

**THE  
HOLOCAUST  
AND  
HISTORY** The Known,  
the Unknown, the Disputed, and  
the Reexamined

EDITED BY

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## 6.

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# The Holocaust

A VERY PARTICULAR RACISM

Our understanding of the Nazi state as thoroughly racist has increased dramatically over the past decade. In Europe, Israel, and the United States, scholars have produced impressive, informed studies of most of the major aspects of the instantiation of racial theory in the Third Reich. So we have important examinations of the development of modern racism;<sup>1</sup> of women under Nazism;<sup>2</sup> of the treatment of the insane in Hitler's Reich, with its profound corruption of medical science and practice, mislabeled by its murderous practitioners as a program of "euthanasia";<sup>3</sup> we also have studies of the persecution of homosexuals<sup>4</sup> and of the deadly campaign against the Gypsies.<sup>5</sup> And, of course, a mountain of material exists on the genocidal war against the Jews, a subject with which everyone is familiar. In sum, this explosion of scholarship on all aspects of racial theory and practice as incarnate in Hitler's Reich certainly justifies the title of Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann's overview of the German polity between 1933 and 1945, *The Racial State*.

Given this prior scholarship, it is unnecessary to speak in generalities. Instead, I wish to develop, to pick up and decode, the particular theme of Nazi antisemitism—both as it is continuous with, as well as distinctive from, other aspects of Nazi racial theory and practice. In order to do so it is important to begin with an understanding of the larger premise that undergirds the entire Nazi enterprise, and the specific distinctions that attend this elemental starting point. The larger premise to which I refer is the biologicistic one that conceives of society in terms of health and disease. This concept derives from a curious mix of anthropological, linguistic, biological, sociological, Darwinian, and philosophical notions, with some considerable debt to romantic theories of the state and society. From this emerged the false model of human society as an "organic" reality in which hereditary and genetic forces putatively played a role similar to that played by heredity and genetic factors in the health of an individual. Accordingly, the language of medicine and medical-racial hygiene was extended to apply to society at large, now understood in terms of primal racial characteristics. As such, social and political issues were reframed in the discourse of medicine. Social and political realia were now described, for example, as "healthy" or "diseased," as well as in a related vocabulary that freely utilized diagnostic categories such as the "pathological," the "cancerous," and the "degenerate." Indeed, it was this

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distinctive universe of ideas that provided the doctrinal base for Nazism's racial engineering in the name of a "healthy social order."

So one was justified, upon taking power in 1933, in passing laws to protect the German state, and still more the Aryan people, from further degeneration from within and contamination from without. And this led to two types of action. Although both had their roots in the biological, medical, and racial dogmas to which I have already alluded, they were quite different policies. These differing, albeit complementary, policies I shall call "pseudoeugenic" programs and "pseudoracial" programs. The former cover actions such as the forced sterilization and/or murder of cripples, the asocial, the incurable, the elderly, homosexuals, and the chronically sick. The latter cover actions against Gypsies, Slavic peoples, blacks, people of mixed race, and, with certain additional differentiations that I will yet come to, Jews.

The need to make the distinction between those marked out and persecuted on the grounds of "pseudoeugenics" versus those marked out and persecuted on the grounds of "pseudoracism" resides in this decisive fact: all those whom I identify as victims of misconceived eugenic theory were Aryans (and Christians). They were not identified as belonging to a different, inferior, or dangerous racial group. That is, they were not "racial enemies" in the same sense as were Slavs, blacks, or, most specifically, Jews; nor were they "racial criminals" by definition as, for example, were Jews. Whatever the bureaucratic and ideological links between the so-called "euthanasia" program between 1939 and 1941 (i.e., in personnel and techniques) and the "Final Solution to the Jewish Problem," the two programs are phenomenologically—not morally—different. And this not least in that the "euthanasia" program was not wholly a prioristic (as was Nazi antisemitism). Note, for example, the requirement that adults targeted by the T4 program had to be independently evaluated by three physicians. One need have no illusions about the morality of this activity to recognize that this procedure is disjunctive with the process and principles followed in the murder of the Jewish people—they were exterminated solely by definition—nor was it, in actuality or by definition, racial, if by "racial" we mean something like "in opposition to an alternate racial group or people."

Moreover, according to eugenic theory, "superior" qualities did not, per definitionem, reside only in certain races but could be found across races—at least so the eugenics formulation of those such as Francis Galton, the founding high priest of the eugenics movement. According to this theoretical reading, "inferior" qualities resided in all groups and races, and hence selective breeding and "population management" was a requirement for all peoples bent on "race improvement." One may rightfully be astonished at the sociobiological mumbo jumbo of Galton, and of those such as Wilhelm Schallmeyer, whose works [*Verehung und Auslese: Grundriss der Gesellschaftsbiologie und Lehre vom Rassedienst* (Jena, 1903), and *Beiträge zu einer Nationalbiologie* (Jena, 1905)] were influential treatises on the theme.<sup>6</sup> It is nevertheless imperative to recognize that Schallmeyer, for example, saw his thesis as universally applicable to all peoples. Moreover, he denied there were any untainted racial groups left in Europe, and dismissed Aryan racial theories as unscientific ideologies. And his fellow eugenicist, Alfred Plötz, earlier counted the Jews as parallel to the Aryans in being one of nature's naturally superior races.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the metaphysi-

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cal power imputed to Jews by Nazism—a decisive factor in its Judeophobia—was totally absent from eugenic speculation about “inferior” races. Many well-known eugenicists did slide over into an all too easy alliance with Nazism, for example, Karl Pearson, Galton’s English disciple; and eventually Alfred Plötz and Eugen Fischer enthusiastically embraced Hitler’s racial policies of the 1930s. Yet this human failing was not a logical consequence of eugenic theory. Racial biological theorists would find eugenics an ally but only by “adapting” it according to their own a priori metaphysics that, in actuality, had distinctive conceptual roots. Most important, and analytically decisive vis-à-vis classification, the eugenicists “were not concerned with stigmatizing an inferior race as the villains in the drama of survival.”<sup>8</sup>

In connection with the specific discussion of the status of the Jews, it is significant that many early eugenicists did not believe that their theorizing entailed antisemitism, or even that the Jews were a separate race—taking into account the considerable blond populace—or that Jews were inherently inferior. It therefore behooves us to take great care in describing and categorizing these eugenic theories (and theorists), however much we may (and should) disagree with their diagnoses and prescriptions. These pre-Nazi eugenicists are not simply to be equated with, even as mere precursors of, Nazi racial murderers. This conclusion is justified by a close review of the official literature and programs of both the British Eugenics Education Society and its German equivalent. Neither preached racial conflict or the adoption of genocidal policies toward inferior races. The mystification of racial thought essential to the ideology of parasitological racism, which led in turn to Einsatzgruppen and death camps, was not integral to eugenic doctrines. The former, however, often was combined with the latter after 1933 by individual practitioners and by the Nazis in general.

