues, carried out door-to-door collections for the *Winterhilfswerk*, played Santa Claus at a Christmas party for the *Reichsbund der Kinderreichen* (Reich League of Large Families), and also assessed the marriageability of a domestic worker as well as the political reliability of a man in his parish.⁹⁸

It was not only the apparent haphazardness of his duties that upset the *Blockleiter*. He considered it a symptom of poor organization that, in particular, his collection campaigns and address updates were forcing him to visit the same people several times per week, when these things could have just as easily been done all in one go. This anonymous

functionary was even more concerned about the inadequate recompense for his service to the '*Volksgemeinschaft*':

And where are the Party's rewards for our volunteer work anyway? At the front, we got extra rations if there were any, or else from looted stocks. [!] Of course, we didn't join the Party in order to profit from it. But we also don't want to be disadvantaged by those who remained outside. We're all too human for that. Are we nothing more than servants for those outside the Party?

The *Blockleiter* requested an answer from 'Party Comrade Goebbels', '... but then please in practical terms, and not with the usual stuff about loyalty and honour'.⁹⁹

Significant here is the ultimately irreconcilable differences in perception concerning the benefits of the Party. While this unknown functionary was relatively unabashed in demanding privileged provisions for himself and his kind, the Party's reputation was ultimately ruined by precisely this sense of entitlement, shared by so many subaltern functionaries. The general public viewed such privilege as a violation of the social egalitarianism that belonged to the common values of the '*Volksgemeinschaft*', especially relevant in cases of inequitable food rationing.¹⁰⁰

IV

It is difficult to assess the significance of 'pleasure' as a motive guiding the actions of Party functionaries, because emotional experiences of pleasure are highly individualized acts. There is certainly enough evidence to show that Nazi functionaries did in fact experience pleasure in their activities, despite all soldierly conscientiousness and work ethics. Nonetheless, one can hardly determine which aspects were directly responsible for this experience of pleasure. Where one person might derive enough satisfaction from simply parading about in uniform, another might require the concrete opportunity to exercise power, in order to experience pleasure resulting from a sense of self-importance. And sources of pleasure need not be limited to pathological aspects, such as the sadistic pleasure derived from violent attacks against political or 'racial' enemies, even when one's role may have been purely voyeuristic.¹⁰¹ Pleasure could also be derived from acts of self-sacrifice driven by genuinely held ideals, expressing a socially conscious commitment to the '*Volksgemeinschaft*', as recounted by Melita Maschmann. Describing

the assumption of her duties in East Prussia, she wrote: 'Even as we were pulling out of Berlin's Schlesischer Station, I was happily looking forward to my upcoming service to the *Volksgemeinschaft*, which would give me the chance to go beyond the theory of my newspaper articles and dive completely into real-life practice.'¹⁰² Finally, pleasure could also come from the misappropriation of food provisions. Intended to feed victims of the aerial war, but landing in the pockets (and stomachs) of Nazi functionaries, these silent pleasures were not only gustatory, but also pecuniary, as they led to profit-making opportunities on the black market.¹⁰³ Therefore, although one can say that 'pleasure' did play a role in encouraging commitment to the Party, the individual way in which each functionary derived this pleasure depended solely on his or her personal constellation of traits and desires.

In any case, as the war progressed, the internalized image of being a 'political soldier' became less and less a source of pleasure. By the time the aerial war had begun, the 'Parade's End' (Ford Madox Ford) had literally been reached. This process began before the war started and was characterized by an increasing alienation between Nazi functionaries and a growing section of the general public. Although criticism of Party functionaries' behaviour was heard from all quarters, it was not accompanied by criticism of the system overall. In fact, acts of moral or outright criminal misconduct could even help stabilize the system, if the misdeeds were seen by devout National Socialists not as symptomatic of, but rather as a violation of, authentic National Socialist norms and values.¹⁰⁴

Therefore, although the Nazi Party had lost the respect of significant segments of the public and thereby concrete social influence, the National Socialist system of norms and values, centred on the concept of '*Volksgemeinschaft*', remained untouched. This social order continued, but less through the supposedly exemplary behaviour of the Nazi regime's representatives, and more through the behaviour of the populace itself, in its continued conformity to the ideals of the racial community. Therefore, the '*Volksgemeinschaft*' actually did function as an act of self-empowerment, if not exactly in the manner originally described by Michael Wildt in regard to the exclusionary dimension of Nazi social policies.¹⁰⁵ To some extent, the Party had ceased being the embodiment of the National Socialist idea, because its local and regional representatives often seemed incapable of measuring up to their own political ideals. These guiding principles (working for the common good, equitably sharing burdens and opportunities within a 'racially pure' '*Volksgemeinschaft*') were still

highly respected, and the populace invoked them in criticizing the Party's obvious acts of misconduct. Here, the previously mentioned sentiment 'if only the Führer knew about this ...' was highly applicable. It expressed the fact that a large section of the population still felt spiritually aligned with their distant 'Führer', despite all adversity. The National Socialist worldview was embodied not only by the political icon of Adolf Hitler, but now also by the populace itself, as it arranged its daily activities according to this value system. In this context, the '*Volkgemeinschaft*' no longer existed because of the leadership of the Nazi Party, but in spite of it.

By the conclusion of the war, the position of the Nazi functionary had lost any remaining sense of enjoyment or fulfilment. Those who had held these positions not only forfeited such prestige as was attached to their role as 'political soldier' but were indeed reviled by all. For the Allies, emigrants and surviving victims of the regime the party functionaries epitomized this most invasive and criminal political order – complicit until the very end of the war, and yet now in denial of their roles as perpetrators. In the end, nothing remained of the social status, *esprit de corps* and accompanying pleasures of their position since the *Kampfzeit*.

Notes

1. T. Kühne, 'Der Soldat', in U. Frevert and H.-G. Haupt (eds), *Der Mensch des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt a. M., 1999), 344–372, 346. See also Thomas Kühne's chapter in this volume.
2. C. Schmitz-Berning, *Vokabular des Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, 2000), 472f.
3. B. Wegner, *Hitlers politische Soldaten: Die Waffen-SS 1933–1945. Leitbild, Struktur und Funktion einer nationalsozialistischen Elite*, 6th edn (Paderborn, 1999).
4. T. Mergel, 'Der Funktionär', in Frevert and Haupt (eds), *Mensch*, 278–300. I use the term 'functionary' as a collective name for all officials of the Nazi movement, regardless of whether they took the title of '*Politische Leiter*' ('political leaders') or '*Amtswalter*' ('administrators') in the subunits and associated organizations of the Nazi Party.
5. *Ibid.*, 360.
6. U. Frevert, 'Pflicht', in E. François and H. Schulze (eds), *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, 3 vols, 4th edn (Munich, 2002), vol. 2, 269–285.
7. D. Cesarani, *Adolf Eichmann. Bürokrat und Massenmörder. Eine Biografie* (Berlin, 2004), 420.
8. M. Wildt, *Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus* (Göttingen, 2008), 17.
9. S. Haffner, *Geschichte eines Deutschen. Die Erinnerungen 1914–1933* (Munich, 2002), 22f.
10. W. T. Angress and Bradley F. Smith, 'Diaries of Heinrich Himmler's Early Years', *Journal of Modern History*, 31 (1959), 206–224, 207.

11. A. Donson, 'Why did German youth become fascists? Nationalist males born 1900 to 1908 in war and revolution', in *Social History*, 31 (2006), 337–358, esp. 358.
12. S. Reichardt, *Faschistische Kampfbünde. Gewalt und Gemeinschaft im italienischen Squadrismus und in der deutschen SA* (Cologne, 2002), 373.
13. Cited in S. Meinl, *Nationalsozialisten gegen Hitler. Die nationalrevolutionäre Opposition um Friedrich Wilhelm Heinz* (Berlin, 2000), 42.
14. R. Dahrendorf, *Homo Sociologicus. Ein Versuch zur Geschichte, Bedeutung und Kritik der Kategorie der sozialen Rolle*, 16th edn (Wiesbaden, 2006).
15. S. Behrenbeck, *Der Kult um die toten Helden. Nationalsozialistische Mythen, Riten und Symbole 1923 bis 1945* (Vierow, 1996).
16. Reichardt, *Kampfbünde*, 572, 574f, 585f.
17. *Ibid.*, 575.
18. R. Bessel, 'The Potempa Murder', in *Central European History*, 10 (1977), 241–254.
19. B. Moore, *Ungerechtigkeit. Die sozialen Ursachen von Unterordnung und Widerstand* (Frankfurt a. M., 1987), 527–572.
20. Reichardt, *Kampfbünde*, 361.
21. T. Mergel, 'Führer, Volksgemeinschaft und Maschine. Politische Erwartungsstrukturen in der Weimarer Republik und dem Nationalsozialismus 1918–1936', in W. Hardtwig (ed.), *Politische Kulturgeschichte der Zwischenkriegszeit 1918–1939* (Göttingen, 2005), 91–128, 91f.
22. The German Historical Museum, Berlin, documents this poster in its multimedia exhibition: www.dhm.de/lemo/objekte/pict/pli04734/index.html (accessed 17 October 2009).
23. H. Flügel, 'Wir träumen vom verborgenen Reich... aber Zilles "Miljöh" kannten wir nicht. Der Weg von der menschlichen Unordnung zur un-menschlichen Ordnung', in R. Pörtner (ed.), *Alltag in der Weimarer Republik. Kindheit und Jugend in unruhiger Zeit* (Munich, 1993), 168–181, 174, 181.
24. R. Bessel, 'Violence as Propaganda. The Role of the Storm Troopers in the Rise of National Socialism', in T. Childers (ed.), *The Formation of the Nazi Constituency, 1919–1933* (London, 1986), 104–130.
25. D. Blackburn, '"Die meisten von ihnen haben Räder". Kraftfahrzeuge und der Aufstieg des Nationalsozialismus', in C. Dipper, A. Gestrich and L. Raphael (eds), *Krieg, Frieden und Demokratie. Festschrift für Martin Vogt zum 65. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt a. M., 2001), 141–152.
26. See my 'Zur Bedeutung der NS-Propaganda für die Eroberung staatlicher Macht und die Sicherung politischer Loyalität', in C. A. Braun, M. Mayer and S. Weitkamp (eds), *Deformation der Gesellschaft? Neue Forschungen zum Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, 2008), 93–117, 102f.
27. P. Longerich, *Geschichte der SA* (Munich, 2003), 106.
28. Speech by Grohé on 24 Mar 1934, HStAD RW23/302, 21–46, 33.
29. K. Jeserich, 'Der Sieg heißt Pflicht', in *Der Schulungsbrief* (ed.) by Reichsschulungsamt der NSDAP and Der Deutschen Arbeitsfront, Year 1, Issue 1, March 1934, 7f.
30. 'Der Weg der Schulung', in *Der Schulungsbrief*, Year 1, Issue 1, March 1934, 19f.
31. 'Gedicht des Kapitänleutnants Hans Fuchs', in *Der Schulungsbrief*, Year 2, Issue 6, June 1935, 24f.

32. Behrenbeck, *Kult*, 179.
33. 'Die Entwicklung der Partei in Zahlen', in *Der Schulungsbrief*, Year 5, Issue 8/9, August/September 1938.
34. R. Ray, *Annäherung an Frankreich im Dienste Hitlers? Otto Abetz und die deutsche Frankreichpolitik 1930–1942* (Munich, 2000), 202–214, esp. 209.
35. D. de Rougemont, *Journal aus Deutschland 1935–1936*, ed. by J. Altwegg (Berlin, 2001). Ferner M. Buß, *Intellektuelles Selbstverständnis und Totalitarismus. Denis de Rougemont und Max Rychner – zwei Europäer in der Zwischenkriegszeit* (Frankfurt a. M., 2005), 198–212.
36. Rougement, *Journal*, 42.
37. *Ibid.*, 43.
38. For example, no less than four cases of serious offences committed by the SA are mentioned in just a single Gestapo report from Aachen, dated 5 March 1934, in HStAD Regierung Aachen/1023, 1–42, 20ff.
39. N. Frei, *Der Führerstaat. Nationalsozialistische Herrschaft 1933 bis 1945*, 6th edn (Munich, 2001), 9–41.
40. Monthly report of Kreisleiter Erkelenz for July 1944, dated August 1944, in HStA Düsseldorf RW23/99 I, 44–58, here 48.
41. G. Kock, 'Der Führer sorgt für unsere Kinder...' *Die Kinderlandverschickung im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Paderborn, 1997), 144–193.
42. Interview with Bruno K., 6 September 2005, Cassette 1, Side A, Counter 361, in Institut für Geschichte und Biographie der Fern-Universität Hagen, Lüdenscheid.
43. M. Maschmann, *Fazit. Mein Weg in der Hitler-Jugend* (Munich, 1983), 17.
44. *Ibid.*, 21.
45. Status report of the Gestapo station for the district of Aachen, 4 August 1934, in HStA Düsseldorf RegA/1024, 96–137, here 131.
46. Status report of the Gestapo station for the district of Aachen, 7 August 1935, in *Idem.*, 255–267, here 266.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Germany report of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SoPaDe), Year 4, Nr. 9, September 1937 in K. Behnken (ed.), *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade) 1934–1940*, 7 vols, 3rd edn (Frankfurt a. M., 1980), vol. 4, 1224ff.
49. S. Zelnhefer, *Die Reichsparteitage der NSDAP in Nürnberg* (Nuremberg, 2002), 194.
50. Report on the situation in Germany, Nr. 9, August/September 1934, in B. Stöver (ed.), *Berichte über die Lage in Deutschland. Die Lagemeldungen der Gruppe Neu Beginnen aus dem Dritten Reich 1933–1936* (Bonn, 1996), 223–271, 264.
51. M. Urban, *Die Konsensfabrik. Funktion und Wahrnehmung der NS-Reichsparteitage 1933–1941* (Göttingen, 2007), 93–98.
52. Longerich, *SA*, 136.
53. Cf. the short film about the 1936 regional Party rally in Saxony by R. Hosfeld and H. Pölking, *Die Deutschen 1918 bis 1945. Leben zwischen Revolution und Katastrophe. Zeitreise in Bildern* (Munich, 2006), DVD II.
54. Description from Magdeburg-Anhalt regional administration, as recounted by E. Dietzfelbinger and G. Liedtke, *Nürnberg – Ort der Massen. Das Reichsparteitagsgelände. Vorgeschichte und schwieriges Erbe* (Berlin, 2004), 79.

55. Ibid., 80.
56. Longerich, SA, 229.
57. W. Hosenfeld, 'Ich versuche jeden zu retten'. *Das Leben eines deutschen Offiziers in Briefen und Tagebüchern*, ed. T. Vogel (Munich, 2004), entry of 17 July 1936, 213.
58. Ibid., entry of 19 July 1936. Also A. Kraas, *Lehrerlager 1932–1945. Politische Funktion und pädagogische Gestaltung* (Bad Heilbrunn, 2004), 268f.
59. *Mülheim im Krieg*, City of Mülheim an der Ruhr, ed., DVD (Mülheim, 2004). Although no information exists concerning the production of this film, internal details suggest it was staged and not spontaneous. The use of a handheld camera seems to be a stylistic device for disguising this artifice.
60. Longerich, SA, 140.
61. Memorandum of the Reich propaganda ministry, printed in a bulletin of the regional administration for Cologne-Aachen, Year 5, Nr. 9, 20 October 1935, in HStA Düsseldorf RW23/103, up.
62. Orders of the district propaganda chief for Cologne-Aachen, 15 October 1935, printed in a bulletin of the regional administration for Cologne-Aachen, Year 5, Nr. 9, 20 October 1935, in HStA Düsseldorf RW23/103, up.
63. C. Zimmermann, 'Landkino im Nationalsozialismus', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 41 (2001), 231–243.
64. Directive from Joseph Goebbels to all Gauleiter, Gaupropagandaleiter and Reichsredner, 2 March 1938, in BArch NS12/278, up.
65. D. Schmiechen-Ackermann, 'Der "Blockwart". Die unteren Parteifunktionäre im nationalsozialistischen Terror- und Überwachungsapparat', in *VfZ* 48 (2000), 575–602.
66. Nazi Party bulletin of the regional administration for Cologne-Aachen, Issue 35, 20 September 1934 in HStAD RW23/103, up. Includes numerous reports of former Nazi functionaries sentenced to prison for embezzlement.
67. Germany report of the SoPaDe, Year 2 (1935), Nr. 1, 6 February 1935, Tl. A, 65–67, cited in Behnken (ed.) *Deutschland-Berichte*, vol. 2, 89ff.
68. F. Tennstedt, 'Wohltat und Interesse. Das Winterhilfswerk des Deutschen Volkes: Die Weimarer Vorgeschichte und ihre Instrumentalisierung durch das NS-Regime', in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 13 (1987), 157–180.
69. Germany report of the SoPaDe, Year 3 (1936), Nr. 2, February 1936, Tl. A, 94–96, cited in Behnken (ed.) *Deutschland-Berichte*, vol. 3, 241ff.
70. Germany report of the SoPaDe, Year 1 (1934), Nr. 3, 21 July 1934, Tl. A, 47f., cited in Behnken (ed.) *Deutschland-Berichte*, vol. 1, 235f.
71. B. Beck, *Wehrmacht und sexuelle Gewalt. Sexualverbrechen vor deutschen Militärgerichten* (Paderborn, 2004). The connection between military and sexual violence, especially within paramilitary groups, has been examined in K. Theweleit, *Männerphantasien*, 2 vols (Reinbek, 1983). Cf. S. Reichardt, 'Klaus Theweleits "Männerphantasien". Ein Erfolgsbuch der 1970er-Jahre', in *Zeithistorische Forschung*, 3 (2006), 401–421.
72. Status report of the Gestapo station for the district of Aachen, 6 August 1934, in HStAD Regierung Aachen/1024, 1–64, 6a.
73. A frequently cited example would be Erich Koch, Gauleiter of East Prussia. Cf. C. Rohrer, *Nationalsozialistische Macht in Ostpreußen* (Munich, 2006), 262ff, 401–450.

74. J. W. Falter, 'Die "Märzgefallenen" von 1933. Neue Forschungsergebnisse zum sozialen Wandel innerhalb der NSDAP-Mitgliedschaft während der Machtergreifungsphase', in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 24 (1998), 595–616.
75. Incident report Nr. 157 from the governing presidium of Düsseldorf to the Reich and Prussian Interior Ministry, 14 May 1934, HStAD Regierung Düsseldorf/ 30655d, 226–228, 226f.
76. F. Bajohr, *Parvenüs und Profiteure. Korruption in der NS-Zeit* (Frankfurt a. M., 2001), 17–34.
77. T. Kupfer, *Generation und Radikalisierung. Die Mitglieder der NSDAP im Kreis Bernburg 1921–1945* (Berlin, 2006, Ms.), 159–163.
78. H.-J. Gamm, *Der Flüsterwitz im Dritten Reich. Mündliche Dokumente zur Lage der Deutschen während des Nationalsozialismus* (Munich, 1993, orig. 1963), 85.
79. Hörburger, 'Wie bekämpfe ich Postenjäger?', in *Unser Wille und Weg*, Year 6 (1935), H.5, 22–24 (BarchB NSD12/3).
80. F. Linde, 'Parteigenosse Strebing. Eine Plauderei', in *Unser Wille und Weg*, Year 6 (1935), H.10, 14–16 (BarchB NSD12/3.).
81. Ibid.
82. Gamm, *Flüsterwitz*, 77.
83. Criticism of the public behaviour of SS regiment 'Adolf Hitler' in a status report of the Gestapo station for the district of Potsdam, September 1935, no date, in W. Ribbe (ed.), *Die Lageberichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei über die Provinz Brandenburg und die Reichshauptstadt Berlin 1933 bis 1936. Tl. I: Der Regierungsbezirk Potsdam* (Cologne, 1998), Dok. 53, 352–368, 366.
84. Monthly status report of local administrators Erkelenz and Geilenkirchen for September 1942, dated 30 September 1942, in HStA Düsseldorf RW23/99 I, 180–188, here 182.
85. SS-Sicherheitsdienst report on domestic issues, 12 August 1943 (Red Series), in H. Boberach (ed.), *Meldungen aus dem Reich 1938–1945. Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS*, 17 vols (Herrsching, 1984), vol. 14, 5603–5607.
86. Mergel, *Funktionär*, 292.
87. E. Fröhlich (ed.), *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels. Teil I: Aufzeichnungen 1923–1941*, 9 vols (Munich, 1998–2006), vol. 8, 34 (4 April 1940).
88. M. Weissbecker and G. Noack, '"Die Partei als Rückgrat der inneren Front". Mobilmachungspläne der NSDAP für den Krieg (1937 bis 1939)', in D. Eichholtz and K. Pätzold (eds), *Der Weg in den Krieg. Studien zur Geschichte der Vorkriegsjahre (1935/36 bis 1939)* (Cologne, 1989), 67–90.
89. R. Blank, 'Kriegsalltag und Luftkrieg an der "Heimatfront"', in J. Echternkamp (ed.), *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg. Bd. 9/1: Die deutsche Kriegsgesellschaft 1939 bis 1945. Politisierung, Vernichtung, Überleben* (Munich, 2004), 357–461.
90. A. Nolzen, '"Sozialismus der Tat"? Die Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt (NSV) und der alliierte Luftkrieg gegen das Deutsche Reich', in D. Süß (ed.), *Deutschland im Luftkrieg. Geschichte und Erinnerung* (Munich, 2007), 57–69, 63.
91. Oral statement of the regional administration for Düsseldorf, no date (ca. 1944/45), in HStAD RW23/88, 64–67. F. Bajohr, *Hamburg. Der Zerfall der Volksgemeinschaft*, in U. Herbert and A. Schildt (eds), *Kriegsende in Europa. Vom*

- Beginn des deutschen Machtzerfalls bis zur Stabilisierung der Nachkriegsordnung 1944–1948* (Essen, 1998), 318–336, 325 speaks of 'hundreds' of Political Leaders who died in the summer of 1943 during Operation Gomorrah.
92. Interview with Walther D., 1 February 1985 (interviewed by Dr Almut Leh), Archiv des Instituts für Geschichte und Biographie der Fernuniversität Hagen, Cassette 1, Side B, Counter 311.
 93. Report of the state attorney general, Oberlandesgerichtspräsident Szelinski, 29 May 1943, in C. Tilitzki (ed.), *Alltag in Ostpreußen 1940–1945. Die geheimen Lageberichte der Königsberger Justiz* (Würzburg, 2003), Doc. 47, 237–251, 237.
 94. Behrenbeck, *Kult*, 501, and memorandum from Reich propaganda office chief for Cologne-Aachen (Richard Ohling) to all Kreisleiter, 16 November 1943, HStAD RW23/101 I, 31.
 95. Party comrades serving in Wehrdienst or other Kriegsdienst since 1 September 1939, updated 1 May 1943; appendix to letter from Robert Leys to Franz Xaver Schwarz, 24 January 1944, in BAB NS1/664, 1–23, 3.
 96. *Ibid.*, 12f., 22.
 97. Bajohr, *Zerfall*, 325.
 98. Letter summary Nr. 52, 8 Jan 1943; prepared by Walter Tießler, 6 pages, in BArch NS18/ 167. Concerning Tießler cf. J. Lilla (ed.), *Die Stellvertretenden Gauleiter und die Vertretung der Gauleiter der NSDAP im 'Dritten Reich'* (Koblenz, 2003), 94f.
 99. Letter summary (*ibid.*), 4.
 100. L. Gruchmann, 'Korruption im Dritten Reich. Zur "Lebensmittelversorgung" der NS-Führerschaft', in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 42 (1994), 571–593.
 101. Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft*, 232ff.
 102. Maschmann, *Fazit*, 31.
 103. Bajohr, *Parvenüs*, 166ff.
 104. H. Popitz, *Soziale Normen*, ed. by F. Pohlmann and W. Eßbach (Frankfurt a. M., 2006), 117ff.
 105. M. Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung. Gewalt gegen Juden in der deutschen Provinz 1919 bis 1939* (Hamburg, 2007).

