Chapter 11: Between the Wars
Fascism, Communism, Dictators & the Road to WWII

IMAGES
Capturing an Era

Mussolini

Il Duce

Mussolini’s Goals

Rome Berlin Axis
Hitler and Mussolini

Hitler
My Struggle

Hitler’s Hate

Der Führer (Leader)
Images of Fascism

Hitler

Emperor Hirohito

Alliance with Japan and Italy

Japan

They almost ruled the world...

STALIN

Stalin as Leader of all People

Stalin... killed 40 million of his own people...

1919-1939... Between the Wars

Contents of this Lesson
- Rise of Hitler
- Nazi Germany: The Terror State
- Nazi Propaganda
- Stalin
- The Secret Police
- Nazi-Soviet Pact
- Hitler, Stalin... The U.S.
The Spartacist League was founded in 1918 (see B.08.05-13).

Economic hardship was a result of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Right Wing groups gained popularity by saying that they would not adhere to its terms.

The failure of the Beer Hall Putsch demonstrates that power needs to be taken through legal means.

By 1923 the Nazi party had gained much support in Bavaria. Now much support in Bavaria. Now politically under the control of Adolf Hitler, the group attempts to seize control of the government through use of force.

1919-1923
- Economic hardship was coupled with humiliation as a result of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Right Wing groups gained popularity by saying that they would not adhere to its terms.

Rosa Luxemburg
- The Spartacist rising, amongst others, led to many people fearing a Communist revolution in Germany. People looked to Right Wing groups to act against the Freikorps in particular.

1923: Violent uprising
- In 1923 the Nazi party had gained much support in Bavaria. Now politically under the control of Adolf Hitler, the group attempts to seize control of the government through use of force.
- Despite being a pacifist, Hitler analyses the events that proved successful.
- Minister in prison Hitler analyses the events that proved successful.

Regrouping
- whilst in prison Hitler analyses the events that proved successful.
- Political strategies are developed and refined.
- Shift to winning electoral support.
- Development of propaganda tools.
- Attempts to win support of big business.

1924-1929
- Focus on traditional values.
- Builds fear of Left Wing groups.
- Continued use of military imagery.
- Lack of electoral support due to relative prosperity in Germany at the time.
1929-1932 A Change in Fortunes
- Wall Street Crash leads to end of effective financial assistance from USA
- Unemployment rises rapidly
- Hyperinflation recurs
- Threat of Communism increases
- Coalition government fails to address problems successfully

February 1933
- THE REICHSTAG FIRE
- The Reichstag building burnt down.
- A communist was found inside the building. He admitted responsibility.
- Chancellor Hitler was able to convince people that the Communists were trying to take power by terrorism.
- He was able to have the Communists banned from the Reichstag.

March 1933
- With the Communists banned from the Reichstag, Hitler was able to pass:
  THE ENABLING ACT

June 1934
- Hitler had to get rid of Roehm. He was too much of a threat.
- On the night of 30th June 1934 Hitler’s S.S. killed over 1000 SA members including Roehm.
- The army were pleased.
- Hitler had gained the support of the army.

August 1934
- PRESIDENT HINDENBURG'S DEATH GAVE HITLER THE OPPORTUNITY TO COMBINE THE ROLE OF CHANCELLOR AND PRESIDENT. HE CALLED HIMSELF 'DER FUHRER'.
- Oath of Loyalty: Every soldier swore a personal oath of loyalty to ADOLF HITLER.
  "I swear by God this sacred oath that I shall render unconditional obedience to Adolf Hitler, the Führer of the German Reich, supreme commander of the armed forces, and that I shall at all times be prepared, as a brave soldier, to give my life for this oath."

Nazi Germany
Keeping Control: Terror State
Key Quote

"Terror is the best political weapon for nothing drives people harder than a fear of sudden death.”

How did Hitler keep control of Germany?

Keeping Control of Germany

Propaganda

- Daily rallies, essays and propaganda films
- The Nazi's controlled and censored the radio & newspapers
- School children were indoctrinated with Nazi ideas

The Terror State

- Both the Gestapo and the SS were run by Heinrich Himmler
- The Gestapo employed an army of spies who would inform on people

Enemies of the State

- Communists
- Social Democrats
- Jews
- Trade Unions
- Work Shy
- Homosexuals
- Gypsies
- Germans who bought from Jews
- Pacifists
- Radical Christian Organisation
- Anyone who criticised Hitler or the Nazi Party

How did the Terror State Work?

- People were woken up at 1am in the morning and told to pack their bags
- You are arrested and thrown into a cell
- You are interviewed and asked to sign form D11
- By signing this form you are giving your consent to be put into a concentration camp
- You are handed over to the SS who run the concentration camps
- You are imprisoned for up to six months doing hard physical labour
- When you are released you tell everybody what has happened to you

Fear

- You are recognised
- You are blackmailed
- You are arrested
- You are tortured
- You are killed

How did the Terror State Work?

