



THE NATIONAL COLLEGE OF ART AND DESIGN.

COME SWEET DEATH:

Dealing with National Socialism and Giving Up on Living.

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INTRODUCTION.

This thesis will deal with the idea of becoming 'unmanned', i.e. surrendering sensibilities when faced with an incomprehensible or even merely undesirable circumstance, particularly in relation to National Socialism. The self, when initially threatened will act to preserve itself, but may eventually start to act merely to further itself. The lure of success is such that we may stop tempering our actions with any external consideration. We may finally end up denying physical circumstance; i.e. reality, because it hinders the vision our greed has produced. This greed was ultimately expressed as a desire for Utopia, perfection. National Socialism finds its support among the desperate, initially, but maintains it by developing their desperation to survive into a desperate greed to consume and satisfy.

In the face of a threat to body and soul, self-preservation becomes of paramount importance and action is consequent of its importance. When the body or mind can no longer cope with the horror of a situation, when horror, the situation, breaches their endurance capabilities, the mind or the body, or both, shut down:

"What was heart rending in the day was intolerable at night; and I rose and wrote, at four o'clock in the morning, to the chief surgeon, offering to perform the necessary operations upon the French. At six o'clock I took the knife in my hand and continued incessantly to work 'til seven in the evening; and so the second and third day.

All the decencies of performing surgical operations were soon neglected. While I amputated one man's thigh, there lay at one time thirteen, all beseeching to be taken next; one full of entreaty, one calling upon me to remember my promise to take him, another execrating. It was a strange thing to feel my arms powerless with the exertion of using the knife! And more, extraordinary still to find my mind calm amidst such variety of suffering; but to give one of these objects access to your feelings was to allow yourself to be unmanned for the performance of duty. It was less painful to look upon the whole than to contemplate one object" 1.

The body may literally blackout, faint, overwhelmed by the information it is confronted with or may simply blackout those parts of its make-up which the information disturbs, those which prevent the rest of the body functioning in the face of indigestible information. Thus the mass body of the German people chose to do, under the guidance of National Socialism, in the face of the unbearable situation of Germany in the 1930's. The people adopted a 'Mentality of the Shipwrecked' 2, a desperate concentration on self-preservation at any cost.

I will trace the progress of this self-preservation from its birth in the chaos of Weimar Germany through its discovery of a champion in National Socialism. I intend to look at how National Socialism developed this desire to a profound extreme, transforming the society, through it. Tracing the development of the military model for society I want to explore the ideas of pain, sacrifice, celebration of death and the exploitation of the many by the few in a supposedly classless society.

Ultimately I want to look at how National Socialism developed, into something which attempted to transcend physical reality. To look at how it adopted the rhetoric of Art in its romantic phase and how this was best expressed in the film "Triumph of the Will"

To start with I think it is essential that I give a definition of Utopia, as belief in this and images of this were essential to the ascendancy of National Socialism.

Chapter 1 - Utopia; Sacrifice & Greed.

Utopian visions give us inspiration in that they set an ultimate expression of our desires against our actuality. When people talk of utopianism they are talking of impossibilities, pie in the sky. However impossible as it is, Utopia is ultimately desireable, essentially it is based in greed because it is based in very personal happiness. It is the opposite to egalitarianism as it is an expression of the individual. Consideration means compromise, compromise is not perfection therefore compromise cannot be incorporated in the Utopia. In order for one person to achieve their Utopia others must become less human, sacrifice their own needs to create an ideal situation. Utopia is an authoritarian ideal for the few.

My Utopia. "In better ordering of society the heavy work and exigencies of life will be apportioned to him who suffers least as a consequence of them, this is to say, to the most insensible, and thus step by step to him who is most sensitive to the most highly sublimated species of suffering and who therefore suffers even when life is alleviated to the greatest degree possible." Nietzsche.

3.

This 'ordering of society' is a basically classist ordering with the few benefiting from the labours of the many. National Socialism attempted to structure this 'ordering of society', This it attempted to do by making self-subjugation a desireable thing, by aestheticising death.

Chapter 2 - The Weimar Republic: The Failure of Democracy.

National Socialism established itself on the ruins of the Weimar Republic's democratic experiment. Set up on the 6th February 1919 in the aftermath of W.W.I. the Weimar Republic was Germany's first attempt at democracy. Fortunately for the National Socialists it buckled and eventually collapsed under the weight of the ignominy felt at Germany's humiliation in defeat and the two economic disasters. Within itself the Weimar democracy presented a weak image. The proportional representation system produced a multiplicity of parties and every Government was comprised of a coalition. From 1919 to 1933 there were twenty one different Cabinets. All this gave the Government an air of instability, while the overfrequent dissolution of the Reichstag, followed by new elections, reduced the respect of the people for parliamentary democracy. Coalitions weakened the structure of the state requiring compromise, therefore preventing strength and direction of policy.

Opposition was rife in the power vacuum of post-war Germany, with revolts from both left and right. On the left revolts had started before the war had ended, with the naval mutiny at Kiel on the 30th October 1918, then the Spartacist uprising led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in January 1919 and then the Red Ruhr Army born of the March 1920 general strike. The Right also had its attempted revolutions, the Kapp putsch of 1920, and the Hitler putsch of 1923.

4.
Opposition also came from within the state, the administration of the Republic's business was left in the hands of those who had controlled it for decades. Judges positions were permanent, they

could not be dismissed. They were mainly right wing in their politics and were able to express their anti-Republican views from the bench and often condoned blatant attacks on republican ministers in German courtrooms. They clearly turned a blind eye to the activities of Right-wing revolutionaries while Left-wingers were dealt with severely. Although a federal code stated that anyone seeking to overthrow the constitution of the Republic by force should be punished with life imprisonment, Kapp and Hitler only received nominal sentences for their putschs of 1920 and 1923 respectively. Hitler only receiving a five year sentence.

There was a general tolerance, if not encouragement, of the extreme Right in influential areas of the Republic. While the Army could be relied upon to crush any Leftist or Communist subversion, it was most reluctant to act against Right-wing movements. It retained a large degree of self-discipline and independence, a state within a state. On top of this the Government of 1919 had called on General Von Leittwitz to create a voluntary law enforcement army, which came to be made up of men finding it difficult to readjust to civilian life after the trenches. This 'army' was called upon to put down risings and took part in Kapps putsch of 1920. There was a volatile, strong, armed force hostile to the Republic but still enjoying its intermittent support and often acting as its law enforcement agency. This Right-wing supremacy was made stronger by their elimination of their Left-wing counterparts. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg were both murdered in the suppression of the Spartacist rising and by 1933 over four hundred political murders had

been carried out, most by the extreme Right, not only on the extreme Left but on Republican ministers, such as the Minister for Foreign Affairs; Rathenau.

The liason of the Republic with the Right arose out of its obsession with maintaining law and order. This obsession also served to make worse the economic diasters it faced. Due to an accumulation of problems, war debt and reparations being the main ones, Germany was plunged into economic chaos by 1923. The value of the mark declined from 4.20m to the dollar in 1914, to .40m to the dollar in 1920. It is arguable which was most damaging, war debts or reparations or whether Germany would have gone into such decline anyway despite the reparations. However the importance of the reparations was the humiliation they forced upon Germany. The reparations meant great loss of resources and territory on top of the compensation of £6,600 million demanded. Germany lost 14.6% of arable land, 74.5% of iron ore, 68.1% of zinc ore, 26% of coal production, all merchant ships over 1,600 gross tonnes, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the fishing fleet, large quantities of railway locomotives and rolling stock (the last two crippling Germany's ability to mount any worthwhile export programme) and German properties in allied territories. Germany was emasculated, humiliated. The economic consequences of this 'punishment', were met by the Political emotional consequences of the ignominy felt at what was seen by many of the German people as revenge.

Despite all this, Weimar recovered. Under the leadership of Gustav Stresemann, who took over in 1923, the incredible inflation was halted

by means of economic agreement with the Allies, the Dawes Plan, which introduced the rentenmark (new currency), and the Kellogg-Brand pact, which reduced the reparations repayments. Weimar had already defaulted on these just months after their implementation. The Republic stabilised. Then in 1929 a double disaster, the death of Stresemann from a heart attack and the Wall Street Crash. The Weimar Republic with its history of instability could not survive.

The Weimar government, having once experienced hyper-inflation, in 1923 had been determined to maintain a sound financial basis to the economy, regardless of the cost in terms of unemployment and other stringent measures. As long as money had kept flowing in from America all had been well. With the Wall Street Crash the German economy plunged once again into trouble. Unemployment figures after 1929 skyrocketed. In 1929 Unemployment was at two million, in 1930 three million and by 1932 it stood at six million.

Chancellor Stresemann proved to be irreplaceable, his predecessor, Heinrich Brüning '30 could do nothing to halt collapse. In 1932 for every one million people there were 260 suicides, one million young people were out of work and once rich pensioners begged for food on the streets of the big cities. Brüning came to be known as the "Hunger Chancellor".

His increasing unpopularity is testified to in a report from the French Ambassador to Berlin, André François-Poncet, sent to Paris in September 1931:

"The Chancellor believes he can counteract the crisis by a sharp and methodically executed deflation. He is cutting wages, salaries and pensions and thereby, evoking dissatisfaction among

workers, civil servants and retired persons. He is introducing price controls which anger the farmers and controls on the banks which elicit the antipathy of financial circles. He is making himself unpopular with industrialists because he wants to lower the prices of raw materials. Everybody is dissatisfied with him. Even the social democrats make no secret of the fact that they stay with him, only for fear of something worse".

5.

Brining resigned in May 1932 with democracy in disgrace, collapsing gradually, never having established itself. In 1933 it was succeeded by the ideology of National Socialism, the dominant ideology of the extreme right.

11

NEVER FORGET
NEVER FORGIVE
NEVER FOR FUN

from the Pure
Sayings of
Torquemada



KEVIN O'NEILL—

TORQUEMADA

Its overriding principle was the maintainance of order through subordination. The institution of a totalitarian state with complete control over every aspect of the lives of its people, both public and private. It was the antithesis of the democratic ideal in that it believed (still does) that the people exist to benefit the state.

