

# Totalitarianism Defined (and Comparisons)

## Totalitarianism: When the government controls all aspects of people's lives.

### I. Totalitarianism

A. Totalitarianism vs. conservative authoritarianism (**absolutism**): a contrast

1. **Conservative authoritarianism**: traditional form of anti-democratic government in Europe (**absolutism**)

- a. Examples: Louis XIV, Peter the Great, Frederick the Great, Catherine the Great, Klemens von Metternich
- b. Regimes sought to prevent major changes from undermining the existing social order.
  - Most people went about their lives and were more concerned with local affairs that directly affected them rather than national affairs.
- c. Popular participation in government was forbidden or severely limited.
  - This is a stark contrast to 20<sup>th</sup> century totalitarianism where people were expected to *participate* in the system and actively support the regime.
    - Stalin's 5-Year Plans in Russia
    - Hitler Youth in Germany
- d. It was limited in power and in objectives (it usually sought the status quo).
  - It lacked modern technology and communications and could not control many aspects of their subjects' lives.
  - It usually limited its demands to taxes, army recruits, and passive acceptance of the regime.
- e. Conservative authoritarianism reemerged after WWI, especially in less-developed eastern Europe and in Spain and Portugal.
  - Only Czechoslovakia remained democratic.
- f. The Great Depression in the 1930s ended various levels of democracy in Austria, Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Estonia, and Latvia.

2. **Totalitarianism**

- a. New technology made total control possible (e.g., radio, automobile, and telephone).
  - Governments could wiretap telephone lines to spy on suspected dissenters.
  - Improved communication enabled regimes to coordinate quickly with local officials.
  - Radio was a new tool used for propaganda (in addition to the traditional printed media).
  - Automobiles and trucks gave regimes increased mobility.
- b. Tools of totalitarianism: censorship, indoctrination, and terror
  - Virtually no freedom of the press existed; the press became an organ of the government.
  - Education was geared towards creating loyal citizens of the state while demonizing potential enemies.
  - Failure to support or comply with government policy often resulted in physical punishment, imprisonment, or death.

- B. Totalitarian regimes were either **fascist** or **communist** (see table below).
1. Communism in Russia (Soviet Union)
  2. Fascism in Italy and Germany

<b>FASCISM</b>	<b>COMMUNISM*</b>
Glorification of the state	Worldwide "dictatorship of the proletariat" (classless society)
Single party; single ruler (dictator)	One party (communist) under the control of the Politburo. Dictatorship is not the final goal.
Condemns democracy: rival parties destroy unity. Man is unable to successfully govern collectively.	Condemns capitalism for exploiting workers ("haves" vs. "have nots")
Supports the idea of capitalism and owning private property so long as it serves the needs of the state.	Government controls all means of production (industrial & agricultural). No private ownership.
Corporate State: captains of industry become state economic deputies	Economy is centralized under the communist party
Aggressive nationalism	Spread of communism for the benefit of the world's working class (Comintern)
Advocates Social Darwinism (powerful states control weaker ones)	Condemns imperialism: advocates a world without nationalism with workers united
Believes desire for peace shows weakness of government	Peace is the ultimate goal
Glorification of war (military sacrifice is glorified)	Violent revolution to bring about the "dictatorship of the proletariat." War is not the ends but merely the means.
Emphasizes the inequalities among humans	Emphasizes the perfectibility of society. Mankind is basically good.

\* While Marxist views may appear more benevolent and utopian in theory, 20<sup>th</sup> century communism in reality became as brutal a system as fascism, perhaps more so considering the massive deaths in the USSR at the hands of the government

## Post-War Economic Crises

### A. Ruhr Crisis, 1923

1. **Reparations:** As provided for in the Versailles Treaty, the Allies announced in 1921 that Germany had to pay \$33 billion in reparations.
  - Germany's economy was still weak and it could not pay all of the reparations.
2. In 1923, France, led by **Raymond Poincaré**, occupied the industrial Ruhr region of Germany.
  - In response, the Weimar government ordered Ruhr residents to stop working and passively resist French occupation.
3. Runaway inflation occurred when Germany printed money to pay reparations.
  - a. The value of the German mark went from about 9 marks per U.S. dollar in 1919 to 4.2 trillion marks per dollar by mid-November 1923!
  - b. This brought about a social revolution in Germany: The accumulated savings of many retired and middle-class people were wiped out.
  - c. The middle-class resented the government and blamed Western governments, big business, workers, Jews, and communists for the nation's woes.
    - Many later supported Hitler as a result.
4. **Dawes Plan, 1924:** League of Nations plan that restructured Germany's debt with U.S. loans to Germany to pay back Britain and France, who likewise paid back the U.S.
  - a. It resulted in a German economic recovery.
  - b. Young Plan (1929): continuation of the Dawes Plan (but became moot when Great Depression hit)