- Everyone knew someone who knew someone who had been to a concentration camp
- 80,000 Germans were imprisoned from 1933 – 1945 as “Enemies of the State”
- 500,000 were executed by being shot in the neck

Key Quote: Martin Niemollien, 1945

- When the Nazis came for the Communists I was silent, I was not a Communist
- When the Nazis came for the Social Democrats I was silent, I was not a Social Democrat
- When the Nazis came for the Jews I was silent, I was not a Jew
- When the Nazis came for me there was nobody left to protest.

Nazi Propaganda

Adapted from Mr Moorhouse

www.SchoolHistory.co.uk
Nazi Propaganda

- What is propaganda?
- Propaganda is the use of the media to aggressively promote one point of view.
- Propaganda is 'brainwashing' of the public, convincing them of an ideological viewpoint.

Propaganda

- Discussion Points
  - Do governments and/or the media use propaganda today? How?

Nazi Propaganda

- The Nazi's quickly recognised the value of the media. From the early days of the party they used aggressive advertising to promote the Nazi ideology.
- Goebbels was in charge of 'enlightening' the German public.

Posters

- Posters are cheap and easy to distribute.
- Placed in prominent positions they act as a constant reminder of ideology.
- Can be used for many purposes.

Examples of Nazi Posters

- "Youth across the future. All ten-year-olds join the Hitler Youth."

Radio

- Hitler's Speeches
  - Hitler is considered to have been one of the greatest public speakers of all time.

Film

- Film was used to show Hitler in a positive light as often as possible.
- The Nazi's commissioned several films, each carefully portraying a certain image – try to think what this may have been...

Newspapers

- Censoring newspapers ensured that only the news you want people to read is available to the public.
- Nazi party members wrote many articles for the press, ensuring that the message was always positive.
- Many publications were banned.
**STALIN**

**Stalin's Rise to Power**
- Death of Lenin
- Potential Successors
- The Question of the Economy
- Stalin's Maneuvers

**Industrializing the Soviet Union**
- The End of the NEP
- Dekulakization
- 5-Year Plans
- Rapid Industrialization

**The Great Purge**
- Assassination of Sergei Kirov
- Threat to the Party
- Show Trials
- Purges uncontested

**Why Did Stalin Win The Struggle For Power?**

The Communist Party in the 1920's, Stalin's Rise to Power and the Defeat of His Rivals.

When Lenin died he left no clear successor to lead the Communist Party. Lenin's Testament criticized all the leading candidates e.g. he described Stalin as 'not being able to use power with sufficient caution' and Trotsky for 'excessive self assurance'.

A group of leaders emerged; a 'collective leadership'. By 1929 one of these leaders, Stalin had become a dominant force.

His success was the result of a power struggle.

**Factor 1: The Ban on Factionalism.**

- In 1921 a resolution was passed banning all groups within the party from putting forward ideas that disagreed with the official party policy.
- Those who showed a tolerance to factionalism could be expelled from the party.

**Factor 2: A Centralised Party Machine.**

- Traditionally Communists did not believe in bureaucracy. However, dealing with the complexities of government forced the party into becoming more centralized.
- The party decided to have a General Secretary to organize matters.
- Who do you think got this job???
Factor 2: A centralised Party machine.
- Consequences:
  - This position and the growing centralisation of the party put Stalin in a unique position to influence job appointments.

Factor 3: The growth in Party membership.
- By 1933 there were 3 and a half million members.
- Many members were young, inexperienced and uneducated.
- Consequences:
  - These were “malleable recruits”. They were much more likely to obey instructions than some older party members.

Factor 4: No one clear Leader.
- Stalin
- Trotsky
- Zinoviev
- Kamenev
- Bukharin

Leon Trotsky
- Trotsky was the man most feared by the other senior members.
- BUT......
  - Trotsky refused to compete for leadership. He was absent at Lenin’s funeral saying that Stalin had told him the wrong date (hummm). In reality he seems to have lacked the political will to fight.
  - This left the door open for......

Stalin’s Victory.
- Stalin’s victory was not inevitable, nor was it a result of his political skills alone.

Stalin’s Victory
- The centralised nature of the party made it relatively easy to control. This had begun under Lenin.
- The opposition to factionalism established by Lenin led other leading members to their political death as they were seen to not be towing the party line.
- Poorly educated new party members were easy to dominate.
- Stalin’s own political skills aided his rise. By shifting allegiances, using the secret police and putting his people in key jobs there was no opposition for him to encounter.

