

# POWER AND AUTHORITY IN THE MODERN WORLD 1919-1946

by Ken Webb

Here it is: the factual detail, the historiography, revision exercises and advice on how to construct written responses on Power and Authority 1919-46



# eBook

*“Everything you wanted to know about ‘Power and Authority 1919-1946’,  
but were afraid to ask.”*

# POWER AND AUTHORITY IN THE MODERN WORLD 1919-1946

by Ken Webb M.A. (Oxon), C.Ed

*Everything you wanted to know about Power and Authority  
1919-1946, but were afraid to ask*

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## About the author

Ken Webb was educated in the United Kingdom and graduated from the University of Oxford. He taught in several state schools before moving to Pymble Ladies' College where he taught Modern, Ancient and Extension History. In March 2008, he moved to Ravenswood School for Girls where he also taught the International Baccalaureate course in History. He is a member of the Independent Schools Examination Committee for Modern History. He frequently lectures and runs workshops for Year 12 and teacher groups in Sydney and Regional NSW. In addition to his own work, Ken Webb has contributed to colleagues' work and to newspapers and periodicals. He has also been a consultant on various history video documentaries. In 2012, Ken Webb was a NSW winner of the "National Excellence in Teaching" award.

Over the years, Ken Webb has written a wide range of study guides and textbooks for NSW and Australia wide, including *"The Age of Imperialism"* (Nelson Cengage Learning), *"Discovering Australian History"* (CUP), *"The Augustan Age 44 BC – AD 14"* (Get Smart Education), *"World War 1: From Sarajevo to Versailles"* (Nelson Cengage Learning), *"Extension History: The Historians"* (HTA of NSW), *"World War I"* (Nelson Cengage Learning), *"Spartan Society to the Battle of Leuctra 371 BC"* (Get Smart Education)

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## Author's note

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The purpose of this book – as with all titles in the “Everything you wanted to know about... but were afraid to ask” series – is to make life easy for students and teachers working their way through the ‘Core Topic’ section of Year 12 Modern History: Power and Authority 1919-1946. It is not intended to be the final word on *Power and Authority: 1919-1946*; nothing beats wide-reading and going back to the primary sources!

However, neither teachers nor students always have the time for such luxuries. Teachers have several other classes to worry about, not to mention a growing multitude of administrative and bureaucratic tasks to fulfill! Students have other subjects to study, and may also be burdened with a series of major works. Thus, “Everything you want to know...” steps in to make life easy.

The principal aims of this book are to:

- provide the essential factual detail needed to understand the topic;
- provide references to written and visual sources;
- provide an introduction to the essence of historiographical debate;
- provide ideas for approaching the types of questions that might appear when examined on Power and Authority 1919-1946.

## Rationale for the structure of this book

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“*Power and Authority 1919-1946*” is the Core Topic in the Modern History syllabus, introduced in 2018 and examined for the first time in 2019. The syllabus divides the topic as follows:

- Survey (focus on the post-WWI peace treaties and their consequences)
- Focus of study:
  - The rise of dictatorships after World War I
  - The Nazi regime to 1939
  - The search for peace and security in the world

These broad headings have been used to structure the book and have been broken down into sections closely based on the structure of the syllabus to make the topic more accessible to students. An additional section has been included on approaching the types of questions that could be set on this topic in the HSC examination.

## Suggestion for scope and sequencing of this topic

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The length of time spent on a topic such as Power and Authority 1919-1946 is at the discretion of the individual school. The syllabus recommends 30 indicative hours (as it does for each of the other three topics comprising Modern History at the HSC). What follows are suggestions based on past experience and the construction of the new NSW Modern History syllabus commencing in 2018-19.

- The final topic to be studied in Year 11 Modern History will almost certainly be from “The Shaping of the Modern World” section of the syllabus.
  - Most schools will probably study “World War I” in that section.
- As a result of this, it is logical to commence Year 12 study with Power and Authority 1919-1946.
  - The World War I topic ends with “the nature and legacy of World War I”, part of which will involve an examination of the post-World War I peace settlement.
  - The Survey Topic which opens the Power and Authority 1919-1946 topic comprises an overview of the post-World War I peace settlement and its consequences.
- The order in which the other three HSC topics will be studied will depend on the topics that individual schools choose.

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## Section One ■ Survey

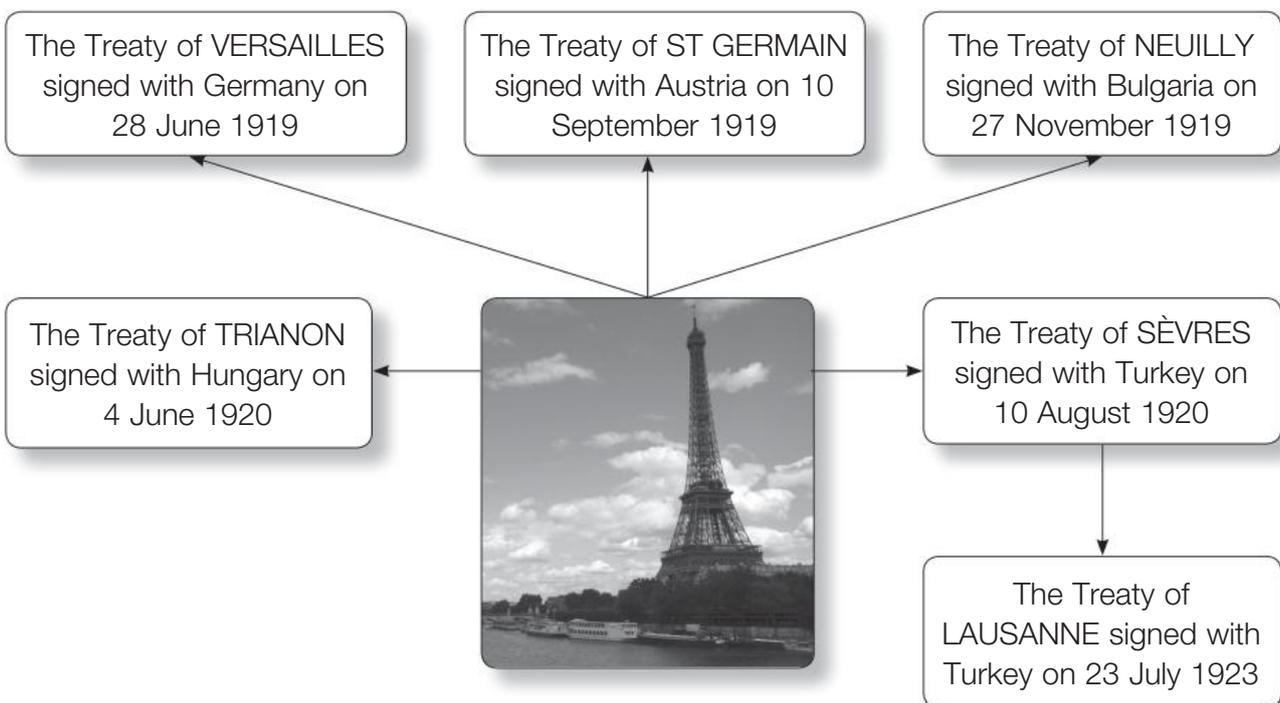
### Chapter One

# The post-World War I peace treaties

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World War I finally came to an end with the signing of the armistice on 11 November 1918. The peace conference called to determine the nature of the post-war settlement, was held in Paris from January 1919 to August 1920. <sup>1</sup> The post-war peace settlement comprised five (and later six) separate treaties. These are shown in Figure 1.1.

**Figure 1.1 The post-World War I peace settlement**



Few delegates left the Paris Peace Conference satisfied. The French Premier, Georges Clemenceau, had sought revenge on Germany, compensation and security. He believed that Germany had been let off too lightly in the Treaty of Versailles. United States President, Woodrow Wilson, believed that the peace settlement had been too vindictive and lacked idealism. British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, was unhappy at the economic provisions which would hinder Germany's economic recovery. Italy's Vittorio Orlando believed his country had not been properly rewarded for the enormous sacrifices it had made during the war. Germany saw Versailles as a humiliating slave treaty which it would not accept. <sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The peacemaking process would actually continue until July 1923 because the new nationalist government of Turkey, led by Mustapha Kemal, demanded a revision of the earlier treaty Turkey had been forced to sign.

<sup>2</sup> The consequences of the post-World War I treaties will be examined in Chapter Two.

## The Treaty of Versailles

Germany was not allowed to negotiate the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and was forced to sign or else face a possible resumption of hostilities. Figure 1.2 outlines the treaty's main provisions.

Figure 1.2 The Treaty of Versailles

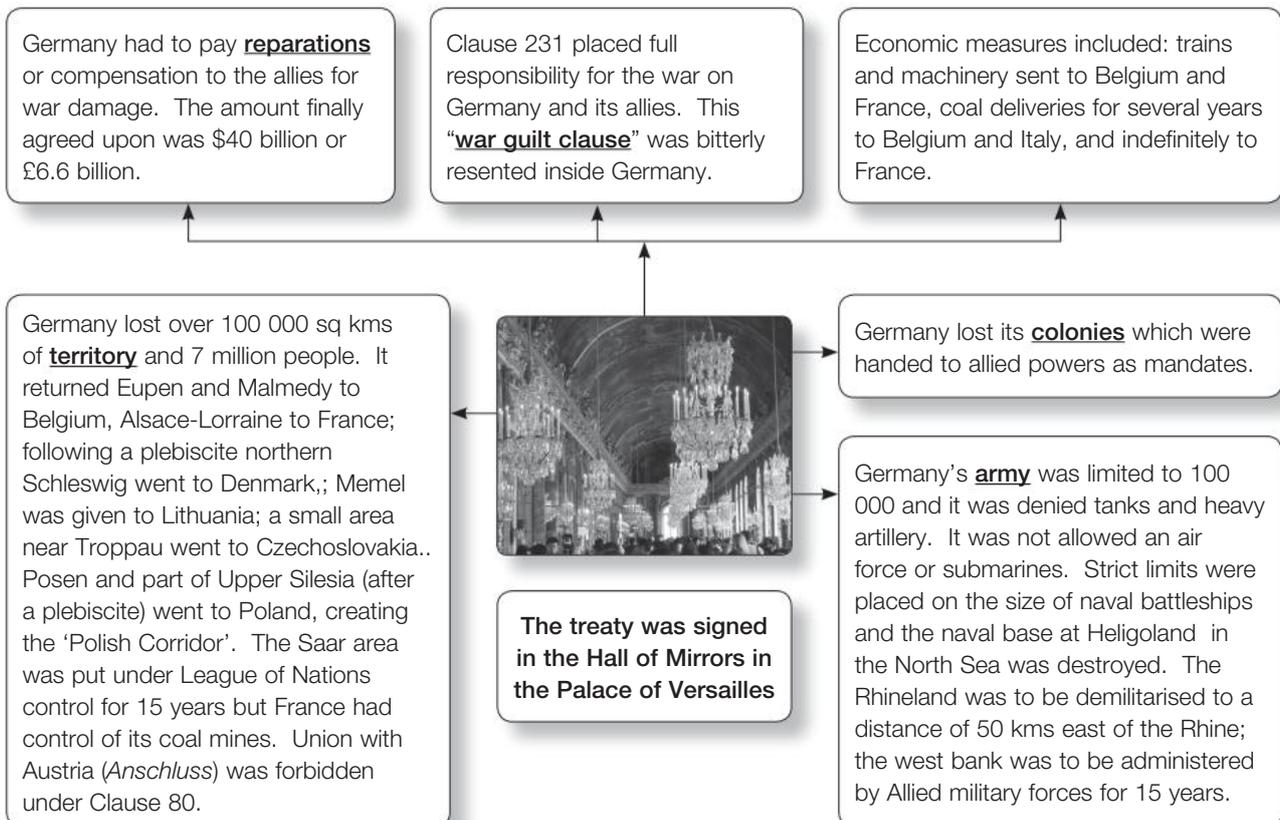


Figure 1.3 Germany territorial losses in Europe after the Treaty of Versailles

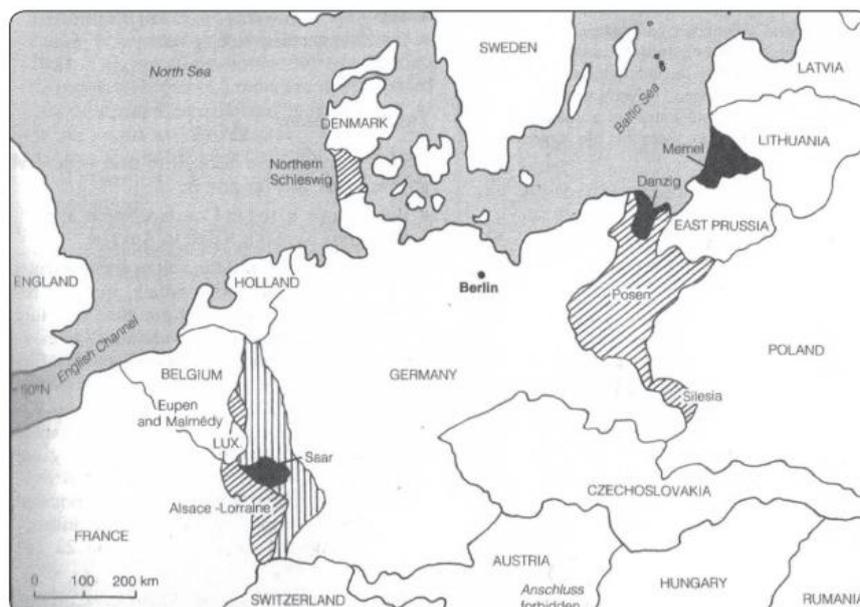
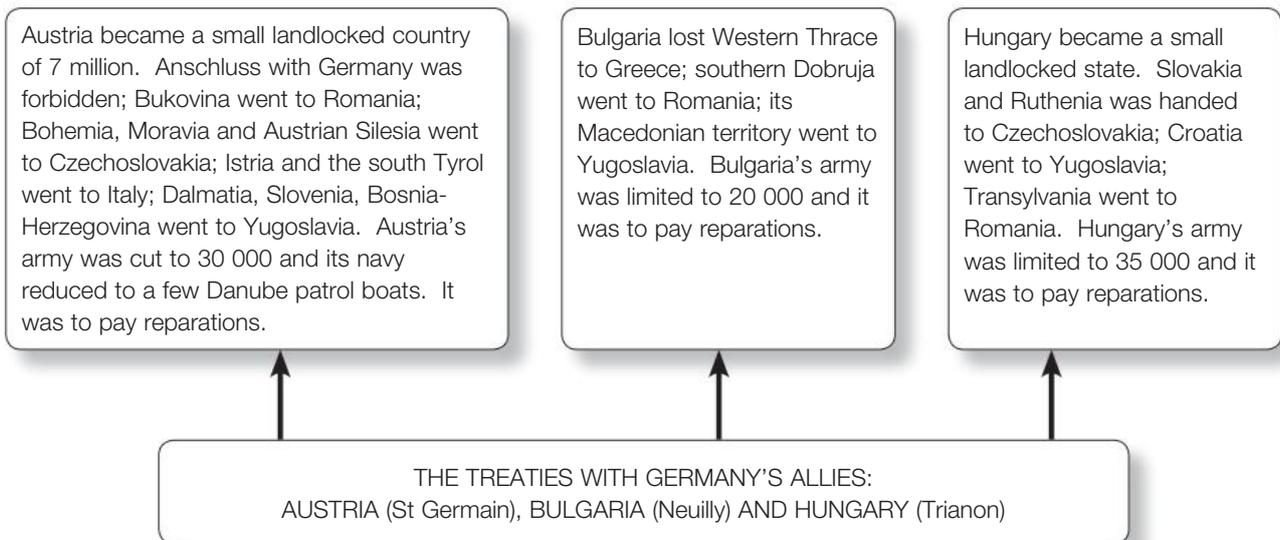


Figure 1.4 summarises the main points of the treaties signed with Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary.



Germany's other defeated ally, **Turkey**, proved more difficult to deal with. After the war, two governments were vying in power in Turkey: the Sultan's based in Constantinople and Mustapha Kemal's based in Ankara. On 10 August 1920, the Sultan's regime signed the Treaty of Sèvres.

- This treaty limited the Sultan's army to 50 000, placed major restrictions on the Turkish navy and placed
- Turkey's financial affairs were placed under allied control.
- Wartime agreements between Britain and France (the Sykes-Picot agreement, 1916) had predetermined the fate of the Ottoman Empire's 'Middle East' possession:
  - Britain would end up taking Palestine and Iraq as mandates; France would end up taking Syria and Lebanon.
- The independence of the Hejaz Kingdom of Arabia was recognised.
- 'Zones of influence' in Turkey were granted to Italy, Greece and France.

However, the Treaty of Sèvres was soon invalidated as Mustapha Kemal's forces gained control of the country, and succeeded in pushing allied forces out of the Straits region and defeated Greek forces that had occupied Smyrna in Anatolia. Kemal demanded a rewriting of the Sèvres treaty; the result was the Treaty of Lausanne, signed on 23 July 1923. Mustapha Kemal was a Turkish nationalist, not an Ottoman imperialist and this was reflected in the new treaty.

- Turkey retained all of Anatolia, Constantinople and eastern Thrace.
- All claims to Arab territories were dropped and the Anglo-French mandates were confirmed.
- The Straits were demilitarised.
- No limits were placed on Turkey's military and it did not have to pay reparations.

**Exercise 1.1** Answer the following questions in the spaces provided.

1	Why was Clemenceau unhappy with the Treaty of Versailles?	
2	Why was Orlando dissatisfied with the post-war settlement?	
3	Why was Germany so angry about Clause 231 of the Versailles Treaty?	
4	In what ways was Germany's military power weakened in the Treaty of Versailles?	
5	What were reparations?	
6	Define the term Anschluss.	
7	What happened to Germany's colonial empire after the war?	
8	What was Austria's territorial position after St Germain?	
9	What happened to Austria's military power after St Germain?	
10	To which countries did Bulgaria lose territory?	
11	At what level was Bulgaria's army limited in the Treaty of Neuilly?	
12	What treaty did Hungary sign with the allies?	
13	What territories did Hungary lose and to whom?	
14	Which of Germany's allies eventually was not forced to pay reparations?	
15	Which two regimes were vying for power in Turkey in 1920?	
16	Name the treaty that Turkey was forced to sign in 1920.	
17	What happened to Turkey Middle East territories after the war?	
18	Which country was driven out of Smyrna by Turkey by 1922?	
19	What treaty did Turkey agree to sign in 1923?	
20	In 1923, what treaty limits were placed on Turkey's army?	

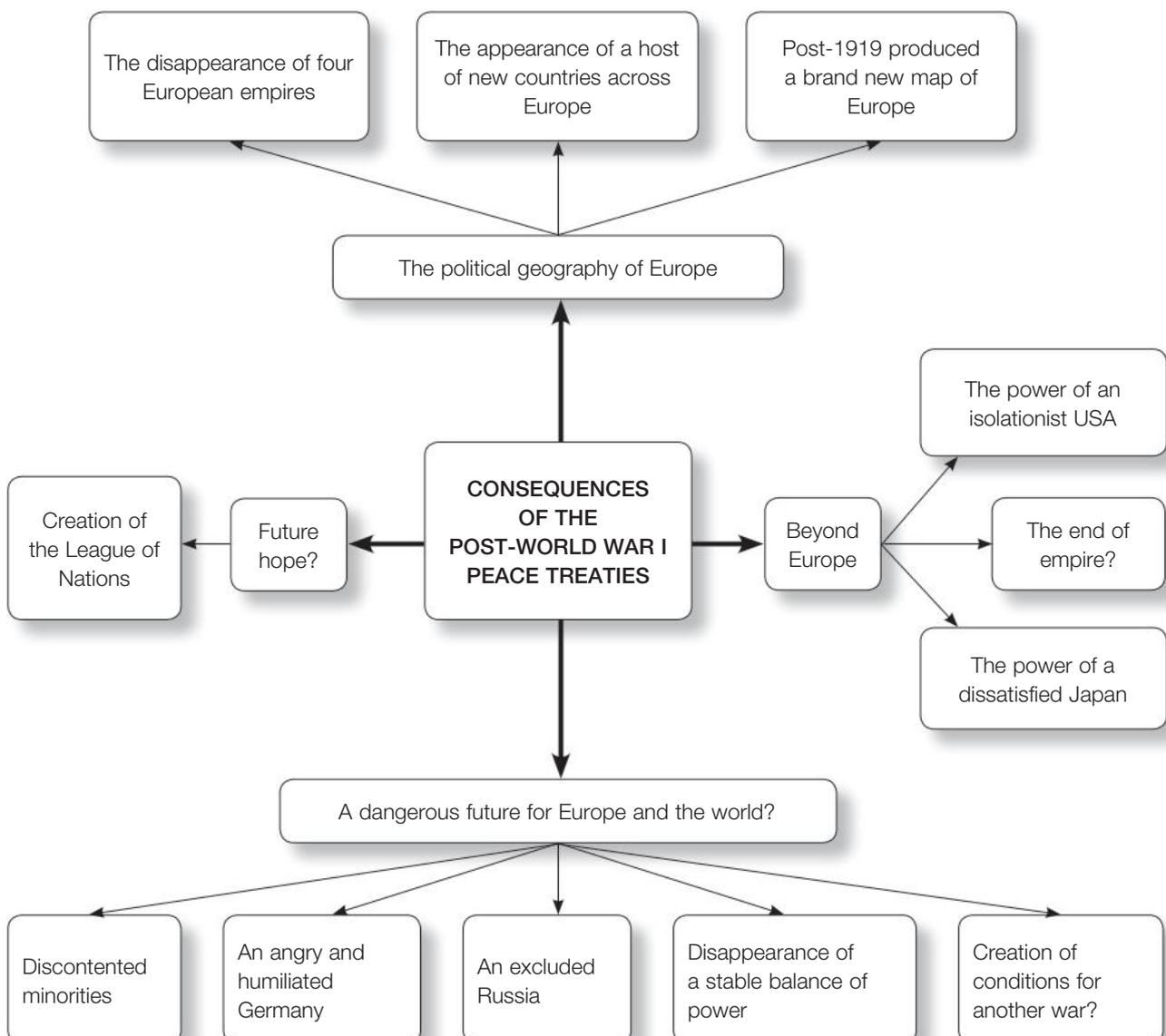
# Chapter Two

## Consequences of the post-World War I peace treaties

The world which arose from the aftermath of World War I and the subsequent peace treaties was vastly different than the world which entered the war. Grandiose statements have frequently been employed to describe the impact of the war and the peace settlement: “the 19th century ended in 1914, not 1900”; “the Treaty of Versailles made another war a certainty”; at the time people talked of “the war to end all wars”; others referred to “the end of empire”. None of these statements is entirely true but as with most observations they contain a kernel of truth.

Figure 2.1 below lists some of the consequences of the post-World War I peace treaties. Some of these will be examined in a more detail below.

**Figure 2.1**                      **Consequences of the post-World War I peace treaties**

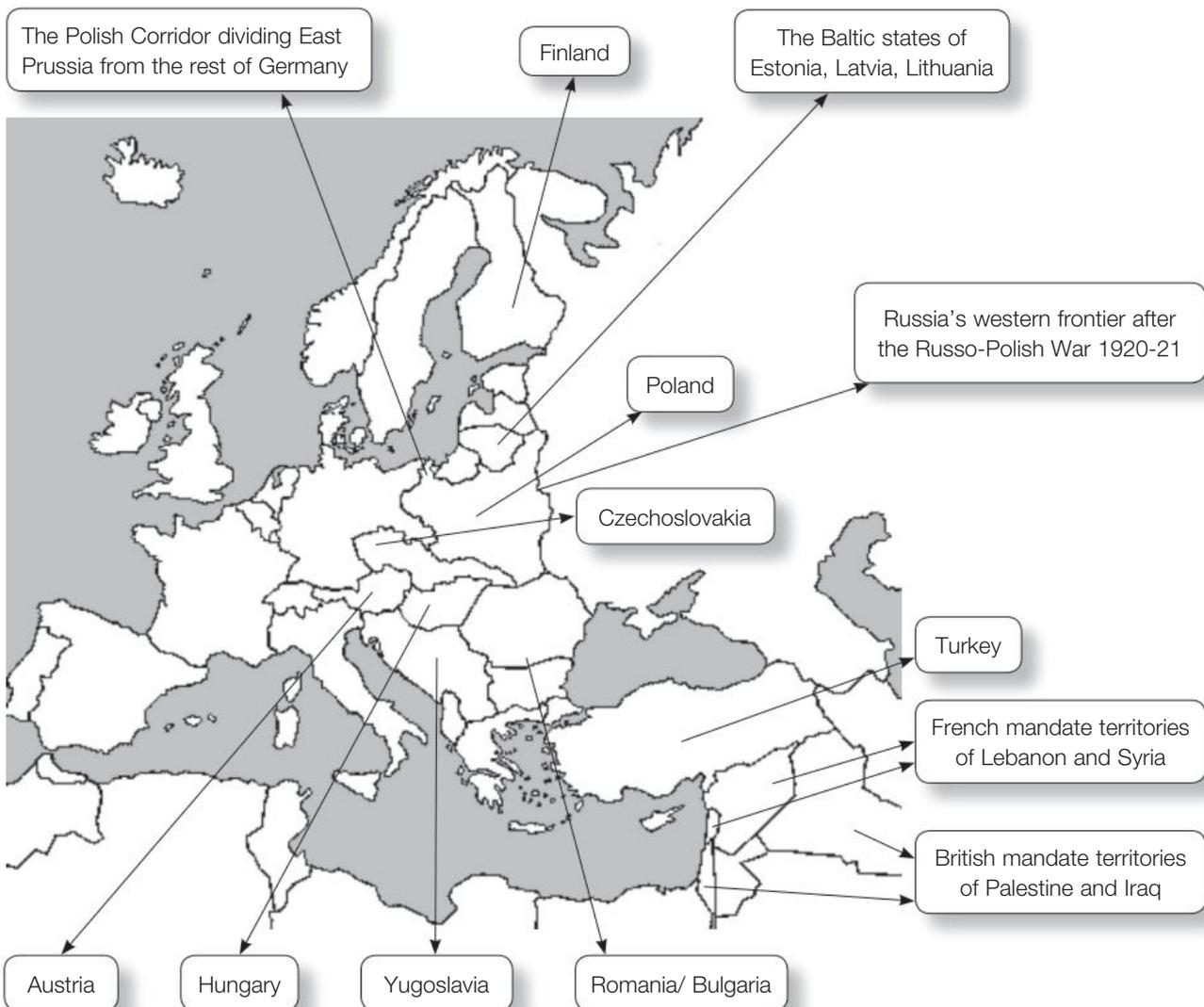


## The political geography of Europe

The most dramatic impact of the peace treaties was the change to the political geography of Europe. Some of this change had occurred even before the delegates arrived in Paris as nationalist groups in central and eastern Europe moved to grab territory in the chaos that accompanied the end of the war. Short of resuming hostilities, the Paris peacemakers had little choice but to accept what had already happened on the ground.

Four empires disappeared: the Hohenzollern Empire of Germany, the Hapsburg Empire of Austria-Hungary, the Romanov Empire of Russia and the Ottoman Empire. In their place came a host of new countries. These included: Finland, the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, a resurrected Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Austria and Hungary became small, powerless landlocked states, Romania almost doubled in size while Bulgaria shrunk. Russia's western frontier was pushed eastward, as much the result of its unsuccessful war with Poland (1920-21) as of decisions made at Paris. Germany was smaller and now split in two as the Polish Corridor cut off East Prussia from the rest of the country. Turkey was to cling on to a small corner of Europe west of the Straits. Figure 2.1 shows the political geography of Europe after the post-WWI peace treaties.

**Figure 2.1** Europe after the post-WWI treaties



## Future hope

US President Wilson had hoped that the peace treaties, coming in the wake of the catastrophe of the war, would bring in ‘a new world order’. Wilson was credited with the phrase “the war to end all wars”, though the British writer H G Wells had written a book in 1911 called *“The War That Will End War”*. However, Wilson’s idealistic hopes were soon to be dashed. The post-war world was swept with violence from Ireland to the Near East, to India and beyond. Germany was to face several years of political violence before its new democratic system was able to experience a brief period of peace and stability. Russia became engulfed in a bloody civil war that would continue until early 1921. There were to be frequent conflicts within and between several of the new states that were formed after 1919.

In January 1918, Wilson gave a speech to the US Congress in which he presented “14 Points”, which he hoped might become the basis of achieving peace with Germany. Wilson’s fourteenth point called for a “League of Nations”. Wilson’s thinking was that if there had existed an international body before 1914, in which nations could discuss their differences, then war might have been avoided. The League of Nations will be examined more fully in Chapter Nineteen.

## Beyond Europe

The United States had not entered the war until April 1917, and its military presence was not to be felt until mid-1918, though its naval power was significant almost immediately. World War I produced few winners but the United States certainly came out of the conflict stronger than ever.

- European nations were now deeply indebted to the US.
- While Britain and France were involved in a life and death struggle with Germany, the US had been able to grab many of their overseas markets.
- The US had lost over 100 000 men in the war but its homeland had not been touched.

However, despite its decisive role in the war and the plaudits that US servicemen had earned, the United States had no desire to pursue a world-wide role.

- The sentiment inside the United States was very much “bring the boys home” and “we were conned into getting involved in this bloody war”.
- Wilson’s Democrat Party had lost control of the Senate in the November 1918 Congressional elections. Wilson might sign The Treaty of Versailles but the US Senate had to ratify the treaty.
- Due to a combination of poor health, loss of domestic political control and rising isolationist sentiment within the US, Wilson failed to realise his hopes for a future international US role. The senate refused to ratify Treaty of Versailles and the United States never joined the League of Nations.

The United States reverted to its traditional isolationist foreign policy. The country turned inwards, preferring to focus on domestic concerns and issues relating to its immediate neighbourhood in Latin America. Though it would participate in global economic life and attended international gatherings, American isolationist foreign policy would not truly come

to an end until the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbour in December 1941 forced them into World War II.

**Japan** had already proven its military prowess with its defeat of Russia in 1905. In World War I it was ally of the entente powers and was accepted as a major power at the Paris Peace Conference. The war and the post-WWI peace treaties had a mixed impact on Japan.

- It had been able to assert increasing control over China as seen in its 21 Demands of 1915 and taking over German concessions there.
- Like the United States, it had been able to take over some of the Asian markets formerly dominated by Britain and France.
- Japan gained mandates over Germany's former north Pacific colonies – the Caroline, Marshall and Mariana Islands.
- However, it was greatly offended by the denial of a racial equality clause being inserted in the peace treaties.

**Across the world**, nationalist feeling was growing. This was seen most clearly inside Europe as Poles, Slavs and Czechs finally achieved nationhood. However, there was also a growing sense of national feeling inside the colonies of the imperial powers. The Vietnamese nationalist leader, Ho Chi Minh, spoke at the Paris Conference and wanted to know why national self-determination<sup>1</sup> was accepted for Slavs and Poles, but not for the Vietnamese who sought their freedom from France.

- This rise of nationalism within the European empires had led historians to see the beginnings of the “the end of empire”. However, it would take another generation and another war before these nationalist aspirations would be fully realised..
- In fact, as Britain and France took control of former German colonies and Ottoman territories, their empires had never been larger.

## A dangerous future for Europe and the world?

A major factor leading to tension inside Europe before 1914 was the desire of national groups in central and eastern Europe to have ‘self-determination’. Wilson believed that satisfying this desire would produce a more peaceful and harmonious Europe. As a result, the map of Europe was redrawn, largely in an attempt to satisfy the demands for self-determination. Evidence of this can be seen in the re-creation of Poland<sup>2</sup>, and the creation of new states such as Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. However, lines on a map rarely coincide with realities on the ground. The result was that many **minority groups** were forced to live in nations that they did not want to.

- Millions of Hungarians were now forced into Romania.
- Germans found themselves forced to live in Poland and Czechoslovakia and *Anschluss* was denied.
- Border regions across Europe contained a vast array of mixed populations.

<sup>1</sup> Self-determination is the right of a national group to rule themselves. It was a principle promoted by Wilson.

<sup>2</sup> Poland had been partitioned between Austria, Russia and Prussia (Germany) at the end of the 18th century.

This was to cause major problems in the future. Were these minorities to be citizens of the new nation states? Would they agitate to join another country? Would nations be willing to fight to “bring home” their people? Could this bring on war?

The vast majority of **Germans** rejected the Versailles Treaty from the start. All German politicians sought its destruction. The Weimar Republic’s acceptance of Versailles would do much to harm its progress both politically and economically.<sup>3</sup> **Russia** played no part in the peace talks, embroiled as it was in a bloody civil war and then conflict with Poland. In the short term, Russia was to be preoccupied with internal issues; in the longer term, Russia would also seek revision of the peace settlement, but this was another war away.

Following the peace treaties, Europe’s **balance of power** became unstable and did not reflect international reality. Though Versailles had attempted to weaken it, Germany was geographically, and potentially economically, still the dominant power in Europe. Russia was, temporarily removed from the European balance, and the US had decided on an isolationist path. The result was the ‘dominant’ powers inside Europe were now Britain and France. However, this did not reflect reality and was a situation that could not last and in the longer term only lead to instability. Britain and France found themselves in this position by default.<sup>4</sup> Neither power was suited to being the arbiters of Europe’s destiny. Several factors explain this:

- the war had devastated their economies and they found themselves massively indebted.
- wartime casualties were in the millions; France’s population in the 1930s (about 40 million) was dwarfed by Germany’s (approaching 70 million).
- the imperial arrangements made in the peace treaties meant that both nations were now extended globally far more than they could afford.

In essence, Britain and France had become second rate powers. The fact that their relations were greatly strained during the 1920s, over such issues as reparations and how to deal with Germany, only served to weaken their ‘dominance’.

Did the peace treaties of 1919 make **another war inevitable**? The simple answer is no as nothing in history is inevitable. However, it is undeniable that given time and the right circumstances, dissatisfied nations, such as Germany and Italy, would seek to revise the peace settlement, if not by negotiation then perhaps by using force.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter Seven.

<sup>4</sup> These issues will be addressed in Chapter Seventeen.

## What do the historians think of the “Consequences of the post-World War I treaties”?

### 1. John Terraine: *The Mighty Continent*

Terraine describes the territorial arrangements in Eastern Europe and makes the point that minority issues were ever present. He describes the new Czechoslovakia as a Hapsburg Empire in miniature, containing as it did Hungarians, Ruthenes, Poles, Romanians, and three million Germans. As for the Polish corridor that now separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany:

*“...A monument facing the Corridor on the German side bore the inscription: ‘Never forget Germans of what blind hatred robbed you!’ The great French soldier, Marshal Foch, said of the Corridor: ‘There lies the root of the next war’...”*<sup>5</sup>

### 2. Eric Hobsbawm: *Age of Extremes*

Hobsbawm argues that the peace settlement could not last. America’s decision to pursue isolationism, and the assumption that Germany and the Soviet Union did not exist as independent players, meant that any international system based on Britain and France could simply not last.

*“...the Versailles settlement could not possibly be the basis of a stable peace. It was doomed from the start, and another war was therefore practically certain...”*<sup>6</sup>

### 3. Richard Overy: *The Inter-War Crisis*

Overy outlines the disillusionment felt after the peace treaties. Millions of Europeans were not happy about where they now lived. However, it was not only the defeated nations and national minorities who were unhappy with the peace treaties.

*“...Italy complained that it was not rewarded sufficiently for participating on the allied side, and Japan was deeply offended by the western states’ refusal to include a clause on racial discrimination... It was a treaty that almost no one liked except Britain and France...”*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Terraine, J, *The Mighty Continent*, BBC, London, 1974, p 168

<sup>6</sup> Hobsbawm, E, *Age of Extremes*, Michael Joseph, London, 1994, p 34

<sup>7</sup> Overy, R, *The Inter-War Crisis*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2017, p 83

**Exercise 2.1** Indicate whether each of the following statement is true or false.

1	The political map of Europe was left more or less unchanged as a result of the Paris peace treaties.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	Russia played no part at all in the negotiations at the Paris peace conference of 1919.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	Austria and Hungary became two small, powerless, landlocked states as a result of the peace treaties.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	The United States was keen to continue its internationalist role after the Paris peace conference.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	Japan had made few gains as a result of its participation in the war and the Paris peace conference.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	As a result of the peace treaties, Britain and France now controlled empires larger than at any time in their history.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	The application of the principle of self-determination in the peace treaties produced significant problems in Europe.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	Though the majority of Germans did not like the Versailles Treaty they accepted it with good grace.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	After the Paris peace conference, Britain and France found themselves temporarily dominant in Europe.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	It was certain that another war was inevitable following the Paris peace conference.	TRUE/ FALSE

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# Notes

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## **Chapter Three**

# **What conditions made possible the rise of interwar dictators?**

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### **Introduction**

In 1914, the majority of Europeans lived under non-democratic regimes. Some of these regimes had democratic institutions, but they were clearly not democratic in the sense that Britain or France or Sweden was. Germany and Austria-Hungary were authoritarian states though they contained a façade of democracy, having a parliament and elections. The shambolic Ottoman Empire attempted to be authoritarian. Tsar Nicholas II of Russia stubbornly held on to his autocratic power.

The war and its aftermath saw the demise of these four authoritarian empires. Russia was convulsed with civil war between 1918 and 1921, and out of this bloody conflict the Bolsheviks emerged victorious. Lenin's dictatorship ruled without opposition. Turkey came under the one party rule of Mustapha Kemal, later known as Ataturk.

However, the rest of Europe embraced a democratic style of government in one form or another. Democracy was not always efficient and had a record of stumbling; such had been the case in France, Spain and Italy. Yet from the Baltic states to Belgium to Britain, in the early 1920s, it really did seem that one could talk of 'the triumph of democracy'. Britain's dominions, the United States and Japan could also point to democratic forms of government.

Yet by the mid-1930s, most of Europe had once again fallen under the control of authoritarian, one party/ one man rule.

There are two ways this development can be considered.

- Firstly, it could be argued that there were conditions across Europe conducive to the growth of dictatorships. Such factors might include the impact of World War I and economic depression.
- Secondly, it could be argued that as each nation that became a dictatorship was unique, it is necessary to examine each nation on a case by case basis.

This chapter will focus primarily on the Europe-wide factors which facilitated the development of dictatorship. Russia will be examined in Chapter Four, Italy in Chapter Five and Japan in Chapter Six. The main focus of this book is the Nazi dictatorship which will be examined in Chapters Seven to Seventeen.

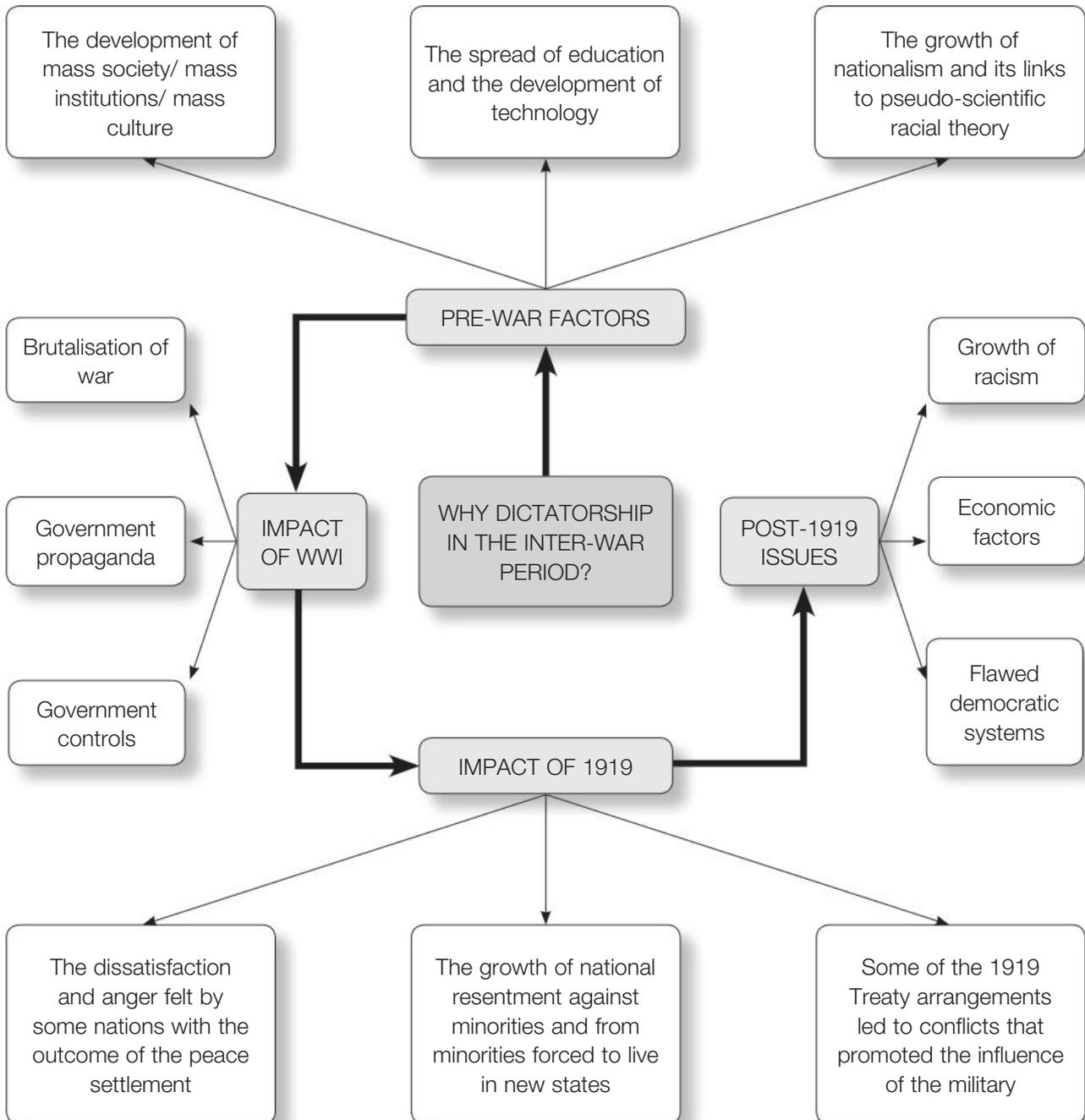
(A random thought: Is history repeating itself? Following the collapse of communism, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the demise of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s/ early 1990s, it was believed that democracy had once again triumphed in Europe. A look at Europe in mid-2018 sees a revival of authoritarian-style regimes in Russia, Hungary and Turkey. Right-wing groups are gaining ground across Europe, particularly in Austria, Poland, Germany and Italy...)

### Europe-wide factors which facilitated the rise of dictatorships

Figure 3.1 below, outlines some of the factors that made possible the rise of dictatorship across Europe. These are factors which affected all nations that evolved into a dictatorship to one degree or another.

Some of these issues will be explained more fully below.

Figure 3.1 Why dictatorship in the inter-war period?



## Why dictatorship?

Mass politics and mass society became a feature of many countries before 1914. As basic education spread, there was an explosion in the mass media, primarily newspapers. Political parties were being formed on a mass basis. There were mass trade unions; mass consumerism was becoming a feature of commercial life. This social development occurred against a background of rapid technological growth.

- Mass society and modern technology would not create dictatorship.
  - However, they created an environment that made the rise of dictatorship possible by providing the means for large-scale political activity and the dissemination of radical ideas.
  - These factors would come into play after the war.
- The 19th century saw an enormous growth in nationalism. It also saw the rise and spread of racist thinking linked to pseudo-scientific theories.<sup>1</sup>
  - The growth of the media, basic education and technology would make possible the propagation of such thinking after the war.
  - Outside of Russia, all inter-war dictatorships would be nationalist in one form or another, with some embracing a racial ideology.

