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The Conservative Revolution During the Weimar Republic and its Impact on the Young German Generation in the Years 1919–1933

Summary

In the historical and political literature we will not encounter such a diverse and, in its impact, individually ambiguous term as the “conservative revolution”. Although it is possible to place it within one of its creators, in the application of its practices we will come across many substantive discrepancies. This is certainly due to the creative idea of the people and the language that the revolutionaries used. In the basis of this historical-political dialogue, although the dissertation is concerned only with the period of the Weimar Republic, we can see the changes already taking place in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Thus to this day Friedrich Nietzsche is regarded as the spiritual father of the “conservative revolution”. The cult of the “superman” (Übermensch) he created (Übermensch) broke the ties with the hitherto values of Christianity in favour of crossing out God's universe in the world. For many intellectuals, it represented a theoretical-cognitive pluralism in the recording of moral tables for modern humanity. Nietzschean nihilism, as a construct of the “superman”, uprooted youth from bourgeois structures, and thus from their duty of service to their elders, guiding them towards the heroic realm. In its dimension, it overcame the statu quo of the time in favour of renewal and liberation towards the inner evolution of the “superman”. It resulted from the constant struggle and persistence of a reality which the “superman” then created himself.

The significance of the Nietzschean construct for the fundamental ideas of the “conservative revolution” was best summed up by Thomas Mann. In his original reflections on the apolitical man, he shattered the previous norms of political structure in favour of the heroism awakening in youth. Subsequent intellectuals who were unquestionably counted among the founders of the revolutionary idea of the Weimar period agreed with this thought: Ernst Jünger, Ernst Julius Jung, Carl Schmidt, Wilhelm Stapel. The acolyte of the young revolutionaries' thought became the First World War. It broke the link with the pre-industrial mentality in favour of militant-apologists, from whom a new state elite was to crystallise. It was to create a hierarchy of cadres based on society. Thus, among the soldiers on the battlefield, the idea of defence of the homeland and sacrifice on

the altar of war was born. Internally, it created an anthropology and philosophy of war to which the German youth was called. This sense of struggle was to evolve from defeat into a new different Germany: "we had to lose the war in order to win Germany". The National Socialists, after coming to power in 1933, were keen to use the educational concept of the „conservative revolution” and the youth organisations of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Nazi pedagogy drew on these reservoirs as a model for creating the Third Reich's ideal of the "new man".

Keywords: Conservative Revolution, Weimar Republic, militarism, World War II, "new man", Third Reich.

One cannot find an equally diverse and ambiguous concept to compare with the notion of "Conservative Revolution" in the historical and political writings. It is derived from the changes undergoing in Europe in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century and from the language used by the conservative revolutionaries¹. So far Friedrich Nietzsche, with his creation of the cult of the *Beyond-Man*, the *Superman* (*Übermensch*), has been considered the ideological father of the Conservative Revolution. This approach destroyed the ties with the God's realm and Christian dogmas that had been cherished until then. Numerous intellectuals of Weimar interpreted that act as resulting from epistemological pluralism of modern humanity. The Nietzsche's nihilism as a concept of the "beyond-man" separated young people from bourgeois structures or Christian upbringing and led them to heroic sphere². Thus, he out-

¹ F.A. Beck, *Geistige Grundlagen der neuen Erziehung dargestellt aus der Nationalsozialistischen Idee*, Osterwieck 1933, pp. 15, 103, 64–65; M. Maciejewski, *Doktryna rewolucyjnego konserwatyzmu wobec narodowego socjalizmu 1921–1945*, Wrocław 1991, pp. 13–14, 80. Although the concept was not perceived in political terms, it referred to the political changes undergoing in Europe. One cannot overlook the analyses of the essence of the conservative revolution made by German historians, who devoted much effort to this concept. Thus, a western German author, Gerd Klaus Kaltenbrunner thought that the 19th century and its conservatism could be divided into three branches, namely, romantic trend of this period, and then legitimism and liberalism. Another form of this doctrine was, according to him, an apologetic and a transcendental – sociological structure. Karl Fritzschen, another researcher of the conservative revolution doctrine noticed skeptical decisionistic pragmatism and social conservatism. However, Ernst Nolte indicated its Christian and radical conservatism, along with critical liberalism. Briefly, the definition could be translated as: „to make things as they are”. The trend born in France, through Germany reached Russia, where it was well adapted. There, Yuri Samarin and Fyodor Dmitriev in their mutual work *Revolutionary Conservatism* referred to social and spiritual aspects of the tsarist Russia. Also Fyodor Dostoevsky, in his work on Pushkin, indicated the concept of "conservative revolution". It is necessary to mention that in this article the notion of conservative revolution refers only to history of German politics, where Paul Böttcher is acknowledged as the trend precursor under a changed name, as Paul Anton de Lagarde. This author of numerous political-philosophical writings defined this concept as "radical – conservative revolution" (*radikalkonservativ*).

² W. Kunicki, *Rewolucja konserwatywna w Niemczech 1918–1933*, Poznań 1999, pp. 7–8, 28. The concept „conservative revolution” is complex. It brings about questions, such as what, who and which social background it should be associated with. According to Wojciech Kunicki, it could be interpreted as a rebellion against the world in general, and against the Weimar democracy

reached the *status quo* of that time to enable renaissance, liberation and internal evolution of German youths. It evolved from the need of constant struggle to solidify the reality, which was later created by the “supermen”.

The meaning of the Nietzschean construct for the fundamental idea of the “Conservative Revolution” was best characterized by Thomas Mann. In his genuine studies on the philosopher he also indicated then awakening heroism of young generation ready to sacrifice³. With this thought agreed consecutive thinkers and contributors to the revolutionary idea of the Weimar period, namely Ernst Jünger, Ernst Julius Jung, Carl Schmidt, and Wilhelm Stapel. The outbreak of the Great War gave a new perspective to these theories and opinions⁴. It allowed breaking ties with the mentality of the pre-industrial era and turning to new ardent apostles of the young generation. Therefore, amongst the warriors on the battle fields there was created a new idea of defense of the motherland and sacrifice in war. It internally created anthropology and philosophy of the war, to which German youths felt vocation. The aim of this struggle was to transform Germany from the state of defeat to the new structure, which is pictured by the quote: “*We had to lose this war to win Germany*”⁵.

in particular. It grew in Germany in the middle ground between two radical political wings, the right one and the left one while the country was in the process of constituting itself. The doctrine became the mainstream political and weltanschauung thought of Germany after the Treaty of Versailles. Due to its ideological distinctness it gained social recognition in the democratic-liberal structure of Weimar. In consequence, it proved to be an attractive alternative to changes undergoing on the political stage of Germany.

