WTL 8

• Why did Nazism appeal to German voters?
• How did the Nazis use media to aid their rise to power?
• As a result of your analysis, you should be able to answer in some form that most disturbing question, “How could it have happened?”

Text and images largely focus on pre-1933 that is while the Nazis are building support.

People and terms for “Selling a Totalitarian State”

• Adolf Hitler (head of the Nazi party; appointed German chancellor (e.g. prime minister) in January 1933)
• Joseph Goebbels (chief propagandist for Nazi Party; Minister of Propaganda and Enlightenment of Nazi Germany)
• SA = Sturmabteilung = Stormtroopers = Brown Shirts (paramilitary branch of party; responsible for political violence, disseminating propaganda, providing help at soup kitchens, etc)
• Reichstag = German parliamentary body (election results used to measure wave of support for Nazis, Communists, etc.)
Europe in the 1920s and 1930s

1. How, if at all, did Western Civilization bring peace to their world destroyed by total war?
2. What were the most important upheavals in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s?

**Jus post bellum**

• “revenge paradigm” vs. “rehabilitation paradigm”

• Six Treaties Ending WWI at the Paris Peace Conference

  - Treaty of Versailles - Germany June 1919
  - Treaty of St. Germaine - Austria Sept 1919
  - Treaty of Neuilly - Bulgaria (Nov 1919)
  - Treaty of Trianon - Hungary (June 1920)
  - Treaties of Sevre (1920) & Laussane (1923) - Turkey

  “military disarmament, apologies, war crimes trials, compensation and punishment, publicly declared peace treaties, and aid and rehabilitation” Source: Brian Drend

**Paris Peace Conference**

• Six treaties

• Victor’s justice & dictated peace
• Indirect cause for WWII
• Revanchism
• Remapped Europe
• Mandate system around globe
“Big Four”

United States - Woodrow Wilson
- Most idealistic
- Self-determination
- Democracy
- League of Nations
- Fourteen Points (8 January 1918)
- Adjust colonial claims

Great Britain - David Lloyd George
- Campaigned to punish Germany
- Remove threat of German navy
- Feared Bolshevik Russia
- Partial support to France

France - Georges Clemenceau
- National security
- Reduce German power
- Buffer states
- Alsace-Lorraine
- Reduce German military power
- Sought ally guarantees on continent

Italy - Vittorio Orlando
- Treaty of London (1915): Trentino, Tyrol to Brenner, Trieste, and Istria, Dalmatian coast except Fiume, Albania's Valona, a protectorate over Albania, Antalya in Turkey, shares of Turkish and German colonies in Africa
- Offered: Trentino to the Brenner, Dalmatian port of Zara, Island of Lagosta, two small German colonies

General Problems of the Paris Peace Conference
Left out:

- No Russian, German, or Austrian delegation
- No renegotiation – *fait accompli*

Weaknesses in the Process

- Ill-prepared
- Organizational structure determined by March 1919
- Committees initially expected treaty revisions
German Expectations (or the Origins of Revanchism):
- Wilson's Fourteen Points
- Self-determination
- Keep territory won in Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (Feb 1918)

German Territorial Losses
### Military
- Limited armed forces to 100,000
- Enlisted 12 years; officers 25 years
- Limited naval forces to 15,000 Limited to 6 battleships; 6 cruisers; 12 destroyers; 12 torpedo boats; no subs
- No import/export of weapons
- Prohibited poison gas, armed aircraft, tanks, armored cars
- Restrictions on manufacture of weapons

### War Guilt - article 231
- Germany & Allies responsible for war
- Justified accountability for civilian losses

### Reparations – no figure in 1919

"If figures were given now, they would frighten rather than reassure the Germans. Any figure that would not frighten them would be below the figure with which he and M. Clemenceau could face their peoples in the present state of public opinion."

David Lloyd George
Reparations – 1921 Decision

- Inter-allied Commission, 1921
- Two years after the treaty was signed amount determined (abnormal)
- Included war damage (predictable)
- Included military pensions and separation allowances (abnormal)
- Payment in a variety of forms: coal, steel, patents (e.g. Bayer Aspirin), agricultural products, and currency
- 132 billion Reichsmarks ($31.4 billion)
- Young Plan pay off date 1988
- Paid off in 2010

Criticism of the Treaty of Versailles

- “Carthaginian Peace” (John Maynard Keynes, 1920)
  - Violated Fourteen Points – lost moral high ground
  - Impossible for Germany to meet reparations
  - “The difference between revising the treaty at once and progressively modifying it under the force of circumstances is the difference between building a firm foundation and underpinning day by day a tottering structure.”