### V. The Great Depression

#### A. Causes

1. World War I debt, nationalistic tariff policies (e.g., the U.S.), overproduction, depreciated currencies, disrupted trade policies, and speculation created weaknesses in the economy worldwide.
  - a. Overproduction of agriculture in Europe drove food prices down thus hurting farmers.
  - b. In 1930, the U.S. instituted the extremely high Hawley-Smoot Tariff which resulted in retaliation by 23 other countries.
  - c. In 1931, Britain went off the gold standard; 20 other countries followed suit.
2. The **Stock Market Crash** (1929) perhaps triggered the U.S. depression and it signaled the beginning of a worldwide economic catastrophe.
  - a. Dependence on post-WWI American investment capital led to financial collapse when the U.S. cut off capital flows to Europe.
    - New York bankers began recalling loans made to Germany and other European countries, thus exacerbating Europe's economic crisis.
  - b. Long-term problems within the U.S. economy leading to depression: weak international economy, overproduction, unstable banking, certain weak industries, 1/2 of all Americans lived below poverty line.

## B. Impact on Europe

1. The depression shattered the fragile optimism of political leaders in the late 1920s.
2. A decline of production occurred in every country (except Russia with its command economy).
3. Mass unemployment resulted: Germany was hit hardest (43%); Britain 18%, U.S. 25%

## C. Attempted remedies

1. Franklin Roosevelt's "**New Deal**" in the U.S. sought to reform capitalism with increased government intervention in the economy.
  - a. It influenced several European countries.
  - b. A **Keynesian** approach (developed by John Maynard Keynes) was used after 1938 to permanently prop up the economy through public works programs and subsidies.
2. Scandinavia's response to depression was most successful under its socialist government
3. British recovery
  - a. Orthodox economic theory followed after 1929: Britain abandoned the gold-standard, reorganized industry, increased tariffs, reformed finances, cut government spending, balanced the budget (although unemployed workers received barely enough welfare to live on).
  - b. The economy recovered considerably after 1932.
  - c. The years after 1932 were actually better than in the 1920s.
  - d. Like the U.S., Britain came out of depression permanently due to rearmament for WWII.
4. France
  - a. The impact of the depression didn't occur immediately as France wasn't as highly industrialized as Britain, Germany and the U.S.
  - b. The depression increased class tensions and gave birth to a radical right that supported government reorganization along fascist lines.
  - c. **Popular Front:** The threat of fascism prompted the creation of a coalition of republicans, socialists, communists and radicals.
    - Led by Leon Blúm
  - d. "French New Deal": Inspired by the U.S. New Deal, the government encouraged a union movement and launched a far-reaching program of social reform, complete with paid vacations and a 40-hr work week.
    - It failed due to high inflation and agitation from fascists and frightened conservatives in the Senate.
  - e. French divisions over what actions to take in the Spanish Civil War destroyed the Popular Front in 1936.
  - f. France remained politically divided as Germany continued its rearmament in the late 1930s.

# Totalitarianism in the Soviet Union

## I. Soviet Union (USSR)

### A. Vladimir I. Lenin

1. **Marxist-Leninist** philosophy
  - a. Theory of imperialism: imperialism is the highest form of capitalism as the search for new markets and raw materials feeds bourgeois hunger for more profits.
    - Conquered peoples are ruthlessly exploited.
  - b. "New type of party": a group of educated professional revolutionaries serve in the development of political class consciousness and guidance of the "Dictatorship of Proletariat."
    - Lenin's view stood in stark contrast to Marx who did not envision a totalitarian dictatorship from above (by elites) but rather from below (by the workers).
  - c. Like Marx, Lenin sought a world-wide communist movement.
    - In 1919, the **Comintern** was created (Third Communists International).
      - It was to serve as the preliminary step of the International Republic of Soviets towards the world wide victory of Communism.
2. **War Communism**
  - a. Its purpose was to win the Russian Civil War (1918-1920).
  - b. It created the first mass communist society in world history.
  - c. The socialization (nationalization) of all means of production and central planning of the economy occurred.
  - d. In reality, the Bolsheviks destroyed the economy: mass starvation resulted from crop failures; a decrease in industrial output occurred.
  - e. The secret police—the **Cheka**—liquidated about 250,000 opponents.
3. **Kronstadt Rebellion** (1921)
  - a. A mutiny by previously pro-Bolshevik sailors at Kronstadt naval base had to be crushed with machine gun fire.
  - b. It was caused by the economic disaster and social upheaval of the Russian Civil War.
  - c. It became a major cause for Lenin instituting the NEP.
4. **NEP – New Economic Policy, 1921-28**
  - a. It sought to eliminate the harsh aspects of war communism.
  - b. It was Lenin's response to peasant revolts, military mutiny, and economic ruin.
  - c. Some capitalist measures were allowed (Lenin saw it as a "necessary step backwards").
    - The government would not seize surplus grain; peasants could sell grain on the open market.
    - Small manufacturers were allowed to run their own businesses.
  - d. The government was still in control of heavy industry, banks, and railroads.
  - e. As a result of the NEP, the Russian economy improved.
    - Industry and agricultural output were back to pre-WWI levels.
    - Workers saw shorter hours and better conditions.
    - The temporary relaxing of terror and censorship occurred.
5. Women
  - a. The Russian Revolution immediately proclaimed complete equality of rights for women.
  - b. In the 1920s divorce and abortion were made easily available.
  - c. Women were urged by the state to work outside the home and liberate themselves
    - Many women worked as professionals and in universities.