³ T. Mann, *Betrachtung eines Unpolitischen*, [in:] *Werke*, Berlin 1918, vol. 12, p. 497.

⁴ W. Kunicki, *Rewolucja...*, pp. 26–27; W. E. Williams, *Versuch einer Definition paramilitärischer Organisationen* in: *Militarismus*, Köln 1975, pp. 139–151. The Weimar Republic period stigmatized the German youth with the feeling of betrayed generation. The conservatives, and later the revolutionaries, demanded radical changes on behalf of the young people. In their perception the Weimar Republic was only a transition state, and in this respect the conservative revolution fuelled also the radical circles. This led to leaving the Weimar democracy to domination of both, communistic proletariat, and nationalistic groups. Both sides aimed at reactivating the paramilitary organizations to fight with the political opponents. All of these organizations, with no exception, wanted to overthrow democratic government and establish a new strong rule of the state representing the frontline comradeship.

⁵ F. Schauwecker, *Deutsche allein. Schnitt durch die Zeit*, Berlin 1931, pp. 162–163 [in:] *Kriegschuld und Propaganda, Deutschland zwischen zwei Weltkriegen*, ed. L. Fraser, Zürich 1947, p. 31. According to the author “the legend of the bayonet stuck in the back” was created by a British general Sir Neil Malcolm. When in 1918 the Kaiser’s Empire collapsed and the Weimar Republic was brought to life, the young people of Germany expressed their lack of acceptance of parliamentary democracy. The generation of twenty-year-olds, former fighters from Lagenmarck, manifested their dissatisfaction and the feeling of betrayal, because their sacrifice of blood shed in WWI to build new Germany, seemed to be wasted. It resulted in the spread of (*Dolchstoß Legende*) “the legend of the bayonet stuck in their backs” by the sides which represented Europe in Germany. The war formed the new post-war generation of Germans, who had waited for it as for the fulfillment of their vocation. Those who had survived the atrocious days of the war, had got affected by it to such extent that they were unable to

A closer look onto the mechanisms of the conservative revolution assures us that it was not the only option that attracted the young people's attention in the Weimar Republic. However, the political situation of Germany after the Treaty of Versailles enabled this doctrine to partly reach its ideological goals. Apart from the conservative revolutionaries, there were also the radical-nationalistic circles who influenced the political awareness of the young Germans. The latter ones' actions should be held responsible for constituting foundation of the later violent revolution of Adolf Hitler. According to Jerzy Krasuski, conservative revolution gave an intellectual foundation to formation of the national socialists' state⁶.

The political change which took place in 1918 in the Weimar Republic led to manifestation of the trends of the conservative revolution. According to Samuel Paul Huntington conservatism was characteristic of the universal, ahistorical, and substantially timeless individual absolutistic regimes⁷. Understanding the role of these agential factors depended strongly on the influences of historical-ideological value, which resulted from combination of numerous social trends growing from the feudal and aristocratic as well as clerical and monarchist foundation. Therefore, while studying the revolutionary conservatism one cannot ignore its roots or specific space and time embedment⁸. Carl Schmitt, an explorer

accept the mundane everyday life of the Weimar Republic, and were seeking their homeland in the paramilitary organizations and the frontline communities. Regardless of their political views, the post-war generation disapproved of its new state and manifested their dissatisfaction. The movement concentrated around the League of Front-line Soldiers (*Bund der Front Soldaten*) was not yet a formed political power, but a disordered large group of young men ready to devote themselves and even sacrifice for some cause.

⁶ J. Krasuski, *Historia Rzeszy Niemieckiej 1871–1945*, Poznań 1978, p. 269; M. Maciejewski, *Doktryna...*, p. 10.

⁷ See: S.P. Huntington, "Conservatism as an Ideology", *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 51, 2, 1957; M. Maciejewski, *Doktryna...*, p. 11; A. Wolff-Powęska, *Polityczne i filozoficzne nurty konserwatyzmu w Republice Federalnej Niemiec*, Poznań 1984, p. 8; H.-G. Schumann, *Konservatismus als Ideologie*, [in:] *Konservatismus*, ed. H.-G. Schumann, Köln 1974, vol. 69, p. 89–90.

⁸ H. Gerstenberger, *Konservatismus in der Weimarer Republik* in: *Rekonstruktion des Konservatismus*, ed. G.-K. Kaltenbrunner, Freiburg 1977, pp. 332–333; H. Grebing, *Konservative gegen Demokratie, Konservative Kritik an der Demokratie in der Bundesrepublik nach 1945*, Frankfurt a. Main 1971, pp. 34–35; M. Maciejewski, *Doktryna...*, pp. 11–13; A. Mohler, *Die konservative revolution in Deutschland 1918–1932, Grundriss ihrer Weltanschauung*, Stuttgart 1950, p. 9; C. Schmitt, *Politische Romantik*, Leipzig 1925, p. 31. The source of this doctrine could be found in France in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when the French Revolution was a manifestation of protests against the change taking place in the years 1789–1815. However, the term conservatism in its political meaning was brought by a French writer and politician Rene de Chateaubriand, who was the founder and chief editor of "Le Conservateur" magazine. The term "conservative revolution" was first used in literature in the time of "Springtime of the Peoples" (Revolutions of 1848). It did not apply to any political doctrine back then, but it was well suited to the historical events and spirit of that time. In terms of direct action, conservative revolution was a protest against the wealthy bourgeois class. Further studies reveal that there can be distinguished three phases in its development: classical conservatism (from 1789 till the Spring

and co-creator of the revolutionary conservatism, indicated its skepticism, pragmatism, decisionism, and social conservatism⁹. Moreover, Ernst Nolte noticed its Christian, radical conservatism mingled with critical liberalism¹⁰. All these links affected German Youth, consolidating it under the flag of the emerging revolution. Thus, the German generation of the post-Versailles period is often defined as new nationalism by the historians, who often indicate its contribution to the foundation of totalitarian ideology of Germany, starting from militarism, expansionism, pan-Germanism, and Social Darwinism, to national socialism. Although these trends were not directly attached to conservatism, they had common roots in patriotic romanticism period and the Wilhelmine Era. Hugo von Hofmannstahl thought that this German conservatism included the most important elements of Nietzscheanism: biologism, moral nihilism, social bonds, and finally existence of a military individual. The birth hour of it (*seine Geburtsstunde*) was the capitulation of Germany in the Great War¹¹.