It is also relevant to recognize that the insane, alcoholics, the feebleminded, the epileptic, and the blind, deaf, and dumb are not a group—a people—in the same sense as are Jews and Gypsies. Then, too, though these individuals—always identified as individuals—were perceived as constituting a “health” danger, according to the dominant metaphysical-political ideology, they lacked the mythic power, qua individuals, as well as the larger Manichean mythographic placement associated with Jews.

Moreover, and this is important, it is this phenomenological characteristic, that is, the fact that it was “eugenically unfit” Aryan Christians who belonged to the racial-religious majority who were being murdered, that led to nationwide hostility to this program. That antipathy resulted in the official cessation of this activity on August 24, 1941, after approximately 93,000 persons had been killed under its provisions. (We now know that this killing did continue, if in a more oblique and limited fashion, after 1941.) Here we should understand that this significant opposition involved many influential factors—including genuine moral sensibilities, personal connections with victims, self-interest (“I too will be old and sick one day”), and utilitarian and economic motives given the costs of caring for the sick and elderly<sup>9</sup>—that simply did not apply in the war against those “Others” distinguished by pseudoracial attributes.

This is not to deny the implications, and consequences—the 300,000 to 400,000 people sterilized<sup>10</sup>—of the Law for the Prevention of Progeny with Hereditary

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Diseases, of July 14, 1933, and its later emendations, supplemented by Führer orders, and still further legislation. Among those additional steps were Himmler's decree on "the preventive fight against crime" of December 14, 1937, and the amendments to paragraph 175 of the criminal code, dealing with homosexuals, introduced in 1935. Nor is it to underestimate the horrific actions perpetrated under the T4 program, for example, the murder of 70,000 mental patients, and the further acts undertaken under the November 24, 1933, Law against Dangerous Habitual Criminals. But it is to comprehend that these criminal proceedings, particularly the T4 actions, were all intra-Aryan undertakings, undertaken according to Nazi dogma, to "protect the health of the Aryan race" rather than to protect the Aryan bloodstock from the distinctive, alternative threat of external racial poisoning. Reproduction by the mentally ill, by vagrants, drunks, criminals, prostitutes, and other "asocials," was, to those holding Nazi views, a cause for concern, but such reproduction constituted a crime that was racial in a sense other than that utilized when one speaks of the interracial crime of miscegenation. It should be noted that even under the T4 program "Jewish inmates of institutions in Germany did not have to meet the ordinary criteria for medical killing [mental deficiency or schizophrenia, length of hospitalization, capacity to work, and the like]. The total extermination of this group of asylum inmates was the logical consequence of the 'radical solution' of the Jewish problem being embarked upon."<sup>11</sup> That is, even in the context of the "euthanasia" program, Jews were treated differently.

Contrast this internal, racial-hygienic, pseudoeuthanasia policy with the complementary, but separate, pseudoracial policy of the Third Reich. In this specific context, that is, in relation to non-Aryan peoples, the asserted danger is *racial*. It is racial in the sense most usually associated with that particular notion—the putative competition and conflict between different *types* of persons defined by their inherited, genetically derived group identities (including the contended negative consequences of miscegenation). Gypsies, Slavs, blacks, Mischlinge, and Jews are *not* Aryans. The threat they represent to Aryan blood is not that of a "diseased gene" within the otherwise "healthy" Aryan body, but rather that of a racial admixing that will—if enacted—eventuate in the disappearance of a "pure" Aryan biological community, with all the sociopolitical and normative consequences that such racial "pollution" would produce.

As a rule, these "racial" groups, except in the case of the Jews, were defined as inferior people within the parameters of a common humanity.<sup>12</sup> Their "inferiority" (and this is the key factor) marked them out for conquest, deculturation, and helotization—their permanent reduction to the status of a quasi-slave population in the service of Aryan masters. The actual policy implemented vis-à-vis the conquered Slavic peoples is the clearest example we have of this programmatic design. Despite erroneous claims to the contrary, the Slavic peoples, once politically decapitated, once their intellectual and sociopolitical elites were eliminated, were *not* targeted for total physical eradication. To put it more directly, they were *not* subject to a fully genocidal assault.

This brings us to our third division, that is, our second branch of the "pseudoracism" category: the Jews. The Jews clearly were perceived as constituting a different type of structural-racial-metaphysical threat to the Nazi racial design than did the

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sick, the insane, and the elderly on the one hand, and Gypsies, Slavs, and blacks on the other. Working backwards from the fact—and it is a fact—that only the Jewish people were marked out for total annihilation, we need to ask: Why? Why the Jews? Why were they alone the target of an uncompromising, unmediated, all-inclusive program of extermination.

In beginning to answer this central question, one broad if elemental truth should be recognized at the outset: Hitler's "Jew" is *not* rooted in empirical realities, in how things are in the world. Rather, and seminal, his "Jew" is an inversion, a doctrinally generated distortion of objective historical and sociopolitical conditions both Jewish and non-Jewish. Economic and political events, for example, the economic crises of the 1920s and 1930s, Germany's defeat in World War I, the liberal politics of the Weimar Republic, the Russian Revolution, the development of Marxism, modernist cultural movements, and the spread of syphilis in Europe, provide the cover for Hitler's paranoid explanations; they do not cause them. Conversely, these diverse events are not actually accounted for by the Führer's "explanations." Therefore, to look for reasons for Hitler's antisemitism in the sense of causes, for example, in inflationary or depressionary spirals, upward or downward mobility, political change or instability, Marxist ideology or Christian morality, as many scholars are wont to do, is to miss the most elemental point: no primary cause(s) of this sort exists. Hitler's depiction of the "Jew" and the centrality of this stereotype in his Weltanschauung is, at root, mythic. Or, put another way, Hitler's hatred would exist (did exist) and would continue to exist, no matter what Jews did or did not do. Thus, as he was murdering millions of Jews, nearly two-thirds of all the Jews of Europe, he was ranting about "Jewish power"—some power!