11

The Pleasure of Terror: Belonging through Genocide

Thomas Kühne

Looking back on his time as clerk in the Auschwitz death camp, former SS man Oskar Groening sentimentalized. Not personally involved in the murder of the Jews, he had enjoyed life in the shadows of the gas chambers, as he remembered still 60 years later. 'Auschwitz main camp was like a small town. It had its gossip – it had a vegetable shop where you could buy bones to make broth. There was a canteen, a cinema, a theatre with regular performances. There was a sports club of which I was a member. There were dances – all fun and entertainment.'¹ Groening's recollection is supported by the photos taken in summer 1944 by SS-Obersturmführer Karl Höcker, the adjutant to the second commandant of Auschwitz, SS-Sturmbannführer Richard Baer. These private photos show SS camp guards happily at play, laughing at boozy picnics, and enjoying themselves on group outings to Solahütte, the SS recreation lodge, 30 kilometres south of Auschwitz.² How can we grasp the meaning of these photos and memoirs? How was it humanly possible to enjoy life – the pleasures of life – in the immediate neighbourhood of a machinery that murdered a million people, mostly Jews, within three years?

Dealing with the juxtaposition in the Third Reich of pleasure, joy and entertainment on the one hand and terror, cruelty and mass murder on the other, scholars, writers and filmmakers have provided two opposing explanations. One paradigm considers the perpetrators or the Nazis in general as pathological figures and names sadism, sado-masochism or other abnormal dispositions as the motor of cruelty. The second view concedes that most perpetrators and even more average Nazis behaved quite normally before, after and even during the Holocaust and resorts to theories of compartmentalization to explain why such 'ordinary' people committed mass murder. British psychiatrist Henry V. Dicks

suggested in 1950 that:

Nazis were likely to be men of markedly pregenital or immature personality structure in which libido organization followed sado-masochist patterns, based on a repression of the tender tie with the mother and resulting typically in a homo-sexual paranoid (extra-punitive) relation to a harsh and ambivalently loved and hated father figure, with its attendant sadism towards symbols of the displaced bad portion of this figure; in increased secondary ('defensive') narcissism, in libido splitting *vis-à-vis* female love objects; and in tendencies towards hypochondrical (internal prosecutor) and schizoid or hypomaniac (guilt denial) features.³

That brutality served as pleasure for people filled by such amentia is only logical. In fact, such figures existed among the perpetrators, and it is with no surprise that the accounts of camp survivors – from Eugen Kogon to Yehiel De-Nur alias Ka-Tzetnik 135633 – have focused on them. They incarnated the execution of terror, cruelty and humiliation like nothing and nobody else.⁴ Not surprising either is that, for rather different reasons, sensationalist popular culture, working on the commodification of Nazism and the Holocaust, has often deployed the pathology of terror; in fact, it is the confusion of sex and terror that spurs the everyday life of the perpetrators in this type of fiction. The most recent best-selling example of such pornographic horror kitsch is Jonathan Littell's *The Kindly Ones*, which presents a homosexual and incestuous mother-killer as an allegedly ordinary perpetrator.⁵

Since the Milgram experiments in the late 1950s and the Eichmann trial in 1961, however, a dispute on the 'normality' or 'banality' of evil has become the paradigm of Holocaust perpetrator analysis. Historians, sociologists and psychologists have dismissed demonizing pathologies to explain the Nazi terror machine. These scholars rather focus on the entanglement of seemingly abnormal and normal actions. Hans Dieter Schäfer, for instance, in his influential 1981 cultural history of the 'split consciousness' in Nazi Germany showed that the Nazi state, notwithstanding its totalitarian ambitions, left much space for entertainment, leisure and consumption and thus satisfied, or created the illusion to satisfy, elementary human needs – as democratic Western societies did as well. Pleasure, in a generalized sense, thus served as a safety valve to let off steam in an overheated politicized atmosphere.⁶ More closely related to actual Holocaust perpetrators, the psychiatrist Robert Jay Lifton has introduced the concept of doubling, that is, the 'division of the self

into two functioning wholes'. Introduced in his 1986 book on *The Nazi Doctors*, 'doubling' was to explain how physicians, tied to the Oath of Hippocrates, could commit mass murder and at the same time function as loving family fathers. 'The individual Nazi doctor,' explained Lifton, 'needed his Auschwitz self to function psychologically in an environment so antithetical to his previous ethical standards. At the same time, he needed his prior self in order to continue to see himself as humane physician, husband, father.'⁷

In fact, however, neither Schäfer's description of a divided or 'split consciousness' nor Lifton's concept of 'doubling' explains how ordinary or not so ordinary people committed extraordinary crimes. 'Rather than a cause of evil-doing', doubling was its consequence, states the psychologist James Waller. 'The human psyche simply cannot tolerate long-term dissociative inner divisions in the manner in which Lifton suggests.'⁸ Whether or not one relies on compartmentalization theories, the plenitude of juxtapositions of pleasure and terror in the Third Reich and not least during the Holocaust is obvious. How to explain them? Without resorting to theories of divided selves or consciousnesses, one may still take into account that human nature, even that of genocidaires, needs diversion, regeneration and relief. That is the way the Nazis themselves dealt with seemingly contradictory behaviour. Official SS guidelines suggested making 'special accommodations for the spiritual care' of men who had conducted mass executions. 'The impressions of the day are to be blotted out through the holding of social events in the evenings.'⁹ Boozy gatherings were to help the perpetrators relax from the psychological and moral burdens of their murderous assignments. So, too, did official brothels and even illegal sex. At a meeting of high-ranking SS officers in 1943 several commanders expressed concerns about SS men increasingly disregarding the laws on racial defilement (*Rassenschande*); it was assumed that 'at least 50 per cent of all men in the SS or police' serving in the East had 'undesirable sexual intercourse with ethnically alien women'. But no action was taken. Sepp Dietrich, commander of *SS Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler* and an old friend of Hitler had stated that the orders forbidding intercourse with women of alien races did not apply to his troops.¹⁰

Although not resorting to notions of 'divided' selves or minds, such reasoning allots a compensatory function to the perpetrators' pleasure. In this view, pleasure, including sex, conviviality, consumption and entertainment, prevents the death machinery from breaking down. Pleasure compensates destruction, that is, one's own destructiveness. Although these explanations certainly comply with human psychology including that of the perpetrators, I shall elaborate on a different

understanding of pleasure, one that takes pleasure as the oil, rather than as a valve, of the Nazi terror machine. This view is informed more by sociology than by psychology, and it focuses on social rather than individual pleasure. What is at stake is the pleasure of togetherness and belonging – a quite ‘normal’ pleasure, which most humans seek, and certainly one that is not embedded in sadism. In Nazi Germany, however, it fuelled the genocide.

‘The special situation at Auschwitz led to friendships of which I’m still saying today I like to look back on with joy,’ added former SS man Oskar Groening to his elaborations on the leisure facilities installed at the Auschwitz complex. Groening’s sentimental reminiscence went far beyond naive pleasure. When he left the camp in 1944, he lost a place where he had felt at home. It was the ‘joy’ of belonging, togetherness and community that made Auschwitz such a particular place. ‘I’d left a circle of friends whom I’d got familiar with, I’d got fond of,’ said Groening.¹¹ Precisely this relation of terror and togetherness, mass murder and community building is the subject of this chapter. It explores the manifold ways in which genocide and genocidal warfare enabled Germans to create, strengthen and experience a particular type of collective identity, even as a national community, that otherwise seemed to be impossible. I show how perpetrating and supporting the genocide against the Jews, but also terror directed towards other people, provided Germans with a sense of belonging that created the *Volkgemeinschaft* that the Nazis indeed had promised to install.¹²

That type of pleasure began to become popular in the aftermath of the First World War, when people coped with the experience of mass death. Whereas most Germans, just as the citizens of other belligerent nations, mourned and sought to regain a sense of normalcy, that is, a life in peace and security, some radical veterans worshiped eternal war and praised the rebirth of a truly male and warrior society in the trenches of the past war.

In the trenches rules the freedom of men. No women hold up the course of the will, no emotion curbs the pace of the almighty men...Finally being beyond good and evil! Finally being human, inhuman, superhuman! ...I am allowed to merge into the wilderness of the nature...I am allowed to sacrifice myself, without expecting any thanks! I am allowed to merge into the chorus of the nameless, who carry the vaults of life on feverish shoulders and shake it off jauntily; I am allowed to be a man ...¹³

This is the way *Der Weisse Ritter*, or *The White Knight, Journal of Young Germany*, put it in 1923. This particular journal came with an elitist touch. However, more popular writers praised the same ideas. Joseph Magnus Wehner, in his book *Seven in front of Verdun*, glorified the 'assault as the ultimate pleasure of men'. The heroes of his war novels found themselves magnetically allured 'by the breath of one thousand men standing over there between the battle fires'. Franz Schauwecker praised the 'wild and lordly pleasure of power display and manliness' in battle.¹⁴ These statements would be mistaken as mere praise of destruction. They rather deploy the pleasure of destruction to praise the contrary – the 'construction', or constitution, in fact the genesis of society, a special society though, one that opposed the civilian society as it emerged after 1918 in Germany as well as in other countries.¹⁵ These men adhered to the myth of an eternal male bond, which included both living and dead men and glorified toughness, brutality and fearlessness as true manliness. Such war fiction was about the desire for and the pleasure of belonging.

The trench fighter still thought and acted within the categories of regular warfare. He did not praise the murder of civilians. It was only when the war was over that the *Freikorps* and other radical nationalists started war against civilian political enemies. One of the most popular and also most decisive literary monuments of the *Freikorps* was published in 1930 – Ernst von Salomon's memoir *The Outlaws*. Born in 1902 and thus too young to fight in the war, he joined a *Freikorps* unit to fight against Communists and Jews in Silesia and the Baltic in 1919. In 1922, he took part in the plot to assassinate Walter Rathenau, the Jewish-German industrialist, foreign minister and advocate of 'fulfilling' the Versailles Treaty. Later, Salomon was involved in a Feme murder. He spent years in prison for both crimes, but had no regrets. Murder served an exclusive goal. 'We felt that we embodied Germany. We believed that we were entitled to have that power.' Desperately seeking to belong, Salomon praised 'man's lust for destruction', dwelt on the soul as an 'emanation of blood' and celebrated the revelry of violence. It was never just about physical destruction or even sadism. Murder, lynching and terror enlivened the 'will to create' through destruction. The 'outlaws' followed their own laws. They refused to recognize any rules but those of their own choosing. The 'commander's will' was not based on defined authority but solely on his ability to strengthen the 'dynamic forces that animated the whole company'. It was all about cohesion and unity. If ever one of the members 'sinned against the rigid laws of the clan', the company would hold a 'short court-martial', send

him to death and move on, singing their pirate song.¹⁶ Rudolf Höss, who became the commandant of Auschwitz, also joined the *Freikorps* and 'found a home again, and a sense of security in the comradeship of my fellows'. In the 1920s, a stable sense of belonging was an increasingly rare commodity for many people. 'Danger' was required to regain emotional stability. Belonging was achieved best by identifying an enemy to fight against. 'In fact, the more we were pushed around by the government in office the more firmly did we stick together. Woe to anyone who attempted to divide us – or to betray us!... Treachery was punished with death, and there were many traitors so executed.' Höss acted accordingly when it came to punishing a supposed communist spy whom the group blamed for the death of the Nazi martyr Leo Schlageter. As 'no German court would have convicted him, so it was left to us to pass sentence in accordance with an unwritten law which we ourselves, according to the exigencies of the times, had laid down'.¹⁷ Regarding established jurisdictions and codes of ethics as insufficient, the group created its own. The group claimed sovereignty and knew that it would stick together.

Although it was not the *Freikorps* alone that gave birth to the Nazis and the SS, some continuity is obvious.¹⁸ Establishing cohesion and unity, a sense of belonging based on violence, was certainly part of it. From late 1929 on, the Nazi Stormtroopers (SA) waged civil war on communists and socialists. Dance hall battles, brawls and knife fights became a daily routine in German cities. Unleashing brutality in bar brawls, fighting together furiously in the streets and committing murder together served as social 'cement', as Joseph Goebbels said. It was not just standing together against an enemy as soldiers in battle that created this type of comradeship. Moral transgression forged bonds as well. In fact, the SA popularized the myth of revolutionizing society by violating civilian, humanitarian norms. SA men did not hide murder; they staged it. Inflicting ruthless violence guaranteed public attention and established community. When they marched in Charlottenburg, a Berlin suburb, they sang, 'We are the Nazi guys from the murderer unit of Charlottenburg.' If you wanted to become an SA man, you would not just switch into a uniform but adopt a new anti-bourgeois name, copied from the criminal underworld, like 'Revolver Gob' or 'Submarine'. Participating in collective violence was the entrance ticket to the group. When they met in 'storm bars' to enjoy themselves, they dwelt on war stories, and granted the most brutal comrade the greatest respect.¹⁹

A similar social fabric characterized the German Border Police Station in Nowy Sącz, Poland, from late 1939 on. There, a group of 20 to 30

German police officers managed to murder thousands of Jews and send another 15,000 or more to Belzec and other death camps. Novy Sącz, or, in German, Neu-Sandez, was located 50 miles south-east of Krakow in West Galicia. On the evening of 28 April 1942, the Germans were having a hot party in the local Gestapo casino. About 20 of them, members of the Gestapo, some Wehrmacht soldiers, civil service officers and alike gathered to enjoy an evening of drinking. Most of them had concluded a nasty but, as they saw it, necessary job only a couple of hours before. At the Jewish cemetery, they had killed 300 Jews. It had been chaos. Although most of these men were used to torturing, humiliating and even murdering individuals, they had never organized a mass shooting action. Sometimes, the executioners hit the aortas of their victims, so that their blood poured forth over the hands and weapons of their murderers. Or they did not hit their victims lethally, so these died only slowly. Some SS men felt nauseated by their own deeds and those of their comrades and tried to dodge away. Repeatedly, SS men started quarrelling with each other about how to do their job most efficiently or, as they put it, in a more 'human' way.

The point is: the group did not fall apart but concluded what it considered as its job. These men stuck together and experienced themselves as a community – not least by coping with their internal disputes. Eventually, when the job was done, the Germans marched back to the Gestapo station, singing the Horst Wessel song, the most popular Nazi anthem, which glorified one of the first martyrs of the early Nazi movement, called for revenge, and promised 'freedom' and 'bread', that is the paradise on earth, only for one's own community that has cleansed the earth of its enemies: 'Flag high, ranks closed,/ The S.A. marches with silent solid steps./ Comrades shot by the red front and reaction/ march in spirit with us in our ranks./ The street free for the brown battalions,/ The street free for the Storm Troopers./ Millions, full of hope, look up at the swastika;/ The day breaks for freedom and for bread.'²⁰

The Gestapo of Novy Sącz did not content itself with conjuring a utopia of togetherness and community; it rather anticipated that vision through drunken gatherings as well as through collective violence. The uncrowned king of Novy Sącz was the head of the local Gestapo station, SS-Obersturmführer Heinrich Hamann. When gathering his men in the Gestapo casino, he loved to demonstrate his toughness und brutality by biting on a glass or pulling a safety pin through his cheek. In the casino, he and his men lived it up. On the evening of 28 April 1942, the crowd enjoyed themselves by shooting at a series of glasses on the bar. At midnight, such boyish pleasures no longer sufficed. Hamann

suggested 'kicking up a fuss'. He wished to check on his 'lambs' in the Jewish ghetto, as he put it. Would they be doing well or were they about to moan about what had happened earlier in the afternoon? The entire circle had to come with him to make a racket in the ghetto. Excuses were not accepted. In the ghetto, they stormed houses, forced their way into apartments, kicked in doors and windows, and shot down whoever stood around or dared to show up. The police officers entered bedrooms and shot randomly at couples sleeping in bed. The fuss Hamann's men kicked up ended in an orgy of brutality.²¹

What happened in Novy Sącz on 28 April 1942 cannot be explained solely by sadism, by hatred of Jews, by obedience or by group pressure – the established explanations of Holocaust perpetrator actions – although these all mattered. What is at stake here is group pleasure, collective joy, the experience of togetherness and belonging. It would be wrong to assume that all men equally enjoyed such cruel collective joy. Many of them despised Hamann's brutality. The German crowd in Novy Sącz was comprised of men of different ideological, social and generational backgrounds, just as German society was. Some acted willingly, some refused to take part and some stood aside. They were involved on different and even opposing levels of the death machine. But the wholly diverse attitudes were neutralized by a sociological mechanism that merged collective joy and collective crime.

Heinrich Hamann frequently cited an order from Himmler according to which 'everyone' had to carry out executions, and he actually tested the readiness of new members of his detail to obey orders to murder. Community building through crime worked in other units as well.²² Bruno Müller, head of Einsatzkommando 11b began a mass execution in Southern Russia in August 1941 by picking a two-year-old child and shooting it, then killing the mother. Having set the model, he asked the other officers to follow.²³ Everyone, he said, had to shoot at least one person. To become one of 'us', you had to kill at least once. As Hannah Arendt said in her essay on violence, only through an 'irreversible act' that burned 'the bridges to respectable society' could you be trusted and 'admitted into the community of violence'.²⁴

Freedom of action still existed in most police and SS units. The crucial point is that those who indeed dissented and refused to murder actually supported the hegemonic genocidal culture they tried to escape. Talking to comrades who joined in, or to their superiors, they did not claim to be 'too good' to kill. They would rather say, 'I am too weak'.²⁵ They did not question the genocidal morality of the community. They rather judged their own constitutions as abnormal. Thus, they too provided

an essential part of the internal structure of the group. In a culture of 'tough' masculinity, of brutality and mercilessness, they represented the inbuilt 'other' of the group, thus helping to bring the hegemonic ideal into sharp focus. Bullies like Hamann could not have assumed alpha-male positions without the weaklings. This was the basis of an exchange deal that guaranteed even the dissenters a place within the group. Thus, they got a chance to belong as well. And many took the chance. When the perpetrators of *Novy Sącz* stood on trial in the 1960s, it turned out that none of them had ever made any effort to get away from *Novy Sącz*. One of those men, who had despised Hamann's brutality and thus was considered by him a weakling, admitted why that had been so, why they all stuck to the site of murder and torture. 'Life in *Novy Sącz* wasn't too bad. I felt at home in *Novy Sącz*,' he said. What he wanted to say is: through committing murder and spreading terror, they fabricated a rare good: belonging and collective identity (Figures 11.1 & 11.2). Such belonging based on criminality and brutality would be mistaken as a peculiarity of SS and Gestapo men. The fact that men with different social, ideological and personal backgrounds joined in mass murder and enjoyed themselves by doing so was rooted in certain patterns of youth and adolescent socialization, which were not limited to Nazi Germany, but were realized there more radically than in other countries. The agencies that enabled this shift were the military draft (from 1935 on) and a broad range of pre- and paramilitary training camps. Sebastian Haffner's experience in 1933 can be taken as an example. Haffner, who after 1945 became one of most popular Hitler biographers, was born into a left liberal Berlin middle-class family and despised whatever the Nazis adored. In early 1933 he had just finished law school and was preparing to establish his professional life. After the Nazis came into power, though, he learned that civil service candidates like himself had to join a training camp for some weeks before being permitted to take their legal exams. So he did. In 1938, however, he emigrated to England with his Jewish fiancée and wrote an early memoir, disgusted by the 'systematic infection of a whole nation, Germany, with a germ that causes its people to treat their victims like wolves'. As Haffner put it, the 'widely praised, harmless male comradeship' had become 'demonic' as well as pandemic in Germany, 'a dreadfully dangerous condition'. The Germans, Haffner said, 'are terribly happy, but terribly demeaned;...so proud and yet so despicable and inhuman'. The Nazi training camp he was forced to join in 1933 had taught him what comradeship was all about.

