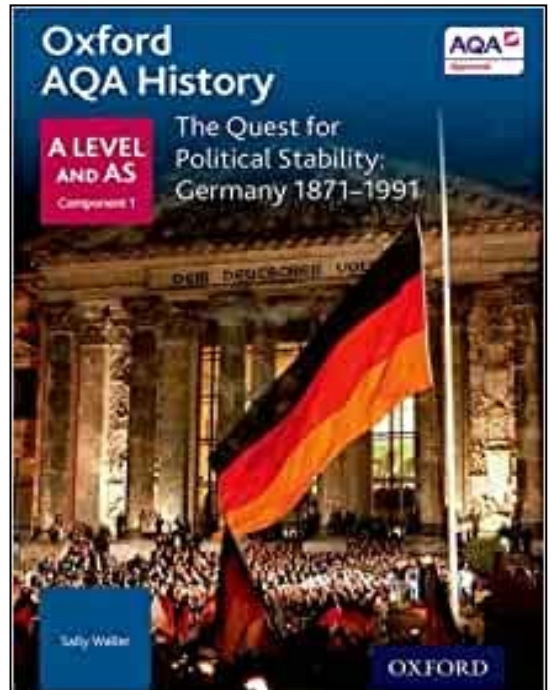
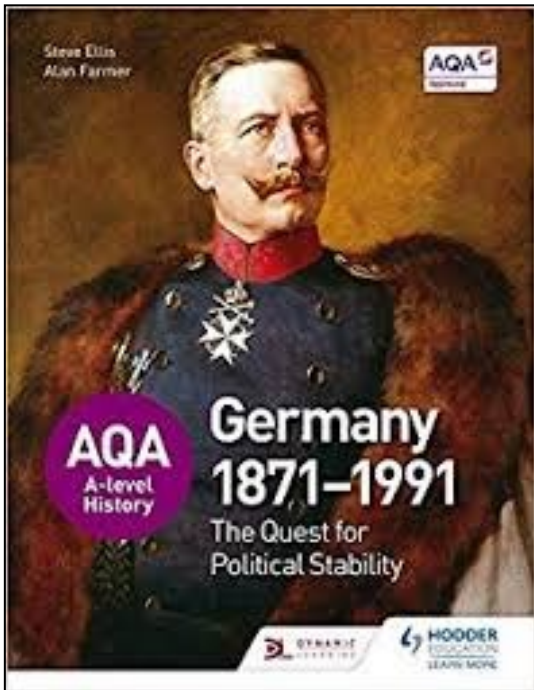


Barrow Hall College

AQA A-Level History



Germany Work Booklet

Unit 5: The Nazi Experiment 1929 - 49

Name:

Class:

Teacher:

How to use your Germany Workbook

Use the icons in your work booklet to guide you.



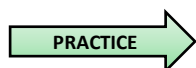
This is an activity for you to be getting on with independently as the lesson begins.



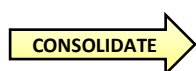
This is information you are being introduced to for the first time, make sure to read this as carefully as possible and highlight any key words or phrases.



These terms or phrases are key to understanding the topic we are studying make sure you know their meanings and that you feel comfortable using them.



This is your chance to work with the new information you are learning about, these short tasks will help develop your understanding of the topic of the lesson.



These short knowledge quizzes provide you with the opportunity to consolidate the key facts and figures from the lesson in one convenient place for revision.



At the conclusion of the lesson you will use this space to consider the enquiry question from the lesson and practice extended writing in your exercise book.



Lesson 1: What factors brought about the collapse of Weimar democracy?



LO: To know why the Weimar Government collapsed.

LO: To be able to evaluate the factors that led to the collapse of Weimar democracy.

New Info

The collapse of Weimar democracy

What factors brought about the collapse of Weimar democracy?