That Hitler's antisemitism was of a mythic variety certainly did not make it inefficacious or reduce it to solipsistic fantasy, as the history of the war years reveals. Indeed, it was precisely the inviolability of the stereotype, the lack of any possibility of disconfirmation, that contributed to the metahistoric, cosmic claims so important to Nazi rhetoric. The destiny of the Jew, and the fate of his pollution-ridden contact with others, was not a contingent, malleable factor that belonged to the empirical realm, but was an absolute, unchanging feature of the ontologically primitive skeleton of historical being itself. As Himmler told Rudolf Höss, the commandant of Auschwitz, "Jews are the eternal enemy of the German people, and must be exterminated. All Jews within our grasp are to be destroyed without exception."<sup>13</sup> The cancerous, oppositional nature of the Jew was a first principle of racial metaphysics, an a priori postulate of Hitler's (and others') conceptual universe. Hence, when one seeks to decipher Hitler's antisemitism and the enacted racial program of the Third Reich, one should not err in thinking that what is decisive is biology or race of any immanent, even if pseudoscientific, sort. Racism (antisemitism) is, in this milieu, a category of metaphysics. Parenthetically, as a corollary of its mythicity, I would also note that Nazism, in contradistinction to all the rhetoric of breeding and race, employed religion, at least in part, to define, according to its own Nuremberg formulations, "who is a Jew." Therefore, one must avoid a reductionist, "quasi-empirical" sense of the "war against the Jews" that would suggest this confrontation represented an authentic racial—as compared to a metaphysical—war.

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One needs to understand that blood, that is, race, is a key element in Hitler's discourse, but it receives its valence from a more comprehensive metaphysical-mythological structure. "Those who see in National Socialism nothing more than a political movement," Hitler observed—and, we might add, scholars who erroneously decipher Nazism as primarily an expression of class struggle or nationalism, or even racism, understanding this latter term narrowly—"know scarcely anything of it. It is more even than a religion: it is the will to create mankind anew."<sup>14</sup>

I fully recognize that this is not the standard language of racism, nor the usual mode of the scholarly analysis of racial theory. But then Hitler's extraordinarily vile Manichean anti-Jewish discourse—the "Jew as the personification of the devil,"<sup>15</sup> the "Jew as the symbol of evil,"<sup>16</sup> the Jew "as parasite upon the nations,"<sup>17</sup> the Jew "as vampire,"<sup>18</sup> Jewish victory as meaning only suffocating "in filth and offal"<sup>19</sup>—does not describe in any meaningful sense an actual racial view. Rather, Hitler's language gives elementary expression to a radical, if bizarre, transcendental doctrine that employs the notion of race, in its own peculiar version, to express a larger systematic comprehension of the historical and metahistorical order. As such, to decipher it correctly requires a hermeneutic method that is appropriate. By this I mean one that confronts and decodes the axiological propositions made, and thus, in turn, requires an appreciation of the overarching Judeophobic form of the whole from which individual normative propositions flow in a nonreductionistic manner, as well as an understanding that these assertions and prescriptions are *metaphysical* proposals and recommendations, even if phrased in part in the idiom of blood and race.<sup>20</sup>

In this, Hitler's antisemitism differs from his other "pseudoracial" beliefs. Not that his other "pseudoracial" convictions make any more sense when they are depicted and understood in less metaphysical (and mythic) terms. Nor should one forget that these complementary views of other non-Aryan peoples are also intrinsically connected with his larger metaphysical program. But there is something distinctive about Nazi antisemitism, about antisemitism within the conceptual and practical parameters of Nazism, that marks it out from the other hateful, violent forms of eugenic and racial diagnosis that existed within the Third Reich.

## NOTES

1. See, for example, Peter Weingart, Jürgen Kroll, and Kurt Bayertz, *Rasse, Blut, und Gene: Geschichte der Eugenik und Rassenhygiene in Deutschland* (Frankfurt/M., 1988); Hans-Walter Schmuhl, *Rassenhygiene, Nationalsozialismus, Euthanasie: Von der Verhütung zur Vernichtung "lebensunwerten Lebens," 1890–1945* (Göttingen, 1987); Paul Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945* (Cambridge, 1989); the many wonderfully suggestive contributions of George Mosse; and William H. Schneider's valuable research on French racial views, *Quality and Quantity: The Quest for Biological Regeneration in Twentieth-Century France* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

2. On this important topic consult Gisela Bock, *Zwangssterilisation im Nationalsozialismus: Studien zur Rassenpolitik und Frauenpolitik* (Opladen, 1986); Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossmann, and Marion Kaplan, eds., *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar*

and Nazi Germany (New York, 1984); the contributions to the following wide-ranging collections: *Frauengruppe Faschismusforschung*, and *Mutterkreuz und Arbeitsbuch* (Frankfurt/M., 1981); Maruta Schmidt et al., eds., *Frauen unterm Hakenkreuz* (Berlin, 1983); Rita Thalmann, *Frauensein im Dritten Reich* (Munich, 1984); Renate Wiggershaus, *Frauen unterm Nationalsozialismus* (Wuppertal, 1984); Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics* (New York, 1986); and Jill Stephenson, *Women in Nazi Society* (London, 1976).

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4. Among the most important works are Burkhard Jellonek, *Homosexuelle unter dem Hakenkreuz: Verfolgung von Homosexuellen im Dritten Reich* (Paderborn, 1990), and Richard Plant, *The Pink Triangle: The Nazi War against Homosexuals* (Edinburgh, 1987).

5. The anti-Gypsy campaign has been analyzed in detail by Wolfgang Günther, *Zur preussischen Zigeunerpolitik seit 1871 . . . : Eine Untersuchung am Beispiel des Landkreises Neustadt am Rübenberge und der Hauptstadt Hannover* (Hanover, 1985); Rainer Hehemann, *Die "Bekämpfung des Zigeunerunwesens" im Wilhelminischen Deutschland und in der Weimarer Republik 1871-1933* (Frankfurt/M., 1987); Tilman Zülch, ed., *In Auschwitz vergast, bis heute verfolgt: Zur Situation der Roma (Zigeuner) in Deutschland* (Reinbek, 1979), pp. 64-88; Wolfgang Wippermann, *Das Leben in Frankfurt zur NS-Zeit*, vol. 2: *Die nationalsozialistische Zigeunerverfolgung* (Frankfurt/M., 1986); Benno Müller-Hill, *Murderous Science: Elimination by Scientific Selection of Jews, Gypsies, and Others, Germany 1933-1945* (Oxford, 1988); Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon, *Sinti und Roma: Die Vernichtung eines Volkes im NS-Staat* (Göttingen, 1981); and Reimar Gilsenback, "Die Verfolgung der Sinti—Ein Weg, der nach Auschwitz führte," in *Feinderklärung und Prävention, Beiträge zur nationalsozialistischen Gesundheits- und Sozialpolitik*, vol. 6 (Berlin, 1988), pp. 11-41.