- Women were still expected to do household chores in their non-working hours as Soviet men considered home and children women's responsibility.
  - Men continued to monopolize the best jobs.
  - Rapid change and economic hardship led to many broken families.
6. Lenin's impact on Russian society
    - a. "Russia" was renamed the "**Soviet Union**" in 1922 (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – **USSR**).
    - b. The old social structure was abolished – titles for nobility were eliminated.
    - c. Loss of influence for the Greek Orthodox Church
    - d. Women gained equality (in theory).
    - e. Russians had a greater expectation of freedom than they had during the tsar's regime (although expectations were later crushed by Stalin).
- B. A power struggle ensued after Lenin's death in 1924.
1. Lenin left no chosen successor.
  2. **Joseph Stalin** was more of a realist and believed in "**Socialism in one Country.**"
    - a. First, Russia had to be strong internally and should defer efforts for an international communist revolution.
    - b. He sought the establishment of a Socialist economy without the aid of the West.
  3. **Leon Trotsky** was more the Marxist ideologue who believed in "permanent revolution"—a continuation of a world communist revolution.
    - Party leaders believed Trotsky was too idealistic; Russia first had to survive.
  4. Stalin gained effective control of the government in 1927 and had total control by 1929.
    - Trotsky was exiled and eventually assassinated by Stalin's agents in Mexico City in 1940.
- C. **Joseph Stalin**
1. The entire Politburo from Lenin's time was eventually purged leaving Stalin in absolute control.
  2. **The Five-Year Plans**
    - a. "**Revolution from above**" (1<sup>st</sup> Five-Year Plan), 1928; it marked the end of Lenin's NEP.
    - b. Objectives:
      - Increase industrial output by 250%; steel by 300%; agriculture by 150%
      - 20% of peasants were scheduled to give up their private plots and join collective farms.
      - Stalin: "We are 50 or 100 years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in 10 years. Either we do it or we shall go under."
    - c. Results:
      - Steel production up 400%: the USSR was now the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest steel producer in Europe.
      - Oil production increased 300%.
      - Massive urbanization: 25 million people were moved to cities.
      - Yet, the quality of goods was substandard and the standard of living did not rise.
  3. **Collectivization** was the greatest of all costs under the Five-year Plans.
    - a. Purpose: bring the peasantry under absolute control of the communist state
      - Machines were used in farm production to free more people to work in industry.
      - The government took control over production.
      - Socialism was extended to the countryside.
    - b. It resulted in the consolidation of individual peasant farms into large, state-controlled enterprises.
    - c. Farmers were paid according to the amount of work they did.
      - A portion of their harvest was taken by the government.
      - Eventually, the state was assured of grain for urban workers who were more important politically to Stalin than the peasants.

