

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

**WRITING AS A »CONTINUATION OF WAR BY OTHER MEANS«:**

**ERNST JÜNGER IN WEIMAR GERMANY**

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Field of German Literature and Critical Thought

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EVANSTON, IL

MARCH 2017

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## ABSTRACT

## WRITING AS A »CONTINUATION OF WAR BY OTHER MEANS«:

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In December 1928, Ernst Jünger wrote to his brother Friedrich Georg: “Wir müssen uns [...] bemühen, die literarische Tätigkeit als Kriegsmittel zu betrachten.” This project analyzes the result of said activity: viz. text understood as a means of war. That is to say, it does not aim at answering questions regarding Jünger’s political stance as it is mostly the case with scholarly literature on the subject matter at hand, but instead, it addresses a lacuna in the relevant scholarship by systematically examining the textual material as a subversive means of action that allows Jünger for the continuation of war. The examination at hand therefore begins with an analysis of Jünger’s *Kriegstagebuch*, in order to fathom the basis on which he will translate, transform, and instrumentalize the “Sprache der Materialschlacht” as a literary means of expression. Subsequently, it turns to the textual strategies that Jünger employs in his literature, which ought to facilitate the initiation of those who did not directly participate in the Great War to the circle of the ‘Frontsoldaten.’ Following this, the analysis of his *Politische Publizistik* shows that Jünger is continuously striving for a dynamic modern nationalism that always already aims at protruding beyond the borders of the state. And lastly, an examination of *Der Arbeiter* will show that Jünger conceptually dissolves those borders, by heralding the planetary era of the worker based on a new concept of language that stems from the

material itself, which not least marks the moment when he turns his back on nationalism(s) in favor of the planetary. In each of these steps, I argue that Jünger bases his elaborations on the language of the “Material(schlacht)” instead of succumbing to the stipulated rhetoric from the realm of politics, which not only shows how he aims at perpetually waging war against the political status quo, but also that it is impossible to place him on a political map or even to tell what exactly his politics are.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor Prof. Jörg Kreienbrock for his continuous support, his patient guidance, and his knowledgeable counsel. Besides my advisor, I would also like to thank my committee members Prof. Peter Fenves and Prof. Anna Parkinson for their insightful comments and their continuous encouragement.

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## INTRODUCTION

The public as well as scholarly reception of Ernst Jünger's writings of the Weimar years bifurcated into either condemning reading practices, apologetic gestures, or wholehearted affirmations as early as with the publication of his debut war-novel *In Stahlgewittern* in 1920. Initially, this was a rather small-scale set of discourses characterized by attempts to either instrumentalize Jünger and his writings for a variety of nationalist movements and causes, or to establish him as a foil to be worked against.<sup>1</sup> In the aftermath of the Second World War this bifurcation held, but the stakes of the discourse changed. The question pertaining to Ernst Jünger's Weimar years was no longer one regarding the active and future-oriented attempt to subvert the political, but had become historical and gained not least ideological traction; viz. the issue was now, whether or not he was a "Wegbereiter und eiskalter Genüßling des Barbarismus," as Thomas Mann put it in a letter to Agnes E. Meyer.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, the academic as well as public discourse pertaining to Jünger's Weimar years that oscillates between these two poles, results mostly either in the initially mentioned apologetic gestures and at times affirmation,<sup>3</sup> or in the outright condemnation of the author.<sup>4</sup> In anticipation of Jünger's

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<sup>1</sup> Cf.: Braselmann, Kirsten. *Der »Landsknecht avec phrase«: Reaktionen von Linksintellektuellen und Republikanern zu Zeiten der Weimarer Republik auf Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. [Diss.] Berlin: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2013. Cf. also Helmuth Kiesel's chapter "Unter Radikalen," from his Jünger-biography *Ernst Jünger: Die Biographie*. (Kiesel, Helmuth. *Ernst Jünger: Die Biographie*. München: Pantheon Verlag, 2009. Print. Here: 323-335.).

<sup>2</sup> Mann, Thomas and Agner E. Meyer. *Briefwechsel 1937-1955*. Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1992. Print. Here: 645.

<sup>3</sup> The first scholar to identify a caesura in Jünger's work that would allow for an apologetic reading practice – thus laying the foundation for the reading tradition of Jünger's "Wandlung" – was Hanna Vogt, in her work *Der Arbeiter. Wesen und Probleme bei Friedrich Naumann, August Winning, Ernst Jünger*. Göttingen: August Schönhütte und Söhne, 1945. Print. Shortly thereafter: Paetel, Karl O. *Ernst Jünger. Die Wandlung eines deutschen Dichters und Patrioten*. New York: Krause, 1946. Print.

centennial and during the subsequent years, an attempt was made at consolidating both strands of the discourse, which often resulted in the condemnation of Jünger's nationalist radicalism, whilst apologetically invoking his alleged rejection of anti-Semitism and his growing distance to the National Socialists.<sup>5</sup> It is rather striking how heavily Jünger-scholarship during all these periods was and largely still is concerned with the public reception of the author-persona. Surely, one of the questions that unites post-1945 scholarship on Ernst Jünger is, as Dietmar Herz puts it: How can an outspoken anti-democrat be one of the most widely celebrated writers in a democratic state?

Nevertheless, this line of mainly biographical ex post inquiry largely disregards the literary as well as political (?) conceptualizations in Jünger's work itself from 1918-1932 and instead favors questions regarding the ideological and philosophical development of the author post-1932. In order for such a reading practice to yield results, the choice of numerous scholars to include *Auf den Marmorclippen*, Jünger's diaries from the Second World War, and not least his considerations regarding the organization of the post-war landscape "Der Friede" – thus clearly marking a caesura that symbolizes a change of political affiliations – is mainly characterized by an attempt to justify the benevolent (public) post-war reception. This furthermore explains the reluctance to

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g.: Heißenbüttel, Helmut. "General i.R. als Goethe. Zu Ernst Jüngers Tagebüchern »Siebzig verweht.«" In: *Text+Kritik* 105/106 (1990). Or, Thomas Mann in the above quoted letter to Agnes E. Meyer from 12/14/1945, who would describe Jünger as "Wegbereiter und eiskalter Genüßling des Barbarismus." (Mann, Thomas and Agner E. Meyer. *Briefwechsel 1937-1955*. Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1992. Print. Here: 645.) Paradigmatic in this regard are also the public reactions to the awarding of the "Goethe-Preis" in the early 1980s. This reading practice includes the traditional oppositional analysis of his work; cf. Arnold, Heinz Ludwig. *Von Unvollendeten. Literarische Porträts*. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005. Print. 52f. Here, Arnold refers to the tradition of a binary opposition between Jünger's *In Stahlgewittern* and Erich Maria Remarque's *Im Westen nichts Neues*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g.: Nevin, Thomas. *Ernst Jünger and Germany. Into the Abyss, 1914-1945*. Durham: Duke UP, 1996. Print. Nevin is ultimately taking his argument to the point where he wants to identify that "the final pointlessness is at the heart of Jünger's war memoirs." (41)



systematically carve out a niche for Jünger's texts of the Weimar era that does not comply with the standard rhetoric of political left and right – which, however, is imperative in light of Jünger's own unwillingness to employ standardized political vocabulary as a sign of his rejection of contemporary politics – and it furthermore sheds light on the hesitancy to analyze the interplay between his political and his literary texts. Disregarding this interpenetration of (counter-)political and literary writings<sup>6</sup> in favor of an argument concerned with rather superficial political affiliations leads to the fact that Jünger's understanding of writing as the *continuation of war by other means*<sup>7</sup> being mentioned only in passing or not addressed at all.

In my dissertation, I am addressing this lacuna by analyzing Jünger's literary as well as non-literary texts of the Weimar period as a "kriegerisches Ereignis,"<sup>8</sup> with the 'Krieger'/'Arbeiter'-type as paradigmatic *subvertor*. This allows me to comprehend his seemingly political involvement during the Weimar years as a distinct form of subversive activism that operates against the status quo from beyond the periphery of the political spectrum. Jünger's work of the Weimar years is accordingly characterized by his attempt

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<sup>6</sup> The interpenetration of political and literary creation is in fact characteristic of Jünger's production during the years of the Weimar Republic; cf. e.g. a letter to his brother Friedrich Georg Jünger, 12/30/1928: "Wir müssen uns viel mehr bemühen, die literarische Tätigkeit als Kriegsmittel zu betrachten." (Quoted in: Berggötz, Sven Olaf. "Nachwort: Ernst Jünger und die Politik." In: *Jünger, Ernst. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. by Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 834-878. Here: 836.) This will change entirely in the aftermath of the Second World War; cf. a letter to Armin Mohler, 07/12/1947: "Überhaupt sehe ich das Politische vom Literarischen gern streng getrennt." (Quoted in: Berggötz, Sven Olaf. "Nachwort: Ernst Jünger und die Politik." In: *Jünger, Ernst. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. by Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 834-878. Here: 835.)

<sup>7</sup> Cf. e.g.: Jünger, Ernst. "Unsere Politiker." In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print.

<sup>8</sup> Martus, Steffen. "Der Krieg der Poesie. Ernst Jüngers »Manie der Bearbeitung und Fassungen« im Kontext der »totalen Mobilmachung.« In: *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft. Bd. XLIV*. Ed. Wilfried Barner, Christine Lubkoll, Ernst Osterkamp, and Ulrich Ott. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 2000. Print. 212-234. Here: 214.

to suspend the political in order to maintain the state of war; and I argue that the means by which he seeks to achieve said suspension is his literature, which he bases on a textual strategy that follows the mechanisms of the Great War. I am therefore arguing that Jünger's writings from 1915-1932 gradually develop towards a counter-political conceptual unity that is tactically as well as strategically rooted in the combat operations of the Great War. This is to say that his writings are not merely informed by his experiences nor that they fall in line with the vast production of *Kriegs-* and *Antikriegsromanen* of the late twenties as well as with the plethora of political proclamations during the 1920s and 30s, but rather that they are the systematic derivative of Jünger's practical as well as theoretical involvements from 1915-1923 as a 'Frontsoldat.' The central questions within my framework are accordingly not concerned with a retrospective *Sinngebung*<sup>9</sup> or an assuasive *Sinnsuche*<sup>10</sup> – which is not to say that war and sacrifice were not meaningful for Jünger – but focus instead on the development of a decidedly subversive nationalist radicalism void of an actual program that is thought to eventually protrude beyond the borders of the nation state and that operates in perpetual opposition to contemporary politics.

In a word, the central questions that I am pursuing over the course of my dissertation are: Firstly, how does Jünger represent and develop his experiences regarding the structural concurrence of the language of man with the "Sprache der

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. e.g. Leonhard, Jörn. *Die Büchse der Pandora. Geschichte des Ersten Weltkriegs*. München: C.H. Beck, 2014. Print.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. most recently, e.g.: Kiesel, Helmuth. "Einleitung des Herausgebers." In: Ernst Jünger. *In Stahlgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe – Variantenverzeichnis und Materialien*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print. 7-122 and Schwilk, Heimo. "Vorwort." In: Jünger, Ernst. *Feldpostbriefe an die Familie 1915-1918. Mit ausgewählten Antwortbriefen der Eltern und Friedrich Georg Jüngers*. Ed. Heimo Schwilk. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014. Print. 7-24.

Materialschlacht”<sup>11</sup> How does he then, secondly, develop specific textual strategies allowing him to instrumentalize language in such a way as to be capable of employing literature as a means of war that allows him to suspend politics? Thirdly, how is Jünger capable of conveying his counter-political call to action, whilst slowly transforming his concepts from a modern nationalist radicalism – as it is represented by the ‘Krieger’ – to a distinct planetary ‘Arbeitsstaat?’

And lastly, how does the nationalist language of the ‘Krieger’ translate to the planetary language of *Der Arbeiter*? In pursuing these questions, I am not only overcoming the dominant bifurcation of the scholarly discourse on Jünger based on moral and ethical judgments, but, more importantly, I am able to conceptually trace his unique standing as a writer of literary and non-literary texts during the years of the Weimar Republic. This will finally put me in a position that not only allows me to show how Jünger’s Weimar writings operate as means of war, but also that his development from a modern nationalist to a temporary proponent of a planetary ‘Arbeitsstaat’ neither changes the character of the language he employs nor of the perpetual character of war as he understands it.

To answer the questions above conclusively has become possible only now, due to very recent publications of texts that were largely inaccessible until 1995, such as his *Kriegstagebuch*<sup>12</sup> (2010), some previously unpublished or willfully withheld political

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<sup>11</sup> Benjamin, Walter. “Theorien des deutschen Faschismus.” In: *Walter Benjamin, GS III. Kritiken und Rezensionen*. Ed. Hella Tiedemann-Bartels. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991. Print. 238-250. Here: 240.

<sup>12</sup> Which was only left to the Deutsche Literaturarchiv Marbach (DLA) in 1995. Since then, it was occasionally referred to as a supplement, but only few publications were exclusively dedicated to the *Kriegstagebuch*: Santos, José A. – who also did the transcriptions for Kiesel’s edition – *Vivência Biográfica, Escrita Diarística e Representação de Doutoramento*. Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2008.

writings that were available for the first time in Sven Olaf Berggötz' edition of Jünger's *Politische Publizistik*<sup>13</sup> (2001), and his *Feldpostbriefe an die Familie* (2014). The availability of these texts not only allows for the clarification of questions that were previously left open to speculation as well as for a better understanding of Jünger's self-image, but it also for the first time allows for a thorough conceptual analysis of Jünger's writings of the Weimar period up to *Der Arbeiter*.<sup>14</sup>

Over the course of my first chapter – “»MICH REIZT DIE WILDE SCHÖNHEIT DER GEFAHR« – Baring the Roots of Ernst Jünger's Aggressive Aesthetic” – I examine the tactical developments during the Great War as they pertain to Ernst Jünger's writing with a focus on the interplay between the withering individuality of the soldier and the crushing omnipresence of an almost entirely mechanized war machinery. I am therefore analyzing war-theoretical material and juxtapose it with testimonies from the trenches that bear witness to said developments before turning to Jünger himself, who develops a specific front-line heroism, which allows him to not only maintain his agency but to isolate himself from the ‘Menschenmaterial’ as he takes on a distinct ‘Krieger’-identity.

Taken together, the developments in warfare and Jünger's immediate accounts thereof are

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And: King, John – who was the first one to analyze the diaries – »Wann hat dieser Scheißkrieg ein Ende?« *Writing and Rewriting the First World War*. Schnellroda, 2003.

<sup>13</sup> Sven Olaf Berggötz includes previously unpublished texts in his edition of Ernst Jünger's *Politische Publizistik* that have only been accessible at the DLA since shortly after Jünger's death in 1998.

<sup>14</sup> Ever since these texts have become accessible, a larger number of scholars are taking them into account, but, as Uwe-K. Ketelsen notes, even after the first republications of essays such as “Die totale Mobilmachung” (1980) and *Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt* (1981), they were “merkwürdigerweise kaum berücksichtigt [...] in der Auseinandersetzung mit Jünger.” (Ketelsen, Uwe-K. “»Nun werden nicht nur die historischen Strukturen gesprengt, sondern auch deren mythische und kultische Voraussetzungen.« Zu Ernst Jüngers *Die totale Mobilmachung* (1930) und *Der Arbeiter* (1932).” In: *Ernst Jünger im 20. Jahrhundert*. Ed. Hans-Harald Müller and Harro Segeberg. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2000. Print. 77-96. Here: 79.)

understood as the foundation for his further conceptualizations during the Weimar years. I argue on the one hand that his textual strategies aim for subversive actions similar to those that were employed during the combat operations of the storm troopers. On the other hand, I maintain that Jünger's »Krieger«-identity as it develops during the war is the basis for his later conceptualizations of the »Frontgemeinschaft« as well as of the »Arbeiter«.

Accordingly, I first argue that the theoretical developments in tactics during the Great War as well as their implementations on the front form the conceptual basis of Jünger's approaches to his literary and counter-political texts during the Weimar years. Secondly, I contend that his insights derived from the practical as well as theoretical experiences pertaining to the »Frontsoldat« serve as the model for a cult of the chosen few, which he will aesthetically develop towards a »Heroic« and/or »Magical Realism«. And, lastly, that the language of the military – as it is used during the everyday life on the front as well as in military-theory – is to a large extent the language that Jünger will employ in his writings throughout the Weimar years, a strategy which not least allows him to subvert the political discourse without having to submit to its stipulated rhetoric. Consequently, instead of pursuing a line of argument that Walter Benjamin famously initiated with the “hemmungslose Übertragung der Thesen des L'Art pour l'Art auf den Krieg”<sup>15</sup> – viz. the utter conflation of aesthetics and fascism – I am focusing on the ways in which the “Sprache der Materialschlacht” is used as a means to communicate a future-

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<sup>15</sup> Benjamin, Walter. “Theorien des deutschen Faschismus.” In: *Walter Benjamin, GS III. Kritiken und Rezensionen*. Ed. Hella Tiedemann-Bartels. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991. Print. 238-250. Here: 240.

oriented subversive agenda.<sup>16</sup> I am consequently arguing for a structural inversion of Walter Benjamin's statement. It is not the "hemungslose Übertragung der Thesen des L'Art pour l'Art auf den Krieg"<sup>17</sup> but the 'hemungslose Übertragung' of the mechanisms of war to literary production that shall become a defining characteristic of Jünger's work of the Weimar years.

Taken together, the discussion of military history and Jünger's first accounts of the Great War will allow me to establish the foundation on which I am examining Jünger's inversion of Clausewitz' dictum as the demand to take subversive action in order to enable the »continuation of war by other means;« i.e. by writing.

Along these lines, Ernst Jünger demands in a letter to his brother Friedrich Georg from December 1928: "Wir müssen uns viel mehr bemühen, die literarische Tätigkeit als Kriegsmittel zu betrachten."<sup>18</sup> By 'literarische Tätigkeit,' Jünger means both political texts as well as literary creations. In the second chapter – "»TRAGEN WIR IN UNSERE NEUEN AUFGABEN DAS ALTE, EISENGEWOHNTE TEMPO HINEIN!« – Literature as Means of War" – I am building on my findings from chapter one in order to analyze and position Jünger's literary writings of the earlier Weimar years. I will therefore examine his 1922 publication *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, his 1923 novella *Sturm, Feuer und Blut* (1925), as well as *Das Wäldchen 125* (1925). The main questions revolve around a twofold character of these works; viz. how these retrospective literary accounts of front-

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 244.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 240.

<sup>18</sup> Ernst to F.G. Jünger, 12/30/1928. Quoted in: Berggötz, Sven Olaf. "Nachwort: Ernst Jünger und die Politik." In: *Jünger, Ernst. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. by Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 834-878. Here: 836.

experiences help to conceptualize an applicable subversive tactic for the present state of affairs. This also initiates the discussion of concepts central to Jünger's thought, such as the »Frontsoldat«-myth, subversive nationalist radicalism, and questions regarding modernity that Jünger will repeatedly discuss throughout the Weimar years. In other words, the analysis mainly moves between Jünger's practices of shaping his experiences – *Darstellung* – so as to formulate radical tactics that allow for a subversion of politics – *Darstellungsabsicht*.

Karl Heinz Bohrer's seminal 1978 study *Ästhetik des Schreckens* – which is one of the few studies dedicated to Jünger's early work that tries to bracket issues regarding the author himself – lays the foundation for the questions under consideration in this chapter. Bohrer succeeds at freeing the *factum brutum* from its 'wirkungspädagogischen' limitations, thus bestowing *phobos* – as the signum of modern literature – with its own aesthetic quality; to wit: *Plötzlichkeit*. In his study, Bohrer integrates the philosophical as well as the ideological in the category of this particular aesthetic, thus approaching Jünger's work from two fruitful perspectives. However, Bohrer's framework does not include a discussion of the political, which, if literature shall indeed be understood as 'a means of war,' is an essential category in discussing Jünger's writings.<sup>19</sup> Building on Bohrer's elaborations, I am introduce Jünger's aesthetic of a bi-directional 'Plötzlichkeit' in order to then discuss the abovementioned novels with a focus on the question: How does this particular literary tactic gain a conceptual impetus from actual tactical

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<sup>19</sup> This is all the more surprising, seeing that Bohrer does not recognize the numerous reworkings of *In Stahlgewittern* as a political gesture. Albeit that he did not have access to the *Kriegstagebuch*, the political implications of the alterations in Jünger's debut novel have to be recognized as part of an instrumentalized aesthetic.

proceedings – cf. e.g. the “Überraschungseffekt” or the “Auftragstaktik” – and to what end are they being appropriated? I show that the distinguishing moment of Jünger’s work is not so much the “Prozeß zwischen archaisierender Rückwendung einerseits und diagnostizierender, antizipierender Modernität andererseits,”<sup>20</sup> as Karl Heinz Bohrer puts it in his *Ästhetik des Schreckens*, but much rather the momentary structural simultaneity of the retrospective accounts with the prescient calls to subversive action that is characteristic for Jünger’s aesthetic modus operandi.<sup>21</sup>

That Ernst Jünger not only employed literature in order to pursue his subversive agenda, I am showing in the third chapter – “»WAS SIE LERNEN MÜSSEN, IST DIES: DAß MAN IN EINER ZEIT WIE DIESER AUCH OHNE FAHNE MARSCHIEREN KANN.« – Subverting the Political” – with a focus on his so-called *Politische Publizistik*. Designating Jünger’s non-literary writings of the Weimar era as strictly ‘political’ is difficult for a number of reasons: they differ greatly in genre and place of publication – first professional publications in military journals, later political publications in newspapers, then book reviews and forewords<sup>22</sup> – and a large number of them are decidedly counter-political.

Through an analysis of Jünger’s non-literary writings, I respond to a question that has

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<sup>20</sup> Bohrer, Karl Heinz. *Die Ästhetik des Schreckens – Die pessimistische Romantik und Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. München: Carl Hanser, 1978. Print. 75.

<sup>21</sup> Volker Mergenthaler analyzes the aesthetic of this bi-directionality – or, “Doppelausrichtung” (74) of speech, as he calls it – regarding the promise from the preface of *In Stahlgewittern*; viz. to erect a monument for those, who have lost their lives in battle. This monument shall serve two purposes: first, to commemorate those, who lost their lives and secondly to give meaning to their deaths as a basis for what is yet to come. (cf. Mergenthaler, Volker. »Versuch, ein Dekameron des Unterstandes zu schreiben«. *Zum Problem narrativer Kriegsbegegnung in den frühen Prosatexten Ernst Jüngers*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2001. Print. 70ff.)

<sup>22</sup> The questions regarding these different genres and later regarding the ‘Omnibus’-character of publishing platforms is further complicated by the publication of entire literary texts such as *Sturm* as a serial novel in the »Hannoversche Kurier«, or of fragments such as the six pages from *Das Wäldchen 125* in the newspaper *Bannerträger*.



been raised on multiple occasions, but has not been discussed in detail thus far: how and where can Jünger's – at times amorphous and always exclusive – political radicalism be located within the political landscape of Weimar Germany? What I am furthermore showing with an analysis of his political writings is – in taking up Matthias Schöning's impetus and building on the findings from chapter two – that his literary and non-literary texts relate to each other in a "wechselseitigem Bedingungsverhältnis."<sup>23</sup> In light of Jünger's understanding of publishing platforms as "Omnibusse" that he supposedly merely utilizes in order to transport *a* message – thus also rendering the political standing of these platforms seemingly irrelevant for conveying his authorial intentions – it shall be discussed to what extent his political writings are a means for the continuation of war and how they operate across or manipulate the lines between political factions.<sup>24</sup> Accordingly, I argue that Jünger fashions himself as someone who aims at subverting the political from the outside; viz. I show that his radicalism has to be located outside of the established political framework: namely, not on the far right but right next to it.

Lastly, I begin to trace Jünger's conceptual development towards *Der Arbeiter* from 1925-1932. I am not arguing that Ernst Jünger's development during the Weimar years was linear or that his proclamations were teleologically organized in preparation of

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<sup>23</sup> Schöning, Matthias. "Kriegserfahrung und politische Autorschaft." In: *Ernst Jünger-Handbuch: Leben – Werk – Wirkung*. Ed. Matthias Schöning. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2014. Print. 5-29. Here: 9.

<sup>24</sup> Jünger, Ernst. "Schlusswort zu einem Aufsätze. Widerstand, Januar 1930." In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 538-546. Here: 546. However, Louis Dupeux rightly remarks that most of these "'Mittel' waren [...] bis auf ganz wenige Ausnahmen alle von der gleichen Art." (Dupeux, Louis. "Der 'Neue Nationalismus' Ernst Jüngers 1925-1932. Vom heroischen Soldatentum zur politisch-metaphysischen Totalität." In: *Die großen Jagden des Mythos. Ernst Jünger in Frankreich*. Ed. Peter Koslowski. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1996. Print. 15-40. Here: 16.) In *Der Arbeiter*, Jünger reiterates the necessity of this modus operandi. Here he writes: "man [ist] den Parteiungen nicht überlegen, indem man sich ihnen entzieht, sondern indem man sie benutzt." (Jünger, Ernst. "Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt." In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 85.)

his essay *Der Arbeiter*, but instead, that his publications aim at throwing the status quo into turmoil, by examining, conceptualizing, and explaining it from the particular perspective of the acting ‘Krieger,’ who operates against the bourgeoisie and emphasizes the perpetually fluctuating character of the nationalist movement as early as from 1925 onwards.

Over the course of the fourth chapter – “»JE TIEFER UND UNBARMHERZIGER DIE FLAMME DEN GEWORDENEN BESTAND ZERSTÖRT, DESTO BEWEGLICHER, UNBESCHWERTER UND RÜCKSICHTSLOSER WIRD DER NEUE ANGRIFF SEIN« – Heralding the Planetary Reign of the Worker” – I analyze Ernst Jünger’s essay *Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt*, a text, which marks the endpoint of a development that begins with the *Kriegstagebuch* and that unfolds throughout the Weimar years. His 1932 essay is the most thorough conceptualization of his radicalism whilst falling in line with the structural continuity that has been observed thus far. What separates *Der Arbeiter* from the rest of Jünger’s Weimar-writings is most prominently the scope of the essay: viz. from nationalist radicalism to planetary imperialism. *Der Arbeiter* is no longer merely an assessment of the here and now based on the *Darstellung* of experience with the goal to convey a limited *Darstellungsabsicht* but also a meta-historical<sup>25</sup> diagnosis that conjures the *kairos*

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<sup>25</sup> The question regarding Jünger’s understanding of history has been described as allegorical in the sense that public as well as private life are mere epiphenomena – or examples – of something underlying all history. (cf. e.g. Ketelsen, Uwe-K. “»Nun werden nicht nur die historischen Strukturen gesprengt, sondern auch deren mythische und kultische Voraussetzungen.« Zu Ernst Jüngers *Die totale Mobilmachung* (1930) und *Der Arbeiter* (1932).” In: *Ernst Jünger im 20. Jahrhundert*. Ed. Hans-Harald Müller and Harro Segeberg. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2000. Print. 77-96. Here: 87f.) For Jünger, breaking through this surface is essential in order to understand history. This breaking through a seemingly impenetrable surface is only one example of Jünger’s way of conceptualizing his experiences as a *Frontsoldat* that is present throughout his Weimar writings – “Als mehrfacher Stoßtruppführer dringt Jünger nicht nur in den

of the apocalypse. In other words, *Der Arbeiter* heralds a chthonic event of global proportions that will revolutionize man himself. On a textual level, Jünger now fully amalgamates the literary and the political in order to completely uncover the preconditions for as well as the proceedings during the apocalypse, in order to then turn to its aftermath: viz. to the beginning of the epoch of the worker.

Following the deliberations thus far and understanding the conceptual development of Jünger's Weimar writings, the analysis of *Der Arbeiter* will show that his development as a writer cannot be put as one-dimensionally as one from a soldier-writer to a man of letters,<sup>26</sup> nor that he cannot merely be described as a "Schriftsteller eines magischen sowie temporär heroischen Realismus, [der] mitunter zum politischen Pamphletisten suspendiert [wird],"<sup>27</sup> but that his writings have to be understood as a means allowing him to further follow the ideals of the 'Frontsoldat' as he understood and conceptualized them during a time of perpetual war. *Der Arbeiter* – just like his 1930 essay "Die totale Mobilmachung" – thus has to be understood as the *Verdichtung*<sup>28</sup> of the motives, textual strategies, and subversive tactics of his Weimar writings.<sup>29</sup> Accordingly, on the plane of *Darstellung*, Jünger first re-interprets the Great War as a total war that was lost due to a lack of totalization. In order to overcome this flaw, Jünger aims at the gradual elimination of any potential friction by way of the dissolution of boundaries.

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feindlichen Graben ein, sondern durchbricht die Oberfläche, die der Krieg den allermeisten Soldaten zeigt." (Schöning, Matthias. "Kriegserfahrung und politische Autorschaft." In: *Ernst Jünger-Handbuch: Leben – Werk – Wirkung*. Ed. Matthias Schöning. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2014. Print. 5-29. Here: 8.)

<sup>26</sup> Cf. e.g.: Berggötz, Sven Olaf. "Nachwort: Ernst Jünger und die Politik." In: *Jünger, Ernst. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. by Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 834-878.

<sup>27</sup> Dietka, Norbert. *Ernst Jüngers Entwurf von der "Herrschaft und Gestalt des Arbeiters."* *Philologischer Versuch einer Annäherung*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2016. Print. 42.

<sup>28</sup> Both, in the sense of condensation as well as in the sense of poetization.

<sup>29</sup> Helmuth Kiesel thus rightly designates *Der Arbeiter* as "Theorie-Dichtung." (*Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie*. München: Pantheon, 2009. Print. 398.)

Eventually, this would then lead to “entgrenzter staatlicher Machtentfaltung, in der Kampf und Arbeit, kriegerische Destruktion und industrielle Produktion zusammenfielen”<sup>30</sup> – the *Darstellungsabsicht*. What allows Jünger to eventually overcome this subjunctive is once more the assertion that the event of war is not a state of exception but already one of normality: viz. the ‘Naturzustand.’ What will be different in the post-apocalyptic world of the worker is that absolutely everything – traffic planning, fashion, battle, free-time activities – has become an expression of the organic construction that facilitates a sphere where the ‘Übermacht’ displaces ‘Recht.’

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<sup>30</sup> Bröckling, Ulrich. “Die totale Mobilmachung (1930).” In: *Ernst Jünger-Handbuch: Leben – Werk – Wirkung*. Ed. Matthias Schöning. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2014. Print. 100-105. Here: 101.

## CHAPTER I

»MICH REIZT DIE WILDE SCHÖNHEIT DER GEFAHR«

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**Baring the Roots of Ernst Jünger's Aggressive Aesthetic**

*Ich machte die Beobachtung, daß sich  
in diesen Zeilen [Kriegstagebuch] der heiße  
Atem der Schlacht, eine wilde Ursprünglichkeit  
brannte, die stärker und unmittelbarer wirkt  
als der stilisierte Bericht. Zwischen jenen Blättern  
und diesem Buche besteht der Unterschied von  
Tat und Literatur.*

(Ernst Jünger. Preface to the 5<sup>th</sup> Ed. of *In Stahlgewittern*)

*Das Tagebuch ist das Werk des Einsamen.*  
(Ernst Jünger. *Autor und Autorschaft*)

*Die Beschreibung [der] Aktion ist dann  
besonders einprägsam, wenn sie als  
Beschreibung an der Aktion teilnimmt.*  
(Martin Heidegger. *Zur Seinsfrage*)

## §1

## Not Cleared for Publication

In 2010, Helmuth Kiesel invokes the same rationale for the necessity to study Ernst Jünger's war diaries as an authentic informative source<sup>31</sup> as Philipp Witkop did in 1928 regarding the famous *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Studenten*:<sup>32</sup> their immediacy.<sup>33</sup> What both – diaries as well as letters – also have in common is the respective genre's initial promise of privacy. That is to say, neither a common letter nor an ordinary diary are cleared for publication, thus allowing for a targeted account of present proceedings under the pretext of an exclusive readership; be that oneself, or a specific addressee. However, the significant number of letters that were written on the front lines, sent to those who stayed at home, and later published in newspapers as well as in numerous field post collections, turns collections such as Witkop's *Kriegsbriefe*, or the totality of newspaper-publications respectively, into a multi-perspectival chronicle similar to Jünger's diary; despite their genre-specific differences. This does not only constitute the letters as an independent sub-genre within the larger scope of war literature – thus virtually aligning the totality of writers of those published letters with war correspondents, military attachés, and war novelists – but it also increases the number of readers significantly,

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. Kiesel, Helmuth. "Ernst Jünger im Ersten Weltkrieg. *Übersicht und Dokumentation*." In: Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 596-654. Here: 597.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Witkop, Philipp. "Vorwort." In: *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Studenten*. Ed. Philipp Witkop. München: Georg Müller Verlag, 1928. Print. 5-6. Here: 5.

<sup>33</sup> Ernst Jünger will claim this immediacy for himself in the preface to the original version of his *In Stahlgewittern*: "Ich habe mich bemüht, meine Impressionen möglichst unmittelbar zu Papier zu bringen." (Jünger, Ernst. *In Stahlgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print. 20.) Cf. also the abovequoted moment from the preface to the fifth edition.

which in turn abrogates their claim to an exclusive readership. Accordingly, Witkop will refer to the *Kriegsbriefe* as the epic material in lieu of an epos that accounts for the totality of war-related events.

What distinguishes the selected published letters that are read by a great number of people from those that are received solely by the respective designated addressee is precisely the moment of selection by a third party, which entails a potential for manipulation. This can be seen, for example by reference to the *Feldpostbriefe* that were printed in German newspapers during the Great War, or it can be based on a comparison of Witkop's 1928/29 edition of the *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Studenten*<sup>34</sup> with the editions that were published immediately after the Great War and later during the Second World War.<sup>35</sup> In the latter, all critical remarks regarding the war are edited out and the respective last letters are different. But even the 1928/29 edition displays some editorial dodges such as the mostly omitted addressees, which allow the readers to feel as though they are the ones spoken to, or the selection of excerpts in general. However, prior to any attempt at participating in the contemporary political discourse on behalf of an editor – be it out of conviction or coercion – by employing an immediate by-product of the war itself, the letters were initially written as a material continuation of sensual impressions and

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<sup>34</sup> I am referring to the 1928/29 edition, because it is the most comprehensive one. Whilst the first edition from 1916 was still called *Kriegsbriefe deutscher Studenten* and counted some 100 pages, the title of the highly politicized 354 pages post war edition now hints at the editor's intent at creating an "Ehrendenkmal" for those individuals, who died with an anticipatory will to sacrifice themselves for a fatherland yet to come.

<sup>35</sup> How methodically the *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Studenten* were used as a propaganda tool can also be seen by reference to the vastly differing prefaces of the various editions. For a philological discussion of the different editions, cf. Hettling, Manfred and Jeismann, Michael. "Der Weltkrieg als Epos. Philipp Witkops 'Kriegsbriefe gefallener Studenten.'" In: *Keiner fühlt sich hier mehr als Mensch... Erlebnis und Wirkung des Ersten Weltkriegs*. Ed. Gerhard Hirschfeld and Gerd Krumeich. Essen: Klartext-Verl., 1993. Print. 175-198. Here esp.: 178-183.

intellectual musings, while also providing a vessel that allowed the writers to visualize and possibly share their traumatic experiences.

Unlike the diary, the letters sent home to the families accomplish this in a threefold way: first, they allow for the visualization of thoughts; second, they allow the maintenance of an emotional connection with those who will read them, and third, they bear the promise of reciprocation. Taken together, this means that the letters are not least devices that allow for maintaining a connection with the “Heimat.” Especially the letters of the Great War were often also a medium that allowed young soldiers to highlight their heroic performance and to reassure themselves and their addressees of their various motivations.

All this holds true for Ernst Jünger’s *Feldpostbriefe an die Familie* and in parts for his *Kriegstagebuch* as well. As early as in these notes, the constitutive elements of Jünger’s later thought can be recognized. When Martin Heidegger discusses Jünger’s *Arbeiter* – which he largely analyzes following a Nietzschean train of thought pertaining to the “Wille zur Macht” – he highlights and analyzes the central concepts therein, without actually locating them. Within a couple of pages, Heidegger – whose accounts demand some scrutiny themselves<sup>36</sup> – mentions the basis of, as well as the key to, Jünger’s thought during the Weimar years based on the latter’s deployment during the Great War: “Ernst Jünger hat als Einziger eine Deutung des ersten Weltkrieges in seinem kriegerischen Wesen vollzogen, die aus den härtesten Erfahrungen des Stoßtruppführers

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<sup>36</sup> Regarding Martin Heidegger’s notes on Ernst Jünger’s *Der Arbeiter* and others of his works, cf. Seubold, Günter. “Martin Heideggers Stellungnahme zu Jüngers ‘Arbeiter’ im Spiegel seiner Technikkritik.” In: *Titan Technik. Ernst und Friedrich Georg Jünger über das technische Zeitalter*. Ed. Friedrich Strack. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000. Print. 133-152.



der Materialschlachten entspringt und zugleich im Bezirk derjenigen Metaphysik Fuß faßt, die das Zeitalter bereits und wider sein Wissen bestimmt; das ist Nietzsches Lehre vom »Willen zur Macht«.<sup>37</sup> And he continues shortly thereafter: “Jünger sieht das Soldatentum und überhaupt das Menschentum des Weltkrieges und diesen selbst jenseits oder besser gesagt diesseits von Sozialismus und Nationalismus.”<sup>38</sup> Taken together – and this is the first part of my thesis – this means that Ernst Jünger’s thought as it manifests itself in his writings up to and most densely in *Der Arbeiter* stems directly from, operates according to the principles, and not least follows the mechanics of the Great War; i.e. his writings reach beyond the scope of the political by suspending it via postulations regarding the perpetuity of war and they have to be understood as an immediate expression of his understanding of the “Wille zur Macht,” which he conceptualizes as part of either his »Heroic Realism« or of the »heitere Anarchie.«

This is to say that his writings are not merely informed by his experiences and fall in line with the vast production of *Kriegs-* and *Antikriegsromanen* as well as with the plethora of political proclamations during the 1920s and 30s, but that they are the systematic derivative of Jünger’s practical as well as theoretical involvements at the front lines. Concomitantly, this means that Jünger takes up a solitary position in opposition to his contemporaries, who might process and discuss the same subject matter but remain within a political framework. And lastly, I will show why a literary analysis of Jünger as

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<sup>37</sup> Heidegger, Martin. *Zu Ernst Jünger*. Gesamtausgabe, IV. Abteilung: Hinweise und Aufzeichnungen, Vol. 90. Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 2004. Print. 226.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. 237.

a specifically modern writer along the lines of an aesthetic criticism<sup>39</sup> that sidelines ‘Gesinnungsästhetik’ – viz. mostly pseudo-empirical attempts to politically place, justify,<sup>40</sup> or condemn<sup>41</sup> his work as well as him personally – and instead emphasizes the origins of later implemented textual strategies and their intended effects, can ultimately offer new insights regarding parts of the political discourse prior to and immediately after the Second World War. In this, I am following Harro Segeberg, who rightly observed that “[d]ie Aufspaltung in einen »ästhetischen« und einen »politischen« Jünger [...] eine der folgenreichsten Selbsttäuschungen der Forschung [ist].”<sup>42</sup> Accordingly, instead of pursuing a line of argument that Walter Benjamin famously initiated with the

<sup>39</sup> Cf. e.g.: Bohrer, Karl Heinz. *Die Ästhetik des Schreckens – Die pessimistische Romantik und Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. München: Carl Hanser, 1978. Print. As well as: Koslowski, Peter. *Der Mythos Moderne. Die dichterische Philosophie Ernst Jüngers*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1991. Print. And: Mergenthaler, Volker. »Versuch, ein Dekameron des Unterstandes zu schreiben«. *Zum Problem narrativer Kriegsbegegnung in den frühen Prosatexten Ernst Jüngers*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2001. Print.

<sup>40</sup> The first scholar to identify a caesura in Jünger’s work that would allow for an apologetic reading practice – thus laying the foundation for the reading tradition of Jünger’s “Wandlung” – was Hanna Vogt, in her work *Der Arbeiter. Wesen und Probleme bei Friedrich Naumann, August Winning, Ernst Jünger*. Göttingen: August Schönhütte und Söhne, 1945. Print. Shortly thereafter: Paetel, Karl O. *Ernst Jünger. Die Wandlung eines deutschen Dichters und Patrioten*. New York: Krause, 1946. Print.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. e.g.: Heißenbüttel, Helmut. “General i.R. als Goethe. Zu Ernst Jüngers Tagebüchern »Siebzig verweht.«” In: *Text+Kritik* 105/106 (1990). Sontheimer, Kurt. *Antidemokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik*. München: DTV, 1978. Print. Or, Thomas Mann in a letter to Agnes E. Meyer from 12/14/1945, who would describe Jünger as “Wegbereiter und eiskalter Genüßling des Barbarismus;” a statement that caught the public eye with the publication of Mann’s letters in 1963 and which would lastingly influence the Jünger reception around 1968. (Mann, Thomas and Agner E. Meyer. *Briefwechsel 1937-1955*. Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1992. Print. Here: 645.) Paradigmatic in this regard are also the public reactions to the awarding of the “Goethe-Preis” in the early 1980s: cf. e.g.: Raddatz, Fritz. “Kälte und Kitsch. Vom erotischen Vergnügen an Gewalt und Tod: die Herrenreiterprosa eines deutschen Dichters.” In: *Die Zeit* (08/27/1982). This reading practice includes the traditional oppositional analysis of his work; cf. Arnold, Heinz Ludwig. *Von Unvollendeten. Literarische Porträts*. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005. Print. 52f. Here, Arnold refers to the tradition of a binary opposition between Jünger’s *In Stahlgewittern* and Erich Maria Remarque’s *Im Westen nichts Neues*.

<sup>42</sup> Segeberg, Harro. “Regressive Modernisierung. Kriegserlebnis und Moderne-Kritik in Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk.” In: *Vom Wert der Arbeit. Zur literarischen Konstitution des Wertkomplexes ‘Arbeit’ in der deutschen Literatur (1770-1930)*. Ed. Harro Segeberg. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1991. Print. 337-378. Here: 338.

“hemmungslose Übertragung der Thesen des L’Art pour l’Art auf den Krieg”<sup>43</sup> – viz. the utter conflation of aesthetics and fascism – I will focus on the ways in which “die Sprache der Materialschlacht” is used as a means to communicate a future-oriented subversive agenda.<sup>44</sup> Accordingly, I will not retrospectively attempt to analyze Jünger’s work through the lens of a specific theory or with an emphasis on the influence that isolated thinkers and writers might have had on him, but instead follow a genealogical approach, so as to uncover the origins of his Weimar thought as well as of his aesthetics. This will not only allow for eliminating an ideologically coined and poetically blind reading practice that has a tendency to conflate the aesthetic with the ethical or political, but also help to eventually understand what Jünger means by, what he intends, and to what end he implements the inversion of Clausewitz’ dictum, which he employs to denote writing as the continuation of war by other means. Before turning to an analysis of those works that Jünger sought out for publication however, it is crucial to bare the roots of the origins of his thought that Jünger himself believed to be an immediate expression of past experiences as opposed to stylized narrations with a specific audience in mind.

In this chapter, I will therefore analyze the *Kriegstagebuch* as an almost unfiltered and only marginally stylized expression of Jünger’s experiences at the front line in order

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<sup>43</sup> Benjamin, Walter. “Theorien des deutschen Faschismus.” In: *Walter Benjamin, GS III. Kritiken und Rezensionen*. Ed. Hella Tiedemann-Bartels. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991. Print. 238-250. Here: 240.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. 244. Cf. also Steffen Martus, who notes: “Wenn bei Jünger – mit den Worten Walter Benjamins – eine »hemmungslose Übertragung der Thesen des L’Art pour l’Art auf den Krieg« zu verzeichnen ist, dann umgekehrt ebenso eine Übertragung der Thesen des Kriegs auf die Poesie.” (Martus, Steffen. “Der Krieg der Poesie. Ernst Jüngers »Manie der Bearbeitung und Fassungen« im Kontext der »totalen Mobilmachung.« In: *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft. Bd. XLIV*. Ed. Wilfried Barner, Christine Lubkoll, Ernst Osterkamp, and Ulrich Ott. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 2000. Print. 212-234. Here: 214.)

to uncover the provenance of his later conceptualizations regarding the *Frontsoldat/Arbeiter*; i.e. this chapter aims at baring the roots of Jünger's Weimar radicalism. The first and third section will accordingly focus on the way in which Jünger's notes change; viz. from a private diary and letter writer to someone considering an audience beyond himself and/or the immediate addressees. In the second section I will discuss the turning point at which this transition begins. I will argue that Jünger's experiences with the tactical changes from 1916 onward – especially regarding the battles of Cambrai, Verdun, and the Somme, as well as the spring-offensive of 1918 – are the basis of an aesthetic that is thought “Schrecken hervorzurufen.”<sup>45</sup> Consequently, I will build on Karl Heinz Bohrer's epoch-making study *Die Ästhetik des Schreckens* in order to add an expressive moment to an aesthetic that is otherwise characterized by the rendition of impressions.<sup>46</sup> In order to do so conclusively, I will also discuss the military-historical developments during the war, inasmuch as they pertain to Jünger's later textual strategies and conceptualizations. Building on the findings from sections one through three, I will conclude by discussing the first indications of Jünger's understanding of the “Wille der Macht” as it is characteristic for the “*Geist des Frontkämpfers*,” which will not only serve as the basis for his retrospective literary accounts of the war as well as for their intended effects, but which is also at the core and the driving force of his Weimar writings in general.

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<sup>45</sup> Benjamin, Walter. “Über einige Motive bei Baudelaire.” In: *Walter Benjamin. GS I.2. Abhandlungen*. Ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991. Print. 605-653. Here: 616.

<sup>46</sup> The affiliation of both for a comprehensive analysis of Jünger's aesthetic can already be surmised when considering the movement from merely recording his impressions toward the expression of his reflections in the course of his diary (cf. §1 and §3).

Methodologically, I will mainly try to identify and structurally locate the key terms of Jünger's later conceptualizations at their point of origin. What makes a close look at the first occurrences of these terms – and, whenever possible, of their development throughout the *Kriegstagebuch* – so valuable for a later analysis of his Weimar writings and the discourse they encompass and expedite is that tracing the genesis of Jünger's thought helps to better understand the different textual strategies he will later employ in his literary and counter-political writings with the ultimate goal to shape said discourse from the sidelines. In doing so, I will eventually (re-)establish a reading practice of Ernst Jünger's early work that rejects approaches such as Hans Robert Jauss' differentiation of the aesthetic and the political<sup>47</sup> and instead attempts to think beyond Karl Heinz Bohrer's *Ästhetik des Schreckens*, by working through an aesthetic that is not primarily interested in the political and thus allows Jünger "im archaischen Rückfall noch einmal das Freiwerden von ideologischen Festlegungen."<sup>48</sup>

In lieu of tracing Jünger's biography and deployment history – this has been done sufficiently in shorter forewords and introductions preceding almost all of his more recently published writings from the period under consideration,<sup>49</sup> as well as at great

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<sup>47</sup> Cf. e.g.: Jauss, Hans Robert. "Surrealismus und Gnosis." In: *Poetik und Hermeneutik. Vol. II.* Ed. Wolfgang Iser. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1966. Print. 433.

<sup>48</sup> Bohrer, Karl Heinz. *Die Ästhetik des Schreckens – Die pessimistische Romantik und Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk.* München: Carl Hanser, 1978. Print. 76.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. e.g.: Schwilk, Heimo. "Vorwort." In: Jünger, Ernst. *Feldpostbriefe an die Familie 1915-1918. Mit ausgewählten Antwortbriefen der Eltern und Friedrich Georg Jüngers.* Ed. Heimo Schwilk. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014. Print. 7-24. And: "Zeittafel." In: *Ibid.* 127-133.

Kiesel, Helmuth. "Ernst Jünger im Ersten Weltkrieg. *Übersicht und Dokumentation.*" In: Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918.* Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 596-654.

Berggötz, Sven Olaf. "Nachwort: Ernst Jünger und die Politik." In: *Jünger, Ernst. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933.* Ed. by Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 834-878.

length<sup>50</sup> with different thematic focal points respectively – I will immediately turn to the textual material; viz. first to his *Feldpostbriefe* and – as a point of reference – to the *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Studenten* and later to his *Kriegstagebuch*. The *Kriegsbriefe* however shall serve only as a touchstone regarding the origins of Jünger’s convictions and the terminology he uses to express it, not as an actual object of my analysis. In juxtaposing Jünger’s writings with those of his comrades, some of Jünger’s key terminology such as *Arbeit*, *Notwendigkeit*, *Macht*, *Wille*, and most prominently the *Frontsoldat / Arbeiter* that, as the new type of man, will emerge during the post-War years and which subsumes all the other concepts will become traceable back to their origin. Eventually, this analysis will help facilitating an understanding of the aforementioned “Wille zur Macht” as “*Geist des Frontkämpfers*,” which, according to Heidegger, is “ins Werk geprägt, mit dem Willen, ihn lebendig zu halten und dieses Soldatentum als einen neuen Menschenschlag vorbildlich zu machen.”<sup>51</sup>

Ernst Jünger’s letters are far from being politically biased or religiously charged. Accordingly, he neither justifies the war using political vocabulary nor does he give up his agency nor does he seek solace by turning to a higher power of any kind. Instead, he repeatedly emphasizes that being taken up in the immediate reality of the war means to comply with and live up to its necessities, which in turn makes it possible for the

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<sup>50</sup> Cf. e.g.: Schwilk, Heimo. *Ernst Jünger – Ein Jahrhundertleben*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014. Print. Or: Kiesel, Helmuth. *Ernst Jünger: Die Biographie*. München: Pantheon Verlag, 2009. Print.

<sup>51</sup> Heidegger, Martin. *Zu Ernst Jünger*. Gesamtausgabe, IV. Abteilung: Hinweise und Aufzeichnungen, Vol. 90. Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 2004. Print. 226.

“Frontsoldat”<sup>52</sup> to distinguish himself. Not diplomacy in the broadest sense but autonomous individual attainments shall grant respect and lead to honors and promotions. Questioning motives for the war and reflecting on the politics behind it is thus not part of the soldierly service as Jünger understands it. Instead, readiness – and in its extreme form, readiness to sacrifice oneself – is the decisive trait of a diligent soldier: “Denn das Entscheidende ist doch immer die Opferbereitschaft, nicht das, wofür das Opfer gebracht wird,”<sup>53</sup> writes student of law Franz Blumenfeld accordingly at the very beginning of the war in September 1914 in order to express a readiness that postulates the sacrifice as an end in itself and that does not require a theological, political, or otherwise ideological justification. It is this utter commitment to a logic of ‘Opferbereitschaft’ out of immediate necessity that withholds the answer to questions such as ‘for what or whom?’ or ‘to what end?’ This sacrificial understanding void of any implications regarding a promise to the future is what unites Franz Blumenfeld and Ernst Jünger, by way of example, but also what separates them from many of their fellow soldiers. This immediate understanding of soldierly service is also why Jünger frowns upon those, who, for instance, climb the ranks due to heritage and especially upon those who try and circumvent the necessity mentioned above. In other words, for Jünger it is the absence of attempts at bestowing acts of war in general as well as his individual involvement in particular with any political or religious meaning that frees him from the teleological constraints set forth by any of these particular ideologies. Instead, his lamentations are mainly concerned with

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<sup>52</sup> The first time that Jünger uses the term “Frontsoldat” is in April, 1917. (Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 275) At this point, it is still a literal designation for a soldier, who is fighting on the front line.

<sup>53</sup> Witkop, Philipp (Ed.). *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Studenten*. München: Georg Müller Verlag, 1928. Print. 23.

the inner workings of the military, thus adhering to a militaristic ideology that will later allow him to develop his own one; namely that of the ‘Frontsoldat/Krieger/Arbeiter.’ In a letter to his parents dating from January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1915, he writes: “Befördert scheinen mir meistens solche Leutchen zu werden, die sich während der Frontzeit bei der großen Bagage herumdrücken und sonst nur während der Ruhezeit große Bögen spucken wollen.”<sup>54</sup> Or, more poignantly: “Es ist eben alles Vetternwirtschaft.”<sup>55</sup> Regarding those who try to duck out of their duties – viz. those who avoid living up to the immediate necessities – Jünger shows even less mercy, as a diary entry from July 1917 shows: “Leutnant Häuser [...], diese[r] feige Hund, der nicht aus seinem Unterstand herausgekommen ist, als es galt zu zeigen »hier steht ein Mann und hier fällt ein Mann, wenn es not tut.«”<sup>56</sup> However, after applying to become an Officer Candidate himself, he is not above asking his father – who not only gave him the idea to apply to the training course<sup>57</sup> but was also instrumental in motivating Jünger to rework his *Kriegstagebuch* into a novel – if he might have any connections that could help with his superior lieutenant Hoppe from Hannover.<sup>58</sup>

Jünger’s attitude regarding the promotion practices within the military also translates to his stance on the awarding processes for decorations: “das eiserne Kreuz

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<sup>54</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Feldpostbriefe an die Familie 1915-1918. Mit ausgewählten Antwortbriefen der Eltern und Friedrich Georg Jüngers*. Ed. Heimo Schwilk. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014. Print. 33.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. 51.

<sup>56</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 148. Cf. also: “dies Grandseigneur-Gebahren und Baronisieren der Etappenschweine [...] Rücksichtslose Energie ist das einzige Bekämpfungsmittel.” (Ibid. 250)

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Jünger, Ernst. *Feldpostbriefe an die Familie 1915-1918. Mit ausgewählten Antwortbriefen der Eltern und Friedrich Georg Jüngers*. Ed. Heimo Schwilk. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014. Print. 34.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. ibid. 35.



steht auch noch aus, trotzdem fast jeder Trainkutscher eins hat.”<sup>59</sup> And both strands of his critique converge, when he writes: “Neulich habe ich gelesen, daß einer es [das Eiserne Kreuz] bekommen hat, »weil er seinen ~~Freu~~ Major bis in die vordersten Schützengräben begleitet hat.«”<sup>60</sup> Jünger does not specify where he read this, but it can be assumed with a high degree of certainty that it was not written in just the way that he reproduces it in the letter to his parents. Here, either implementing or leaving “~~Freu~~” in the quote as a gesture towards the actual importance of amicable relations instead of military prowess, allows him to ironically distance himself from the inner workings of a seemingly corrupted military bureaucracy, whilst simultaneously complying with its rules and hierarchies. Furthermore, the impetus to criticize the awarding processes and by extension his continuous critique of war policies does not originate with his observations as much as it stems from a conversation with “einem kleinen Unteroffizier” in early January 1915 – viz. three months prior to sending the above-quoted letter – that he recorded in his *Kriegstagebuch*: “Er meinte, die Verteilung der eisernen Kreuze und das rote Kreuz wären zwei große Schandflecke unseres Heeres.”<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 40.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 11. In 1916, Jünger will almost identically instruct his subordinates: “Heut kamen die eisernen Kreuze heraus. [...] Sievers und ich waren wild. Ich rief zwei meiner Leute, denen ich ziemliches Vertrauen entgegenbringe [...] und erklärte ihnen die Ungunst der Umstände nach dem geflügelten Wort: Immer nach der Reihe, nicht wer am besten kann.” (Ibid. 151) Or: “Also sind wir Frontschweine hier vorn gut genug, um uns zusammenschießen zu lassen, geht in unserm Abschnitt mal eine Sache vor sich, wo das E.K. I zu holen ist, dann sind andere Herrschaften an der Reihe.” (Ibid. 156) Such examples can be found throughout his *Kriegstagebuch*. (e.g.: Ibid. 273, 412)

Jünger's initial sigh of relief goes along with his first promotion: "zum Unteroffizier befördert [...] Na, endlich ist die größte Gemeinheit überwunden."<sup>62</sup> How much this and especially further recognition means to Jünger himself,<sup>63</sup> as well as for his transition from a private letter and diary writer to an author writing for the public, will shortly be seen. His brother, Friedrich Georg Jünger, first alludes to this step towards the public with an answer to a missing letter somewhat ironically, yet with an – as it shall later turn out – apt assessment: "Deine neue Würde scheint Dich zum Dichter zu stempeln."<sup>64</sup> Only five months later, in February 1916, he pursues this line of questioning further; however, this time his inquiries are void of any irony: "Wann fängst Du [Ernst] mit Deiner Gedichtsammlung an?"<sup>65</sup> It will be shown that Friedrich Georg was on to something when he was insisting on his brother's literary creation in a year that should turn out to be crucial for Ernst Jünger for three main reasons: first, it is the year in which he begins thinking about a reading public that he could confront with his writings, and secondly, it is the year when, according to the journalist and historian Hermann Stegemann – to whom *In Stahlgewittern* will be dedicated until 1934<sup>66</sup> – "der Geist der Materie zu erliegen [drohte]."<sup>67</sup> Jünger will identify this moment as the beginning of a new era – namely, modernity – which ought to be totally dominated by those men whose

<sup>62</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Feldpostbriefe an die Familie 1915-1918. Mit ausgewählten Antwortbriefen der Eltern und Friedrich Georg Jüngers*. Ed. Heimo Schwilk. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014. Print. 54.

<sup>63</sup> Jünger reacts similarly after the presentation of the Iron Cross: "»S.M. hat Ihnen [Jünger] das eiserne Kreuz verliehen, herzlichen Glückwunsch!« Also endlich." (Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 100.)

<sup>64</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Feldpostbriefe an die Familie 1915-1918. Mit ausgewählten Antwortbriefen der Eltern und Friedrich Georg Jüngers*. Ed. Heimo Schwilk. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014. Print. 55.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* 76.

<sup>66</sup> Regarding the significance of this dedication, cf.: Kiesel, Helmuth. "Dedikation an Hermann Stegemann." In: Ernst Jünger. *In Stahlgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe – Variantenverzeichnis und Materialien*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print. 71-74.

<sup>67</sup> Stegemann, Hermann. *Geschichte des Krieges*. Vol. 4. Stuttgart-Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1921. Print. 115.

minds did not succumb to the machines – viz. the *Frontsoldat* – and whom he positions in opposition to those that are documenting the “Hilflosigkeit, sei es der Seele oder des Geistes, vor dem Zeitalter der Technik,” as Carl Schmitt puts it.<sup>68</sup> And lastly, it is the year during which Jünger will first experience and later diagnose a change regarding the relationship of man and machine based on the revision of tactical as well as strategic proceedings, which not least led Jünger to be commissioned with the “Führung von Sturmtrupps.”<sup>69</sup> Taken together, Jünger consciously decides to employ these three changes and the subsequent developments as the basis for his concept of the *Frontsoldat* as well as for his textual strategies. However, before turning to this crucial year, a closer look at the *Kriegstagebuch* up to 1916 shall help tracing the origins of the aforementioned terminology in more detail. On the basis of an examination of Jünger’s war records, I will not least gain new insights regarding those of his writings of the Weimar years that are based on his diaries. Since this approach has only now become possible with reference to very recently published textual materials,<sup>70</sup> I am offering an original perspective that ought to put parts of Jünger’s creation as well as their intended effects in a new and different perspective.

Initially, I highlighted some of the similarities of letters and diaries; but there are obviously also significant differences between the alleged immediacy of the letters and that of a diary. In his study »*Wann hat dieser Scheißkrieg endlich ein Ende?*« John King

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<sup>68</sup> Schmitt, Carl. *Der Begriff des Politischen*. Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 2015. Print. 84.

<sup>69</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 162.

<sup>70</sup> Even prior to the publication of Jünger’s *Kriegstagebuch*, working with his diaries was only possible at the DLA in Marbach from 1995 onwards and has hardly been done.

identifies numerous reasons for an intensified necessity to keep a diary as a record of one's own existence amidst the masses of material that either constantly threaten one's own life, or make it hard to uphold one's own sense of individuality. In other words, in the process of writing, the author continuously reassures himself of his subject-hood and (re-)establishes himself as an individual capable of understanding and processing the proceedings around him; viz. the author (re-)constitutes and experiences himself as a subject in the act of writing. Additionally, the diary was, according to King, a medium that allowed the writer to chronicle the ephemerality of life, thus bestowing one's own existence with a comprehensible duration.<sup>71</sup> Jünger himself touches on some of these points in a deleted passage from *Das Wäldchen 125*, where he retrospectively highlights the importance of diaries as "kleine Schriftdenkmäler" for one's own eyes and where he furthermore adds: "Sie [die Tagebücher] zwingen den, der sie macht, die Essenz seines Erlebnisses zu ziehen und sich [...] über die gewohnte Umgebung zu erheben, indem er sich in die Stellung des Betrachtenden versetzt. [...] Und endlich liegt in jeder, auch der einfachsten Darstellung ein gewisser Trost, eine Befreiung durch Äußerung."<sup>72</sup> And whilst the letters are written with a distinct recipient in mind – in case of the *Kriegsbriefe* mostly the parents, close friends, or a beloved one – thus motivating the respective writer to choose his words and subjects more carefully, the writing for one's own eyes is not restricted by an inherent moment of self-censorship; let alone by the moment of actual

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<sup>71</sup> Cf. King, John. »Wann hat dieser Scheißkrieg endlich ein Ende?« *Writing and Rewriting the First World War*. Schnellroda: Antaios, 2003. 125ff.