The main long-term causes contributing to the failure of the Weimar Republic are set out below:

- Too few Germans believed in the Republic. The political culture of the Republic was shaped not by a belief in democracy but by the authoritarian heritage of Wilhelmine Germany. According to the historian E. J. Feuchtwanger (*From Weimar to Hitler*) 'the most pervasive cause of Weimar's failure was that too many Germans did not regard it as a "legitimate regime"'.
- Weimar's inheritance was incredibly damaging. It was founded in the aftermath of a catastrophic defeat, attacked by left- and right-wing insurgents, saddled with a vindictive peace settlement and invaded again by the French in 1922 with grave economic consequences.
- The Republic was unable to throw off the myths and lies propagated by its powerful right-wing enemies, notably the 'stab in the back' and the accusation that the Kaiser and the army had been betrayed by a bunch of 'November Criminals'.
- The Republic generated too few leaders of great authority and ability. Its most effective statesman was Gustav Stresemann, yet even he was a luke-warm Republican, as much a nationalist as a democrat, more concerned about restoring Germany's international reputation and recovering her lost territories than establishing a secure democracy.
- The Weimar constitution itself, one of the most democratic in the world, contained loopholes that its enemies could exploit. The most obvious was the power given to the President under Article 48; another was the lack of restriction on minor parties entering the *Reichstag*, which contributed to political fragmentation.
- It has been suggested that the system of voting by proportional representation was a weakness, producing short-lived coalition governments rather than stable single party majority government. However, this is a somewhat flawed argument: the problem under the Weimar system rather lay with the lack of safeguards built into the constitution to prevent the election of extremist, anti-democratic parties unwilling to support the 'system'.
- Deep-rooted economic difficulties undermined the Republic. It was unable to generate its own 'economic miracle' that sustained West German democracy in the 1950s (see [Chapter 8](#), page 227); the territorial losses, war debts and reparations constituted a mountain that the Republic could never climb. It became commonplace to criticise the Republic for not being able to return Germany to its pre-war levels of prosperity, leading to the simplistic, but powerful, assertion among many Germans that 'under the Kaiser everything was better'.

Can you summarise each bullet point in one sentence?

•	_____
•	_____
•	_____
•	_____
•	_____
•	_____
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•	_____



Lesson 1: What factors brought about the collapse of Weimar democracy?



LO: To know why the Weimar Government collapsed.

LO: To be able to evaluate the factors that led to the collapse of Weimar democracy.

New Info

Such long-term factors hindered the Republic's chances of survival. However, by the beginning of 1929 it seemed as if it was recovering from its difficult birth. Two further short-term factors, however, combined to bring about the collapse of Weimar democracy. One was external, a world economic crisis, and totally unanticipated; the other was internal, a cynical act of political betrayal, and completely calculated.

- The economic crisis was the onset of the Great Depression, which sounded the death knell for the Republic, and provided its opponents with the opportunity to destroy the last vestiges of support for democracy.
- The act of political betrayal was conducted by Germany's social, political and economic elites, who had retained a great deal of their pre-1918 authority and therefore dominated the army, the judiciary and the civil service, as well as big business.

Different interpretations of the reasons for the collapse of the Republic have been put forward by historians. Weimar's authoritarian political culture and the extent of its economic problems are often ranked higher than other causes of failure. Others argue that the burdens placed on Germany by the peace settlement in 1919 were a legacy it could never overcome. And some argue that it was the combined weight of the problems faced by the Republic that brought it down. This is the view of the historian Knut Borchardt (in *Perspectives on Modern German Economic History and Policy*):

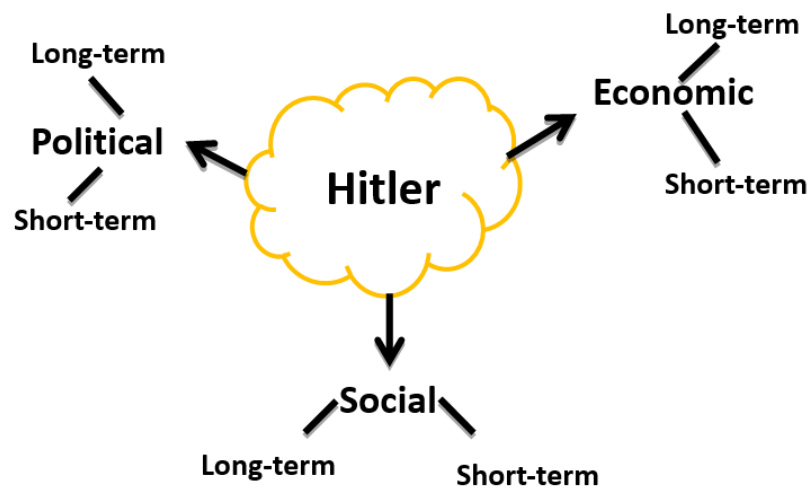
'We should ask whether the problem did not lie in the accumulation of causal factors, each of which may not on its own have proved decisive, but which when put together proved disruptive'