Camp social life did not focus on Nazi ideology. It rather served as a form of training for offending civil morality and for violent harassment.



Figure 11.1 & 11.2 Close together: sexist and racist wall cartoons in the German casino of Novy Sącz

Source: Courtesy of Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem.

Ritualized recitation of lewd songs and jokes served to vilify bourgeois love and generated collective pleasure. It was all about joining in. One of the highlights was the ‘boyish’ custom

of attacking a neighbouring dormitory at night with ‘water bombs’, drinking mugs filled with water to be poured over the beds of the defenders...A battle would ensue, with merry ho’s and ha’s and

screaming and cheering. You were a bad comrade if you did not take part...It was taken for granted that comradeship prevented those who had been attacked from telling tales.

The civilian individual found himself erased by the group dynamic. Haffner understood, as he put it, 'that comradeship relieves men of responsibility for their own actions, before themselves, before God, before their consciences...Their comrades are their consciences and give absolution for everything, provided they do what everybody else does.' The absence of personal responsibility guaranteed the 'happiness of comradeship...We floated in a great comforting stream of mutual reliance and gruff familiarity.'²⁶

There were many possible ways in which comrades educated deviants into comradeship and assimilated themselves into the community. A tank gunner in the Wehrmacht received a symbolic burial for his failures in formal drill. On the command of a sergeant he was made to lie in a hole and pull his steel helmet over his face. His comrades covered him over with a sheet of corrugated iron, and the sergeant shot three blank cartridges over the 'grave'. When he made mistakes in shooting, he had to stand with a cigarette which the sergeant pretended to shoot out of his hand. Only later did the unfortunate gunner find out that blanks had been loaded. Once he fell in on parade with a dirty neck and his superior told him to wash, which his comrades took as an encouragement to drag the bawling young man into the washroom and 'scrub him down'. Some time later, with the sergeant at the fore, they poured two buckets of water into his bed in the night. A legal prosecution of the harsh but popular sergeant was stopped. In their evidence his comrades showed little sympathy for the 'sniveller', who at the slightest reprimand started 'trembling and howling' and 'wouldn't join in any more'. And the military judges took the view that such 'rough practical jokes' were entirely appropriate for the 'uncompromising demands of modern warfare' which were made on 'useful soldier[ly] material'.²⁷

In the military, group pleasure relied on torturing the other, the one who did not belong. Your superior was at hand not only as the teacher of the virtue of comradeship but also as its catalyst, in torturing the recruits with mud baths, locker room and dormitory roll calls, masquerades and confinement to barracks. For hatred for the tormentors had a conciliatory note. It ensured a certain harmony within the group. Thus in 1942 a Wehrmacht recruit wrote to his friend in the Hitler Youth that 'we had imperceptibly grown together into firm comradeship' through the harassment suffered in the first three weeks of serving

together – following the slogan ‘nobody can get to us’ and the motto ‘and should our arses turn to leather, never mind, we’ll stick together’.²⁸ Comradeship developed among recruits through defending themselves against the terrors inflicted on them by their superiors. Often, such comradeship issued in little conspiracies. Dieter Wellershoff’s comrade Edi had ‘gone to the equipment vehicle in accordance with regulations and with official permission in order to have his boots soled, but had not come back, although it was only some four kilometres away ... That was an unauthorized absence from the unit.’ Wellershoff and his comrades knew that they were liable to punishment if they did not report Edi. But they did not see him as a traitor and ‘believed in Edi’s non-chalance and his fantasies’, which did not really endanger his ties to his comrades. ‘And a secret solidarity with this crazy guy prevented us from reporting the incident.’ Instead they hushed up Edi’s absence for a day and even into the night, when there was trench digging to be done. Edi did indeed return after a day and turned out to be a ‘good comrade’ who had gone AWOL not for himself, but for the sake of the group, to ‘purloin things’. As ‘booty’ he brought a side of bacon which ‘he shared amongst us’. He was one of ‘us’. Edi enriched and enlivened social life – the pleasure of belonging.²⁹

Military service was the drilling square for comradeship. A comrade was someone with whom ‘you could get up to something now and then’, as Lieutenant Gerhard Modersen put it in his diary in 1943. For countless soldiers, getting up to something together meant one thing above all: adventures with women. Modersen was married. But it was precisely the adultery he practised constantly along with his comrades which represented for him the attraction of life as a soldier.³⁰ It was not only a matter of physical sexual pleasure. At least as important was the ability to boast of sexual adventures to your circle of comrades. Boasting of sexual adventures demonstrated the social sovereignty of the leagues of males, their independence from real women, their superiority over the family and home – over civilian society and civilian morality. The moral grammar of comradeship always obeyed the same rule: anything was allowed that enriched and intensified the group’s social life, its bonds and its cohesion. Such cohesion played out when the soldiers got together for having fun or when they did their duties, whatever these were.

No doubt, even more effective than boasting of sex adventures was the actual performance of sexual violence. Abusing women in the occupied areas was the ultimate performative masculinity, that is, an assertion of the sovereignty of the male bond. Shortly after the Germans had

invaded her home town Pskov in early August 1941, the Russian teacher Genia Demianova was tortured and raped by a Wehrmacht sergeant. He did so not only to satisfy his own sexual desires but also to position himself among comrades, as the victim's account reveals. Right afterwards, he started boasting. 'There is a roar of cheering, the clinking of many glasses. The sergeant is standing in the open doorway: "The wild cat is tamed," he is saying. "Boys, she was a virgin. What do you say to that?" Another burst of cheering,' and the sergeant closed the door, but Demianova was not left alone. 'The others came in' and 'flung themselves upon me, digging into my wounds while they defiled me ... Then everything passed. The Germans kept coming, spitting obscene words towards me, guffawing as they tortured me.'³¹

Leagues of men forming themselves into communities through the illicit and the criminal were not peculiar to the military or to Germany in the Nazi period. As historical, sociological, psychological and anthropological research in other military organizations and in certain gangs and rites of initiation show, such social mechanisms are widespread, perhaps all over the world and throughout history.³² Hitler himself was well aware of the sociology of crime and presented it as a political prescription. In 1923 he declared that there were 'two things which can unite human beings; shared ideals and shared roguery'.³³ Before 1933, the Storm Troopers put this maxim into practice. From 1933 on, assimilation into the community via criminality was arranged by the Nazi state. The Nazi state not only allowed but rather encouraged its soldiers, and in fact the entire Aryan *Volksgemeinschaft*, to dive into a collective pleasure that was based on the torture of the 'other', Jews in particular. Of fundamental significance were the criminal orders which were issued under the seal of secrecy during the preparations for the attack on the Soviet Union in the spring of 1941, but which could not remain secret and were not intended to be so. According to these orders, the so-called 'political commissars' of the Red Army were not to be treated as prisoners of war according to international law, but were to be 'seen to' either at once or after further 'checking over'. The war jurisdiction decree went much further. It suspended 'obligatory prosecution' for offences against members of the subjugated civilian population by Wehrmacht personnel, even if it was a case of 'military crime'. *De facto*, the two commands together declared open season on both prisoners of war and the civilian population of the occupied areas.³⁴

These orders, crassly contrary to international law as they were, were not carried out in all Wehrmacht units with equal consistency.³⁵ Not all soldiers and not all Germans joined in the pleasure of terror to the same

extent. Many refused to take part or stood aside. But the wholly diverse attitudes and variations in conduct in themselves oiled the machinery of genocidal warfare. Lieutenant Fritz Farnbacher, a Protestant, although he took part in the Russian campaign from day one and served at the front, was probably never involved personally in the murder of Jews or other defenceless persons. He instead tried to keep his distance. Three days after the attack on the Soviet Union the fact that the troops were feeding 'off the land' was already giving him a headache, for 'all manner of things are being "pinched"'.³⁶ But staying away was not always easy. Though shocked by the greed of his comrades – 'you have to look into their eyes and at their hands, how they yaw and grasp' – he 'willingly' kept a piece of soap that 'is brought to me'. Soon after, when the neighbouring battery 'received' a barrel of pickles, Farnbacher decided, 'I accepted a couple of them and enjoyed them. We aren't really that bad off!'³⁷

Farnbacher and most of his comrades were well aware of international law. But in the threatening scenarios of the partisan war, dramatized by rumours and propaganda, the scruples about criminal warfare gradually dissolved. 'What we've come to!' he remarked at the end of 1941 on hearing that some 30 Russian prisoners had been simply 'bumped off' because it was so far to the assembly point: 'Five months ago we wouldn't have even said that, let alone dared do it! And today it's a matter of course, of which every one of us approves on reflection. No mercy for these predators and beasts!'³⁸

At the same time enthusiasm grew for shared experiences and adventures which reminded the troops of trips with boys' leagues and which occurred during the requisitioning forays and campaigns against partisans in the locality in spring 1942. They didn't run into partisans, but the booty in a village was all the more sumptuous: potatoes, greens, 50 chickens, grain, three sucking pigs and a cow were loaded on to 30 sledges. 'Then I put myself at the head of my forces, once I have assured myself again that they're all present...and march off homewards. The evening is as beautiful as the morning before it. The wind is at our backs and we race along.' The mood is one of elation, not least due to the ordinary soldiers' sense of humour: 'On our expedition, when I asked whether the cow had been paid for, they just said "Yessir!" To my question, how had they paid, came the answer "With cigarette cards!"'³⁹ Another Wehrmacht lieutenant, Werner Groß, drove 'around the area' in a cart and horses with his men in the spring of 1943. They had, he proudly wrote: 'searched villages, combed woods and cleared the area of gangs... We lived like gypsies and tramps.'⁴⁰ The magic potion which enlivened these cleansing campaigns and plundering trips came from

the awareness of being above civilian society. The 'gangs' which Groß fought were a synonym for partisans, and Nazi propaganda equated partisans with Jews.

Group pleasure based on terror and murder was experienced ambivalently. Pleasure and qualms were close together, and the latter dominated the longer the war went on and the darker the visions about its end became. Farnbacher and Groß served as officers in the Wehrmacht and thus enjoyed privileges and prestige, which the rank and file missed. Most of the latter had been drafted, thus entered the army involuntarily. Only slowly, they discovered the pleasures of comradeship – a special kind of pleasure, embedded in and restricted by a community of fate, which you were forced into, but couldn't just leave if you didn't like your comrades or if they didn't like you. Although never 'alone' in the army, Willy Peter Reese felt 'a stranger among strangers'. Drafted when he was about to pursue a decent career as a clerk and establish a family, he was annoyed with soldiering. But joining in seemed the only option, if you didn't want to be ousted. After a while, Reese 'felt at ease in my company, one of many who shared the same destiny'. They drove away homesickness together with a 'barrel of beer', sitting around a campfire and singing melancholic soldiers' songs. 'Our shared privation and distance from home,' he said, looking back, 'made us comrades.' The pleasure of such comradeship, however, could not compensate the loss of privacy and the permanent threat of losing one's life. The pleasure of comradeship was soaked with moral apathy and blatant cynicism. 'Individuality went under in a vast ocean of apathy and never took shape,' Reese realized. Serving on the Eastern Front, he was well aware of the ongoing war against civilians. 'Two hanged men swayed on a protruding branch... Their faces were swollen and bluish, contorted to grimaces... One soldier took their picture; another gave them a swing with the stick. We laughed and moved off.'

In the retreat that began in 1943, the troops covered Eastern Europe with marauding, murder, and plunder. The policy of 'scorched earth' concluded the destruction of half of a continent. 'Russia was turning into a depopulated, smoking, burning, wreckage-strewn desert,' Reese stated in early 1944, at the end of a distressed 140-page-long 'Confession' of his own complicity. 'On the way we torched all the villages we passed through and blew up the stoves... The war had become insane, it was all murder, never mind whom it affected.' Outbursts 'of rage and hate, envy, fistfights, sarcasm, and mockery' replaced 'whatever may have remained of comradeship,' he wrote, sentimentalizing the warm side of soldierly togetherness. As the Germans were forced to retreat further

and further, a new, very different collective identity emerged, based on 'heroic nihilism' and pure cynicism. Yet already in 1942 Reese had depicted in a poem a gang of soldiers guzzling and whoring, boasting and lying, cursing and crowing. 'As a bawling crowd', they had 'marched to Russia, gagged people, butchered blood' and 'murdered the Jews... We wave the banners of the Aryan ancestors, they suit us well... We rule as a band.' The band was the Wehrmacht, the spearhead of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, the German nation.⁴¹

These verses do not transpire simple pleasure. They radiate crapulence, the emotional consequence of the pleasure of terror, that is, the bad conscience of a society that was aware that it had, as a nation, perpetrated and supported a monstrous crime, decidedly as planners, scientists, killers or guards, or somewhat passively by gazing, by applauding, or just by looking the other way. Wehrmacht Captain Wilm Hosenfeld was one of the very few German soldiers who did not stand by but took action on behalf of the persecuted Jews and Poles in Warsaw, where he served almost the entire war with the occupation regime. He allowed Polish wives to visit their husbands in the POW camp he was responsible for, befriended persecuted Jewish and non-Jewish Poles and saved some of them from the SS's death machine. During the last months of 1944, he helped the Jewish pianist Władysław Szpilman to hide and survive in the ruins of Warsaw. 'I try to save each one I can,' he said to his wife in August 1944, when he, unwillingly, was in charge of interrogating members of the Polish Armia Krajowa during the Warsaw uprising. He acquired comprehensive knowledge. In spring 1942, he heard of the gas chambers in Auschwitz and found that, 'notwithstanding all secrecy', in Poland such knowledge was no longer exceptional but rather widespread. Two years later, he accepted 'the extermination of a couple of millions of Jews' as a fact. Privately, he sometimes blamed the 'current rulers' for betraying 'the German people', contrasted SS 'turpitudes' with the 'honour' of Wehrmacht officers, or clung occasionally to the illusion that 'we as Wehrmacht have nothing to do with that'. In truth even he, now a Righteous Among the Nations, knew that 'horrible blood guilt' burdened the entire German people and thus him as well, if only because he wore the uniform of a German officer. In fact, he knew that he and even more his fellow citizens generated that guilt. 'What cowards we are... that we let this all happen.'⁴²

Such confessions were rare, during the war and even afterwards. Nevertheless, the knowledge of the Holocaust, in particular of the mass shootings in the East, was widespread among Germans already during the war, despite all efforts to look the other way, to escape into myths

of Germany's own victimization, first by the Versailles Treaty and the national humiliation after 1918, then by an alleged threat of world Jewry, of the Slavic hordes, of the Communists, of the Stalinist Soviet Union. And it was precisely this knowledge that united the German nation and worried the Germans toward the end of the war, notwithstanding all tendencies towards isolation in the landscapes of mass death at the battle fronts and at the home front. It was these very worries that Hermann Goering and other Nazi leaders addressed, when from 1942 on, they reminded the Germans in public speeches what the entire German people (and not only the SS or the Nazi elite) had done to the Jews. 'The Jew,' said Goering in a speech of 4 October 1942, 'is behind all, and he has declared to kill all of us. And nobody' – he meant no German – 'should think, he might say afterwards: "I always have been a good democrat against these mean Nazis." The Jew will treat all [Germans] equally. He will take revenge on the whole German people.'⁴³

The soldiers got the message. They knew that Goering was right in conjuring a collective German responsibility for the Holocaust. Wehrmacht Private Franz Wieschenberg, having served on the Eastern Front from the beginning, pointed out to his wife in August 1944: 'We Germans are the nation which decisively started this war and which has to endure its consequences.' Three years before, in August 1941, this same soldier had reported to his wife, then fiancée: 'I just saw how the Jews in a town we previously conquered had to move out of their party offices and march through the streets on their way to the stake, carrying photos of Stalin in front of them – that was a sight for sore eyes, what fun!'⁴⁴ Wieschenberg had joined in the terror in the East as a spectator of a collective entertainment as many of his comrades had done. In Zhitomir in summer 1941, SS Einsatzkommando 4a was in charge of mass shootings in the area. Jews were to be publicly hanged. It was said they had ill-treated the Ukrainians during the Russian occupation. 'The execution was arranged as a form of popular entertainment' and announced all over town ahead of time by a Wehrmacht vehicle loudspeaker, recalled a former Wehrmacht soldier, Herbert Selle in 1965. 'There were soldiers sitting on rooftops and platforms watching the show.'⁴⁵

Photos taken at such events do not reveal as many ashamed spectators as amused ones. They celebrated their splendid community. The 'Us' had triumphed over 'Them', the 'Other'. Kept like trophies, photos of atrocities illustrated, and were intended to illustrate, the dichotomous social reality of genocide.⁴⁶ On the one hand, we see the triumphant group of perpetrators, enjoying themselves committing or watching cruelty. They stick together, they act together and they feel together.

They experience belonging, the epitome of 'humanity' – a special notion of 'humanity', to be sure. On the other hand there are the isolated, humiliated, naked victims – frightened and freezing, robbed of the signs of their personal identity, all looking alike, no longer retaining their humanity. 'Dissociation' from the victims enhanced 'association' among the perpetrators.⁴⁷

To be sure, the perpetrators and spectators did not constitute a uniformed and homogeneous mass as some photos and testimonies suggest. Herbert Selle, testifying on the Zhitomir spectacle in 1965, did not do so without stating that he 'had been an opponent of the National Socialist Jewish policy' right from its beginnings. He also addressed the discomfort his superiors felt about masses of Wehrmacht soldiers enjoying themselves by watching the murder of civilians. Whatever Selle's private sentiments toward Nazi racism had been, there is no doubt that not all parts of the Wehrmacht performed equal enthusiasm about the soldiers' support of criminal and genocidal warfare. Nor did all Germans at the home front applaud what they heard about it by rumours or from eyewitnesses, what they read in letters from their men serving in the East, or what they saw in photos the soldiers sent or carried back home. The point is that they learned about the murder of the Jews when it took place, and that they felt complicit, even more when the short time of collective pleasure through terror was gone and the long time of convulsive suffering from qualms about the conjointly committed mass crime began. They knew that they were not supposed to talk openly about what they had heard. They did so anyway. In December 1941, a woman in a bakery in Rhenish Emmerich spoke compassionately about the Jews in Russia whom, as she had heard, the Germans drove into the woods to gun down. She did so in front of various clients; one of whom denounced her to the Gestapo. The cult of secrecy radiated monstrosity, uneasiness, qualms – and curiosity. In January 1942 during a vacation in Austria, a staff judge from Berlin mentioned to a waitress in a coffee shop that the Jews in Germany would be notified of their deportation and would then be shipped to Poland where their graves were already prepared. Asked not to talk about such things, he said, 'this is an open secret, any intelligent person knows about it, only the fools don't'.⁴⁸

It is impossible to estimate how many Germans, whether men or women, whether at the battle front or on the home front, knew about the Holocaust, and what exactly they knew. Probably only few Germans knew about the entire monstrous dimensions of the death machinery of Auschwitz or Majdanek. But multifaceted research into a broad variety of different sources, ranging from Gestapo files and reports to private letters,

diaries and memoirs, has left little doubt that Germans who wanted to know were able to acquire at least rough knowledge of the ongoing mass murder. Some Germans knew even more. Victor Klemperer, who as a Jew living in Dresden in a mixed marriage was always afraid of deportation, was one of them. On 24 October 1944 he noted in his diary that 'six to seven million Jews... have been slaughtered (more exactly: shot and gassed)'. It is worth noting to whom the Jew Klemperer owed his knowledge. It was the 'reports of Aryans', as he repeatedly stated. Long before, Klemperer had grasped the cement of the Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft*. In 1937, he had seen a picture in the *Stürmer*, the radical antisemitic Nazi newspaper, which showed 'two girls at a seaside resort. Above it: "Prohibited for Jews"; underneath it: "How nice that it's just us now!"' Klemperer, who strongly identified himself as a German and had long taken pride in being a First World War veteran, understood the 'horrible significance' of these words. 'I have not only outwardly lost my Fatherland... My inner sense of belonging is gone,' noted Klemperer in his diary. To Germans, the pleasure of being 'just us now' meant to live without Jews – at a vacation resort as well as throughout the entire country.⁴⁹

Notes

1. L. Rees, *Auschwitz. A New History* (New York, 2005), 157. The quotation comes from an interview with O.G. for the BBC documentary *Auschwitz: Inside the Nazi State*.
2. 'Auschwitz through the Lens of the SS: Photos of Nazi Leadership at the Camp', www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/ssalbum/auschwitz_album/ (accessed 3 December 2009), see in particular photos 6–12, 42, 74–78, 109–112.
3. H. V. Dicks, 'Personality Traits and National Socialist Ideology: A War-Time Study of German Prisoners of War', in *Human Relations*, 3 (1950), 111–154, quotation 113–114.
4. E. Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell. The German Concentration Camps and the System Behind Them* (New York, 1950); Ka-Tzetnik 135633, *House of Dolls* (New York, 1956).
5. J. Littell, *The Kindly Ones. A Novel* (New York, 2009).
6. H. D. Schäfer, *Das gespaltene Bewußtsein. Deutsche Kultur und Lebenswirklichkeit 1933–1945* (Munich, 1981).
7. R. J. Lifton, *Nazi Doctors. Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York, 1986), 418–419.
8. J. Waller, *Becoming Evil. How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing* (Oxford, 2002), 117–118.
9. Order by Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski, 11 July 1941, quoted in C. Browning, *Ordinary Men. Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York, 1992), 13f; E. B. Westermann, *Hitler's Police Battalions. Enforcing Racial War in the East* (Lawrence, 2005), 176f.