<sup>72</sup> Jünger, Ernst. "Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918." In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 132-366. Here: 145.

censorship.<sup>73</sup> This can be seen based on the language – e.g. by reference to the use of expletives, or the general lack of care regarding grammar and spelling – as well based on the choice of topics – such as the mention of romantic affairs and sexual adventures – or regarding the general attention to detail.<sup>74</sup> Accordingly, whilst Jünger’s *Feldpostbriefe* predominantly emphasize his readiness to fulfill heroic deeds without mentioning the dangers of the actual engagements,<sup>75</sup> he uses his diaries to describe the exact proceedings of various maneuvers. The latter thus not only serves him as a mnemonic device but also allows him to gradually craft a stylized version of the *Stoßtruppführer* that shall turn into the heroic subject of his post-war writings.

Whereas the first of the 15 numbered notebooks that are part of Ernst Jünger’s literary remains at the DLA in Marbach and that are now published under the name of *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918* – a title that Jünger himself chose for his recordings – are almost exclusively filled with the narration of impressions, thus rendering Jünger as a mainly receptive subject, the second notebook – which only contains three retrospectively written entries and begins at the end of April 1915; i.e. approximately four months after his deployment – shows first signs of reflection. These reflective moments, however, are not to be understood as first steps towards an actual conceptualization but, as Karl Heinz Bohrer puts it in his *Ästhetik des Schreckens*, “als noch metaphorische Umschreibung

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<sup>73</sup> One exception is the interdiction to record anything that would mention impending attacks. Soldiers were forbidden to write down any plans due to the potential of being captured by the enemy. However, Jünger would at times circumvent that rule and still record information about upcoming undertakings.

<sup>74</sup> Jünger offers a rare comparison between the two genres in his *Kriegstagebuch*: “Ich beantwortete den Brief den Tatsachen gemäß, natürlich nicht so realistisch in Schilderung der Vorgänge wie in meinem Tagebuch.” (Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 256)

<sup>75</sup> Cf. e.g.: “Ich sitze hier in Flandern und laure auf neue Heldentaten.” (Jünger, Ernst. *Feldpostbriefe an die Familie 1915-1918. Mit ausgewählten Antwortbriefen der Eltern und Friedrich Georg Jüngers*. Ed. Heimo Schwilk. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014. Print. 42)

einer subjektiven Erfahrung, die allmählich zu [...] konstant verwandten, topisch wiederkehrenden Zeichen oder Schlüsselwort[en] wurde[n].<sup>76</sup> One such expression of a subjective impression that will return in his writings of the Weimar years makes its first appearance in Jünger's third notebook, namely the "Totentanz,"<sup>77</sup> which will be conducted according to the "unaufhörlich gewaltige Melodie"<sup>78</sup> of the artillery's "höllisches Konzert."<sup>79</sup> By introducing the compound word "Totentanz" in conjunction with the corresponding 'orchestra,' Jünger very early on begins to understand war as the inevitable result of an amalgamation of death and destruction with a choreographed culture that operates according to prescribed mechanisms.<sup>80</sup> So much so that shortly after the first mention, the subsequent shelling is twice described as "Tanz,"<sup>81</sup> whilst still encompassing the full range of meaning of the original compound. Indeed, death's ubiquity and its self-evident determining power seem to render mentioning it redundant. However, the omission of the first part of the compound lends a striking emphasis to the *Determinatum*, which not least means that the choreographed – i.e. mechanized –

<sup>76</sup> Bohrer, Karl Heinz. *Die Ästhetik des Schreckens – Die pessimistische Romantik und Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. München: Carl Hanser, 1978. Print. 75.

<sup>77</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 33. Cf. also e.g. in *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, where he writes of "dieser höllische Tanzplatz des Todes," (21) where those who died are described as having ended "ihren Tanz." (Jünger, Ernst. "Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis." In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 14.) And where he speaks of the "Tanze auf schmaler Klinge zwischen Sein und Nichtsein" in a later deleted passage. (Jünger, Ernst. "Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis." In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 35-131. Here: 131.)

<sup>78</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 167.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* 155.

<sup>80</sup> At this point, there is no evidence that Jünger would interpret the battlefields according to either the popular belief of the dancing deaths (cf. e.g. Johann Wolfgang Goethe's poem "Der Totentanz"), or the traditional understanding of death as the ultimate leveler of social differences as it is displayed by numerous works of art. Accordingly, "Totentanz" shall for now be read as "metaphorische Umschreibung einer subjektiven Erfahrung," and not as the ekphrastic inscription and transformation of an art-historical tradition, or the intertextual appropriation of a literary genre.

<sup>81</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 35. Cf. also: Jünger, Ernst. "Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis." In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 96.

destruction takes precedence over the individual death. What is furthermore conspicuous regarding the omission of the *Determinans* is the inherent relation to time of each part of the compound. Whilst death occurs instantaneously and lasts infinitely, dance connotes processuality, finitude, and reproducibility. If the symbolic dance – viz. continuous mechanical destruction – is then indeed an expression of a culture that perpetually follows a prescribed mechanism – viz. war – the omission of death comments on the insignificance of the ultimate individual moment and by extension on the loss of meaning of the individual as such; it is now reduced to being a small and replaceable cog in the machine.<sup>82</sup> Or, put differently and with the immediate context of World War One in mind, man had to forfeit his individuality in favor of a seeming amalgamation with the machinery; i.e. the soldiers have turned into material.<sup>83</sup>

A structural inversion of Walter Benjamin's statement can accordingly already be surmised by reference to this first compound. It is not the "hemmungslose Übertragung der Thesen des L'Art pour l'Art auf den Krieg,"<sup>84</sup> but the 'hemmungslose Übertragung' of the mechanisms of war to literary production that shall become a defining characteristic of Jünger's work of the Weimar years.

However, refusing to be an unknown soldier that merely functions and perishes as part of the war-machinery, Jünger emphasizes his own individual achievements

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<sup>82</sup> An experience that was retrospectively voiced by numerous writers dealing with the realities of positional warfare. E.g.: "Wir alle sind Schrauben in einer Maschine." (Toller, Ernst. *Eine Jugend in Deutschland*. Hamburg: Rohwolt, 2014. Print. 54.)

<sup>83</sup> This turned into a typical image in most of the war-literature dealing with the Great War. Cf. e.g.: "Eine gigantische Maschine arbeitet – und es ist nichts mehr im ganzen Lande, das nicht ein Glied dieser Maschine wäre." (Beumelburg, Werner. *Sperrfeuer um Deutschland. Mit einer Widmung des Reichspräsidenten von Hindenburg. Ausgabe für die Jugend*. Oldenburg and Berlin: Gerhard Stalling Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1938. Print. 22.)

<sup>84</sup> Benjamin, Walter. "Theorien des deutschen Faschismus." In: *Walter Benjamin, GS III. Kritiken und Rezensionen*. Ed. Hella Tiedemann-Bartels. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991. Print. 238-250. Here: 240.

concomitantly with the introduction of “Totentanz.” It is at the beginning of the third notebook – the same one, in which he had introduced the symbol of the “Totentanz” – where Jünger later chooses a headline that emphasizes his personal merit, namely “Leutnant im Füs. Ref 73.”<sup>85</sup>

Shortly after the “Totentanz” symbol, Jünger introduces – to speak with Bohrer – the first “Schlüsselwort” that shall occupy a central position in his work: “Um neun Uhr werden die Leute angestellt, die *arbeiten* müssen. Der Moderne [sic!] Infantrist ist Erdarbeiter, Bergmann, Zimmermann, kurz ein Mann, der alles versteht.”<sup>86</sup> That the *Frontsoldat* turned into an *Arbeiter* and concomitantly that military service turned into work is a phenomenon that accompanied the Great War from the moment of the impending stalemate onwards. Correspondingly, student of chemistry Willi Böhme writes in a letter as early as in October 1914: “Doch die Mittagspause ist vorüber und wir müssen wieder an unsere Arbeit. – Arbeit? Ja, wenn Ihr das sähet.”<sup>87</sup> The dash and the second, disbelievingly added ‘Arbeit?’ clearly show that the addressees of this letter are confronted with an entirely new aspect not only of soldierly service but also of the war in general. The exact kind of work that Böhme is referring to is digging trenches – an activity that will shortly become an essential part of the soldierly everyday.

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<sup>85</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 41. Jünger was only promoted to “Leutnant” on 11/27/1915, but the third notebook begins on 09/23/1915. Prior to his promotion, Jünger was still “Fähnrich” (cf. Ibid. 53). Accordingly, the headline must have been added later.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. 55 (my emphasis).

<sup>87</sup> Witkop, Philipp (Ed.). *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Studenten*. München: Georg Müller Verlag, 1928. Print. 13.



When Jünger first refers to the work-character of military service, he no longer primarily means digging new trenches but perpetually repairing already existing ones.<sup>88</sup> In the early 1930s, Jünger will remember the moment when labor symbolically turned into the new kind of work in his short essay “Kriegsausbruch 1914,” which he wrote as part of a revision of *In Stahlgewittern*. Here, he retrospectively emphasizes the seamlessness of the transition from literal ‘Handwerk’ to its being determined by war: viz. it turns into ‘Kriegshandwerk:’

Während wir [Ernst Jünger, the family gardener Robert Meier, and a roofer] auf dem von Sonnenstrahlen erwärmten Dache saßen und plauderten, fuhr unten, wie gewöhnlich um diese Stunde, der Landbriefträger mit seinem Rade vorbei. Ohne abzusteigen, rief er uns die beiden Worte »Mobilmachung befohlen!« zu, die wohl schon seit Stunden der Telegraph unaufhörlich über Stadt und Land verbreitete.  
Der Dachdecker hatte gerade seinen Hammer erhoben, um einen Schlag zu tun. Nun hielt er mitten in der Bewegung inne und legte ihn ganz sacht wieder hin. In diesem Augenblick trat ein anderer Kalender bei ihm in Gültigkeit. Er war ein gedienter Mann, der sich schon in den nächsten Tagen bei seinem Regiment zu stellen hatte.<sup>89</sup>

The roofer, who had just raised his hand with his hammer – a symbol that shall gain traction once Jünger commences to reflect on fear and shock – carefully puts it back down. It was not he who would literally deliver the blow, but instead, it was the postman who delivered it verbally by proclaiming the mobilization: “So war *mit einem Schlage* [...] aus unserer kleinen Gemeinschaft eine militärische geworden.”<sup>90</sup> The roofer’s force will now be redirected. Instead of picking up his hammer again, he will join the service and switch the hammer for a rifle. In this short paragraph, ‘Handwerk’ is being transformed into ‘Kriegshandwerk,’ which in turn would become *Arbeit*, once the war had started. That the latter quickly became an umbrella term for all of the military

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 57.

<sup>89</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Kriegsausbruch 1914.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Der Erste Weltkrieg. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 539-545. Here: 542.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* (my emphasis)

services and service is indirectly mentioned by Jünger when he quotes his lieutenant-colonel's speech on New Years Eve 1915: "3 Hurras auf S.M. [His Majesty] (für den wir arbeiten, leben und wenn es sein muß auch sterben)."<sup>91</sup> Not only does 'work' replace the original designation of the soldier's task – viz. to 'fight,' or, more broadly speaking, 'service' – in this enumeration, but it also takes the prominent first position, thus highlighting its prominence as well as its semantic reach. Correspondingly, Jünger will from now on omit "Krieg" when referring to soldiering and instead only mention the latter part of the compound: "Handwerk."<sup>92</sup> It is clear that "Krieg" is, given the circumstances, inherent to the "Handwerk" – as much as the "Tod" is inherent to the "Tanz" – but it once more emphasizes the newly acquired work-character of war.

In May 1916, Jünger then participates in a training course that is thought to teach further "Kenntnisse des Handwerks."<sup>93</sup> During this seminar, the participants visit "die wirtschaftlichen Anlagen der 111. Inf.-Div."<sup>94</sup> And as a result of this course, Jünger will eventually gain a different perspective on the war effort in general and on the all-encompassing – viz. total – character of work in particular, which will have a lasting effect on his thought. Almost surprised, he notes to himself: "Dieser Ausflug hat mir doch gezeigt, wie viele [sic!] Arbeit hinter dem Rücken der kämpfenden Truppe geleistet wird."<sup>95</sup> In the following paragraph, I will now trace how this and other impressions are turned into expression. Or, put differently, I will discuss how Jünger's receptivity – viz.

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<sup>91</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 72.

<sup>92</sup> E.g.: Ibid. 100.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. 106.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid. 107f.

passivity – is always already the basis and starting point for the encounters he is looking for; viz. activity.

## §2

### The Background of Jüngerian “Plötzlichkeit” – A Revision of Karl Heinz Bohrer’s *Ästhetik des Schreckens*

On June 15<sup>th</sup>, 1916, during a training course in Croiselles, Ernst Jünger writes in his diary: “Machten großen Ausritt zwecks taktischer Besprechung.”<sup>96</sup> And he adds on the following day: “etwas in Taktik aufgefasst.”<sup>97</sup> After some 18 rather meticulously recorded months on the western front, those are the first two times that Jünger mentions tactics in his *Kriegstagebuch*. As stated earlier, 1916 shall become a decisive year for his thought in general as well as for his conceptualizations of the *Frontsoldat/Arbeiter* in particular. The tactical changes he observes combined with his first-hand experiences during this and the following years play a crucial role in the process.

Jünger summarizes the outcome of one of the major tactical changes on the western front of 1916 from the perspective of the infantry by highlighting its epochal character in just one sentence: “Wir modernen Kriegsleute kennen solches Artilleriefeuer im freien Gelände fast gar nicht, uns naht der Tod nur in finsternen Erdhöhlen.”<sup>98</sup> This active encounter of a shelling in the open field that Jünger is referring to as opposed to

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<sup>96</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 118.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid. 136.

passively enduring it in the depth of the trenches supposedly changes the basic attitude of the warrior towards battle. Jünger describes the latter – viz. the familiar anticipatory experience in the trenches – by allegorically employing the hammer-symbol once more: “Es ist als ob man angebunden ist und ein Kerl will einem mit einem Hammer auf den Kopf schlagen, öfters holt er aus und bedroht einen bald mehr bald weniger.”<sup>99</sup> This is a perfect example for the ever-lasting anticipatory character of fear that goes along with enduring the incessant artillery bombardments in the trenches. Karl Heinz Bohrer thus aptly defines the emergence of fear with reference to Sigmund Freud as the anticipation of something terrible associated with the uncertainty regarding the moment of its actual occurrence.<sup>100</sup> By contrast, Jünger describes the former experience in the following way: “Wenn man so vorwärts laufen kann, dann fällt jede Angst vor der Artilleriewirkung fort, der Geist ist beschäftigt und ein Gefühl der Überlegenheit macht einen vollständig sicher.”<sup>101</sup> Once fear is eliminated, the temporal aspect is reduced to the moment of suddenness based on activity. And although Bohrer seminally systematizes those aspects of Jüngerian ‘Plötzlichkeit’ as an aesthetic category that are based on anticipation by freeing the *factum brutum* from its ‘wirkungsästhetischen’ limitations, thus bestowing *phobos* – as the signum of modern literature – with its own aesthetic qualities, his conceptualizations remain in a sphere of passivity.<sup>102</sup> Consequently, I want to go beyond

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid. 138.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Bohrer, Karl Heinz. *Die Ästhetik des Schreckens – Die pessimistische Romantik und Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. München: Carl Hanser, 1978. Print. 92.

<sup>101</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 470-595. Here: 136. Or, conversely: “Eine halbe Stunde saßen wir in ständiger Erwartung eines Volltreffers, der uns sämtlich zermalmen mußte.” (Ibid. 287.)

<sup>102</sup> The only exception being Bohrer’s systematization of Jünger’s “Tat-Anarchismus.” (cf. Bohrer, Karl Heinz. *Die Ästhetik des Schreckens – Die pessimistische Romantik und Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. München: Carl Hanser, 1978. Print. 317ff.)

Bohrer's analysis and add the moment of activity to the category of 'Plötzlichkeit' as Jünger experienced and described it. Furthermore, I take into consideration how Jünger later conceptualized and employed it, thus eventually allowing for an understanding of "literarische Tätigkeit als Kriegsmittel," as he called it in a letter to his brother in 1928.<sup>103</sup> I thus want to refer to Bohrer's *Ästhetik des Schreckens* for a modern<sup>104</sup> experience of time "im Sinne des *plötzlich* eintretenden Augenblicks,"<sup>105</sup> and elaborate on the willfully 'plötzlich *herbeigeführten* Augenblick' based on the developments in military strategy and tactics, and as Jünger translates it to his texts. The emphasis of the elaborations at hand lies accordingly not with the one who is "dem Schrecken preisgegeben" but instead on the attempt "selber Schrecken hervorzurufen,"<sup>106</sup> as Walter Benjamin puts it in his essay "Über einige Motive bei Baudelaire," which is the basis for large parts of Bohrer's elaborations regarding the moment of shock.<sup>107</sup> Put differently and with Jünger's writings and re-writings of the Weimar years in mind, the elaborations at hand are at this point not so much interested in a seismographic reading practice that is supposed to find answers to 'decisionistic' questions concerning the pre-fascist era – be they almost exclusively and decidedly poetological as with Karl Heinz Bohrer, or regarding a specific world view as

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<sup>103</sup> Ernst to F.G. Jünger on 12/30/1928. Quoted in: Berggötz, Sven Olaf. "Nachwort: Ernst Jünger und die Politik." In: *Jünger, Ernst. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. by Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 834-878. Here: 836.

<sup>104</sup> Bohrer writes: "Es ist Jüngers »Modernität«, daß er die Ereignisse des Krieges durchweg als Vorgänge formuliert, die der Reflexion oder der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung als »plötzlich« eintretende erscheinen." (Bohrer, Karl Heinz. *Die Ästhetik des Schreckens – Die pessimistische Romantik und Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. München: Carl Hanser, 1978. Print. 149.)

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.* 29.

<sup>106</sup> Benjamin, Walter. "Über einige Motive bei Baudelaire." In: *Walter Benjamin. GS I.2. Abhandlungen*. Ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991. Print. 605-653. Here: 616.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Bohrer, Karl Heinz. *Die Ästhetik des Schreckens – Die pessimistische Romantik und Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. München: Carl Hanser, 1978. Print. Esp. 190-200.

with, for example, Christian Graf von Krockow's *Die Entscheidung*<sup>108</sup> – but that tries instead to bare the roots of an aggressive aesthetic that attempts to bypass, suspend, or overcome the political altogether, by taking up position in opposition to all forms of established politics and policies. Accordingly, whilst Bohrer recognizes the aesthetic moment of *phobos* as decidedly modern, I want to emphasize the modernity of the fight against the political as it first emerges in the *Kriegstagebuch* along the lines of Carl Schmitt's following lament: "Heute ist nichts moderner als der Kampf gegen das Politische."<sup>109</sup>

At this point then, the first question has to be how exactly Jünger experienced and initially presented a war that was fought as the continuation of the political. Only once this question has been answered, it will become possible to discuss how he retrospectively – i.e. in his writings of the Weimar years – depoliticizes the perpetual war, which he conducts by means of literary production.<sup>110</sup> It is therefore crucial to trace and understand the reproducibility of the 'herbeigeführte Plötzlichkeit.' Karl Heinz Bohrer misses this because he focuses on the philosophical as well as aesthetic discourse whilst bracketing the immediate background for Jünger's 'Plötzlichkeit' – viz. the war – and because he decides to accentuate Jünger's "Momentanismus."<sup>111</sup> Bohrer does so topically with his emphasis on the "gefährliche Augenblick"<sup>112</sup> and furthers this choice

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<sup>108</sup> Cf. Graf von Krockow, Christian. *Die Entscheidung. Eine Untersuchung über Ernst Jünger, Carl Schmitt, Martin Heidegger*. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1958. Print. Here especially 44-92.

<sup>109</sup> Schmitt, Carl. *Politische Theologie. Vier Kapitel zur Lehre von der Souveränität*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2015. Print. 68.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Chapter II.

<sup>111</sup> Bohrer, Karl Heinz. *Die Ästhetik des Schreckens – Die pessimistische Romantik und Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. München: Carl Hanser, 1978. Print. 327ff.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid. 328.

structurally by disregarding the different versions of Jünger's creations.<sup>113</sup> This might well have been a methodological choice on his part, since he deliberately develops the category of "Plötzlichkeit" based on the "Augenblick in seiner Einzigartigkeit,"<sup>114</sup> as Julia Encke rightly assesses, but in disregarding the processuality of Jünger's conceptualizations, Bohrer fails to recognize the implementation of 'Plötzlichkeit' as reproducible effect.<sup>115</sup>

In order to develop such a category, and before turning to Jünger's immediate implementation of it, it is important to contextualize its origin; i.e. to understand that this active suddenness as it is found in Jünger's work stems from his particular experiences with the developments regarding the tactical proceedings during an attack and from the transformation of the relationship of man/men and machines as a result thereof. Consequently, the initial question has to be at this point: what exactly was it that changed during a war that was conducted "als die fortgesetzte Staatspolitik mit anderen Mitteln,"<sup>116</sup> and that suddenly allowed Jünger to experience a feeling of superiority on behalf of the warrior amidst an incessant bombardment by mechanized means of destruction? By answering this question, I will accordingly further solidify the basis on which I will later examine the question, how Jünger sees, employs, and produces texts as

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<sup>113</sup> The two versions of *Das abenteuerliche Herz* are an exception.

<sup>114</sup> Encke, Julia. *Augenblicke der Gefahr. Der Krieg und die Sinne*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2006. Print. 103.

<sup>115</sup> Matthias Schöning recognizes this shortcoming in his book *Versprengte Gemeinschaft*, and thus emphasizes the potential for the reproducibility of 'Plötzlichkeit' as a deployable (literary) effect, by labeling it "inszenierte Plötzlichkeit." (Schöning, Matthias. *Versprengte Gemeinschaft. Kriegsroman und intellektuelle Mobilmachung in Deutschland 1914-1933*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009. Print. 138.) By 'inszeniert,' Schöning means both, the representation of experienced 'Plötzlichkeit,' as well as the 'herbeiführen' of 'Plötzlichkeit.' Schöning concludes accordingly, and with reference to Karl Heinz Bohrer: "so zeigt sich, wie sehr die 'Ästhetik des Schreckens' im Dienst der Mobilmachung steht." (Ibid. 138) However, Schöning leaves it at this observation and does not further elaborate on the 'Herbeiführung' of 'Plötzlichkeit.'

<sup>116</sup> Clausewitz, Carl von. *Vom Kriege*. Ed. Werner Hahlweg. Bonn: Ferd. Dümmlers, 1973. Print. 179.

the means that serve him for the continuation of war. So as to answer the first question, a closer look at the (military-)historical developments from 1914-1918 is inevitable.

However, the following elaborations are neither a marked contribution to the contemporary historical discourse nor an exclusive analysis of the socio-political discussions of the time under consideration, but fundamental work that shall further an examination of the Jüngerian category of ‘Plötzlichkeit.’

When the German campaign still adhered to Carl von Clausewitz’ dictum, which determines that “jeder Stillstand im kriegerischen Akt widersinnig [erscheint],” Ernst Jünger was still in Hannover.<sup>117</sup> For the time being, Alfred von Schlieffen’s 1905 plan for a two-front war that was based on the highest possible degree of mobility and movement, thus potentially allowing for a rapid and decisive “Vernichtung der feindlichen Streitkräfte,” seemed to work out.<sup>118</sup> Following Schlieffen, any “Friktion,” as Clausewitz calls every delay in movement, which, according to him, runs counter to the logic of war, would jeopardize the relocation of the German forces from the western to the eastern front and thus the entire war-effort.<sup>119</sup> However, it was precisely the occurrence of such a moment of friction that – initially on the western front – would make it impossible to draw on almost any of the strategic or tactical means that were priorly formulated in the history of warfare and that would in turn force the German as well as the French and

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid. 202.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid. 881.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid. 261.



British military commands to rethink almost all war related events from the ground up.<sup>120</sup>

Clausewitz had already gestured towards the possibility of unforeseen developments when he writes: “Friktion ist der einzige Begriff, welcher dem ziemlich allgemein entspricht, was den wirklichen Krieg von dem auf dem Papier unterscheidet.”<sup>121</sup> And for Germany, the war on the western front was decisively different from Schlieffen’s nine years old elaborations on paper.<sup>122</sup> Before any major friction occurred, however, the German war-effort was indeed characterized by a high degree of movement and mobility that led to fast and decisive victories on the battlefields.

Upon entering Belgium, the fortress of Liège was the first site where the German army encountered serious resistance. What was initially planned as a coup de main with low to no casualties on the German side ultimately lasted from the fourth to the 16<sup>th</sup> of August.<sup>123</sup> However, this was not enough to derail the forward-movement of the German forces, and it had shown that the modern German artillery was superior to the nineteenth

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<sup>120</sup> Already Wilhelm von Scherff – a contemporary of Schlieffen – was gesturing towards a development that predicted a growing duration of every future battle: “In demselben Maße nun, wie dadurch [firearms can shoot at a distance] die Waffenwirkung sich früher zur Geltung bringen läßt, in demselben Maße erschwert sie dem Gegner die Vorwärtsbewegung und verlängert damit die Dauer des Kampfes.” (Scherff, Wilhelm von. *Die Lehre vom Kriege auf der Grundlage seiner neuzeitlichen Erscheinungsformen*. Berlin: Mittler und Sohn, 1897. Print. 11)

<sup>121</sup> Clausewitz, Carl von. *Vom Kriege*. Ed. Werner Hahlweg. Bonn: Ferd. Dummlers, 1973. Print. 262.

<sup>122</sup> Or, as Clark puts it: “The war of 1914-1918 was the absolute negation of everything that Clausewitz had stood and argued for.” (Clark, Christopher. *The Sleepwalkers. How Europe Went to War in 1914*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2014. Print. 486.) It is the same difference between the war on paper and actual war proceedings that Ernst Jünger emphasizes in his *Kriegstagebuch* on July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1918: “Am grünen Tisch läßt sich die Einnahme eines Grabenstückes gut befehlen, in der blutigen Realität des Krieges rächt sich solche Knobelei an bemalten Karten.” (Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 411.)

<sup>123</sup> Alan Kramer reads parts of the German »Rape of Belgium« as well as later campaigns as symbolic acts that would stand for Germany’s renunciation of a foreign civilization in favor of a victory at all cost that would allow for exporting German culture. The key moment and starting point of this renunciation was the destruction of the university library of Löwen. (Cf. Kramer, Alan. *Dynamic of Destruction. Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009. Print.) cf. also: “Von Belgien aus ging der Krieg der Militärs in den Kulturkrieg der Intellektuellen über.” (Leonhard, Jörn. *Die Büchse der Pandora. Geschichte des Ersten Weltkriegs*. München: C.H. Beck, 2014. Print. 165. Cf. also: Ibid. 236-247.)

century fortifications of Belgium and France. On August 21<sup>st</sup>, the German army would begin bombarding the fortress of Namur, which the Belgians surrendered only two days later. An invasion of France was now possible and the following days would show whether or not the *Schlieffen Plan* would be a success.<sup>124</sup> According to this plan, Germany would enter France with eight invading armies. The sixth, seventh, and eighth armies would attack France in the south and then fall back some 40 kilometers behind the German border, whilst the armies one through five – albeit still without him at this point; Jünger’s “Regiment 73” was part of the second army – would enter France through Luxembourg and Belgium, and then turn around and attack the French army from behind. This ‘revolving door’-approach theoretically had the advantage that the French fortifications could be circumvented, and the victory could be secured within a couple of weeks. Eventually, this approach failed. Whether that was the case because the commander of the sixth army decided to – successfully – counter a French attack, although this was not part of the *Schlieffen Plan*, and thus disabled the revolving door effect, or because the German army eventually came to a halt at the river Marne and had to retreat, has been subject to debate ever since the campaign started. For the time being however, the Germans would continue to make up ground by winning numerous battles along the frontlines. It was on August 24<sup>th</sup>, 1914 that the commander in chief of the French army, Joseph Joffre, decided to issue the command to retreat in the north and to

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<sup>124</sup> For a detailed description of the plan for the first days of the invasion of France and the individual battles, cf. Münkler, Herfried. *Der große Krieg. Die Welt 1914 bis 1918*. Berlin: Rowohlt, 2013. Print. 126ff.

momentarily change the strategy from an “offensive à outrance” to defense,<sup>125</sup> which would eventually lead to the First Battle of the Marne that marked, in the words of Clausewitz, the “Kulminationspunkt des Sieges,”<sup>126</sup> and finally stopped the German advance in the west on September 9<sup>th</sup>; only three days after the soldiers of “Regiment 73” had to entrench themselves for the first time.<sup>127</sup>

Trying to avoid the impending stagnation, the German army made one last attempt at enfilading the French, which came to be known as “Wettlauf zum Meer.” However, this attempt failed as well: “Mitte Oktober erreichten die Truppen beider Seiten die Küste, und von da an bestand eine geschlossene Front vom Ärmelkanal bis zur Schweizer Grenze.”<sup>128</sup> Given the length of this front-line, combined with the initial expectation of a short war, the following months were characterized by a supply shortfall and a decrease in public support on the home front as well as frustration and incipient fatigue on the actual front. The famous “Christmas truce” of 1914 was then not only the result of logistical problems on both sides but also a conspicuous sign that the soldiers were already war-weary, exhausted, and confused regarding the unexpected duration and the further developments of the campaign. However, the peculiar standstill of December

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<sup>125</sup> This was a crucial decision indeed, since up to this point, all military officials of the major powers would think exclusively along the lines of a strong offense. (Cf. e.g. Leonhard, Jörn. *Die Büchse der Pandora. Geschichte des Ersten Weltkriegs*. München: C.H. Beck, 2014. Print. 144f.)

<sup>126</sup> Clausewitz, Carl von. *Vom Kriege*. Ed. Werner Hahlweg. Bonn: Ferd. Dummlers, 1973. Print. 953.

<sup>127</sup> Contrary to the impending stagnation in the west, a version of Schlieffen’s strategy did work in the east. The »Cannae« at Tannenberg – For a detailed description of the proceedings incl. strategic maps, cf. Ludendorff, Erich. *Meine Kriegserinnerungen. 1914-1918*. Berlin: E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1919. Print. 32-56. – not only secured Germany’s success on the eastern front, but at the same time marked the inception of a myth that would only grow stronger throughout the years of the Weimar Republic. Tannenberg turned into a myth that, as Münkler puts it, was the “Fixpunkt eines politischen Konjunktivs,” which would become paradigmatic for the bifurcations in the retrospective assessment of the war and especially in the creation of a narrative that was dealing with Germany’s future (responsibilities). (Münkler, Herfried. *Der große Krieg. Die Welt 1914 bis 1918*. Berlin: Rowohlt, 2013. Print. 155)

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. 195.

1914 did not lead to peace negotiations, as many had expected, but would instead mark the beginning of an entirely new kind of warfare.<sup>129</sup> What had begun as a campaign that was characterized by a high degree of mobility and movement had now turned into positional warfare. In other words, the war that had begun with offensive strategies on both sides had turned into a defensive war, forcing all participants to utterly rethink strategic and tactical means almost from the ground up.<sup>130</sup> On both sides of the frontline in the west, which now had a north-south expansion of some seven hundred kilometers and would eventually amount to a total of approximately 40.000 trench-kilometers, soldiers continued to fortify the trenches that they initially started digging in November 1914. This in turn left the actual battlefield vacant for most of the time; a sight that was almost completely unknown to this day.<sup>131</sup> If an assault should happen, the casualties of the attacker were now many times higher than those of the defender; a fact that was anticipated by almost all strategists based on the evermore-increasing firepower of infantry and artillery.<sup>132</sup> Correspondingly, the number of soldiers needed in order to

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<sup>129</sup> For a contemporary analysis of the stalemate with a focus on military tactics, cf. the chapter “Entstehen und Wesen des Stellungskrieges.” (Balck. William. *Entwicklung der Taktik im Weltkrieg*. Berlin: R. Eisenschmidt, 1922. Print. 73ff.)

<sup>130</sup> Rethinking strategy and tactics in favor of a defensive approach was more characteristic for Germany than for France and England. The latter two would continue to develop offensive plans with the goal to break through the German defensive system and to force a decisive battle behind the German lines.

<sup>131</sup> Indeed, the trenches and further behind them the artillery could only be seen from an aerial perspective. Thus, aerial reconnaissance became one of many new strategic and tactical devices of the First War. Schlieffen anticipated not only the increased length of the frontlines, but also the vacancy of the battlefield: “So groß aber auch die Schlachtfelder sein mögen, so wenig werden sie dem Auge bieten. Nichts ist auf der weiten Öde zu sehen.” (Schlieffen, Graf Alfred von. “Der Krieg der Gegenwart.” In: *Generalfeldmarschall Graf Alfred von Schlieffen. Gesammelte Schriften. Bd. 1*. Berlin: Mittler und Sohn, 1913. Print. 11-22. Here: 15.)

<sup>132</sup> Already prior to the war, Schlieffen noted this fact – albeit in the past tense – in his essay “Der Krieg der Gegenwart” and he concludes: “Eine völlige Änderung der Taktik stellte sich als notwendig heraus.” (Ibid. 12) For a detailed account regarding the anticipation of a superior defense, cf. chapters 2, 3, 9, and 10 from Linnenkohl, Hans. *Vom Einzelschuß zur Feuerwalze. Der Wettlauf zwischen Technik und Taktik im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Koblenz: Bernard & Graefe, 1990. Print.

defend and hold a position was now significantly lower than before. Breaking through enemy lines had, for the time being, become virtually impossible and the stalemate was sealed.<sup>133</sup> Germany's encirclement had materialized in form of a system of trenches that stretched in the east and the west from north to south for several thousand kilometers in multiple lines.

This was then the situation that Ernst Jünger would be confronted with upon joining the troops in the front lines on New Years Day 1915. Up to this point, he would gather his information about the quick forward movement of the German armies from the newspapers and through official military channels on his home base. However, the former as well as all the others involved in the public discourse now had to change the narrative decisively; away from the promise of a swift victory and toward a call for social cohesion that would eventually turn into propagandistic rallying calls. Ernst Toller summarizes the insurmountable differences between the experienced reality at the actual front and the fabricated myths at the home front in one sentence in the chapter "Die Front" from his book *Eine Jugend in Deutschland*: "Dabei ist diese Volksstimmung in der Heimat gezüchtet, die Frontsoldaten spucken darauf."<sup>134</sup> On the other hand, the military officials were forced to rethink war-related events and almost all tactical

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<sup>133</sup> Cf. Münkler: "Der Fehlschlag der französischen Offensiven hätte ihnen verdeutlichen müssen, dass Frontalangriffe auf gut ausgebaute Stellungssysteme ungeheure Verluste mit sich brachten, ein strategischer Durchbruch aber eigentlich unmöglich war. Da ein Angriff selbst im Fall eines Durchbruchs nicht schnell genug an Tiefe gewann, konnten die Verteidiger die Einbruchsstelle abriegeln und die in die Front geschlagene Lücke wieder schließen. [...] Man kann daher für die Westfront von einem Abdanken der Strategie bei einer permanenten Optimierung der Taktik sprechen." (Münkler, Herfried. *Der große Krieg. Die Welt 1914 bis 1918*. Berlin: Rowohlt, 2013. Print. 310)

<sup>134</sup> Toller, Ernst. *Eine Jugend in Deutschland*. Hamburg: Rohwolt, 2014. Print. 50. Franz Schauwecker – as well as numerous other writers of war-literature – similarly observes in *Aufbruch der Nation*: "Konnte man sich mit ihnen [den zu Hause gebliebenen] verständigen? War da noch eine Gemeinsamkeit?" (Schauwecker, Franz. *Aufbruch der Nation*. Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1930. Print. 156)

schemes. The stagnation and everything it entailed had rendered parts of the military – such as the cavalry<sup>135</sup> – more or less redundant. Additionally, it made it possible to free forces that were priorly needed in the defensive line, thus allowing for the creation of (entirely) new units such as shock troops.<sup>136</sup> Finding new tactical means so as to regain movement was now the highest priority. In order to break through enemy lines, new formations such as assault troops were created, the proceedings of artillery as well as infantry had to be revised, the communication and collaboration of both branches had to be improved, aerial reconnaissance with planes and captive balloons grew more important, and lastly, light metering, sound ranging, as well as meteorological data gained more and more significance. All these changes played a major role in the public discourse during the war and would later shape the retrospective approach to it. Here too, just as with Jünger’s personal experience, the year 1916 is of crucial significance.

At the end of the year, Friedrich Meinecke identifies a caesura in the war proceedings in his essay “Der Rhythmus des Weltkriegs,” which was first published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* on New Years Eve of 1916. The question he raises is whether the war will now find a peaceful end, or if a “furchtbarste Steigerung

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<sup>135</sup> The horses were needed for the train, pilots would take over the reconnaissance from the cavalry, and cavalrymen were redistributed to other units. In his dystopian post-War retrospect *Gläserne Bienen* from 1957/1963, Jünger will once more reflect on the demise of the cavalry and eventually contrast it with the mechanical work in the tanks: “Doch sahen wir [Reiter] keine Gegner mehr. Wir wurden von unsichtbaren Schützen aus großer Entfernung aufs Korn genommen und aus dem Sattel geholt. Wenn wir sie erreichten, fanden wir sie in Drähte eingesponnen, die den Pferden die Fesseln zerschnitten und über die kein Sprung hinwegführte. Das war das Ende der Reiterei.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Gläserne Bienen.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Erzählungen. SW 18. Erzählende Schriften I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 421-559. Here: 462.) Regarding the work in the tanks, he writes: “Es war heiße Maschinenarbeit, unsichtbar, ruhmlos und immer von der Aussicht auf den Feuertod begleitet.” (Ibid. 462f.)

<sup>136</sup> Some of the forces were also transferred from the western to the eastern front.

des Kampfes” is to be expected.<sup>137</sup> Before analyzing future perspectives, however, he recounts what had happened thus far. Initially, he therefore revisits the consequence of the First Battle of the Marne – viz. trench warfare – before turning to the “Geheimnis des Durchbruchs:”

Man versuchte es mit dem gewaltsamen Durchbruch durch die Stellungen. Er mißlang uns an der Yser, an der Bzura und Rawka, er mißlang aber auch den Franzosen in der Champagne. Schon kam bei uns hier und da die Meinung auf, daß moderne Stellungen überhaupt nicht zu durchbrechen seien, daß der Krieg am Ende noch auf eine moderne Ermattungsstrategie hinauslaufe. Da entdeckten wir, wieder als die ersten, das Geheimnis des Durchbruchs, und die Schlacht von Tarnow-Gorlice vom 2. Mai 1915 öffnete die Bahn zur großartigsten, Galizien, Polen, Litauen und Kurland erobernden Bewegungsstrategie mit operierenden, marschierenden, Schlachten schlagenden, Festungen stürmenden Massenheeren – um schließlich wieder, bis auf weiteres, gehindert durch die Weiträumigkeit Osteuropas, in der Sicherung des Eroberten durch weitgedehnten Stellungsgürtel zu enden.<sup>138</sup>

The first thing that catches the eye is that his narrative started on the western front and then takes a turn to Tarnów-Gorlice in the east. The reason for this turn is apparently the discovery of a secret.<sup>139</sup> However, this allegedly newly found and applied “Durchbruchstaktik” was not readily translatable to the western front. Here, Meinecke assesses, a decision had to be forced by other means: “nicht im alten Sinne auf Durchbruch und Aufrollung des feindlichen Widerstandes zielend [...] sondern eine Entscheidung, die mehr den temperierenden Erfahrungen des Stellungskampfs [...] angepaßt ist, – indem wir nämlich an einer besonders kritischen Stelle *einbrächen*.”<sup>140</sup>

The sites that Meinecke is referring to at this point are Verdun – which is a crucial

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<sup>137</sup> Meinecke, Friedrich. “Der Rhythmus des Weltkrieges.” In: *Friedrich Meinecke. Politische Reden und Schriften*. Ed. Georg Kotowski. Darmstadt: Siegfried Toeche-Mittler Verlag, 1958. Print. 137-143. Here: 137.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid. 139.

<sup>139</sup> Meinecke is using the word “secret” somewhat inflationary, since – just a few lines before the above quoted sentences – he also refers to the trench warfare as a secret. (cf. Ibid. 138)

<sup>140</sup> Meinecke, Friedrich. “Der Rhythmus des Weltkrieges.” In: *Friedrich Meinecke. Politische Reden und Schriften*. Ed. Georg Kotowski. Darmstadt: Siegfried Toeche-Mittler Verlag, 1958. Print. 137-143. Here: 139f.

marker for Ernst Jünger's conceptualizations<sup>141</sup> – and the Somme, which is the site of Jünger's first-hand experiences; the latter is immediately interesting for the context at hand because Jünger directly participated in the campaign that lasted from June to September 1916, and the former because the necessary coordination of both campaigns and the magnitude of each undertaking is an exemplary aspect of the increasing totality of war. Taken together, these two battles are the moment where Jünger locates “eine neue Besinnung des Menschen der Materie gegenüber.”<sup>142</sup> The numerous efforts undertaken to break in at Verdun and the Battle of Verdun as a whole was an operation – primarily important because of the symbolic implications<sup>143</sup> – that altogether lasted ten months, during which the number of wounded, captured, and fallen soldiers amounts to a total of approximately 700.000, and that led neither to territorial gain nor to peace negotiations.<sup>144</sup> Retrospectively, Erich Ludendorff – who, after the battles of the Somme and Verdun, replaced Erich von Falkenhayn on August 28<sup>th</sup> together with Paul von Hindenburg as commander-in-chief – would refer to the repercussions of Verdun as “ein

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<sup>141</sup> In his literary publications following *In Stahlgewittern*, Jünger will broaden his perspective, which allows him to strengthen a narrative that postulates Verdun as the beginning of modernity; e.g.: “als mit der Verdun-Offensive die Reihe der großen Materialschlachten begann.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 301-438. Here: 316.)

<sup>142</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 367-485 Here: 381.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. e.g. Leonhard, Jörn. *Die Büchse der Pandora. Geschichte des Ersten Weltkriegs*. München: C.H. Beck, 2014. Print. 438.

<sup>144</sup> As Johnson points out, the hope was “to maul the French army by forcing it to defend Verdun and Belfort with all its resources. Failing to achieve that goal, the French army would suffer such a severe defeat that the government might be forced to sue for peace. With French capitulation, Falkenhayn assumed the English would also quit.” (Johnson, Hubert C. *Breakthrough! Tactics, Technology, and the Search for Victory on the Western Front in World War I*. Novato: Presidio Press, 1994. Print. 94)

As a point of reference, the casualties of the Battle of the Somme totaled approximately 1.9 million British, German, and French soldiers combined. (Cf. Kiesel, Helmuth. “Kommentar.” In: Ernst Jünger. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 470-595. Here: 513.)



offenes, Kraft fressendes Geschwür.”<sup>145</sup> Given the experiences gathered in Verdun and at the Somme, Friedrich Meinecke then concludes that the defeat of the enemy in one decisive battle can no longer be the goal, given the continuous back and forth between trench warfare, stalemate, and breakthrough attempts, combined with the experience that the echelon of trench systems made a breakthrough virtually impossible. Instead, he proclaims: “*Gleichgewicht* heißt die politische Losung der Zukunft.”<sup>146</sup> What Meinecke means by ‘*Gleichgewicht*’ is by no means to be understood as diplomatic equilibrium but as an appeal to counterbalance the enemy forces on the western front with regards to the production of material and the number of deployed troops. Accordingly, as his later written afterword that was first printed in 1917 shows, the political would keep on depending upon “die Unterscheidung von *Freund* und *Feind*,”<sup>147</sup> and it would furthermore be continued by other than diplomatic means. Meinecke’s ‘*Gleichgewicht*’ is thus to be read as a synonym for attrition warfare at this point. Nevertheless, the development of offensive means was still in balance with the growing experience in building better and better defensive systems. Meinecke’s conclusion thus had to be: “[wir mußten] neue, schärfere Waffen hervorholen.”<sup>148</sup> The events of the war would continue

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<sup>145</sup> Ludendorff, Erich. *Meine Kriegserinnerungen. 1914-1918*. Berlin: E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1919. Print. 210.

<sup>146</sup> What Meinecke means, when he says ‘*Gleichgewicht*’ is by no means a gesture towards a *Verständigungsfriede*. He is much more following Falkenhayn’s idea of ‘verbluten’, ‘weißbluten’, or ‘ausbluten’ – i.e. an *Ermattungsstrategie* – albeit that his phrasing is less martial. Cf. Meinecke, Friedrich. “Der Rhythmus des Weltkrieges.” In: *Friedrich Meinecke. Politische Reden und Schriften*. Ed. Georg Kotowski. Darmstadt: Siegfried Toeche-Mittler Verlag, 1958. Print. 137-143. Here: 142.

<sup>147</sup> Schmitt, Carl. *Der Begriff des Politischen*. Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 2015. Print. 25.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. Meinecke, Friedrich. “Der Rhythmus des Weltkrieges.” In: *Friedrich Meinecke. Politische Reden und Schriften*. Ed. Georg Kotowski. Darmstadt: Siegfried Toeche-Mittler Verlag, 1958. Print. 137-143. Here: 143. Indeed, the technological and tactical developments of most years of the war were very much adapted to trench warfare. Inventions such as the flamethrower, gas-warfare, fixed machine-gun emplacements, heavy armor suits, howitzers, and mortars – to only name a few – as well as sophisticated

to oscillate between the everyday in the trenches and breakthrough attempts that – after the successful battle of Gorlice-Tarnów in May 1915<sup>149</sup> – however, would no longer lead to decisive victories or significant territorial gains. And, if a breakthrough did occur, it could only rarely be lastingly exploited. The war proceeded as ‘rhythmically’ as it did since the First Battle of the Marne. That said, trench warfare was at all times seen as a necessary evil, whereas the breakthrough kept on promising a return to mobile warfare, which was still seen as the basis for the ultimate victory. Part of the reason why the ‘Geheimnis des Durchbruchs’ became a crucial piece of the German war-narrative and a point of contention after 1918 is the fact that the campaign following the breakthrough battle of Gorlice-Tarnów was the greatest and most decisive victory the German army would achieve throughout the entire war.<sup>150</sup> During the war, the recurring promise that such a breakthrough could be reproduced by means of inner unity, the willingness to make sacrifices, and the wholehearted trust in the German cause, was supposed to guarantee the perseverance of the soldiers on the front and of the civilians at home.

To begin with, Friedrich Meinecke’s characterization of the breakthrough as a secret – whilst, with his audience in mind, is rhetorically justified – is certainly a factual overstatement.<sup>151</sup> It was much more the rediscovery of a means that had been neglected

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fortification systems and new tactical schemes for artillery barrages were in their current form not suitable for mobile warfare.

<sup>149</sup> As Ludendorff reports in the chapter “Der Sommerfeldzug gegen Rußland 1915,” attempts at enveloping the opponent failed on multiple occasions due to the distances that had to be covered and concomitantly the fatigue of the soldiers as well as due to the ensuing logistical problems. Accordingly, the strategic considerations would henceforth largely favor breakthrough tactics and strategies. (Ludendorff, Erich. *Meine Kriegserinnerungen. 1914-1918*. Berlin: E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1919. Print. 107-132.)

<sup>150</sup> Münkler, Herfried. *Der große Krieg. Die Welt 1914 bis 1918*. Berlin: Rowohlt, 2013. Print. 348.

<sup>151</sup> Accordingly, Franz Rosenzweig will contradict his former teacher in his essay “Cannä und Gorlice. Eine Erörterung des strategischen Raumbegriffs.” He writes regarding the rediscovery of the breakthrough: “Nicht der Gedanke des Durchbruchs an sich ist das Überraschende. Daß aus der absoluten strategischen

because it was not deemed to be adequate anymore given the means of modern warfare. Accordingly, Wilhelm von Scherff, who was a contemporary of Schlieffen and general of the infantry, observes in his book *Die Lehre vom Kriege* from 1897: “Namentlich den heutigen weittragenden Waffen gegenüber verdient die Wahl dieser Angriffsrichtung [i.e. Stoß gegen den feindlichen Flügel] jedenfalls den Vorzug vor der einst als ‘taktischer Durchbruch’ beliebten Führung des Entscheidungsstoßes auf ein Mittelstück der feindlichen Front.”<sup>152</sup> This was the prevailing opinion of “geradezu dogmatische[r] Geltung,”<sup>153</sup> as Franz Rosenzweig put it in his short essay “Cannä und Gorlice,” of almost all German military officials at the time leading up to and in parts during the war, including Schlieffen, who consequently devised his 1905 plan based on the idea of envelopment.<sup>154</sup>

Before returning to the moment of ‘herbeigeführte *Plötzlichkeit*,’ the question at this point has to be: what exactly forced the military officials to rethink their approach, thus allowing for the ‘discovery of the breakthrough?’ Given the delineations above regarding the stalemate, the length as well as depth of the entire frontline, and regarding the increasingly strong fortifications of the sectors in combination with machine-gun

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Erstarrung des Stellungskrieges der Durchbruch allein irgendwie herausführen könne, lag auf der Hand.” (Rosenzweig, Franz. “Cannä und Gorlice. Eine Erörterung des strategischen Raumbegriffs.” In: *Franz Rosenzweig. Zweistromland – Kleinere Schriften zu Glauben und Denken. Gesammelte Schriften III*. Ed. Reinhold and Annemarie Mayer. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publ., 1984. Print. 283-296. Here: 290.)

<sup>152</sup> Scherff, Wilhelm von. *Die Lehre vom Kriege auf der Grundlage seiner neuzeitlichen Erscheinungsformen*. Berlin: Mittler und Sohn, 1897. Print. 61.

<sup>153</sup> Rosenzweig, Franz. “Cannä und Gorlice. Eine Erörterung des strategischen Raumbegriffs.” In: *Franz Rosenzweig. Zweistromland – Kleinere Schriften zu Glauben und Denken. Gesammelte Schriften III*. Ed. Reinhold and Annemarie Mayer. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publ., 1984. Print. 283-296. Here: 283.

<sup>154</sup> This already began to change, when Falkenhayn succeeded Moltke d.J. as Chief of the General Staff on September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1914: „Da er mehrere Jahre als Militärattaché in China zugebracht hatte, war Falkenhayn nicht in der Schlieffen’schen Schule des Umfassungsgedankens sozialisiert worden und hielt den Durchbruch daher für aussichtsreicher als die Umfassung.“ (Münkler, Herfried. *Der große Krieg. Die Welt 1914 bis 1918*. Berlin: Rowohlt, 2013. Print. 197.)

emplacements that, taken together, led to a structural advantage of the defense over the offense, the answer to this question is quite obvious. At the western front, enveloping the opponent has become virtually impossible; the only means to regain a certain degree of movement based on mobility thus had to be a breakthrough.<sup>155</sup> However, in order to achieve a breakthrough, new tactics had to be devised based on the improvement of the collaboration and communication between – as well as the quantities and firepower of – infantry, artillery, battle-planes, and aerial reconnaissance units.<sup>156</sup> Ludendorff recognized that the tactical proceedings of the artillery would be crucial for any future breakthrough attempt and Georg Bruchmüller would devise a new line of action accordingly.<sup>157</sup> In his retrospective and ideologically heavily charged account of the *Durchbruchschlachten des Ersten Weltkriegs*, Bruchmüller – who was tellingly referred to as “Durchbruchmüller” – gives a detailed account of the operative principles and the importance of the artillery during decisive battles of the Great War in order to answer to the question “wie der Durchbruch durch das feindliche Stellungssystem ermöglicht worden ist.”<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Cf. “An der Westfront waren offene Flanken vom Spätherbst 1914 ab nicht mehr vorhanden.” Accordingly, the goal had to be, “eine offene Flanke durch den Durchbruch zu schaffen.” (Balck, William. *Entwicklung der Taktik im Weltkriege*. Berlin: R. Eisenschmidt, 1922. Print. 22.)

<sup>156</sup> Furthermore, the interplay within certain services such as field artillery and heavy / foot artillery had to be revised. I will return to these revisions in the context of Jünger’s elaborations regarding said issue. For a detailed account from a strictly militaristic point of view, cf. e.g. Bruchmüller, Georg. *Die deutsche Artillerie in den Durchbruchschlachten des Weltkrieges*. Berlin: E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1922. Print.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Ludendorff, Erich. *Meine Kriegserinnerungen. 1914-1918*. Berlin: E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1919. Print. 211.

<sup>158</sup> Bruchmüller analyzes the battles that he was participating in as commander of the artillery. This means that the famous breakthrough-battle of Gorlice-Tarnów is not part of his elaborations. However, at this point, only the operative principles are of significant importance. I will therefore continue to focus on the western front; in particular on the (failed) “Michael”-Offensive of 1918, which was the largest offensive undertaking of the German army during the entire war.

First and foremost, the artillery kept its preparatory function. But its supporting task during the infantry attack gained more significance; i.e. it would first bombard enemy emplacements, in order to allow the assault troops to break into and then through the enemy trenches, whilst protecting the moving troops.<sup>159</sup> The initial bombardment prior to a major attack would approximately last from three to nine hours and could be extended to a drumfire that would last for several days.<sup>160</sup> In case of a smaller assault, as Jünger reports in his diaries from the battle of Flanders in July 1917 for the first time in more detail and simultaneously with the initial gesture toward an anticipated *Plötzlichkeit*, this preparatory shelling could turn out to be much shorter: “Um 10<sup>30</sup> fing unser Trommelfeuer an 10<sup>50</sup> soll der Sturm sein.”<sup>161</sup> Or: “Kolossaler Minen und Art[illerie]-Überfall auf feindliche Gräben. Nach 5 Minuten geht es los.”<sup>162</sup> Whilst the initial artillery bombardments get ever shorter, the element of surprise gains more and more significance. Linnenkohl observes accordingly: “Man kann sich vorstellen, daß die Überraschung perfekt sein würde, wenn es gelänge, ganz ohne Einschießen auszukommen.”<sup>163</sup> On 23 September 1917, Jünger paradigmatically describes the exact proceedings of a – albeit failed – patrol that is based on said element of surprise as a result of the sudden preparatory shelling: “Punkt 5 setzte schlagartig unser Minen- und

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<sup>159</sup> For an exact arrangement of all groups and sub-groups of the artillery, cf. Bruchmüller, Georg. *Die deutsche Artillerie in den Durchbruchschlachten des Weltkrieges*. Berlin: E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1922. Print. 55-58.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. table 10 in Linnenkohl, Hans. *Vom Einzelschuß zur Feuerwalze. Der Wettlauf zwischen Technik und Taktik im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Koblenz: Bernard & Graefe, 1990. Print. 270.

<sup>161</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 286.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.* 316.

<sup>163</sup> Linnenkohl, Hans. *Vom Einzelschuß zur Feuerwalze. Der Wettlauf zwischen Technik und Taktik im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Koblenz: Bernard & Graefe, 1990. Print. 277.

Art[illerie]-Feuer ein.”<sup>164</sup> Especially for the reconnaissance and small-scale engagement patrols that Jünger would mostly lead, the success or failure of a mission often depended on the sudden insertion of the artillery fire followed by the charging storm troops that were supposed to enter the trenches the second the bombardment would stop or, more precisely, move onward. Particularly for larger undertakings, the artillery would – in addition to the preparation – also have the task to protect the forward moving soldiers. In this case, the artillery would move its fire further towards the inner lines of the enemy trench system once the assault troops would charge forward. The steps that the artillery would then follow were implemented according to a predetermined time-schedule<sup>165</sup> and without skipping the no-man’s-land – viz. the “Feuerwalze,” “barrage roulant,” or “creeping barrage” – thus allowing the infantry to proceed behind a screen.<sup>166</sup> For a successful breakthrough this bombardment had to be carried through all the lines of the enemy emplacements.<sup>167</sup> Due to the depth of the enemy’s defensive systems, such an attack could no longer be successfully conducted in just one day but had to be planned in a number of phases. Bruchmüller was an advocate of the Pulkowski-Method,<sup>168</sup> which is based on predicted fire – i.e. no zeroing in in order to avoid any suspicion and ensuing countermeasures; instead, time-tables based on meteorological, reconnaissance, and other

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<sup>164</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 318.

<sup>165</sup> “Sie [die Feuerwalze] wanderte anfänglich etwa 100 m in 2 Minuten [later 4 to five minutes; cf. 273] in Angriffsrichtung weiter.” (Linnenkohl, Hans. *Vom Einzelschuß zur Feuerwalze. Der Wettlauf zwischen Technik und Taktik im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Koblenz: Bernard & Graefe, 1990. Print. 272)

<sup>166</sup> For an account of the proceedings behind the ‘Feuerwalze’ from the perspective of the individual infantry soldier, cf. chapter seven of Ernst Jünger’s *Feuer und Blut*. (Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 501-519.)

<sup>167</sup> Cf. Bruchmüller, Georg. *Die deutsche Artillerie in den Durchbruchschlachten des Weltkrieges*. Berlin: E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1922. Print. 71.

<sup>168</sup> For an exact description of this method, cf. *Ibid.*: 92-103.

data would be devised in advance whilst taking into account so called “Besondere Einflüsse”<sup>169</sup> – thus allowing for a sudden attack to ensure the element of surprise, combined with the coordinated conflation of all artillery activity.<sup>170</sup> In order to capitalize on this crucial moment of surprise, the infantry had to be briefed regarding the exact proceedings of the artillery. Bruchmüller notes accordingly: “Der Infanterie mußte unbedingtes Vertrauen zur Artillerie eingeflößt werden. Sie mußte die Überzeugung gewinnen, daß das beabsichtigte Artilleriefeuer von vernichtender Wirkung sein würde.”<sup>171</sup> Only, if all parts of the army would be exactly choreographed and function in perfect synchronicity, a breakthrough could potentially be achieved. As Meinecke pointed out, such breakthroughs did happen and at times led to temporary movement but never actually to mobile warfare. However, the situation on the western front could, for a variety of reasons,<sup>172</sup> not as readily be compared with the one in the east, as Meinecke tries to convey. Alluding to the differences between the eastern and the western front, Jünger laconically notes in his *Kriegstagebuch* on June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1916: “Ja, ja, der Westen!

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<sup>169</sup> Linnenkohl, Hans. *Vom Einzelschuß zur Feuerwalze. Der Wettlauf zwischen Technik und Taktik im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Koblenz: Bernard & Graefe, 1990. Print. 278.

<sup>170</sup> According to Bruchmüller, utmost secrecy is one of the key elements of a successful breakthrough attempt. Accordingly, he sees treason as one of the main reasons if an attempt would fail. (Cf. Bruchmüller, Georg. *Die deutsche Artillerie in den Durchbruchschlachten des Weltkrieges*. Berlin: E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1922. Print. 40, 86.) The entire method as such was based on a vast input of data prior to the first shot: “Fehlerfreies Planmaterial sowie trigonometrische und topographische Festlegung aller Batterie-Nullpunkte im Gelände und eine möglichst richtige Eintragung aller Ziele in die Pläne auf Grund der Bilderkundung und der Ergebnisse der Schall- und Lichtmeßtrupps waren Vorbedingung.“ (Ludendorff, Erich. *Meine Kriegserinnerungen. 1914-1918*. Berlin: E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1919. Print. 464)

<sup>171</sup> The instruction of the infantry before and the communication between infantry and artillery during the battle often led to friction. In comparing Bruchmüller’s deliberations (cf. Bruchmüller, Georg. *Die deutsche Artillerie in den Durchbruchschlachten des Weltkrieges*. Berlin: E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1922. Print. Esp. 44-50.) and Ernst Jüngers *Kriegstagebuch* (most strikingly, his notes on the last German offensive – e.g.: “die Kerls hinten kannten keine Parteien mehr” (Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 418)), this can be traced paradigmatically.

<sup>172</sup> One such reason was the vulnerability of the German defense to a counterattack, after the occupation of an enemy trench that was almost utterly destroyed by the preparatory artillery fire.

Wenn's da kracht, dann kracht's etwas andern [sic!] als im Osten."<sup>173</sup> Furthermore, the German breakthroughs were almost always countered by the French or British, thus reestablishing the front more or less where it had been before an offensive.<sup>174</sup>

Nevertheless, the theoretical potential to move the frontlines by breaking through enemy fortifications and to ultimately defeat the enemy in the west had to be based on the idea of a coordinated sudden attack of artillery and infantry together. This idea eventually gained traction during the last months of 1917 and would lead to the major German offensives of 1918. Not only the Clausewitzian demand for a complete "Vernichtung der feindlichen Streitkräfte"<sup>175</sup> – as opposed to a mere "Raumgewinn"<sup>176</sup> – but also the basic idea of enveloping the enemy from the Schlieffenplan to support a successful breakthrough reemerged during those last months of the war. Jünger observes this change prior to the "Michaeloffensive." In January 1918, he notes: "Hier [Gouy] sollen wir ungefähr 6 Wochen liegen bleiben und uns für die Aufgaben der künftigen Offensiven schulen. Es wird auch wieder besonderer Wert auf lange vergessene Sachen wie Schützengefecht und andere Formen des Bewegungskrieges Gelegt [sic!]."<sup>177</sup> This means that especially the last months of the war would be characterized by a heightened and increasingly desperate attempt to overcome the continual attrition warfare based on a new offensive scheme. In a word, it was the perfect coordination of men and machine, i.e. first

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<sup>173</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 140.