World War I certainly assisted the future rise of dictatorships.

- As nations pursued a policy of 'total war' at home, populations became used to government controls and government interference in people's daily life.
  - This could be seen the steady expansion of Britain DORA legislation and Germany's War Precautions Act.
- War changed people. Many men had been brutalised by the conflict.
  - Some returning veterans would join para-military groups after the war and in many countries politics became much more violent: factors conducive to the rise of dictatorships.
- Mass wartime propaganda had proven how easy it was to brainwash people into thinking a certain way. These were lessons learned by future dictators.

It can also be argued that the post-war peace settlement also created conditions in some countries for the rise of dictatorship.

- Some populations, angered by 1919, were easy targets for radical nationalist figures promising to rip up the treaties.
  - Italy and Germany are obvious examples.
- The presence of minorities in new countries and the growing prevalence of racist thinking of the time provided easy scapegoats for parties espousing nationalism, and even racial cleansing.
- Military figures became able to prey on internal and international conflict to promote themselves. Military figures would come to rule Poland (Pilsudski), Hungary (Horthy) and Spain (Franco).

<sup>1</sup> Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) encouraged some people to develop notions of racial hierarchy and racial superiority. The notion of 'survival of the fittest' convinced some that there were superior races that were destined to dominate inferior races. See Chapter Nine for how this affected Germany.

Developments during the 1920s and beyond further added to an environment that made the rise of dictatorships possible.

- Many of the new constitutions that appeared across Europe were very democratic: too democratic.
  - The prevalence of systems of proportional representation was fair but often unworkable as no party ever won a majority. Coalitions became the normal form of government which were unstable and involving endless wrangling about ideas and positions.
  - Many people sought a system or a person who could transcend the petty politicking that came to dominant 1920s politics.
  - Demagogues appeared in many countries promising simple solutions to complex problems, playing on people's fears and insecurities.
- Economics was to play a major role in the rise of dictatorships.
  - Post-war recessions, the World Agricultural Depression from 1926 and finally the Great Depression after 1929 created mass distress that made the allure of strong-man rule very appealing to many people.
  - The depression would not put Hitler into power; however, without it he would not have gained power.<sup>2</sup>

### Exercise 3.1 Complete the following passage using the terms given below.

The development of \_\_\_\_\_ society, the spread of basic \_\_\_\_\_ and the spread of \_\_\_\_\_ combined to create an \_\_\_\_\_ that would assist the rise of dictatorships. The war \_\_\_\_\_ many men, which in turn resulted in politics becoming more \_\_\_\_\_ in the 1920s. Populations became more used to centralised \_\_\_\_\_ control and wartime \_\_\_\_\_ had shown how easy it was to brainwash people. Countries like \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ were angry at the 1919 peace settlement and radical, nationalist figures gained favour promising to \_\_\_\_\_ the treaties. National \_\_\_\_\_ became easy scapegoats to blame for a country's problems. This, plus the rise of \_\_\_\_\_ thinking added a sinister element to the appeal of nationalist \_\_\_\_\_. Some constitutions proved almost \_\_\_\_\_ as no political party could ever achieve a \_\_\_\_\_ which resulted in constant inter-party wrangling and political \_\_\_\_\_. Economic \_\_\_\_\_ led to massive distress which further added to the appeal of men promising \_\_\_\_\_ government.

Germany – strong – education – minorities – change – mass – demagogues – Italy – environment – violent – unworkable – depression – technology – propaganda – racist – brutalised – majority – government – instability -

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter Seven.

# Chapter Four

## Dictatorship in Russia

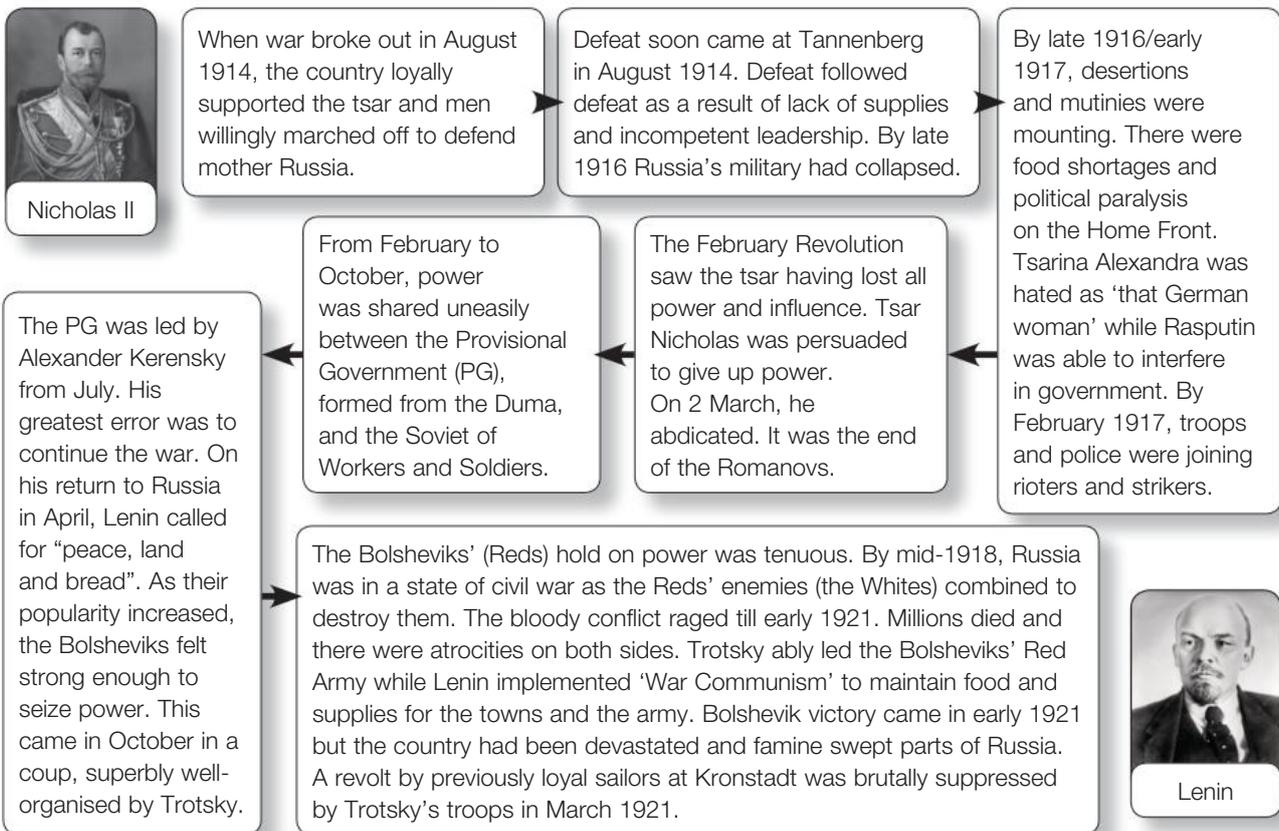
### Introduction

Russia was the first country to establish a lasting dictatorship in the inter-war period. It differed from other dictatorships in two significant ways:

- firstly, it was a 'left-wing' regime whereas all other inter-war dictatorships were right-wing, nationalist regimes;
- secondly, it was arguably one of only three which sought to implement a specific ideology.<sup>1</sup>
  - The early Bolsheviks/ Communists in Russia were idealists.
  - Their pursuit of their ideology of Marxism/ Leninism was aimed achieving the paradise of a classless communist society.

Few would have predicted the rise to power of the Bolshevik Party before the war. The Bolshevik leader, Lenin, was in exile in Switzerland, and most of the other leading Bolsheviks were either also in exile or languishing in Siberian prisons. The tsarist autocracy had its problems but nobody would have been looking to Lenin as Russia's future leader. The outbreak of war saw the country experience a wave of patriotic enthusiasm for god, tsar and mother Russia, if only briefly. Figure 4.1 summarises the events leading to the Bolshevik acquisition of power.

**Figure 4.1 The Bolsheviks rise to power**



<sup>1</sup> The other two would be Germany and Italy.

## From Lenin to Stalin

Lenin was 47 when the Bolsheviks seized power, and no doubt energised and excited about Russia's future despite the enormous hurdles that his regime faced. However, in late August 1918 he was shot by a member of the now banned Socialist Revolutionary Party, Fanny Kaplan. She would be shot a few weeks later.

Lenin survived the assassination attempt but his health never really recovered. By 1922 he was deteriorating and a series of strokes left him debilitated by 1923. He died in January 1924. The question now was who could follow him.

The Bolshevik Party (now Communist Party) had changed since it came to power.

- Originally party debates were noted for a free flow of ideas; even Lenin had to argue firmly to gain acceptance of his case. The stresses and strains of the Civil War and War Communism, and the Bolsheviks' life and death struggle for survival meant that there was now no room for debate and argument.
- Trotsky had ended the democratic military reforms that had been introduced in the wake of the revolution such as the election of officers.
  - Ranks, uniforms, corporal punishment and the death penalty had been brought back into the Red Army.
- The violence and terror that was a part of the Civil War would gradually become an accepted part of the Soviet political life.
- The party had become disciplined.
  - The 10th Party Congress (March 1921) had decreed an end to 'factions'. No longer were party members allowed to dissent from the decisions of the party. To do so would mean expulsion from the party.

The party had grown both in terms of membership and due to the fact that it was now running the largest country on earth. As a result, it had become bureaucratised, ie it had developed a whole series of structures, committees and a hierarchical structure. The person who controlled the party bureaucracy would come to control the country.

It was Stalin who gained most from this development.

- By 1922, he was the Commissar of Nationalities, he ran the Peasant and Workers' Inspectorate which had the power to remove 'corrupt' party members, he was a member of the ruling Politburo and most importantly he was General Secretary.
- As General Secretary he had effectively become the man who controlled party membership and oversaw the party bureaucracy.

However, as the party looked to the future, eyes turned to Trotsky as Lenin's most likely successor. Trotsky was dynamic, charismatic, intelligent and could claim to have steered the party to victory in the Civil War. However, Trotsky was not popular with many in the party who saw him as arrogant.

- Trotsky was to be out-manoeuvred by Stalin in the post-Lenin struggle for power as Stalin manipulated the ideological debate about the country's future, played off different leading party figures against each other and due to his mastery of the party machinery.
  - He could always rely on the numbers in crucial votes.

## Stalin's dictatorship



By the late 1920s, Stalin had defeated all rivals for leadership of the party. Some like Zinoviev and Kamenev found themselves temporarily expelled from the party. Trotsky was sentenced to internal exile and finally in 1929, he was expelled from the Soviet Union, never to return. Stalin was being hailed as “the Lenin of today”. Stalin held supreme power in the Soviet Union until his death in 1953. What follows are some of the key features of his dictatorship as it evolved throughout the 1930s.

- Every aspect of life in the Soviet Union came to be dominated by the party, including factories, collective farms, education, trade unions, sport, the arts and youth organisations that the young were forced into (Komsomol).
- Five Year Plans were created which dictated the direction in which the economy was to take. Stalin's preference was for heavy industry.
- The party maintained strict control over education and the media. Only views acceptable to the party (ie Stalin) were allowed.
  - History books were written to emphasise Stalin's role in the revolution and to remove/denigrate Trotsky.
- A 'cult of personality' grew up around Stalin.
  - His portrait was in every home, school, office and factory. There were statues of him in every town.
- Stalin demanded that the arts be used to promote the interests of the party.
  - Artistic endeavour had to be positive and optimistic; this was referred to as 'socialist realism'.
  - Books, art, sculpture and music that were not to Stalin's liking were banned.
- Propaganda was everywhere, extolling the achievements of Stalin's rule.
- Ultimately, Stalin's dictatorship rested on force and terror. Such things existed before Stalin but in the 1930s the use of terror grew enormously.
  - The secret police (called the NKVD from 1934) which had been created as a temporary organisation in December 1917 (the Cheka), had become a permanent part of the regime and its tentacles reached into every facet of Soviet life.
  - Labour camps were established in the least hospitable parts of the country such as Siberia and the Arctic. Anyone suspected of anti-party behaviour or even anti-party thinking could end up here.
  - Some historians estimate that millions of people died during the course of Stalin's dictatorship.
  - Purging of the party was common and removed any possible sources of opposition to Stalin from within.
- For all the use of terror and propaganda under Stalin, it cannot be denied that many Soviet citizens supported his regime.
  - Many young people were swept along by the idea that they were involved in the construction of a 'brave new socialist world'.

## What do the historians have to say about “Dictatorship in Russia”?

### 1. Nikita Khrushchev: *Speech to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party*

In 1956, the future leader of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, gave a secret speech to the Communist Party in which he attacked the rule of Stalin. Khrushchev’s attack on Stalin was part of his campaign for the party leadership. In his speech he commented on the short biography of Stalin that Stalin himself had edited and approved. It gives a flavour of the cult of personality that had grown.

*“...This book is an expression of the most dissolute flattery, an example of making a man into a godhead, of transforming him into an infallible sage, ‘the greatest leader’, sublime strategist of all times and nations’. Finally, no other words could be found to lift Stalin up to the heavens...”<sup>2</sup>*

### 2. Theda Skocpol: *States and Social Revolutions*

Skocpol comments on the vastness of the terror apparatus that was a key feature of Stalin’s dictatorship and the fear that this engendered.

*“...Soviet citizens at all levels of society were subjected to intense secret police surveillance and were constantly subject to possible arrest for real or imagined infractions, often followed by long, indeed indeterminate sentences to forced-labour camps...”<sup>3</sup>*

### Exercise 4.1 Indicate whether each of the following statements is true or false.

1	Like all dictatorships in inter-war Europe, Russia’s was a right wing dictatorship.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	Before 1914, Lenin was seen as the most likely person to take power in Russia if the tsar’s regime collapsed.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	Arguably, the Provisional Government’s biggest mistake in 1917 was to continue fighting the war against Germany.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	The Russia that the Bolsheviks controlled at the end of the Civil War was in a disastrous condition.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	Most members of the Bolshevik Party in the early 1920s saw Stalin as the obvious and most likely successor to Lenin.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	By the early 1920s, the Bolshevik Party had become highly disciplined and did not tolerate internal opposition.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	It was Stalin’s control of the party bureaucracy, and thus the numbers, that ultimately led to Stalin gaining leadership.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	Though dictator with supreme power, Stalin did not allow the country or the party to exaggerate his image.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	The purpose of ‘socialist realism’ was to tell the Russian people the truth about what was happening inside Russia.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	The Russian dictatorship of the 1930s relied heavily on the use of fear, terror and its secret police.	TRUE/ FALSE

<sup>2</sup> Khrushchev, N, (extract from his speech) On the Cult of Personality and its Consequences, delivered at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, 25 February, 1956

<sup>3</sup> Skocpol, T, *States and Social Revolutions*, CUP, Cambridge, 1979, p 230

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# Chapter Five

## Dictatorship in Italy

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### Italy immediately after World War I

Italy had emerged from World War I as one of the victorious allies; its Prime Minister, Vittorio Orlando, was from time to time considered as one of the 'Big Four' in Paris, though his influence proved to be minor compared to Clemenceau, Wilson and Lloyd George. In fact, Orlando's irritation at Italy's treatment in Paris led him to angrily return to Rome from time to time.

Indeed, Italy would leave the Paris Peace Conference a deeply dissatisfied nation. Italy had lost over 500 000 men in the war. Promises of future territorial gains made in the 1915 Treaty of London to encourage Italy's participation in the war, were not fully honoured. The future fascist leader, Benito Mussolini, would make revision of the Paris Peace Settlement one of his prime goals once in power.

Italy's economy and political system were in a mess:

- unemployment was rising and inflation was out of control;
- the northern industrial regions were suffering strikes;
- the south remained mired in poverty and Mafia control;
- Italy was a fairly new country, having been unified in the 1860s and its constitutional system proved to be at times unworkable;
  - Governments and prime ministers came and went;
  - each election was followed by months of wrangling as politicians tried to put together an administration.
- the situation was made worse after the war as the largest party, the Socialists, refused to join a government that would impose austerity measures;
- Italian politics was witnessing widespread violence on the streets.

There were real fears that Italy might experience a Communist revolution as had happened in Russia in late 1917 (and which led to bloody civil war). Revolution had nearly occurred in Germany after the war, and was briefly experienced in the German state of Bavaria and in Hungary.

It was against this background of international frustration, economic recession, political chaos and violence that the Fascist Party of Benito Mussolini made its move towards taking power.

### Benito Mussolini



- Mussolini was born in Predappio in central northern Italy in July 1883, the son of a blacksmith and a school teacher.
- In 1902 he emigrated to Switzerland and became involved in socialist politics, returning to Italy in 1904. In 1911 he was imprisoned briefly for involvement in violent rioting against Italy's invasion and annexation of the Ottoman province of Libya.

- The Socialist Party opposed Italy's involvement in World War I, a decision that Mussolini eventually rejected, ending his association with the Socialists.
- In 1915 he joined the army, serving until 1917 when he was discharged following wounds received from an exploding mortar shell.
- In 1919, Mussolini formed the Fascio di combattimento, one of a series of nationalist veterans' groups being formed at that time. From this organisation came the future Fascist Party. Mussolini's supporters wore distinctive black shirts.

Continuing political violence and economic chaos made the propertied classes fearful of a possible Bolshevik revolution. Mussolini began to be seen as a strong man who might bring some order and discipline into Italian life. Realising that he could not overcome the support that the Socialists and the Communists had from the working classes, Mussolini veered towards the rich, conservative figures.

- Sensing success, Mussolini ordered his supporters to “march on Rome” in October 1922.
  - The gamble paid off, even though the Fascists had only 35 out of 535 deputies in the parliamentary chamber.
- King Victor Emmanuel III appointed Mussolini Prime Minister.
- Parliament gave Mussolini full powers for a year.
  - Within a couple of years, the Fascist Party was Italy's only legal political party.

## Mussolini's dictatorship

Mussolini fascist dictatorship was never as all-pervasive as was to become that of Stalin's in the Soviet Union.<sup>1</sup> It was to be far less ideological than the Nazi dictatorship of Hitler in Germany, though greater elements of ideological purity began to appear in the late 1930s, such as the expectation that people would greet each other with the fascist salute.<sup>2</sup>

No opposition was permitted to the regime and most active opponents fled the country. “Black shirt” thugs regularly dished out beatings to anybody who stood up against the regime. State sanctioned violence kept all but the most courageous dissenters quiet, especially after the murder of the socialist Matteotti in 1924. However, the level of organised state violence in Mussolini's Italy was to be far less than occurred in Stalin's Russia or Hitler's Germany.

- Press freedom disappeared and a personality cult was developed around the figure of Mussolini. He was referred to as “Il Duce”, the leader.
  - His image and writings became ubiquitous.
  - Certainly until the war years, Mussolini was genuinely popular amongst most Italians.
- Most of the powerful groups within Italy were happy to support Mussolini once the danger of Bolshevism had been finally laid to rest. The Italian nation had had strained relations with the Roman Catholic Church since 1870 when it took possession of Rome. Mussolini settled church-state differences with the Lateran Accord of 1929.

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter Four for a description of dictatorship in Russia.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapters Eight to Seventeen for a detailed examination of dictatorship in Germany.

- The Pope agreed to recognise the Italian state.
- The Italian State accepted the creation of the Vatican State in Rome by granting it 109 acres.
- Mussolini attempted to create a “Corporate State”. Representation in parliament was now based on ‘corporations’ – twelve for employers, twelve for workers and one for professional people. The aim of the Corporate State was to end disharmony between Italy’s social classes and increase living standards.
- As in Russia and Germany, there was great emphasis put on the mobilisation and indoctrination of young people. If the Fascist regime was to last and prosper into the future, the support of the young had to be galvanised. Germany was to have the “Hitler Youth Movement”<sup>3</sup> and Russia had the “Komsomol”. So too, Italy’s youth were placed into the “Avanguardia” and the “Giovani Italiane” for boys and girls respectively.

### Fascist Foreign Policy

Having consolidated his domestic position, Mussolini’s attention centred on foreign policy. In the 1920s he was happy to play the role of the international statesman, seen most clearly with his role at the Locarno Conference in 1925 which was to guarantee Western European frontiers. However, in the 1930s Mussolini pursued more aggressive aims. Part of his motivation was to achieve a revision of the 1919 Paris Peace Settlement. However, he also wanted Italy to rediscover imperial greatness and make the Mediterranean an Italian lake. Nostalgic thoughts of the greatness of the Roman Empire were never far below the surface.

- Signs of this were apparent as early as 1923 when Italy bombarded the Greek port of Corfu following the murder of Italian border commissioners.
- Italian interference in Albanian affairs was common, resulting in the invasion of the country in 1939.
- Most notably was the Italian invasion of the East African nation of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935.
- During the 1930s, Italy moved closer to Nazi Germany. In 1940 Italy was to enter World War II on the side of Germany.

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<sup>3</sup> See Chapter Fourteen

## What do the historians have to say about the “Dictatorship in Italy”?

### 1. Mussolini’s own thoughts and speeches

Mussolini believed strongly in the notions of national strength and virility. Much of the propaganda produced by the regime played on such themes. Mussolini often liked to be portrayed as a “real man”, stripped to the waist, working in the fields with peasants, or riding a horse or skiing. He made much of the fact that he had fathered several children. This “macho mentality” fed into his thoughts about Italy’s destiny.

*“...We have a right to empire as a fertile nation which has the pride and will to propagate its race over the face of the earth, a virile people in the strict sense of the word...”*

*“...For fascism, the growth of empire, that is to say the expansion of the nation, is an essential manifestation of vitality and its opposite a sign of decadence...”*

*“...Though words are beautiful things, rifles, machine guns, planes and cannon are still more beautiful...”*

### 2. David Mack Smith: Italy

Mack Smith sums up Italian foreign policy under Mussolini in this manner.

*“..Fascist foreign policy typically cut free from tradition and veered unstably from ideological arguments to momentary whim and intuitive fancies but all this was compounded with a modicum of shrewd realism and a real virtuosity in propaganda and showmanship...”<sup>4</sup>*

## Exercise 5.1 Match the description on the left with the correct term on the right.

1	Fascist youth group for boys		ABYSSINIA
2	Socialist politician murdered by the Fascists in 1924		IL DUCE
3	Greek port bombarded by Italy in 1923		ORLANDO
4	Fascist agreement with the Catholic Church		VICTOR EMMANUEL III
5	Italian Prime Minister at the time of the Paris Peace Conference		GIOVANI ITALIANE
6	African country invaded by Fascist Italy in 1935		MATTEOTTI
7	The event which precipitated Mussolini’s gaining of power		AVANGUARDIA
8	He invited Mussolini to form a government in 1922		LATERAN ACCORD
9	Fascist youth group for girls		CORFU
10	Mussolini’s title		MARCH ON ROME

<sup>4</sup> Mack Smith, D, Italy, University of Michigan Press, Michigan, 1959, p 447

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# Chapter Six

## Dictatorship in Japan

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### Japan before 1919

Japan managed to avoid the humiliating fate of China in the 19th century. Following the Meiji Restoration of 1868<sup>1</sup>, Japan's leaders pursued a program of modernisation, westernisation and industrialisation. Rather than reject the west, Japan sought to embrace western technology, western ideas and western systems. Missions were sent to Europe and the United States to learn about western methods of industry, transport, communications, banking and the like. By the early 20th century, Japan had been so successful in seeking these objectives, that it could rank itself among the leading industrial powers in the world.

Japan's domestic economic success had international repercussions. Unlike China, it could not be pushed around by the western powers. Not only did Japan advance its economy, but it also modernised its naval and military forces.

- In 1894-95, Japan decisively defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War.
- In 1904-05 it humiliated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War.
- In 1910, Japan annexed Korea.

Between 1914 and 1918, Japan fought against Germany on the side of the entente powers. Japan was recognised as one of the leading participants at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference.

Japan did make gains from the Paris Peace Conference. It gained control of German concessions in China and was granted mandates over Germany's former North Pacific colonies – the Mariana, Caroline and Marshall Islands. However, its failure to achieve the inclusion of a racial equality clause in the Covenant of the League of Nations was a slight that was never forgotten by the Japanese.<sup>2</sup>

### Japan's road to dictatorship

Since the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japan's governments had been dominated by nobles and military figures. However, in the post-war period there were indications that Japan was developing into a more democratic-style government similar to the western nations. The victory of the democratic nations in the war was seen as evidence of the superiority of democracy. In 1918 Hara Kei of the Seiyukai Party became Prime Minister; in 1924 it was the turn of Kato Komei of the Kenseikai Party. Commoners were now filling most cabinet posts.

Japan had come out of the war in good economic shape. From being a debtor nation it was now a creditor nation. With Britain and France pre-occupied with their struggle against Germany, Japan was able to capture western markets in Asia.

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<sup>1</sup> Before 1868, though the Emperor was nominally Japan's ruler, the country was actually run by the Shogun, head of the leading noble family. In effect, the Shogun was a military dictator. However, pressure from the west and internal problems broke the Shogun's power. After a brief civil war, power was 'restored' to the Emperor Meiji, though in reality Japan would now be ruled an oligarchy of leading figures.

<sup>2</sup> Australian Prime Minister Billy Hughes fought hard against the inclusion of the racial equality clause. He feared that it might threaten the continuation of Australia's White Australia Policy.

However, there were issues bubbling under the surface which did not bode well for democratic development.

- Japan's economic good fortune did not last as a post-war recession began to take hold.
  - Western powers were imposing tariffs and so Japanese goods were increasingly unable to compete with the west so Japan developed an unfavourable trade balance.
- Japan's increasing population put strains on food supplies and on occasions this resulted in rice riots in some cities.
- The gap between rich and poor was widening as the giant industrial conglomerates – the Zaibatsu – became ever stronger.
- Japan's international position was suffering.
  - Many in Japan felt insulted by the failure to achieve the racial equality clause and by limitations placed on naval construction in the 1922 Washington Naval Conference.
  - A further insult came when the United States placed restrictions on Japanese immigration in its 1924 Immigration Act.
  - Nationalists became frustrated with Foreign Minister Shidehara's policy of cooperation with the west.
- Japan's politicians did not set a good example of behaviour.
  - Bribery and corruption became commonplace.
  - Members of the growing number of patriotic societies as well as the nation's military leaders began to agitate for an aggressive foreign policy and the removal of corrupt democratic politicians.

### Depression and Manchuria: 1929-31

The world depression that followed the Wall St Crash in October 1929 hit Japan hard. It had become dependent on imports for many of its key products, including aluminium, cotton, wool, lead, iron and steel. To pay for these it relied upon exports of textiles and silk. However, the 1929 crash saw prices for these goods plummet. There was major distress throughout Japan, particularly in rural areas.

Members of the patriotic societies and the military began to believe that Japan's problems of over-population, food shortages and economic stagnation could only be solved by expansion overseas. Against this background, members of the Japanese Kwangtung Army in Manchuria (still nominally Chinese) concocted an explosion on the south Manchurian railway. In retaliation, the city of Mukden was occupied. The civilian government back in Tokyo had no choice but to accept what had happened.

The patriotic societies and the military came increasingly to dominate Japanese politics. The former frequently resorted to terror and assassinations of politicians while the army allowed the trials of offenders to be used to discredit party-led governments. Japan was slipping towards dictatorship.

## Japan's dictatorship in the 1930s

Dictatorship in Japan took a rather different form to what appeared in Italy, Russia and Germany. There was no leading charismatic figure at the head of a single political party. On the surface civilian government seemed to continue to operate. However, in reality Japan had become militarised and it was the military that was in control of the country.

In the years following the invasion of Manchuria:

- Violence afflicted Japanese politics on a daily basis.
- The economy did improve but Japan's share of world trade was still low, the silk trade had never recovered and rural conditions remained tough.
  - This was significant because most of Japan's armed forces came from the peasantry and they were affected by this.
  - This was arguably a key reason for the Japanese pursuing an aggressive foreign policy in the 1930s.
- The military were not united. There existed various factions but the two main ones were called the "Control Group" and the "Imperial Way".
  - The latter attempted a coup in 1936. It failed, its leaders were rounded up and some of them were executed.
  - However, this did not lead to a revival of democratic, civilian government but rather increased the influence of the "Control Group".
- One feature that Japan shared with the European dictatorships was the importance given to propaganda and education.
  - Emperor Hirohito was revered and given divine status. All Japanese pledged themselves to the emperor though in reality he had little say in the development of policy in the 1930s.
  - However, schools, the media and the patriotic societies insisted on unquestioning loyalty to the emperor.
  - Traditional Japanese values of service, respect, patriotism and unquestioning obedience were promoted. Western ideas and values were suppressed.
- The combination of economic distress, domination of government by the military and spread of nationalist/ patriotic propaganda produced an expansionist foreign policy which was able to grow out the earlier successes Japan had had.
  - Manchuria became the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932 ruled by the former Chinese Emperor, Henry Pu Yi. However, all knew that its independence was a mirage and that it was controlled by Tokyo.
  - Japan took the Chinese province of Jehol and bombed Shanghai in 1933.
  - In 1937, Japan launched a full-scale invasion of mainland China.

Japanese leaders claimed to be creating a "Greater Co-Prosperity Sphere" in Asia, free of western influence and domination. In reality they were creating a Japanese Empire. Throughout 1940-41, Japanese forces occupied Indochina. It was well on the road to Pearl Harbour and the war in the Pacific.

## What do the historians think of “Dictatorship in Japan”?

### 1. Rachel Wall: Japan’s Century

Wall shows how after the invasion of China in 1937, and Chinese leader Jiang Jieshi’s (Chiang Kai-Shek) refusal to accede to Japanese demands, Japan established a pro-Japanese regime in occupied Japan under Wang Ching-Wei. With Japan now at war, Wall explains how the features of Japan’s dictatorship were reinforced.

*“...the government increased control over economic resources and in March 1938, legislative powers were delegated to the cabinet. The nation was urged to put aside its grievances, unite in loyalty to the emperor and contribute to Japan’s imperial mission. Use was made of education and of other media to impress on Japan their duty to rid East Asia of European and American influences...”*<sup>3</sup>

### Exercise 6.1 Indicate whether each of the following statements is true or false.

1	Throughout the 19 <sup>th</sup> century, Japan suffered at the hands of the west in a similar manner to China.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	Despite some gains that it had made at the 1919 Peace Conference, Japan left Paris dissatisfied.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	In the early 1920s, it seemed that Japan was progressing in a democratic direction like most European countries.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	There was a perception inside Japan that its international prestige and influence were suffering in the 1920s.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	Japanese politicians in the 1920s were admired for the high standards of probity and decorum which they demonstrated.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	The Japanese government carefully planned and cooperated with the military in the invasion of Manchuria.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	Japanese politics in the 1930s increasingly became dominated by extreme nationalism and emperor worship.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	Rural distress in the 1930s was a significant factor in pushing Japan into an expansionist foreign policy.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	Emperor Hirohito was a key figure in formulating and directing Japan’s foreign expansion in the 1930s.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	Japanese leaders were at all times sincere in their single-minded desire to free Asians from foreign domination.	TRUE/ FALSE

<sup>3</sup> Wall, R F, Japan’s Century, Historical Association, London, p 38

## **Chapter Seven**

# **The rise of the Nazis and the collapse of the Weimar Republic**

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### **Introduction**

One of the dangers in the study of history is hindsight: we know what happened. Hindsight of course makes the job of historians easier as it means they can isolate what was important in the past. However, it also creates the danger of developing a belief in ‘inevitability’, the idea that just because something happened, it was bound to happen. Nothing in history is inevitable. In 1926 few would have predicted the collapse of Stresemann’s Germany in a few years; in late December 1932, few in Germany would have been predicting Hitler as Chancellor within a month.

In examining the fate of the Weimar Republic, the following ideas will be considered:

1. It could be argued that the sources of the Republic’s demise were present in its very early days.
2. However, the collapse of the Weimar Republic was by no means inevitable.
3. The rise of Hitler and the Nazis did not mean the Republic was bound to fall, (and equally the collapse of the Republic did not mean the Nazis would take power.)
4. It could be argued that the Nazis were a spent force by the end of 1932.

### **1. It could also be argued that the source of the Republic’s demise were present in its very early days.**

In November 1918, Germany’s Democratic Republic was born into a world of violence, revolution, defeat and chaos. It would be difficult to imagine a worse way of introducing such a novel, untried, form of government that had no precedent in German history. After over four years of war, Germany was on its knees and facing imminent defeat. The Home Front was in a state of political, economic and social collapse. Starvation threatened large sections of the population, and by late 1918, strikes and mutinies were spreading across the country.

- General Ludendorff had handed over power to the Reichstag in September 1918, partly to avoid the possibility of social revolution in Germany, and partly to ensure it would be politicians not the High Command which would be forced to sign what was likely to be a harsh peace treaty.
- By the time of the armistice, the Kaiser had abdicated and fled to Holland.
- Germany’s Chancellor was the SPD leader, Friedrich Ebert, soon to become the first President of the Weimar Republic.

### **The “stab in the back” legend**

The shock of defeat was so great for ordinary Germans when it came that many could simply not accept it. The German people had been told for years that victory was coming. There were

no allied troops on German soil; indeed on 11 November 1918 the German army still occupied sizeable parts of Belgium and France. Only a few months earlier, German troops were almost on the point of taking Paris. But now defeat! How? Why? Who was to blame?

- The belief spread that the German army had not been defeated in the field but had been “stabbed in the back” at home.
  - The Germans called this notion “dolchstoßlegende”.
- Who did the stabbing? Socialists, pacifists, Jews, democratic politicians.
  - This belief served the German Army command very well.
- It was they who had explained the need for an armistice but since Ludendorff’s surrender of power in September 1918, it was the civilian politicians, mostly socialists, who would now be burdened with the blame for surrender, defeat, armistice and a peace treaty.
- Scapegoats had been found who had stabbed the German army in the back, known from now on as ‘the November Criminals’.
- This was fertile propaganda for anti-democratic right wing political parties

### The failure of the Revolution of 1918-19

Arguably the key reason for the eventual collapse of the democratic republic was its failure to bring about fundamental socio-economic-judicial change.

This failure would leave in positions of power and influence people who were fundamentally opposed to the concept of democracy. The political structure of Germany changed from an autocratic, authoritarian system to a democratic one. However, everything else about Germany remained unchanged and this meant that the people who continued to own, control or dominate the media, industry, agriculture, the judicial system, the police, the army, the bureaucracy, education, religion – indeed all aspects of German life – were people who were fundamentally opposed to the notion of democracy. These are the people who become known as the **conservative elites**. The conservative elites would at best ‘tolerate’ the democracy when times were good, and at worst actively ‘undermine’ it in bad times.

#### *How and why did this happen?*

Germany’s new government was called the Council of People’s Commissioners. It was led by moderate SPD (Social Democratic Party) leader, Friedrich Ebert. Ebert had clear views on Germany’s future:

- Ebert did not want a full-scale, social revolution along the lines of the Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917. He said at the time: “I don’t want that; indeed I hate it like sin”.
- He sought order out of the chaos that Germany was experiencing; he opposed major change, preferring instead to introduce basic democratic and social reforms such as freedom of speech, and an eight hour working day and wide-ranging welfare reforms; he wanted democratic elections.
- For Ebert, the revolution was over!

The radical, far left in German politics had different ideas. For them the revolution had not even begun. The radical left:

- sought socialist ownership of industry
- wanted the establishment of a People's Militia instead of an army
- saw a key future role for the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.

Ebert feared the possibility of a 'second' revolution as had occurred in Russia. In 1917, the moderate Russian socialist leader, Kerensky, had been overthrown by the revolutionary Bolshevik Party led by Lenin. Ebert was keen to make sure this did not happen to him.

### *The revolutionary left destroyed*

As soon as he came to power, Ebert made a secret agreement with General Groener, Ludendorff's replacement on the Supreme Command. This agreement, which became known as the Ebert-Groener Pact, stated the following:

- Ebert would maintain discipline in the army and oppose any revolutionary/ Bolshevik socio-economic changes
- Groener would guarantee that the army would support Ebert's moderate government against any possible threats.

The Ebert-Groener Pact was of decisive importance:

1. It meant there would be no right-wing army coup against the government
2. It guaranteed the survival of Ebert's government
3. It meant that there would be no radical socio-economic changes in Germany
4. It guaranteed the survival of the conservative elites and the maintenance of army political influence in the future.

The far left in German politics were known as the Spartacists and were led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. They had broken off from the USPD (independent, left-wing SPD). On 30 December this group became the Communist Party of Germany (KPD).

- In early January 1919, following demonstrations over the dismissal of a USPD official in Berlin, the Spartacists called a general strike.
  - This quickly led to an attempt to seize power.
- Defence Minister, Noske, called in 'Freikorps' units to oppose the rebels.
  - The Freikorps were right-wing volunteer units, or para-military groups, made up of former soldiers. They hated socialists, blaming them for Germany's defeat in the war. The Freikorps were more than willing to butcher what they saw as socialist traitors.
- After a week of savage fighting, the revolution was over. The general strike was called off, many of the captured rebels were executed; Liebknecht and Luxemburg were murdered.
- Freikorps units suppressed other left-wing revolts throughout Germany. This included the destruction of Kurt Eisner's socialist republic in Bavaria.

Ebert's moderate government had survived; there would be no Bolshevik Revolution in Germany. However, these events were to have an enormous lasting impact on the fate of the Democratic Republic:

- The conservative elites remained in power.
- The army would remain as a key (anti-democratic) force in German politics.
- The 'left' in Germany would be forever divided and distrustful of each other. This would be of crucial importance in the early 1930s.
- Ebert issued decrees which were backdated to legitimise the Freikorps actions. This set a bad precedent. Government authorities often overlooked right-wing violence while dealing harshly with the left.

Edgar Mowrer wrote in the 1930s with incomprehension about Weimar's earliest years. How could a democratic republic allow a revival of militarism and pay generous salaries to officers/civil servants who seek the overthrow of the system?

*"...What can be said for a republic that allows its laws to be interpreted by monarchist judges, its government to be administered by old-time functionaries ... watches passively while reactionary school teachers... teach its children to despise the present freedom..."*<sup>1</sup>

### The Weimar Constitution

Following elections in January 1919, a National Assembly met in Weimar and appointed Ebert the Republic's first President, with Scheidemann its Chancellor (prime minister). The Assembly also approved the 'Weimar' Republic's new constitution, one of the most democratic documents of its kind ever produced, but it also had its flaws.

- The constitution guaranteed basic political liberties such as freedom of speech, equality before the law and gave all men and women over the age of twenty the right to vote.
- The head of state was a President, elected by the people for seven years.
  - The president could appoint/ dismiss the chancellor, and under Article 25, close the Reichstag and call elections.
  - Article 48 gave the President emergency powers in time of crisis, the right to close parliament and issues decrees. A most undemocratic element which, if misused, could undermine the democracy.
  - Article 48 became known as the 'suicide clause'.
- Parliament had two houses: the Reichstag (people's house) and the Reichsrat (states' house). Reichstag members were elected on the basis of Proportional Representation, one seat for every 60 000 votes.
  - This is very democratic as all but the tiniest parties are represented.
  - However, it makes it almost impossible for a party to gain a majority. This forces parties to form coalition governments which can cause political instability.

<sup>1</sup> Mowrer, E, *Germany Puts the Clock Back*, Penguin, London, 1937, p 18

**Exercise 7.1 Answer the following questions in the spaces provided.**

1	Why did Ludendorff hand over power to the Reichstag in September 1918?	
2	What agreement assured army support for the new republic?	
3	What was the dolchstoßlegende?	
4	What did the Spartacists seek?	
5	How did the Freikorps affect German politics?	
6	What happened to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in 1919?	
7	Who were the major winners from the events of January 1919?	
8	What happened to the 'left' of German politics because of January 1919?	
9	What was Article 48 known as?	
10	What was the main drawback of proportional representation?	



**Exercise 7.2** Indicate whether each of the following statements is true or false.

1	The Weimar Republic quickly overcame the stigma of having signed the Treaty of Versailles.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	Violence plagued the early years of the Weimar Republic.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	The army refused to protect the Republic against the right-wing Kapp Putsch of March 1920.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	France invaded the Ruhr in order to guarantee payments of future reparations.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	Chancellor Cuno was opposed to the policy of passive resistance.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	Despite the Ruhr occupation, Franco-German relations remained cordial and peaceful during 1923.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	German banks were allowed to print vast amounts of paper money in 1923 free of any government controls.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	Those who owed debts suffered the most during the period of hyper-inflation.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	The German mark managed to hold its value despite the hyper-inflation.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	Germany's lower middle-class suffered most during the hyper-inflation.	TRUE/ FALSE

**2. The collapse of the Weimar Republic was by no means inevitable.**

The chaos and damage wrought by the hyper-inflation and French occupation of 1923 were overcome very quickly. Indeed, by the mid-1920s, **Germany had become arguably the most dynamic nation in Europe.** It had a booming, modern economy which was quickly reasserting itself as a dominant force in both the European and World economy. It could boast a social welfare system which had no equal in the developed world. The political situation had settled down, violence was rare and the fears held by many about the nature of the Weimar Constitution seemed groundless. Internationally, Germany had retaken its rightful place as a key player in European affairs and its Foreign Minister, Gustav Stresemann, was respected at home and abroad. Berlin had become the cultural centre of Europe.

However, Germany's story of success in the mid-1920s was **merely superficial.** Beneath the surface existed major fundamental flaws in the entire socio-economic-political fabric of the Republic. Germany's international success was not all that it seemed, and the dazzling nature of German cultural advances had come at a great price to the regime.

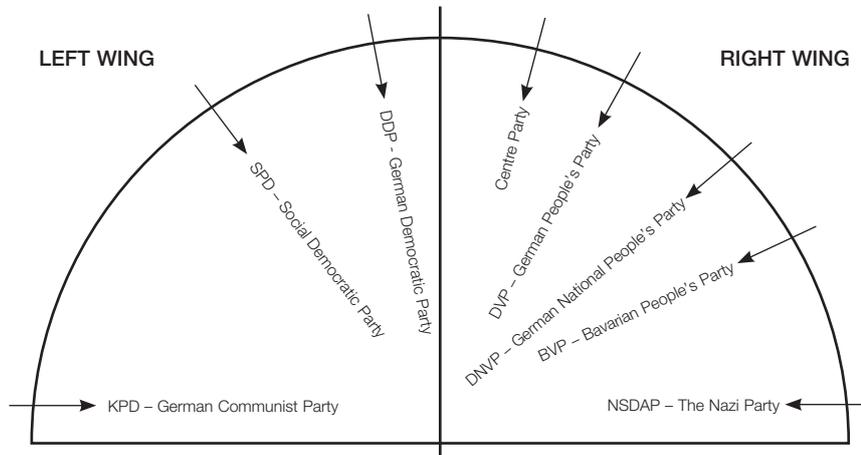
### Political issues to 1929

To understand fully political issues in Weimar Germany, it is necessary to fully understand the notion of the political spectrum, and what the terms ‘left’ and ‘right’ meant, as applied to 1920s Germany. The idea of a political spectrum can best be thought of as a semi-circle, with the flat side at the base.

- parties range from the extreme left of the semi-circle to the extreme right.
- parties positioned between the centre of the semi-circle and the right side are called right wing; parties positioned between the centre and the far left and called left wing.
- parties can thus be described as right/left of centre, far right/left, extreme right/left

Figure 7.2 explains the ideas behind the ‘political spectrum’ and the broad ideas that typified parties on each side of the spectrum.

