

*Paper prepared for the
Sixth Euroacademia Forum of Critical Studies
Asking Big Questions Again*

23 – 25 November 2017

Lucca, Italy

This paper is a draft

Please do not cite or circulate

Spitting on Incapables, Madmen, and Cheats: The NSDAP's War on Degenerate Art

By

Sean N. Kalic

Abstract

In the months and years after World War I, a tremendous amount of anti-war art emerged from the Weimar Republic. Avant-garde artists such as Otto Dix, Georg Grosz, and Max Beckmann, to name a few, established their art as critical commentary on the negative value of war to a civilized society. However, as the interwar period evolved, the rise of the NSDAP in Germany allowed them to critique the value and significance of what they called “cultural bolshevism,” believing that it was of little value to the psyche of the Nazi vision of the new German state. Hence once Adolf Hitler and the NSDAP achieved power, they institute a systematic program to cleanse Germany of “degenerate art.” In its place, the NSDAP established a state run system to produce strong national art that represent the “truth” about Germany and its people. Drawing on paintings from the period 1918-1945, combined with primary source documents from various Weimar artists and their guilds, juxtaposed against official documents from the NSDAP, I explain how the NSDAP used all assets of the State to use art as a vehicle to advance NSDAP propaganda for their political and military programs. My research provides critical insights into how the NSDAP used art as a tool to manufacture public support for their war effort. Furthermore, my paper explores the question how an artificial truth can become manufactured and perpetuated.

Introduction:

In November 2013, a large cache of unknown “degenerate art” became part of an income tax court battle in Germany. Degenerate art was the name given by conservative elements of German society to avant-garde works of art and artists in the period between the First World War and the rise to power of the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP) in 1933 when Adolf Hitler seized power in Germany and fundamentally challenged the tenets of the Weimar era. Hitler and the NSDAP viewed avant-garde art with a visceral hatred. They compared avant-garde art and artist as cancers that had affixed themselves traditional German culture. Their objective was to eradicate this corruptive and dangerous strain that had infected and tainted Germany and its culture.

From the perspective of Hitler and his NSDAP the degenerate charlatans had been presenting a false image to capture the feelings and mood of the turbulent time that encompassed the First World War, as well as the tumultuous political and economic environment of the Weimar era. The ideas presented by the degenerate artists had eroded the proud and nationalistic heritage of the German state, therefore Joseph Goebbels, Reich minister for public enlightenment and propaganda, held massive book burnings and confiscated approximately sixteen thousand works of art that had been declared “degenerate” by Goebbels, Hitler, and the NSDAP.¹

Hildebrand Gurlitts an art collector and gallery owner who worked for the NSDAP in the 1930s and early 1940s accumulated and stashed away his “degenerate art” collection of over thirteen hundred pieces of art found in Germany in 2013.² The collections of art only surfaced when Gurlitt passed away and several works of art were found in his apartment by his son. Later authorities in Germany found additional works in warehouses throughout Munich.

The brief international intrigue and excitement of finding works of art that many believed had been destroyed by Goebbels and his propaganda bureaucracy highlight the NSDAP's attempt to present a vision of their "truth" that did not represent the reality of the social, political, and economic conditions of Germany and its avant-garde artist in the interwar period. Using this war between perspectives on presenting the "truth" about Germany and its history, in which art became a powerful political tool used by Hitler's regime to shape an artificially defined and manipulated collective memory, the history of the NSDAP's purge of degenerate art becomes a very useful and powerful tool to understand the way that Hitler's political regime used and suppressed art to advance the NSDAP's vision of Germany and its history. In the case of the NSDAP, the Avant-garde art, which had become fashionable in the aftermath of the trauma of World War I and chaotic environment of the Weimar Republic, could not be allowed to persist as it did not represent a useful public image that supported the future under the leadership of Adolf Hitler and his NAZI regime.

For Hitler, Goebbels, and the NSDAP specifically art was a powerful tool to "shape the mindless masses into a nation."³ Purging Germany of Avant-guard and Degenerate art in an effort to control the artistic production in Germany allowed Hitler and the NSDAP to "legitimize the past" in a way that suited their political objective and unique vision of German history.⁴ In short, Hitler and the NSDAP were at war for the control of shaping the collective memory of the German people which had become susceptible to the wild ideals of Bolshevism.