The Stalinist Purges
- Followed the First Five Year Plan and the famines and social upheaval of 1931-32
- Fears of renewed civil war
- Opposition to Stalin increased
  - Trotsky called for change from abroad
  - Internal opposition groups called for Stalin’s removal from below
  - Stalin’s wife publicly criticized him and committed suicide
Factors That Created the Purges

- Stalin
  - Role and function
  - Leadership and power
- Party
  - Development and structure
  - Ideology
  - Values and language
- Oppositions
  - Leftist Opposition of 1927
  - Rightist Opposition of 1930

Stalin's Rise

- Why had Stalin risen to the top?
- Distinct and invaluable
  - Practitioner, not a theorist
  - Common man, not an elitist
  - Plain-spoken, not an intellectual

Counterweight

- Lenin leaned on him to do the work others would not
- Stalin balanced the competing goals and interests in the Politburo
- Perceived as man of moderation, compromise, and level-headedness
- Dedicated, ruthless, brutal if necessary

Stalin's Position

- Organizer and workhorse
  - Commissar for Nationalities
    - Member of Politburo, Orgburo, Secretariat (all subsets of the Central Committee) and the party
  - Commissar for Nationalities
  - Controlled party membership and local elections
  - Minimized criticisms of Central Committee by closely structuring attendance at party congresses

Lenin's Last Years

- Given more "unwanted" jobs
  - Enforced political isolation on Lenin after his stroke
  - Positions opened opportunities, but also carried dangers
  - Others in the leadership thought he would trip up and they could dispose of him
- Stalin's self-image
  - Indispensable
  - Beset by opponents

Stalin in the 1930s

- The leader, but not absolute
  - Had to exist in a system of conflicting groups and interests
  - Dependent upon, but also powerful over, the personnel of the party
- The nomenklatura (party political elites)
  - Moscow had accumulated much centralized power
  - Stalin had not really created the system but he was its chief representative and patron

Party and Society

- Party's control insecure in countryside
  - Had been "leer of two evils" in 1921
  - Intense rival opposition to collectivization
- Party's responses had been massive recruitment drives
  - "Lenin levy" of 1924 brought in 200,000 members, mainly ill-educated, Russian ethnics, industrial workers
  - Membership reached about 2 million, mostly recruited between 1927-1932

Fissures in the Party

- The results of growth and centralization led to major divisions
- Four distinct levels
  - Stalin and Politburo
  - Central Moscow leadership
  - Regional and local leaders
  - Rank and file party members

The following is drawn mainly from J. Arch Getty and Oleg V. Naumov, The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Soviet Union, 1922-1939, Yale University Press, 1999.
Images of Fascism

Antecedents
- Civil War values
- Implacable and pitiless character rewarded
- Civil rights and legality as bourgeois liberal nostrums
- The peasants as the enemy of the revolution
- Mass terror as legitimate, if not respectable
- Secret police (Cheka, later OGPU) first employed

Language and Politics
- The use of flexible and loosely-defined metaphors in official discourse to identify enemies
  - Kulak
  - Trotskyist
  - Saboteur
  - Counter-revolutionary
  - Traitor

The Party and Purges
- Purges of enemies were accepted, if not promoted, by many in the party
- Fearful for their positions if the regime collapsed
- True believers in communism and the chosen role of the Bolshevik party

Ideology and Truth
- The historical destiny and inevitability of Communism
- Deaths, setbacks and complications could not be the result of erroneous policies
- Had to be the consequence of sabotage, class enemies and internal party traitors

Two Oppositions
- The United Opposition of 1927
  - Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev’s threat to take matters to the street after losing out to Stalin–Bukharin
  - Broke cardinal rule of keeping disputes within the party, behind closed doors
  - Refused to publicly recant, admit errors, and accept judgment
  - Kamenev was severely demoted; Zinoviev and Trotsky were expelled; Trotsky deported in 1929

Two Oppositions
- Rightist Opposition of 1930
  - Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomsky recanted their errors in private speeches to the party
  - Performed what was to become a basic apology ritual
  - Lost their Politburo seats, but stayed in the party and Central Committee

The Secret Police
- History
- Functions
- Structure

The Great Terror
- 1934–announcement of Kirov
- Purge of the Leningrad Party
- Yezhov 1936-38
- Enemies of the People
- Public trials of important figures
- Bila 1938-1953
Images of Fascism

KGB
- Committee for State Security
- 1940s to 1958
- Functions
  - Foreign intelligence
  - Activities of foreigners on Soviet territory
  - Ideological control of Soviet population
  - Secret informers
  - Dissidents

GULAG
- State Directorate of (Labor) Camps
- Corrective Labor: White Sea Canal project 1930-31
- Work reforges anti-social people
- Cheap labor
- Solzhenitsyn: Gulag Archipelago
- Death camps
- Kolyma
- Political prisoners: Article 58