Figure 7.2 The political spectrum of 1920s Weimar Germany



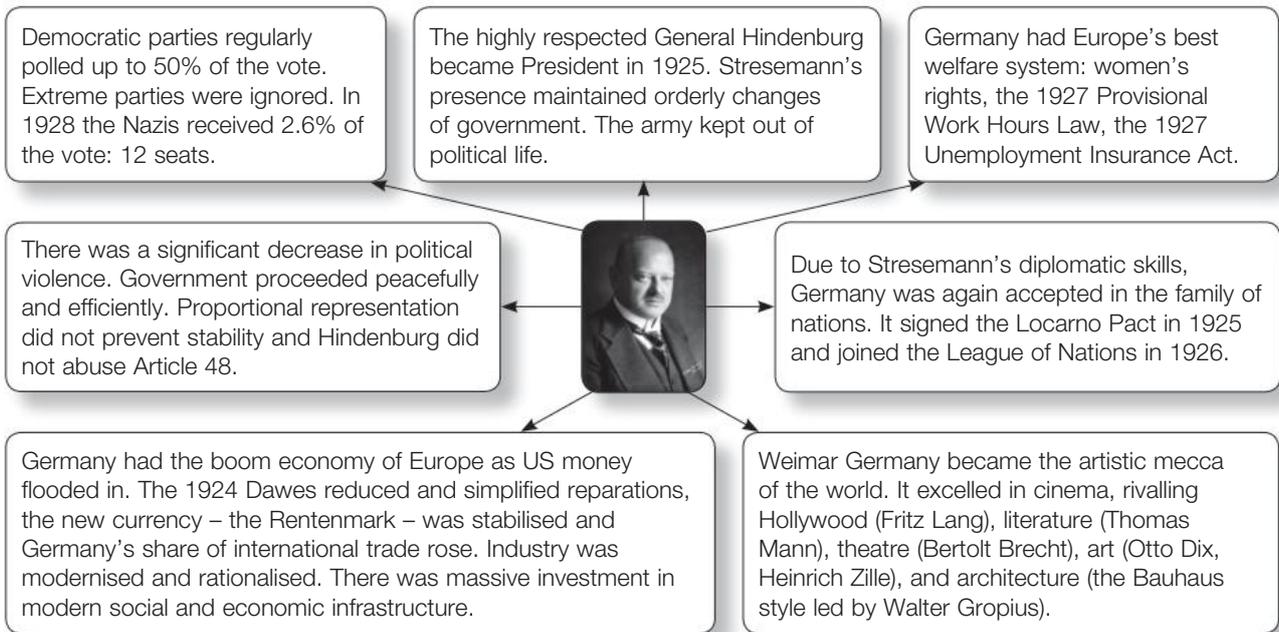
Broad ideas of the “left”	Broad ideas of the “right”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ internationalist rather than nationalist, and sought cooperation with other nations</li> <li>■ opposed to the “stab in the back” idea and the notion of the November Criminals</li> <li>■ not racist</li> <li>■ not pro-business, supportive of state intervention and government welfare policies, pro-trades union</li> <li>■ however, the extreme left (KPD) shared the extreme right’s opposition to the democratic Weimar system</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ nationalist and strongly opposed to the Treaty of Versailles</li> <li>■ convinced of the “stab in the back” idea and the notion of the November Criminals</li> <li>■ supportive of Germany’s military tradition and the army</li> <li>■ anti-communist</li> <li>■ likely to be racist and anti-Semitic</li> <li>■ pro-business, anti-state intervention, opposed to government welfare policies, anti-trades union</li> <li>■ likely to oppose the democratic Weimar system, the further to the right the party positioned itself.</li> </ul>
<p>In 1937, Winston Churchill made a comparison between the right-wing Nazi dictatorship in Germany and the left-wing Communist dictatorship in the Soviet Union. He said that people think Nazism and Communism are poles apart</p> <p><i>“...But what difference is there between life at the North Pole and life at the South Pole... there may be a few more penguins at the one or polar bears at the other. At both, life is miserable.”</i></p>	

### Stresemann's Germany: 1924-29

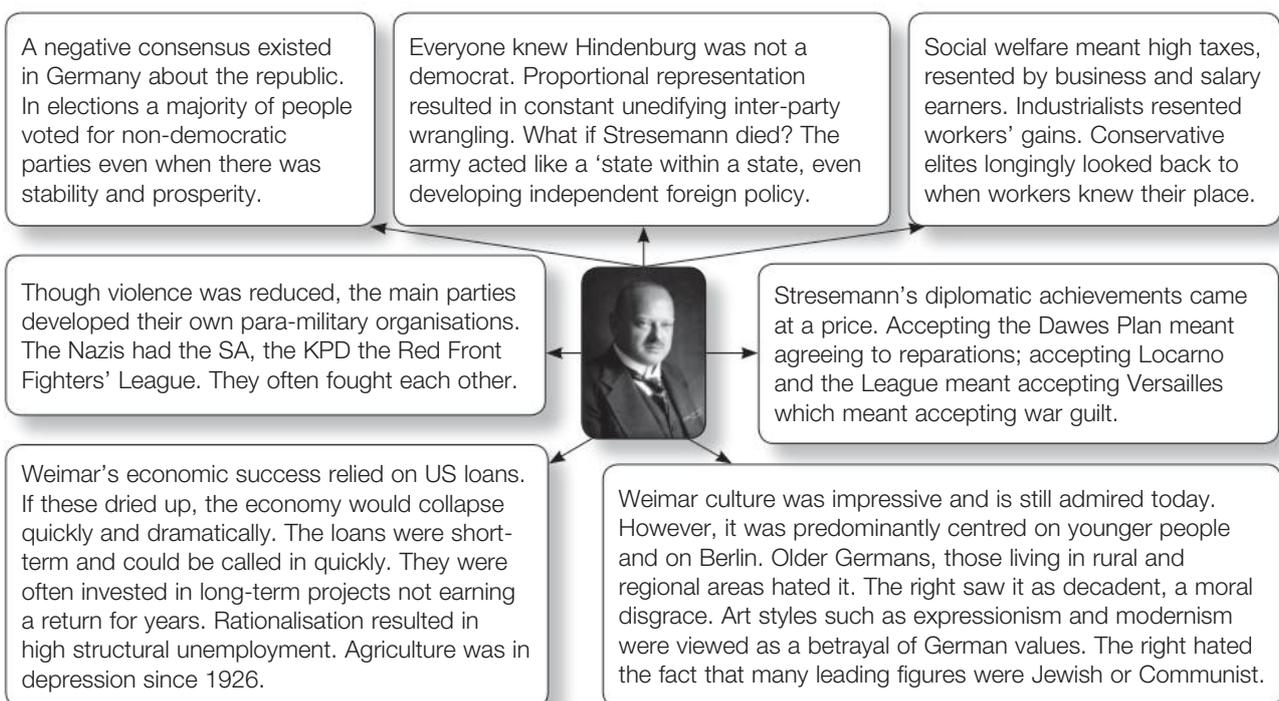
The leading figure in Germany between 1924 and 1929 was the DVP leader, Gustav Stresemann. Stresemann was Foreign Minister during this time, having briefly been Chancellor in late 1923. Stresemann acted as a kind of 'glue' that kept governments together and working efficiently during this time.

Figures 7.3 and 7.4 provide a summary of the positive and negative aspects of Stresemann's Germany. Most Germans living in 1926-27 would not have been expecting the Republic's collapse in the next few years.

**Figure 7.3 The "superficially positive" side of Stresemann's Germany**



**Figure 7.4 The "fundamentally negative" side of Stresemann's Germany**



Historian Richard Evans argues that the apparent political stability of the mid-1920s was a mirage. He makes the point that the Centre Party and the DNVP had fallen under the leadership of avowed opponents of democracy while the DVP's loyalty relied upon the person of Stresemann. Once the threat of Bolshevism had faded, the right wing parties were less and less likely to make accommodations with the SPD. Meanwhile, violence was bubbling along under the surface.

*"...Even in the mid-1920s, therefore, the political situation was looking extremely fragile... The brutal fact was that, even in 1928, the Republic was as far away from achieving stability and legitimacy as ever..."*<sup>3</sup>

### Exercise 7.3

Using the factual information contained in this chapter so far, use the terms in the box below to fill in the blanks in the following passage..

During the Stresemann era of 19\_\_\_\_ to 19\_\_\_\_, Germany seemed to be enjoying enormous economic \_\_\_\_\_ and political \_\_\_\_\_. Culturally Germany had become the \_\_\_\_\_ of European artistic endeavour. Internationally, Germany has become accepted in the family of nations, seen most clearly in its admission in 1926 to the \_\_\_\_\_. In the area of social \_\_\_\_\_, Germany was years ahead of other nations in terms of women's \_\_\_\_\_, unemployment \_\_\_\_\_ and working \_\_\_\_\_. However, Germany's progress was at best only \_\_\_\_\_. Beneath the surface, the economy was reliant on \_\_\_\_\_ loans, army loyalty was \_\_\_\_\_, most people still voted for \_\_\_\_\_ parties and business \_\_\_\_\_ having to pay for social reforms. The nationalist right \_\_\_\_\_ the cultural developments of the time and would never \_\_\_\_\_ the Republic for appearing to accept the legitimacy of the Treaty of Versailles.

resented – issues – forgive – superficial – US – non democratic – prosperity – stability – 29 – doubtful – rights – 24 – insurance – League of Nations – conditions – hated - centre

### 3. The rise of Hitler and the Nazis

*NB: The rise of Hitler and the Nazis did mean that the Republic was bound to fall and the fall of the Republic did not mean that the Nazis would come to power.*

In 1918, the world had not heard of **Adolf Hitler**. He was born in 1889 in Braunau am Inn in Austria, to a customs official father who regularly beat him and a mother called Klara to whom he was devoted. He had mixed success at school and developed a keen interest in history and art. He tried twice – unsuccessfully – to gain admittance into the Vienna Academy of Arts. His Vienna years were at times desperate as he eked out a miserable existence painting postcards and living in a down-and-out men's hostel. He moved to Bavaria in 1913 and the following

<sup>3</sup> Evans, R, *The Coming of the Third Reich*, Penguin, London, 2003, p 96

year volunteered for a Bavarian regiment when war broke out. Hitler served on the Western Front throughout the war, often carrying out the role of trench-runner. He won two bravery awards, including the Iron Cross First Class. He was wounded twice and when peace came in November 1918, Hitler was suffering temporary blindness following a British gas attack.



In the period after the defeat of November 1918, Germany was in political ferment. Leading army officers were fearful of the possibility of a communist revolution, one of the reasons for the establishment of the Ebert-Groener Pact (see above).

- It was in this situation that an Austrian born corporal in the German Army, Adolf Hitler, was made a 'political indoctrination official'.
- Hitler's purpose was to root out possible communist activists.
- In this role he joined a small Bavarian political party called the German Workers' Party.

Hitler soon left the army and began his rise through the ranks of this small, insignificant party. By 1920, he had contributed much to the party's new 25 Point Program and on his suggestion, the party was renamed the **National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP)**. It was during this very early period that Hitler gathered around him that small band of loyal followers who would stay with him throughout most of the Nazi period. These included the former fighter-pilot Hermann Goering, a former Freikorps fighter Rudolf Hess and former front-line soldiers such as Ernst Rohm and Gregor Strasser. He also drew to him men whose interest in political affairs would centre on the issue of 'race' such as Alfred Rosenberg, Julius Streicher and Heinrich Himmler.<sup>4</sup>

1920 – Party membership had reached 3000.

1921 – The party newspaper, the Volkischer Beobachter is launched.

July 1921 – Hitler becomes leader of the party and is referred to as Fuhrer.

Sept 1921 – Hitler sets up the para-military arm of the party, the SA or

Sturmabteilung, the Brownshirts. The SA comprises many former Freikorps and frontline troops. Its purpose is to protect party leaders and party meetings; they will later become engaged in full-scale street violence against the communists. At this time the swastika and the outstretched arm salute are adopted by the party.

Jan 1923 – Hitler is made head of the Kampfbund, a loose grouping of all Right-wing Bavarian political groups.

Mid 1923 – The party had 70 000 members and 15 000 in the SA.

### The Munich (Beer Hall) Putsch: November 1923

The Nazis would later make a great deal out of their heroic, but failed attempt to seize power in the November 1923 Putsch in Munich. Bavaria was under the effective control of three men: State Commissioner von Kahr, Army Commander von Lossow and Police Chief von Seisser.

<sup>4</sup> Nazi ideology will be examined in Chapter Nine. Leading Nazi figures will be examined in Chapter Ten.

These men had even considered the thought themselves of taking advantage of Stresemann's difficulties in Berlin and seizing power. Hitler decided to force the issue, supported by the Kampfbund and General Ludendorff.

- On 8 November, Hitler burst into Munich Burgerbraukeller where von Kahr was speaking.
- Von Kahr and the others were ordered to join Hitler in an attempted putsch.
- Von Kahr agreed but once freed of his captors, he reneged on the deal and ordered the arrest of the rebels.
- On 9 November, Hitler led 2000 supporters in a march to Munich's centre. Here they were met by police and in the shooting that followed, 16 Nazis and 4 police were dead.
- Hitler escaped but was later captured and he and nine others were put on trial for treason.

Hitler was sentenced to five years imprisonment fined 200 gold marks for his 'treason'. The lightness of the sentence – he was eligible for parole in six months – is an indication of the sympathy felt for Hitler and the other conspirators by the judges. In fact Hitler would spend only nine months in Landsberg Prison, and in a degree of comfort not shared by other prisoners.

Though the Munich Putsch was a laughable failure, it proved to be of enormous significance for Hitler and his movement in several ways:

1. Failure to achieve power by force convinced Hitler that the only way he could gain power was legally through the ballot box. Following his release from prison, he set out to reorganise the party and seek power by winning elections.
2. He realised that in order to hold on to power in the future, he would need the support of the army. In the years to come, Hitler would cultivate relations with the army.
3. Of greatest importance, the trial brought Hitler to national prominence. Before the putsch, Hitler was a minor right wing politician in southern Germany. Now he was a national figure. His ideas and his speeches in the courtroom had been read all across Germany.

Once in prison, he set out to write *Mein Kampf*, *My Struggle*, a combination of auto-biography and statement of political ideals.

## Party Growth from 1924 to 1933

When Hitler left prison in late 1924, the Nazi Party was not in good shape.

- The failure of the Munich Putsch and Hitler's imprisonment had had a demoralising effect and party membership had fallen substantially.
- The party had been banned in Bavaria, a ban which though dropped in January 1925, was soon reimposed for another two years.
- Hitler himself faced a rival in the form of **Gregor Strasser**. Strasser represented what might be called the 'left' of the party.
  - He was promoting the party in the northern and western industrial cities and sought to increase the support of industrial workers and pull them away from their traditional political bases, the SPD and the KPD.
  - Strasser's side of the party promoted more socialist aims.

**SECTION THREE** = The Nazi regime to 1939

- In the mid-1920s, the Nazi Party was facing a significant ideological division. The table below summarises the main differences in their thinking.

Northern and western Nazis	Southern Bavarian Nazis
Gregor Strasser Otto Strasser Joseph Goebbels	Alfred Rosenberg General Ludendorff
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Socialist ideals</li> <li>■ Egalitarianism</li> <li>■ Anti-capitalist ideas</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Greater emphasis on racism</li> <li>■ Anti-Semitism</li> <li>■ Nationalism/ anti-communism</li> </ul>

- Hitler opposed the ‘northern socialists’ and in a 1926 Party Conference in Bamberg demanded unity and acceptance of his unquestioned leadership. Due to his charisma, his oratory and the belief that the party could not survive without him, Hitler won the day.
  - His more conservative nationalist/ racist/ anti-communist agenda became the main elements of the party’s creed.
  - Goebbels, wildly impressed by Hitler, dropped his allegiance to Strasser and joined Hitler.

Hitler spent time reorganising the party during the **lean years of the mid-1920s**. The country was divided in various ‘gaus’, each led by a ‘gauleiter who job it was to promote the party in his region. Party branches were established across the country and specialist organisations were set up for Nazi teachers or Nazi doctors etc. In addition, the Nazis began staging impressive propaganda displays with rallies and marches, dominated by thousands of flag-waving enthusiasts and of course Hitler’s oratory.

Martin Broszat explains the importance of propaganda as a means of keeping the Nazi movement going even when, electorally, it was failing. He argues that Hitler knew he had to keep alive the hope of gaining power to his followers. This had to be more than a belief; it had to be presented in material form. This was the point of the giant rallies, uniforms and flag waving that appeared even before the depression.

*“...(members were provided) with an emotional experience and strengthened their thirst for future action...(This) facilitated the crystallisation of the hopes, expectations and resentments of many frightened and disorientated men and women around this extremist movement.”*<sup>5</sup>

The party performed disastrously in the **1928 election**, gaining only 12 seats and 2.6% of the vote. However, the times were soon to favour the Nazis.

- In June 1929, the Muller government agreed to the terms of the **Young Plan**. The Young Plan reduced reparation payments but provided for their continued payment until 1988. The plan also returned control of Germans railways and banks to the government.
  - The right were angered at the idea of ‘enslaving’ the German people for another fifty years.
  - Led by DNVP leader and powerful media man, Alfred Hugenberg, a national campaign was organised to destroy the Young Plan. Hugenberg’s campaign failed.

<sup>5</sup> Broszat, M, Hitler and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic, Berg, Leamington Spa, p 67

- However, it was to prove of great importance for Hitler. Hugenberg had invited Hitler to join the anti-Young Plan campaign.
  - This was significant as it gave Hitler several important things: publicity and media prominence, money and respectability.

The **onset of the depression** was of course of even greater importance. AJP Taylor has said that ‘the depression put the wind in Hitler’s sails’. Able to exploit the misery and fears of the German people, the Nazis made massive electoral breakthroughs in the next three years:

- September 1930: 18.3% of the vote and 107 seats
- April 1932: 36.3% of the vote in the Prussian state election
- March 1932: 36.8% of the presidential vote
- July 1932: 37.3% of the vote and 230 seats.

Hitler was now beginning to make contacts with increasingly important people.

In October 1931, Hitler joined leading right wing figures in the **Harzburg Front** protesting against the policies of Brüning.

In January 1932 he made an effective address to the **Düsseldorf Industry Club**, at which he discarded his Nazi uniform for a sober business suit and presented himself as a model of moderation and respectability.

*However, for all his electoral success, his high-powered business and media contacts, Hitler was no nearer to gaining power. It was going to take some old-fashioned, back-room manoeuvring to get Hitler into power.*

#### Exercise 7.4

Match the person/ group/ event on the left, with one of the answers given on the box below. Write your answer in the space on the right.

1	Landsberg		Right-wing anti-Brüning government coalition
2	Alfred Rosenberg		left-leaning northern Nazi leader
3	Kampfbund		leading Nazi on racial matters
4	Harzburg Front		leading right wing media figure opposed to the young Plan
5	Mein Kampf		former Strasser loyalist who joined Hitler
6	Alfred Hugenberg		Nazi para-military group
7	Beer Hall Putsch		loose grouping of right wing Bavarian political groups
8	Gregor Strasser		Hitler’s autobiography and statement of political ideas
9	Sturmabteilung		failed Nazi attempt to seize power in November 1923
10	Joseph Goebbels		place of Hitler’s imprisonment in 1924

## 4. The impact of the depression

The Great Depression had an obvious major economic, social, psychological and political impact on Germany. However, it is far too simplistic to argue that the Republic fell because of the depression. Equally, it is quite clear that without the depression, the Republic would have probably survived. Rather, the story is more complicated:

- the depression provided the circumstances that made possible the destruction of democracy in Germany;
- it provided the opportunities for groups and individuals to pursue actions which had the effect of destroying the democracy;

### The situation before the Wall St Crash

The German economy was already suffering long before the Wall St Crash of October 1929. Germany's economic boom relied almost entirely on the flood of overseas loans, particularly US loans, which had entered Germany since 1924.

- However, US investors were not philanthropists; they were not sending their funds to Germany out of some humanitarian desire to assist Germany development.
- It was being done because interest rates in Germany were sufficiently high for US investors to receive a solid return on their investment. In addition, the short-term nature of the loans, often only three months, lessened the risk.

However, at the same time as the German economy was growing, the US Stock Market was experiencing spectacular growth. Unbelievable fortunes were being made on Wall St and the opportunity to speculate on the stock market was even being taken up by what today are disparagingly called 'mum and dad' investors.

During 1928, stock prices rose even higher, as did the opportunities to make even more money. This affected Germany in several ways:

- firstly, US investors began to remove their funds from Germany in order to invest on Wall St; this had an immediate effect of slowing the German economy and causing an increase in unemployment;
- secondly, in order to keep foreign funds in Germany, German interest rates were increased – they had already been high; this had the effect of limiting domestic investment in the economy, and again had the effect of slowing the economy. <sup>6</sup>

Thus, Germany was already moving into deep recession long before the crash of the Wall St Stock Exchange. This was happening against the background of an on-going agricultural depression and increasing protectionism around the world.

### The Wall St Crash and its impact on Germany

When stock prices on the New York market collapsed in October 1929 and continued their slide in the months to follow, the US economy went into freefall.

<sup>6</sup> In 21st century economies, increasing interest rates is a frequently used method of slowing the economy.

- American unemployment levels rocketed – reaching 15 million by 1933.
- There were thousands of bankruptcies.
- The ‘holding-company structure’ nature of much of US business meant that if one major firm collapsed, dozens of others would follow.
- Much of the speculation on Wall St had been done on credit; within months of the crash, hundreds of US banks collapsed.

For Germany this meant the immediate end of US funds flowing into the country. It also meant that US investors urgently withdrew what funds they could from the country. The impact on the German economy was immediate and catastrophic. Businesses all over Germany collapsed; bankruptcy became a nationwide phenomenon and unemployment levels leapt upwards. By 1932, unemployment was well above six million.

However, not all unemployed workers registered as unemployed. Also, there were also extremely high levels of ‘underemployment’, ie people who might be working only one or two days a fortnight who would therefore not appear in official figures.

### The economic impact worsens

Three sets of factors increased the impact of the depression on Germany.

1. The reaction of many countries to the depression was to move to protect their own domestic industries.
  - a. This led to major increases in tariffs with the aim of keeping out foreign goods and hopefully keeping home industries afloat.
  - b. The US passed the Smoot-Hawley Tariff in 1930; even Britain abandoned free trade.
  - c. This devastated an economy like that of Germany which relied on international trade.
2. Between March 1930 and May 1932, the German Chancellor was Heinrich Brüning. Brüning pursued an orthodox economic policy of rigid deflation: the policy of increasing taxation and decreasing government expenditure.
  - a. The aims of deflation were to balance the budget and ultimately restore confidence which in turn would stimulate investment.
  - b. We now know, thanks to Keynes, that the worst approach to economic depression is deflation. Keynesian theory showed that what was needed was to lower taxation and increase government expenditure.
  - c. Brüning’s policies drove the economy deeper into depression.
3. In July 1931, Germany suffered a major banking crisis. One of the country’s biggest banks, the Danat, went bankrupt.
  - a. This led to panic in the banking sphere and there was a run on the banks as people tried to grab their money before other banks fell.
  - b. Brüning eventually brought the situation under control but not before large amounts of capital had left the country.
  - c. The credit controls put in place after the Danat episode further drove the economy deeper into depression.

## The social and psychological impact of the Great Depression

All nations suffered from the fallout of the Great Depression. Unemployment was high not only in Germany but also in Britain, France, Australia and the United States.

Working class families became destitute:

- Many suffered eviction and were forced to live in shanty towns
- Health levels deteriorated
- Children were forced to leave school early
- Families broke up as men left to seek work or to simply escape family responsibilities

Middle class families faced, what was for them, the horrors of slipping down into the ranks of the proletariat.

- Transcending class was the shared experience of the humiliation of not being able to look after one's family.

German cities, like British and American cities, had their share of factory closures, hundreds of men eagerly reaching for a handful of jobs or just wasting their away their lives on street corners.

William S Shirer lived in Germany at the time of the depression and the rise of the Nazis. He makes the point that the depression did not cause the collapse of the republic; rather it gave men like Hitler the opportunity to take advantage of the people's misfortunes, as a means to further his political progress.

*"...Like most great revolutionaries he could thrive only in evil times...when the masses were unemployed, hungry and desperate...(The people's suffering he would) transform cold-bloodedly and immediately, into political support for his own ambitions."*<sup>7</sup>

### Exercise 7.5

Match the phrase on the left, with the appropriate answer in the box below.

1	Keynesian theory	
2	Policy of deflation	
3	The Danat	
4	protectionism	
5	Increasing interest rates	
6	speculation	
7	underemployment	
Increasing taxation and cutting government expenditure Buying and selling shares on the stock market to make a profit Policy aimed at slowing an economy and attracting foreign capital Position of workers managing only a few days' work a fortnight Lowering taxation and increasing government expenditure Policy of increasing tariffs to protect one's own industries One of the Germany's leading banks		

<sup>6</sup> Shirer, W S, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, Pan, London, 1964, pp 171, 173

## 5. The impact of the depression

The onset of the depression did not automatically mean that the days of the Weimar Republic were numbered. However, it is equally true to argue that the impact of the depression created the circumstances that made possible the events that would see the demise of Germany democracy. Evidence to support this thinking includes:

1. The economic crisis created by the depression led to a political crisis which saw the effective end of German democracy as early as March 1930.
2. The deflationary economic policy pursued by Brüning from March 1930 drove Germany deeper and deeper into depression.
3. The suffering caused by the depression created feelings of desperation and psychological disillusionment within the German people. This led to a polarisation of German politics and increasing violence in political life.
4. It gave Hitler and the Nazi Party the opportunity they had lacked during the superficially prosperous and stable period of the mid-1920s.
5. It made possible the behind the scenes manoeuvring by the conservative elites which would lead to Hitler's appointment as Chancellor.

### The end of democracy – March 1930?

Since May 1928, Germany had been ruled an SPD-led 'Grand Coalition'. With **Hermann Müller as Chancellor**, this was the first SPD-led government in Germany since 1920 and seemed to represent a triumph for democracy. However, even at this moment, Müller needed the support of some right-wing parties to form a government. In early October 1929, Gustav Stresemann died. Stresemann had been the glue holding together several 1920s governments and his steadying influence was greatly missed. Two weeks later there was the Wall St Crash.

By March 1930 the government was in crisis:

- Germany had a generous unemployment insurance scheme. However, as unemployment rocketed, it became very expensive to fund this scheme.
  - Müller and the SPD wanted to raise taxes in order to maintain this scheme for the benefit of the unemployed.
- Müller's right wing cabinet colleagues refused to go along with this.
- Müller's response was to go to President Hindenburg and ask him to use his powers under Article 48 to push through the taxation measure.
  - Hindenburg refused; Müller had no choice but to resign.

Why did Hindenburg refuse to back Müller? Hindenburg had surrounded himself with a close-knit group of key, trusted advisors. Now in his eighties, Hindenburg relied heavily on his staff and these men were able to use their considerable influence to determine Hindenburg's decision-making. These men included:

- General von Schleicher, Chief of the Army Department in the Defence Ministry.
- Oskar Hindenburg, his son.
- Otto Meißner, Hindenburg's personal secretary.

These men were part of the old conservative elites; they had no love of democracy. They advised Hindenburg to dump Müller. Following Müller's resignation, the president appointed

the Centre Party leader, **Heinrich Brüning** as the next chancellor. Brüning had no majority in the Reichstag but this was not going to be a problem. Brüning would rule using the emergency powers under Article 48.

- Democratic parliamentary government had come to an end in Germany, and this was almost three years before Hitler's appointment!
- The events of March 1930 have led British historian AJP Taylor to describe Brüning's appointment as the end of democracy in Germany.

Economic depression deepened, political violence returned to the streets, election followed election and behind the scenes the conservative elites manoeuvred. Out of this combination of events, Hitler emerged as Chancellor in January 1933. Figure 7.5 explains the course of events that led to this happening.

However, nothing in history is inevitable. In late 1932/ early 1933, many in Germany had written off the Nazis. Their electoral fortunes were on the decline, particularly in in state and local elections. The party was virtually bankrupt. There were major divisions within the party, seen most notably in Hitler's clash with Gregor Strasser in December 1932. Many in the party had become frustrated with Hitler. Twice in 1932 he had turned the offer of Vice-Chancellor – had the Nazis missed their chance for power? Worst of all for the Nazis, there were signs that the economy was picking up. Life in Germany was still grim, but it appeared that the worst might be over. If this continued, the Nazis' electoral fortunes and influence could only decline further.

### What do the historians have to say about “The rise of the Nazis and the collapse of the Weimar Republic”?

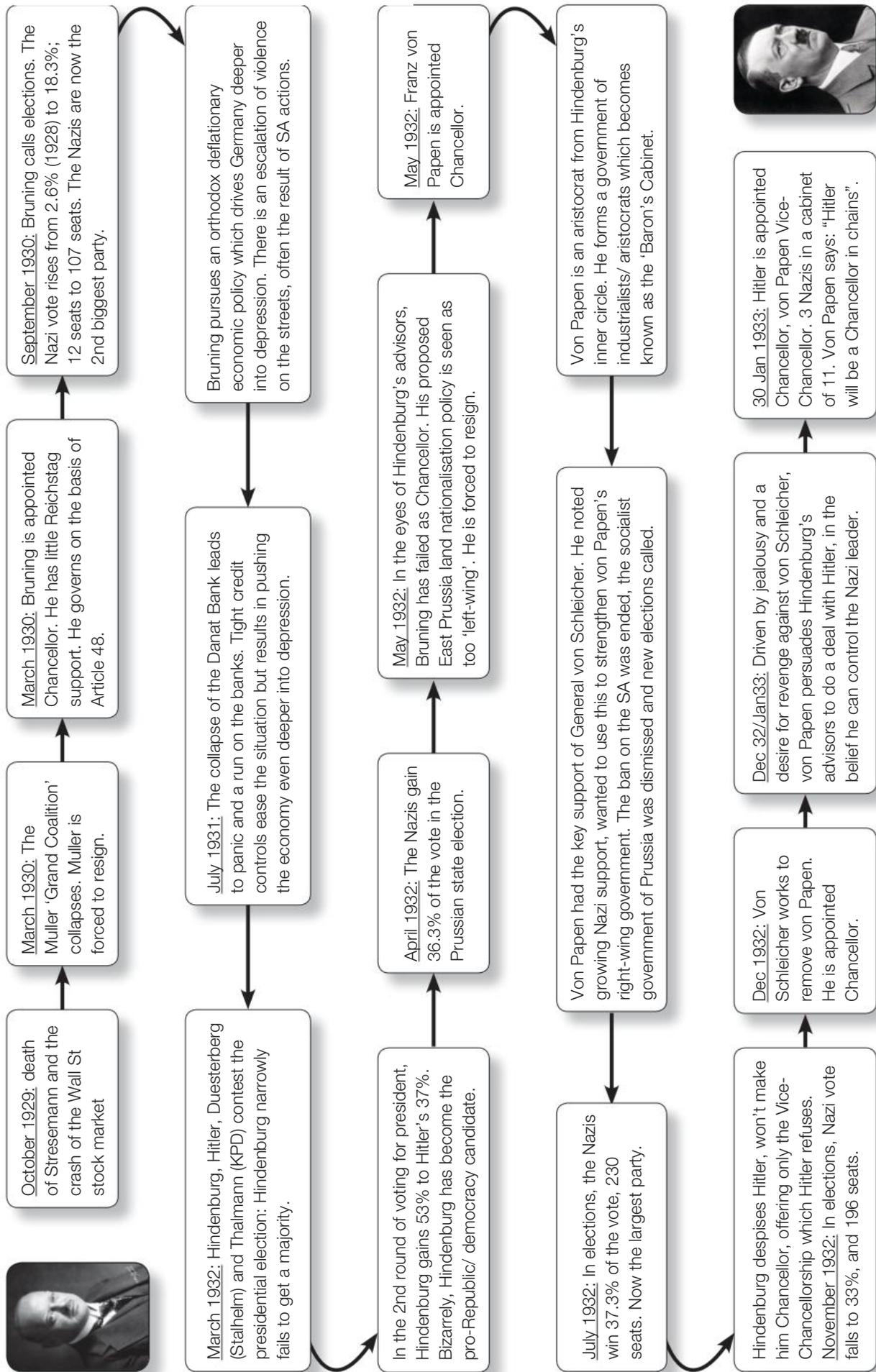
*AJP Taylor (The Course of German History 1956)* argues that it was not the economic crisis that ended the democracy but Brüning's appointment as Chancellor in March 1930. Taylor says the army stood behind Brüning, ensured order and allowed him to ignore the Reichstag, just as Bismarck had done before 1890. In return, Brüning pushed rearmament and sought to undo the Versailles Treaty.

*JW Hiden (The Weimar Republic 1974)* argues the case that there was an undeniable link between the growth of Nazi strength and the depression. More than this, he shows how important the 'petit bourgeois' or 'lower middle class' element of this support was. He provides evidence to illustrate that Nazi support was essentially youthful and strong in those lower middle class occupations such as shopkeepers, merchants, civil servants and white collar workers.

*Richard Evans (The Coming of the Third Reich 2003)* highlights the divisions on the left. Social Democrats were concerned at the unruly elements joining the Communists; the Communists resented SPD union bosses pointing out communist trade union members who were always therefore the first to be sacked. Evans further shows how the KPD became gradually more extreme as time went on which pulled the two left wing parties further apart.

*Martin Broszat (Hitler and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic, 1987)* highlights the effect the depression had on the voting patterns of the German people. He shows how, what he calls the 'bourgeois parties' – the DNVP, DVP, DDP and agrarian parties – lost most of their support to the Nazis. He shows that the DVP/ DDP share of the vote fell from 20% at the start of the 1920s to 2.2% in July 1932; the DNVP share fell from 20% to 5.9%.

Figure 7.5 The accession to power of the Nazis



**Exercise 7.6**

Look at the events listed on the left. Rearrange them and write them out in the correct chronological order in the spaces provided on the right.

Mixed up list of events		Correct chronological order
Hindenburg wins second term	1st	
Grand coalition faces crisis	2nd	
Resignation of Brüning	3rd	
Death of Stresemann	4th	
Appointment of Brüning	5th	
Sept 1930: Nazis gain 107 seats	6th	
Appointment of von Papen	7th	
Resignation of Müller	8th	
Wall St Crash	9th	
Müller becomes Chancellor	10th	

**Exercise 7.7**

Indicate whether the statements on the left are true or false.

1	Hindenburg was a keen admirer of the leadership skills of Adolf Hitler	TRUE/ FALSE
2	After his fall, von Papen was motivated by vengeful and jealous desires	TRUE/ FALSE
3	KPD electoral support steadily increased throughout the depression.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	There was no major increase in the level of violence in German politics during the depression years.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	Von Schleicher always remained reluctant about dealing with the Nazis.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	Oskar Hindenburg and Otto Meißner were powerful behind the scenes.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	Hindenburg's advisors did not fear Hitler's appointment in January 1933	TRUE/ FALSE
8	Von Schleicher viewed von Papen's period of rule as a failure	TRUE/ FALSE
9	Von Schleicher played no role in bringing about von Papen's demise.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	Hindenburg ironically became a symbol of the democratic republic.	TRUE/ FALSE



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# Chapter Eight

## The Consolidation of Nazi Power: 1933-34

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### Introduction

The Nazis celebrated long into the night on 30 January following Hitler's swearing in as Chancellor earlier in the day. However, it would be wrong to date Hitler's complete power from this moment. Hitler headed a cabinet that was dominated by his opponents – there were three Nazis in a cabinet of eleven. The Nazis did not control the Reichstag and the conservative elites certainly did not believe that they had handed total power over to Hitler. Von Papen and other members of the conservative elites boasted at the time: “we have hired him”.

However, by August 1934, Hitler's power was absolute; even the army swore allegiance personally to Hitler.

There is no simple explanation for this dramatic turn of events. However, each of the following played some role in the consolidation of Nazi power:

- (A) The Nazis' ability to take advantage of fortuitous events, eg the Reichstag Fire of February 1933
- (B) Hitler's ability to convince Hindenburg of the real danger of communism
- (C) The Nazis' willingness to be utterly ruthless
- (D) The use of legal procedure to bring about the creation of a Nazi state.
- (E) The lack of will on the part of the Nazis' opponents.
- (F) Goebbels' skilful use of propaganda.
- (G) Hitler's willingness to turn on his trusted colleagues.

The process by which the Nazis reorganised the nation into a Nazi state is known by the German term 'Gleichschaltung', or 'coordination'. By 1934, all elements of German life had been successfully brought under Nazi control.

### Consolidation of power – Part 1: January 1933-April 1934

The following table illustrates how the Nazis consolidated their power during this period. The **bolded** letters (see above) refer to the method that the Nazis used to achieve each aspect of the consolidation process. <sup>1</sup>

Date	Action		Significance
1 Feb	Hindenburg dissolves the Reichstag	<b>D</b>	Nazis will have the full resources of the state to fight the March election
4 Feb	“Law for the Protection of the German People”	<b>B</b> <b>D</b>	Bans placed on left wing parties. Hitler makes clear the focus is on destroying the 'communist threat'
22 Feb	Goering recruits 50 000 SA/ SS as auxiliary police	<b>B</b> <b>D</b>	Nazis have total control of the nation's police forces

<sup>1</sup> Obviously the various methods employed by the Nazis overlapped at times.

27 Feb	The Reichstag building is destroyed by fire	A	Hitler points to a communist coup attempt.
28 Feb	Reichstag Fire Decree	A B D	Suspension of constitutional freedoms 4000 people arrested KPD not banned. Its continued existence allows the Nazis to play up the fear of a communist threat
5 Mar	Reichstag elections	D	Nazis win 44% of vote and join with 7% nationalists to gain a majority
13 Mar	Goebbels joins cabinet	F	He forms the Ministry for Propaganda and Enlightenment
21 Mar	Potsdam Ceremony  Establishment of Special Courts	F  B D	Opening of the new Reichstag. This had propaganda value as opening parliament in Potsdam linked the Nazis to Germany's historic past. Hitler was keen to show Hindenburg great respect.  These are set up to deal with political crimes
March	Establishment of the first concentration camps at Dachau and Oranienburg  Establishment of the Gestapo	B C D  C	At this stage the camps are established to deal with political opponents  Secret State Police – it becomes a law unto itself and free of any legal restraint
23 Mar	The Enabling Act	D	Hitler is given total power for four years.
28 Mar	Fulda Declaration	E	Catholic bishops urge support for the Nazi government. Catholics can join the party.
April	Anti-Jewish measures  Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service  Law for the Coordination of the States within the Reich	C  D E	Jewish businesses boycotted (1 April), Jews are dismissed from the Civil Service and limits placed on Jews in education.  As well as Jews, any potential opponents are removed from the civil service. The civil service offered no opposition to the Nazis.  This law makes sure state governments obey the central Nazi government's orders.
1 May 2 May	Day of National Labour Trade Unions banned	C D E	National holiday honouring workers. Unions are now illegal and are merged with the Nazi German Labour Front
10 May	Burning of the books	C F	The Nazis make it clear no independent thinking is to be allowed

26 May	Law for the Seizure of Communist Assets	C D	KPD effectively destroyed
22 June	SPD is dissolved	C E	Removal of only source of opposition
27 June	DNVP dissolves itself	E	End of any possible right wing opposition
28 June	DVP and DDP dissolve themselves Hugenberg resigns from the cabinet	E E	Shows lack of political will and effectiveness of Nazi control Nazi control of the cabinet almost total
5 July	BVP and Centre dissolve themselves	E	Non-Nazi political organisations are now almost non-existent
14 July	Law Against the Establishment of Parties	C D	The Nazi Party is now the only legal political party in Germany.
20 July	Concordat	D E	Hitler does a deal with the Catholic Church which ends any potential catholic opposition.
22 Sept	Reich Chamber of Culture is formed	F	Nazi control of German culture is complete
4 Oct	Editorial Law passed	F	All media now totally under Nazi control
12 Nov	Reichstag Election Plebiscite on Germany's exit from the League of Nations	D F	Nazis win 93% of vote 95% of German people approve of Hitler's action
Jan 34	Abolition of state parliaments	D	Ensured central Nazi political control
Feb34	Abolition of the Reichsrat	D	The upper house of parliament is not needed as power is now centrally controlled.
Apr 34	Establishment of the People's Court	D C	This is set up to deal with 'crimes against the state'

Through a process of legal enactments and removal of opposition political groups, the Nazis were able to quickly gain control of the German state. Under the control of Propaganda Minister Goebbels, all forms of expression were brought under Nazi control (see Chapter 12). Where persuasion did not work, the Nazis openly used terror and repression (see Chapter 11). Throughout 1933, all non-Nazi organisations were gradually either Nazified, absorbed into pre-existing Nazi groups or simply banned. This process of coordinating German life – *Gleichaltung* – affected areas as diverse as teaching, peasant associations, cultural groups, women's organisations and youth groups. Details on some of these aspects of life in Nazi Germany will be covered in Chapters 13 and 14.

**Exercise 8.1**

Answer the following questions. Place your answers in the spaces provided on the right.

Why was the Reichstag Fire a stroke of good fortune for the Nazis?	1	
What was the significance of the Potsdam ceremony?	2	
What was the Enabling Act?	3	
Define the term Gleichaltung.	4	
What happened to Germany's trade unions?	5	
What happened to Germany's political parties?	6	
What was the purpose of the book burnings and the Editorial Law?	7	
Provide examples of the Nazis' willingness to use force.	8	
What happened to Germany's state governments?	9	
Was Gleichaltung a legal process?	10	

## Consolidation of power – Part 2: 1934

Hitler's ambitions from the beginning of his political career went beyond simply obtaining power and holding on to it. This was important but his real long-term aims were in the field of foreign policy. Hitler sought to undo the hated Treaty of Versailles, restore Germany's position in Europe and gain 'lebensraum', or 'living space' in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

- To achieve these aims, Hitler needed the army on side. He also needed an expanded military capability because his expansionist plans would inevitably lead to war.
  - He needed a professional army led by professional officers who could make use of the massive rearmament plans that Hitler had in mind.
  - Hitler also needed business and industry on side; German industry would be needed to produce the new planes, tanks, submarines and weaponry that the armed forces would need.

What Hitler did not need in 1934 was further unrest on the domestic front. For Hitler 'the revolution was over'. However, this was not the view of the now three million strong **SA led by Ernst Rohm**. Rohm had very different ideas to Hitler about Germany's future:

- Rohm sought a '**second revolution**'. Gaining power was not enough; he now believed that there should be a thoroughgoing change in Germany's socio-economic set-up, a further social upheaval which would lead to the creation of a full Nazi state.
  - Such an idea frightened Germany's business and industry leaders.
  - They wanted stability at home so Germany could move out of the depression and they could set about making money out of rearmament.
- Rohm also wanted to establish a national people's militia. He hoped to absorb the regular army into his massive SA organisation.
  - Such an idea shocked the elite of Germany's officer corps.
  - They believed that the serious business of rearmament and expansion was too serious a concern to be left to the thugs and homosexuals of the SA.
- Rohm also harboured visions of his being Germany's true leader.

Throughout 1934, violence continued across Germany and Rohm's SA seemed to be getting out of hand. President Hindenburg, army leaders and business leaders all demanded that Hitler get the SA under control. Hindenburg warned Hitler that he would consider imposing martial law. This would have meant an army takeover of the country and could have spelt the end of Nazi power.