Hitler and his party believed that they were fighting Bolshevism and Degenerate forces for the very souls of the German people. Attempting to lead a "revival and resurrection" of German *Kultur*, in which traditional elements of German art served to combat the rotten decay of modernism. Art therefore became a critical means and a central tenet in the NSDAP's attempts to

save the soul of Germany.⁵ Hitler was even quoted as saying that the struggle to revive German art and “save the people of Germany” would be the “proudest defense of the German people.”⁶

This article therefore explores the relationship between art, war, and truth using Germany in the period 1918 to 1945 as a case study. This case study demonstrates that the “truth” presented by degenerate artists, based upon their experiences in the First World War and also in the turbulent political and economic environment of the 1920s, contradicted the vision of Germany remembered by conservative and right-wing elements of society led by Hitler and NSDAP. The confluence of art, war, and truth in the German interwar period led to a bitter and deadly fight in which Hitler and his NSDAP systematically fought to control the vision, history, and understanding of Germany’s past. Degenerate art and artists had no place in this controlled and manufactured scheme. Art had become a means to wage a political war for the new truth in Germany.

Rise of Degenerate Art:

In the ending months of the First World War the domestic scene in Germany was rather grim and the deteriorating political and social conditions proved a significant force for Germans. Food shortages, worker’s strikes, and sailor mutinies gave the impression to the front line soldiers that the German home front was ripe for revolution.⁷ The Communist inspired Spartacus League led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht called for open revolution of the capitalist system in November 1918 further exacerbated this tense political situation.⁸ As a result, of the withering war effort, the collapsing home front, and the tumultuous political environment, the Kaiser abdicated which led Phillip Scheidemann to declare the establishment of the Weimar

Republic on November 9, 1918. By August 1919 the Weimar Republic had a new constitution and began the process of rebuilding the nation after the devastating effects of four years of war.⁹

Despite the significant initial growing pains of the new German Republic, which involved open street warfare between extreme left-wing and right-wing political parties and private armies, significant economic turmoil, and fragile coalition governments, the foundation of the Republic would eventually stabilize in mid the 1920s and remain functioning for approximately a decade before the NSDAP came to power and fundamentally alter the history of Germany and Europe in a profoundly negative way. A hallmark of the Weimar era was an open ability to express a wide variety of political and social positions within the parameters of the new state. However, after the NSDAP seized power in 1933, the political openness associated with the Weimar era became the first in a long list of significant casualties in the political, social, and artistic alternations that the NSDAP enacted onto the German people.

The effect of this openness during the Weimar era was that the people on the artistic fringe of the pre-war years became the cultural leaders in the Weimar era. As the “outsiders became insiders,” to borrow a phrase from Peter Gay, the artistic culture of Germany saw an explosion in the artists affiliated with the dada, Bauhaus, expressionism, and cubist movements.¹⁰ Though many of these movements predated the founding of the Weimar era, it was during the turbulent Weimar era that they surged in popularity and recognition.

Juxtaposed against the popular recognition of the avant-garde, there remained a strong conservative element in German society that sought to limit the growth and influence of modern and avant-garde art. The NSDAP’s rise to power often included attacks on the modern art movement as being contradictory and even dangerous to the traditional cultural sentiments of Germany. Once in power the NSDAP and Hitler sought to eradicate the “the diseased ideas” of

the Weimar period as they believed that they had corrupted the psyche of the German people and misrepresented the immediate past. The NSDAP needed to stop this trend in order for them to reconstruct a new Germany.¹¹