The historian Richard Bessel is a 'pessimist', arguing that Weimar politicians never created a wide enough base of popular support for the Republic. On the other hand, historian Edgar Feuchtwanger represents the 'optimistic' view, arguing that the Republic was enormously resilient and that it was only the exceptional problems associated with the Great Depression that brought it down.

Summarise the short term factors which lead to the demise of Weimar democracy?

How to historians disagree over the fate of Weimar Germany?

Complete the mind map using the information the previous page:





Lesson 1: What factors brought about the collapse of Weimar democracy?



LO: To know why the Weimar Government collapsed.

LO: To be able to evaluate the factors that led to the collapse of Weimar democracy.

Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

What shaped the political culture in Germany?	Which was the most infamous 'myth' that plagued Weimar Germany?	What did the Weimar constitution contain which could be exploited?	What did proportional representation produce?	What was the Weimar Republic unable to generate?
What was thought by the beginning of 1929?	Which two short term factors brought about the collapse?	Which two factors are prioritised highest?	What do some Historians argue was the main factor?	How can Richard Bessel's views be summarised?

What factors brought about the collapse of Weimar democracy?

Answer the lesson question by **summarising** your answer in a **PEEE paragraph**.

Success criteria:

Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can evaluate the long/short-term factors that led to the collapse of Weimar democracy	Identify and explain an argument supporting the pessimistic or optimistic view	Support your argument with precise historical evidence	Evaluate why your factor led to the collapse of Weimar democracy
Sentence starters	<i>One argument for the collapse of Weimar democracy has been put forward by pessimistic/optimistic historians. These historians suggest that Weimar democracy collapsed because...</i>	<i>For example, a political/economic/social long-term factor of the failure of the Weimar Republic was...</i>	<i>This caused the collapse of Weimar democracy because...</i>



Lesson 2: What was the impact of the Great Depression on Germany?



LO: To know the key events surrounding the Great Depression.

LO: To be able to evaluate the impact of the Great Depression on Germany.

New Info

The impact of the Great Depression on Germany

Given the weight attached to the economic causes of the Weimar Republic's collapse, it is worth reiterating briefly the psychological, as well as material, impact of economic problems on the German people in the 1920s, before we consider the impact of the Depression itself.

The cost of defeat in the First World War was enormous: the war debt, reparations, the burden of widows' pensions, the loss to the economy of the dead and crippled can all be quantified in monetary terms. However, it is less easy to quantify the psychological cost, the trauma of defeat and the insecurities this created. In a culture where orderliness and stability were paramount, the fear of indebtedness and the loss of status and autonomy were immense. The 1923 hyperinflation added enormously to this fear. The savings of the middle classes were wiped out and their pensions made worthless. Economic insecurity did much to alienate these people from the Republic; the erosion of income differentials between themselves and blue-collar workers further angered them. Even before the Great Depression, therefore, the Republic had experienced a decade of blame and criticism over its economic record.

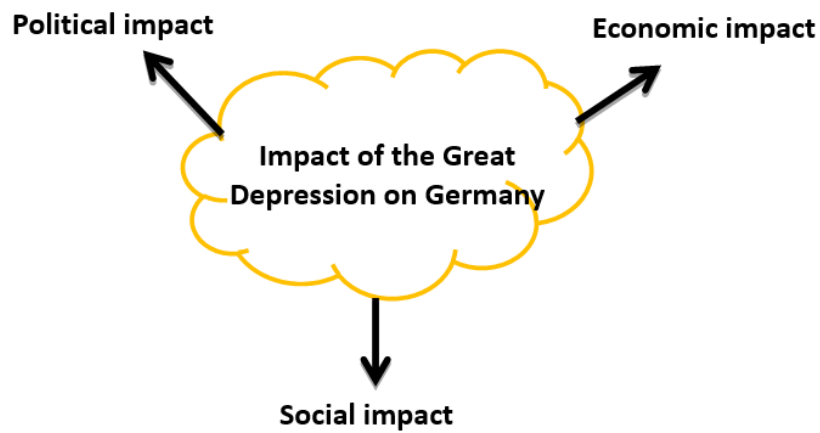
The Great Depression, triggered by the Wall Street Crash in October 1929, hit Germany harder than any other major industrial country. By 1929 Germany had become a major exporting nation, but world trade collapsed by one-third and a great deal of American investment was withdrawn. The German economy was, therefore, hit with a double whammy: the loss of sales and the loss of investment. The crisis worsened inexorably:

- By February 1932 there were 6 million officially unemployed, though the real figure was nearer 8 million, and the output of the German economy was only 58 per cent of its best period in the 1920s.
- By autumn 1932 those unemployed and those on short time totalled more than those in full-time work.
- The majority of the unemployed were under 25.
- Those still in work were having to accept wage cuts; real wages fell on average by one-third in 1932.
- The German social security system was totally overwhelmed.

All of this contributed to the psychological despair many Germans had felt since the end of the First World War. There was a sense that the Depression might go on forever; apathy and despair predominated; rates of juvenile suicide increased greatly amidst an increasing sense of disorientation. Not only did the Great Depression blow apart the shaky foundations of the German economy, it accelerated the disintegration of normal democratic, parliamentary procedures and ushered in a period of political wheeling and dealing.

Summarise the information above:

Complete the mind map using the information the previous page:





Lesson 2: What was the impact of the Great Depression on Germany?



LO: To know the key events surrounding the Great Depression.

LO: To be able to evaluate the impact of the Great Depression on Germany.

Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

How is the loss of the First World War described?	What was feared greatly by the Germans?	Which event in 1923 made these fears worse?	Which event triggered the Great Depression?	By how much did World Trade collapse?
How many were unemployed by Feb 1932?	What % was the German economy of its best?	How far did real wages fall by 1932?	What did all of this lead to amongst Germans?	What did the Great Depression usher in?

What was the biggest impact of the Great Depression on Germany?

Choose the **effect** that you believe to have been the **most significant** because of the Great Depression.

Write **1 paragraph** summarising your answer into your **own words**.

Success criteria:

Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can evaluate the impact the Great Depression had on Germany	Identify and explain the most significant impact of the Great Depression	Support your argument with precise historical evidence	Evaluate why your factor had the greatest impact on Germany
Sentence starters	<i>The biggest effect that the Great Depression had on Germany was the political/economic/social impact. This was because...</i>	<i>For example...</i>	<i>Therefore, the political/economic/social effects of the Great Depression had the most significant impact on Germany because...</i>



Lesson 3: Was Weimar democracy officially 'dead' by July 1932?



LO: To know the key events surrounding the final years of the Weimar Government.

LO: To be able to evaluate the condition of the Weimar democracy in 1932.

New Info

The politics of intrigue

The problems of enacting legislation in a *Reichstag* in which inter-party disputes predominated had been apparent throughout the chancellorship of Hermann Müller (26 June 1928–27 March 1930). His Grand Coalition, a 'cabinet of personalities' formed from the SPD, DDP, DVP, BVP and ZP, had been plagued by internal divisions. The constant bargaining and negotiating needed to agree ways of tackling the economic crisis contributed significantly to the weakening of belief in parliamentary institutions. Müller resigned on 27 March 1930 when Hindenburg made it clear that he would not back his government with emergency powers. Müller had found it impossible to find an agreed basis on which to tackle the economic crisis.

Müller's resignation was a turning point; the *Reichstag* was now increasingly marginalised, with power largely in the hands of President Hindenburg and his advisers, manipulating a series of minority governments. The period from Müller's resignation to the appointment of Hitler as chancellor on 30 January 1933 is one of the grubbiest periods in modern German history, as Germany's anti-democratic elites consciously manoeuvred and counter-maneuvred to replace democratic institutions with right-wing authoritarian government.

The state of the political parties in 1930

Increasingly, party polarisation and factionalism was undermining the credibility of parliamentary politics. The credit of party politics, or *Das System* (the system) as many had started to call it, was at rock bottom. This fragmentation added significantly to the unstable nature of German politics.