- Collective farmers first had to meet grain quotas before feeding themselves.
- d. Results:
    - Farmers opposed it as it placed them in a bound situation (like the *mirs*).
    - **Kulaks**, the wealthiest peasants, offered the greatest resistance to collectivization.
      - Stalin ordered party workers to "liquidate them as a class."
    - 10 million peasants died due to collectivization (7 million were forcibly starved in Ukraine).
    - Agricultural output was no greater than in 1913.
    - By 1933, 60% of peasant families were on collective farms; 93% by 1938.
  4. Structure of government
    - a. The Central Committee was the apex of Soviet power (about 70 people in the 1930s).
    - b. **Politburo**: About a dozen members; dominated discussions of policy and personnel
    - c. **General Secretary**: highest position of power; created by Stalin
  5. Stalin's propaganda campaign
    - a. Purpose: It sought to glorify work to the Soviet people and encourage higher worker productivity.
    - b. Technology was used for propaganda.
      - Newspapers like *Pravda* ("The Truth"), films, and radio broadcasts emphasized socialist achievements and capitalist plots.
      - **Sergei Eisenstein** (1898-1914): quintessential patriotic filmmaker under Stalin
      - Writers and artists were expected to glorify Stalin and the state; their work was closely monitored.
    - c. Religion was persecuted: Stalin hoped to turn churches into "museums of atheism."
  6. Benefits for workers:
    - a. Old-age pensions, free medical services, free education, and day-care centers for children were provided.
    - b. Education was key to improving one's position: specialized skills and technical education
    - c. Many Russians saw themselves building the world's first socialist society while capitalism crumbled during the Great Depression.
      - The USSR attracted many disillusioned Westerners to communism in the 1930s.
  7. **The "Great Terror" (1934-38)**
    - a. First directed against peasants after 1929, terror was used increasingly on leading Communists, powerful administrators, and ordinary people, often for no apparent reason.
    - b. The "Great Terror" resulted in 8 million arrests.
    - c. **Show trials** were used to eradicate "enemies of the people" (usually ex-party members).
    - d. In the late 1930s, dozens of **Old Bolsheviks** (who had been Lenin's closest followers) were tried and executed.
    - e. **Great Purges**: 40,000 army officers were expelled or liquidated (which later weakened the USSR in WWII).
    - f. Millions of citizens were killed, died in **gulags** (forced labor camps), or simply disappeared.

# Fascism in Italy

## Fascist Italy

- A. Causes for the rise of fascism in Italy
1. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Italy was a liberal state with civil rights and a constitutional monarchy.
  2. Versailles Treaty (1919): Italian nationalists were angry that Italy did not receive any Austrian or Ottoman territory (*Italia Irredenta*), or Germany's African colonies as promised.
    - Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando angrily left the Paris Peace Conference before it was completed.
  3. A depression in 1919 caused nationwide strikes and class tension.
  4. The wealthy classes feared a communist revolution and looked to a strong anti-communist leader.
  5. By 1921 revolutionary socialists, conservatives and property owners were all opposed to liberal parliamentary government.
  6. Fascism in Italy eventually was a combination of conservative authoritarianism and modern totalitarianism (although not as extreme as Russia or Germany).
- B. **Benito Mussolini** (1883-1945) rises to power ("Il Duce")
1. Although he was the editor of a socialist newspaper during the WWI era, he was, at heart, a nationalist.
  2. He organized the **Fascist party**.
    - a. He combined socialism and nationalism: territorial expansion, benefits for workers, and land reform for peasants.
    - b. The party was named after *fascis*: the rods carried by Imperial Roman officials as symbols of power.
    - c. Initially, his party failed to prevail because of competition from the well-organized Socialists.
  3. In 1920, Mussolini gained support of the conservative and middle classes for his anti-Socialist rhetoric; he thus abandoned his socialist programs.
  4. **Blackshirts** (*squadristi*): Mussolini's paramilitary forces attacked Communists, Socialists, and other enemies of the fascist program (later, Hitler's "Brown Shirts" followed this example).
    - This significantly undermined the stability of the government.
  5. The **March on Rome** in October 1922 led to Mussolini taking power.
    - a. Mussolini demanded the resignation of the existing government and his own appointment by the king.
    - b. A large group of Fascists marched on Rome to threaten the king into accepting Mussolini's demands.
    - c. The government collapsed; Mussolini received the right to organize a new cabinet (government).
    - d. King Victor Emmanuel III gave him dictatorial powers for one year to end the nation's social unrest.
- C. The **Corporate State** (syndicalist-corporate system) was the economic basis for Italian fascism.
1. **"Everything in the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state."**
  2. By 1928, all independent labor unions were organized into government-controlled syndicates.
    - a. The system established organizations of workers and employers; it outlawed strikes and walkouts.