The Weimar and Nazi periods in German history represent two very distinct social, political, and cultural periods. The artistic culture of the two distinct epochs emphasize the difference, as well as serve as a motivating force that drove the NSDAP's quest to eradicate the "outsiders" influence from the Weimar period. For Hitler and his growing NSDAP infrastructure, modern art expansion in Germany was led by "Bolsheviks and Degenerates" whom had hijacked German culture. As a result they needed to be eradicated and replaced with ideas, theories, and culture more representative of true Germany culture and heritage, as defined and envisioned by the NSDAP. The NSDAP therefore would create a state sponsored system that cultivated schools, museums, and art that served to advance the *weltanschauung* of Hitler and his party and replaced the corrupting ideas and visions of degenerate artists with pure and "true" interpretations of Germany's past.¹²

Degenerate Artists:

The period 1919-1933 in Germany has been called "the most interesting and creative period in German cultural history."¹³ As a result of the significant emotional trauma of the First World War that resulted in "anxiety about the future and hostility about the past," the Weimar era yielded an openness of expression for artists that focused on the horrors of war, concern about the present, and despair about the future.¹⁴ Artists such as, Max Beckman, George Grosz, Otto Dix, and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner abandoned the romanticism and traditionalism associated with the Wilhelmian era, which they blamed for embroiling Germany in the First World War.¹⁵

In rejecting the philistine and destructive traditions of Germany's past, these representative avant-garde artists saw Dadaism, expressionism, surrealism, and cubism as the necessary means to expand the public's awareness in the culturally open Weimar era. Specifically, Beckmann, Grosz, Dix, and Kirchner actively believed that their art could be used to shatter the bourgeois pedestal affiliated with German art and in its place enlighten the people on the ills of society, war, and nationalism. Using their emotionally driven perceptions based upon their experiences from the First World War and the early days of the Weimar's chaos, their social, political, military, and economic experiences allowed them to use their art as public voice for the ills of the past, caution for the present, and hopelessness for the future. The art of Beckmann, Grosz, Dix, and Kirchner in the period 1918-1933 best represent themes and ideals associated with the "outsiders as insiders," and those ideas and social commentary that the NSDAP called "degenerate" which could not be allowed to stand, once they achieved power.

Max Beckmann deeply affected by his traumatic experiences as a medical orderly in the German army had a nervous breakdown in July 1915, which eventually led to his discharge from the service in 1917. Though he had a traumatic experience as a result of the First World War, his art lacks the overt commentary on the social and political ills of the Weimar era. Instead, his work became more emotional and was dominated with sharp angles, flat color palettes, with short and intense blasts of color.¹⁶ When capturing people as his subjects, he tended to draw them with haunting and distant stares, against backgrounds that were dark, chaotic, and imposing. A general despair and sense of foreboding permeated his work, with figures that are disproportional and awkward.

In contrast to the quite bleak expressionism of Beckmann, George Grosz was a political "radical" and an overt member of the communist party, who was consistently at odds with the

German government. Known for his plain, yet poignant black and white political satyr, Grosz in many ways captures the essence of the “degenerate” artist.¹⁷ His major theme is poignant critiques of the political and social structure of Germany, which as a devote communist he blamed on the industrial and financial elite in German society. Mainly using pen and ink, Grosz offered busy and seemingly hurried sketches that convey a sense of hastiness and rapidity, which result in a feeling of sloppy incompleteness, yet the his political message in his works are strong and straightforward.

Often considered the “father of German expressionism,” Ernst Ludwig Kirchner provides yet another example of degenerate art of the Weimar era.¹⁸ Like Beckmann, Kirchner served in World War I as a driver for an artillery unit. As a result of personally seeing the horrors of war he also had a nervous breakdown and was deemed “unfit for service” by the German state.¹⁹ His paintings after his wartime experiences were not as overt and graphic as Grosz, yet not as drab and subdued as Beckmann. His work tended to focus on people with bold color choices and dynamic lines. A consistent undercurrent in Kirchner’s work after the war is the physical impact and scaring nature of warfare.²⁰ Though his works can be colorful and bold, there is a general sense of distortion and chaos that persists.