10. R. Mühlhäuser, 'Between "Racial Awareness" and Fantasies of Potency: Nazi Sexual Politics in the Occupied Territories of the Soviet Union, 1942–1945,' in D. Herzog (ed.) *Brutality and Desire. War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century* (Houndmills, 2009), 203 (SS meeting); H. Buchheim, 'Command and Compliance', in H. Krausnick et al., *Anatomy of the SS-State* (New York, 1968), 343–345 (Dietrich).
11. Rees, *Auschwitz*, 157.
12. This chapter relies on T. Kühne, *Kameradschaft. Die Soldaten des national-sozialistischen Krieges und das 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2006); Idem, 'Male Bonding and Shame Culture: Hitler's Soldiers and the Moral Basis of Genocidal Warfare', in O. Jensen, C.-C. W. Szejnmann and M. L. Davies (eds), *Ordinary People as Mass Murderers. Perpetrators in Comparative Perspectives* (Houndmills, 2008), 55–77; and Idem, *Belonging and Genocide. Hitler's Community, 1918–1945* (New Haven, 2010).
13. *Der Weiße Ritter. Zeitschrift des jungen Deutschland* 5 (1923), 86ff., facsimile in: B. Hafenecker and M. Fritz (eds), *Wehrerziehung und Kriegsgedanke in der Weimarer Republik. Ein Lesebuch zur Kriegsbegeisterung junger Männer*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt, 1992), 48–49. (My translation. All following translations from German are mine as well unless otherwise noted.) Cf. W. Laqueur, *Young Germany. A History of the German Youth Movement* (New York, 1962), 133–143.
14. J. M. Wehner, *Sieben vor Verdun* (Munich, 1935), 40f; Franz Schauwecker, *Im Todesrachen. Die deutsche Seele im Weltkriege* (Halle, 1919), 264.
15. Apparently, my take on the discourse on belligerent masculinity deviates from the one suggested by K. Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 2 vols (Minneapolis, 1989). Whereas Theweleit, based on a special reading of Freudian psychoanalysis, emphasizes its pathologies, in particular the disconnectedness of its figures and their inability to establish social relationships, I focus on the sociological dimension and the social constructivism.
16. E. von Salomon, *The Outlaws* (London, 1931), 141, 66, 138, 261f, 62–64, 342–46, 358f, 420f.
17. R. Hoess, *Commandant of Auschwitz. The Autobiography*, trans. by C. Fitz Gibbon (London, 2000), 42–45.
18. See e.g. T. Segev, *Soldiers of Evil. The Commandants of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York, 1987), 54ff.
19. J. Goebbels, *Das erwachende Berlin* (Berlin, 1934), 126, quoted in S. Reichardt, 'Fascist Marches in Italy and Germany: Squadre and SA before the Seizure of Power', in M. Reiss (ed.), *The Street as Stage. Protest Marches and Public Rallies since the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 2007), 185; Idem, 'Vergemeinschaftung durch Gewalt. Das Beispiel des SA-"Mördersturms 33" in Berlin-Charlottenburg zwischen 1928 und 1932', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung in Norddeutschland*, 7, (2002), 23 (song), 30; J. K. von Engelbrechtchen, *Eine braune Armee entsteht. Die Geschichte der Berlin-Brandenburger SA* (Munich, 1937), 85 (storm bars); P. H. Merkle, *The Making of a Stormtrooper* (Princeton, 1980).
20. Modern History Sourcebook, www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/horstwessel.html (accessed 3 December 2009).
21. Trial against Heinrich Hamann and others, judgement Landgericht Bochum, 22 July 1966, BAL 162/14273, fol. 169–183.

22. Judgement Landgericht Bochum, 22 July 1966, BAL 162/1374, fol. 1313–1317.
23. A. Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord. Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg, 2003), 188, 434.
24. H. Arendt, *On Violence* (New York, 1967), 67; cf. F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, 2004), 45.
25. Browning, *Ordinary Men*, 185f. My focus on group pleasure rather than on group pressure does not serve to doubt the meaning of the latter, that is, group conformity. But I think we need to go beyond a Milgram-oriented view on Holocaust perpetrators by considering the emotional ‘benefits’ of genocidal violence for the perpetrators rather than only the pressure they suffered from.
26. S. Haffner, *Defying Hitler* (New York, 2002), 288–291.
27. Trial of Wilhelm J., judgement 18 May 1944, Bundesarchiv-Zentralnachweisstelle Aachen-Kornelimünster, W 11/M 59.
28. H. Melcher, *Die Gefolgschaft* (Berg a.S., 1990), 112f.
29. D. Wellershoff, *Der Ernstfall* (Cologne, 1995), 188.
30. Gerhard Modersen (Pseudonym), Diary 1935–1949, copy owned by the author of this article.
31. Mühlhäuser, ‘Between “Racial Awareness” and Fantasies of Potency’, 201. See Na’ama Shik, ‘Sexual Abuse of Jewish Women in Auschwitz-Birkenau’, in D. Herzog, ed., *Brutality and Desire. War and Sexuality in Europe’s Twentieth Century* (Houndmills, 2009), 221–246; W. J. Geertjeanssen, *Victims, Heroes, Survivors: Sexual Violence on the Eastern Front during World War II* (PhD Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2004); B. Beck, *Wehrmacht und sexuelle Gewalt. Sexualverbrechen vor deutschen Militärtribunalen 1939–1945* (Paderborn, 2004).
32. D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making. Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven, 1990); F. W. Young, *Initiation Ceremonies. A Cross-Cultural Study of Status Dramatization* (Indianapolis, 1965), 24–41, 63–104; V. W. Turner, *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca, 1977); J. Remy, ‘Patriarchy and Fratriarchy as Forms of Androcracy’, in J. Hearn and D. Morgan (eds), *Men, Masculinities and Social Theory* (London, 1990), 43–54; A. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys. The Culture of the Gang* (Glencoe, 1955); J. W. Messerschmidt, *Masculinities and Crime. Critique and Reconceptualization of Theory* (Lanham, 1993).
33. A. Hitler, *Reden* (Munich, 1925), 89.
34. *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht. Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944. Ausstellungskatalog* (Hamburg, 2002), 43ff.
35. C. Hartmann, ‘Verbrecherischer Krieg – verbrecherische Wehrmacht? Überlegungen zur Struktur des deutschen Ostheeres 1941–1944’, in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, (2004) 52, 1–75; F. Römer, ‘“Im alten Deutschland wäre solcher Befehl nicht möglich gewesen.” Rezeption, Adaption und Umsetzung des Kriegsgerichtsbarkeitserlasses 1941–42’ (2008), *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 56, 53–99; Idem, *Der Kommissarbefehl. Wehrmacht und NS-Verbrechen an der Ostfront 1941/42* (Paderborn, 2008).
36. F. Farnbacher, War Diary, 1941–1948, typescript owned by the author, 23 June 1941.
37. Ibid., 2, 19 July 1941, 23 June 1941.
38. Ibid., 30 Dec 1941.

39. Ibid., 27 March 1942.
40. Werner Groß (Pseudonym), letters to his parents from his time in school, in the Hitler Youth, and in the war, 1930–1945. Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz, 700,153, no. 286–291, 4 April 1943.
41. W. P. Reese in S. Schmitz (ed.) *A Stranger to Myself. The Inhumanity of War: Russia, 1941–1944* (New York, 2005), 7f, 12f, 17f, 23, 44, 51–53, 135; Idem in S. Schultze (ed.), *Mir selber seltsam fremd. Die Unmenschlichkeit des Krieges. Russland 1941–44*, ed. Stefan Schmitz (Berlin, 2004), 242f (poem, not in the English edition.). Cf. T. J. Schulte *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia* (Oxford, 1989).
42. W. Hosenfeld in T. Vogel (ed.), *‘Ich versuche jeden zu retten’. Das Leben eines deutschen Offiziers in Briefen und Tagebüchern* (Munich, 2004), 286 (letter to his wife, 10 November 1939), 302 (note, 14 December 1939), 455 (letter to his son, 7 March 1941), 607 (17 April 1942), 626–628 (diary entry and letter to his wife, 23 July 1942), 641 (diary entry, 13 August 1942), 714 (letter to his wife, 9 May 1943), 799f. (letter to his wife, 25 March 1944), 834 (letter to his wife, 23 August 1944). On Szpilman *ibid.*, 108–113, 972–974, and W. Szpilman, *The Pianist. The Extraordinary True Story of One Man’s Survival in Warsaw, 1939–1945* (New York, 1999), 209–222, epilogue by W. Biermann.
43. Goering speech, 4 October 1942 in W. Roller and S. Höschel (eds), *Judenverfolgung und jüdisches Leben unter den Bedingungen der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft*, vol. 1, *Tondokumente und Rundfunksendungen, 1930–1946* (Potsdam, 1996), 217f.
44. Letters of F. Wieschenberg, Kempowski-Archiv Nartum, Nr. 3386, 3 August 1941. On German soldiers’ antisemitism see O. Bartov, *Hitler’s Army. Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (New York, 1991).
45. Trial testimony of Herbert Selle, 1965, quoted in E. Klee, W. Dressen and V. Riess (eds), *‘The Good Old Days.’ The Holocaust as Seen by its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (New York, 1991), 108. See *ibid.*, 109, photos of the Zhitomir execution.
46. K. Hoffmann-Curtius, ‘Trophäen in Brieftaschen – Fotografien von Wehrmachts-, SS- und Polizeiverbrechen’, *kunsttexte.de*, no. 3 (2002), 1–14, <http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/kunsttexte/download/poli/hoffmann-curtius.PDF> (accessed 3 December 2009); B. Hüppauf, ‘Framing Violence through the Viewfinder’, in *New German Critique*, 72, (1997), 3–44.
47. W. Sofsky, *The Order of Terror. The Concentration Camp* (Princeton) (1997), 9; D. J. Goldhagen, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners. Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, 1996), 135f., 168ff., 327ff.
48. B. Dörner, *Die Deutschen und der Holocaust. Was niemand wissen wollte, aber jeder wissen konnte* (Berlin, 2007), 336–340; cf. F. Bajohr and D. Pohl, *Der Holocaust als offenes Geheimnis. Die Deutschen, die NS-Führung und die Alliierten* (Munich, 2006); P. Longerich, *‘Davon haben wir nichts gewußt!’ Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung 1933–1945* (Berlin, 2006).
49. V. Klemperer, *I Will Bear Witness. A Diary of the Nazi Years, 1942–1945* (New York, 1999), 371 (24 October 1944), 377 (26 November 1944); Idem, *I Will Bear Witness. A Diary of the Nazi Years, 1933–1941* (New York, 1989), 233f., 17 August 1937.

12

The Pleasures of Opposition: Leisure, Solidarity and Resistance of a Life-Reform Group

Mark Roseman

I

Let me begin with two surprising accounts, both of which relate to physical recreation and training undertaken in the Nazi years by the League for Socialist Life,¹ a little-known life-reform group from the Ruhr region.

18 April 1944, Remscheid²

It is beautiful being on one's own in the open air. Sun, hills, meadows and woods. I relish with all my senses lying on the earth, relaxed, mind wandering, and yet more connected to myself than for a long time! How good, how healing friendship with nature is – no words, no having to say something; giving yourself up to it and listening. How much we can learn from it for our relationships with other human beings.

One's thoughts wander with the brook and buzz with the bees. How good it is to be alone, to find oneself again. The distance from other people, from everyday life, the communion with the wind, as it slips through the grass and trees, with the hare, as it trustingly looks for food just a couple of steps away from me and signals with its long ears. Listening to the noises of this little world, one is so grateful that it is nothing more than a little patch of earth – a sun-drenched meadow, with a stream chattering through it, surrounded by tall pine trees. In this detached space one is so full of reverence. One's gaze is not distracted by the diversions of everyday life; the trees bar one's gaze from straying further.

The diarist, a 19-year-old young woman, even managed to go wild camping by herself in the Sauerland:

2 June 1944 (At the dam)³
(From a letter)

Wonderful days

The rain is streaming down, but how beautiful it is, nevertheless: camping by the lake. Living with nature, with weather and time; with the animals and the sounds of loneliness. I cannot tell you how beautiful that is! First I was worrying whether the weather would be good and thinking enjoyment is possible only when everything is bathed in sunlight. But now I realize that's not true. Everything, including oneself, is more alive when clouds, rain and wind are all about. I feel like the grass and the leaves, exposed, endlessly open to the elements. It is beautiful! Beautiful, beautiful, beautiful.

To be totally yourself, without distortion, without a mask, without preconditions. To open yourself fully, to forget yourself and only then to find yourself.

To be all senses; feeling, seeing, hearing. And to want nothing; just take what comes; to taste and enjoy it.

It is not hard to imagine that even in Nazi Germany at the height of the war the joys of nature were still available, at least to some. We can well believe that the chance to withdraw from everything, to reflect, was more precious than ever. Harder to accept is the fact that the writer, Marianne Strauss, was a 'full Jewess' in Nazi terminology, and that she had been on the run from the authorities for over a year, ever since the rest of her family had been deported to Theresienstadt. Yet here she was, in a tent, spending a few days before meeting up in the Sauerland with members of the 'League. Community for Socialist Life' (hereafter referred to by the abbreviation its members used, the 'Bund') who were similarly '*Auf Wanderung*', and whose protection was responsible for Marianne's survival. In fact, we can scarcely credit that such a thing was possible.⁴

The second account is also connected to this same Bund, and derives from an interview the author conducted in 1997 with an elderly member of the group, Ellen Jungbluth.⁵ The Bund had been closely linked to a School for *Körperbildung* (Body Training) and Gymnastics established by the Bund's co-founder, Dore Jacobs née Marcus, in Essen in 1925. There Dore had developed and propagated her own approach to physical movement and expression. Ellen Jungbluth described in the

interview her initial contacts with Dore and her eventual path to the Bund. In 1936, newly divorced and seeking to pursue an interest and perhaps start a new career, Ellen had moved to Essen and sought out lessons in *Körperbildung* with Dore Jacobs. That had been refused – Dore will have been very wary since as a Jew she was officially forbidden from teaching non-Jewish pupils. But seemingly accidentally, Ellen had come into contact with some women in Dore's ambit, and had worked with them on physical training for two years. Evidently this was a silent test of reliability, since in 1938 Ellen received a coded letter indicating Dore was willing to teach her.

When it came to conducting the interview, there was something wonderfully impressive about the 91-year-old Ellen Jungbluth. Paper thin and with extremely poor vision, yet light on her feet and sitting with perfect, straight-backed posture, she spoke with severe yet gentle seriousness. She was credibility personified. But little she said about training with Dore made any sense to me:⁶

The sessions with Dore began purely with what I'd call the technical aspect of *Körperbildung*. These sessions too were extremely important for me – because they proceeded fundamentally from what makes up the human being – our ability to see, to hear, really to visualize and also from our anatomy. But then they moved onto issues that concerned the whole person. When you have recognized the way things are, then you are bound to act accordingly. And this I found more and more compelling, so that I realized I can't do anything but tie this body-training to my life, as I was then living it, and to my great sense of protest against Hitler. There was no other way, you know what I mean?

It is not clear that we *do* know what she meant. It is hard to understand how physical exercise could take on such philosophical meaning and how, in this case, gymnastics was supposed to lead to resistance. It is hard to credit either that it had impelled Ellen Jungbluth to join the Bund during the Nazi years or indeed that a cautious and conspiratorial group had felt free and confident enough to celebrate the *Verpflichtung* or commitment of a new member of whom they had had no knowledge before the Nazi years. There is evidence that in 1944 Ellen was instrumental in saving the life of another Jewish woman (not the diarist noted above). Overall, this little-known left-wing life-reform circle saved the lives of perhaps eight people and proffered in addition very substantial other forms of assistance short of hiding people. A relatively

large network was involved – during the war perhaps 50 to 100 members remained active. Ellen's words were thus not pious grandstanding. But what was so compelling to her does not immediately make sense to us.

What these two accounts certainly do indicate is that – like a number of other oppositional circles – the Bund managed to retain at least some of its habits of informal sociability and recreational activity during the Nazi years. For a number of left-wing and other groups, such things as hiking, physical exercise, small group trips into the mountains, even, if one was careful, get-togethers in pubs or at home, remained possible, particularly for those groupings not exclusively or principally composed of young men called to the front. It helped too if the circle had not enjoyed too high a profile before 1933, and the neighbours were not too vengeful or aggressive (though, as we shall see, the Bund had enjoyed plenty of local notoriety in the late Weimar years, and there were local residents only too happy to send anonymous denunciations to the Gestapo). Such actions required caution, courage and careful choreography, but they were possible.

But the examples above go beyond maintaining sociability in difficult times. For one thing, the admission to their circle of a young Jewish woman on the run suggests a willingness to take risks that went far beyond just the dogged assertion of the right to roam. Later sections of Marianne Strauss's diary indicate that she was not just meeting up in the wild, but exploring ideas and thoughts that the Bund had offered her, in other words, that she was truly a partner to their discussions. Her written excursions into woods and *Weltanschauung* give us a first hint that a heady mix of walking and talking made Bund excursions not merely a chance for exercise and solace with nature, but also an important source of cohesion and self-definition in a threatening world. Ellen Jungbluth's account develops this theme in one particular direction, offering a powerful but elusive confirmation of the fact that the Bund's grounding of the body and the physical self provided a platform for political engagement.

Taking advantage of a rich and diverse set of archival records, this chapter will explore the ways in which the Bund's approach to informal sociability, reinforced by the particular place that physical exercise and *Körperbildung* enjoyed in group activities, provided it with the cohesion, shared commitment and camouflage to survive under a dictatorship.⁷ It will argue that the Bund's understanding of lived utopia⁸ involved a continuum between a grounded sense of self, day-to-day activities, and larger political and social goals that proved highly adaptable under

the circumstances of the Third Reich. In short, the chapter seeks to draw attention to the concealments possible through the blurring of the political and the personal, and to the potential solidarities and commitment that could be mobilized through politically understood personal activities. Exactly how we should conceptualize the relationship between pleasure and the political glue that gave the group cohesion and purpose is something to which I will return in the conclusion, but there is no doubt that the Bund's approach to sociability, recreation and exercise was at the heart of its identity and achievement.

II

Although the Bund undoubtedly reacted with cunning and flexibility to the new challenges after 1933, a central claim of this chapter is that the roots of its resilience and commitment were to be found earlier, in its lifestyle, sociability and physicality as they emerged in the Weimar years. The group was formed in Essen in 1924 by Artur Jacobs and graduates from his adult education classes. Jacobs, born 1880, an erstwhile grammar school teacher who had been caught up in the revolutionary tide after the First World War and subsequently ushered into early retirement, was an inspiring teacher and mentor.⁹ A former student of Herman Cohen at Marburg, he was influenced by the Neo-Kantians, and sought to harness Marxist insights into social contradictions with Kant's notions of objective ethical laws.¹⁰ Jacobs's wife Dore, née Marcus, born 1894, the daughter of a distinguished, acculturated German-Jewish family, was also a pivotal figure in the new grouping.¹¹

The group's adoption of the designation 'Bund' reflected the appeal that the '*bündische*' life-reform movement had exerted within Germany.¹² Emerging from within the bourgeois youth movement, the *bündisch* groups were shaped partly by the notion of a covenant and partly by the model of the knightly order. The members agreed to subject themselves to the discipline of the group and follow their natural leader, freed from the humdrum rules of bourgeois society. For their part, Jacobs and his followers aimed to create a committed but flexible community. Substituting true ethics for the constraints of bourgeois propriety, the socialist community would enable the individual to develop his personality fully, protected by the group from the distracting calls of base drives and egoistic wishes. This conception was certainly at the stricter end of the scale as far as the Bundist models around in the Weimar Republic were concerned and, indeed,

for a while the group went further and called itself an '*Orden*', or order.¹³

Jacobs's Bund should be seen not just in the context of the youth movement that had influenced its style but also of the variety of other similar left-socialist circles and political splinter-groups that emerged around the same time, a number of which, like the Bund, explicitly sought to integrate Kantian principles and socialist philosophy. The most famous is the Nelson-Bund or *Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampfbund* (ISK, International Socialist Fighting League).¹⁴ Like the ISK, Jacobs wanted to create an informal yet fiercely loyal group, which would act as a kind of ethical avant-garde for the mainstream left-wing political parties. Until 1930, when the German Communist Party (KPD) began to exclude Jacobs's followers, Bund members could be found in both the major working-class parties.¹⁵ Providing a model meant not just fighting for social and political changes in society as a whole, but above all living the Bund's principles on an everyday level. The individual should be committed to the collective and be educated by it. As in the ISK, demands were placed on each member ranging from small virtues such as punctuality to more significant sacrifices and commitments, including tithing a proportion of one's income.¹⁶ Without any formal decree, fulfilment of a number of minimum demands – abstinence from alcohol, leaving the church and other things – was a requirement.¹⁷

The Bund did not want to be a utopian circle removed from world affairs but rather a 'socialist community of life and struggle...at the heart of the urban and machine worlds and in close contact with the working class and its struggle'.¹⁸ It was concerned not just with the battles and demands of high politics but with the attempt 'to engage seriously with socialism in the context of one's own life, to recognize the truth and to realize it in one's own life'.¹⁹ There was thus no distinction between the personal and the political. As part of this the group took an interest that was far from self-evident for left-wing groups in the 1920s in questions of sexual equality and freedom in marriage. 'Man and woman [or Husband and wife] as comrades in the struggle' was the title of a pamphlet published by the Bund in 1932, and in fact among the most challenging demands placed by the Bund on its members were those that intruded on their marital or family lives.²⁰