<sup>174</sup> The same is true of breakthrough attempts of the Allies, such as the *Flanderschlacht* of 1917.

<sup>175</sup> Clausewitz, Carl von. *Vom Kriege*. Ed. Werner Hahlweg. Bonn: Ferd. Dummlers, 1973. Print. 881.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 362. Cf. also: Ibid. 366, 369. For a description regarding the development of infantry tactics from 1914-1918, and especially regarding the change from "Schützenlinie" to "Schützenkette," cf.: Linnenkohl, Hans. *Vom Einzelschuß zur Feuerwalze. Der Wettlauf zwischen Technik und Taktik im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Koblenz: Bernard & Graefe, 1990. Print. 209-215.



the devastating artillery bombardment according to the Pulkowski-Bruchmüller-method followed by the “Feuerwalze” in conjunction with the charging storm-troops that would make a lasting impression on Jünger.<sup>178</sup>

The general scope of Ernst Jünger’s experience was obviously far more immediate than that of the delineations above, but his understanding of a ‘plötzlich herbeigeführten Augenblick’ has to be understood as a direct result of his experiences with the element of surprise from the Pulkowski-Bruchmüller-method and his above-mentioned feeling of superiority during the moments when a fight between two ‘Krieger’ finally occurred.<sup>179</sup> Taken together, these experiences will eventually lead to a conceptualization of the *Frontsoldat/Krieger/Arbeiter* as well as to the elaborations regarding the relationship of man/men and machine, which Jünger both anchors in the “Feuerwalze” followed by single combat. In his diary, both aspects are formulated most poignantly in his accounts of March 1918, when the German artillery refrained from any zeroing, so as to ensure the element of surprise: “Was wir nicht gewagt hatten, zu hoffen, geschah: die fdl. [enemy] Art.[illery] war so *überrascht*, daß sie kaum mit einem Schusse zur Antwort kam. [...] Leute liefen herum mit strahlenden, freudigen Gesichtern, wie ich sie nie sonst im Graben gesehen hatte und schriegen sich freudige Bemerkungen über das

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<sup>178</sup> In *Feuer und Blut*, Jünger will observe: “Selbst in der Feuerwalze, die als eiserne Wand dem Menschen voranrollen soll, spricht sich noch der Geist des Stellungskrieges aus. Die Masse ist beweglicher gemacht, aber das ist nicht genug.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 455.) Part of what Jünger will be thinking and writing about during the Weimar years is accordingly an ever-higher degree of movement and mobility as basis for success.

<sup>179</sup> Jürgen Brokoff makes a similar observation in his book *Die Apokalypse in Weimar* with reference to Jünger’s *In Stahlgewittern*, albeit without taking it any further. He writes: “Während aber hier [Artilleriebombardement] das passive Ausgeliefertsein an eine lebensbedrohliche Situation vorherrschend ist, findet der unmittelbare Kampf Mann gegen Mann in »Momenten«, in »Augenblicken« oder sogar in »Bruchteilen von Sekunden« statt, die als zeitliche Ausnahmesituation von den Kämpfenden selbst herbeigeführt werden.” (Brokoff, Jürgen. *Die Apokalypse in der Weimarer Republik*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2001. Print. 10.)

vernichtende Feuer in's [sic!] Ohr."<sup>180</sup> Once the artillery would move its fire deeper into the enemy lines, Jünger recounts: "Der große Moment war gekommen. Die Feuerwalze verschwand weiter hinten. Wir traten an."<sup>181</sup> What follows is a state of ecstasy that utterly displaces actual awareness and accordingly requires retrospective interpretation.<sup>182</sup> The feeling of superiority that Jünger describes is such a retrospective interpretation.

Construing the proceedings during an attack is precisely part of what he initially and immediately used his diary for, which will become more and more refined once he begins to consider a potential readership, and will eventually turn into a crucial part of the *Frontsoldat-/Krieger-/Arbeiter*-concept(s). Finally, it is also towards the end of Jünger's records of March 1918 when he will first mention the necessity "den Durchbruch recht zu verwerten."<sup>183</sup> Whereas the tactical proceedings during an attack can be reconstructed in detail, the question what exactly a proper exploitation of the breakthrough means remains unanswered. As a matter of fact, the inversion of this question is characteristic for all of Jünger's writings of the Weimar years up to and including *Der Arbeiter* of 1932, where he will finally suggest the planetary exploitation of the breakthrough whilst only offering amorphous glimpses at the actual procedures preceding it and without conceptualizing its aftermath.

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<sup>180</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 376. (my emphasis)

<sup>181</sup> Ibid. 378.

<sup>182</sup> Something that Jünger also does in the books following *In Stahlgewittern*. E.g.: In *Feuer und Blut*, he describes the same experience as "wilde, rasende Lust." (Jünger, Ernst. "Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht." In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 492.) In *Sturm*, Falk describes a similar feeling that replaces all supposed prior ideals. (Cf. Jünger, Ernst. "Sturm." In: *Ernst Jünger. Erzählungen. SW 18. Erzählende Schriften I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-74. Here: 70.)

<sup>183</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 394.

## §3

## First Thoughts of the Reading Public

On September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1916, a footnote that Jünger added later on to his *Kriegstagebuch* allows us to draw first conclusions regarding his initial revisions of his war records: “\*nahm mir ein kleines Likörgläschen mit, das ich jetzt noch besitze!”<sup>184</sup> Other similar moments can be found occasionally; such as the two pages with notes regarding the preface for the published version following an entry from June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1918.<sup>185</sup> However, the question at hand is not a philological one but at this point genealogical in nature. The purpose of this paragraph is accordingly not to trace the transformation of Jünger’s *Kriegstagebuch* into *In Stahlgewittern*,<sup>186</sup> or, for instance, that of the episodes of July 1918 into *Das Wäldchen 125*, but to further uncover the origins of his subsequent conceptualizations. I will therefore account for some of those moments in

<sup>184</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 181.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. Ibid. 39f. and 402f. – Helmuth Kiesel ascertains that the pages 88f. of notebook two were written in ink and with a different hand than the rest. He infers: “Vermutlich handelt es sich um eine Disposition für die Artois-Kapitel der *Stahlgewitter*.” (Kiesel, Helmuth. “Kommentar.” In: Ernst Jünger. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 470-595. Here: 485)

<sup>186</sup> The first time that some lines of Jünger’s *Kriegstagebuch* were considered by a scholar was in 1972. Ulrich Böhme was then allowed to quote five lines from the diaries for his dissertation *Fassungen bei Ernst Jünger*. (cf. Kiesel, Helmuth. “Editorische Notiz.” In: Ernst Jünger. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 465-468. Here: 466) In 2001, Volker Mergenthaler comprehensively analysed the transformation of the *Kriegstagebuch* into *In Stahlgewittern* in chapter two – “In Stahlgewittern” – of his book »*Versuch, ein Dekameron des Unterstandes zu schreiben*« (Mergenthaler, Volker. »*Versuch, ein Dekameron des Unterstandes zu schreiben*«. *Zum Problem narrativer Kriegsbegegnung in den frühen Prosatexten Ernst Jüngers*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2001. Print. 35-78). Hermann Knebel seminally examines the “Überlieferungsgeschichte und Werkgenese” of *In Stahlgewittern* in 1991 (Knebel, Hermann. “‘ Fassungen’: Zu Überlieferungsgeschichte und Werkgenese von Ernst Jüngers *In Stahlgewittern*.” In: *Vom Wert der Arbeit. Zur literarischen Konstitution des Wertkomplexes ‘Arbeit’ in der deutschen Literatur (1770-1930)*. Ed. Harro Segeberg. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1991. Print. 379-408.) Most recently, Helmuth Kiesel published the “historisch-kritische Ausgabe” of *In Stahlgewittern* in two volumes, where he traces not only the transformation of Jünger’s *Kriegstagebuch* into *In Stahlgewittern*, but also compares the different versions of it. (cf. Jünger, Ernst. *In Stahlgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print and Jünger, Ernst. *In Stahlgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe – Variantenverzeichnis und Materialien*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print.)

which he first appears to address or at least consider a potential target audience. These moments are especially interesting and differ from the marginally stylized character of mnemonic notes because Jünger begins to turn his impressions into reflected and targeted expressions.

The first instance is a moment of self-styling. After being wounded for the second time, Jünger recounts: “Ich muß bemerken, daß ich während der ganzen Geschichte meine Pfeife im Mund behalten und auch noch weiter geraucht hatte.”<sup>187</sup> Utterances of this kind shall now become more frequent.<sup>188</sup> Short of a dedication at the beginning of the fourth notebook, Jünger’s *Kriegstagebuch* was up to this point almost void of any signs that would gesture towards a possible readership.<sup>189</sup> However, this would change during the last months of 1916. His eighth notebook is prefaced by a short poem. This time however – unlike the dedication of the fourth notebook<sup>190</sup> – it has no specific addressee, and he signed it with his last instead of his first name, which is the first gesture within the *Kriegstagebuch* towards Jünger’s initial thoughts of a potential audience beyond his parents that might be interested in a written account of his. At this point then, his records also change from an adventurer’s notebook to those of a potential hero in the making. Or,

<sup>187</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 182.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. e.g. “Ich legte mich aber als Mann des großen Phlegmas um 11.00 zum Schlafen.” (Ibid. 227)

<sup>189</sup> The only other moments that would hint at a potential audience are: “Wer ein modernes Gefecht mitgemacht hat, weiß wie wichtig das [a secure marching route] ist, denn der Marsch ins Gefecht ist fast immer eben so verlustreich wie das Gefecht selbst.” (Ibid. 75) Or, “Um nicht uninteressant zu werden.” (Ibid. 76) Furthermore, “Shrapnellminen. Das sind große, in der Luft sichtbare Kugelminen, die einen Rauchstreif ziehen und oft noch in der Luft über dem Graben krepieren.“ (Ibid. 88) “Das Dreieck ist ein spitz vorspringendes französisches Grabenstück dicht vor uns.” (Ibid. 89) And lastly: “(Da nämlich jedes Gespräch von den Engländern abgefangen wird, müssen wir auf solch launige Weise verkehren. Der dicke Wachtmeister ist eine schwere, die kleinen Jungen, leichte Kaliber. Die Kartoffeln aller Sorten sind natürlich auch Granaten.)” (Ibid. 126)

<sup>190</sup> Jünger dedicated the poem at the beginning of the fourth notebook to his mother. This was a typical practice, as can be seen when comparing this poem to those from the *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Studenten* (Cf. Witkop, Philipp (Ed.). *Kriegsbriefe gefallener Studenten*. München: Georg Müller Verlag, 1928. Print. 56, 64f., 116, 230, 243 and 321).

considered from a different perspective, it can also be observed that the tone of his records changes. Whereas the first seven notebooks were largely characterized by shorter, mnemonic notes – viz. they mainly functioned as an “*aide-memoire*” – the length of the entries now increases on average, and the style becomes more imaginative, albeit far from literary; i.e. Jünger’s records develop toward a “*journal intime*” at this point, due to his growing awareness of a reading public or at least potential recipients.<sup>191</sup> I thus want to emphasize this process and not go as far as Helmuth Kiesel who somewhat hastily states in a rather generalizing fashion: “Er [Jünger] wollte aus diesem Krieg nicht nur mit Auszeichnungen nach Hause kommen, sondern auch mit Aufzeichnungen, aus denen sich ein Kriegsbuch machen ließ; ja, er wollte als Schriftsteller zurückkehren.”<sup>192</sup> Following what was quite likely his father’s advice to carefully keep his diary so as to potentially publish it after the war, Jünger only now begins to occasionally use his diary for his first attempts as a writer. On August 14<sup>th</sup>, 1917 he takes this a step further when he appears to slowly actualize thoughts regarding possible publications by referring to his writing activities: “schreibe an meinem algerischen und meinem Kriegstagebuch.”<sup>193</sup> In fact, Jünger will never publish a diary that would recount his atavistic episode with the Foreign Legion that dates back to 1913, but instead, he will write the novella

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<sup>191</sup> Cf. Hassam, Andrew. *Writing and Reality: A Study of Modern British Diary Fiction*. London: Greenwood Press, 1993. Print. 8.

<sup>192</sup> Kiesel, Helmuth. “Ernst Jünger im Ersten Weltkrieg. *Übersicht und Dokumentation*.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 596-654. Here: 622. A similarly generalizing statement can be found in the introduction to the supplements to the Historisch-Kritische Ausgabe of *In Stahlgewittern*. Here, Helmuth Kiesel writes: “Die Notizen sollten die Basis für ein »Kriegs-Abenteuer-Buch« sein und wurden, wie manche Hinweise und Erläuterungen zeigen, teilweise schon gleich mit Blick auf andere Leser geschrieben.” (Kiesel, Helmuth. “Einleitung des Herausgebers.” In: Ernst Jünger. *In Stahlgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe – Variantenverzeichnis und Materialien*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print. 7-122. Here: 36)

<sup>193</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 306.

*Afrikanische Spiele*, which will only be published in 1936. Nevertheless, the material he is considering to possibly rework once the war is over already reaches beyond his *Kriegstagebuch*.

When referring to potential recipients of Jünger's diaries, and to Jünger's growing awareness of a reading public, it has to be kept in mind that his comrades and his parents – with whom he stored the filled notebooks during his deployments – were always considered possible readers in case of his death. The awareness of those two groups were then for example the primary reason why he crossed out and overwrote eleven lines on March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1918. Helmuth Kiesel was able to recover their content. Here, Jünger writes: “Dies mal gehe ich eigentlich mit dem Gefühl größter Wurstigkeit in den Kampf, gewißermaßen unbeteiligt an meinem eigenen Leben und Tod.”<sup>194</sup> And the second layer – the one highlighting his awareness of potential readers – is: “Das geht aber niemand anders etwas an. Deshalb wird es hier überkleistert.”<sup>195</sup> It can be determined however that “Heft 14B” was specifically written with the reading public in mind. First of all, it was completely written in retrospect because Jünger had lost the actual notebook on August 25<sup>th</sup>. The circumstances in which he composed these entries then – he was in a military hospital far from the front lines – were thus quite different from those when he wrote the rest of his diary.<sup>196</sup> Accordingly, the style now changes to such an extent that 14B can actually be seen as a literary device and no longer as a merely mnemonic one. Lastly, it is the notebook that displays the highest density regarding the terminology, which Jünger

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<sup>194</sup> Ibid. 370.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid. 371.

<sup>196</sup> An exception are the two entries that make up “Heft 2,” which were most likely written in a military hospital in Heidelberg.

will later appropriate and transform for his conceptualizations during the Weimar years. Taken together, these observations warrant a closer look at the last one of Jünger's war diaries.

The first key to parts of his later conceptualizations is the following sentence: "Nach meiner alten Erfahrung, daß Kriegserfolge nur vom Einzelnen errungen werden, alle Anderen nur Material und Feuerkraft vorstellen."<sup>197</sup> Indeed, Jünger would rarely refer to man/men as material in his *Kriegstagebuch*,<sup>198</sup> but he tellingly places this observation on the final and only somewhat polished pages of his diaries. As mentioned earlier, from the beginning of his deployment, Jünger would try to distinguish himself in action; and whilst his motivations may vary, his dedication to the service itself remains consistent. That said, his war records only ever mention his personal drive within the limited scope of his own experiences and personal goals. The above-quoted sentence is then the first time that he widens this scope, and it is simultaneously an observation that he will keep on refining up to *Der Arbeiter* without actively engaging with political motivations or ideals. Or, put differently, he will continue striving for an objectivity or "Sachlichkeit" when presenting his own experiences without considering their broader context. An attempt at explaining this renunciation of the political based on a cult of elitism under the guise of individualistic liberalism can be found in Carl Schmitt's *Der Begriff des Politischen* where, he determines: "die Negation des Politischen, die in jedem

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<sup>197</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 421.

<sup>198</sup> One of the few instances being: "Mit solchem Material zu arbeiten, macht Spaß." (Ibid. 121.) Later, in *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, he will ironically review the term 'Material' from the perspective of those who stayed at home and concludes: "Material, das ist der richtige Ausdruck." (Ibid. 77.) From the perspective of the »Frontsoldat«, he laments: "Ach, wir sind nicht nur Gewehre, wir sind nebenbei auch noch Menschen, Herzen, Seelen." (Ibid. 77.)

konsequenten Individualismus enthalten ist, führt wohl zu einer politischen Praxis des Mißtrauens gegen alle denkbaren politischen Mächte und Staatsformen, niemals aber zu einer eigenen positiven Theorie von Staat und Politik.”<sup>199</sup> Jünger’s suspicion of political powers and his reluctance to derive meaning from political ideals or ideologies – which is not least part of what persistently motivates him to center the distinguished individual – will shortly be presented by reference to the last pages of his diary. The latter part of Schmitt’s observation however, can only be conclusively substantiated once Jünger’s writings of the Weimar years, and especially *Der Arbeiter*, are under consideration in the following chapters.

Turning back to Jünger’s utterance quoted at the beginning of the last paragraph, it is furthermore conspicuous that he only distinguishes between the individual and the others<sup>200</sup> but no longer between the latter and machines. The boundaries are accordingly willfully blurred by way of using the coordinating conjunction ‘und,’ which allows understanding this sentence as a first gesture towards a transitional period of elitism in a time that will otherwise be characterized by totalization and attempts at equalization. The basis on which this elite will be predicated is experience, or, more precisely, the experience of the *Frontsoldat*. Accordingly, Jünger closes his diary on September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1918: “Ich gehöre nicht zu den Leuten, die sich an jedem 27. Januar besoffen und sich jetzt auf den Boden der Tatsachen stellen.”<sup>201</sup> On the contrary, it is neither the

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<sup>199</sup> Schmitt, Carl. *Der Begriff des Politischen*. Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 2015. Print. 64.

<sup>200</sup> In a letter to his brother from August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1918, he will express the same thought, using different vocabulary by comparing himself to the “Ephemeren” others. (Jünger, Ernst. *Feldpostbriefe an die Familie 1915-1918. Mit ausgewählten Antwortbriefen der Eltern und Friedrich Georg Jüngers*. Ed. Heimo Schwilk. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014. Print. 123)

<sup>201</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 431. – Cf. also the draft for a preface to *In Stahlgewittern*; this time in quotation marks. (Ibid. 433)



incapacitating intoxication ensuing from the symbol-laden celebration of the Kaiser's birthday – which now stands representatively for a perished political system – nor is it the subsequent reconceptualization of the political system that will, in the following, be of any actual interest to Jünger. Both instances, the former retrospectively, the latter future-oriented, are concerned with actual nation-based politics, which he resolutely renounces. Accordingly, Jünger's question is personal in nature: “Was bezwecke *ich*?”<sup>202</sup> And his answer: “Die Taten der Infantristen [sic!] zu schildern, leider muß ich dabei von mir selbst ausgehen.”<sup>203</sup> The ensuing description based on past experience will thus emphasize the feeling of ecstasy induced by the proceedings during an attack as they were presented in the second paragraph of this chapter and turn into the first of Jünger's writings that shall display the characteristics of what he will later call – based on Werner Best's essay “Der Krieg und das Recht”<sup>204</sup> – ‘Heroic Realism.’ At this point however, he is still speaking of “Objektivität.”<sup>205</sup> In the actual preface of the first, self-published edition of his *In Stahlgewittern* from 1920, “Objektivität” will be turned into the watchword “Sachlichkeit.”<sup>206</sup> Jünger thus deliberately earmarks his work as an aesthetic contribution when referring to the aspirations of his account, in spite of his claim to describe the war ‘as it actually was.’ *In Stahlgewittern* as well as Jünger's subsequent

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid. 432. (My emphasis)

<sup>203</sup> Ibid.

<sup>204</sup> Best, Werner. “Der Krieg und das Recht.” In: *Krieg und Krieger*. Ed. Ernst Jünger. Berlin: Juncker & Dünhaupt, 1930. Print. 135-161.

<sup>205</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 432.

<sup>206</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *In Stahlgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print. 20. The first time Jünger will use this word is in the 13<sup>th</sup> notebook of his *Kriegstagebuch*: “Ich kauerte neben ihm und registrierte diese Vorgänge [a dying comrade] mit Sachlichkeit.” (Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 390.) Whether this is the rendition of a moment along the lines of a cold aestheticism based on reception or an active stylization following contemporary developments in the aesthetic discourse based on experience cannot be determined, yet.

publications thus have to be analyzed accordingly: with a focus on their aesthetic character and not as an attempt at historiography.

However, Jünger was fully aware that a published work of literature would not be received in a political vacuum and, as Karl Heinz Bohrer puts it, that he had to negotiate “ein Inventar von längst formulierten Gedanken und Motiven,” with the reading public in mind.<sup>207</sup> The question ‘Was bezwecke ich?’ thus gains more depth and allows for an additional answer to the one Jünger is offering himself. Namely, to translate old experience into literature in order to take up position within and to shape the public sphere from the sidelines of politics. And Jünger will not least continue to do so by perpetually depoliticizing the war itself; a phenomenon that is well known from the public intellectual discourse of the early years of the war, and that Thomas Mann formulaically summarized as follows in his essay “Gedanken im Kriege:” “Was die Dichter begeisterte, war der Krieg an sich selbst.”<sup>208</sup> Or, put differently and with Jünger’s work of the Weimar years in mind, the disengagement from pure historical fact via the transformation of experience into an aestheticized agenda.

Turning back to Walter Benjamin’s review “Theorien des deutschen Faschismus” from 1930, this means that Jünger’s work of the Weimar years is characterized by a structural inversion of Benjamin’s observation regarding the “hemmungslose Übertragung der Thesen des L’Art pour l’Art auf den Krieg.”<sup>209</sup> “[D]ie Sprache der

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<sup>207</sup> Bohrer, Karl Heinz. *Die Ästhetik des Schreckens – Die pessimistische Romantik und Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. München: Carl Hanser, 1978. Print. 103.

<sup>208</sup> Mann, Thomas. “Gedanken im Kriege.” In: *Thomas Mann. Frühlingsturm. Essays. Vol. 1. 1893-1918*. Ed. Hermann Kurzke and Stephan Stachorski. Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 1993. Print. 188-205. Here: 193.

<sup>209</sup> Benjamin, Walter. “Theorien des deutschen Faschismus.” In: *Walter Benjamin, GS III. Kritiken und Rezensionen*. Ed. Hella Tiedemann-Bartels. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991. Print. 238-250. Here: 240.

Materialschlacht”<sup>210</sup> will accordingly become the means to carry the principles of war as perpetual state into the public sphere via literature. The basis of Jünger’s future conceptualizations regarding the continuation of war by other means can thus already be surmised with reference to the last few pages of his diary. Concomitantly, Bohrer’s observation that literature was a means for Jünger that would facilitate a “Flucht aus der gefährlichen Politik in die Kontemplation” has to be revised, given the uncovered elements from the *Kriegstagebuch* and their further development during the Weimar years.<sup>211</sup> Nevertheless, if Carl Schmitt’s observation “daß die Entscheidung darüber, ob etwas *unpolitisch* ist, immer eine *politische* Entscheidung bedeutet”<sup>212</sup> holds true, Jünger had to make at least one actual political decision: namely, to further suspend politics in favor of war.

Another look at the last sentence of the *Kriegstagebuch* – this time with an emphasis on the second half – will also reveal Jünger’s first active attempts at taking up position outside the political spectrum and simultaneously offers an initial glimpse at the striking similarities regarding the practices of political reconstruction during the years after the First and later after the Second World War. Namely, the pseudo-pragmatic “sich jetzt auf den Boden der Tatsachen stellen.”<sup>213</sup> In his letter “Allmähliche Klärung” from March 1919, Ernst Troeltsch offers a more sober context for this catchphrase than Jünger did. At this point, Troeltsch would still sign his letters that were published in the bi-

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<sup>210</sup> Ibid. 244.

<sup>211</sup> Bohrer, Karl Heinz. *Die Ästhetik des Schreckens – Die pessimistische Romantik und Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. München: Carl Hanser, 1978. Print. 164.

<sup>212</sup> Schmitt, Carl. *Politische Theologie. Vier Kapitel zur Lehre von der Souveränität*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2015. Print. 7.

<sup>213</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 431/433.

weekly Berlin-journal “Kunstwart” with *Spectator*, thus aiming at taking up a position as a neutral observer as opposed to being an active participant in the socio-cultural and political discourse as was the case with his involvement in the development of the “Ideen von 1914.” In “Allmähliche Klärung,” he writes: “Die Beamtenwelt ist so gut wie ohne alle Personalveränderungen geblieben. Die Beamten, auch die konservativsten, stellen sich auf ‘den Boden der Tatsachen’ und bleiben im Amt, regieren, sprechen und benehmen sich aber ganz im alten Stil. Das erzeugt immer neues Mißvertrauen und neue Reibungen.”<sup>214</sup> It has already become clear from the Jünger-quote that he actively seeks to distance himself from an administrative continuity that represents and even more so attempts to maintain the old in the new. Considering the consequences suggested by Troeltsch, however – and I am not suggesting any influence that Troeltsch might have had on Jünger, but am gesturing towards a phenomenon that will become paradigmatic for Jünger’s Weimar thought – it becomes recognizable that the war, which was fought outside the borders of Germany will be continued within them in a modified form and by different means. It is in this sense that Troeltsch’s “Reibungen” in a letter that discusses ways to restructure the German military is exemplary for the continuation of war by other means, part of which being the appropriation of militaristic terminology to the socio-cultural and political discourse, since what Troeltsch means by “Reibungen” is nothing else than what Clausewitz meant by “Friktion.” More generally speaking, in the appropriation of said military-terminology resonates the distinct experience of the respective writer with the war, which in turn he now maps onto the contemporary

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<sup>214</sup> Troeltsch, Ernst. “Allmähliche Klärung.” In: Ernst Troeltsch. *Spectator Briefe und Berliner Briefe (1919-1922)*. *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. Vol. 14. Ed. Gangolf Hübinger. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015. Print. 70.

discourse. In the case of Jünger, this transformation will go beyond mapping on but will prove to become an aesthetic strategy. In order to better understand how Jünger's active aesthetic based on immediate experience will develop, the following paragraph will analyze his concept of experience as far as it can be deduced from his *Kriegstagebuch*.

#### §4

#### *The Will to Experience*

Jünger's spirit of adventure is not merely a retrospective literary stylization but a defining character trait that he recognizes with all of those men, whom he will later subsume under the type of the 'Frontsoldat,' of the 'Arbeiter-Krieger,' and lastly of the 'Arbeiter.' His short episode with the Foreign Legion, his discussions of the foreign in letters with his brother, and his early escape from traditional knowledge handed down from preceding generations – viz. school as the locus of nineteenth century positivist rationalism, which, once left behind, simultaneously denotes the escape from the bourgeois chokehold on him<sup>215</sup> – are only three examples from his biography that bear witness to an intensive anti-societal desire to actively seek out and ascertain different realms of experience by breaking through the established socio-political as well as

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<sup>215</sup> For an autobiographical account of Jünger's days at school, cf. Jünger, Ernst. "Subtile Jagden." In: *Ernst Jünger. Subtile Jagden. SW 12 – Essays IV*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 11-280. Here: 95ff. Cf. also his 1936 novella "Afrikanische Spiele." In: *Ernst Jünger. Erzählungen. SW 18 – Erzählende Schriften I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 75-245.

cultural frameworks.<sup>216</sup> As a matter of fact, Jünger's impetus to escape pre-given frameworks will develop into an exoticism or escapism that at times leads him to leave the realm of reality, to the borderlines of consciousness and occasionally beyond, thus allowing him to enter the sphere of dreams and the intermediate state between waking and dreaming according to the same *modus operandi* that he follows when determining the empirical world.<sup>217</sup> However, since this realm is not part of the *Kriegstagebuch*, it shall in the following not yet be an object of analysis. Instead, I will focus on his war records with an emphasis on the two groups of themes "Macht und Wille" and "Erfahrung."

The first impressions of Jünger's *Kriegstagebuch* are characterized by the prominence of curiosity that will quickly lead him to understand the war in general first as an intensive and ultimately as the realm of experience, "wo sich sein [of man] Wille am höchsten potenziert."<sup>218</sup> Jünger never spends much time on the retrospective evaluation of past proceedings, but repeatedly accentuates his desire to fully explore every last corner of said realm in the future. The two prerequisites to make this possible are on the one hand the unconditional readiness based on an adamant will (to power)<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Upon looking back on his biography in 1934, Jünger will reflect on these moments in the following, polished way: "Ich spürte den Wunsch, nun bald der Schulbank ledig zu sein, die ich immer als drückender empfand. Ich fühlte mich meinem Wesen nach auf eine Weite und Freiheit des Lebens angelegt, von der ich wohl mit Recht vermutete, daß sie im bürgerlichen Deutschland nicht zu verwirklichen sei. Schon vor einem Jahre hatte ich zu einem Gewaltstreich angesetzt und war bei Nacht und Nebel davongelaufen, um auf Abenteuer zu gehen." (Jünger, Ernst. "Kriegsausbruch 1914." In: *Ernst Jünger. Der Erste Weltkrieg. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 539-545. Here: 541.)

<sup>217</sup> A comparison of Jünger's "heroischer Realismus" (up to 1932) and his "magischer Realismus" (from 1932 onward) would add to this line of argument. Cf. e.g. Koslowski, Peter. *Der Mythos der Moderne. Die Philosophie Ernst Jüngers*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1991. Print.

<sup>218</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 432.

<sup>219</sup> Jünger's elective affinity with Friedrich Nietzsche's will to power shall not yet be discussed at this point. Instead, I will focus on the immediate – viz. non-reflective – expression of said will, following Heidegger's observation: "Jünger hatte nicht das *Buch* mit dem Titel »Nietzsche, Der Wille zur Macht« im

and on the other the utter indifference toward death as a basis for freedom. Jünger's observation regarding the highest exponentiation of the will in war is followed by a juxtaposition of its binary poles: "gähnen neben gipfelnden Werten Abgründe tierischster Erbärmlichkeit."<sup>220</sup> Jünger is not, and will never, accept or establish actual binary systems or place himself within a spectrum of political attitudes. His *Kriegstagebuch* as well as his later writings remain almost entirely free from preset moral, ethical, and political statements, let alone from stable denominations, and his aesthetic perspective is rather sensationalist than concerned with a positive or negative interpretation or positioning of the war and war-related events. Accordingly, Jünger's future-oriented will to experience that has as its first task an attempt to utterly dismantle the dialectic of the archaic and the modern is thus a characteristic that furthermore distinguishes him and his writings from contemporary writers from all corners of the political spectrum such as Franz Schauwecker, Werner Beumelburg, Ernst von Salomon, Ernst Toller, Edlef Köppen, Erich Maria Remarque, Ludwig Renn et al. Jünger's postulation regarding the coexistence of the highest exponentiation of will and archaic abysses directly stems from the battlefield as part of the realm of front-line experiences. Kurt Lewin observes in his 1917 essay "Kriegslandschaft" that the "Gefechtszone" follows its own laws that rebut those of times of peace:

Was innerhalb der Gefechtszone liegt, gehört dem Soldaten als sein rechtmäßiger Besitz, nicht weil es erobert ist [...] sondern weil es als Gefechtsgebilde ein militärisches Ding ist, das naturgemäß für den Soldaten da ist. Selbst etwas so Barbarisches wie das Verbrennen von Fußböden, Türen und Möbeln ist völlig unvergleichbar mit einem

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Tornister – sondern er wurde von Feuer und Blut, von Tod und der Arbeit, vom Schweigen und Donnern der Materialschlacht *als Erscheinung des Willens zur Macht betroffen*." (Heidegger, Martin. *Zu Ernst Jünger*. Gesamtausgabe, IV. Abteilung: Hinweise und Aufzeichnungen, Vol. 90. Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 2004. Print. 218.)

<sup>220</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 432.

derartigen Verbrauch von Möbeln in einem Hause nach Friedensbegriffen. Denn wenn auch diese Dinge ihre Friedensmerkmale nicht ganz verloren zu haben pflegen, so tritt doch sehr viel stärker der ihnen als Kriegsding zukommende Charakter in den Vordergrund, der sie häufig unter ganz andere Begriffskategorien zu ordnen veranlaßt.<sup>221</sup>

And he preemptively adds in a footnote: “Es wäre falsch hier von Gefühlsverrohung zu sprechen.”<sup>222</sup> For Jünger, it will not least become possible to transfer the “Sprache der Materialschlacht”<sup>223</sup> to the Weimar discourses because he will replace the notion of a political landscape with that of a ‘Gefechtszone.’ The negotiation of moral and ethical postulations as well as synthetic judgments regarding the progressive dialectic of archaic and modern will thus be rendered redundant since the ‘Kriegslandschaft’ and especially the ‘Gefechtszone’ do not adhere to the ‘Begriffskategorien’ of times of peace, but are instead bound to the claims of an immediate necessity. Martin Heidegger – in opposition to Walter Benjamin’s “Krieger auf Ideenflucht”<sup>224</sup> – thus, for the context at hand, aptly formulates the end to which Jünger’s understanding of the “Gefechtszone” and his utilization of literature as the continuation of war by other means leads:

Der *revolutionäre* Protest »entfernt« *sich auch* aus der bürgerlichen Welt, aber so, daß er nicht mehr *mit macht*. *Man beteiligt sich nicht mehr*, und nicht einmal mehr so, daß man *davor* flieht und so die bürgerliche Welt noch als die Bestimmende anerkennt. Man nimmt Anteil an einer anderen Welt, die ihr eigen Maß und eigene Mitte hat. Das Elementare, das sich nicht mehr Beteiligen, ist nicht bestimmt als Folge der Flucht, sondern aus einem *Anderssein*, aus einem Stehen in einer *Mitte*, in der nicht geflohen, sondern *angegriffen* wird.<sup>225</sup>

<sup>221</sup> Lewin, Kurt. “Kriegslandschaft (1917).” In: *Gestalt Theory* 31.3/4 (2009). 253-261. Here: 258.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> Benjamin, Walter. “Theorien des deutschen Faschismus.” In: *Walter Benjamin, GS III. Kritiken und Rezensionen*. Ed. Hella Tiedemann-Bartels. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991. Print. 238-250. Here: 244.

<sup>224</sup> Benjamin, Walter. “Theorien des deutschen Faschismus. Zu der Sammelschrift »Krieg und Krieger«.

Herausgegeben von Ernst Jünger.” In: *GS III*. Ed. Hella Tiedemann-Bartels. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991. Print. 238-250. Here: 241.

<sup>225</sup> Heidegger, Martin. *Zu Ernst Jünger*. Gesamtausgabe, IV. Abteilung: Hinweise und Aufzeichnungen, Vol. 90. Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 2004. Print. 74.



One paradigmatic moment from the *Kriegstagebuch*, where Jünger juxtaposes two extremes without dialectically resolving them, thus positioning him ‘in einer *Mitte*’ is the following distant observation: “Da, wo ein Mensch die beinah göttliche Stufe der Vollkommenheit erreicht hat, die selbstlose Hingabe an ein Ideal bis zum Opfertode, findet sich ein anderer, dem kaum erkalteten gierig die Taschen zu durchwühlen.”<sup>226</sup>

Void of any judgment, Jünger formulates a general observation that follows his credo to strive for objectivity. Yet, and this is crucial not only for his aesthetic *modus operandi* but also for the later discussion regarding his extra-political status in opposition to the political (discourse) as such, for Jünger, extremes are never terminal points. His thought is characterized by a perpetual striving beyond. Albeit that “absolute Objektivität ist unerreichbar,” the continuous striving for an ever-higher degree of it is the “Maßstab” of man’s “inneren Wertes;”<sup>227</sup> although an actual totality remains unfeasible. Yet, its gradual conceptualization throughout the Weimar years that will eventually culminate in the planetary – viz. total – exploitation of the breakthrough remains the driving force and one of the pivotal elements of Jünger’s thought from 1918-1932. The unwillingness to accept supposed terminal points as actual extremes also explains why the end of the war did, for Jünger, not equal the end of the combat operations, just as much as the anomic post-war situation did not prompt him to fully side with any of the movements – let alone with political parties – after the Great War. Accordingly, after the front as militaristic limit-concept was officially replaced by the politically defined borders of the states again, Jünger, as ‘Frontsoldat,’ would redefine the political landscape by denoting it an

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<sup>226</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 432.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid.

omnipresent ‘Gefechtszone.’ This is to say that the Weimar Republic turns into a new realm of experience – viz. ‘Gefechtszone’ – all facets of which Jünger now has to objectively – viz. ‘sachlich’ – ascertain. And, if the war indeed continues, the only thing that changes after Versailles is the means with which it is fought.

In 1938, six years after Jünger would publish *Der Arbeiter*, after which he would more or less immediately begin to distance himself from the continuation of war by other means, Carl Schmitt retrospectively announces that the “Friedensdiktate [...] aus dem Friede eine ‘Fortsetzung des Krieges mit anderen Mitteln’ machen [wollten].”<sup>228</sup> It will be part of the examination of the following chapters to determine, whether Jünger and Schmitt are taking the same line with the inversion of Clausewitz’ dictum. The only thing that can be determined at this point is that the continuation of war by other means serves Schmitt as a formulation allowing him to diagnose the political situation as “Zwischenzustand zwischen Krieg und Frieden,”<sup>229</sup> whereas Jünger will more and more understand it in a way that ultimately allows him to renounce the political altogether, by understanding war as a perpetual natural state, which compels him to begin carving out his own “*Mitte*, in der nicht geflohen, sondern *angegriffen* wird.”<sup>230</sup> Accordingly, for

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<sup>228</sup> Schmitt, Carl. “Über das Verhältnis der Begriffe Krieg und Feind (1938).” In: *Der Begriff des Politischen*. Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 2015. Print. 94-102. Here: 98. Cf. also Werner Best, who writes eight years prior to Schmitt that “[j]eder Friede [...] Fortsetzung des Krieges mit anderen Mitteln [ist].” (Best, Werner. “Der Krieg und das Recht.” In: *Krieg und Krieger*. Ed. Ernst Jünger. Berlin: Juncker & Dünhaupt, 1930. Print. 135-161. Here: 156.)

<sup>229</sup> Schmitt, Carl. “Über das Verhältnis der Begriffe Krieg und Feind (1938).” In: *Der Begriff des Politischen*. Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 2015. Print. 94-102. Here: 98.

<sup>230</sup> Heidegger, Martin. *Zu Ernst Jünger*. Gesamtausgabe, IV. Abteilung: Hinweise und Aufzeichnungen, Vol. 90. Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 2004. Print. 74.

Jünger “the sources of war are not to be found in national conflicts of interests but in suprahistorical terms such as ‘life’ or ‘blood.’”<sup>231</sup>

That this kind of reasoning necessarily is the case for Jünger and that he accordingly has to understand war as the natural state of human kind and destruction as fundamental condition of a future yet to come can already be surmised when taking into account his utterance regarding the ‘Boden der Tatsachen’ and it gains more precision with the introduction of the following condition sine qua non on the way to an approximation of the divine state. According to Jünger, it is the “selbstlose Hingabe an ein Ideal bis zum Opfertode” that allows for an approximation of ‘Vollkommenheit.’<sup>232</sup> This statement takes up a point that was already discussed at the beginning of this chapter, but the utter commitment to a logic of ‘Opferbereitschaft’ is now expanded by a concession regarding the necessity of *an* ideal. Jünger deliberately avoids defining or even naming the ideal. He thus remains in an indefinite state, which allows him to circumvent a potential acceptance of a terminal point – e.g. the end of acts of war and the demise of the German Empire – which furthermore installs ‘ideal’ as an amorphous touchstone yet to be defined, and which lastly forecloses the possibility to ideologically coin the sacrifice. At this point then, it also becomes clear that as early as in his *Kriegstagebuch*, Jünger’s understanding of *an* ideal is ontologically related to power, “[w]eil die *Macht* – jenseits von Herkunft und Ziel machtet und gerade dieses eine

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<sup>231</sup> Herf, Jeffrey. *Reactionary Modernism. Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. Print. 73f.

<sup>232</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 432. (my emphasis)

Auszeichnung der reinen Macht ist.”<sup>233</sup> It is not surprising that the origin of this idea stems from July 1916; viz. the height of the Battle of the Somme, where, as Hermann Stegemann observes, “der Geist der Materie zu erliegen [drohte].”<sup>234</sup> However, at this point, Jünger would still formulate his observations passively and with a possible plurality of ideals in mind: “Wozu, Wozu – – – Und doch, der heroische, großartige Eindruck, den dieser unendliche Zug des Todes ausübt, erhebt und stärkt uns Überlebende. So fremd es klingt, hier lernt man wieder *Ideale* kennen, die volle Hingabe an *ein* Ideal bis zum grausigem [sic!] Schlachtentode.”<sup>235</sup> The plurality of possible ideals will render the individual deaths as a result of the dedication to *an* ideal gruesome and meaningless since the question ‘wozu’ will always remain unanswered. Only once the urge to even consider this question is overcome, the selfless dedication to *an* ideal can turn mere death into actual sacrifice. However, for Jünger, sacrifice does not entail the mythological component that the German propaganda exploited and continued to exploit so as to endow death with meaning; e.g. a future nation will grow on the battlefields nourished by the blood and tears of the fallen soldiers, or the myths of Langemarck and Verdun that would be permanently exploited during the Weimar years.<sup>236</sup> For him, the will to sacrifice oneself to *an* ideal has at this point – and just like actual “Macht” – neither an origin nor a goal and does accordingly not require further justification. Or, put

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<sup>233</sup> Heidegger, Martin. *Zu Ernst Jünger*. Gesamtausgabe, IV. Abteilung: Hinweise und Aufzeichnungen, Vol. 90. Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 2004. Print. 232.

<sup>234</sup> Stegemann, Hermann. *Geschichte des Krieges*. Vol. 4. Stuttgart-Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1921. Print. 115.

<sup>235</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 149. (my emphasis)

<sup>236</sup> This remark has to be provided with some reservation, since Jünger will briefly employ such standard propagandistic rhetoric during the last months of 1927; i.e. when he first begins writing for a new periodical of the youth-movement “Der Aufmarsch,” and just before he seizes his ‘political’ writing activity altogether.

differently, what Jünger ultimately means by the approximation of ‘Vollkommenheit’ as a result of selfless ‘Opferbereitschaft’ is a first step toward the installation of ‘Kampf’ as being meaningful ‘an sich.’

It has been shown that Jünger’s experience with the war would lead him to carve out a niche for himself, where his rendition of the ‘Wille zur Macht’ as perpetual driving force of those who are willing to sacrifice themselves for an unidentified ideal, allows for an approximation of ‘Vollkommenheit.’ This basis of Jüngerian thought, as it is already manifest in his *Kriegstagebuch*, is the first gesture towards a future “*Mitte*, in der nicht geflohen, sondern *angegriffen* wird.”<sup>237</sup> For Jünger, finding individual answers to the question ‘wozu’ never had any priority and has in fact become redundant with 1916. Accordingly, understanding his writings from 1918 onward as an attempt at giving meaning to the war retrospectively – viz. seeking answers to a question that he had already deemed superfluous whilst still at the front – and trying to place his voice with the numerous attempts at interpreting the war within the framework of the socio-political discourse of the Weimar years, would mean to misunderstand his contributions and to remain poetically blind to an aesthetic that attempts to transform experience into a textual strategy that resembles his will to experience and that calls for a perpetual mobilization without ever answering the question ‘wozu.’ Designating him as and thus reducing him to a specialist at merely interpreting the defeat along the lines of a “*reinigenden und erneuernden Kraft*” that shall be turned into the “*Motor einer »langfristigen*

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<sup>237</sup> Heidegger, Martin. *Zu Ernst Jünger*. Gesamtausgabe, IV. Abteilung: Hinweise und Aufzeichnungen, Vol. 90. Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 2004. Print. 74.

Sinnggebung«,” thus means chiming in with a tradition that misunderstands him as yet another “politische[n] Publizist *und* Schriftsteller.”<sup>238</sup>

Based on an analysis of Jünger’s accounts of his experiences at the front, four central points have been established over the course of this chapter. First, it has been shown, why the year 1916 was of crucial importance to Jünger and why the changes in tactical proceedings during an attack – that were first established on the western front during said year – had a lasting impact on his understanding of the *Frontsoldat* as a type. It has furthermore been shown that as early as during his deployment – viz. prior to being a writer of texts that were sought out for publication – Jünger conducted first field experiments at creating literature and that those attempts were characterized by a growing awareness regarding a potential readership. Thirdly, the key terms of Jünger’s future conceptualizations as well as the crucial themes “Macht und Wille” as well as “Erfahrung” were heuristically located and comprehended as a direct result of his experiences with the mechanics of the war. And lastly, Jüngerian ‘Plötzlichkeit’ was reconsidered with reference to as well as by building on Karl Heinz Bohrer’s *Ästhetik des Schreckens* and is now established as a reproducible effect based on the repeatability of the moment of surprise that is not merely concerned with the passive experience of shock – i.e. the ‘plötzlich *eintretende* Augenblick’ – but instead understood as an aggressive deployable element: the ‘plötzlich *herbeigeführte* Augenblick.’

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<sup>238</sup> Encke, Julia. *Augenblicke der Gefahr. Der Krieg und die Sinne*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2006. Print. 9. (my emphasis)

Whilst Jünger's expressions of his experience with the 'Sprache der Materialschlacht' have been traced, it remains to be seen how he will translate this immediate language into a means of expression that allows him to denote writing as the continuation of war by other means.<sup>239</sup> Indeed, one of the central questions of the following chapter has to be whether Jünger's expressions of his experience are "alles andere als Erfahrung" and if he thus also forfeits the "Vermögen, Erfahrungen auszutauschen," or, if he successfully develops an aesthetic that allows him not only to navigate but also to mobilize the "Kraftfeld zerstörender Ströme und Explosionen"<sup>240</sup> based on his future-oriented will to experience. In the following chapter, I will accordingly turn to Jünger's literary creations of the Weimar years in order to comprehend an aesthetic that is thought out to take up position in opposition to contemporary politics, so as to subversively operate against it. The area of tension that has to be navigated is, on the one hand, that Jünger writes under the pretext of merely recounting factual proceedings from the perspective of "ein Infanterist"<sup>241</sup> retrospectively and on the other that he uses the mechanics of the period under consideration as a means to break through the political positions that are being taken up during the Weimar years. Volker Mergenthaler has most recently and most clearly expressed why the interplay of both – individuality and destructive mechanics – is a critical moment in trying to

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<sup>239</sup> Or, as Matthias Schöning observes with regards to *Das abenteuerliche Herz* and differently nuanced: from the "Autorschaft im Dienste der fortgesetzten Mobilmachung" to the "Mobilmachung der Autorschaft selbst." (Schöning, Matthias. *Versprengte Gemeinschaft. Kriegsroman und intellektuelle Mobilmachung in Deutschland 1914-1933*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009. Print. Here: 148.)

<sup>240</sup> Benjamin, Walter. "Der Erzähler. Betrachtungen zum Werk Nikolai Lesskows." In: *Walter Benjamin. Literarische und ästhetische Essays. GS II.2*. Ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991. Print. 438-465. Here: 439.

<sup>241</sup> *In Stahgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Vol. 1*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print. 20.

understand not only the retrospective accounts of the war but also the agonal prescient way in which they are presented:

Die entstrukturierende Gewalt des Kriegsgeschehens löst nämlich jede Entität in ihrem Wirbel auf, beraubt jedes Individuum seiner Individualität und negiert damit die Position von der aus ein Sprechen überhaupt denkbar wäre. Die Erfahrung des Krieges mitteilen, von ihr authentisch sprechen zu wollen, ist daher logisch ausgeschlossen und kann bestenfalls als utopischer Horizont und damit als ästhetische Herausforderung gelten.<sup>242</sup>

How and to what end Jünger deals with said “ästhetische Herausforderung,”<sup>243</sup> as well as questions regarding the (newly ascribed) meaning of the individual as a precondition for narration after the Great War will be one of the central questions of the following chapter.

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<sup>242</sup> Mergenthaler, Volker. »Versuch, ein Dekameron des Unterstandes zu schreiben«. *Zum Problem narrativer Kriegsbegegnung in den frühen Prosatexten Ernst Jüngers*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2001. Print. 28.

<sup>243</sup> As a matter of fact, how he only found his own (literary) voice by dealing with the war retrospectively – unlike many others, such as Carl Zuckmayer, who refused to speak about his experiences for at least ten years after the war had ended, or the countless veterans, who literally fell silent – will be a question kept in mind in the following chapter. Cf. also: “Der Krieg hat mich [Rilke] stumm gemacht.” (Toller, Ernst. *Eine Jugend in Deutschland*. Hamburg: Rohwolt, 2014. Print. 55.)



## CHAPTER II

»TRAGEN WIR IN UNSERE NEUEN AUFGABEN DAS ALTE, EISENGEWOHNTTE TEMPO  
HINEIN!«

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### Literature as Means of War

*Von alten Heldenliedern stammt die Literatur,  
deren Grundwert ihrem kriegerischen Werte  
entspricht und deren Wirkung vom männlichen  
Gemüt als Aufforderung zum Kampfe empfunden wird.*  
(Ernst Jünger. *Das abenteuerliche Herz*)

*Wir werden wieder die Feder durch das Schwert,  
die Tinte durch das Blut, das Wort durch die  
Tat, die Empfindsamkeit durch das Opfer ersetzen.*  
(Ernst Jünger. Preface to the 5<sup>th</sup> Ed. of *In Stahlgewittern*)

*Die Literatur spielt hier eine ähnliche Rolle wie die  
Maschine in der modernen Schlacht. Das heißt,  
das Werk stellt sich nicht mehr in den Dienst einer  
Argumentation über gut und böse, Recht und Unrecht,  
Fortschritt und Reaktion, sondern in den Dienst der  
lebendigen Kraft in der vollen Summe ihrer Möglichkeiten.*  
(Ernst Jünger. *Wandlung im Kriegsbuch*)

## §1

## Operative Congruity of Retrospective Accounts and Subversive Activism

In 1922, Ernst Jünger had just published the second version of his reworked *Kriegstagebuch* with the Berlin militaria publisher Mittler & Sohn. And, as he mentions in the preface to this second edition, *In Stahlgewittern* has allegedly already accomplished what its author had initially set out to achieve: “Der Zweck dieses Buches ist, dem Leser sachlich zu schildern, was ein Infanterist als Schütze und Führer während des großen Krieges inmitten eines berühmten Regiments erlebt, und was er sich dabei gedacht hat.”<sup>244</sup> That he himself performatively questioned this alleged objectivity of his account by altogether reworking it no less than six times between 1920 and 1961,<sup>245</sup> and that he did rework it not least in order to react to certain changes with regards to the political discourses and landscapes throughout the years – or at least as an adaptation to the social realities of his reader-‘Gemeinschaften’<sup>246</sup> – has been well established by now.<sup>247</sup> With regards to the different versions of *In Stahlgewittern*, Hermann Knebel

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<sup>244</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *In Stahlgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Vol. 1.* Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print. 22. Almost identically, Jünger already wrote on the penultimate page of his *Kriegstagebuch* and with one eye on his *In Stahlgewittern*: “Der Zweck meines Buches ist lediglich, dem Leser sachlich zu schildern, was ich inmitten meines Regiments erlebt und was ich mir dabei gedacht habe.” (Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918.* Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 433.)

<sup>245</sup> Cf. Knebel, Hermann. “‘ Fassungen’: Zu Überlieferungsgeschichte und Werkgenese von Ernst Jüngers *In Stahlgewittern*.” In: *Vom Wert der Arbeit. Zur literarischen Konstitution des Wertkomplexes ‘Arbeit’ in der deutschen Literatur (1770-1930).* Ed. Harro Segeberg. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1991. Print. 379-408. Cf. also: Jünger, Ernst. *In Stahlgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe – Variantenverzeichnis und Materialien.* Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. e.g.: Liebchen, Gerda. *Ernst Jünger. Seine literarischen Arbeiten in den Zwanziger Jahren. Eine Untersuchung zur gesellschaftlichen Funktion von Literatur.* Bonn: Bouvier, 1977. Print. Liebchen observes a change of tone in the different versions of *In Stahlgewittern* that is associated with a change regarding the recipients from actual ‘Frontsoldaten’ to ‘das »junge« Deutschland.’

<sup>247</sup> Most recently by Helmuth Kiesel, who published the *Varianteverzeichnis zu Ernst Jünger. In Stahlgewittern* in 2013. However, there is still a certain acceptance of Jünger’s literature as authentic report

aply designates Jünger's adjustments as the "Anreicherung der Gegenwart durch die Vergangenheit," and Julia Encke adds in an even more poignant way in her 2006 publication entitled *Augenblicke der Gefahr*: "Die Erinnerung wird einem Mobilisierungswillen unterstellt."<sup>248</sup> Accordingly, the somewhat dated postulation that *In Stahlgewittern* was a "Triumph von reiner Deskriptivität," as Alfred Andersch still maintained in 1975, thus merely echoing Jünger's statement regarding the intended 'sachliche Schilderung,' can no longer be upheld.<sup>249</sup> What is more, it is rather obvious that the various versions of *In Stahlgewittern* are placing Jünger in changing relations to the respective socio-political discourses pertaining to the reception of the Great War and beyond. From this perspective, it becomes clear that the multiplicity of versions of his debut novel can no longer be seen as *one* factual report – this is not even possible for the *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918* – in the guise of literature, but that they have to be understood as literary accounts merely purporting to be *one* aestheticized version of notes taken during the war. Especially when comparing the different versions with regards to additions and abbreviations of the text, it becomes clear that they are in fact vehicles, which among other things are employed to mediate varying agendas. Or, in the words of Harro Segeberg, they are "konstruktive Erinnerungsarbeit (und nicht etwa eine Realgeschichte des Kriegsteilnehmers Jünger)."<sup>250</sup> If anything, an acceptance of Jünger's

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in more recent scholarly literature – cf. e.g. Kron, Jürgen. *Seismographie der Moderne. Modernität und Postmodernität in Ernst Jüngers Schriften von "In Stahlgewittern" bis "Eumeswil."* Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1998 – which, in my opinion, is no longer sustainable.

<sup>248</sup> Encke, Julia. *Augenblicke der Gefahr. Der Krieg und die Sinne.* München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2006. Print. 108. (My emphasis)

<sup>249</sup> Andersch, Alfred. "Achtzig und Jünger: Ein politischer Diskurs. In: *Merkur* 29 (March, 1975): 239-250. Here: 244.

<sup>250</sup> Segeberg, Harro. "Regressive Modernisierung. Kriegserlebnis und Moderne-Kritik in Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk." In: *Vom Wert der Arbeit. Zur literarischen Konstitution des Wertkomplexes 'Arbeit' in der*

versions of *In Stahlgewittern* as actual documents characterized by ‘reine[r] Deskriptivität’ would have to initiate a broader discussion regarding the thought-provoking acceptance of a kind of historiography that actively glorifies war and violence.

However that be, besides some rather sweeping generalizations regarding the political landscapes during the war, and some ambiguous gestures with regards to its aftermath, Jünger aims for his retrospective accounts to remain within the chosen framework of aestheticized war-memories. This also means that those accounts are characterized by an attempt at ridding them from categories such as morality, ethics, politics, and history, which in turn is thought to strengthen *In Stahlgewittern* as a deliberately one-sided and highly subjective narrative. Accordingly, Jünger stays true to the subjective “schildern, was *ein* Infanterist als Schütze und Führer während des großen Krieges inmitten eines berühmten Regiments erlebt, und was *er sich* dabei gedacht hat.”<sup>251</sup> However, the initially quoted addendum ‘sachlich’ needs to be reconsidered. Due to all of this, that is to say, because *In Stahlgewittern* is in all of its versions characterized by an attempt to describe how the war ‘was,’ combined with the intention to avoid clearly taking up position at the times of its respective publications,<sup>252</sup> due to the complex history of its revisions, and not least since Jünger will later change his modus operandi based on the insight that the “seelischen Wirklichkeiten hoch über den tatsächlichen stehen,”<sup>253</sup> his *In Stahlgewittern* shall not serve as the primary object of examination in this context.

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*deutschen Literatur (1770-1930)*. Ed. Harro Segeberg. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1991. Print. 337-378. Here: 340.

<sup>251</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *In Stahlgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Vol. 1*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print. 20. (My emphasis)

<sup>252</sup> The 1922 and the 1924 editions are an exception from this.

<sup>253</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 132-366. Here: 307.

More importantly, however, it will not be the focal point of the following deliberations, since the textual strategies of Jünger's debut novel lack the strategic as well as aesthetic sophistication and rather clear cut (initial) intent of his following publications.<sup>254</sup>

Consequently, I will turn to some lesser-known and seldom analyzed works of Ernst Jünger in order to provide answers to the question of how literature can function as a means for the continuation of war during a time that offers a multitude of radicalized *Lebensversuche zwischen den Kriegen*. Building on and conceptually augmenting the key-terminology that was identified in chapter one on the basis of Jünger's *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*, I will thus focus on those moments that are designed as a means of destabilizing the recipient, and are accordingly implemented to pursue specific tactical and strategic goals: namely the "Perpetuierung der Kriegssituation" as well as strengthening the embattled 'Gemeinschaft.'<sup>255</sup>

How this aggressive aesthetic plays out in Jünger's literary writings will largely be examined on the basis of his 1922 publication *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, with reference to his 1923 novella *Sturm* that was first published as a serial novel in the »Hannoversche Kurier. Zeitung für Norddeutschland« from April 11<sup>th</sup> to the 27<sup>th</sup> and only much later as a monograph in 1963, by referring to *Feuer und Blut* (1925), as well as by analyzing *Das Wäldchen 125* (published in October 1924, dated from 1925).<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> Michael Auer rightly observes a "textstrategische[n] Wandel" after the publication of *In Stahlgewittern*, "in dem sich die Komplizenschaft von Autor und Held ändert." (Auer, Michael. *Wege zu einer planetarischen Linientreue? Meridiane zwischen Jünger, Schmitt, Heidegger und Celan*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2013. Print. 38.)

<sup>255</sup> Gnädinger, Michael. *Zwischen Traum und Trauma. Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. Diss. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2002. Print. 51.

<sup>256</sup> I decided to pay close attention to those four works because they best exhibit the aggressive characteristic under consideration in all its variations. Furthermore, by choosing them, I am addressing a blind spot in Jünger scholarship that to this point either neglected them or avoided a comprehensive

Albeit that those works are analyzed side by side in this chapter, I am neither suggesting an actual programmatic congruity nor a teleological development. Instead, I will show how Jünger's textual strategies play out and to what end they are implemented during the period under consideration; i.e., I will focus on the operative congruity regarding his textual strategies that aim to function as subversive activism. Accordingly, this chapter will mainly deal with Ernst Jünger's earlier attempts at instrumentalizing literature, whereas the following chapter will focus on his a-/or counter-political writings throughout all of the years of the Weimar Republic. An analysis of the above mentioned works will then provide answers to the central questions of this chapter: can a condensed and stringent ideological (nationalist) position be identified in Jünger's literary work of the early Weimar years that would fall in line with specific political movements at the time, or is any one of his (varying) positions always already taken up in opposition to something else? If my thesis that his textual strategies are modeled after his experiences in the front lines holds true – which would characterize most of his writings as a defensive reaction to something that ought to be destroyed – the latter should prove to be correct. Concomitantly, Jünger's aesthetic modus operandi as well as his textual strategies have to be central to the examinations of the chapter at hand.

At about the same time as Jünger published the second edition of his *In Stahlgewittern*, the first edition of his collection of thirteen kaleidoscopic vignettes, *Der*

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analysis of all four works together. For a thorough analysis of *Das abenteuerliche Herz I* and *II*, cf. Karl Heinz Bohrer. *Die Ästhetik des Schreckens*. The peculiar character of Jünger's 1923 novella *Sturm*, as well as its place within Jünger's oeuvre cannot be part of the discussion at hand. Accordingly, whenever I refer to *Sturm*, I am highlighting its narratological and programmatic similarities with the other publications under consideration, instead of singling it out for its aesthetic peculiarities.

*Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, was available at the bookseller's for the first time. It is only with this book that Jünger, as Karl Otto Paetel puts it, commences his activist operations as the anomic "ideologische Einzelgänger"<sup>257</sup> who would constantly negotiate and gradually develop a solitary position within the peripheral poles that make up the agonal area of tension between an elitist call for radical subversion, the gradually refined yet ever changing definition of a "Gemeinschaft" in opposition to the "Gesellschaft,"<sup>258</sup> and the growing recognition regarding the all-encompassing character of 'Arbeit' that serves as the driving force of an actual totality. That all this could only be pursued as an "Einzelgänger," Jünger long knew from his experiences in the front lines, which lead him to conclude that "Kriegserfolge nur vom Einzelnen errungen werden."<sup>259</sup> That this anomic modus operandi was characteristic for Jünger's Weimar thought can, for example, be seen with reference to his *Das Abenteuerliche Herz*, which was published some eleven years after the war had ended. Here, Jünger writes: "Man kann sich heute nicht in Gesellschaft um Deutschland bemühen; man muß es einsam tun. Wie ein

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<sup>257</sup> Paetel, Karl O. *Ernst Jünger. Die Wandlung eines deutschen Dichters und Patrioten*. New York: Verlag Friedrich Krause, 1946. Print. 9.