Hitler was in a dangerous position:

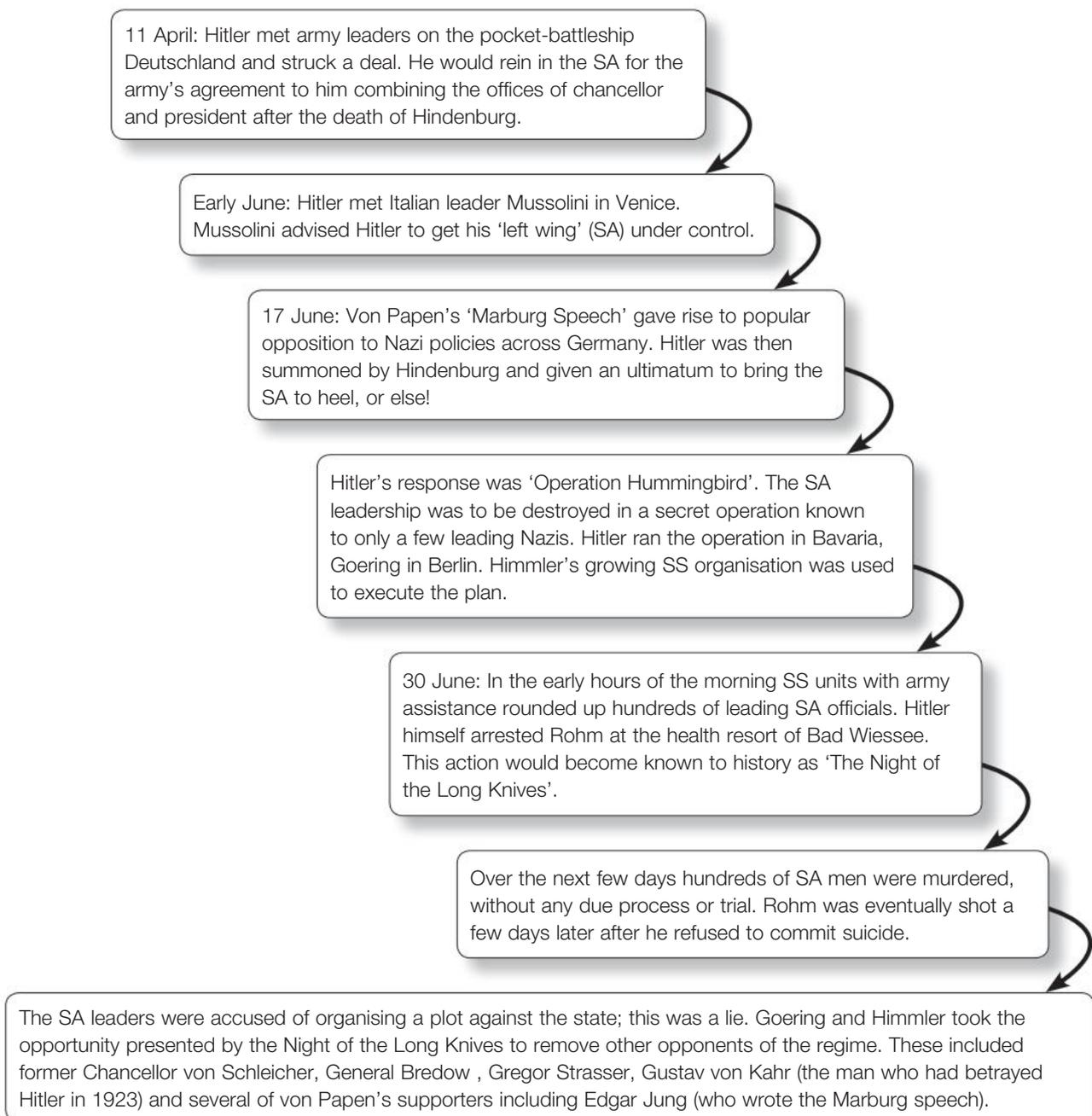
- Rohm's and the SA's behaviour threatened the continued existence of his regime, his long-term foreign policy aims and indeed his life.
- Hitler had to make a choice: should he throw in his lot with his long-term, loyal Nazi colleagues in the SA, or should he side with Hindenburg and the army and destroy those loyal 'comrades in arms'?

*William Shirer* describes in a racy journalistic manner the fear Hitler felt when he had been summoned to see Hindenburg in early June 1934. General Blomberg openly stated that Hitler must bring the SA under control or martial law would be declared; Hindenburg confirmed the ultimatum later. Hitler was clearly in trouble.

*“...This was a disastrous turn of affairs for the Nazi Chancellor. Not only was his plan to succeed the president in jeopardy; if the army took over, that would be the end of him and of Nazi government.”*<sup>2</sup>

For Hitler the choice was obvious: Rohm and the SA leadership would have to be liquidated. Figure 8.1 outlines how Hitler dealt with the threat of the SA.

**Figure 8.1 The Night of the Long Knives: “Operation Humming Bird”**



<sup>2</sup> Shirer, WS, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, Pan, London, p 274

### *The significance of the Night of the Long Knives*

1. The threat of the SA, Rohm's leadership aspirations and the possibility of a second revolution were gone.
2. German business leaders were content.
3. Blomberg and other army leaders were satisfied. They were even willing to see some of their own men killed. When Hindenburg died and Hitler absorbed the office of president, the German army swore a personal oath of allegiance to Hitler as Fuhrer of Germany.
4. Hindenburg was satisfied. He said that when history was being made, blood was shed. Hindenburg died conveniently on 2 August. As Fuhrer, Hitler took all of the president's powers, including the post of commander in chief.
5. Hitler's power was now absolute.

### **Exercise 8.2 Rewrite the following passage in the correct chronological order.**

*Hindenburg and the army were outraged at such a suggestion and demanded that Hitler deal with Rohm. Hitler's position was now unassailable. In early 1934 Hitler faced a real threat from Rohm and the SA. Using SS and army units, Hitler moved against the SA on 30 June 1934. This threat existed because Rohm sought a second revolution and wanted to absorb the regular army into the SA. Hitler's position was in danger and so he decided to sacrifice Rohm and his long-time SA colleagues.*

## What do historians have to say about “the consolidation of Nazi power 1933-34”?

### 1. Richard Evans: *The Third Reich in Power*

Evans makes the point that the army were well pleased with what had transpired on 30 June. Champagne toasts were made as younger officers compared the destruction of the SA to ‘the lancing of a boil’. Their jubilation was great; Major von Witzleben claimed that he wished he had been able to see Rohm die.

*“...the army breathed a sigh of relief. General Blomberg expressed his gratitude and assured Hitler of the complete devotion of the army.”*<sup>3</sup>

### 2. Ian Kershaw: *Hitler*

Kershaw sees great significance in the action of 30 June. It ended any internal threat to Hitler’s power, brought the army behind Hitler and gave a clear warning to any individual or group within the country that the regime was willing to take any measures to hold on to power.

*“...The bloody repression of part of his own Movement was a critical moment in the consolidation of Hitler’s power...(The) popular esteem gained through his destruction of the generally hated SA was a further boost to Hitler’s power.”*<sup>4</sup>

## **A possible 10 or 15 mark HSC-style question on ‘the consolidation of power’.**

*(Students are reminded that HSC questions may include sources. Suggestions for dealing with such questions will be covered after Chapter Twenty One.)*

***“Account for the ease with which Hitler and the Nazis were able to consolidate their power by August 1934.”***

The danger with this question is that students may fall into the trap of simply narrating a series of events. Certainly, the events of 1933-34 need to be included in the answer. However, try to isolate lines of argument and use the events to support those ideas.

It was a combination of luck, manipulation of legal procedures and a willingness to be utterly ruthless, even against loyal supporters, that explains the ease with which Hitler and the Nazis consolidated their power by August 1934. The Nazi position was precarious in January 1933 but by August 1934 was completely unassailable.

Luck certainly played its part in the Nazi consolidation of power.

- The Reichstag Fire of 27 February played into Hitler’s hands:
  - he was able to play up the idea of a communist coup threat;

<sup>3</sup> Evans, R, *The Third Reich in Power*, Penguin, London, 2005, p 41

<sup>4</sup> Kershaw, I, *Hitler*, Longman, Harlow, 1991, pp 73, 74

- he convinced Hindenburg to pass the Reichstag Fire Decree – this removed constitutional rights and freedoms
- it allowed the immediate suppression of left-wing opponents.
- The German left remained divided:
  - the KPD refused to forgive the SPD for January 1919
  - it acted under orders from Moscow not to cooperate with the SPD
  - only a united left could have stopped Hitler at this time;
  - it was Hitler's good fortune that the left was irretrievably split.
- The severity of the depression and the ruthlessness of the Nazis demoralised other potential opponents into submission;
  - many parties dissolved themselves voluntarily (give examples)
  - the Catholic Church meekly accepted the Nazis.

The Nazis were able to manipulate legal procedure to destroy what was left of the democratic system and take over law and order

- The Reichstag Fire Decree – 28 February
- The Enabling Act – 23 March
- Introduction of measures to bring about Gleichschaltung in all areas of life, eg the Editorial Law – 4 October
- The banning of all political parties – 14 July
- Goering's recruitment of SA into the Auxiliary Police.

It took a brave person to stand up to the Nazis. The Nazis proved themselves willing to be utterly ruthless in dealing with their opponents.

- They had no qualms about using repression:
  - SA gangs were allowed to run amok free of any restraint;
  - a secret police, the Gestapo, was formed and operated free of legal controls;
  - concentration camps, eg Dachau, appeared and the brutality exercised in these places was not hidden.

Hitler was also willing to turn on his own supporters if necessary:

- refer to the danger posed by Rohm and the SA;
- explain the dangers to Hitler's position emanating from the army and Hindenburg;
- show how Hitler was willing to brutally attack his own people (the SA) in order to consolidate his power; bring in details of the Night of the Long Knives.

Hindenburg died within a month of the destruction of the SA. Hitler absorbed the powers of the president which the army accepted by swearing an oath of loyalty to Hitler personally. A combination of luck, law and brutality resulted in Hitler's acquisition of absolute power.



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# Chapter Nine

## Nazi Ideology

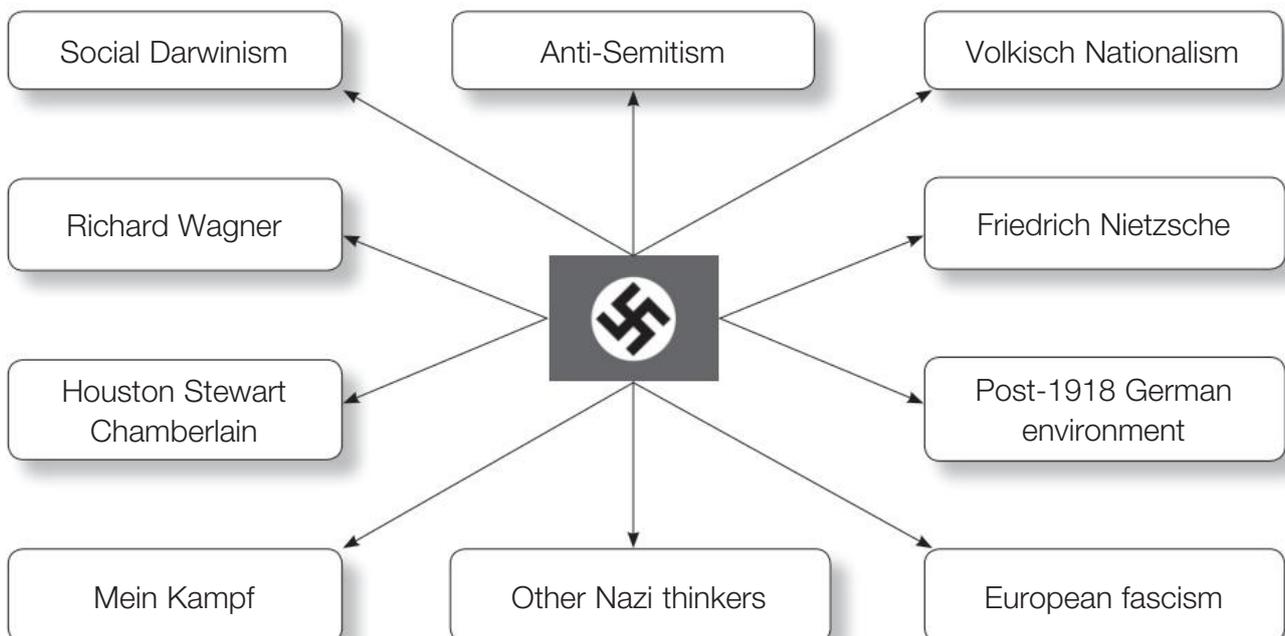
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There is a paradox about the nature of Nazi ideology.

- On one level it appears to be extremely simple and resting on a couple of fundamental ideas.
- However, a deeper examination shows that it had roots stretching back into the 19th century.
- On another level it could be argued that it was very much the product of the post-1918 German environment.
- Hitler's mastery of the party might lead to the idea that one does not need to venture beyond a close look at the Fuhrer's book *Mein Kampf* to gain an understanding of Nazi ideology.
- However, though Hitler's primacy was rarely challenged, many other party members added to the complexity of Nazi thinking.
- There is also the position of Nazism in the context of inter-war fascism. Was Nazism unique or was it just another brand of fascism?

Nazism of course was very much all of these. Figure 9.1 outlines some of the possible sources of Nazi ideology.

**Figure 9.1 The sources of Nazi Ideology**



## Social Darwinism

In 1859, Charles Darwin published his *On the Origin of Species*. Ideas dealing with the possibility of evolution had been around for some time but it was Darwin whose ground-breaking work that provided the intellectual leap. Darwin's ideas that species evolved and prospered by a process of natural selection as they adapted to their environment were eagerly picked up. Herbert Spencer introduced the phrase 'survival of the fittest', a term Darwin later embraced.

Darwin's thinking and the notion of 'survival of the fittest' were quickly adapted to wider areas of human existence. Darwinism led to Social Darwinism.

- If various species prospered by a process of natural selection, proving to be "the fittest", then this explained why humans ruled the earth.
- However, it was then argued that not all humans are equal. Human history, it was argued, proved that some nations and some cultures were more successful than others.
- They had been able to overcome 'weaker' or 'inferior' nations and cultures.

Why was this the case? It all came down to race. Just as species had evolved to be superior to other species, so it followed some races were superior to other races. It was this inherent racial superiority that ensured success in the struggle between nations and cultures. And how was this success to be maintained? The answer lay in the preservation of racial purity.

This became the essence of Nazi thinking. *Race was everything*. The Aryan Race was destined to rule the earth's inferior races. It was crucial that the Aryan race maintain its racial purity and not be polluted by infiltration by inferior races, particularly the Jewish race. "Racial purity", "survival of the fittest" and "the notion of struggle" became crucial elements of Nazi thinking.

## Anti-Semitism

*Anti-Semitism is the irrational and often violent hatred of Jews and things Jewish.*

Anti-Semitism was by no means restricted to Germany. The roots of anti-Semitism are deep and can be found in the Christian belief in Jewish responsibility for the death of Christ, the evolution of Jewish separateness and the ease with which Jews could be targeted as scapegoats for society's ills.

- Hostility to Jews had existed in nearly all countries since the expulsion of the Jews from Palestine in the 1st century AD:
  - Clubs in the United States banned Jewish membership and Jews became targets of the Ku Klux Klan;
  - Jews suffered persecution in Russia under the tsars and the communists;
  - Jews had been expelled from England in the 13th century.
- Ironically, arguably the best place for Jews to live in the 19th and early 20th century was Germany where they had successfully assimilated, become successful and had even often

changed their names to become more Germanic. Many Jewish men fought willingly for Germany during the war.

However, anti-Semitism was rife in early 20th century Europe, including Germany. A popular book of the time was 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion' which purported to prove that the Jews were involved in a worldwide conspiracy to take over the world.

Pseudo-scientific ideas were popular at this time which tried to argue that race inequality was a fact. This had a major impact on anti-Semitism. In earlier times, anti-Semitism had been based on religion. Thus, a Jew might escape persecution by converting to Christianity. However, late nineteenth century thinking saw Jewish separateness (and inferiority) based not on faith but on race. As a result, conversion did not change what a Jew was. In such thinking, members of the Aryan race were deemed superior to all others, while the Jews were placed at the bottom of the racial heap.

After World War I, Jews were lumped together with socialists and democrats as comprising 'the November Criminals' responsible for 'stabbing the German army in the back' (see Chapter Seven).

These ideas, plus Hitler's personal experiences in Vienna before 1914, where he became exposed to anti-Semitic propaganda, helped to shape his racist obsessions.<sup>1</sup> It would require a psychologist to adequately explain why Hitler harboured such a fanatical hatred for the Jews. What is possible, however, is to highlight some of the key Nazi beliefs regarding race, and the Jews in particular. These ideas are summarised in Figure 9.2.

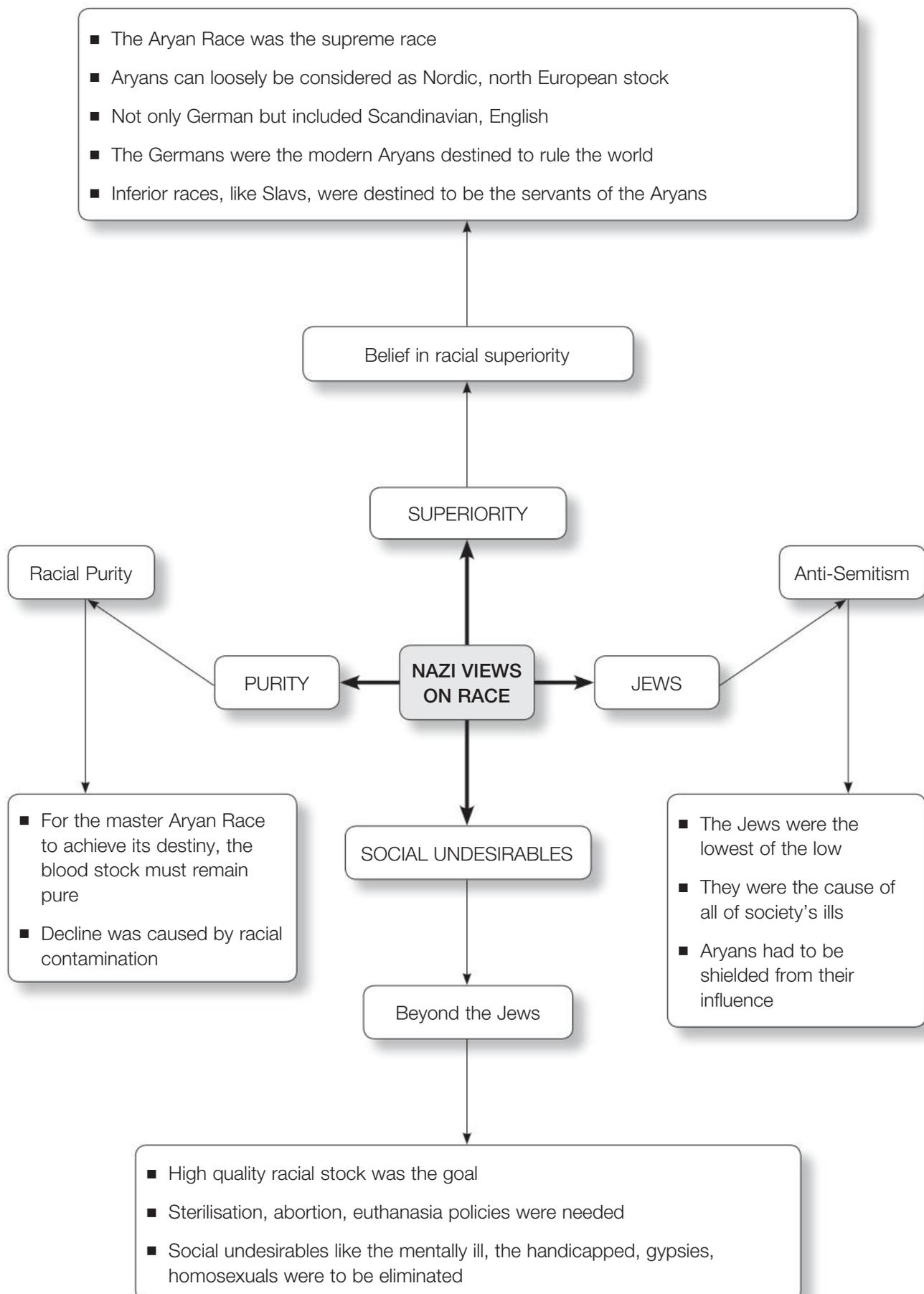
### Other sources of Nazi thinking

- Hitler adored the operas of Richard Wagner which were rich in Nordic mythology with stories of romance, struggle and sacrifice. Hitler once said that to understand National Socialism one needed to listen to Wagner.
- The Germanophile Englishman, Houston Stewart Chamberlain had a major impact on German thinking. His 1899 book "*Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*" saw the Teutons (ancient Germanic tribes) as the beginning of culture in Europe. Hitler became quite close to Chamberlain.<sup>2</sup>
- Some of the ideas of the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, such as "the will to power" – often misunderstood - were adopted by the Nazis.
- Volkisch nationalism had become prominent in nineteenth century German intellectual circles. This was the notion that the German race possessed a mysterious essence that could only be protected by ensuring ethnic purity.
- The trauma of defeat and revolution in 1918 and the chaos into which Germany descended led many to seek scapegoats to blame. The myth developed that the German army had not been defeated but 'stabbed in the back' by democrats, socialists and Jews'. (see Chapter Seven). Such ideas fed easily into fanatical nationalism and anti-Semitic thinking that was taking hold at that time.

1 Historians differ on this point. Michael Burleigh sees Vienna as significant in Hitler's anti-Semitic obsessions while Brigitte Hamman (Hitler's Vienna) suggests it had more to do with Hitler's post-1918 experiences.

2 Chamberlain was married to Wagner's daughter. Hitler and several Nazi leaders attended his funeral in 1927.

Figure 9.2 Nazi thinking on race



## Other Nazi thinkers

When Hitler was serving his comfortable time in Landsberg Prison in 1924, he wrote *Mein Kampf*, *My Struggle*. His book was part-autobiography and part statement of his beliefs and ideas. The key focus of the book is race and Germany's destiny but in the book Hitler often digresses to discuss other issues ranging from boxing to syphilis.

- Though Hitler dominated the party and its thinking, Nazism was also affected by the thinking of other leading Nazis.
- These men were not seeking to circumvent or undermine Hitler and his fundamental ideas.
  - Rather each man was working “towards the Fuhrer” and seeking his support to further their ideas.
- This led to rivalry amongst the various leading Nazis and ultimately led to the radicalisation of the Nazi regime.

These leading Nazis and their ideas included:

- Gregor Strasser – from the industrial north, represented the ‘socialist’ element of Nazi thinking, was anti-capitalist and sought land redistribution;
- Alfred Rosenberg – very strong on race, anti-Christian, anti-Communist;
- Gottfried Feder – anti-Semitic, and had a focus on economics;
- Walter Darré – his focus was the *volkisch* idea of ‘blood and soil’ and the purity of the peasant;
- Hans Günther – his focus was race and the study of eugenics to improve the racial stock.

## Nazism and fascism

Earlier writers such as AJP Taylor and William Shirer saw Nazism as uniquely German, emanating from earlier German history. However, more recent writers see Nazism as part of the general trend of fascism in inter-war Europe. One such writer is Roger Griffin.<sup>3</sup> Griffin shows that Nazism shared many similarities with other European fascist movements. He refers to its anti-liberalism, anti-conservatism, anti-rationalism, anti-internationalism, its non-Marxist socialism and its notion of charismatic leadership.

Fundamental to fascism – and so Nazism too – is Griffin's notion of *palingenesis*. Nazism (and fascism) sought national rebirth and renewal. It can be seen as revolutionary in that it seeks to reorder society after a period of decay and misery but it also harks back to what was perceived as an earlier golden age, a purer, uncorrupted time.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For more detail on this see Roger Griffin's books *Fascism* (OUP, 1995) and *The Nature of Fascism* (Routledge 1991).

<sup>4</sup> See Webb, K, *Power and Authority 1919-1946*, Nelson Cengage, Melbourne, 2018, Chapter Five.

**Exercise 9.1** Indicate whether each of the following is true or false.

1	The complexity of Nazi ideology means that it is not possible to locate simple sources of its origin.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	Charles Darwin's purpose in <i>On the Origin of Species</i> was to prove some races were superior to others.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	It was Charles Darwin who originally came up with the phrase 'survival of the fittest'.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	The roots of anti-Semitism can be found in Christian beliefs that the Jews were responsible for the death of Christ.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	Anti-Semitism was a uniquely German phenomenon not present in other countries.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	By the early twentieth century, many Jews had successfully assimilated into German society.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	By the early twentieth century, anti-Semitic thinking was increasingly based on race rather than faith.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	Hitler's <i>Mein Kampf</i> was the sole source of the key elements of Nazi ideology.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	Nazi notions of Aryan racial superiority resulted in the persecution of not only Jews but also other groups.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	Historians are agreed that Nazi ideology is totally unique and bears no relation to European fascism.	TRUE/ FALSE

**Exercise 9.2** Match the person on the right to the statement on the left.

1	Author of <i>On the Origin of Species</i>		ADOLF HITLER
2	Creator of the phrase 'survival of the fittest'		FRIEDRICH NIETSCHE
3	Author of <i>Foundations of the Nineteenth Century</i>		GREGOR STRASSER
4	Composer of German romantic, mythical operas		CHARLES DARWIN
5	Originator of the idea of 'the will to power'		ROGER GRIFFIN
6	Author of <i>Mein Kampf</i>		HANS GUNTHER
7	Representative of the socialist strand of Nazism		HERBERT SPENCER
8	Focussed on 'blood and soil' and peasant purity		WALTER DARRÉ
9	Focussed on racial purity and use of eugenics		RICHARD WAGNER
10	Modern writer who focusses on palingenesis		HOUSTON STEWART CHAMBERLAIN

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# Chapter Ten

## Prominent Figures in the Nazi State

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### Introduction

At the 1934 Nuremberg Rally, Deputy Fuhrer, Rudolf Hess, stated: "Hitler is Germany; Germany is Hitler." The centrality of Hitler to the Nazi regime has never been disputed by historians. However, the view of Hitler's role in the Nazi state has undergone significant revision as historical research has deepened. This will be examined briefly below in Figure 10.1.

However, there has never been any doubt that delegation was a key feature of the Nazi regime and that the Nazi State's key prominent figures played crucial roles. The average person would probably have difficulty naming the key figures working under Stalin or Mao or Mussolini or a host of other dictators. However, they would probably be able to list key Nazi figures such as Goebbels, Goering, Himmler, Hess. This chapter will examine the background, roles and fate of some of the prominent figures in the Nazi State of the 1930s.

**Figure 10.1 Hitler's role in the Nazi state**

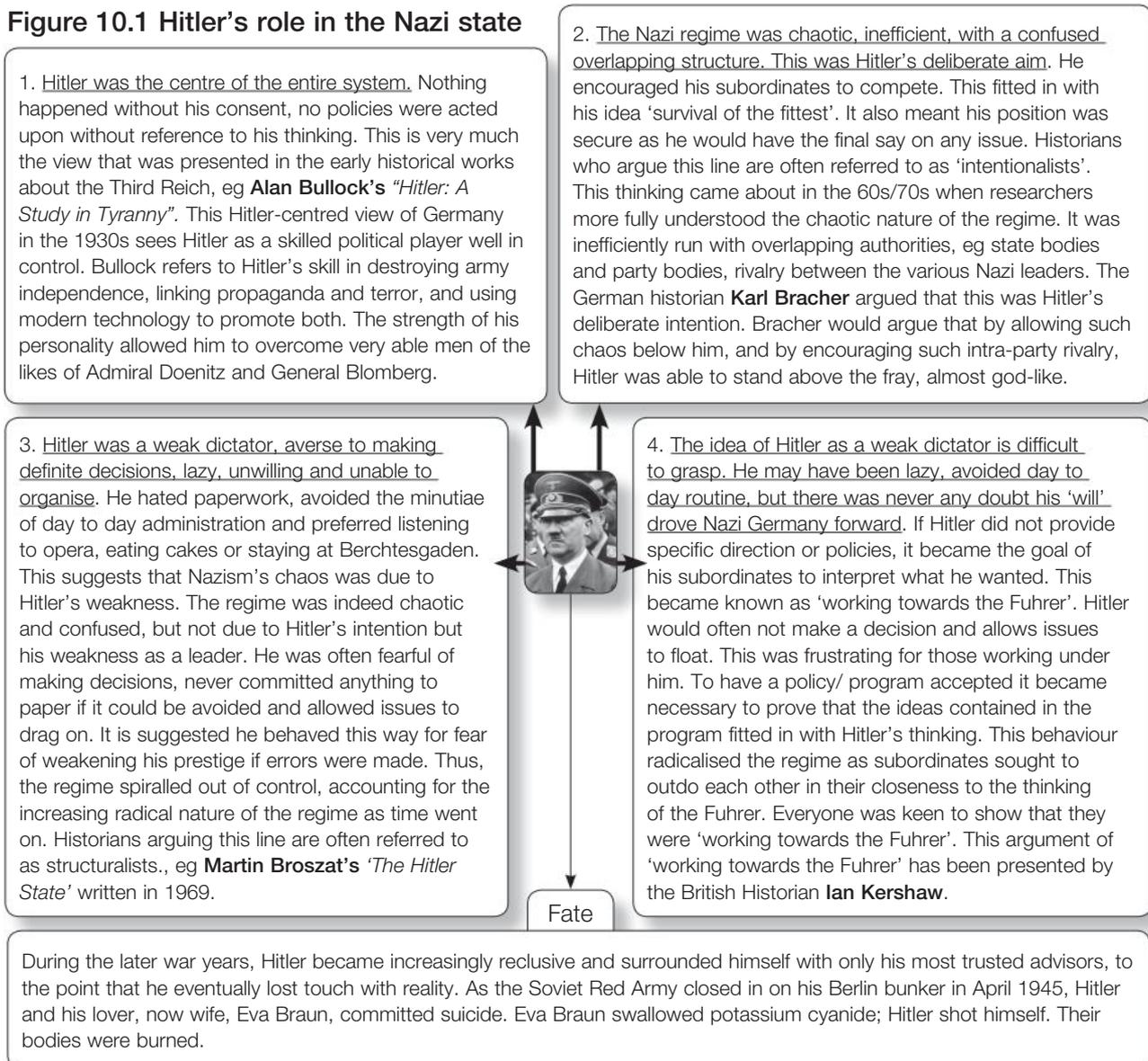


Table 10.1 Prominent Figures in the Nazi State

Nazi Figure	Background	Role in the party and 1930s Nazi Germany	Fate
Goebbels, Joseph  (see Chapter 12 for more detail on Goebbels)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Born 1897 in Rheydt</li> <li>■ raised a Roman Catholic</li> <li>■ poor health as a youth and his right foot turned inwards</li> <li>■ denied army service in WWI</li> <li>■ highly intelligent, doctorate from University of Heidelberg</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ joined the northern branch of the Nazi Party in 1924 and by 1926 was Gauleiter of Berlin; he was close to Gregor Strasser but after meetings with Hitler became fanatically loyal to the Fuhrer.</li> <li>■ 13 March 1933: appointed Minister of Propaganda and National Enlightenment; organised the Potsdam Ceremony on 21 March 1933</li> <li>■ Goebbels was a propaganda genius, controlled all media and created the Fuhrer Myth. (see Chapter Twelve for Goebbels' propaganda work).</li> </ul>	<p>1 May 1945: He and his wife, Magda, committed suicide after killing their six children with cyanide capsules. The bodies were incinerated.</p>
Goering, Hermann	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ born 1893 in Rosenheim</li> <li>■ in WWI fought in the German Air Force, gained heroic status</li> <li>■ married Swedish baroness Cara von Kantzow in 1923</li> <li>■ developed a morphine addiction in the 1920s</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ joined the Nazis in 1921; was wounded in the 1923 Munich Putsch</li> <li>■ joined Hitler's cabinet in January 1933; Interior Minister for Prussia</li> <li>■ responsibility for the Gestapo until it was handed over to Himmler</li> <li>■ in 1935 Goering was appointed Chief of the Luftwaffe</li> <li>■ in 1936 he was given responsibility for the Four Year Plan</li> <li>■ created Reichsmarschall in 1940 and was at the peak of his power though this declined as his failings mounted</li> </ul>	<p>Nov 1945: Nuremberg Trials: Goering and other Nazi leaders were tried for war crimes at. He remained defiant, was sentenced to hang, and took poison before his execution.</p>
Hess, Rudolf	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ born 1894 in Alexandria, Egypt to a Bavarian family</li> <li>■ served throughout WWI, won Iron Cross 2nd Class, wounded several times</li> <li>■ qualified as a pilot by 1918</li> <li>■ attended Munich University studying Geopolitics</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ joined the Nazi Party in 1920 and took part in the 1923 Munich Putsch</li> <li>■ became Deputy Fuhrer in the NSDAP in 1933; joined the cabinet in December 1933 as Minister without Portfolio</li> <li>■ Hess was the third in ranking order behind Hitler and Goering</li> <li>■ much Nazi legislation went through Hess' office; the 1935 Nuremberg Laws originated there</li> <li>■ Hess did much of the organising of the Nuremberg Rallies</li> <li>■ early in the war was losing influence to Martin Bormann</li> </ul>	<p>Hess flew secretly to Scotland in May 1941, seeking talks with The Duke of Hamilton. Imprisoned until the Nuremberg Trials, he was sentenced to life. He died in Spandau prison in 1987.</p>
Heydrich, Reinhard  (see Chapter 11 for more detail in Heydrich)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ born 1904 in Halle</li> <li>■ At age 16 a member of a Freikorps group</li> <li>■ In 1922 he joined the navy, rose to Lieutenant, involved in intelligence</li> <li>■ His womanising forced him out of the navy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ joined the Nazis in 1931; rose quickly becoming head of the SD, the SS intelligence department and in 1932 was Himmler's Chief of Staff</li> <li>■ feared within the party</li> <li>■ organised the army purges of 1938 and set up the Gestapo Office of Jewish Emigration under Adolf Eichmann; in 1939 put in charge of the Reich Security Office; Heydrich organised much of the Einsatzgruppen activities in occupied Europe</li> <li>■ convened the Wannsee Conference that instituted the Final Solution</li> </ul>	<p>27 May 1942: Heydrich was shot by Czech resistance fighters; he died from his wounds on 4 June</p> <p>Massive Nazi reprisals followed his assassination</p>
Himmler, Heinrich  (see Chapter 11 for more detail in Himmler)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Born 1900 in Munich</li> <li>■ Due to his youth, he was too young to fight in WWI</li> <li>■ studied agriculture at university, graduating in 1922</li> <li>■ was briefly a chicken farmer</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ joined the party Aug 1923; part of Beer Hall Putsch in Nov 1923</li> <li>■ Gregor Strasser's personal assistant in 1926; in 1929 was made head of the small SS; played a major role in the Night of the Long Knives; by 1936 in charge of all German police organisation (see Chapter Eleven)</li> <li>■ Built up the SS into a massive, elite organisation; the SS ran the death camps in WWII. Himmler was fanatically obsessed with ideas of racial purity and notions of human breeding</li> </ul>	<p>21 May: He was arrested, taken to Luneberg for questioning. On 23 May he bit on a potassium cyanide capsule and was died shortly after.</p>

<p>Ley, Robert</p> <p>(see Chapter 14 for more on GLF)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ born 1890 in Niederbreitenbach</li> <li>■ studied Chemistry, before the war and gained a doctorate in 1920</li> <li>■ joined the army in 1914; was shot down over France in 1917 and became a prisoner-of-war</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ joined the Nazis in 1924; in 1925 became Gauleiter of Southern Rhineland</li> <li>■ he was totally loyal to Hitler which ensured his progress through the party despite his obvious incompetence and drinking problem</li> <li>■ in 1933 he became head of the German Labour Front (GLF) which controlled German workers following the dissolution of the trade unions</li> <li>■ Ley introduced the Strength Through Joy organisation aimed at improving workers' conditions</li> <li>■ Ley maintained his life of corruption, drinking and womanising</li> </ul>	<p>Ley was arrested by US forces in October 1945. He was to be put on trial for war crimes at Nuremberg but he hanged himself before the trial.</p>
<p>Ribbentrop, Joachim von</p> <p>(see Chapter 17 for more on Nazi Foreign Policy)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ born 1893 in Wessel</li> <li>■ he was widely travelled, worked in Canada and as a journalist in Boston before the war</li> <li>■ joined up in late 1914 and fought on the Eastern and Western front</li> <li>■ he won the Iron Cross</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ von Ribbentrop met Hitler in 1928; joined the Nazi Party in 1932, became a Foreign Policy advisor to Hitler</li> <li>■ appointed ambassador-at-large in 1935, helped negotiate the Anglo-German Naval Agreement and the Anti-Comintern Pact</li> <li>■ in 1936 became German ambassador in London; became Foreign Minister in 1938. He was unhappy with the Munich Agreement preferring instead that Germany should invade Czechoslovakia.</li> <li>■ he signed the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact that opened the way for war</li> </ul>	<p>Von Ribbentrop was arrested in June 1945, tried at Nuremberg for war crimes and was executed in October 1946.</p>
<p>Riefenstahl, Leni</p> <p>(see Chapter 12 for more on Leni Riefenstahl)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ born 1902 in Berlin</li> <li>■ a brief dancing career was ended due to a knee injury</li> <li>■ had a successful acting career in the 1920s, often under director Arnold Fanck, performing in Berg films</li> <li>■ directed the Blue Light 1932</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ came to Hitler's attention who admired her film dancing</li> <li>■ he persuaded her to direct films for the Nazi Party starting with "Victory of Faith" in 1933.</li> <li>■ she was most famous for "Triumph of the Will" (1934) and her film of the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games "Olympiad".</li> <li>■ Riefenstahl produced some of the most iconic Nazi imagery</li> <li>■ she was later castigated for producing Nazi propaganda and creating an idealised vision of Hitler; she claimed she was only an 'artist'</li> </ul>	<p>Never recovered from her association with the Nazis, spent the rest of her life defending her work. She later became involved in photography and underwater filming.</p> <p>Sept 2003: Riefenstahl died aged 101</p>
<p>Schirach, Baldur von</p> <p>(see Chapter 14 for more on the Hitler Youth)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ born 1907 in Berlin</li> <li>■ he came from a cultured family, his mother was American and he spoke excellent English</li> <li>■ seeking 'adventure' joined Young German League in 1917</li> <li>■ claimed he developed his anti-Semitism after reading Henry Ford's 'The International Jew'</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ first heard Hitler in 1925, read Mein Kampf, joined the Nazis the same year</li> <li>■ joined an SA unit in 1925</li> <li>■ in 1929 became head of the National Socialist Students' Union and soon promoted to Reich Youth leader</li> <li>■ in 1933 Hitler appointed him head of the Hitler Youth</li> <li>■ in 1936 all non-Nazi youth groups were banned and soon membership of the Hitler Youth became compulsory</li> <li>■ 1940: joined the army, gained the Iron Cross in France</li> <li>■ 1941: appointed Gauleiter of Vienna</li> </ul>	<p>Von Schirach was arrested in 1945 and tried for war crimes at Nuremberg. He was sentenced to twenty years in Spandau Prison. He was released in 1966.</p> <p>Died in 1974</p>
<p>Speer, Albert</p> <p>(see Chapter 13 for more on Albert Speer)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ born 1905 in Mannheim</li> <li>■ a clever maths student but forced into architecture by a domineering father; eventually worked under Prof Tessenow.</li> <li>■ 1930: he was teaching at the Berlin Institute of Technology</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ first heard Hitler in Dec 1930; joined the party in March 1931</li> <li>■ did some minor work for Goebbels and Goering; assisted with the organisation of the massive Nazi rallies</li> <li>■ following death of Paul Troost became Hitler's leading architect; the two men became professionally close and Speer indulged Hitler's plans for monumental structures.</li> <li>■ became Armaments Minister (1942); is credited with prolonging Germany's war effort for a further two years</li> </ul>	<p>May 1945: arrested and tried at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial.</p> <p>He received a 20 year; sentence released 1966.</p> <p>Wrote "Inside the Third Reich"</p> <p>Died 1981</p>

**Exercise 10.1 Match the description on the left with the Nazi figure on the right**

Each name is used twice

1	By 1936 I was in charge of all security/police in Germany		JOSEPH GOEBBELS
2	I signed the Nazi-Soviet Pact for Germany in August 1939		
3	I had responsibility for the economic Four Year Plan		HERMANN GOERING
4	In 1933, I was appointed head of the Hitler Youth		
5	In 1933 I was appointed head of the German Labour Front		RUDOLF HESS
6	I was appointed Foreign Minister in 1938.		
7	I was appointed Minister for Propaganda in March 1933		REINHARD HEYDRICH
8	I produced some of the most iconic images of Nazism in the 1930s		
9	For a time I was the third ranking Nazi after Hitler and Goering		HEINRICH HIMMLER
10	I served twenty years in prisons and then wrote 'Inside the Third Reich'		
11	In 1932 I became Himmler's Chief of Staff		ROBERT LEY
12	I made membership of the Hitler Youth become compulsory		
13	I turned the SS into a massive but elite organisation		JOACHIM VON RIBBENTROP
14	I was the chief architect of the Reich after the death of Paul Troost		
15	I was responsible for developing the 'Führer Myth' around Hitler		LENI RIEFENSTAHL
16	My future career was ruined due to my association with the Nazis		
17	I flew to Scotland in 1941 to hoping for secret talks with the British		BALDUR VON SCHIRACH
18	I am considered incompetent and had a major drinking problem		
19	I joined the cabinet in January 1933 and was Interior Minister for Prussia		ALBERT SPEER
20	I convened the Wannsee Conference in 1942		

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# Chapter Eleven

## Maintenance of Nazi Control (1): laws, repression, terror

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### Introduction

The popular perception of life in Nazi Germany used to be one of a people living in dread, under constant surveillance and living in real fear of arrest, interrogation and a spell in a concentration camp. Indeed, for some this was the reality of life in Hitler's Germany. Indeed, everyone in Nazi Germany was aware of the heavy price that would be paid for open opposition to the regime. However, the image of monocled Gestapo agents, lurking in the shadows waiting to pounce, and of a population cowed into submission does not quite fit the evidence that recent research has uncovered. For most Germans, life was about coping with life's usual everyday problems though it was wise to display support for the regime such as hanging out flags on special days or willingly donating to the various Nazi charities. The March 1933 Law Against Malicious Gossip made illegal even the most innocuous comments.

There were several organs of state terror in the Nazi regime. These are summarised in Figure 11.1.