The final example of degenerate art, is that of Otto Dix. Dix had a similar experience to Beckmann and Kirchner, in that he served in the German army of during the First World War. Yet unlike the other two, Dix served on the front lines with a machine gun unit. Furthermore, the German military awarded Dix the iron cross for his service and actions in combat. Having served the entire war and experienced the personal destruction of modern military machinery, Dix expressed a deep resent for war in his art in the interwar period with an objective to condemn the contemporary world as well as “undermine the German ideal of heroism.”²¹ Overall, his works

present the very stark and grotesque realities of war that focus on the carnage to the human body. Dead soldiers and decaying corpse highlight the finality of man against machine and the ultimate futility of war.

Together these four artists represent just a mere snapshot of what the NSDAP would come to call “Bolshevik and/or Degenerate art.” The common bond among these painters is that the experiences of the First World War, as well as the violent and tumultuous political environment of the early Weimar era deeply shaped and affected the psyche and art of Beckmann, Grosz, Kirchner, and Dix. As a result of these significantly emotional events, the art of these Weimar era artist came to be dominated with strong emotional sentiments, overt social commentary, bold use of colors, and a general tendency to ignore convention, while depicting the reality of war and the chaos of its aftermath.

By viewing the work of these artists, it is easy to see the human destructiveness of war, the ills of the “corrupt” political system, and the general hopelessness for the future that permeated the aftermath of the First World War. Emotional themes struck a chord with this generation of German artists that served, fought, and lived through the First World War and political chaos of the first years of the Weimar Republic. Reflecting their experiences and emotions, their collective works provide a unique understanding into the psyche of a specific era of German history. Furthermore, their works offer an individual’s perception about the truth about war and its messy political aftermath.

Attacking Degenerate Art:

Yet while the work of Beckmann, Grosz, Kirchner, and Dix had wide acceptance and some acclaim, a strong and tightly knit conservative element within German society sought to

eradicate and erase the impact of these “excrescences of insane and degenerate men.”²² Rapid anti-Semites and staunch defenders of Germany’s true history such as Alfred Rosenberg, fueled the NSDAP’s and Hitler’s increasing concern with the “plague” that had affixed itself to the once healthy body of Germany culture.²³ Rosenberg, the NSDAP, and Hitler were especially skeptical of the “degenerate” artists’ apathy and distrust of the past, as well as their grotesque interpretations of the war, and their Bolshevik inspired interpretation of politics. Hitler specifically commented that “any new idea, a doctrine, a new philosophy, or even a political or economic movement [which] tries to deny the entire past, tries to make it bad or worthless, must be suspicious.”²⁴ The need to retain the romantic legacy of the previous German Reich became a central tenet of the NSDAP and a fundamental avenue to attack “degenerate artist” once the NSDAP came to power in 1933.

In addition to Hitler and the NSDAP, Rosenberg also became a staunch defender of Germany’s artistic traditions in the midst of the avant-garde Weimar era. As founder of the “Combat League for German Culture,” Rosenberg sought to wither the influence of the degenerate art by advocating the “common stock of Nordic blood” found throughout German art historically.²⁵ Rosenberg and his League advocated a racial character in art and saw “degenerate” artists as fundamentally challenging, if not outright questioning this ideal by not adhering to the traditions of the Nordic type (tall, slender, light eyes, high forehead, and muscular).²⁶

Rosenberg found the art of the avant-garde Weimar era full of racial impurities, grotesque disfigurements, and wronged headed social and political messages. He therefore deemed this style of art as deplorable and outright obscene. He, like Hitler, believed that a Jewish conspiracy

was at work in the art world in an effort to topple the traditional high cultural standards of Germany.²⁷

Ironically, the political openness of the Weimar era enabled conservative elements, such as Hitler and Rosenberg to attack the modern art movement, as they believed that it neglected, tainted, and misinterpreted the racial and cultural heritage of Germany. The appeal to the romantic past and a refrain of common racial character led to the NSDAP and Rosenberg building a conservative counter-art movement that rejected the degenerate and Bolshevik art concepts typified in the avant-garde Weimar era. Once in power Hitler and the NSDAP used their critiques of modern art as a foundation to rebuild their vision of Germany's traditional high culture that had been under extreme attack by the "degenerate" clique of artist typified by Beckmann, Grosz, Kirchner, and Dix.