The Bund's core was its so-called 'Inner Circle' (IK) a group of nine to ten people, whose members swore an oath (in the Bund's words '*Verpflichtung*' or binding commitment) to place their life and energy 'without reservation' (*bedingungslos*) at the service of the Bund and to put the 'fate of its mission' (*Schicksal der Sendung*) before all else in their

lives.²¹ The Bund was thus in some respects a strongly hierarchical organization, but the hierarchy was supposed to be 'organic', and thus natural and informal. 'As part of the ongoing struggle for clarity of outlook and understanding that characterizes Bund life, members develop an organic, spiritual sense of their rank (*organisches geistiges Ranggefühl*), and each individual is guided unfailingly to a secure sense of his or her position in the whole, eliminating any false democratic talk of equality (*Gleichmacherei*).'²² Or as the group's co-founder Dore Jacobs wrote in a programmatic article, 'A community that is truly focused on its purpose will never seek to overpower the superior leader.'²³

The number of those who swore the oath of commitment grew steadily and reached probably 30–40, though the IK's size and composition remained relatively constant. The public ceremony of oath-taking was preceded by a longer period of observation and participation, during which the member involved was entrusted with increasing tasks and duties. Beyond the circle of those who had sworn the oath, the Bund had attained by 1931 a regular membership of between 120 and 200 people, with its strongest support in Essen und Wuppertal and other local groups in Remscheid, Mülheim, Krefeld, Duisburg and Marl.²⁴ Most of the members were about 20 years younger than Jacobs and belonged to the war-youth generation. Teachers (including gymnastics teachers) and other academic professions amounted to about half of the group but the family background was in many cases proletarian.²⁵ Certainly there were also members from better-situated middle-class circles, above all women, who admired the Bund's social conscience and its ability to bridge class boundaries. There were also a number of Jews in the group, not least Artur's wife Dore.²⁶

The Bund thus elided conventional boundaries of public and private, organized and informal activity. It was a circle of friends rather than a formal organization but it was a very tight-knit group of people who spent much time together, in some cases living together, who discussed everything and who swore a solemn oath or 'commitment' to one another. Every weekend the group's excursions and activities provided an opportunity for members from further afield to bond with the core members and absorb the group's atmosphere. During the 1920s, Bund members bought, built or rented so-called 'Bund houses. The 'Blockhaus' in Essen was completed in 1927; there was also a second Essen house, in the Dönhof and a further one in Wuppertal. Some of the Bund members lived in them as collectives. Complementing these experiments in group living, the Bund engaged in extensive educational work.²⁷ At the end of the 1920s, they also experimented in removing the children

from direct supervision of the parents and educating them collectively in a shared home in Rattlar.²⁸

One of the most innovative aspects of the group's life-reform experiment, and certainly the one which bore the longest fruits, was Dore Jacobs's new method of *Körperbildung*. Dore Jacobs's (then Dore Marcus) first induction into this world had come as a child in the form of the teaching of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze.²⁹ In 1911 Dore began studying at the 'Bildungsanstalt', Jaques-Dalcroze's then just-established Centre for Rhythmics and Dance in Hellerau,³⁰ which rapidly became a magnet for all those interested in eurhythmics and new paths in dance and music.³¹ As with many other similar efforts of the time,³² the goal at Hellerau was to reclaim a natural sense of movement, dance or rhythm from the depredations of civilization. This indeed became, in a variety of forms and accents, the staple philosophy of the dance and *Körperkultur* (body-culture) scene in the 1920s,³³ a scene, in turn, that became highly influential in Weimar cultural life. It certainly had a powerful impact on Dore³⁴ and the 1920s would see her evolving her own highly distinctive approach to physical movement in tandem and as part of the development of the Bund – in 1925 she founded her Essen-based school.

Though the ascription of political significance to gymnastics or dance had ample precedent in the Weimar years, the particularly close relationship between political grouping and bodily experimentation that characterized the Bund and Bundesschule was more unusual, and had much to do with the relationship between Dore Marcus and Artur Jacobs,³⁵ who married in 1914. We get an idea of Dore's own evolving methodology from her most important book, *Die Menschliche Bewegung* (Human Movement), drafted in the 1920s and 1930s but published only in 1960, and now in its fifth edition.³⁶ As the book's title reveals, Dore gradually moved away from the concept of eurhythmics to an emphasis on movement itself. *Die Menschliche Bewegung* seeks to recreate harmony between what Dore calls external and internal movement. External movement she understood as the physical and visible movement of the body; internal movement as the respiratory, circulatory and psychological-neurological processes that control and respond to that movement. Though her book was extremely detailed and physiologically precise, Dore's approach to training and guiding the individual's search for natural movement was almost an anti-method: she sought to help the individual relearn the relationship to herself and her body through constant improvisation and experimentation.

For the participants in her classes, the experience was like a kind of revolutionary 'physical psychotherapy'. The individual was gently but

firmly compelled to rethink human gestures and movement. The most basic activities such as rising, walking, interacting with a ball, were reconstructed from scratch. Many participants described a completely different sense of self emerging from such work.³⁷ Just as significant in the memory of participants as the new relationship to oneself and one's body was the interaction with others in group work and performance. Dore utilized another 1920s innovation in the sphere of dance, the so-called *Bewegungschore* or movement chorus, to create a form of expression in which the individual would find a new relationship to the whole.³⁸ Unlike Rudolf von Laban, Dore's aim was less to create an aesthetic performance than to find organic rules that would establish the relationship between individual and group. Leadership would flow naturally from one participant to another, in waves of movement in which each individual would find their place.³⁹ As in her approach to individual movement, she deployed a kind of anti-method – rejecting formal choreography. Instead, the groups explored simple concepts or movements such as 'from lying to standing', 'from a chain to a group' or 'crescendo through coming together' and out of these simple constructions to create movements and then whole pieces.⁴⁰ For many participants this group work was a transformative experience.⁴¹

What added to the quality of shared experience was the fact that men and women moved together.⁴² In consciousness and form, Dore's work was not designed purely or specifically for women. Men regularly took part in the choral work and the exercises, and some founded small *Körperbildung* groups of their own in towns away from the Ruhr. There is no doubt that there was an implicit gendered division of labour; Artur was the dominant figure in the political world of the Bund, while the school was Dore's domain, assisted by her first and most talented student Lisa Jacob. Most of her pupils were women, and it was women, above all, who set the tone and took advantage of the professional training opportunities offered by the school. But the fact remained that the creation of a space in which men and women could physically interact on equal terms – not a sensuous sharing, but rather a calm semi-intimacy, without barriers or hierarchy – was an important element of the group experience for both men and women.⁴³

The special quality of this intimacy was also enhanced by the fact that it crossed barriers of class and status. True, we might say that the controlled approach to physical self-expression was thoroughly bourgeois. In line with Dore's Kantian universe, this was a very measured liberation. Dore's participants were united by a desire for orderly

self-improvement. Yet the bourgeois Tove Gerson, then in her late 20s and married to a socially minded industrialist, described her shock at encountering middle-class women and ordinary workers together on the same training floor:⁴⁴

I was struck that [Dore] said Fritz, to a worker, a very lean worker with a biceps like this, and said Fritz show us how you drive in the cobbles with a hammer. And she said, shall we try, together, to work out how you can do that ergonomically. Well, that you said without embarrassment to a worker, Fritz, show us, *that* I hadn't experienced before.

The model of society that was offered was thus inclusive – but as in the Bund as whole it was not egalitarian. In Dore's *Bewegungschore*, the shapes and moves celebrated the organic relationship between leader and followers. Finding one's place meant finding a natural place in an organic hierarchy. The theatre of Dore's work thus continually reenacted the hierarchy of personality and the acceptance of one's place in a voluntaristic community.⁴⁵ It crossed gender and class barriers; it allowed the individual to find her or himself anew, but in a self-controlled way, with some danger perhaps of straining a ligament but little of poking a neighbour's eye out with a flailing elbow. Yet the physical experience of *Körperbildung* and *Chore* was for many of the Bund members a vital part – complementary and reinforcing – of the wider experience of experimenting at living in a utopian community. It offered the pleasures of physical exercise, the excitement of rediscovering the body in new ways, and the warmth of easy intimacy. But at the same time it provided the analogue to the redefinitions of self and society contained in the Bund's political and other cultural activities. As group meetings would often begin or end with physical exercises initiated by Dore or Lisa, the connection between the two was continually reaffirmed and re-established.

III

Although the Bund had been conscious of the Nazi threat, and Artur Jacobs had written an early piece warning of the dangers of importing racist philosophy into adult education, it was thrown off guard by the Nazi seizure of power. As a result of its high-profile adult education work in Essen as well as the sizeable public events it had organized throughout the region, the group was well known in the Ruhr and

found itself labelled as a Communist front organization in the local Essen press.⁴⁶ Warned in spring 1933 that the Nazi Party was after him, Artur spent several anxious months on the move, spending weeks hidden with friends or in the Sauerland.⁴⁷ The school authorities in the Rhineland cut his pension, and Dore was subjected to steadily increasing restrictions on her ability to earn a living.⁴⁸ From 1935 onwards, Dore was allowed only to offer private instruction and only to Jewish pupils.⁴⁹ During this early period, as is well known, most left-wing circles collapsed. Some underestimated the regime and took part in foolhardy protest actions. Many were torn apart from within by Nazi infiltration. Others opportunistically 'switched' themselves into line or fearfully dissolved. Some of the Bund members fell victim to persecution of the KPD – and received short prison sentences as a result of distributing posters or engaging in other such activities.⁵⁰ For others, the Ruhr area became too dangerous, and they moved further afield to Hamburg, Braunschweig and Göttingen.⁵¹

Apart from those members who distributed illegal posters at the KPD's behest, by and large the Bund did not engage in open resistance. Yet it did not become quiescent either. Above all, it reconstituted itself through its regular pattern of meetings, activities and *Körperbildung*. To enable meetings to continue, the group developed an elaborate system of timing so that members would turn up for meetings singly or in pairs.⁵² 'Artur Jacobs taught us (and in this homework class not a few tears were shed),' wrote Lisa Jacob after the war, 'to fight the enemy with his own weapons... We learned to withhold, lie, conceal and consciously mislead.'⁵³ In study groups Bund members systematically analysed their '17 points' about National Socialist ideology. In role-play they practised how to respond to particular situations, for example interrogations, and their acting was criticized by the other Bund members. The correct answers were rehearsed and rehearsed again until they could say them in their sleep.⁵⁴ The group found that the regime's rules kept changing, and that what worked in 1933 needed revising in 1939 and again in 1942.⁵⁵ Through all this, the Bund continued not only its local meetings but also its seasonal trips and ceremonies such as its autumnal 'festival of light' in cautiously arranged meetings in the forest of Sauerland.⁵⁶ Even in 1944, as we have seen, the Bund held not just local group meetings but also at least one national get-together in the Sauerland, where not only Marianne Strauss but also two other Jewish members of the group took part.

In cautious proselytizing work, the group also managed to reach out to newcomers – often, as Ellen Jungbluth's interview conveys, initially

through physical education. Dore continued to give lessons secretly to non-Jews, and Bund members who had left the Ruhr for safety created new groupings of interested members in gymnastics, some of whom, like Ellen Jungbluth, were drawn further into the life of the Bund. Meta Steinmann-Kamp in Göttingen, for example, another individual whose support would be crucial for the rescue of Marianne Strauss, whose diary entry opened this chapter, was initially won over to the Bund through the gymnastics teaching of Carlos Morgenstern, a former Communist who had fled from the Ruhr.⁵⁷

In the early years, Bund members protected individuals on the run from political persecution, and helped them get out of the country.⁵⁸ In contrast to many other left-wing opponents of Nazism, the Bund recognized early on the dangers of Nazi anti-Semitism. Particularly after *Kristallnacht* in November 1938, the Bund showed its true colours. Tove Gerson remembered, for example, having to run the gauntlet of a bay-ing mob to visit a wealthy Jewish family in their destroyed apartment on the day after *Kristallnacht*.⁵⁹ When the deportations started, the Bund tendered those slated for Lublin, Minsk or Riga what assistance it could, helping them carry their luggage, providing psychological support and sending parcels to the ghettos.⁶⁰ In 1983, the German radio station WDR broadcast a moving selection of letters between Trude Brandt, who had been deported from Posen to Poland in 1939, and Lisa Jacob who, with the assistance of other Bund members, regularly sent her parcels of food and clothing (surprisingly, letters and parcels could be sent to many deportees for an extended period). Later, the Bund was able to send parcels only to Theresienstadt.⁶¹ As Marianne Strauss witnessed, the Bund also reached out to Jewish community offices in the Ruhr localities, providing dried foods and other items that did not require ration cards.⁶²

April 1942 brought the group's biggest challenge yet when IK member Lisa Jacob was put on the deportation list to Izbica.⁶³ But the Bund had long prepared for this eventuality. Lisa was hidden, fed and supported by the other Bund members in a variety of locations for three years. As well as Marianne Strauss, hidden by the group for 20 months, a woman called Eva Seligmann hid in the so-called *Blockhaus*, the Bund's headquarters, for a while.⁶⁴ A half-Jew Hannah Jordan was also protected by Bund contacts.⁶⁵ Dore Jacobs came under threat after September 1944 when, with some inconsistency, the regime began deporting Jews of mixed marriages.⁶⁶ In all, perhaps some eight Jews and half-Jews were saved by the group.

For the most part those protected by the Bund were not actually hidden; rather they slipped out of their previous lives and locations and

'passed' under alternative identities. The small size of the Bund members' apartments and the frequent need to leave the apartments during bombing raids made it in fact impossible to hide someone.⁶⁷ So Lisa, Marianne and others would stay for a few weeks at a time with temporary hosts. Having a visible but ostensibly innocent visitor required, if possible, new identity cards to be issued, or at least plausible stories to explain to neighbours and officials the presence of healthy young women who were not at work or in uniform. Saving lives required not just cover stories but also material resources. Most of the Bund members had very modest incomes. Food supplies for Germans held up well for most of the war, but rations were not such that it was easy to feed an extra mouth, and going to the black market was usually too expensive or too risky. Thus Bund members who were not directly involved in hosting provided a whole week of their ration cards every so often to help feed those in hiding.

Despite the group's caution, Gestapo records reveal that there were many denunciations from neighbours and other parties.⁶⁸ At one stage in 1936 the Security Service (SD) got involved and there were to be Gestapo interrogations and mail probes at various times during the war.⁶⁹ Many Bund members were the subject of interrogations. In 1943 a major denunciation almost exposed the group.⁷⁰ But in the end neither the Bund nor those who depended on its care were discovered.

IV

The group's ability and willingness to undertake these sacrifices had a number of causes, many of which are not particularly pertinent to this volume. In terms of its sensitivity to the character of Nazi persecution, and its awareness of the small steps that could be so helpful to others, it was clearly important that there were Jewish members within the group, well aware of what relatives and friends were undergoing at each stage of the regime. Historical work on rescue emphasizes, after all, the importance of pre-existing contacts. Yet such connections can only be the start of an explanation. What I want to emphasize here are the ways in which the Bund's habits of sociability and the central role which *Körperbildung* played in the group contributed to its cohesion, practical engagement and its ability to operate undetected.

Other works on rescue have drawn attention to the importance of networks, and it is clear that the Bund as a group achieved much more than its members could have done individually, however well intentioned. By pooling resources of time, accommodation, foodstuffs and

so on, networks enabled lives to be saved without over-taxing any given individual. The members, as they stressed after the war, were by no means fearless or natural risk-takers.⁷¹ But in a network they could offer each other reassurance and moral support when things were tough. Clearly, more formal political groupings and other such organizations also constituted networks – yet the problem was they were easily identified and rolled up by the regime. Thus, one key advantage that the Bund possessed was that it had never fully outgrown its origin as a circle of friends. It did not look like a formal political grouping. It did not have membership lists or a party name. It also had a large number of active women – who, again, did not look like the political threat the regime imagined. Because of its public activities before 1933, there was, true enough, some official awareness of the group, but nothing very clear to establish against it. When Jacobs's pension was removed, the issue was his membership in the KPD not the Bund.⁷² The Bund enjoyed this advantage not because it had been thinking about subterfuge in advance – it was in that sense pure fluke that it had evolved a structure that proved relatively invisible to the authorities. Rather it was the product of a conceptualization of politics that blurred the boundaries between the personal and the political, and that saw true authority and self-fulfilment as arising within the natural bonds and discipline of an organic community.

Because of its commitment to holistic life-reform, the group also possessed a number of structures that facilitated communication without awakening too much suspicion. For one thing, as a living community the members had already established housing collectives. These survived into the war years and created a natural basis for some of the members to communicate with each other, and provided bases for meetings to be held with other members who did not live in the collectives.⁷³ For another, the shared involvement in *Körperbildung* allowed a seemingly non-political way for members to meet and communicate with one another. As the Bund noted after the war, 'Under the flag of *Körperbildung* sailed many of our meetings, political classes, conferences and so on. Books, instruments, and gymnastic clothes provided the external framework.'⁷⁴ When Gestapo members conducted house searches and came across Dore's works they did not know what to make of them.⁷⁵ Indeed, *Körperbildung*, as we have seen, actually provided a mechanism cautiously to connect with and to induct new members.

The example of *Körperbildung* also provides a bridge to a second major point about the Bund, namely the way its style and structures helped sustain loyalty and engagement in very difficult times. To those still

able to encounter Dore or her Jewish former pupil and co-teacher Lisa Jacob during the 1930s, their work itself took on a more obviously political meaning because of the fact that they were banned from officially teaching. The Nazis had thus reinforced the political resonance of Dore's work. But above all, juxtaposed now with the martial atmosphere and regimented displays of Nazi Germany, the consistency and authenticity of Dore's interrogation of the body must have been all the more palpable. Whereas in the 1920s participants in her courses celebrated the *newness* of the self-discoveries that she offered, in the Nazi years what struck observers like Ellen Jungbluth was the spiritual centring that they found on the exercise floor. Dore's body-work appeared to offer refuge and authentic self-hood in an age of shrill mobilization and bombastic performance. As the Bund itself argued shortly after the war, in order to withstand the regime, you had to know not just what you were up against but also what you were living *for*. 'A world emerged, which fulfilled us,' one of its members, probably Artur Jacobs, wrote, marvelling at their survival, 'there amongst the thunder of the bombs and the crimes of the Gestapo, and amidst the action against the National Socialists – a world of learning, studying, of absorbing and processing. New horizons, exchanging, searching together, struggling and *living*, yes, life above all, in all aspects.'⁷⁶ Amid the spiritual desert of 'political coordination' (*Gleichschaltung*) and drill, *Körperbildung* and exercise – as Marianne's diary also intimated – provided a silver lining, a joyful oasis of creative life.⁷⁷

In spite, and indeed in part because, of its informal style and habitus, the Bund was able to generate enormous cohesion and loyalty. The informality was in some senses entirely misleading, in other senses the very essence of its self-conception as the truly bonded and committed community. In line with the model of the *bündisch* movement which the group had inherited from the German youth movement, it believed in the superior strength of those ties of loyalty and commitment that arose organically between the natural leader and his followers. The group was, as we have seen, avowedly anti-democratic. There was no question that Artur and Dore enjoyed the veneration of the rest of the group and even before 1933 the group was known for the strictness of its sense of commitment and loyalty. This sense of organic hierarchy was coupled with a Kantian sense of human weakness and a commensurate emphasis on the community 'policing' required to help the individual fulfil his potential. Members had to learn that only when the guiding hand of the collective will was fully accepted could the fetters and distractions of egocentricity, base drives and cowardice be banished and

the individual find true freedom. There were no private lives – everything was of interest to the Bund. We find before 1933, for example, the Bund's inner circle instructing a Bund member to give up its child to another Bund member for a while so that a problem of education might be solved. Young couples were expected to live a test marriage under public scrutiny before they finally officially married. The group was therefore primed before 1933 for the continued self-checks necessary to ensure that everyone stuck to the same script, did not lose their nerve or their self-discipline. In this way, this seemingly unpolitical gathering was able to create its own 'counter-terror'; for members, letting down the group was more worrying than taking risks against the regime. Yet this self-discipline was enacted and enforced through the medium of walks and outings, meetings with dance and song, ritualistic celebrations of spring and autumn and so on. It was a self-discipline infused with a strong sense of self-fulfilment and reinforced by the pleasures of group solidarity.

Central to the Bund's self-understanding was its belief in a continuum between political principles and everyday choices. That meant the Bund always conceptualized its task in Nazi Germany as being not merely to survive the regime but to live the better society according to the group's principles. Circumstances were more challenging but this only made the test of creating a robust, humane community all the more valuable. Thus the Bund's practical approach anchored its principles and equipped it to act. For one thing, members were accustomed before 1933 to taking moral risks in their everyday lives, not least in confronting friends and family with unconventional choices. It was not easy to explain to one's churchgoing extended family why one was leaving the church, for example, or a more conventional husband why the terms of the marriage had to be renegotiated.⁷⁸ To be sure, the shock of terror after 1933 was absolutely unprecedented, causing the Bund to rethink many of its tenets. But the point was that standing up and being counted was not something the Bund had to invent in 1933. In other words, to the ordinary business of day-to-day sociability and interaction, the Bund brought a moral seriousness that gave those interactions value both as a testing ground of political principle, and as theatre in which one's own sense of moral intactness from the regime was reaffirmed.

Equally important was the fact that this allowed the Bund also to take seriously those gestures of resistance and decency that lay within the realm of the possible under the circumstances of Nazi terror. As we have seen, everyday actions were viewed with the same moral seriousness as

programmatic statements about political change. Well before the Bund knew that it would be facing Nazi threats, it articulated as a core element of its philosophy that 'no task, including seemingly the most mechanical exercise, is too small to be done with full commitment and all one's capacities'. After 1933, small steps that might only temporarily lighten the load for a single victim of persecution were thus taken absolutely seriously, and enjoyed the same standing as measures targeted against the regime as such (which the Bund realistically recognized were largely out of its reach). That gave the group the urgency and conviction to act to save individual lives.