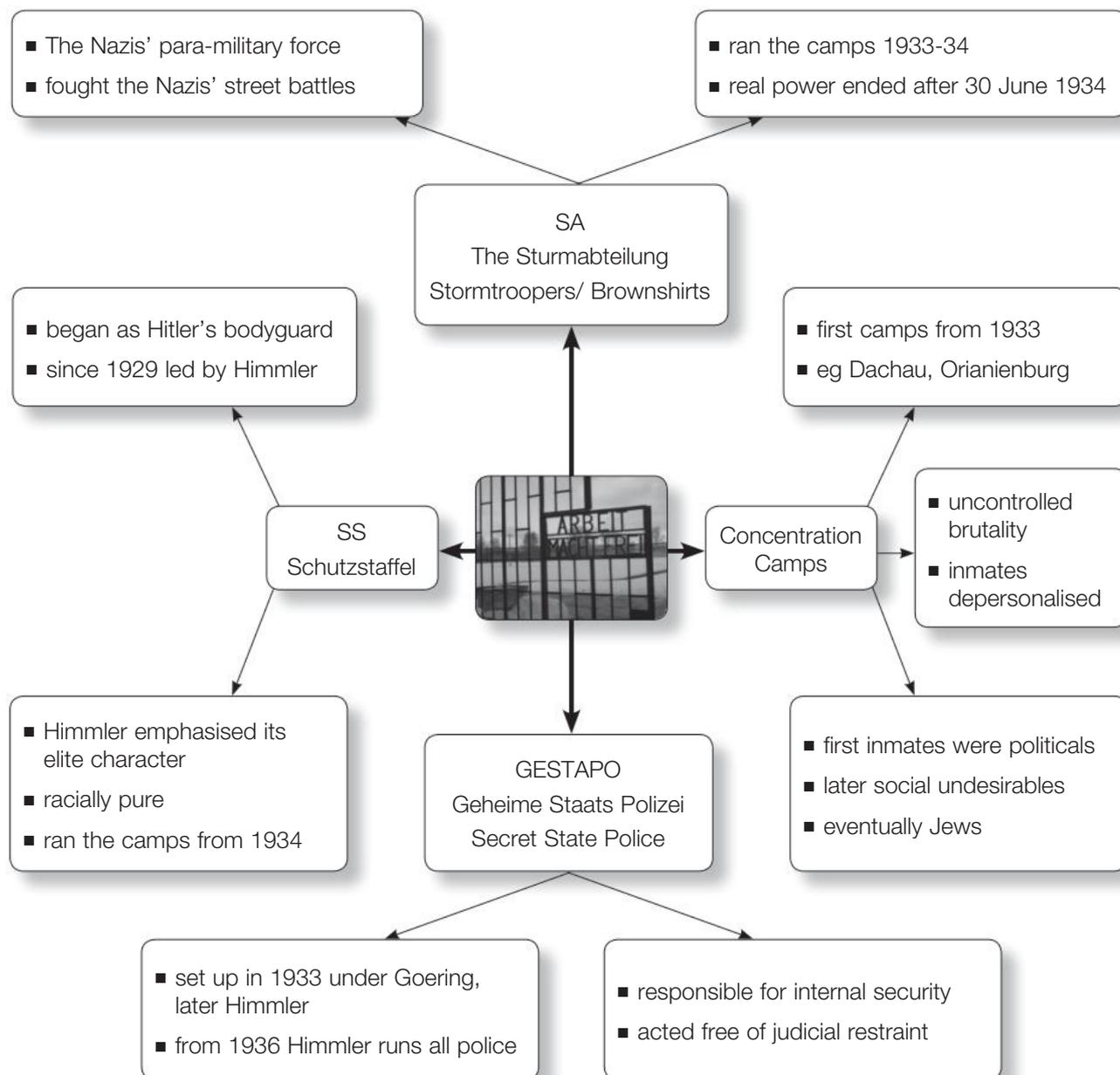
The **SA, the Sturmabteilung**, had existed since the early 1920s.

- The SA was referred to by Hitler as the 'battering ram of the National Socialist Revolution'. It fought pitched battles with the Nazis' opponents up to and beyond the seizure of power in 1933.
- By early 1934, under Rohm's leadership the SA had grown to over three million. Ordinary Germans quickly learned that it was wise not to challenge SA thugs and to always get out of their way.
- In 1933, the SA was given responsibility for running the Concentration Camps which it did with enthusiastic brutality.
- For reasons explained in Chapter Seven, Hitler turned on the SA. Rohm and other leaders were executed.

In November 1933, the Nazis set up the **Gestapo** – the Geheime Staats Polizei, or secret state police.

- The purpose of the Gestapo was to protect the regime against its enemies. It became a byword for cruelty and brutality.
- The two o'clock knock on the door and an invitation to accompany agents to Gestapo headquarters at No 8 Prinz Albrecht Strasse in Berlin were things to be feared. Similarly the receipt of the more benign postcard requesting a person's attendance for talks had the same impact.
- The effectiveness of the Gestapo is undeniable. Its activities were not hidden and those released from its custody provided the organisation with free propaganda regarding its brutal behaviour.
- Goering was placed in charge of the Gestapo but as SS leader Himmler gradually gained control of the various state police forces, he took over in April 1934.

Figure 11.1 The organs of state terror



The *Reichstag Fire Decree of 28 February 1933* suspended the constitutional clauses which guaranteed personal liberty. This same decree allowed for the 'protective custody' of opponents of the regime or those 'threatening social order'. This was the genesis of the **Concentration Camp system**.

- The first camps were established at Dachau near Munich, Buchenwald near Weimar and Sachsenhausen near Berlin.
- Hitler made it clear from the start that the camps were to be organised on brutal lines to destroy all opposition and intimidate any potential dissent. Run at first by the SA and then the SS, his aims were achieved.
- Concentration Camps will forever be associated with the treatment of the Jews but at the start of the Nazi regime they were used to deal with political opponents and 'socially deviant groups' such as homosexuals and Jehovah's Witnesses.

The **SS (Schutzstaffel)** was formed in the mid-1920s and acted as Hitler's personal guard.

- Under Himmler, it was transformed into a mass organisation which by the early 1940s had its own factories, courts and even its own army units.
- The SS operated as a political police to root out all open and secret enemies of the Reich. Following the demise of the SA in June 1934, it ran the Concentration Camps.
- Membership of the SS was a great privilege. SS men were promoted as the most racially pure, most dedicated and the real elite of the Nazi regime.

### The reality of Nazi terror and repression to 1939

It would be absurd to underplay the impact that the organs of terror had on ordinary German people after 1933. Fear is a powerful weapon of control. The regime certainly tried to build up the efficiency of the Gestapo and the horror of the camps. The Gestapo would always discover even the slightest opposition and then the camps would have the job of 'reforming' such opponents. Writers and filmmakers after the war continued to promote this view of an omnipotent security system.

However, this version of Nazi repression does not quite match the evidence that recent research has presented

- The Gestapo simply did not have the manpower to be the overreaching security organ that popular legend would have. It often had to work in conjunction with other police organisations. In some towns its numbers were paltry. The American researcher, Robert Gellately, has shown that a city like Essen, population about 650 000, had at most 43 Gestapo personnel. This counters the idea of a Gestapo man on every corner and in every work group.
- The Gestapo was very much a reactive organisation, ie it often responded to approaches made to it rather than seeking out opponents itself. Many Germans were predisposed to cooperate with the security organs voluntarily. Why was this?
- Many Germans took at face value the warnings of threats to the nation and so needed little prompting reporting 'anything suspicious' to the authorities.
- Goering highlighted this point during his interrogation at the time of the Nuremberg Trials. Asked how the Nazis managed to maintain such control, he replied one simply had to convince people they were being attacked and that opposition to the regime was unpatriotic.
- Another factor is the traditional habit of Germans to accept authority, or to at least accept the legitimacy of the regime.
- For some it was an insurance policy, a means of showing loyalty to the regime. Denunciation of others became a feature of life in the Third Reich.
- For others, 'dobbing people in' to the authorities became a means of settling personal scores.

Regardless of the motive, the Gestapo found much of its work done for it.

- The immediate predecessor of the Gestapo was Department 1A, the political police force of Prussia.

- In July 1932, the socialist government of Prussia had been deposed by von Papen. Department 1A developed contacts with the Nazis which were consolidated when Goering became Prussian Minister of the Interior in 1933.
- The Gestapo was formally created on 26 April 1933. Its numbers grew steadily, though not spectacularly. Following his victory in his 'power struggle' with Goering, Himmler took charge.
- However, there was no wholesale purging of the political police.
  - The Gestapo was not filled with Nazi fanatics but rather continued to be staffed by public servants.
  - Most members of the Prussian police establishment had right wing sympathies which might account for the ease with which these people were able to work for their new masters.
- Furthermore, deeper investigation reveals that the Gestapo was not the epitome of clinical efficiency that popular myth would have us believe.
  - It was a bureaucratic jungle, weighed down by rules and restrictions. Paperwork took up much of the organisation's time and effort.
  - There were arguments over rank and authority.
  - The end result of all this pettiness was that much effort was being put into things that were a long way from systematic, effective police work. As each year passed, the mountain of information which flooded into the Gestapo merely reduced its efficiency even further.
- However, if history teaches anything, it teaches that "it is not the truth that counts but what people believe is the truth".

The mass of German people believed that the Gestapo and the other organs of repression were the ultimate in efficiency, and this would determine the quiescent demeanour of the German people. That is what mattered!

- Though the Gestapo may have been smaller and less efficient than was first imagined, there is little doubt that its operation became more radical with time. The painstaking police methods which it inherited from organisations such as Department 1A were gradually replaced by more arbitrary ones. This was largely the result of:
  - the enormous increase in information coming from denunciations through the 1930s
  - the increasing number of laws outlawing what had been previously been acceptable behaviour.

In the same way that thousands of regular police had no problem working for the new regime, so too many in the legal/ judicial system felt no compunction in carrying out their duties, which of course from 1933 meant enforcing the myriad of laws which the Nazis introduced.

## What do historians have to say about the “Terror and repression”?

### 1. Richard Evans: *The Third Reich in Power*

Evans makes the point that Nazi control could reach down to the lowest levels. He describes how every group of houses or flats had a ‘block warden’. These were low level officials who checked on a group of about fifty families to see that they were sufficiently enthusiastic about the regime, eg hanging out Nazi bunting, attending rallies. Denouncers often turned to them first and block wardens could deny people state benefits and welfare payments. All branches of the massive Nazi Party apparatus had similar local officials and they were responsible for the same surveillance and control.

*“...The Nazi terror machine reached down even to the smallest units of everyday life and daily work...”*<sup>1</sup>

### 2. Richard Overy: *The Dictators*

Overy discusses the notion that Nazi justice had popular appeal and that it existed because of pressure from below not just because of decisions made on high. The regime tried to show that the victims of the law threatened society with decay and they achieved this by playing on old prejudices. Many Germans endorsed ‘popular’ justice against ‘real enemies’.

*“...the castration of paedophiles and the imprisonment of homosexuals and asocials pandered to conventional moral revulsion.”*<sup>2</sup>

### 3. William S Shirer: *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*

Shirer describes the activities of the Security Service, the Sicherheitsdienst or SD. The SD was the intelligence branch of the SS formed by Himmler but placed under the control of Reinhard Heydrich. Though it had only 3000 members in the 1930s, it controlled over 100 000 informers whose job was to snoop on ordinary German citizens. Shirer suggests the SD was feared as least as much as the Gestapo.

*“...Your son or your father or your wife or your cousin or your best friend or your boss or your secretary might be an informer for Heydrich’s organisation;...if you were wise nothing was ever taken for granted.”*<sup>3</sup>

1 Evans, R, *The Third Reich in Power*, Penguin, London, 2005, p 108-9

2 Overy, R, *The Dictators: Hitler’s Germany, Stalin’s Russia*, Penguin, London, 2005, p 215-6

3 Shirer, WS, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, Pan, London, 1964, p 34

**Exercise 12.1**

Answer the following questions. Place your answer in the space on the right.

1. How is the myth of Nazi repression not matched by the reality?	
2. Why were the organs of Nazi repression so effective before 1939?	
3. Did the Nazis try to hide the brutal nature of their police activities?	
4. For whom were the Concentration Camps designed?	
5. How did denunciations figure in Nazi repression?	
6. Who worked for the Gestapo?	
7. How extensive was the Nazi system of surveillance?	
8. What was Goering's role in police repression?	
9. What made the SS different to other Nazi organs of repression?	
10. What was Heydrich's role in police repression?	

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# Chapter Twelve

## Maintenance of Nazi control (2): censorship, propaganda, cult of personality

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### Introduction

The ultimate price of opposition to the Nazi regime was a spell in a Gestapo prison, an SS-run concentration camp or worse. However, for the vast majority of the German people these were things about which they were fully aware but which they were most unlikely to experience. Indeed, for all the appearance of power and force, the fact remains that Hitler and his regime were extremely popular. Opposition to the regime was extremely limited, an issue which will be discussed in Chapter Sixteen. One of the key reasons for this was the effectiveness of Nazi propaganda.

*Propaganda is information aimed at making somebody believe a particular point of view.*

Censorship has the same objective.

*Censorship of the denial of information and it aims at making somebody believe a particular point of view.*

Propaganda and censorship work hand in hand, complementing each other.

### The organisation of Nazi propaganda

Joseph Goebbels was appointed the Minister for Enlightenment and Propaganda in March 1933. Goebbels had been in charge of the Party's propaganda division since 1929.

- He had already proven his value to the party by his efforts in party rallies, Nazi publications and giant torchlight celebrations following Hitler's appointment as Chancellor on 30 January 1933.
- In his "*Hitler Über Deutschland*" (Hitler over Germany) election campaigns in 1932, Goebbels had Hitler become the first political leader to use air travel to speak in several cities across Germany on the same day. Taken for granted today, at the time this was innovative and suggested that here was a modern, youthful leader.
- The Potsdam Ceremony of March 1933, staged for the opening of the new parliament, showed off Goebbels' skills as he sought to link the new dynamic Nazi regime with Germany's past. This was achieved by using the backdrop of Potsdam, flying imperial flags; having the army in significant numbers and having Hitler bow respectfully to President Hindenburg.

Hitler and Goebbels had an innate understanding of what constituted effective propaganda. Table 12.1 summarises their main thoughts on how propaganda should be presented.

Table 12.1 Goebbels' guide on how to present propaganda

	Repetition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Repeat, repeat, repeat</li> <li>■ Use slogans</li> <li>■ Don't let people think</li> </ul>
	Simplicity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Keep it simple</li> <li>■ No intellectualising</li> <li>■ Avoid complex argument</li> </ul>
	Contempt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ The masses are stupid</li> <li>■ Their understanding is limited</li> <li>■ The masses are empty-headed</li> </ul>
	Emotion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Aim for the emotion</li> <li>■ Make people feel, cry, cheer</li> <li>■ Don't make them think</li> </ul>
	Masses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ The power of the mass meeting</li> <li>■ The use of mass hysteria</li> <li>■ Create a sense of belonging</li> </ul>
	Lying	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ The truth is irrelevant</li> <li>■ The bigger the lie the better</li> <li>■ The use of "fake news"</li> </ul>
	Marginalisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Establish scapegoats to blame</li> <li>■ Rely on stereotypes</li> <li>■ Jews, Communists</li> </ul>
	Single view	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Only one view exists</li> <li>■ Avoid debating issues</li> <li>■ No possible alternative exists</li> </ul>

All aspects of expression came under the influence of Goebbels' ministry.

- Newspaper editors were summoned each day to receive their instructions on what were to be the main news stories of the day, the line to take in their editorials, even which pictures to use.
  - Opposition publications had been closed down and even the most innocent magazines were only allowed to operate under the strict rules.
- The Nazis put great store in the effectiveness of radio. Nazi control of the radio was complete.
  - Hitler's speeches were broadcast in full.
  - Radio sets were produced at very low prices to ensure popular access to propaganda.
    - Frequencies were narrow to prevent people listening to foreign stations.
  - Loudspeakers were placed in public places to hear the Fuhrer.
  - Goebbels was clever enough not to allow propaganda to monopolise the airwaves. He made sure there was a good blend of music, comedy and drama to mix in with the propaganda message.
  - Music had its uses. Jewish or black music was banned; German music from light classical to Wagner was encouraged.

- The **cinema** and **theatre** were tightly controlled.
  - Major propaganda works were produced like Leni Riefenstahl's 'Triumph of the Will'.
  - More strident films included the 'The Eternal Jew'.
  - Censorship was used to exclude culturally undesirable things such as nudity, 'negro jazz music' and Tarzan films.
  - Like radio, the masses were also allowed their share of comedy and light entertainment at the cinema and the theatre. Escapism kept the minds of the masses off political difficulties.

**Figure 12.1** Remains of the Nuremberg rally site.



Major events were organised to present the Nazis in a positive light. **Party rallies** were planned in detail and presented as extravaganzas which aimed to enthuse the nation. The Nazis were presented as representing power, strength, unity, purpose, the hope of the nation, the essence of being German. Above all, Hitler was presented as the nation's saviour (see below). Leni Riefenstahl's 1934 film "*Triumph of the Will*" told the story of the 1934 rally of the same name.

- The **1936 Berlin Olympic Games** was organised to present the Nazi regime to the world in the best possible light.
  - New stadiums were built, the Olympic flame's journey from Greece was instituted and Leni Riefenstahl was on hand to film everything.
  - Even the persecution of the Jews was eased up during the Olympic period to ensure no international criticism of Nazi racist policies.

### Exercise 12.1

Fill in the gaps in the following paragraph. Use the words in the box below.

Nazi propaganda was run by Propaganda Minister \_\_\_\_\_. Like Hitler, he believed that propaganda should be kept very \_\_\_\_\_, should work on the people's \_\_\_\_\_, and work at a very low \_\_\_\_\_ level. The Nazis sought to create \_\_\_\_\_ on whom the nation's past difficulties could be blamed. Jews and communists were presented as \_\_\_\_\_, eg molesters of innocent Aryan girls, or aiming to betray the \_\_\_\_\_. Nazi propaganda had no problem \_\_\_\_\_, and reinforced its message with the constant \_\_\_\_\_ of simple slogans. The giant party \_\_\_\_\_ was popular with Nazi propagandists as this made it easier to get people to suspend their \_\_\_\_\_ thought, and accept the \_\_\_\_\_ of the meeting.

rational, stereotypes, Goebbels, rally, intellectual, simple, fatherland, repetition, lying, mass suggestion, emotions, scapegoats

## The cult of personality

Many German people in the 1930s had very mixed feelings about the Nazis. Hitler was almost universally admired, respected, and even loved. He was the adored leader who could do no wrong, who could be trusted to look after the German nation and its people. However, many of the other Nazi leaders were despised, distrusted and held in contempt. “I love Hitler, but I can’t stand the Nazis’, sums up this rather paradoxical position.

The main reason for this is the effectiveness of Goebbels’ propaganda before and after the Nazi takeover of power. Goebbels presented Hitler not as just another national leader, but as something quite different. Hitler was the hero of the fatherland, the man that the nation had been waiting for. Hitler was a leader who was both ‘extraordinary’ and yet quite ‘ordinary’. This is the essence of what became known as the ‘Führer Myth’, the image of Hitler Goebbels presented to the German people and perpetuated throughout the 1930s. In modern day politics we would call this presentation of a leader’s image as “spin-doctoring”.

Hitler’s development of the Führer Myth established a “cult of personality” around the Führer. Hitler was the “embodiment of Germany”, “the saviour of the German people”, “above criticism”.<sup>1</sup>

In several works, the British historian *Ian Kershaw* has analysed the ways in which Goebbels developed this image.

Kershaw argues that Goebbels isolated several elements that made up a consensus of thinking about political leadership and combined them in his propaganda promotion of Hitler.

- Hitler was given the credit for ending the depression in Germany. While the rest of world continued to suffer high unemployment, Germany was facing labour shortages by 1936.
  - Nazi economics might be ludicrous, and Economics Minister Schacht might be panicking about the state of the economy, and uplift in the economy might be the result of some of von Schleicher’s policies, but that did not matter.
  - To the German worker, it was Hitler who ended the depression and gave him a job.
- Hitler’s strong anti-Marxist stance fitted in well with the average German. It was Hitler to ended the threat of communism and it was Hitler who had restored law and order to the streets of Germany.
  - Few bothered to consider that it was the Nazis that had done so much to destroy law and order in the first place.
- Hitler was seen as a moderate. Any excesses committed by the party were blamed on other leaders. Hitler’s destruction of Rohm and the SA certainly aided the presentation of this view.
  - A common cry of the time would have been, “If only knew the Führer knew what the other Nazis were doing, he would stop them”.
  - Hitler’s apparent dedication to the nation’s interest further helped to distance him from unpopular party actions.

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<sup>1</sup> Similar cults were developed around Soviet leader Stalin, Chinese leader Mao and Cuba’s Fidel Castro. The concept remains vibrant in the 21st century as seen with North Korea’s Kim Jon-un. Cults have also been developed to a less extreme degree around Russia Vladimir Putin and other authoritarian leaders.

- Hitler was willing to take strong action against those perceived as ‘enemies of the people’. This included not only SA thugs and communists, but also Jews.
- Not only was Hitler an economic genius, but he was also Germany’s greatest statesman, the man who single-handedly ripped up the hated Treaty of Versailles.
  - He had returned millions of Germans to the Reich.
  - He had restored German pride and confidence.

However, Kershaw argues that the development of the Fuhrer Myth also had a second side. Hitler may have ended the depression and been a foreign policy genius, but at the same time he was also a typical German bourgeois who shared the same hopes and fears as millions of ordinary Germans.

- Hitler was a modest man. He did not go in for personal extravagance or greed. Only the simple pleasures of walks in the country and tea with friends for Hitler.
  - Goebbels was sure to emphasise this, having Hitler photographed with children, dogs, ordinary Germans.
- In his book comparing the leadership styles of Hitler and Winston Churchill, <sup>2</sup> Andrew Roberts makes the point that Hitler encouraged his entourage to dress up in ever more outrageous uniforms, bedecked with medals.
  - In contrast, Hitler always deliberately dressed down as ‘the man of the people’
  - The only medal Hitler ever wore was his Iron Cross First Class.
- Goebbels developed the ‘pathos’ of the great leader. Hitler was a man who had sacrificed personal joy and pleasure for the good of the nation.
  - He was a lonely man who bore the responsibility of the nation’s destiny on his shoulders.

### Exercise 12.2

Imagine you are an ordinary middle-aged person living in Germany in the mid-1930s. Describe your feelings towards the Fuhrer.

<sup>2</sup> Roberts, A, Hitler and Churchill: Secrets of Leadership, Phoenix, London, 2003

## What do historians have to say about “the role of propaganda”?

### 1. Ian Kershaw: *Hitler*

Kershaw argues that the Nazis wanted more than to terrorise the people into submission. They wanted to win the people over to the idea of Nazism and mobilise the German spirit. This was achieved by the development of the Hitler cult which placed all success at Hitler’s door, all failure elsewhere.

*“...The Hitler cult became the pivot of the propaganda effort; and Goebbels was proud of his achievement in the construction of the ‘Fuhrer Myth’...The final ‘goal’ (of Nazism)...could only be reached by blindly following the Fuhrer...”*<sup>3</sup>

### 2. Richard Evans: *The Third Reich in Power*

Evans makes the point that the Nazi regime went to a lot of trouble to keep consulting the masses and seeking their endorsement of its policies. Though the adulatory responses in favour of the regime could hardly have been genuine, they played a significant role in the propaganda effort.

*“...hysterical mass adulation of its Leader would surely have an effect in persuading many otherwise sceptical or neutral Germans to swim with the tide of popular opinion...”*<sup>4</sup>

### 3. Andrew Roberts: *Hitler and Churchill*

Roberts shows how Hitler worked hard to develop his heroic image, even to the point of being sure not to be seen wearing glasses as this might hurt the ‘superman’ image. He refused to be photographed doing strenuous work and even his valet only ever saw him fully dressed. He refused to use the services of a masseur.

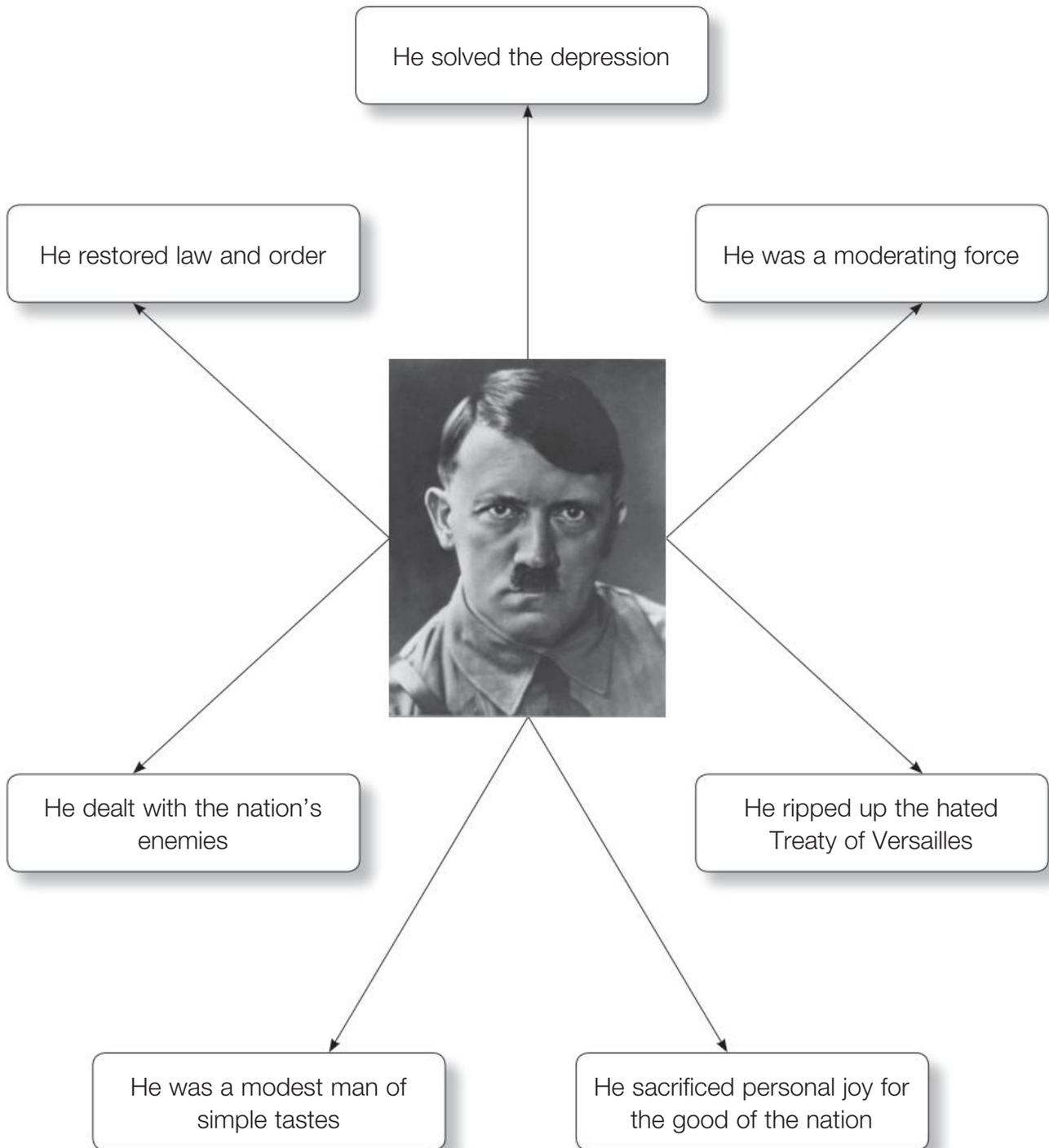
*“...He liked to have his body covered at all times, and even in the hottest weather he wore long white underwear, as became apparent in the aftermath of the Bomb Plot (of July 1944)...”*<sup>5</sup>

3 Kershaw, I, *Hitler*, Longman, Harlow, 1991, p 98

4 Evans, R, *The Third Reich in Power*, Penguin, London, 2005, p 121

5 Roberts, A, *Hitler and Churchill: Secrets of Leadership*, Phoenix, London, 2003, p 53

Figure 12.2 Summary of the Fuhrer Myth that fed the Hitler Personality Cult





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# Chapter Thirteen

## Life in Nazi Germany (1): cultural expression, religion

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### Cultural expression

In a country such as *Australia* or *Britain*, artistic endeavour is generally left alone and is free from government interference. The government might assist in the production of what are considered 'the fine arts' and subsidise art galleries, orchestras and opera.

- However, it does not enforce rules on artists, musicians and filmmakers and order them what to produce. <sup>1</sup>
- Artistic expression exists for the individual artist to present his or her ideas about whatever they choose to focus on and in whatever form they choose to present it.
- Members of the public are free to support an artistic endeavour, ridicule it or ignore as they see fit.
  - This means that art is even allowed to attack the government and its policies if an artist chooses to do this.

However, this was not the case in *Nazi Germany*. Germany in the 1930s approached artistic expression in a similar manner to that of the Soviet Union. <sup>2</sup> Once he was appointed Minister of Propaganda and National Enlightenment in March 1933, <sup>3</sup> Goebbels took control of artistic expression in Germany with the creation of the Reich Chamber of Culture with its separate sections for music, literature, cinemas, art and so on. Goebbels was guided by several principles in his attitude to artistic expression:

- Much of the artistic endeavour of the Weimar years was to be suppressed. Most Weimar art, cinema, theatre and literature were seen as being decadent, obscene, "unGerman", foreign-inspired and corrupted by Jewish and Communist influence. There was no place for such work in the new Germany.
- Hitler's hated new styles or art such as 'cubism'. He demanded that German artists pursue more traditional German styles and Goebbels was ready to agree to this.
  - Goebbels had modernist paintings in his home which he quickly had removed.
- Artistic expression was expected to echo the values of the Nazi regime, or at the very least not contradict those values
- However, Goebbels understood that the masses would soon tire of constant unfiltered Nazi propaganda. Thus, he allowed the production of artistic works which focussed on romance, comedy, adventure and even science fiction.

Figure 13.1 summarises some of the features of cultural expression as were practised and as were allowed in Germany between 1933 and 1939.

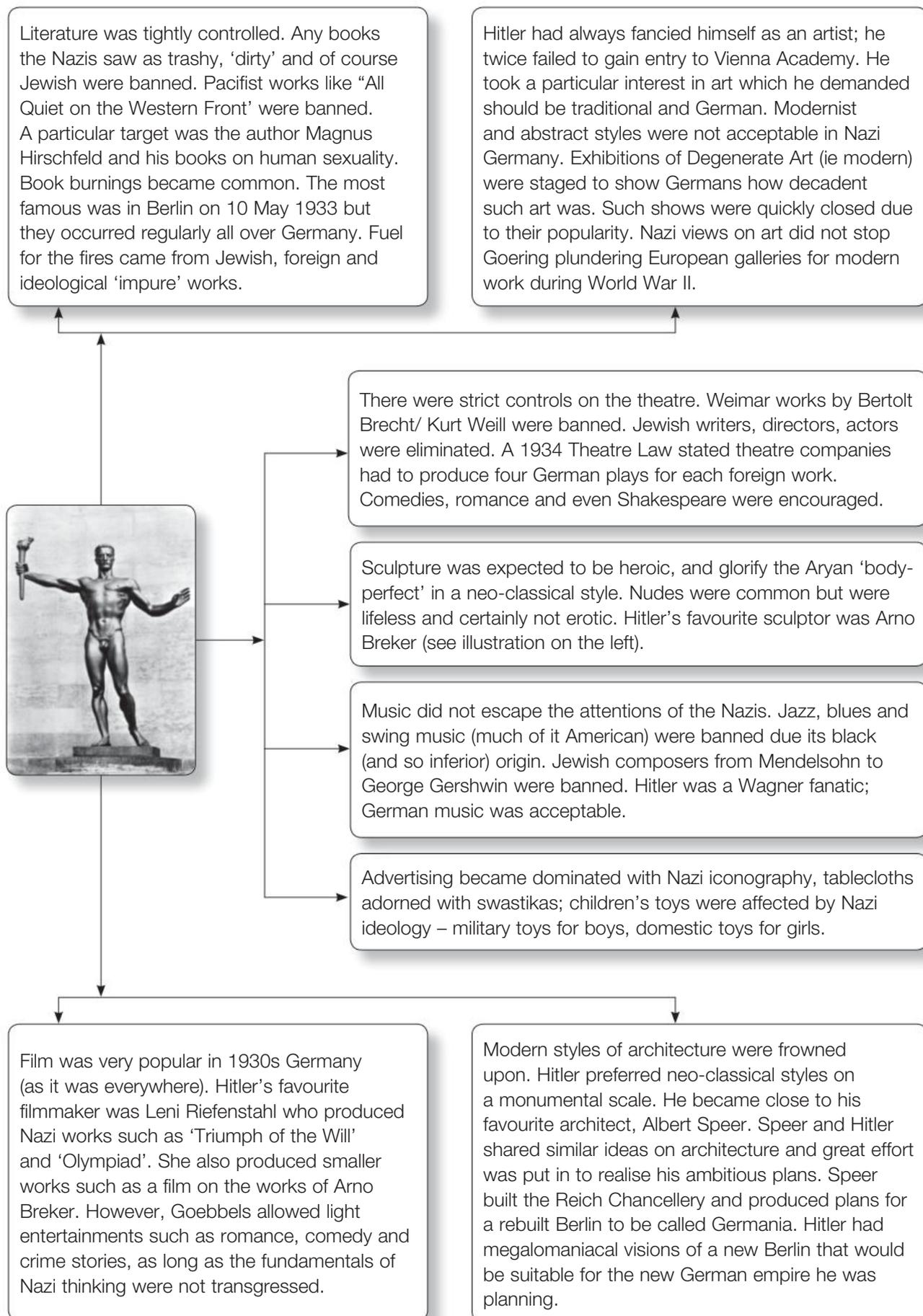
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1 There are laws against the exploitation of children, promotion of violence and racial hatred.

2 See Chapter Four for Stalin's use of 'Socialist Realism'.

3 See Chapter Twelve for a more detailed examination of Goebbels' work.

Figure 13.1 Artistic expression in Nazi Germany



## Religion

For many in Germany, Nazism was not just a political movement, but a kind of religion and so conflict with traditional Christianity was inevitable. Superficially, Nazism looked very similar to a religion:

- it had its own messiah – Hitler
- it had its own Bible – *Mein Kampf*
- it had its own iconography – the swastika, the flags, the insignia.
- it had its own intolerant dogma and preachers.
- it presented an answer to the issues of life and being.

Hitler viewed Christianity with contempt, noting its Jewish origins and berating it for its compassionate weakness. Notions of Christian love and forgiveness did not fit in with the Nazi belief in struggle and the survival of the fittest. However, he was aware of the hold that the Christian churches had on many German people and so he dealt carefully with the church.

In July 1933, the Nazis signed a Concordat with the Vatican. A concordat is an agreement that the Pope signs with a secular, non-religious body. The main terms of the Concordat were:

- The Nazi government promised to respect the rights of the *Catholic Church*.
- The Catholic Church promised to keep out of politics.

However, the Nazis did not keep their word. Within a few years, Catholic schools were being closed down, Catholic youth groups were removed as the Hitler Youth Movement took over and Catholic clergy who spoke out against the Nazis were persecuted. In 1937, the Pope eventually spoke up against the Nazi regime, accusing it of breaking the Concordat. In retaliation to such moves, the Nazis staged ‘show trials’ in which priests were put on trial for trumped up charges of immorality. Monasteries were closed down and their assets seized.

The Nazis sought to organise German *protestants* by forming the Evangelical Reich Church under ‘Bishop’ Ludwig Mueller. Mueller’s church sought to challenge traditional theology by removing the Jewish Old Testament from the Bible and attacking the works of the Jew St Paul. Professor Ernst Bergmann went further, presenting his ‘Twenty Five Points of the German Religion’ in 1934. Some of these points included ideas such as:

- Christ was a Nordic martyr put to death by the Jews.
- Hitler was the new Messiah who purpose was to save the world from the power of the Jews.
- The swastika was now the symbol of German Christianity.

Opponents of the Reich Church formed the Confessional Church. This organisation spoke out against the regime and some of its members, Martin Niemoller and Dietrich Bonhoeffer courageously stood up to the Nazis. However, overall the Church did little to oppose Nazism. The new Pope from 1939, Pius XII, refused to comment on Nazi atrocities though he was fully aware of them, having been resident in Germany for several years.

(See Chapter Sixteen for church opposition to the Nazis).

## What do the historians have to say about “Religion”?

### 1. Michael Burleigh: *The Third Reich*

Burleigh describes how the Nazis sought to remove Jewish elements from Christianity. The gospels were rewritten and Christ’s ethnicity changed. The fact that Christ was a carpenter clearly meant he was not Jewish – how many Jewish carpenters are there? Christ’s actions against the Pharisees and moneylenders were presented in an anti-Semitic way. However, Burleigh suggests this was only the first stage of Hitler’s plan.

*“...Few German Christians grasped that this was preparatory, once the Jews had gone, to eradicating Christianity itself.”*<sup>4</sup>

### 2. Richard Evans: *The Third Reich in Power*

Evans shows that the Nazis had been extremely successful in reducing the influence and power of religion by 1939. Goebbels propaganda machine worked hard to discredit the church and efforts were made to remove any religious instruction at all from schools. Threats of imprisonment and Gestapo activity drove the church out of public life. Any criticisms made of the regime came from those very few brave individuals who put conscience before personal safety.

(Like its Protestant counterpart the Catholic Church) *“...had been intimidated and harassed until it began to scale down its criticisms of the regime for fear that even worse might follow.”*<sup>5</sup>

4 Burleigh, M, *The Third Reich: A New History*, Pan Books, London, 2001, p 259

5 Evans, R, *The Third Reich in Power*, Penguin, London, 2005, p 247

**Exercise 13.1** Answer the following questions in the spaces provided

1	Why did the Nazis frown upon much of the cultural output of the Weimar years?	
2	What was the attitude of the Nazis to literature?	
3	Why was Hitler so fond of the sculptures of Arno Breker?	
4	How was music affected by Nazi policies in the 1930s?	
5	What was Hitler's architectural vision, one which Albert Speer attempted to realise?	
6	What was the Concordat?	
7	What was the 'Nazi Church' called?	
8	How was Christ presented?	
9	How extensive was Church opposition to the Nazis?	
10	What was the ultimate aim of Nazi church policy according to Burleigh?	



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# Chapter Fourteen

## Life in Nazi Germany (2): workers, youth, women

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### Workers

*The Nazis' attitude to German workers was ambivalent.*

- Workers were indispensable for the achievement of the Nazis' long-term ambitious goal of *lebensraum* (see Chapter Seventeen), as the pursuit of *lebensraum* made war almost a certainty.
  - Germany's armed forces had to grow, and most of these men would come from the working class.
  - Equally important, Germany's army had to be supplied with the military hardware and supplies to fight a war. Only Germany's workers could provide such things.
  - The Nazis tried to build up German workers' pride. There is a scene in Leni Riefenstahl's film of the 1934 Nuremberg Rally, *Triumph of the Will*, which specifically features German workers with their shovels.
- However, the Nazis did not trust the workers and they knew that they had never really won over the loyalty of factory workers.
  - Most workers had voted for the SPD or the KPD or the Catholic Centre Party during the Weimar period, though some had been lured into the Nazi camp.
    - In the November 1932 election, the combined SPD/ KPD vote had been 37.3% compared to the Nazis' 33.1%.
  - Some unemployed workers had become members of the SA but the Nazis had not forgotten that it had been workers' strike action that had brought down the right-wing Kapp Putsch in 1920.

Thus, the cooperation or at least compliance of German workers was essential for the achievement of the Nazis' program; however, they were not trusted. On 1 May 1933, German workers were granted a national holiday. 1 May had long been a day for workers to celebrate. However, on 2 May, the Nazis' true intentions became clear when all across Germany trade union offices were broken into by gangs of SA thugs and smashed up. German trade unions were declared illegal. Union leaders were marched off to concentration camps. At a stroke, the regime had managed to neutralise the power of the workers and their unions.

In place of the workers' own union came the German Labour Front – *Deutsche Arbeits Front (DAF)*. In charge of the DAF was Robert Ley.<sup>1</sup>

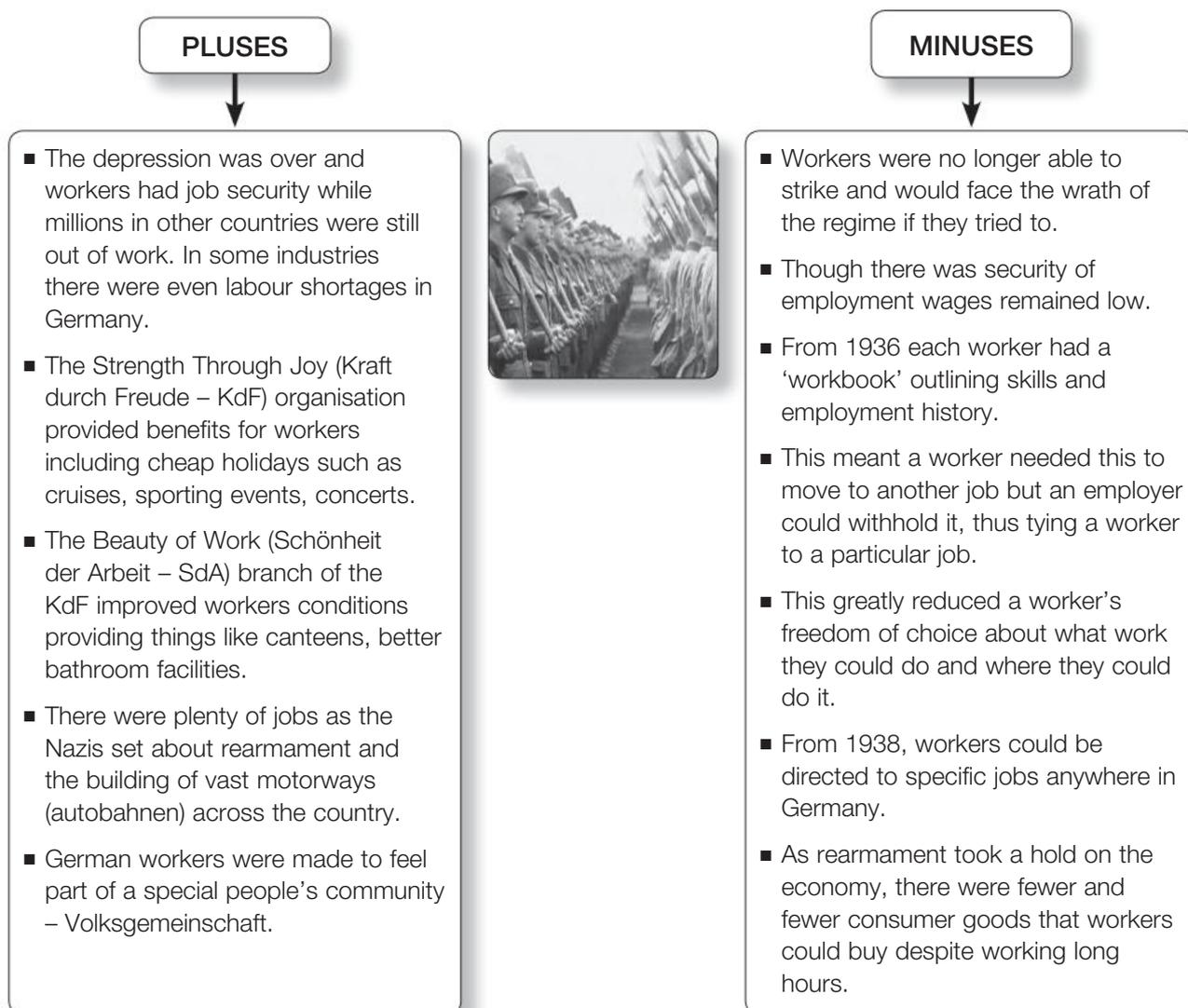
The fortunes of German workers under the Nazis were mixed. Workers had lost their independent unions and certainly had grounds for complaints and grumbling (as Gestapo reports revealed). However, they also made gains, and compared to workers in other countries had much to be pleased about.

Figure 14.1 compares the pluses and minuses of being a worker in Nazi Germany.

