



## A FEW THINGS...

Hitler stands out among the defining figures of the twentieth century because his success shows that modernity is no bar to political tyranny and cultural collapse.



Andy Warhol, *Mao* (1972)

## A FEW THINGS...

*Andy Warhol cast a cool, ironic light on the pervasiveness of commercial culture and contemporary celebrity worship. ... Warhol's looming portrait impresses us with the duality of its realistic qualities and its plastic artificiality.*

## A FEW THINGS...

Hitler stands out among the defining figures of the twentieth century because his success shows that modernity is no bar to political tyranny and cultural collapse.

Hitler's greatest political insight was the importance of "legality" as a frame for political violence.

The central Nazis message was energetic contempt.

Germans embrace anti-Semitism as a central element of public life because they become Nazis, not the other way around.

## TWO MORE THINGS...

The triumph of the Nazis is a symptom and effect of the failure of democracy in Germany after 1919.

That failure was owed to the same social forces and political institutions that had propelled Germany into the First World War.



## THE FAILURE OF GERMAN DEMOCRACY

## THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION



## THE GERMAN EMPIRE



- 1862 Constitutional crisis (military budget)
- 1864 Danish War
- 1866 Austro-Prussian War
- 1870 Franco-Prussian War
- 1871 Proclamation of the German Empire

## BISMARCK'S GERMANY



Constitutional compromise with particularism

Manhood suffrage

Vigorous political parties and press (> 80% voter turnout)

Economic success embraced as a national achievement

A conservative and stabilizing force internationally

## BISMARCK'S GERMANY



Politically independent military rooted in pre-industrial and anti-democratic elites

Civil service linked to military via hiring preference

Anti-Catholic “culture war” (1870s)

Anti-Socialist laws (1880s)

Even the left disdained Polish and other Slavic minorities



## THE GREAT DEPRESSION

1873-96



Black Friday in Vienna (9 May 1873)

Secular decline in agricultural prices, punctuated by multinational financial panics (1873-77, 1893-96)

New forms of (ostensibly) conservative political opposition

Pan-Germanism revives

Small shopkeepers fear great enterprises

Losing out internationally in pursuit of empire

Modernist cultural ferment disorienting

“Scientific” racism, eugenics, social Darwinism

## THE POLITICS OF CULTURAL DESPAIR



Greetings from the Kölner Hof, the only Jew-free hotel in Frankfurt (1887)

Anti-Semitism the all-purpose glue by which the inimical features of modernity were bound together

A small (1%) urban minority.

Major beneficiaries from the general advance of liberalism in the nineteenth century.

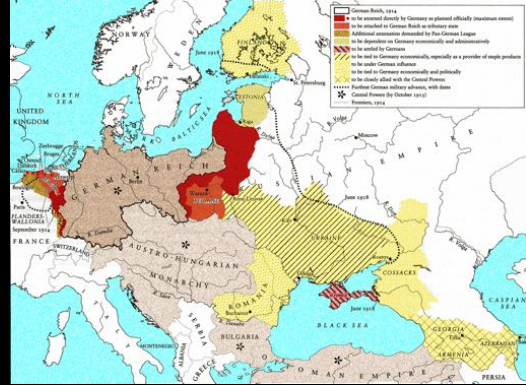
Associated with shop-keeping, artisanal crafts, and professions like journalism, law, medicine, and banking

Crimes against Jews routinely treated lightly because they were deemed to be patriotically motivated, or simply “crimes of passion.”

## THE SPIRIT OF 1914



Original caption: *Adolf Hitler, German Patriot. On 1 August 1914, as tens of thousands listened, deeply moved, the German anthem washed over the square. In the midst of the crowd stood, with shining eyes – Adolf Hitler*



*The general aim of the war is security for the German Reich in west and east for all imaginable time.*

- Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, Sept 1914



## THE GERMAN REVOLUTION



## THE GERMAN REVOLUTION 1918

8 Aug "Black Day of the German Army" (Amiens)

28 Oct Naval Mutinies

9 Nov Wilhelm II abdicates, republic proclaimed

10 Nov "Ebert-Groener Pact"

No military reform in exchange for loyalty to the new regime

11 Nov Armistice concluded



## THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

1919

Jan Constitution proclaimed in Weimar  
Spartacist uprising

Feb Socialist ("Soviet") uprisings in major cities,  
Ruhr, Rhineland, Saxony

Nov Hindenburg testifies that the Germany army  
had been "stabbed in the back."