6. For more details, see Sheila Faith Weiss, *Race Hygiene and National Efficiency: The Eugenics of Wilhelm Schallmeyer* (Berkeley, 1987).

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8. George (1978), p. 80.

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13. R. Hös (1959), pp. 205-

14. Hitler a pp. 231-32.

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8. George Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (New York, 1978), p. 80.

9. The argument was also made that hospital beds were needed for soldiers and others injured in the war, for example, after the mass bombing of Hamburg in 1943. Accordingly, Robert Proctor has argued that the "fundamental argument for forcible euthanasia was economic"; see Robert Proctor, "Nazi Doctors, Racial Medicine and Human Experimentation," in George J. Annas and Michael A. Groden, *The Nazi Doctors and the Nuremberg Code: Human Rights in Human Experimentation* (New York, 1992), p. 24.

10. Lifton, *Nazi Doctors*, p. 27, cites a figure of 200,000 to 350,000.

11. Lifton, *Nazi Doctors*, p. 77.

12. The constraints of the present format preclude taking up the complexities inherent in each particular case. However, I would argue, if space allowed, that this rule applied in the main, with suitable nuances, even to the Gypsies in their generality. I intend to analyze the complex circumstances of the Gypsies under Nazi domination more fully in volume 3 of my *Holocaust in Historical Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

13. R. Höss, *Commandant of Auschwitz: The Autobiography of Rudolf Höss* (Cleveland, 1959), pp. 205-206.

14. Hitler as reported in Hermann Rauschning, *Gespräche mit Hitler* (New York, 1940), pp. 231-32.

15. *Mein Kampf*, p. 324.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*, p. 327.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

20. I well understand that the materials here cited are all from Hitler, and the early Hitler at that. A fuller, more complete analysis of this elemental issue would therefore necessarily require a broader documentation not only from the later, post-1933, and particularly post-1939 Hitler, but also from other leading and middle-rank members of the Nazi hierarchy, as well as evidence that these views were implemented bureaucratically and juridically throughout the Third Reich. Obviously such an effort is beyond the scope of this paper. However, let my schematic and preliminary comments here serve as an indicator of the relevance of this subject. A fuller presentation and analysis will be provided in volume 3 of my *Holocaust in Historical Context*, forthcoming.

## 7.

WALTER ZWI BACHARACH

### Antisemitism and Racism in Nazi Ideology

Before elaborating on antisemitism, racism, and Nazi ideology, including the interaction among them, let us clarify the meaning of each phenomenon. Regarding antisemitism, a letter written by Ernst Richter, addressed to Professor Friedrich Heer, the Roman Catholic scholar who attacked Christianity for its wrongdoings to the Jews, is quite illustrative:

Filled with dismay by your article about the Jews—and with satisfaction at the indignation it has aroused everywhere—I am writing to you to protest most vehemently against the purpose of your arguments, which is to force the peoples of the earth even more under Jewish domination, and even to press the church into its service. Who are you, sir, that you cannot acknowledge what is acknowledged by millions of right-thinking people everywhere? And this you call, in defiance of all the facts, “the cancer of Christianity!”?

Sir, what are you, perhaps you are yourself a Jew, or part-Jewish, so, that with typical Jewish blindness to your own failings, you profess not to recognize this “infamy”? Or have you been bribed with Jewish money to work against all ideas of Right and Justice, for the subjugation of all peoples under the Jewish yoke? We have no wish to eliminate the distinctions which God in His wisdom made between the various peoples, nor to tolerate amongst us parasitic agitators, such as the Jews in fact always have been. God has not only asked us, He has commanded us to fight against wrong. And that is why we ask Christ, our beloved immortal King, to deliver us from our and His enemies, and to destroy all efforts to betray us forever to our murderers.<sup>1</sup>

This letter contains the classic topics of traditional Jew-hatred. I will return to its origins shortly.

Regarding racism, I do not want to deal with the history and origins of race theories and the emergence of racism in the Western world, since George L. Mosse has already done so.<sup>2</sup> What is of specific concern to us is Nazi racism. It was Hitler who linked Jew-hatred with racism. For the moment, it will suffice to listen to his credo: “The racial question gives the key not only to the world, but to all human culture”;<sup>3</sup> “And all occurrences in world history are only the expression of the race’s instinct of self-preservation, in the good or bad sense.”<sup>4</sup>

Nazi ideology should be equated with what Hitler called “Weltanschauung.” In this, modern research has followed Eberhard Jäckel’s analysis, which is still valid today.<sup>5</sup> Hitler stated in *Mein Kampf*:

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Every philosophy of life, even if it is a thousand times correct and of highest benefit to humanity, will remain without significance for the practical shaping of a people's life, as long as its principles have not become the banner of a fighting movement.<sup>6</sup>

And in another passage he wrote:

For the philosophy is intolerant; it cannot content itself with the role of "one party beside others," but imperiously demands, not only its own exclusive and unlimited recognition, but the complete transformation of all public life in accordance with its views.<sup>7</sup>

We may pose this question: In what way is the traditional Jew-hatred a challenge to the Nazi *Weltanschauung* that promotes the primacy and self-preservation of the German race?

Reinhard Rürup stated that since the Hellenistic period we have not been able to talk of a continuity of an "eternal antisemitism" (*ewigen Antisemitismus*).<sup>8</sup> Although he admits that "for centuries Jews were oppressed, isolated, hated and despised," Rürup contends that there was no "Judenfrage," no Jewish problem. Jews did not constitute a problem that profoundly needed to be solved. Only in the late eighteenth century was a *Judenfrage* established.<sup>9</sup>

According to his analysis, Jews in earlier ages were economically exploited and a *Judenpolitik* was initiated by German princes and feudal lords, but there was no *Judenfrage*.<sup>10</sup> Rürup's distinction between antisemitism and *Judenfrage* is essentially correct. Antisemitism was prevalent in German history, but the *Judenfrage* was a modern phenomenon that became widespread after the 1842 publication of Bruno Bauer's brochure *Die Judenfrage*. It was no longer attributed to a particular nation or state but now reflected a world problem, as Alex Bein has postulated in *Die Judenfrage: Biographie eines Weltproblems*.