<sup>258</sup> Cf. a preliminary working definition by Ferdinand Tönnies of "Gemeinschaft" and "Gesellschaft": "Gemeinschaft ist das dauernde und echte Zusammenleben, Gesellschaft nur ein vorübergehendes und scheinbares. Und demnach ist es gemäß, daß Gemeinschaft selber als ein lebediger Organismus, Gesellschaft als ein mechanisches Aggregat und Artefakt verstanden werden soll." (Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005. Print. 4). Ferdinand Tönnies was the first theoretician to parse the often synonymously used terms 'Gemeinschaft' and 'Gesellschaft,' thus engendering a far-reaching sociological discourse that would leave its traces with Ernst Jünger's understanding of either term and not least facilitate his juxtaposition of the 'Gemeinschaft der Frontsoldaten' with the 'bürgerlichen Gesellschaft,' or of the "Großstadt" with the "Land." (cf. Jünger, Ernst. "Gross-stadt und Land. Deutsches Volkstum, August 1926." In: Ernst Jünger. *Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. 229-236. Print.) Cf. also Helmut Lethen, who observes: "»Gemeinschaft galt in diesen Jahren ein Kampfbegriff gegen »Gesellschaft«, er meinte den Rekurs auf einen verlorenen »ursprünglichen und natürlichen Zustand« der *Einheit*, den Ferdinand Tönnies schon 1886 in Opposition zur Zerstreuung in der Sphäre der Zivilisation begrifflich konstruiert hatte." (Lethen, Helmut. *Verhaltenslehren der Kälte. Lebensversuche zwischen den Kriegen*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2014. Print. 76.)

<sup>259</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Kriegstagebuch 1914-1918*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2010. Print. 421.

Mensch, der mit seinem Buschmesser im Urwald Bresche schlägt und den nur die Hoffnung erhält, daß irgendwo im Dickicht andere an der gleichen Arbeit sind.”<sup>260</sup>

Paradigmatic for the ‘Arbeit’ that ought to bring about and become characteristic for the war yet to come, Jünger adds a somewhat enigmatic passage to his debut novel for the 1922 edition of *In Stahlgewittern*, in which he recounts his days in a military hospital during September 1918 – i.e. following his last deployment – where he shared a room with a member of the famous Manfred von Richthofen fighter squadron. He remembers that both felt ready for yet another winter campaign, which, however, would be “vorläufig vertagt.”<sup>261</sup> Instead of being redeployed to the western front, Jünger concludes this passage in the following, vaguely prescient way that benefits from a vantage point informed by four years of post-war experience: “Wir sollten uns bald an anderen Kämpfen beteiligen, als uns geträumt.”<sup>262</sup> The obvious questions then have to be at this point: which battles is Jünger alluding to, to what end and based on which ideas are they being fought, as well as by which means are they being conducted?

I have established my thesis that the goal of Jünger’s battles during the Weimar years is the radical subversion of *any* given political structure that is based on relative power – e.g. the democratic multi-party-system as the political form of expression of the ‘bürgerliche Gesellschaft,’ which Jünger recognizes as a plutonomy at best – and that the means he employs is first and foremost his writing. In this light, *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, *Sturm, Feuer und Blut*, and *Das Wäldchen 125*, as well as many of his other

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<sup>260</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Abenteuerliche Herz. Erste Fassung.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Das Abenteuerliche Herz. SW 11. Essays III*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 31-176. Here: 114.

<sup>261</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *In Stahlgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Vol. 1*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print. 640.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.* 640.



Weimar writings as well as their revisions lose the veneer which claims that they are merely retrospective accounts trying to provide answers to the question “Was ging am Grunde vor”<sup>263</sup> – i.e. how did the war change those who fought in it and vice versa – or, even more plainly, to objectively “schlidern”<sup>264</sup> what happened, but shifts the emphasis towards the everlasting battle, its current as well as future participants, and its prospects. Following this, and since Jünger knows of the foreboding and suggestive potential of literature, which allows him to first introduce and later solidify “Ideen von formgebender Bedeutung,” his literary publications have to be analyzed accordingly.<sup>265</sup> For the first time in Jünger’s work, the actualization of literature’s suggestive potential can be observed in *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*. As opposed to the chronological narrative of *In Stahlgewittern*, *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* is Jünger’s first attempt at a systematization of his past experience accompanied by predictions regarding a future subversion of the currently prevailing status quo. The war is thus postulated as imminent and described as the welcomed apocalyptic moment that simultaneously denotes the end and a new beginning;<sup>266</sup> the former has to be understood as the immediate content of *Der*

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<sup>263</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 13.

<sup>264</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *In Stahlgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Vol. 1*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print. 20.

<sup>265</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Die Reaktion. Die Standarte, 01. November 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 119-125. Here: 121f.

<sup>266</sup> The same ductus can be found in Franz Schauwecker’s *Aufbruch der Nation*. The motto of the novel reads: “»Wir mußten den Krieg verlieren, um die Nation zu gewinnen.«” And Ernst Jünger comments accordingly in his review of Schauwecker’s book: “die Niederlage wird als notwendig erkannt und anerkannt. Die Lösung aber liegt darin, daß die eigentliche Substanz, in diesem Sinne die »Nation«, als eine Größe gesehen wird, die durch die Niederlage nicht berührt werden kann.” (Jünger, Ernst. “»Aufbruch der Nation«. Der Tag, 11. Oktober 1929.” In: Ernst Jünger. *Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. 517-521. Print. Here: 518.) In “Die totale Mobilmachung,” Jünger will underline this insight, when he writes: “so kann auch das Ergebnis dieses Krieges für die wirklichen Krieger kein anderes als der Gewinn des tieferen Deutschland sein.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Die totale

*Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, the latter as latent, omnipresent, yet undefined goal.

However, it is an attempt void of narrative contiguity,<sup>267</sup> and it is not analytically informing war as such. Instead, Jünger presents kaleidoscopic images pertaining to his immediate past experiences that not only aim at resembling impressions structured along the lines of systematic observations, but that are especially meant to communicate the potential to translate certain past experiences to the present situation, thus delegating responsibility for future subversive action to the respective audience.

In order to understand Jünger's Weimar writings and how they ought to inform their respective recipients, it is imperative to analyze each text under consideration in two directions: on the one hand, with the obvious retrospective character in mind and on the other with an emphasis on the – albeit vague and almost constantly changing – subversive programmatic character. In the case of *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, both planes are paradigmatically present as early as in the table of contents. The first chapter is entitled “Blut,” the last “Vorm Kampf.” The inherent ambiguity of the former is fourfold: first, it describes the blood that is audibly pumping through the veins of the warriors in times of heightened awareness and anxiety; secondly, it describes the blood that the warrior seeks to shed; thirdly, it is the blood that the warrior witnesses and witnessed being shed; and lastly, it is the mythologized blood that ought to fertilize the grounds of the battle fields, thus enabling the emergence of a new nation.<sup>268</sup> The ambivalence of the latter displays

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Mobilmachung. In: »Krieg und Krieger.« Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 558-582. Here: 581.)

<sup>267</sup> Except for some anecdotal moments, depicting Jünger's personal experiences at the front.

<sup>268</sup> Or, as Jünger puts it in *Das Wäldchen 125* in a more biblical tone of voice: “Dieses Stück Erde [...] ist der Acker, den wir jetzt bestellen sollen und in den man uns selbst vielleicht als Samenkörner versenkt.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 301-438. Here: 313.)

the same bi-directionality: first, it is the obvious description of the pre-battle preparations during the war, and secondly, it is a gesture towards a battle yet to come.<sup>269</sup> Accordingly, the distinguishing moment of Jünger's work is not so much the „Prozeß zwischen archaisierender Rückwendung einerseits und diagnostizierender, antizipierender Modernität andererseits,“<sup>270</sup> as Karl Heinz Bohrer puts it in his *Ästhetik des Schreckens*, but it is much more the momentary structural simultaneity of retrospective accounts with prescient calls to action that is characteristic for Jünger's aesthetic modus operandi.<sup>271</sup> It is precisely this simultaneity which is part of a textual strategy informed by the experience of the incessant back and forth during the times of the stalemate and that

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<sup>269</sup> In his 1930 essay “Die totale Mobilmachung,” Jünger will describe the role of literature as it pertains to the future war as follows: it is the “Versuch, durch den die deutsche Kriegsliteratur das Allgemeinbewusstsein zu scheinbar nachträglichen, in Wirklichkeit jedoch höchst aktuellen Entscheidungen über kriegerische Dinge zwingt.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Die totale Mobilmachung. In: »Krieg und Krieger.« Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 558-582. Here: 563f.) At this point, it is noteworthy that this modus of writing is not uniquely Jüngerian. Werner Beumelburg, for instance, formulates the agenda of his populist rewriting of history – *Deutschland in Ketten* – along the same lines. He writes in the preface: “wer sehen will, wird erkennen, daß dieses Buch die Vergangenheit nur schildert, um die Zukunft zu weisen.” (Beumelburg, Werner. *Deutschland in Ketten. Von Versailles bis zum Youngplan*. Berlin: Gerhard Stalling, 1931. Print. 11.)

<sup>270</sup> Bohrer, Karl Heinz. *Die Ästhetik des Schreckens – Die pessimistische Romantik und Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. München: Carl Hanser, 1978. Print. 75.

<sup>271</sup> Volker Mergenthaler analyzes the aesthetic of this bi-directionality – or, “Doppelausrichtung” of speech, as he calls it – regarding the promise from the preface of *In Stahlgewittern*; viz. to erect a monument for those who have lost their lives in battle. This monument shall serve two purposes: first, to commemorate those, who lost their lives and secondly to give meaning to their deaths as a basis for what is yet to come. (cf. Mergenthaler, Volker. »Versuch, ein Dekameron des Unterstandes zu schreiben«. *Zum Problem narrativer Kriegsbegegnung in den frühen Prosatexten Ernst Jüngers*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2001. Print. 70ff.) Jürgen Brokoff focuses on the latter of the two in his book *Die Apokalypse in der Weimarer Republik*, and discovers a “»doppelte« Strukturbildung” as the “unverwechselbare Charakteristikum der Redeform der Apokalypse,” which he traces in Jünger's *Der Arbeiter*. (Brokoff, Jürgen. *Die Apokalypse in der Weimarer Republik*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2001. Print. 10.) Matthias Schöning, too, observes such a bi-directionality, when he writes: “Auf der Darstellungsseite zeichnet sie [Kriegsliteratur] das Bild einer vom Krieg zerrissenen Gesellschaft, in der appellativen Dimension jedoch verbindet sie denselben Krieg mit der Hoffnung auf gemeinschaftliche Erneuerung der Nation.” (Schöning, Matthias. *Versprengte Gemeinschaft. Kriegsroman und intellektuelle Mobilmachung in Deutschland 1914-1933*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009. Print. Here: 229.) And lastly, Michael Auer comments on this textual strategy as one that suspends “die Unterscheidung von Konstativum und Performativum.” (Auer, Michael. *Wege zu einer planetarischen Linientreue? Meridiane zwischen Jünger, Schmitt, Heidegger und Celan*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2013. Print. 23.)

offers the potential to turn each recipient sympathetic to the retrospective accounts into an accomplice in the war yet-to-come, since the superposition of both temporal planes – that of the allegedly factual with the programmatic potential – does not allow for an acceptance of one whilst rejecting the other.<sup>272</sup> Furthermore, for Jünger, the fundamental experience in the front lines – “Blut” – is inseparable from the lasting, yet adaptable ‘Frontsoldatentum’ that is – as a ‘Gemeinschaft’ of ‘Arbeiter-Krieger’ – thought to shape the future: i.e. “Vorm Kampf.” In the later deleted preface to *Feuer und Blut*, Jünger presents this aspiration in an unveiled way: “Den tatsächlichen Kern des vorliegenden Buches bilden zwanzig Seiten meines Kriegstagebuches, das ich vor Jahren unter dem Titel »In Stahlgewittern« herausgegeben habe.”<sup>273</sup> That is to say, *Feuer und Blut* is initially presented as a narrative of the “rein Tatsächliche” without adding anything to the retrospective ‘objectivity’ of Jünger’s earlier publications.<sup>274</sup> However, this time, he couples this claim to be objectively re-presenting past proceedings with a claim to a universal comprehensibility that ought to serve as a means to strengthen the narrative of and to prepare his variant of modern nationalism: “Die Männer, für die ich schreibe, wissen, daß hier [...] nicht von vergangenen Dingen, sondern von zukünftigen die Rede ist.”<sup>275</sup> For Jünger, this inherently means that all deliberations regarding present proceedings as well as their transferability and comprehensibility are, for the time being,

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<sup>272</sup> This is an insight, which Jünger will formulate programmatically in his famous 1930 essay “Die totale Mobilmachung:” it is the “Versuch, durch den die deutsche Kriegsliteratur das Allgemeinbewußtsein zu scheinbar nachträglichen, in Wirklichkeit jedoch höchst aktuellen Entscheidungen über kriegerische Dinge zwingt.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Die totale Mobilmachung. »Krieg und Krieger.« Berlin 1930.” In: Ernst Jünger. *Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. 558-582. Print. Here: 563f.)

<sup>273</sup> Jünger Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt au seiner großen Schlacht.” In: *Der Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 367-485. Here: 367.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

built on the privileged epistemological position that only the experienced warrior – i.e. ‘die Männer für die ich hier schreibe’ in opposition to the common soldier of the rear echelon or, mutatis mutandis, the ‘Bürger’ – is able to occupy and that all true warriors do in fact occupy.<sup>276</sup> Accordingly, Franz Schauwecker, who was an acquaintance and *Standarte* colleague of Ernst Jünger, and who would later turn into a fervent proponent of national socialism, writes in his most successful war-novel *Aufbruch der Nation*: “Man konnte sie beliebig vertauschen. [...] Sie taten in diesen zerbrennenden Schmelzöfen alles Unterschiedene ab und wurden sich gleich, bis allein der deutsche Frontsoldat übrig blieb.”<sup>277</sup> It is consequently this supposedly forged ‘deutsche Frontsoldat’ who is Jünger’s addressee at this point in time, and who ought to carry the movement of modern nationalism.

Taken together, this means not least that the alleged periphery – i.e. the front-lines – turns into the actual center of understanding – i.e. the epistemological locus of any fundamental experience – thus excluding those who are or were not on active service from any potential insight. Or, as Franz Schauwecker’s protagonist from *Aufbruch der Nation* observes: “Man konnte das Eigentliche nicht begreifen, wenn man es nicht selber erlebt hatte.”<sup>278</sup> Based on the 1916 Battle of Verdun, Schauwecker will first strengthen this insight – “Die Nation war nur noch hier draußen und allein an der Front.”<sup>279</sup> – to then programmatically propagate the trajectory of necessary post-war action: “Sie standen hier

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<sup>276</sup> In *Der Arbeiter*, Jünger will retrospectively note: “Nach dem Waffenstillstand, der den Konflikt nur scheinbar beendet [...] bleibt ein Zustand zurück in dem die Katastrophe als das a priori eines veränderten Denkens erscheint.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 61.)

<sup>277</sup> Schauwecker, Franz. *Aufbruch der Nation*. Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1930. Print. 250.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid. 153.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid. 235.

für sich allein da und für die kommende Nation, die nicht jenen da hinten in die unreinen Hände fallen durfte.”<sup>280</sup>

Ernst Jünger develops a similar, albeit less outrightly populist nationalist position for the first time ever – i.e. seven years prior to Franz Schauwecker – in the chapter “Pazifismus” from *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*. This chapter, as well as all the others, displays the same strategic bi-directionality as mentioned above. Initially, Jünger begins this chapter by giving a retrospective account, which leads him to assert that war is a “Naturgesetz,”<sup>281</sup> whilst simultaneously calling those to arms who agree with this statement and who share his experience; i.e. the “Typen der Front.”<sup>282</sup> The attempt at circumventing the binding character of this law of nature will, according to Jünger, inevitably lead to the demise of those who try. Put differently, what Jünger tries to argue for in the chapter “Pazifismus” is the inescapable ‘Notwendigkeit’ of war based on its ‘Naturgesetzlichkeit.’ In the case of the chapter under consideration, he who will paradigmatically be devoured by war based on his attempts at avoiding this lawful character is the pacifist. Jünger chooses him as a first example, since the increasing presence of pacifism in the public discourse after the Great War as well as its inherent radicalism allows him to make his point most clearly. However, the pacifist – who, for Jünger, is mainly characterized by his perpetual striving for bourgeois security and not primarily by being ideologically driven based on the rejection of war in order to protect

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<sup>280</sup> Ibid. 253.

<sup>281</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 40.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid. 42. For an account of Jünger’s “*Ästhetik der Materialschlacht*” and its relation to an “*Ästhetik des Natur-Erhabenen*,” cf. Harro Segeberg’s “Die Geburt der »Gruppe«” (Segeberg, Harro. “Regressive Modernisierung. Kriegserlebnis und Moderne-Kritik in Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk.” In: *Vom Wert der Arbeit. Zur literarischen Konstitution des Wertkomplexes ‘Arbeit’ in der deutschen Literatur (1770-1930)*. Ed. Harro Segeberg. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1991. Print. 337-378. Here: 345-347.

human dignity – is only exemplary and will later be replaced by the ‘Bürger’ in general. What both, pacifist and ‘Bürger,’ fail to recognize, since they are blind to that which the ‘Frontsoldat’ is able to see, Jünger describes as follows:

[D]er Krieg ist nicht tot, wenn keine Dörfer und Städte mehr brennen, wenn nicht mehr Millionen mit verkrampfter Faust im Feuer verbluten, wenn man nicht mehr Menschen als wimmernde Bündel auf die blanken Tische der Lazarette schnallt. Er wird auch nicht geboren von einigen Staatsmännern und Diplomaten, wie viele glauben. Das alles ist äußerlich. Die wahren Quellen des Krieges springen tief in unserer Brust, und alles Gräßliche, was zuzeiten die Welt überflutet, ist nur ein Spiegelbild der menschlichen Seele, im Geschehen sich offenbarend.<sup>283</sup>

With this, Jünger makes his position abundantly clear: actual war is absolute and inherent to the nature of man, which in turn makes it ever- and omni-present. Three years after the publication of *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, Jünger publishes his article “Der Pazifismus” in the journal *Standarte*, in which he employs the exact same textual strategy as in the former, but where he sharpens his argumentative tactics. Here, in line with the key notion of social Darwinism, he establishes “Verdrängung” as ever-present symptom accompanying all forms of life that share any points of contact.<sup>284</sup> Concomitantly, the actual battle that is fought with weapons between peoples or nations, or occurrences such as civil wars, turn into just one symptom of war as such.<sup>285</sup> However, Jünger maintains:

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<sup>283</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 40.

<sup>284</sup> Cf. Jünger, Ernst. “Der Pazifismus. Die Standarte, 15. November 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 131-139. Here: 133.

<sup>285</sup> This is an insight that Jünger will re-establish and further develop in 1930 in his famous essay “Die totale Mobilmachung,” where he discusses the “dynamische Energien [...] von deren zerstörenden Siegeszug die Fernfeuergeschütze und die mit Bomben bewaffneten Kampfgeschwader nur der kriegerische Ausdruck sind.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Die totale Mobilmachung. In: »Krieg und Krieger.« Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 558-582. Here: 578.) And in “Das große Bild des Krieges,” he further clarifies regarding the mobilization, “daß sie nicht mehr die militärischen Körper der Staaten allein in Bewegung zu setzen versucht, sondern ihre Arbeitskraft, von der die militärischen Anstrengungen nur eine der Äußerungen sind.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Das Große Bild des Krieges. Das Antzlit des Weltkrieges, Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 605-612. Here: 609.) Cf. also chapter 3, §3 of the examination at hand.

“[d]ie Kanonen [...] sprechen immer mit,”<sup>286</sup> since they are the ultima ratio of any conflict. With this postulation regarding the invariable ubiquity of war, Jünger renders all those attempts at ending or preventing it redundant once and for all.<sup>287</sup>

The anecdote following this postulation is characterized by an excessive use of the first person plural pronoun, thus strengthening the ‘Gemeinschaft’ of those who have been initiated to the circle of the ‘Frontsoldaten,’ whilst simultaneously dissociating themselves from those who have never experienced “das Gefühl der Front”<sup>288</sup> and are now striving against war and for security: namely, the ‘Gesellschaft.’ For Jünger, “die Existenz eines ‘Anderen Deutschlands’”<sup>289</sup> is thus contingent upon the persistence of the ‘Gemeinschaft der Frontsoldaten,’ which accordingly has to take up position against *Das Andere Deutschland* that was propagated by Fritz Küster et al. in their original periodical *Der Pazifist*, which was first published in 1921. Accordingly, Jünger employs “»Gemeinschaft«” at all times as “ein Kampfbegriff gegen »Gesellschaft«,” as Helmut Lethen puts it in his *Verhaltenslehren der Kälte*.<sup>290</sup>

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<sup>286</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Pazifismus. Die Standarte, 15. November 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 131-139. Here: 134.

<sup>287</sup> An example for the same insight, yet from an utterly different perspective is the ‘Frontsoldat’ Ernst Toller, who swore “nie mehr ein Gewehr in die Hand zu nehmen,” (Toller, Ernst. *Eine Jugend in Deutschland*. Hamburg: Rohwolt, 2014. Print. 26) and who identifies as a pacifist – “der Krieg ließ mich zum Kriegsgegner werden” (Ibid. 63) – recognizes the ubiquity of war during the times of the ‘Münchener Räterepublik’ – “ich begegne ihm [Krieg] überall” (Ibid. 56) – and turns into a, albeit disgusted, proponent of the necessity of the “Tat.” (Ibid. 60)

<sup>288</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 44.

<sup>289</sup> Paetel, Karl O. *Ernst Jünger. Die Wandlung eines deutschen Dichters und Patrioten*. New York: Verlag Friedrich Krause, 1946. Print. 7. The “Andere Deutschland” that Paetel mentions here is not one of those that were shaping up during the Weimar years, but the one that describes a movement in opposition to Adolf Hitler during World War Two. However, Paetel’s designation is just as apt for the former as it is for the latter regarding Jünger’s special position(s).

<sup>290</sup> Lethen, Helmut. *Verhaltenslehren der Kälte. Lebensversuche zwischen den Kriegen*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2014. Print. 76.



It is symptomatic for Jünger's modus operandi that he would change the last paragraph of the chapter dealing with pacifism in the definitive edition of *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*. In the original version of 1922, the pacifist was still allowed another final appearance at the very end of the vignette. Here, Jünger recounts a common denominator with the pacifist; viz. that Jünger agrees with the pacifist when it comes to the fact that we are all human, but that precisely because of this, the moment at which "wir übereinander herfallen" will inevitably ensue.<sup>291</sup> In other words, the moment at which one latent symptom of the ever-present and incessant war breaks out again is unavoidable.<sup>292</sup> Jünger thus comes full circle when he closes this chapter by reiterating a point that he had already made at the very beginning: namely, war is a "Naturgesetz" and as such universally valid.<sup>293</sup>

By contrast and symptomatically for Jünger's understanding that war does not have to be conducted with literal weaponry due to its ever- and omnipresent character, he cuts this last paragraph in the definitive edition of 1926, thus performatively displaying the vanishing of the pacifist. This moment is then also the first time that this characteristic of Jünger's Weimar writings and his understanding of the continuation of war by other means can be observed: it is not necessary that actual battle as just one symptom of a ubiquitous and incessant war actually breaks out for the pacifist – or the

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<sup>291</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*. Berlin: Mittler & Sohn, 1922. Print. 45.

<sup>292</sup> With regards to the 'Gesellschaft,' Ferdinand Tönnies observes similarly: "Da nun in ihr [Gesellschaft] jede Person ihren eigenen Vorteil erstrebt und die übrigen nur bejaht, soweit und solange als sie denselben fördern mögen, so kann das Verhältnis aller zu allen, vor und außerhalb der Konventionen, und wiederum vor und außer jedem besonderen Kontrakte, als *potentielle Feindseligkeit oder ein latenter Krieg* begriffen werden." (Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005. Print. 45. My Emphasis.)

<sup>293</sup> Jünger, Ernst. "Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis." In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 40.

‘Bürger’ respectively – to vanish, since Jünger knows: “Nicht immer wird, wie hier, der Weg zu bahnen sein durch Trichter, Feuer und Stahl, aber der Sturmschritt, mit dem das Geschehen vorgetragen wird, das eisengewohnte Tempo, das wird dasselbe bleiben.”<sup>294</sup> The conviction remains that just as the pacifist vanished from the vignette “Pazifismus,” the ‘Bürger’ will eventually vanish in reality. What would then ultimately emerge and what will be examined most closely in the fourth chapter, is the ‘Gemeinschaft’ of the “Frontsoldaten des Erdballs”<sup>295</sup> that will eventually not have to take up position against a ‘Gesellschaft’ anymore since the latter is axiomatically postulated as “nur ein vorübergehendes und scheinbares” symptom of cohabitation.<sup>296</sup> By contrast, the “Gemeinschaft” is nominated as “das dauernde und echte,”<sup>297</sup> which will thus simply outlive the former. Up to this point, however, it is necessary for the “neue Rasse,” which Jünger describes as “klug, stark und Willens voll,”<sup>298</sup> to uphold the “eisengewohnte Tempo.”<sup>299</sup> The questions, who exactly those men are that comprise most of said ‘neue Rasse,’ and, more importantly, how the meaning of the individuals belonging to said “Rasse” is restored after it had vanished in light of the omnipresence of a mechanized and all-destroying war-machinery,<sup>300</sup> are the focal point of the following section.

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<sup>294</sup> Ibid. 73.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid. 50.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid.

<sup>297</sup> Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005. Print. 4. Concerning this observation, Helmut Lethen rightly states: “»Gemeinschaft vergißt zu gern, daß sie im Rahmen der technischen Verkehrsformen der Gesellschaft funktioniert und sich nur im lebenserhaltenden Kontrast definieren kann.” (Lethen, Helmut. *Verhaltenslehren der Kälte. Lebensversuche zwischen den Kriegen*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2014. Print. 77.)

<sup>298</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 73.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid.

<sup>300</sup> Cf. Ibid. 102.

## §2

## The Meaning of the Individual

In his recent analysis *Das Wissen des Kriegers oder der magische Operateur* of Ernst Jünger's early writings up to *Der Arbeiter*, Manfred Maengel observes: "Es gibt also nur zwei Weisen der 'Einbeziehung': die aktiv-engagierte, aus der die Teilhabe an den Kräften und Energien der Epoche hervorgeht, und die passiv-eskapistische, in der sich das allgemeine Leiden zur Ohnmacht des der Moderne nicht gewachsenen Typus verdichtet."<sup>301</sup> The type of involvement characteristic of Jünger and his interpretation of his post-War remit can – with Volker Mergenthaler – be seen by reference to and parsed on the basis of the central type that Jünger first establishes as 'der Krieger' and later develops into 'der Arbeiter.' Mergenthaler writes:

[E]rst als "Krieger" etikettiert tritt "der einzelne" aus der Struktur der Verdinglichung und Entmündigung durch den Krieg nicht nur 'empirisch', sondern auch grammatikalisch heraus, und zwar als 'nomen agentis', nicht mehr als ausführendes Organ, Opfer oder Effekt, sondern als "Urheber [...] einer Handlung", nicht mehr als Krieg erleidend, sondern als derjenige, der Krieg überhaupt erst hervorbringt.<sup>302</sup>

What Mergenthaler refers to in this paragraph is what I have examined in my first chapter with reference to the moment of 'herbeigeführte Plötzlichkeit;' or, as Maengel calls it, "eine Ästhetik der Aktion."<sup>303</sup> On the basis of Jünger's early Weimar writings, such a moment of initially recognizing the potential for, and then actually regaining agency can first be observed at the very beginning of *In Stahlgewittern*, where – as in all the other

<sup>301</sup> Maengel, Manfred. *Das Wissen des Kriegers oder Der Magische Operateur. Krieg und Technik im Frühwerk von Ernst Jünger*. Berlin: XENOMOS, 2005. Print. 32f.

<sup>302</sup> Mergenthaler, Volker. »Versuch, ein Dekameron des Unterstandes zu schreiben«. *Zum Problem narrativer Kriegsbegegnung in den frühen Prosatexten Ernst Jüngers*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2001. Print. 21.

<sup>303</sup> Maengel, Manfred. *Das Wissen des Kriegers oder Der Magische Operateur. Krieg und Technik im Frühwerk von Ernst Jünger*. Berlin: XENOMOS, 2005. Print. 281.

literary works under consideration – he stylizes the protagonist as an authentic “I.” In the exposition of *In Stahlgewittern*, Jünger surrenders his individuality at the very moment when the “Oberprimaner,” who, still as acting subject, “meldete [s]ich als Kriegsfreiwilliger,” merges with the passivity of the controlled and historically conditioned soldierly “Wir” “die verladen wurden.”<sup>304</sup> With this, Jünger initiates a development from complete passivity towards gradually regained agency by ultimately becoming a (elite-)“Krieger.”<sup>305</sup> Or, formulated with a focus on the ‘Gemeinschaft’ instead of the individual: it is about the “Wandlung von der formalen zur selbstgesteuerten ‘organischen’ Kampfeinheit,” which operates according to the so called ‘Auftragstaktik’ – as opposed to the rigid ‘Befehlstaktik’ – and to which Jünger predictively attaches “den exklusiven Führungsanspruch.”<sup>306</sup> From the perspective of military-history, this development begins with merely belonging to men, to engaging in spontaneous patrols, to being part of a reconnaissance unit that is free from the every-day routine of the war, to finally forming quasi-independent elite shock troops, “die ohne alle äußerlichen Befehlsvorgaben vorgehen.”<sup>307</sup> The members of the latter are then to be

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<sup>304</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *In Stahlgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Vol. 1.* Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print. 26. (My emphasis) Similarly, Franz Schauwecker describes the passivity and indistinguishability of the soldierly “Wir” in his 1930 book *Aufbruch der Nation*: “‘Mutter’, murmelte er [Albrecht] und winkte ihr zu. Sie konnte ihn unmöglich unter den tausend Uniformen erkennen. Er war einer von Millionen Gleichen.” (Schauwecker, Franz. *Aufbruch der Nation*. Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1930. Print. 47.)

<sup>305</sup> Cf. Mergenthaler, Volker. »Versuch, ein Dekameron des Unterstandes zu schreiben«. *Zum Problem narrativer Kriegsbegegnung in den frühen Prosatexten Ernst Jüngers*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2001. Print. Cf. 57-60.

<sup>306</sup> Segeberg, Harro. “Regressive Modernisierung. Kriegserlebnis und Moderne-Kritik in Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk.” In: *Vom Wert der Arbeit. Zur literarischen Konstitution des Wertkomplexes ‘Arbeit’ in der deutschen Literatur (1770-1930)*. Ed. Harro Segeberg. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1991. Print. 337-378. Here: 352.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.* 351.

understood as those individuals who will pioneer the ‘Gemeinschaft der Frontsoldaten’ after the war, based on their experience of autonomy on the front lines.

The crucial turning point of this development – as already established in the first chapter – is the year 1916, when “der Krieg ein neues Gepräge an[nahm].”<sup>308</sup> Or, more precisely, when the relationship between man and machine lastingly changed based on new tactical developments that more strongly emphasize the interplay of artillery and infantry, which eventually led up to the implementation of elite combat groups as the exemplary representative of a new kind of man.<sup>309</sup> For the time being, however, Jünger somewhat hesitantly observes that “[d]er Kampf der Maschinen so gewaltig [ist], daß der Mensch *fast* ganz davor verschwindet.”<sup>310</sup> Not entirely, however, only ‘fast’! And it is precisely this restriction that allows Jünger to formulate the following objection in opposition to those who, such as Franz Schauwecker in his war novel *Aufbruch der Nation*,<sup>311</sup> emphasize the utter and irreversible mechanization of man:

Und doch: hinter allem steckt der Mensch. *Er* gibt den Maschinen erst Richtung und Sinn. *Er* jagt aus ihnen Geschosse, Sprengstoff und Gift. *Er* erhebt sich in ihnen als Raubvogel über den Gegner. *Er* hockt in ihrem Bauche, wenn sie feuerspeierend über das

<sup>308</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Die Materialschlacht. Die Standarte, 04. Oktober 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 95-100. Here: 95.

<sup>309</sup> Another “writer,” who identifies 1916 as a turning point that enabled man to recognize its value is Hans Zöberlein, who stammers: “Da [Verdun] habe ich gemerkt, wie stark ein Mann sein kann, was für unheimliche Kräfte in einem lebendig werden können. Das ist ein Sinn dieses Krieges, uns das erkennen zu lassen, wie unheimlich stark ein Mann sein kann. So einer von der Front wiegt doch Dutzende von daheim auf an Lebensenergie. Drum hat es heute keinen Zweck, sich zu ereifern über Kriegsziele.” (Zöberlein, Hans. *Der Glaube an Deutschland. Ein Kriegserleben von Verdun bis zum Umsturz*. München: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1940. Print. 156.)

<sup>310</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 102. (My emphasis) It is the same “fast” that Jünger emphasizes in his 1925 essay on “Die Materialschlacht.” “Und wenn immer wieder [...] sich der eiserne Vorhang heruntersenkte, dann besaß dieses Geschehen schon den Ausdruck einer kosmischen, seelenlosen Gewalt, vor der der Mensch *fast* verschwand.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Die Materialschlacht. Die Standarte, 04. Oktober 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 95-100. Here: 96. My emphasis.)

<sup>311</sup> Cf. Schauwecker, Franz. *Aubruch der Nation*. Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1930. Print: “Er [Albrecht] war ein automat,” (203) who acted “mechanisch.” (Cf. also 209, 201, 250, 372)

Schlachtfeld stampfen. *Er* ist das gefährlichste, blutdürstigste und zielbewußteste Wesen, das die Erde tragen muß.<sup>312</sup>

Almost defiantly and in an apotropaic five-fold repetition, Jünger emphasizes the human being as the one and only agent in this paragraph. Albeit that common soldiers organized as men are the passive part of the military complex, and are enduring whatever they are ordered to do – the only time that the soldier is seemingly active is when he acts out orders – they regain their agency based on the recognition that man as well as men ‘steckt hinter allem.’<sup>313</sup> Or, formulated with an emphasis on the will of man: “Daß die seelische Haltung des Menschen als eine innerliche Kraft allen Gewalten der Materie überlegen ist.”<sup>314</sup> It is accordingly the *innere Erlebnis* that ultimately guarantees the autonomous self-determination of man in opposition to the heteronomous subordination to the forces of the material. Or, formulated as a proclamation: it is necessary to heroically overcome the functionalization of man.

Along those lines, the emphasis on the most extreme form of front-line individualism – the highly decorated elite soldier, or, with regards to Jünger’s example, the distinguished storm trooper – has to be read as one last and most definitive attempt at rebelling against the utter specialization of the increasingly passive (front-)workers,<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>312</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 102. (My emphasis) Jünger argues similarly in *Feuer und Blut*: “er [der Mensch] ist es, der dem Kampf und seinen Mitteln ein neues und schrecklicheres Gesicht verleiht.” (455)

<sup>313</sup> An observation that Jünger will revoke some 64 years after the Battle of Verdun in his “Ansprache zu Verdun” from 1979: “Damals, als wir uns in die Trichter preßten, wähten wir noch, der Mensch sei stärker als das Material. Das hat sich als Irrtum herausgestellt.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Ansprache zu Verdun.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 527-533. Here: 530.)

<sup>314</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Die Materialschlacht. Die Standarte, 04. Oktober 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 95-100. Here: 96.

<sup>315</sup> In his novella *Sturm*, Jünger will emphasize the unifying character of an inner nobility based on a life in the trenches that levels all prior specializations as well as those of the individual services: “Professoren und Glasbläser, die zusammen auf Hochposten zogen, Landstreicher, Elektrotechniker und Gymnasiasten, die

who constitute the majority of a military complex that is based on the division of labor. Jünger voices this insight with some contrite and distant irony in *Das Wäldchen 125* by way of an enumeration: “Aus den zahllosen Anforderungen von Elektrotechnikern, Schreibmaschinisten, Brieftaubenwärtern, Vortragskünstlern, Kinooperateuren, Totengräbern, Bademeistern, Kantinengehilfen, Kartographen, Feldbibliothekaren und weiß der Himmel, was sonst noch, errät man das belastende Gewicht, das an dieser Art der Kriegsführung hängt.”<sup>316</sup> As a reaction to this advancing specialization of soldiers, Jünger resorts to a specifically modern expression of man’s attempt at maintaining his sovereignty in the face of more and more machinery that threatens to overpower him: “Denn den Kampf gewinnt nicht die Maschine, sondern er wird mit der Maschine gewonnen.”<sup>317</sup> In order to further this insight, Jünger now needs to distinguish more sharply between the common enduring soldier – whom Edlef Köppen focuses on in his *Heeresbericht* and whom he describes as a withering individual that continuously follows the recurring command: “Fort alle Gedanken! Handgriffe!”<sup>318</sup> – and the individualistic ‘Krieger-’ type, who heralds an elitism that is characteristic of Jünger’s thought and to whom Jünger will attest the capability of participating in the “höhere Form des Krieges” yet to come.<sup>319</sup>

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eine Patrouille vereinte, Friseur und Bauernburchen, die nebeneinander in den Minierstollen vor Ort saßen, Materialträger, Schanzer und Essenholer, Offiziere, die in dunklen Winkeln des Grabens flüsteren – sie alle bildeten eine große Familie.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Sturm.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Erzählungen. SW 18. Erzählende Schriften I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-74. Here: 12)

<sup>316</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 301-438. Here: 380.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.* 343.

<sup>318</sup> Köppen, Edlef. *Heeresbericht*. Hamburg: Nikol, 2014. Print. 41.

<sup>319</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 301-438. Here: 341.

Since the growing specialization mentioned above not least renders work “rätselhaft”<sup>320</sup> for those who are not specialists, the attempt at creating an actively engaging elite ‘Frontsoldat’ as some kind of robinsonesque ‘Krieger,’<sup>321</sup> who is capable of fulfilling all tasks he faces autonomously and (almost) independent of any machinery, has to be understood as an expression of the will to preserve man’s dominance over his (growingly mechanized) environment.<sup>322</sup> At first glance, this observation contains a false syllogism, which Jünger will only gradually work through: albeit that the ‘Krieger’ as a member of an elite unit is striving for almost complete operative autonomy by emancipating himself from the military mechanics – thus seemingly regaining his individuality in the face of the dominant war-machinery – he has to be trained, i.e. specialized, vigorously in all areas pertaining to his tasks. Jünger solves this problem by focusing on the actual encounter with the enemy, which he phylogenetically interprets as “*anarchisch-naturhaft*,” as Harro Segeberg puts it in his book *Regressive Modernisierung*.<sup>323</sup> That is to say, Jünger answers to the false syllogism by postulating that the elite-‘Krieger’ as born fighter – i.e. as ‘Kämpfernatur’ – is the only part of the military complex that directly participates in the ‘Naturgesetzlichkeit’ of war, precisely

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<sup>320</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 441.

<sup>321</sup> Cf. Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 100. Cf. also: “ergriff ich Besitz von dieser Robinsonhütte.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 301-438. Here: 318.)

<sup>322</sup> In *Sturm*, Jünger formulates the same relationship of dependence as a critique of the “Sklavenhalterei des modernen Staates” with regards to the state that measures individual value by “was er in bezug auf den Staat wert ist.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Sturm.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Erzählungen. SW 18. Erzählende Schriften I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-74. Here: 15f.)

<sup>323</sup> Segeberg, Harro. “Regressive Modernisierung. Kriegserlebnis und Moderne-Kritik in Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk.” In: *Vom Wert der Arbeit. Zur literarischen Konstitution des Wertkomplexes ‘Arbeit’ in der deutschen Literatur (1770-1930)*. Ed. Harro Segeberg. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1991. Print. 337-378. Here: 345.



because he accepted his being a ‘Krieger’ as second nature. By the same token, this means that the Great War never actually produced the new man, but that it was an “Ort heldischer Persönlichkeitsentfaltung;”<sup>324</sup> i.e. the pre-existing inner ‘Kämpfernatur’ merely develops during the war to eventually manifest itself as the ‘Krieger’ who is capable of being completely taken up in the battle-proceedings.

However, the ramifications of this interpretation for Jünger’s thought as it develops over the course of the Weimar years still remain in the dark to this point. In the following, I will further analyze Jünger’s version of the ‘Krieger’ as he derives it from his front-line experiences and as it will serve as the basis for his conceptualization of ‘Arbeit’ and the ‘Arbeiter.’ In line with this, as in the first section of this chapter, the bi-directionality of retrospective accounts and future oriented subversive strategies shall serve as an analytical perspective that allows for a better understanding of Jünger’s taking up position in opposition to any established political faction via – in this case – his literature.

The goal of this analysis is not “‘Im Text den Autor [zu] finden,’”<sup>325</sup> or “‘Vom Autor her den Text [zu] erklären,’”<sup>326</sup> but to further uncover an aesthetic that serves as a basis for conceiving future subversive actions by way of a retrospective account.<sup>327</sup> Or, in

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<sup>324</sup> Liebchen, Gerda. *Ernst Jünger. Seine literarischen Arbeiten in den Zwanziger Jahren. Eine Untersuchung zur gesellschaftlichen Funktion von Literatur*. Bonn: Bouvier, 1977. Print. E.g. 33 and 38.

<sup>325</sup> Mergenthaler, Volker. »Versuch, ein Dekameron des Unterstandes zu schreiben«. *Zum Problem narrativer Kriegsbegegnung in den frühen Prosatexten Ernst Jüngers*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2001. Print. 41.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid.

<sup>327</sup> For an analysis of Jünger’s “literarischen Lebenslaufe” that highlights the “Interdependenzen zwischen ‘äußeren’ und ‘inneren’ Entwicklungen,” (33) by seeking “einen empfindsamen Ernst Jünger.” (36) Cf.: Gnädinger, Michael. *Zwischen Traum und Trauma. Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. Diss. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2002. Print. For an analysis of the “Dezentralisierte Personalunion. Jünger als Autor, Erzähler und

the words of Ernst Jünger: “der scheinbare Rückschritt, der sich hier vollzieht, [muss] als jene Art des Rückschreitens beurteilt werden [...] wie sie einem Anlauf voranzugehen pflegt.”<sup>328</sup> That said, it will not be possible to strictly adhere to the post-modern axiom regarding the death of the author, since, as Peter Koslowski aptly put it, it is inevitable that “Person und Werk” as well as historical fact will “sich [...] immer wieder [...] vermischen” when examining an oeuvre that is as closely connected to the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as it is to its author’s biography.<sup>329</sup>

Accordingly, when Jünger observes in the preface to the fifth edition of *In Stahlgewittern* that his *Kriegstagebuch* – which serves as the quarry for all of the writings under consideration in this chapter – was “Tat” not “Literature,”<sup>330</sup> the question for the analysis at hand has to be: How can “Literature” educe “Tat” with its readers? Or, put differently, how does Jünger develop an individualistic elitism with reference to the ‘Krieger’-type that may be translated to the post-war situation during a time that threatens to destroy individuality altogether?

In order to answer this question, another look at *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* from a different perspective is necessary, which is, as Volker Mergenthaler observes, “um das Verhältnis von Individuum und Krieg zentriert.”<sup>331</sup>

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Figur,” cf. also: Schöning, Matthias. *Versprengte Gemeinschaft. Kriegsroman und intellektuelle Mobilmachung in Deutschland 1914-1933*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009. Print. 174-179.

<sup>328</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 290.

<sup>329</sup> Koslowski, Peter. *Der Mythos der Moderne. Die Philosophie Ernst Jüngers*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1991. Print. 13.

<sup>330</sup> Jünger, Ernst. *In Stahlgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Vol. 1*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print. 23.

<sup>331</sup> Mergenthaler, Volker. »Versuch, ein Dekameron des Unterstandes zu schreiben«. *Zum Problem narrativer Kriegsbegegnung in den frühen Prosatexten Ernst Jüngers*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2001. Print. 81.

## §3

## The ‘Krieger’-Voice

In *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, Jünger no longer needs to outline the path from relinquished individuality to newly found agency as it was still the case with his debut novel *In Stahlgewittern*, but instead, he is able to assert from the very beginning: “Ich schreibe als Krieger.”<sup>332</sup> That is to say, from the position of someone who is capable of observing and reporting „aus seinem [des Krieges] Zentrum heraus.”<sup>333</sup> This privileged perspective lends him undeniable authority and immediately grants him agency. Jünger is now able to narrate from the position of the above introduced ‘nomen agentis’ that is able to bring about war, which in turn allows him to structure *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* along the lines of a bi-directionality that is informed by past events, filtered and altered by authorial intention and not least aesthetically stylized by the writer. Trying to analyze those three voices separately, however, would lead to a structural analysis that would necessarily have to sideline aesthetic considerations and could only marginally contribute to the questions under consideration in this chapter. Accordingly, the three voices shall be understood as one polyperspectival “Krieger”-voice, which equals neither a historiographical account nor the empirical Ernst Jünger, nor a totally stylized fictional account, but instead prompts future action via literature by way of narrating the past. Consequently, *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* – as well as the other works under

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<sup>332</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 49. This position of authority, Jünger will solidify in *Feuer und Blut*, where he states: “Ich kenne den Krieg, ich kenne ihn gründlich.” (464)

<sup>333</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 53.

consideration in the following – shall be read and understood as part of Jünger’s literary work without a genre-defining headline, and it will be analyzed accordingly, and not, as it was for example the case with the 1980 edition of Jünger’s *Sämtliche Werke*<sup>334</sup> as well as with the most recently published new edition of his collected works,<sup>335</sup> as part of his essayistic meditations under the headline “Betrachtungen zur Zeit.”<sup>336</sup> ‘Betrachtungen’ is not least a rather unfortunate choice when talking about *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, since the bi-directional ‘Krieger’-voice considers the past only to the extent that it informs the future: i.e. whilst ‘Betrachtungen’ insinuates passivity, I am focusing on the active – i.e. ‘herbeiführenden’ – character of *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*.

To begin with, the ‘Untereinander’ from the homonymous chapter simultaneously describes the community of those who once shared the confined space in the trenches as well as the contemporary ‘uns’ that is now facing entirely different forces, “von denen *unser* Handeln bewegt werden muß:” in the trenches – i.e. diegetically – as well as in the extra-diegetic present that serves as a basis for the future to be shaped.<sup>337</sup> Accordingly, the programmatic and unambiguously formulated bedrock, on which the future-oriented plane of the ‘Krieger’-voice rests, reads as follows: “Dieser Krieg ist nicht das Ende, sondern der Auftakt der Gewalt.”<sup>338</sup> The above quoted future actions as well as the

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<sup>334</sup> Cf.: Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 7. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980. Print. 9-103.

<sup>335</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103.

<sup>336</sup> Just as unfortunate as the title “Betrachtungen” for *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* is the title *Tagebücher* for the works *In Stahlgewittern*, *Das Wäldchen 125*, *Feuer und Blut*, and *Kriegsausbruch 1914*. (cf. Jünger, Ernst. “In Stahlgewittern, Das Wäldchen 125, Feuer und Blut, Kriegsausbruch 1914. In: *Ernst Jünger. Der Erste Weltkrieg. SW I. Tagebücher I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print.)

<sup>337</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 78. (My emphasis)

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.* 73.

present tense in the main clause of the preceding citation are paradigmatic regarding Jünger's textual strategy of destabilization. The reader moves on shaky ground, not always knowing whether he is confronted with a retrospective account, a vague prophecy, or an actual call to subversive action. His only dependable certainties are: the ubiquitous character of war coupled with the initial conviction from *In Stahlgewittern* that it is the heroic individual who survives, is rewarded for his deeds, and is ready for further action.<sup>339</sup>

Only at the very end of the closing chapter of *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* – namely, “Vorm Kampf” – Jünger finally relinquishes the temporal bi-directionality in favor of aesthetic considerations, which allows him to hint at the ramifications of the Great War by creating a parallel structure of war and sublime beauty: “Es steckt Schönheit darin [in/within war and power].”<sup>340</sup> The pronominal adverb “darin” first refers to the ‘Macht’ fought for during battles which are characterized by the meshing of machine-like precision and its being controlled – as emphatically established over the course of *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* – by man.<sup>341</sup> Accordingly, Harro Segeberg justifiably observes: “Jüngers Perspektive ist nicht die Vernichtung, sondern die

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<sup>339</sup> Michael Gnädinger observes accordingly: “Bleibt beim einen Romanende [*Im Westen nichts Neues*] ein Toter in der Erinnerung des Lesers zurück, erzeugt die Ordensverleihung an einem schwer verwundeten Überlebenden die Illusion, daß selbst in der Materialschlacht die Helden überleben und zu weiteren Kämpfen bereit sind.” (Gnädinger, Michael. *Zwischen Traum und Trauma. Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. Diss. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2002. Print. 33) Another example for a ‘Romanende’ that releases the recipient with a depressive prevailing mood, is the end of Edlef Koeppen's *Heeresbericht*, which addresses the question of individual culpability: “Der Krieg ist das größte Verbrechen [...] Ich habe Schuld an ihm.” (Koeppen, Edlef. *Heeresbericht*. Hamburg: Nikol, 2014. Print. 396)

<sup>340</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 103.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid.

Transformation, ja Steigerung von Sinnlichkeit durch Technik.”<sup>342</sup> Secondly, however, it points towards the parallelism regarding actual experiences of the “erhabene Zwecklosigkeit” of war with immersing oneself in a “Kunstwerk.”<sup>343</sup> He, who is able to recognize this aesthetic character of war as an infinite movement that perpetually brings forth “herrliche und unbarmherzige Schauspiele,” will in turn be sensible of its sublime character.<sup>344</sup> And, following Jünger, only he who had such an *inneres Erlebnis* – viz. he who suffered the catharsis in the depth of the trenches – is able to approve and embrace this incessant “höhere Bewegung.”<sup>345</sup> Accordingly, Jünger adds an aesthetic moment to his conceptualization of the ‘Krieger’ by granting him the capability of recognizing the sublime beauty of war; i.e. Jünger’s *Magischer Realismus*.<sup>346</sup> That he does so in the same way as when he granted the ‘Krieger’ as ‘Kämpfernatur’ insight into the ‘Naturgesetzlichkeit’ of war does not come as a surprise. However, it puts war, beauty, and nature into a telling interdependence. Namely, only he who accepts the ‘Naturgesetzlichkeit’ of war will be able to recognize its beauty based on being utterly taken up in it, which in turn is the precondition for being an actual ‘Krieger’ who is able to embrace the incessant ‘höhere Bewegung.’ Once these conditions are met, the actual

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<sup>342</sup> Segeberg, Harro. “Regressive Modernisierung. Kriegserlebnis und Moderne-Kritik in Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk.” In: *Vom Wert der Arbeit. Zur literarischen Konstitution des Wertkomplexes ‘Arbeit’ in der deutschen Literatur (1770-1930)*. Ed. Harro Segeberg. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1991. Print. 337-378. Here: 358.

<sup>343</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 103.

<sup>344</sup> Ibid.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid.

<sup>346</sup> The place where Jünger first conceptualizes his “magischen Realismus” is his 1927 Essay “Nationalismus und modernes Leben.” (Cf. Jünger, Ernst. “Nationalismus und modernes Leben. Arminius, 20. Februar 1927.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 296-301.) For a thorough analysis of Jünger’s *Magischer Realismus*, cf. e.g.: Herf, Jeffrey. *Reactionary Modernism. Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. Print. 31. Especially: 70-108.

‘Krieger’ will then necessarily – i.e. based on his knowledge regarding the ‘Naturgesetzlichkeit’ and his own nature – re-engage in combat operations to do justice to and to be part of the ‘höhere Bewegung.’ Finally, this then is the moment when freedom and obedience out of necessity are interdependent to such a degree that they approximate congruency.

Jünger performs this congruency by seemingly continuing his next publication at the very point where *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* broke off. The same group of themes from the chapter “Vorm Kampf” is re-introduced in the first paragraph of *Feuer und Blut* from 1925: on the one hand, there is the “unaufhörliche Werden,” which resembles the ‘höhere Bewegung,’ and on the other, there is the “zwecklose Frage nach dem eigentlichen Sinn,”<sup>347</sup> which he already – albeit insufficiently – answered by introducing the recognition of an ‘erhabene Zwecklosigkeit.’<sup>348</sup> *Feuer und Blut*, too, is a work characterized by the above-introduced bi-directionality, but it possesses an additional performative character with regards to the ‘unaufhörliche Werden.’ It is presented as a retrospective account – just like the other publications under consideration – but Jünger veils it even more thinly as merely retrospective narration than his prior publications. Accordingly, the actual call to action is being brought forth as early as in the metaphorical prelude: here, Jünger compares the ‘unaufhörliche Werden’ to the passing of the seasons. The textual strategy at the beginning of *Feuer und Blut* is exactly the same as throughout *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*: Jünger seemingly reports a small

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<sup>347</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 441.

<sup>348</sup> This can not least be seen as Jünger’s answer to an experience, where one’s own actions – in his case the actions of the distinguished front-line soldier – are no longer congruent with the proceedings as a whole; i.e. losing the war.

“Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht,” whilst maintaining the double-structure that forces the reader to sympathize with that which is yet to come, if he accepts the narrative of that which was.

The “Ausschnitt” Jünger chooses is also not incidental. Here, he describes the first days of the German spring offensive of 1918 – which is also inherently connected with the last chapter of *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*<sup>349</sup> – that promised the final “großen Durchbruch.”<sup>350</sup> Once this attempt at a decisive breakthrough had failed, the third novel – namely, *Das Wäldchen 125* – commences with Jünger’s last deployment. In 1925, the failure of the spring offensive is no longer of actual importance for Jünger’s narrative. As a matter of fact, both 1925 works – *Feuer und Blut* as well as *Das Wäldchen 125* – deliberately deal with snapshots of the Great War, where the battle for a strategically insignificant locus was lost despite the greatest deployment of material and men; i.e. both works refuse to even acknowledge the question ‘wozu’ by escalating the question of meaning beyond the objective. What is of great significance however, is the acceptance of an incessant becoming that, following Jünger, promises the recurrence of spring or “Tat” – viz. “neue[s] Leben”<sup>351</sup> – after a dire winter, as opposed to the failed campaign as it is presented in literature: in this case, over the course of *Feuer und Blut* and in *Das Wäldchen 125*. The crucial moment in this transition from merely recognizing to actively engaging in the movement is the *innere Erlebnis* of the true ‘Frontsoldat,’ who, in *Feuer und Blut*, has arrived at a point where there is no doubt left that he is the agent who

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<sup>349</sup> Cf. Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 97.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid.

<sup>351</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 301-438. Here: 321.



governs present proceedings and who will shape that which is yet to come.<sup>352</sup> After the prelude and at the beginning of the actual narrative, Jünger opens by introducing the acting “I,” who finds himself “Vorm Kampf,” in five-fold repetition. This apotropaically presented ‘nomen agentis’ is then quickly identified as the ‘Krieger,’ for whom spring is “die Zeit großer Angriffe.”<sup>353</sup> Mutatis mutandis, Mergenthaler’s observation that *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* is “um das Verhältnis von Individuum und Krieg zentriert,”<sup>354</sup> also applies to *Feuer und Blut*, which then loses its veneer as a novel pretending to merely report on an “Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht” and turns into a piece of literature on the militant distinguished fighter: i.e. the ‘Krieger,’ who experienced “jene Überwindung der Grenzen, die das Prinzip der Individualität aufhebt.”<sup>355</sup>

In order to further an understanding of Jünger’s ‘Krieger’-type as he first develops it in his literature, it is helpful to momentarily juxtapose this figure with its counterpart. In his 1923 novella *Sturm*, which was published as a serial comprised of fifteen episodes in the *Hanoversche Kurier* from April 11<sup>th</sup> through 27<sup>th</sup>, Jünger presents the distinction between the active ‘Krieger’ and the passive soldierly ‘we’ by way of a comparison

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<sup>352</sup> This is an observation that Jünger will elaborate on in his 1925 essay “Die Materialschlacht,” where he concludes: “Hier [spring of 1918] trat nicht nur die Kriegskunst in ein neues Stadium ein, sondern es trat auch der neue Kampftyp des Menschen [der das Material beherrscht] in seiner Vollendung auf.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Die Materialschlacht. Die Standarte, 04. Oktober 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 95-100. Here: 99.)

<sup>353</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 441.

<sup>354</sup> Mergenthaler, Volker. »Versuch, ein Dekameron des Unterstandes zu schreiben«. *Zum Problem narrativer Kriegsbegegnung in den frühen Prosatexten Ernst Jüngers*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2001. Print. 81.

<sup>355</sup> Brokoff, Jürgen. *Die Apokalypse in der Weimarer Republik*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2001. Print. 84.

between the mass of “die Schwächlinge” and the particular “Tüchtigste.”<sup>356</sup> Two years later, he will lend more emphasis to the latter when he introduces the same differentiation anecdotally in *Feuer und Blut*: “als die erste Granate [in 1915] dumpf neben *uns* in den Waldboden fuhr [...] rief [...] ein alter Krieger.”<sup>357</sup> Whereas the ‘uns’ is in the dative case and the grenade takes the position of the ‘acting’ subject, the ‘alte Krieger’ himself stands out as the ‘nomen agentis,’ capable of speaking in an understandable way. In the following, Jünger will begin to develop a concept of the ‘Krieger’ who not only moves beyond passivity but also turns into the luminous figure that will be able to shape the post-war future. It is important to note that he almost always does so retrospectively, thus putting the “I” of his novels in a position that allows for a development from merely being a passive soldier to becoming an active ‘Krieger.’

The basis on which this front-line ‘Krieger’ rests is the experience on the front, which allows for an actual understanding of the interdependence of man and material. The first step towards this understanding was the Verdun-offensive of 1916, where the few survivors “hatten eine Vorstellung bekommen vom Material.”<sup>358</sup> The second one was the 1917 battle of Cambrai. Regarding the latter, Jünger observes: “Hier wurde eine neue, durch die harte Zucht des Krieges selbst gebildete Rasse sichtbar – erzogen in der Schule der Schlachten und mit dem Handwerkszeug vertraut, mit dem die tödliche Arbeit verrichtet wird. Hier hatte sich der Wille mit der Verwendung der Mittel durchdrungen zu

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<sup>356</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Sturm.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Erzählungen. SW 18. Erzählende Schriften I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-74. Here: 15.

<sup>357</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 445. (My emphasis)

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.* 448.

einer Einheit von höchstem kriegerischem Rang.”<sup>359</sup> The ‘Rasse’ Jünger refers to in this paragraph and that is capable of entirely subjecting the war material to their will – thus allowing for the implementation of the perfect choreography conceived by man and conducted by means of machines – is the ‘Gemeinschaft’ of ‘Frontsoldaten’ that is comprised of men who have experienced the “Wert des Einzelnen im Rahmen der Kampfhandlungen.”<sup>360</sup> Only on the basis of this experience the rejection of the commonly accepted “Herrschaft der Maschine über den Menschen”<sup>361</sup> becomes conceivable, and the decisively human trait that inverts this power relation again can eventually take over.<sup>362</sup> That the ‘Krieger’ who emerges from those experiences and who was granted this insight will not wither by the time that the 1918 spring-offensive under consideration had failed is self-evident at this point. Concomitantly, given the deliberations above, it is already implicit that the war would soon be lost; this is made explicit by Jünger, who once more emphasizes that this war “ist nicht das Ende, sondern der Auftakt der Gewalt.”<sup>363</sup> the experiences on the front are accordingly presented in

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<sup>359</sup> Ibid. 446.

<sup>360</sup> Paetel, Karl O. *Ernst Jünger. Die Wandlung eines deutschen Dichters und Patrioten*. New York: Verlag Friedrich Krause, 1946. Print. 23f.

<sup>361</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 451.

<sup>362</sup> Cf. also Ernst Jünger’s first post-war article “Skizze moderner Gefechtsführung,” where he underlines the importance of the individual “Mann” as determining decision maker: “Trotzdem [überragende Bedeutung von Maschine und Material] liegt letzte Entscheidung in der lebenden Kraft, immer noch kommt es in diesem Flammenwirbel von Sprengstoff und Eisen zuletzt auf den »Mann« an.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Skizze moderner Gefechtsführung. Militär-Wochenblatt, 13. November 1920.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 14-18. Here: 14.)