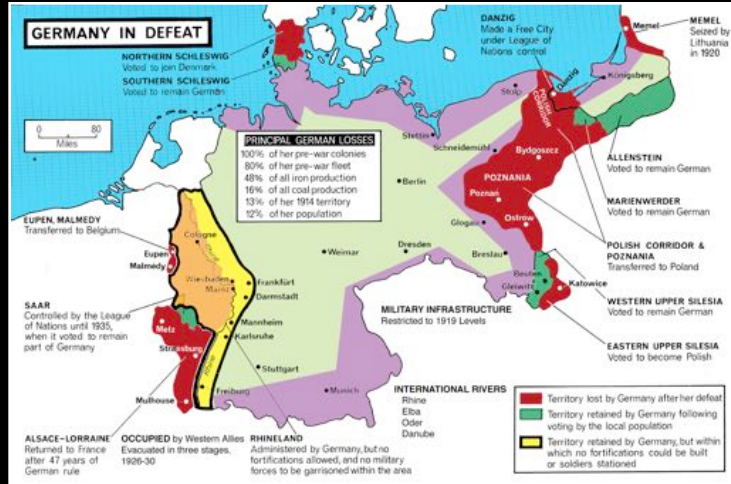
1920

Mar Kapp Putsch  
Ruhr uprising

June "Weimar coalition" loses its majority



## VERSAILLES JUNE 1919



“War guilt”

Reparations (final amount TBD)

Territorial / population losses

Alsace-Lorraine | Eupen-Malmady | Schleswig | “Polish Corridor”

Plebiscites (Saarland, Silesia, etc.)

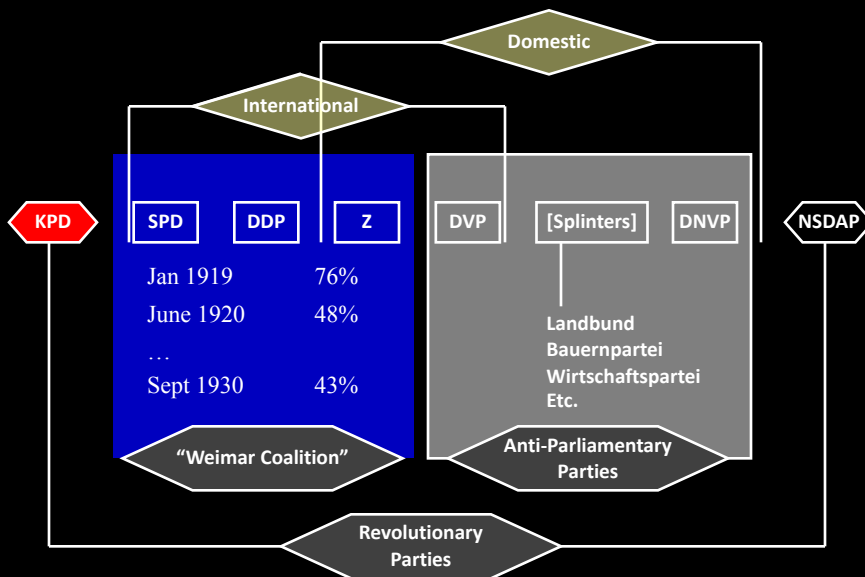
De-militarization

Rhineland occupied

Border regions demilitarized

Army reduced / Fleet surrendered

## REPUBLICAN POLITICS



1918

Nov People's State of Bavaria proclaimed  
by Kurt Eisner (7<sup>th</sup>)

1919

Feb Eisner assassinated, widespread fighting

Mar Social Democratic government

Apr Bavarian Soviet Republic proclaimed  
"Red Army" formed

May Munich occupied by Prussian  
*Freikorps*

June Military political education  
campaign begins

## THE BAVARIAN REVOLUTION



## THE DRUMMER





## EARLY LIFE

- 1889 Born to Alois and Klara Hitler
- 1903 Alois Hitler dies
- 1907 Klara Hitler dies  
Hitler applies to study at the Vienna Academy, moves to the capital following rejection
- 1913 Following receipt of father's legacy at age 24, move to Munich
- 1914 Enlists in Bavarian army, serves throughout the war as a dispatch runner, two decorations for bravery, an invalid from gas attack at the time of the armistice


## THE GERMAN WORKERS PARTY

1919



"Hall Protection Group" (~1920). Flag is Hitler's personal design. Later "Gymnastic and Sports Section" and finally "Storm Division" (1921). Brown shirts become standard in 1924. Total membership is 800 in 1923.

- June Political re-education course featuring Karl von Müller (historian) and Gottfried Feder (economist)
- Aug Hitler appointed instructor of similar course, discovers his gift for public speaking; performance distinguished by "simplicity" and "sincerity."
- Sept Invited to attend a meeting of the German Workers Party by its founder, Anton Drexler



## NATIONAL SOCIALISM

1920

Feb

Name changed to National Socialist German Workers Party, to soften anti-capitalist line in context of “red terror” then unfolding in Russia

Party manifesto “fixed and irrevocable”

- Pan-German
- Repudiation of “November criminals”
- Abolition of unearned income
- Restraints upon department stores
- Confiscation and redistribution of land
- Denial of civil rights for Jews

Apr

Hitler declares that Jews must be “exterminated,” henceforth a demand often connected with disease.