This chapter began with a diary entry full of the pleasures of nature. But it may be asked whether the thing that the Bund drew strength from, the resource that it so successfully instrumentalized against the regime, was really pleasure. True, the Bund's writings are full of references to the life of the senses ('*sinnliche Lebensgefühl*', '*Sinnenhaftes Leben*', '*Wandlung und Neugeburt des sinnlichen Wesens*'),⁷⁹ but the thrust of such pieces is usually a very Kantian emphasis on rising above mere drives and lust. No doubt the high-mindedness of such texts, in turn, tends to obscure the real pleasures of sociability, physicality and enjoyment of nature which interviews suggest were clearly at play in the Bund. The improvisatory and spontaneous elements of Dore's method counterbalanced its philosophical gravitas. In addition, the ability during the dictatorship to maintain group experiences in the outdoors, in the freedom of nature, was crucial to their well-being, mental health and strength. But it is already clear that the Bund at play was a serious matter, pregnant with higher purpose and meaning. Remaining true to its principles in Nazi Germany also required considerable sacrifice, and many members must have been digging deep in their available income and rations to help keep endangered members (and others, like Marianne Strauss) afloat. In that sense the satisfactions the Bund sought lay deeper than pleasure, and only that moral seriousness sustained them through the Nazi years. But perhaps to do justice to the group's psychic economy, it would be more accurate to say that the pleasures of shared movement and activity drew on and helped to facilitate a deeper pleasure, namely that of working together for a common cause.

Notes

The research work for this chapter benefited some years ago from support provided by the then Arts and Humanities Research Board as well as the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. I gratefully acknowledge their support as well as

the assistance of Norbert Reichling, Essen, with whom I am writing a book about the 'Bund'. This piece also benefited from stylistic suggestions by Roberta Pergher.

1. The group in fact changed its name several times. Initially, it adopted the title of '*Freier proletarische Bund für Erziehung*'. See Lisa Jacob und Artur Jacobs in *Sozialistische Lebensgestaltung* 3 (1923), no. 6. At the beginning of the 1930s, it also surfaced as the *Internationaler sozialistischer Orden*. See also note 13.
2. Translated from the unpublished diary of Marianne Strauss, later Ellenbogen. The original is now in the Parkes archive of the Hartley Library at the University Southampton. This first entry is typed on separate sheets, inserted between the pages of the diary.
3. Unpublished diary of Marianne Strauss.
4. The full story of Marianne Ellenbogen née Strauss's survival can be read in M. Roseman, *A Past in Hiding: Memory and Survival in Nazi Germany* (New York, 2000).
5. The author conducted several interviews with Frau Jungbluth in Wuppertal.
6. It was difficult to capture the exact spirit of Ellen Jungbluth's account in my English translation. '*Die Stunden bei Dore waren erst rein fachlich will ich mal sagen. Die waren mir also äußerst wichtig, weil sie immer grundsätzlich vom Menschen ausgingen, und von seiner Fähigkeit etwas wahrzunehmen, zuzuhören, echt zu realisieren und auch ganz vom Anatomischen her Aber dann ging das hinterher auch immer ganz rein in das Menschliche herein. Wenn du das erkannt hast, dass es so und so ist, dann musst du es auch umsetzen. Und diese Sache kam immer stärker eigentlich auf mich zu, so dass ich merkte, ich kann gar nicht anders, als diese Körperbildung mit meinem Leben, was ich jetzt führe, mit diesem großen Protest gegen Hitler, zu verbinden. Anders ging das gar nicht, nicht?*'
7. Alongside books such as A. Jacobs, *Die Zukunft Des Glaubens: Die Entscheidungsfrage Unserer Zeit* (Frankfurt a. M., 1971); D. Jacobs, *Die Menschliche Bewegung* (Ratigen, 1962); D. Jacobs, *Bewegungsbildung, Menschenbildung* (Kastellaun, 1978); and many essays, the Bund published a comprehensive account of its history: D. Jacobs and E. Bramesfeld, *Gelebte Utopie: Aus Dem Leben Einer Gemeinschaft*, (Essen, 1990). In addition, the city archives of the Ruhr region, the Old Synagogue in Essen and the Schlesinger Library, Harvard File MC 447 contain important collections. These were supplemented by private collections and interviews, as well as Gestapo and denazification records in Düsseldorf and restitution records in various cities.
8. This was the title of the retrospective account of the Bund's activities, published in 1990: *Gelebte Utopie. Aus dem Leben einer Gemeinschaft. Nach einer Dokumentation von Dore Jacobs* (Essen, 1990).
9. For Jacobs's biography see *Gelebte Utopie*, p. 168ff. Also the document 'Vom Elternhaus', Remscheid City Archive (StAR) NW41, file 7. On Jacobs's teaching philosophy, see A. Jacobs, 'Schule und Jugendbewegung', in *Die neue Erziehung*, 1 (November 1919), 785–788. On the education revolution and crisis in Essen after 1918, see U. Linse, *Die Entschiedene Jugend, 1919–1921: Deutschlands Erste Revolutionäre, Schüler- Und Studentenbewegung* (Frankfurt a. M., 1981), 67f. A. Siemsen, 'Schulschandale', *Die neue Erziehung*, 1 (November 1919), 788–790.

10. For early examples of Jacobs's Kantian thought, see his many newspaper reviews in Essen City Archive File 626, Nachlaß Jacobs (henceforth StaE NJ), Box 2, Folder 'Aufsätze und Besprechungen aus Zeitungen (*Frankfurter Zeitung* 1908–1924)'.
11. Dore's father Ernst Marcus, a judge, was also an amateur Kant scholar of some distinction. See the web page 'Ernst Moses Marcus, Marcus-Zeittafel (1856–1928) Biobibliographische Notizen von Gerd Hergen Lübben', www.luebben-web.de/marc-bio.htm (accessed 17 January 2010).
12. O. Wörner-Heil, *Von der Utopie zur Sozialreform: Jugendsiedlung Frankenfeld im Hessischen Ried und Frauensiedlung Schwarze Erde in der Rhön 1915 bis 1933* (Darmstadt, Marburg, 1996), 36.
13. See the pamphlet *Der Bund. Orden für sozialistische Politik und Lebensgestaltung* (Essen-Stadtwald, 1929), 30–33, 46–47. Copies of the pamphlet can be found in the informal archive of the Dore Jacobs School (henceforth DJA).
14. On the Nelson-Bund, see W. Link, *Die Geschichte des Internationalen Jugend-Bundes (Ijb) und des Internationalen Sozialistischen Kampf-Bundes (Isk); Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung in der Weimarer Republik und im Dritten Reich* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1964); K.-H. Klär, 'Zwei Nelson-Bünde: Internationaler Jugend-Bund (Ijb) Und Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampf-Bund (Isk) Im Licht Neuer Quellen', in *Internationale wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, 18 (1982), 310–359.
15. See N. Reichling, 'Zwischen den Arbeiterparteien', unpublished ms. On exclusion from the KPD, see, for example, the denazification file of Gustav Zenkers in Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf HStAD NW 1013 I/ DN 10 (G. Zenker) 15.5.1946, and the declarations of Erich Nöcker and others in StaE NJ, Karton 1, File 'Akten Dr Artur Jacobs, Dore Jacobs', Letter Jacobs to Provinzial-Schulkollegium, Koblenz 20 September 1933.
16. My translation from *Der Bund. Orden für sozialistische Politik und Lebensgestaltung*, 78.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., 41.
19. Ibid.
20. For example, when women were called upon to renegotiate the allocation of roles in housework. Conversation between the author and Meta Kamp-Steinmann, Göttingen, January 1997.
21. DJA, File 'Gesetze'.
22. My translation from *Der Bund. Orden für sozialistische Politik und Lebensgestaltung*, 84.
23. D. Jacobs, in *Sozialistische Jugend* (1928), 13f.
24. *Gelebte Utopie* talks of 120 members around this time (p. 13). But it seems that a larger group may well have been involved regularly with the Bund.
25. Proportions calculated by Norbert Reichling on the basis of a sample of 60 members.
26. Other Jews in the group included Lisa Jacob, Bertold Levy and Gustav Gerson.
27. *Gelebte Utopie*, 13.
28. Conversations with Ursula Jungbluth, Wuppertal. Alte Synagoge Essen, Nachlass Friedel Jacobs, (ASE NFJ), Gottfried to Artur Jacobs, 22.4.1930, Rattlar.

29. I. Spector, *Rhythm and Life. The Work of Emile Jaques-Dalcroze* (New York 1990); T. Caldwell, *Expressive Singing. Dalcroze Eurhythmics for Voice* (New Jersey, 1995), 12f.
30. Spector, *Rhythm*, 149.
31. Many of the later key names in the dance world studied at Hellerau between 1911 and 1914: Marie Rambert, Mary Wigman, Rudolf von Laban's later life-partner Suzanne Perrotet and many others.
32. Such as Rudolf von Laban's Schule für Ausdruckskunst in München, founded at the same time. See G. Brandstetter, 'Ausdruckstanz', in D. Kerbs and J. Reulecke (eds), *Handbuch der deutschen Reformbewegungen 1880–1933* (Wuppertal, 1998), 451–464, here 453; Spector, *Rhythm and Life*, 161.
33. Brandstetter, 'Ausdruckstanz', 455.
34. D. Jacobs, 'Werdegang der Schule', in Dore Jacobs Schule, *Heft Für Dore Jacobs 1894–1994* (Essen 1994), 7–15, here 7.
35. On the unconventional circumstances of their meeting, see DJA File 'Dore Jacobs Personalien', 'Handschriftliche Erinnerungen zur Kindheit', no date: Leo Baeck Archive, New York, AR 4322 C.1719 Marcus, Ernst, Ernst Marcus to Frau Henf, Essen, 10 April 1914.
36. D. Jacobs, *Die menschliche Bewegung* (Ratingen, 1962/1972); see also D. Jacobs, *Bewegungsbildung, Menschenbildung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1978).
37. In addition to Ellen Jungbluth, I also conducted interviews with Tove Gerson (Essen), Reinhold Ströter (Düsseldorf) and Karin Gerhard (Essen).
38. On the *Bewegungschore*, see Brandstetter, 'Ausdruckstanz'; L. Karina and M. Kant, *Tanz unterm Hakenkreuz. Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin, 1996), 26ff.
39. D. Jacobs, 'Erinnerungen', and D. Jacobs, 'Werdegang der Schule', in Dore-Jacobs-Schule (ed.), *Heft Für Dore Jacobs 1884–1994*, 3–6, 7–15.
40. D. Jacobs, 'Werdegang der Schule', 8–9.
41. Especially interviews with Tove Gerson, Essen.
42. A central feature of Dore's work was that there was nothing of the dominance, machismo, testing to the limit, or constant fear of showing physical weakness that characterized, for example, the rituals of the *Turner*; the emphasis was on natural rhythms reachable for all. B. Wedemeyer-Kolwe, *'Der neue Mensch'. Körperkultur im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Würzburg, 2004), 25–26 has shown that the self-definition in opposition to the *Turner* was a defining common feature of the heterogeneous *Rhythmik* movement.
43. Interviews with Jungbluth, Gerson.
44. Translation from interview Frau Gerson, Essen, 8 January 1997.
45. On Dore Jacobs's hierarchic vision see *Der Bund. Orden für sozialistische Politik und Lebensgestaltung*, 84; and Dore Jacobs in *Sozialistische Jugend* (1928), 13 f.
46. DJA, *Der Bund*, 'Aus der illegalen Arbeit des Bundes. 2 Arbeitsbericht' (Essen, 1947).
47. Interview with Frau Gerson, 8 January 1997. An indirect indication of the upheaval is contained in a letter from Artur Jacobs's son, Gottfried: ASE NFJ, Undated letter Gottfried Jacobs to Artur (probably March–April 1933).
48. See Landeshauparchiv Koblenz (LHK), File 405A, Folder 3216, 'Entwurf Oberpräsident des Rheinprinz, Abt. für höheres Schulwesen,' 25 August 1933 and subsequent records.
49. See the correspondence on this in StaE NJ, Box 1.

50. For example, Bund member August Schmitz was subjected to several months' imprisonment: interview Anne Schmitz, January 1997.
51. Among others, Karl Morgenstern moved to Göttingen: see HStAD RW58 19223 StapoD, Außenstelle Oberhausen-Mülheim to Außenstelle Essen, 27 August 1936. Georg Reuter and Reinhold Ströter also left the Ruhr.
52. See the pamphlet 'Der Bund. "Leben in der Illegalität 3 Auslandsbrief"' (no date, perhaps 1948) in Archiv der Dore-Jacobs-Schule.
53. Archiv der Dore-Jacobs-Schule, L. Jacob, *Zum Gedenken an Artur Jacobs*, 13.
54. L. Jacob, *Zum Gedenken an Artur Jacobs* and conversation with Ellen Jungbluth, 13 July 1999. On the interrogation of Bund members see Gestapo files in HStAD RW58 1808 (Erna Michels), Grenzpolizei-Kommissariat Herzogenrat an Stapo Aachen 21 September 1938; RW58 19223 (Artur Jacobs) polizeiliche Untersuchungen 1933,1936,1937, 1939, 1940.
55. *Gelebte Utopie*, 112.
56. DJA Artur Jacobs's diary, November 1941 entry 'Lichtfestzeit!' shows that the festival of light was still being celebrated. And see his address: 'Dunkel und dennoch Licht – Lichtfest-Ansprache 1941' in *Gelebte Utopie*, 125–128.
57. Conversation with Meta Kamp, 24 January 1997. On Carlos Morgenstern's flight from the Ruhr, see note 51.
58. Interview with Anne Schmitz, Wuppertal, January 1997.
59. Interview with Tove Gerson, January 1997.
60. *Gelebte Utopie*, 124.
61. WDR programme, 1983, 'Sie wußten, was sie taten'.
62. StAE NJ, Diary Artur Jacobs, Entry 8 November 1941; Roseman, *Past in Hiding*, 436; unpublished Bund piece, 'Bericht über das Judenhilfswerk', no date.
63. L. Jacob, 'Der Bund, Gemeinschaft für sozialistisches Leben und meine Errettung vor der Deportation', no place, no date: Roseman, *Past in Hiding*, 234–242.
64. Information from Ellen Jungbluth, Interview, Wuppertal 29 July 1997.
65. Conversation with Hanna Jordan, Wuppertal, 29 July 1997.
66. For a humorous memory of the life in hiding in the closing months of the war, see StAR NW41 7 Walter Jacob's poem 'In der Küche! (Im Haus auf dem Föhrenberg!)' 1944.
67. On all this see Roseman, *Past in Hiding*, and M. Ellenbogen, 'Flucht und illegales Leben während der Nazi-Verfolgungsjahre 1943–1954', in *Das Münster am Hellweg*, 37 (1984), 135–142; Jacob, 'Der Bund'.
68. See Der Bund. *Leben in der Illegalität*. HStAD RW58 1808 (Erna Michels), Grenzpolizei-Kommissariat Herzogenrat an Stapo Aachen 21 September 1938; RW58 19223 (Artur Jacobs) polizeiliche Untersuchungen 1933,1936,1937, 1939, 1940.
69. HStAD RW58 19223, Gestapo-Akte Artur Jacobs, Memo, Essen 7 March 1940; RW58, 1595 Ernst Jungbluth, memo StaPoleitsstelle Düsseldorf, 22 December 1938; HStAD RW58 71703, Gestapo Außendienststelle Essen to Stapo Düsseldorf (Ratingen), 13 September 1944.
70. *Gelebte Utopie*, 110.
71. DJA, 'Leben in der Illegalität. Dritter Auslandsbericht', no date, 5.
72. See note 48.
73. *Gelebte Utopie*, 113–114.

74. Ibid.
75. Comment by Herr Jost in a videotaped interview with Herr Jost and Maria Briel by Jochen Bilstein, 9 November 1990.
76. *Gelebte Utopie*, 117.
77. Ibid., 118
78. From conversation between the author and Meta Kamp, Göttingen, January 1997.
79. These are all titles of papers written by Bund members among the substantial collection of writings in Essen City Archive File 626, Nachlaß Jacobs.

Bibliography

- Albrecht, Gerd. *Nationalsozialistische Filmpolitik. Eine soziologische Untersuchung über die Spielfilme des Dritten Reichs* (Stuttgart, 1969).
- Aly, Götz. *Hitler's Beneficiaries: Plunder, Racial War, and the Nazi Welfare State*, trans. J. Chase (New York, 2007).
- Angröss, Werner T. and Bradley F. Smith. 'Diaries of Heinrich Himmler's Early Years', in *Journal of Modern History*, 31 (1959), 206–224.
- Angrick, Andrej. *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord. Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg, 2003).
- Appel, Ulrich. *Satire als Zeitdokument. Der Zeichner Erich Schilling. 1885 Suhl/Thüringen – 1945 Gauting bei München. Leben – Werk – Zeit – Umwelt* (Witterschlick and Bonn, 1995).
- Arendt, Hannah. *On Violence* (New York, 1967).
- Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1951).
- Bajohr, Frank. 'Unser Hotel ist judenfrei': Bäder-Antisemitismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (Frankfurt a. Main, 2003).
- Bajohr, Frank. *Parvenüs und Profiteure. Korruption in der NS-Zeit* (Frankfurt a. Main, 2001).
- Bajohr, Frank and Dieter Pohl, *Der Holocaust als offenes Geheimnis. Die Deutschen, die NS-Führung und die Alliierten* (Munich, 2006).
- Bankier, David, ed. *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism. German Society and the Persecution of the Jews, 1933–1941* (New York, 2000).
- Bankier, David and Israel Gutman, eds. *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution* (Jerusalem, 2003).
- Baranowski, Shelly. *Strength through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 2004).
- Barbian, Jan-Pieter. *Literaturpolitik im 'Dritten Reich'. Institutionen, Kompetenzen, Betätigungsfelder*, 2nd edn (Munich, 1995).
- Bartels, Ulrike. *Die Wochenschau im Dritten Reich. Entwicklung und Funktion eines Massenmediums unter besonderer Berücksichtigung völkisch-nationaler Inhalte* (Frankfurt a. Main, 2004).
- Bartov, Omer. *Hitler's Army. Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (New York, 1991).
- Bauer, Thomas. *Deutsche Programmpresse 1923–1941. Entstehung, Entwicklung und Kontinuität der Programmzeitschriften* (Munich, 1993).
- Baumeister, Martin. *Kriegstheater. Großstadt, Front und Massenkultur 1914–1918* (Essen, 2005).
- Baumeister, Martin, ed. *Unterwelten der Kultur. Themen und Theorien der volkswissenschaftlichen Kulturwissenschaft* (Cologne, 2003).
- Bavaj, Riccardo. *Die Ambivalenz der Moderne im Nationalsozialismus. Eine Bilanz der Forschung* (Munich and Oldenbourg, 2003).
- Beck, Birgit. *Wehrmacht und sexuelle Gewalt. Sexualverbrechen vor deutschen Militärtribunalen 1939–1945* (Paderborn, 2004).

- Behnken, Klaus, ed. *Deutschland-Berichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (Sopade) 1934–1940*, 7 vols, 3rd edn (Frankfurt a. Main, 1980).
- Behrenbeck, Sabine. *Der Kult um die toten Helden. Nationalsozialistische Mythen, Riten und Symbole 1923 bis 1945* (Vierow, 1996).
- Benningaus, Christina. “‘Leider hat der Beteiligte fast niemals eine Ahnung davon...’ – Männliche Unfruchtbarkeit, 1870–1900’, in *Medizin, Gesellschaft und Geschichte*, 27 (2007), 139–155.
- Benz, Wolfgang. *Bilder vom Juden. Studien zum alltäglichen Antisemitismus* (Munich, 2001).
- Berding, Helmut. *Histoire de l'antisémitisme en Allemagne* (Paris, 1991).
- Berger, Arthur Asa, ed. *Making Sense of Media. Key Texts in Media and Cultural Studies* (Malden, 2005).
- Berghaus, Günter, ed. *Fascism and Theater: Comparative Studies on the Aesthetics and Politics of Performance in Europe, 1925–1945* (Providence and Oxford, 1996).
- Berghoff, Hartmut. “‘Times Change and We Change with Them’: The German Advertising Industry in the Third Reich – Between Professional Self-Interest and Political Repression’, in *Business History*, 45, 1 (2003), 128–147.
- Berghoff, Hartmut. *Zwischen Kleinstadt und Weltmarkt: Hohner und die Harmonika 1857–1961: Unternehmensgeschichte als Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (Paderborn, 1997).
- Bergler, Georg. *Die Entwicklung der Verbrauchsforschung in Deutschland und die Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung bis zum Jahre 1945* (Kallmünz and Oberpfalz, 1959).
- Bergson, Henri. *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic* (trans. F. Rothwell) (London, 1914).
- Berking, Helmuth. *Masse und Geist. Studien zur Soziologie in der Weimarer Republik* (Berlin, 1984).
- Bessel, Richard, ed. *Life in the Third Reich*, 2nd revised edn (Oxford, 2001).
- Bessel, Richard. ‘The Potempa Murder’, in *Central European History*, 10 (1977), 241–254.
- Boberach, Heinz, ed. *Meldungen aus dem Reich 1938–1945. Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS*, 17 vols (Herrsching, 1984).
- Bohrmann, Hans and Gabriele Toepser-Ziegert, eds. *NS-Presseanweisungen der Vorkriegszeit. Edition und Dokumentation. Vol. 6/III: 1938. Quellentexte September bis Dezember. Bearb. v. Karen Peter* (Munich, 1999).
- Bollenbeck, Georg. ‘German Kultur, the Bildungsbürgertum, and its Susceptibility to National Socialism’, in *The German Quarterly*, 73, 1 (Winter 2000), 67–83.
- Braud, Philippe. *The Garden of Democratic Delights: For a Psycho-emotional Reading of Pluralist Systems* (Westport CT, 1998).
- Braud, Philippe. *L'émotion en politique: problèmes d'analyse* (Paris, 1996).
- Braun, Christian A., Michael Mayer and Sebastian Weitkamp, eds. *Deformation der Gesellschaft? Neue Forschungen zum Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, 2008).
- Brown, Jane K. *Goethe's Faust: The German Tragedy* (Ithaca, 1986).
- Browning, Christopher. *Ordinary Men. Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York 1992).
- Buchele, M. *Der politische Witz als Meinungsäußerung gegen den totalitären Staat. Ein Beitrag zur Phänomenologie und Geschichte des inneren Widerstandes im Dritten Reich* (Phil. Diss., Munich, 1955).