<sup>363</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 73.

opposition to the defeat: namely, as a “Gewinn [...], der noch spät seine Früchte tragen wird.”<sup>364</sup>

By now, Jünger has answered the questions pertaining to the identity of the new type and why he will be responsible for the harvest of said fruits. He has thus given an answer to the question regarding the meaning of the (distinguished) individual during a time that is allegedly dominated by an utterly mechanized war-machinery as it is described in Edlef Koeppen’s *Heeresbericht*, for example, where he poignantly observes: “– Der Krieg ist zur Maschine geworden, zur automatischen Maschine.”<sup>365</sup> For Jünger, on the contrary, it is the acting individual elite-‘Krieger’ – as opposed to the passively enduring mass of soldiers or the security-seeking bourgeoisie respectively – who is, based on his experience, capable of first facing, then engaging with, and lastly influencing the enemy or the modern world of mechanization that surrounds him, be that in the battlefield or within the force field of the city centers.

As a matter of fact, the attitude towards the implementation of elite-soldier units and a certain lasting feeling of either association with or dissociation from them is one of the moments that separate the camps of post-war literary creation regarding the retrospective perception of the war. The above-cited Edlef Koeppen, together with Erich Maria Remarque and Ernst Toller, would be examples of the active dissociation of an elite that is allegedly overcoming the overpowering dominance of a mechanized war-

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<sup>364</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 451. Jünger furthermore describes the Great War in this context as a “Hammerschmiede, die die Welt in neue Grenzen und neue Gemeinschaften zerschlägt.” I.e. he identifies war as the locus that conflates man and tool. (Ibid. Cf. also the deliberations on his notion of an ‘organic construction’ in Ch. IV of the examination at hand.)

<sup>365</sup> Koeppen, Edlef. *Heeresbericht*. Hamburg: Nikol, 2014. Print. 200. Cf. also: “Der Kampf der Maschinen wird immer entscheidender sein.” (Ibid. 313)

machinery, whilst their antipodes such as Franz Schauwecker, Kurt Hesse, Werner Beumelburg, or Hans Zöberlein would be examples of the other extreme.<sup>366</sup> Especially the latter “writer” extends himself with the attempt at creating a naïve sense of pseudo-belonging with said elite. Zöberlein recounts in his staggeringly popular<sup>367</sup> and repulsively national(social)ist book *Der Glaube an Deutschland. Ein Kriegserleben von Verdun bis zum Umsturz* in the chapter “Ausbildung beim Sturmbattailon:” “Man merkte gleich, daß hier beim Sturmbataillon ein anderer Wind pfiff als bei der Kompanie [...] Hier lernten wir mit Eifer und Lust die neue Technik des Krieges.”<sup>368</sup> And he continues his worrying attempt at creating an efficacious work in equally bold and simple terms: “Herrgott, der Hindenburg wen ich wär’, ein Sturmbataillon tät’ ich aus der ganzen Gesellschaft machen.”<sup>369</sup> Ernst Jünger, however, cannot be added to either camp. He neither advocates for a paradoxical restructuring of an entire society in which everybody should be part of the elite nor does he turn his back on the elite once he retrospectively evaluates and instrumentalizes their situation during the war. Instead, Jünger translates his experiences from the front lines to the gradually developing conceptualization of a planetary ‘Gemeinschaft’ comprised of ‘Arbeiter,’ who, on the way to said

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<sup>366</sup> Each of these authors sold far more books during the Weimar years than Ernst Jünger. Especially Schauwecker, Beumelburg, and Zöberlein were amongst the most famous and best-selling authors of that time.

<sup>367</sup> Given the publisher – “Zentralverlag der NSDAP” – and the preface by Adolf Hitler, Zöberlein’s sales figures are not as surprising. His 1931 book *Der Glaube an Deutschland* sold some 370.000 copies within the first ten years. Erich Maria Remarque’s *Im Westen nichts Neues* sold over one million times within four years. By contrast, Jünger published his first four works with the two military-publishers Mittler & Sohn, and Stahlhelm, which suggests that his initial audience was limited to military circles. His most successful book of the Weimar years – *In Stahlgewittern* – sold a total of 221.000 copies within twenty years. For an examination of the two publishing houses and the reception of Jünger’s early works at the time of their respective publication, cf. Liebchen, Gerda. *Ernst Jünger. Seine literarischen Arbeiten in den Zwanziger Jahren. Eine Untersuchung zur gesellschaftlichen Funktion von Literatur*. Bonn: Bouvier, 1977. Print. 86ff.

<sup>368</sup> Zöberlein, Hans. *Der Glaube an Deutschland. Ein Kriegserleben von Verdun bis zum Umsturz*. München: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1940. Print. 151f.

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid.* 156.

‘Gemeinschaft,’ will be guided by an elite. Accordingly, in addition to the counter-political taking up position via his literary creation, Jünger’s relation and his way of referring to the elite from the war is yet another unique characteristic that separates him from those writers who are rather unambiguously positioned on a political spectrum.

One striking example of Jünger’s way of dealing with the elites from the Great War that he will develop into a new type is his approach to the fighter pilots. In *Das Wäldchen 125* Jünger chooses the spirit of the fighter squadrons as the paradigmatic unity and the individual pilots as exemplary proponents of a new type that will “von nun an und durch diesen Krieg in Bewegung gesetzt, im Europa von morgen in Krieg und Frieden eine führende Rolle [...] spielen.”<sup>370</sup> And he adds retrospectively in the preface to the volume *Luftfahrt ist not!* from 1928: “der fliegende Mensch ist vielleicht die schärfste Ausprägung einer neuen Männlichkeit. Er stellt einen Typus dar, der sich bereits im Kriege angedeutet hat.”<sup>371</sup> Choosing the fighter pilots as the proponents of a new type is not least telling regarding the shifting interplay of man and machine in the future yet to come, since the fighter pilots were seen as pioneers who completely subjected their machines – viz. war material – to their own volition and became one with

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<sup>370</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 301-438. Here: 354. Linking this to Louis Dupeux’s following observation regarding Jünger’s development towards *Der Arbeiter*, allows for a more detailed understanding of this development that reaches from 1914/18 to 1932, indeed: “Der Große Krieg hat demnach die Entfaltung des Prozesses eingeleitet, der sein volles Maß erst erreichen wird, wenn der zunächst vom Soldaten verkörperte ‘Typus’ schon zu Friedenszeiten *universal* wird. Dann erfolgt der Eintritt in das Zeitalter der ‘Arbeit’ mit dem Typus des ‘Arbeiters’ in allen seinen Erscheinungsformen, die alle gleichwohl aus ein und derselben ‘Gestalt’ hervorgehen.” (Dupeux, Louis. “Der ‘Neue Nationalismus’ Ernst Jüngers 1925-1932. Vom heroischen Soldatentum zur politisch-metaphysischen Totalität.” In: *Die großen Jagden des Mythos. Ernst Jünger in Frankreich*. Ed. Peter Koslowski. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1996. Print. 15-40. Here: 31.)

<sup>371</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Luftfahrt ist not! Vorwort (1928).” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 397-407. Here: 404.

it; they form a “kostbare Einheit aus Maschine und Mensch”<sup>372</sup> and are thus seen as the first ones to have overcome the “quälende[n] Zwiespalt zwischen dem Menschen und der Maschine.”<sup>373</sup> Here, the pilots are an example of the type of ‘Krieger’ that Jünger recognizes “von der Cambraischlacht an” and that is thought to lastingly shape the future yet to come.<sup>374</sup> For Jünger, it is without a doubt that this “Gewinn” will “noch spät seine Früchte tragen.”<sup>375</sup> What remains unanswered – and to a certain degree shall remain unanswerable with regards to the timeframe under consideration – are the questions concerning what exactly those fruits are,<sup>376</sup> when they will ripen,<sup>377</sup> and how they shall be harvested. What is clear at this point however, is that Jünger is beginning to see an inextricable correlation between the organic and technology.

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<sup>372</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 132-366. Here: 145.

<sup>373</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Luftfahrt ist not! Vorwort (1928).” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 397-407. Here: 404. Overcoming just this ‘Zwiespalt’ is what Jünger will attempt by introducing the notion of an ‘organic construction’ with his *Der Arbeiter* in 1932. (Cf. Ch. IV)

<sup>374</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 301-438. Here: 354.

<sup>375</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 451. Cf. also an almost identical, yet later deleted passage from *Das Wäldchen 125*: “Systeme können versinken, das Reich sich ändern – was hier in die Erde gepflanzt wurde, wird seine Früchte tragen.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 132-366. Here: 222.)

<sup>376</sup> Cf.: “Was wir schaffen und wozu wir selbst geschaffen werden, das wird sich wohl erst viel später offenbaren, als wir jetzt ahnen können.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 301-438. Here: 369.)

<sup>377</sup> That it is imperative not to act prematurely, Jünger paradigmatically reports, when recounting a break during the spring offensive in *Feuer und Blut*: “wir schneiden uns selbst von den reifen Früchten des Sieges ab und waren doch so glänzend im Schwung.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 514.)

## §4

## The Transferability and Comprehensibility of Narration

When Ernst Jünger remembers the night of March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1918 in *Feuer und Blut*, he rather distantly, yet somewhat sentimentally, recounts the preparations for the last spring-offensive: “Kameraden, erzählt [...] von Langemarck, von Ypern, von Verdun, von Reims, von Cambrai, von Flandern und von der Somme, das macht das Blut warm.”<sup>378</sup> And he continues emphatically: “laßt das Bild der großen Schlacht aus dem Rausch aufschießen wie eine blutrote Orchidee, mit goldenen Feuerstreifen geflammt. Das ist ein Kunstwerk, wie es Männern Freude macht.”<sup>379</sup> The first imperative – ‘erzählt’ – is thought to spark motivation with the listening ‘Krieger’ by way of narrating past exploits. The latter imperative ‘laßt,’ however, could be seen as a command to paint a picture of future proceedings that will be retold by those who have passed their “weltgeschichtliche[s] Examen.”<sup>380</sup> The intention of both diegetic imperatives are characteristic for Jünger’s textual strategy as it pertains to the subversive extra-diegetic call to action, where the ‘Kunstwerk’-character of the battle can be mapped onto the ‘Kunstwerk’-character of Jünger’s war-literature in general.<sup>381</sup> As late as in 1981/1984,

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<sup>378</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 460.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid.

<sup>380</sup> Ibid. 483.

<sup>381</sup> Cf. also Karl Prümm’s following observation: “In Jüngers Reproduktion erscheinen die von Granaten zerfetzten Gräben als pittoresk-exotische Landschaften, wird die Materialschlacht zum totalen Kunstwerk stilisiert, das den Betrachter unwiderstehlich in seinen Bann zieht. Die häufig verwandte Metaphorik der Bühne und des Theaters belegt, wie das Geschehen des Krieges zum ästhetischen Genuß funktionalisiert wird.” (Prümm, Karl. “Vom Nationalisten zum Abendländer. Zur politischen Entwicklung Ernst Jüngers.” In: *Basis. Jahrbuch für deutsche Gegenwartsliteratur*, Bd. 6. Ed. Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1976. 7-29. Here: 18.) However, Prümm fails to answer the question to what end Jünger ‘funktionalisiert’ war ‘zum ästhetischen Genuß.’



Jünger will formulate this intentional character in a mitigated way, yet he still employs war-related vocabulary in his collection of meditations “Autor und Autorschaft.” “In der Wirkung eines Romans wiederholt sich die innere Explosion, die den Autor erschütterte. Sie überträgt sich auf den Leser: er erkennt oder ahnt die eigene, in ihm schlummernde Kraft.”<sup>382</sup> What Jünger thus ascribes to literature is directly deducible from the operational principles of the ‘Stoßtrupp’ that follows the directives of the ‘Auftragstaktik:’ the individual engagements of various storm trooper units happen independently of each other and are thought to disrupt the enemy defensive lines. The multiplication of such individual encounters shall ultimately lead to the collapse of the enemy’s fortifications, thus establishing a basis for a breakthrough; i.e. it is supposed to function as a means allowing the overcoming of the stalemate. The ‘Auftrag’ presets the goals of these quasi-autonomous operations. When applied to a kind of literature that is thought to resemble the inner explosion of the author, which in turn shall allow for the recognition of an inner force on behalf of the recipient, this means that the formulations of the author are the impetus – i.e. ‘Auftrag’ – that is thought to prompt action with the latter, thus facilitating the subversion of the political stalemate; a phenomenon that will later also be observed in Ernst Jünger’s *Politischer Publizistik*. Accordingly, a kind of literature understood in such a way has to be – mutatis mutandis – transferable, comprehensible, and, more importantly, imitable. Jünger postulates in *Feuer und Blut* by way of example: “Alles was in den alten Büchern der Seefahrer zu lesen ist [...] das gibt

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<sup>382</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Autor und Autorschaft.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Fassungen III. SW 16. Essays VIII*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-266. Here: 49.

es auch für uns.”<sup>383</sup> What Jünger will write during the early Weimar years will first and foremost be comprehensible to those who have passed their ‘leaving examination’ and who understand the perpetual character of war. Secondly, however, Jünger’s writings are not least thought to allow for an initiation of those who are not actually ‘Frontsoldaten,’ but who shall be informed by the same will as those who are. Accordingly, Jünger will broaden his ‘Krieger’-concept with time, thus allowing for the incorporation of all like-minded individuals to the ‘Gemeinschaft’ – especially of the youth<sup>384</sup> – beyond the limited number of the actual ‘Frontsoldaten.’

The beginning of the embedded “Tronck”-narrative from Jünger’s 1923 novella *Sturm* is one example of the potential of Jünger’s understanding of literature as a means to integrate those who did not share the first-hand experience of the actual ‘Krieger.’ Diegetically, the narrative is presented by the protagonist Sturm – a doctoral student of philosophy – who is reading it aloud to his comrades Hegershoff and Döhring. The former is a painter in civilian life, the latter an administrative jurist. Given the content of

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<sup>383</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 461. Jünger underlines this comprehensibility – as though to prove himself right – by way of a comparison, once the German artillery started its barrage: “Die Erde beginnt zu rollen und zu stampfen und läßt den Stollen erzittern *wie ein Schiff im Sturm*.” And he remains faithful to the nautical theme from the ‘alten Bücher’ for the rest of the description. Cf.: “versinken,” “Flut,” “Ozean von dumpfen, hallenden und brausenden Tönen.” (Cf. *ibid.* 484. My emphasis.) Jünger uses the comparison of literature with the every-day reality of war at numerous occasions, in order to structurally develop an interdependence of both; e.g.: “Was waren das doch für prächtige Stellungen, mit Stollengängen, lang und gemütlich wie ein Dickensscher Roman.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 301-438. Here: 315.) Or: “»Unsere Lage erinnert mich an die der Schiffsgesellschaft Sinbads des Seefahrers.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Sturm.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Erzählungen. SW 18. Erzählende Schriften I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-74. Here: 33.)

<sup>384</sup> By way of example for this kind of initiation, Helmuth Kiesel quotes Werner Best – the name giver of the ‘Heroic Realism’ – as example. He writes: “Werner Best war 1903 in Darmstadt geboren worden und ist ein Vertreter jener Jahrgänge, die nicht mehr zum Kriegsdienst eingezogen wurden, aber die Kriegsideologie eingetrichtert bekamen und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg die Frontsoldaten-Mentalität übernahmen und im politischen Leben umsetzen wollten.” (Kiesel, Helmuth. *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie*. München: Pantheon, 2009. Print. 375.)

the story-within-the-story, it is supposed to serve as a connecting piece from the trenches to a hypothetical post-war reality, in which the protagonist of it – who feels “wie ein Soldat vor der Schlacht”<sup>385</sup> – is positioned in opposition to the security-seeking bourgeoisie.<sup>386</sup> The actual recipient – as opposed to the diegetic listeners Hugershoff and Döhring – is then confronted with a narrative that presents the possible initiation of a noncombatant into the ‘Gemeinschaft der Frontsoldaten.’ That such an initiation is in fact possible is emphasized by Hugershoff’s sympathetic reaction to Sturm’s reading the story aloud: “»Ich muß gestehen [...] daß mir diese Erscheinung merkwürdig bekannt vorkommt.«”<sup>387</sup>

Once the always assumed potential for initiation is finally established, Jünger does not need to employ an actual command language<sup>388</sup> or even threatening gestures<sup>389</sup> anymore when inciting future subversive action because those who will become part of the ‘Gemeinschaft’ and will accordingly master all aspects of the ‘Sprache der Materialschlacht’ will – at least for the moment – no longer require the imperative, since they will be united by a common goal based on mutual non-verbal understanding. Or, as Ferdinand Tönnies puts it regarding the non-verbal mutual understanding of the members of a ‘Gemeinschaft’ in his book on *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*: “Verständnis ist ihrem Wesen nach schweigend: weil ihr Inhalt unaussprechlich, unendlich, unbegreiflich

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<sup>385</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Sturm.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Erzählungen. SW 18. Erzählende Schriften I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-74. Here: 35.

<sup>386</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* 36.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.* 37.

<sup>388</sup> Helmut Lethen is thus certainly right, when he observes the following tendency in Jünger’s conceptualizations: “Jünger [will] die Sprache depotenzieren.” (Lethen, Helmut. *Verhaltenslehren der Kälte. Lebensversuche zwischen den Kriegen*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2014. Print. 213.)

<sup>389</sup> Cf. on the contrary Franz Schauwecker’s “Aber wehe euch, wenn wir nach Hause kommen.” (Schauwecker, Franz. *Aubruch der Nation*. Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1930. Print. 279.)

ist.”<sup>390</sup> In *Das Wäldchen 125*, Jünger writes accordingly: “Wir bedürfen der Verständigung durch Worte und Zeichen nicht mehr, wir bilden ein zur Einheit verschmolzenes Wesen, das durch andere Kräfte geleitet wird.”<sup>391</sup> As a matter of fact, the tone of the ‘Krieger’-voice turns into the distinctive feature that allows for the recognition of all members belonging to this ‘Gemeinschaft.’ Jünger remembers in the same text: “Ich gehe neben dem einen Führer, einem alten Krieger – ich erkenne das natürlich nicht an seinem Kreuz, sondern am Klange seiner sachlichen, kurz hingeworfenen Bemerkungen.”<sup>392</sup> It is noteworthy that the semantic content – e.g. a clear command, a situation report, or anything else of alleged interest in such a moment – remains unmentioned: the actual message of the ‘Krieger’-voice is hidden beneath the surface of signification and only accessible to those who are instinctively “verbunden durch Erlebnis, Arbeit und Blut;”<sup>393</sup> i.e. to the initiated. And it is furthermore not the ‘Kreuz’ that distinguishes the ‘Krieger,’ since the former has become merely a sign of courageousness awarded by those who are not part of the front-‘Gemeinschaft,’ and who do not understand the language of the ‘Krieger,’ which in turn renders the ‘Kreuz’ redundant as a means of signification. The ‘Krieger’-communication is accordingly not a means of transporting information based on signification – be that verbal or otherwise – but a way of facilitating actual and connective understanding based on instinctively

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<sup>390</sup> Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005. Print. 19. This non-verbal understanding is what Tönnies takes to be one of the formative aspects of any ‘Gemeinschaft.’ “Gegenseitig-gemeinsame, verbindende Gesinnung, als eigener Wille einer Gemeinschaft, ist das, was hier als *Verständnis* (consensus) begriffen werden soll.” (Ibid. 17)

<sup>391</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 301-438. Here: 405.

<sup>392</sup> Ibid. 309.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid. 327.

recognizing one another as ‘Krieger.’ Similar to Ernst Jünger, Franz Schauwecker grants this insight to Albrecht, the protagonist of *Aufbruch der Nation*, who observes: “In der vordersten Linie herrschte nur noch Persönlichkeit. Die Achselstücke für sich an irgend einem Paar Schultern galten nichts mehr.”<sup>394</sup> The intended effect of utterances such as those by Ernst Jünger and Franz Schauwecker is rather obvious: the recipient is encouraged to disregard all authority based on relative – i.e. vested and thus dependent – power. Instead, he is to rely on the distinguished ‘Gemeinschaft’ of ‘Frontsoldaten.’ Accordingly, Jünger highlights that following the ‘Krieger-Persönlichkeit’ always has to happen instinctively, which precisely means non-verbal: “Nicht der Befehl, sondern das Ziel gab Richtung und Verbindung.”<sup>395</sup>

In line with this, it does not matter that the spring-offensive fell through, or that it is widely recognized as the final step towards the impending and inevitable German defeat. First of all, Jünger’s writings from the early Weimar years – *In Stahlgewittern* being the exception – only aim at presenting snapshots of the Great War. *Feuer und Blut*, for instance, is, according to its subtitle, only “Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht,” and consequently does not promise a comprehensive overview of the experience. And, secondly, it is designed as such in order to highlight the insignificance of the individual endeavor as opposed to the elementary force that is war as such. Albeit that the battle was lost – and that Jünger will be subject to one last deployment, which he

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<sup>394</sup> Schauwecker, Franz. *Aufbruch der Nation*. Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1930. Print. 362.

<sup>395</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 508.

recounts in *Das Wäldchen 125*<sup>396</sup> – that, which will inevitably follow the winter that conclusively ended the Great War in November 1918, is a new spring. Accordingly, Jünger ends *Feuer und Blut* with a moment of apparent relaxation despite the looming defeat and the serious injury of the protagonist that leads him to drift into a trance-like state by describing his journey to a military hospital in the back of a car: “Dann falle ich in das Polster zurück, und ein Schleier senkt sich über die Fülle der bunten, schrecklichen und wunderbaren Bilder dieser Schlacht, die wie ein Traum aus blutig dunklen und feuerroten Farben das Herz den Prüfungen der Tiefe unterzog.”<sup>397</sup> What accompanies this last sentence is an almost audible sigh of relief. Prior to recounting the beginning of the spring offensive in *Feuer und Blut*, Jünger drew a parallel to the student who is expecting some minor trouble at school whilst still relaxing in the comfort of his own bed: “So hat man schon als Kind während der Morgenstunden im warmen Bett gelegen, wenn die Schule mit ihren kleinen Sorgen drohte.”<sup>398</sup> Once the protagonist of *Feuer und Blut* is finally able to drop back into the comfortable seat of the automobile that would evacuate him from the combat zone and thus put him in a position that will eventually allow him to reflect on that which has happened, however, he is fully aware that he has finally passed his leaving examination.<sup>399</sup> He is now no longer the ‘Krieger’ struggling to emancipate

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<sup>396</sup> Cf.: “Die mächtigen Frühjahrskämpfe, in denen die Materialschlacht einen Gipel fand, der sich wohl kaum noch überbieten läßt, liegen hinter uns.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 301-438. Here: 304.)

<sup>397</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 538.

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid.* 538.

<sup>399</sup> In *Das Wäldchen 125* the “Examina” will be turned into an example of a kind of peace that favors the “Händler- und Schreiberkasten” instead of the ‘Krieger.’ The latter observes “Wie sehr diese Dinge [Examina] die Freiheit und den geraden Wuchs verkümmern,” which causes such a deep going fear with the ‘Krieger’ of the end of the war “daß man selbst hier in den Unterständen zuweilen von üblen

himself from military drabness by trying to strive for individual achievements, but rather he is the emancipated ‘Krieger’ who is in a position of authority that allows him to comprehensively formulate past experiences in order to propagate the perpetual character of war by way of literature.

However, this ‘Krieger’ is now no longer the paternal storyteller, who, upon returning from war, informs his children about the myth; instead, he is the ‘Krieger’ who has recognized the incessant ‘höhere Bewegung’ and who is – in the general scheme of things – on the threshold of becoming the ‘Arbeiter.’ Peter Koslowski thus aptly observes:

Der Erste Weltkrieg ist Teil der Mobilmachung der Erde in der Moderne, und er ist in der zunehmenden Totalisierung des Krieges und der Mobilmachung der Energien das Ende des Kriegshelden, das Ende des paternitären Kriegers. Der Erste Weltkrieg und die Transformationen des Krieges von der Feldschlacht alten Stiles über den Stellungskrieg und die Materialschlacht bis zur mechanischen Schlacht bewirken die Metamorphose des Helden vom Krieger zum Arbeiter.<sup>400</sup>

Accordingly, the analysis should not end with Jünger’s literary accounts of the ‘Krieger’s’ front-line experiences and the way they are thought to strengthen, influence, and further expand the post-war ‘Gemeinschaft,’ but instead should turn to more outright attempts at taking action by means of a literary creation that takes into account and directly reacts to the changes during the Weimar years. Ernst Jünger’s oeuvre of those years – literary as well as (a-/counter-)political – can be seen as an attempt at

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Examensträumen geängstigt wird.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 301-438. Here: 389f.) Similarly, Franz Schauwecker employs the examination-theme in *Aufbruch der Nation* as a means to highlight the war-proceedings as the actual leaving examination: “er [Albrecht] entsan sich der Gymnasial- und Universitätsjahre und ihrer Examina. Welcher Wert war ihnen beigelegt worden! [...] Diese Prüfung der Schlacht [...] erschien ihm entscheidender.” (Schauwecker, Franz. *Aufbruch der Nation*. Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1930. Print. 103)

<sup>400</sup> Koslowski, Peter. *Der Mythos Moderne. Die dichterische Philosophie Ernst Jüngers*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1991. Print. 37.

understanding, processing, describing, and lastly instrumentalizing the metamorphosis from the ‘Krieger’ to the ‘Arbeiter.’ Or, on a different plane, as a discussion of a war – during which breaking through enemy lines eventually promised victory – that was characterized by the dominance of the material, to the perpetual exploitation of the breakthrough on a planetary level based on the amalgamation with the machine understood as “ein Ausdruck des menschlichen Willens zur Herrschaft über die Materie.”<sup>401</sup> In other words, it is the gradual process from a movement toward the totalization of war/‘Arbeit’ that is thought to facilitate the development of a universal utopian dream.<sup>402</sup> The processuality of this transition will thus be traced more closely in the following chapters with an emphasis on Ernst Jünger’s *Politische Publizistik*, before finally turning to *Der Arbeiter*, which has to be understood as the culmination of a non-teleological development that lasted some 17 years.

An examination of this transition as Jünger presents it, shall not only give more traction to the the observations from chapter one and two – i.e. the ‘Krieger’-myth as a means to prompt subversive action by way of a bi-directional textual strategy that is based on Jünger’s experience in the front line, where he learned “daß die Tat allem anderen überlegen ist”<sup>403</sup> – but will also add to an understanding of ‘Literatur’ as ‘Tat,’ based on the experience of the ‘Krieger,’ who gradually comes to realize the total character of ‘Arbeit.’ This means not least that the following chapter has to show how

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<sup>401</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 132-366. Here: 247.

<sup>402</sup> “Utopia” can, when referring to Jünger, only be used with caution, since Jünger’s projects – and especially *Der Arbeiter* – defy the classical notions of social critique and theory by attempting to avoid stipulated rhetoric and by emphasizing the ‘organic’ changes in meaning of the terms and the concepts he employs and develops.

<sup>403</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 132-366. Here: 366.



developing a concept regarding the totality of ‘Arbeit’ contradicts a traditional understanding of nationalism, since the domineering character of work always already reaches beyond the borders of the nation state.<sup>404</sup> In turn, the elaborations on this insight will strengthen my thesis that Jünger operates in opposition to the political, and that he incessantly argues in favor of perpetual war. Or, as Sturm observes, the love of the fatherland is mere deceit, the actual object of love is war itself: “doch erst, nachdem sein [Sturm’s] Geist von der Idee des Vaterlandes abstrahiert, ahnte er die treibende Kraft in ihrer vollen Wucht. Nun schienen die Menschen der Völker ihm längst wie Verliebte, von denen jeder auf eine einzige schwört und die nicht wissen, daß sie alle von *einer* Liebe besessen sind.”<sup>405</sup>

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<sup>404</sup> The radical left makes very similar observations. Albeit that the concept of ‘Arbeit’ is one adhering to the theory of the Marxist tradition prior to the Second International, the experiences of the war add another variable to that tradition, which obliterates nationalist tendencies altogether. Ernst Toller remembers in *Eine Jugend in Deutschland*: “unser Einsatz war umsonst, bei dieser Erkenntnis stürzt mir eine Welt zusammen.” (Toller, Ernst. *Eine Jugend in Deutschland*. Hamburg: Rohwolt, 2014. Print. 63) The world that collapsed is not least that of the nation states. Hence, the question regarding who is to blame for the outbreak of the war is replaced by a culprit that reaches beyond national politics: “Die Frage nach der Kriegsschuld verblaßt vor der Schuld des Kapitalismus.” (Ibid. 63) Similarly, Erich Maria Remarque observes at the very beginning of *Im Westen nichts Neues*: “Das erste Trommelfeuer zeigte uns unseren Irrtum, und unter ihm stürzte die Weltanschauung zusammen, die sie uns gelehrt hatten.” (Ibid. 21) What both Toller and Remarque will later emphasize in their works dealing with the horror of war are the moments, when man is recognized as such. The former writes: “Ein toter Mensch. / Nicht: ein toter Franzose. / Nicht: ein toter Deutscher. / Ein toter Mensch.” (Ibid. 52) And the latter composes the now paradigmatic scene regarding the recognition of humanity in spite of nationality, when his young protagonist sits in a crater with a French soldier for hours on end, finally recognizing his demonized enemy as father and husband.

<sup>405</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Sturm.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Erzählungen. SW 18. Erzählende Schriften I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-74. Here: 26.

## CHAPTER III

»WAS SIE LERNEN MÜSSEN, IST DIES: DAß MAN IN EINER ZEIT WIE DIESER AUCH OHNE  
FAHNE MARSCHIEREN KANN.«

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### Subverting the Political

*»Je mehr ich es mir überlege, desto sicherer weiß ich, daß unser Kampf nicht zu Ende ist. Aber ich weiß auch, daß wir bislang notwendig scheitern mußten. Wir werden niemals wieder als Truppe eingesetzt werden. Jetzt muß jeder einzelne seinen eigenen Kampf angehn.«*  
(Ernst von Salomon. *Die Geächteten*)

*Der modern Schriftsteller befindet sich auf der Suche nach einer neuen Ordnung.*  
(Armin Mohler. *Die Schleife*)

*Es gibt keine Fahnen außer denen, die man auf dem Leibe trägt.*  
(Ernst Jünger. *Der Arbeiter*)

## §1

Revolution(s) and *Frontsoldatentum*

In November of 1918, sixteen year-old cadet Ernst von Salomon observed a procession of “Soldaten und Arbeiter[n] und viele[n] Kleinbürger[n],” whom he identifies with some distant irony as “die Streiter der Revolution,” as they march beneath a hoisted red flag through the city of Berlin.<sup>406</sup> Whilst observing this “schwärzliche Gewusel,” he knows that they are not to be feared; as a matter of fact, they are not even to be taken seriously as revolutionaries.<sup>407</sup> However, upon the arrival of the mutineering sailors, the fluttering red cloth suddenly turns into an immediate threat to his own epaulette-bearing status. But why would either flag or epaulettes still be of such or even any significance at this point in time? Given Jünger’s deliberations on the ‘Frontsoldaten’ under consideration thus far, we know that they had already realized during the years of the war that neither flags nor decorations were adequate means of signification anymore but instead that only a common experience and a shared goal would truly unify a ‘Gemeinschaft.’ The observer von Salomon could not know at this point in time. The “Obersekundar der 7. Kompanie der Königlich Preußischen Hauptkadettenanstalt” in Berlin-Lichterfelde, which von Salomon attended during the last two years of the war, had no choice but to wait “bis die Soldaten der Front zurückkehrten,” so as to understand the unbridgeable chasm that was gaping between his comparatively sheltered – albeit

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<sup>406</sup> Von Salomon, Ernst. *Freikorps. Die Geächteten*. Salenstein: Unitall, 2011. Print. 10.

<sup>407</sup> Ibid.

militaristic and thoroughly Prussian – education at home and the actual front-line experience of the returning veterans.<sup>408</sup>

As a matter of fact, the ‘Frontsoldaten’ were still beating a retreat, complying with the command to destroy all German weaponry, when von Salomon observed and reacted to the first manifestations of revolutionary activities in Germany. Another writer, who also presents a comparable snapshot to that from von Salomon’s *Die Geächteten* is Franz Schauwecker, who, in bold and simple terms, summarizes the German compliance with this particular part of the armistice agreement in his book *Aufbruch der Nation* as follows: “Hier schnitt sich die Nation auf Befehl zielsicher die Geschlechtsteile ab.”<sup>409</sup> Leaving aside the rather obvious implications that go with such a crudely propagandistic imagery of emasculation – such as, e.g.: the effeminate French civilization willfully castrates German culture in an attempt to protect itself from the teutonic hordes that permanently crave to penetrate (into) her (lands) – and the attribution of potency to mechanized means of destruction, it is noteworthy that von Salomon initiates a telling countermovement at home simultaneously with the retreat of the ‘Frontsoldaten’ by collecting and storing as many weapons as possible in the attic of his parent’s house.<sup>410</sup>

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<sup>408</sup> Ibid. 13.

<sup>409</sup> Schauwecker, Franz. *Aubruch der Nation*. Berlin: Frundsberg-Verlag, 1930. Print. 396. Ernst Jünger will describe the Weimar Democracy in a very similar vein. He characterizes inter-war politics in Germany as governed by “der Tendenz [...] zur Selbstentmannung,” (Jünger, Ernst. “An die Freunde. Arminius, 28. August 1927.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 359-364. Here: 363.) he observes a “Kastration des Kriegserlebnisses,” (Jünger, Ernst. “Die Blindgänger des großen Krieges. Der Vormarsch. Dezember, 1927.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 377-382. Here: 377.) and he accuses some alleged ‘Frontsoldaten’ of a “Selbstbeschneidung” that forces the actual ‘Frontsoldaten’ to play a “traurige Rolle” in Weimar Germany (ibid. 381).

<sup>410</sup> Cf. Von Salomon, Ernst. *Freikorps. Die Geächteten*. Salenstein: Unitall, 2011. Print. 16. Further enlarging the arsenal, thus opposing governmental regulations, is an ongoing process in *Die Geächteten*, which resembles a growing radicalization of left and right activists: “Allmählich hatte jeder von uns ein

That is to say, the relocation of the front from the trenches at the western front to the tumultuous German city-centers happens almost immediately, without entering into a verbal or written agreement, and even prior to the actual return of the last ‘Frontsoldaten.’ Direct communication between those at home and the retreating soldiers was not necessary for this to happen, since those who were and would later become part of the ‘Gemeinschaft’ had already made their decision in favor of the continuation of war.

That communication between the returning soldiers and the ‘Gesellschaft’ at home was not even possible anymore is presented strikingly by von Salomon, who remembers being momentarily awe-struck by a procession of front-line soldiers returning from their deployments, which he observes with an entirely different attitude compared to the one he assumed regarding the initially mentioned bearings of the mutineers:<sup>411</sup> “Sie marschierten ja, als seien sie Abgesandte des Todes, des Grauens, der tödlichsten, einsamsten, eisigsten Kälte. Hier war doch die Heimat, hier wartete die Wärme auf sie.”<sup>412</sup> The abyss between those, who made the trenches of the frontlines their home and the ‘Heimat’ had finally become insurmountable. Homely ‘Wärme’ cannot counterbalance the ‘eisige Kälte’ anymore, instead, the returning soldiers are now literally returning “in die Gesellschaft wie in die Fremde.”<sup>413</sup> In fact, those armoured soldiers with their edged and gaunt faces half hidden underneath their steel helmets were

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Waffenlager so groß wie das meine. Aus der zahmen bürgerlichen Mitte schwammen die Waffen so zu den Aktivisten nach rechts und links.” (Ibid. 189)

<sup>411</sup> Jünger had already gestured at this alienation of the ‘Krieger’ in his debut novel *In Stahlgewittern*. Here, he juxtaposes the alienation of the ‘Krieger’ due to his immersion in landscape of extraterrestrial qualities, which he in turn declares to be his new *Heimat*. (cf. e.g. Jünger, Ernst. *In Stahlgewittern. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013. Print. 52)

<sup>412</sup> Von Salomon, Ernst. *Freikorps. Die Geächteten*. Salenstein: Unitall, 2011. Print. 26.

<sup>413</sup> Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005. Print. 3.

emanating a coldness that was penetrating the allegedly safe realm of the security-seeking bourgeoisie. Their appearance, as well as the fact that they were merely passing the crowds by with their gaze riveted forward and without a known goal precluded the spectators from any chance at identifying with their supposed heroes.<sup>414</sup> Furthermore, that they were marching without a “Fahne,”<sup>415</sup> or parading “ohne Fahnen”<sup>416</sup> – viz. without an emblem that would allow for attributing them to a common identification-system – implies that their arrival is one of a foreign and self-contained ‘Gemeinschaft,’ penetrating another self-contained, albeit heterogeneous system: i.e. the ‘Gesellschaft.’ Accordingly, von Salomon recounts: “das waren Männer, die nicht gehörten zu dem, was sich hier in den Straßen gesammelt hatte, die nicht dazu gehören wollten.”<sup>417</sup> Those were men, “die im Kriege eine Heimat fanden [...] Die Front war deren Heimat, war das Vaterland, die Nation.”<sup>418</sup> Consequently, von Salomon claims that these men would never be able to actually return home. Instead, they would relocate the front to what once used to be their “Heimat:” “Der Krieg ist zu Ende. Die Krieger marschieren immer noch.”<sup>419</sup>

Not only does von Salomon recount the irreconcilability of the repatriates with their supposed *patria* in his exposition of *Die Geächteten*, but he also instantaneously

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<sup>414</sup> Paradigmatically for the early 1930s, Werner Beumelburg – who, parallelly to 1914, sees Germany *in Ketten* once more – gives this narrative a new interpretation. Instead of emphasizing the lasting division between returnees and ‘Heimat,’ he uses the first person plural pronoun, so as to suggest a unified and superordinate idea of Germany that outlived the past separation and is ready to take up arms again: “Wir denken zurück, wir sehen uns verschmutzt, ausgehungert, mit harten Gesichtszügen, in voller Ordnung schweigend ostwärts über die Rheinbrücken marschieren.” (Beumelburg, Werner. *Deutschland in Ketten. Von Versailles bis zum Youngplan*. Berlin: Gerhard Stalling, 1931. Print. 437.)

<sup>415</sup> Von Salomon, Ernst. *Freikorps. Die Geächteten*. Salenstein: Unitall, 2011. Print. 27.

<sup>416</sup> Ibid. 28.

<sup>417</sup> Ibid. 27.

<sup>418</sup> Ibid. 30. The inversion of ‘Heimat’ and ‘Front’ is a recurring motive in the ‘Kriegsliteratur.’ Cf. also e.g. Friedrich Lehmann, who writes in his novel *Wir von der Infanterie*: “Ende März führen wir in die Heimat, d.h. an die Westfront.” (Lehmann, Friedrich. *Wir von der Infanterie. Tagebuchblätter eines bayrischen Infanteristen aus fünfjähriger Front- und Lazarettzeit*. München: J. F. Lehmann, 1929. Print. 168.)

<sup>419</sup> Salomon, Ernst. *Freikorps. Die Geächteten*. Salenstein: Unitall, 2011. Print. 30.

recognized the front-line soldiers as ‘Krieger.’ This quasi initiation into the ‘Gemeinschaft’ via the silent recognition of its members necessarily leads him to take what he feels is appropriate action: “Am Tage nach dem Einmarsch der Truppen in die Stadt ließ ich mich werben. Ich wurde genommen, ich wurde gekleidet, ich war Soldat.”<sup>420</sup>

That is to say, in December of 1918, roughly one month after the combat operations in the west had ended and at the conclusion of the exposition of *Die Geächteten*, Ernst von Salomon decides to turn himself into a combatant. This implies that he embarks on a journey that would allow him to literally continue the war that had ended for those, whom he had just observed returning ‘home,’ yet who were incapable of leaving the war behind them. The observation “[d]ie Krieger marschieren immer noch,”<sup>421</sup> despite the fact that “[d]as heimkehrende Heer sich auf[löste],”<sup>422</sup> thus implies the otherness of and the imperative for the ‘Krieger’ to find alternative ways of engaging in combat operations. That any future conflict would allegedly have to happen “im Zeichen der Politik,”<sup>423</sup> as Ernst Jünger postulates in his review of von Salomon’s *Die Geächteten*, is merely a necessary evil for the ‘Krieger,’ who first and foremost strives to operate “außerhalb dieser [politischen] Ordnung[, w]eil er diese Ordnung verachtet.”<sup>424</sup>

About one year after Ernst von Salomon became a soldier, in late 1919, he continued to

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<sup>420</sup> Ibid. 31. For a thorough analysis of the scene under consideration from Ernst von Salomon’s *Die Geächteten*, cf.: Maengel, Manfred. “Der invasorische Fremdkörper. Eine Szene aus Ernst v. Salomons Roman ‘Die Geächteten’ (1930).” In: Maengel, Manfred. *Das Wissen des Kriegers oder Der Magische Operateur. Krieg und Technik im Frühwerk von Ernst Jünger*. Berlin: XENOMOS, 2005. Print. 110-174.

<sup>421</sup> Ibid. 30, 31.

<sup>422</sup> Ibid. 50.

<sup>423</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Die Geächteten. Ja und Nein, Juni/August 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 584-587. Here: 584.

<sup>424</sup> Ibid. 586.

do so, by remaining a belligerent in the Baltic countries as a member of the *Freikorps*; a group that – among other things – decisively mutinies against the orders given by a state, which the ‘Krieger’ decided not to recognize anymore, whilst claiming national proxyship. He remembers: “Wir hätten jeden wegen Verrates totgeschlagen, der uns aufgefordert hätte, dem Befehl der Reichsregierung gemäß nach Deutschland zurückzukehren.”<sup>425</sup> However, this was no longer a sustainable position; especially – as Ernst von Salomon and Arnolt Bronnen reiterate in unison – once the “Reichsregierung” had issued the “Verordnung” “zur Wiederherstellung der öffentlichen Sicherheit” according to article 48.1 and 2.<sup>426</sup> In fact, von Salomon and his “kleine und gehärtete Gemeinschaft”<sup>427</sup> eventually had to return to Germany as well – unlike Bronnen’s Krenek – where they discovered the following: there was “ein Heer, das entlassen werden mußte, den Artikeln des Friedensvertrages gemäß, da war ein anderes, heimliches Heer, das sich zu bilden begann.”<sup>428</sup> Now able to empathize and to actually share the experiences with those soldiers who had returned from the west in 1918, and having witnessed the chasm between them and the ‘Gesellschaft’ at home, von Salomon’s ‘Gemeinschaft’ of activists is determined to avoid the destiny of most of the 1918 returnees. He postulates: “Nicht wiederholen aber sollte sich nach unserem Willen das plötzliche Zerflattern der geballten Stoßkraft vor der Vielfalt der verwirrenden Erscheinungen.”<sup>429</sup> Instead, he would become

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<sup>425</sup> Von Salomon, Ernst. *Freikorps. Die Geächteten*. Salenstein: Unitall, 2011. Print. 124.

<sup>426</sup> Von Salomon, Ernst. *Freikorps. Die Geächteten*. Salenstein: Unitall, 2011. Print. 205. And: Bronnen, Arnolt. *O.S.* Berlin: Ernst Rowohlt Verlag, 1929. Print. 344.

<sup>427</sup> *Ibid.* 129.

<sup>428</sup> *Ibid.* 133f. Regarding the topos of a ‘heimliches Heer,’ cf. also e.g. Arnolt Bronnen’s 1929 novel *O.S.*, where he describes the “getarnte Reichswehr” comprised of “Geheimsoldaten.” (Bronnen, Arnolt. *O.S.* Berlin: Ernst Rowohlt Verlag, 1929. Print. 105.)

<sup>429</sup> Von Salomon, Ernst. *Freikorps. Die Geächteten*. Salenstein: Unitall, 2011. Print. 129.



part of a new, ‘heimliches Heer’ that was operating under the name Organisation Consul, and that set out to wage war against the enemies within.

It is Ernst Jünger who would first – albeit somewhat vaguely – formulate the goals of any ‘heimliches Heer’ by proclaiming a call to oppose all given structures in his essay “Der Frontsoldat und die innere Politik:” “Wir wollen keine Partei bilden, wir wollen nicht wählen, das hieße den Staat anerkennen, das hieße eins seiner Organe werden, statt gegen ihn gerichtet zu sein. Wir wollen uns zu einer selbstständigen Macht entwickeln, die eines Tages mächtiger sein wird als der Staat.”<sup>430</sup> Accordingly, “Hinein in den Staat!” would never be an option for Ernst Jünger over the course of the years between the two World Wars.<sup>431</sup> Instead, he would continuously work towards the ‘gemeinschaftliche’ unification of those, who share and are willing to live according to the ‘Geist des Frontsoldaten;’ i.e. a ‘Gemeinschaft’ of those, who are separated from any nineteenth century ideals and from the ‘Gesellschaft’ at home due to their front-line experiences, and who are willing to follow the Jüngerian credo that “in den Reihen jeder guten Armee von Politik keine Rede sein [durfte].”<sup>432</sup> The radical reluctance to recognize the state as an administrative unit comprised of bourgeois parties means for Jünger that a perpetual war has to be waged in the name of the nation and in opposition to contemporary politics. In other words, by prolonging the war, the political necessarily remains suspended: i.e. “Der neue Aufbau aber muß *von Anfang an* offensiv gerichtet

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<sup>430</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Frontsoldat und die innere Politik. Die Standarte, 29. November 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 146-152. Here: 151.

<sup>431</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Nationalismus der Tat. Arminius, 21. November 1926.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 250-257. Here: 255.

<sup>432</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Frontsoldat und die innere Politik. Die Standarte, 29. November 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 146-152. Here: 146.

sein.”<sup>433</sup> Accordingly, Jünger describes the current situation by inverting von Clausewitz’ most famous dictum. He declares that “unser augenblickliches Leben [...] die Fortsetzung des Krieges mit anderen Mitteln [ist] und wir [...] überall auf Naturen [stoßen], die den Schwung und die Energie dieses Krieges auf andere Formen zu übertragen vermögen.”<sup>434</sup>

Unlike Ernst von Salomon, who chose to actively engage in combat operations by joining the *Freikorps* immediately after the war, Ernst Jünger – as I have shown in chapter two – would primarily choose his literature as the form into which he would transfer the energy of this war; that is to say, as one means that allowed him its continuation.<sup>435</sup> Knowing that his literature would not be received in a political vacuum, however, he implemented subversive textual strategies on the one hand, and, on the other, kept the memory of the war alive in such a way that it allowed for the initiation of a new generation to the ‘Gemeinschaft der Frontsoldaten,’ and that would enable him, “den Geist und den Sinn dieser Erinnerung auf die Zukunft zu übertragen.”<sup>436</sup> As for his approximately 140 articles, book reviews, introductions, et. al. of the years 1920-1933, which Sven Olaf Berggötz published for the first time in their entirety in 2001 under the

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<sup>433</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Nationalismus der Tat. Arminius, 21. November 1926.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 250-257. Here: 255.

<sup>434</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der neue Typ des deutschen Menschen. Stahlhelm-Jahrbuch 1926, Magdeburg 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 167-172. Here: 171f.

<sup>435</sup> For a comprehensive examination of Ernst von Salomon’s ‘political’ development, cf. e.g.: Klein, Josef Markus. *Ernst von Salomon: Revolutionär ohne Utopie*. Achenmühle: Brienna Verlag, 2002. Print.

<sup>436</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Wesen des Frontsoldatentums. Die Standarte, 06. September 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 66-71. Here: 68.

somewhat misleading title *Politische Publizistik*,<sup>437</sup> Ernst Jünger would never leave any doubt that he as a ‘Krieger’ operates “außerhalb dieser Ordnung[, w]eil er diese Ordnung verachtet.”<sup>438</sup> The focus of this chapter thus has to be on *how* Jünger participates in and tries to influence the political discourse of the Weimar years, and how he aims at ultimately subverting the political status quo, whilst not only abstaining from arguing politically – he decides to remain within the framework of militaristic rhetoric and radical activism – but also by actively rejecting the political as it manifests itself during the Weimar years. Accordingly, his ‘political’ texts will not be analyzed by attempting to filter out potential programmatic manifestations along the lines of party-political agendas. Instead, they will be examined from the perspective of the ‘Krieger,’ who understands war as an omnipresent latent state that periodically surfaces with actual battle as a symptom of it. Ernst Jünger’s texts – literary as well as ‘political’ – are thus seen as radical contributions that aim for subversive activity and are accordingly read as a “kriegerische[s] Ereignis” themselves.<sup>439</sup> It will be shown that he continues to argue from a peripheral perspective, which he derives from his concept of the front-line, and which he now takes to be the sidelines of the political spectrum. Accordingly, I am not

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<sup>437</sup> That this label is indeed misleading can be seen by reference to Norbert Dietka’s 2016 publication *Ernst Jüngers Entwurf von der “Herrschaft und Gestalt des Arbeiters.”* Dietka rightly observes that “[s]eine [Jünger’s] extremistische Rhetorik [...] ihm jedwede staatspolitische Raison versperrte.” And that his “Kernaussagen” were militaristically “a priori determiniert,” yet, he is relying on Berggötz title when he is referring to Jünger’s “politische[m] Engagement” throughout the Weimar years, without naming his reference(s) or substantiating his observations. (Dietka, Norbert. *Ernst Jüngers Entwurf von der “Herrschaft und Gestalt des Arbeiters.” Philologischer Versuch einer Annäherung.* Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2016. Print. 15f.)

<sup>438</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Die Geächteten. Ja und Nein, Juni/August 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933.* Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 584-587. Here: 586.

<sup>439</sup> Martus, Steffen. “Der Krieg der Poesie. Ernst Jüngers »Manie der Bearbeitung und Fassungen« im Kontext der »totalen Mobilmachung.« In: *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft. Bd. XLIV.* Ed. Wilfried Barner, Christine Lubkoll, Ernst Osterkamp, and Ulrich Ott. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 2000. Print. 212-234. Here: 214.

suggesting that Jünger has any interest in occupying a position on the political map, but that he instrumentalizes his texts as means that allow him for the continuation of war.

Trying to find a working definition of the political for Jünger's texts of the Weimar years is thus not necessary. For the analysis at hand, Carl Schmitt's observation that the political presupposes the actual possibility of a battle or combat, shall suffice as a foil: it is, following Schmitt, "[d]ie reale Möglichkeit des Kampfes, die immer vorhanden sein muß, damit von Politik gesprochen werden kann."<sup>440</sup> Accordingly and since Jünger understands war as a ubiquitous and incessant 'Naturzustand' – i.e. as the necessary and perpetual *bellum omnium contra omnes* – he axiomatically suspends the political, because for him, 'Kampf' is no longer a real 'Möglichkeit,' but an ever-present reality. This accounts for both, the battles fought by each and every increasingly anomic 'Krieger' as well as for the sum of battles that make up war. Although there may appear to be an unsurmountable tension between the individual and the 'Gemeinschaft' in a state of a perpetual *bellum omnium contra omnes*, for Jünger, it is the cumulative wills to power of all individual 'Krieger,' which in turn ought to bring about the "Übermacht" of the 'Gemeinschaft,'<sup>441</sup> an absolute 'Macht' that is not least situated 'beyond' all relative political powers. When Matthias Schöning thus gestures towards the ephemerality of any comradely 'Gemeinschaft' due to the eventual feeling of loneliness on behalf of the individual 'Krieger' in a war *contra omnes*, he misses that the individual has no actual

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<sup>440</sup> Schmitt, Carl. *Der Begriff des Politischen*. Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 2015. Print. 31.

<sup>441</sup> Jünger, Ernst. "An die Freunde. Arminius, 28. August 1927." In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 359-364. Here: 363.

merit for the ‘Gemeinschaft’ to remain in existence.<sup>442</sup> But instead, it is a ‘Gemeinschaft’ that is built on the cumulative wills of all of its members, which outlives each and every one of its parts. Accordingly, it is not a contradiction to understand the *bellum omnium contra omnes* as ‘Gemeinschaftsstiftend,’ but, for Jünger, it is the very condition for a ‘Gemeinschaft’ that supersedes the sum of its parts to exist in the first place. Since this Jüngerian ‘Gemeinschaft’ is based on the suspension of politics – i.e. on the perpetuity of war – Sven Olaf Berggötz’ conclusion that Jünger was “[t]atsächlich [...] ein politischer Schriftsteller” based on the observation that “Jüngers Gedanken nahezu ausschließlich um politische Fragen [kreisten]” is therefore a syllogism. The following examination of Jünger’s writings on past and future revolution(s) as well as on the current role of the ‘Frontsoldatentum’ as revolutionary guard will not least show, how Jünger aims at suspending the political in favor of the continuation of war in order to bring about a nationalist ‘Gemeinschaft.’<sup>443</sup> At this, the term ‘nation’ as well as ‘Deutschland’ remain placeholders for a ‘gemeinschaftsstiftende’ idea that constantly remains in flux. Jünger’s *Politische Publizistik* is accordingly not so much political as it is a diachronic attempt at fathoming a very specific modern nationalism, which he characterizes as being in a state of perpetual movement.

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<sup>442</sup> Cf. Schöning, Matthias. *Versprengte Gemeinschaft. Kriegsroman und intellektuelle Mobilmachung in Deutschland 1914-1933*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009. Print. 140f.

<sup>443</sup> Berggötz, Sven Olaf. “Nachwort: Ernst Jünger und die Politik.” In: *Jünger, Ernst. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. by Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 834-878. Here: 834.

Before turning to Ernst Jünger, however, another snapshot from von Salomon's *Die Geächteten* shall serve as an example of the post-War atmosphere, which provides the basis on which Jünger commences his own operations.

Towards the end of the section "Putsch," which concludes the first chapter of *Die Geächteten*, von Salomon and his brigade are boarded up in a riding hall for three days whilst facing the end of their deployment. On the third evening, von Salomon enters into a conversation with one of his comrades about their future plans and about their shared past experiences: "»Je mehr ich es mir überlege, desto sicherer weiß ich, daß unser Kampf nicht zu Ende ist. Aber ich weiß auch, daß wir bislang notwendig scheitern mußten. Wir werden niemals wieder als Truppe eingesetzt werden. Jetzt muß jeder einzelne seinen eigenen Kampf angehn.«"<sup>444</sup> Having postulated the imperative necessity for each one to fight individually in the future, von Salomon reviews the reasons for the failure of the November Revolution of 1918: „»Ich meine, das [was sich da formte] entstand im Grunde nicht durch Bewegung, sondern durch Gewicht. Das, was am passivsten war, das hat sich durchgesetzt, einfach, weil die aktiven Teile sich gegenseitig auffraßen. Es ist ja doch nichts Neues entstanden durch die Novemberrevolte. Wir haben keine Umschichtung erlebt, geschweige denn eine Revolution.«"<sup>445</sup> The combination of the axiomatic imperative to fight – 'jetzt muß jeder seinen eigenen Kampf angehen' – with the realization that the current political and societal order is the result of inertia leads him to formulate the interim conclusion that the battle for a new order was and would still be an ongoing one: "»Wenn die Revolution nicht stattgefunden hat, was dann? Dann

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<sup>444</sup> Von Salomon, Ernst. *Freikorps. Die Geächteten*. Salenstein: Unitall, 2011. Print. 164.

<sup>445</sup> Ibid.

müssen wir eben die Revolution machen.«<sup>446</sup> However, von Salomon's 'wir' no longer solely connotes a defined existing group that would take action en bloc and march under the same flag – e.g. the actual “Barrikadensturm”<sup>447</sup> – but hints at the silent mutual understanding of those solitary ‘Krieger’ who belong to the ‘Gemeinschaft’ due to their willingness to sacrifice themselves for a respectively singular underlying idea, and who are capable of the “Aufstand des Geistes”<sup>448</sup> that precedes every genuine revolution.

Immediately after the war and during the early years of the Weimar Republic, Ernst Jünger was – due to his actual occupation as one of the 4.000 serving officers left in the German military – not one of those individuals, who were able to feed the minds of young revolutionaries. He was still part of the German military for some four-and-a-half years after the war had ended, and thus banned from publishing on political matters. His few publications of the years 1920 through 1923 – except for his debut novel *In Stahlgewittern* (1920/1922) and the serial novel *Sturm* (1923) – were mainly concerned with the modernization of military theory based on his experiences in the front lines and were consequently conceived for a military audience. His essays thus mainly dealt with questions such as the “Moderne Gefechtsführung,”<sup>449</sup> the “Technik in der Zukunftsschlacht,”<sup>450</sup> or the basic principles of infantry tactics,<sup>451</sup> for example. Only once

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<sup>446</sup> Ibid. 165.

<sup>447</sup> Ibid. 166.

<sup>448</sup> Ibid. 166.

<sup>449</sup> Cf. Jünger, Ernst. “Skizze moderner Gefechtsführung. Militär-Wochenblatt, 13. November 1920.” In: Ernst Jünger. *Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 12-18. Jünger would tellingly refer to this essay as “mein bombiger Aufsatz” in a letter to his mother Lily from November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1920. (Quoted in: Schwilk, Heimo. *Ernst Jünger – Ein Jahrhundertleben*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014. Print. 235.)

<sup>450</sup> Cf. Jünger, Ernst. “Die Technik der Zukunftsschlacht. Militär-Wochenblatt, 1. Oktober 1921.” In: Ernst Jünger. *Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. 23-26. Print.

he decided to leave the military – a decision that took effect on August 31<sup>st</sup>, 1923 – and to matriculate at the university of Leipzig as a student of zoology on October 26<sup>th</sup> of the same year, he would begin to engage with questions in his publications that went beyond the strictly militaristic context. However, he even took his studies of zoology to be the continuation of war by other means, as can be seen with reference to his *Das Abenteuerliche Herz*, where he writes: “Es machte mir damals, als ich den grauen Rock mit dem weißen Laboriumskittel vertauschte, Spaß, festzustellen, welche Ähnlichkeit die Mikroskope und Fernrohre mit den Kanonen besitzen, die ich von jeher gern sich so zierlich und präbise in ihren Lafetten schwenken sah; und auch im Grunde gar kein so großer Unterschied: dies alles sind Waffen, deren sich das Leben bedient.”<sup>452</sup> From now on, and all the way through to *Der Arbeiter*, he would consequently use his writings on different topics to take up a position in opposition to the political status quo based on his experiences of the war and by translating this front-line experience to his counter-political – viz. subversive – publication activity; just as he had done with his literature. Armin Mohler thus aptly observes in this regard: “Er [Jünger] [...] weicht, nachdem er zuletzt auch die Reichswehr verlassen hat, von nun an allen Bindungen aus, die sich ihm in der Form von Parteien, geheimen Organisationen oder Bewegungen anbieten. Vor allen anderen Bindungen steht für den Schriftsteller die Bindung an das Wort.”<sup>453</sup>

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<sup>451</sup> Cf. Jünger, Ernst. “Auf welchen Grundgedanken beruht die Infanterietaktik? Militär-Wochenblatt, 22. Juli 1922.” In: Ernst Jünger. *Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. 27-29. Print.

<sup>452</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Abenteuerliche Herz. Erste Fassung.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Das Abenteuerliche Herz. SW 11. Essays III*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 31-176. Here: 97.

<sup>453</sup> Mohler, Armin. *Die Schleife. Dokumente zum Weg von Ernst Jünger*. Zürich: Arche, 1955. Print. 57. Cf. also Ernst von Salomon’s retrospective account in his *Der Fragebogen*, where he formulates the same observation: Jünger, “der immer eine instinktive Scheu davor besaß, selber katalogisiert oder in Kategorien eingereiht zu werden.” (Von Salomon, Ernst. *Der Fragebogen*. Hamburg: Rohwolt, 1988. Print. 245.)



Given the observations thus far, I am peremptorily arguing against Peter Trawny's central thesis from his recently published book *Die Autorität des Zeugen. Ernst Jüngers Politisches Werk* (2009). According to Trawny, Jünger has to be seen "überhaupt als ein politischer Autor,"<sup>454</sup> and he understands his post-1932 writings as mere attempts at retrospectively stylizing himself as an a- or counter-political figure; i.e. Trawny takes Jünger's post-1932 writing activity to be nothing but a cover-up of the latter's nationalist inter-War postulations. However, since Trawny simply equates Jüngerian nationalism(s) with a political program, thus directly aligning him with the plethora of political voices of the Weimar years, and since he never examines Jünger's fluctuating understanding of either nationalism(s) or the political, his central thesis that Jünger was a programmatic nationalist who spent his post-1932 life trying to cover up his inter-War political bearings suggests itself to a certain degree. However, when actually analyzing Jünger's *Politisches Werk* – and not just the periphery of *Der Arbeiter*<sup>455</sup> – the dynamism of his work and the fluctuating conceptualizations therein eventually reveal themselves as an a- or at least counter-political means of subversion void of any stable programmatic characteristics. Lastly, Jünger only – if at all – becomes truly political as well as politicized after *Der Arbeiter* was published in 1932; i.e. initially with his political parable *Auf den Marmorlippen* (1939), and especially after the Second World War with his essay *Der Friede* (1945), which for the first time propagates an end to all combat operations, and

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<sup>454</sup> Trawny, Peter. *Die Autorität des Zeugen. Ernst Jüngers Politisches Werk*. Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2009. Print. 19.

<sup>455</sup> Albeit that this should already be enough to recognize that, here, Jünger already abandons the concept of the nation by turning to the notion of the planetary.

subsequently with the publication of his immediately political observations from the war diaries (1939/41-1945/48) that were published as *Strahlungen* in 1949.

