

Hitler's "Russian" Connection: White Émigré Influence on the Genesis of Nazi Ideology, 1917-1923

While historians have carried out a great deal of research on the intellectual origins of the Third Reich, the crucial influence that extreme right-wing "Russian" émigrés in collaboration with *völkisch* (racist) Germans exerted on the development of Nazi ideology remains relatively unexplored. I hope substantially to increase historical knowledge of National Socialism's "Russian" connection, focusing primarily on the years from 1917, with the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution, to 1923, with Hitler's failed putsch attempt. By investigating the thought, actions, and background of such "Russian" émigrés as Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi Party's chief ideologue whom Hitler placed in control of the Party after the putsch, Fyodor Vinberg, whom the Führer cited as proof of the pernicious influence of "Jewish Bolshevism,"¹ and Max von Scheubner-Richter, of whom Hitler asserted that he alone of the "martyrs" of the 1923 putsch attempt could not be replaced,² I hope to shed new light on the intellectual origins of Nazi ideology as a pernicious fusion of primarily German and Russian radical right-wing ideas.

Using the word "Russian" in conjunction with the particular émigrés crucial for my research is problematic, not only due to considerations of the methodological dangers that, as Rogers Brubaker has noted, exist in treating subjects of a state power apparatus as if they belonged to a reified "nation" that possesses a capacity for "coherent, purposeful collective action,"³ but since classical distinctions of civil and ethnic citizenship were especially complex in multi-ethnic Imperial Russia in any case.⁴ I place "Russian" in quotation marks since I employ this term to refer to former subjects of the Russian Empire from several ethnic backgrounds, most notably Baltic German, Russian, and Ukrainian. I will subsequently refer to extreme right-wing exiles from Russian society as "White émigrés," a term that is taken directly from the Russian.

Given the seemingly logical association of Marxist parties with an international outlook and anti-Marxist parties of the modern radical right with chauvinistic domestically-orientated sensibilities, it is perhaps understandable that the role of White émigrés in Nazism's genesis has not received the attention that it merits. Hannah Arendt has noted the seeming paradox of the late nineteenth century, however, that "whereas the international socialist organizations remained passive and uninterested in all foreign policy issues..., the antisemites started with problems of foreign policy and even promised the solution of domestic problems on a supranational basis."⁵ My preliminary research has demonstrated that, all claims of advocating "German" ideas aside, the early Nazi Party tended towards Arendt's international model of the radical anti-Semitic right to a surprisingly extensive degree in that it borrowed considerably from White émigré thought.

The predominant mode of literature on Nazism emphasizes its "German" origins, relegating outside input to mere peripheral status. Daniel Goldhagen offers an especially powerful vision of the fundamentally "German" nature of National Socialism and the Holocaust in his recent work, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*. Goldhagen deliberately avoids comparing anti-Semitism in Germany with that in other countries, arguing that "what can be said about the Germans cannot be said about any other nationality or about all of the other nationalities combined -- namely no Germans, no Holocaust." At one point, though, while asserting that it is "not essential to discuss German antisemitism comparatively," he concludes that "no other European country came close" to equaling Germany's anti-Semitism, arguing that "the unmatched volume and the vitriolic and murderous substance of German antisemitic literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries alone indicates that German antisemitism was *sui generis*."⁶

Goldhagen, like Christopher Browning, the author of *Ordinary Men*,⁷ should be commended for drawing attention to the role of "ordinary Germans" in the Holocaust, but one must recognize the significant degree of osmosis between cultures that sociologist Frederick Barth has noted, where cultural formations exchange ideas and personnel and yet

maintain distinct boundaries.⁸ Though Nazism developed in a primarily “German” context, one must accord White émigrés, the flotsam and jetsam of world war and revolution from the East, a crucial role in the genesis of the ideology that played such a pivotal role in launching the Holocaust. Moreover, Goldhagen makes a serious omission by leaping from a superficial treatment of anti-Semitism in nineteenth century German society to an examination of anti-Semitism in the Weimar Republic with only passing reference to the First World War and no mention of the Bolshevik Revolution.⁹

Ernst Nolte, on the other hand, though he has not analyzed specific White émigré contributions to Nazism in detail, stresses the key role that the Bolshevik seizure and consolidation of power played in the genesis of Nazism. Nolte is known for the position he took during the *Historikerstreit*, or “historian’s conflict,” of the mid 1980’s: that one must seek to “historicize” the Holocaust by emphasizing its similarities with other mass slaughters, most notably those committed under Soviet rule.¹⁰ In his work, *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg 1917-1945 (The European Civil War 1917-1945)*, Nolte argues that resistance to Bolshevism formed Nazism’s “most fundamental point.”¹¹

While Goldhagen emphasizes what he terms the “eliminationist mind-set” of “German antisemitism” to the exclusion of virtually everything else,¹² Nolte downplays the importance of German anti-Semitism altogether in the genesis and development of National Socialism. Nolte argues that Nazism’s essence is to be found “neither in criminal tendencies nor in anti-Semitic obsessions.” Rather, the “fear and hate-filled relation to Communism was in fact the moving center of Hitler’s feelings and of Hitler’s ideology.” Nolte further stresses that “Bolshevism was both nightmare and example (*Schreckbild und Vorbild*) for National Socialism.”¹³

In the conclusion of his work, Nolte provocatively asserts that in the process of making the Jews responsible for the phenomenon of Bolshevism that had panicked them, Hitler and Himmler “carried the original Bolshevik concept of destruction to a new dimension.” Nolte further posits that the “Gulag Archipelago is more original than

Auschwitz and that a causal nexus exists between them.”¹⁴ Nolte’s assertion may be true in the sense that if the Bolshevik Revolution had not occurred, the Nazi Party would not have existed in the form that it did, if at all, and likely would not have come to power in Germany, but it can lead one to consider the Holocaust as a mere German reaction to foreign developments.

In defending a position situated between Goldhagen’s Germanocentric explanation and Nolte’s Bolshevik-centered analysis of the genesis of Nazi ideology, I seek to improve historical understanding of the ways in which, as Ivan Berend has noted, “Germany and Russia played the leading roles in the twentieth-century rebellion against the West.”¹⁵ In emphasizing the crucial contributions of White émigrés to the genesis and development of Nazi ideology, I do not mean to imply that they somehow foisted utterly foreign ideas upon Germany. The fact that many White émigrés were able to wield such influence on the early National Socialist Party indicates that they had landed on fertile soil for their conception of Jews as world-conspirators behind both liberal capitalism and Bolshevism. Indeed, Saul Friedländer has demonstrated that German society developed a powerful strain of what he has termed “redemptive anti-Semitism,” the belief that Jews represented a baneful force driven towards destruction that Germans had to purge or face perdition.¹⁶

I myself have traced the development of redemptive anti-Semitism in Germany, beginning with Arthur Schopenhauer’s philosophy of the attainment of salvation through the “denial of the will”¹⁷ that Richard Wagner utilized to argue that the Germans possessed a heroic will-denying capacity to attain redemption while the Jews only concerned themselves with temporal gain.¹⁸ From here, Houston Stewart Chamberlain crystallized the notion of the “Aryan negation of the will,” versus the “enormous predominance of will” among the Jews.¹⁹ This view gained more ominous expression in the views of Hitler’s mentor, Dietrich Eckart, towards the Jews, a philosophy that I have termed the “negation of Jewish world-affirmation,” where the allegedly world-denying Germans needed to annul the baneful influence of the supposedly world-affirming Jews.

In addition to this redemptive anti-Semitism grounded in an evolving form of German Christianity, German culture gave rise to a significant *völkisch* movement that manifested itself with special strength of expression in postwar Munich. The adjective *völkisch* is notoriously imprecise, deriving from the German word *Volk*, a term with a broader meaning than the English word “people” since it combines notions of an ethnic community with a transcendental “essence,” but *völkisch* theorists generally rejected the modern liberal capitalist world they associated with soulless *Zivilisation* (civilization) in favor of an organic and spiritual *Gemeinschaft* (community), equating Jews with an essentially pernicious materialism.²⁰

German redemptive/*völkisch* anti-Semitism did not come into its own until the catastrophic outcome of the First World War, however. Before this time, the fortunes of German parties specifically based on anti-Semitism were on the wane after initial successes in the 19th century.²¹ With military defeat and revolution came the rise of the *Dolchstoß* or “stab in the back” myth in Germany, however, and as seething *völkisch* milieux came into contact with ever greater numbers of deracinated White émigrés from the East recounting horrific stories of Jewish/Bolshevik atrocities, an inherently unstable situation became even more volatile. White émigrés grafted a particularly virulent form of anti-Semitism that was imbued with a fervent sense of apocalyptic mysticism and notions of Jewish world-conspiracy behind both capitalism and Bolshevism onto existing German redemptive/*völkisch* anti-Semitic notions, thereby pushing the envelope on discourse about the “Jewish question” in already polarized early Weimar society.

Although historians in general have carried out surprisingly little research on “Russian” contributions to Nazi ideology, an established literature dealing with the subject does exist. Henri Rollin wrote a ground-breaking work addressing this topic in 1939 that German forces promptly destroyed when they occupied Paris, *L'Apocalypse de Notre Temps* (*The Apocalypse of Our Time*). In his book, Rollin asserted that “Hitlerism” was a form of “anti-Soviet counter-revolution, and he analyzed the “myth of a mysterious

Jewish-Masonic-Bolshevistic plot that constitutes the fundamental argument of German propaganda around the world.” Rollin investigated the Nazi belief, taken largely from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, that a vast Jewish-Masonic conspiracy had provoked the First World War, toppled the Russian, German, and Austro-Hungarian dynasties, and unleashed Bolshevism after setting the stage by disseminating liberal ideas.²²

Konrad Heiden began his 1944 book, *Der Führer*, with Rosenberg receiving *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* from a mysterious stranger in Moscow in 1917. Heiden further credited Scheubner-Richter and, to a lesser extent, Rosenberg with devising the idea of a putsch in 1923 according to the model set down by the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*,²³ but he neither cited his sources nor examined White émigré contributions to Nazism in any detail. In a recent essay, Michael Hagemeister, a German expert on the *Protocols*, has noted Heiden’s lack of citation and relatively superficial treatment of Hitler’s “Russian” connection.²⁴

The next major work that considered the impact of the Russian thought on the development of Nazi ideology, Walter Laqueur’s *Russia and Germany*, came out in 1965. Laqueur sought to refocus historical analysis of Nazism’s origins by illuminating the strands connecting White émigrés and early Nazis. Laqueur noted that “in the search for the origins of German National Socialism some highly abstruse and improbable influences have been prominently featured, but the more tangible and substantial impact of refugees from Russia has usually been overlooked.”²⁵ Laqueur’s book performs a valuable service by drawing attention to German-Russian rightist collaboration in the interwar years, but it is by no means exhaustive.

Since the publication of Laqueur’s book, a few historians have dealt with the cooperation between extreme right-wing Russians and Germans in the period between the World Wars, notably Norman Cohn his work *Warrant for Genocide*, Robert Williams in his book *Culture in Exile*, and Karl Schlögel in his anthology *Russische Emigration in Deutschland 1918 bis 1941 (Russian Emigration in Germany 1918 to 1941)*. Cohn

provides substantial information on the origins and spread of the *Protocols*. Williams posits the importance of National Socialism's "Russian" connection, asserting that "with the Third Reich came the new anti-Semitic virulence of the Nazis nurtured by the extreme right-wing Russians and Balts who had discovered Hitler in Munich in the early 1920's,"²⁶ but while he provides some useful information on the cooperation between right-wing Germans and Russians, this is not the primary concern of his treatise. Schlögel's book likewise, while valuable in many respects, treats of Hitler's "Russian" connection as an ancillary topic.