In the National Socialist state only one political party exists, for which everyone votes. The party is the government. It controls industry, trade, recreation, family life, education and It is omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient and omnific (its omnionini) Everything is subordinate to the all powerful state. As that old Hitler Youth saying goes: "You are Nothing, the State in Everything" 7

'The universal is to be found in the state.... The state is the Divine Idea as it exists on earth..... We must therefore worship the State as the manifestation of the Divine on earth. To the complete state belongs, essentially, consciousness and thought..... The state exists for its own sake..... The state is the actually existing, realised moral life.' 8.

(ii) Superman + Super-race: The nationalism of National Socialism was exaggerated to racism. The idea of the "exaggerated view of the importance of ones own national identity" was expressed in the belief in the super-race and the superman. The belief was of racial superiority and the inspiration and right to achieve, conquer and dominate it gave.

"What is good? All that enhances the feeling of power. What is bad? All that proceeds from weakness. What is happiness? The feeling that power is increasing.

The Superman seeks not contentment, but more power; not peace at any price, but war. The weak shall perish and they even ought to be helped to perish". Nietzsche. 9.

This belief in devine rights was used to trample on other peoples, justify the denial of civil, even basic human, rights to other peoples. (Then again, the British had given them good example over the previous few centuries). From superman followed super-race, the aryan ibermench, with the devine right, even obligation, to conquer.

From this self-importance came the policies of 'Lebensraum'; the conquest of lands for the German peoples, most resources for the most deserving; Self-sufficiency; dependant only on themselves the aryan would not have to contaminate himself by dealing with inferior races, Anti-Semitism; just one expression of racism embodied in ideology which also spread to gypsies, slavs, negros, etc. (this was not a view shared by Nietzsche). The list of racist policy goes on.

- (iii) Propaganda: National Socialisms greatest political strength was propaganda which supplanted the need, eventually, for a coherent ideology. Propaganda was/is anti-critical/anti-argumentative. The idea, grab the attention and by repetition beat down questioning. If the masses hear or see something often enough they cannot but accept it.

"It may also happen, however, that a person receives one and the same command from several different sources. If this occurs often enough and order follows pitilessly close upon order, then the sting loses its clear outline and develops into a monster which endangers life. It grows until it forms the main substance of its host. He can never forget it and carries it around...." 10.

The idea was to repeat relentlessly images, few and definite, so that the individuality of thought, its arbitrary nature, was beaten down. The mind is made susceptible, receptive. "The mind is not receptive to anything that is weak." (Hitler),¹¹ National Socialist imagery just concentrated on transcendent images of birthright, the

idea of the divinely inspired leader and the spirit of nationalism in the Hackenkreuz (swastika, ancient aryan symbol of the sun-wheel), the head/image of Hitler (the godlike, god-given leader) and the eagle (image of the strength of German nationalism).

These images were repeated with rallies, parades, buildings to enforce the concept of oneness, the whole, on the people. This singularity was being built as a sharp contrast to the insecurity, division of the Weimar years. The sense of insecurity was being played upon to press people into the idea of anti-individualism, pressing them to surrender themselves to control. To surrender 'doubt + hesitation' + "become a member of a community" (Hitler).

"When people feel insecure, lost, betrayed, bewildered, they like to join in group activities such as rallies and parades. In their newly formed groups they lose their sense of insecurity and feel strengthened".¹²

Building this fear of decontrol correspondingly builds a dependance on group security. The individual no longer feels safe alone, only feels whole, i.e. able to protect himself and his dependants, within the group. Man and community become interdependant, one and the same.

Klaus Theweleit in 'Male Fantasies 2' describes the pressure felt from, and fear built by, the 'orders'/'commands' of propaganda as producing a 'monstrous' pain from which only the size of the crowd can give relief. Alone man in pain, in the crowd he is shielded.¹³

(iv) Fascism and Socialism: National Socialism, as is obvious from the name, had a basis in Socialism. Both Hitler and Mussolini had once professed themselves as socialists. However National Socialism also made space for private enterprise along with state ownership.. The best of both worlds only that it was generally controlled by the money of the monopoly capitalists and, some would argue, was there only for their benefit.

The state was able to harness all available labour in building new roads, draining marshes and other public services, any surplus manpower was drafted into the Army or Navy. It offered the unemployed work; the capitalists and the middleclass a disciplined workforce. Here was its greatest basis for exploitation.

(V) Ascendancy of National Socialism: Psychologically, aside from the political manouvering of the early thirties, the National Socialist success with the German people (it was voted in in 1933) was resultant of four main factors.

Firstly was the nationalistic pride, recent (Germany was only unified in 1871) and strong, drummed up by the parties of the right, and the ignominy felt at the humiliation forced upon Germany by the victorious allies in the Treaty of Versailles. The right-wing enjoyed popularity for their constant refusal to accept it while the Weimer government were cast as the 'November Criminals' (when the Treaty was accepted by them), 'spineless' and non-patriotic, betraying Germany's heritage.

As I've shown already democracy never established itself in Germany and was therefore easier to topple than it would have been in England, France or America, who had established democratic traditions. People will usually support the status quo, in some form, rather than risk a chaos which might result in its collapse, in Germany there was no established status quo except the remembered one of autocratic militarism. The old order was re-establishing itself in a new form.

With the example of Bolshevik Russia there was a fear of communist uprising, the Spartacists and Red Ruhr Army bore out the fears of centre and right-wing Germany. There was also the fear of extreme right-wing revolution, but this was undermined by the desire for order and the generally favourable treatment the right enjoyed. Germany was always far more susceptible to a coup from the right than the left in times of crisis.

Finally, and most importantly for the development of National Socialism there was the proliferation of World War I veterans. They were disillusioned with the Republic and were finding it hard to adjust to normal society. They maintained the ideas of comradeship, sacrifice, the relationship to danger and death they had had to build up in the trenches. It was these men that made up the ranks of the Freikorps and, later, the National Socialist Workers Party. Hitler himself was the archetypal war veteran, decorated in battle, Corporal in the Army, unimportant in a peace time society which didn't require his battle skills. These men now led and formed the state and pushed their beliefs into society.

(B) Self Preservation and redefining the Body

- (1) Fear of the Interior: The mentality of war is one of perpetual agitation, defensiveness, excitement produced because of fear. War/battle makes the adrenalin flow because of the constant threat, the need for total awareness because of the danger, threat to life and limb. This is mixed with a confrontation with the horrors of war, mutilation, presence of death, loss of comrades, threat of hard metal to soft skin, and the necessity of coping with it.

"When things have gone so far, the ultimate wisdom in the middle of meaninglessness remains only blind self-preservation"¹⁴

War produces a 'mentality of the shipwrecked' a blind panic for anything, regardless of consequence, which will ultimately insure survival. In this situation the self cannot cope in its normal, i.e. civilian, form. There is a realisation of the inadequacy of the body in the face of war machinery. The primary dilemma is how to make the self capable (i.e. able to maintain its own existence) both mentally and physically. The self is to be sacrificed to produce Steel/machine body which can withstand the assault. The inner, as well as the outer, self becomes physical. It is necessary to be able to function, therefore adopt a useful form, the machine form i.e. "intelligent munitions"¹⁵ is the perfect psyche for war.

The greatest fear of the soldier male is bolting in the face of confrontation with the enemy.



"If the mass, and whatever lives teems or decays within it is to appear to the soldier male as an embodiment of his own 'interior' he needs to perceive his own 'inner life', the state of his inner drives, as a separable entity completely divorced from him. He experiences the force that from time to time threatens to erupt and express itself from within him, as the alien, per se, as primitive man"¹⁶

The interior of the body represents the invisible, and thus, uncontrollable element of the self. It is the physical equivalent of the subconscious. Thus the defeat of the subconscious, i.e. the exposure of the mind to control, is represented physically by the fear of the soft body and the desire to control it with a hard outer body. The objective is to cage the beast within. All that constitutes the person must be visible in order that it can be controlled. Thus argument, criticism, etc., came to be identified with the uncontrollable elements of the body, disease, being called unclean, contaminators, etc.

National Socialism is externalism, display.

- (ii) The Academy as Example/model: This redefinition of the self found its example in the military academy. The 'learning' process of the academy was applied to the development of National Socialist society leading to the war, the idea's of progression through pain and sacrifice to an ultimate reward of liberation from the confines/restrictions of the body. The years leading up to the war were to be taken up with penance and preparation for the National Socialist Utopia.

The academy provided the escape from responsibility and decision that National Socialism promised its people. In the words of Salomon, a cadet in an S.A. academy: "Here for the first time is his life he was not subject to arbitrary conditions but to a single law"

The academy, as the society, would make the decisions for its pupils. In the academy cadets who wished to succeed would produce a quite extraordinarily thick skin"¹⁷ literally as well as metaphorically, the body armour that was to be required of all National Socialists in the face of the enemy.

"The only site at which feelings have legitimate existence is the body as 'a bundle of muscles and skin, blood, bones and sinews'. This is the message hammered out by the drill, each new exercise is structured around it, as is every punishment detail. No feeling or desire remains unclarified all are transformed into clear perception. The desire for bodily warmth a perception of the heat of bodily pain; the desire for contact into a perception of the whiplash."¹⁸

Concepts, previously taken for granted had to be replaced in order that a consistent train of belief was present....." lying demands invention, dissimulation and a good memory. (Which is why Swift says that he who tells a lie seldom realizes what a heavy burden he has assumed; for in order to maintain a lie, he has to invent twenty more.)"¹⁹ Everything had to be adjusted or reinvented to justify the actions of the state and the continued subordination of the people.

(iii) Pain and Acceptance: Pain: The acceptance or celebration of pain signified the victory of the will over weakness of the body. It was pain which prohibited so much, if it no longer arrested the progress the will was strong. Here were two replacements, pain for pleasure and will for reason

"Thirst for Profound Pain - when it has passed, passion leaves behind an obscure longing for itself and even in departing casts a seductive glance. To be scourged by it must have afforded us a kind of joy. The milder sensations, on the other hand, appear insipid; it seems we always prefer the more vehement displeasure to feeble pleasure" ²⁰

The content of pleasure is replaced in importance by the exhilaration it provides. Pain brings the person to the same point but is also useful in its hardening of the person, making the skin thick. Pain is sado-masochistically pleasureable while making the body more resistant to attack (mainly attack from himself, the conscience).