- There was a growing drift to extremism at each end of the political spectrum: both the KPD, stuck in an ideological straitjacket and slavishly following the Moscow line, and the NSDAP, worked to undermine and destroy the 'system'.
- From 1928, the Communists totally opposed co-operation with the SPD and welcomed National Socialism as the final and unavoidable stage of capitalism.
- The SPD, well meaning but increasingly out of touch and unimaginatively led, was fragmenting between its left- and right-wing factions.
- The assorted 'liberal' parties had failed to generate any kind of moderate dynamic to sustain the Republic and were a fading force.
- The Centre Party, which had been the backbone of the Republic, playing a part in 19 out of 21 cabinets, was becoming increasingly divided on social and economic policy.
- From 1928, the Nationalists fell under the leadership of Alfred Hugenberg, a man deeply hostile to the Republic and all it stood for; any voice of moderation was overwhelmed by the voices of reaction.

These conditions led to the unedifying spectacle of under-the-counter deals being struck. It is not surprising that many, particularly middle-class, voters began to flock to the Nazis in the crisis years of 1930–33. Of all the parties, the Nazis increasingly seemed the only ones who could extricate Germany from a bankrupt political system.



New Info

Heinrich Brüning, 29 March 1930–30 May 1932

Müller's successor, Heinrich Brüning, leader of the Centre Party, headed a minority government containing representatives of the parties of the Grand Coalition except the SPD.

Brüning's actions further undermined democratic procedures. He was pre-disposed towards an authoritarian solution to Germany's problems by forming a majority right-wing government. However, his hopes of achieving this goal died with the results of the September elections. Gains for the KPD and the electoral breakthrough of the Nazis, winning 107 seats, showed a panic flight to the extremes. Brüning was stuck leading a minority government. He continued in office but was increasingly reliant on the use of Article 48 to govern by emergency decree. Between 1930 and 1932 the *Reichstag* passed 29 relatively minor bills, as opposed to 109 emergency decrees ratified by the President. Parliamentary government was effectively dead.

Real political authority was increasingly being wielded by the army under the direction and control of Kurt von Schleicher. He had the President's ear and indeed had been instrumental in appointing Brüning. However, by spring 1932 von Schleicher had lost confidence in Brüning and used his influence with Hindenburg to dismiss him. Brüning resigned on 30 May, replaced as chancellor by Franz von Papen.

Von Schleicher and the Nazis

By the middle of 1931 Schleicher was already considering how he might use the Nazis to further his own ambition. He had no great admiration for Hitler but saw the Nazi's strength in the *Reichstag* as a means of securing a majority for a new right-wing **presidential government** as a step towards creating an authoritarian dictatorship. He was of the view that the Nazis could be 'tamed' by being brought into government. He had already been in regular contact with Ernst Röhm, head of the SA (see page 157).

He confided in Röhm that he saw the SA developing closer links with the army and he ensured that the SA had access to weapons. For Schleicher, the greater the mayhem perpetrated by the SA on the streets, the less support there would be for democratic institutions clearly unable to maintain law and order. When Brüning began to show too much independence and, under pressure from several German *Land* governments, banned the SA on 13 April 1932, Schleicher's intrigues went into overdrive:

- He engineered the resignation of Groener who opposed Schleicher's intention to integrate the SA into the army.
- He met in secret with Hitler on several occasions in May to get a 'gentleman's agreement' that he would support a new Presidential government if Brüning were to fall.
- He persuaded Hindenburg that Brüning was unable to prevent a drift to civil war and to accept von Papen as his replacement.

Franz von Papen, 1 June–17 November 1932

The degree of intrigue influencing Weimar politics was expanding as that of the *Reichstag* was diminishing. Von Papen was Schleicher's nominee. Indeed, he hand-picked Papen's cabinet. He felt that he could control him; Papen was a relatively obscure Centre Party politician without a power base of his own. On 4 June Papen called new elections in which Schleicher expected the Nazis to do well, providing the *Reichstag* votes for Papen to govern without continual recourse to the use of emergency decrees, which Hindenburg was demanding. As part of the deal with Hitler to support Papen's government, the ban on the SA was lifted. The timeline (Figure 1) charts the key developments in this complex period of intrigue and counter-intrigue.

20 June 1932

Von Papen lifted the ban that had been placed on the SA and SS in April.