- b. It created corporations which coordinated activities between worker-employer syndicates.
  - c. The authority came from the top, unlike socialist corporate states where workers made decisions.
- D. Mussolini created a dictatorship.
1. The right to vote was severely limited.
  2. All candidates for the Italian parliament were selected by the Fascist party.
  3. The government ruled by decree.
  4. Dedicated fascists were put in control of schools.
  5. The government sought to regulate the leisure time of the people.
    - Fascist youth movement (*Balilla*)
    - Labor unions
    - The *Dopolavoro* ("After Work"): social activities for the working class
  6. Italy never truly became a totalitarian regime.
    - a. Mussolini never became all-powerful.
    - b. He failed in the attempt to "Fascistize" Italian society by controlling leisure time.
    - c. The old power structure of conservatives, the military, and the Church remained intact.
      - Mussolini never attempted to purge the conservative classes.
      - He propagandized and controlled labor but left big business to regulate itself.
      - No land reform occurred.
    - d. He did not establish a ruthless police state (only 23 political prisoners were executed between 1926 and 1944).
    - e. Racial laws were not passed until 1938 and the savage persecution of Jews did not occur until late in WWII when Italy was under German Nazi control.
  7. Women
    - a. Unlike Russia's more modern approach to gender issues, Italy's social structure emphasized a traditional role for women.
      - This also became the case in Nazi Germany.
    - b. Divorce was abolished and women were told to stay home and procreate.
    - c. In an attempt to promote marriage, Mussolini decreed a special tax on bachelors in 1934.
    - d. By 1938, women were limited by law to a maximum of 10% of better-paying jobs in industry and government.
- E. Accomplishments under Mussolini
1. Internal improvements were made such as electrification and road building.
  2. More efficient government existed at the municipal (city) level.
  3. He suppressed the Mafia (which was especially strong in southern Italy and Sicily).
  4. The justice system was improved (except for "enemies of the state").
  5. The Lateran Pact, 1929, resulted in reconciliation with the papacy.
    - a. The Vatican was recognized as a tiny independent state; it received \$92 million for seized Church lands.
    - b. In return, Pope Pius XII recognized the legitimacy of the Italian state.
- F. Fascist legacy
1. Italian democracy was destroyed.
  2. Terrorism became a state policy.
  3. Poor industrial growth was due to militarism and colonialism.
  4. Disastrous wars resulted (from Mussolini's attempt to recapture the imperialistic glories of Ancient Rome).

# Nazi Germany

## I. Nazi Germany

- A. Roots of Nazism: Extreme nationalism + racism = Nazism
  1. Hyper-nationalism fed the impulse to conquer other nations.
    - The alleged “**stab in the back**”—the Weimar Republic’s signing of the Versailles Treaty—fed the nation’s frustration.
  2. Racist ideas
    - a. Racial superiority of the **Aryan Race**—Germanic peoples
    - b. Inferiority of Jews and Slavs
  
- B. Rise of **Adolf Hitler**
  1. He became leader of **National Socialist German Workers Party (NAZI)** in 1919.
    - The Nazi’s started as a tiny group of only 7 members that under Hitler grew dramatically within just a few years.
  2. **S.A. (“Brown Shirts”)**: Nazi paramilitary group terrorized political opponents on the streets.
    - In effect, it was the private army of the Nazis who were very loyal to Hitler.
  3. **Beer Hall Putsch, 1923**: Hitler failed in his attempt to overthrow the state of Bavaria (and ultimately, Germany) and was sentenced to a one-year jail term.
    - a. The issue gave Hitler national attention.
    - b. Hitler realized in the future he’d have to take control of Germany legally, not through revolution.
  4. **Mein Kampf** (1923) was written while in jail: became the blueprint for Hitler’s future plans.
    - a. **Lebensraum** (“living space”): Germany should expand eastward, remove the Jews, and turn the Slavs into slave labor.
    - b. Anti-Semitism: Hitler blamed the Jews for Germany’s political and economic problems.
    - c. The leader-dictator, **Führer**, would have unlimited arbitrary power.
  5. The fall of Weimar Republic was a result of the **Great Depression**.
    - a. Unemployment reached 43% by the end of 1932.
    - b. Economic chaos and political impotence played into Hitler’s hands.
      - Hitler began promising German voters economic, political, and military salvation.
      - Hitler promised big business leaders he would restore the economy by breaking Germany’s strong labor movement and reducing workers’ wages if necessary.
      - Hitler assured top army leaders that the Nazis would reject the Versailles Treaty and rearm Germany.
      - The Nazis appealed to Germany’s youth:
        - 40% of the party was under age 30 in 1931; 67% were under 40.
    - c. In 1930, Germany’s Chancellor gained permission from President Hindenburg for emergency rule by decree.
      - The struggle between the Social Democrats and the Communists contributed to the breakdown of the Weimar government.
    - d. The Nazis won the largest percentage of votes in the Reichstag in the 1933 elections (though not a majority).

- They demanded that Hitler play a leadership role in the government.
- e. Hitler became Chancellor on January 30, 1933; he was appointed by President Paul von Hindenburg.