In the social process this conservatism incorporated embers of new nationalism, which later on led to social deficiency of the young generation of Germans. According to Jung, it induced creation of a new type of individuals (*neue Typus Menschen*), and in its essence carried the most important traits of German identity (*Gestalt*). It conveyed a pattern of “a new breed of man” being a combination of worker and soldier. This new man’s figure gave the hope of the future creation of new Germany, whose future aim was mobilization and another war; Consequently, according to the conservative revolution’s ideals, this “new man” was devoted to the community and to the state. Like many other thinkers, Jung assumed that military mobilization and war would bring Weimar Democracy to the turning point, in which the country would start returning¹², or more precisely, changing its internal political structure into one constituting new and better post-Versailles Germany. As Jung thought, German revolution grew from two roots: one being conservatism, and the other – nationalism (*Die deutsche Revolution kommt aus Zwei Wurzeln: der Konservativen und der Nationalistischen*)¹³. Many young Germans sought hope for better future in conservative

of Nations), bourgeois-national conservatism of the years 1848–1918, and then modern/contemporary conservatism since the end of World War I.

⁹ B. Willms, *Carl Schmitt-Jungster Klassiker des politischen Denkens?*, [in:] *Complexio Oppositorum. Über Carl Schmitt*, ed. H. Quaritsch, Berlin 1988, p. 595.

¹⁰ G.L. Mosse, *Ein Volk Ein Reich Ein Führer, Die völkischen Ursprünge des Nationalsozialismus*, Königstein 1979, p. 40; Maciejewski, *Doktryna...*, pp. 13–14, pp. 64–65.

¹¹ W. Hermann, *Der neue Nationalismus und seine Literatur, Ein besprechendes Auswahlverzeichnis*, Limburg 1984, p. 9–10; Krasuski, *Historia...*, p. 268; Maciejewski, *Doktryna...*, pp. 77, 80.

¹² E.J. Jung, *Aufstand der Rechten*, [in:] *Deutsche Reich*, H. 11, Berlin 1931, p. 388.

¹³ E.J. Jung, *Sinndeutung der deutschen Revolution*, Oldenburg 1933, p. 10. In the year of *Machtergreifung* (seizure of power) by the Nazis, Jung admitted that the foundation of the power shifts are two ideological trends, and that the changes resulted from the earlier achievements of the neo-conservatists which were then taken over by the Nazis.

revolution, as realization of its assumptions enabled casting off the chains which had shackled the nation in Versailles.

The Weimar period historiography does not allow us to make division between conservatism and nationalism of the German battlefield comradeship. Due to the sacrifice on the altar of the nation in the Great War, the combatant circles in the Weimar Republic, influenced by the doctrine of conservative revolutionism, opted for formation of the military state¹⁴. The conservative trend of the revolution made ideal conditions for the battlefield comradeships to persist. Moreover, nationalism contributed by reordering the state's political formation. In this respect, Jung envisioned the future of the German society based on the revolution by the young generation¹⁵. Therefore, the term "conservative revolution" was redefined after the Great War was finished. The first one to focus his attention on this concept in 1921 was Thomas Mann, and he saw it as the essence of "*faith, spirit and liberty*"¹⁶. In this notion the author of *Buddenbrooks* discerned a source of reinvigoration for the young generation, as he perceived conservative revolution in metaphysical terms. Admittedly, he did not design a precise idea, but he indicated its 19th-century social-political values which ought to have been reimplemented in the German young minds¹⁷. In his other work, *The Magic Mountain (Der Zauberberg)*, the protagonists argued about the politically polarised Weimar Republic¹⁸.

Unlike Jung, a theologian and evangelical philosopher, Ernst Troeltsch, perceived conservative revolution as a product of German romanticism which proclaimed common morality and equality¹⁹. At the beginning of 1920s it did not have any ideological structure, however, it partly carried the seed of German neoconservatism, especially because of the war defeat and retrospective analyses made to the 19th century Germany, when the foundation of the Second Reich of the German Nation were formed. The new post-war order which followed the year 1918, forced Germany to seek new forms of existence and the ways to break the post-Versailles chain. Moreover, searching for spiritual and metaphysical renewal was also an important postulate, not only by Thomas Mann but also by Stefan George. They anticipated the creation of the New Reich (*Das Neue Reich*), and George with his academic circle known as the "George-Circle" (*George Kreis*), awaited the great nation's restorer, strong and ready to

¹⁴ W. Kleinau, *Stahlhelm und Staat*, Berlin 1929, p. 7.

¹⁵ E.J. Jung, *Sinndeutung...*, p. 10, 15–17.

¹⁶ B. Ernst, *Thomas Manns, Betrachtungen einen unpolitischen mit Diskussion*, [in:] *Mitteilungen der Literarhistorischen Gesellschaft Bonn*, Bonn 1917/1918, Jg. 11, H. 4, p. 347.

¹⁷ Maciejewski, *Doktryna...*, p. 65.

¹⁸ See more: T. Mann, *Der Zauberberg*, Berlin 1924.

¹⁹ E. Troeltsch, "*Der Historismus und seine Probleme*", [in:] *Gesammelte Schriften*, Tübingen 1922, vol. 1, p. 285; the same, *Naturrecht und Humanität in der Weltpolitik* in: *Deutsche Geist und Westeuropa, Gesammelte kulturphilosophische Aufsätze und Reden*, ed. H. Baron, Tübingen: publisher, 1925, p. 14.

lead the young generation of the Germans. According to George, this new messiah, or leader of the Reich, would fulfill the romantic assumptions of the conservative revolution²⁰. Thus, in order to understand the idea and the reason why German youth underwent the process of change exclusively, it is crucial to make an insight into its foundations, i.e. the period before the Great War and the time just after its end. That would mainly concern the insight into ideology of education and social policies introduced in the post-war Germany which resulted in progression of the revolutionary ideas²¹.