- Bühler, Hans-Eugen and Edelgard Bühler. *Der Frontbuchhandel 1939–1945. Organisationen, Kompetenzen, Verlage, Bücher. Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt a. Main, 2002).
- Burrin, Philippe. *Ressentiment et Apocalypse. Essai sur l'antisémitisme nazi* (Paris, 2004).
- Buß, Ferner Maike. *Intellektuelles Selbstverständnis und Totalitarismus. Denis de Rougemont und Max Rychner – zwei Europäer in der Zwischenkriegszeit* (Frankfurt a. Main, 2005).
- Caldwell, Timothy. *Expressive Singing. Dalcroze Eurhythmics for Voice* (New Jersey, 1995).
- Cesarani, David. *Adolf Eichmann. Bürokrat und Massenmörder. Eine Biografie* (Berlin, 2004).
- Childers, Thomas, ed. *The Formation of the Nazi Constituency, 1919–1933* (London, 1986).
- Cocks, Geoffrey and Konrad H. Jarausch, eds. *German Professionals, 1800–1950* (Oxford, 1990).
- Cohen, Albert. *Delinquent Boys. The Culture of the Gang* (Glencoe, 1955).
- Conrad, Christoph. 'Observer les consommateurs. Études de marché et histoire de la consommation en Allemagne, des années 1930 aux années 1960', in *Le Mouvement Social*, 206 (2004), 17–39.
- Corbin, Alain. *L'harmonie des plaisirs – Les manières de jouir du Siècle des Lumières à l'avènement de la sexologie* (Paris, 2008).
- Corbin, Alain. *Time, Desire and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses* (Cambridge, 1995).
- Corbin, Alain. *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Cambridge MA, 1986).
- Corbin, Alain and Julia Csergo. *L'avènement des loisirs, 1850–1960* (Paris, 1995).
- Dahrendorf, Ralf. *Homo Sociologicus. Ein Versuch zur Geschichte, Bedeutung und Kritik der Kategorie der sozialen Rolle*, 16th edn (Wiesbaden, 2006).
- d'Almeida, Fabrice. *High Society in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 2008).
- Dauntton, Martin and Matthew Hilton, eds. *The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America* (Oxford, 2001).
- Dickinson, E. R. and Richard Wetzell. 'The Historiography of Sexuality in Modern Germany', in *German History*, 23 (July 2005), 291–305.
- Dicks, Henry V. 'Personality Traits and National Socialist Ideology: A War-Time Study of German Prisoners of War', in *Human Relations*, 3 (1950), 111–154.
- Dietzfelbinger, Eckart and Gerhard Liedtke. *Nürnberg – Ort der Massen. Das Reichsparteitagsgelände. Vorgeschichte und schwieriges Erbe* (Berlin, 2004).
- Dipper, Christof, Andreas Gestrich and Lutz Raphael, eds. *Krieg, Frieden und Demokratie. Festschrift für Martin Vogt zum 65. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt a. Main, 2001).
- Dippold, Christine and Monika Kania-Schütz, eds. *Im Fokus: Die Bildberichterstatteerin Erika Groth-Schmachtenberger und ihr Werk* (Würzburg, 2008).
- de Grazia, Victoria. *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth Century Europe* (Cambridge MA, 2005).
- de Rougemont, Denis. *Journal aus Deutschland 1935–1936*, ed. by Jürgen Altwegg (Berlin, 2001).
- Donson, Andrew. 'Why Did German Youth Become Fascists? Nationalist Males Born 1900 to 1908 in War and Revolution', in *Social History*, 31 (2006), 337–358.

- Dörner, Bernward. *Die Deutschen und der Holocaust. Was niemand wissen wollte, aber jeder wissen konnte* (Berlin, 2007).
- Dörner, Bernward. 'Heimtücke': *Das Gesetz als Waffe. Kontrolle, Abschreckung und Verfolgung in Deutschland 1933–1945* (Paderborn, 1998).
- Dreschler, Nanny. *Die Funktion der Musik im deutschen Rundfunk 1933–1945* (Pfaffenweiler, 1988).
- Drewniak, Boguslaw. *Das Theater im NS-Staat: Szenarium deutscher Zeitgeschichte 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf, 1983).
- Dumas, Georges. *Le sourire – Psychologie et physiologie* (Paris, 1946).
- Dussel, Konrad. *Deutsche Rundfunkgeschichte*, 2nd edn (Konstanz, 1999).
- Echternkamp, Jörg, ed. *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg. Bd. 9/1: Die deutsche Kriegsgesellschaft 1939 bis 1945. Politisierung, Vernichtung, Überleben* (Munich, 2004).
- Eder, Franz. *Kultur der Begierde: Eine Geschichte der Sexualität* (Munich, 2002).
- Eichholtz, Dietrich and Kurt Pätzold, eds. *Der Weg in den Krieg. Studien zur Geschichte der Vorkriegsjahre (1935/36 bis 1939)* (Cologne, 1989).
- El Kenz, David. *Le massacre objet d'histoire* (Paris, 2005).
- Evans, Richard J. *The Third Reich in Power* (London, 2005).
- Falter, Jürgen W. 'Die "Märzgefallenen" von 1933. Neue Forschungsergebnisse zum sozialen Wandel innerhalb der NSDAP-Mitgliedschaft während der Machtergreifungsphase', in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 24 (1998), 595–616.
- Fanon, Franz. *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, 2004).
- Feldman, Gerald D. *Allianz and the German Insurance Business, 1933–1945* (Cambridge, 2001).
- Fénelon, Fania. *Playing for Time*, trans. Judith Landry (Syracuse, 1997).
- Fest, Joachim. *Les derniers jours d'Adolf Hitler* (Paris, 2004).
- Först, Walter, ed. *Rundfunk in der Region. Probleme und Möglichkeiten der Regionalität* (Cologne, 1984).
- Foucault, Michel. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France, 1978–1979* (Basingstoke, 2008).
- Fox, Jo. *Film Propaganda in Britain and Nazi Germany: World War II Cinema* (Berg, 2007).
- François, Etienne and Hagen Schulze, eds. *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, 3 vols, 4th edn (Munich, 2002).
- Frei, Norbert. *Der Führerstaat. Nationalsozialistische Herrschaft 1933 bis 1945*, 6th edn (Munich, 2001).
- Friedländer, Saul. *Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1933–1945*, 2 vols (New York, 1997–2007).
- Friedländer, Saul and Hans-Eugen Bühler. *Bertelsmann im Dritten Reich* (Munich, 2002).
- Fritzsche, Peter. *Life and Death in the Third Reich* (Cambridge MA, 2008).
- Fröhlich, Elke, ed. *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels. Teil I und II* (Munich, 1998–2006).
- Fromm, Bella. *Als Hitler mir die Hand küßte* (Berlin, 1993).
- Führer, Kurt C. 'Die Tageszeitung als wichtigstes Massenmedium der nationalsozialistischen Gesellschaft,' *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 55, 5 (2007), 411–434.
- Gadberry, Glen W., ed. *Theater in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theater in Nazi Germany* (Westport and London, 1995).

- Gamm, Hans-Jochen. *Der Flüsterwitz im Dritten Reich. Mündliche Dokumente zur Lage der Deutschen während des Nationalsozialismus* (Munich, 1993, orig. 1963).
- Garfinkel, Lawrence. 'Trends in Cigarette Smoking in the United States', in *Preventive Medicine*, 26, 4 (July 1997), 447–450.
- Gassert, Phillip. *Amerika im Dritten Reich: Ideologie, Propaganda und Volksmeinung, 1933–1945* (Stuttgart, 1997).
- Gauntlett, David. *Media, Gender and Identity. An Introduction* (London, 2002).
- Geertjeanssen, Wendy Jo. *Victims, Heroes, Survivors: Sexual Violence on the Eastern Front during World War II* (PhD Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2004).
- Gilmore, David. *Manhood in the Making. Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven, 1990).
- Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah. *Hitler's Willing Executioners. Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, 1996).
- Gosewinkel, Dieter, ed. *Wirtschaftskontrolle und Recht in der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur* (Frankfurt a. Main, 2005).
- Grau, Günter, ed. *Hidden Holocaust? Gay and Lesbian Persecution in Germany 1933–1945* (London, 1995).
- Grimm, Reinhold and Jost Hermand, eds. *Our Faust? Roots and Ramifications of a Modern German Myth* (Madison, 1987).
- Grossmann, Atina. *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform* (New York, 1995).
- Groth-Schmachtenberger, Erika. *Meine liebsten Fotos: Erinnerungen einer Bildberichterin aus sechs Jahrzehnten* (Würzburg, 1984).
- Gruchmann, Lothar. 'Korruption im Dritten Reich. Zur "Lebensmittelversorgung" der NS-Führerschaft', in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 42 (1994), 571–593.
- Grunberger, Richard. *A Social History of the Third Reich* (London, 1971).
- Guenther, Irene. *Nazi Chic? Fashioning Women in the Third Reich* (Oxford, 2004).
- Haarmann, Hermann. 'Pleite glotzt euch an. Restlos'. *Satire in der Publizistik der Weimarer Republik. Ein Handbuch* (Opladen, 1999).
- Hafeneger, Benno and Michael Fritz, eds. *Wehrerziehung und Kriegsgedanke in der Weimarer Republik. Ein Lesebuch zur Kriegsbegeisterung junger Männer*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt, 1992).
- Haffner, Sebastian. *Defying Hitler* (New York, 2002).
- Haffner, Sebastian. *Geschichte eines Deutschen. Die Erinnerungen 1914–1933* (Munich, 2002).
- Hake, Sabine. *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich* (Austin, 2002).
- Hale, O. J. *Presse in der Zwangsjacke 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf, 1965).
- Hansen, Klaus. 'Lachen über Hitler. Erörterungen am Beispiel des "Flüsterwitzes"', in *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 53, 12 (2002), 737–748.
- Hardtwig, Wolfgang, ed. *Politische Kulturgeschichte der Zwischenkriegszeit 1918–1939* (Göttingen, 2005).
- Hartmann, Christian. 'Verbrecherischer Krieg – verbrecherische Wehrmacht? Überlegungen zur Struktur des deutschen Ostheeres 1941–1944', in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 52 (2004), 1–75.
- Hartmann, Rudi, ed. *Flüsterwitze aus dem Tausendjährigen Reich*, 2nd edn (Munich, 1984).
- Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, ed. *Frauenobjektiv: Fotografinnen 1940 bis 1950* (Köln, 2001).

- Hearn, Jeff and David Morgan, eds. *Men, Masculinities and Social Theory* (London, 1990).
- Heiber, Helmut, ed. *Goebbels-Reden, vol. 1: 1932–1939* (Düsseldorf, 1971).
- Heinelt, Peer. *PR Päpste: Die kontinuierlichen Karrieren von Carl Hundhausen, Albert Oeckl und Franz Ronnenberger* (Berlin, 2003).
- Heineman, Elizabeth D. *What Difference Does a Husband Make? Women and Marital Status in Nazi and Postwar Germany* (Berkeley, 1999).
- Herbert, Ulrich and Axel Schildt, eds. *Kriegsende in Europa. Vom Beginn des deutschen Machtzerfalls bis zur Stabilisierung der Nachkriegsordnung 1944–1948* (Essen, 1998).
- Herf, Jeffrey. *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, culture and politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 1984).
- Hermes, Joke. *Reading Women's Magazines. An Analysis of Everyday Media Use* (Cambridge, 1995).
- Hermes, Richard. *Witz contra Nazi. Hitler und sein Tausendjähriges Reich. An 500 Anekdoten, Zoten, Absonderlichkeiten und Flüsterwitze; botanisert und geketschert, vor den Luchsaugen der Gestapo verborgen, präpariert und aufgespießt und in ein System gebracht* (Hamburg, 1946).
- Herzig, Arno, ed. *Die Juden in Hamburg 1590–1990* (Hamburg, 1991).
- Herzog, Dagmar. *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton, 2005).
- Herzog, Dagmar, ed. *Brutality and Desire. War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century* (Houndmills, 2009).
- Herzog, Dagmar, ed. *Sexuality and German Fascism* (New York, 2005).
- Heßler, Martina. *Mrs. Modern Woman: Die Modernisierung des Alltags. Zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der Haushaltstechnisierung* (Frankfurt a. Main, 2001).
- Hickethier, Knut. 'Der Ernst der Filmkomödie', in Harro Segeberg (ed.) *Mediale Mobilmachung I: Das Dritte Reich und der Film, Mediengeschichte des Films 4* (Munich, 2004), 229–246.
- Hilberg, Raul. *The Destruction of European Jews* (New Haven, 2003).
- Hildebrand, Klaus. *Das Dritte Reich*, 6th edn (Munich, 2003).
- Hitler, Adolf. *Mein Kampf* (London, 1974).
- Hoess, Rudolf. *Commandant of Auschwitz. The Autobiography*, trans. by Constantine Fitz Gibbon (London, 2000).
- Hoffmann-Curtius, Kathrin. 'Trophäen in Brieftaschen – Photographien von Wehrmachts-, SS- und Polizeiverbrechen', *kunsttexte.de*, 3 (2002), 1–14.
- Holzer, Anton, ed. *Mit der Kamera bewaffnet: Krieg und Fotografie* (Marburg, 2003).
- Hosenfeld, Wilm. 'Ich versuche jeden zu retten'. *Das Leben eines deutschen Offiziers in Briefen und Tagebüchern*, ed. Thomas Vogel (Munich, 2004).
- Hostetter, Elizabeth Schulz. *The Berlin State Theater under the Nazi Regime: A Study of the Administration, Key Productions, and Critical Responses from 1933–1944* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter, 2004).
- Hügel, Hans-Otto. *Lob des Mainstreams. Zu Begriff und Geschichte von Unterhaltung und Populärer Kultur* (Cologne, 2007).
- Hüppauf, Bernd. 'Framing Violence through the Viewfinder', in *New German Critique*, 72 (1997), 3–44.
- Husson, Édouard. *Heydrich et la solution finale* (Paris, 2008).
- Igo, Sarah E. *The Averaged American: Surveys, Citizens, and the Making of a Mass Public* (Cambridge, 2007).

- Jacobs, Artur. *Die Zukunft Des Glaubens: Die Entscheidungsfrage Unserer Zeit* (Frankfurt a. Main, 1971).
- Jacobs, Dore. *Bewegungsbildung, Menschenbildung* (Kastellaun, 1978).
- Jacobs, Dore and Else Bramesfeld. *Gelebte Utopie: Aus Dem Leben Einer Gemeinschaft* (Essen, 1990).
- Jahn, Peter and Ulrike Schmiegelt, eds. *Foto-Feldpost: Geknipste Kriegserlebnisse 1939–1945* (Berlin, 2000).
- Jensen, Olaf, Claus-Christian W. Szejnmann and Martin L. Davies, eds. *Ordinary People as Mass Murderers. Perpetrators in Comparative Perspectives* (Houndmills, 2008).
- Kaindl, Kurt. *Harald P. Lerchenperg: Pionier des Fotojournalismus 1929–1937* (Salzburg, 1990).
- Kaplan, Marion. *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (Oxford, 1998).
- Karina, Lilian and Marion Kant. *Tanz unterm Hakenkreuz. Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin, 1996).
- Kast, R. 'Der deutsche Leihbuchhandel und seine Organisationen im 20. Jahrhundert', in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 36 (1991), 165–349.
- Ka-Tzetnik 135633. *House of Dolls* (New York, 1956).
- Kerbs, Diethart and Jürgen Reulecke, eds. *Handbuch der deutschen Reformbewegungen 1880–1933* (Wuppertal, 1998).
- Klär, Karl-Heinz. 'Zwei Nelson-Bünde: Internationaler Jugend-Bund (Ijb) und Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampf-Bund (Isk) Im Licht Neuer Quellen', in *Internationale wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, 18 (1982), 310–359.
- Klee, Ernst, Willi Dressen and Volker Riess, eds. *'The Good Old Days.' The Holocaust as Seen by its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (New York, 1991).
- Kleinhans, Bernd. *Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Kino. Lichtspiel in der braunen Provinz* (Cologne, 2003).
- Klemperer, Victor. *I Will Bear Witness. A Diary of the Nazi Years, 1942–1945* (New York, 1999).
- Klemperer, Victor. *I Will Bear Witness. A Diary of the Nazi Years, 1933–1941* (New York, 1998).
- Koch, Hans-Jörg. *Das Wunschkonzert im NS-Rundfunk* (Cologne, 2003).
- Kock, Gerhard. *'Der Führer sorgt für unsere Kinder ...' Die Kinderlandverschickung im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Paderborn, 1997).
- König, Wolfgang. *Volkswagen, Volksempfänger, Volksgemeinschaft: 'Volkprodukte' im Dritten Reich: Vom Scheitern einer nationalsozialistischen Konsumgesellschaft* (Paderborn, 2004).
- Kogon, Eugen. *The Theory and Practice of Hell. The German Concentration Camps and the System behind Them* (New York, 1950).
- Kogon, Eugen. *Der SS Staat – Das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager* (Munich, 1946).
- Koonz, Claudia. *The Nazi Conscience* (Cambridge MA, 2003).
- Korff, Hermann August. *Geist der Goethezeit: Versuch einer ideellen Entwicklung der klassisch-romantischen Literaturgeschichte, II. Teil, Klassik, 7. unveränderte Auflage* (Leipzig, 1964).
- Koshar, Rudy. *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford, 2000).
- Koslov, Elissa Mailänder. *Gewalt im Dienstalltag – Die SS-Außererinnen des Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslager Majdanek 1942–1944* (Hamburg, 2009).

- Kraas, Andreas. *Lehrerlager 1932–1945. Politische Funktion und pädagogische Gestaltung* (Bad Heilbrunn, 2004).
- Krause, Karl W. *Kammerdiener bei Hitler 10 Jahre Tag und Nacht* (Hamburg, 1949).
- Krausnick, Helmut, Hans, Buchheim, Martin, Broszat, and Han-Adolf Jacobsen. *Anatomy of the SS-State* (New York, 1968).
- Kreimeier, Klaus. *The Ufa Story: A History of Germany's Greatest Film Company, 1918–1945* (Berkeley, 1999).
- Kruse, Joseph A. *Heinrich Spoerl. Buch – Bühne – Leinwand* (Düsseldorf, 2004).
- Kühlken, Edda. *Die Klassiker-Inszenierungen von Gustaf Gründgens* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1972).
- Kühne, Thomas. *Belonging and Genocide. Hitler's Community, 1918–1945* (New Haven, 2010).
- Kühne, Thomas. *Kameradschaft. Die Soldaten des nationalsozialistischen Krieges und das 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2006).
- Kühne, Thomas. 'Der Soldat' in Ute Frevert and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, eds. *Der Mensch des Zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt a. Main, 1999), 344–372.
- Kupfer, T. *Generation und Radikalisierung. Die Mitglieder der NSDAP im Kreis Bernburg 1921–1945* (Berlin, 2006, Ms.).
- Langbein, Hermann. *Hommes et femmes d'Auschwitz* (Paris, 1975).
- Laqueur, Walter. *Young Germany. A History of the German Youth Movement* (New York, 1962).
- Lasswell, Harold. *Propaganda Technique in World War 1* (Cambridge, MA, 1971).
- Le Bon, Gustav. *Psychologie des foules* (Paris, 1921).
- Leggewie, Claus. *Von Schneider zu Schwerte: Das ungewöhnliche Leben eines Mannes, der aus der Geschichte lernen wollte* (Munich, 1998).
- Leichenmueller, Joachim and Gerd Simon. *Masken-Wechsel: Wie der SS-Hauptsturmführer Schneider zum BRD-Hochschulrektor Schwerte wurde und andere Geschichten über die Wendigkeit deutscher Wissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1999).
- Lewy, Jonathan. 'A Sober Reich? Alcohol and Tobacco Use in Nazi Germany', in *Substance Use & Misuse*, 41, 8 (November 2006), 1179–1195.
- Lifton, Robert Jay. *Nazi Doctors. Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York, 1986).
- Lill, Ursula. *Die Pharmazeutisch-Industrielle Werbung in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1990).
- Lilla, Joachim, ed. *Die Stellvertretenden Gauleiter und die Vertretung der Gauleiter der NSDAP im 'Dritten Reich'* (Koblenz, 2003).
- Link, Werner. *Die Geschichte Des Internationalen Jugend-Bundes (Ijyb) Und Des Internationalen Sozialistischen Kampf-Bundes (Isk); Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Der Arbeiterbewegung in Der Weimarer Republik Und Im Dritten Reich* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1964).
- Linse, Ulrich. *Die Entschiedene Jugend, 1919–1921: Deutschlands Erste Revolutionäre, Schüler- Und Studentenbewegung* (Frankfurt a. Main, 1981).
- Lipovetsky, Gilles and Elyette Roux, *Le luxe éternel* (Paris, 2003).
- Littell, Jonathan. *The Kindly Ones. A Novel* (New York, 2009).
- Lock, Stephen, Lois A. Reynolds and E. M. Tansey, eds. *Ashes to Ashes: The History of Smoking and Health* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1998).
- Longerich, Peter. 'Davon haben wir nichts gewußt!' *Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung 1933–1945* (Berlin, 2006).
- Longerich, Peter. *Geschichte der SA* (Munich, 2003).