Revision of Criticism

- Sally Marks, “The Myths of Reparations” (1978)
  - Amount in 1919, 226 billion Reichsmarks
  - Before 1933, Germany paid 20 billion Reichsmarks ($5 billion) financed by foreign loans (Dawes Plan)
  - More of a political & psychological problem than fiscal
Reparations, Great Inflation of 1923 (Germany) & Occupation of the Ruhr

Dawes Plan, 1924
- Staggered reparation payments
- Reichsbank supervised by Entente powers (violation of German sovereignty)
- US loan to Germany

Young Plan, 1929-1930
- Reduced payments from the Dawes Plan
- Paid over 59 years (1988)
- Moratorium 1930
- Post WWII (2010)
League of Nations

Locarno Pact -- October 1925

- Germany recognizes/accepts its western borders with France, etc. in western Europe
- No German acknowledgement or acceptance of its borders in the east (i.e. Poland or Czechoslovakia are not given guarantees)
- Little Entente (France-Poland-Czechoslovakia enter a defensive alliance to pacify fears)
- "spirit of Locarno"

Kellogg-Briand Pact -- 1928

- Resolve disputes peacefully
- Outside League of Nations
- Dead letter in 1930s
Domestic Histories of European Countries, 1919-1939

- Some domestic troubles pre-dated the war
- Some troubles created by the burden of war and colonial empires
- Some troubles created by the Paris Peace Conference, Revanchism, etc.

Great Britain

- Disruption in export markets & war costs
- Outdated manufacturing in heavy industry
- Conservative and Labor Parties vying for control (Liberal Party disappearing)
- General Strike of 1926
- Great Depression
France
- War damage & Reconstruction
- Modernization
- Raymond Poincaré financial reforms
- Great Depression
- February 1934
- Popular Front

Poland
- Town vs. Country; rural vs. urban
- Coalition governments unstable
- Pre-WWI economic divisions
- Border Wars (1918-21)
- Inflationary crisis
- May 1926 – Dictatorship under General Joseph Pilsduski & Polish Socialist Party

Czechoslovakia
- Economically stable in 1920s and 1930s stability
- Ethnic minorities treated fairly (Slovaks, Germans, Magyars, Poles)
- Most politically stable of new nation states in Eastern Europe
Weimar Germany, 1918-1933

- Revolution & Great Inflation (1918-1924)
  - Left wing: Spartacists (January 1919 & Soviet Republic, Munich, 2-3 May 1919)
  - Right wing: Kapp Putsch (13-17 March 1920) & Beer Hall Putsch (9-11 November 1923)

- "Relative Stability" & Policy of Fulfillment (1924-1929)
  - 1925 Presidential Election of Paul von Hindenburg

- Great Depression & Presidential Cabinets (1929-1933)
  - SPD Chancellor Müller
  - Coalition breakdown: Heinrich Brüning, Franz von Papen, Kurt von Schleicher, and Adolf Hitler

Rise of Totalitarian Regimes – Why the Timing?
The Challenge to Representative Governments, Western Civilization
Russia
• World War & Civil War
• Bolsheviks: increased its "'readiness to resort to coercion, rule by administrative fiat, centralized administration [and] summary justice.'"
(Sheila Fitzpatrick, The Russian Revolution, 64.)

Italy
• Revanchist spirit – cause célèbre for fascists
• Political violence

Germany
• Revanchism manipulated by Nazis
• War → Nationhood
• Weimar failed to fulfill ideals
Rise of Totalitarian Regimes – Why the Appeal?

What is totalitarianism?

- All-encompassing
- Utopian vision
- Anti-individualism
- One-party
- Dictatorships
- Charismatic leader

Tools of Totalitarianism

- Innovative propaganda
- Utopian promise
- Group conformity
- Repression and terror
Fascism: Harmonious, national, racial community

Communism: Revolutionary, international working class govern

Fascist Harmonious, national, racial community

- Anti-Marxist
- Anti-Liberal
- Anti-Conservative
- Extreme nationalists

Italy Germany Spain Portugal Poland Romania Hungary

Communist Revolutionary, international working class govern

- Anti-Capitalist
- Internationalist
- Unite all workers

Soviet Union (USSR)
**Charismatic Leaders & Cult of Personality**

- Stalin
- Lenin
- Joseph Stalin

**Soviet Testimonial**

An ordinary electrician, who benefitted from the Soviet era: "In old tsarist Russia, we weren’t even considered people. We couldn’t dream about education, or getting a job in a state enterprise. And now I’m a citizen of the USSR. Like all citizens I have the right to a job, to education, to leisure. ... In 1931, I came to Magnitogorsk. From a common laborer I have turned into a skilled worker. ... I live in a country where one feels like living and learning. And if the enemy should attack this country, I will sacrifice my life in order to destroy the enemy and save my country."
Charismatic Leaders & Cult of Personality

Adolf Hitler

Nazi Testimonials

- "From this moment, I am born again, I am intoxicated."
- "One thing is certain: from that day on [when I first met Hitler] I had no other purpose than to fight for him until victory was won."
- "I had found myself, my leader and my cause . . . I had given him my soul."

Utopian Vision

Nazi/Fascist: Harmonious, national, racial community

Communist: Internationalist
Unite all workers End exploitation
Soviet Terror
- NKVD (Soviet Secret Police)
- Collectivization and Kulaks
- The Great Purges, 1934-1938

Nazi Terror
- SS & Gestapo
- SA (Stormtroopers or Brownshirt)
- Concentration Camps
- Citizen denunciations