Will: Will replaces reasoned consideration with a conviction to attain whatever is presented by the 'devinely inspired' leadership.

"Enemies of the truth - Convictions are more dangerous enemies of the truth than lies"

"Those faithful to their convictions -anyone who works in the service of an idea; he will cease to examine even the idea itself,

for he has no time for that indeed it is against his interests to regard it as so much as discussable". 21.

Conviction provides absolute loyalty and promotes an air of anti-intellectualism by its resentment of debate on its 'unqualified truth'. The celebration of "the Will" was very prominent in National Socialist propaganda.

Sacrifice became all important as a replacement for payment, very handy in the economic situation of the time. The idea of sacrificing ones labour, time, self for the attainment of the greater good was celebrated. Hardship became a good thing as it made utopia closer.

All idea of the present was abandoned because of the unjustifiability of the measures being taken to combat the economic and social crisis. The entire society was blacking out (fainting) confronted by such incomprehensability. The conscience was blacked out in the face of unjustifiable, civilly criminal actions, in order that the self be preserved. Then there was the ultimate blackout in death, as a release from striving to attain an impossible happiness. What this struggle was, was an ultimate desire to transcend the limitations, weaknesses and pains of the body. Defeat of humanity ultimately means death, ecstatic release/relief from pain is the same.

"Ages of Happiness - An age of happiness is quite impossible, because men want only to desire it but not to have it; and every individual who experiences good times learns to downright pray for misery and disquietude. The destiny of man is designed for happy moments -

every life has them - but not for happy ages. Nonetheless they will remain fixed in the imagination of man as 'the other side of the hill' because they have been inherited from ages past: for the concept of the age of happiness was no doubt acquired in primeval times from that condition in which, after violent exertion in hunting and warfare, man gives himself up to repose, stretches his limbs and hears the pinions of sleep rustling about him. It is a false conclusion if in accordance with that ancient familiar experience, man imagines that, after whole ages of toil and deprivation, he can then partake of that condition of happiness correspondingly enhanced and protracted" 22

Chapter 4 - Architecture and Exploitation: Despite Nietzsches fore-

- (i) warning the National Socialists set about constructing their 'age of happiness'. Architecture became the physical application of the National Socialist ideology/propaganda, creating conditions not dealing with them, adapting the situation to ones desires with no compromise. The Architectural policy simultaneously served to create a demand for the supplies of monopoly capitalism.

The purpose of the utopian ideal is to balance cynacism. In the face of worldly and human contradiction one might end up believing in nothing.

"Gloomily, humanity had to take every kind of (given) meaning from itself; thus the nihilistic shock when one realises that there is no (given) meaning but that we manipulate it and then 'consume' it ourselves"²³

The utopian ideal gives the basis of hope and 'truths'. It pulls us away from the despair of cynacism, the inaction (whats the point') that it might induce. Hitler et al were to force the idea on reality/actuality. National Socialism was building a fantasy world in concrete, creating a sinister disneyland (if disneyland isn't sinister itself?).

- (ii) The Worker: Exploitation: The figure of the worker, which only in recent times, with the rise of the technological age, has emerged in our cultural history, has not taken on its sociological identity

until now. The working man degraded by Marxism, into a rootless proletarian, has become, in the communal context of our nation, a soldier of technology, who gorges weapons for the fighting man at the front. The best substance of our race is embodied in him, just as it is in the farmer and the soldier"²⁴

This description of National Socialist Worker, his placement in the nation (root) as a soldier of the Reich, describes the role of the worker and the attitude to his work, in the construction of the Reich. The builder, worker is an exemplary non-military member of the society. The treatment of the building worker was to exploit by replacing his wage with payment in a sense of role fulfillment, celebrating his contribution to the propagation of the Reich as a far more nobler, more rewarding achievement than mere monetary gain. Hitlers judgement of the actions of his workforce "No one who confines himself to economic considerations will ever be able to think or act socially"²⁵. This condemnation of 'economic consideration' served well to hide the corruption involved in the awards of contracts to the monopoly capitalists.

The society created a demand, the need to start anew after Weimar, to bury all contaminating ideas under the strength of their own. In real terms the demand was for buildings, roads, etc.. The supply was forthcoming from the monopoly capitalists, big business. Capitalism depends on supply meeting demand, now, because of the economic collapse, an artificial market was being created. The ideology was creating a need that had not existed before in order that firms/companies might have a market to re-establish their power, which they had lost with the advent of the free-market, proliferation

of small business, diversification of demand and the economic crash. The market was established to suit the suppliers, the object, to create money not supply a service.

To greatly reduce cost, surplus labour expenses i.e. workers wages, were cut. This is the replacement of money with payment in the form of spiritual improvement. The exertion of work, without monetary reward, was made a virtue, a prized value, by way of the principle of pain, the idea of progress through sacrifice I have talked about already. The building became the embodiment of the workers sacrifice, a monument to and a physical product of his pain. The building provided proof of the value of his effort and the legitimacy of the idea of sacrifice. It satisfied the worker and it satisfied the employer, the worker employed and the employer with a subordinate obedient cheap labour force. The person who no longer fights for himself, suffers all exploitation as sacrifice in the name of the struggle.

Not paying the worker (anything but a subsistence wage) gave the work a 'pure value' i.e. production value which did not have to be offset against wages. The work did not come out of money it came out of nowhere (nowhere that would worry the company anyway). This provides illustration of the exploitative purpose of National Socialism, its illegitimacy as a political system and the need to create a false environment ('lie upon lie') this created.

- (iii) Architecture - Anti-Functionality: The architecture of the Third Reich (intended and completed) was expressive of its need to blind and subjugate its people. It was overbearing, stark and intimidating, designed to crush individuality. It was resultant and expressive of the anti-intellectualism, anti-relativism, emphasising a timelessness and a non-functionality by virtue of its uniformity, monumentality and

its lack of ornamentation (in cities as in single buildings).

Public halls were the most publicised building of the Reich. The public building was the antithesis of the functionary building of the era of 'cultural impoverishment' of the 'bourgeois and liberal' era, of the Weimar Republic. The functionary building was the Industrial Plant, Banks, Exchanges, Department Stores, Hotels and so forth. These buildings were results of a functioning economy, they were profit making services. The Third Reich was running away from this money production, 'economic considerations' (Hitler), this economic reality. Functionary buildings reminded people of the economy, the management of money, National Socialism was removing the buildings from any specific function, the idea of daily action, taking the environment from day to day life to a higher (less dangerous) plane. The 'larger community of the nation' was to be set 'above these interest groups (Capitalist)' ⁴ 26 (Hitler) or more truthfully, the National Socialist hierarchy and monopoly capitalist business interests would take control of and manipulate the economy to their own ends while the people walked about blinded to their own exploitation by visions and manifestations of a false happiness. Never remind the people of their circumstance, constantly misinform them. The architecture was an environmental propaganda.

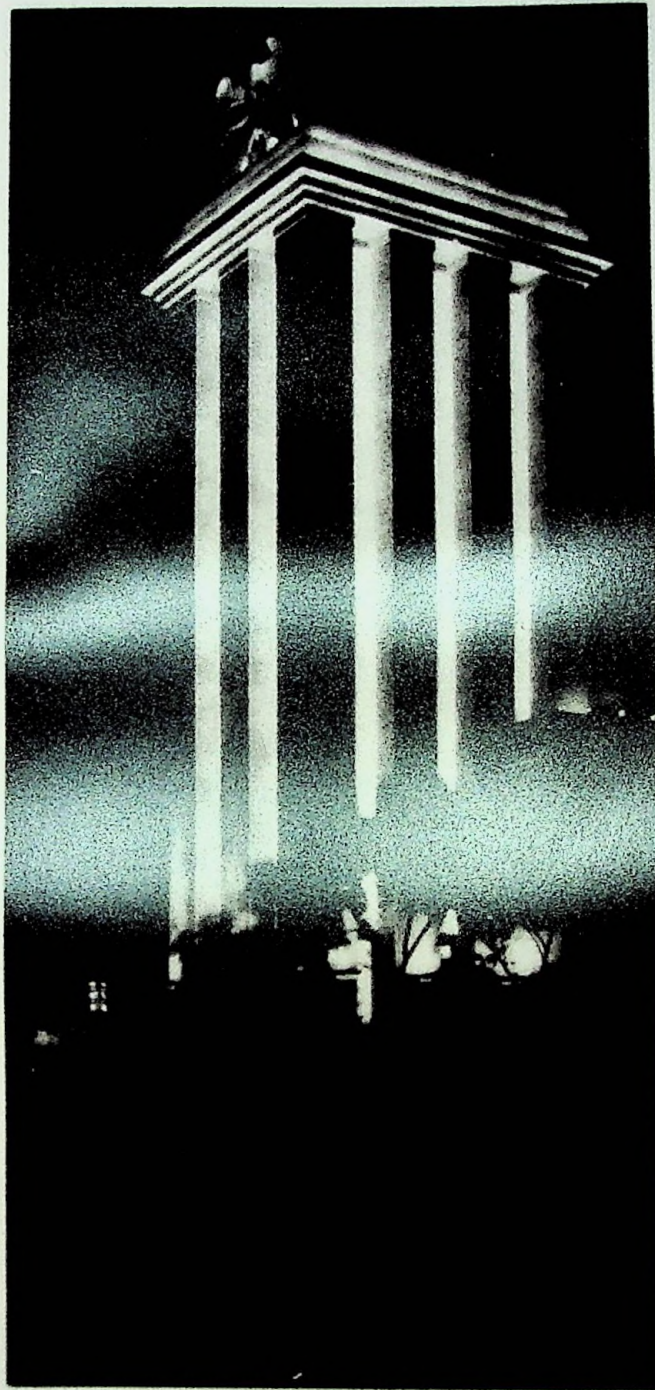
This anti-functionality echoes the demand for conviction over understanding. What was all important was the Reich, the expression of being a part of the Reich, not what was your specific part in it. The specific function would be a representation of individuality.

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Designed by Al
the Reich.

his prick stand fast. Music must echo with the tramp
brushwork of fascist landscape painting works on the
art furrows neatly plowed.