In the wide range of activities offered by the conservative revolution one of the most important goals was forming a model of a warrior. Military education, which was still inspired and directed by the veteran communities, was exclusively addressed to young men, whose conscription for the military and state service was modelled on ancient patterns. Their basic objective was to discover their internal Germanic belligerence as a value of their world. The system was thoroughly masculinized and heroicized. Therefore, humanistic image of a modern man was rejected, and substituted by heroic upbringing and evoking the readiness to fight, which gained breeding ground amongst the German youths. Those young men followed the spirit of the corps, which united them in pursuit of the masculine character of the brotherhood (*Männerbündnischer Charakter*). The new foundation for education of the new Weimar generation had strictly military character, which constituted an essential part of the revolution based on the key role of the soldiers/warriors' state (*kriegerischer Soldatenstaat*). This pedagogy assumed bringing up an individual whose political awareness and engagement would be combined with his will of fight. Such an approach would

²⁰ T. Butkiewicz, *Koncepcja mesjanizmu oraz jego rola w kształtowaniu totalitaryzmu w Niemczech*, [in:] *Słupskie Studia Historyczne*, Słupsk 2010, pp. 89–102; H. Olszewski, *Nauka historii w upadku*, Warszawa–Poznań 1982, p. 151.

²¹ F. Ryszka, *Państwo stanu wyjątkowego. Rzecz o systemie państwa i prawa Trzeciej Rzeszy*, Wrocław 1985, pp. 90–92; H.-U. Wehler, *Vom Beginn des ersten Weltkrieges bis zur Gründung der beiden deutschen Staaten 1914–1949*, [in:] *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, München 2003, vol. 4, pp. 390–393. Analyzing the foundation of the conservative revolution and its impact on the new generation of Germans one must not overlook the influence of the educational approach which was rooted in the second half of the 19th century and lasts till the beginning of the 20th century. To some extent it derived from activities and system of values of various youth organizations: Wandering Bird (*Wandervogel*), The Free School of Weyneken (*Die Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf*, also known as *Weyneken Schule*), The Artaman League (*Artamanen*), Martin Voelkel Movement (*Marthin Voelkel Bewegung*) and United Youth (*Bündische Jugend*). They all contributed in the upbringing of the new generation. They are also acknowledged by Georg Lachmann Mosse, Werner Kindt and Felix Raabe, who see their impact on the changes in the Weimar Republic and on formation of the conservative revolution idea. The mentioned organizations in the post-war period gathered all the frustrated youths. Other background groups, which shaped the conservative revolutionists were the George Circle (*George Kreis*) and the German Gymnastic Association (*Deutsche Turnerschaft*). They used a collage of creative thoughts and mesmerize the young Germans with them.

result in formation of a strong individual ready for leadership. Therefore, these military activities were the core of the educational process of the Weimar youth²². One of the goals was to achieve reasonable balance between physical and intellectual growth of the students. The ancient belief that *Mens sana in corpore sano* ("A healthy mind in the healthy body") was not forgotten, which was also reflected in the language of conservative revolution, whose major concern was the creation of battalions of athletic soldiers.

As mentioned before, in the Weimar Republic bravery and sacrifice of the battlefield heroes of the Great War was greatly appreciated, and the combatant circles opted for reformation of the state into the frontline soldiers' state²³. The doctrine of the conservative revolution was their basis and consecutive form of the existence of their community, whereas nationalism introduced a new political order. In this respect not only did it introduce political sense of life, but also its inseparable provisioning aspect. Thus, a nationalist would perceive the essence of the state being the source of life-giving matter and subordinated to political changes²⁴. The former frontline community groups evolved into organizations, among which two gained special historical meaning, namely Freikorps and Stahlhelm:

Since the democrats reject militarism, the national socialists are cunningly making use of the officers and frontline soldiers' communities for their own political purposes. However, as the party leaders they are not dangerous yet, but as the military groups' leaders they automatically become menace. Thus, the bourgeois party could not stand against the military leadership party [...] Stahlhelm has taken the leading role in the process of changes that is going on, and so, the National Socialism is a combination of the revolutionary and the conservative types of nationalism as well as the country's paramilitary groups, determined to achieve their political goal²⁵.

According to Jung quoted above, what is apparent in nationalism is partly derived from revolutionary conservatism. Particularly, one should focus on the range of the creative ideas which contributed as the basis for the army law. It constituted the source of political drive towards the next war. Another example might be dissertation of Ernst Jünger, who justified war for its own sake, and glorified its rationality as the opportunity for manifestation of bravery and masculine power, which revealed the core of human existence:

In the time when the military troops are activated and the military tactics is employed hardly ever do you find an incidental unexpected contact with the enemy. Thus in both, the natural and the military environments structural bonds and connections are formed. It is all about the Instinct, which, in the battlefield, is unleashed and fueled with ruthlessness and blood lust, opposite to chivalry²⁶.

²² F.A. Beck, *Geistige Grundlagen der neuen Erziehung dargestellt aus der Nationalsozialistischen Idee*, Osterwieck 1933, pp. 15, 103.

²³ W. Kleinau, *Stahlhelm und...*, p. 7.

²⁴ E.J. Jung, *Sinndeutung...*, p. 10.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 15–17.

²⁶ E. Jünger, *Hier spricht der Feind, Kriegserlebnisse unßerer Gegner*, Berlin 1931, p. 9.

Jünger predicted that the following military confrontation, starred by the young German generation, would be full of brutality as well as the technical progress and weapon improvement. To serve this purpose, there would be formed a new embodiment of a warrior. This ideal model or prototype of human matter was searched for amongst the workers (*Arbeiter*) and prospective soldiers (*zukünftiger Soldat*). The improved military technology was supposed to serve this model soldier²⁷. What is more, this German worker-soldier was also a model of the mighty, titanic man (*Titanischen Mensch*), who had also been prefigured by Ernst Jünger's younger brother, Friedrich Georg Jünger. He indicated the genetic consistency determined by the biological laws. According to that, this consistency was a part of the German nation (*Volk*), which was bound to go through the war and to form the new Reich.:

In the first place the will forms the titan-man [...] His might lies upon his diligence and strong will [...] . The titanic elements in him return and reinforce his self-agency, which leads him to claim the right to rule. In particular, where there are no gods, there are titanic statemen. [...] Also the one who always starts from the beginning can be called a Titan, even if his work is a Sisyphean labour which loses its point at the final stage.²⁸

This ancient Greek model gained special significance for the proclaimers of the conservative revolution. The point was not to copy someone's deeds but to pursue to achieve some prominent and eternal goals. In consequence, they planned to replace the old order of the Weimar Republic by the new political order of the new Reich.