Death Toll
- Solzhenitsyn: 66 million
- 1927-29: 1 mil., political opposition
- 1930-33: Collectivization
  - 12 mil. Peasants deported to Siberia
- 1932-33: Famine
  - 7 mil. Die of starvation
  - 1.5-2 mil. Arrested for “crimes against state property”

Death Toll (cont.)
- Great Terror 1937-38: 5-7 mil. Arrested, shot, sent to labor camps
  - 50% of Party, 70% of Central Committee, 60% of military, including nearly all generals
- 1939-41: Mass repressions in the Baltic states and western Ukraine, Belorussia

Death Toll (cont.)
- During World War II
  - 2 mil. Ethnic Germans deported
  - 3 mil. Moslems
  - 2-3 mil. Arrested for reporting late for work
  - War casualties: 20 mil.
  - Post-war: 10-12 mil. Deprived of rights or sent to labor camps for living in areas occupied by Nazis during war

Reasons
- Eliminate rivals and potential rivals
- Intensify the mood of terror
- Blame government failures on “enemies”
- Cheap labor for government projects

The Nazi-Soviet Pact

“I must confess to the most profound distrust of Russia. And I distrust her motives, which seem to me to have little connection with our ideas of liberty, and to be concerned only with getting everyone else by the ears....”

“Moreover, she is both hated and suspected by many of the smaller States, notably by Poland, Romania and Finland.”
  - Neville Chamberlain
Communication between both governments was key so as to address problems reflecting on their country’s common interests.

Non-aggression was the main component, assuring that neither side would attack the other and any violence was strictly forbidden.

The treaty would last for ten years, after that it would continue for five more years if neither party expressed disinterest in the relationship.

Any conflicts between parties would not be settled through violence, but rather through exchanging opinions or arbitration commissions.

The treaty or pact was definitely not an alliance. The two powers did not agree to international efforts.

The economic agreement of August 13, 1939 named USSR to provide Germany with food and raw materials.

Germany would supply the U.S.S.R. with finished products.

The Nazi’s were known for hating Communists. With the U.S.S.R., a Communist body, the world was shocked that these two governments would sign any sort of agreement, much less a non-aggression one.

The secret protocol of the agreement gave the Soviets control of the Baltic States, blocked the Soviets from entering a war against Germany, and split Poland between the two countries.

About a week after the signing of the pact, German forces entered Poland.

Throughout September of 1939, Poland was subject to occupation in the west from German forces and from the east by Soviet forces.

The British and French honored their allies by declaring war on Germany.

The “Great Purge” led to the deaths of millions of Soviets.

In Germany, Hitler created massive rifts between races leading to the deaths of millions of Jews.

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Hitler and Stalin were seeking power by abusing the citizens of their countries, aspiring to world domination.

In both Hitler’s Germany and Stalin’s U.S.S.R., the populations were split down the middle.

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The Polish were forced into labour camps and their military officers were brutally murdered. The goal of German/Soviet occupation was to enslave the Polish and erase their sense of nationalism and identity. A great myth developed that only the fascist enemy was capable of genocide, of mass crime. If the crimes of the Soviet Union were to be put into the same category as those of the Nazis, the whole moral story of why we fought the Second World War would have been ruined. We now know that during the war, Stalin actually killed more of his own people than Hitler killed during the Holocaust.

At the Katyn forests in 1943, nearly 4,000 Polish military officers were discovered in a mass grave; a massacre which was recently claimed in responsibility in 1991 by the Soviets.

The concentration camps killed Jews on Polish soil at infamous camps such as Auschwitz, Majdanek, and Treblinka. Almost all of the 3 million Jews living in Poland were annihilated by the ruthless Germans and Soviets.

The pact between the two countries was severed as a result of Hitler invading the U.S.S.R. on June 22nd, 1941. The Germans were avoiding fighting a two front war. The attack on the Soviets may have helped to win the war for the allies, as the Germans then had two fronts to supply, occupy, and fight.

They should have known...
U.S. Involvement

- The U.S. soon became involved in the war. If the U.S. was involved in the war prior to June 22nd, 1941, many people believe that Germany would not have attacked Russia.

Works Cited

- "Ours is a righteous cause. The enemy shall be defeated. Victory will be ours."
  - Vyacheslav Molotov – June 22, 1941

- "Who began the war?"

Evaluation

- What were the provisions of the Nazi-Soviet Pact?
- Was it a treaty of alliance? If not, what was its purpose?
- Why was the world shocked when it was announced? What were the ideological differences between Hitler and Stalin?
- What effect would the pact have on the nations who were targeted?
- When and how would the Pact be broken?

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