Antisemitism and the *Judenfrage* became one in modern times. Antisemitism underwent a process of universalization. Ernst Nolte, in his study *Three Faces of Fascism*, commented that:

It must not be forgotten that every significant ideology of the 19th century had its own brand of antisemitism. Liberal antisemitism accused the Jews of anti-historical rigidity, intolerance and "national separateness." In socialist thought the Jews stood for the chief exemplifiers of the capitalist spirit and its "mamonism." What conservatives disliked most about the Jews was their spirit of unrest, their tendency toward revolution.<sup>11</sup>

All these theories and ideologies were manifestations of universal ideals and outlooks, hence also "their" particular brand of antisemitism became universal.

### Hitler's Antisemitism

Adolf Hitler was born in 1889 in Braunau, Austria. He moved in 1908 to Vienna and became acquainted with the so-called "Jewish Problem." In 1913, he moved to Munich. Upon returning to Munich from his stint with a Bavarian regiment of the German Army during World War I, he stated in his first political document, in 1919,



### German Antisemitism Before Hitler

As to German antisemitism before Hitler, it will suffice to refer to Fritz Stern's monumental study *Gold and Iron*. Stern scrutinized the history of antisemitism during the Bismarck era. He noted the fact that German liberalism was weaker than, and ideologically different from, its Western counterparts, and that the German *Bürgertum* never acquired the self-confidence and historic importance of the French or British bourgeoisie. This meant that the Jewish community did not have a liberal shield that would defend its rights as part of a code of universally recognized human rights. Stern also stressed the peculiarity of German nationalism, characterized by its aggressiveness and xenophobia. The resonance to antisemitism among the leading classes of society was greater in Germany than elsewhere.<sup>20</sup>

In latter-day studies of the German cultural, economic, social, and religious antisemitism of nineteenth-century scholars such as Lagarde, Marr, and Treitschke, one finds that the "Jewish Question" was raised loudly.<sup>21</sup> Stern stressed that the core of all variations of antisemitism was the belief that the pariahs had become the true power in the new Germany.<sup>22</sup> Gradually, the antisemites converted the particular into the general and "leaped," to use Stern's words, from fact to fantasy.<sup>23</sup> The German nation encountered the forces of modernism while barely united from above by Bismarck. Industrial capitalism and the rise of the industrial worker put the middle class, the *Bürgertum*, in fear of rising socialism. The Jew was identified with capitalism, with socialism, and with modernism. He was perceived as the visible threat to the middle class.

George L. Mosse has described the "middle-class morality," the upholding of middle-class ideals, of German society. It was this class, frightened by the upheaval of modernism, that sought to uphold the importance of family life and moderation. The Nazis claimed to protect such middle-class respectability, that part which found its expression in those clean-cut young men who marched down the street.<sup>24</sup> Hitler wanted to reestablish these values in Germany by destroying the Jewish part of the middle class—the part that was thought to have corrupted the class as a whole.<sup>25</sup> Richard F. Hamilton's recent study *Who Voted for Hitler* has demonstrated that the middle class was the base of Hitler's support. Its motivation was, according to Jäckel, fear of future misery.<sup>26</sup> The fear of the Jew, who was believed to endanger middle-class ideals in Kaiser Wilhelm's time, continued to stir the anxiety of the middle class, who voted for and identified with Hitler's antisemitism. The anti-Jewish attitude of the middle class was a dominant and continuous element in modern German society.

The Jews were viewed as powerful, mortally dangerous enemies. The myth of Jewish might was disseminated by German antisemites in nineteenth-century German society. The image of the powerful, destructive Jew, however, originated in Christianity. Christian responsibility has been belittled, minimized, and sometimes overlooked, when dealing with modern—even anti-Christian—antisemitism. According to Christian belief, the election of the Jewish people manifests itself in the Jewish people's riches and wealth. The Jewish Messiah, as represented in the Christian catechism, symbolizes the earthly king who became mighty because of his wealth. Out of this misconception the legend of the "mighty Jew" was born.<sup>27</sup>

When secularism began, from the seventeenth century forward, to shape the *Zeitgeist* in Europe, a distorted, ambivalent image of the Jew—rich in money but poor in political power—prevailed. International Jewish domination substituted for religious Messianism. In Hitler's eyes, Marxism-Bolshevism appeared as the illegitimate child of Judaism-Christianity.<sup>28</sup> The idea of Jewish power became the keystone for Hitler's obsession with the mighty Jewish Chosen People. It took Hitler to connect the Jews with what he termed the "deeper" struggle in the world and to proclaim that there could not be two chosen peoples. For him, Germans were God's people, and the world was now composed of two opposing entities—men of God and men of Satan.<sup>29</sup>

### Hitler's Ideology of Race

Concerning Hitler's ideology of race, it should be noted that racist antisemitism is anti-Christian and pagan in its essence; it is the antithesis of the transcendental religious outlook. But it is, as Hitler well knew, nourished by the absolutely negative image attached to the Jew by Christian theology. Even if the power and influence of the Church diminished over the generations, the negative image attached to the word "Jew" retained its ideological moorings.<sup>30</sup>

"Parasitology"—the Jew as a parasite, according to Hitler's antisemitism—became crystallized in Hitler's ideas through the political pragmatism that aspired to conquer "living space" (*Lebensraum*) in Eastern Europe in order to sustain the existence of the Aryan race, the German people. In the spirit of Carl Schmidt's "friend-foe" theory, Hitler presented the Jew as antithesis, as parasite, as counterrace (*Gegenrasse*), as a corrupter of nature embodying every anti-Nazi element.