It is only in 1998 that a truly detailed work examining White émigré influence on the Nazi movement emerged, Johannes Baur's *Die russische Kolonie in München 1900-1945 (The Russian Colony in Munich 1900-1945)*. As Baur himself has noted, however, a great deal of research remains to be done on the subject of "Russian" influences on National Socialism.²⁷ In his book, Baur asserts that the "anti-Semitic prophets of the emigration," notably Vinberg, directly influenced National Socialism through their fusion of extreme anti-Semitism and anti-Bolshevism, laying down the "intention to destroy entire segments of the population and peoples" from the beginning. Baur warns against over-emphasizing the "interaction between the Munich segment of the Russian monarchist right with the National Socialists," however, maintaining that the cooperation and ideological transfer were limited to a relatively short period of time and that differences in principle existed from the very beginning.²⁸

Ideological differences and power-political divergences certainly existed between the right-wing "Russian" emigration and the early Nazis with both sides seeking to use the other for their own advantage. This should not, however, obscure the common ground that many in these two groups found in their struggle against enemies in the liberal West and in the Bolshevistic East, both of whom seemed to be under the control of a vast Jewish world-conspiracy. Moreover, one should not underestimate the significance of White émigré contributions to Nazi thought in general and Hitler's anti-Semitic *Weltanschauung* (world-

view) in particular since the heyday of such collaboration ended with Hitler's putsch attempt of 1923. Rosenberg, in particular, continued to influence the development of Nazi ideology long after this. Further, gaining a greater understanding of National Socialism's "Russian" connection in the immediate postwar years has become all the more important since it now appears that Hitler developed his conviction that the Jews represented a scourge intent upon ruining the German *Volk* only in the years *after* Germany suffered revolution and defeat in November 1918.

While historical consensus has contended that Hitler's intense anti-Semitism crystallized during his "hunger years" in Vienna from 1908 to 1913,²⁹ Brigitte Hamman convincingly argues in her recent book, *Hitlers Wien (Hitler's Vienna)*, that Hitler was not yet anti-Semitic in Vienna and even defended the Jews in heated arguments with those who attacked them.³⁰ Moreover, Hitler's correspondence and private writings from 1914 to 1918 lack any anti-Semitic references.³¹ Given that Hitler's ideological views, his later assertions to the contrary notwithstanding,³² crystallized in the immediate postwar years, it is crucial to investigate thoroughly the role that right-wing Russian thought played in influencing the genesis and development of Hitler's profoundly anti-Semitic, anti-liberal, and anti-Bolshevistic *Weltanschauung*.

I intend to divide my dissertation research on White émigré contributions to Nazi ideology both temporally and geographically, investigating the activities of pertinent Whites in the Baltic and in the Ukraine up until the retreat of German occupying forces in 1919 and then analyzing anti-Bolshevistic and anti-Semitic White émigré activities in harness with *völkisch* Germans in Berlin and Munich from 1919 until the end of 1923. For the Russian section of my research, I will examine the background of key figures back to the Revolution of 1905 and earlier, if necessary, but I intend to focus primarily on right-wing "Russian" activity after Lenin's Bolsheviks seized power in 1917.

I plan to carry out the lion's share of my dissertation research on Hitler's "Russian" connection in archives in Moscow, Berlin, Munich, and Paris. With the assistance of an

ISOP Fieldwork Fellowship, I will examine Russian archival materials under the auspices of the Archival Summer School and Research Opportunity in Moscow with Professor Arch Getty this summer. The *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (GARF, State Archives of the Russian Federation) house the Prague Archive, which was founded in 1923 to chronicle Russian history from an émigré perspective. The Prague Archive contains a variety of émigré newspapers, including radical White ones, as well as the diary of a Russian general of German ancestry, Aleksei von Lampe, who, while he did not belong to the ranks of extremist White émigrés in Germany, recorded their actions.³³

The *Tsentral'noye khraneniye istoriko-dokumental'nykh kollekttsii* (Center for the Preservation of Historical-Documentary Collections) in Moscow possesses *Reichskommissar für die Überwachung der öffentlichen Ordnung* (Reich Commission for the Supervision of Public Order) files seized at the end of World War Two that deal with the activities of White émigrés in Germany, including their cooperation with *völkisch* Germans. The Center also possess Polish and French files of considerable interest to my topic. Bureaucrats at Polish consulates and embassies collected sizable amounts of information about the cooperation between *völkisch* Germans and White émigrés, and a substantial amount of the files they wrote are housed in Moscow. Many files from the Sûreté, the French secret police, dealing with the collaboration between German and “Russian” rightists in postwar Munich were seized by Nazi occupying forces during World War Two only to be carried off to Moscow by Soviet troops at the end of the war. Russian authorities have recently returned some of these documents to Paris, where I will track them down, but most of them remain in Moscow.

I will continue my research on Hitler’s “Russian” connection in Germany beginning in October of 1999 with the assistance of a DAAD Fellowship. Berlin possesses several excellent research facilities that I intend to make use of. The *Berliner Staatsbibliothek* (Berlin State Library) is especially valuable for its possession of White émigré newspapers, the *Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung der Technischen Universität*

Berlin (Center for Anti-Semitism Research at Berlin Technical University) contains a great deal of literature on German and Russian anti-Semitism, and the *Landesarchiv Berlin* (Berlin State Archives) house materials on right-wing German and White émigré groups in Berlin.

While in Berlin, I also intend to make extensive use of the *Bundesarchiv* (Federal Archives), which are especially valuable because they possess pertinent files from the *Reichskommissar für die Überwachung der öffentlichen Ordnung*. Finally, I will analyze materials in the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Secret State Archives of Prussian Cultural Property), most notably files from the *Innenministerium Ost-West* (East-West Interior Ministry) and the *Geheimes Zivilkabinett* (Secret Civil Cabinet) that contain information on German-White interaction in the Ukraine and in the Baltic region from 1917 to 1919, as well as reports on the activities of extreme right-wing Germans and White émigrés both separately and in concert with one another.

In Munich, I will resume my research in such institutions as the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* (Bavarian State Library), which boasts an extensive Eastern European Collection, and the *Osteuropa-Institut München* (Munich Eastern European Institute), which provides an especially rich source of information on right-wing German-Ukrainian interaction from 1917 to 1919. The *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* (Institute for Modern History) holds particularly useful files from the *Außenpolitischen Amt der NSDAP* (Foreign Policy Office of the Nazi Party) that contain information on Russian monarchical organizations in Germany, *Freikorps* (Volunteer Corps) actions in Lithuania involving White forces including Scheubner-Richter and his associate Arno Schickedanz, and reports on the early activities of Eckart and Rosenberg.

I will also investigate materials situated in the *Staatsarchiv München* (Munich Regional Archives), which are especially valuable for their reports from the *Polizeidirektion München* (Munich Police Headquarters) on the activities of *völkisch* Germans and White émigrés in Munich. Finally, I will examine materials housed in the

Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Bavarian State Archives), notably documents from the *Außenministerium* (Bavarian Foreign Ministry) that deal with the activities of White émigrés in Bavaria. The *Hauptstaatsarchiv* also houses an impressive newspaper clipping collection in its *Sammlungen und Nachlässe Abteilung* (Collection and Estate Department) with information on the German intervention in the Baltic region and right-wing German and White émigré cooperation in postwar Germany in general, as well as materials dealing with figures central to my research such as Eckart and Scheubner-Richter.

I have been fortunate to engender a substantial amount of interest in my dissertation project among German scholars. A number of prominent German academics have offered to assist me, notably Professor Heinrich Winkler of *Humboldt Universität zu Berlin* (Humboldt University in Berlin), in whose Graduate Research Seminar I will participate, Professor Wolfgang Benz, head of the *Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung der Technischen Universität Berlin*, Professor Reinhard Rürup of *Technische Universität Berlin*, Dr. Michael Hagemeister of *Ruhr-Universität Bochum*, Dr. Klaus A. Lankheit, acting head of the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte*, Dr. Baur of Munich, Dr. Hermann Beyer-Thoma, research director at the *Osteuropa-Institut München*, and Professor Karl Schlögel of *Europa Universität-Viadrina* in Frankfurt/Oder.

In order to gain a clearer idea of the background of the members of the milieu of deracinated and resentful quasi-intellectuals from Russia who found a niche in the polarized political atmosphere of the early Weimar Republic, it is necessary to consider the development of the radical anti-Semitic right in Imperial Russia. In the midst of the 1905 Revolution, a Saint Petersburg physician named I. A. Dubrovin founded the *Soyuz Russkago Naroda* (Union of the Russian People), a right-wing mass organization that espoused an intensely anti-Semitic ideology, with the compliance of Imperial authorities.³⁴ Union leadership tended quite early towards a pro-German stance, largely due to Russia's continuing rivalry with Great Britain in Central Asia.³⁵

A prominent Union propaganda theme consisted of the claim that the Jews had

instigated the 1905 Revolution and that Jewish finance capital allowed both the liberals and the socialists to undermine God-given Tsarist autocracy. The Union urged that Jews should be encouraged to leave for Palestine and that those who remained should be treated as foreigners on Russian soil without the rights of all other foreigners. The Union railed against a supposed “Judeo-Masonic conspiracy” and organized armed squads known as “Black Hundreds” to terrorize and assassinate opponents. Union propaganda even employed essentially racial criteria since it excluded Jews who had converted to Orthodox Christianity from its ranks.³⁶

The most important leaders of the far-right in Russian politics in the years before the First World War were Dubrovin, Nicholas Markov, known as Markov II, and Vladimir Purishkevich, who founded a mystically-inclined successor organization to the Union of the Russian People in 1908, the Union of the Archangel Michael.³⁷ Cohn asserts that the members of the Union of the Russian People and their successors “were in fact the true precursors of the Nazis” since they believed that Jews formed a capitalist-revolutionary conspiracy aimed at world dictatorship and they advocated extreme means of solving the “Jewish question,” such as deportation or even extermination. Markov II predicted in a 1911 speech in the *Duma*, or parliament, “All the Yids, down to the very last, will be killed.”³⁸ Baur has emphasized that right-wing elements in Imperial Russian society professed a “societal” rather than “racist” anti-Semitism,³⁹ but there are indications that many extreme rightists in the Russian Empire employed racial categories with regard to the Jews as well, and this is a phenomenon that I intend to investigate further in my research.