Hitler's *weltanschauung* combined with Rosenberg's tenets of racial purity provided the intellectual foundations through which the NSDAP could remold Germany to the traditional tenets of Germany culture, Nazism, of course was the necessary political vehicle to advance and achieve this objective.²⁸ Within this new vision of German culture, the cancer of degenerate and Bolshevik art had to be eradicated.²⁹ For Hitler and the NSDAP art was a means to execute a political objective. Hitler and his party leaders such as Goebbels recognized the powerful symbolism and political effects of art, as well as the ability of art to convey the will of the regime, while also focusing on Germany's collective mentality.³⁰ Hence, the NSDAP moved in 1933 to begin establishing total control over the development of German culture. By establishing, a multi-tiered bureaucracy focused on using and producing art for the advancement of the vision and ideals of the regime, the NSDAP established schools that developed the "traditional" styles of painting, sculpture, architecture, and theater.³¹

The goal of the NSDAP's cultural offensive war was to "bring the people to a conviction of its general and of its special higher mission, through demonstrating its supreme cultural endowments."³² For Hitler the "incapables, madmen, and cheats" of the Weimar era could no longer be allowed to produce art, as art was no longer created for the artist, but rather as a propaganda tool for the regime.³³

To highlight the NSDAP's endowment of "painting, architecture, sculpture, and drama" the regime built art museums, opera houses, and lavish Romanesque administration buildings founded upon traditional and conservative styles. Hitler personally participated in these public events. He laid the cornerstone for the House of German Art in Munich on October 15, 1933. During his speech at the ceremony, he stated that this action represented the beginning of a new epoch which would come to be characterized by "strength and beauty" in German art.³⁴

To advance the "communal and soulful" message of the party, Hitler and the NSDAP opened the Great German Art Exhibition on July 18, 1937.³⁵ The NSDAP used the art opening as a public spectacle to demonstrate the rebirth of Germany's resurrected artistic culture. The *Volkischer Beobachter* characterized the NSDAP showing as a "Powerful and awe-inspiring event that represented the distillation of two thousand years of German culture."³⁶ This first major public art show, designed to showcase the Nazi's ideal of art, exhibited nine hundred works of art that were loosely grouped in categories Nature, Country Life, The German Woman, the German Man, the Worker, and the Party.³⁷

In addition to exhibiting the stringent subject matter approved by the NSDAP, the State commissioner for the House of German Art mandated that all works considered for the exhibit had to be "finished and unproblematic."³⁸ The phrase, "finished and unproblematic" was a direct attack by the State on the art of the Weimar era, which had come under consistent attack

for being “problematic and unfinished.” Furthermore, the final arbiter on the nature of the art was not the gallery owner or manager of the House of German art, but rather State apparatchiks that judged the art based upon the ideals outlined by the Party. The ideal was to perpetuate art that would convey the “proper” image and nature of Hitler’s vision for the new German regime. Therefore art shows such as the opening of the German House of Art, served as a political tool by which the NSDAP waged an open war against the corrupt and dangerous ideas of avant-garde artists such as Beckmann, Groz, Kirchner, and Dix. The NSDAP’s objective was to advance and inculcate the German people into the NAZI’s vision German. Art therefore became a critical implement for the NSDAP to wage a war for the truth about Germany and its heritage. The regime’s use of government-sanctioned art served as a significant medium through which the NSDAP would disseminate its focused propaganda to the masses and in the process reshape German culture.³⁹

To highlight the high culture of the new era and defend it against attack from the avant-garde, the NSDAP persecuted “degenerate artists” and confiscated as much of their art as possible since its messages were contradictory and dangerous to the façade presented by the NSDAP. Interestingly enough in an attempt to demonstrate the problematic and unfinished nature of the Degenerate artists, the NSDAP decided to have on last showing of this Bolshevik inspired art. The intent was to demonstrate that the war for German culture and the true interpretation of the nation’s heritage had culminated with a victory of the traditional elements, as spearheaded by the NSDAP and its bureaucracy. For the NSDAP the turbulent and uncertain Weimar era had been defeated.

