

Hi Hitler!

The Third Reich's legacy is in flux. For much of the postwar period, the Nazi era has been viewed moralistically as an exceptional period of history intrinsically different from all others. Since the turn of the millennium, however, this view has been challenged by a powerful wave of normalization. Gavriel D. Rosenfeld charts this important international trend by examining the shifting representation of the Nazi past in contemporary Western intellectual and cultural life. Focusing on works of historical scholarship, popular novels, counterfactual histories, feature films, and Internet websites, he identifies notable changes in the depiction of the Second World War, the Holocaust, and the figure of Adolf Hitler himself. By exploring the origins of these works and assessing the controversies they have sparked in the United States and Europe, *Hi Hitler!* offers a fascinating and timely analysis of the shifting status of the Nazi past in Western memory.

Gavriel D. Rosenfeld is Professor of History at Fairfield University.





Hi Hitler!

How the Nazi Past is Being Normalized in Contemporary Culture

Gavriel D. Rosenfeld





Cambridge UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107423978

© Gavriel D. Rosenfeld 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Rosenfeld, Gavriel David, 1967-

Hi Hitler!: how the Nazi past is being normalized in contemporary culture / Gavriel D. Rosenfeld.

pages cm

ISBN 978-1-107-07399-9 (hardback)

1. World War, 1939–1945 - Germany. 2. Hitler, Adolf,

1889-1945. 3. National socialism - History. 4. Holocaust, Jewish

(1939–1945) - History and criticism. 5. Imaginary histories - History and

criticism. 6. Alternative histories (Fiction) - History and

criticism. 7. Collective memory. I. Title. D757.R685 2014

943.086-dc23

2014024241

ISBN 978-1-107-07399-9 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-42397-8 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



CONTENTS

List of figures page vi

	Acknowledgments ix	
	Introduction 1	
1	A "good war" no more: the new World War II revisionism	29
2	From history to memory and back again: debating the Holocaust's uniqueness 78	
3	Probing the limits of speculation: counterfactualism and the Holocaust 122	
4	Nazis that never were: new alternate histories of the Third Reich 158	
5	Humanizing Hitler: the Führer in contemporary film 234	
6	Between tragedy and farce: Nazism on the Internet 292	
	Conclusion 340	
	Notes 350 Bibliography 437 Index 455	



FIGURES

Cover: Heinrich Hoffmann's famous photograph of Hitler from 1927 has been satirized frequently on the Internet in the form of humorous image macros (or memes).

I.	Photograph of Hitler by Heinrich Hoffmann	page 2
2.	"Disco Hitler"	3
3.	"Advice Hitler"	4
4.	"Keep Calm and Hi Hitler"	5
5.	Cover of Jörg. Friedrich, Der Brand	38
6.	House of Terror, Budapest	45
7 ·	Cover of Nicholson Baker, Human Smoke	50
8.	Cover of Niall Ferguson, The War of the World	66
9.	Cover of Timothy Snyder, Bloodlands	101
10.	Photograph of Hannah Arendt	128
II.	Cover of Jo Walton, Farthing	161
12.	Cover of C. J. Sansom, Dominion	166
13.	Cover of Owen Sheers, Resistance	169
14.	Poster for the film, Jackboots on Whitehall	177
15.	Cover of Harry Turtledove, The Man With the Iron Hear	t 181
16.	Cover of Alan Glenn, Amerikan Eagle	186
17.	Still from Saturday Night Live skit, "The Timecrowave"	191
18.	Cover of Siegfried Langer, Alles bleibt anders	194
19.	Poster for the film, <i>Iron Sky</i>	198
20.	Cover of Dieter Kühn, Ich war Hitlers Schutzengel	207
21.	Cover of Wolfgang Brenner, Führerlos	214



vii / List of figures

22.	Cover of Timur Vermes, Er ist wieder da	220
23.	Cover of Michael Chabon, The Yiddish Policemen's	
	Union	226
24.	Still from the film, To Be or Not to Be	237
25.	Still from the film, Der letzte Akt	238
26.	Poster for the film, Hitler - The Rise of Evil	242
27.	Still from the film, <i>Hitler - The Rise of Evil</i>	243
28.	Poster for the film, Max	247
29.	Still from <i>Max</i>	249
30.	Poster for the film, Mein Kampf	255
31.	Still from Mein Kampf	256
32.	Poster for the film, Downfall	263
33.	Still from <i>Downfall</i>	264
34.	Poster for the film, Mein Führer	269
35.	Still from Mein Führer	271
36.	Poster for the film, Inglourious Basterds	281
37.	Still from Inglourious Basterds	283
38.	Still from Third Reich Locations	300
39.	Photograph of the gesture known as the "quenelle"	304
40.	Still of Hitler disco with Headphones	313
41.	Still from the music video, "Ich hock' in meinem Bunker."	314
42.	Image from Hipster Hitler	317
43.	Image from Cats that Look like Hitler	320
44.	Image of Hitler House	323
45.	Image of Grammar Nazi flag	333
16	Poster of Hitler eggs advertisement	212