Conversations with a dead in books never on the

The style of Third Reich architecture is described as, neo-classical. While it was derivative of the style of classical Rome and Greece, using ideas of the public building, the arena, columns, monumentality etc., it lacked the ornamentation of other neo-classical styles. Its best examples, and models for all other National Socialist buildings, were Troost's buildings in Munich and Speers' Works in Nuremberg and his pavilion for the World's Fair in Paris.

"The building, incorporating steel construction and cut stone facades, was especially typical of the monumental character of National Socialist architecture. An important consideration in this type of construction was how imposing it was under illumination at night" 27

(iv) The Psychology of the Architecture; Uniformity and Intimidation

The prime objective of the particular style was to constantly state the ideas of uniformity, subordination and to intimidate the people.

Uniformity was an extension of the idea behind propaganda of repetition. The unchanging style, no variations or ornamentation, the whole city designed by the one Architect, pounded in the idea of commonality. There was no proliferation of style in the cities, they were to be totally reconstructed, rebuilt. The city was not to exist in relation to anything else, it was to be self-contained, uncontaminated, self-sufficient to echo the National Socialist idea of total capability of the one race, the city representing the race. This uniformity also echoed the idea of the common purpose running through everything, from the single person to the crowd, from the crowd to the building, from the building to the city, from the city to the state, then the State as Nation. The uniformity gives the feeling of an all-pervasive force every building conforms pushing

its conformity on to the occupant. The style is omnipresent, following this, the ideology which produces it is omnipresent.

"Our opponents will begin to realise and more important, our adherents will know that our buildings were created to strengthen this authority... This is the underlying purpose of these buildings..... For they will help unify and strengthen our people more than ever..... In the presence of these mighty witnesses to our communal existence, earthly differences among people shrink away to nothing"₂₈ (Hitler)

The idea of "Strengthen this authority" was to be used over, as well as for, the people of the Reich. The uniformity of design of whole cities was to express visibility. Uniform design meant no surprises, no ornamentation, no individuality, (individuality was privacy), nowhere to hide. The same force was always present, these 'mighty witnesses' enforced their communality. 'Earthly differences', i.e. individuality, 'shrunk away' i.e. were crushed. Complete visibility was the intention and impression. ("It must be impersonal because it is not the work of an individual but the symbol of a community bound together by a common ideal")₂₉.

Intimidation was the power of National Socialist Architecture: "It must have an element of the unapproachable in it that fills people with admiration and "awe"₃₀. I would translate this 'admiration and awe' as feelings of inadequacy and stupidity. The style, by its reference to Classical Roman and Greek Civilisations, was intimidating by acquiring the auras and associations of age and knowledge. People were belittled by the language of 'great' civilisation.

"Small everyday needs have changed over the millennia, and they will continue to change. But the great cultural documents of humanity, built of granite and marble, have remained unchanged over the millennia. They alone are the truly stable element in the rush of all other phenomena... This is why these buildings should not be conceived of for the year 1940 or for the year 1000. Like the Cathedrals of our past they will tower over the millennia of the future"³¹ (Hitler)

Such great age was to tower over humanity, individual human lives, and emphasise vulnerability of people and the strength of the idea.

From this came Speers' idea of 'ruin value'³². The buildings of the Third Reich were to be designed, in terms of their materials and statics, so that they 'would resemble Roman models after centuries or (as we used to say) thousands of years had passed' (Speer)³³.

This could obviously mean nothing in real terms to the people of the time, but in terms of association; as Rome and Greece were we are, as Rome and Greece are, we shall become, monuments to greatness.

Monumentality was another prized quality, monumentality, as monument to, and in terms of size.

"The figures for this immense building we are planning now, begin to suggest what titanic forces the National Socialist State can summon up"³⁴.

Clemenz Kiltz, the Architect who drew up plans for a National House of German Labour, expressed the joy of sheer spending capability. While displaying the magical command of National Socialism over everything, no matter what its size, this extravagance of cost took capability for

action out of the hands of anybody but the State. Only monumental building of monumental cost was valuable, and it could only be carried out by the monumentally powerful State. It was creating need for its own strength, lie on top of lie. This was restated in the case of the rallies and their filming. Movement was not possible anymore without the State. The more powerful she got, the more impossible the tasks the state set herself to justify her existence.

In terms of the physical monumentality of the Architecture the thought was to force the people together: As Speer commented of his own work;

"It was not my aim that he should feel anything. I only wanted to impose the grandeur of the building on the people in it. I read in Goethes travels in Italy, that, when he saw the Roman amphitheatre in Verona he said to himself; if people with different minds are all pressed together in such a place, they will be unified in one mind. That was the aim of the stadium; it had nothing to do with what the small man might think personally."

35.

I think 'personally' here he means, privately. Despite themselves the people were to be crushed together by the sheer size and forcefulness of the Architecture, to form a single mass. To cope with the monumentality, so overbearing it could not be accommodated visually, individuality had to be sacrificed for the safety of the mass. It used the idea of the 'bewildered' individual. I've talked about above. The newly formed mass block of bodies could combat, or cope with, the intimidation of the 'imposing grandeur'. The individuality was to be beaten out of the mass, architecture became violent, painful.

Finally monumentality celebrated death.

"Only a small segment of Architecture can promptly be classified as Art: the tomb and the monument. Everything else, everything that serves a function, has no place in the realm of Art".³⁶

All new 'public' building was non-functionary, all new 'public' building was Art, only tombs and monuments constituted Art. An air of monumentality/death hung over the new Architecture. Along with the 'towers to the dead' (a plan for a cross of them centred at Berlin and spreading from Northern Europe to Southern Africa and East to Western Europe) most buildings shared this air of the mausoleum. They appeared to be preparing the cities as great big war/death memorials, celebrations of the inevitability of death. Architectural expressions/preparations for blackout.

(v) The Berlin Dome; Physical Restraints. The Berlin Dome signified the physical limit of National Socialism and the need to ultimately escape physical reality. Clouds would form in the dome from the peoples breath and then rain on them below.

"In such a huge building the man who is most important, the person for whom it is really done, shrinks to nothing. One can't see him. I tried to solve the problem but I couldn't. I was going to put a huge eagle behind him to say 'Here He Is', but Hitler would really have been invisible in the grandeur"³⁷.

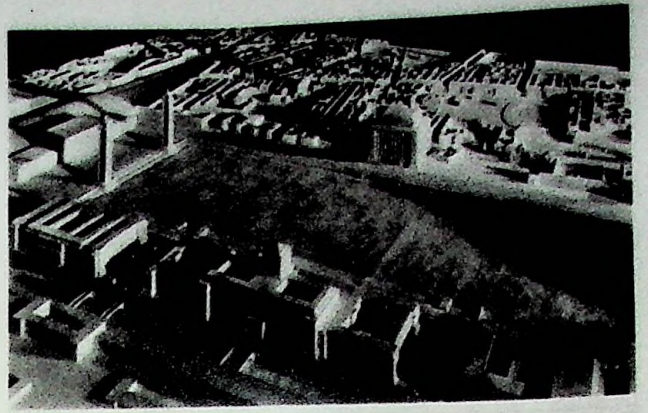
They were outdoing themselves, they could no longer avoid the impracticality of their ideas, they could not be uncompromisingly

applied to physical reality. This would have been a handy metaphor to proclaim its illegitimacy at the time, and indeed it is now, to point to the clouds above Hitler raining down on him and laugh that he was very human after all. However! they overcame it.

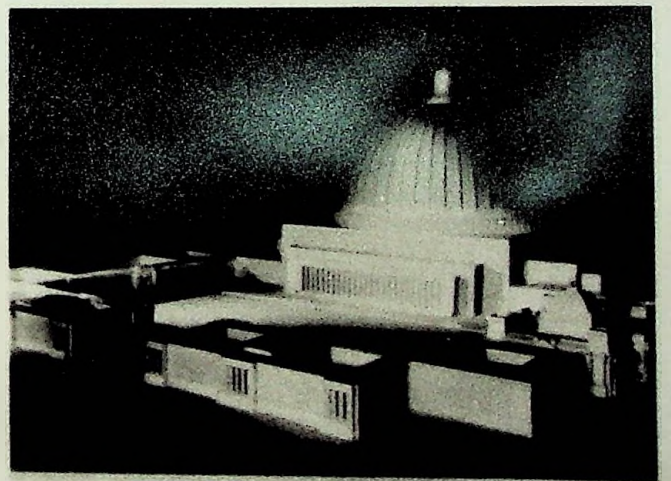
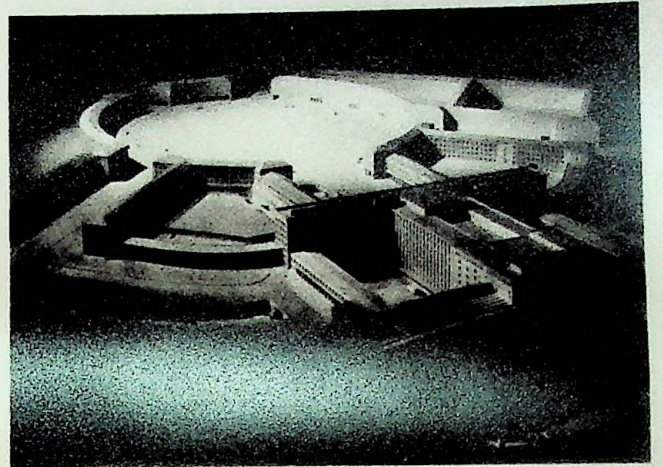
Robert Hughes, in "The Shock of the New" says that "The Berlin Dome.... marked the point at which Architecture must necessarily concede defeat- in a mass state - to mass media", which I agree with totally but then he goes on to say that "the Nazis could not scale up the politics of the agora (place of assembly) to the dimensions of the thousand year Reich, by bringing all the people to the Fuhrer. The solution would have been to bring the Leader into everyone's Living Room, by television; but that had to wait another twenty years"³⁸ Fair enough, television would have been ideal, but the Nazis did recognise this fact and in response made use of photography and, most importantly, film. (The 'Triumph of the Will' which I will discuss later).