Ernst Jünger's first essay that was published in publicly accessible print media was entitled "Revolution und Idee."<sup>456</sup> It was conceived for a civilian audience, released in the *Völkische Beobachter* in September 1923, and it sets the tone for that which would follow: namely, it proclaims the imperative necessity for a genuine 'Revolution' based on an 'Idee,' without ever actually elaborating on either of the two key terms. In order to highlight the necessary conditions for such a revolution, Jünger goes back to the years prior to the Great War, when the "Jugend Deutschlands" was aware of the possibility "daß eine Regierung, eine Staatsform oder ein Recht für ein Volk unerträglich werden kann."<sup>457</sup> As early as in his first essay, Jünger employs a strategy of destabilization, similar to that which he pursues in his literature. Despite the fact that he is writing for the *Völkische Beobachter* – the organ of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) with the telling subtitle: "Kampfblatt der national-sozialistischen Bewegung Großdeutschlands" – he first highlights the revolution "unter [...] roten Fahnen" as one that successfully opposed coercion with force and as one that was driven by a distinct idea, to then turn to the Kiel Mutiny as an example for a pseudo-revolution doomed to failure, since it was, according to Jünger, merely driven by the want to satisfy elementary needs accompanied by a longing for quiet instead of adhering to the will to strive for an

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<sup>456</sup> Cf. Jünger, Ernst. "Revolution und Idee. Völkischer Beobachter, 23./24. September 1923." In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 33-37.

<sup>457</sup> Ibid.

idea(l).<sup>458</sup> The concession that the latter revolution – viz. the “Revolution des Materialismus” – was temporarily successful already corresponds to a proclamation that demands overthrowing a political form of organization that has lived “fünf Jahre lang ohne eine andere Idee als die der Lohnstreitigkeit,”<sup>459</sup> and that is governed by “Schieber[n], Börsianer[n] und Wucherer[n].”<sup>460</sup> Finally and only the last two paragraphs do justice to the propagandistic publishing house. Here, Jünger writes in a prophetic, almost sermonic way: “Die echte Revolution hat noch gar nicht stattgefunden, sie marschiert unaufhaltsam heran. [...] Ihre Idee ist die völkische [...] ihr Banner das Hakenkreuz, ihre Ausdrucksform die Konzentration des Willens in einem einzigen Punkt – die Diktatur!”<sup>461</sup> And Jünger, whom Heimo Schwilk fittingly labels a “Grenzgänger zwischen *Gedanke und Tat*” in this context,<sup>462</sup> furthermore promises that this true revolution will actualize the “Tat”-potential of the word by eventually replacing it: “Sie wird ersetzen das Wort durch die Tat, die Tinte durch das Blut, die Phrase durch das

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<sup>458</sup> Similarly, Jünger comments on the Kiel mutiny in a later deleted passage from *Das Wäldchen 125*. Here, he writes: the “Wilhelmshavener Vorgänge [...] schmecken mehr nach Revolte als nach Revolution, sie sind ganz ohne Idee, Ausgeburten des Hungers und der Feigheit, viehisch ist der einzige Ausdruck dafür.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 132-366. Here: 303.) Bertolt Brecht’s Balicke from the returnee-comedy *Trommeln in der Nacht*, which launches similar attacks on the bourgeoisie as Jünger and von Salomon, evaluates the revolutionary proceedings likewise, yet from the perspective of a wartime profiteer. He criticizes: “Die aufgepeitschten Massen sind ohne Ideale.” What differs greatly, however, is his take on the ‘Frontsoldaten.’ As opposed to Jünger, he describes them as “verwilderte, verlotterte, der Arbeit entwöhnte Abenteurer, denen nichts mehr heilig ist.” (Brecht, Bertolt. *Trommeln in der Nacht*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2014. Print. 13.)

<sup>459</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Revolution und Idee. Völkischer Beobachter, 23./24. September 1923.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 33-37. Here: 35.

<sup>460</sup> Ibid. 36.

<sup>461</sup> Ibid.

<sup>462</sup> Schwilk, Heimo. *Ernst Jünger – Ein Jahrhundertleben*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014. Print. 263.

Opfer, die Feder durch das Schwert.”<sup>463</sup> Such rather vulgar propaganda for a, in this case, swastika-flagged revolution based on ‘völkische’ principles has long been the stumbling block of Jünger-scholarship that – just as it is the case with most of the scholarship that focuses on his literature – either tries to separate his literature from his other writings and the author altogether, that apologetically attempts to relativize Jünger’s temporary and partial sympathies for the Nazi-movement as well as his nationalist creed by emphasizing his later turn against both, that mistakes such snapshots as truly representative for Jünger’s Weimar works as a whole,<sup>464</sup> or that drifts off towards mere “Heldenverehrung,”<sup>465</sup> as Armin Mohler calls it. In fact, when diachronically analyzing the corpus of Jünger’s Weimar writings, it becomes quite clear that his literary strategy of destabilization translates to his a- or counter-political writings. However, instead of creating uncertainty with the recipients by layering temporal planes for example, he now instrumentalizes various military and political platforms, as one means of obliterating clear-cut definitions. Or, put more drastically, he gives his separate publications the appearance of being political proclamations, when a simple juxtaposition of them already reveals them as individual and subversive ‘Krieger’-expressions that call for overthrowing and replacing replacing the current forms of the political altogether, without ever conceptualizing an actual *modus operandi*.<sup>466</sup>

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<sup>463</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Revolution und Idee. Völkischer Beobachter, 23./24. September 1923.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 33-37. Here: 35.

<sup>464</sup> Cf. Mohler, Armin and Karlheinz Weissmann. *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918-1932. Ein Handbuch*. Graz: ARES, 2005. Print.

<sup>465</sup> Mohler, Armin. *Die Schleife. Dokumente zum Weg von Ernst Jünger*. Zürich: Arche, 1955. Print. 9.

<sup>466</sup> This is an observation that von Salomon formulates similarly in his *Der Fragebogen* from the perspective of the individual recipient: “Die Bücher Ernst Jüngers verdutzten mich ungemein, und wenn ich zuerst unwilling war, da ich eigensinnig von ihm politische Konzepte erwartete, nach denen ich handeln

Along those lines, his essay “Revolution und Frontsoldatentum” from 1925 is very much a counterpiece to “Revolution und Idee;” first of all, because of the telling replacement of “Idee” with “Frontsoldatentum.” This choice of word emphasizes the “Krieger”-narrative and the potential of initiation as opposed to the closed “völkische”<sup>467</sup> idea, and secondly, because the publication organ he chose for the former text – *Das Gewissen* – takes up a strong position against the National Socialist movement, going so far as to denote the Hitler-Ludendorff-Putsch of November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1923 as a “Verbrechen aus Dummheit” in one of their releases.<sup>468</sup> Jünger, who had proclaimed in *Der Völkische Beobachter* just months before said ‘Putsch’ had happened that “sie [die echte Revolution] marschiert unaufhaltsam heran,”<sup>469</sup> now writes disapprovingly regarding the same revolution in *Das Gewissen*: “Man begnügte sich mit Redensarten, wie »die Revolution ist auf dem Marsch.«”<sup>470</sup> Whilst he had emphasized the “Hakenkreuz” in the *Völkische Beobachter*, he now alludes to the potential of becoming a “Frontsoldat,” who is understood as such an individual ‘Krieger,’ “der bewußt für *eine* Idee steht und

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konnte, oder die mein Handeln politisch sinnvoll erscheinen ließen, mußte ich doch bald erkennen, daß ich hier verlangte, was nicht im Jüngerschen Auftrag lag.” (Von Salomon, Ernst. *Der Fragebogen*. Hamburg: Rohwolt, 1988. Print. 245f.)

<sup>467</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Revolution und Idee. Völkischer Beobachter, 23./24. September 1923.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 33-37. Here: 36.

<sup>468</sup> Cited in: Pfahl-Traughber, Armin. “*Konservative Revolution*” und “*Neue Rechte*.” *Rechtsextremistische Intellektuelle gegen den demokratischen Verfassungsstaat*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1998. Print. 83. This “Verbrechen aus Dummheit” is also what Jünger means by “dilettantenhafte[n] Unternehmungen.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Revolution und Frontsoldatentum. *Das Gewissen*, 31. August 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 57-63. Here: 63.)

<sup>469</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Revolution und Idee. Völkischer Beobachter, 23./24. September 1923.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 33-37. Here: 36.

<sup>470</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Revolution und Frontsoldatentum. *Das Gewissen*, 31. August 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 57-63. Here: 58. Cf. also: Jünger, Ernst. “Die Methode der Revolution. *Die Standarte*, 25. Oktober 1925.” In: Ernst Jünger. *Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. 114-119. Print. Here: 117.

fällt,<sup>471</sup> which not least unmasks the “Hakenkreuz” of 1923 as just that: ‘eine Idee’ amongst the countless ideas floating around during the Weimar years. That this observation might well be Jünger’s response to his own article that was published in the *Völkische Beobachter* just prior to the national socialists’ dilettante attempt at a ‘Putsch’ is rather likely, since he grew increasingly aware of the fact that there was and cannot be a movement ready to assume absolute power quite yet. What remains the same, however, in this as in the former article is his stance on the Kiel Mutiny and his utterances regarding the reprehensibility of current forms of political – i.e. relative – power(s).<sup>472</sup>

The juxtaposition of Jünger’s first two texts on revolution(s) and the ‘Frontsoldatentum’ thus allows for an – albeit somewhat premature – interim conclusion regarding his general counter-political modus operandi: all utterances that seemingly allow us to place Jünger on a political map are tactical means that he merely employs to achieve his first tactical goal; i.e. the propagation of the perpetual nature of war that shall eventually lead to a “wirkliche Revolution,” and that is conducted by the ‘Frontsoldat.’<sup>473</sup> His publications are thus thoroughly subversive in nature and pre-political at best. It is only logical then that Jünger would subsequently examine the “Begriff der

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<sup>471</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Revolution und Frontsoldatentum. Das Gewissen, 31. August 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 57-63. Here: 60. (My emphasis)

<sup>472</sup> Even when writing about “Unsere Politiker,” Jünger obliterates the political by proclaiming the necessity for a “Politiker der Zukunft,” who would stand “über den Parteiungen und Spaltungen,” thus rendering them as eventually redundant. (Jünger, Ernst. “Unsere Politiker. Die Standarte, 06. September 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 63-66. Here: 65.)

<sup>473</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Revolution und Frontsoldatentum. Das Gewissen, 31. August 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 57-63. Here: 63.

Frontsoldaten,” who shall be conceived as the *agens* of the revolution, instead of dedicating more time to the aftermath of it.<sup>474</sup>

In his essay “Wesen des Frontsoldatentums,” Jünger explains that “[i]n allen Fragen, die den Kampf um die Macht betreffen, [...] militärische Klarheit das erste Erfordernis [ist].”<sup>475</sup> And he quite clearly defines, what he understands the ‘Frontsoldat’ to be at this point in time:

Frontsoldat, das bedeutet keine abgeschlossene Tatsache, sondern eine Forderung, nicht nur ein Erlebnis, sondern auch einen Charakter, der sich aus diesem Erlebnis entwickelt hat. Ein Erlebnis zu haben, ist Zufall, Schicksal ist es, sich zu diesem und gerade *diesem* Erlebnis berufen zu fühlen. Der Frontsoldat ist der Mann, der auch heute noch kämpfen will, und der zum Einsatz für Ideen deshalb besonders geeignet ist, weil er vom Schicksal in der Gewohnheit des Kampfes erzogen wurde. Frontsoldat, das ist ein Wort, in dem sich der schärfste nationale Aktivismus konzentrieren muß. Es gibt in Deutschland keinen Stand und keinen Menschenschlag, der so wie der Frontsoldat für die Erfüllung der nationalen Aufgabe in Frage käme.<sup>476</sup>

This means that the ‘Frontsoldat’ is as unrelenting in his compulsion to fight, as war is a perpetual state – neither is an ‘abgeschlossene Tatsache.’ What is glaringly obvious is Jünger’s persistent unwillingness to answer with ‘militärische[r] Klarheit’ with regards to the question ‘wozu?’. The ‘Frontsoldat’ is suitable “zum Einsatz für *Ideen*” but apparently it does not matter what they are exactly, since he fights by the sheer force of habit; i.e. his second nature is to fight quasi-mechanically. This *modus operandi* of detaching any meaning from the alleged goal simultaneously means freeing the ‘Krieger’ from any compulsion to seek a meaning behind the current proceedings; he turns into a radical ‘Krieger’ for the sake of war, who is thus able to fathom the elementary

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<sup>474</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Wesen des Frontsoldatentums. Die Standarte, 06. September 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 66-71. Here: 66.

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid.* 66.

<sup>476</sup> *Ibid.* 69.

dimension of the latter. He becomes the ‘Ur-Krieger.’ The last two sentences give some indication of what one of these ideas may be, regardless: viz. the nation. However, what ‘nationale[r] Aktivismus’ or the ‘nationalen Aufgaben’ are, shall remain undefined, since Jünger knows that there is “nur *eine* Nation zur Leitung der großen Geschicke berufen;”<sup>477</sup> whichever nation he is thinking of, or whatever it will supposedly look like remains unmentioned. In the following section, I will consequently show that Jünger deliberately refrains from providing a stable definition of the nation as well as of nationalism(s) – even when immediately discussing one or both of the two – since the nation is not thought to be an end in itself, but the ‘idea’ that eventually facilitates an “Übermacht” that replaces itself.<sup>478</sup>

## §2

### Nationalism(s)

When von Salomon first introduces the necessity for an “Aufstand des Geistes”<sup>479</sup> in his novel *Die Geächteten*, he also mentions the end to which such an insurgency should occur, but he ultimately closes with an open question: “Wir müssen die Revolution um der Nation willen, um die Nation machen. Und da müssen wir erst mal

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<sup>477</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Ziel entscheidet. Arminius, 07. August 1927.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 349-354. Here: 352.

<sup>478</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “An die Freunde. Arminius, 28. August 1927.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 359-364. Here: 363.

<sup>479</sup> Von Salomon, Ernst. *Freikorps. Die Geächteten*. Salenstein: Unitall, 2011. Print. 166.



wissen, was Nation eigentlich ist.”<sup>480</sup> Ernst Jünger is one of those “Theoretiker der Nation,” whom von Salomon takes up on his promise, but who seemingly struggles with providing an actual definition not only of the nation, but also of nationalism.<sup>481</sup> However, I argue that his elaborations on nationalism(s) remain deliberately in flux, just as much as his remarks on the revolution(s) and on the development of the ‘Frontsoldatentum’ remain willfully impalpable to a certain degree. Over the course of this and the next section, I will argue that this indefinite state is part of a strategy that aims at presenting the nationalist movement and thus nationalism, as well as the nation itself as ephemeral states, which will ultimately be overcome by first breaking through and later by dissolving the borders of the nation state.<sup>482</sup> Jünger thus argues in favor of an “Übermacht”<sup>483</sup> of one entity, which he will ultimately conceptualize on a planetary scale in his essay *Der Arbeiter*,<sup>484</sup> where the *Gestalt* is represented by the worker as the suitable type, who will assume *Herrschaft* by way of an ‘Übermacht’ that displaces ‘Recht.’

In order to convey this, Ernst Jünger implements the above mentioned ‘Auftragstaktik’ as part of his textual strategy; i.e. his publications operate autonomously

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<sup>480</sup> Ibid. 167.

<sup>481</sup> Ibid.

<sup>482</sup> This divinatory gesture towards the planetary, Jünger presents as early as in *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* in a later deleted passage regarding the ‘unbekannte Soldat.’ Here, he writes: “In ferner Zeit wird sich der unbekannte Soldat erheben und in die Welt hisausschreien: »Ich habe am tapfersten gekämpft und kein Vaterland hat meinen Namen in seinen goldenen Tafeln. Gebt mir mein Vaterland, auf daß ich Ruhe finde!« Dann rufen alle Völker: »Hast du am tapfersten gekämpft, so bist du der Unsere.« Da wird sein Vaterland die ganze Erde sein.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 35-131. Here: 75.)

<sup>483</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “An die Freunde. Arminius, 28. August 1927.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 359-364. Here: 363.

<sup>484</sup> Cf. e.g.: “79. Diese Kennzeichen [76. Abgeschlossenheit, 77. Geschmeidigkeit 78. und Rüstung] sind Übergangskennzeichen, mit deren Hilfe die planetarische Herrschaft der Gestalt des Arbeiters innerhalb der Mannigfaltigkeit der historischen Räume vorbereitet wird.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 317.)

as interference factors, which carry out assaults against the defensive lines of contemporary politics, with the ultimate goal – ‘Auftrag’ – of overcoming the political stalemate of the Weimar Republic by replacing the latter with a planetary ‘Arbeitergemeinschaft.’ That Jünger carries this tactic through to the end can also be seen by his choice of publication platforms, where he deliberately uses organs of the “left” and of the “right”<sup>485</sup> in order to further destabilize supposedly stable concepts and so as to demand reconsidering pre-given categories; most noticeably in this regard is his 1929 essay “»Nationalismus« und Nationalismus” that was published in the non-party weekly journal *Das Tage-Buch*, which was founded and edited by the Viennese left-liberal Stefan Großman and by the Jewish sociologist Leopold Schwarzschild, or the partial publication of *Feuer und Blut* with the “Internationale Arbeiter-Verlag.” In the addendum to “»Nationalismus« und Nationalismus” – viz. the “Schlusswort zu einem Aufsatz” from 1930 – Jünger paradigmatically summarizes his position regarding the means by which he operates and thus further clarifies that for him the differentiation of political left and right has become obsolete. This is not least the case, since he is transforming the “tatsächlichen Krieg der Jahre 1914 bis 1918 in ein exemplarisches Geschehen, das auch für die Friedenszeit Gültigkeit hat,” as Steffen Martus observes.<sup>486</sup>

Im übrigen sehe ich Zeitungen und Zeitschriften als eine Art von Verkehrsmitteln an, deren Benutzung schon durch die Tatsache, daß man am modernen Leben teilnimmt, gegeben ist. Sie sind eine Art von Omnibussen, in die man einsteigt, ohne über die Qualität der Fahrgäste bestimmen zu können, und die man genau an dem Punkte verläßt,

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<sup>485</sup> “(wenn man diese tönernen, aber gängigen Unterscheidungen überhaupt anerkennen will),” as Ernst von Salomon adds retrospectively in his *Der Fragebogen*, when discussing the different milieus of the Weimar years. (Von Salomon, Ernst. *Der Fragebogen*. Hamburg: Rohwolt, 1988. Print. 215)

<sup>486</sup> Martus, Steffen. “Der Krieg der Poesie. Ernst Jüngers »Manie der Bearbeitung und Fassungen« im Kontext der »totalen Mobilmachung.« In: *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft. Bd. XLIV*. Ed. Wilfried Barner, Christine Lubkoll, Ernst Osterkamp, and Ulrich Ott. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 2000. Print. 212-234. Here: 225.

den man erreichen wollte. Nichts ist hier von Bedeutung außer dem eigenen Gepäck. In einer Zeit, in der man nicht mit Tanks, sondern mit Omnibussen fährt, in der die Druckerschwärze die Rolle des Pulvers übernommen hat, und in der die Menschen, die man zu erreichen hofft, sehr in der Zerstreuung leben, besitzt der Wechsel der Verkehrsmittel Vorteile besonderer Art.<sup>487</sup>

All this is not to say that Ernst Jünger's development during the Weimar years was linear, or that his proclamations were teleologically organized in preparation for his essay *Der Arbeiter*, but instead that his publications mirror the movements as well as specific moments of the turf wars of a time, which he tried to examine and explain from the particular perspective of the acting 'Krieger,' who operates against the bourgeoisie and emphasizes the perpetually fluctuating character of the nationalist movement as early as from 1925 onwards. Accordingly, he begins early on to make his standpoint one with a focus on work instead of politics; viz. one "der [...] auf objektive Richtigkeit keinen Anspruch erhebt, dafür aber die Arbeitsfähigkeit erhöhen soll."<sup>488</sup> Here, 'Arbeitsfähigkeit' denotes the necessity for a consensus that fully accepts the narrative of the 'Frontsoldat' who experienced "die Vernichtung" of an old world that shall now enable "die Auferstehung einer neuen Welt."<sup>489</sup> 'Arbeitsfähigkeit' is thus thought to indicate the necessity for an "innere Sammlung, die den festen Grund für die Zukunft

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<sup>487</sup> Jünger, Ernst. "Schlusswort zu einem Aufsätze. Widerstand, Januar 1930." In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 538-546. Here: 546. However, Louis Dupeux rightly remarks that most of these "'Mittel' waren [...] bis auf ganz wenige Ausnahmen alle von der gleichen Art." (Dupeux, Louis. "Der 'Neue Nationalismus' Ernst Jüngers 1925-1932. Vom heroischen Soldatentum zur politisch-metaphysischen Totalität." In: *Die großen Jagden des Mythos. Ernst Jünger in Frankreich*. Ed. Peter Koslowski. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1996. Print. 15-40. Here: 16.) In *Der Arbeiter*, Jünger reiterates the necessity of this modus operandi. Here he writes: "man [ist] den Parteiungen nicht überlegen, indem man sich ihnen entzieht, sondern indem man sie benutzt." (Jünger, Ernst. "Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt." In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 85)

<sup>488</sup> Jünger, Ernst. "Der Frontsoldat und die Wilhelminische Zeit. Die Standarte, 20. September 1925." In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 78-85. Here: 79.

<sup>489</sup> *Ibid.* 85.

legt,” based on the principles of the ‘Frontsoldatentum,’ which Jünger not least communicates in his texts as a form of nationalism.<sup>490</sup>

In 1946, Karl Otto Paetel attempted to conclusively define what Jünger and his companions – including himself – allegedly meant when they spoke of nationalism:

Jünger und seine Freunde nannten sich ‚Nationalisten‘. Das hiess für sie: die NATION wirklich über das Interesse zu stellen, hiess antikapitalistische Entscheidung, hiess geistige Abstinenz vom Getriebe der Parteien, hiess abseitiges, einsames Sichvorbereiten auf einen späteren Einsatz, hiess Jasagen zur Realität von Klassenkampf und sozialer Frage, hiess: ‚NEUER Nationalismus‘, das heisst im Grunde DAS, was HEUTE die kämpfenden Partisanen der anderen Völker als Patriotismus bezeichnen.<sup>491</sup>

As a matter of fact, Jünger’s writings put up some resistance against this attempt at a clear-cut definition. Another intellectual companion of his, Armin Mohler, even goes so far as to describe Jünger’s function more generally as that of an “Ideen-Streuer,” as opposed to that of an actual leader; be that conceptual or otherwise.<sup>492</sup> And whilst Paetel is certainly in line with Jünger’s understanding of and his calls to an activist struggle against the liberalist bourgeoisie, its politics and policies, as well as regarding the abstinence from political parties and their activities, he misconstrues what Jünger means when the latter speaks of the nation and of nationalism. This is not necessarily the case because of the immediate content of the definition, but because he tries to categorically define a concept that, according to Jünger, ought to remain in flux. In line with this, Jünger mostly avoids speaking of ‘NEUER Nationalismus’ and instead emphasizes the

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<sup>490</sup> Ibid.

<sup>491</sup> Paetel, Karl O. *Ernst Jünger. Die Wandlung eines deutschen Dichters und Patrioten*. New York: Verlag Friedrich Krause, 1946. Print. 17.

<sup>492</sup> Mohler, Armin. *Die Schleife. Dokumente zum Weg von Ernst Jünger*. Zürich: Arche, 1955. Print. 78.

ever-changing nature of it, by labeling it “moderne[r] Nationalismus;”<sup>493</sup> viz. he presents it as a perpetually self-renewing process or movement that is deeply interwoven with the technological developments of modernity and its connection with culture;<sup>494</sup> an idea that is directly derived from his experiences with the ever-changing “moderne[n] Kampf”<sup>495</sup> in the “modernen Schlacht,”<sup>496</sup> as he describes it in his *Das Wäldchen 125*, for instance.<sup>497</sup> Consequently, Jünger’s usage of ‘modern’ is instrumentally militant and aggressive in nature as well as being used to emphasize the fluctuating character of his particular understanding of nationalism. Its modernity thus has to be comprehended as one example of Carl Schmitt’s complaint, when relating it to the political: “Heute ist nichts moderner als der Kampf gegen das Politische.”<sup>498</sup> At this point then it is almost self-evident that Jünger’s ‘Kampf’ ought to be conducted, in the words of Manfred

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<sup>493</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Frontsoldat und die innere Politik. Die Standarte, 29. November 1925.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 146-152. Here: 148. Cf. also i.a.: Id. “Blut und Intellekt. Die Standarte, 06. Dezember 1925.” In: Ernst Jünger. *Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. 152-157. Print. Here: 157. Cf. also: Id. “Die Maschine. Die Standarte, 13. Dezember 1925.” In: Ernst Jünger. *Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. 157-162. Here: 161. In his famous 1930 essay “Die totale Mobilmachung,” he writes: “Der Patriotismus wird durch den *modernen*, stark mit Bewußtseinsmomenten durchsetzten Nationalismus abgelöst.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Die totale Mobilmachung. In: »Krieg und Krieger.« Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 558-582. Here: 578.) Cf. also in his correspondence with Friedrich Hielscher, where Jünger suggests an ongoing discussion “dessen Gegenstand der moderne Nationalismus ist.” (Jünger, Ernst and Hielscher, Friedrich. *Ernst Jünger – Friedrich Hielscher. Briefe 1927-1985*. Ed. Ina Schmidt and Stefan Breuer. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2005. Print. 95.)

<sup>494</sup> At this point, this is basically what Jeffrey Herf labeled “reactionary modernism.” However and especially with regards to Jünger, his study on *Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*, benefits too much from the privilege of an ex post analysis, which leads him to diagnose a rather straight line from November 1918 to National Socialism instead of examining parts of the political and societal confusion during the Weimar years in detail and in their own right.

<sup>495</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 132-366. Here: 311.

<sup>496</sup> *Ibid.* 312.

<sup>497</sup> This is also the place – viz. the process – where Karl Heinz Bohrer situates Jünger’s modernity as a writer. He observes: “Es ist Jüngers »Modernität«, daß er die Ereignisse des Krieges durchweg als Vorgänge formuliert.” (Bohrer, Karl Heinz. *Die Ästhetik des Schreckens – Die pessimistische Romantik und Ernst Jüngers Frühwerk*. München: Carl Hanser, 1978. Print. 149.)

<sup>498</sup> Schmitt, Carl. *Politische Theologie. Vier Kapitel zur Lehre von der Souveränität*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2015. Print. 68.

Maengel, “jenseits der politischen und sozialen Segregationen, nämlich inmitten der Totalität, in deren Kraftfeld die alten Differenzierungen sich auflösen.”<sup>499</sup> This is to say that nationalism and even the nation are not stable constructs, but symptoms of what Jünger calls the “Prozess der Auslösung der Form zugunsten der Bewegung,”<sup>500</sup> and this movement is neither concerned with political left nor right – nor, more broadly speaking, with any conclusively determinable direction<sup>501</sup> – but ought to radically push forward through the middle. Accordingly and in opposition to Carl Schmitt, whose project it was to make the political possible again by trying to conceptualize a stable construct that is held up between the poles of ‘Macht,’ ‘Recht,’ and ‘Gesetz,’ and by attempting to maintain the notion of a geographically locatable distinction between friend and foe, Jünger aims at the suspension of the political by postulating the possibility of an ‘Übermacht’ – i.e. the sphere where ‘Macht’ displaces ‘Recht’ and is thus always already protruding beyond any attempts at limited stabilization – that facilitates unlimited, and eventually planetary ‘Herrschaft.’

Examining Jünger’s *Politische Publizistik* thus requires a diachronic perspective – as opposed to an ex post approach – that deals with the central questions regarding Jüngerian nationalism(s) comparatively, instead of attempting to find one conclusive

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<sup>499</sup> Maengel, Manfred. *Das Wissen des Kriegers oder Der Magische Operateur. Krieg und Technik im Frühwerk von Ernst Jünger*. Berlin: XENOMOS, 2005. Print. 266.

<sup>500</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Fortschritt, Freiheit und Notwendigkeit. Arminius, 17. April 1927.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 325-329. Here: 325.

<sup>501</sup> Matthias Schöning thus rightly observes: “Sie [Jüngers *Politische Publizistik*] lässt die Richtung des Vorstoßes unbestimmt und widmet alle Energie der Auslöschung – eine im Kern literarische Leistung. Die Zäsur nämlich, die Jünger durch den Krieg gezogen sieht, ist derart fundamental, dass sie zwar rhetorisch erzeugt, nicht aber praktiziert werden kann Realiter kann sie nur als permanenter Aufschub fungieren.” (Schöning, Matthias. *Versprengte Gemeinschaft. Kriegsroman und intellektuelle Mobilmachung in Deutschland 1914-1933*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009. Print. Here: 145f.)

definition that would allow us to definitively place him on the political map. Only by approaching his writings from such a vantage point, might his eventual insight regarding the ephemerality of nations and nationalism(s) be understood comprehensively and commented on in more depth than with the customary use of a subordinate clause that gestures towards Oswald Spengler's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* and other writings of his;<sup>502</sup> i.e. it is clear by now that Jünger's deliberations regarding the 'Frontsoldat,' the 'nation' and 'nationalism(s)' follow a logic that emphasizes war as the carrier of cultural renewal or as the basis of a revolutionary potential and not as the symptom heralding the decline of the west, just as much as his concept of 'Übermacht' will be based on more than social Darwinism.<sup>503</sup> Accordingly, and especially when taking into account Jünger's early observation that "[d]er moderne Nationalismus [...] eine revolutionäre Erscheinung [ist],"<sup>504</sup> the actual question at this point cannot be 'What does Jünger's concept of nationalism definitively look like?' – since there is no conclusive *one* – or 'Where can he be placed within the spectrum of nationalism(s) or politics?' – since that is of no interest to him. Rather, the question to be asked should be: what type(s) are the driving forces of the nationalist revolution, what is this occurrence supposed to look like and what will happen, once it disappears? By answering these questions, the development from the 'Frontsoldat' as a type to the 'Arbeiter' as the representative of a new order shall be understood in more detail, so as to eventually comprehend the basis of Jünger's

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<sup>502</sup> Cf. e.g. Norbert Dietka, who – throughout his book *Ernst Jüngers Entwurf von der "Herrschaft und Gestalt des Arbeiters."* *Philologischer Versuch einer Annäherung* – uses the subjunctive when surmising potential intertextual references.

<sup>503</sup> For a detailed analysis of Jünger's relationship to Spengler, cf.: Merlio, Gilbert. "Jünger und Spengler." In: *Die großen Jagden des Mythos. Ernst Jünger in Frankreich.* Ed. Peter Koslowski. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1996. Print. 41-61.

<sup>504</sup> Jünger, Ernst. "Schluss. Die Standarte, 20./27. Dezember 1925." In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933.* Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 162-166. Here: 165.

conceptualizations regarding the notion of the planetary claim to power of the worker in *Der Arbeiter* as he gradually derives it from his front-line experiences.

Ernst Jünger's first article that deals directly with nationalism, and that is accordingly captioned using a definite article – “Der Nationalismus”<sup>505</sup> –, may give the reader the impression of dealing with a conclusive conceptualization of the subject matter at hand. However, already the first sentence belies the seemingly definitive character of the essay title. Jünger writes: “Das Lebendige bedarf nicht des Beweises zu seiner Rechtfertigung.”<sup>506</sup> Instead of offering empirical facts, or cogent definitions, Jünger equates nationalism with ‘[d]as Lebendige,’ thus proclaiming its variable character based on its organic nature: i.e. “der moderne Nationalismus.”<sup>507</sup> The Spenglerian undertone of the entire article then puts Jünger's observations in close proximity to social Darwinism, which allows him to propagate a competitive struggle between those who are willing to subordinate themselves to *a* nation – which he denotes in turn as an “übergeordnetes Wesen”<sup>508</sup> – and everyone else. Whether this will is based on values, or is logically conceivable according to Jünger's conviction, is irrelevant. What is of utmost importance, however, is that all individuals subordinate themselves to the nation to such a degree that

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<sup>505</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Nationalismus. Die Standarte, 01. April 1926.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 186-190.

<sup>506</sup> Ibid. 186. Jünger will eventually write an article entitled “Der neue Nationalismus” (*Völkischer Beobachter*, 23./24. Januar 1927). Here, as in the article “Der Nationalismus,” Jünger emphasizes the perpetual state of flux by introducing the living character of the movement as early as in the first sentence. (Cf. Jünger, Ernst. “Der neue Nationalismus. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 23./24. Januar 1927.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 285-291. Here: 285)

<sup>507</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Nationalismus. Die Standarte, 01. April 1926.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 186-190. Here: 190.

<sup>508</sup> Ibid. 186.



the cumulative wills of all culminate in one united will of a nation, which in turn supercedes all individuals. Or, as Jünger puts it in his 1927 Arminius article “Nationalismus und modernes Leben:” “In der Mathematik des Organischen ist ein Ganzes nicht gleich der Summe seiner Teile, sondern mehr.”<sup>509</sup>

Here, in early 1927, Jünger follows the same logic evinced in his *Kriegstagebuch*<sup>510</sup> and as in his literature:<sup>511</sup> the question ‘wozu’ shall remain unanswered, or, if one were tempted to try and answer it with ‘the nation,’ the answer would remain undefined, at least. The driving force is at all times the subordination of the will to *an* idea and *a* goal based on the imperative sine qua non of the moment, which consequently grants true freedom based on the utter commitment to the ‘Schicksal.’<sup>512</sup> all actions of the ‘Krieger’ are accordingly pre-reflexive and based on a mutual understanding void of any actual signification. In *Feuer und Blut*, Jünger formulated this as follows: “Nicht der Befehl, sondern das Ziel gab Richtung und Verbindung.”<sup>513</sup> And in the “Schlusswort” to “Schließt euch zusammen!” which was published about one year later, he somewhat elliptically adds: “wir besitzen ein gemeinsames Ziel, kein Ziel zwar, das programmatisch umrissen, aber doch eins, das klar in das Herz eines jeden geschrieben ist, der es ernst mit der Sache meint. Über dieses Ziel brauchen wir kein

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<sup>509</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Nationalismus und modernes Leben. Arminius, 20. Februar 1927.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 296-301. Here: 298.

<sup>510</sup> Cf. Chapter I.

<sup>511</sup> Cf. Chapter II.

<sup>512</sup> In his Jünger-Biographie, Helmuth Kiesel summarizes this aspect formulaically. Following Jünger, he writes: “Der Glaube an eine Vermeidbarkeit des Kriegs ist töricht, und Fragen nach den Ursachen sind müßig.” (Kiesel, Helmuth. *Ernst Jünger. Die Biographie*. München: Pantheon, 2009. Print. 181.)

<sup>513</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 439-538. Here: 508.

Wort zu verlieren.”<sup>514</sup> This is a crucial point regarding the status of Jünger’s attempts at invoking subversive action by means of texts that he aims to employ as the means for the continuation of war. Since every text has to necessarily rely on language, the question arises, whether or not Jünger’s publications are actually able to realize their ‘Tat’-potential, if it is indeed the case that the ultimate goal of any action is unpronounceable. Jürgen Brokoff answers this question in a stringent, yet unsatisfactory way. He writes: Jünger’s texts “über den Kampf [vermögen] nichts zum Kampf selbst beitragen,” and he continues that the battle “kann [...] in einem Text [nicht] angemessen versprachlicht werden.”<sup>515</sup> However, what Brokoff fails to see is that Jünger’s *inneres Erlebnis* takes place in the ‘Krieger,’ who is capable of embracing battle as part of a war based on his own volition. When mapping this logic onto Jünger’s texts, it quickly becomes clear that Brokoff’s thesis falls short, since he fails to recognize that Jünger’s texts – understood as a means for the continuation of war and not as battle<sup>516</sup> – pave the way for an *inneres Erlebnis* on behalf of the recipient, who is able to embrace that which is described in literature in the same way as the soldier embraces war. For those who are capable of merging in the depicted *innere Erlebnis*, the potential for initiation is actualized, which eventually renders attempts at actual representation via language redundant. That is to say that the potential for an initiation to the ‘Gemeinschaft’ based on an *inneres Erlebnis* presupposes the feasibility of a *communio* that does not require *communicatio*. Jünger

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<sup>514</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Schließt euch zusammen! Schluss. Die Standarte, 22. Juli 1926.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 223-229. Here: 223.

<sup>515</sup> Brokoff, Jürgen. *Die Apokalypse in der Weimarer Republik*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2001. Print. 118.

<sup>516</sup> Brokoff rightly distinguishes between war and battle (cf. *ibid.* 102f.), yet blurs the boundaries between the two at this point of his argument, where he talks about “Kampf bzw. [...] Krieg,” or “Kampf und Krieg.” (*Ibid.* 118)

himself knew what this means for the writer. In two later deleted passages – one from the introduction to *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, the other one from the chapter on “Angst” – he writes: that which happened and what the ‘Krieger’ experienced “läßt sich [...] nur umschreiben, nicht beschreiben,”<sup>517</sup> since “alle Sprachen und Gedichte [...] dagegen nur Gestammel [sind].”<sup>518</sup> Accordingly, instead of attempting to facilitate understanding via description, Jünger aims at an initiation via the creation of a certain ‘Gefühl.’<sup>519</sup> In the first edition of *Das Wäldchen 125*, Jünger observes accordingly: “Kriege werden – was man auch sagen möge – durch das Gefühl gewonnen und nicht durch den Verstand.”<sup>520</sup> And since his addressees ought to know “daß da noch verborgener Leitungen als die vom Mund zum Ohr und vom geschriebenen Buchstaben zu Auge vorhanden sind,” Jünger does not actually need to precisely ‘beschreiben’ his experience as calls to action in order to convey a ‘Gefühl,’ but it suffices to rhetorically re-enact the conditions for a ‘Gemeinschaft’ to come into existence.<sup>521</sup>

Furthermore, because verbal signification has become redundant for the initiated to communicate amongst each other – since “das Gefühl fester bindet als der Verstand”<sup>522</sup> – the stringent structural organization of the (nationalist) movement has become

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<sup>517</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 35-131. Here: 37.

<sup>518</sup> Ibid. 115.

<sup>519</sup> Cf. also Michael Auer: “das Modell für Jüngers planetarische Arbeiter-Avantgarde, die sich allerdings nicht mehr durch eine Fronterfahrung, sondern durch die Grenzerfahrung der Lektüre konstituieren soll.” (Auer, Michael. *Wege zu einer planetarischen Linientreue? Meridiane zwischen Jünger, Schmitt, Heidegger und Celan*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2013. Print. 43.)

<sup>520</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 132-366. Here: 164.

<sup>521</sup> Ibid. 285.

<sup>522</sup> Ibid. 170.

unnecessary as well.<sup>523</sup> Jünger consequently notes in his essay “Der unsichtbare Kern:”

“Er [Nationalismus] selbst aber ist keine Organisation, jeder Versuch, ihn zu organisieren, ist von vornherein zum Scheitern verdammt. Er ist eine Verschwörung geheimer und gefährlicher Art,”<sup>524</sup> which is based on the shared ‘Gefühl’ that engenders the instinctive mutual understanding of everyone involved. This is not least part of the whole that distinguishes Jünger’s variant of ‘modern nationalism’ from defined nationalisms and especially from National Socialism: the secret members of the former march willingly dispersed, “ohne Fahnen,”<sup>525</sup> and especially without a defined programmatic party-structure, whereas the latter two strive to endow their symbols with a political meaning of such force that they more or less compel the masses to identify with the respective movement via the promises of their symbols. Accordingly, when Jeffrey Herf reads Walter Benjamin on fascism – more precisely, Benjamin’s review of Jünger’s essay collection *Krieg und Krieger* – and ascribes the following promise to nationalism altogether, he cannot be talking about Jüngerian modern nationalism. Herf writes that “[t]he soul would be able to express itself in the political imagery and symbolism of the

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<sup>523</sup> During the same year in which Jünger writes his essay “Der unsichtbare Kern,” Arnolt Bronnen publishes his novel *O.S.* where he writes with regards to the ‘Gefühl des Geistes’ what Jünger means when he talks of the nation as *an* idea: “doch unaussprechbar das Land, nie geformt, nie bestimmt, mit den fließenden, umkämpften Grenzen, Deutschland, ein Gefühl, mehr als das alles, ein Gefühl des Geistes.” (Bronnen, Arnolt. *O.S.* Berlin: Ernst Rowohlt Verlag, 1929. Print. 105.)

<sup>524</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der unsichtbare Kern. Der Vormarsch, April 1929.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 469-473. Here: 470.

<sup>525</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “»Nationalismus« und Nationalismus. Das Tagebuch, 21. September 1929.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 501-509. Here: 509. And: Von Salomon, Ernst. *Freikorps. Die Geächteten*. Salenstein: Unitall, 2011. Print. 28. In *Der Arbeiter*, Jünger will reemphasize this programmatic viewpoint. Here, he writes: “Es gibt keine Fahnen außer denen, die man auf dem Leibe trägt.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 100.)

nation rather than in divisive social classes and compromising parliaments,”<sup>526</sup> whilst Jünger’s postulation of an *inneres Erlebnis* aims at obliterating any need for specific signification altogether.

Retrospectively and so as to demarcate the Jüngerian ‘Krieger’-movement from other nationalisms and especially from the National Socialists, Ernst von Salomon observes in his *Fragebogen* regarding the latter’s “Wirkung auf die Massen” due to the omnipresence of their symbols: “Überall waren die Fahnen seiner [Hitler] Partei zu sehen, überall der Gruß, mit welchem sich seine Anhänger fanden.”<sup>527</sup> Ernst Jünger on the other hand postulates regarding those who might potentially be initiated to the ‘Gemeinschaft:’ “Was sie lernen müssen, ist dies: Daß man in einer Zeit wie dieser auch ohne Fahne marschieren kann.”<sup>528</sup> With reference to the same Jünger-quote, Rolf Peter Sieferle observes accordingly: “Jünger ging es nie darum, innerhalb eines wirklichen politischen Kräftefeldes zu agieren, sondern es kam ihm auf die Radikalität der Haltung fern von positiven Forderungen und vom Sich-Einlassen auf die unübersichtliche Komplexität realer Politik an.”<sup>529</sup> Put differently, for the nationalist movement according to Jünger, the total commitment of each man to his ‘Schicksal’ based on the “geheimnisvollen Ströme des Blutes”<sup>530</sup> will eventually grant the emergence of a “großen

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<sup>526</sup> Herf, Jeffrey. *Reactionary Modernism. Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. Print. 31.

<sup>527</sup> Von Salomon, Ernst. *Der Fragebogen*. Hamburg: Rohwolt, 1988. Print. 335.

<sup>528</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “»Nationalismus« und Nationalismus. Das Tagebuch, 21. September 1929.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 501-509. Here: 509.

<sup>529</sup> Sieferle, Rolf Peter. *Die konservative Revolution. Fünf biographische Skizzen*. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1995. Print. 150.

<sup>530</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Nationalismus. Die Standarte, 01. April 1926.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 186-190. Here: 187.

Schicksalsgemeinschaft”<sup>531</sup> that – in opposition to Nationalist Socialism or any other political organization – does not require defined signifiers. Or, conversely: “Wo das Blut durch den Bannkreis eines Schicksals gebunden ist, da besteht eine Blutsgemeinschaft”<sup>532</sup> that, once it is powerful enough, will be able to overthrow a status quo that is characterized by movements, which aim at the identification of the masses with them via their respective symbols.

Whenever Jünger aims for a definition pertaining to the structural principles of the “modernen nationalistischen Staat” – which he uses synonymously with the “Staat der Frontsoldaten”<sup>533</sup> at times – he does so in order to distinguish it from past forms of government, but especially in order to separate it from the political status quo: viz. it shall be a state “der von dem von Weimar, aber auch vom alten Kaiserreich durchaus verschieden ist.”<sup>534</sup> It is different, since it is characterized by a “gänzlich unbürgerliche[n] Gefühl,” and since it is supposed to be – as Jünger almost apodictically rehearses in numerous publications – “national,” “sozial,” “wehrhaft,” and “autoritativ.”<sup>535</sup> Albeit that

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<sup>531</sup> Ibid. 186.

<sup>532</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Blut. Die Standarte, 29. April 1926.” In: Ernst Jünger. *Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. 191-196. Print. Here: 194. What Jünger means, when he is speaking of “Blut” and/or “Rasse” is very different from Tönnies’ biologically anchored concept of a ‘Gemeinschaft’ “als Verbindung des Blutes.” (Tönnies, Ferdinand. *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005. Print. 46.) Whereas Tönnies derives his concept from the family – i.e. biologically blood-related –, Jünger takes blood and/or race to be the distinguishing trait of those who are actual ‘Krieger.’ Jünger’s ‘Blutbegriff’ is thus used to take up position against contemporary intellectualism. (cf.: Herf, Jeffrey. *Reactionary Modernism. Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. Print. 28f.)

<sup>533</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Schließt euch zusammen! Schluss.” *Die Standarte*, 22. Juli 1926.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 223-229. Here: 226.

<sup>534</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Schließt euch zusammen! Die Standarte, 03. Juni 1926.” In: Ernst Jünger. *Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. 216-223. Print. Here: 218.

<sup>535</sup> Ibid. – these four principles are the fundament of Jünger’s idea(s) regarding a future (German) state/nation that ought to replace the current status quo and they recur periodically following the publication of “Schließt euch zusammen.”

this enumeration may sound decisive, it neither adds any conceptual transparency to the question what the state actually ought to be, nor does it inform the concept of nationalism. Immediately following these postulations Jünger consequently re-emphasizes nationalism's immanent ephemerality: the modern nationalist state is supposed to be "revolutionär von Grund auf."<sup>536</sup> This last addendum counteracts the prior utterances of a seemingly definitive nature, since the fundamentally revolutionary character of the new state earmarks it as a transitional moment qua definition: a *state* as political "Status"<sup>537</sup> cannot possibly be in a constantly transvaluing *state* of flux; i.e. revolutionary.<sup>538</sup> That is to say, it cannot be a mechanically functioning construct, but has to be an *organic construction*. The latter is what Jünger calls the nation, the former he labels the state.<sup>539</sup> Similarly, Jünger proceeds with the label for those who are and will become part of the 'Gemeinschaft': "Und es ist wahr, daß die Wärme des Herzens das untrügliche Kennzeichen der neuen Gemeinschaft ist, der wir vorläufig den Namen der *nationalistischen* gegeben haben."<sup>540</sup> 'Vorläufig,' since its character will necessarily change once it becomes all-encompassing, and it can only become all-encompassing, once it rids itself from the strictly nationalist veneer by replacing it with that of the ubiquitous primacy of work. For that to happen the 'Frontsoldat' has to adapt to the

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<sup>536</sup> Ibid.

<sup>537</sup> Schmitt, Carl. *Der Begriff des Politischen*. Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 2015. Print. 19.

<sup>538</sup> Regarding the necessary 'lebendige' dynamism of nationalism(s), cf. also: Best, Werner. "Der Krieg und das Recht." In: *Krieg und Krieger*. Ed. Ernst Jünger. Berlin: Juncker & Dünnhaupt, 1930. Print. 135-161. Here: 146-152.

<sup>539</sup> This will change, once he begins writing *Der Arbeiter*, where he ultimately works towards an "Arbeitsstaat." (Jünger, Ernst. "Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt." In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 248.)

<sup>540</sup> Jünger, Ernst. "Zum Geleit. Der Vormarsch, Oktober 1927." In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Here: 369-373. Here: 370. (my underlining)

immediate necessities of the new situation; i.e. he has to coalesce with the worker to become the ‘Arbeiterkrieger.’

### §3

#### ‘Frontsoldat’ & ‘Arbeiter’ – *Arbeiterkrieger*

In late 1926, Ernst Jünger addresses the “Frontsoldaten und Arbeiter!” together for the first time.<sup>541</sup> Placed in front of both, is the watchword that is sought to unite the movement: namely, “Nationalisten!”<sup>542</sup> Together as nationalists, ‘Frontsoldaten und Arbeiter’ are the types that ought to form the “Gemeinschaft einer neuen Weltanschauung, [die] bindender ist als jene Vereinsabzeichen, die man im Knopfloch trägt.”<sup>543</sup> At this point however, the question remains, how the members of this movement are in fact able to recognize each other. Given the deliberations thus far, it is not surprising that the moment of recognition is not based on signification anymore. Nationalists will not recognize each other “[d]adurch, daß man den Stahlhelm, das Hakenkreuz oder die Farben des Reichsbanners im Knopfloch trägt.”<sup>544</sup> Instead, he who is already – or at least ready to become – part of the ‘Gemeinschaft,’ “versteht sich auf jene Zeichen des Herzens, die untrüglich sind.”<sup>545</sup> Formulaically, Jünger summarizes this

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<sup>541</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Nationalismus der Tat. Arminius, 21. November 1926.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 250-257. Here: 250.

<sup>542</sup> Ibid.

<sup>543</sup> Ibid. 256.

<sup>544</sup> Ibid.

<sup>545</sup> Ibid. The “Gemeinschaft der Herzen” is recurring periodically in Ernst Jünger’s non-literary publications between 1926 and 1932. It is not least one of those moments that allow for tracing the



front-line insight in his short essay “Schlachtfeld der Seele,” where he emphatically writes: “Nur wer wirklich *gekämpft* hat, wird sich auch wirklich *verständigen* können.”<sup>546</sup>

At first glance, this may merely seem to be an adaptation of the front-line experience regarding the ‘Krieger’-voice, which I have examined in chapter II. In parts, this is certainly the case. However, at this point the crucial moment lies with the attribution of this ability to the worker. What allows for such a consolidation of ‘Krieger’ and ‘Arbeiter’ under the umbrella of the watchword nationalism is the experience of soldierly duty as work during the Great War, which in turn grants the recognition of the soldier as one type of the worker as such.<sup>547</sup> Accordingly, Jünger takes the first step towards the ‘Arbeiterkrieger’ as early as in November 1926. What is still missing at this point for the amalgamation of both, is the recognition of the total character of ‘Arbeit.’ That is to say, in order to uncover the development of the ‘Arbeiterkrieger,’ Jünger’s growing awareness of the ubiquitous character of work has to be traced in more detail.

Initially, Jünger still uses the terms ‘Frontsoldat’ and ‘Arbeiter’ rather literally. Upon moving to Berlin in 1927, however, he slowly yet noticeably begins to blur the

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development from the ‘Gemeinschaft der Frontsoldaten’ to the ‘Arbeitergemeinschaft’ via a growing inscription of magical moments.

<sup>546</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Schlachtfeld der Seele – Ein Vorposten der Gegenwartsdichtung. Der Tag, 02. September 1928.” In: Ernst Jünger. *Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 446-449. Here: 447f. Friedrich Hielscher, who maintained close contact with Ernst Jünger beginning in 1927, similarly writes in his book *Das Reich*: “Die nach vorn [an die Front] gehörten, erkannten einander ohne ein Wort, wenn sie sich begegneten.” (Hielscher, Friedrich. *Das Reich*. Berlin: Das Reich, 1931. Print. 24.) And he adds regarding the inevitable battle yet to come: “Wenn sie sich begegnen entdecken sie einander auf den Ersten Blick. Und sie begegnen sich gewiß. Sie müssen sich begegnen.” (Ibid. 334)

<sup>547</sup> Conversely, Jünger will identify the connection between the soldier and the worker by reference to the fighter pilots in the preface to the volume *Luftfahrt ist not!* from 1928: “An ihrem Beispiel [fighter pilots] ist vielleicht die tiefe Verbindung am klarsten hervorgetreten, die zwischen dem Soldatentum und dem Arbeitertum besteht. Denn obwohl sie dieselben geblieben sind, haben sie die Formen des Soldaten mit denen des Arbeiters vertauscht.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Luftfahrt ist not! Vorwort (1928).” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 397-407. Here: 405)

lines between the two. Initially he does so by beginning to speak of a “*soldatisches Arbeitertum*” that is supposed to gradually replace “das untergehende Bürgertum”<sup>548</sup> and a couple of months later, he begins to explain how the former has to be conceived: it is the “*Aufgabe einer neuen Generation [...] die soldatischen Tugenden, jenes gewaltige Beispiel von Mut, Pflichtbewußtsein, äußerer und innerer Disziplin und Opferwilligkeit für eine große Idee, das zu geben ihr vergönnt war, auf die friedliche Arbeit zu übertragen.*”<sup>549</sup> This is as much as to say that the emergence of a “Volk von Arbeitern”<sup>550</sup> is conditioned upon the guidance of the ‘Frontsoldat,’ who translates his experiences regarding the ubiquitous character of war and regarding the work that it would constantly demand to the world of work during times of peace, thus taking a step toward the totalization of work as such. When following this train of thought through to the end, it becomes quite clear that there is simply no room left for the ‘Bürger’ in the future all-encompassing ‘Gemeinschaft.’ Just as the ‘Bürger’ had vanished from the vignette “Der Pazifismus” from *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, he will eventually vanish from a world that is utterly permeated by work and subsequently go down in history as the type that designates a rather short epoch. For Jünger, “[d]as innere Erlebnis fruchtbar zu machen,”<sup>551</sup> has to be the first step towards the gradual amalgamation of ‘Krieger’ and ‘Arbeiter’ in opposition to the ‘Bürger,’ who cannot draw on the same or a similar inner experience. Given the deliberations thus far, it is rather obvious that this initial step can

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<sup>548</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der neue Nationalismus. Völkischer Beobachter, 23./24. Januar 1927.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 285-291. Here: 290.

<sup>549</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Soldaten und Literaten. Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten, 03. März 1927.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 310-315. Here: 312.

<sup>550</sup> Ibid.

<sup>551</sup> Ibid. 313.

only be taken by the ‘Frontsoldat’ and that Jünger’s publications have not least to be understood as a call to the kind of subversive action that shall facilitate this step in the necessary battle – be that a battle fought with weapons or a battle based on displacement – against the bourgeois Weimar democracy and its ‘philistine’ representatives.

The interplay of war and work, the transformation of immediate military service into becoming one part of the sum of work necessary in the front lines, and the consequent gradual insight regarding work’s ubiquitous character is first and foremost knowledge gathered during the years of the war: by the end of 1914, the soldiers that were now dwelling in the trenches of the Great War had turned into ‘Krieger-Arbeiter,’ and those serving the war-effort turned more and more into ‘Arbeiter-Krieger.’<sup>552</sup> For an actual coalescence of the ‘Krieger’ and the ‘Arbeiter’ post 1918 with an emphasis on the latter, it is first necessary to understand all work as necessary for the war effort to then apply this experience conversely to the post war worker and to work as such. In addition to the either productive or destructive character of work, Jünger therefore takes a first step towards amalgamating both layers when he initially recognizes the belligerent character of work by way of comparison. In his 1927 *Arminius* essay “Unsere Kampfstellung,” he writes: “der Arbeit [wohnt] ein nach außen gerichteter, gleichsam kriegerischer Wert inne, jeder Handgriff an einer Maschine ist wie ein abgefeuerter Schuß, jeder vollbrachte Werktag wie der Marschtag eines einzelnen im

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<sup>552</sup> Cf. e.g. Ernst Jünger’s following observation from his 1930 essay “Das große Bild des Krieges:” “Ebenso nämlich, wie sich das Leben des Soldaten an der Front immer mehr zum Leben eines Arbeiters, eines unter sehr gefährlichen Bedingungen arbeitenden Kriegstechnikers verwandelte, gestaltete sich das Leben des Arbeiters in der Heimat zu einem soldatischen Leben um.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Das Große Bild des Krieges. Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges, Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 605-612. Here: 610.)

Heeresverband.”<sup>553</sup> Three years later, in his famous 1930 essay “Die totale Mobilmachung,” he rids this image of its comparative character and emphasizes the simultaneity of ‘kriegerischer Arbeit’ and ‘Arbeit,’ instead:

So fließt auch das Bild des Krieges als einer bewaffneten Handlung immer mehr in das weitergespannte Bild eines gigantischen Arbeitsprozesses ein. Neben den Heeren, die sich auf den Schlachtfeldern begegnen, entstehen die neuartigen Heere des Verkehrs, der Ernährung, der Rüstungsindustrie, – das Heer der Arbeit überhaupt.<sup>554</sup>

That is to say, work as the “absolute Erfassung der potentiellen Energie”<sup>555</sup> within one nation must no longer serve the self-interests of the economy – be they formulated according to a capitalist, a liberalist or a Marxist ideology – but instead shall be actualized in an “Arbeitskrieg”<sup>556</sup> that has to be directly subordinated to and serve the nation itself in order to ultimately work outwardly; i.e. beyond the borders of the nation state. Accordingly, with his essay “Die totale Mobilmachung,” Jünger takes the first step towards the complete dissolution of boundaries.

For the time being, however, the nation, as an idea, shall remain the ultimate goal of the moment. The worker thus fights for the same objective as the ‘Krieger,’ which figuratively turns him into one whilst he literally becomes part of the “modernen Armeen der Landwirtschaft, der Ernährung, des Verkehrs, der Propaganda, der Wissenschaft, der Industrie.”<sup>557</sup> Only by rethinking work and the worker parallelly to war and the soldier,

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<sup>553</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Unsere Kampfstellung. Arminius, 05. Juni 1927.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 329-335. Here: 333.

<sup>554</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Die totale Mobilmachung. In: »Krieg und Krieger.« Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 558-582. Here: 562.

<sup>555</sup> *Ibid.* 562.

<sup>556</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Große Bild des Krieges. Das Antlitz des Weltkrieges, Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 605-612. Here: 609.

<sup>557</sup> *Ibid.* 608f.

and by gradually approximating the representatives of either – which will ultimately lead to the “Gleichsetzung der Kampfkraft des einzelnen Menschen mit seiner Arbeitskraft”<sup>558</sup> – Jünger will eventually be able to arrive at a point where he is able to diagnose their closest proximity by way of a compound – the ‘Arbeiterkrieger’ – before allowing the ‘Krieger’ to be utterly taken up in *Der Arbeiter*. In turn, this new worker will be the basis for a new, timely ‘Krieger.’ Just as Jünger remembered the moment when the roofer joined the military service and switched his hammer for a rifle in his short retrospect “Kriegsausbruch 1914,” he now – in 1929 – heralds the moment, when “die Axt des Zimmermanns sich in die Streitaxt zu verwandeln hat.”<sup>559</sup> One year prior to this rather distinct proclamation, Jünger had already observed: “Erst auf Grundlage eines neuen Arbeitertums erwachsen die Formen und Möglichkeiten eines neuen Kriegertums,”<sup>560</sup> just as 1914 had shown “daß der deutsche Arbeiter noch entscheidendere Bindungen als die wirtschaftlichen kennt;”<sup>561</sup> i.e. the nation. Finally, once war and peace have become indistinguishable in light of an actual total mobilization, it will be the new ‘Kriegertum’ that stems from the world of the *Arbeiter*, which eventually (and once more) will protrude beyond the borders of the nation state. This time, however, it will be ushering into an entirely new era.

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<sup>558</sup> Ibid. 610.

<sup>559</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der unsichtbare Kern. Der Vormarsch, April 1929.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 469-473. Here: 470.

<sup>560</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Arbeiter und Soldaten des 20. Jahrhunderts. Der Vormarsch, März 1928.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 425-434. Here: 433.

<sup>561</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Revolution um Karl Marx. Widerstand, Mai 1929.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 479-482. Here: 480.

## §4

## Protruding Beyond the Borders of the Nation

In January 1928, Ernst Jünger seems to radically change his approach to the concepts of the nation and of nationalism. The former is no longer the goal, but, as it appears now somewhat paradoxically, the precondition of the latter, as Jünger repeatedly postulates in his essay “Zum Jahreswechsel” 1927/1928. He opens this anticipatory essay in the following way:

Das Wort Nationalismus, ein äußerst brauchbares Feldzeichen, um während der chaotischen Jahre des Überganges die eigenartige Kampfstellung einer Generation eindeutig festzulegen, ist keineswegs, wie viele unserer Freunde – und auch unserer Gegner – meinen, der Ausdruck für einen obersten Wert. In diesem Worte liegt unsere Voraussetzung, nicht aber unser Ziel, oder besser gesagt: es bezeichnet den astronomischen Ort, durch den sich ein gewisser und notwendiger Punkt unserer Bahn bestimmt.<sup>562</sup>

And he later continues:

In einer Welt, in der die Nation ebenso selbstverständlich zu den Voraussetzungen des Lebens gehört, wie das Parallelaxiom zu denen der Mathematik, wird freilich eine Bewegung unsinnig, deren Ziel sich im Nationalismus erschöpft. Mit anderen Worten, *Die Kraft, die sich jetzt im Körper der Nation gebunden sieht, wird dann zu Aufgaben außerhalb dieses Körpers frei.*<sup>563</sup>

As I have shown in the preceding sections, however, these insights neither come as a surprise, nor are they actually new. If it is indeed the case that “[d]as Ziel jedes Kampfes [...] die Erweiterung der Macht des Kämpfenden [ist],”<sup>564</sup> that “[d]as Ziel jeder

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<sup>562</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Zum Jahreswechsel. Der Vormarsch, Januar 1928.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 408-413. Here: 408.