Perpetual attacks on the young democracy were aimed at its quick quelling. On its ruins, the New German Reich was to be built, and it was given the name – the Third Reich (*Das Dritte Reich*) by a conservative revolutionary, Arthur Moeller van den Bruck:

The German neo-conservatists are the third political power in Germany among the other parties, [...] the third party is the Third Reich, a party which sustains the German history. It is the environment for all the German people who care to preserve their nation.²⁹

In this Third Reich the new generation of Germans was supposed to subordinate to the will of one strong leader, whose realm was to be extended by the eastern European territories³⁰. While the 1920s frequent antidemocratic and antiliberal demonstrations are the sign of the trend, the awakening of the new German at the beginning of 1930s is already a determined and hardened road on which national socialists self-assuredly marched. Such an opinion was also

²⁷ Krasuski, *Historia...*, p. 266. It is worth noticing that in the ideology of national socialism the new type of man, "*neue Typus Menschen*", was dedicated to maintaining his own existence by work. He was an "*Arbeiter*" – a workman and a builder. That was why Hitler referred to and addressed his words to the society understood as the masses of working people, working class.

²⁸ Friedrich Georg Jünger, *Die Titanen*, Frankfurt am Main 1944, pp. 113–120.

²⁹ Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, *Das Dritte Reich*, Hamburg 1931, pp. 227–229.

³⁰ J. Krasuski, *Historia...*, p. 267.

expressed by another revolutionary and creator of the conservative doctrine, Oskar Spengler, who claimed that as early as from 1931 on all anti-democrats, including young Germans, sought their future in the Hitler's political movement³¹. While studying the impact which conservative revolution had on the young Weimar generation it cannot be neglected that the pursuit to change the status quo resulted in the change of perspective in the young minds³².

Although the resolutions of the Treaty of Versailles aimed at formation of the new liberal and democratic awareness of the Germans, paradoxically, the period of Weimar democracy evolved into the form of explosive foundation for the German radicalism along with strong polarization of the political stage, from the right to the left wing³³. Thus, what proved to be attractive for the young generation was the third alternative, namely conservative revolution movement of 1918–1932³⁴. It gave common ground for the generation bred on national idealism, protesting against the political situation that occurred.:

This generation was enthusiastic about the outbreak of the war, treating it as their personal vocation [...] readiness to sacrifice and die was the sense of their lives [...] though the war brought European chaos and agony of the law³⁵.

That generation was also the creation of its own revolution, with its multi-formity and heterogeneity³⁶. Elicited at the beginning of the 1920s, the nationalistic trends negated the reality, and speaking of neo-conservatism, it is crucial to indicate its ideological roots. It resulted from the aversion towards the Weimar Republic, and prepared breeding ground for the national socialism. The main trends to mention were the anti-liberalism, anti-parliamentarism, along with the cult of war and the concept of authoritarian rule. All in all, the anti-

³¹ K. Sontheimer, *Antidemokratischen Denken in der Weimarer Republik*, [in:] *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, Stuttgart 1957, Jg. 5, H. 1, p. 359.

³² M. Broszat, *Der Staat Hitlers, Grundlegung und Entwicklung seiner innerer Verfassung*, München 1969, p.14; B. Schwartzfeger, *Rätsel um Deutschland*, Heidelberg, 1947, p. 383.

³³ E. Niekisch, *Die Legende von der Weimarer Republik*, Köln 1968, p. 66.

³⁴ See more: A. Mohler, K. Weissmann, *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918–1932*, Graz 2005. The group of conservatists was represented by writers, journalists, poets, and academics. It did not follow any coherent mutual ideology and it represented various points of view. Conservative revolution was co-created by: O. Spengler, A. Moeller van den Bruck, E. and F.G. Jünger (brothers), E. v. Salomon, A. Winning, G. Quabbe, E.J. Jung, O. Spann, H. Freyer, E. Niekisch, W. Stapel, H. Zeher, C. Schmitt, L. Klages, T. Mann, M. Niemöller, and H. v. Hofmannstahl; M. Maciejewski, *Doktryna...*, pp. 2–10; H. Olszewski, *Nauka...*, pp. 150–159.

³⁵ E.J. Jung, *Die Tragik der kriegsgeneration* in: *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, München: 1930, Jg 27, Heft 3, pp. 512–517.

³⁶ T. Gabiś, *Konserwatywna Rewolucja*, "Fronda. Pismo poświęcone" 1997, nr 8, p. 109. The source of it was in the 19th century, when in the opposition to the French Revolution, German conservative thought came to life and was developed in the second half of the century. However, at the beginning of the 20th century it was defined as a neoconservative trend. The German fathers of this movement were Friedrich Nietzsche, Richard Wagner, Paul de Lagarde, and Stefan George.

Weimar ideology was characteristic of the conservative revolution. As Wojciech Kunicki discerned, new specific language of this revolution manifested itself in “vocabularyisation” such as: *Volk-Gestalt-Reich*³⁷. New political routes and changes were determined for the young Germans.

Apart from the mentioned propagators of the heroic individual style, another co-creator of the revolution must be called, namely Hans Blüher, whose genuine theory of male bonding power indicated the leader and subordinated group totally devoted to him. The character of the leading individual was the key to domination over the new Weimar generation, the group which was assigned to the leader or chosen by him. Blüher envisioned an ideal character of a strong man, which was a set of traits of character associated exclusively with Germans back then. He indicated that the role of the male population was not merely to prolong human kind but also to perpetuate creativity and activity of the kind. The main goal was to form a man able to create and steer the state structure. The instinct of self-preservation, frequently mentioned by Blüher, did not manifest itself only in establishing hetero-sexual couples, but also in following the drive to associate³⁸. It drew men to establish male circles standing on the guarding posts of the law of the state. Such men were modelled on inversive type of men (*der Typus inversus*) in which he perceives ancient, primaeval and ritual drive of enormous power³⁹. This formation of a young person ensures a better quality of physical confrontation on the battlefield, resulting in domination of a stronger man over the weaker one, and finally, subordination of the latter to the victorious male. The frontline comradeship, which had directly experienced the combat, considered this aspect of domination which Blüher described as a great vantage of a soldier over his rival.

The neo-conservatism also manifested the German historic mission. Firstly, neo-conservatists demonstrated the biological distinctiveness of their nation. Here especially Max Hildebert Boehm must be mentioned with his work titled:

³⁷ J. Kunicki, *Rewolucja...*, p. 10.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 254–255.