By the use of photography, the National Socialists were attempting to 'scale up' the manifestation of the Reich 'to the dimensions of (the ideas/expectations of) the Thousand Year Reich'. Photography overcame the impossibility of building (in cement and stone) the Reich at a speed to match expectations of the people by photographing architectural models and presenting them in the manner of finished work.

"The audiences identification with the actor is really an identification with the camera. Consequently the audience takes the position of the camera....)"³⁹



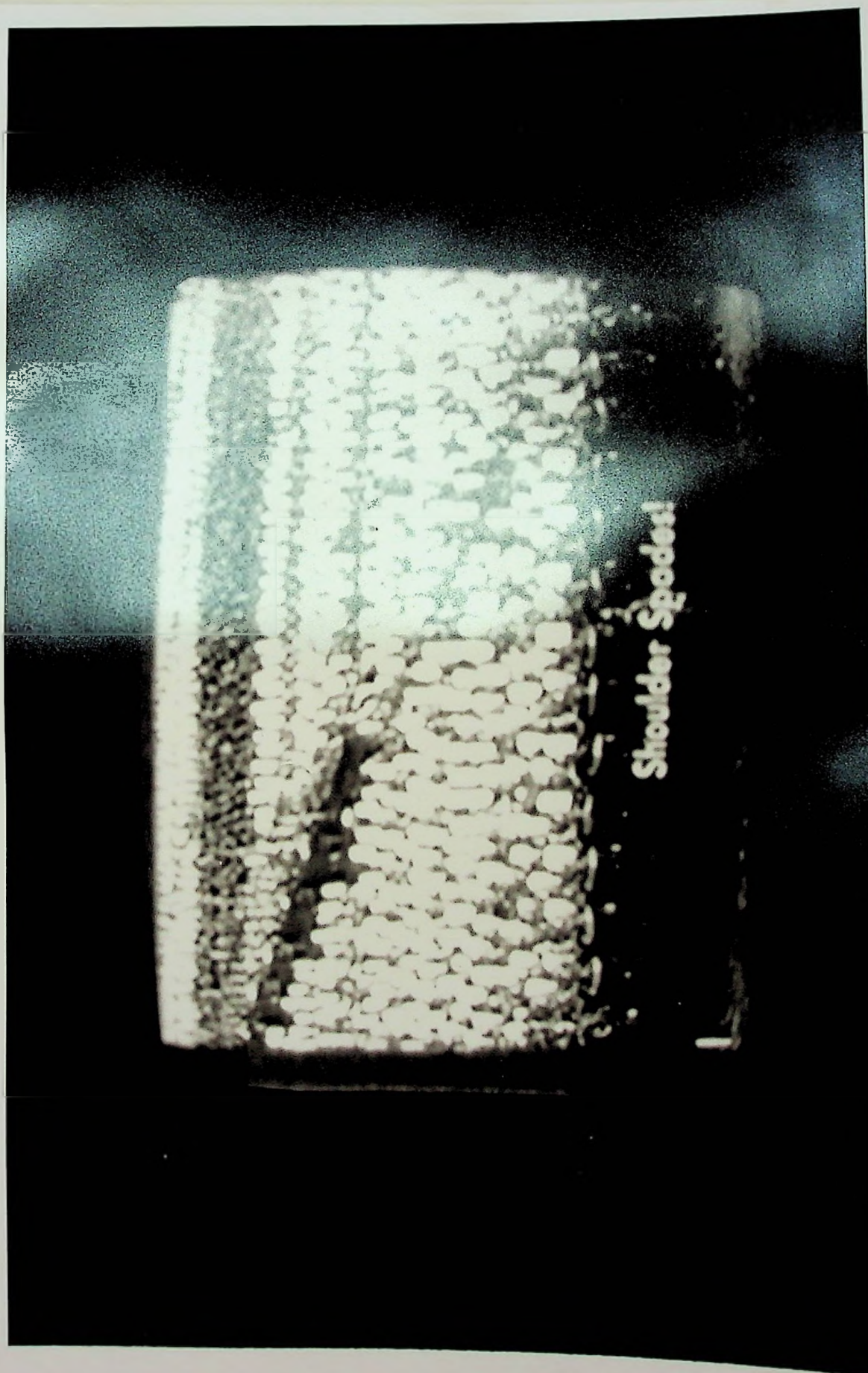
GROSSES BECKEN JUNI 1958



MEISCHER PLATZ JANUAR 1957

(If you take the architecture as fulfilling the actors role). The photograph supplies many of the needs of the people to see the products of their devotions. The model also represents something they may never have seen anyway (or very rarely) so the physical presence is of less importance. The photograph decreases the importance/desire with/of the believer to see the finished product. It supplants the real need. 'Reality' and promise were being merged. The Reich was becoming 'A fiction which could only be maintained by constant repetition, reproduction, by ever more elaborated, more aesthetic representations" 40

The Nurembourg Rallies and their 'documentation', in the Leni Reifenstahl film 'Triumph of the Will', represent the progression of this fiction. The construction of the 1934 rally around the 'Triumph of the Will' gives expression to the removal of society, in National Socialism, from physical reality to a controlled constructed one, in an attempt to survive. (Lie upon lie).



Chapter 5: The Nuremburg Rallies:

(i) From Expression of Loyalty to Identification with the Machine.

The rallies came to be organised on an annual basis, the 1933 rally, celebrating the National Socialist ascent to power, setting the precedent for the subsequent rallies. The idea of the rally was the expression of loyalty and conviction to the Leadership of the Fuhrer, Adolf Hitler. It was also to represent an expression of National Socialist social structure.

The setting for the rallies was based on the principle of propaganda; 'the most brilliant propaganda technique must confine itself to a few points and repeat them over and over'⁴¹. (Mein Kampf). The range of imagery was severely restricted; the swastika, the eagle and the presence of Hitler, only slightly elaborated on in the uniforms and colours of the S.A., S.S., Work Soldiers uniforms and insignia. As the years progressed architectural additions were made, the pillars of light, new temples, urns, etc., but the three dominant images remained Hitler, the Swastika and the Eagle.

Nuremburg contained four specially built arenas; between the Luitholdheim and the Marzfeld a straight, broad avenue stretched for sixteen miles. On either side of it was the Zeppelinwiese and the German stadium; The Zeppelinwiese had a capacity greater than the population of its host city (400,000). The stadia were designed with the general area for the mass parade, laid out in front of the reviewing stand. Hitler's reviewing stand at the Zeppelfeld was 'Twice as long as the Baths of Caracalla'⁴².

The rally would be laid out as a model of the hierarchy of the Leadership over the loyal mass, the former looking out from the reviewing stand over the latter. The mass laid out according to loyalty, productivity and region (the bottom layer), officialdom, party functionaries, the Army Officers (the middle layer) and the Fuhrer at the highest point, on the reviewing stand.

While expressing a model of the social structure by arrangement of what was present, the rally defined the 'German people' by what it excluded; the Communists, Jews, homosexuals, dissidents, peoples from Central European States and even certain workers.⁴⁷ These were those outside commitment, productivity, usefulness, outside humanity. This served to strengthen the sense of community being built at the rally by emphasising only purity and giving it a sense of rightful privilege. The rally was a model for the society to be.

The rally was removed from any trace of normal life (everyday existence) to become an event. Nuremburg was relieved of its function of what would normally comprise the content of a city (commerce, trade, industry, etc.) to become 'the city of rallies', like Epcot or Disneyworld. The event stretched over a few days to take over the life of the participants, make their lives this model of National Socialism, for a few days anyway. Massive camps were set up to accommodate these National Socialists as one group, sleeping, being catered for etc., all as one. It came to resemble a military camp for a military exercise.

The expression of the fuhrerprinzip of order and of National Community, forged in this order were the products of the rally felt by the participants.

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Architecturally, by way of the central position of the reviewing stand, Hitler was the focus of attention plus literally Hitler could see everything, everybody, the omniscient Leader. "The crowd was seeing and being seen"⁴⁴. The mass was declaring its visibility, the rally was declaring the fact of visibility.

"....in the full glare of conditions of the utmost visibility, with an unprecedented amount of electric light - the Nuremburg rallies were reportedly visible at Frankfurt over 100 miles away-..."⁴⁵.

The people displaying themselves like this, opening up was the most complete display of loyalty and willingness to be subordinate. The display was the sacrifice of responsibility i.e. self-control.

"Where everybody disarms from the start, unclothes and becomes accessible, the wish producing fantasies of prohibition, darkness and remote goals vanish"⁴⁶.

The 'unclothing' of those present at the rally is their discarding of their humanity, making themselves 'accessible' to the Fuhrer, it is a one sided relationship. With this openness self-interest, i.e. 'wish-producing fantasy' disappears. Complete visibility means no 'darkness' or 'remote goals' of private desire. There is no prohibition as they have constructed themselves around the society so that it represents their every wish.

This invisibility also means community, a common identification with their mutual subordination to Germany, as expressed in their loyalty to the Fuhrer. This loyalty was acted out/stated by the various sections of the community, at the rally:

Lutze (S.A) 'My Fuhrer, just as in the old days we carried out our duties, so we shall wait upon your orders in the future. And we cannot do any thing other than follow the orders of our Fuhrer and thus prove that we are the same as we always were. Our Fuhrer, Adolf Hitler, Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil!"⁴⁷.

The sections of the society, SA, 44, the Labour Front, the Hitler Youth etc., all take their places at the rally and declare their loyalty as useful dependable and dependant members of the society, building the idea of National Socialist community.

Order, is the order of their action, the control of their exuberance, domination over individual action. 'The parades and rallies were prodigiously controlled, neat, lucid - their visual clarity, co-ordinated by Speer, was a sophistication of what tended to be more crowded, teeming, overwhelming accumulation of numbers in earlier Nazi rallies.⁴⁸ The great organisation and lucidity of mass movement gave testimony to the inherent order of the system.

This movement and mass formation was amplified by the architecture;

"These structures and implied structures, carried little ornament; their symbolic purposes were nonetheless unambiguous and strong -- their message was understood to be carried by their form"⁴⁹.