Hitler portrayed the Jew as the carrier of the concepts of internationalism, democracy, and pacifism, which were the "three plagues of humanity . . . that had killed the nations' race value."<sup>31</sup> The struggle against these three principles became, in Hitler's hands, the foundation and motivational force of his political programs, both internal and external. Traditional antisemitism served as an ideological nucleus for Nazi racial doctrine. Through this doctrine, he portrayed his ideological and political enemies in a harmful, mighty, flesh-and-blood image—the image of the blemished Jew—that perverted the character of nature itself.<sup>32</sup>

By relying on traditional antisemitism, Hitler played upon themes of continuity in German history. The uniqueness of pre-Hitler antisemitism was expressed in its rebuttal of the Jewish essence. This nationalistic view sought to exalt and give precedence to "Germanism" (*Germanentum*), and, therefore, focused less on the Jew himself.<sup>33</sup>

Hitler and the Nazis reversed the order of priorities. Hitler demonstrated the greatness of Germans—in a down-to-earth manner, not through exclusive theories. With the aid of military power and marches of conquest and oppression, he proclaimed German greatness while denouncing the Jew and portraying him as a real enemy; the evil Jew became the central theme of his racist policy. He incorporated the Jew's negative image, the continuation and the result of classic Jew-hatred, as a convenient basis and concrete goal within his operational plans. Hitler's method in particular, and that of the Nazis in general, did away with all litigation and all public ideological or legal debates with the Jews. The ideological components of Nazi

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antisemitism introduced nothing new compared to its predecessors. The innovation is not in the internal content, but in the functional character.

Nazi sources confirm the assumption that we must clearly distinguish between general Nazi racism and Nazi anti-Jewish racism. The first appeared as an opportunistic, arbitrary, and cynical weapon, which even Nazi activists were prepared to take lightly. In contrast, Nazi racial antisemitism was a consistent, calculated Weltanschauung and was well-anchored in Hitler's practical plans. Götz Aly and Susanne Heim, in several articles and finally in their book *Vordenker der Vernichtung: Auschwitz und die Deutschen Pläne für eine neue Europäische Ordnung*,<sup>34</sup> have presented their thesis, as summarized by Christopher R. Browning, that

the economic and social planners of the German occupation in Eastern Europe saw in the mass murder of the East European Jews the means of solving a problem of overpopulation that blocked the path to economic modernization.<sup>35</sup>

Browning disagrees with several of their claims: that the cooperation and consensus among the "planning intelligentsia" transcended the polycratic rivalries of the Nazi regime, that these planners strove for a Final Solution long before 1941, that working upward from below they had a major impact on the decision-making process, and that without their input the racial hatred of the regime would not have gone beyond pogroms and massacres.<sup>36</sup>

Taking into account the consistency of Nazi racial antisemitism, it is impossible to overlook the deeply rooted Jew-hatred that directed Nazi policy (infused by Hitler's racist Weltanschauung) against all Jews, not only those of Eastern Europe. Therefore, the idea of some economic planning, of "politics of overpopulation," distorts the historical truth.<sup>37</sup>

It is equally difficult for me to accept the thesis offered by Sybil Milton in her article "Gypsies and the Holocaust" that

the preoccupation with antisemitism as a central motivation in Nazi policy has resulted in Michael Marrus's failure to include Gypsies in his recent analysis of the historiography of the Holocaust, although literature is available.<sup>38</sup>

This is not the place to deal with the polemic that emerged between Yehuda Bauer and Sybil Milton as a result of her article.<sup>39</sup> What is of concern is her remark that "Nazi pejorative attacks against the Gypsies as 'asocial and criminal' were seldom perceived as unambiguously racist."<sup>40</sup>

This is explicitly my emphasis in these reflections. Because Nazi non-Jewish racial policy was of an inconsistent nature, manipulative and opportunistic, as I will show, the Gypsies did not appear as the "counterrace" (Gegenrasse) in Hitler's and the Nazi's Weltanschauung. The racial enemy was the Jew.

### The Nazi Revolution: Radical Political Antisemitism

Some examples from Nazi sources will clearly establish the flexibility and inconsistency with which a general theory of race was maintained. Hitler outlined his concept of race in his conversations with Hermann Rauschning. The credibility of

these conversations has rightly been challenged. Still, the late Martin Broszat spoke of an "inner authenticity" characterizing Rauschning's stance and report.<sup>41</sup> Although his conversations are not to be accepted in a primary and strict sense, they deliver a genuine insight into Hitler's racist Weltanschauung. Hitler said:

In the scientific sense there is no such thing as race. But you, as a farmer and cattle-breeder, cannot get your breeding successfully achieved without the conception of race. And I as a politician need a conception which enables the order, which has hitherto existed on a historic basis, to be abolished, and an entirely new and anti-historic order enforced and given an intellectual basis . . . and for this purpose the conception of race serves me well. It disposes of the old order and makes possible new associations.<sup>42</sup>

Scrutinizing Hitler's words reveals the following assertions: racism was not seen as a science by Hitler, since the politician "needs a conception" to implement his political aims. In other words, the politician needs a myth. The concept of race is imposed on the empiric-historic factor (the old order) in order to arrive at a new, anti-historic regime.

The innovation in Nazi racism is the politicization of this racial theory. In their first year in power, Nazi zealots in the ranks interpreted and implemented Nazi racial theory. For example, Professor Tirala of the Institute for Race Hygiene in Munich approached Hans Schemm, the Minister for Culture, with the suggestion that seven hundred to eight hundred illegitimate children born to German women from Moroccan soldiers in the years 1918–1919 be sterilized by means of x-radiation. He argued that they had to prevent "the corruption of the German race." The answer he received (through Dr. Walter Gross) was unequivocal; he was forbidden to take any private action, since such action was liable to involve Germany in "the greatest complications regarding foreign policy." He was also informed that determination of this matter must remain in the hands of the "responsible political institutions."<sup>43</sup> The opportunism is clearly uncovered when questions arise concerning the Nazi stand with regard to foreign elements who were not Jews. The Nazis, of course, knew that Germany's potential allies included races that did not belong to the "Nordic blood" group. What racial policy was to be applied in their case? If they were to be considered inferior in terms of blood origin, their political loyalty was questionable from the start. To extricate themselves from this dilemma, one Nazi declared:

Politics is not an idea but the realization of ambition. . . . Politics is a matter of what is practical, thus, under certain circumstances, it will not recoil from doing what seems correct even by devious means. . . . I must adapt myself to changing conditions and must accordingly formulate the political racist concept every time.<sup>44</sup>