## FASCISM

1922

Mussolini’s “March on Rome”

Consolidation of Bolshevik regime in Russia

Treaty of Rapallo

Murder of Walter Rathenau

Right-wing agitators and fighting organizations illegal in much of Germany

The “warlord era” of far-right-wing politics



## THE RUHR CRISIS 1923



- Jan Franco-Belgium occupation follows German default on deliveries of timber and coal.  
“Passive Resistance” | ~130 Germans eventually killed
- Aug Dawes Plan formulated in London
- Sept Non-party “presidential” government under Wilhelm Cuno replaced by coalition under Gustav Stresemann  
“State of emergency” plus “fulfillment”
- Oct Rhenish Republic proclaimed, suppressed
- Nov *Rentenmark* (“Pension Mark”) introduced  
Occupation ends  
Stresemann government falls after SPD withdraws



Fifty-Billion Mark banknote (Oct 1923)



Letter w/ DM 40,000,000,000 postage (Nov 1923)



## INFLATION

German Marks per \$1 US

Pre-war	4.2
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Jan 1919	~ 200
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End 1923	~ 4.5T

## THE BEER-HALL PUTSCH 1923



Sept 100K para-military march in Nuremberg features appearances by Eric Ludendorff

Nazis meetings planned for 27<sup>th</sup> banned by Bavarian police, now headed by Gustav Ritter von Kahr

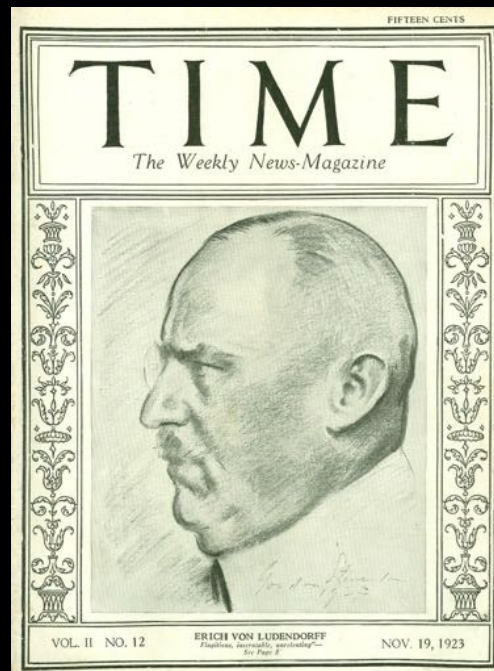
Army refuses to back coup attempt in Berlin, backs Stresemann's government

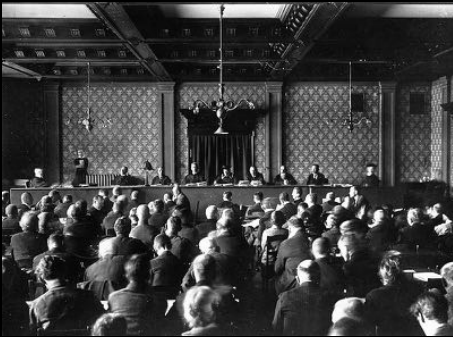


9 Nov Nazis seize control of meeting at the Munich Hofbrauhaus headlined by Kahr; declare government overthrown, march to seize Ministry of War

~ 2,000 armed supporters @ 3,000,000,000 marks apiece

14 NS plus 4 police killed | Hitler injured





## TRIAL AND IMPRISONMENT 1924


- Feb Hitler tried for high treason in People's Court  
Trial a national sensation
- Presented himself as sole leader of the coup, a figure sacrificing himself for the nation
- Anti-Semitic and anti-elite attitudes suppressed
- Avoids extradition to Austria (later renounces citizenship)



## TRIAL AND IMPRISONMENT 1924

- Apr Sentenced to five years "fortress confinement"  
*Mein Kampf* (July 1925)
- Dec Hitler released on parole
- Nazi party banned (thru 1925), newspaper shut down, membership dispersed
- Ludendorff, Nazi candidate for president in 1925, receives 1.1% of vote

## THE LEADER 1925-28



Hitler banned from public speaking throughout Germany thru 1927, in Prussia thru 1928; a stateless person

Reconstruction of the party based upon personal loyalty to Hitler, plus Darwinian strife among rivals

Storm Division becomes part of regular organization; moderation imposed in favor of “legality”

Expanded organization in North and West

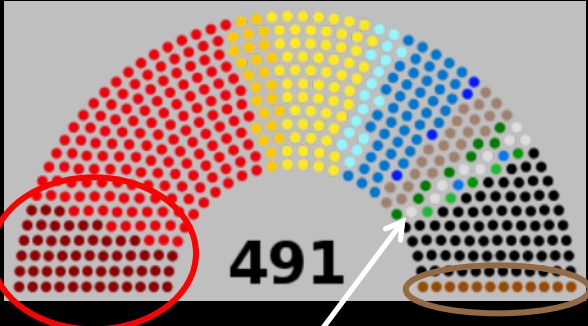
Rural constituency developed

Anti-Marxism displaces anti-capitalism

Party organization aligned with electoral districts

Clockwise: Gregor Strasser, Joseph Goebbels, Ernst Röhm, Hermann Göring

## THE LEADER 1925-28



1928 Reichstag election

76% turnout

NS = 2.6% | 12 Deputies

K = 10% | 54 Deputies

DNVP = 14% | 73 Deputies

“Weimar Coalition” = 49.9%

Christian National Peasants and Farmers Party = 2% | 9 Deputies