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Jürgen W. Falter (Hg.)

**Junge Kämpfer, alte Opportunisten. Die Mitglieder der NSDAP 1919–1945**

Campus, Frankfurt / New York 2016, 499 S., 39,95 €.

In the conclusion of this large, important, empirical study of the membership of the National Socialist Party between 1919 and 1945, its editor and lead author, Jürgen W. Falter, explains that “despite at times massive pressure, no one was forced to join the [National Socialist] Party. The voluntary nature of the membership was again and again emphasized by the Party leadership ... Although there were various motives for joining the Party, joining was virtually always the result of an individual decision.” (S. 475) Furthermore, Falter argues strongly that the Nazi Party was “in no way exclusively or exceptionally a middle-class movement.” (S. 474) Neither, he argues, was the Party composed of losers in or outcasts from the societal modernization process. Rather, the membership was “socially heterogeneous” and made up of people representing all socioeconomic classes, including a rather large number of workers (which he estimates at roughly forty percent) as well as Catholics, Protestants, men, women, younger and older people from all parts of the greater German Reich.

Although some may quibble with Falter’s conclusions, there can be little doubt about the huge contribution this study makes to knowledge about the Nazi Party, its membership and nature. The study is based on an enormous random sample of roughly 50,000 Nazi Party membership files (usually card files) drawn from the two existing membership files, one for the entire Reich (Reichskartei) and the other from the individual districts comprising the Greater German Reich (Gaukartei). Although each of these files is incomplete on its own, by combining them for his random sample, Falter is able to gather and analyze detailed information on roughly ninety percent of the entire 10.2 million people who joined the Nazi Party. Beyond this Falter and his team (made up mostly of advanced graduate research assistants, but also including the highly respected Austrian historian Gerhard Botz) are able to make reliable estimates of the number and types of people who joined the Party at several different intervals between 1919 and 1945. Also they make important advances in research on this subject by studying the characteristics of the circa 80,000 members who left the Party at one time or another (many times rejoining after a period of absence) and they additionally provide an impressive and probably unsurpassed study of female Nazi Party members (comprising only about five to seven percent of Party members before Hitler came to power but representing nearly half of the new Party applicants in the last year of the war). Additionally, Falter and his team provide individual micro studies of several of the occupied areas in the Greater German Reich such as Danzig / West Prussia, the Saar District, and Austria as well as concentrated studies of the Munich area and various communities mostly in southern Germany.

Falter and his colleagues also provide at various points a significant review of previous scholarship on this subject. Most important of this literature, at least in the space devoted to it, is the German-Canadian historian Michael H. Kater’s pathbreaking monograph published in 1983 under the title *The Nazi Party: A Social Profile of Members and Leaders, 1919–1945*. Until now Kater’s work has been considered the standard work on the subject. Similar to Falter’s study, Kater relies on a large, empirical analysis of Nazi Party membership files. In the end both scholars reach rather similar conclusions and provide similar evidence on many aspects of Nazi Party membership and its

growth over time from a fringe party of zealots to a mass party representing much of the German population (Falter estimates that the number of Party members reached nearly nine million by the end of the war). The most salient point of disagreement between the two studies is on the size and importance of the working class versus that of the middle class or classes. The disagreement focuses in significant measure on where one places clerical workers (*Angestellte*), whether in the working class (Falter) or in the lower middle class (Kater). In this reviewer's opinion, a reasonable case can be made for placing these people in either social class. But, whichever class is chosen, Falter makes a strong case for his overall conclusion that the Nazi Party members resembled the Nazi Party voters (which he has studied in great and successful detail in the past). Both voters and members indeed supported the National Socialist Party willingly, but only some of these people were enthusiastic Nazis, whereas the largest component of them, especially once Hitler came to power, were likely made up of opportunists and fellow travelers whose support for the Nazi Party was often convenient but also lukewarm.

What percent of the Nazi Party were convinced National Socialists is one of the major questions Falter wishes to answer. His argument on this point is rather clear, but his evidence is not as strong as would be optimal (which he himself recognizes). He argues that the Nazi Party began with largely young, unmarried and strongly committed men and stayed that way through most of the 1920s and early 1930s. After the doors were opened in various periods (especially in the winter and spring of 1933 and after the late 1930s), however, the Party membership eventually became swollen by millions of less doctrinaire people.

Although Falter and his coworkers deserve great praise for this work that will stand beside Michael Kater's 1983 study as a second standard work on the Nazi Party and its membership, perhaps their effort would be improved by greater attention to qualitative evidence. To help answer the question of how zealous versus opportunistic the Party membership became, evidence such as memoirs and diaries of Party members and leaders as well as other written evidence from newspapers, internal Party records, and other communications would be helpful. Such qualitative evidence would also add flesh and blood to this major, social-scientific study.

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Moritz Glaser

**Wandel durch Tourismus. Spanien als „Strand Europas“, 1950–1983**  
(Konflikte und Kultur – Historische Perspektiven 34). UVK, Konstanz/München 2018, 391 S. (zahlr. Abb.), 49,00 €.

Spanien ist *in*. Jedenfalls als Gegenstand der historischen Tourismusforschung, wobei zumal die sog. Zweite Franco-Zeit im Fokus steht, als der *boom turístico* ausbrach. Zahlreiche Arbeiten – erwähnt sei nur Sasha Packs Studie über Tourismus und Diktatur von 2006 – aus spanischer, anglo-

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