### C. The **Third Reich** (1933-1945)

- Hitler quickly consolidated power
  - The **Reichstag fire** occurred during the violent electoral campaign in 1933.
    - The incident was used by the Nazis to crack down on the communists.
  - The S.A. stepped up its terrorism of political opponents.
  - The **Enabling Act** (March 1933) was passed by the Reichstag.
    - It gave Hitler absolute dictatorial power for four years.
    - Only the Nazi party was legal.
  - Hitler outlawed strikes and abolished independent labor unions.
  - Publishers, universities, and writers were brought into line.
    - Democratic, socialist, and Jewish literature was put on blacklists.
    - Students and professors burned forbidden books in public squares.
    - Modern art and architecture were prohibited (dubbed "degenerate art" by the Nazis).
- Joseph Goebbels**: minister of propaganda who effectively glorified Hitler and the Nazi state.
  - **Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will*** (a documentary of the Nuremberg rally of 1934) was used by the regime as propaganda to make Hitler look larger than life and glorify the Nazi regime.
- "Night of Long Knives"** (June 1934)
  - Hitler was warned that the army and big business were suspicious of the **S.A.**
  - To please conservatives, Hitler's elite personal guard—the **S.S.**—arrested and shot without trial about 1,000 S.A. leaders and other political enemies.
  - The **S.S.** grew dramatically in influence as Hitler's private army and secret police.
    - Led by **Heinrich Himmler**
- The S.S. joined with the political police, the **Gestapo**, to expand its network of special courts and concentration camps.
- Hitler Youth**: Nazis indoctrinated German youths with views of German racial superiority and Jews as the source of Germany's problems.
  - Eventually, membership in the Hitler Youth effectively became mandatory.
    - This is an example of how totalitarian regimes demanded *participation* by the masses (in contrast to 17<sup>th</sup> century absolutism where regimes merely sought obedience).
  - Children were encouraged to turn in their teachers or even their parents if they seemed disloyal to the Reich.
- Persecution of Jews
  - By the end of 1934, most Jewish lawyers, doctors, professors, civil servants, and musicians had lost their jobs and the right to practice their professions.
  - Nuremberg Laws** of 1935 deprived Jews of all rights of citizenship.
    - Marriage or sex between Jews and other Germans was prohibited.
    - Jews could not hire German women under the age of 45 as domestic workers.
    - Jews were forbidden from displaying the Reich or national flag.

- c. Other laws were passed: Jews could not use hospitals; could not be educated past the age of 14; were prohibited from using parks, libraries and beaches; war memorials were to have Jewish names removed.
  - d. By 1939, 50% of Germany's 500,000 Jews had emigrated (many were the "cream of the crop").
    - Huge emigration fees and confiscation of Jewish property helped the government to finance economy recovery.
  - e. **Kristallnacht** ("The Night of Broken Glass"), 1938
    - Hitler ordered an attack on Jewish communities (using the assassination of a German diplomat in Paris by a young Jewish boy as a pretense).
    - A well-organized wave of violence destroyed homes, synagogues, and businesses.
    - Thousands of Jews were arrested and made to pay for the damage.
  - f. **Holocaust**: 6 million European Jews were eventually killed during WWII—the "**Final Solution**"
7. Other victims of Nazi persecution included Slavs, Gypsies, Jehovah's Witnesses, communists, homosexuals, mentally handicapped, and political opponents (totaled 6 million by 1945).
- a. T4 project: 200,000 handicapped and elderly people were murdered by 1939 in the name of maintaining Aryan purity.
- D. German economic recovery
1. German economic growth was a major reason for Hitler's soaring popularity.
    - Hitler delivered on his economic promise of "work and bread."
  2. A large public works program started to get Germany out of the depression.
    - It included superhighways (autobahn), offices, gigantic sports stadiums, and public housing.
  3. The 1936 Olympics were held in Berlin, signaling Germany's legitimacy by the international community.
  4. In 1936, Germany began rearmament and government spending began to focus on the military.
  5. Results of Nazi economic policies:
    - a. Unemployment dropped from 6 million in January 1933, to about one million in late 1936.
    - b. By 1938, a shortage of workers existed; women took many jobs earlier denied by the antifeminist Nazis.
    - c. By 1938 the standard of living for the average employed worker increased moderately.
    - d. Profits of business rose sharply.
- E. Nazi society: was there a social revolution?
1. The well-educated classes held on to most of the advantages they possessed prior to the rise of Hitler
  2. Only a modest social leveling occurred.
  3. Like fascist Italy, women were viewed as housewives and mothers.
    - a. Hitler implored German women to "make babies for the Reich."
    - b. Birth control information and abortions were forbidden for German women (although allowed for unwanted groups such as Jews, Gypsies and Slavs).
    - c. Women were denied most meaningful occupations outside the home
    - d. Only in wartime were large numbers of women mobilized for work in offices and factories.

# Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*

Source: <http://history.hanover.edu/courses/excerpts/111hitler.html>

## Volume One, Chapter Six: "War Propaganda"

{1}The function of propaganda does not lie in the scientific training of the individual, but in calling the masses' attention to certain facts, processes, necessities, etc., whose significance is thus for the first time placed within their field of vision.