The greatest piece of “evidence” that right-wing Russian elements used to support their assertions of a Jewish world-conspiracy came in the form of a vitriolic tract best known as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Historians do not know which author or authors wrote the *Protocols*, but it is certain that they were fabricated using earlier works such as Hermann Goedsche’s novel *Biarritz* and Maurice Joly’s *Dialogue aux Enfers entre Montesquieu et Machiavel* (*Dialogue in Hell between Montesquieu and Machiavelli*). The

Protocols were most likely fabricated in 1897 or 1898 in Paris. The *Protocols* critique liberalism, claiming that it is a tool for the Jews to gain world-domination by fomenting discontent and revolt so that they can use the ensuing chaos to establish a Jewish despot to rule over the world.⁴⁰

Cohn believes that Piotr Rachkovsky, the head of the *Okhrana*, or Imperial Russian secret police abroad, fabricated the *Protocols* in French in Paris and transmitted them to a Russian monk named Sergei Nilus.⁴¹ James Webb, author of *The Occult Establishment*, on the other hand, notes that the *Protocols* castigate Finance Minister Sergei Witte's modernizing policies in general and the introduction of the gold standard in particular, and he argues that Rachkovsky was not likely to attack his own government deliberately.⁴² Hagemeister, an expert on the *Protocols*, has recently stressed that the origins of the *Protocols* are unknown to this day and that while Rachkovsky was likely somehow involved, this supposition remains unproved. It is also not known how the *Protocols* made their way from France to Russia and into the hands of Nilus.⁴³

In any case, Nilus wrote a book in 1901 entitled *The Great in the Small: Antichrist Considered as an Imminent Political Possibility*, and he inserted the *Protocols* into the 1905 edition of his work. The book was revised, enlarged, and re-released in 1917 as *He Is Near, At the Door...Here Comes Antichrist and the Reign of the Devil on Earth*.⁴⁴ In predominantly religiously-based Russian anti-Semitism, Jews and Freemasons were regarded as forerunners of the Antichrist or even identified with him.⁴⁵ In the spirit of the religious revival then taking place in Russia, Nilus, like many others, expected the imminent arrival of the Antichrist⁴⁶ and the destruction of Western civilization, after which the Kingdom of God would appear.⁴⁷ This mode of thinking had been popularized by such writers as Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Konstantin Leontev, and Evgenii Solovev, who wrote "A short Story of the Antichrist" in 1900.⁴⁸

It is important to note that the *Protocols* were not widely distributed in pre-Revolutionary Russian society, even in reactionary circles. They were not "discovered"

until after the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution,⁴⁹ after which they were widely distributed among “White” forces during the Russian Civil War. The Bolshevik murder of the Imperial family at Yekaterinburg, in particular, helped to spread the *Protocols* around the world. White troops occupied the city soon after the death of the royal family, and investigating officials found three books in the Tsarina’s possession: Lev Tolstoy’s *War and Peace*, the *Bible*, and Nilus’ *The Great in the Small*. It also turned out that the Tsarina had drawn a swastika in the embrasure of a window in her room. Significant numbers of Whites in Russia were aware of the swastika’s significance as a symbol of Aryan purity and the Aryan struggle against the Jews, and the discovery of the swastika and Nilus’ book came as a “testament from on high” to many of them.⁵⁰

After the fledgling Bolshevik regime signed the Treaty of Brest Litovsk in April of 1918, large-scale cooperation between right-wing German and White elements in Russia developed that would profoundly affect the development of the radical right in Weimar Germany. I intend to focus primarily on two groups of pro-German Whites: those who operated in the Ukraine to the south, and those who engaged in struggle against the Bolsheviks in the Baltic region to the north. The cooperation between German military elements and Whites during the Russian Civil War remains largely overlooked, as has the anti-Semitic intensity of that conflict. Cohn notes that while the Holocaust has overshadowed mass slaughters of Jews in Russia, one should note that at least 100,000 Jews were killed in pogroms that took place during the Russian Civil War of 1918-1920.⁵¹

German forces occupied the entire Ukraine during the winter and spring of 1918. Elements of the German General Staff around Generals Erich Ludendorff and Max Hoffman cultivated ties with White forces and worked for a royalist restoration in Russia.⁵² Hoffman took a particular interest in mobilizing Ukrainian nationalists against the Bolsheviks.⁵³ A sizable portion of the Whites who went on to play a significant role in the entourage around Hitler and Ludendorff in Bavaria in the early 1920’s collaborated with German occupying forces in the Ukraine, notably Vinberg, Piotr Shabelsky-Bork, Vladimir

Biskupsky, Sergei Taboritsky, Paul Avalov, Duke Georg von Leuchtenberg, General Skoropadsky, the German-backed Ukrainian governor, and Vasily Nemirovich-Danchenko, Skoropadsky's his press chief.⁵⁴

Duke Georg von Leuchtenberg, a Russian citizen with an estate in Bavaria, fought with White armies against the Bolsheviks, as did the other adult male members of his noble family.⁵⁵ Leuchtenberg played a key role in organizing the Southern Army formed by July of 1918 that fought against the Bolsheviks in the Ukraine. After the Russian Civil War, Leuchtenberg sponsored monarchical Russian literature in Germany.⁵⁶ He translated, for example, a book titled *Fünf Stürmjahre mit General Wrangel (Five Storm Years with General Vrangel)* in which Piotr Vrangel provided an introduction claiming that the White Army had fought for “the freedom and honor of the Fatherland,” and, in so doing, had “struggled with the fundamental causes of the destruction that threatens the entire world.”⁵⁷

A certain General Semenov lead the Southern Army that Hoffmann, Leuchtenberg, and other German military personnel helped to organize. The *ataman*, or leader, of the Don Cossacks, Paul Avalov, commanded the First Division, which constituted the most important force in this army. Leuchtenberg and Avalov in particular cooperated extensively during this time to fight against their common Bolshevistic enemies.⁵⁸ After Avalov left for the Baltic, Piotr Krasnov served as the head of the Don Cossack Army,⁵⁹ under whose protection the journal *Chasovoi (The Sentinel)* published an edition of the *Protocols* in Novocherkask.⁶⁰

In addition to the *Protocols*, another prominent piece of spurious anti-Semitic literature that circled widely among White forces was the so-called Zunder Document, a letter purportedly originating from the Central Committee of the Israelite International League and taken from the corpse of Zunder, a Jewish Bolshevik leader. This letter gloated that “we,” the “Sons of Israel,” stood “on the threshold of the command of the world” after bringing “the Russian people under the yoke of Jewish power.” The supposed Jewish authors explained that now “we must make an end of the best and leading elements

of the Russian people, so that...vanquished Russia may not find any leader!" This document figured prominently in White newspapers in 1919 and 1920, and for many Whites, it clearly demonstrated that the Jews had launched the Bolshevik Revolution and intended to eradicate the leading elements of Russian society.⁶¹

Under Krasnov's protection and with German support, members of the Union of the Archangel Michael under Purishkevich formed the anti-Bolshevistic, anti-Semitic Party of the People and the State in Rostov/Don in 1919. The Party Program stated that the Jews had to be separated from Russian society through economic boycott, revocation of their citizenship rights, and severe limitation of their access to secondary education. The Party Program was essentially racist since Jews were defined as both those who practiced the Jewish religion and those who had converted to Christianity. The document ended with the assertion of the Jews that "their role [in social and political life] is over once and for all."⁶² I intend to examine this party in greater detail and trace the Russian Civil War activities of Krasnov, who became a widely-read novelist in White émigré circles, in particular.

The Southern Army soon passed under the command of General Anton Denikin, and anti-Semitic agitation in the Southern Army was rife under his leadership. Gregor Bostunich, a Russian citizen born in Kiev of Baltic German and Serbian parents, lectured Denikin's armies on the dangers of world Jewry.⁶³ In April 1920, as the Southern Army's fortunes declined, Vrangell took over from Denikin, and Bostunich continued to preach with fanatical conviction against Bolsheviks, Freemasons, and Jews.⁶⁴ Vrangell's Southern Army collapsed in November of 1920,⁶⁵ but Nemirovich-Danchenko managed to disseminate a great deal of anti-Semitic propaganda during the time that he served as Vrangell's press officer.⁶⁶

Due to his significant influence on right-wing politics in Weimar Germany, I plan to pay particular attention to the actions of Fyodor Vinberg during the Russian Civil War. Vinberg had earlier joined the Union of the Archangel Michael and written for Black

Hundred newspapers. Before the October Revolution, he had served as a colonel and fought against the Germans in the First World War.⁶⁷ Bolsheviks captured him in the early stages of the Russian Civil War and imprisoned him in the Peter-Paul Fortress in Petrograd, but he escaped to fight with White forces in the Ukraine.⁶⁸ He wrote a book in Kiev that was translated as *In der Gefangenschaft der Affen (In the Captivity of Apes)* which dealt with his experiences with the Bolsheviks and has yet to be subjected to a detailed historical analysis.

Vinberg collaborated closely with Piotr Shabelsky-Bork, both in Russia during the Civil War and afterwards in Germany. Shabelsky-Bork belonged to the Union of the Russian People and subsequently joined the Union of the Archangel Michael, and he served as an officer in both World War I and the Russian Civil War.⁶⁹ Vinberg and Shabelsky-Bork entered Yekaterinburg in September of 1918 shortly after White forces captured the city. The two colleagues discovered that the Tsarina had possessed a copy of Nilus' work and had drawn a swastika in her room. Vinberg and Shabelsky-Bork left Russia by train for Berlin in November 1918 in accordance with a German policy that allowed White officers to emigrate to Germany.⁷⁰ As well as investigating the thought and actions of Vinberg and Shabelsky-Bork in Russia, I hope to shed light on the wartime activities of the man who served as their closest colleague in Berlin, Sergei Taboritsky.

The German intervention in the Baltic region is more well-known than that which took place in the Ukraine, notably through Klaus Theweleit's detailed study of the dominant *Freikorps* mentality of intense inner restraint coupled with overwhelming desires for explosive conflict,⁷¹ but the contours of this northern intervention in general and German-White collaboration in particular still warrant investigation. General Rüdiger von der Goltz, a Social Democrat, took charge of the *Freikorps* contingents in the Baltic in February of 1919 with the intention of defeating the Bolsheviks in concert with White Russian forces, setting up a nationalist bourgeois regime in Russia, and collaborating with this new eastern ally against the West. Allied representatives ordered all *Freikorps* units to

evacuate the Baltic in June 1919, but the *Freikorps* commanders refused to obey.⁷²

The socialist German government established the *Büro für die Bekämpfung des Kommunismus* (Office for the Combating of Communism) which organized the West Russian Government consisting of pro-German White émigrés in Berlin under General Vladimir Biskupsky, who had already collaborated with German occupying forces in the Ukraine. To placate Biskupsky and the others, Goltz needed a Russian military figurehead, and he chose Avalov. Avalov officially took control of the West Russian Army, which consisted of *Freikorps* units and Russian exiles and prisoners of war, in September 1919, but Goltz was careful to surround Avalov with a German general staff and direct the operation from behind the scenes.⁷³ Avalov later wrote a book about his experiences in the Baltic that was translated into German as *Im Kampf gegen den Bolschewismus (In Battle Against Bolshevism)*, which has yet to be analyzed systematically.

In the Baltic section of my research, I especially intend to examine the Civil War activities of what may be termed the “Rubonia Clique,” a group of Baltic Germans from the same aristocratic student fraternity in Riga who started working for the Nazi cause early on. Webb notes that many Balts around this time were imbued with a strong sense of mysticism and irrationalism,⁷⁴ and it is important to note that Baltic Germans, while, on the whole, loyal servants of the Imperial Russian government, had grounds to resent the government’s Russification policies. The Baltic Germans had been subject to the first wave of Russification in 1887. The Tsarist regime made Russian the official school language for all classes above the lowest primary levels in state schools, and this was soon extended to private schools as well. In 1893, the government closed down the University of Dorpat since it used German in the lecture rooms.⁷⁵

The most important members of the Baltic German Rubonia Clique who developed ambivalent relations towards ethnic Russians in general and the Imperial Russian government in particular were Rosenberg, Scheubner-Richter, Arno Schickedanz, and Otto

von Kursell. Almost nothing has been written of the wartime activities of Schickedanz and Kursell, though it is known that they fought against the Bolsheviks in some capacity in the Baltic.⁷⁶ Thanks to Dr. Johannes Baur, I will have access to Kursell's as yet unexamined autobiography. As for Rosenberg and Scheubner-Richter, more information exists in secondary literature, but historical knowledge of their activities in this time period remains rather sketchy.