- Lott, Sylvia. *Die Frauenzeitschriften von Hans Huffzky und John Jahr. Zur Geschichte der deutschen Frauenzeitschrift zwischen 1933 und 1970* (Berlin, 1985).
- Lowry, Stephen. *Pathos und Politik. Ideologie in Spielfilmen des Nationalsozialismus* (Tübingen, 1991).
- Mandelkow, Karl Robert. *Goethe in Deutschland: Rezeptionsgeschichte eines Klassikers, Band II: 1919–1982* (Munich, 1989).
- Mandelkow, Karl Robert. *Goethe in Deutschland: Rezeptionsgeschichte eines Klassikers, Band I: 1773–1918* (Munich, 1980).
- Maršolek, Inge, et al., eds. *Zuhören und Gehört werden I. Radio im Nationalsozialismus. Zwischen Lenkung und Ablenkung* (Tübingen, 1998).
- Maschmann, Melita. *Fazit. Mein Weg in der Hitler-Jugend* (Munich, 1983).
- McLaren, Angus. *Impotence: A Cultural History* (Chicago, 2007).
- Meinl, Susanne. *Nationalsozialisten gegen Hitler. Die nationalrevolutionäre Opposition um Friedrich Wilhelm Heinz* (Berlin, 2000).
- Melcher, Hermann. *Die Gefolgschaft* (Berg a.S., 1990).
- Mendel, Annkatrein. *Zwangsarbeit im Kinderzimmer* (Frankfurt a. Main, 1994).
- Merkel, Peter H. *The Making of a Stormtrooper* (Princeton, 1980).
- Messerschmidt, James W. *Masculinities and Crime. Critique and Reconceptualization of Theory* (Lanham, 1993).
- Moeller, Felix. *The Film Minister. Goebbels and the Cinema in the Third Reich* (Fellbach, 2001).
- Moore, Barrington. *Ungerechtigkeit. Die sozialen Ursachen von Unterordnung und Widerstand* (Frankfurt a. Main, 1987).
- Muller, Jerry Z. *The Mind and the Market: Capitalism in Modern European Thought* (New York, 2002).
- Nader, Andrés José. *Traumatic Verses: On Poetry in German from the Concentration Camps, 1933–1945* (Camden House, 2007).
- Niethammer, Lutz, ed. *‘Die Jahre weiss man nicht, wo man die heute hinsetzen soll’: Faschismuserfahrungen im Ruhrgebiet* (Berlin, 1986).
- Noakes, Jeremy, ed. *Nazism 1919–1945: A Documentary Reader*, 4 vols (Exeter, 1998).
- Orlow, Dietrich. *The Nazis in the Balkans: A Case Study in Totalitarian Politics* (Pittsburgh, 1968).
- Orth, Karin. *Das System der Nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager – Eine politische Ordnungsgeschichte* (Hamburg, 1999).
- Pan, David. ‘The Sovereignty of the Individual in Ernst Jünger’s *The Worker*’, in *Telos* 144 (Fall 2008), 66–74.
- Paul, Gerhard, ed. *Bilder des Krieges, Krieg der Bilder: Die Visualisierung des modernen Krieges* (Paderborn, 2004).
- Peiffer, Lorenz. *Sport im Nationalsozialismus: zum aktuellen Stand der sporthistorischen Forschung; eine kommentierte Bibliografie* (Göttingen, 2004).
- Perry, Joe. ‘Nazifying Christmas: Political and Popular Celebration in the Third Reich’, in *Central European History*, 38, 4 (2005), 572–605.
- Petropoulos, Jonathan. *Kunstraub und Sammelwahn – Kunst und Politik im Dritten Reich* (Hamburg, 1999).
- Petropoulos, Jonathan. *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill, 1996).
- Pödel, P. [real name Josef Ludwig Müller] *Flüsterwitze aus brauner Zeit (Die heiteren Kabinettbändchen)* (Munich, 1954).
- Pohl, Klaus, ed. *Ansichten der Ferne: Reisephotographie 1850–heute* (Darmstadt, 1983).

- Pohle, Heinz. *Der Rundfunk als Instrument der Politik. Zur Geschichte des deutschen Rundfunks von 1923/38* (Hamburg, 1955).
- Poiger, Uta. 'Imperialism and Empire in Twentieth-Century Germany,' *History & Memory*, 17 (Fall 2005), 1/2, 117–143.
- Poncet, André François. *Souvenirs d'une ambassade à Berlin* (Paris, 1946).
- Popitz, Heinrich. *Soziale Normen*, ed. by Friedrich Pohlmann and Wolfgang Eßbach (Frankfurt a. Main, 2006).
- Pörtner, Rudolf, ed. *Alltag in der Weimarer Republik. Kindheit und Jugend in unruhiger Zeit* (Munich, 1993).
- Prinz, Michael and Rainer Zitelmann, eds. *Nationalsozialismus und Modernisierung* (Darmstadt, 1991).
- Proctor, Robert. *The Nazi War on Cancer* (Princeton, 1999).
- Protte, Katja. 'Bildberichterstatlerin im "Dritten Reich": Fotografien aus den Jahren 1937 bis 1944 von Liselotte Purper,' *DHM Magazin* 20 (Berlin, 1997).
- Ray, Roland. *Annäherung an Frankreich im Dienste Hitlers? Otto Abetz und die deutsche Frankreichpolitik 1930–1942* (Munich, 2000).
- Reagin, Nancy R. *Sweeping the German Nation: Domesticity and National Identity in Germany, 1870–1945* (New York, 2007).
- Rees, Laurence. *Auschwitz. A New History* (New York, 2005).
- Reese, Willy Peter. *A Stranger to Myself. The Inhumanity of War: Russia, 1941–1944*, ed. Stefan Schmitz (New York, 2005).
- Reichardt, Sven. *Faschistische Kampfbünde. Gewalt und Gemeinschaft im italienischen Squadrismus und in der deutschen SA* (Cologne, 2002).
- Reichardt, Sven. 'Klaus Theweleits "Männerphantasien". Ein Erfolgsbuch der 1970er Jahre,' in *Zeithistorische Forschung*, 3 (2006), 401–421.
- Reichardt, Sven. 'Vergemeinschaftung durch Gewalt. Das Beispiel des SA-"Mördersturms 33" in Berlin-Charlottenburg zwischen 1928 und 1932,' in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung in Norddeutschland*, 7 (2002).
- Reichel, Peter. *Der schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches. Faszination und Gewalt des Faschismus* (Munich, 1991).
- Reinhardt, Dirk. *Von der Reklame zum Marketing: Geschichte der Wirtschaftswerbung in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1993).
- Reiss, Matthias, ed. *The Street as Stage. Protest Marches and Public Rallies since the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 2007).
- Rentschler, Eric. *Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and its Afterlife* (Cambridge, 1996).
- Reumann, K. *Das antithetische Kampfbild. Beiträge zur Bestimmung seines Wesens und seiner Wirkung* (Phil. Diss., Berlin, 1966).
- Reuveni, Gideon. *Reading Germany. Literature and Consumer Culture in Germany before 1933* (New York, 2006).
- Ribbe, Wolfgang, ed. *Die Lageberichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei über die Provinz Brandenburg und die Reichshauptstadt Berlin 1933 bis 1936. Tl. I: Der Regierungsbezirk Potsdam* (Cologne, 1998).
- Riess, Curt. *Gustaf Gründgens: Eine Biografie* (Hamburg, 1965).
- Rischbieter, Henning, ed. *Theater im 'Dritten Reich'. Theaterpolitik, Spielplanstruktur, NS-Dramatik* (Seelze-Velbe, 2000).
- Roček, Roman. *Die neun Leben des Alexander Lernet-Holenia. Eine Biographie* (Cologne, 1997).
- Rohrer, Christian. *Nationalsozialistische Macht in Ostpreußen* (Munich, 2006).

- Roller, Walter and Suanne Höschel, eds. *Judenverfolgung und jüdisches Leben unter den Bedingungen der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft*, vol. 1, *Tondokumente und Rundfunksendungen, 1930–1946* (Potsdam, 1996).
- Römer, Felix. *Der Kommissarbefehl. Wehrmacht und NS-Verbrechen an der Ostfront 1941/42* (Paderborn, 2008).
- Römer, Felix. "Im alten Deutschland wäre solcher Befehl nicht möglich gewesen." Rezeption, Adaption und Umsetzung des Kriegsgerichtsbarkeitserlasses 1941–42', in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 56 (2008), 53–99.
- Roseman, Mark. *A Past in Hiding: Memory and Survival in Nazi Germany* (New York, 2000).
- Ross, Corey. *Media and the Making of Modern Germany* (Oxford, 2008).
- Ross, Corey. 'Mass Politics and the Techniques of Leadership: The Promise and Perils of Propaganda in Weimar Germany', in *German History* 24, 2 (April 2006), 184–211.
- Rowley, Anthony. *Une histoire mondiale de la table: stratégies de bouche* (Paris, 2006).
- Ruecker, Matthias. *Wirtschaftswerbung unter dem Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt a. Main, 2000).
- Rutz, Rainer. *Signal: Eine deutsche Auslandsillustrierte als Propagandainstrument im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Essen, 2007).
- Sachsse, Rolf. *Die Erziehung zum Wegsehen: Fotografie im NS-Staat* (Dresden, 2003).
- Sakmyster, Thomas. 'Nazi Documentaries of Intimidation: "Feldzug in Polen" (1940), "Feuertaufe" (1940) and "Sieg im Westen" (1941)', in *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 16 (1996), 485–514.
- Schäfer, Hans-Dieter. *Das gesplante Bewußtsein. Deutsche Kultur und Lebenswirklichkeit 1933–1945* (Munich, 1981).
- Schmiechen-Ackermann, Detlef. 'Der "Blockwart". Die unteren Parteifunktionäre im nationalsozialistischen Terror- und Überwachungsapparat', in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 48 (2000), 575–602.
- Schmitz-Berning, Cornelia. *Vokabular des Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, 2000).
- Schneider, Tobias. 'Bestseller im Dritten Reich. Ermittlung und Analyse der meistverkauften Romane in Deutschland 1933–1944', in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 52, 1 (2004), 77–97.
- Scholz, Rüdiger. *Goethes 'Faust' in der wissenschaftlichen Interpretation von Schelling und Hegel bis heute: Ein einführender Forschungsbericht* (Rheinfelden, 1983).
- Schulte, Theo J. *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia* (Oxford, 1989).
- Schulte-Sasse, Linda. *Entertaining the Third Reich. Illusions of Wholeness in Nazi Germany* (Durham, 1996).
- Schulz, Klaus. *Kladderadatsch. Ein bürgerliches Witzblatt von der Märzrevolution bis zum Nationalsozialismus 1848–1944* (Bochum, 1975).
- Schütte, Melanie. *Facetten des 'Menschen'. Studien zur Biographie und zum Erzählwerk Eugen Roths (Zeit und Text 2)* (Münster, 1993).
- Schwarz, Gudrun. *Eine Frau an seiner Seite – Ehefrauen in der «SS-Sippengemeinschaft»* (Berlin, 2001).
- Schwerte, Hans. *Faust und das Faustische: Ein Kapitel deutscher Ideologie* (Stuttgart, 1962).
- Segeberg, Harro, ed. *Mediale Mobilmachung I: Das Dritte Reich und der Film* (Munich, 2004).

- Segev, Tom. *Soldiers of Evil. The Commandants of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York, 1987).
- Sellin, Kurt, ed. *Vox populi: Geflüstertes. Die Hitlerei im Volksmund* (Heidelberg, 1946).
- Semmens, Kristin. *Seeing Hitler's Germany: Tourism in the Third Reich* (Houndmills, 2005).
- Sengoopta, Chandak. *'The Most Secret Quintessence of Life'* (Chicago, 2006).
- Smith, George Davey, Sabine A. Strobele and Matthias Egger. 'Smoking and Health Promotion in Nazi Germany', *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 48 (1994), 220–223.
- Sofsky, Wolfgang. *The Order of Terror. The Concentration Camp* (Princeton, 1997).
- Spector, Irwin. *Rhythm and Life. The Work of Emile Jaques-Dalcroze* (New York, 1990).
- Spiker, Jürgen. *Film und Kapital. Der Weg der deutschen Filmwirtschaft zum nationalsozialistischen Einheitskonzern* (Berlin, 1975).
- Spoerl, Heinrich. *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen. Heitere Geschichten und Plaudereien* (Munich, 1938).
- Stadelmann, Christian and Regina Wonisch, eds. *Brutale Neugier: Walter Henisch, Kriegsphotograf und Bildreporter* (Vienna, 2004).
- Stahr, Gerhard. *Volksgemeinschaft vor der Leinwand? Der nationalsozialistische Film und sein Publikum* (Berlin, 2001).
- Stahr, Henrick. *Fotojournalismus zwischen Exotismus und Rassismus. Darstellungen von Schwarzen und Indianern in Foto-Text-Artikeln deutscher Wochenillustrierter 1919–1939* (Hamburg, 2004).
- Starl, Timm. *Knipser: Die Bildgeschichte der privaten Fotografie in Deutschland und Österreich von 1880 bis 1980* (Munich, 1995).
- Steinbacher, Sybille. *'Musterstadt' Auschwitz – Germanisierungspolitik und Judenmord in Ostoberschlesien* (Munich, 2000).
- Steinbacher, Sybille, ed. *Volksgeossinnen: Frauen in der NS-Volksgemeinschaft* (Göttingen, 2007).
- Steiner, André. 'Zur Neueinschätzung des Lebenshaltungskostenindex für die Vorkriegszeit des Nationalsozialismus', in *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 2 (2005), 129–152.
- Steinweis, A. E. *Art, Ideology and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chamber of Music, Theater and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill, 1993).
- Stephenson, Jill. *Women in Nazi Germany* (Harlow, 2001).
- Stoff, Heiko. *Ewige Jugend: Konzepte der Verjüngung vom späten 19. Jahrhundert bis ins Dritte Reich* (Köln, 2004).
- Stöver, Bernd, ed. *Berichte über die Lage in Deutschland. Die Lagemeldungen der Gruppe Neu Beginnen aus dem Dritten Reich 1933–1936* (Bonn, 1996).
- Süß, Dietmar, ed. *Deutschland im Luftkrieg. Geschichte und Erinnerung* (Munich, 2007).
- Swett, Pamela E. 'Preparing for Victory: Heinrich Hunke, the Nazi Werberat, and West German Prosperity', in *Central European History*, 42, 4 (December 2009), 675–707.
- Swett, Pamela E., S. Jonathan Wiesen and Jonathan R. Zatlin, eds. *Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Durham, 2007).
- Szpilman, Władysław. *The Pianist. The Extraordinary True Story of One Man's Survival in Warsaw, 1939–1945* (New York, 1999).

- Talos, Emmerich et al., eds. *NS-Herrschaft in Österreich 1938–1945* (Vienna, 1988).
- Tarde, Gabriel. *The Laws of Imitation*, trans. E. Clews Parsons (New York, 1903).
- Tennstedt, Florian. 'Wohltat und Interesse. Das Winterhilfswerk des Deutschen Volkes: Die Weimarer Vorgeschichte und ihre Instrumentalisierung durch das NS-Regime', in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 13 (1987), 157–180.
- Thamer, Hans-Ulrich. *Verführung und Gewalt. Deutschland 1933–1945* (Berlin, 1986).
- Theweleit, Klaus. *Male Fantasies*, 2 vols (Minneapolis, 1989).
- Tilitzki, Christian, ed. *Alltag in Ostpreußen 1940–1945. Die geheimen Lageberichte der Königsberger Justiz* (Würzburg, 2003).
- Tooze, Adam. *Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy* (New York, 2006).
- Turner, Victor W. *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca, 1977).
- Ungeahntes Erbe: Der Fall Schneider/Schwerte: Persilschein für eine Lebenslüge: Eine Dokumentation*, ed. Antirassismus-Referat der Studentischen Versammlung an der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg (Aschaffenburg, 1998).
- Unger, Eva-Maria. *Illustrierte als Mittel zur Kriegsvorbereitung in Deutschland 1933 bis 1939* (Cologne, 1984).
- Urban, Markus. *Die Konsensfabrik. Funktion und Wahrnehmung der NS-Reichsparteitage 1933–1941* (Göttingen, 2007).
- Veyne, Paul. *Michel Foucault – sa pensée, sa personne* (Paris, 2008).
- Veillon, Dominique. *La mode sous l'occupation* (Paris, 1990).
- Vienne, F. 'Die Geschichte der männliche Sterilität schreiben – Das Beispiel der NS-Zeit', *Feministische Studien*, 23 (2005), 143–149.
- Vitz, G. 'Die Spoerls. Zwischen Legende und Wirklichkeit', in Die Schulkonferenz des Geschwister-Scholl-Gymnasiums Düsseldorf (ed.) *Spuren und Wege* (Düsseldorf, 1997), 49–63.
- Vodosek, Peter and Manfred Komorowski, eds. *Bibliotheken während des Nationalsozialismus. Part I* (Wiesbaden, 1989).
- von Arnim, Bernd and Friedrich Knilli. *Gewerbliche Leihbüchereien. Berichte, Analysen und Interviews* (Gütersloh, 1966).
- von der Dunk, Hermann W. *Kulturgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols (Darmstadt, 2004).
- von Eichendorff, Joseph Freiherr. *Neue Gesamtausgabe der Werke und Schriften*, ed. Gerhard Baumann, 4 vols (Stuttgart, 1957–1958).
- von Klimó, Árpád and Malte Rolf, eds. *Rausch und Diktatur: Inszenierung, Mobilisierung und Kontrolle in totalitären Systemen* (Frankfurt, 2007).
- von Saldern, Adelheid et al., eds. *Zuhören und Gehörtwerden I. Radio im Nationalsozialismus. Zwischen Lenkung und Ablenkung* (Tübingen, 1998).
- Waller, James. *Becoming Evil. How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing* (Oxford, 2002).
- Wardetzky, Jutta. *Theaterpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland: Studien und Dokumente* (Berlin, 1983).
- Wedemeyer-Kolwe, Bernd. 'Der neue Mensch'. *Körperkultur im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Würzburg, 2004).
- Wegner, Bernd. *Hitlers politische Soldaten: Die Waffen-SS 1933–1945. Leitbild, Struktur und Funktion einer nationalsozialistischen Elite*, 6th edn (Paderborn, 1999).

- Wehler, Hans Ulrich. *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte (IV) Vom Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs bis zur Gründung der beiden deutschen Staaten 1914–1949* (Munich, 2004).
- Weindling, Paul. *Health, Race, and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945* (Cambridge, 1989).
- Welch, David. *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda*, 2nd edn (London, 2002).
- Wellershoff, Dieter. *Der Ernstfall* (Cologne, 1995).
- Westermann, Edward B. *Hitler's Police Battalions. Enforcing Racial War in the East* (Lawrence, 2005).
- Westphal, Uwe. *Werbung im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1989).
- Wette, Wolfram and Ricarda Bremer, Detlef Vogel, eds. *Das letzte halbe Jahr. Stimmungsberichte der Wehrmachtpropaganda 1944/45* (Essen, 2001).
- Wiener, Ralph. *Hinter vorgehaltener Hand. Der politische Witz in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 2003).
- Wiener, Ralph. *Als das Lachen tödlich war. Erinnerungen und Fakten 1933–1945* (Rudolstadt, 1988).
- Wildt, Michael. *Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus* (Göttingen, 2008).
- Wildt, Michael. *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung. Gewalt gegen Juden in der deutschen Provinz 1919 bis 1939* (Hamburg, 2007).
- Witte, Karsten. *Lachende Erben, Toller Tag. Filmkomödie im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1995).
- Wittmann, Reinhard. *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. Ein Überblick*. 2nd edn (Munich, 1999).
- Wöhlert, Meike. *Der politische Witz in der NS-Zeit am Beispiel ausgesuchter SD-Berichte und Gestapo-Akten* (Berlin, 1997).
- Wörner-Heil, Ortrud. *Von Der Utopie Zur Sozialreform: Jugendsiedlung Frankenfeld Im Hessischen Ried Und Frauensiedlung Schwarze Erde in Der Rhön 1915 Bis 1933* (Darmstadt, Marburg, 1996).
- Young, Frank W. *Initiation Ceremonies. A Cross-Cultural Study of Status Dramatization* (Indianapolis, 1965).
- Zelnhefer, Siegfried. *Die Reichsparteitage der NSDAP in Nürnberg* (Nuremberg, 2002).
- Zimmermann, Clemens. 'Landkino im Nationalsozialismus', in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 41 (2001), 231–243.

Websites

- 'Auschwitz through the Lens of the SS: Photos of Nazi Leadership at the Camp', www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/ssalbum/auschwitz_album/ (accessed 3 December 2009).
- Modern History Sourcebook, www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/horstwessel.html (accessed 3 December 2009).
- The German Historical Museum, Berlin, www.dhm.de/lemo/objekte/pict/pli04734/index.html (accessed 17 October 2009).
- 'Ernst Moses Marcus, Marcus-Zeittafel (1856–1928) Biobibliographische Notizen von Gerd Hergen Lübben', www.luebben-web.de/marc-bio.htm (accessed 17 January 2010).