{2}The whole art consists in doing this so skillfully that everyone will be convinced that the fact is real, the process necessary, the necessity correct, etc. But since propaganda is not and cannot be the necessity in itself, since its function. . . consists in attracting the attention of the crowd, and not in educating those who are already educated or who are striving after education and knowledge, its effect for the most part must be aimed at the emotions and only to a very limited degree at the so-called intellect. . . .

{3}The art of propaganda lies in understanding the emotional ideas of the great masses and finding, through a psychologically correct form, the way to the attention and thence to the heart of the broad masses. The fact that our bright boys do not understand this merely shows how mentally lazy and conceited they are. . . .

{4}The receptivity of the great masses is very limited, their intelligence is small, but their power of forgetting is enormous. In consequence of these facts, all effective propaganda must be limited to a very few points and must harp on these in slogans until the last member of the public understands what you want him to understand by your slogan. As soon as you sacrifice this slogan and try to be many-sided, the effect will piddle away, for the crowd can neither digest nor retain the material offered. In this way the result is weakened and in the end entirely cancelled out.

{5}Thus we see that propaganda must follow a simple line and correspondingly the basic tactics must be psychologically sound. For instance, it was absolutely wrong to make the enemy ridiculous, as the Austrian and German comic papers did. It was absolutely wrong because actual contact with an enemy soldier was bound to arouse an entirely different conviction, and the results were devastating; for now the German soldier, under the direct impression of the enemy's resistance, felt himself swindled by his propaganda service. His desire to fight, or even to stand firm, was not strengthened, but the opposite occurred. His courage flagged.

{6}By contrast, the war propaganda of the English and Americans was psychologically sound. By representing the Germans to their own people as barbarians and Huns, they prepared the individual soldier for the terrors of war, and thus helped to preserve him from disappointments. After this, the most terrible weapon that was used against him seemed only to confirm what his propagandists had told him; it likewise reinforced his faith in the truth of his government's assertions, while on the other hand it increased his rage and hatred against the vile enemy. For the cruel effects of the weapon, whose use by the enemy he now came to know, gradually came to confirm for him the 'Hunnish' brutality of the barbarous enemy, which he had heard all about; and it never dawned on him for a moment that his own weapons possibly, if not probably, might be even more terrible in their effects. . . .

{7}The function of propaganda is . . . not to weigh and ponder the rights of different people, but exclusively to emphasize the one right which it has set out to argue for. Its task is not to make an objective study of the truth, in so far as it favors the enemy, and then set it before the masses with academic fairness; its task is to serve our own right, always and unflinchingly.

{8}It was absolutely wrong to discuss war-guilt from the standpoint that Germany alone could not be held responsible for the outbreak of the catastrophe; it would have been correct to load every bit of the blame on the shoulders of the enemy, even if this had not really corresponded to the true facts, as it actually did. . . .

## Volume One, Chapter Ten: "Causes of the Collapse"

{9}The easiest and hence most widespread explanation of the present misfortune is that it was brought about by the consequences of the lost War and that therefore the War is the cause of the present evil.

{10}There may be many who will seriously believe this nonsense but there are still more from whose mouth such an explanation can only be a lie and conscious falsehood. . . . Didn't these apostles of world conciliation . . . glorify the benevolence of the Entente, and didn't they shove full blame for the whole bloody struggle on Germany? . . . Will you claim that this was not so, you wretched, lying scoundrels?

{11}It takes a truly Jewish effrontery to attribute the blame for the collapse solely to the military defeat...

{12}The foremost connoisseurs of this truth regarding the possibilities in the use of falsehood and slander have always been the Jews; for after all, their whole existence is based on one single great lie, to wit, that they are a religious community while actually they are a race - - -and what a race! . . .

[The text continues, asserting a connection between Jewish businessmen and the process of industrialization and modernization.]

{13}In proportion as economic life grew to be the dominant mistress of the state, money became the god whom all had to serve and to whom each man had to bow down. More and more, the gods of heaven were put into the corner as obsolete and outmoded, and in their stead incense was burned to the idol Mammon. . . .

{14}Unfortunately, the domination of money was sanctioned even by that authority which should have most opposed it: His Majesty the Kaiser acted most unfortunately by drawing the aristocracy into the orbit of the new finance capital. . . . It was clear that once a beginning had been made in this direction, the aristocracy of the sword would in a short time inevitably be overshadowed by the financial aristocracy. Regarded purely from the standpoint of blood, such a development was profoundly unfortunate: more and more, the nobility lost the racial basis for its existence, and in large measure the designation of 'ignobility' would have been more suitable for it.

{15}A grave economic symptom of decay was the slow disappearance of the right of private property, and the gradual transference of the entire economy to the ownership of stock companies.