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter Ten for more information on Robert Ley.

Figure 14.1 Workers in Nazi Germany



## What do the historians have to say about “workers”?

### 1. Stephen H Roberts: *The House that Hitler Built*

Stephen H Roberts was a Professor of Modern History at the University of Sydney in the 1930s. Roberts was able to spend sixteen months in Germany in the mid-1930s. He travelled extensively, meeting leading Nazi figures and ordinary workers and farmers. He detailed his findings in his book *The House that Hitler Built*. Roberts' book is of value as he is writing before the war and the horrors of the Holocaust.

He is able to identify clear benefits which were accruing to most Germans from the KdF, “...Beethoven for sixpence, Bavaria for eighteen pence and Norway for six shillings a day...” However, he does not hold back from criticism. He reminds his readers that it should not be forgotten that Nazi Germany was a dictatorship, “so that even measures which are nominally voluntary (such as membership of the Labour Front) have the ultimate coercion behind them, and everybody knows this...”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Robert, SH, *The House that Hitler Built*, Methuen, London, 1937, pp 228, 223

## Youth

The development of young people played a key part in Nazi thinking.

- Hitler believed that he was the first leader of what would be 'a thousand year Reich'. If this dream was to be realised, it was important to ensure a continuous flow of dedicated, fanatical followers to the Nazi cause.
  - This would be achieved by filling the minds of the young with love of the Fuhrer.
  - Older people are more set in their ways and have worked out what they believe. The minds of the young are more malleable and open to suggestions.
  - The Nazis understood this.
- Hitler's new Germany was to be racially pure. What better way to achieve racial purity than to inculcate such notions in the minds of the young?
  - The Nazis believed that over time the racial stock could be gradually 'improved'.
- There was also the need to develop fit and well trained soldiers for Hitler's military adventures and mothers whose children would become those soldiers.
  - Young people needed to be convinced this was their destiny.

The very first Hitler Youth group came in 1922 under Gustav Lenk. Young recruits were filled with the notions of racial purity and patriotism. This organisation collapsed when Hitler was in prison.

- A new 'Hitler Jugend' was created in 1926 under Kurt Gruber.
- In 1928 Baldur von Schirach became head of the National Socialist Students' League.<sup>3</sup>
- In 1931 von Schirach took control of all Youth organisations which by now included different set-ups for various age groups and a girls' organisation, the Bund Deutscher Madel (BDM) or League of German Maidens.

There was great emphasis on good health and physical fitness. The young were constantly challenged to extend themselves, engage in outdoor activities and become good team members.

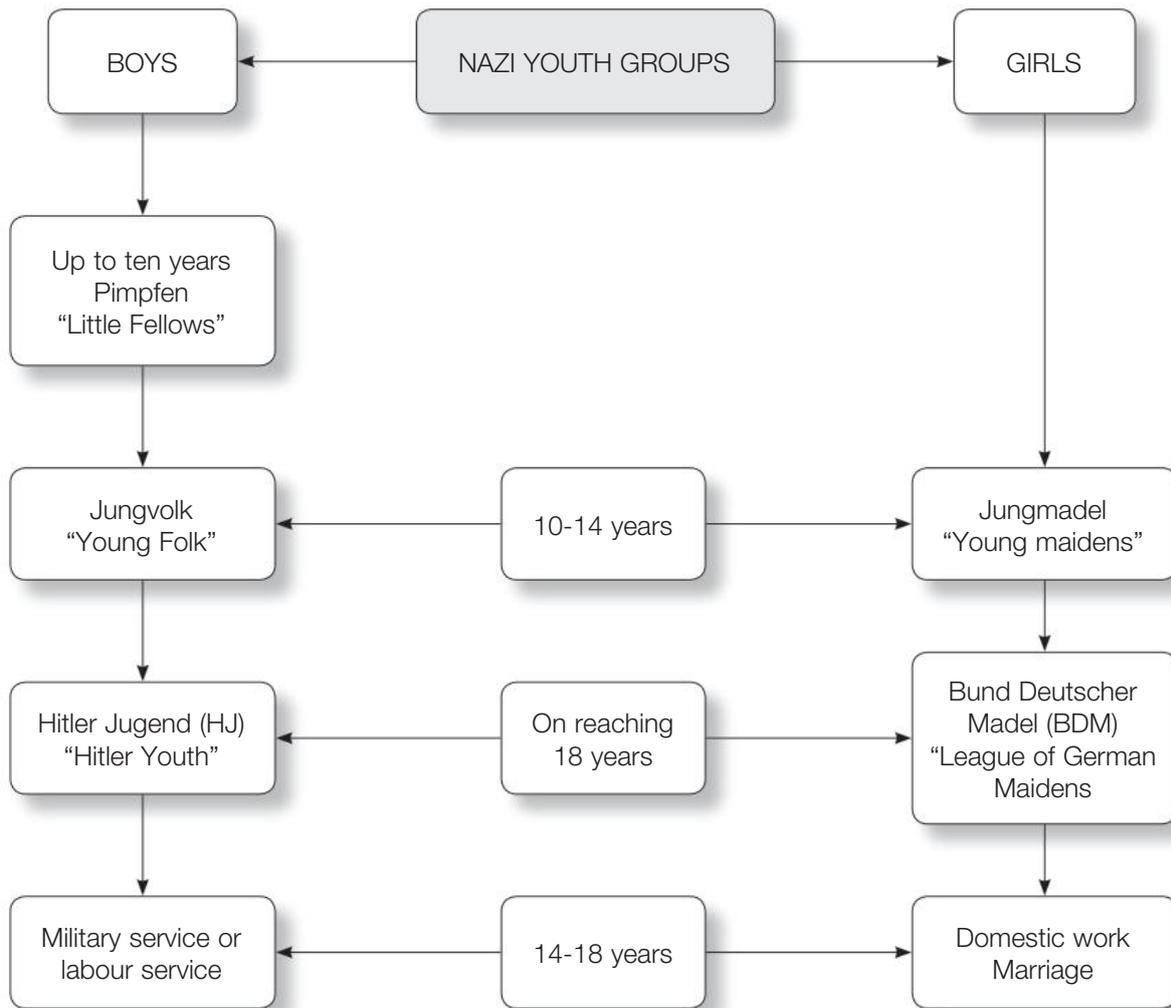
- Hence there was much camping, hiking, team games, swimming, boxing, drill and military exercises.
- Girls were expected to be as physically involved as the boys. The reasons for this go back to the Nazis' original aims for the young: strong, healthy bodies will produce young women capable of bearing many children and young men ready to serve in the army.

Nazi Youth groups were carefully organised. Figure 14.2 shows how this organisation occurred.

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<sup>3</sup> See Chapter Ten for more information on Baldur von Schirach.

Figure 14.2 Nazi Youth Groups



The young were not encouraged to think for themselves. There was much political indoctrination: future members of Hitler's 'master race' were trained to obey and accept the word of the Fuhrer, not question and see faults. Indoctrination was achieved:

- unobtrusively through lengthy speeches and harangues from Youth leaders
- or more subtly through the whole paraphernalia of Nazi iconography: the flags, rallies, the marching, the uniforms, the ever present swastika and image of the Fuhrer.

Hitler Youth activities often interrupted normal schooling and were given priority. School standards fell in the 1930s as the Nazis sought to impose their ideology on all levels of education.

- Kindergarten children would learn about noble SS warriors slaying evil Jewish dragons.
- High school History would be presented in the correct pro-German manner.
- University Science students would study 'German Physics'.

After boys had been through the Youth Movements, they were expected to engage in a period of military or labour service. Girls would engage in domestic service and were encouraged to marry early.

In 1933, 2.29 million young Germans aged between 10 and 18 were members of the various Nazi youth organisations; by early 1939, the figure was 7.28 million. This is an amazing achievement.

- However, the total population of young Germans aged 10-18 in early 1939 was 8.8 million.
- Clearly, even on the eve of war, 1.6 million young Germans were refusing to be members of the Hitler Youth, even though such membership had been compulsory since 1936.

In fact, the Hitler Youth Movement was not the all-consuming success the Nazis would have liked it to be, either in terms of membership figures or in terms of the attitude of the young who were members.

Several factors account for this:

- Outraged by some aspect of the Hitler Youth groups, some parents refused to allow their children to be members.
  - This was a brave thing to do as such actions could lead to children being removed from their parents;
  - or the parents being placed in a concentration camp.
- Many young people resented the regimentation and enforced conformity which was part and parcel of life in the Hitler Youth.
  - Many of the movement leaders were poorly educated, some were thuggish SA types, and this bred further disillusionment.
- Not all young people wanted to engage in the strenuous physical activities demanded of members.
  - The increasing militarisation of camp activities was particularly unpopular. Many young people yearned for free time to be able to follow private pursuits.
- By age fifteen, many Hitler Youth members were working and so resented having to attend evening activities.

Though the overwhelming majority of young people were enthusiastic about the regime and what it had to offer, there were pockets of apathy, opposition and even resistance. Youth opposition is examined in Chapter Sixteen. Chapter Twenty One provides a detailed study guide for a viewing of the movie *"The Swing Kids"*.

## What do the historians have to say about the “role of Hitler Youth”?

### 1. Michael Burleigh: *The Third Reich*

Burleigh is willing to show the health and fun benefits of Hitler Youth membership. However, he also highlights what were seen even at the time as the drawbacks: lessening parental control over the young, the expense that membership involved, the exposure of young people to a ‘not inconsiderable number of paedophiles and perverts among older Hitler Youth leaders’, a decline in manners and respect for traditional values, brutish behaviour and academic decline.

*“...In sum, children appeared to have become more brutal, fitter and stupider than they (their parents) were...”*<sup>4</sup>

### 2. Richard Evans: *The Third Reich in Power*

Evans draws a picture of the Hitler Youth as an organisation specifically aimed at preventing any free thinking. He shows that the songs the young had to sing had to be Nazi songs; books to be read were Nazi books. The young would be fully indoctrinated into developing a love and respect for Germanic gods and heroes, Hitler and his fellow-fighters and purity of the blood. Increasingly, military style activities became more and more important.

*“...The indoctrination which young Germans received through the Hitler Youth was ceaseless...it was an emphatically top-down organisation, run...according to the leadership principle, by the Reich Youth Leadership under Schirach...”*<sup>5</sup>

## Women

During the years of the Weimar Republic, women had made significant strides. The constitution gave them the vote, long before many other European countries. They were allowed to play a greater role in the professions, industry and the arts. The Depression placed limits on these opportunities; the Nazis tried to end them.

In the ‘table talk’ conversations which are often included in the major biographies, Hitler makes clear his beliefs about the second class status of women. He did not believe that intelligence in a woman was an important thing; he preferred to be surrounded by docile members of the opposite sex. When accused of having been Hitler’s mistress, the filmmaker, Leni Riefenstahl, said it never happened because Hitler preferred “soft cow-like women like Eva Braun”. Hitler believed that a woman’s world was a smaller one, restricted to her husband, children and home.

Hitler was not exactly a misogynist; he simply believed that women had a secondary, if important role, to play in Nazi society.

- Nazi thinking saw women as inferior to men and to be controlled by them.
- The primary purpose of a woman was to have as many children for the Reich as she was capable of having.

<sup>4</sup> Burleigh, M, *The Third Reich: A New History*, Pan Books, London, 2001, p 236

<sup>5</sup> Evans, R, *The Third Reich in Power*, Penguin, London, 2005, pp 273-4

- The Nazis had dreams of creating an eastern empire of 250 million racially pure Aryans. This future race would be borne from women imbued with Nazi ideas and who had developed healthy bodies fit for childbearing.

Between 1933 and 1939, Nazi policies towards women were very much in tune with Hitler's general outlook. Nazi propaganda promoted the slogan known as the 'three Ks' – Kinder, Kirche and Kuche (children, church and kitchen) – to clarify where women should spend their time.

- As early as 1933, the Law for the Encouragement of Marriage made clear what was expected of women. Newly married couples were given a loan of 1000 marks. For each child produced, the couple was allowed to keep 250 marks and not have to repay the loan.
  - Such loans were only for the racially pure and demanding medical examinations were required to attain one.
- Further encouragement for having children included tax relief and reductions in mortgage payments.
- Motherhood was actively encouraged with the introduction of the Motherhood Cross, given to those women who had the most children. This award was handed out symbolically on the birthday of Hitler's mother.
- During the war, the Nazis even established 'Lebensborn' – this was a place an unmarried woman could go to meet a racially pure SS man for the purpose of becoming pregnant.
- Those women who were considered 'racially undesirable' were sterilised. By the end of 1934, almost 28 000 such women had been sterilised.
- Jewish women were victimised:
  - Aryan men were pressured to divorce Jewish wives.
  - Children from mixed Aryan-Jewish marriages were often taken from their Jewish parent.
  - In 1939, abortion was outlawed – but not for Jewish women.
- Laws were introduced to remove married women from the civil service. Gradually, women were barred from being doctors, lawyers, judges and were denied almost any real political role at all. Attempts were also made to limit the number of women studying at university.
- There was also a range of petty restrictions placed on women to encourage the homemaking/ childbearing role:
  - Make-up and the wearing of trousers were frowned upon
  - Hair should be put in plaits or a bun, not dyed or permed.
  - Slimming was discouraged and women encouraged to develop child-bearing hips.

## What do the historians have to say about “Women”?

### 1. *Richard Overy: The Dictators*

Overy shows how Nazi propaganda tried to influence society's perception of the role of women. Women were presented as 'the mother and helper' but young girls were also portrayed as engaging in healthy, physical activities; the body had to be prepared for childbearing. A woman could do her national service by breeding children.

“...The new woman idealised in a hundred propaganda posters, a contented and competent helpmate for her man, but above all, a model of heroic fecundity...”<sup>6</sup>

## 2. The work of Claudia Koonz, including “Mothers in the Fatherland, Women, the Family and Nazi Politics”

Koonz is an American feminist historian who has argued that far from being relegated to secondary status in Nazi Germany, women actually enthusiastically endorsed the regime. They had been keen supporters before 1933, and were happy with the division of life into the male public sphere and the female private sphere. More controversially, Koonz suggests German women made war and genocide possible.

“...Whilst Nazi men launched their racially-charged war of conquest in the east, Nazi women were equally busy creating their own domestic Lebensraum in the form of a private retreat from the outside world...”<sup>7</sup>

### Exercise 14.1 Match the explanation on the left with the term on the right.

1	Nazi organisation that replaced the banned trade unions		AUTOBAHNEN
2	Section youth organisation for boys aged ten to fourteen		MARRIAGE LOANS
3	The people's community to which Aryan workers belonged		JUNGVOLK
4	This was banned for Aryan women but not Jewish women		PIMPFEN
5	Organisation for girls aged ten to fourteen		LEBENSBOHN
6	Money given to women to encourage childbirth		ABORTION
7	Organisation that provided workers with social benefits		VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT
8	Youth group for girls aged fourteen to eighteen		GERMAN LABOUR FRONT
9	Place for unmarried women to mate with pure SS men		HITLER JUGEND
10	The vast motorways workers constructed in the 1930s		CHILD, CHURCH, KITCHEN
11	Women's slogan: kinder, kirche, Kuche		STRENGTH THROUGH JOY
12	Organisation for boys aged fourteen to eighteen		MOTHERHOOD CROSS
13	Boys under the age of ten could become these		BEAUTY OF WORK
14	This organisation attempted to improve working conditions		JUNGMADEL
15	Award for women who had many children		BUND DEUTSCHER MADEL

<sup>6</sup> Overy, R, *The Dictators: Hitler's Germany, Stalin's Russia*, Penguin, London, 2005, p 248

<sup>7</sup> Sibbe, M, *Women in the Nazi State*, in *History Today*, November 1993, p 39

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# Chapter Fifteen

## Life in Nazi Germany (3): minorities, the Jews

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### Introduction

The issues of race and Aryan racial superiority underpinned everything that the Nazi regime hoped to achieve.

- The achievement of “volks-gemeinschaft” at home was based on race:
  - Germans were no longer working class or middle class;
  - they were no longer Bavarians or Prussians;
  - they were no longer Catholics or Protestants.

They were members of the Aryan race and should glory in their good fortune.

- Outside of Germany, the aim was “lebensraum” and the creation of a racially-based new German empire:
  - the racially pure master race would rule an empire for a thousand years;
  - the inferior Slavs of Eastern Europe would provide a slave population.

Nazi ideology was examined in detail in Chapter Nine and in that chapter, an explanation of anti-Semitism and its key role in Nazi ideology was presented. In addition, comments were made about how Nazi ideology would impact on other “minorities” in Germany and beyond.

### The debate about Nazi racial policy

It is beyond the scope of this book to discuss in detail the events of the Holocaust; the HSC topic “Power and authority 1919-1946” deals with Germany only up to 1939.<sup>1</sup> However, it is impossible to properly discuss Nazi policy towards the Jews between 1933 and 1939 without alluding to what happened after 1939. Historical debate about the Jews is concerned mainly with the idea of long-term intent on the part of the Nazis.

- One group of historians who are often referred to as ‘intentionalists’, argue that it was Hitler’s long-term aim all along to wipe out the Jewish race. Evidence to support this view includes:
  - early Nazi propaganda and Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* written in 1924;
  - right from the start, the regime targeted the Jews and steadily increased the pressure against the Jewish people;
  - Hitler’s January 1939 warning to the Jews about their fate if ‘they plunged Europe into war’.
- Another group of historians, often referred to as ‘structuralists’, argue that the fate of the Jews was due to the steady radicalisation of the regime. It was the regime’s structure that led to the Holocaust, not the pursuit of a long-term blueprint. Evidence to support this view includes:
  - the lack of specific direction given by Hitler to policy-making;
  - rivalry between various Nazi leaders who were trying to ‘work towards the Fuhrer’ and second guess his desires.

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<sup>1</sup> Students studying “Conflict in Europe 1935-45” will examine the Holocaust in detail.

- what to do with the millions of Jews under Nazi control in territory occupied by German forces after 1939.

## Nazi racial policy and practice to 1939

The Nazis attacked the Jews as soon as they came into power. Early policies against the Jews were often quite *general in nature*:

- Nazi propaganda constantly targeted the Jews and made them scapegoats for all of Germany's past and present ills including defeat in 1918, the Treaty of Versailles and the Depression;
- Jews could be physically attacked and no action would be taken against those carrying out the attacks.

A series of *petty regulations* aimed at Jews were introduced across the country. The minor restrictions were not life-threatening; rather they were demeaning, humiliating and sought to make life difficult for Jews. These included such things as:

- excluding Jews from using public buses, parks and swimming pools;
- putting up signs which indicated that certain entrances and areas were not available for Jewish people;
- one sign of the time read 'Guard dog: Jews enter at their own risk';
- Jewish school students were ridiculed and humiliated as their racial inferiority was explained for the benefit of their Aryan peers.

On 1 April 1933, the Nazis called for a *national boycott* of all Jewish businesses. SA guards were played outside Jewish shops, intimidating people not to enter the premises. The national boycott day was symbolic of what was to come.

By mid-1935, *formal legislation* had succeeded in excluding Jewish people from a range of activities. These included:

- in April 1933 there were mass sackings of Jews from the Civil Service following the Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service;
- in the same month university restrictions were placed on Jews;
- Jews were formally denied marriage loans in July 1933, not surprising as the purpose of marriage loans was to stimulate the birth rate;
- in September 1933 Jews were denied entry into the legal system;
- by October 1934, Jews had been effectively excluded from the media and the arts.

In September 1935 two new laws were announced at the annual Nuremberg Rally and came to be known together as the *Nuremberg Laws*. These laws were the:

### 1. *The Reich Citizenship Act*:

Jews were no longer German citizens and thus lost all the rights that citizenship bestowed upon a person. They could no longer vote, join the armed forces or fly the swastika emblem. They also lost whatever protection citizenship might still hold.

## 2. The Blood Protection Act:

This law was aimed at maintaining the purity of German blood. German citizens and Jews were not allowed to marry or engage in sexual relations. At the rally, Goering talked of protecting German women and girls, and of preserving ‘the Germanic and Nordic purity of the race’.

During the late 1930s, *Jewish businesses were steadily Aryanised* which was a way of saying they were bought out by non-Jewish people at prices far below what they were worth. In 1938 a regulation was introduced which forced all male Jews to take the name ‘Israel’ and all female Jews to take the name ‘Sarah’. This would make their growing marginalisation from the rest of German society all the more easy. Even the church joined in the anti-Semitism of the time. The Catholic Church banned clergy with Jewish origins even if they had been baptised. From 1939, anyone hoping to enter the priesthood had to provide proof of an Aryan background.

## Kristallnacht (Crystal Night) and after: November 1938-September 1939

On 7 November 1938 a minor German diplomat called Ernst von Rath was shot in Paris by a young Jew, Herschel Grynszpan. This incident was to spark the largest anti-Jewish actions of the Nazi regime up to this point.

After a brief meeting with Hitler, Goebbels informed other Nazi leaders that the Fuhrer had decided that the ‘spontaneous’ anti-Jewish riots, which had broken out because of the shooting, should not be discouraged. Those at the meeting took this to mean that they should immediately initiate their own anti-Jewish demonstrations. What followed that night was a nationwide attack on the Jewish community.

- This night became known as Kristallnacht (Crystal Night) or the Night of Broken Glass.
- All over Germany, Jews were attacked, synagogues were burned to the ground and Jewish homes and shops were smashed and set alight.
- In the aftermath of Kristallnacht, thousands of Jews were marched into concentration camps and the Jews were forced to pay for the damage that they had ‘caused’ on that night.
- Any remaining Jewish businesses were Aryanised at rock bottom prices.

Anybody who had not been sure about Nazi intentions towards the Jews could no longer be in any doubt. Those Jews, who could, left the country. On 30 January 1939, in a speech to the Reichstag, Hitler gave the Jews an ominous warning.

*“...If the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations into a world war, then the result will... (be) the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe.”*

**Exercise 15.1 Place in the correct chronological the events given in the box below.**

1st event	
2nd event	
3rd event	
4th event	
5th event	
6th event	
7th event	
8th event	

- The Nuremberg Laws – Hitler’s pre-war warning to the Jews –
- Writing of Mein Kampf – National boycott of Jewish businesses –
- Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service – Kristallnacht –
- Regulation for the use of ‘Israel’ and ‘Sarah’ –
- Ernst vom Rath is shot in Paris

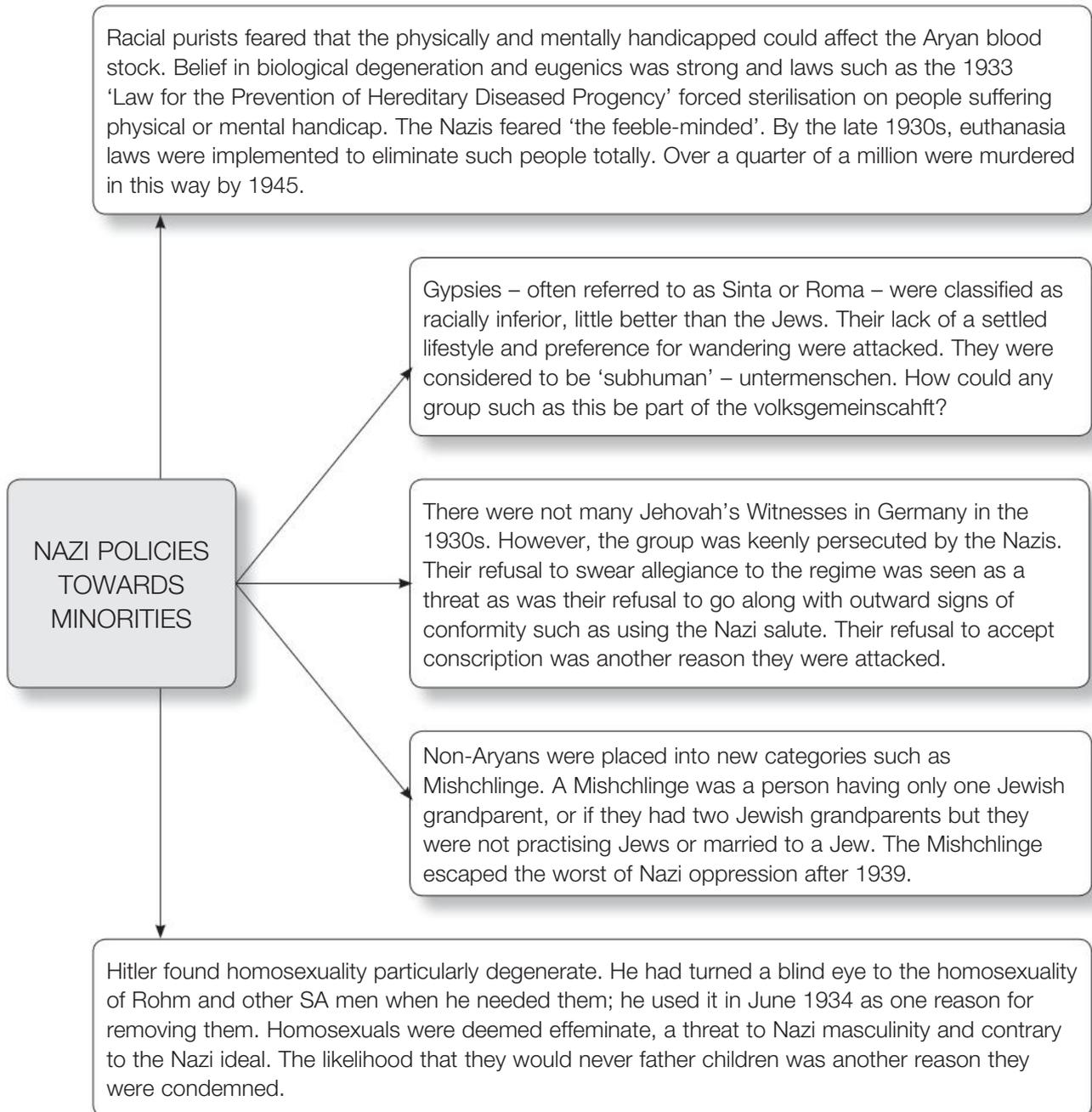
**Nazi treatment of Minorities**

Germany’s Jews (and during the war Europe’s Jews) certainly suffered at the hands of the Nazis more than any other minority group. However, Nazi persecution of minorities was not limited only to the Jews. Other groups were also targeted. There were various reasons why such groups were attacked:

- some groups did not accept the Nazis’ emphasis on the military and importance of military service;
- some groups were in Nazi eyes simply racially inferior and in danger of polluting the racial stock;
- some groups might be Aryan but due to physical or mental issues might also endanger the quality of the race;
- some were deemed as being sexually deviant
- some were difficult to categorise and so new racial classifications were created.

Figure 15.1 summarises Nazi policies towards non-Jewish minorities.

Figure 15.1 Nazi policies towards non-Jewish minorities



## Exercise 15.2 Match the term below with the explanation given.

1	Policy of killing handicapped and mentally ill people	
2	Hitler hated these people even though many loyal SA men belonged to this group	
3	Sinta and Roma people whom the Nazis deemed as racially inferior	
4	Nazi policy introduced to prevented the 'feeble-minded' from breeding	
5	A non-practising Jew with two Jewish grandparents	

6	Symbolic action taken against Jews on 1 April 1934	
7	1935 Nuremberg Law outlawing sexual relations between Jews and Aryans	
8	Those considered sub-human in Nazi thinking	

Blood Protection Act; homosexuals; untermenschen; euthanasia; gypsies; mischlinge; national boycott; sterilisation

Figure 15.2 Sinta/ Roma memorial in Berlin

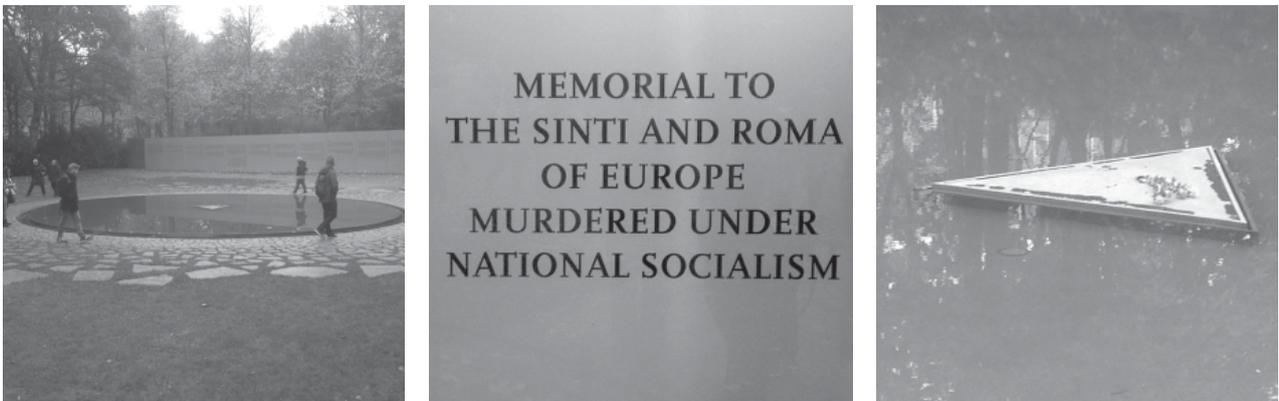


Figure 15.3 Munich monument to the minority victims of Nazis



Figure 15.4 Memorial to women and children of Ravensbrück Concentration Camp: Jewish Cemetery Berlin



## What do the historians have to say about ‘Nazi Jewish policy’?

### 1. William S Shirer: *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*

Shirer provides details about how life gradually became more difficult for Jewish people. He shows that by 1936, Jews often could not get even the necessities of life. They were denied food in grocery shops and pharmacies would not sell them medicines. Taunting signs were put up such as a road sign near Ludwigshafen which stated, “Drive Carefully! Sharp Curve! Jews 75 Miles an Hour”.

*“...the Jews had been excluded either by law or by Nazi terror – the latter often preceded the former – from public and private employment to such an extent that at least one half of them were without means of livelihood...”*<sup>2</sup>

### 2. S H Roberts: *The House that Hitler Built*

Roberts travelled around Germany in the 1930s and saw at first hand what was happening to Jewish people. In 1937 he wrote a book called “The House that Hitler Built”. He comments on a visit to a Hitler Youth camp where young boys gazed admiringly at pornographic anti-Semitic propaganda in the Nazi newspaper ‘Der Sturmer’. He said that he came across few Germans who were shocked by or who opposed Nazi anti-Semitic measures.

<sup>2</sup> Shirer, WS, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, Pan, London, 1964, pp 290-1

*“...I expected many to argue that it was an unwelcome necessity, forced upon them by propaganda or by pressure of events, but this was not the case...I met nobody in Germany who adopted an apologetic attitude...”*<sup>3</sup>

### 3. Michael Burleigh: *The Third Reich*

Burleigh makes an interesting point about Hitler’s speech of January 1939. Hitler was presenting a potential scenario; he was prophesising, saying that things would just happen. Between 1939 and 1941, many different options existed and circumstances might dictate different courses of action. There is no direct link between his speech and the horrendous events to come and the Nazi assault on the Jews.

*“...And yet, when that assault was happening, this speech was frequently referred to by Hitler...as the prior notice that it would –not could – happen, like some sort of anchor or reference point in a tempest.”*<sup>4</sup>

Figure 15.5 Memorial to murdered Jews of Europe: Berlin



<sup>3</sup> Roberts, SH, *The House that Hitler Built*, Methuen, London, 1937

<sup>4</sup> Burleigh, M, *The Third Reich: A New History*, Pan Books, London, 2001, 341

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# Chapter Sixteen

## Opposition to the Nazi regime

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In the period 1933-39, there was very little opposition to Nazi rule inside Germany. Opposition to a regime such as National Socialism can take a variety of forms. It might involve:

- organised groups seeking to overthrow the regime either violently or by gradually influencing public opinion
- pressure groups within and without the party seeking to undermine the system or aiming for change
- industrial action on the part of workers
- unrest from within the armed forces
- foreign attempts to destroy the regime
- simple day to day grumbling and complaints.

The Nazis faced almost none of this:

- the process of Gleichaltung had neutralised any organised sources of opposition by 1934 (see Chapter Eight)
- intra-party opposition had been dealt with on 30 June 1934 (see Chapter Eight)
- fear of unemployment and the banning of trade unions had made the workers politically impotent;
- once the SA had been dealt with the army was happy to go along with Hitler's plans for rearmament and expansion;
- foreign governments had neither the will nor the desire to remove Hitler;
- complaining on the part of ordinary Germans was widespread as Gestapo records suggest, but this is hardly the stuff of 'regime change'.

### Ineffectiveness of opposition to Nazi rule 1933-39

Opposition to Nazi rule did exist. It would be absurd to suggest that all Germans either meekly or enthusiastically went on along with the actions of the regime. However, opposition did not translate into real resistance. An explanation for the failure of opposition/ resistance to the Nazis will be given below in Figure 16.1.

*Let us consider the various groups who did oppose, might oppose or at least had reason to oppose the Nazis, and why this opposition was ineffective.*

Hitler had mixed feelings about the **army**. On the one hand he hated the contempt that had been hurled at him from that quarter; many in the army concurred with President Hindenburg's 'Bohemian Corporal' comment about Hitler. He also knew that the army was the only thing that stood between him and total power in the early 1930s. Equally, he knew that his foreign policy goals could only be achieved with the army on side. In fact, Hitler faced very limited opposition from army quarters before 1939. Indeed it was not until the darker periods of the war that he had to fear the army.

- The army had been angry at the rise of the SA and were aghast at Rohm's desire to absorb the army into his organisation. As was explained in Chapter Eight, Hitler dealt with this threat by turning on his old SA allies in the Night of the Long Knives. This action satisfied both the army elite and President Hindenburg.
  - The army even accepted murders of their own such as Generals von Schleicher and Bredow.
  - In August 1934, the army swore an oath of allegiance to Hitler personally.
- As rearmament progressed and German expansion was undertaken, the army was happy to follow Hitler's lead.
- In 1938, Hitler felt confident enough to remove War Minister General von Blomberg and army Commander in Chief General von Fritsch. Hitler was unhappy with their attitude to his plans.
  - Blomberg was forced to resign when his young wife's past as a prostitute was made known.
  - Fritsch was accused of homosexual behaviour. Though innocent, Fritsch was forced to resign.
  - Hitler then removed another 16 generals and installed men he believed to be loyal to him such as General Keitel and General von Brauchitsch.

Any prospect of army resistance was now over.

The **church** was equally as ineffective in opposing the Nazis. In fact, both the Catholic and Protestant Churches not only failed to resist the Nazis, but they were willing to go along with the regime. Details about Nazi church policy are given in Chapter Thirteen. There was a small number of heroic religious figures who did stand up to the Nazis:

- Cardinal von Galen, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Munster spoke openly against the Nazi euthanasia policy in 1939.
- Pastor Paul Schneider was arrested in November 1937 after having openly spoken out against the Hitler Youth Movement and Jewish policy. He died at the hands of the SS in July 1939.
- During the war, Father Bernhard Lichtenberg died on his way to Dachau. He had been accused of treason – offering up prayers for the Jews since 1938.
- Martin Niemoller and Dietrich Bonhoeffer formed the anti-Nazi Pastors' Emergency League. Niemoller was arrested in 1937 and was to spend the war years in concentration camps. Bonhoeffer attempted to work with anti-Nazi people in the army and overseas. He was executed in April 1945.

Religious resistance to Nazism was very limited.

There was little opposition to the Nazis from German **Youth**. In fact, German youth constituted some of Hitler's most fanatical supporters. (see Chapter Fourteen)

- During the war, several groups arose which campaigned against Nazi practices. Most notable of these were the White Rose Group led by university students Hans and Sophie Scholl.
- Another group was the more working class-based Edelweiss Pirates.
- However, between 1933 and 1939, the only signs of youth dissent came from groups such as The Swing Kids. These were middle class German youths who preferred to listen to American jazz and swing music, dress in trendy English clothes and preferred jitterbugging to Nazi Youth camps.

- Their opposition to the Hitler Youth Movement was apolitical rather than an example of hostility to the regime.<sup>1</sup>

In the elections of March 1933, the two parties of the **left**, the SPD and the KPD gained almost 12 million votes to the Nazi total of 17 million.

- In fact in the November 1932 election, the combined KPD/ SPD was 37.1% compared to the Nazi vote of 33.1%.

Working class movements had been strong in the 1920s; in 1920 a general strike had brought down the Kapp Putsch (see Chapter Seven). Yet opposition from the left was totally impotent and almost non-existent, apart from the valiant efforts of men like Willy Brandt and Carl von Ossietzky.

- Massive unemployment during the depression weakened any potential industrial action by workers. The Nazis' swift action in banning trade unions on 2 May 1933 and the establishment of the German Labour Front (see Chapter Fourteen) ended worker power.
- The Reichstag Fire Decree effectively destroyed the Communists and the SPD was finally outlawed by 14 July 1933. The process of Gleisaltung (see Chapter Eight) ended any possible left wing opposition.

Another key factor that prevented left wing opposition to the Nazis was the attitude of Stalin in Moscow. The KPD obeyed instructions that came from the Comintern – the Communist International.

- The aim of the Comintern had been to promote communism in countries outside the Soviet Union; it became an arm of Stalin's foreign policy.
- Stalin did not believe that Nazism would last and ordered the communists not to cooperate with the Social Democrat Party against the Nazis.
- This instruction, plus Communist memories of the attacks on them in January 1919, prevented any possible KPD-SPD cooperation. This meant that there was no chance of any effective combined left resistance to the Nazis.
- Communist opponents did engage in spying activities against the government in the 'Red Orchestra' between 1938-42 but this was gravely compromised with the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact in August 1939.

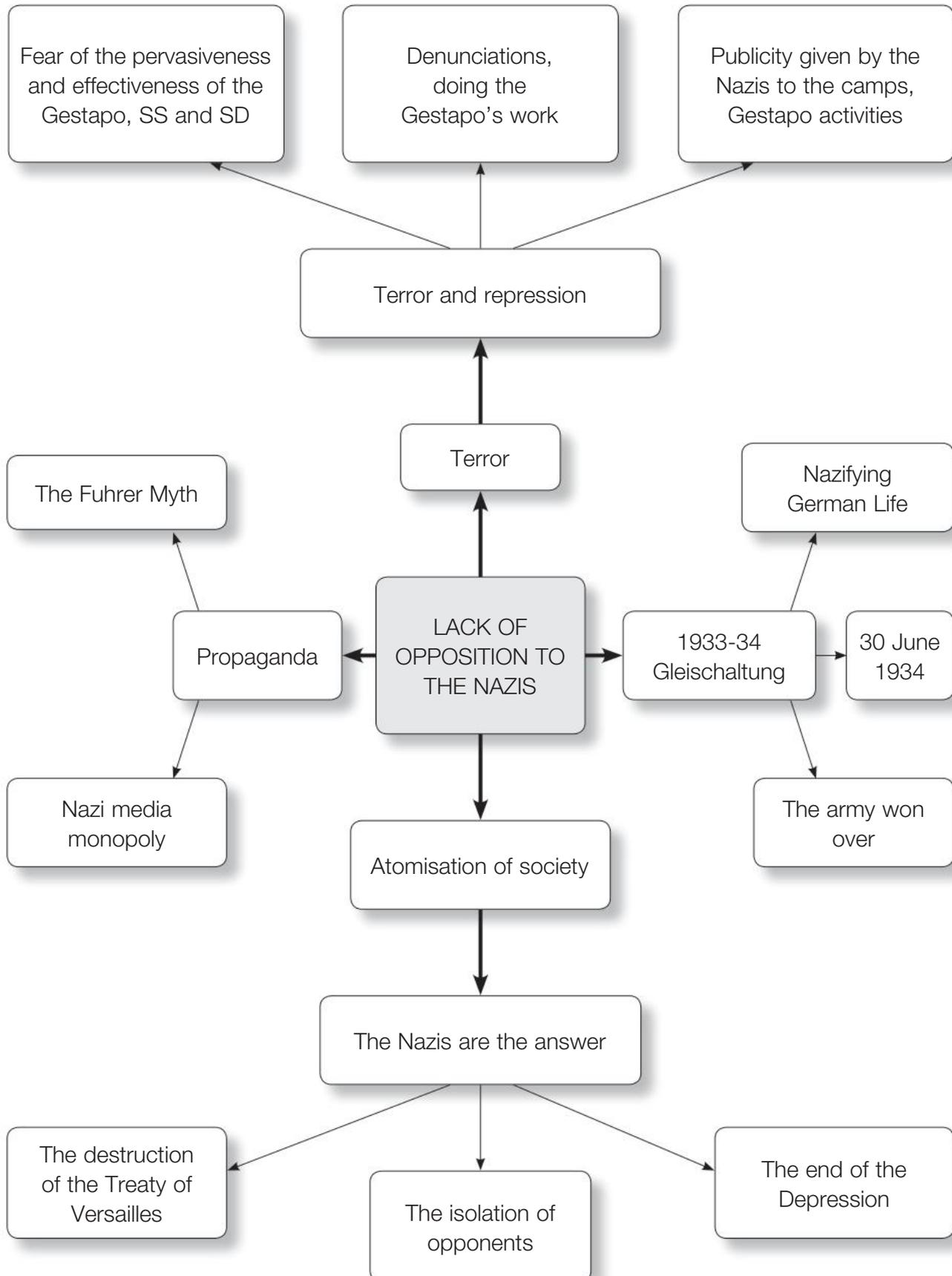
The Nazis did face some opposition from **conservative** elements in Germany. Though these people had no love for Weimar democracy, and hailed Hitler's destruction of the Treaty of Versailles, as the true nature of the regime became known their opposition to the regime developed.

- Before the war, this opposition was led by men like Ulrich von Hassell, the former German Ambassador to Rome, and Carl Goerdeler, former Mayor of Leipzig and member of Hitler's government.
- The former Chief of the General Staff, Ludwig Beck opposed Hitler, believing that the Czech crisis of 1938 could lead to a European war. Plans were made for a possible coup and contacts were made with the British Foreign Office.
- Anglo-French appeasement and Hitler's success at Munich (see Chapter Seventeen) ended any such hopes.

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter Twenty One for a detailed study-guide of the Hollywood movie of the Nazi era, "The Swing Kids".

Why was there so little opposition to the Nazi regime?

Figure 16.1 Reasons for the lack of opposition to the Nazis.



**Exercise 16.1** Indicate whether each of the following statements is true or false.

1	German Youth was generally keen on Nazism and supported Hitler	TRUE/ FALSE
2	The army supported the murder of SA leaders and Generals von Schleicher and von Bredow	TRUE/ FALSE
3	Church opposition to Nazi policies was rigorous and effective	TRUE/ FALSE
4	KPD-SPD divisions proved disastrous in creating effective left wing opposition to the Nazis	TRUE/ FALSE
5	The removal of Blomberg and Fritsch had little impact on Hitler's control of the army	TRUE/ FALSE
6	Pastor Niemoller was a consistent supporter of the Nazis	TRUE/ FALSE
7	The Swing Kids were essentially apolitical in their opposition to Nazism	TRUE/ FALSE
8	Some of Germany's conservative elites actively conspired against Hitler	TRUE/ FALSE
9	The Comintern encouraged the KPD to work with the SPD against the Nazis	TRUE/ FALSE
10	The lack of organised opposition to the Nazis did not imply universal support for the regime	TRUE/ FALSE

## What do historians have to say about “Opposition to Hitler”?

### 1. Ian Kershaw: *The Nazi Dictatorship*

Kershaw suggests that part of the explanation for the failure of organised opposition to the Nazis between 1933 and 1939 was due to the split on the left, the enthusiasm of the right to bury the republic and people’s readiness to accept authoritarian government. This had its origin before 1933.