Like many Baltic Germans of the time, Rosenberg was considerably influenced by "German" culture. In his childhood, Rosenberg had read Germanic mythology, Schopenhauer, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain,⁷⁷ all of which contain powerful notions of the "denial of the will" and were used in the formation of the theory that I have referred to above as "the negation of Jewish world-affirmation." Rosenberg received a degree in architecture at Moscow University in 1918 and seems not to have been overly concerned with politics at the time. He later claimed, however, to have become acquainted with the *Protocols* in 1917,⁷⁸ and while Williams has written of Rosenberg's "discovery" of anti-Semitism in Munich,⁷⁹ it seems more likely that he already held strong, if still largely unfocused, anti-Semitic views when he was still in Russia.

Rosenberg lectured on the "Jewish question" when he was still at Corps Rubonia,⁸⁰ and Baur has asserted that Rosenberg developed a coherent anti-Semitic philosophy in the years 1918-1919.⁸¹ Rosenberg's activities during the German intervention in the Baltic are unclear, but it is known that he worked on an anti-Bolshevik newspaper, *Das neue Deutschland (The New Germany)*, which I will examine. Rosenberg followed the German *Freikorps* when they retreated from Reval and he soon arrived in Germany. According to Seppo Kuuisto, one of Rosenberg's few biographers, by this time he had already internalized Chamberlain's theories of Germanic racial superiority and an anti-Semitism based on Union of the Russian People ideas that stressed a world-conspiracy of Jews and Freemasons.⁸²

After serving as German consul in the Ottoman Empire,⁸³ Scheubner-Richter

actively participated in the German struggle against the Bolsheviks in the Baltic region.⁸⁴ He was captured by the Bolsheviks, but his wife was able to secure his release,⁸⁵ and he acted as political advisor to August Winning, the *Reichskommissar* for the eastern territories still under German occupation.⁸⁶ Scheubner-Richter founded the *Zentralausschuß für den ostpreußischen Heimatdienst* (Central Committee for the East Prussian Home Service), which fought the spread of Bolshevism.⁸⁷ Scheubner-Richter wrote of the Bolshevik peril in a variety of newspapers, most notably *Das neue Deutschland*,⁸⁸ but his early newspaper writings have yet to be historically analyzed, as is the case with the novel that he wrote on his experience in the Baltic region and his trek to Germany, *Heimkehr (Homecoming)*.⁸⁹

As the situation of the White armies deteriorated, approximately two million Russian citizens fled the country.⁹⁰ The largest White émigré community in Germany mushroomed in Berlin in 1918 and 1919. According to the German Interior Ministry, the number of “Russian” émigrés of all political persuasions in Germany reached between 500,000 and 600,000 in 1922.⁹¹ Webb asserts of the White émigré element of the “Russian” emigration that they served “as witnesses to the national tragedy and reminders of the insecurity which also troubled the West; as bearers of an illuminated culture that was preoccupied with Apocalypse; and as carriers of the plague of conspiracy-theory politics.”⁹²

The heyday of White émigré activity in Berlin was intense and yet short-lived, for most of its leading members left the city in the wake of the reactionary Kapp Putsch of March 1920, in which many White émigrés participated. Scheubner-Richter, for instance, who had contacts with Wolfgang Kapp from his service in East Prussia, served as Kapp’s press chief during the abortive putsch. Scheubner-Richter fled to Munich in the wake of the putsch, as did Vinberg and Markov II.⁹³ The last of the primary movers of the radical White emigration in Berlin was imprisoned in 1922 after one of the high-profile right-wing murders that plagued the early years of the Weimar Republic. Shabelsky-Bork founded an

organization similar to the Union of the Russian People in Berlin that was trained in terrorism. In March of 1922, Shabelsky-Bork and his band attempted to assassinate Pavel Miliukov, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats, but they ended up killing Vladimir Nabokov, the father of the novelist, instead.⁹⁴

I primarily wish to analyze the White émigré community in Berlin due to the vast amount of anti-capitalistic, anti-Bolshevistic, and anti-Semitic literature that it produced which, largely through Scheubner-Richter and Rosenberg, substantially influenced Nazi ideology. This literature tended to have a strong apocalyptic component to it, and, indeed, after 1918, one can speak of White émigrés helping to propagate an apocalyptic “Dostoyevsky myth” in Germany.⁹⁵ In addition to heading the Russian Monarchist Union in Berlin, the former Duma member Markov II published the influential anti-Semitic, anti-Bolshevistic, anti-Western newspaper *Dvuglavyi orel* (*The Double-Headed Eagle*), for instance, on which very little research has been done.

Piotr Krasnov, the former commander of the Don Cossack Army, wrote a series of novels in Berlin based on his Russian Civil War experiences, such as *Amazonka pustyni* (*Amazon of the Wilderness*) and *Za chertopolokhom* (*Beyond the Thistles*), but he was best known for his 1921 novel, *Ot Dvuglavogo Orla k krasnomu znameni* (*From the Double-Headed Eagle to the Red Banner*), which was extremely popular in White émigré circles. In this novel, the protagonist discovers the “terrible secret” of the Bolshevik Revolution, namely that the Jews had decided to eradicate the best of the Gentiles.⁹⁶ Krasnov also wrote a series of pro-German articles in *Dvuglavyi Orel*.⁹⁷ It is not known what sort of contacts, if any, he cultivated with the early Nazi Party. As well as assessing his literature to gain a better sense of the White émigré milieu in Germany, I intend to ascertain to what degree Krasnov participated in right-wing German politics.

Fyodor Vinberg was especially active in Berlin in 1919-20, publishing the intensely anti-Semitic newspapers *Prizyv* (*The Call*) and *Luch Sveta* (*Ray of Light*) with the assistance of his comrades Shabelsky-Bork and Taboritsky. Along with Markov II’s

Dvuglavyi Orel, Vinberg's *Luch Sveta* was the mouthpiece for the émigré anti-Semitic right,⁹⁸ but these newspapers still need historical analysis. *Prizyv* printed the Zunder Document in its February 1920 edition, and the third issue of *Luch Sveta*, from May 1920, contains the *Protocols* from the 1911 edition of Nilus' *The Great in the Small*. Cohn credits Vinberg and Shabelsky-Bork with beginning the *Protocols*' "rise to world fame."⁹⁹ Drawing on the *Protocols*, Vinberg posited that Jews and Freemasons wished to destroy Christianity and take over the world, and he stressed that there was no room for passive bystanders in the struggle against these forces of evil.¹⁰⁰

Vinberg lauded the Kapp Putsch in *Prizyv*, regarding it as a positive step in the struggle to overthrow what he perceived as Jewish Bolshevism. Vinberg and his associates Taboritsky and Shabelsky-Bork repeatedly appealed for nationalistic Germans and Russians to combine forces to install right-wing regimes in Germany and Russia that would fight the supposed Judeo-Masonic-Bolshevistic world-conspiracy.¹⁰¹ Vinberg launched the slogan, "Germany and Russia above everything! above everything in the world!" He offered hope that through their cooperation, nationalistic Germans and Russians would "realize their dream, magnanimous and beneficent but hitherto unrealizable, of peace in the world."¹⁰²

Another key figure of interest whose activities in the right-wing Berlin milieu I plan to examine was not a Russian, but a German, born Müller von Hausen, who liked to call himself Gottfried zur Beek. Zur Beek had served as General Ludendorff's advisor during the First World War, and he possessed extensive contacts with White émigrés. He published the anti-Semitic newspaper, *Auf Vorposten (On Outpost Duty)*, in which he wrote of the supposed Jewish plot to "destroy Christianity and other forms of belief in God and to establish the Mosaic-Talmudic faith as the religion for the world." He warned that "if the civilized peoples of Europe do not now rouse themselves for the struggle against the common enemy, our civilization will be destroyed by the same disruptive fungus as was the civilization of antiquity two thousand years ago."¹⁰³

Zur Beek printed the Zunder Document,¹⁰⁴ but he is best known for publishing the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in 1919 for the first time in German in *Auf Vorposten*. The precise manner in which the *Protocols* reached Germany from Russia has not yet been determined,¹⁰⁵ but it is thought that zur Beek received the 1911 edition of Nilus' *The Great in the Small* by the end of November 1919 from Vinberg or from one of his associates. Zur Beek's version of the *Protocols* went through 33 editions by the time Hitler came to power.¹⁰⁶ Writing in 1939, Henri Rollin claimed that the *Protocols* were the most widespread work in the world after the *Bible*.¹⁰⁷

Hitler referred to zur Beek's translation in *Mein Kampf (My Struggle)* when he claimed that the *Protocols* demonstrated that "the whole existence of [the Jewish] people is based on a continuous lie."¹⁰⁸ Hannah Arendt has even suggested that Hitler and his closest associates largely owed the distinctive practices of their oppressive regime to the *Protocols*. Arendt asserts: "The Nazis started with the fiction of a conspiracy and modeled themselves, more or less consciously, after the example of the secret society of the Elders of Zion."¹⁰⁹ Though Beek is such a crucial figure in the history of German and White émigré collaboration, he has not been the subject of thorough historical scrutiny to this day.

For the final section of my dissertation research, I will examine the cooperation between White émigrés and *völkisch* Germans around Hitler in Munich, the city which, with an active monarchical colony of roughly 600 leading rightist exiles,¹¹⁰ became the new center of White émigré activity in Germany after the Kapp Putsch.¹¹¹ I intend to shed some light on the *völkisch* German groups active in Munich, of which the *Thule Gesellschaft* (Thule Society) had the greatest impact on Nazi ideology. Adam Alfred Rudolf Glauer, who became known as Freiherr von Sebottendorff, founded the Thule Society in August 1918, which was named after a mythical Nordic island, probably based on Iceland, where Germanic heroes were said to have clung to their pagan religion and resisted Christianity.¹¹² The Thule Society thus emphasized mystical notions of a supposed heroic

and self-sacrificing Germanic essence, but it also played a key practical role in the turbulent political events of postwar Munich.

Reacting to the socialist revolution that had broken out in Bavaria under the Jew Kurt Eisner, Sebottendorff told his followers that “Judah” now ruled and that the Thule Society had to fight against their “mortal enemy” for as long as necessary. The Thule Society stood at the center of the Bavarian Counter-Revolution, coordinating *völkisch*-nationalist forces against the Eisner Government and the Bavarian Soviet Republics. According to Detlev Rose, author of *Die Thule Gesellschaft: Legende - Mythos - Wirklichkeit* (*The Thule Society: Legend - Myth - Reality*), many White émigrés were active in the Thule Society, but he only mentions Rosenberg specifically.¹¹³ Through the use of Bavarian archival materials dealing with Sebottendorff’s organization, I hope to shed light on the question of specific White émigré participation in and contributions to the Thule Society.