<sup>563</sup> Ibid. 411.

<sup>564</sup> Best, Werner. “Der Krieg und das Recht.” In: *Krieg und Krieger*. Ed. Ernst Jünger. Berlin: Juncker & Dünhaupt, 1930. Print. 135-161. Here: 153.

wirklichen Macht [...] immer und überall dasselbe [ist]: Das der Übermacht,<sup>565</sup> if the basic character of work, as Jünger understands it, is indeed always already protruding beyond the borders of the nation state, and if the postulated perpetuity of war grants the suspension of politics and helps dismantling a self-serving economy, a nation – however it may be defined – can never be proclaimed as the ultimate goal of a movement. Instead, the goal of a nation as the expression of the ‘gemeinschaftliche’ cumulative will has to ultimately be the vehicle that enables the release of all forces that are inherent to it.<sup>566</sup> Accordingly, what Jünger described thus far was merely a first step towards said release. Or, put differently: pressure build-up in a “Staubecken [des] Willens[,] im Gegensatz zu den Parteien [...] von jeder offiziellen Politik abgeschnürt.”<sup>567</sup> In line with this, Jünger’s observation from “Autor und Autorschaft” regarding the creation and the intended effect of literary works might just as well be read as a commentary on his non-literary writings, once “Roman” is replaced with writings or texts more generally: “In der Wirkung eines Romans wiederholt sich die innere Explosion, die den Autor erschütterte. Sie überträgt sich auf den Leser: er erkennt oder ahnt die eigene, in ihm schlummernde Kraft.”<sup>568</sup> At the end of “Zum Jahreswechsel,” Jünger consequently wishes “daß er [der

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<sup>565</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “An die Freunde. Arminius, 28. August 1927.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 359-364. Here: 363.

<sup>566</sup> Matthias Schöning reads Jünger’s texts of the Weimar years in a similar way and gives his elaborations the apt title “Ernst Jünger: Mobilmachung der Autorschaft und Überbietung des Nationalismus.” (Schöning, Matthias. *Versprengte Gemeinschaft. Kriegsroman und intellektuelle Mobilmachung in Deutschland 1914-1933*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009. Print. Here: 123-155.)

<sup>567</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der unsichtbare Kern. Der Vormarsch, April 1929.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 469-473. Here: 470.

<sup>568</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Autor und Autorschaft.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Fassungen III. SW 16. Essays VIII*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-266. Here: 49.

Nationalismus] in das neue Jahr eintritt mit einem Höchstmaß an innerer Energie und einem Mindestmaß an Form, sodaß jede Möglichkeit ihm offen bleibt.<sup>569</sup>

The last months of the year 1929 and especially the year 1930 are indeed of crucial significance regarding Jünger's further conceptualizations, since he begins to add some perspicuity by way of a new directionality. And it is not least distinctive that he would do so in an article on literature. More precisely, he re-introduces the relationship and difference of “[d]as *Elementare*,”<sup>570</sup> of which the “*Magische Nullpunkt*”<sup>571</sup> will later be one manifestation, and “das *Absolute*,” which will later be closely connected to “das *Totale*.”<sup>572</sup> The elementary that was first introduced in the context of actual combat operations on the western front as an absolute natural force – for example and most famously in the title-metaphor of his debut novel *In Stahlgewittern* – is now being re-established as the cognitive goal for the nationalist movement.<sup>573</sup> That is to say, the nationalist movement is now first and foremost a movement towards the experience of the elementary. Simultaneously, this means that the idea of the nation or of Germany are abstract placeholders for that which is yet to come. Rolf Peter Sieferle observes accordingly: “Die Begriffe »Nation« oder »Deutschland« bezeichnen daher nicht so sehr

<sup>569</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Zum Jahreswechsel. Der Vormarsch, Januar 1928.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 408-413. Here: 413.

<sup>570</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “O.S. Der Scheinwerfer, Oktober 1929.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 408-413. Here: 511.

<sup>571</sup> Cf. e.g.: Jünger, Ernst. “Das Abenteuerliche Herz. Erste Fassung.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Das Abenteuerliche Herz. SW 11. Essays III*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 31-176. Here: 116f., 135, 162.

<sup>572</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “O.S. Der Scheinwerfer, Oktober 1929.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 408-413. Here: 511.

<sup>573</sup> That this modus operandi was picked up on by other nationalist ‘writers’ can be seen with reference to Werner Beumelburg, for instance. He writes in his *Sperrfeuer um Deutschland* that was first published in 1929: “Wie Lämmerherden weiden die paffenden Wölkchen ihrer [Franzosen] Schrapnelle über Wiesen und Felder. [...] Bleiregen gießt zur Erde.” (Beumelburg, Werner. *Sperrfeuer um Deutschland. Mit einer Widmung des Reichspräsidenten von Hindenburg. Ausgabe für die Jugend*. Oldenburg and Berlin: Gerhard Stalling Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1938. Print. 39)



dieses oder jenes konkrete Stück Land oder Volk, sondern sie stehen als Symbole für ein Absolutes, das in der Kriegserfahrung aufscheint.”<sup>574</sup> In 1929, this fathoming of an experience of the elementary as a possible approximation of an absolute now has to be the new *modus operandi*, since – unlike during the years of the war – the elementary can no longer be recognized simultaneously with and through the absolute, but has to gradually become accessible to those who did not participate in the battles of the Great War. The connection between the elementary and the absolute that Jünger identifies in his book review “O.S.” of the eponymous novel by Arnolt Bronnen allows drawing two conclusions at this point. On the one hand, there is the recognition of the elementary as the condition *sine qua non* for an approximation of the absolute in the absence of actual combat operations. And on the other, the elementary is being re-established in an immediate proximity to war as such. Furthermore, since there are currently no actual combat operations to engage in, which would allow for an experience comparable to that of the battlefields of the Great War, an approximation has to occur by different means; for example, by means of literature.<sup>575</sup> Along those lines, “The Evening Chronicle” of November 1929 quotes Ernst Jünger, who adds his own literature to the corpus of texts that allows for a gradual approximation of the elementary thus preparing the readers for that which is yet to come. Here, he states: “»I consider that my books are a part of

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<sup>574</sup> Sieferle, Rolf Peter. *Die konservative Revolution. Fünf biographische Skizzen*. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1995. Print. 146.

<sup>575</sup> In *Das abenteuerliche Herz*, Ernst Jünger formulates this potential of literature with a direct connection to war as follows: “Wer zu lesen versteht, wittert aus mancher Seite Prosa, daß sie in der Handschrift einem von weggemähten Worten bedeckten Schlachtfelde geglichen haben muß. Gedruckt erinnert sie an eine von Schüssen durchsiebte Scheibe, die man so überklebt hat, daß uns die Treffer, die ins Zentrum schlugen, noch sichtbar sind.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Das Abenteuerliche Herz. Erste Fassung.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Das Abenteuerliche Herz. SW 11. Essays III*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 31-176. Here: 87f.)

Germany's moral and intellectual armament for the next war.«<sup>576</sup> However, the next war is no longer immediately imminent for Jünger, as the second quote from the article shows: «I do not believe that the next war will come soon.»<sup>577</sup> At this point then, Jünger no longer understands literature as a means that would allow for the immediate continuation of actual war – as it was the case up to this point; i.e. pertaining to all of his literary publications at the moment of their respective publication – but as a means that allows for the preparation of the next one and also as an index of the ever-present potential for a (total) mobilization that would allow actual war as battle to resurface. Or, as he formulates it in “Die totale Mobilmachung:” it is the attempt “durch den die deutsche Kriegsliteratur das Allgemeinbewußtsein zu scheinbar nachträglichen, in Wirklichkeit jedoch höchst aktuellen Entscheidungen über kriegerische Dinge zwingt.”<sup>578</sup> Accordingly, contributions to the growing mass of war-literature as well as ‘political’ publications are no longer conceived as calls to or even immediate subversive acts, but function as theoretical means, fathoming the elementary before ushering into the absolute, following the insight, that “[d]as werdende [...] auf das Elementare angewiesen [ist].”<sup>579</sup> Or, put differently, conceiving the current situation as an approximation of the ‘Magische Nullpunkt’ – i.e. the moment when the ‘Arbeiter’ does not operate according

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<sup>576</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Why I Wrote »The Storm of Steel.« The Evening Chronicle, 29. November 1929.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 525-527. Here: 525.

<sup>577</sup> Ibid.

<sup>578</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Die totale Mobilmachung. In: »Krieg und Krieger.« Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 558-582. Here: 564. In 1934, Ernst Jünger publishes his essay “Über den Schmerz,” where he similarly yet with an even longer delay states regarding the intended effect of his text: “Was die innere Form dieser Untersuchung betrifft, so beabsichtigen wir die Wirkung eines Geschosses mit Verzögerung.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Über den Schmerz.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 143-191. Here: 146.)

<sup>579</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf um das Reich – Vorwort (Dezember 1929).” In: Ernst Jünger. *Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. 527-536. Print. Here: 534.

to bourgeois categories such as ratio or moral anymore, but instead “verzaubert die Welt mittels der Technik”<sup>580</sup> – within (the nation) is what shall eventually lead to protruding beyond (it).

Therefore, a new approach became imperative, since the goal can now no longer be achieved by merely publishing more and more ‘Kriegsbücher.’ In May 1930 – viz. at about the time, when he commences his work on his essay *Der Arbeiter* – Ernst Jünger concludes accordingly in an almost defiant manner: “Kriegsbücher sind genug geschrieben.”<sup>581</sup> For a chance to first approximate and then to proceed striding through the ‘Magische Nullpunkt’ a change of perspective has become necessary. It no longer suffices to write from the depth-perspective of the trenches about the experiences in the frontline, thus emphasizing the battle for borders between nation states. Instead, the perspective needs to change from being a strictly historical one characterized by a viewpoint from the trenches and with an emphasis on nationalism(s) to becoming one that allows to re-think the concepts of borders themselves by way of a prescient re-writing of history that allows for inscribing past experiences into a new understanding of the structures of the world: i.e. a metaphysical as well as metahistorical planetary perspective. In his famous “Sizilischer Brief an den Mann im Mond,” Jünger postulates accordingly: “Was not tut, ist eine neue Topographie.”<sup>582</sup> This new ‘Topographie’ has to be understood in all of its different meanings: on the one hand retrospectively – i.e. the

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<sup>580</sup> Kiesel, Helmuth. *Ernst Jünger: Die Biographie*. München: Pantheon Verlag, 2009. Print. 389.

<sup>581</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Uwe Lars Nobbe, Ein Kriegsfreiwilliger. Reclam Universum; 15. Mai 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 583-584. Here: 583.

<sup>582</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Sizilischer Brief an den Mann im Mond.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Das Abenteuerliche Herz. SW 11. Essays III*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-22. Here: 14.

*topos* war and the experiences associated with it need to be re-presented and re-interpreted differently in order to become fathomable for those who did not actually participate in the war – and on the other with an emphasis on the political and socio-cultural maps that shall be rewritten. Lastly and to a certain degree as a symbolic synthesis of the first two that I will take up again in the fourth chapter, Helmut Lethen observes regarding the new ‘topos:’ “Der neue Topos [Verkehr] führt die Mobilität der Kriegszeit in zivile Bahnen; als Stabilisierung und Neutralität zu Ende gehen, wird er militarisiert.” And he adds: “Die Auswirkungen des Topos sind erheblich: Der Verkehr verwandelt Moral in Sachlichkeit und erzwingt funktionsgerechtes Verhalten.”<sup>583</sup> That is to say, (the new) man and its relationship to a mechanized and already partially automatized environment is a crucial aspect in reconsidering the meaning of the individual during as well as the topographies of the Weimar years, based on which an utterly new topography shall be fathomed in writing.

As I have shown in this chapter, Ernst Jünger is participating in the political discourse of the Weimar years from the periphery of the political spectrum. Just as with his literature, he is constantly aiming at engendering subversive action that opposes contemporary politics and policies by employing similar textual strategies in his “*Politischer*” *Publizistik* as he does in his literary publications. And although there is no doubt that Jünger is writing as a nationalist, I have shown that his ‘moderner Nationalismus’ dynamically strives against one clear-cut definition. Instead, he is

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<sup>583</sup> Lethen, Helmut. *Verhaltenslehren der Kälte. Lebensversuche zwischen den Kriegen*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2014. Print. 44f.

constantly aiming at taking up a distinct position in opposition to the political status quo during a time “in der man es liebt, durch die faschistische oder die bolschweistische Brille zu sehen.”<sup>584</sup> Accordingly, Jünger’s willfully amorphous proclamations in different journals are very much comparable to his literary strategy of destabilization, which I discussed in chapter II of the examination at hand.

I furthermore delineated the development of Ernst Jünger’s understanding of ‘Arbeit,’ its relationship to his concepts of the ‘Frontsoldat,’ to his gradually developing concept of the ‘Arbeiter,’ and to the insight regarding the totalization of work as such. Implementing his front-line experiences in the discourses of the Weimar years thus means for Jünger to gradually shift the perspective from the depths of the trenches to the birds-eye-view ‘from the moon.’ Put differently, his perspective shifts from a nationalist one that is epistemologically rooted in the trenches of the Great War to a planetary perspective that transforms the Great War into one example for an ‘Ur-Erfahrung’ that allows for an understanding of trans-border dynamics. The crucial moment in this change of perspective is his understanding of ‘Arbeit.’ Initially, Jünger experienced the work-character of modern warfare during the years on the western front. Subsequently, he understands the war-effort more and more as the sum of all work necessary for belligerent activities; i.e. war turns into one expression of work, which is simultaneously dependent upon the totalization of work as such. Finally, in 1930, Jünger realizes the ubiquity of work in close connection to an incessant war as ‘Naturzustand.’ In nuce: war is work to the same extent as work is war. This is the paradigm shift in Jünger’s thought

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<sup>584</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Wille zur Gestalt. Widerstand, August 1929.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 489-493. Here: 493.

that von Salomon alludes to in his *Fragebogen*, when recounting his first perusal of Jünger's "Die totale Mobilmachung." "ich begriff bei der Lektüre dieser Schrift vornehmlich, daß er [Jünger] hier bereits zu einem Fazit gelangt war, während ich – und mit mir jeder, der sich in weitem Umkreis um ihn herum tummelte – noch mit aufgerissenen Augen kreuz und quer durch die Landschaft unseres Jahrhunderts wanderte und mich bei jedem Wegweiser zu orientieren suchte."<sup>585</sup> Based on his development towards a planetary perspective with work as the ubiquitous conceptual anchor, Jünger will now turn to analyzing work and the worker as a meta-historical and especially as a trans-border phenomenon on a planetary scale. In a word, 1930 marks the year, when Ernst Jünger bid farewell to localized and locatable modern nationalism(s) and when he began to ponder the possibility of a heightened modernity, which he eventually comes to bring forth under the headline of a planetary – i.e. unbound – "Arbeitsstaat."<sup>586</sup>

Following the year, when he had first published "Die totale Mobilmachung," Ernst Jünger's publication activity ceased almost entirely. In 1931, he released one introduction to the collection of essays *Hier spricht der Feind*, one more introduction to the illustrated book *Der gefährliche Augenblick*, and one book review. In 1932, he wrote merely a single review, bringing the total number up to four publications over the course of two years. For an author, who had published 14 articles in 1930, and the *Abenteuerliche Herz* as well as another 25 articles in 1929, this is a remarkable decline in publishing activity. However, come the year 1932 this decrease explains itself to a certain extent. Jünger had focused his energies on his opus magnum of the Weimar years;

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<sup>585</sup> Von Salomon, Ernst. *Der Fragebogen*. Hamburg: Rohwolt, 1988. Print. 244.

<sup>586</sup> Jünger, Ernst. "Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt." In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 248.

namely, the essay that would make him, who was initially seen as the “erste Kunder eines neuen und elementar geistigen Nationalismus,” its “Uberwinder.”<sup>587</sup> That is to say, Junger was working on his final publication of the Weimar years, by means of which he first intended to push the boundaries of the nation states before replacing the nation altogether: namely, *Der Arbeiter*.

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<sup>587</sup> Ibid. 245.

## CHAPTER IV

**»JE TIEFER UND UNBARMHERZIGER DIE FLAMME DEN GEWORDENEN BESTAND  
ZERSTÖRT, DESTO BEWEGLICHER, UNBESCHWERTER UND RÜCKSICHTSLOSER WIRD DER  
NEUE ANGRIFF SEIN«**

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### **Heralding the Planetary Reign of the Worker**

*»Alles Arbeit unter der Sonne.«  
(Georg Büchner. *Woyzeck*)*

*Mit dem im Herbst 1932 erschienen zweiten  
Hauptwerk, dem »Arbeiter«, durchbricht er  
[Jünger] dann die ihm aufgepappte Schablone  
des bloßen Kriegsschilderers und tritt unter die  
führenden Schriftsteller seines Landes.  
(Armin Mohler. *Die Schleife*)*

*»Tüchtiges schaffen – das hält auf die  
Dauer kein Gegner aus.«  
(Ernst Jünger. *Schlusswort zu einem Aufsatz*)*

*Immer deutlicher beginnen sich zwei Fronten  
zu scheiden, die Front der Restauration und  
eine andere, die mit allen Mitteln,  
und nicht nur mit denen des Krieges,  
zur Fortsetzung des Krieges entschlossen ist.  
(Ernst Jünger. *Der Arbeiter*)*



## §1

## The Morphology of Work and the Worker as Phenotype

Having had nothing to eat but peas for about four months, obeying every command no matter how absurd, behaving constantly rushed, looking harassed, serving as the butt of every joke, and being labeled as “ganz abscheulich dumm” by his captain,<sup>588</sup> Georg Büchner’s common soldier Woyzeck recognizes in an instance, what Ernst Jünger develops up to and discusses in great detail in *Der Arbeiter*. Upon observing his sleeping, sweaty, illegitimate son, Woyzeck wonders out loud: “Alles Arbeit unter der Sonn, sogar Schweiß im Schlaf.”<sup>589</sup> In just this one sentence, Georg Büchner’s protagonist condenses four of the most important insights from Ernst Jünger’s *Der Arbeiter* some one hundred years before the latter was published: (1.) he recognizes work as ubiquitous and (2.) he does so in connection with a planetary referent. Due to this principle change of perspective, (3.) he is capable of freeing work as an ever-present and all-encompassing condition from the usual limited economic considerations, and (4.) he suspends political as well as occupational reflections, due to his realization that work permeates everything.

As a matter of fact, identifying these four points as some of the major insights from Ernst Jünger’s 1932 essay *Der Arbeiter* allows us to trace his concepts from a twofold perspective: on the one hand, it facilitates a further examination of the inscription

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<sup>588</sup> Büchner, Georg. “Woyzeck.” In: *Georg Büchner. Dichtungen*. Ed. Henri Poschmann. Frankfurt a.M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 2006. Print. 143-173. Here: 155.

<sup>589</sup> *Ibid.* 154. Woyzeck even goes beyond the worldly with his assumption: “ich glaub’ wenn wir in Himmel kämen, so müßten wir donnern helfen.” (*Ibid.* 156.)

of as well as the development from the soldier to the ‘Krieger’ who eventually turns into the worker, and on the other, it enables an analysis of Jünger’s final prescient calls to subversive action. Recognizing this twofold perspective as characteristic for Jünger’s endeavour is crucial for an understanding of the way in which he develops his concept regarding (1.) the omnipresence of work as he conceived it over the course of some 17 years and as it finally culminates in *Der Arbeiter*. Only now, in 1932, he arrives at a point, where he is able to dynamically develop a concept of work that he can superordinate over all the other worldviews. The obliteration of borders is first achieved by way of introducing (2.) a planetary perspective, which Jünger gradually develops into a new level of ambition that (3.) he first heralds in his “Sizilischer Brief an den Mann im Mond” in 1930 as well as in his essay “Die totale Mobilmachung”<sup>590</sup> of the same year; the programmatic development of this perspective qua ambition Jünger now executes in his essay *Der Arbeiter*. Furthermore, Jünger comes to postulate axiomatically that work is omnipresent and in fact all-permeating, when considering (3.) the ‘Gestalt.’ Lastly, the result of (1.) through (3.) is a concept of the planetary that first protrudes beyond and later opposes nation based politics, as well as socio-economic and idealist considerations and instead heralds an organic construction as the *conditio sine qua non* on the way to *Actium* and beyond.<sup>591</sup>

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<sup>590</sup> Here, “Weltkrieg” and “Weltrevolution” are both described as “Ereignisse von kosmischer Art.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Die totale Mobilmachung. In: »Krieg und Krieger.« Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 558-582. Here: 559.)

<sup>591</sup> Retrospectively, Jünger writes in *Gläserne Bienen* referencing his *Der Arbeiter*: “Ich bildete mir auch eine Theorie. Sie bestand darin, daß wir uns in der Zeit vor Actium befänden, mit dem Fluch des Weltbürgerkrieges belastet wären und daß diesem Abschnitt ein anderer folgen würde, in dem man Actiaden feierte, eine Reihe von großen und friedlichen Jahrhunderten. Wir freilich würden bis an unser

In this chapter, I will trace Ernst Jünger's conceptual road to *Actium* as he develops it in his *Der Arbeiter* – which is, remarkably enough, still not available in English translation – and as he bases it on his own experiences and insights gathered from 1915-1932. I maintain that *Der Arbeiter* marks not only the point of culmination of Jünger's conceptual considerations of the Weimar years – the actual endpoint of which would have to be his last attempt at a mobilization via writing; viz. *Über den Schmerz* (1934) – but that it is the concluding document of his variant of radical subversive activism that I first diagnosed in his *Kriegstagebuch* and traced throughout the Weimar period with reference to his literary as well as non-literary texts. In other words, with *Der Arbeiter* Jünger seeks the decisive confrontation in a war that he had conducted by means of writing over the course of the Weimar years.

I am therefore initially analyzing Jünger's understanding of work and of the worker as phenotype, before turning to an examination of a 'necessary' and principle change of perspective; viz. a conceptual shift towards the planetary (mobilization of modern technology) that is thought to allow “das Wort »Arbeit« in seiner veränderten Bedeutung zu sehen.”<sup>592</sup> Following this, I am analyzing Jünger's understanding of “Macht”<sup>593</sup> as he employs it in *Der Arbeiter* with a focus on the “Andersartigkeit”<sup>594</sup> of the worker as the decisive marker that allows him to break through any prefigured conceptualizations of relative power, thus enabling him to assume and epitomize absolute

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Ende nur Elend sehen.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Gläserne Bienen.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Erzählungen. SW 18. Erzählende Schriften I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 421-559. Here: 474.)

<sup>592</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 94.

<sup>593</sup> E.g.: Ibid. 87ff.

<sup>594</sup> Ibid. 87.

power based on being merged into the organic construction. Furthermore, his understanding of a fundamental ‘Andersartigkeit’ is not least one of the moments that allows Jünger once more to defy political classification, by positioning himself counter-politically, in order to eventually develop the notion of an “Arbeitsstaat,”<sup>595</sup> where ‘Macht’ as ‘Übermacht’ finally displaces ‘Recht.’ Lastly, I am turning to Jünger’s divinatory thesis regarding the decisive confrontation, which he begins to develop into a “neue Weltordnung” that is thought to follow the elementary “Arbeitsgang einer Kette von Kriegen und Bürgerkriegen,” instead of ensuing from a utopian bourgeois rationale.<sup>596</sup>

The essay *Der Arbeiter* is consistently formulated as though Jünger is presenting a systematic program, when in fact, he is performing the same dynamic conceptual movements<sup>597</sup> that he had been presenting and developing throughout the Weimar years:

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<sup>595</sup> Ibid. 248.

<sup>596</sup> Ibid. 83. The conviction that there was a war on the horizon – however far away – is by no means exclusively ‘nationalist,’ or ‘right wing.’ Walter Benjamin, for instance, is equally convinced that there will be a “kommende[r] Krieg” in the not too distant future, as he writes in his essay “Die Waffen von morgen” from 1925. (Benjamin, Walter. “Die Waffen von morgen. Schlachten mit Chlorazetophenol, Diphenylaminchlorasin und Dichloräthylsulfid.” In: *Walter Benjamin. GS IV.1. Kleine Prosa – Baudelaire Übertragungen*. Ed. Tillman Rexroth. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991. Print. 473-476. Here: 473.)

<sup>597</sup> It is noteworthy at this point that Jünger adheres to and advocates for a Goethian notion of ‘Naturwissenschaft’ in various ways. This can be traced for instance by reference to Goethe’s elaborations on the fluctuating character of ‘Gestalt.’ He writes: “Betrachten wir aber alle Gestalten [...] so finden wir, daß nirgends ein Bestehendes, nirgend ein Ruhendes, ein Abgeschlossenes vorkommt, sondern daß vielmehr alles in einer *steten Bewegung* schwanke.” (Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. “Morphologie.” In: *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Werke. Bd. 13. Naturwissenschaftliche Schriften I*. Ed. Dorothea Kuhn. Hamburg: DTV, 2000. Print. 53-250. Here: 55. My emphasis.) And, pertaining to the character of a morphology, Goethe adds: “Wollen wir also eine Morphologie einleiten, so dürfen wir nicht von Gestalt sprechen; sondern, wenn wir das Wort brauchen, uns allenfalls dabei nur die Idee, den Begriff oder ein in der Erfahrung nur für den Augenblick Festgehaltenes denken.” (Ibid. 55f.) This is very much the sense in which ‘morphology’ is understood in this chapter: as temporarily making visible an ever-changing yet ever-present ‘Gestalt’ on its quest to eventually achieve stasis. Adding to this Goethean reference regarding Jünger’s understanding of a morphology of ‘Arbeit’ as a metahistorical category is not least the subtitle

his *Arbeiter*, too, follows the bi-directional strategy of destabilization so as to aim for future subversive actions; what has changed, however, is the scope of the examination. Tellingly, Jünger adds a footnote at the very beginning of his deliberations – more precisely, when he firsts mentions the central figure of his elaborations: viz. the worker – where he somewhat elusively emphasizes the organic character of all of his postulations: “Das Wort *Arbeiter* wird hier wie andere Worte als organischer Begriff verwandt, d.h. es macht im Laufe der Betrachtung Veränderungen durch, die rückblickend zu übersehen sind.”<sup>598</sup> Not only in this ‘Betrachtung’ but over the course of some 17 years, Jünger’s concept of work and of the worker had undergone numerous changes. Approaching the morphological character of his concept of work as he develops it in *Der Arbeiter* thus requires a brief retrospect, in order to identify those moments where he actually adds to the already existing notions of work and the worker in such a way that he is able to redefine the core of that which the term ‘Arbeit’ is supposed to signify. Or, in more exegetical terms, in order to arrive at an understanding of the τύπος, it is necessary to once more consider its prefigurations; that is to say, its αντίτυποι.

First, Jünger – in unison with numerous other soldiers in the front lines of the Great War – identified ‘Kriegshandwerk’ more and more with work as such: once the

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from Oswald Spengler’s *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* – viz. *Umriss einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte* – which serves Jünger a diachronic anchor.

<sup>598</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 20. Later he will also call this ‘organic’ character “dynamisches Denken.” (e.g. *Ibid.* 79.) Marcus Paul Bullock rightly observes that this footnote does not really clarify what Jünger means by *the worker*, but instead, it sheds some light on what he takes *organic construction* to denote. (Cf. Bullock, Marcus Paul. “Flight Forward: The World of Ernst Jünger’s Worker.” In: *Utopian Studies*, Vol. 23.2 (2012), 450-471. Here: 459.)

stalemate on the western front was sealed,<sup>599</sup> the individual soldier was no longer merely part of a line of skirmishers, who would bravely march towards the enemy and either succeed or be killed in heroic battle, but his job description had changed entirely. The new soldier was now digging and repairing trenches, turned into a food carrier or a messenger, and had to almost atavistically endure hours of hostile artillery fire in the dugouts without ever seeing an actual enemy. The duration of the war combined with those entirely new characteristics led to the fact that the front lines turned into the new home of those soldiers who were dwelling in the trenches as part of a community of like-minded men accepting, sharing, and living up to their fate. Here, at the moment when war as persistent combat operations was recognized as ubiquitous, the origin of the ‘Gemeinschaft der Frontsoldaten’ in opposition to the ‘bürgerliche Gesellschaft’ at home was located, and this is simultaneously the moment, when the ‘Frontsoldat’ as a type turned into the new type of the ‘Krieger-Arbeiter.’ Secondly, by beginning to understand the mechanisms not only of warfare, but also of the entire war effort, a change of perspective occurred. It became clear that the combat operations are not detached from the industry and large parts of the society at home but dependent on the primacy of industrial totalization; viz. the interplay of a traditional notion of work such as in the factories and of ‘Kriegsarbeit’ would change the concept of the ‘Krieger-Arbeiter’ into that of the ‘Arbeiter-Krieger.’ This is then precisely the moment that Jünger will diagnose in his 1930 essay “Die totale Mobilmachung” as “die Überführung des Arbeitsverhältnisses in

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<sup>599</sup> In his essay “Die totale Mobilmachung,” Jünger goes back even further in order to trace the development summarized in the following; namely, to the beginning of the nineteenth century. This historical view, however, is of no actual significance to the deliberations at hand. (cf. Jünger, Ernst. “Die totale Mobilmachung. In: »Krieg und Krieger.« Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 558-582. Here: 561f.)

das Militärverhältnis,<sup>600</sup> by the means of which he destroys the illusion of a peaceful and merely utilitarian notion of work and production. Lastly, in reflection of the war and of Germany's defeat, a lack of communal effort was identified as the decisive factor that was responsible for the loss of the War, which Jünger summarizes as follows in the same essay: "Deutschland aber mußte den Krieg verlieren [...] weil es bei aller Verantwortung, mit der es die partielle Mobilmachung vorbereitet hatte, große Gebiete seiner Kraft der totalen Mobilmachung entzog."<sup>601</sup> By now, it is rather obvious that this diagnosis is simultaneously conceived as a means allowing Jünger to swear his recipients to the commitment necessary in all future wars. Two years later, and only during the last stages of *Der Arbeiter*, Jünger eventually gives one easily comprehensible political and rather practical example for said lack of total mobilization: "Die mangelhafte Durchführung und Verwässerung des Arbeitsdienstpflichtgesetzes bildete übrigens einen der Gründe der deutschen Niederlage."<sup>602</sup> And he adds an explanation to this example in line with his general process of reasoning: "dieses Gesetz scheiterte daran, daß der bürgerliche Freiheitsbegriff noch zu lebendig war."<sup>603</sup> Consequently, now and in the wars yet to come, everything has to be subordinated to the future war effort: i.e. war necessarily has to become total.<sup>604</sup> And once war is understood as a ubiquitous incessant 'Naturzustand'

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<sup>600</sup> Jünger, Ernst. "Die totale Mobilmachung. In: »Krieg und Krieger.« Berlin 1930." In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 558-582. Here: 563.

<sup>601</sup> Ibid. 567.

<sup>602</sup> Jünger, Ernst. "Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt." In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 301.

<sup>603</sup> Ibid.

<sup>604</sup> In *Der Arbeiter*, Jünger uses "Gestalt" synonymously with "total" at times. Cf. e.g.: "Wenn dieser Aufstand [Great War] dennoch nur ein Vorspiel gewesen ist, so liegt der Grund darin, daß er in seinem vollen Umfange noch der Gestalt entbehrte, von der jeder Soldat [...] bereits ein Gleichnis gewesen ist."

that requires said subordination of all work, ‘Kriegshandwerk’ merely turns into one expression of work as such; the “soldatische Uniform” turns into “ein Spezialfall der Arbeitsuniform.”<sup>605</sup> In nuce, Jünger formulates this observation as follows: “In den modernen, mit den letzten technischen Mitteln gerüsteten Heeren ficht nicht mehr ein ständisches Kriegerum, das sich dieser technischen Mittel bedient, sondern diese Heere sind der kriegerische Ausdruck, den die Gestalt des Arbeiters sich verleiht.”<sup>606</sup>

Accordingly, the hyphenation is no longer necessary in order to denote the ‘Gestalt’ of the one who would shape the future based on his ‘Krieger’-pedigree, since “Kriegsfront und Arbeitsfront,”<sup>607</sup> since “Arbeitscharakter und Kampfcharakter”<sup>608</sup> are now identical: the heroic labor of the ‘Krieger’ – who had announced his aspirations early on: viz. “wir formen die Welt”<sup>609</sup> – allowed man to turn into the “Arbeiter,” who is thus, even as soldier, one constituent of the “Heer der Arbeit überhaupt.”<sup>610</sup> In *Der Arbeiter* Jünger thus proclaims a new active ‘Wir’ based on the experience of the Krieger as opposed to the passive soldierly ‘Wir’ from the beginning of his debut novel *In Stahlgewittern*. And it is furthermore precisely this lineage of the worker that forms the conceptual bedrock of *Der Arbeiter*, and Jünger does not become weary of emphasizing this heritage over and

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(Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 43.)

<sup>605</sup> Ibid. 129.

<sup>606</sup> Ibid. 80.

<sup>607</sup> Ibid. 118.

<sup>608</sup> Ibid. 129.

<sup>609</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-103. Here: 12.

<sup>610</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Die totale Mobilmachung. In: »Krieg und Krieger.« Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 558-582. Here: 562.



over again.<sup>611</sup> He does so, however, in order to clearly mark his appropriation of the term “Arbeiter” as something utterly different from any socially prefigured usage of the word, which usually describes the “Arbeitertum” as the “vierten Stand”<sup>612</sup> and the worker as proletarian. For Jünger, the term ‘Arbeiter’ thus neither describes a social class nor is it a sociological category, but he conceives it as a metahistorical ‘Gestalt.’ Jünger summarizes his novel usage of the word that ought to denote an utterly altered understanding of the term ‘Arbeiter’ – i.e. understood as the realization of a new organizational principle of history and as a new kind of human nature that goes beyond the classic notion of a ‘Ständegesellschaft’ – in the following, characteristically vague statement: “Die Ansprüche des Arbeiters greifen [...] über alle ständischen Ansprüche hinaus.”<sup>613</sup> The phenotypical worker is no longer determined by a society, but determines totality instead. That this is a pivotal point in Jünger’s conceptual development of the worker’s ‘Andersartigkeit’ – which he accomplishes in *Der Arbeiter* – can be seen by reference to the two versions of his essay “Die Totale Mobilmachung.” Jürgen Brokoff

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<sup>611</sup> Cf.: “So kommt es, daß man überall wo man in Deutschland revolutionäre Arbeit zu leisten meinte, Revolution schauspielerte und daß die eigentlichen Umwälzungen sich unsichtbar vollzogen, sei es in stillen Räumen, sei es verhüllt unter den glühenden Vorhängen der Schlacht.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 22) “die Mittel des Kriegers” (Ibid. 35) “Ihre [Angriffskraft] Träger sind vom Schlage jener Freiwilligen, die den großen Krieg mit Jubel begrüßten und die alles begrüßen, was ihm folgte und folgen wird.” (Ibid. 41) “Schon früh in diesem Jahrhundert sah man den Deutschen im Aufstande gegen diese Welt, und zwar vertreten durch den deutschen Frontsoldaten als den Träger einer echten Gestalt.” (Ibid. 42f.) This constant reiteration is not least part of a textual strategy that adheres to the principles of a “soldatische[s] Exerzitium,” which Jünger had mentioned in the “Vorwort zur ersten Auflage.” (Ibid. 13)

<sup>612</sup> Ibid. 22. Cf. also: “daß er [der Arbeiter] zu dieser Gesellschaft nicht im Verhältnis des Gegensatzes steht, sondern in dem der Andersartigkeit.” (Ibid. 31) Or: “Eine durch die Gestalt des Arbeiters legitimierte Macht muß, insofern sie etwa als Sprache erscheint, auf den Arbeiter als auf eine ganz andere Schicht stoßen, als sie durch die Kategorien des 19. Jahrhunderts erfaßt werden kann.” (Ibid. 78) Some 32 years after *Der Arbeiter* was published, Jünger would underline this ‘Andersartigkeit.’ In *Maxima – Minima*, he maintains: “Der Gestalt des Arbeiters entspricht keine Klasse, keine Nation, keine Kultur, kein Glaube.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Maxima – Minima. Adnoten zum »Arbeiter«.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 319-396. Here: 353.)

<sup>613</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 81.

observes that “Jünger in der zweiten Fassung des Essays über *Die totale Mobilmachung*, die nach dem *Arbeiter* entstanden ist, nicht mehr wie in der ersten Fassung von 1930/1931 vom »Anbruch des Zeitalters des vierten Standes«, sondern vom »Anbruch des Arbeitszeitalters« spricht.”<sup>614</sup> It is then due to the ‘Andersartigkeit’ of the latter that Jünger is not – or, with reference to the “Tektonik der *Stahlgewitter*”<sup>615</sup> or to his ‘politische Publizistik,’ no longer – formulating his *Arbeiter* as a revolutionary manifesto,<sup>616</sup> but as a document that heralds a chthonic transformation of a genuinely planetary magnitude in an indefinable future. Jünger’s radicalism thus develops from directly translating his elementary front-line experience to his literary creation as subversive calls to action – his tectonic, or more precisely, telluric approach – into the approximation of a ‘Gestalt,’ which he now tries to make out as the actual *radix* of his search; viz. *Der Arbeiter* is Jünger’s chthonic interpretation of history from a planetary perspective. His goal is consequently not to merely reverse the social hierarchies of the ‘Gesellschaft’ whilst remaining within a socially and/or politically prefigured frame of reference, but to burst open any boundary that might limit the claim to power of the ‘Gestalt des Arbeiters.’ Accordingly, he postulates that it is “unnötig geworden, sich noch

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<sup>614</sup> Brokoff, Jürgen. *Die Apokalypse in der Weimarer Republik*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2001. Print. 84.

<sup>615</sup> Kiesel, Helmuth. *Ernst Jünger: Die Biographie*. München: Pantheon Verlag, 2009. Print. 186.

<sup>616</sup> I.e. it can precisely not be understood as “*sein Manifest*,” which claims “dass diese Revolution sich ereignen müsse,” as Norbert Dietka put it. (Dietka, Norbert. *Ernst Jüngers Entwurf von der “Herrschaft und Gestalt des Arbeiters.” Philologischer Versuch einer Annäherung*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2016. Print. 21.) It is furthermore not the revolution of the ‘Gestalt des Arbeiters,’ which Jünger outlines, but he refers to the relationship of the “Mittel” to the type as “von höchstem revolutionären Rang.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 244.) However, Thomas Pekar correctly points out that *Der Arbeiter* entails moments of a political manifesto, whenever Jünger announces “eine als richtig erkannte Staatsform, den autoritär-imperialen Staat.” (Pekar, Thomas. “‘Organische Konstruktion’. Ernst Jüngers Idee einer Symbiose von Mensch und Maschine.” In: *Titan Technik. Ernst und Friedrich Georg Jünger über das technische Zeitalter*. Ed. Friedrich Strack. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000. Print. 99-117. Here: 107.)

mit der Umwertung der Werte zu beschäftigen,<sup>617</sup> since he announces a radical change that eventually replaces everything, which existed prior to the “Arbeitsstaat.”<sup>618</sup> His *Arbeiter* can furthermore not be classified amongst the predefined genres of utopian or dystopian literature, since Jünger redefines the very categories that such literature has to categorically accept and negotiate;<sup>619</sup> i.e. Jünger is rejecting the socio-political status quo that would otherwise serve as the basis of utopian or dystopian literature. Instead, he constructs *Der Arbeiter* as a radical call to action that ought to facilitate the eradication of any pre-given frames of reference by developing a plan that goes beyond revolutionary proceedings, with the ultimate goal of achieving actual and lasting order: i.e. the ‘Arbeitsstaat,’ which he literally understands to be a permanent status. This is to say that his intention to make the ‘Gestalt’ visible is thought to facilitate the ‘Gestaltung’ of the planetary ‘Raum,’ whereby ‘Gestaltung’ is very much understood as giving form or shaping. Or, as he describes this new totality: “nicht darauf kommt es an, daß eine neue politische oder soziale Schicht die Macht ergreift, sondern darauf, daß ein neues, allen großen historischen Gestalten ebenbürtiges Menschentum den Machtraum sinnvoll erfüllt.”<sup>620</sup> Once this happened – i.e. once the ‘Machtraum’ is ‘gestaltet’ and ‘erfüllt’ – the world achieves a state of equilibrium, which Jünger refers to as the accomplished form of the organic construction. As an initial step towards this goal, he needs to rid his

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<sup>617</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 59f.

<sup>618</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 248.

<sup>619</sup> If one wanted to categorize Jünger’s *Arbeiter*, it would have to come under the genre of apocalyptic literature, as Jürgen Brokoff shows with reference to Klaus Vondung and Harro Segeberg in his chapter “Ernst Jüngers Theorie des Arbeiters.” (Cf. Brokoff, Jürgen. “Der Untergang der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Ernst Jüngers Theorie des Arbeiters.” In: Jürgen Brokoff. *Die Apokalypse in der Weimarer Republik*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2001. Print. 75-98.

<sup>620</sup> *Ibid.* 71.

conceptualizations of any predefined (bourgeois) categories. In a word, the actual extra-societal and extra-political *Herrschaft* of the *Arbeiter* will only become feasible via an understanding of the *Gestalt*.

Before turning to those three watchwords – *Arbeiter*, *Herrschaft*, and *Gestalt* – from the title of Jünger’s essay, however, it is necessary to clarify what he now understands by work, how he develops it throughout his deliberations, and especially how his concept of work changes over the course of his deliberations. Especially the latter will be at the heart of the following considerations. For the time being, only what he does *not* take ‘Arbeit’ to signify, can be postulated with certainty: it is not moral in a biblical sense, it is not productive in an economic sense, and it is not constructive in a technological sense.<sup>621</sup> Positively, it can actually not be conclusively defined at all, but it can only be reconstructed and approximated in its altering meanings as an “Ausdruck eines besonderen Seins.”<sup>622</sup>

It has been established that Jünger explains Germany’s defeat as the result of a lack of totalization. In “Die totale Mobilmachung,” he explains for the first time the scope of what he means by the totality of work: “In der letzten schon gegen Ende dieses Krieges angedeuteten Phase, geschieht keine Bewegung, und sei es die einer Heimarbeiterin an ihrer Nähmaschine, mehr, der nicht eine zum mindesten indirekte kriegerische Leistung innewohnt.”<sup>623</sup> In order to fully actualize this ‘indirekte

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<sup>621</sup> Cf. Ibid. 94.

<sup>622</sup> Ibid. 95.

<sup>623</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Die totale Mobilmachung. In: »Krieg und Krieger.« Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 558-582. Here: 562. Cf. also: Jünger, Ernst. “Unsere Kampfstellung. Arminius, 05. Juni 1927.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 329-335. Here: 333. In *Der Arbeiter*, Jünger achieves this proximity, by way of numerous juxtapositions of work and

kriegerische Leistung’ – i.e. the “potentielle[n]”<sup>624</sup> or “dynamischen Energien”<sup>625</sup> – as an integral part of the war yet to come, it has to be directed. The actualization of this potential requires a twofold impetus: first, it has to be “eine Rüstung bis ins innerste Mark”<sup>626</sup> in order to be realized. And this realization is, secondly, “die Aufgabe der totalen Mobilmachung, eines Aktes durch den das weit verzweigte und vielfach differenzierte Stromnetz des modernen Lebens durch einen einzigen Griff am Schaltbrett dem großen Strome der kriegerischen Energie zugeleitet wird.”<sup>627</sup> In *Der Arbeiter*, Jünger indirectly returns to this idea of the one flipping the switch, when he demands that “der Wille zur totalen Diktatur” has to recognize itself as “der Wille zur Totalen Mobilmachung.”<sup>628</sup>

Taken together, this part of Jünger’s argument can be summed up as follows: first, Jünger postulates axiomatically that it is necessary to recognize that absolutely everything is ‘Arbeit,’ viz. that ‘Arbeit’ is “total.”<sup>629</sup> That is to say: “es [kann] nichts geben [...] was nicht als Arbeit begriffen wird,”<sup>630</sup> a point, which Jünger tries to make comprehensible or at least palpable by his repeated ascertainment that the workday encompasses 24 hours and that there is accordingly no difference between working hours

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war that realte to each other as equivalents. E.g.: “beim Anblick einer elektrischen Maschine oder eines Schnellfeuergeschützes” (Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 69.) Or: “in der vordersten Kampf- und Arbeitsstellung” (Ibid. 70). Or: “im Schwirren der Räder oder auf dem Schlachtfelde.” (Ibid. 224)

<sup>624</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Die totale Mobilmachung. In: »Krieg und Krieger.« Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 558-582. Here: 562.

<sup>625</sup> Ibid. 578.

<sup>626</sup> Ibid.

<sup>627</sup> Ibid. 562f.

<sup>628</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 49.

<sup>629</sup> Ibid. 95.

<sup>630</sup> Ibid. 72.

and free time, or even between being awake or asleep. Consequently, this understanding of “Arbeit” necessarily has to be recognized as “eine neue Art zu leben.”<sup>631</sup> ‘Arbeit’ understood in such a way thus has to be temporally as well as spatially “unbegrenzt” in order to be truly total.<sup>632</sup> Secondly, this ‘Arbeit’ has to be directed towards something; viz. it is inherent to the ‘Wille zur Totalen Mobilmachung.’ Lastly, work requires an agent – the ‘Arbeiter’ – whose intransigently targeted will grants true freedom based on the fulfillment of his ‘Auftrag,’ since, as Jünger postulates “schon der Name »Arbeiter« nichts anderes andeutet als eine Haltung, die ihren Auftrag, und daher ihre Freiheit, in der Arbeit erkennt.”<sup>633</sup> Jünger’s general line of argument – in a word: from the ubiquity of work to the new freedom of the worker – rather stringently adheres to the principles of the ‘Auftragstaktik,’ where the strategic goal will eventually be achieved by way of tactical freedom. Accordingly, Jünger formulates the directionality of his concept of positive freedom: “Wir stehen in einem Prozeß, durch den den allgemeinen Prinzipien Richtung gegeben wird und in dem die »Freiheit wovon« sich wandelt in eine »Freiheit wozu«.”<sup>634</sup> That is to say, Jünger suggests a sphere in which freedom and obedience are identical. The same line of argument can be traced with regards to the way Jünger employs the term ‘Notwendigkeit,’ which he uses without a change in meaning compared to his *Kriegstagebuch*, his literature, and his ‘politischer Publizistik,’ as a marker of his

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<sup>631</sup> Ibid. 93.

<sup>632</sup> Ibid. 95. As opposed to the “Provinz des 19. Jahrhunderts.” (Ibid. 107)

<sup>633</sup> Ibid. 48. Werner Hamacher thus mistakenly concludes that Jünger’s model promises “in der Arbeit die Freiheit von ihr.” (Hamacher, Werner. “Arbeiten Durcharbeiten.” In: *Archäologie der Arbeit*. Ed. Dirk Baecker. Berlin: Kadmos, 2002. Print. 155-200. Here: 178) What Jünger actually works towards is a concept of work that promises ‘durch die Arbeit Freiheit in ihr,’ where “Herrschaft und Dienst” are “gleichbedeutend. (Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 251.)

<sup>634</sup> Ibid. 254.

‘Heroic Realism:’ “Es ist nichts einleuchtender, als daß innerhalb einer Welt, in der der Name des Arbeiters die Bedeutung eines Rangabzeichens besitzt und als deren innerste Notwendigkeit die Arbeit begriffen wird, die Freiheit sich darstellt als Ausdruck eben dieser Notwendigkeit.”<sup>635</sup> This furthermore entails that the signifier ‘Arbeit’ gains its conceptual traction from its derived signified: ‘Der Arbeiter.’ Vice versa, however, this also means that man as ‘Arbeiter’ is thoroughly determined by the ubiquity of ‘Arbeit,’ which one antecedes the other is – for the scope of Jünger’s elaborations – irrelevant.

By developing a morphology of ‘Arbeit,’ Jünger rather aims at making “das »Sein« der »Gestalt«” ‘des Arbeiters’ visible: viz. he develops an “*Ontomorphologie*” as Werner Hamacher put it in a footnote to his essay “Arbeiten Durcharbeiten,” that allows him to call the new worker into existence.<sup>636</sup> Even more precisely, Jünger’s undertaking could – with reference to Helmut Lethen<sup>637</sup> – be described as a *Phenotypology* that aims at allowing the τύπος to φαίνομαι. Accordingly, with *Der Arbeiter*, Jünger changes his modus operandi from trying to bare the roots and to systematize the pedigree of the ‘Frontsoldat’ based on his involvement in the Great War where he was confronted with questions regarding the origins of aggression and destruction – or, as Helmuth Kiesel puts it, his “normative Anthropologie”<sup>638</sup> – to a metahistorical radicalism that understands the ‘Gestalt’ as the all-permeating *radix*, which only the ‘Arbeiter’ is currently able to recognize and epitomize.

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<sup>635</sup> Ibid. 71.

<sup>636</sup> Hamacher, Werner. “Arbeiten Durcharbeiten.” In: *Archäologie der Arbeit*. Ed. Dirk Baecker. Berlin: Kadmos, 2002. Print. 155-200. Here: 174.

<sup>637</sup> Lethen observes: “Er [Jünger] sucht den Phänotyp der Transgression der bürgerlichen Welt in der Arbeitssphäre.” (Lethen, Helmut. *Verhaltenslehren der Kälte. Lebensversuche zwischen den Kriegen*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2014. Print. 199.)

<sup>638</sup> Kiesel, Helmuth. *Ernst Jünger: Die Biographie*. München: Pantheon Verlag, 2009. Print. 202.

Over the course of *Der Arbeiter*, letting the phenotype of the worker appear – or, calling him into existence – now first and foremost means setting him apart from the background of the socially perpetuated progress-chimera that promises an ultimate state of perpetual security,<sup>639</sup> and from other restraining prefigurations such as Christianity,<sup>640</sup> bourgeois positivism, socialism, communism, liberalism, individualism, monarchism, and not least nationalism. This setting apart ought to allow the worker to emerge as an all-encompassing “andersartiger”<sup>641</sup> type, who is, due to his otherness, no longer positioned in opposition to the bourgeois individual, because he operates according to completely different categories. The worker thus never acts reactively, or defensively, but is always aggressively active in seeking out his encounters with the other. Put differently, from the very beginning of his examinations regarding the ‘Gestalt des Arbeiters,’ Jünger radically separates the absolute claim to power of the worker from any merely political aspiration that is concerned with left and right and thus fails at asserting its claims.

Jünger bestows himself with the hierophantic authority to write the primal text that offers the conceptualization of an actual claim to total power, by making it abundantly clear that he operates *ex cathedra*. Any specific attempt at “begriffliche Anschauung” is, according to him, characterized by an ever-growing mass of disciplines and thus at all times relative depending upon the respective perspective, which renders any scientific approach insufficient.<sup>642</sup> Or, as he put it somewhat ironically: “neue

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<sup>639</sup> Cf. e.g.: “Scheinkultus des Fortschrittes.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 166.)

<sup>640</sup> Cf. *Ibid.* 71. Cf. also: “Die Technik [...] [als] die entschiedenste antichristliche Macht.” (*Ibid.* 165)

<sup>641</sup> *Ibid.* 123.

<sup>642</sup> *Ibid.* 68.



Wissenschaften entstehen täglich, je nach Bedarf.”<sup>643</sup> For his own approach and ambition he consequently adds: “In dem Maße, in dem eine Kraft auf sie zu verzichten weiß, meldet sie den Umfang ihrer Ansprüche an.”<sup>644</sup> Accordingly, he never lays claim to any scientificity – or even specificity – but instead, he promises an absolute insight based on an instinctive access to perception, by operating according to and based on the rules of a specific “soldatische[s] Exerzitium.”<sup>645</sup> That is to say by following the trails and mechanisms of those, who have first witnessed actual totality by way of their engagement with the ‘Ur-Ereignis’ of a new era: i.e. the Great War.

It is this militaristic character of his examination that once more allows him to disengage from theories and factions, and that puts it in line with his literary as well as non-literary publications of the Weimar years. The first sentence of his “Vorwort zur ersten Auflage” postulates this characteristically Jüngerian aspiration programatically: “Der Plan dieses Buches besteht darin, die Gestalt des Arbeiters sichtbar zu machen jenseits der Theorien, jenseits der Parteiungen.”<sup>646</sup> Simultaneously, Jünger sets out to write an essay that is thought to be the “Repräsentation der Gestalt des Arbeiters” itself, thus allowing him to performatively present the irrefutable character of that which is necessarily to ensue from it.<sup>647</sup> ‘Jenseits,’ because Jünger recognizes theories as well as factions as a mere “Fortsetzung der [...] bürgerlichen Vernunft.”<sup>648</sup> However, this

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<sup>643</sup> Ibid.

<sup>644</sup> Ibid.

<sup>645</sup> Ibid. 13.

<sup>646</sup> Ibid.

<sup>647</sup> Brokoff, Jürgen. *Die Apokalypse in der Weimarer Republik*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2001. Print. 98.

<sup>648</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 287. In his 1934 essay “Über den Schmerz,” Jünger adds regarding this ‘beyond’ that the “disziplinierte[n] Gliederungen” the “eigentlich politische Zone weit überragt,” thus strengthening his claim to operate outside the realm of the political. (Jünger, Ernst. “Über den Schmerz.”

‘beyond’ now requires a new perspective that protrudes from the plethora of disciplines and from any (political) faction. More precisely, Jünger has to take up a position that exceeds the global/imperial one; for him, this new all-encompassing and meta-historical perspective has to be the planetary one.

## §2

### Initiating a Principle Change of Perspective – the Notion of the Planetary

Jünger changes his observational standpoint in *Der Arbeiter* for the first time in section 18. Here, he introduces a new optics – which is similar to but not equivalent with the stereoscopic gaze – by suggesting to observe the modern city “von der Oberfläche des Mondes aus” using a telescope; i.e. from a cold, cosmic distance.<sup>649</sup> “Diese Art der Betrachtung,” he adds, “unterscheidet sich von den Bestrebungen, die Einheit des Lebens in ihrer flachsten Möglichkeit, nämlich als Addition, zu begreifen dadurch, daß sie das schöpferische Gebilde, das Werk, erfaßt, das sich trotz aller Gegensätze oder mit ihrer

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In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I.* Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 143-191. Here: 171.)

<sup>649</sup> Ibid. 69. Regarding the further developed telescopic perspective, Jünger adds in 1934: “Es haftet ihr [Photographie] ein teleskopischer Charakter an; man merkt, daß der Vorgang von einem unempfindlichen und unverletzlichen Auge gesehen ist. Sie hält ebensowohl die Kugel im Fluge fest wie den Menschen im Augenblick, in dem er von einer Explosion zerissen wird.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Über den Schmerz.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I.* Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 143-191.) As for this further developed observational standpoint of the “kalten persona” that aims at the reification of its object under observation, cf.: Lethen, Helmut. *Verhaltenslehren der Kälte. Lebensversuche zwischen den Kriegen.* Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2014. Print. esp. 187-218.

Hilfe ergibt.”<sup>650</sup> That is to say, it is an optics that ultimately allows him, “die emotional dominierte Nahperspektive ins Phänomenale zu weiten,” as Heimo Schwilk puts it.<sup>651</sup> What precisely the ‘schöpferische Gebilde,’ or the ‘Werk’ is or shall become, Jünger now considers and varyingly describes throughout his essay *Der Arbeiter*. As early as with the introduction of the telescope as a symbol for the planetary perspective, however, it becomes clear, that his new optics is one that radically depersonalizes the spectator’s gaze as well as the observed subject. Or, put differently, the observer’s cold distance ought to eradicate any claim to individuality and operate beyond the presently political. In doing so, this new perspective is thought to pave the way for a conceptualization of the future planetary ‘Arbeitsstaat,’ which has to be distinguished from any discourse regarding aspects of the global or regarding globalization.<sup>652</sup> Whereas the latter is largely concerned with inter-national social developments as well as economic considerations that both presuppose independent nation states as (trading) partners, the former is conceived as a trans-national model that facilitates abandoning the nation(s) all together.

Before actually turning towards an examination of the future planetary ‘Gemeinschaft,’ however, Jünger begins examining the status quo ante. At this, he observes: “Die letzte und noch nicht abgeschlossene Phase des Ablaufes der alten Welt besteht darin, daß jede ihrer Kräfte sich mit imperialistischen Ansprüchen zu wappnen

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<sup>650</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 69.

<sup>651</sup> Schwilk, Heimo. *Ernst Jünger – Ein Jahrhundertleben*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2014. Print. 117.

<sup>652</sup> Cf. Michael Auer, who rightly observes: “Das Planetarische profiliert sich als Gegenmodell zum Globalen und der Globalisierung, deren Zirkulationslogik an der Kugelform des Globus orientiert ist. Wo das Globale und die Globalisierung mit operationalisierbaren, vornehmlich wirtschaftlichen Prozessen von Zirkulation und Akkumulation rechnen, steht das Planetarische für grenzüberschreitende Begegnungen mit Anderen und ‘dem Anderen’, deren Unvorhersehbarkeit das ökonomische Modell sprengt.” (Auer, Michael. *Wege zu einer planetarischen Linientreue? Meridiane zwischen Jünger, Schmitt, Heidegger und Celan*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2013. Print. 12.)

sucht.”<sup>653</sup> These forces are no longer solely – as it was the case prior to the Great War – the different nation states, but Jünger now includes other syndicates as having equal rights as well and, such as “geistige, wirtschaftliche und technische Bildungen von sehr mannigfaltiger Art.”<sup>654</sup> That all this is mere spectacle – or, as he puts it: “ein Schauspiel von Scharlatanen”<sup>655</sup> – void of actual substance, Jünger makes clear by his use of a terminology that he borrows from the theater.<sup>656</sup> At the beginning of the second part of his essay, he diagnoses the present age as a transitional stage, which he describes as a “Zwischenakt,”<sup>657</sup> “in dem der Vorhang gefallen ist und die verwirrende Verwandlung des Personals und der Requisiten sich vollzieht.”<sup>658</sup> Extending the same metaphor, in order to comprehend the “appellative Dimension” of Jünger’s proposition<sup>659</sup> means that he momentarily puts himself in the position of the director, who briefs his recipients on that which is inevitably going to happen during the next act, whilst simultaneously anticipating a moment at which the curtain will no longer veil the “Kampf um die Herrschaft.”<sup>660</sup> This decisive battle, however, will be qualitatively different from all preceding ones; it will be an ‘andersartiges’ kind of drama, inasmuch as Jünger

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<sup>653</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 76.

<sup>654</sup> Ibid. 76.

<sup>655</sup> Ibid. 100.

<sup>656</sup> Jünger takes the theater to be an outdated mode of representation that resembles “die individuelle Qualität [...] [i]n der letzten Phase der bürgerlichen Welt,” which “verliert seine Bedeutung in einer Welt, in der der totale Arbeitscharakter sich Bahn zu brechen beginnt.” (Ibid. 136f.)

<sup>657</sup> As a matter of fact, Jünger situates art itself in a state of limbo “in einer Zeit, in der von Kunst entweder nicht mehr oder noch nicht die Rede sein kann.” (Ibid. 138, cf. also: Ibid. 182.) Cf. also his comments on literature (Ibid. 152.), as well as his diagnosis of the currently present “Raum” as “Übergangslandschaft.” (Ibid. 176.)

<sup>658</sup> Ibid. 98.

<sup>659</sup> Schöning, Matthias. *Versprengte Gemeinschaft. Kriegsroman und intellektuelle Mobilmachung in Deutschland 1914-1933*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009. Print. Here: 229.

<sup>660</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 98.

understands the Great War “wie ein antikes Drama,” which extends into and eventually replaces “dieses Zeitalter der kleinen bürgerlichen Interessen, des Geldes und der spezialisierten Existenz.”<sup>661</sup>

Shortly after introducing the theater-metaphor, Jünger’s scene takes on a Clausewitzian form. It is now no longer the ‘Schauspiel von Scharlatanen’ he observes, but the setting changes so as to once more turn into a “Kriegstheater.”<sup>662</sup> By reintroducing this notion, Jünger follows the same textual strategy of bi-directionality that he had already employed in his literary as well as non-literary writings of the Weimar years: on the one hand, he turns back to the Great War, whilst commenting on the status quo to then divinatorily herald the battle yet to come, which, however, remains based on past experience. By way of example, he therefore recounts and locates the anachronisms during the battle of Langemarck:

Es sei hier erinnert an den berühmten Angriff der Kriegsfreiwilligen-Regimenter bei Langemarck. Dieses Ereignis, das weniger kriegs- als geistesgeschichtliche Bedeutung besitzt, ist in bezug auf die Frage, welche Haltung in unserer Zeit und in unserem Raume überhaupt möglich ist, von hohem Rang. Wir sehen hier einen klassischen Angriff zusammenbrechen, ungeachtet der Stärke des Willens zur Macht, der die Individuen beseelt, und der moralischen und geistigen Werte, durch die sie ausgezeichnet sind. Freier Wille, Bildung, Begeisterung und der Rausch der Todesverachtung reichen nicht zu, die Schwerkraft der wenigen hundert Meter zu überwinden, auf denen der Zauber des mechanischen Todes regiert.<sup>663</sup>

To be sure, the battle of Langemarck<sup>664</sup> occurred prior to the realization that ‘Arbeit’ is ubiquitous; viz. on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 1914. Jünger thus describes the proceedings during

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<sup>661</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 367-485 Here: 372.