*“...The ineffectiveness and failure of German resistance to Nazism had its roots in the strife-torn political climate of the Weimar Republic.”*<sup>2</sup>

### 2. Richard Evans: *The Third Reich in Power*

Evans refers to the atomisation of German society. It did not matter that there were in fact very few Gestapo agents as long as people believed they were there. Even worse, the Nazis had managed to create distrust between ordinary people. Germans lived with the constant fear of denunciation. This was enough to prevent the rise of opposition groups.

*“...Knowledge of the ever-present danger of denunciation for an incautious word or expression spoken in a public place was important in spreading general fear and anxiety among the population.”*<sup>3</sup>

### 3. Richard Overy: *The Dictators*

Overy refers to the existence of ‘soft terror’, the existence of the denunciation process which acted as a means for stunting opposition in Germany (and the Soviet Union). The public was thus assisting the authorities in self-policing. This allowed the regime to keep control with limited resources, but it also had an added significance:

*“...it exposes the extent to which (German society) perceived repression not as a smouldering blanket of regime terror, but as something necessary or even desirable in itself.”*<sup>4</sup>

2 Kershaw, I, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, Arnold, London, 2000, p 216

3 Evans, R, *The Third Reich in Power*, Penguin, London, 2005, p 104

4 Overy, R, *The Dictators: Hitler’s Germany, Stalin’s Russia*, Penguin, London, 2005, p 214

## **Chapter Seventeen**

# **German ambitions in Europe**

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### **German ambitions and the issue of ideology**

Ideology played a fundamental role in Nazi foreign policy and hence German ambitions in Europe.<sup>1</sup>

The argument against the role of ideology suggests that *Mein Kampf* cannot be taken seriously, any more than Hitler's other ravings when he was younger.

- The ranting that can be found in *Mein Kampf* was written in 1924 when Hitler was in prison. After prison, Hitler's Nazi Party was in the wilderness.
- When Hitler did gain power, he behaved much as other statesmen, dealing with problems as they arose and taking opportunities if they arose.

However, such a view that totally dismisses the thinking of *Mein Kampf* fails to recognise the similarity of the ideas in the turgid pages of Hitler's book and what came to happen in the 1930s. Ideology played the key role in Nazi foreign policy both in setting the long-term goals and suggesting the short-term strategies for the achievement of German ambitions in Europe. The twin long-term aims of Nazi foreign policy were the achievement of lebensraum in the east and settlement of the Jewish problem. Whether or not this meant the Holocaust was inevitable does not detract from the fact that expansion and race were at the root of German ambitions in Europe in the 1930s and beyond.

- Hitler always accepted the Social Darwinist view that nations prosper at the expense of others: "Right abides in strength alone".
  - Life is a struggle and if Germany ever felt a need to take from another nation, it was justified in so behaving.
  - 'Strength is always mistress over weakness'.
  - The 'sole earthly criterion of whether an enterprise is right or wrong is its success.'
- On the very first page of *Mein Kampf*, Hitler states that 'Kindred blood should belong to a common empire'. Here is his aim of drawing together all German speaking people into a GrossDeutschland.
- He recognised that the implacable enemy to German ambitions was France which would have to be dealt with. However, he made it clear that war with France was not an end in itself but merely a means to an end: a free hand in Eastern Europe.
  - This free hand would eventually see a German Empire in the east comprising 250 million people.
  - Hitler predicted Germany's frontiers would run from the Atlantic to the Black Sea.
- Hitler's belief in Aryan superiority as the highest human type was clear.

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<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed examination of Nazi Ideology see Chapter Nine.

- The earliest civilisations had prospered both as a result of the taming of animals by man, and the employment of inferior races as slaves.
- This of course was to be the fate of Slavs in a future German empire.

### “Means and Ends”

Hitler knew that his long-term goals could not be achieved immediately. It would be necessary to work towards the achievement of German ambitions in Europe, ie he needed to, at first, take smaller steps, and these smaller steps would constitute the ‘means’ required to obtain the longer-term aims. These short-term goals included the following:

- **The hated Treaty of Versailles had to be undone.** Hitler sought to ‘revise’ the Treaty in Germany’s favour and eventually rip it up altogether. This process of revisionism involved several elements:
  - the cancellation of reparation payments; this had effectively been achieved at the Lausanne Conference of 1932;
  - Germany’s right to military equality with its neighbours; this involved the rejection of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles which had restricted Germany’s army to 100 000, denied it conscription, an air force, submarines and imposed other restrictions (see Chapter 1);
  - the recovery of territory taken from Germany in 1919, eg the land that had been lost to Poland in the east, the remilitarisation of the Rhineland and Anschluss (union) with Austria;

All these things would restore Germany’s national pride, end the humiliation of the Weimar years and restore Germany’s ‘rightful place in Europe’.

- Revisionism was only the first stage in Hitler’s foreign policy. **The next stage was the creation of a GrossDeutschland**, the bringing together of all German speaking people into the Reich. In 1919, many German speaking people had been separated from Germany and Hitler sought their return:
  - German speaking Austria was not allowed to unite with Germany;
  - Czechoslovakia’s Sudetenland region had three million Germans;
  - Germans had been forced to live in the new state of Poland and the creation of the Polish Corridor had separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany.

Creation of a Gross Deutschland would also assist Germany in achieving another short-term aim, or ‘means’, and that was **economic self-sufficiency**.

Hitler had also made it clear in *Mein Kampf* that he did not believe Germany’s traditional enemy, France, would accept German expansion:

- Hitler believed a reckoning with France was inevitable;
- Once this had been done, Hitler could then focus on his real goal: lebensraum in the east and the destiny of the master race.

Hitler did not have a carefully worked out blueprint in place when he came to power. He did not plan his foreign policy in advance. The long-term goals were never out of his mind, but the short-term moves were determined by chance and circumstances. **Hitler was a supreme opportunist.**

## Hitler's Foreign Policy: 1933-September 1939

### 1. 1933-March 1938:

The steps Hitler took to achieve German ambitions in Europe **between 1933 and March 1938** are outlined in Figure 17.1.

### 2. Czechoslovakia

Hitler's next area of interest was Czechoslovakia. Along Czechoslovakia's western frontier lay the region of the Sudetenland. The Sudetenland had been given to the new Czech state in 1919 but it contained three million Germans. The local Nazi Party had been agitating for incorporation into the Reich. The issue came to a head in September 1938 when Hitler made clear his intention to take the Sudetenland by force if necessary. British Prime Minister Chamberlain desperately hoped to avoid war. Mussolini intervened and a conference was called in Munich in late September.

- The conference was attended by Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and French Prime Minister Daladier.
- Neither the Czechs nor the Soviet Union was invited.
- The Sudetenland was transferred to Germany; Czechoslovakia was informed that if it did not accept the decision, it would have to fight Germany alone.
- When Chamberlain returned to England, he was feted as a peacemaker.

Chamberlain made much of his 'scrap of paper', a declaration signed personally by he and Hitler in which both leaders stated their desire to never to go war again.

On 15 March 1939, Hitler ripped up the Munich Agreement when he invaded the rest of Czechoslovakia.

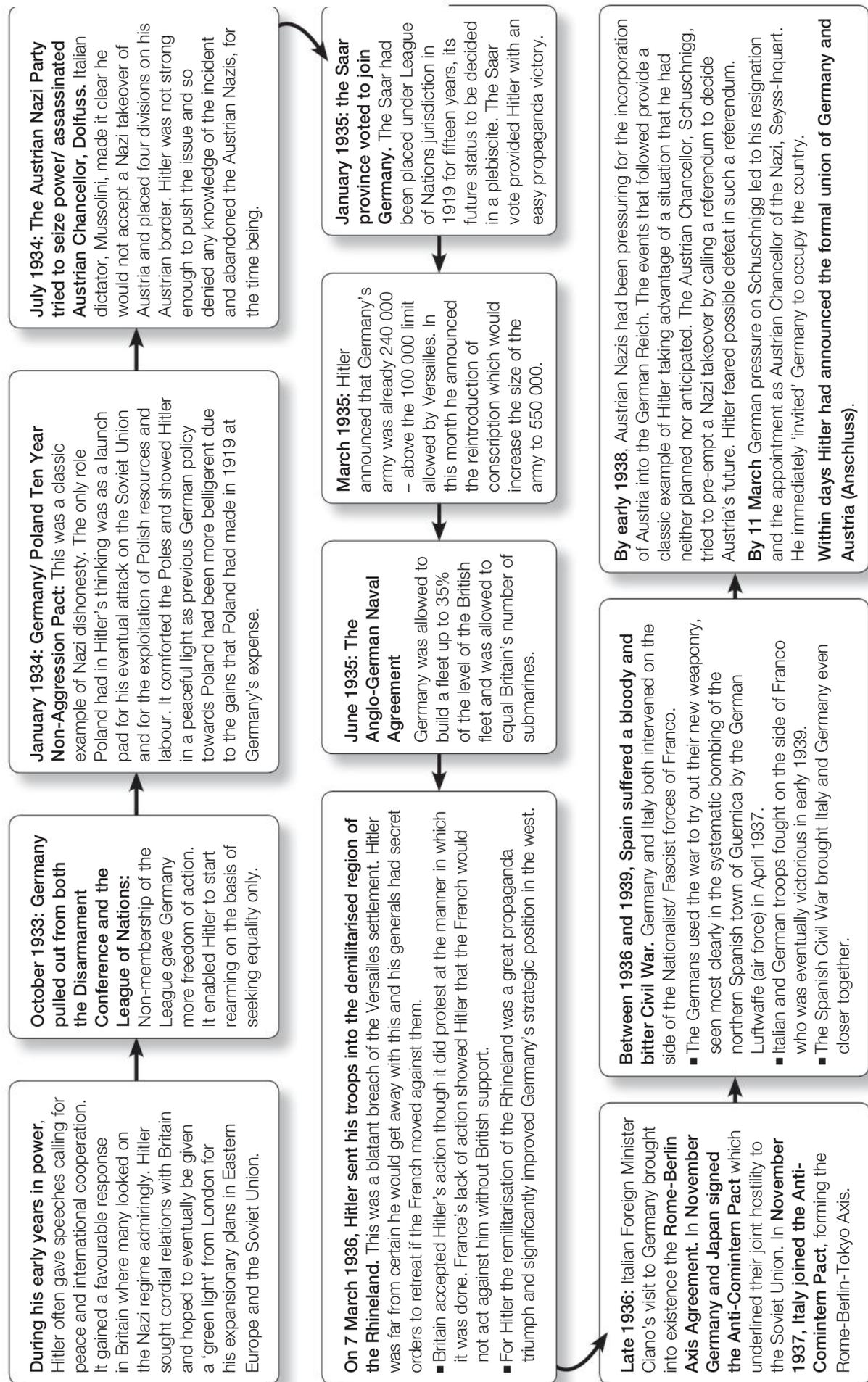
- The western half was incorporated into Germany while the eastern section, Slovakia, became a Nazi puppet-state.
- This was the first time Hitler had taken what was clearly non-German territory.
- On 23 March German troops seized the Lithuanian territory of Memel which had been taken from Germany in 1919.
- The British and the French now ended their policy of 'appeasement' which had been pursued in the belief that German demands had been fair and reasonable.

### 3. The Nazi-Soviet Pact August 1939 and the invasion of Poland

Hitler's next target was clearly Poland. Pressure was placed on Poland throughout 1939 to allow a road to be built across the Polish Corridor to East Corridor and for the previously German port of Danzig to be returned to Germany. Stories appeared in the German press about the mistreatment of Germans in Polish territory.

- In late March, Britain and France gave Poland a guarantee that if it was attacked, they would defend it. In April Britain gave similar guarantees to Greece, Romania and Turkey.

Figure 17.1 Hitler's Foreign Policy: 1933-March 1938



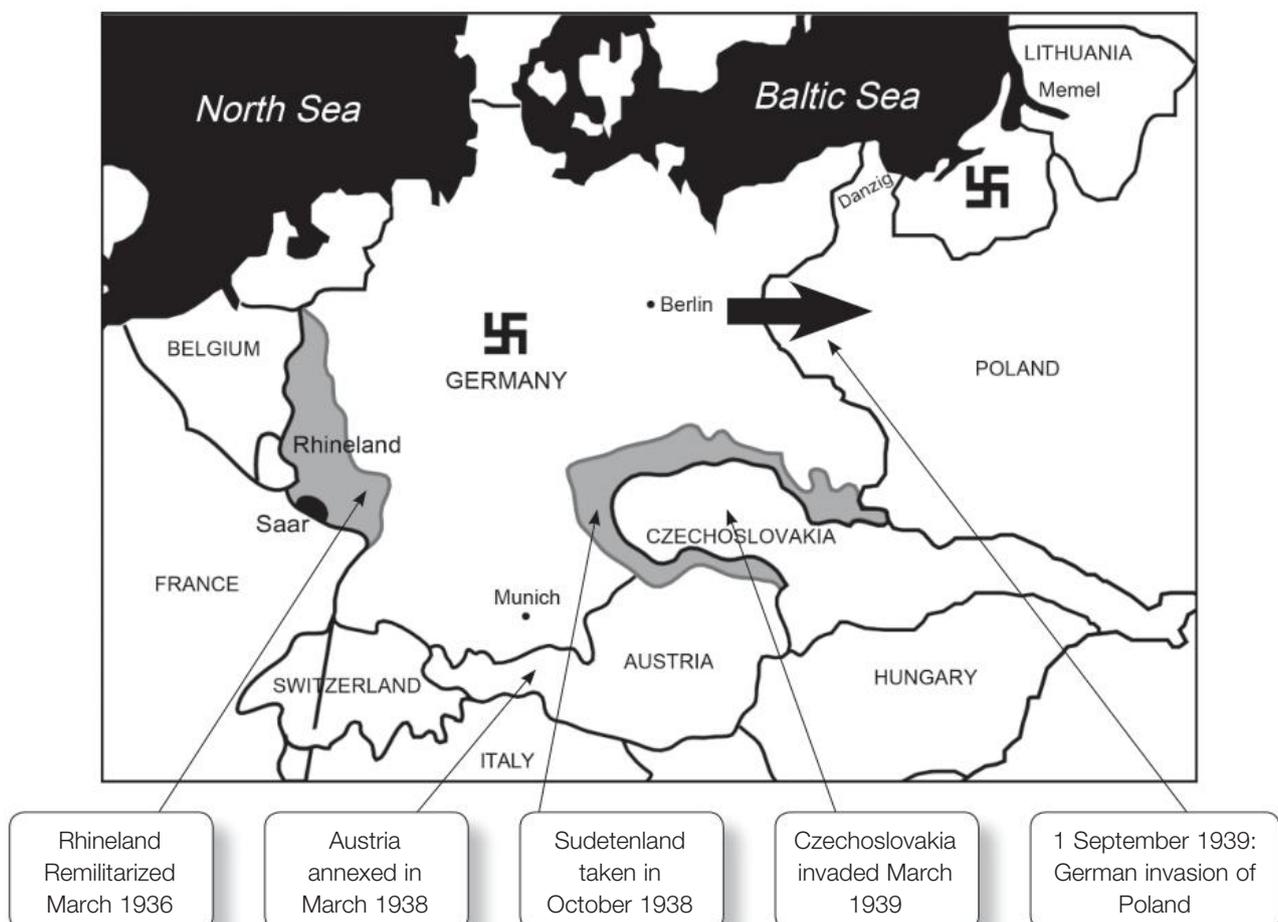
- Hitler viewed the guarantees with contempt. He ordered his generals to draw up plans for an invasion of Poland by 1 September.
- On 22 May 1939, Hitler and Mussolini signed a military alliance which became known as the 'Pact of Steel'.

Hitler was determined to attack Poland. He was not concerned about Britain and France, but what would the Soviet Union do? Britain and France, and the Soviet Union had been involved in negotiations throughout 1939; they got nowhere. Stalin believed that the western powers were not serious about forming an anti-Nazi alliance with the Soviet Union. In classic opportunist style, Hitler offered Stalin an attractive non-aggression pact. Hitler and Stalin distrusted and detested each other. However, opportunism ruled: Hitler wanted a quick war in Poland; Stalin wanted no war at all.

- German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop flew to Moscow and on 23 August, he and Soviet Foreign Minister, Molotov, signed the Nazi-Soviet Pact.
  - Hitler could now invade Poland, certain in the knowledge that he would face no challenge from the Soviet Union.
- The Pact contained a Secret Protocol which would later allow Stalin to move into eastern Poland, and in 1940 to move into the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

On 1 September 1939 Germany invaded Poland. On 3 September Britain, and later France, declared war on Germany.

**Figure 17.2 German expansion between 1933 and 1939**



## Exercise 17.1

Match the foreign policy action of Hitler listed in the box below, with the strategy listed. Write the correct answer in the space provided on the right.

Displaying a clear willingness to fight to achieve a foreign policy end	1
Protestations of peaceful intent	2
Signing an agreement with a country Hitler has every intention invading	3
Willingness to retreat if Germany's weak position demanded such a move	4
Pressuring weak governments to agree to Nazi demands	5
Classic act of Hitler's opportunism	6
The ultimate step of war	7
Dividing future potential enemies	8
An example of revisionism	9
Apparent anti-communist intentions	10

German-Polish Non-Aggression Pact	Anschluss with Austria
Behaviour after Dolfuss' assassination	Remilitarisation of the Rhineland
The Sept 1938 Czechoslovak crisis	Anti-Comintern Pact
Invasion of Poland	Hitler's early foreign policy speeches
Anglo-German Naval Agreement	Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact

## What do the historians have to say about ‘Impact of Ideology on Nazi Foreign Policy to September 1939’?

### 1. Winston Churchill: *The Gathering Storm*

Writing after the war, Winston Churchill was clear on the importance of *Mein Kampf* in understanding Hitler’s foreign policy. He argued that if there was ever a book that needed to have been read, *Mein Kampf* was that book. Hitler had made clear his intentions from creating a National Socialist state to world conquest.

*“...All was there – the programme for German resurrection...the rightful position of German at the summit of the world. Here was the new Koran of faith and war: turgid, verbose, shapeless, but pregnant with its message.”*<sup>2</sup>

### 2. PMH Bell: *The Origins of the Second World War in Europe*

Bell points out that western statesmen believed that there had to be a distinction between ideology and practical politics. They dealt with Hitler as a realist. The mistake they made was that he was more; opportunist he might be, but for him ideology provided direction whereas his peers sought only to turn the next corner.

Bell argues that to deny the role of ideology in Nazi foreign policy is to suggest that Hitler was motivated by purely materialist interests or by impersonal forces. However, to argue this is to reduce Hitler to a mere puppet. Bell says these explanations raise difficulties as they leave:

*“...unexplained the large and important areas of consistency between Hitler’s writings, talk and actions, and in particular those areas where ideology carried the day against the obvious appeal of opportunism and material interest.”*<sup>3</sup>

### 3. Richard Evans: *The Third Reich in Power*

Evans suggests that the desire for *lebensraum* had less to do with ideology and more to do with economic necessity. He refers to a speech given to army, SA, and SS leaders in February 1934 in which Hitler argued that living space for Germany’s surplus population would be needed because the economic recovery would have run out of steam by 1942. Hitler had spoken to military leaders in a similar vein in February 1933 arguing:

*“...it was pointless trying to boost exports; the only way to a long-term, secure recovery of the German economy was through the conquest of ‘living-space’ in the East, and preparations for this now had to take priority over everything else.”*<sup>4</sup>

2 Churchill, WS, *The Gathering Storm*, Cassell, London, 1948, p 50

3 Bell, PMH, *The Origins of the Second World War*, Pearson, London, 1997, p 84

4 Evans, R, *The Third Reich in Power*, Penguin, London, 2005, p 346



# Chapter Eighteen

## Japanese ambitions in the Asia-Pacific

### The motivation of Japanese ambitions

From the western perspective of the time, Japanese ambitions in the Asia-Pacific were easy to comprehend. Japan was an Asian Germany bent in imperial expansion and domination. The targets of this expansion were not only other Asian peoples in the region but also the western powers who controlled much of the region.

However, the motives behind the Japanese desire to expand were more complicated.

Figure 18.1 summarises these motives.

**Figure 18.1 Motives behind Japanese expansion in the Asia-Pacific**

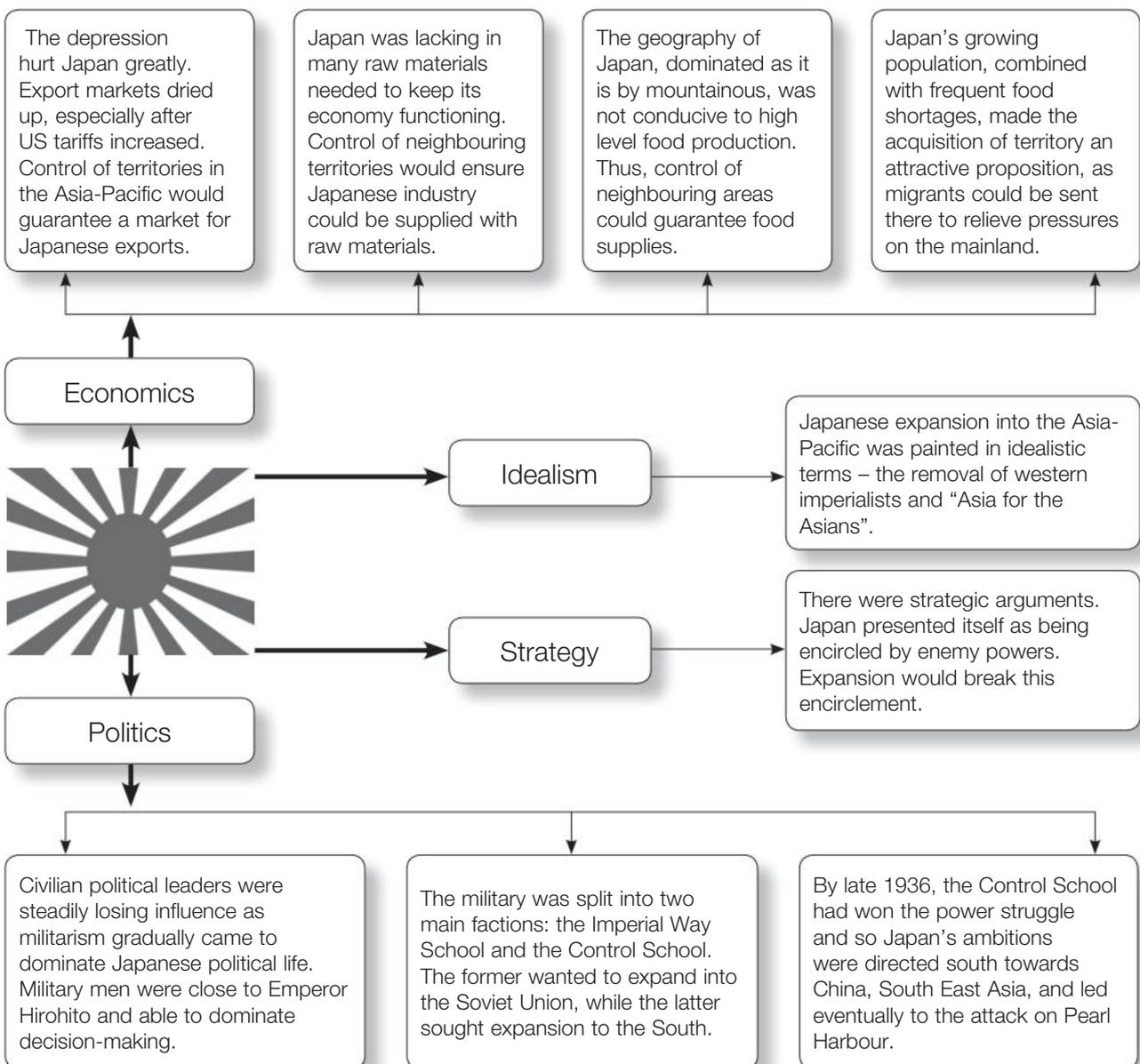


Figure 18.2 The exercise of Japanese ambitions in the Asia-Pacific

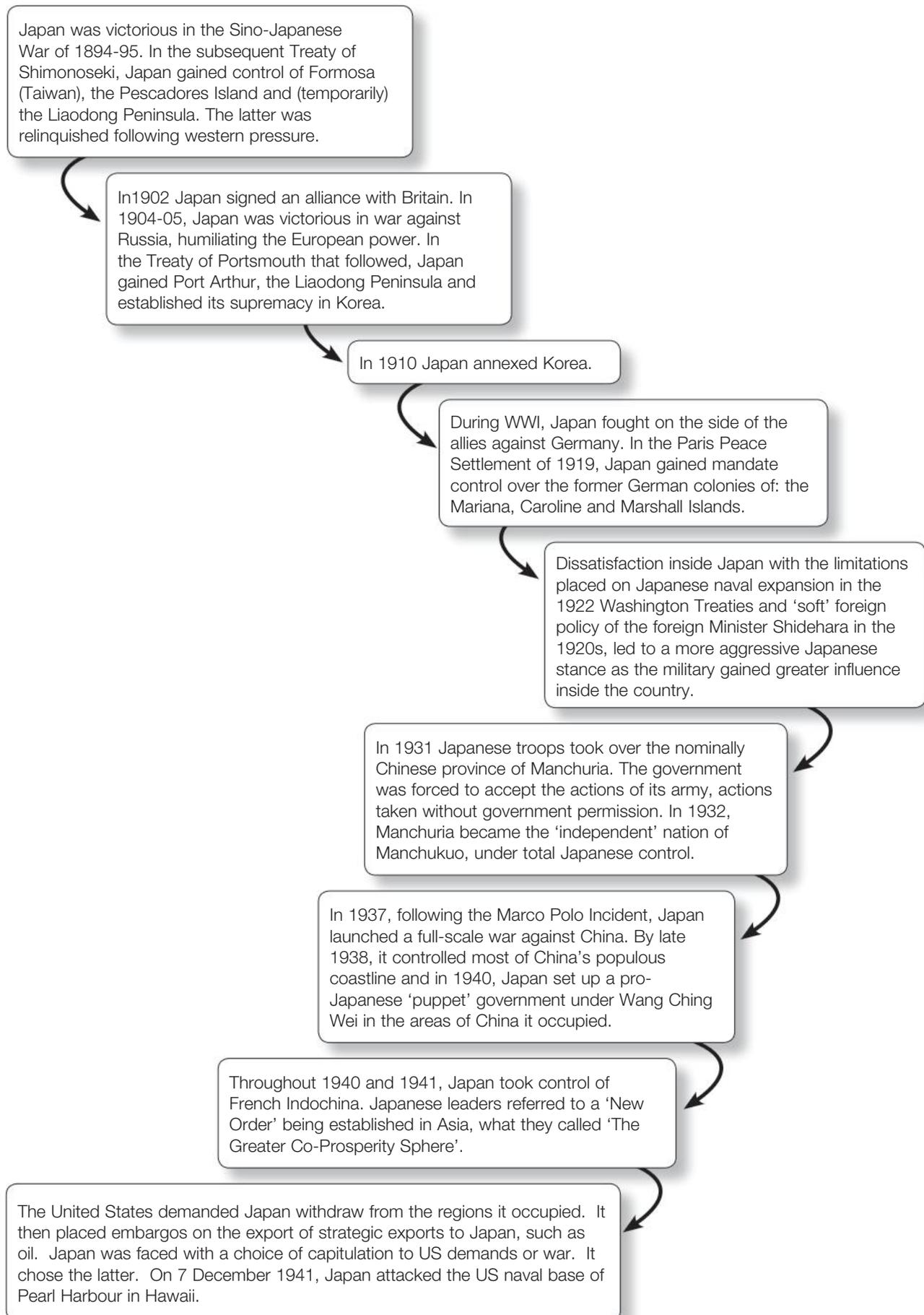
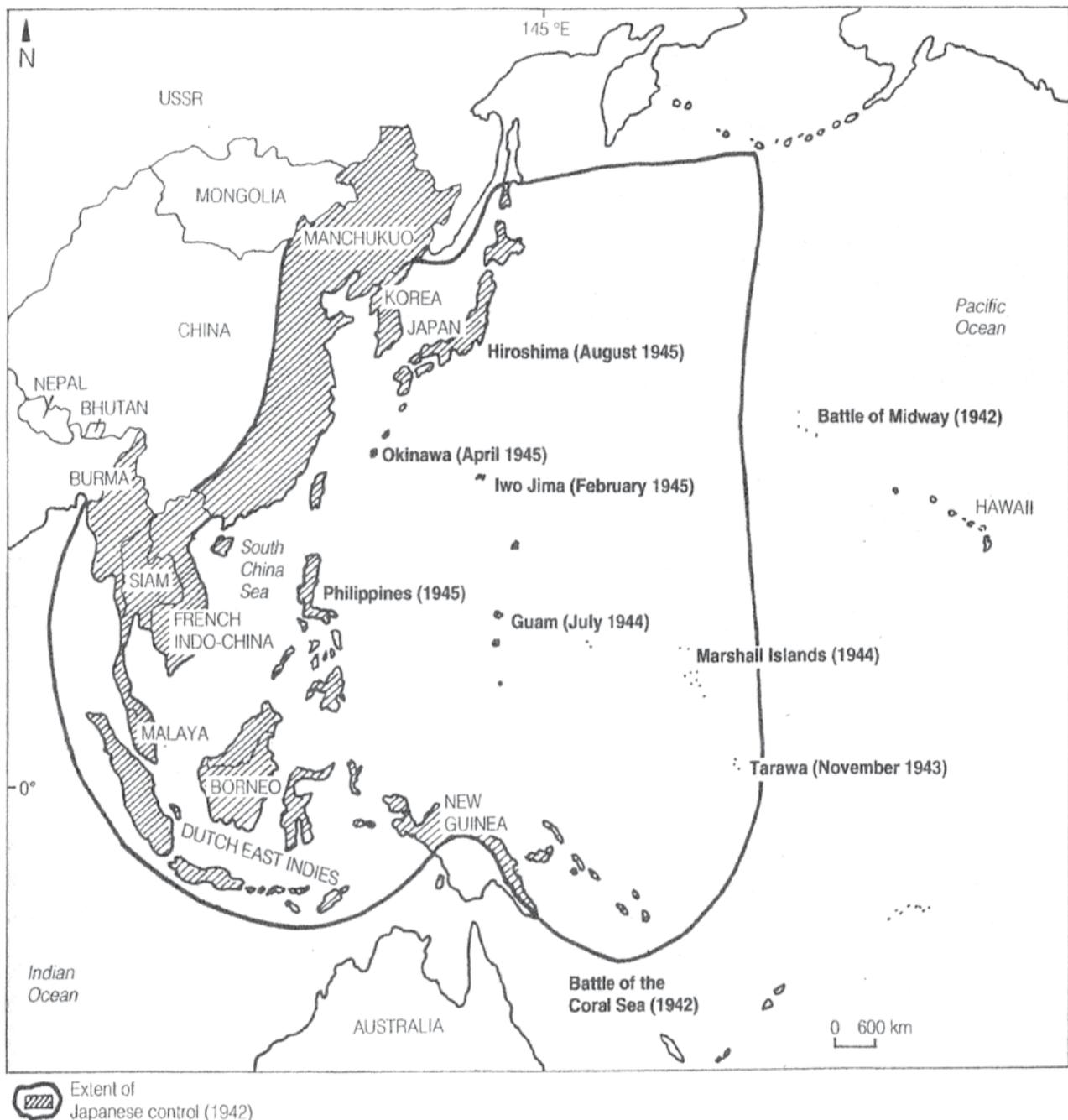


Figure 18.3 Japanese expansion to 1942 and WWII battle locations



On Sunday 7 December 1941, Japan attacked the US naval base of Pearl Harbour. Eight battleships were crippled as was much of US central Pacific air power, though the US navy's aircraft carriers were not in Pearl Harbour at the time. Guam fell on 10 December, Wake Island on 13 December, and Manila on 2 January 1942. Two British battleships, *The Prince of Wales* and *The Repulse* were sunk on 10 December. Singapore fell on 15 February, Java on 1 March and Rangoon on 8 March. By the summer of 1942, Japan was master of Asia and the western Pacific.

**Exercise 18.1**

Place the events listed in the box into the correct chronological order.

1st event	
2nd event	
3rd event	
4th event	
5th event	
6th event	
7th event	
8th event	
9th event	
10th event	

The establishment of Manchukuo	The annexation of Korea
The invasion of China	The takeover of German colonies
Sino-Japanese War	The bombing of Pearl Harbour
Russo-Japanese War	Invasion of Manchuria
The Fall of Singapore	Takeover of Indochina

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# Chapter Nineteen

## The intentions and authority of the League of Nations

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### Origin of the League of Nations

In January 1918, US President Wilson delivered an address to the US Congress which included his famous Fourteen Points. Wilson was attempting to provide a basis upon which to base a possible post-war peace settlement.



**US President Wilson**

The fourteenth of Wilson's points called for the establishment of a "League of Nations". In his speech Wilson called for "a general association of nations" to be formed. Wilson believed that if such an organisation had been in existence before 1914, the tensions and differences between the European powers which had spiralled into war, could have been resolved peacefully by leaders sitting around a table and discussing issues. In the nineteenth century, an informal "concert of Europe" existed which met periodically to resolve issues.

When the Paris Peace Conference met in 1919, as the leader of the world's strongest power, whose military forces had arguably turned the tide of war, Wilson carried great prestige. He was able to dominate early proceedings which spent a great deal of time on the creation of a League of Nations. The League of Nations came into being in January 1920. At its inception, it had forty two members; at its height it boasted a membership of fifty eight nations.

### Purpose of the League of Nations

The fundamental purpose of the League was the preservation of world peace. Wilson argued the League could provide a forum for nations to air their differences rather than resort to war.

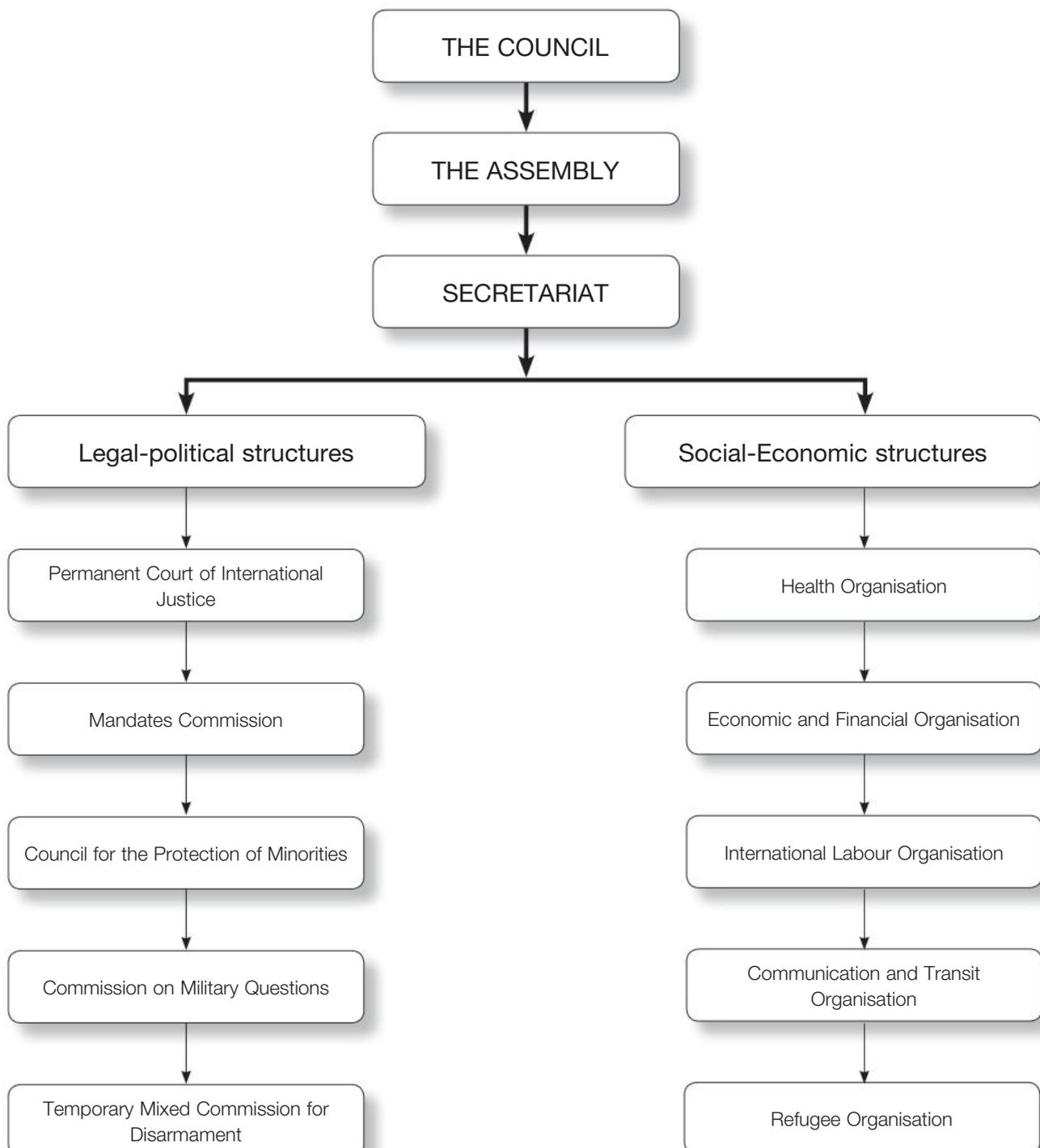
- However, if a nation did attack another, Article 10 of the League Covenant provided for other League members to assist the victim of aggression.
  - This was the so-called "Collective Security" provision.
  - If a nation knew it could face the united opposition of the League, it would presumably desist from aggression.
- Article 12 of the League Covenant provided for arbitration between nations that were in conflict.
- Article 16 provided for the imposition of economic sanctions against an aggressor nation with the aim of persuading to stop its aggression.
- Article 8 called for all nations to work towards disarmament.

The League also sought to promote international cooperation with the establishment of various international bodies which would deal with matters ranging from health to transport, communications, refugees and economic issues.

## The structure of the League of Nations

The League had an Assembly which contained all member nations. It could debate any issue and allowed each nation a single vote. The League's executive committee was the Council which was to contain the world's five great powers: Britain, France, the US, Italy and Japan, plus four non-permanent members. There was also a Secretariat which acted as a kind of 'public service' whose aim was to ensure the day to day functioning of the League. In addition there were the specialist League organisations such as the Health Organisation. Figure 19.1 outlines the structure of the League of Nations.

**Figure 19.1** The structure of the League of Nations



## Successes and failures of the League of Nations

Successes of the League	Failures of the League
<p>The League could claim notable success in non-political areas. This could be seen in its efforts to curb the drug trade, white slavery and health.</p> <p>The Health and Labour organisations would re-emerge as part of the UN.</p> <p>Thanks to the work of the Norwegian, Fridtjof Nansen, the League achieved much dealing with refugee problems.</p> <p>The International Court of Justice had early successes. In 1926, even the US agreed to adhere to its decisions though the US never became a League member.</p> <p>It managed to restabilise the disastrous finances of Austria in 1922.</p> <p>It solved several international disputes, eg between Sweden and Finland over the Aaland Isles (1921), between Albania and Yugoslavia (1921), between Greece and Bulgaria (1925).</p> <p>It organised the running of Danzig, the Saar and oversaw the administration of Mandates (former German colonies run by former allied powers).</p> <p>It successfully supervised river traffic along the Elbe, Rhine and Danube rivers.</p> <p>The establishment of the Permanent Secretariat was staffed by international personnel rather than run by national civil servants. This resulted in an esprit de corps amongst people who had a genuine idealistic goal of making the League work.</p>	<p>The League never reflected the true balance of international power. The US never joined, and other major powers such as the Soviet Union, Germany and Japan were members only for a short time.</p> <p>The League relied upon the spirit of internationalism. However, as was explained in Chapter Three, the inter-war world was dominated by a spirit of nationalism which in many countries led to the establishment of nationalist-minded dictatorships for whom national interest mattered above all else.</p> <p>The League never had its own armed forces to enforce decisions.</p> <p>Many nations tried to deny the League any say in issues which it was believed were crucial to their national interest, eg France would not allow the League a say in reparations; Britain denied the League in its running of Iraq.</p> <p>Most importantly, the League was unable to stand up to major powers if those powers were determined to pursue their own national interests. Examples of this included Italy's actions in the Corfu Incident (1923), Japan's invasion of Manchuria (1931) and Italy's invasion of Abyssinia (1935). The League proved to be totally unable to act during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) and was unable to act against Nazi and Japanese aggression in the 1930s.</p>

**Exercise 19.1**

Indicate whether each of the following statements is true or false.

1	It was US President Wilson who was the main promoter of the League of Nations after World War I.	TRUE/ FALSE
2	The Collective Security provision of the League Covenant was contained in Article 10.	TRUE/ FALSE
3	League membership was extensive and few nations in the world failed to become members.	TRUE/ FALSE
4	The League had notable successes in non-political areas such as refugees and health.	TRUE/ FALSE
5	The voting rights of small powers in the Assembly were significantly less than that of the major powers.	TRUE/ FALSE
6	The membership of the United States proved to be one of the great strengths of the League of Nations.	TRUE/ FALSE
7	At its inception, the League Council's permanent members included only Britain, France, Italy and Japan.	TRUE/ FALSE
8	Members of the League Secretariat lacked interest and idealism in the work that they were doing.	TRUE/ FALSE
9	The League failed to prevent war breaking out between Sweden and Finland over the Aaland Isles in 1921.	TRUE/ FALSE
10	The strength of internationalism in the inter-war period ensured that the League had a great chance of success.	TRUE/ FALSE
11	The League was successful in defusing the conflict between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925.	TRUE/ FALSE
12	The success of the League's Health Organisation was such that it was to be reconstituted in the United Nations.	TRUE/ FALSE
13	The lack of its own armed forces made it almost impossible for the League to enforce its decisions.	TRUE/ FALSE
14	The League played a crucial role in preventing the aggressive actions of Germany in the 1930s.	TRUE/ FALSE
15	Despite its many successes, the League was ultimately unable to achieve its number one goal.	TRUE/ FALSE

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# Chapter Twenty

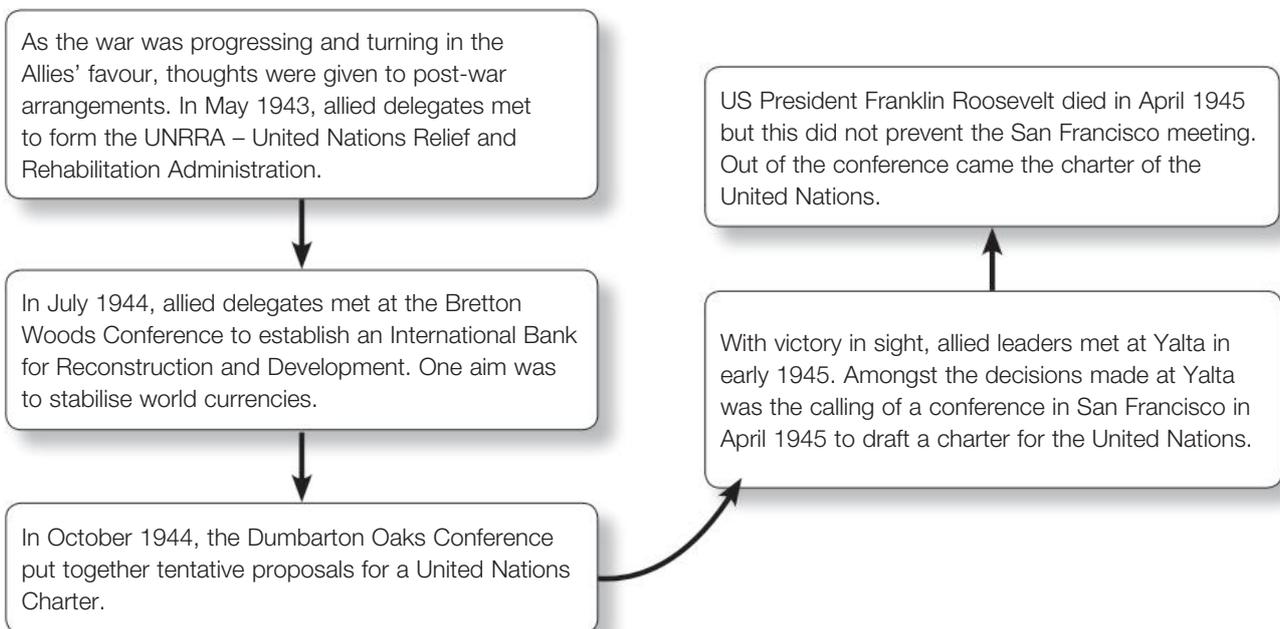
## The intentions and authority of the United Nations

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### Origin of the United Nations

The League of Nations had failed in its fundamental goal of maintaining peace. However, this did not limit the desire of many to re-create a similar body once World War II was over. It was hoped that lessons could be learned from the mistakes of the League of Nations. Figure 20.1 highlights the key steps in the evolution of the United Nations.