To further reinforce the awkwardness and tortured nature of avant-garde and degenerate art of the Weimar era, the NSDAP opened an exhibit of “Degenerate Art” in November 1937 in

Munich.⁴⁰ To insure that the art in this exhibit stood in stark contrast to the New German art displayed in July, the State cluttered walls with unframed paintings, often with grossly exaggerated titles.⁴¹ The erratic, cluttered, and awkward displays had the intended effect, as an exhibit visitor stated that “the artists ought to be tied up next to their pictures, so that every German can spit in their faces.”⁴²

In fact, Historian Richard Grunberger, even cites that Hilter, who had a closed pre-viewing of the exhibit, recommended that some of the titles be adjusted, as they were abrasive.⁴³

Despite record crowds attend the exhibit, which surprised the regime, but also highlighted the public appeal of the art, demonstrated to the NSDAP the danger of allowing avant-garde art to survive in Germany. The NSDAP therefore declared that the intended political effect of the Degenerate Art showing had been achieved and that the paintings and art would be removed and destroyed. Through strong-arm tactics and harsh repression, the regime forced the German public into rejecting degenerate and avant-garde art, as it did not convey the historical tenets of the NSDAP’s vision of German culture.

Conclusion:

For Hitler and the NSDAP, the underlying goal of recasting the future of German art was to embrace and advance the social, political, and economic ideals of the regime. Paintings and other forms of art therefore had to embrace the racial and patriotic tenets of defined and perpetuated by the regime.

The NSDAP and its leadership firmly believed that art was a critical cultural medium that was necessary to advance the positive aspects of the Nazi’s philosophy of community. Art therefore became a powerful political tool to advance the ideals and tenets of the regime in an

effort to manufacture a new truth about Germany's past. This tool became especially useful after 1939 when Germany began its military conquest of Europe.

Hitler's rejection of degenerate and avant-garde art was a critical element in the success of the Nazi movement as it rose to power and later attempted to maintain public will in the overwhelming face of defeat in World War II. Simply the styles and messages of the Weimar era did not convey the proper political, social, and economic ideas for the rise of a new Germany. Therefore, the NSDAP had to eradicate them. The Weimar artists faced several options as the NSDAP rose to power, leave Germany, be sent to a Concentration Camp, or commit suicide. They simply could not be allowed to co-exist within the confines of the new regime. By uniting politics and art for a specific and well-defined political objective, the NSDAP appealed to a nationalistic and patriotic sentiment in Germany's conservative population and suppressed and eradicated the avant-garde artists. Hence the inability of Dadaism, Expressionism, and Surrealism to advance Hitler's *weltanschauung* necessitated their removal. Once removed, the NSDAP used art as a means to manipulate and shape German society and culture to meet the NSDAP's defined vision.

Using art as an instrument to wage a cultural war allowed the NSDAP to eradicate the ideas and emotions associated with avant-garde artists of the Weimar era. In the wake of this deliberate and planned pogrom, the NSDAP replaced the open debate about the effects of World War I, as well as the political, social, and economic trauma of the peace. In their place, the NSDAP inserted an interpretation of Germany history that empowered anti-Semitism, racial purity, and strong nationalism. Within in this context, the NSDAP used art as a critical tool to wage a war to establish a new truth for Germany and its people.

¹ Stephanie Baron, *'Degenerate Art': The fate of the Avant-Grade in Nazi Germany*, Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991, 9. Ironically, many of the Degenerate works of art ended up in the private collections of NSDAP leaders or within their vast network of art dealers and gallery owners.

² Bryony Jones, Unknown Matisse, Chagall, and Dix artworks found in Nazi-looted haul," CNN.com <http://www.cnn.com/2013/11/05/world/europe/unkown-artworks-found-in-nazi-haul/inde>.

³ Eric Michhaund, *The Cult of Art in Nazi Germany*, translated by Janet Lloyd, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004, 1.

⁴ Michhaund, *The Cult of Art*, 25.

⁵ Ibid., 27.

⁶ Ibid., 30.

⁷ Scott Stephenson, *The Final Battle: Soldiers of the Western Front and the German Revolution of 1918*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 17-66.