According to Sebottendorff’s records, a *völkisch* playwright who was to have a tremendous impact on Hitler’s *Weltanschauung*, Dietrich Eckart, attended Thule Society meetings as a guest.¹¹⁴ With financial assistance from Sebottendorff’s organization,¹¹⁵ Eckart launched an attack against Jewish left-wing revolutionary forces in Germany by founding his own political newspaper, *Auf gut deutsch: Wochenschrift für Ordnung und Recht* (*In Plain German: Weekly for Law and Order*) in December 1918, which probably had an average circulation of between 2,000 and 5,000 copies. Hitler and Eckart met towards the end of 1919, and Eckart remarked soon afterwards, “That is Germany’s coming man, of whom the world will one day speak.”¹¹⁶

Although Hitler dedicated *Mein Kampf* to Eckart¹¹⁷ and claimed that he had shone in his eyes “like the polar star,”¹¹⁸ only two postwar works have analyzed Eckart’s *Weltanschauung* in any detail.¹¹⁹ In *Auf gut deutsch*, Eckart propounded the theory of what I have termed “the negation of Jewish world-affirmation,” stressing that the Jews, allegedly the world’s greatest world-affirmers who occupied themselves solely with material

concerns, threatened the very existence of the supposedly intensely spiritual and world-denying Germans. Eckart gladly imparted his profoundly anti-Semitic *Weltanschauung* to Hitler, whose own ideas at the time were still rather vague. From November 1919 until the summer of 1920, the scope of Hitler's anti-Semitic arguments broadened considerably, a change that can largely be attributed to Eckart's influence on Hitler's thought.¹²⁰

Jewish world-domination under the pretense of "paradise on earth,"¹²¹ Eckart believed, would preclude Germany from achieving its redemptive mission and would lead the world into madness and destruction. Eckart warned: "If the Jew were to overgrow us permanently, we would never be in the position to fulfill our destiny, which consists in the redemption of the world, but would rather descend into insanity." The world would plunge into madness, he insisted, since "pure world-affirmation, as the unrestrained will for empty existence, leads to no other goal....Viewed in itself, the Jew represents nothing other than this blind will to destruction, the insanity of mankind."¹²²

According to Eckart's posthumous 1924 pamphlet, *Der Bolschewismus von Moses bis Lenin: Zwiegespräch zwischen Adolf Hitler und mir (Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin: A Dialogue Between Adolf Hitler and Myself)*, Hitler referred to Eckart's idea of the malevolent Jewish essence, asserting:

It is surely so, as you once wrote: one can only understand the Jew when one knows where he feels the urge to go to in the end. Beyond world-domination to the destruction of the world. He thinks that he has to bring all of humanity down in order, as he talks himself into believing, to be able to give it paradise on earth....While he pretends to raise humanity up, he torments it into despair, madness, and ruin. If he is not stopped, he will destroy it....even though he dimly suspects that he will destroy himself with it thereby. He cannot escape, he must do it....To have to destroy something for all one is worth, yet at the same time to suspect that this irredeemably leads to one's own ruin, that is the thing. If you like, the tragedy of Lucifer.¹²³

As Saul Friedländer has noted,¹²⁴ in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler worded his belief that the Jews would lead the world to destruction with the aid of Bolshevism in a similar manner: "If, with the help of his Marxist creed, the Jew is victorious over the other peoples of the world, his crown will be the funeral wreath of humanity and this planet will, as it did

thousands of years ago, move through the ether devoid of men.” Hitler then wrote of his own redemptive struggle by asserting, “Hence today I believe that I am acting in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator: by defending myself against the Jew, I am fighting for the work of the Lord.”¹²⁵

As well as assessing the more direct influence of Russian émigrés such as Rosenberg, Vinberg, and Scheubner-Richter on Hitler, I wish to examine the degree to which extremist right-wing Russian thought influenced Eckart, Hitler’s only acknowledged mentor. It is difficult, of course, to pinpoint the sources of Eckart’s belief in the essentially destructive nature of world Jewry precisely, but I can give a sense of the right-wing milieu in which Eckart operated and from which he drew much of his inspiration. Indeed, the circle around Eckart formed the crux of the fusion between *völkisch*/redemptive German and White émigré world-conspiratorial/apocalyptic anti-Semitism, where more positive utopian notions of Germanic spiritual and racial superiority fused with more negative visions of improving the world by destroying Jewish influence.

Eckart had some sort of relationship with Scheubner-Richter, but the extent and nature of this relationship is unclear. In any case, Scheubner-Richter introduced Eckart to Kursell, who served as the head of the *Baltenverband* (Baltic League) in Bavaria and played a prominent role in the *Baltischer Brüderschaft* (Baltic Brotherhood), a rather mystically-inclined group whose members shared the experience of fighting against the Bolsheviks in the Baltic region.¹²⁶ Kursell assisted Eckart by providing drawings for *Auf gut deutsch*, specializing in portraying Jewish figures in as sinister a manner as possible. Kursell is one of many White émigré figures whose role in the development of the early Nazi Party has been overlooked, and I hope to illuminate the role that he played in the right-wing cauldron of postwar Munich politics, notably by analyzing his as yet unexamined autobiography.

Eckart’s greatest assistant, and ultimately his most serious rival as the man who replaced him as editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter* (*Racist Observer*), the official Nazi

Party organ, in 1923, was the former Corps Rubonia member Alfred Rosenberg.

Rosenberg had found his way to Munich shortly after the Armistice in November of 1918, and he joined up with Eckart around the turn of the year. When Rosenberg met Eckart, he is supposed to have asked, “Can you use a fighter against Jerusalem?,” to which Eckart responded, “Certainly!”¹²⁷ Rosenberg contributed a series of articles to *Auf gut deutsch*, in which he wrote at length on his version of the Judeo-Masonic-Bolshevistic world conspiracy that he had gleaned from his own experiences in Russia and, above all, borrowed from other White émigrés, notably Vinberg.¹²⁸

Eckart’s arguments clearly displayed the imprint of White émigré thought, primarily as transferred to him by Rosenberg, when he treated of “Jewish Bolshevism” and the strivings of the Jews for world domination. He traced the Jews’ path to “world domination,” beginning with the Jews inciting the peoples of the world to war through the “Jewish-contaminated press.” This war had led to the collapse of Tsarist Russia at the hands of Germany so that “Jewish Bolshevism” could take root. Then, “supported with lies and gold from all of the people of Israel,” the Jews had thrown their weight behind the Entente powers abroad while instigating “Jewish pacifism in our own ranks.” These machinations had led to the “‘Glorious revolution’ with almost nobody but Hebrews at the head.” Finally, there would arise “from the Neva to the Rhine, on the bloody ruins of the previous national traditions, a single Jewish empire,” the “dictatorship of the Jewish world-savior Lenin and his Elias, Trotsky-Braunstein!”¹²⁹

Addressing a prominent theme of many White émigrés, Eckart argued that the Jews controlled capitalism as well as Bolshevism, and that both were simply means to the end of Jewish world-dictatorship. He wrote of the “error” that usually constituted a “conscious lie,” presumably started by Jews themselves, that the Jews, given that they embodied capitalism, would never be foolish enough to launch Bolshevism or even to support it since it sought to destroy capital. He insisted: “As if the Jewish *Volk*, if it were one day to have unlimited power on earth, would not have everything under the sun, all gold and silver and

the other riches of the world, everything but yet everything!”¹³⁰

Not only did Rosenberg influence Eckart, Hitler’s mentor, he played a crucial role both in directly modifying Hitler’s *Weltanschauung* as well as providing a rival source of Nazi ideology as the official Party philosopher. Hitler, after all, did not offer a substantial theoretical tract until the publication of volume I of *Mein Kampf* in 1925, followed by volume II in 1926. Rosenberg, on the other hand, published an enormous amount of anti-Semitic, anti-Bolshevistic, and anti-liberal literature in the time before the Hitler/Ludendorff Putsch. Not only did he edit the *Völkischer Beobachter*, which Hitler later claimed might as well have been titled the “*Münchener Beobachter - Baltic Edition*,”¹³¹ he wrote a number of books, including *Pest in Russland (Plague in Russia)*, *Bolschewismus, Hunger, Tod (Bolshevism, Hunger, Death)*, and “*Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion*” und die jüdische Weltpolitik (“*The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*” and *Jewish World-Politics*). He also composed *Wesen, Grundsätze und Ziele der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiterpartei (Essence, Principles, and Objectives of the National Socialist German Workers’ Party)*, which provided a broader explanation of Nazi policies than the Party Program.

Perhaps largely due to the spectacle of his being “buffeted about hopelessly in the struggle for power in the Party” in the later years of the Third Reich, as historian Alan Bullock has worded it,¹³² historians have tended to underestimate Rosenberg’s importance. Detlev Rose, in particular, however, asserts that Rosenberg influenced Hitler and the Party as a whole much more than has previously been assumed, especially with regard to the “Jewish” nature of Bolshevism and an anti-Russian foreign policy stance after the Bolsheviks consolidated their power.¹³³ Baur notes that the relatively scarce existing literature on Rosenberg contains little information on his connections with other White émigrés and does not shed much light on his image of Russia (*Russlandbild*).¹³⁴

In seeking to expand historical knowledge of Rosenberg and his ideas, I will pay special attention to notions that he drew from the White emigration in general and from

Fyodor Vinberg in particular. Rosenberg is known to have borrowed extensively from Markov II's *Dvuglavyi Orel* and Vinberg's *Prizyv*, written in Berlin,¹³⁵ and Rosenberg also took a great many ideas from Vinberg's writings in Munich. Cohn has written that Rosenberg "provided the link between Russian antisemitism of the Black Hundred type and the antisemitism of the German racists; more precisely, he took over Vinberg's view of Bolshevism as a Jewish conspiracy and reinterpreted it in *völkisch*-racist terms."¹³⁶ Cohn's assertion about the central place of Vinberg's ideas in Rosenberg's writings, supported by Laqueur¹³⁷ and Baur,¹³⁸ warrants further investigation.