³⁹ H. Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der Männlichen Gesellschaft, Eine Theorie der Menschlichen Staatsbildung nach Wesen und Wert*, [in:] *Der Typus Inversus*, Jena: 1924, Bd. I, pp. 119–122, 151–152. Following Blüher’s thought, one could see the chief leader of the Third Reich as a deviant balancing on the verge of the inversive type and neurotic one. This mixture of features led him to domination over the male German youth, which was strong, and physically and mentally healthy; Kunicki, *Rewolucja...*, pp. 271–272. The analysis of various human individuals which was undertaken by Blüher gave him the picture of a combination of inversive and neurotic features (*Typus neuroticus*), which brought him to a conclusion that such a type is supreme and successfully dominating in the male groups. This was also envisioned in the system of the state and education of the young generation. This system put into practice subordination of one group to a type of individuals whose biological matter was different. This resulted in domination and subordination within the male groups. The aim of such a group interaction was building up a type of hero of male population. This neoconservatist referred to neurotic courses leading to aggression.

‘Independent Nation’ (*Das eigenständige Volk*) in which he referred to the concept of race as an element of the conservative revolution⁴⁰. Although his idea was not to treat the race as the foundation of the community, but it was already a common feature of the members of the nation. For the conservatives it constituted the matter of the German state. This concept convinced the Germans to consider their own predestination to lead and dominate the other peoples of the old continent⁴¹.

In the mentality of the post-Versailles young Germans there occurred the need to take the leadership and rule the world. Their situation was a fertile ground for growing the idea to which these young people wanted to devote their lives. Their dream of being the life-blood of Europe along with their conviction about their historic mission were shared not only by conservatives, but also by all the young Germans. They envisioned the new European order under the German, or more precisely, the Third Reich’s commandment / hegemony. According to Moeller van den Bruck’s idea, German supremacy in Europe was to lead to its union with Austria and formation of the federation of the old continent countries⁴². Moeller van den Bruck prioritized this union of Germany and Austria in the framework of the German foreign policies. According to Anna Wolf-Pawęska, this strategy, if brought to life would reinforce the German position in Europe⁴³. The German plans involved also extension of the territory to expand the ‘living space’ (*Lebensraum*) of their nation. That was why the revision of the countries’ borders and thus rejection of the resolutions of the Treaty of Versailles was an attractive idea for them⁴⁴. It all resulted from the nationalistic, and anti-liberal convictions of the conservatives, and led to division and categorization of Europe to the Western civilization and Eastern civilization in which Germany wanted supremacy⁴⁵.

⁴⁰ See more: M.H. Boehm, *Das eigenständige Volk. Volkstheoretische Grundlagen in der Ethnopolitik und Geisteswissenschaften*, Göttingen 1932.

⁴¹ M. Maciejewski, *Doktryna...*, p. 83.

⁴² A.M. van den Bruck, *Sozialismus und Aussenpolitik, Aufsätze aus dem Jahren 1919–1923*, Breslau 1933, pp. 70–71.

⁴³ A. Wolff-Powęska, *Doktryna geopolityki w Niemczech*, Poznań 1979, p. 175. In their foreign affairs aspect, neo-conservatives assumed that the central European area would become “mid-Europe” (*Zwischeneuropa*). In these terms they referred to the plan of expansion of the German territory to give Germans the living space (*Lebensraum*). Such plan could not be realized in the West of Europe, so the East of Europe seemed to be the direction. In this plan Czechoslovakia was seen as the heart of the Great Germania.

⁴⁴ M. Maciejewski, *Doktryna...*, footnote 65, p. 85.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 85–86. However, despite the whole involvement of Moeller van den Bruck in the creation of the federation of European states under the German supremacy, Ernst Niekisch advocated another direction of foreign policies, namely, in alliance with Russia. And though his plans seemed impossible at that time, after 1933 and Hitler’s power take over, the union with Austria and alliance with Russia became facts. Neo-conservatives then proved to be very successful founders of the foreign policies of the Third Reich. The works of a conservative, Karl

Another important factor that influenced the young Germans of the Weimar Republic was militarism. The conservatives thought that the cult of fight was the national precious feature and was the foundation of the social development. War was considered “the mother of all things and also ourselves: war has formed us, forged us, indurated us and shaped us as we are”⁴⁶. By emphasizing the role of war, the conservatives thought it was the foundation of existence and provision of the Germans. War was a kind of art, national morality, growth and functionality of the state⁴⁷. For example, in Sprengler’s opinion war was the foundation of everyday life struggle for each German. Similarly, Schmidt indicated that war was indispensable for sustaining life of a species. At the same time, E. Jünger claimed that war constituted the most important part of human existence, which is about perseverance and the purpose of the struggle was of no importance. What really mattered was the result of this fight, for war is the fight of two rivals, of which only one wins. From a young German-soldier perspective, war was the moment of re-evaluation of an individual man. Thus, militarism and cult of war were among the conservative revolutionaries seen as the way to fulfillment of a heroic individual, brave soldier. Only through struggle, fight and courage could a soldier’s personality be forged and provided with the most important features, such as comradeship, honour and readiness to sacrifice.

War had a great impact on the psyche of a soldiers who had to face the enemy, and even death, so its direct perception determined the goal of survival. Moreover, F.G. Jünger thought war was a goal by itself, as it made blood offering possible, which evoked a feeling of brotherhood. It made brothers in arms, united them and consolidated the comradeship of the frontline. Apart from the Jünger brothers, also Thomas Mann considered war as a metaphysical experience, whose most important element was the drive to survive or to voluntarily die, offering one’s life. However, in his mind, this great blood sacrifice which took place in the battlefields was wasted in the moment of bringing to life the Weimar Republic. The comradeship and the bonds of brothers in arms were disturbed or broken, so this new political structure was strongly criticized by the frontline veterans’ circles, while it was trying to control the current of history by forging a new generation of Germans⁴⁸.

Haushofer, should be acknowledged here, since he was one of the key ideologists of Hitler’s geopolitics.

⁴⁶ E. Jünger, *Der Kampf als innere Erlebnis*, Berlin 1926, p. 2.