⁸ "The Spartacus Manifesto, 1918," in *The Weimar Republic Source Book*, Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, 37.

⁹ "The Constitution of the German Republic, 1919," in *The Weimar Republic Source Book*, Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, 46

¹⁰ Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1968, 3-4.

¹¹ Erhard Bahr, "Nazi Cultural Politics: Internationalism vs. Functionalism," in *National Socialist Cultural Policy*, Glenn Cuomo, ed, New York: St Martin's Press, 1995, 7.

¹² Cite the *The Cult of Art in Nazi Germany*.

¹³ Jochen Vogt, "The Weimar Republic as Heritage," in *Dancing on the Volcano: Essays on the Culture of the Weimar Republic*, Thomas W. Kniesche and Stephen Brockman, eds., Columbia: Camden House 1994, 25.

¹⁴ "From Dada to the New Objectivity: Art and Politics," in *The Weimar Republic Source Book*, Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, 19.

¹⁵ Jost Hermand, "Neue Sachlichkeit: Ideology, Lifestyle, or Artistic movement," in *Dancing on the Volcano*, 58.

¹⁶ Barron, *Degenerate Art*, 203.

¹⁷ Matthais Eberle, *World War I and the Weimar Artists: Dix, Grosz, Beckmann, and Sclammer*, New Have: Yale University Press, 1986, 54.

¹⁸ "About Ernst Ludwig Kirchner," Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), http://www.moma.org/collection_ge/browse_results.php?criteria=O:AD:E:31151A:AR:E:1&role=1 accessed October 31, 2014.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Cite Degenerate art catalogue, as well as MoMA.

²¹ Barron, *Degenerate Art*, 224.

²² Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, translated by Ralph Manheim, Boston: Hough Mifflin, 1971, 258.

²³ Ibid., 258-259.

-
- ²⁴ Ibid., 261.
- ²⁵ Fritz Nova, *Alfred Rosenberg: Nazi Theorist of the Holocaust*, New York: Hippocrane Books, 1986, 81; *Art in the Third Reich*, 31 and 34.
- ²⁶ Nova, *Rosenberg*, 89; Alfred Rosenberg, "Kultur: The Volkish Aesthetic," reproduced in *Race and Race History and Other Essays by Alfred Rosenberg*, Robert Pois, ed., New York: Harper and Row, 1970, 126-174.
- ²⁷ Nova, *Rosenberg*, 97.
- ²⁸ Eberhard Jackel, *Hitler's Weltanschauung: A Blueprint for Power*, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1972, 13.
- ²⁹ Ehrhard Bahr, "Nazi Cultural Politics: Internationalism vs. Functionalism," in *National Socialist Cultural Policy*, Glenn R. Cuomo, ed., New York: St Martin's Press, 1995, 7.
- ³⁰ Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Art Under a Dictatorship*, New York: Octagon Books, 1973, 16.
- ³¹ Hitler's Speech to the Reichstag, March 1933.
- ³² Hitler, "Address on Art and Politics," at the Nuremberg Parteitag, September 11, 1935, in *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler*, 575.
- ³³ Ibid., 591.
- ³⁴ Hitler, Speech at the House of German Art, Munich, October, 15, 1933, in *Speeches of Adolf Hitler*, 603.
- ³⁵ Berthold Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich*, translated by Robert Rita Kimber, New York: Pantheon Books, 1971, 1; Henry Grosshans, *Hitler and the Artists*, Teaneck, NJ: New York: Holmes and Meirer, 1983.
- ³⁶ Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich*, 2.
- ³⁷ Peter Adams, *Art of the Third Reich*, New York: Harry N. Adams, 1988, 173.
- ³⁸ Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich*, 9.
- ³⁹ Robert S. Wistrich, *Weekend in Munich: Art, Propaganda, and Terror in the Third Reich*, London: Pavilion Books, 1995, 10-39.
- ⁴⁰ Barron, *Degenerate Art*, 356; Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich*. 1.
- ⁴¹ Richard Grunberger, *A Social History of the Third Reich*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971, 425.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Ibid.