{16}Now for the first time labor had sunk to the level of an object of speculation for unscrupulous Jewish business men; the alienation of property from the wage-worker was increased ad infinitum. The stock exchange began to triumph and prepared slowly but surely to take the life of the nation into its guardianship and control. . . .

{17}What food did the German press of the pre-War period dish out to the people? Was it not the worst poison that can even be imagined? Wasn't the worst kind of pacifism injected into the heart of our people at a time when the rest of the world was preparing to throttle Germany, slowly but surely? Even in peacetime didn't the press inspire the minds of the people with doubt in the right of their own state, thus from the outset limiting them in the choice of means for its defense? Was it not the German press which knew how to make the absurdity of 'Western democracy' palatable to our people until finally, ensnared by all the enthusiastic tirades, they thought they could entrust their future to a League of Nations? . . . Did it not ridicule morality and ethics as backward and petty-bourgeois, until our people finally became 'modern'? . . . Did it not belittle the army with constant criticism, sabotage universal conscription, demand the refusal of military credits, etc., until the result became inevitable?

{18}The so-called liberal press was actively engaged in digging the grave of the German people and the German Reich. We can pass by the lying Marxist sheets in silence; to them lying is just as vitally necessary as catching mice for a cat; their function is only to break the people's national and patriotic backbone and make them ripe for the slave's yoke of international capital and its masters, the Jews. . . .

{19}And what did the state do against this mass poisoning of the nation? Nothing, absolutely nothing. A few ridiculous decrees, a few fines for villainy that went too far, and that was the end of it. Instead, they hoped to curry favor with this plague by flattery, by recognition of the 'value' of the press, its 'importance,' its 'educational mission,' and more such nonsense - - -as for the Jews, they took all this with a crafty smile and acknowledged it with sly thanks. . . .

{20}This poison was able to penetrate the bloodstream of our people unhindered and do its work, and the state did not possess the power to master the disease. . . . For an institution which is no longer resolved to defend itself with all weapons has for practical purposes abdicated. Every half-measure is a visible sign of inner decay which must and will be followed sooner or later by outward collapse.

{21}I believe that the present generation, properly led, will more easily master this danger. It has experienced various things which had the power somewhat to strengthen the nerves of those who did not lose them entirely. In future days the Jew will certainly continue to raise a mighty uproar in his newspapers if a hand is ever laid on his favorite nest, if an end is put to the mischief of the press and this instrument of education is put into the service of the state and no longer left in the hands of aliens and enemies of the people. But I believe that this will bother us younger men less than our fathers. A thirty-centimeter shell has always hissed more loudly than a thousand Jewish newspaper vipers-so let them hiss!

### **Volume One, Chapter Eleven: "Nation and Race"**

{22}Any crossing of two beings not at exactly the same level produces a medium between the level of the two parents. This means: the offspring will probably stand higher than the racially lower parent, but not as high as the higher one. Consequently, it will later succumb in the struggle against the higher level. Such mating is contrary to the will of Nature for a higher breeding of all life. The precondition for this does not lie in associating superior and inferior, but in the total victory of the former. The stronger must dominate and not blend with the weaker, thus sacrificing his own greatness. Only the born weakling can view this as cruel, but he after all is only a weak and limited man. . . .

{23}The consequence of this racial purity, universally valid in Nature, is not only the sharp outward delimitation of the various races, but their uniform character in themselves. . . .

{24}Nature looks on calmly, with satisfaction, in fact. In the struggle for daily bread all those who are weak and sickly or less determined succumb, while the struggle of the males for the female grants the right or opportunity to propagate only to the healthiest. And struggle is always a means for improving a species' health and power of resistance and, therefore, a cause of its higher development.

{25}No more than Nature desires the mating of weaker with stronger individuals, even less does she desire the blending of a higher with a lower race, since, if she did, her whole work of higher breeding, over perhaps hundreds of thousands of years, might be ruined with one blow.

{26}Historical experience offers countless proofs of this. It shows with terrifying clarity that in every mingling of Aryan blood with that of lower peoples the result was the end of the cultured people. North America, whose population consists in by far the largest part of Germanic elements who mixed but little with the lower colored peoples, shows a different humanity and culture from Central and South America, where the predominantly Latin immigrants often mixed with the aborigines on a large scale. By this one example, we can clearly and distinctly recognize the effect of racial mixture. The Germanic inhabitant of the American continent, who has remained racially pure and unmixed, rose to be master of the continent; he will remain the master as long as he does not fall a victim to defilement of the blood....

{27}If we pass all the causes of the German collapse in review, the ultimate and most decisive remains the failure to recognize the racial problem and especially the Jewish menace...