After leaving Berlin in the wake of the Kapp Putsch in March 1920, Vinberg established himself in the White émigré community in Munich. He remained there until he fled Germany for Paris in 1923 in the wake of the Hitler/Ludendorff Putsch and mounting suspicion that he had been involved in Shabelsky-Bork's murder of Nabokov.¹³⁹ He edited the *Vestnik russkago monarkhicheskago obedineniia v Bavarii* (*Bulletin of the Russian Monarchical Union in Bavaria*), which has yet to be thoroughly analyzed historically, in addition to continuing the publication of *Luch Sveta*. Vinberg argued in *Luch Sveta* that the Jews had been conspiring to take over the world since the outbreak of the French Revolution. He casually wrote of attacking the Jews, and in *Luch Sveta* VI, he proposed destroying them altogether.¹⁴⁰

Vinberg wrote a very influential book on Russia's *Via Dolorosa* that was translated into German as *Der Kreuzesweg Russlands: Teil I: Die Ursachen des Übels* (*Russia's Via Dolorosa: Part I: The Causes of the Evil*). Vinberg attributed what he regarded as Russia's agony to Jewish machinations, and he stressed, as he had in Berlin: "Germany and Russia above everything!"¹⁴¹ Baur asserts that *Bolschewismus, Hunger, Tod* can be seen as Rosenberg's reworking of Vinberg's *Russia's Via Dolorosa*.¹⁴² In a November 1922 speech, Hitler himself cited Vinberg as the source of his information that the Bolshevik Revolution had been a "Jewish action."¹⁴³

Finally, I intend to examine the actions and ideas of Max von Scheubner-Richter, a

White émigré whose influence on the early Nazi Party has often been mentioned, but generally has not been granted the attention that it warrants. Most recently, Baur has noted that there has been neither a scholarly biography of Scheubner-Richter nor an analysis of the organization that he founded in Munich, the *Aufbau, Wirtschaftspolitische Vereinigung für den Osten* (Reconstruction, Economic-Political Association for the East). This lacuna in the literature is all the more surprising considering the crucial role that Scheubner-Richter played in the early Nazi movement. Baur credits him and Rosenberg with doing the most to make Hitler aware of the body of White émigré thought,¹⁴⁴ and Hitler said of the “martyrs” killed in his abortive putsch attempt: “Everyone is replaceable, with the exception of one: Scheubner-Richter!”¹⁴⁵

Scheubner-Richter traveled to Munich from Berlin in 1919 at the urging of his Corps brother, Schickedanz, who told him of the efforts of another Corps brother, Rosenberg, to finance the Vrangal Army. Rosenberg introduced him to industrial circles and White émigrés in Munich society.¹⁴⁶ Scheubner-Richter returned to Berlin, where he participated in the Kapp Putsch of March 1920 as Kapp’s press secretary. Later that year, he traveled to the Crimea to negotiate with Vrangal’s forces in the Crimea on behalf of several Bavarian firms,¹⁴⁷ establishing a great deal of useful contacts among right-wing Russian circles in the process.¹⁴⁸ He returned to Munich and became acquainted with Hitler through Rosenberg in October 1920, and he joined the Nazi Party soon after.¹⁴⁹

Scheubner-Richter headed the German section of the *Deutsch-Russischen Gesellschaft* (German-Russian Society), while General Biskupsky led the Russian section,¹⁵⁰ but, far more importantly for the genesis of Nazi ideology, Scheubner-Richter founded *Aufbau*. This organization worked towards the goal of “establishing a connection between German economic circles and the Russian emigration.”¹⁵¹ *Aufbau* attracted extremist White émigrés in Bavaria, including Schickedanz, who served as Scheubner-Richter’s deputy director, Biskupsky, Vinberg, and Nemirovich-Danchenko,¹⁵² who wrote for the *Völkischer Beobachter* under Rosenberg in the early years of the National Socialist

Party.¹⁵³

Aufbau published a newspaper, *Wirtschaftspolitische Aufbau-Korrespondenz über Ostfragen und ihre Bedeutung für Deutschland* (*Economic-Political Reconstruction News Agency on Eastern Questions and Their Significance for Germany*), which Scheubner-Richter's associate Schickedanz helped to publish from 1921 onwards.¹⁵⁴ This newspaper would enrage its readers with reports of Bolshevik atrocities such as a method reputed to members of the Cheka, or Bolshevik secret police, where they would force rats to gnaw their way into the living flesh of prisoners through the use of a pipe and fire. The newspaper also claimed that primarily Jewish Bolsheviks had killed 35 million people in Russia, including deaths from hunger.¹⁵⁵

Aufbau-Korrespondenz closely observed Russian developments and translated much material from the White émigré press.¹⁵⁶ Scheubner-Richter lambasted what he perceived as cowardice, emphasizing that the German *Volksgemeinschaft* (racial community) had to fight its way to a new life or die trying,¹⁵⁷ and he predicted that Hitler would save the world.¹⁵⁸ He wrote of the menace presented by the “dictatorship of Jewish Bolshevism” and “international Jewish...world-domination.” He even asserted that German nationalists had “no friend” in Mussolini, since he was apparently indifferent to anti-Semitism.¹⁵⁹ Scheubner-Richter propagated the idea that National Socialism could gain allies abroad by making anti-Semitic appeals, urging: “Anti-Semites of the world, unite!”¹⁶⁰

Scheubner-Richter organized a meeting of monarchical Russian émigrés in Bad Reichenhall, Bavaria, in May and June of 1921. The Bad Reichenhall Congress aimed to work for the “reconstruction of Russia on a monarchical basis.” Nemirovich-Danchenko made an especially urgent plea at the Congress for nationalistic Germans to help overthrow the Bolsheviks in Russia in the interests of both the German and Russian peoples. Scheubner-Richter claimed that the Congress was of the “utmost importance for German-Russian relations,” though the only concrete goals that the participants agreed to were to

cooperate with rightist Germans and not to recognize the Treaty of Versailles.¹⁶¹

Hoping to form a parallel *Aufbau* Association of White émigrés and radical right-wing Hungarians, Scheubner-Richter traveled to Budapest during June and July of 1922. He explained the hopes of himself and his associates from Generals Biskupsky and Ludendorff to defeat the Bolsheviks with right-wing Hungarian support. Prince Cyril of the Romanov family would act as the Tsar, and he would keep the Bolshevik land reforms intact and pardon those who had served in the Red Army. Finally, the new regime would facilitate an “anti-Jewish movement that would break out in elementary force and end Soviet rule with one blow.”¹⁶²

Scheubner-Richter failed to coordinate a formal international alliance between right-wing German and Hungarian elements. He wrote an article for the *Völkischer Beobachter* in September 1923, “Deutschlands Bolschewierung” (“Germany’s Bolshevization”), in which he lamented the fact that his urgent plea to install a friendly national government in Russia had not been heeded.¹⁶³ Scheubner-Richter did leave a considerable legacy in Hungary, however. Soon after Hitler assumed the German Chancellorship in January 1933, the right-wing Hungarian Minister-President Gyula Gömbös ordered his ambassador in Berlin to visit the Führer as soon as possible:

On my behalf, pass my best regards and wishes....Recall that ten years ago, on the basis of our common principles and ideology, we were in contact via Mr. Scheubner-Richter....Tell Hitler my firm belief that the two countries have to cooperate in foreign and domestic policy.¹⁶⁴

Scheubner-Richter served another crucial function for the early Nazi Party as the liaison man between General Erich Ludendorff and Hitler.¹⁶⁵ Ludendorff himself made important ideological contributions to Nazi ideology. He published a book, *Kriegsführung und Politik (War Leadership and Politics)* in 1921, in which he claimed: “The supreme government of the Jewish *Volk* was working hand in hand with France and England. Perhaps it was leading them both.”¹⁶⁶ Ludendorff’s book stressed that peace was really a period of preparation for war, war being a useful instrument to create “front-line socialism”

that would stabilize a warrior community whose energies would be directed outwards. During his trial for his putsch attempt, Hitler claimed that Ludendorff's work had "clearly pointed out where it was practical to search [for the mistakes of the past the possibilities for the future] in Germany."¹⁶⁷

Scheubner-Richter became Ludendorff's most important advisor in the summer of 1922, and he played a key role in the events that led up to the putsch attempt that Hitler and Ludendorff launched in November 1923. Beginning in the fall of 1922, Ludendorff moved closer and closer to Hitler and the Nazis through Scheubner-Richter, who worked ceaselessly to coordinate activities between Hitler and Ludendorff, both of whom wished to overthrow the Weimar Republic.¹⁶⁸ In early 1923, Scheubner-Richter also became Secretary of the *Kampfbund*, a collection of nationalistic associations nominally under Hitler's leadership that collaborated with the Nazis and subsequently participated in the Hitler/Ludendorff Putsch.¹⁶⁹

In his memorandum of September 24, 1923, after Germany's Prime Minister Gustav Stresemann had ended the policy of passive resistance in the Ruhr, Scheubner-Richter advocated a course of legality instead of an armed uprising. Rollin has claimed that this profoundly affected Hitler's subsequent tactics, who, after the failed putsch, subsequently adopted this policy.¹⁷⁰ The question of Scheubner-Richter's influence on Hitler's advocacy of a policy of legality is worth investigating. In any case, Hitler met with Scheubner-Richter on November 6, 1923, and they decided on a show of force to begin Germany's "liberation,"¹⁷¹ a plan of action that led to debacle.

With the failure of the Hitler/Ludendorff Putsch on November 9, 1923, in which Scheubner-Richter was killed while marching at Hitler's side, the collaboration between White émigré circles and Hitler and his German associates suffered a severe blow from which it never fully recovered. Kursell became the leader of the *Aufbau Gesellschaft* after Scheubner-Richter's death, hurling invective against those who advocated a Great Russia policy.¹⁷² Hitler did not resume close contact with White émigré groups after he emerged

from prison at the end of 1924. After the putsch, a firm anti-Russian attitude and desire to gain *Lebensraum* (living space) at Russia's expense crystallized in Hitler's outlook, a mode of thought that Rosenberg, Scheubner-Richter, and Ludendorff, among others, had already helped to bring about as they gradually gave up hope of being able to use monarchical Russians to overthrow the Bolsheviks.¹⁷³ Nazi policy on Eastern European affairs henceforth supported Ukrainian separatists.¹⁷⁴

The seeds of anti-Semitic White émigré thought, with its distinctive mix of apocalyptic fervor and conspiratorial imaginings, had been sown, however. Moreover, particular White émigrés continued to play a significant role in the Nazi movement. The Party philosopher Rosenberg, for instance, went on to become Hitler's "Eastern Minister." Arno Schickedanz became the Berlin representative of the *Völkischer Beobachter*¹⁷⁵ and Rosenberg's Chief of Staff,¹⁷⁶ and after Gregor Bostunich, soon to be known as Schwartz-Bostunich, was "discovered" by Scheubner-Richter in 1923, he went on to write for Alfred Rosenberg's *Völkischer Beobachter* and *Weltkampf*,¹⁷⁷ and he provided the philosophical basis for Julius Streicher's notorious anti-Semitic publication, *der Stürmer* (*The Angry Go-Getter*).¹⁷⁸ After becoming one of Himmler's favorites, he ended his career in the upper echelon of the SS as a *Standartenführer*, or regimental commander.¹⁷⁹

In seeking to explain the genesis and development of the ideology that inspired the Holocaust, one must accord radical White émigré influence a substantially higher degree of importance than generally has been the case thus far in historiography on Nazism. Not only did many White émigrés weave notions of a Jewish world-conspiracy together with notions of an approaching apocalypse, it seems likely that, as Rollin claimed sixty years ago, White émigrés in general, while appalled by Bolshevik practices, were also influenced by them. Rollin has asserted that Rosenberg, Vinberg, and Scheubner-Richter, in particular, were astounded at the success that Lenin, himself a relatively unknown émigré, achieved through mass propaganda and the ruthless destruction of adversaries after seizing control of the state, and they hoped to fight fire with fire by using Lenin's own methods to

defeat him.¹⁸⁰ While the precise degree of White émigré influence on Nazism cannot be established beyond all doubt, even a cursory examination of Hitler's writings yields a compelling case for substantial White émigré contributions to Hitlerian ideology.

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler offered an account of Jewish methods of achieving world-domination that bore a striking resemblance to the arguments of many radical White émigrés. According to Hitler, "the Jew" gained economic dominance "with terrifying speed through the stock exchange." "The Jew" then used three means to bring about "the general pacifistic paralysis of the national instinct of self-preservation," namely Freemasonry, the press, and the "shock and storm troop" of Marxism. With the stage set for the "last great revolution," Hitler argued, "the democratic people's Jew becomes the blood-Jew and tyrant over peoples. In a few years he tries to exterminate the national intelligentsia and by robbing the peoples of their natural intellectual leadership makes them ripe for the slave's lot of permanent subjugation."¹⁸¹

Hitler then demonstrated his indebtedness to White émigré perspectives even more clearly, arguing:

The most frightful example of this kind is offered by Russia, where [the Jew] killed or starved about thirty million people with positively fanatical savagery, in part amid inhuman tortures, in order to give a gang of Jewish journalists and stock exchange bandits domination over a great people.¹⁸²

Through 1921, Hitler believed the Bolshevik regime to be on the edge of collapse, and he regarded a nationalistic Russian government as a partner against England and France.¹⁸³

By the time he wrote down his ideas in *Mein Kampf*, he had discarded such notions in favor of defeating what he regarded as the Judaized Bolshevik state and carving *Lebensraum* from it, an idea that at least partially stemmed from Rosenberg and Scheubner-Richter,¹⁸⁴ but he still referred to ethnic Russians as a "great people."