Their message was subordination conformity through Speers designs of imposition and monumentality.. The architecture of the rally stadia was to pound out the humanity of the crowd by challenging it, the crowd was to respond by assuming a corresponding presence and order;



"the simple precision of the white columns on the Nuremburg parade ground extended into the orderly columns of men assembled there".⁵⁰

The participants express themselves as the architecture expresses its power and glories in its harshness, its incompleteness; its order.

"the political soldiers focus their gaze on it (the building). Standing together in the same posture, in the same uniform, intent on the same goal, they are bound to perceive the straight lines of columns as an expression of the order to which they have submitted themselves. They find expressed in stone the same will to order that has taken possession of them as living human beings. They feel a total harmony between themselves and this architecture".⁵¹

Order and community come to mean subordination and subjugation in Speer's Roman Amphitheatres.

The battered individuality gives way to a commonality which presents itself as being part of the greater 'whole'. The crowd, no longer fearful of pain by virtue of the confidence of its mass (power), comes to imitate the machine.

The society transforms from a civil to a military model, everyone is a National Socialist, everyone a soldier;

"Suddenly I understood: these were not workers, farmers, students, nor artisans, office workers, tradesmen officials; they were soldiers. Following no mission, no order, and shunning disguise, these were men responding to the call, the mysterious call

of the blood, the spirit, soldiers of their own free will, men who felt the solidity of their communal bond and knew what lay below the surface of things.... the nation was with them." 52.

The rally inspires the bonds, the comradeship of the military, national community becomes national army, a fully mobilised nation. Work becomes militarised, symbolised by the 'Work Soldiers', carrying their spades as rifles. The public become soldiers and fulfil the role of 'intelligent munitions' 53

"For all its romantic ideals and images of a transfigured past, German fascism was decidedly involved in the material domination over nature through a vast technology that stretched from the rationalised way in which an entire country was organised to an elaborate bureaucratic mechanism to a military machine a world war and ultimately death camps, vast factories that recycled human bodies, pressing out of them every possible material gain before disposing of them". 54

The people were inspired to mimic machinery, following only the impulse of purpose, to continuously justify their own usefulness by crushing that which challenged the validity of their given purpose. The society had to cover/squash its humanity, i.e. its conscience, in the terminology of unconsciousness of the machine. New people were created to serve the sole purpose of propagation of the Reich, regardless.

A euphoria of conviction was created that blinds the crowd. The mass becomes an unstoppable machine, blinded by its own righteousness in conviction, deafened by its own euphoric declarations. It mows over anything that does not become part of it.

The rally produces a surplus value of a code for other mass unity/ totality formations. That code is to be interpreted and adopted by the society at large. The masses march to create a microcosm of Germany, to produce a German society of the soldier. Society is to be based around the military i.e. preparation for war mentality.

(ii) Relief/pleasure: Expression becomes the Property of the State:

The masses revel in their self-subjugation. They indulge in masochism for the pleasure of their Fuhrer. The rally is a taste of people to attain the perfect society. It realises their potential, gives sustenance to their ambitions. The purpose of the action is to seek vindication in the eyes of the Fuhrer, This vindication justifies their actions: Their self suppression is given partial release. The mass of people use the Leadership, i.e. The Fuhrer, as a displacement vehicle for their responsibility, they dump their horror at the incomprehensibility of their actions with the 'genius' of the leadership. The leadership dump their responsibility in the 'intelligent munitions', who remove them from those they repress, thus save them the need for the 'hard skin' the soldier must acquire to kill, first hand. They build up an interdependence.

As the horrified individual only feels able to function in the mass, all expression becomes the property of the mass. As this mass formation represents the state, all expression becomes the property of the mass. As this mass formation represents the State, all expression becomes the property of the State. The individual

no longer owns his own actions. The State will use him as it sees fit.

His actions are controlled and directed in the theatre of the rally but, small as it is, he still has some ability to disrupt. With reproduction, his actions are acquired, he now has no control over his own representation. Total sacrifice, 'do with me what thou will'.

Chapter 6 - "Triumph of the Will"

(i) Triumph of the Will - Drama, Fantasy and Documentary:

The medium of film provided the most valuable form of reproduction to the National Socialists. Through film the 'value' of the rally could be relayed to a much greater audience than would ever be able to attend the rally. Most importantly, however, film made it so much more possible to 'do with me what thou wilt'. Film allowed the National Socialists to acquire the actions of the individual, or the crowd, and present them only as it saw fit, through editing or other cinematic devices. Film signified the eventual transcendence of physical limitation.

The idea to use film in relation to the rally was apparently Hitler's own, the title "Triumph of the Will" a film of the 1934 Reichsparteitag Nuremburg Rally, was coined by Hitler himself, and the services of Director Leni Riefenstahl were requested by him also.

Riefenstahl had started as an actress, making her name in the 'mountain films' of Arnold Fank, eventually graduating to direct and star in her own, 'The Blue Light' in 1932. These mountain films were allegories of aspiration. The metaphor of the film being that of the mountain representing the ascent, the struggle to a spiritual high peak, i.e. Utopia. The mountain is both beautiful and dangerous. The ascent up the mountain represents the escape from the self (the town below) into the ordeal of aspiration to reach the top. The ordeal represents the pain, sacrifice and the peak, Utopia or death. Consider these illusions in relation to National Socialist 'ideology'. They mirror the ideas of pain, sacrifice and death; the escape from complication of modern reality, the discontent with the contemporary



civilisation, to the clarity (of mountain air), the simplicity (of the rock) and the isolation of accomplished man. The films are allegories based in National Socialist "ideologies". The 'Triumph of the Will' is made with the intent to depict the same aspirations, but with greater impression as it is using, supposedly, documented, i.e. true, footage.

The film was credited as a documentary of the 1934 Reichsparteitag but I'm comparing it with allegorical fantasy films! The film was very far from being a documentary.

Preparations for the party convention were made in conjunction with preparations for the camera work (Propaganda plus German Cinema) These are Riefenstahl's own words and make a mockery of her later claims of making 'cinema verite'. She started making preparations for the filming, "Sequence by Sequence"⁵⁵ in May 1934 for the rally which was not to be held until September of the same year.

Riefenstahl, with the full co-operation of the National Socialist authorities, reversed the relationship of reality to documentation the film was supposed to have.

"In the 'Triumph of the Will', the document (image) not only is the record of reality but is the one reason for which the reality has been constructed and must eventually supersede it"⁵⁶

The eventual product of the film controlled the staging of the rally. The camera's were not there to document, simply record the events, the rally was there to lend itself to the creation of the film image.

The rally was only to exist as a rally, on the film. Some speeches of the party leadership were lost on film, a set was designed by Speer and the group leaders had to vow their loyalty to the Fuhrer, without him being present, under studio lights.

The consistent denial of the fact that the film was in no way a documentary, was perhaps, its greatest strength. It could use all the manipulative capabilities of film without alerting the audience, which could then process the message of the film with this in mind. A fantasy was being presented as reality.

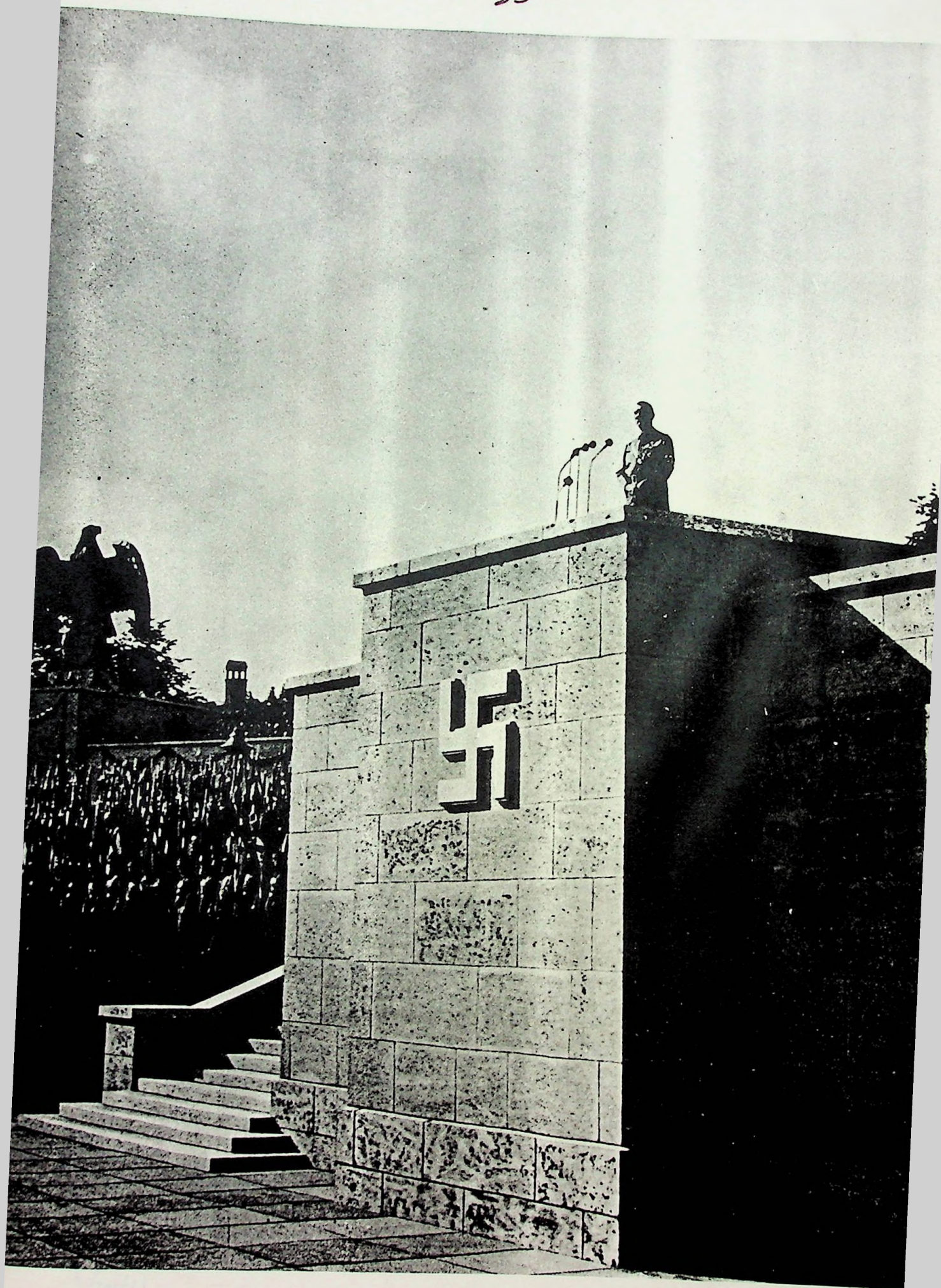
- (ii) Film, Ultimate Control - Controlling the Perspective: The power of film is in the power of the visual image; as A. Rhodes says in 'Propaganda' "Goebbels Propagandists knew that visual impressions are extremely strong" People may forget a newspaper article, but not a picture - if they see it often and its message is obvious'⁵⁷ and its appropriation reality, photography, which gives it the aura of truth. Film provided the ultimate manipulative vehicle for National Socialist designs on its people.