⁴⁷ A. v. Martin, *Der heroische Nihilismus und seine Überwindung, Ernst Jüngers Weg durch die Krise*, Krefeld 1948, p. 59; H.-J. Mauch, *Nationalsozialistische Wehrorganisation in der Weimarer Republik, Zur Entwicklung und Ideologie des “Paramilitarismus”*, Frankfurt a. Main 1982, p. 97.

⁴⁸ F.G. Jünger, *Krieg und Krieger in: Krieg und Krieger*, Berlin 1930, p. 60, 76; J. Krasuski, *Historia...*, pp. 76–78; T. Mann, *Friedrich und die große Koalition*, Berlin 1916, p. 126; H. Olszewski, *Nauka...*, pp. 76–78. That is why the representatives of conservative revolution in their protest indicated that the duty of all Germans was to sacrifice for their motherland. For them, the

An apotheosis of war was emanation of the radicalism and nationalism among conservatist revolutionaries. War was seen as a sort of exclusively manly martial art. As E. Jünger claimed, it was only conductible when the whole society was involved in it. That is why the revival of conservatism and radicalism brought the source of military conflict, as the young Germans saw it. They emphasized their lack of attachment to God which they replaced with secularisation and hierarchisation of the state. As F.G. Jünger foresaw: "our real ally is not a world of peaceful harmony, but the world of conflict dynamics". In this respect: "praised be the man of state who will make use of it first"⁴⁹. Similarly, his brother, E. Jünger wrote: "he who will once again dare to address us with this ridiculous name, worthy of a cosmopolitan philistine: the nation of poets and thinkers, should be sentenced for treachery of the nation"⁵⁰. In this respect, only a man, created of the male and female matters, possessed these unique features of a warrior, which he obtained in the moment of conception. Genetically, he was equipped with the warrior's character by his father, but now the whole trick was in the method of cutting it and polishing.

Man's courage is a divine sensation which flows with blood through the members of his body, especially, when he is standing on the battlefield with his warrior's awareness ready to do great deeds. [...] Courage is an enchanting symptom, which while acting goes from heart to heart. Fight is an approach, or even the reason of the real law⁵¹.

In the works of conservatist revolution, war was associated with conviction that a real German was a good soldier. During struggling on the battlefield his character and body were shaped and hardened. He was born to fight and win, and not to surrender or slavery⁵². He had been selected thanks to his natural strength and personality, and he was a courageous young German man aware

compulsory military service was equal to serving their nation, and it was justified by the social good. Here Jünger did not see the connection of the national-social interest with the Wilhelmine period or the Weimar period. He wanted to see all Germans on the battlefield, and the sense of this combat he saw (like Schmidt) in the global politics of the German new Reich. He was personally convinced that an ideal German man had to be a heroic, soldier ready to fight, "born with the rifle on his hands". Not surprisingly, the Germans were enthusiastic when the World War I broke out, and they were equally disappointed and rebellious in the period of the Weimar Republic. This generation was determined to conduct military actions which were to bring victory of the new Reich and revival of the „German spirit“ who would combat the Jewish old European civilisation. Similarly, Mann saw that the military actions should lead to cultural and political hegemony of Germany over Europe. These actions were to lead to the new beginning – of the Third Reich. The representatives of this revolution saw themselves as the heirs of the war ethos, and they contributed greatly to the development of radical and nationalistic movement in the German society.

⁴⁹ W. Kunicki, *Rewolucja...*, p. 55.

⁵⁰ T. Gabiś, *Publicystyka polityczna pruskiego anarchisty*, "Stańczyk. Pismo konserwatystów i liberałów" 1995, r. 3, nr 26, p. 31.

⁵¹ E. Jünger, *Der Kampf als...*, pp. 47–48.

⁵² E. Jünger, *Der Arbeiter, Herrschaft und Gestalt*, Hamburg 1932, p. 37.

of his actions⁵³. The situation of war (*Kampfsituation*) created the brave society, having the fighting mode activated on the battlefield and lasting⁵⁴. Physical confrontation induces self-preservation instinct in a young warrior, and leads him to elimination of the enemy. The battlefield was the arena in which only the strongest survived. The weaker ones, unaware of the real dangers, perished. According to Jung, the Germans had lost the war because they were unable to inspire the human potential to fight “for life”. In his reference to the meaning of an individual for the state, the theorist paid special attention to the dedication of the young Germans, which was supposed to bring fulfillment to the individuals and to the nation (*Volk*). This dedication was attained with the affiliation to the new Reich (*im Ursprung ein sittlicher Opfergedanke für das neue Reich*). Reconciliation with death was a part not only of the state of war, but also of the soldier’s meaning of life. The sacrifice of life in the battlefield not only brought an end to an individual life, but also gave the beginning to the new world (*das neue Welt*)⁵⁵.

Not only did the young generation cherish war and death, but also they sought a coherent political weltanschauung (world-view). A soldier’s personality and geopolitical point of view were the important components of the character of a young German. It replaced the intellectual and humanistic approach which was cherished before⁵⁶. In this new perspective of the Republic’s geopolitics, Niekisch, who was also impressed by Moellera van den Bruck’s works, tried to combine nationalism with socialism. In the Third Reich, advertised by his mentor, he saw the renaissance of the national Germany (*nationalen Wiedergeburt Deutschland*), though, he saw its future going towards the east⁵⁷. The cross-bor-

⁵³ E. Jünger, *Der Kampf als...*, p. 73.

⁵⁴ E. Schultz, E. Jünger, *Die Veränderte Welt, Eine Bilderfibel unserer Zeit, Einleitung*, Breslau 1933, p. 6

⁵⁵ E.J. Jung, *Die Herrschaft der Minderwertigen, Ihr Zerfall und ihre Abtsung durch ein Neues Reich*, Berlin 1930, p. 16. The conservative revolution constituted an organ which affected the new generation of the Weimar Republic. It drew the young people to get rid of their Christian values in building up their weltanschauung. It was profitable for the state to grow the youth in especially designed educational institutes, where the main concern was to develop a strong individual deprived of the contact with his family. This youth was vulnerable to the direct manipulation if it was not in contact with his family. Such was the educational approach to create soldiers and warriors who would not hesitate to be violent in the battlefield.

⁵⁶ I. Klein, W. Triebel, *Helm ab zum Gebet!, Militarismus und Militarisierung-ein deutsches Schicksal?*, Berlin 1999, pp. 86–87. This was the reflection of military globalization, and the plan of expanding the living space. In this plan the dogma of the religion and Christian values were combined with the military duty. In the society which was devoid of its own identification it enabled development of revisionist reactions.