<sup>662</sup> E.g.: Clausewitz, Carl von. *Vom Kriege*. Ed. Werner Hahlweg. Bonn: Ferd. Dümmlers, 1973. Print. 903.

<sup>663</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 113.

<sup>664</sup> Jünger developed the counter-image early on by referring to the fighter pilots who were, according to him, the first ones to overcome the “quälende[n] Zwiespalt zwischen dem Mensch und der Maschine.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Luftfahrt ist not! Vorwort (1928).” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed.

the attack – notabene, a ‘klassischer Angriff’ – along the lines of such nineteenth century bourgeois watchwords as ‘Freier Wille,’ and ‘Bildung.’ However, this description allows him to put forth the realization that “selbst die absolute Anstrengung des Willens einen dämonischen Widerstand nicht zu zwingen vermag.”<sup>665</sup> For Jünger, Langemarck thus turns into an example for an old principle – where the soldier still “fällt” – that will inevitably be replaced by a new one, where the type “fällt aus.”<sup>666</sup> Accordingly, traditional *virtutes* are no longer what distinguishes the individual; instead, the modern virtue is replacability. Jünger consequently observes regarding this paradigm shift after which “Kampfkraft” is no longer an “individueller, sondern ein funktionaler Wert”<sup>667</sup> that “[d]er Ausbruch des Weltkrieges [...] den breiten, roten Schlußstrich unter diese [bürgerlich individuelle] Zeit [setzt],”<sup>668</sup> viz. the very caesura that Jünger designates to be the basis for all of his elaborations during the Weimar years and which he simultaneously substantiates by means of his continuous examinations of it. Accordingly, he specifies what he means by the ‘geistesgeschichtliche[n] Bedeutung’ of the battle of Langemarck, when he refers to the soldiers as the representative ‘Individuen’ of a chapter in the history of thought that has just been violently closed as opposed to the meaning of the “Frontsoldat,” whom he introduces as the “Träger einer echten Gestalt.”<sup>669</sup> By now, Jünger has established – which can also be identified as one of the main topics of *Der Arbeiter* – that the ubiquitous ‘Arbeitscharakter’ is the novel, all-encompassing principle

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Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 397-407. Here: 404. Cf. also Chapter II, §3 of the examination at hand.)

<sup>665</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 113.

<sup>666</sup> Ibid. 115.

<sup>667</sup> Ibid.

<sup>668</sup> Ibid. 59.

<sup>669</sup> Ibid. 43.

that governs the new type of man. This example thus has to be read as Jünger's historic proof for his divinatory thesis: viz. the (bourgeois) individual is vanishing and will inevitably be replaced by the 'Arbeiter' as the "Träger einer neuen Kampfkraft,"<sup>670</sup> who operates "aggressiv-invasorisch."<sup>671</sup> Or, as Jünger puts it, it is "die Ablösung der bürgerlichen Scheinherrschaft durch die Herrschaft des Arbeiters."<sup>672</sup> Finally, Jünger notes that this 'Träger' is "Andersartig,"<sup>673</sup> he is no longer "Person oder [...] Individuum, sondern [...] Typus."<sup>674</sup> Peter Koslowski thus rightly observes that for Jünger the categories 'Bürger' and 'Arbeiter' are neither understood sociologically nor economically, but existentially, "als Formen des Verhältnisses zum eigenen Sein, als 'Typen der Existenz.'"<sup>675</sup> That the 'Arbeiter' will replace the 'Bürger' out of necessity since the individual is no longer capable of governing the depersonalized power of modern technology – i.e. that the former's claim is substantial – is the logical

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<sup>670</sup> Ibid. 116. Jünger employs the Langemarck-example once more, in order to illustrate the same dynamics with a shift in perspective. This time, he refers to Langemarck as the exemplary hallmark that illustrates an epochal change: "Dies [dass der Weltkrieg zwischen Nationen spielt] trifft jedoch nur insofern zu, als die kämpfenden Nationen die Arbeitsgrößen darstellen, durch die dieser Vorgang getragen wird. Im Mittelpunkt der Auseinandersetzung steht nicht etwa die Verschiedenartigkeit der Nationen, sondern die Verschiedenartigkeit zweier Zeitalter, von dem ein werdendes ein untergehendes verschlingt." (Ibid. 161f.)

<sup>671</sup> Maengel, Manfred. *Das Wissen des Kriegers oder Der Magische Operateur. Krieg und Technik im Frühwerk von Ernst Jünger*. Berlin: XENOMOS, 2005. Print. 102.

<sup>672</sup> Jünger, Ernst. "Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt." In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 251.

<sup>673</sup> Ibid. 116.

<sup>674</sup> Ibid. 117. For Jünger, this is directly comprehensible with reference to the typical face underneath the steel helmet. It has "an Individualität verloren, während es an Schärfe und Bestimmtheit der Einzelausprägung gewonnen hat [...] Es ist das Gesicht einer Rasse, die sich unter den eigenartigen Anforderungen einer neuen Landschaft zu entwickeln beginnt und die der Einzelne *nicht als Person oder als Individuum, sondern als Typus* repräsentiert." (Ibid. 116f. my emphasis)

<sup>675</sup> Koslowski, Peter. *Der Mythos der Moderne. Die Philosophie Ernst Jüngers*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1991. Print. 60. Cf. Also: Ibid. 71.

consequence thereof and facilitates the inevitable eventual planetary ‘Herrschaft’ of the worker.<sup>676</sup>

Just as Jünger had already shown in his chapter “Pazifismus” from *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, this perishing does not necessarily have to be the result of actual combat operations. It might just as well be an “Ablösung.”<sup>677</sup> He notes: “Es ist ein Unterschied in der Form, nicht aber in der Substanz, ob sich dieser Vorgang geräuschlos vollzieht oder katastrophal.”<sup>678</sup> That it will imperatively happen, however, Jünger now shows by reference to another example.

Right after his elaborations on the emergence of the new type during the last two years of the Great War, Jünger turns to the “großen Städte, in denen der entscheidende Vorgang nicht minder deutlich zu beobachten ist.”<sup>679</sup> He uses the cities, however, in order to elaborate on the disappearing of the masses, which he takes to be merely the additive “Gesamtheit der Individuen”<sup>680</sup> – i.e. the consequential derivative of the ‘gesellschaftliche’ individual – as opposed to the totality of the metaphysical “Gestalt” that permeates everything, and which he sees as “ein Ganzes, das mehr als die Summe seiner Teile umfaßt.”<sup>681</sup> Both correlatives – the individual and the masses – are, following

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<sup>676</sup> With reference to the Great War, Walter Benjamin describes “[d]ieses große Werben um den Kosmos” by means of a very similar notion. He observes in the last vignette of his “Einbahnstraße” that it happened “zum ertsen Male [...] in planetarischem Maßstab, nämlich im Geiste der Technik.” (Benjamin, Walter. “Einbahnstraße.” In: *Walter Benjamin. Kleine Prosa – Baudelaire Übertragungen. GS IV.1.* Ed. Tillmann Rexroth. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991. Print. 148.)

<sup>677</sup> Cf. the chapter: “Die Ablösung des bürgerlichen Individuums.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II.* Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 125-142.)

<sup>678</sup> Ibid. 122.

<sup>679</sup> Ibid. 118.

<sup>680</sup> Ibid. 119.

<sup>681</sup> Ibid. 312. Regarding this entelechy as the basis of Jünger’s “Ganzheitsvorstellung,” cf. Thomas Löffler’s article “Ernst Jüngers organologische Verwindung der Technik,” where he reconstructs Jünger’s conceptual borrowings and deviations from his Leipzig teacher’s neovitalism, Hans Driesch. (Löffler, Thomas. “Ernst Jüngers organologische Verwindung der Technik auf dem Hintergrund der Biotheorie



Jünger, “die beiden Pole der individuellen Welt,”<sup>682</sup> whereas the ‘Gestalt’ as metaphysical bedrock of Jünger’s thought organizes totality and permeates reality as a ‘Ganzes.’ Accordingly, once the individual vanishes, the masses automatically and simultaneously wither along with it. The worker, who merges into the organic construction, will thus replace the individual.

The killed “bürgerliche Jugend”<sup>683</sup> as it is represented in the myth of Langemarck, the perishing individual, as well as the vanishing masses are all representatives of the same dynamic process: once the principles of an old era are confronted with new principles, the latter will inevitably replace the former.<sup>684</sup> It is lastly “[i]m Verzicht auf Individualität,” Jünger argues, where “der Schlüssel zu Räumen [liegt], deren Kenntnis seit langem verloren gegangen ist.”<sup>685</sup>

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seines akademischen Lehrers Hans Driesch.” In: *Titan Technik. Ernst und Friedrich Georg Jünger über das technische Zeitalter*. Ed. Friedrich Strack. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000. Print. 57-67.) That this ‘Ganzheitsvorstellung’ is a thought that Jünger developed over the course of the Weimar years can also be seen with reference to his literature. Cf. e.g. a later deleted passage from *Das Wäldchen 125*, where he writes: “Betrachten Sie das Vaterland als Ganzes, nicht als eine Summe von Grundstücken [...] und das Volk als einen großen Begriff, nicht als eine Masse von Menschen.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 132-366. Here: 292.)

<sup>682</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 237.

<sup>683</sup> Ibid. 115.

<sup>684</sup> Jünger examines the same paradigm shift by way of comparison pertaining to art. On the one hand, he denotes the theater as the outdated form of art, which is representing the bourgeois era, on the other, he recognizes film as the new principle that is replacing the old. (Cf. Ibid. 134-140) Similarly, he comments on the “bürgerlichen Roman” as opposed to the “Kursbuch.” (Ibid. 151) The individual “Fragestellung” of the former necessarily has to miss the recognition of the new “Raum.” (Ibid. 152) This line of thought is by now means new for Ernst Jünger. In the first edition of *Das Wäldchen 125* he writes in a later deleted passage about the battle of Jena (1806): it was about the “Beseitigung unhaltbarer Zustände [...] indem ein neues Prinzip der Führung einem veralteten als das stärkere entgegentrat.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 132-366. Here: 145.)

<sup>685</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 239.

This postulation Jünger illustrates by way of a comparison. On the one hand, there is the technology in the “bürgerlichen Raume,” where it appears to be an “Organ des Fortschritts,”<sup>686</sup> on the other, there is the “unsichtbare Ergebnis”<sup>687</sup> of the Great War: viz. the indelible insight regarding actual “Technik,” and the relationship of the worker to it: “das heißt, die Mobilisierung der Welt durch die Gestalt des Arbeiters.”<sup>688</sup> It is furthermore in this context, that Jünger introduces the notion of a “Werkstättenlandschaft” – that is thought to gradually replace the ‘Kulturlandschaft’ and that very much corresponds with the world we are still living in today – in order to describe the processuality of the status quo and so as to begin presenting the road ahead.<sup>689</sup> This landscape he describes as being characterized by a high degree of “dynamische[r] Unruhe,” where nothing is “beständig als der Anstieg der Leistungskurve.”<sup>690</sup> As a matter of fact, Jünger quite precisely designates the very point, at which he situates present proceedings. In a three stage model – that he does not conclusively develop – he locates the present “Zwischenakt,”<sup>691</sup> on the verge to the penultimate step towards the ‘Arbeitsstaat:’ “In ihrer [Technik] vorletzten eben erst sichtbar werdenden Phase erscheint sie als die Dienerin der großen Pläne.”<sup>692</sup> By introducing this step, Jünger not only moves closer towards his description of the road to *Actium*, but he also contradicts any notion of infinite development, which is usually

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<sup>686</sup> Ibid. 166. Cf. also: Ibid. 195. Which Jünger not least uses as ‘Fort-schritt;’ i.e. as departing – ‘fort-schreiten’ – further and further from the elementary.

<sup>687</sup> Ibid. 169.

<sup>688</sup> Ibid. 165. Cf. also: Ibid. 194, where he adds: “der erste Abschnitt dieser Mobilisierung ist notwendig zerstörerischer Natur.”

<sup>689</sup> Ibid. 176. Cf. also: “Werkstättenlandschaft [...], die als Überganglandschaft zu betrachten ist.” (Ibid. 247) Or, Ibid. 253.

<sup>690</sup> Ibid. 176.

<sup>691</sup> Ibid. 98.

<sup>692</sup> Ibid. 180.

referred to as continuing progress. This is to say, he understands technological development to be limited, or more precisely, as a development onto perfection, which ought to ultimately facilitate true constancy, thus allowing the ‘Gestalt des Arbeiters’ to organize the entire technological apparatus so as to ultimately order the planetary communal life. This perfection, he consequently describes as the highest degree of definitude, which, once achieved, allows ‘Technik’ to function as a means to achieve and ultimately embody the true power that permeates absolutely everything: “Ihre [Technik] letzte Aufgabe aber besteht darin, an jedem beliebigen Orte und zu jeder beliebigen Zeit in jedem beliebigen Maße Herrschaft zu verwirklichen.”<sup>693</sup>

Taken together, Jünger’s conceptualizations of work and technology approximate each other to such a degree that they eventually become indistinguishable; i.e. man and machine are being synchronized – again. Accordingly, he opens section 50, with the following, ambivalent sentence: “Die Mobilmachung der Materie durch die Gestalt des Arbeiters, wie sie als Technik erscheint.”<sup>694</sup> Whether this ‘sie’ refers to the ‘Mobilmachung der Materie’ or to the ‘Gestalt des Arbeiters’ is now no longer definitely determinable. Consequently, Jünger summarizes as a quasi definition of the ‘Gestalt’ that he bases on this amalgamation of the organic and the construction: “Die Annäherung an diese Einheit drückt sich aus in der Verschmelzung des Unterschiedes zwischen organischer und mechanischer Welt; ihr Symbol ist die organische Konstruktion.”<sup>695</sup>

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<sup>693</sup> Ibid. 180.

<sup>694</sup> Ibid. 181.

<sup>695</sup> Ibid. 181. Cf. also: the “organischen Konstruktion, der engen und widerspruchlosen Verschmelzung des Lebens mit den Mitteln, die ihm zu Gebote stehen.” (Ibid. 241)

## §3

## Organic Construction

In 1932, Ernst Jünger appears to have found the conceptual nomenclature that allows him to caption the core of his literary as well as non-literary endeavors to date and that serves him as the key to an entirely new understanding of the mechanisms of the world. Namely, the seemingly paradox or oxymorinic formula of an “organische Konstruktion.”<sup>696</sup> For the first time, he uses this term in the *Arbeiter*-chapter entitled “Der Untergang der Masse und des Individuums;”<sup>697</sup> a caption that could well head the diagnostic parts of almost all of his Weimar texts, when being flanked by the headline of the following chapter from Jünger’s 1932 essay: “Die Ablösung des bürgerlichen Individuums durch den Typus des Arbeiters.”<sup>698</sup> Consequently, Jünger alludes to these two strands of his own work: “So betrachteten wir die Auslese, die über den eintönigen Gang der Materialschlachten hindurch auf den Kampfprozeß Einfluß gewinnt.”<sup>699</sup> Albeit that he primarily refers to his elaborations within *Der Arbeiter*, this description congruently matches with the considerations of his 1922 publication *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis*, his 1923 novella *Sturm*, with *Feuer und Blut* (1925), as well as with his

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<sup>696</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 123. Throughout *Der Arbeiter*, Jünger uses similar paradoxes and/or oxymora; cf. e.g. the “nüchterne Rauch” (Ibid. 152), the “mechanische Naturkraft” (Ibid. 197) Regarding the conceptual history of Jünger’s ‘organic construction,’ cf.: Pekar, Thomas. “‘Organische Konstruktion’. Ernst Jüngers Idee einer Symbiose von Mensch und Maschine.” In: *Titan Technik. Ernst und Friedrich Georg Jünger über das technische Zeitalter*. Ed. Friedrich Strack. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000. Print. 99-117.

<sup>697</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 102-125.

<sup>698</sup> Ibid. 125-142.

<sup>699</sup> Ibid. 123.

‘chronicle’ *Das Wäldchen 125* (1925). At the heart of all of these texts stands the heroic soldier, who regains his agency as a ‘Krieger’ by subordinating the war-machinery to his will, so as to work organically with it;<sup>700</sup> “[d]enn den Kampf gewinnt nicht die Maschine, sondern er wird mit der Maschine gewonnen,” as Jünger puts it in *Das Wäldchen 125* albeit without labeling it as organic construction quite yet.<sup>701</sup> Furthermore, as Jünger has shown over the course of the Weimar years and as he especially develops it now in *Der Arbeiter*, the ‘Krieger’ himself was initially a prefiguration and is now understood as an ecstatic modification of the worker, just as much as the “Maschinenteknik” now has to be understood as one “Symbol einer besonderen Gestalt, nämlich der des Arbeiters.”<sup>702</sup>

The origin of Jünger’s conjunction of the organic with the construction can thus be located on the battlefields of the Great War; more precisely, it can be located in 1916, when the soldier turned into the ‘Krieger’ and thus regained his agency.

Moreover, Jünger recounts in his *Arbeiter*-chapter “Der Untergang der Masse und des Individuums:” “So betrachteten wir [...] die neuartigen Kräfte, die den Parteiapparat

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<sup>700</sup> Cf. chapter II. Cf. also Thomas Pekar, who observes regarding the front-line experience: “Der Gegner ist das Material, genauer gesagt das zu Kriegs- und Vernichtungszwecken geformte – konstruierte also! – Material [...] Der Angreifer ist damit das Konstruierte selbst, zu dem das Lebendige, das Organische, eine neue Einstellung finden muß, will es nicht vernichtet werden, indem es nämlich zu ihm, dem Angreifer [...] überläuft.” (Pekar, Thomas. “‘Organische Konstruktion’. Ernst Jüngers Idee einer Symbiose von Mensch und Maschine.” In: *Titan Technik. Ernst und Friedrich Georg Jünger über das technische Zeitalter*. Ed. Friedrich Strack. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000. Print. 99-117. Here: 105.)

<sup>701</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Tagebücher I. SW I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 301-438. Here: 343. Cf. also the later deleted divinatory considerations from the *Wäldchen 125*, where Jünger ponders the future character of war, and where he concludes: “Die Tüchtigsten werden die besten Maschinen besitzen und hinter den besten Maschinen müssen die Tüchtigsten stehen – hier läßt sich gar keine Trennung machen.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Das Wäldchen 125. Eine Chronik aus den Grabenkämpfen 1918.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Krieg als inneres Erlebnis*. Ed. Helmuth Kiesel. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016. Print. 132-366. Here: 253.)

<sup>702</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 80.

durchbrechen.<sup>703</sup> Here too, Jünger primarily refers to his elaborations within *Der Arbeiter*, but this observation pertaining to a potential to break through the ‘Parteiapparat’ in order to overcome the stalemate of Weimar politics was at the very heart of his subversive activism from 1923-1932.<sup>704</sup> What Jünger conceptually adds in *Der Arbeiter* to the notion of a continuation of war by the means of textual production, Manfred Maengel astutely observes in his book *Das Wissen des Kriegers*. The latter writes: “Für Jünger ist der Krieg, im Bruch mit Clausewitz’ Primärthese, nicht die Fortsetzung der Politik mit anderen Mitteln, sondern die *Ersetzung* der Politik durch die Macht der Mittel.”<sup>705</sup>

For his decisive confrontation, Jünger now has to refine and add to the language he employed thus far and that hitherto served him as a means for the continuation of war.<sup>706</sup> Namely, he has to do justice to the ‘andersartige’ language of the material that ought to eventually become the tool of communication and the expression of the organic construction. In turn, the organic construction has to be understood as representative of the all-encompassing “Arbeitsprozess,” which renders war and peace to be merely different phases of the same dynamic movement.<sup>707</sup> Consequently, Jünger ultimately

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<sup>703</sup> Ibid. 123.

<sup>704</sup> Cf. Chapter III.

<sup>705</sup> Maengel, Manfred. *Das Wissen des Kriegers oder Der Magische Operateur. Krieg und Technik im Frühwerk von Ernst Jünger*. Berlin: XENOMOS, 2005. Print. 271.

<sup>706</sup> In his essay on *Der Arbeiter*, Marcus Paul Bullock underlines this point, when he writes: “Jünger’s speculation on the complete suspension of all conventional political relations and their displacement in favor of another kind of social organization – what Jünger calls in his book ‘*organische Konstruktion*.’” (Bullock, Marcus Paul. “Flight Forward: The World of Ernst Jünger’s Worker.” In: *Utopian Studies*, Vol. 23.2 (2012), 450-471. Here: 455.)

<sup>707</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Die totale Mobilmachung. In: »Krieg und Krieger.« Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 558-582. Here: 562. And: Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 123.

reflects on this new language as an expression of the interplay between the mechanical and the organic, which he sees as the defining feature of the new ‘Arbeitsprozess:’

Die Frage nach dem Wesen dieser Sprache, die sich dem Betrachter erheben wird, legt die Antwort nahe, daß dieses Wesen durchaus im Mechanischen zu suchen sei. In dem gleichen Maße jedoch, in dem sich das Material der Betrachtung häuft, drängt sich die Erkenntnis auf, daß in diesem Raume die Unterscheidung zwischen mechanischen und organischen Kräften versagt.<sup>708</sup>

What is at stake at this point is once more nothing less than “Triumph oder Tod.”<sup>709</sup> Or, put differently and with reference to the ‘Wesen der Sprache:’ “der Mensch antwortet, oder er bleibt stumm – und dies entscheidet über seine Wirklichkeit.”<sup>710</sup> It is rather obvious that for Jünger, the bourgeois individual will eventually lapse into silence, whilst the ‘Gestalt des Arbeiters’ – or, more precisely, its representatives – eventually comes to fluently speak this new, all-encompassing, and all-permeating extralinguistic world language. In other words, the worker voluntarily yields to the command language of the machines thus realizing his freedom understood as a “»Freiheit wozu«,” whereas the bourgeois tries to pursue his freedom from the restrictions set forth by the mechanization of the world.<sup>711</sup> The consequence thereof mirrors Jünger’s elaborations on the relationship between ‘Tat’ und ‘Literatur,’ and on a certain kind of literature that is capable of invoking counter-political action.<sup>712</sup> This time, however, language itself – viz. the extralinguistic language of the organic construction – is qualitatively different: it supersedes the political due to the trans-political and trans-national character of technology. What is at stake for Jünger at this point is thus no longer to highlight the

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<sup>708</sup> Ibid. 104.

<sup>709</sup> Ibid. 141.

<sup>710</sup> Ibid. Cf. also: Ibid. 170.

<sup>711</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 254.

<sup>712</sup> Cf. chapter II.

potential to be initiated to the ‘Gemeinschaft of Frontsoldaten/Krieger’ by learning the ‘Sprache der Materialschlacht,’ but the recipient of *Der Arbeiter* ought to become a worker, who, as a new type, automatically and unconsciously comes to speak the elementary and dynamic language of the material that can hitherto – or, at least for the rest of *Der Arbeiter* – only be metaphorically depicted. This part of Jünger’s argument thus follows the same logic of the ‘herbeigeführte Plötzlichkeit,’ which the ‘Krieger’ employed as a tactical tool prior to a hand-to-hand combat situation,<sup>713</sup> where the “definitive Entscheidung über Leben und Tod reflexions- und bewußtlos vollzogen wird.”<sup>714</sup> Finally, due to this elementary character of a language that gains its specific semiotic from the material, it is not limited to a definable and restricted language area, but is conceived as a planetary means of communication.

Regarding the ‘Tat’-potential of this altogether different language Jünger postulates: “Wo aber eine andere Sprache gesprochen wird, ist die Debatte geschlossen, und es beginnt die Aktion.”<sup>715</sup> This ‘Aktion’ is now seen as the result of language in its “eigentliche[r] Eigenschaft als Befehlssprache.”<sup>716</sup> This time, the latter is no longer limited exclusively to a specified battlefield, but it is ubiquitous just as much as the battlefield has become omnipresent: “So taucht der Begriff der Vernichtungszone auf, die durch Stahl, Gas, Feuer oder andere Mittel, auch durch politische oder wirtschaftliche Einwirkungen geschaffen wird. In diesen Zonen gibt es de facto keinen Unterschied

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<sup>713</sup> Cf. chapter I.

<sup>714</sup> Brokoff, Jürgen. *Die Apokalypse in der Weimarer Republik*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2001. Print. 107.

<sup>715</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 144.

<sup>716</sup> *Ibid.* 173.



zwischen Kombattanten und Nichtkombattanten mehr.”<sup>717</sup> This is to say, once ‘Arbeit’ permeates absolutely everything, total war based on a ‘totale Mobilmachung’ becomes feasible, which consequently means that the “Gesetze des Krieges [...] für jedes [...] Gebiet [gelten].”<sup>718</sup> ‘Gebiet’ is thus not only to be understood abstractly as ‘subject’ or ‘field of expertise/work’ but also quite literally as territory.<sup>719</sup> Consequently, absolutely everything – every activity as well as every area of the world – turns into a part of the ‘Werkstätten-‘ or “Arbeitslandschaft,”<sup>720</sup> thus finally facilitating the “organische Konstruktion der Welt.”<sup>721</sup>

Over the course of *Der Arbeiter*, Jünger thus has to increasingly blur the lines between work and war – between ‘Arbeitslandschaft’ and ‘Kriegsgebiet’ – to a point, where they appear to be used synonymously. Similarly, he proceeds pertaining to the type and the tool. What he means by organic construction when referring to the worker as homo (natura) faber (militans), who symbiotically lives with the machines – a complex that can be identified as the main topic of the second part of *Der Arbeiter* – he states as follows: organic construction denotes the “enge und widerspruchlose Verschmelzung des Menschen mit den Werkzeugen.”<sup>722</sup> This movement towards utter operative congruency – here, in order to question the separation between nature and technology – is not least part of his textual strategy that has been observed with regards to his literary as well as non-literary texts of the Weimar years, where Jünger aims at destabilizing his readership,

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<sup>717</sup> Ibid. 153. Jünger underlines this insight by way of repetition (cf. e.g.: Ibid. 154.)

<sup>718</sup> Ibid. 154.

<sup>719</sup> Similarly, Jünger employs the word “Feld,” which he uses in order to simultaneously denote the “Feld der eigentlichen Stärke des Arbeiters” as well as the locus for the decisive confrontation between the bourgeoisie and the worker; i.e. the battlefield. (Cf. e.g.: Ibid. 251.)

<sup>720</sup> Ibid. 156.

<sup>721</sup> Ibid. 157. Jünger reiterates the same line of argument a few pages later; cf. Ibid. 173.

<sup>722</sup> Ibid. 191. Cf. also: 223, 231, 241.

and at creating a potential for initiation with the goal to achieve utter compliance on the part of his recipients.<sup>723</sup> In *Der Arbeiter*, however, this amalgamation serves an additional purpose. Jünger performs a radically anti-dialectical movement. Instead of a synthesis, he arrives at the eradication of differences, thus heralding a movement towards totality:

“Solche Gegensätze sind Alt und Neu, Macht und Recht, Blut und Geist, Krieg und Politik, Natur- und Geisteswissenschaft, Technik und Kunst, Wissen und Religion, organische und mechanische Welt. Sie alle gelangen zur Deckung im totalen Raum.”<sup>724</sup>

The last conceptual pair of the enumeration then allows surmising the eventual congruency of ‘organic’ and ‘construction’ behind which the transcendent ‘Gestalt des Arbeiters’ lies still hidden. However, he observes that this potential congruency is currently still “überdeckt durch Widerstände.”<sup>725</sup> It is consequently imperative to overcome those ‘Widerstände’ – or, as he will later call them: “Hindernisse”<sup>726</sup> – in order to eventually enable the representatives of the ‘Gestalt des Arbeiters’ to assume power on a planetary scale. What exactly these impediments are, Jünger outlines in his chapter on

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<sup>723</sup> Cf. chapter II, §1. And that art plays a decisive role in the process towards an all-encompassing organic construction, Jünger underlines in *Der Arbeiter*: “Das Maß, in dem sich der Unterschied zwischen organischen und technischen Mitteln verringert, wird übrigens, und nicht ohne Grund, rein gefühlsmäßig erfassbar durch den Grad, in dem die Kunst von ihnen Notiz zu nehmen vermag.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 191.)

<sup>724</sup> Ibid. 159. Jünger will reiterate this enumeration with slight changes and an emphasis on their qualitative difference from the ‘Sprache des Materials’ in his chapter on art: “all jene vergiftenden Gegensätze von Macht und Recht, Blut und Geist, Idee und Materie, Liebe und Geschlecht, Mensch und Natur, Körper und Seele, weltlichem und geistlichem Schwert – Gegensätze, die einer Sprache angehören, die als Fremdsprache erkannt werden muß.” (Ibid. 242.) And he adds regarding the anti-dialectical character of these conceptual pairs: “Man muß allerdings wissen, daß der Eintritt in die Welt der Gestalt das Leben durchaus, und nicht nur in seinen Teilen verändert; und daß es sich, etwa bei der Einheit von Macht und Recht, nicht um dialektische Synthesen handelt, sondern um Vorgänge von totaler Natur.” (Ibid. 243.)

<sup>725</sup> Ibid. 223.

<sup>726</sup> Ibid. 240.

the “Übergang zum Arbeitsstaat.”<sup>727</sup> Namely, “die in Verfall geratenen Organe des bürgerlichen Freiheitsbegriffes.”<sup>728</sup> In order to fully abandon the representative form of the bourgeoisie – viz. the liberal parliamentary democracy – and so as to institute a transitional “Arbeitsdemokratie,”<sup>729</sup> it is imperative to recognize this phase as the decisive moment at which the “Angriff des Typus gegen die Wertungen der Masse und des Individuums” occurs.<sup>730</sup> What may be divined behind this transitional moment and what Jünger aims at making visible with *Der Arbeiter* is “der Beginn der Herrschaft des Arbeiters” that transgresses both the national, as well as the individual boundaries, thus putting an end to the political, to the notion of the individual and the masses, and to the social alike.<sup>731</sup>

#### §4

#### The Road to *Actium*

In his chapter on art – namely, over the course of “Die Kunst als Gestaltung der Arbeitswelt”<sup>732</sup> – Ernst Jünger once more diagnoses the status quo with reference to the “Werkstättenlandschaft”<sup>733</sup> as a threshold-moment and he begins to elaborate more closely on that which is yet to come. For the first time, Jünger mentions that which ought

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<sup>727</sup> Ibid. 250-285.

<sup>728</sup> Ibid. 274.

<sup>729</sup> Ibid.

<sup>730</sup> Ibid. 273.

<sup>731</sup> Ibid. 274.

<sup>732</sup> Ibid. 208-250.

<sup>733</sup> Ibid. e.g. 226.

to follow the dynamic movements of the moment so as to replace the liberal parliamentary democracy once and for all: i.e. the “Planlandschaft”<sup>734</sup> and the “Arbeitsstaat.”<sup>735</sup> As was already the case with the general trajectory of his ‘political publications,’ Jünger now begins to conceptually protrude beyond the borders of the nations.<sup>736</sup> He writes pertaining to the basis of any future plans: “Noch sind diese Pläne auf den Rahmen der alten Nationalstaaten beschränkt, die jedoch bereits als Arbeitsgrößen anzusprechen sind, innerhalb deren es die Keimanlagen für umfassendere Zusammenhänge zu schaffen gilt.”<sup>737</sup> The driving force behind this ‘schaffen’ is the ‘Gestalt des Arbeiters’ that will forcibly burst the borders of the nation states by emerging simultaneously all over the world.<sup>738</sup> This part of Jünger’s argument denotes, as Marcus Bullock puts it in his essay “Flight Forward” on “The World of Ernst Jünger’s Worker,” part of the moment of “extreme collective idealism” that Jünger develops in constant opposition to the “most esoteric forms of isolated experience and individual autonomy as the realization of a personal authenticity.”<sup>739</sup> In line with the almost eschatological expectation of a simultaneous flaring up of a transnational anti-nation(s)-organic construction, Jünger then observes: “Die zerstörenden Wirkungen, mit denen sich

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<sup>734</sup> Ibid. 247.

<sup>735</sup> Ibid. 248.

<sup>736</sup> Cf. Chapter III, §4.

<sup>737</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 223. Cf. also: “Der nationalstaatliche Rahmen und die Verwendung wesentlich dynamischer Mittel schließen Begrenzungen in sich ein, innerhalb deren die Formen als Keimanlagen [...] aufzufassen sind.” (Ibid. 230)

<sup>738</sup> A very similar simultaneous transnational emergence of a ‘Gestalt’ that will shape the future can be found in Friedrich Hielscher’s *Das Reich* from 1931. Hielscher, who was in close correspondence with Jünger at the time, writes: “Auf schweigenden Inseln ohne Antwort leben unsere Brüder jenseits der Grenzen, die der Schein des gegenwärtigen Tages setzt, und innerhalb der Mauern, in denen wir uns schon gefunden haben.” (Hielscher, Friedrich. *Das Reich*. Berlin: Das Reich, 1931. Print. 378.)

<sup>739</sup> Bullock, Marcus Paul. “Flight Forward: The World of Ernst Jünger’s Worker.” In: *Utopian Studies*, Vol. 23.2 (2012), 450-471. Here: 456.

der Nationalismus in seiner Geburtsstunde gegen die alten Ordnungen richtete, richten sich nunmehr gegen die Nation, und zwar gegen den vollen Umfang ihrer Existenz.”<sup>740</sup>

This is the logical consequence that, following Jünger, has to ensue from the axiomatic postulation that everything is ‘Arbeit,’ which in turn means that the ‘Arbeitsraum’ has to be unlimited – i.e. planetary – for actual power to be realized. Based on his efforts at making the ‘Gestalt des Arbeiters’ visible – viz. by conceiving his *Der Arbeiter* as structurally representative of it and by trying to call the worker into existence – he now denies the nations their right to exist. That is to say, for the worker to emerge on a planetary scale, the nation has to be neglected. Jünger consequently summarizes with a focus on the question of power: “Im Arbeitsraume entscheidet nichts anderes als die Leistung, durch welche die Totalität dieses Raumes zum Ausdruck kommt. Dies ist Macht.”<sup>741</sup> That is to say: ‘Leistung’ qua ‘Arbeit’ equals ‘Macht.’

Accordingly, the ‘Gestalt des Arbeiters’ will ultimately assume absolute power, within the “entsprechende[n] Raum” of “planetarische[m] Umfang.”<sup>742</sup> The goal of the ongoing and of the future “Gefecht”<sup>743</sup> can thus no longer be limited to revolutionary acts within the borders of the nation states – i.e. the fight over relative power<sup>744</sup> – but has to aim for “totale Veränderung.”<sup>745</sup> “In diesem Sinne ist an einer wirklichen

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<sup>740</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 265. Cf. also: “Der Angriff, der innerhalb der Nationen gegen die Klassen und Stände, gegen die Massen und Individuen gerichtet ist, wird auch gegen die Nationen selbst geführt.” (Ibid. 295.)

<sup>741</sup> Ibid. 156.

<sup>742</sup> Ibid. 224.

<sup>743</sup> Ibid. 206. Cf. also: “Wir stehen im Gefecht und haben uns mit Maßnahmen zu beschäftigen, die sich auf Herrschaft richten” (Ibid. 222.)

<sup>744</sup> Cf.: “Man hat in unserer Zeit mehr als einmal erlebt, daß der Arbeiter »den Staat eroberte«. Dieses Schauspiel ist belanglos.” (Ibid. 77.)

<sup>745</sup> Ibid. 230.

Arbeiterbewegung die substantielle Macht, die ihr innewohnt, viel wichtiger als der Kampf um eine abstrakte Macht, deren Besitz oder Nichtbesitz ebenso unwesentlich wie der einer abstrakten Freiheit ist.”<sup>746</sup> This battle will also no longer be fought concentrically – i.e. beginning with one nation or based on one social class – but will simultaneously flare up all over the planet – viz. “im totalen Raum”<sup>747</sup> – just as much as the new language emerges in all corners of the world at the same time based on the recognition of the ‘Gestalt.’ This has to be the case since, following Jünger, there is no defined centre anymore in the ‘totalen Raum,’ but since “jeder Punkt zugleich die potentielle Bedeutung eines Mittelpunktes [besitzt].”<sup>748</sup>

However, before turning to the actual decisive confrontation that will ultimately decide the struggle for true power, Jünger once more goes back to the Great War, in order to highlight the “in diesem Jahrhundert wirksamen Prinzipien.”<sup>749</sup> He reiterates that the Great War put an end to the bourgeois nineteenth century, albeit that the latter’s principles are still present. Accordingly, Jünger diagnoses the “Verallgemeinerung der Prinzipien der nationalen Demokratie” as the momentary yet ephemeral result of the Great War.<sup>750</sup> That this is merely an “Übergangszustand,” Jünger has already announced multiple times.<sup>751</sup> At this point, however, he draws the decisive battle closer to the present day by including short-term political observations that are representative of his

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<sup>746</sup> Ibid. 77.

<sup>747</sup> Ibid. 284.

<sup>748</sup> Ibid.

<sup>749</sup> Ibid. 255.

<sup>750</sup> Ibid. 258.

<sup>751</sup> E.g.: Ibid. 256.

understanding of the “bürgerliche Politik” and its disintegration,<sup>752</sup> whilst simultaneously sharpening his own language by way of comparisons with military technology and by borrowing from the military command language.

Taken together, this *modus operandi* gives Jünger’s *Der Arbeiter* a fomenting character similar to that of his literary as well as non-literary publications of the Weimar years. Consequently, he formulates the looming disintegration of the bourgeoisie in its imminence: “Der Herrschaftsanspruch [des Bürgers] sieht sich daher viel weniger auf Kriegsschiffe und Kanonen angewiesen als auf den Verhandlungsweg. Dies aber bedeutet den Herrschaftsverlust *in absehbarer Zeit*.”<sup>753</sup> And by furthermore employing a terminology that he once more borrows from the military complex he underlines the immediacy of the first decisive battle:

Das Bedürfnis, sich bei jeder Gelegenheit und nach jeder innenpolitischen Schwankung die Unterschriften wiederholen zu lassen ist ein Anzeichen dafür, daß *die bürgerliche Politik am Ende steht*. Es ist ein Anzeichen dafür, daß man nicht Friedensverträge, sondern Waffenstillstandsverträge geschlossen hat und daß der Ausgang des Weltkrieges eine glaubwürdige und unanfechtbare Weltordnung nicht hinterließ. Hier enthüllt sich, daß die Entscheidung nicht einen strategischen, sondern einen taktischen Charakter trug, und taktisch war auch die Art, in der man die Entscheidung auswertete.<sup>754</sup>

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<sup>752</sup> Ibid. 260. Part of this diagnosis is the NSDAP. Jünger observes regarding the decline of the state: “Die Hoheitszeichen des Staates werden durch Parteiabzeichen ersetzt.” (Ibid. 269.) As opposed to the “Menschenschlag [...] auf den gerechnet werden kann,” such as “Grenzkorps, Freiwilligenverbände und die einsamen Saboteure.” (Ibid. 269.) Cf. also: his anticipatory gesture regarding “die »Ergreifung der Macht«” (Ibid. 274.), or his Marxian take on unemployment as “Bildung einer Reservearmee.” (Ibid. 275f.) This drawing closer is due to the historical moment that Jünger is trying to capture. Hielscher, for example proceeds similarly: “Wie jedes raumzeitliche Geschehnis die ewige Eigenschaft einer ewigen Kraft abbildet, so entspricht dieser mit jedem Tag näher kommende Niedergang der westlichen Menschen...” (Hielscher, Friedrich. *Das Reich*. Berlin: Das Reich, 1931. Print. 380.)

<sup>753</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 259. (my emphasis)

<sup>754</sup> Ibid. 260. (my emphasis)

This diagnosis of the status quo then leads him to martially conclude: “Dies ist die Atmosphäre des Sumpfes, die nur durch Explosionen gereinigt werden kann.”<sup>755</sup>

At this point, Jünger presents the next step towards reordering the world in an unveiled way, albeit without offering an actual agenda. Instead of turning to the questions pertaining to the ‘how,’ he comes full circle with regards to the ‘who:’ i.e. the ‘Frontsoldat,’ who turned into an ‘Arbeiter.’ Jünger bi-directionally postulates regarding the pedigree of the latter as well as regarding the necessary condition for the future of the ‘Arbeitsstaat:’ “Die Meisterung der Verhältnisse kann nur durch Kräfte geschehen, die durch die Zone der Zerstörung hindurchgegangen sind und denen in ihr eine neuartige Legitimation zuteil geworden ist.”<sup>756</sup> And he adds in order to clarify his specific capabilities: “Kräfte dieser Art zeichnen sich dadurch aus, daß sie die Prinzipien, die sie vorfinden, in einem neuen und unerwarteten Sinne zur Anwendung bringen – dass sie sie als Arbeitsgrößen zu benutzen verstehen.”<sup>757</sup> The decisive, new, and all-encompassing principle is the omnipresence of work in the form of the organic construction as it is represented by the ‘Gestalt des Arbeiters.’ For the type, everything has the potential to turn into an expression of ‘Herrschaft,’ in as much as he recognizes that the total character of work permeates everything. The necessary condition for the representatives of the ‘Gestalt des Arbeiters’ to truly assume power is thus the “Meisterung der typischen Mittel,” which now corresponds to the “Beherrschung einer andersartigen Sprache.”<sup>758</sup>

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<sup>755</sup> Ibid. 261.

<sup>756</sup> Ibid. 271.

<sup>757</sup> Ibid. 271f.

<sup>758</sup> Ibid. 283.



Additionally, this means that the worker is chosen to assume total power out of necessity, since he is the only one capable of handling the “Waffe der Moderne, die Technik.”<sup>759</sup>

Here, assuming power does not mean “»die Macht ergreif[en]«”, but instead, “Macht repräsentier[en]” based on the distinctive “neuen Stil,” which the type represents.<sup>760</sup> From this, Jünger deduces the task of the worker, which he repeats numerous times with only marginal alterations: “Die Aufgabe des Arbeiters besteht in der Legitimation der technischen Mittel, durch die die Welt mobilisiert, das heißt, in den Zustand einer uferlosen Bewegung versetzt worden ist.”<sup>761</sup> These means may only be governed by him, who speaks their ‘andersartige Sprache,’<sup>762</sup> thus enabling him to outlive the bourgeoisie based on his being a part of the organic construction.

It is only at this point, that Jünger presents his three step model – of which he will only actually discuss and develop the first two<sup>763</sup> – towards the ‘Herrschaft des Arbeiters’ in a somewhat distinct way. It has been established that the first step is described as a ‘Werkstättenlandschaft,’ which is characterized by the gradual emergence of a new type that represents the ‘Gestalt des Arbeiters.’ Following this chaotic status quo is the “Planlandschaft,” which is different from the ‘Werkstättenlandschaft,’ because of its

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<sup>759</sup> Koslowski, Peter. *Der Mythos der Moderne. Die Philosophie Ernst Jüngers*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1991. Print. 74.

<sup>760</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 286.

<sup>761</sup> Ibid. 287.

<sup>762</sup> Cf. Ibid. 283 and 287.

<sup>763</sup> Granted, Jünger never set out to present a conclusive ‘plan,’ but aims at making the ‘Gestalt’ visible. That it could be read as a “überzeugendes Modell der ‘stofflichen Revolution,’” as Manfred Maengel puts it, is thus highly questionable. (Maengel, Manfred. *Das Wissen des Kriegers oder Der Magische Operateur. Krieg und Technik im Frühwerk von Ernst Jünger*. Berlin: XENOMOS, 2005. Print. 8.) As a matter of fact, that Jünger’s conjecturing gesture is by no means a unique modus operandi at the time can for instance be seen with reference to Friedrich Hielscher’s 380 pages long metahistorical future scenario *Das Reich*, where he similarly writes in the antepenultimate chapter: “Was zu sagen ist, soll nur die Richtung des Weges zeigen, den wir in der neuen Ordnung gehen werden. Das genügt.” (Hielscher, Friedrich. *Das Reich*. Berlin: Das Reich, 1931. Print. 374.)

“festumschriebene Ziele.”<sup>764</sup> However, as Jünger points out, the ‘Planlandschaft’ is yet another temporally limited “Übergangszustand” on the road to the actual ‘Herrschaft des Arbeiters.’<sup>765</sup> It differs from the ‘Werkstättenlandschaft,’ in as much, as it anticipates and prepares the decisive confrontation; i.e. it denotes the status quo ante: “Hier findet der Marsch in einer Reihe von Etappen statt, die zu generalstabsmäßig errechneten Zeiten zu erreichen sind.”<sup>766</sup> This is to say that the worker marches towards the front lines, where “die Aufmärsche und Operationen, durch die sich der Einsatz der Menschen und Mittel vollzieht [...] den Stempel der Arbeit als Lebensstil [tragen].”<sup>767</sup> Here, near the end of *Der Arbeiter* when Jünger considers the ‘Planlandschaft,’ he seemingly relinquishes some of the semantic vagueness that is characteristic of most parts of his essay; yet, he re-emphasizes the perpetual dynamic character, which he now presents as inherent to any ‘plan.’ He writes: “Schon das Wort *Plan* deutet an, daß es sich hier um eine veränderliche Landschaft handelt.”<sup>768</sup> However, at this point he appears to attempt to be more specific in his elaborations. He states at the very beginning of section 78: “Daß der Plan sich als eine Rüstungsmaßnahme darstellt, geht bereits aus der Feststellung hervor, daß Macht in unserem Raume als Repräsentation der Gestalt des Arbeiters erkannt werden muß.”<sup>769</sup> And he furthermore seems to specify the characteristic traits of the ‘Planlandschaft:’ namely, “Geschmeidigkeit,” “Abgeschlossenheit,”<sup>770</sup> and “Rüstung.”<sup>771</sup> However, he

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<sup>764</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 289.

<sup>765</sup> Ibid. 288.

<sup>766</sup> Ibid. 289.

<sup>767</sup> Ibid. 299.

<sup>768</sup> Ibid. 309.

<sup>769</sup> Ibid. 302.

<sup>770</sup> Ibid. 303.

<sup>771</sup> Ibid. 309.

neither defines one of these repeatedly surfacing watchwords clearly, nor does he specify that which is to follow the ‘Planlandschaft.’ Instead, he once more highlights the omnipresence of work and war, or war as work respectively: “Es gibt hier [bei der Rüstung] kein, und sei es noch so spezielles, Mittel, das nicht zugleich Machtmittel, das heißt: Ausdruck des totalen Arbeitscharakters ist.”<sup>772</sup> Or, as for the latter equation: “Der Krieg als ein Urelement entdeckt hier einen neuen Raum – er entdeckt die besondere Dimension der Totalität, die den Bewegungen des Arbeiters zugeordnet ist.”<sup>773</sup> Similarly, he pretends to conclusively define ‘Macht,’ when in fact, he remains rather vague: “Im 20. Jahrhundert [...] besitzt man Macht, insofern man die Gestalt des Arbeiters repräsentiert und damit Zugang zu der dieser Gestalt zugeordneten Dimension des Totalen gewinnt.”<sup>774</sup> Taken together, this means that Jünger attempts to conclusively construct a ‘Machtraum’ with the ‘Arbeiter’ as ‘Machthaber’ without ever actually defining either the determinatum or the determinans of the former compound.

What remains is the realization that *Der Arbeiter* takes the position as the concluding publication and the culmination point of an era during which Jünger was persistently – albeit not necessarily always consistently – working against the Weimar democracy by aiming at engendering subversive action. With his 1932 essay, Jünger was seeking the decisive confrontation in the war he conducted for some 17 years by means of writing; yet, his essay has a preparatory “Aufmarschcharakter” at best.<sup>775</sup> Put

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<sup>772</sup> Ibid. 303.

<sup>773</sup> Ibid.

<sup>774</sup> Ibid. 305.

<sup>775</sup> Ibid. 309.

differently, *Der Arbeiter* is conceived to prepare a decisive confrontation without ever conceptualizing the actual proceedings of it or of its aftermath; viz. it is formulated programmatically, yet, its meaning always withholds itself “as a ‘not yet’ in the process of expression,” as Marcus Bullock aptly put it.<sup>776</sup> Its “Wirkung” thus has to be understood, comparable to that “eines Geschosses mit Verzögerung,” as Jünger assesses in and regarding his essay “Über den Schmerz.”<sup>777</sup> Accordingly, Jünger postulates the strategic goal without explaining the tactical marching route: “Das Ziel, in dem sich die Anstrengungen treffen, besteht in der planetarischen Herrschaft als dem höchsten Symbol der neuen Gestalt.”<sup>778</sup> Having postulated this goal in the penultimate chapter, Jünger turns to his “Schluss,” where – in less than one page – he explains that it is currently impossible to go any further in conceptualizing the ‘imperiale Herrschaft’ than he already did. This is the case, because, following Jünger, whatever will ensue is “außerhalb der Vergleichsmöglichkeiten,” which consequently has to lead to the fact that one has “noch keine Vorstellung” of that which is yet to come.<sup>779</sup> Peter Koslowski thus rightly observes: “Das wozu seiner [des Arbeiters] Herrschaft liegt im Dunkeln.”<sup>780</sup> And it would remain left in the dark, since *Der Arbeiter* is one of the very few texts by Ernst Jünger, which he would never rework. Taken together and with one eye on his three-stage model, Jünger

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<sup>776</sup> Bullock, Marcus Paul. “Flight Forward: The World of Ernst Jünger’s Worker.” In: *Utopian Studies*, Vol. 23.2 (2012), 450-471. Here: 459. For an insightful examination of Jünger’s ‘teleopoiesis’ based on the future anterior, cf. also Auer, Michael. “Die Zeit des Planetarischen: *Future Anterior*.” In: Michael Auer. *Wege zu einer planetarischen Linientreue? Meridiane zwischen Jünger, Schmitt, Heidegger und Celan*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 2013. Print. 57-62.

<sup>777</sup> “Über den Schmerz.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Betrachtungen zur Zeit. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 143-191. Here: 146.

<sup>778</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 310.

<sup>779</sup> *Ibid.* 310.

<sup>780</sup> Cf. Koslowski, Peter. *Der Mythos der Moderne. Die Philosophie Ernst Jüngers*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1991. Print. 76.

neither defined the actual terms of the *Herrschaft*, nor did he systematically determine the *Gestalt* of/or the *Arbeiter*. Whether this is the case, since he got caught up in a conflict due to which he would either have to give up his concept of the nation in order to achieve actual totality, or vice versa,<sup>781</sup> or whether he willfully operated in this way in order to underline the perpetual organic development towards that which is not yet determinable as opposed to the overly static political trench warfare of the moment, remains unfathomable. It is also feasible that he decided to omit the conceptualization of the third stage that ought to follow the ‘Werkstätten-’ and the ‘Planlandschaft,’ since the questions pertaining to the realization of a post-nationalist ‘Arbeitsstaat’ as a constant “Status, Stand, Zustand,” or as the “Ordnung schlechthin,”<sup>782</sup> as Jünger maintains in his “Adnoten zum Arbeiter” “Maxima – Minima,” would necessarily be thoroughly political in nature and thus out of place in a decidedly counter-political book.<sup>783</sup> Or, is *Der Arbeiter* initiating a discursive paradigm shift pertaining to the *Frage nach der Technik* by already foreshadowing a technophobia – or at least an opposition to the rising technocracy – that Jünger will gradually develop over the years following the Weimar Republic<sup>784</sup> in as much as his *Kriegstagebuch* entailed the seeds for the technophilia that was characteristic of his endeavours from 1915-1932? However that may be, Jünger remained

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<sup>781</sup> Cf. Schöning, Matthias. *Versprengte Gemeinschaft. Kriegsroman und intellektuelle Mobilmachung in Deutschland 1914-1933*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009. Print. 154.

<sup>782</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Maxima – Minima. Adnoten zum »Arbeiter«.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 319-396. Here: 332.

<sup>783</sup> Koslowski, Peter. *Der Mythos der Moderne. Die Philosophie Ernst Jüngers*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1991. Print. 65.

<sup>784</sup> Cf. e.g. *Gläserne Bienen*, where the ‘Vexierbild’ has taken over the narrative structure, as opposed to his Weimar writings, where the bi-directionality is at the heart of his literary operations. Cf. also his “Ansprache zu Verdun,” where he writes: “Damals, als wir uns in die Trichter preßten wähten wir noch, der Mensch sei starker als das Material. Das hat sich als Irrtum herausgestellt.” (Jünger, Ernst. “Ansprache zu Verdun am 24. Juni 1979.” *Ernst Jünger. SW 9. Essays I*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 527-533. Here: 530. Cf.

certain that “Der Weltstaat” would eventually come and replace the established way of thinking in nationalistic terms. In his eponymous essay from 1960 as well as in his 1964 “Adnoten zum »Arbeiter«,” he once more delineates a scenario for a future planetary state. This time, however, it is neither the result of an unheroic bourgeois ratio nor of a directed will (to power), but instead, it ensues from a global, demystifying civilization process; i.e. its development yields to the necessities, exacted by modernity.

As I have shown, up to and including *Der Arbeiter* Jünger was trying to fathom a way by which writing could serve him as a means for the continuation of war. He therefore varyingly described, narrated, re-contextualized, developed, and instrumentalized his experiences of the Great War. In all of his Weimar writings, Jünger was seeking ways at mediating the elementary, which, once fathomed, would allow striding through the ‘Magische Nullpunkt’ thus allowing for an actual future ‘*Gestaltung*.’ However, whilst his texts of the Weimar years were conceived as radical means for the continuation of war, they had to remain without definable consequences, because they necessarily continued to be tangential approximations of the elementary. Jünger’s perpetual issue revolved around attempts at (re-)presenting in writing that which is inherently unpronounceable in order to formulate a future oriented agenda; his attempts at first translating the ‘Sprache der Materialschlacht’ to the post-War situation to then continuously conceptualize a radicalism based on the non-verbal mutual understanding of the initiated, to trying to hypothesize a future *Herrschaft* of the *Arbeiter* without actually developing its conditions, thus had to fall short due to the paradox nature of Jünger’s core

endeavor; viz. he tried to realize his program on the basis of militantly mediating and developing his radical insights – e.g. the moment of sublime obliviousness during the moments of actual confrontation that distinguishes the ‘Krieger’ – which is inherently characterized by an ineffable *radix*. The final work under consideration, *Der Arbeiter*, is accordingly merely a further suspension of Jünger’s core problem, but not a solution to it. Granted, it does not have to be one. Ernst Jünger’s bi-directionally structured texts of the Weimar years are, as I have shown, all building on past experiences and insights that ought to further a subversion of the status quo, whilst divinatorily heralding a different future that keeps on receding further and further into the distance. Jünger’s literature of the period under consideration thus has to be understood as a prefiguration of an impending ‘not yet’ that is, qua definition, unforeseeable. When Jünger thus retrospectively laments his struggle as an author who tried to fathom the future based on the past – “Wissen und Dichtung. »Ist eine Ilias möglich mit Schießpulver?« (Karl Marx) Das traf mein Problem.”<sup>785</sup> – he only succeeds at describing the problematic from the subjective perspective of the author. What Jünger does not mention in the previous quote is that he succeeds at a ‘Verdichtung’ as prefiguration; i.e. his writing ought to performatively found a *communio* that will eventually not have to rely on the *communicatio* via texts anymore, since the latter shall instill a ‘Gefühl’ that facilitates action/work beyond the necessity of a kind of signification, which language is not capable of immediately providing in the first place. Jünger’s texts of the Weimar years were accordingly never conceived as another *Illiad*, but were always already determined

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<sup>785</sup> “Autor und Autorschaft.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Fassungen III. SW 16. Essays VIII*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-266. Here: 248.

“ein Fenster offenzulassen, das durch die Sprache nur umrahmt werden kann und das vom Leser durch eine andere Tätigkeit als die des Lesens ausgefüllt werden muss.”<sup>786</sup>

*Eine unsichere Zukunft liegt vor uns,  
denn wir wissen aus mancher Erfahrung,  
daß in Reserve zu kommen dasselbe bedeutet  
wie einer großen Schlacht entgegenzusehen.  
(Ernst Jünger. *Das Wäldchen* 125)*

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<sup>786</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 98.



## Conclusion

Ernst Jünger commences his examinations of the Weimar years with considerations regarding “das Wesen”<sup>787</sup> as it pertains to the “Sprache der Materialschlacht”<sup>788</sup> in such a way that he would be able to instrumentalize his “literarische Tätigkeit als Kriegsmittel,”<sup>789</sup> to then turn towards an understanding of language that allowed him to conceptualize a planetary ‘Sprache des Materials.’ As I have shown over the course of my dissertation, language was initially the very material through which Jünger aimed at the continuation of war, before reconsidering the former as the planetary manifestation of the mechanical-material. From his *Kriegstagebuch* to his debut novel *In Stahlgewittern*, throughout his ‘Politische Publizistik,’ and all the way to his concluding publication of the Weimar years – *Der Arbeiter* – Jünger therefore diagnoses certain (military-)historical as well as socio-cultural paradigm shifts which he (re-)presents according to his experiences from the front lines, which he postulates as paradigm shifts with regards to the material-technical realities, and which he concomitantly equates with principle changes regarding the capacities of language.

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<sup>787</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 104.

<sup>788</sup> Benjamin, Walter. “Theorien des deutschen Faschismus.” In: *Walter Benjamin, GS III. Kritiken und Rezensionen*. Ed. Hella Tiedemann-Bartels. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991. Print. 238-250. Here: 240.

<sup>789</sup> Ernst to F.G. Jünger, 12/30/1928. Quoted in: Berggötz, Sven Olaf. “Nachwort: Ernst Jünger und die Politik.” In: *Jünger, Ernst. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. by Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 834-878. Here: 836.

Initially, Jünger examined the nineteenth century bourgeois individual that merges in the passive soldierly ‘Wir’ at the very outset of the Great War. That it would eventually vanish is then due to the fact that it would never come to an actual understanding of the new kind of language with which it now sees itself confronted. As an example for this anachronistic encounter, Jünger chooses the first battle of Langemarck, which he turns into a symbol that stands for the relief of an old principle by a new one;<sup>790</sup> or, in other words, Langemarck turns into the paradigmatic locus where the old language was replaced by the ‘Sprache der Materialschlacht.’ Those soldiers who eventually come to ‘speak’ this language of the ‘Materialschlacht’ – i.e. those who are able to fully adapt to the new mechanical-material realities – are consequently able to reclaim their agency, which Jünger marks by separating the new and active ‘Krieger’ from the passive mass of soldiers.

From 1918 onwards, the ‘Krieger’ applied this newly acquired language to the functional principles of society. For Jünger, this process of translating the immediate front-line experience to the mechanics of society not only entails the claim to making the functionalities of the ‘Materialschlacht’ absolute, but it also includes the implicit prediction that the bourgeois individual would necessarily vanish due to its incapability of acquiring the new language. Here, at the moment when the ‘Sprache der Materialschlacht’ is applied to society as a whole, it turns into a means of totalization that allows for a reconceptualization of the functional principles of society along the lines of

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<sup>790</sup> Cf. e.g.: Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 113.

an all-encompassing ‘Sprache des Materials’ to which the initiated members of the postulated language-community are able to resort.

For Jünger, the crucial and all-permeating activity, which he sought out as the structuring focal point of his examinations and as the all-encompassing basic principle that is simultaneously thought to give structure to the ensuing new community, is ‘Arbeit.’ Furthermore, in order to fully activate the “potentielle[n]”<sup>791</sup> or “dynamischen Energien”<sup>792</sup> of ‘Arbeit,’ it has to become all-encompassing itself – viz. total. That is to say, the workday has to be comprised of 24 hours in order for everyone to be turned into the opportune type, who represents the *Gestalt des Arbeiters*; which is tantamount to saying: now, everyone has to learn the language of the material or otherwise perish.

Finally, the potential of the new worker-type to adapt to the mechanical-material realities is no longer limited to the defined “Raum” of a nation-state – or to any specified linguistic area – but it inherently bears a trans-border potential that culminates in the notion of the planetary “Arbeitsstaat,” where all borders have disappeared by definition.<sup>793</sup>

Following this line of argument, it has become clear that Jünger’s war, which he initially wanted to continue in opposition to the political stalemate of the Weimar years by means of a dynamic language that develops from the ‘Sprache der Materialschlacht’

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<sup>791</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Die totale Mobilmachung. In: »Krieg und Krieger.« Berlin 1930.” In: *Ernst Jünger. Politische Publizistik 1919-1933*. Ed. Sven Olaf Berggötz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. Print. 558-582. Here: 562.

<sup>792</sup> Ibid. 578.

<sup>793</sup> Jünger, Ernst. “Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt.” In: *Ernst Jünger. SW 10. Essays II*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2015. Print. 9-317. Here: 248.

into the planetary 'Sprache des Materials,' is supposed to result in a different kind of stasis itself. However, as soon as Jünger postulated the 'Arbeitsstaat' as invariable and final status with the 'Arbeiter' as its typical proponent, the mythological world of the titans was already looming large on the horizon.

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