Figure Acknowledgments

Fig 1 Bavarian State Library, Munich; Fig 2. Reproduced with permission of Lizard2176; Fig 4. © KeepCalmAndPosters.com; Fig 5. © Ullsteinhaus Book Publishers GmbH; Fig 6. Creative Commons; Fig 7. © Simon & Schuster; Fig 8. © Penguin Books; Fig 9. © ullstein bild / The Granger Collection, NY; Fig 10. © Fred Stein Archive / Getty Images; Fig 11. © Corsair/Constable & Robinson; Fig 12. © MacMillan; Fig 13. © Faber and Faber; Fig 14. © Cinedigm; Fig 15. © Del Ray Books / Random House; Fig 16. © Bantam / Random House; Fig 17. © 2014 NBC Universal; Fig 18. © Atlantis Verlag; Fig 19. © Blind Spot Pictures; Fig 20. © Fischer, S. / Dieter



viii / List of figures

Kühn; Fig 21. © Edition Q / Wolfgang Brenner; Fig 22. © Cosmopol-Film; Fig 23. Reproduced with kind permission of HarperCollins; Fig 24. © Romaine Film Corp; Fig 25. © Cosmopol-Film; Fig 26. © AF archive / Alamy; Fig 27. © Alliance Atlantic Communications, Acquired by Eone Films; Fig 28. © AF archive / Alamy; Fig 29. © AAMPI Inc; Fig 30. © AF archive / Alamy; Fig 31. © Shiwago Film Co; Fig 32. © Moviestore collection Ltd / Alamy; Fig 33. © Constantin Film Production; Fig 34. © Assistentin Uwe Schott, X Filme Creative Pool GmbH; Fig 35. © Arte; Fig 36. © AF archive / Alamy; Fig 37. © Universal Pictures; Fig 38. © 2008– 2011 Thirdreichlocations.com; all rights reserved; Fig 39. © Liste Anti-Sioniste; Fig 41. From: Walter Moers, "Der Bonker. Eine Tragikomödie in drei Akten." © Walter Moers/GFP. 2005; Fig 42. Reproduced with kind permission of HipsterHitler.com; Fig 43. Reproduced with kind permission of catsthatlooklikehitler.com; Fig 44.© D Legakis Photography; Fig 45. Creative Commons; Fig 46. © Quantum Foods (Pty) Ltd: (a subsidiary of Pioneer Foods (Pty) Ltd). Reproduced with kind permission.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

"What if" questions abound in this book, and the first involves the ironies of gratitude. Back in 2008, I submitted a newly completed journal article on the revisionist turn in recent World War II historiography to one of the leading publications in the historical profession, only to be told that its word count was more than twice the length permitted by the journal's submission rules. Daunted by the task of cutting so much material from the essay, I was unsure about whether to accept the editor's offer to edit it and resubmit. I soon declined, however, following a brief discussion with my father, who suggested that I keep the essay as is and incorporate it into a larger study on the memory of the Nazi past since the turn of the millennium. Inspired by his suggestion, I proceeded to expand my analysis to encompass a variety of related topics, all of which are included in the present volume. In retrospect, it is clear to me that had my article been accepted for publication, my book probably would never have come into existence. My acknowledgments thus begin with an ironic extension of thanks to the unnamed academic journal for validating the law of unintended consequences and facilitating my book's publication.

Fortunately, I also have more traditional expressions of gratitude to extend to friends and colleagues. I would like to thank Alvin H. Rosenfeld, Saul Friedlander, Alon Confino, and Catherine Epstein for reading portions of the manuscript and providing me with constructive feedback. Heartfelt thanks also go to Guy Saville, Brendan Dubois, Dirk Moses, Omer Bartov, and Jon Reffs for answering questions and providing me with material related to their work. I would additionally like to



x / Acknowledgments

acknowledge academic colleagues who participated in conference panels in which I presented material from the book, including Michael Berkowitz, Doris Bergen, Eugene Sheppard, and Steve Zipperstein. I am especially grateful to my agent, Andrew Stuart, for helping to steer the book to publication. I would also like to communicate my profound gratitude to my editor at Cambridge University Press, Michael Watson, for many years of congenial collaboration on book projects past and present. Thanks also go to Kaiya Shang and Amanda George at Cambridge University Press for their skillful work in helping to secure permissions for the book's images, as well as to Laurence Marsh for his skilled copy-editing work and Joanna Breeze, for her help with the index. Robbin Crabtree, Fairfield University's Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, also deserves thanks for generously helping to subsidize the book's images with the aid of supplemental funds. Lastly, I would like to thank members of my extended and immediate family. I owe special thanks to my sister-in-law, Miranda Banks, who several years ago alerted me to the existence of the "Hi Hitler!" meme, which she discovered lurking in one of her students' final exams. My wife, Erika Banks, by now needs no formulaic expressions of thanks for encouraging my research projects. She knows full well that my love and devotion to her lie well outside of the realm of history. My children, Julia and Benjamin, meanwhile, have become increasingly interested in all things historical as they have matured. Although they remain immersed in the world of the Internet and its incessant glorification of the present, their exposure to the many bizarre representations of Nazism on the World Wide Web (examples of which I confess to having told them about on many occasions), has stimulated their curiosity about the past. It is in the hope that they will continue to develop their interests in history that I dedicate this book to them.