⁵⁷ E. Niekisch, “*Gedanken über deutsche Politik*”, [in:] *Widerstands*, Leipzig 1929, p. 255. The pattern of such combination was used by Hitler, who indicated the subjects of these trends to be nationalism and socialism. This plagiarism resulted in coining a new term, namely “national socialism”; See also: *Hitler und deutsches Verhängnis*, Berlin 1932, pp. 10–12.

der areas were concerned with mobilization, and the loss of Alsace and Lorraine as well as thriving independence of Poland both evoked internal revisionist moods. From the moment when the resolutions of the Treaty of Versailles came to practice, escalation of tensions on the borders of the Weimar Republic was just a matter of time⁵⁸. It resulted in the later process of preparation to war with Poland. The military confrontation was supposed to be victorious for the German side, in contrast to the loss of 1918. This way, rejection of the Versailles resolutions, and revival of the German military potential seemed to guarantee the rebirth of the German Empire. Such indoctrination was experienced by the young generation of Germans, who was predestined to conduct geopolitical change in the future, and to revise the status quo of the nation. This rhetoric was justified if we notice the fact that the future soldiers were expected to dedicate to this notion totally, offering their readiness to fight and die. The propagated ideology was based on political and historical military ideals which were transmitted to the youths of the Republic. In order to achieve this goal, there was prepared a set of lectures on history and culture of Germany of the previous 2000 years – „*Die Deutsche Geschichte in 2000 Jahren*”. It aimed at inspiring the young Germans to seek their national identity and at evoking the revisionist moods⁵⁹. No wonder that the country in which military education was banned, could continue and preserve this type of schooling thanks to conservative revolution. The post-Versailles new order deprived the German youths of their national identity and stopped the tradition of military education, but it could not suppress its spirit.

In conclusion, the ideological influence on the young generation of Germans of the Weimar Republic led it to the embrace of the national socialism. Hitler employed all the acting features of the conservative revolution to engage the youth to achieve his own political goals. War, to which he was pulling the country, was a chance to revise the geography of Europe, the German borders, and to get rid of the restrictions of the Treaty of Versailles. The new generation was eager to defend their ideals which they believed were the future of their nation and state. The moment of taking over the power by the Nazis in 1933 opened new opportunities for young Germans to step onto the political stage of the Third Reich. They could not predict that the utopia of this regime shall lead them to the most tragic catastrophe of the 20th century, namely to World War II.

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⁵⁸ E. v. Manstein, *Aus einem Soldatenleben 1887–1939*, Bonn 1958, p. 169.

⁵⁹ *Politische Bildung des Stahlhelms*, [in:] *Der Stahlhelm*, (13th March 1927).

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Rewolucja konserwatywna w Republice Weimarskiej i jej wpływ na młode pokolenie Niemców w okresie III Rzeszy

Streszczenie

W literaturze historycznej i politologicznej nie spotkamy tak różnorodnego i w swym oddziaływaniu, indywidualnie, niejednoznacznego określenia, jakim była „rewolucja konserwatywna”. Wprawdzie uplasować ją można w jednym obrębie z twórcami tejże, jednak w zastosowaniu jej praktyk natrafimy na wiele merytorycznych rozbieżności. Z pewnością wynika to z twórczej idei ludzi i języka, którym rewolucjoniści się posługiwali. W podstawie tego historyczno-politycznego dialogu, chociaż w rozprawie chodzi tu wyłącznie o okres Republiki Weimaru, upatrywać należy zmian zachodzących już w drugiej połowie XIX i początków XX w. Tak po dzień dzisiejszy za ojca duchowego „rewolucji konserwatywnej” uznaje się Fryderyka Nietzschego. Kult stworzonego przez niego „nadczołwieka” (*Übermensch*) zrywał więź z dotychczasowymi wartościami chrześcijaństwa na rzecz przekreślenia w świecie uniwersum Boga. Dla wielu intelektualistów stanowił on teoriopoznawczy pluralizm w zapisie moralnych tablic dla współczesnego człowieczeństwa. Nietzscheański nihilizm, jako konstrukt „nadczołwieka”, wyrwał młodzież z mieszczańskich struktur, a przez to obowiązkowi usług wobec starszych, naprowadzając ją w stronę sfery heroicznej. W swoim wymiarze przewyżczał ówczesne *statu quo* na rzecz odnowy i wyzwolenia ku wewnętrznej ewolucji „nadczołwieka”. Wynikała ona z nieustannej walki i trwania rzeczywistości, którą „nadczołwiek” później sam stworzył.

Znaczenie Nietzscheańskiego konstrukt dla fundamentalnych idei „rewolucji konserwatywnej” najlepiej spuentował Tomasz Mann. W jego autorskich rozważaniach na temat człowieka apolitycznego, rozbił dotychczasowe normy struktury politycznej na rzecz budzącego się w młodzieży heroizmu. Z tą myślą zgadzali się kolejni intelektualiści, którzy bezsprzecznie zaliczani byli do twórców idei rewolucyjnej okresu Weimaru: Ernst Jünger, Ernst Julius Jung, Carl Schmidt, Wilhelm Stapel. Akolită myśli młodych rewolucjonistów stała się I wojna światowa. Zrywała więź z czasem mentalności przedindustrialnej na korzyść bojowników-apologetów, z których wykrystalizować się miała nowa elita państwa. Stworzyć miała hierarchizację kadry w oparciu o społeczeństwo. Tak pośród żołnierzy pół bitewnych zrodziła się idea obrony ojczyzny i ofiary składanej na ołtarzu wojny. Wewnętrznie wytworzyła antropologię i filozofię wojny, do której młodzież niemiecka została powołana. Ten sens walki przerodzić się miał z klęski w nowę, inne niż dotąd, Niemcy: „*musieliśmy przegrać wojnę, żeby wygrać Niemcy*”. Narodowi socjaliści po dojściu do władzy w 1933 r. chętnie wykorzystywali koncepcję edukacji „rewolucji konserwatywnej” i organizacji młodzieżowych końca XIX i początku XX w. Pedagogika nazistowska czerpała z tych rezerwuarów wzór do stworzenia ideału „nowego człowieka” III Rzeszy.

Słowa kluczowe: rewolucja konserwatywna, Republika Weimarska, militarizm, II wojna światowa, „nadczołwiek”, „nowy człowiek”, III Rzesza.