The filming of the 'Triumph of the Will' signifies the same realisation of limitation of the human body, as the Berlin Dome had demonstrated the physical limitations on architecture. Because of the National Socialists realisation of the fact that 'humanity does not come up to scratch'⁵⁸ they wished, as before, to create a 'reality' receptive to their demands. As the National Socialist mentality was, they denied the problem and created a new situation in which it did not exist. Film was such a situation here, free of the restrictions of human physicality, (movement, gravity, permanent form).

"Confronted with its ^{NA} manual reproduction, which was usually branded as a forgery, the original reserved all its authority; not so vis a vis technical reproduction." 59

This was the value of film to the National Socialists, it questioned the authority of the original, making its own interpretation as valid, if not more, as the original. The party could exercise total control, as Directors, over the composition, the product, of the film. Technical reproduction provides a mobility which could never be enjoyed by the single participant. The film; 'can bring out those aspects of the original that are unattainable to the naked eye yet accessible to the lens' 60 For example the camera follows Hitler's car as it drives through the streets of Nuremberg switching from close-up, shot from below, to shots from behind to give Hitler's view.

Take this in relation to the image of Hitler, the leadership qualities, The Godlike qualities that are attributed to the Fuhrer in National Socialist ideology. The opening scenes of the film are of Hitler's arrival by plane, simple enough, however the film allows us a number of different perspectives, and thus a number of different inferences, on the flight and arrival. We are allowed to fly beside it, to see Hitler's chariot sail the clouds. Then we are allowed inside the plane to see Hitler's perspective, briefly, then we see just the clouds, flying independantly, transcending our own capabilities. The entrance to Nuremberg sees it appear out of the mist of the clouds, inferring its unique existence, an island of National Socialism, untainted by connections, road, rail, sea, to the



inferior societies. Nuremburg 'the City of Rallies' appears through the clouds, to welcome its saviour from the skies. How many people experienced Hitler's arrival this way without the aid of narcotics. The medium of film allows those who piece it together to colour events with their own meanings. Film was allowing the Nazis to further remove self-control from its people by manipulating, directing their interpretations of events. The idea used in photographic reproduction of architectural models, the audience taking the position of the camera.

Depiction of Hitler in the film exaggerates the ideal of the Fuhrerprinzip. He is literally raised above the audience by use of the camera angle. Hitler is always viewed from below making him appear to rise monumentally above the 'normal' being, as used in sculpture when placing the figure on a pedestal.

"....The perspective from below has still further implications.

The figures are not shown in realistic or realizable action.

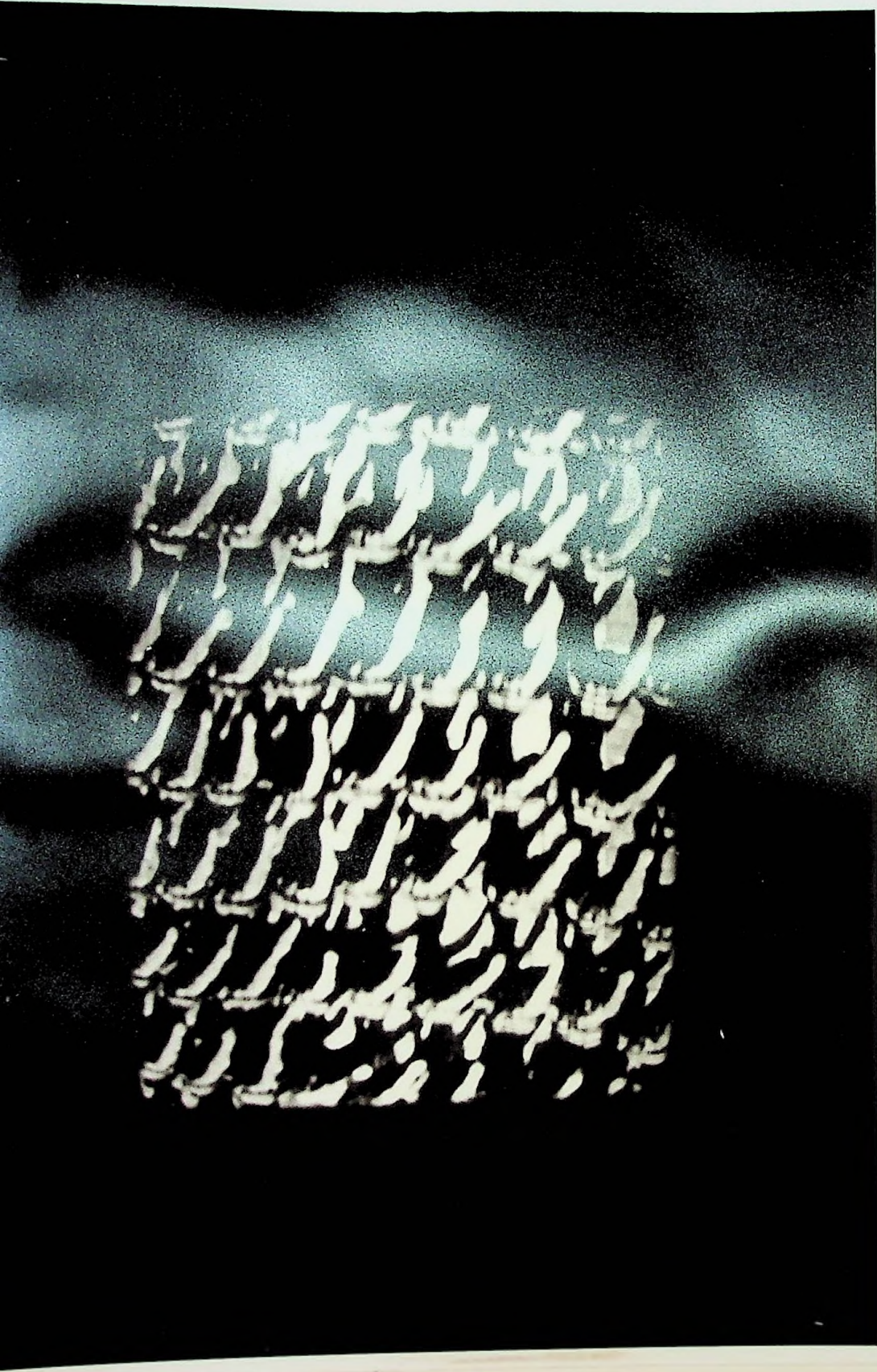
Instead they pose like isolated figures of statuary that never seem to function within a coherent, artistically created system of reality, but exist only in relation to something outside of themselves and for observers looking up at them...."not being subject to external, objective circumstances, but of determining those circumstances themselves"⁶¹

The angle controls the meaning Hitler's posture conveys to the audience. Capturing the image and manipulating it removes many of the variables of individual independent viewing. With images as forceful in meaning as the above, the audience would have to consciously oppose the implications, deconstruct the image. "Triumph of the Will" went towards preventing this by the claim of being

merely documentary and by the grip of fascination they knew this new medium held their audience in. Riefenstahl used this 'insufficient respect, insufficient cult of, what it (film) expresses⁶² to influence, guide the interpretations of the audience.

The film provided an image of the spectacle which the participant in the event, could never have had before. The freedom of the camera gave the participant, in the Reich, a view of that massing of colours, line and shape into compositional form of what Hitler could see himself. Seeing the product of their conviction fed the conviction of this National Socialist society of soldiers. Being presented with this composition of order gave them a relief, a pleasure in seeing a purpose in their actions. The film provided its own surplus value of a vindication of all the effort, pain and sacrifice required in the service of the state. Many of the views were taken from the reviewing stand, inferring that this was the perspective of the Fuehrer, thus showing the purpose of their actions.

This representation of these expressions of visibility; this is me in my total form, I am no more, I have nothing private', extend the declaration of visibility. The rally through the film is displaying its subordination to as wide an audience as possible. Thus it makes the possibility of those who proclaim their loyalty, disclaiming that loyalty, less likely. There is now a record of that proclamation. The film acts as a permanently displayable oath.



(iii) No more Ambiguity: The greatest progression of the film in terms of establishing the validity of National Socialism was that it removed self-control further away from the individual. The participant was surrendering his actions to be, edited, filmed from any angle, etc. generally making them the property of the State which could use them in whatever manner it saw fit. All responsibility for action is surrendered to the state by way of film.

"The camera that presents the performance of the film actor to the public, need not respect the performance as an integral whole. Guided by the cameraman, the camera continually changes its position with respect to the performance. The sequence of positional views which the editor composes from the material supplied him constitutes the completed film"⁶³

The rally participant had already sacrificed self-determination in his submission to the theatrical staging of the rally itself, his rehearsed marches and chants. Now he surrendered any possibility for humanity to creep in by virtue of the fact that it could simply be edited out in the construction of the film. The soldiers life is recorded and handed to the Director who will further veto any traces of independence. This is control in its ultimate form the individual no longer in possession of his actions.

This is a rejection of the physicality of existence, an attempt to transcend human limitations in order to come up to the expectations of the idea. Supreme lack of faith in personal ability. Here we come back to the geometric pattern formations of the rallies.

The film depicts these patterns as no more than that, shapes, lines, the opposite of the 'soft body' of humanity. People now only wish to see themselves as ordered patterns, shapes which fit and move in unison, free of the ambiguity of the human consciousness which prevents such order, total subordination. Outside the film this image does not exist to the masses of National Socialism.