The racist ideas in Nazi political manifestos were to be adapted to the changing conditions of everyday reality. Therefore, when non-Nordic elements allied with the Nazis needed to be taken in account, it would be best "not to overdo songs of praise to blond hair and blue eyes . . . otherwise the non-Nordic blood would be insulted" (Sonst schnappen die nicht-Nordischen ein!).<sup>45</sup> A second example may suffice.<sup>46</sup> Racist ideology decreed that German soldiers had to keep their distance from women of "foreign blood," but the "natural drives" (satisfaction of the German

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soldiers' sexual urges) shoved the doctrine aside to such an extent that the suggestion was put forward to "delay the explanation of these matters until after the war."<sup>47</sup>

Just how far the principles of blood purity and preservation of the race were allowed to lapse can be deduced from what occurred at the front. In many cases, the "natural drives," in fact, put the race theory out of mind. The leadership was confronted with incontrovertible facts, and they became part of declared policy. Heinrich Himmler admitted to army officers that, while on Russian soil, German soldiers had sired "between a million and a million-and-a-half children." This problem, he claimed, had aroused Hitler's concern. The solution Himmler suggested was "to take children of 'value' away from their mothers and bring them to the German Reich, and if the mothers were of 'racial value' they could also be brought."<sup>48</sup> The fact that such a relationship existed testifies to the extent of the lack of or relative weakness of racial consciousness among many in the ranks of the SS in everyday life.

Relationships with Jewish women were out of the question. That is what was particular to Hitler and Nazism as expressed in the relationship between racism and antisemitism. Hitler imposed his racial theory on antisemitic concepts that had long been in existence. By this method he turned the negative image of the Jew into a satanic image, which was interpreted as the consequence of necessity; the image was one of an essentially parasitic entity. He concluded chapter 11 of his *Mein Kampf* as follows:

Now begins the great last revolution. In gaining political power the Jew casts off the few cloaks that he still wears. The democratic people's Jew becomes the blood-Jew and tyrant over peoples. . . . The end is not only the end of the freedom of the peoples oppressed by the Jew, but also the end of this parasite upon the nations. After the death of his victim, the vampire sooner or later dies too.<sup>49</sup>

Hitler dreamed of a new Nazi regime that would arise out of a war-to-the-end against the "old regime," which he described as the regime of the parasitical Jew. He took the negative image of the Jew from the early anti-Jewish traditions. The Nazis fortified this image with absolute racist doctrine, and this was the reason why they employed such a vast number of racist slogans in everything related to the Jews. As Bracher has argued: "If a revolutionary is defined by his ability to combine a radical concept of change with the capacity to mobilize the necessary forces, then Hitler can even be called the prototype of a revolutionary."<sup>50</sup>

The Nazi revolution was an anti-Jewish revolution. It did not invent hatred for Jews, but it radicalized and activated an antisemitism that was already existent—an antisemitism that was, in fact, dominant and continuous in German history. The innovation in Nazi anti-Jewish policy could be summarized as follows: Nazi anti-semitism became political. It turned theory and ideology into practice. In Hitler's words, "There is no making pacts with the Jews; there can only be the hard: either-or. I for my part decided to go into politics."<sup>51</sup> Such a verdict was never passed on other enemies of the Nazis.

Eugen Fischer, professor of anthropology and the first Nazi rector of the University of Berlin, expressed the view that scientists must be the infrastructure of politics. The Nazi achievement was that "the Führer, Adolf Hitler, for the first time in

the history of mankind, translated the recognition of the biological foundation of a race-nation, heredity, and natural selection into deeds. . . . German science placed the tools in the politician's hands."<sup>32</sup>

Hitler radicalized traditional antisemitism by underpinning it with the race doctrine and giving it a biological basis. The Jew was conceived of as an unnatural outgrowth. His disappearance from this world should be a blessing for humankind.

Hence, Hitler's antisemitism, originating from German-Austrian tradition, was intermingled with his vision of a universal mission to create a new world order based on what he called race purity. Yet, Hitler was not the first to universalize antisemitism.

### Christianity and Antisemitism

Christianity strove to de-Judaize the world, portraying Judaism as a world evil. The difference between Christianity and Nazism was not in the attitude toward Jews but in proposed solutions. Hitler's was final. Nazi anti-Jewish racism was the ultimate, uncompromising climax of antisemitism. It was focused on the Jew, because antisemitism had, during the ages, only one target: not the Semite, but the Jew, and the Jew alone.

The uniqueness of Nazi racism lies in its consistent radicalizing—through biological slogans—of traditional antisemitism. Adolf Hitler knew where to turn when he sought to explain and justify his antisemitism. The process of transition from traditional Christian anti-Jewishness to Nazism is heightened when one is aware of the similarity between them. Both needed an enemy, an antitype. They were required, in order to survive and justify their existence, to translate the image of the Jewish enemy as created by prejudice into the everyday, mundane Jewish enemy antagonist. Hitler openly asserted that he learned this tactic from the Catholic Church.<sup>33</sup>

The central components of the Christian view of the Jew and Judaism were used as the basis for consolidation of the anti-Jewish ideology of the Nazis. The Nazis perceived the Jew to be the foe of the Christian God and the enemy of the Aryan type. The negation of Judaism was essential for the justification of Christian superiority. Hitler sought to bring about the salvation of the German-Nordic race by destroying Judaism. Nazi ideology was able to base its attacks on the Jews on prejudices shaped by Christian theology. The Jew was regarded by both ideologies as a powerful, omniscient enemy and threat to world order.

The sufferings of the Jews in world history are anchored in these facts. Even if Christianity did not call for the death of the Jews, since it had "theological need" for them, one cannot ignore the fact that this was an a posteriori need. Degradation of the Jews was the substitute for their extermination. Christianity could not demand the killing of the Jews, even though this act was the logical outcome of the principles we have noted, since their extermination would have cast doubt on the Christian demand to be considered the legal heir of the Jewish creed: "No jury would agree to grant a legacy to someone who won it through murdering the testator."<sup>34</sup>

The difference between Hitler and Christianity is that the latter chose the path of degradation of the Jew out of its own particular interests, while Hitler humiliated and murdered as well. The tragedy is that substantiation for both policies can be found in Christian theology.

### NOTES

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32. Rauschning, *Hitler's Secret Speeches*, p. 70.