In the book mostly concerned with foreign policy that he dictated as a sequel to *Mein Kampf* in 1928 but never published, Hitler offered an account of supposed Jewish machinations in Russia with even clearer parallels to White émigré perspectives. He

argued that “present-day Bolshevik Russia” was “in reality Jewish-capitalistic.” Hitler, like Rosenberg and Vinberg, claimed that Jewish Bolsheviks had annihilated the leading elements of Russian society. Hitler regarded this ruling element to have consisted of “above all, very many Germans (Balts!),” something with which Rosenberg would have agreed, though Slavs presumably would have had problems with this formulation. Hitler argued that “Jewry...has exterminated the former alien upper class with the help of the Slav race instinct.”¹⁸⁵ The idea of the “alien” upper class and a pernicious “Slav race instinct” shows Hitler’s debt to racist *völkisch* thinking, but the notion of the Bolshevik elimination of existing elites fit squarely into the White émigré tradition.

In the conclusion of his work, Hitler argued of “the Jew,”

His ultimate goal is the denationalization, the promiscuous bastardization of other peoples, the lowering of the racial level of the highest peoples as well as the domination of this racial mish-mash through the extirpation of the folkish intelligentsia and its replacement by the members of his own people. The end of the Jewish world struggle therefore will always be a bloody Bolshevization.¹⁸⁶

Hitler showed the extent of his *völkisch* racial thinking here, but by labeling what he regarded as deliberate bastardization of Aryan peoples by the Jews as “Bolshevization,” he demonstrated the degree to which events in Russia as interpreted by White émigrés had captured and held his imagination.

Finally, Hitler offered an analysis of Jewish methods of domination clearly influenced by White émigré perceptions of reality when he argued that the Jews had plotted the ruin of European nations “by systematically inciting them to the World War” with the aim of “the destruction of inherently anti-Semitic Russia as well as the German Reich.” He then lamented the apparent Jewish successes:

This Jewish war aim has at least in part been completely achieved. Czarism and Kaiserism in Germany [sic] were eliminated. With the help of the Bolshevik revolution the Russian upper classes and also the Russian national intelligentsia were murdered and completely extirpated amid inhuman agonies and atrocities. For the Russian people the total number of victims of this Jewish struggle for hegemony in Russia amounted to 28-30 million people in number of dead....¹⁸⁷

By joining together Russia and Germany as the particular victims of Jewish machinations,

Hitler indicated the extent to which his thinking had been permeated by White émigré notions of “the Jew.”

Years later, under the cover of massive military operations directed primarily against the East, Hitler’s state apparatus gave “redemptive anti-Semitism” its ultimate and most terrifying expression by attempting to annihilate European Jewry. Perhaps the most striking feature of the “Final Solution of the Jewish Question” is its rationalized irrationality, where vast numbers of Germans and their auxiliaries from Eastern and Western Europe devoted immense amounts of scarce resources to carry out mass slaughter, often in an unprecedentedly mechanized and efficient manner, at the same time that a total war that was to end either in glorious victory or abject defeat was raging. The high priority that the extermination of Jews received at this critical juncture indicates the extent to which Hitler and other Nazi officials with the support of an indeterminate number of “ordinary Germans” truly believed that “the Jew” threatened their ruin.

While historians have rightly noted that German culture developed strong anti-Semitic notions with redemptive as well as more racist *völkisch* components that Hitler and his associates could draw upon, the degree to which many White émigrés influenced Nazi ideology, including through their advocacy of “Bolshevistic” methods of terror, incarceration, and extermination to achieve their anti-Bolshevistic agenda, warrants further investigation. A thorough examination of the radical right-wing milieu in which deracinated White émigrés and alienated *völkisch* Germans collaborated is clearly necessary in order better to understand the genesis and development of the ideology behind the Holocaust.

Through my dissertation research on Hitler’s “Russian” connection, I hope to contribute significantly to historical knowledge of the origins of Nazi ideology as a malevolent hybrid composed primarily of *völkisch*/redemptive German and radical White émigré conspiratorial/apocalyptic thought, where notions of Aryan racial superiority and unwarranted suffering at the hands of insidious Jewish world-conspirators intermingled. I

hope that my project will contribute to a shift of emphasis in modern European historical inquiry from West to East. It is in the broad stretch of territory between the Rhine and the Volga that the pivotal hinge of the twentieth century is to be located, where German military personnel knowingly aided Bolshevism by spiriting Lenin and his comrades back to their motherland, and the vast exodus of White émigrés from Russia that followed Bolshevism's triumph helped to engender Nazism, which in turn committed atrocities so shocking as to undermine, perhaps fatally, optimistic notions of modernity.

¹ Adolf Hitler, *Sämtliche Aufzeichnungen*, eds. Eberhard Jäckel and Axel Kuhn (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1980), 713, 716.

² Johannes Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München 1900-1945: Deutsch-russische Beziehungen im 20. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1988), 261.

³ Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 14.

⁴ Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia: People and Empire 1552-1917* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997) xix, xx.

⁵ Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), 40.

⁶ Daniel Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 6, 419.

⁷ Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992).

⁸ Frederick Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969), 10, 21.

⁹ Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, 79-82.

¹⁰ Charles Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988) 66, 67.

¹¹ Ernst Nolte, *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg 1917-1945: Nationalsozialismus und Bolschewismus* (Frankfurt/Main: Propyläen Verlag, 1987), 15.

¹² Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, 9, 25.

¹³ Nolte, *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg*, 16, 21, 22.

¹⁴ Nolte, *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg*, 545, 548.

¹⁵ Ivan Berend, *Decades of Crisis: Central and Eastern Europe before World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), xxiii.

¹⁶ Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: Volume I: The Years of Persecution, 1933-1939* (New York: HarperCollins, 1997), 87.

¹⁷ Arthur Schopenhauer, "Denial of the Will to Live," *The World as Will and Idea*, vol. 3, trans. R. B. Haldane and J. Kemp (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1909),

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¹⁸ Richard Wagner, “Heldenthum und Christenthum,” *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, vol. 10 (Leipzig: C. F. W. Siegel, 1907), 281; “Erkenne dich selbst,” *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, vol. 10, 271.

¹⁹ Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 1, trans. John Lees (New York: Howard Fertig, 1968), 226, 246.

²⁰ George Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1964, 1998), 4-7.

²¹ Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political-Anti-Semitism in Germany & Austria* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 119, 292.

²² Henri Rollin, *L’apocalypse de notre temps: Les dessous de la propagande allemande d’après des documents inédits* (Paris: Gallimard, 1939), 9, 11, 168.

²³ Konrad Heiden, *Der Führer: Hitler’s Rise to Power*, trans. Ralph Mannheim (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1944), 1, 183, 184.

²⁴ Michael Hagemeister, “Sergej Nilus und die ‘Protokolle der Weisen von Zion,’” *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung der Technischen Universität Berlin*, ed. Wolfgang Benz (Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 1996), 136.

²⁵ Walter Laqueur, *Russia and Germany: A Century of Conflict* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1965), 53.

²⁶ Robert Williams, *Culture in Exile: Russian Émigrés in Germany, 1881-1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), 371.

²⁷ Johannes Baur, personal interview, August 27, 1998.

²⁸ Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 279, 316.

²⁹ See, for instance, Alan Bullock’s *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 36, and Joachim C. Fest’s *Hitler*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974), 42.

³⁰ Brigitte Hamann, *Hitlers Wien: Lehrjahre eines Diktators* (Munich: Piper, 1996), 239-241, 499, 500.

³¹ Hitler, *Sämtliche Aufzeichnungen*, 60-84, 1256, 1257.

³² Hitler claimed of his time in Vienna, “In this period there took shape within me a world picture and a philosophy which became the granite foundation of all my acts. In addition to what I then created, I have had to learn little; and I have had to alter nothing.” Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Mannheim (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), 22. Hitler undoubtedly exaggerated the completed nature of his ideology in his Vienna days in order to create the impression that he had been on the “right” side of the “Jewish question” from very early on.

³³ L. K. Shkarenkov, “Eine Chronik der russischen Emigration in Deutschland: Die Materialien des General Aleksej A. von Lampe,” *Russische Emigration in Deutschland*, 39-58.

³⁴ Abraham Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905: Russia in Disarray* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 238, 239.

³⁵ Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber, *The European Right: A Historical Profile* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 495.

³⁶ Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905*, 240-242.

³⁷ James Webb, *The Occult Establishment* (La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1976), 256.

³⁸ Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion”* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 111, 112.

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- ³⁹ Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 199.
- ⁴⁰ Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 34, 35, 61, 62, 73, 103.
- ⁴¹ Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 83-87.
- ⁴² Webb, *The Occult Establishment*, 238-240.
- ⁴³ Hagemeister, "Sergej Nilus und die 'Protokolle der Weisen von Zion,'" *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, 130, 131.
- ⁴⁴ Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 67.
- ⁴⁵ Hagemeister, "Die 'Protokolle der Weisen von Zion' und der Basler Zionistenkongreß von 1897," *Der Traum von Israel: Die Ursprünge des modernen Zionismus*, ed. Heiko Haumann (Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum Verlag, 1998), 257.
- ⁴⁶ Webb, *The Occult Establishment*, 260.
- ⁴⁷ Otto-Ernst Schüddekopf, *Linke Leute von rechts: Die nationalrevolutionären Minderheiten und der Kommunismus in der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1960), 33.
- ⁴⁸ Hagemeister, "Die 'Protokolle der Weisen von Zion' und der Basler Zionistenkongreß von 1897," *Der Traum von Israel*, 257.
- ⁴⁹ Hagemeister, "Die 'Protokolle der Weisen von Zion' und der Basler Zionistenkongreß von 1897," *Der Traum von Israel*, 259.
- ⁵⁰ Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 115-118.
- ⁵¹ Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 123.
- ⁵² Webb, *The Occult Establishment*, 264.
- ⁵³ General Max Hoffmann, *War Diaries and Other Papers*, vol. II, trans. Eric Sutton (London: Martin Secker, 1929), 213, 214.
- ⁵⁴ Rollin, *L'apocalypse de notre temps*, 77.
- ⁵⁵ Adalbert Prinz von Bayern, *Die Herzen der Leuchtenberg: Geschichte einer bayerisch- napoleonischen Familie* (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1992), 356.
- ⁵⁶ Williams, *Culture in Exile*, 77, 290.
- ⁵⁷ W. Dawatz, *Fünf Stürmjahre mit General Wrangel*, trans. Georg von Leuchtenberg (Berlin: Verlag für Kulturpolitik, 1927), iii.
- ⁵⁸ Paul Avalov, *Im Kampf gegen den Bolschewismus: Erinnerungen von General Fürst Awaloff, Oberbefehlshaber der Deutsch-Russischen Westarmee im Baltikum*, (Hamburg: Von J. J. Augustin, 1925), 45.
- ⁵⁹ Hagemeister, "Sergej Nilus und die 'Protokolle der Weisen von Zion,'" *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, 134.
- ⁶⁰ Rollin, *L'apocalypse de notre temps*, 36.
- ⁶¹ Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 119-121.
- ⁶² Rollin, *L'apocalypse de notre temps*, 168-170.
- ⁶³ Webb, *The Occult Establishment*, 266.
- ⁶⁴ Hagemeister, "Das Leben Des Gregor Schwartz-Bostunich, Teil 2," *Russische Emigration in Deutschland 1918 bis 1941: Leben im europäischen Bürgerkrieg*, ed. Karl Schlögel (Berlin: Akademie, 1995), 209.
- ⁶⁵ Bruno Thoss, *Der Ludendorff-Kreis 1919-1923: München als Zentrum der mitteleuropäischen Gegenrevolution zwischen Revolution und Hitler-Putsch* (Munich: Stadtarchiv München, 1978), 401.
- ⁶⁶ Laqueur, *Russia and Germany*, 107.
- ⁶⁷ Rollin, *L'apocalypse de notre temps*, 154.
- ⁶⁸ Bettina Dodenhoeft, "Laßt mich nach Russland heim": *Russische Emigranten in*