Visual reality has come to exist only on the film. People have donated themselves as raw material to be manipulated by the Fuhrer/Architect in order that the pure/true/ valid society, as opposed to that collapsed parody of contemporary society, might exist.

With National Socialism, politics was adopting the rhetoric of Art, Art in its late romantic phase. It espoused the ideas of escapism from worldly shackles into a world of spirituality; 'plans, terminologies, ideas of deportment aimed at resolving the painful structural contradictions inherent in the human situation, at the completion of human consciousness at transcendence'⁶⁴. It adopted the ideas of the Holistic theory, setting out from an awareness of the whole, The Expressive Theory, the language of the heart, and the Hierophantic conception of Art, the Artist as mediator of the truth, transcendental and divine.⁶⁵ It was trying to impose an unwordly, non-relative, concept onto society. It transposed its people onto celluloid in order that they might truly transcend their worldliness, worldliness signifying limitation. The boundaries of real life and fantasy merged on film.

"Whatever goal is set for Art eventually proves restrictive, matched against the widest goals of consciousness"⁶⁶.

Following from this National Socialism was anti-conscious, a rejection of the physicality of existence which proclaimed their ideology a lie. It needed to be able to alter circumstance at will, i.e. edit. Politics had to create the situation in which to exist. It does not deal with problems it ignores them, covers them in blind faith and false realities. It is escapist.

This imposition of the idea of escapist creation onto real life, required impossible exertions from the people in order that the illusion be maintained as reality. Escapism was to be achieved, but of course this is impossible. Utopia is unattainable, a foil to despair, a spur to effort. National Socialism denied this in order to exact an impossible conviction, effort from his people. The exertions required to attempt to (which is all that could be done) aspire to these heights were dealt with by the ideas of sacrifice and acceptance of pain, so prominent in Nazi ideology. Ultimately the realisation of the impossibility resulted in the celebration, the aestheticisation of death, death being the only escape from, or the only replacement for, Utopia. Its celebration, the ultimate release from torment for the people is represented throughout the "Triumph of the Will". The ceremony of the Blood Flag, the honouring of the heroes in the Luitpold Grove and ultimately the closing sequence of the soldiers, shot from below, seemingly marching up to the clouds, to the skies, all celebrate death at an exalted level. Death is the ultimate state of unconsciousness, of blackout.

The 'Triumph of the Will' is the failure of the conscious, the defeat of the conscience. It is the triumph of the self-delusion, blinding

oneself to the impossibility of this society of pure escapism. The society banished all sense of rationality in order that it would not discover its inherent contradictions. It gave itself no relative guidelines in order that it could pretend to exist purely, independently of its complex surrounds. The impossibility, unreality of its aims brought on its aesthetic fascination with death, portraying it as inevitable but desireable. Death was the most total of removals from the complexities and frustrations of life.

"The adjustment of reality to the masses and of the masses to reality is a process of unlimited scope, as much for thinking as perception"⁶⁷

The legitimate State starts with the people and culminates in a considered expression of their various desires, needs, rights. Its aim is to consider everybody within it as equals, constructing a framework which balances all the disparate claims in an unprejudiced manner. It adjusts to serve the people, it must always be relatively considerate. The State forms because of the people.

The illegitimate State starts with its own establishment and forms the people to reflect and fulfil those needs which ensure its supremacy. The State is all important and will only change when threatened with extinction. It adjusts its people to serve itself. A State is merely a concept of organisation which ensures the running of a society, society is the people, therefore it is for the people. If it is not there to accommodate all the people it is not performing its function and is merely being used as a tool

to implement the will of the few on the many. When the idea of 'State' is used to maintain the power of an unpopular or redundant elite, the idea itself becomes illegitimate.

Conclusion:

"(National Socialism) recognised the mighty appeal of non-synchronous sensibilities, thoughts out of keeping with modern realities, especially a romantic anticapitalism fueled by discontent with contemporary civilisation". (Ernst Bloch) ⁶⁸

National Socialism had recognised the peoples disaffection with circumstance, accentuated by the chaos of the times. It developed this dissatisfaction with its ideology based in the military mentality, choosing to oppose questionability and uncertainty by subordinating the self to a single law, a single truth. Every question was answered and every answer was unquestionable.

The contemplative part of the psyche was to be suppressed in order that there would be no hindrance to attaining the National Socialist objective; i.e. anything was permissible if it furthered the National Socialist cause.

The German people developed, under National Socialism, to consider that they had a right to happiness. Peter Sloterdijk talks about this 'right to happiness' in 'Critique of Cynical Reason'. Peoples actions are usually tempered by consideration of consequences, "socialized consciousness sees itself at the mercy of an incessant agitation by themes of care" ⁶⁹ National Socialism, however, was working to eradicate real social consciousness by creating a mentality which celebrated anti-consciousness, the war mentality. Free of the 'incessant agitations' they could act solely according to their own needs.

The opponent of the National Socialist was to be dehumanised, however, the opponent was partly the self, consideration, subconscious, the conscience. Thus, it, National Socialism, required of its people their own self-subjugation. This was represented physically by the 'hard skin' which protects from penetration which would release the internal, uncontained mass. The body, uncontrollable, would erupt everywhere. This control of the body was a metaphor for control of the inner-self, caging the beast within. This self-control provided for a susceptibility to order, which is what National Socialism celebrates, aims for.

This susceptibility was exploited by the elite which had been threatened with redundancy in the new laissez-faire capitalist society. It was this which ultimately points out the illegitimacy of the state. The system was working to service the concerns, monetary concerns, it professed to oppose. The general National Socialist population were suffering exploitation as sacrifice which was supposedly bringing a Utopia closer for them.

People would not suffer such ill-treatment without any release. This was provided by representations of the results of their efforts, celebrations of the community their sacrifice was achieving. The spectacle of the rally provided satisfaction, but were limited. Film provided the most satisfactory vindication of sacrifice and Fuhrer worship. Film could most fully celebrate the value of man expressing himself in terms of the machine.

Film expressed most fully, of the mediums used by the National Socialists, the ultimate dissatisfaction felt with physical reality and the desire



to transcend it. This desire, the dissatisfaction, is consequent of a need for release from the pains of the contradictions inherent in interacting socially, living; i.e. a desire for death. The National Socialists placed a great emphasis on the aestheticisation of death, through monuments, ceremonies honouring martyrs. This desire for release also points to the impossibility of the aims and demands of National Socialism. The end of the 'Triumph of the Will' states this with the final shot of the soldiers marching to the clouds with a swastika superimposed on the image. The National Socialist soldier marches to Valhalla.

FOOTNOTES.

1. Sir Charles Bell quoted by John Keegan and Joseph Darracott in The Nature of War. p.214.
2. Peter Sloterdijk. Critique of Cynical Reason. p.125.
3. Friedrich Nietzsche, Human all too Human. pp.168/169
4. Mark Tierney, 'The Weimar Republic; Germany 1918 - 1933'. in Europe since 1870. pp.165/186.
5. Andre Francois - Poncet, the French Ambassador in Berlin, reporting to Paris in September 1931. Quoted by Mark Tierney, p.183.
6. Mark Tierney, p.187.
7. Mark Tierney, p.188.
8. George Hegel quoted by K. R. Popper in, The Open Society and its Enemies, p.31.
9. Friedrich Nietzsche quoted by Mark Tierney, p.188
10. Klaus Theweleit, Male Fantasies - Volume 2. p.28
11. Anthony Rhode's, Propaganda, p.12.
12. ADOLF HITLER, MIEN KAMPF.
13. Klaus Theweleit, pp.25/26.
14. Peter Sloterdijk, Critique of Cynical Reason, p.348
15. Ibid, p.354.
16. Klaus Theweleit, p.20.
17. Ibid, p.144.

18. Ibid, p.150
19. Friedrich Nietzsche, p.40
20. Ibid, p.192
21. Ibid, p.179
22. Ibid, p.181
23. Peter Sloterdijk, p.348
24. W. Horn quoted by Berthold Hinz, Art in the Third Reich, p.112
25. Hitler quoted by Berthold Hinz, p.194
26. Ibid, p. 192/193
27. Berthold Hinz, Footnotes, p.236.
28. Hitler, quoted by Berthold Hinz, p.199
29. F. Tomms quoted by B. Hinz, in footnote, p.253
30. Ibid.
31. Hitler quoted by Hinz, p.197
32. B. Hinz, p.197
33. A. Speer quoted by B. Hinz, p.197
34. Article from 'Das Bild' quoted by B. Hinz, p.195
35. Speer quoted by Robert Hughes, The Shock of the New, p.102

36. B. Hinz, p.198.
37. Speer quoted by Robert Hughes, p.102.
38. R. Hughes, p.102.
39. Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', Illuminations, p.230
40. Terri Smith, 'A State of Seeing Unsighted: Notes on the visual in Nazi war culture.' In Block, p.65.
41. Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf,
42. Hughes, p.102
43. Smith, p.69
44. Ibid, p.68
45. Ibid
46. Sloterdijk, p.343.
47. Lutze, Head of the S.A. quoted by David Welch, Propaganda and the German Cinema 1933-1945, p.145.
48. Smith, p.66
49. Ibid, p.57.
50. H. Fischer quoted by Hinz, p.199
51. H. Schrade quoted by Hinz, p.199
52. Cadet Salomen quoted by Theweleit, p.79.
53. Sloterdijk, p.355.

54. Eric Rentschler, Fatal Attractions - Leni Riefenstahl's 'The Blue Light', p.62
55. Susan Sontag, A Susan Sontag Reader, footnote, p.309
56. Ibid, p.311
57. Anthony Rhodes, Propaganda - The Art of Persuasion: World War 2. p.22.
58. Sloterdijk, p.355.
59. Benjamin, p.222.
60. Ibid, p.222.
61. Hinz, pp.113/114.
62. Abel Gance quoted by Benjamin, p.229.
63. Benjamin, p.230.
64. Sontag, p.181
65. August Wiedmann, Romantic Art Theories.
66. Sontag, p.181.
67. Benjamin, p.225.
68. Ernst Bloch quoted by Eric Rentschler, p.
69. Sloterdijk, p.125.

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