20 July

Papen removed the Prussian SPD government. He assumed control himself as Reich Commissioner of Prussia. His justification was the need to bring to an end the uncontrolled street fighting perpetrated by the SA and the Communists. In reality, the intention was to remove one of the last strongholds of democracy.

31 July

Federal elections. The NSDAP saw the greatest gains, securing 37 per cent of the vote and making it the largest party in the *Reichstag* for the first time. The combined seats of both anti-Republican parties (the NSDAP and KPD) totalled more than 50 per cent of the *Reichstag*, effectively blocking the creation of any majority government which did not include them.

13 August

Hitler's demand to be made chancellor was rejected by Hindenburg. Hitler refused to take any other post in Papen's cabinet, reneging on his 'gentleman's agreement' with Schleicher to support Papen's government. New elections were scheduled for November. Hitler's 'all or nothing' strategy was a huge risk, leading to rumbles of discontent in the NSDAP about his tactics.

4 November

Papen addressed an open letter to Hitler:

'It is the exclusiveness of your Movement, your demand for everything or nothing, which the Reich President could not recognise and which led to his decision of 13 August. What is at stake today is this: The question is not whether this or that party leader occupies the Chancellor's chair, whether his name is Brüning, Hitler, or von Papen, but rather that we meet on common ground so that the vital interests of the German people can be assured.'

Hitler had been demanding presidential powers, which Hindenburg refused to grant to a party leader.

6 November

Federal elections. The results saw a significant drop for the Nazi Party and increases for the Communists and the national conservative DNVP. The results were a great disappointment for the Nazis who once more emerged as the largest party with 33 per cent of the vote but not enough to form a government majority in the *Reichstag*.

17 November

Papen resigned and submitted his resignation to Hindenburg. The resignation was accepted pending the appointment of a successor. Von Papen had been trying to form a coalition government with the Nazis but deemed Hitler's demands unacceptable.

23 November

Hindenburg again rejected Hitler's demand for the chancellorship. Hindenburg reasoned that the powers Hitler insisted on would transform the chancellorship into a dictatorship.

3 December

Kurt von Schleicher was appointed Reich Chancellor by Hindenburg and formed a cabinet.



Lesson 3: Was Weimar democracy officially 'dead' by July 1932?

LO: To know the key events surrounding the final years of the Weimar Government.

LO: To be able to evaluate the condition of the Weimar democracy in 1932.



New Info

Kurt von Schleicher and the role of the army

Von Schleicher was the head of the political office, the *Ministeramt*, of the German army. The army was much more than the military arm of the state. It exercised enormous social and political power in Germany and operated almost as a state within the state. The army was fundamentally anti-democratic and in the crisis years following the onset of the Great Depression, it exerted enormous influence on political developments. Schleicher was the 'fixer-in-chief'. Together with Hindenburg's son Oskar, a major in the army, General Groener, the Minister of Defence, and Otto Meißner, the head of the President's office (a group that came to be known as the 'Camarilla'), Schleicher plotted the destruction of the democratic system by persuading Hindenburg to use his presidential powers to by-pass the *Reichstag*.

For Schleicher, the issue was simple: democracy was an impediment to military power; it was too much of a 'lottery' and Germany needed to return to its pre-1918 authoritarian roots. Just as Hitler was to do when he took office, Schleicher was careful to undermine democracy by the appearance of acting within the law. In effect, between 1930 and 1933, he was plotting a coup d'état by 'legal' stealth. His reputation for deviousness was legend. Arrogant in the extreme, he believed he was the 'strong man' Germany needed to recover its lost honour and power.



Kurt von Schleicher, 3 December 1932–30 January 1933

Politics had now become akin to a high stakes poker game. Hindenburg was increasingly tired of Schleicher's intrigues but gave in to his demands to be appointed chancellor. Schleicher was taking a huge gamble by emerging from the background; his arrogance convinced him that now was 'his time'. He believed that Hitler needed him more than he needed Hitler, and that Hitler's 'all or nothing' strategy was unsustainable at a time when the Nazis were losing seats and were in financial difficulties. To bring further pressure on Hitler, Schleicher began secret negotiations with Gregor Strasser, Hitler's loudest critic in the Nazi Party, in a covert attempt to split the NSDAP.