## NOTES

1. Friedrich Heer, *Gottes Erste Liebe. Die Juden im Spannungsfeld der Geschichte* (Frankfurt/M., 1986 [1st ed. 1976]), p. 19.
2. George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (New York, 1978).
3. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Boston, 1971), p. 339 (hereafter M.K.).
4. *Ibid.*, p. 296.
5. Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitlers Weltanschauung: Entwurf einer Herrschaft* (Tübingen, 1969).
6. Hitler, M.K., p. 380; I believe Manheim's translation "Philosophy of life" is misleading. The German term "Weltanschauung" should remain unchanged, as Hitler's opinions are in no way a philosophy.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 454.
8. Reinhard Rürup, *Emanzipation und Antisemitismus* (Göttingen, 1975), p. 74.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
11. Ernst Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism* (New York, 1966), p. 332.
12. Eberhard Jäckel, *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York, 1990), p. 672.
13. Karl D. Bracher, "The Role of Hitler: Perspectives of Interpretation," in *Fascism: A Reader's Guide*, ed. Walter Laqueur, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), p. 196.
14. Michael R. Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (London, 1987), p. 17.
15. Karl Schleunes, *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz* (Chicago, 1992), p. 257.
16. Bracher, "Role of Hitler," p. 207.
17. Hitler, M.K., pp. 64, 65.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 623.
19. Jäckel, *Hitlers Weltanschauung*, p. 68. See also idem, *Hitler in History* (Hanover, 1984), pp. 47-48.
20. Fritz Stern, *Gold and Iron: Bismarck, Bleichröder and the Building of the German Empire* (New York, 1977), p. 462.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 495.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*, p. 497.
24. George L. Mosse, *Nazism: A Historical and Comparative Analysis of National Socialism* (Princeton, 1978), p. 44.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
26. Jäckel, *Hitler in History*, p. 19.
27. Edmund Kroenes, *Homiletisches Reallexikon: Zum Handgebrauch für Prediger und Religionslehrer* (Regensburg, 1856), vol. 3, p. 49: "Die Juden damaliger Zeit waren voll irdischen, fleischlichen Sinnes und vom Stolze aufgeblasen. Sie betrachteten sich als das auserwählte Volk dem allein ein Messias verhasst wäre und schauten aus ihrer erträumten Höhe mit Verachtung auf die übrigen Völker herab."
28. Adolf Hitler, *Monologe im Führer-Hauptquartier 1941-1944: Die Aufzeichnungen Heinrich Heims*, ed. Werner Jochmann (Hamburg, 1980), p. 41.
29. Hermann Rauschning, *Hitler Speaks* (London, 1940), p. 238. On Rauschning's credibility, see note 41.
30. Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction: Antisemitism 1700-1933* (Cambridge, MA., 1980), p. 321: "Antisemites wished to perpetuate the inferior position of Jews, or even reinstitute some features of their pre-emancipatory situation. Thus, even if they negated the Christian motives responsible for the creation of the situation, anti-Semites still took it as the basis of their operation. There is a patent historical continuity between the two phases of the Jewish predicament."
31. M. Domarus, ed., *Hitler, Reden und Proklamationen, 1932-1945* (Würzburg, 1962), pp. 70-71.
32. Rauschning, *Hitler Speaks*, pp. 233-34; Jäckel, *Hitlers Weltanschauung*, pp. 131-32.

ological foundation of a German science placed

inning it with the race viewed of as an unnatural blessing for humankind. -Austrian tradition, was a new world order based universalize antisemitism.

Judaism as a world evil. in the attitude toward i-Jewish racism was the used on the Jew, because Semite, but the Jew, and

licalizing—through bio- law where to turn when process of transition from ed when one is aware of ype. They were required, the image of the Jewish Jewish enemy antagonist. Catholic Church.<sup>53</sup>

v and Judaism were used of the Nazis. The Nazis enemy of the Aryan type. of Christian superiority. ordic race by destroying ws on prejudices shaped eologies as a powerful,

ed in these facts. Even if ad "theological need" for need. Degradation of the y could not demand the ome of the principles we doubt on the Christian "No jury would agree to the testator."<sup>54</sup>

re latter chose the path of ile Hitler humiliated and th policies can be found

33. Werner Jochmann, "Struktur und Funktion des Deutschen Antisemitismus," *Schriftenreihe Wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen* 33, Leo Baeck Institute (Tübingen, 1976): 389-408.
34. First ed. Hamburg, 1991; 2nd ed. Frankfurt, 1993.
35. Christopher R. Browning, "German Technocrats, Jewish Labor, and the Final Solution: A Reply to Götz Aly and Susanne Heim," in *The Path to Genocide: Essays on Launching the Final Solution* (New York, 1992), p. 59.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
37. Hermann Graml, "Rassismus und Lebensraum: Völkermord im Zweiten Weltkrieg," in *Deutschland 1933-1945: Neue Studien zur Nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft*, ed. Karl D. Bracher, Manfred Funke, and H. A. Jacobsen (Bonn, 1992), pp. 440-51.
38. Sybil Milton, "Gypsies and the Holocaust," *History Teacher* 24/4 (August 1991): p. 376.
39. Yehuda Bauer-Sybil Milton Correspondence concerning "Gypsies and the Holocaust," *History Teacher* 25/4 (August 1992): 513-21.
40. Milton, "Gypsies," p. 377.
41. Martin Broszat, "Enthüllung? Die Rauschning-Kontroverse" (1985), in *Nach Hitler: Der schwierige Umgang mit unserer Geschichte* (Munich, 1988), pp. 263-65.
42. Rauschning, *Hitler Speaks*, p. 229.
43. Bundesarchiv Koblenz, NS 12/748.
44. Directives for propaganda work concerning race policy, September 1935, Institut für Zeitgeschichte (IFZG), IFZG/Ma/115917407/4.
45. IFZG/MA1159/17426.
46. I have dealt in depth with this issue in my book on Nazi racism; see Walter Zwi Bacharach, "Racism—The Tool of Politics," in *Monism toward Nazism* (Jerusalem, 1985) (in Hebrew).
47. Regulations governing relations between foreign residents and German girls, IFZG/MA/666.
48. Himmler's speech, September 16, 1942, IFZG/MA/312, p. 11.
49. Hitler, *M.K.*, p. 326.
50. Bracher, "Role of Hitler," p. 206.
51. Hitler, *M.K.*, p. 206.
52. Eugen Fischer, *Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie* 34 (1933).
53. Rauschning, *Hitler Speaks*, pp. 58, 60, 234; Jochmann, *Monologe*, p. 321.
54. David Flusser, *Jewish Sources in Early Christianity: Studies and Essays* (Tel Aviv, 1979), p. 449 (in Hebrew).

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