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- Deutschland von 1918 bis 1945* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1993), 196.
- ⁶⁹ Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 127.
- ⁷⁰ Rollin, *L'apocalypse de notre temps*, 480, 481.
- ⁷¹ Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. 2, trans. Erica Carter and Chris Turner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 347, 348.
- ⁷² Thoss, *Der Ludendorff-Kreis*, 342, 368, 369, 370.
- ⁷³ Thoss, *Der Ludendorff-Kreis*, 372, 373.
- ⁷⁴ Webb, *The Occult Establishment*, 181.
- ⁷⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983), 87.
- ⁷⁶ Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 182, 253, 254.
- ⁷⁷ Robert Cecil, *The Myth of the Master Race: Alfred Rosenberg and Nazi Ideology* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1972), 12, 14.
- ⁷⁸ Werner Maser, *Der Sturm auf die Republik: Frühgeschichte der NSDAP* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1973), 181, 182, 184.
- ⁷⁹ Williams, *Culture in Exile*, 370.
- ⁸⁰ Cecil, *The Myth of the Master Race*, 15.
- ⁸¹ Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 271.
- ⁸² Seppo Kuusisto, *Alfred Rosenberg in der nazionalsozialistischen Außenpolitik 1933-1939*, trans. Christian Krötzel (Helsinki: Finska Historiska Samfundet, 1984), 12, 13, 30.
- ⁸³ Nolte, *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg*, 114.
- ⁸⁴ Williams, *Culture in Exile*, 164.
- ⁸⁵ Georg Franz-Willing, *Ursprung der Hitlerbewegung 1919-1922* (Preußisch Oldendorf: K. W. Schütz KG, 1974), 197.
- ⁸⁶ Williams, *Culture in Exile*, 165.
- ⁸⁷ Rudolf Klatt, *Ostpreussen unter dem Reichskommissariat 1919/1920* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1958), 139.
- ⁸⁸ Laqueur, *Russia and Germany*, 60.
- ⁸⁹ Paul Leverkühn, *Posten auf ewiger Wache: Aus dem abenteuerreichen Leben des Max von Scheubner-Richter* (Essen: Essener Verlagsanstalt, 1938), 187.
- ⁹⁰ Karl Schlögel, "Russische Emigration in Deutschland 1918-1941: Fragen und Thesen," *Russische Emigration in Deutschland*, 11.
- ⁹¹ Shkarenkov, "Eine Chronik der russischen Emigration in Deutschland," *Russische Emigration in Deutschland*, 48.
- ⁹² Webb, *The Occult Establishment*, 175.
- ⁹³ Williams, *Culture in Exile*, 98, 165.
- ⁹⁴ Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 141.
- ⁹⁵ Schüddekopf, *Linke Leute von rechts*, 31.
- ⁹⁶ Matthias Vetter, "Die Russische Emigration und ihre 'Judenfrage,'" *Russische Emigration in Deutschland*, 111.
- ⁹⁷ Williams, *Culture in Exile*, 291-293.
- ⁹⁸ Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 203.
- ⁹⁹ Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 127, 129, 139.
- ¹⁰⁰ Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 204, 205.
- ¹⁰¹ Rollin, *L'apocalypse de notre temps*, 153.
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- ¹⁰⁴ Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 139.
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- ¹⁰⁷ Rollin, *L’apocalypse de notre temps*, 40.
- ¹⁰⁸ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 307.
- ¹⁰⁹ Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 378.
- ¹¹⁰ Shkarenkov, “Eine Chronik der russischen Emigration in Deutschland,” *Russische Emigration in Deutschland*, 51.
- ¹¹¹ Karl Schlögel, *Der grosse Exodus, Die Russische Emigration und ihre Zentren 1917 bis 1941* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1994), 251.
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- ¹¹³ Rose, *Die Thule Gesellschaft*, 11, 41, 42, 79, 124.
- ¹¹⁴ Rose, *Die Thule Gesellschaft*, 79.
- ¹¹⁵ Maser, *Der Sturm auf die Republik*, 179.
- ¹¹⁶ Margarete Plewnia, *Auf dem Weg zu Hitler: Der “völkische” Publizist Dietrich Eckart* (Bremen: Schünemann Universitätsverlag, 1970), 29, 66, 67.
- ¹¹⁷ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 687.
- ¹¹⁸ Hitler, *Hitler’s Table Talk 1941-44: His Private Conversations*, trans. Norman Cameron and R. H. Stevens, 2nd ed. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1953, 1973), 217.
- ¹¹⁹ The only work written in English that analyzes Dietrich Eckart’s *Weltanschauung* in any detail is a doctoral dissertation, Ralph Engelmann’s *Dietrich Eckart and the Genesis of Nazism*, diss. Washington U. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1971). The only German book not written during the Third Reich that concentrates on Eckart’s anti-Semitic ideology is Margarete Plewnia’s *Auf dem Weg zu Hitler: Der “völkische” Publizist Dietrich Eckart*.
- ¹²⁰ Plewnia, *Auf dem Weg zu Hitler*, 95.
- ¹²¹ Dietrich Eckart, “Kuckkuckseier,” *Auf gut deutsch* April 20, 1921, 5.
- ¹²² Eckart, “Das Judentum in und außer uns: V,” *Auf gut deutsch* Feb. 7, 1919, 15.
- ¹²³ Eckart, *Der Bolschewismus von Moses bis Lenin: Zwiegespräch zwischen Adolf Hitler und mir* (Munich: Hoheneichen Verlag, 1924), 49, 50.
- ¹²⁴ Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 98.
- ¹²⁵ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 65.
- ¹²⁶ Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 182, 185.
- ¹²⁷ Cecil, *The Myth of the Master Race*, 24.
- ¹²⁸ Laqueur, *Russia and Germany*, 116.
- ¹²⁹ Eckart, “Jewry über alles,” *Auf gut deutsch* Nov. 26, 1920, 2.
- ¹³⁰ Eckart, “Jewry über alles,” *Auf gut deutsch* Nov. 26, 1920, 5.
- ¹³¹ Hitler, *Hitler’s Table Talk*, 649.
- ¹³² Bullock, *Hitler, A Study In Tyranny*, 80.
- ¹³³ Rose, *Die Thule Gesellschaft*, 125.
- ¹³⁴ Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 271.
- ¹³⁵ Laqueur, *Russia and Germany*, 72.
- ¹³⁶ Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 194, 195.
- ¹³⁷ Laqueur, *Russia and Germany*, 116.
- ¹³⁸ Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 279.

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- ¹³⁹ Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 141.
- ¹⁴⁰ Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 203, 206, 209.
- ¹⁴¹ Rollin, *L'apocalypse de notre temps*, 155.
- ¹⁴² Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 279.
- ¹⁴³ Hitler, *Sämtliche Aufzeichnungen*, 713, 716.
- ¹⁴⁴ Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 253, 267.
- ¹⁴⁵ Franz-Willing, *Ursprung der Hitlerbewegung*, 198.
- ¹⁴⁶ Leverkühn, *Posten auf ewiger Wache*, 184.
- ¹⁴⁷ Webb, *The Occult Establishment*, 296.
- ¹⁴⁸ Dodenhoeft, "Laßt mich nach Russland heim," 191.
- ¹⁴⁹ Williams, *Culture in Exile*, 167.
- ¹⁵⁰ Leverkühn, *Posten auf ewiger Wache*, 185.
- ¹⁵¹ Thoss, *Der Ludendorff-Kreis*, 442.
- ¹⁵² Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 186, 259.
- ¹⁵³ Laqueur, *Russia and Germany*, 107.
- ¹⁵⁴ Leverkühn, *Posten auf ewiger Wache*, 185.
- ¹⁵⁵ Nolte, *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg*, 115.
- ¹⁵⁶ Nolte, *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg*, 115.
- ¹⁵⁷ Leverkühn, *Posten auf ewiger Wache*, 186, 192.
- ¹⁵⁸ Laqueur, *Russia and Germany*, 65.
- ¹⁵⁹ Thoss, *Der Ludendorff-Kreis*, 459.
- ¹⁶⁰ Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 216.
- ¹⁶¹ Thoss, *Der Ludendorff-Kreis*, 443, 444.
- ¹⁶² Thoss, *Der Ludendorff-Kreis*, 450.
- ¹⁶³ Nolte, *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg*, 132.
- ¹⁶⁴ Berend, *Decades of Crisis*, 310.
- ¹⁶⁵ Thoss, *Der Ludendorff-Kreis*, 323, 324.
- ¹⁶⁶ Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 134
- ¹⁶⁷ Thoss, *Der Ludendorff-Kreis*, 8.
- ¹⁶⁸ Thoss, *Der Ludendorff-Kreis*, 323, 324, 449, 451.
- ¹⁶⁹ Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 191, 449, 451.
- ¹⁷⁰ Rollin, *L'apocalypse de notre temps*, 158.
- ¹⁷¹ Thoss, *Der Ludendorff-Kreis*, 342, 343.
- ¹⁷² Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 263.
- ¹⁷³ Rose, *Die Thule Gesellschaft*, 127.
- ¹⁷⁴ Laqueur, *Russia and Germany*, 112.
- ¹⁷⁵ Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 203.
- ¹⁷⁶ Thoss, *Der Ludendorff-Kreis*, 442.
- ¹⁷⁷ Hagemeister, "Das Leben des Gregor Schwartz-Bostunich, Teil 2," *Russische Emigration in Deutschland*, 211, 212.
- ¹⁷⁸ Laqueur, *Russia and Germany*, 122.
- ¹⁷⁹ Hagemeister, "Das Leben des Gregor Schwartz-Bostunich, Teil 2," *Russische Emigration in Deutschland*, 215-217.
- ¹⁸⁰ Rollin, *L'apocalypse de notre temps*, 168.
- ¹⁸¹ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 314, 320, 326.
- ¹⁸² Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 326.
- ¹⁸³ Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München*, 278.

¹⁸⁴ Rose, *Die Thule Gesellschaft*, 127.

¹⁸⁵ Hitler, *Hitler's Secret Book*, trans. Salvator Attanasio (New York: Grove Press Inc., 1961), 133, 138.

¹⁸⁶ Hitler, *Hitler's Secret Book*, 213.

¹⁸⁷ Hitler, *Hitler's Secret Book*, 214, 215.

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