**Figure 20.1** The evolution of the United Nations



**UN HQ in New York**

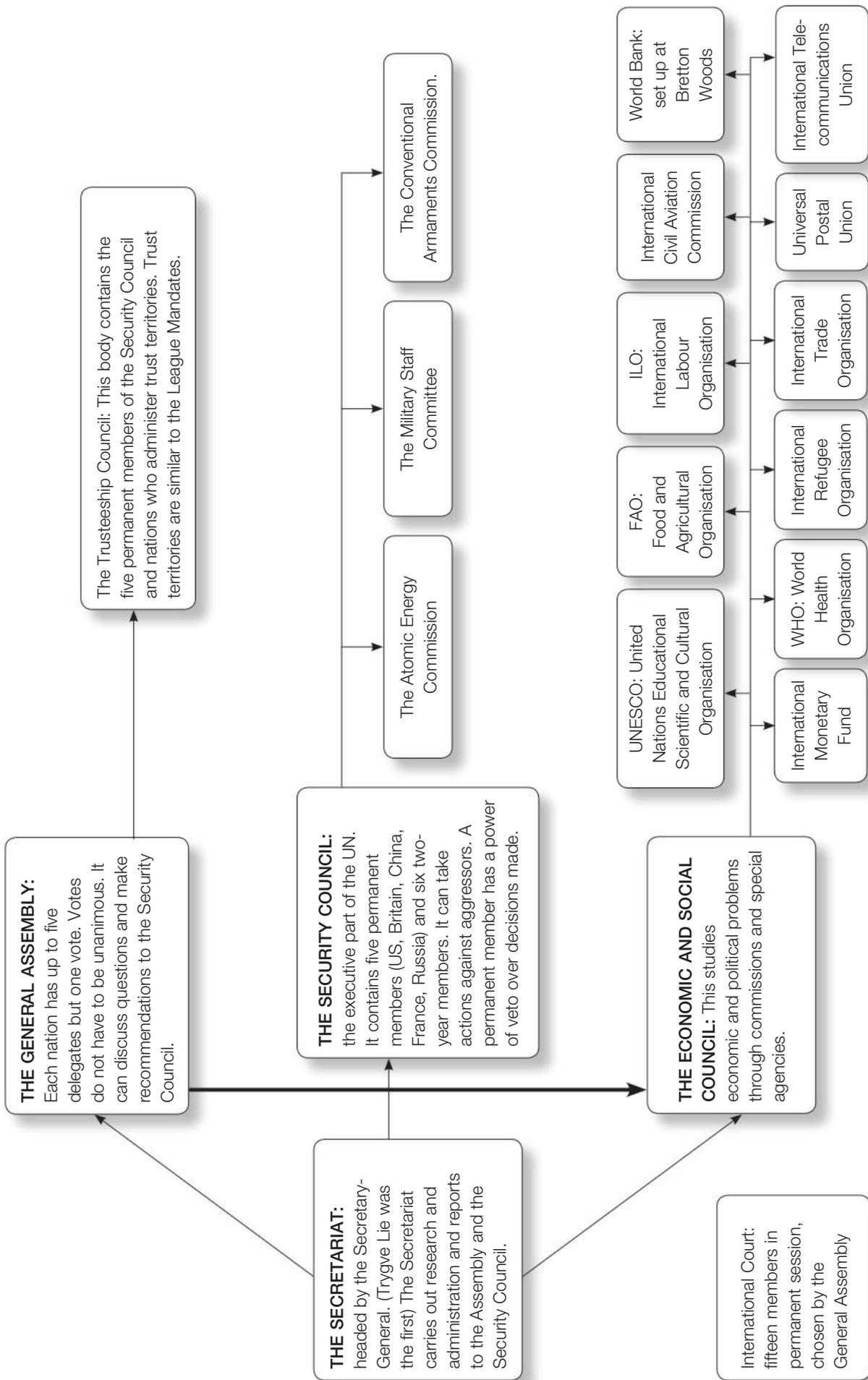
The headquarters of the United Nations was to be in New York. <sup>1</sup> Lessons from the failure of the League had been learned and the United Nations was to be a more effective and longer-lasting body.

- The US was now a key member.
- The major powers have remained members of the Security Council. China was at first represented by the Nationalist Taiwan regime. However, from 1971, the People's Republic has occupied China's seat.
- Votes in the (General) Assembly do not have to be unanimous. Thus, decisions cannot be held because of the negative of a single nation.

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<sup>1</sup> The General Assembly and Security Council first met in London in 1946.

Figure 20.2 The structure of the United Nations



## The effectiveness of the United Nations

In its early years, the United Nations had to operate in the new environment of the Cold War. Both the United States and Russia (the Soviet Union) were permanent members of the Security Council. Permanent members had the power of veto over any decisions that could be made. As tensions between east (the Soviet Union) and west (the United States) increased after 1945, the effectiveness of the United Nations was limited. During the first three years of its operation, the Soviet Union used its veto power thirty times.

Despite such problems, the UN could still point some achievements in its early operation.

- A special UN committee recommended the partition of Palestine between Jews and Arabs. Britain announced that it would be giving up its mandate over Palestine in May 1948 and this was followed by the Jews' proclamation of their independent state of Israel.
  - Soon there was full scale war between the Jews and the Arabs, who rejected the Jewish action.
  - The war was finally brought to an end in late 1948 following intervention by the UN mediator, Dr Ralph Bunche.
- There were efforts from the UN to control the development of atomic power and atomic weapons.
  - Cold War tensions ensured such efforts had little chance of success, especially after the Soviet Union exploded their first atomic bomb in 1949.
- In 1950, troops fought in the Korean War under a UN flag against Communist North Korea which had invaded South Korea.
  - This was only made possible because the Soviet Union had absented itself temporarily from the Security Council and was thus unable to exercise its veto power.
- In the non-political area, the UN was able to make significant progress in the areas of health, transport and economics.

**Exercise 20.1**

Using the terms in the box below, complete the following passage.

In 1944, the \_\_\_\_\_ Conference produced proposals for a United Nations \_\_\_\_\_. The United Nations charter was finally produced at the April 1945 conference in \_\_\_\_\_. The July 1944 conference at \_\_\_\_\_ met to establish the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development that aimed at currency \_\_\_\_\_. The General Assembly was similar to the previous League Assembly but votes here no longer needed to be \_\_\_\_\_. The \_\_\_\_\_ was now a key UN member. The five permanent members of the Security Council retained a \_\_\_\_\_ power over decisions, a decision that the \_\_\_\_\_ used thirty times in the first three years of the UN. However, the UN made progress in non-political areas with its commissions and special agencies. Such agencies included the \_\_\_\_\_ working in health, \_\_\_\_\_ working in scientific and cultural and the \_\_\_\_\_ dealing with food production. In 1950, the UN took military action in \_\_\_\_\_, made possible only by the Soviet Union's \_\_\_\_\_ at the time from the Security Council which meant it could not exercise its veto \_\_\_\_\_.

United States – San Francisco – Korea – FAO – stabilisation – charter – WHO  
power – UNESCO – Dumbarton Oaks – Soviet Union – absence – veto –  
Bretton Woods – unanimous

## Chapter Twenty-One

### “The Swing Kids”

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#### Introduction

The film, *The Swing Kids*, was released in 1993. With a screenplay by Jonathan Marc Feldman and directed by Thomas Carter, the film was not a major commercial success. However, as is often happens in such cases, it has become more valued over time. It starred Christian Bale as Thomas Berger, Robert Sean Leonard as Peter Muller, Frank Whaley as Arvid, Barbara Hershey as Frau Muller and Kenneth Branagh as SS Sturmabfuhrer Knopp.

*The Swing Kids* was a Hollywood movie, and was made for the entertainment of cinema goers. It is not a history documentary. However, Carter and Feldman have done an excellent job of capturing the feel of the times and they handle the main issues of 1930s Germany with some skill. The film focusses on the lives of a group of older teenagers and their love of “Swing Music”, but manages to highlight many elements of life in Nazi Germany – propaganda, the Hitler Youth, the Gestapo, the regime’s opposition to The Swing Kids Movement, anti-Semitism and the coming war.

For the purposes of cinematic continuity, the writer and director occasionally take liberties with historical fact. For example, the scene with the “ashes” has clearly been included for emotional and dramatic effect.

However, these are minor issues and do not detract from the value of the film!

#### Advice to teachers

- It is not a good idea to start the Nazi section of the topic “*Power and Authority in the Modern World 1919-1946*” by showing the film. The film is complex and students will only truly gain from a viewing if they already have good background knowledge.
- It is also not a good idea to show the film in one go. It is almost two hours long. It is much better to show it in 30/40 minute segments. Each segment could be shown after work has been done in class dealing with what the film shows.
- The following **study guide** is broken down into specific scenes and might assist teachers in planning their lessons on this topic. The study guide is extremely detailed.
  - For some teachers it may be too detailed and they may choose to use only part of it. Alternatively it can be used fully as a useful revision tool.
  - Teachers might divide their class up and allocate certain scenes to certain students for each part of the viewing.
  - Another strategy of using the film would be to debrief with the class after each part of the viewing to discuss the various questions.

*The Swing Kids* is not flawless. However, students respond well to it. The music/ dance scenes are spectacular and brilliantly handled. The scenes dealing with the Hitler Youth are effective and Thomas’ metamorphosis has lessons for all of us.

Enjoy!

### ***Advice to students***

Encourage your teacher to show the film in class, best on the lines explained above.

If you cannot watch it in class, watch it at home but not until you are well into the topic. The DVD can be easily obtained from online stores and it might be on a streaming service such as Netflix.

Enjoy!

### **The opening scene in the Club Bismarck**

1. Describe the style of dancing and music, and comment on the styles of dress of the young people there, including their hair.

2. What do you think the Nazis’ view of what you have described in Question 1 would have been? Give reasons.

### **On the bridge**

3. What evidence is there of the feelings towards Nazis that the boys have?

### The Muller home

Peter Muller lives at home with his mother, Frau Muller, his younger brother, Willy, and his late father’s mother, who appears to be suffering from dementia.

4. Peter’s mother panics when her mother-in-law uses the butter. What might this suggest about life in Germany at this time?

### The “blockfuhrer” scene

5. The “blockfuhrer” is throwing his weight around. What evidence is there of this? How does Frau Muller react? Why is she so submissive?

6. How does the blockfuhrer behave when SS-Sturmbandfuhrer Knopp (Gestapo) arrives? What does this suggest about the Gestapo?

7. What appears to have happened to Peter’s father six years earlier?

### The next brief scenes

8. What part time job does Peter have? Note the customer’s interest in “Faust”.

9. What is a “verrater”? How does the blockfuhrer take advantage of this?

10. How were the records in the record store re-labelled? Why was this done? What does it tell us about Nazi attitudes towards popular culture?

### Back at the Club Bismarck

11. What is Arvid’s great skill?

12. Why does the music at the club change so quickly? Who is Emile?

### At Arvid’s flat

13. What evidence is there of Arvid’s obsession?

14. What evidence is there of possible tension between Arvid and Thomas?

### The attempted radio theft

15. What do Thomas and Peter attempt to do? Why?

16. What happens to Peter and Thomas?

### Peter's arrest

17. How is Peter rescued? By whom? What is the implication of this?

18. In the car, the Gestapo man refers to what happened to him when he ‘once heard a man speak in Munich’. What do you think he is referring to?

19. Why is Frau Muller so concerned about Peter not going into the HJ?

### HJ Scene 1

20. What happens to Peter? What does Thomas do? What is the ‘perfect cover’ to which he refers?

21. Outline the propaganda the HJ boys are subjected to?

**The attack on Arvid**

22. What happens to Arvid? Why?

23. Who is Django Reinhardt?

**At Thomas' home**

24. What is Thomas' father saying about the fuhrer?

25. How does Herr Muller treat his son, Thomas? What does Thomas say about his father?

**The Café Trichter**

26. What happens when the dance club is raided?

**HJ Scene 2**

27. Comment on the anti-Jewish propaganda.

28. What sort of activities are the HJ boys involved in?

29. What seems to be happening to Thomas? Why do you think this is happening?

### **Herr Schulmer and the book shop**

30. What is the real business of Herr Schulmer?

31. Who would be keen on using his services? Why?

### **Peter having tea with Frau Linge**

32. What is Peter's initial view of his father?

33. What does this suggest about the attitudes of many ordinary German people towards Nazi repression?

**HJ Scene 3**

34. What are the HJ boys expected to do at the meeting?

35. Compare Thomas' and Peter's behaviour.

**Arvid's fate**

36. Why does Arvid refuse to play for the German servicemen?

37. Comment on Arvid's 'outburst'. What point is he making? Do you agree with his views?

38. What does Arvid do? How do you account for his actions?

**Thomas' threat**

39. Peter returns home to find Thomas talking to Willi and showing him his knife. Peter is not happy with Thomas' presence. What threat does Thomas seem to make? What does this tell us about Thomas' transformation?

**The final Club Bismarck scene**

40. What happens at the club? What is Thomas' involvement?

41. What life-changing decision has Peter made? Why has he done this? How many of us do you think would have the courage to make such a decision in similar circumstances?



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# Advice on constructing written responses on Power And Authority In The Modern World: 1919-1946

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## Basic examination information

- In the HSC examination, the “Power and Authority” topic will appear in Section I of the paper.
  - It will be worth **25 marks**.
  - Students must spend **45 minutes** on this section.
  - It is very poor examination technique to go under or over this time limit.
  - Each of the four sections of the HSC examination for Modern History is worth 25 marks and so students should spend 45 minutes on each section.
  - **Time allocation** is a fundamental element of examination technique.
- A **source booklet** will be necessary for this section.
  - Students will write their answers in the writing booklet provided.
  - If a student needs more space than that provided in the writing booklet, they can ask for additional booklets.
- There will probably be three or four questions in this section of the examination paper.
  - One of the questions will be worth 10 to 15 marks.
  - Thus, time allocation is crucial.
  - As a rough guide:
    - a 10 mark question should take about 17/18 minutes.
    - a 12 mark question should take about 22/23 minutes.
    - a 15 minute mark question should take about 27/28 minutes.

*There is a variety of question types that can appear in the “Power and Authority” section of the examination question.*

### *1. There may be questions which are to be answered without any reference to the sources contained in the Source Booklet.*

- a) How was Germany affected by the Treaty of Versailles? (3 marks)
- b) How did the United Nations come into existence? (4 marks)
- c) Outline the ways in which the Nazis consolidated their power in 1933 and 1934. (6 marks)

- d) Outline the main features of the dictatorship that developed in Japan after World War I. (3 marks)
- e) Describe the similarities between the dictatorships of Russia and Italy that developed after World War I. (6 marks)
- f) Outline the impact of Nazi rule on woman inside Germany between 1933 and 1939. (4 marks)
- g) Describe the role of two prominent individuals in the Nazi state between 1933 and 1939. (6 marks)

*Some advice:*

- These are all straightforward, descriptive or narrative-style questions.
- They are not looking for complex analysis and they are not requiring students to refer to any sources provided in the Source Booklet.
- Take careful note of the mark value and allocate time accordingly. A six mark question probably requires about 10-11 minutes of writing time; a three mark question about 5-6 minutes.
- These questions obviously require briefer responses than 10 or 15 mark questions. Be sure to provide specific detail; do not waffle and give vague, generalized responses.

**2. The syllabus contains “overview” content as well as more detailed “focus of study” content. However, students should be careful not to dismiss the “overview” content in their studies as questions can be set on those sections.**

- a) Outline the main consequences for Europe of the peace treaties which ended World War I. (6 marks)
- b) Describe the ambitions held by Japan in the Asia-Pacific. (3 marks)
- c) Outline the main weaknesses of the League of Nations. (4 marks)
- d) How did the Treaty of Versailles prove to be a burden to the Weimar Republic? (5 marks)

**3. Some questions may expect students to refer to sources contained in the Source Booklet.**

- a) Compare Sources B, C and E as evidence of the ways in which the Nazis maintained control between 1933 and 1939. (8 marks)
- b) How do Sources A, B and C contribute to an understanding of the impact of Nazi rule on German youth? (8 marks)
- c) In what ways do Sources A, B and D assist in explaining the ease with which the Nazis consolidated their power between 1933 and 1934? (8 marks)

*Some advice:*

- Consider time allocation – 8 marks - so approximately 15 minutes.
- Be sure to refer to all three sources mentioned, and of course make sure you are writing about the correct sources.
- The way the sources “act as evidence” or “contribute to an understanding” or “assist in explaining” can lead students in different directions. The type of answer that will be produced will be determined by the sources.
  - The sources may highlight different aspects of the issue being considered and students would need to be able to identify these specifics.
  - Students might decide that one source is much better at providing evidence compared to another and would need to explain why this is so.
  - Students might point out that the sources highlight similar aspects of the topic being discussed but that they emphasise different elements.
  - It is possible that students might be forced to suggest that a source contributes very little to the issues being considered. (Though, hopefully, it is unlikely examiners would waste their efforts in this way.)

*4. Some questions might focus on the source by asking students to consider the perspective from which it is coming and why.*

- a) Examine Source D. How do you account for the perspective provided by this source? (5 marks)
- b) Study Sources C and D. Account for the different perspectives provided by the two sources. (8 marks)

*Some advice:*

- Students are expected to do two things for a question like this:
  - firstly, students need to identify the perspective and show that they understand that perspective.
  - secondly, they need to explain why the author of the source has that perspective. This might involve a consideration of the context of the source or perhaps a consideration of the author of the source.

*5. Some questions might ask students to consider the extent to which the sources provide evidence about a particular aspect of the topic. This type of question requires higher level reasoning than the questions mentioned above in (3.).*

- a) Examine Sources A, B and C. To what extent do these sources provide evidence about the impact of Nazi rule between 1933 and 1939 on German life? (10 marks)
- b) Examine Sources B, C and D. To what extent do these sources provide evidence for the conditions that enabled dictators to achieve power in the inter-war period? (10 marks)

*Some advice:*

- Note the mark value of the question. A ten mark question requires about 17/18 minutes spent on it.
- The key phrase to note here is “to what extent”.
  - It is not enough to simply give a run-through, even a detailed run-through, of the evidence that the sources provide for the issue in the question.
  - Certainly students need to show the marker that they understand what each is trying to do.
- However, the implication of “to what extent” is that the sources do not cover ‘everything’, and that “other” elements need to be considered.
  - The sources for Question (a) might only refer to women, youth and workers. Students might want to also comment on the impact of Nazi rule on minorities, including Jews, religious groups, cultural groups.
- The sources for Question (b) might only refer to some of the conditions that enabled dictators to come to power. Students could then suggest that other factors also need to be taken into account.

**6. Some questions might have a 15 mark value and require a more detailed argument.**

- a) Study Sources C, D and E. Discuss the view that terror and repression were responsible for the maintenance of Nazi control between 1933 and 1939. (15 marks)
- b) Study Source A, C and F. Discuss the view that the issue of race was the essence of Nazi ideology. (15 marks)

*Some advice:*

- Treat this type of question as a mini-essay with all the usual rules that essay writing demands.
- There needs to be an introductory paragraph outlining the argument of the answer. Avoid specific source reference at this point.
- Throughout the answer be sure to refer specifically to each of the three sources.
- However, this type of question also expects students to provide some of ‘their own’ information which may back up the sources that have been provided, might widen the scope of the sources or perhaps even argue against what the sources are suggesting.
- An integrated response which links evidence from the sources with the student’s own information will work best.
- One way of doing this is to refer to the source, and explain how it is contributing to the issue under discussion. Then, take the discussion a little further, add to the source or even show that it is offering only part of the story.
- Always refer directly to the source being discussed; do not infer. This makes the marker’s job much easier.

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# Timeline

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- 1917 – The Bolsheviks seize power in Russia in October
- 1918 – Germany defeated in World War I. Armistice signed: 11 November
- 1918-21 - Civil War in Russia. The Bolsheviks victorious
- 1919 – The Paris Peace Conference convenes  
Treaty of Versailles signed: 28 June
- 1920 – Establishment of the League of Nations  
The Fascist March on Rome. Mussolini appointed Prime Minister
- 1923 – French invasion of the Ruhr.  
Hyper-inflation in Germany  
Hitler's failed attempt to seize power in the Munich Putsch
- 1924 – Death of Lenin  
Hitler writes Mein Kampf
- 1928 – Start of the Soviet Union's First Five Year Plan
- 1929 – Trotsky expelled from the Soviet Union  
Stalin is victorious in the post-Lenin struggle for power  
Stalin declared the 'Lenin of today'  
Wall St Crash. Arrival of the Depression
- 1931 – Japanese invasion of Manchuria
- 1933 – Hitler appointed Chancellor: 30 January  
Enabling Act gives Hitler full powers for four years  
Opening of the first concentration camp at Dachau  
Process of Gleichschaltung consolidates Nazi power
- 1934 – The Night of the Long Knives. Destruction of Rohm.  
Death of President Hindenburg. Army swears allegiance to Hitler  
Leni Riefenstahl produces 'Triumph of the Will'  
December: the murder of Kirov
- 1935 – Italian invasion of Abyssinia  
The Nuremburg Laws
- 1936 – Germany remilitarises the Rhineland  
The Berlin Olympic Games
- 1936-38 - The purges in the Soviet Union
- 1936-39 - Spanish Civil War

- 1937 – Japan invades China
- 1938 – Germany annexes Austria  
Hitler purges the army leadership. Blomberg and Fritsch removed  
The Munich Conference. Germany takes the Sudetenland  
Kristalnacht
- 1939 – March: Germany invades the rest of Czechoslovakia  
23 August: signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact  
Germany invades Poland: 1 September.  
Britain and France declare war on Germany: 3 September
- 1941 – 22 June: Germany invades Russia  
Japan takes control of Indochina  
7 December: Japan attacks Pearl Harbour
- 1944 – October: Dumbarton Oaks Conference
- 1945 – April: San Francisco Conference  
VE Day: 8 May  
VJ Day: 15 August

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# Glossary

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annexation	the takeover of a previously independent territory by another power
anschluss	the union of Germany and Austria
anti-Semitism	violent and irrational hatred of Jews and things Jewish
Article 48	clause of the Weimar Constitution giving the President wide powers
Aryans	nordic, north European peoples
avanguardia	Fascist boys' youth group in Italy
Black Shirts	strong arm members of the the Italian Fascist Party
Bolsheviks	ruling party of Russia following the October Russian Revolution
Bund Deutscher Madel	BDM - League of German Maidens - for girls aged 14-18
collective security	the policy of nations acting together to defend a nation that is a victim of aggression
concordat	agreement between Nazi regime and the Catholic Church
DAF	Deutsche Arbeits Front - German Labour Front
demilitarised	absence of any military presence
dolchstosslegende	the stab in the back legend
DORA	Defence of the Realm Act passed in Britain in August 1914
Edelweiss Pirates	working class anti-Nazi youth group
Enabling Act	23 March 1933 law giving Hitler full powers for four years
euthanasia	Nazi policy of killing undesirables
Fascist Party	Italy's ruling party from 1922 led by Mussolini
Fourteen Points	US President's Wilson idealistic basis for peace announced January 1918
freikorps	freecorps, right-wing para-military after World War I
gauleiter	regional Nazi leader
General assembly	UN successor to the League Assembly
Gestapo	Geheime Staats Polizei, Nazi secret state police
giovani Italiane	Fascist girls' youth group in Italy
gleichaltung	coordination of the Nazi state
GrossDeutschland	Big Germany, encompassing all Germany speaking people in the Reich
Hapsburg	pre-1914 ruling family of Austria-Hungary
Hitler Jugend	HJ - Hitler Youth - for boys aged 14-18
Hohenzollern	pre-1914 ruling family of Germany
hyper-inflation	extreme form of inflation, currency loses all value
isolationism	US policy of avoiding international entanglements
KdF	Kraft durch Freude - Strength Through Joy
komsomol	Communist Youth League in Stalin's Russia
Kristallnacht	Crystal Night, Night of Broken Glass
Lateran Accord	1929 agreement between the Pope and the Italian government
League Covenant	the 26 articles that comprised the rules of the League of Nations
League of Nations	International body established after WWI to ensure world peace
lebensraum	living space
luftwaffe	German air force in 1930s and WWII

mandate	power given to a nation to administer a defeated enemy's former colony
Meiji Restoration	Japanese regime post 1868 where power was returned to the emperor
Mein Kampf	My Struggle, Hitler's autobiography
NKVD	Soviet secret police from 1934
NSDAP	Nazi Party; National Socialist German Workers Party
Operation Humming Bird	plan to liquidate the SA
palingenesis	fascist idea of national rebirth and renewal
plebiscite	a vote on a particular issue
polarisation	practice of voters choosing parties on the extremes
Polish Corridor	former German lands given to Poland to give it access to the sea
politburo	ruling body of Russia after the October Revolution
propaganda	information aimed at convincing somebody of a particular point of view
reichsrat	upper house of the German parliament
reichstag	German parliament
rentenmark	Germany's new currency after the hyper-inflation of 1923
reparations	compensation Germany was forced to pay to allied nations after the war
Roma	Sinta, Gypsies
Romanov	pre-1914 ruling family of Russia
SA	Sturmabteilung; stormtroopers; Nazi para-military wing
SD	Sicherheitsdienst, intelligence branch of the SS under Heydrich
SdA	Schönheit der Arbeit - Beauty of Work
Secretariat	the public service-style body that ran the League of Nations
security council	UN successor to the League Council
self-determination	right of a national group to rule itself
shogun	Japanese effect military ruler before 1868
Sinta	Roma, Gypsies
socialist realism	style of art in Stalin's Russia promoting a positive and optimistic view
Spartacists	radical left in Germany 1918, later the Communists
SS	Schutzstaffel: elite section of the Nazi movement under Himmler
stalhelm	right wing para-military group
Straits, the	the Dardanelles, Sea of Marmara and the Bosphorus
Swing Kids	apolitical anti-Nazi youth
Triumph of the Will	Leni Riefenstahl's film of the 1934 Nuremberg Rally
Twenty One Demands	demands made of China giving Japan greater control
veto power	power of a UN Security Council member to stop a decision being acted upon
volks-gemeinschaft	people's community
White Rose Group	student anti-Nazi group during the war
zaibatsu	large Japanese industrial/ business conglomerates

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# Dramatis Personae

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Blomberg, General	Head of the German army 1933-38
Bonhoffer, Dietrich	anti-Nazi churchman executed by the Nazis in 1945
brecht, Bertolt	far left playwright of the Weimar Republic
Bredow, General	army opponent of Hitler, murdered 30 June 1934
Breker, Arno	Nazi sculptor of the 1930s
Bruning, Heinrich	German Chancellor March 1930-May1932
Bunche, Dr Ralph	UN mediator following the 1948 Arab-Israeli War
Clenceau, Georges	Premier of France (1917-1920) during the Versailles Conferecne
Cuno, Chancellor	German Chancellor in 1923
Darwin, Charles	author of On the Origin of Species
Ebert, Friedrich	leader of the German SPD; first President of the Weimar Republic
Franco, Francisco	victor on Spanish Civil War (1936-39), dictator of Spain till 1975
Fritsch, General von	Army commander purged in 1938
Galen, Cardinal von	Roman Catholic Archbishop of Munster
Goebbels, Joseph	Nazi Propaganda Minister
Goering, Hermann	leading Nazi, second to Hitler
Groener, General	German supreme army commander November 1918
Hess, Rudolf	deputy Nazi Party leader until his flight to Scotland in 1941
Heydrich, Reinhard	second in command to Himmler in Nazi security system
Himmler, Heinrich	Head of the SS
Hindenburg, Oskar	son of and conservative advisor to President Hindenburg
Hindenburg, Paul von	German President, 1925-34
Hirohito	Emperor of Japan 1926-1989
Hitler, Adolf	leader of the Nazi Party
Ho Chi Minh	Vietnamese nationalist leader
Horthy, Miklos	leader of Hungary 1920-1944
Hugenberg, Alfred	media owner during Weimar Republic
Jung, Edgar	author of the Marburg Speech, murdered 30 June 1934
Kapp, Wolfgang	leader of the unsuccessful right wing Kapp Putsch, 1920
Kemal, Mustapha	Nationalist leader of Turkey, later known as Ataturk
Kerensky, Alexander	leader of Russian Provisional Government July to October 1917
Khrushchev, Nikita	leader of Soviet Union 1957-64
Lenin, Vladimir	leader of the Russian Bolshevik Party
Ley, Robert	Head of the German Labour Front in Nazi Germany
Lie, Trygve	First Secretary General of the United Nations 1946-52
Liebnecht, Karl	Spartacist leader 1919
Lloyd George, David	British Prime Minister (1916-22) during the Versailles Conference
Ludendorff, General	Leading German general in World War I
Luxemburg, Rosa	Spartacist leader 1919
Meissner, Otto	conservative advisor to President Hindenburg

Mueller, Bishop Ludwig	head of the Nazi Evangelical Reich Church
Muller, Hermann	German Chancellor, May 1928-March 1930
Mussolini, Benito	Fascist leader of Italy
Nansen, Fridtjof	Norwegian League official responsible for refugee work after World War I
Niemoller, Martin	anti-Nazi churchman imprisoned throughout the war
Noske, Gustav	German Defence Minister 1919
Orlando, Vittorio	Prime Minister of Italy (1917-1919) during the Versailles Conference
Pilsudski, Jozef	leader of Poland 1926-35
Pu Yi, Henry	nominal ruler of Manchukuo, former Emperor of China
Ribbentrop, Joachim von	Nazi Foreign Minister 1938-45
Riefenstahl, Leni	Hitler's favourite filmmaker in the 1930s
Rohm, Ernst	Head of the SA, murdered July 1934
Roosevelt, Franklin	US President (1933-45)
Scheidemann, Philip	Deputy leader of the SPD; Chancellor of Weimar Republic in 1919
Schirach, Baldur von	Head of the Hitler Youth in the 1930s
Schleicher, General von	German Chancellor, Dec 1932-January 1933
Scholl, Sophie	leader of the White Rose student anti-Nazi group
Seeckt, General von	Head of the German army 1920s
Shidehara Kijuro	Japanese Foreign Minister 1924-1927
Speer, Albert	First Architect of the Reich; from 1942 Minister of Armaments
Stalin, Josef	leading Bolshevik figure, dictator of Soviet Union 1928-53
Strasser, Gregor	northern 'left' Nazi leader
Stresemann, Gustav	Chancellor of Germany Aug-Nov 1923; Foreign Minister Nov 1923-Oct 1929
Trotsky, Leon	leading Bolshevik figure at time of the October Revolution and Civil War
Wilson, Woodrow	US President (1913-21) during the Versailles Conference

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# Answers

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## Exercise 1.1

1 – he felt Germany had been treated too lightly; 2 – Italy was not rewarded for its enormous wartime sacrifices; 3 – it put the blame for the war on Germany, this was humiliating for Germany; 4 – army reduced to 100 000, no air force, no submarines, naval limits; 5 – compensation Germany and its allies had to pay to the allies; 6 – the union of Germany and Austria; 7 – handed over to the victorious allies as mandates; 8 – now landlocked; 9 – army cut to 30 000, navy just a few patrol boats; 10 – Greece, Romania, Yugoslavia; 11 – 20 000; 12 – Trianon; 13 – Slovakia and Ruthenia to Czechoslovakia, Croatia to Yugoslavia, Transylvania to Romania; 14 – Turkey; 15 – the Sultan's and Mustapha Kemal's; 16 – Sèvres; 17 – Syria and Lebanon to France as mandates, Palestine and Iraq to Britain as mandates, Arabia now independent; 18 – Greece; 19 – Lausanne; 20 – no limits.

## Exercise 2.1

1 – false; 2 – true; 3 – true; 4 – false; 5 – false; 6 – true; 7 – true; 8 – false; 9 – true; 10 – false

## Exercise 3.1

mass – education – technology – environment – brutalised – violent – government – propaganda – Italy – Germany – change – minorities – racist – demagogues – unworkable – majority – instability – depression – strong

## Exercise 4.1

1 – false; 2 – false; 3 – true; 4 – true; 5 – false; 6 – true; 7 – true; 8 – false; 9 – false; 10 – true

## Exercise 5.1

1 – avanguardia; 2 – Matteoti; 3 – Corfu; 4 – Lateran Accord; 5 – Orlando; 6 – Abyssinia; 7 – March on Rome; 8 – Victor Emmanuel III; 9 – Giovani Italiane; 10 – Il Duce

## Exercise 6.1

1 – false; 2 – true; 3 – true; 4 – true; 5 – false; 6 – false; 7 – true; 8 – true; 9 – false; 10 – false

## Exercise 7.1

1 – avoid revolution/ shift blame for defeat to politicians; 2 – Ebert-Groener Pact; 3 – stab in the back legend; 4 – a full blown socio-economic revolution; 5 – destroyed the Spartacists, prevented further revolution; 6 – they were murdered; 7 – conservative elites; 8 – remained divided; 9 – suicide clause; 10 – made coalition governments inevitable.

## Exercise 7.2

1 – false; 2 – true; 3 – true; 4 – true; 5 – false; 6 – false; 7 – true; 8 – false; 9 – false; 10 – true

**Exercise 7.3**

24 – 29 – prosperity – stability – centre – League of Nations – issues – rights – insurance – conditions – superficial – US – doubtful – non democratic – resented – hated – forgive

**Exercise 7.4**

1 - place of Hitler's imprisonment in 1924; 2 - leading Nazi on racial matters; 3 - loose grouping of right wing Bavarian political groups; 4 - Right-wing anti-Bruning government coalition; 5 - Hitler's autobiography and statement of political ideas; 6 - leading right wing media figure opposed to the young Plan; 7 - failed Nazi attempt to seize power in November 1923; 8 - left-leaning northern Nazi leader; 9 - Nazi para-military group; 10 - former Strasser loyalist who joined Hitler.

**Exercise 7.5**

1 - Lowering taxation and increasing government expenditure; 2 - Increasing taxation and cutting government expenditure; 3 - One of the Germany's leading banks; 4 - Policy of increasing tariffs to protect one's own industries; 5 - Policy aimed at slowing an economy and attracting foreign capital; 6 - Buying and selling shares on the stock market to make a profit; 7 - Position of workers managing only a few days' work a fortnight.

**Exercise 7.6**

1st: Muller becomes Chancellor/ 2nd: Death of Stresemann/ 3rd: Wall St Crash/ 4th: Grand coalition faces crisis/ 5th: Resignation of Muller/ 6th: Appointment of Bruning/ 7th: Sept 1930: Nazis gain 107 seats/ 8th: Hindenburg wins second term/ 9th: Resignation of Bruning/ 10th: Appointment of von Papen

**Exercise 7.7**

1 – false; 2 – true; 3 – true; 4 – false; 5 – false; 6 – true; 7 – true; 8 – true; 9 – false; 10 – true.

**Exercise 8.1**

1 – Hitler could play up the communist threat + allowed him to suspend constitutional freedoms; 2 – allowed Nazis to link themselves to Germany's past + gave impression of Hindenburg's support for them; 3 – it gave Hitler supreme power for four years; 4 – coordination, bringing all organisations under Nazi control; 5 – they are banned, workers forced into the Nazi German Labour Front; 6 – they either dissolved themselves or were banned; 7 – to prevent independent thought; 8 - concentration camps, the Gestapo; 9 – they were made powerless, the Reichsrat was ended; 10 - technically yes because laws were passed but Nazi actions were against the spirit of legal process

**Exercise 8.2**

In early 1934 Hitler faced a real threat from Rohm and the SA. This threat existed because Rohm sought a second revolution and wanted to absorb the regular army into the SA. Hindenburg and the army were outraged at such a suggestion and demanded that Hitler deal with Rohm. Hitler's position was in danger and so he decided to sacrifice Rohm and his long-time SA colleagues. Using SS and army units, Hitler moved against the SA on 30 June 1934. Hitler's position was now unassailable.

**Exercise 9.1**

1 – true; 2 – false; 3 – false; 4 – true; 5 – false; 6 – true; 7 – true; 8 – false; 9 – true; 10 – false

**Exercise 9.2**

1 – Charles Darwin; 2 – Herbert Spencer; 3 – Houston Stewart Chamberlain; 4 – Richard Wagner; 5 – Friedrich Nietzsche; 6 – Adolf Hitler; 7 – Gregor Strasser; 8 – Walter Darré; 9 – Hans Günther; 10 – Roger Griffin

**Exercise 10.1**

1 – Heinrich Himmler; 2 – Joachim von Ribbentrop; 3 – Hermann Goering; 4 – Baldur von Schirach; 5 – Robert Ley; 6 – Joachim von Ribbentrop; 7 – Joseph Goebbels; 8 – Leni Riefenstahl; 9 – Rudolf Hess; 10 – Albert Speer; 11 – Reinhard Heydrich; 12 – Baldur von Schirach; 13 – Heinrich Himmler; 14 – Albert Speer; 15 – Joseph Goebbels; 16 – Leni Riefenstahl; 17 – Rudolf Hess; 18 – Robert Ley; 19 – Hermann Goering; 20 – Reinhard Heydrich

**Exercise 11.1**

1 – fewer agents and less efficient than popularly thought; 2 – people believed they were constantly being watched and would be caught out; 3 – no, they wanted the people to know the price of opposition; 4 – at first political opponents, then socially unacceptable types; 5 – they played a major role; 6 – mostly career policemen; 7 – very widespread, down to the block warden system; 8 – in charge of Prussian Interior Ministry, and the Gestapo until Himmler took over; 9 – its elite nature; 10 – in charge of the SD and its informer network

**Exercise 12.1**

Goebbels, simple, emotions, intellectual, scapegoats, stereotypes, fatherland, lying, repetition, rally, rational, mass suggestion

**Exercise 12.2**

The Fuhrer is truly a great man. He is a genius. Thanks to him the depression has come to an end in Germany and I no longer have to fear the scourge of unemployment. After those terrible Weimar Republic years of humiliation and ridicule, he has restored the dignity of the fatherland. I am once again proud to call myself a German and know that my son can look towards the future with hope. I believe the Fuhrer shares the same values as the rest of us. I admire the way in which he has sacrificed himself for the good of Germany.

**Exercise 13.1**

1 – it was decadent/ unGerman/ Jewish and Communist-inspired; 2 – foreign, sexually explicit and Jewish literature was frowned upon but they allowed light literary output; 3 – Breker produced neo-classical work which fitted in with the Nazi idea of the Aryan body-perfect; 4 – black and Jewish music banned, German music favoured; 5 – neo-classical and monumental in scale; 11 – Nazi-Vatican agreement/ church left alone if it ignored politics; 12 – Evangelical Reich Church; 13 – Nordic stock/ a man fighting against Jewish influence; 14 – limited to a few brave individuals; 15 – to get rid of Christianity

**Exercise 14.1**

1 – German Labour Front; 2 – Jungvolk; 3 – volksgemeinschaft; 4 – abortion; 5 – Jungmadel; 6 – marriage loans; 7 – Strength Through Joy; 8 – Bund Deutscher Madel; 9 – lebensborn; 10 – autobahnen; 11 – child, church, kitchen; 12 – Hitler Jugend; 13 – pimpfen; 14 – Beauty of Work; 15 – motherhood cross

**Exercise 15.1**

1st – writing of Mein Kampf; 2nd – Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service; 3rd – National boycott of Jewish businesses; 4th – The Nuremberg Laws; 5th – Regulation for the use of 'Israel' and 'Sarah'; 6th - Ernst vom Rath is shot in Paris; 7th – Kristallnacht; 8th – Hitler's pre-war warning to the Jews

**Exercise 15.2**

1 – euthanasia; 2 – homosexuals; 3 – gypsies; 4 – sterilisation; 5 – mishchlinge; 6 – national boycott; 7 – Blood Protection Act; 8 – untermenschen

**Exercise 16.1**

1 – true; 2 – true; 3 – false; 4 – true; 5 – false; 6 – false; 7 – true; 8 – true; 9 – false; 10 – true

**Exercise 17.1**

1 - The Sept 1938 Czechoslovak crisis; 2 - Hitler's early foreign policy speeches; 3 – German-Polish Non-Aggression Pact; 4 - Behaviour after Dolfuss' assassination; 5 - Anschluss with Austria; 6 - Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact; 7 - Invasion of Poland; 8 - Anglo-German Naval Agreement; 9 - Remilitarisation of the Rhineland; 10 - Anti-Comintern Pact.

**Exercise 18.1**

1st – Sino-Japanese War; 2nd – Russo-Japanese War; 3rd – The annexation of Korea; 4th – The takeover of German colonies; 5th – Invasion of Manchuria; 6th – The establishment of Manchukuo; 7th – The invasion of China; 8th – Takeover of Indochina; 9th – The bombing of Pearl Harbour; 10th – The Fall of Singapore

**Exercise 19.1**

1 – true; 2 – true; 3 – false; 4 – true; 5 – false; 6 – false; 7 – true; 8 – false; 9 – false; 10 – false;  
11 – true; 12 – true; 13 – true; 14 – false; 15 – true

**Exercise 20.1**

Dumbarton Oaks - charter - San Francisco - Bretton Woods - stabilisation - unanimous -  
United States - veto - Soviet Union - WHO - UNESCO - FAO - Korea - absence - power

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## Some Resources

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There is a mass of material available dealing with the many aspects of “*Power and Authority in the Modern World 1919-1946*”.

What follows is by no means meant to be an exhaustive list of resources. These are some of the books that the author has found useful working on this topic.

### *European Dictatorship 1918-1945*

Stephen J Lee, Routledge, London, 2010

### *Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century*

Mark Mazower, Penguin, London, 1998

### *To Hell and Back: Europe 1914-1949*

Ian Kershaw, Penguin, London, 2015

### *The Coming of the Third Reich*

Richard J Evans, Penguin, London, 2003

### *The Third Reich in Power*

Richard J Evans, Penguin, London, 2005

*Students and teachers may also find useful:*

### *Power and Authority in the Modern World*

Ken Webb, Nelson: A Cengage Company, Melbourne, 2018