However, Schleicher's control was diminishing:

- Hitler forced Strasser to resign on 8 December, preventing any possible split.
- Schleicher had offended Hindenburg's son Oskar with an off-the-cuff social remark; the President began to listen to Papen more than he did to Schleicher.
- The influential *Junker* Agrarian League were lobbying Hindenburg against Schleicher because of the latter's refusal to protect their interests by raising tariffs on food imports.
- Papen, obsessed by getting his revenge on Schleicher for being forced out of the chancellorship, was meeting with Hindenburg and Hitler in secret, proposing a Hitler-led government with Papen as vice-chancellor; Papen promised Hindenburg that Hitler could be controlled. His biggest lever with Hindenburg was his assertion that unless Hitler be 'used', the army would have to step in and rule by martial law, a step that Hindenburg abhorred.

In the end the entourage around Hindenburg persuaded him that he had no choice. Hitler promised that he would be able to get a majority in the elections and Hindenburg hoped that he could at last take a back seat. Hitler's gamble had paid off; Schleicher's had not. Hitler was appointed chancellor on 30 January 1933. The bringing of the Nazis into government, supposedly on von Papen's terms, was seen as a last ditch way out of the governmental crisis. For Hitler's appointment as Chancellor was the opportunity he had shrewdly held out for; it had taken a mixture of luck, intrigue and political miscalculation to put him at the head of government. The Nazis did not know where they were going, but they knew they had arrived. Hitler immediately called for fresh elections to be held in March, determined to use his new authority to win the overall majority his pursuit of 'legal' power necessitated.

Complete the flowchart below explaining how the actions of Brüning and von Schleicher helped to end Weimar democracy by July 1932 and thus helped Hitler get closer to becoming Chancellor:

Müller's government, 1928-30

- Reichstag divided over measures to deal with the slump; SPD argued employers as well as workers should bear some extra costs; DVP argued benefits should be cut.
- **Müller resigned when President Hindenburg refused to use Article 48 to support his government; marked effective end of parliamentary government.**



Complete the flowchart below explaining how the actions of Brüning and von Schleicher helped to end Weimar democracy by July 1932 and thus helped Hitler get closer to becoming Chancellor:



Lesson 3: Was Weimar democracy officially 'dead' by July 1932?

LO: To know the key events surrounding the final years of the Weimar Government.

LO: To be able to evaluate the condition of the Weimar democracy in 1932.



Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

What did Von Papen lift in June 1932?	What was the NSDAP vote at by 31 st July 1932?	What was Hitler's strategy described as?	What happened to the Nazi vote by the November elections?	What did Papen do on the 17 th of November 1932?
Who was appointed Chancellor on the 3 rd of December?	What did the Army exercise over Germany?	What did von Schleicher want Germany to return to?	What was von Papen obsessed with?	On what date was Hitler appointed Chancellor?

Summary of learning:

To what extent was Weimar democracy officially 'dead' by July 1932?

In your **own words**, answer the question **above** in **1 PEEE paragraph**.

Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can evaluate why Weimar democracy was seen as officially 'dead' by July 1932	Identify and explain one reason why Weimar democracy had collapsed by July 1932	Support your argument with precise historical evidence	Evaluate why Weimar democracy had ended because of your chosen factor
Sentence starters	<i>To a large extent, Weimar democracy was seen as officially 'dead' by July 1932. One main reason for this was...</i>	<i>For example, in 19...</i>	<i>Therefore, Weimar democracy was seen as 'dead' by July 1932 because...</i>



New Info

SOURCE 7.17 J. Noakes, 'The Rise of the Nazis', *History Today*, January 1983, p. 11

The Nazis did best in the rural areas and small towns of the Protestant parts of Germany, particularly in the north and east. They won much of their support from the most rooted and traditional section of the German population – peasant farmers, self-employed artisans, craftsmen and small retailers ... In urban areas the party did best in those towns and cities which were administrative or commercial centres with large civil servant and white collar populations, rather than in industrial centres; and they tended to win most support in upper-middle-class districts. Nazi support also tended to be strongest among the younger generation. This was particularly true of the membership, which was also overwhelmingly male.

SOURCE 7.18 J. Falter, 'How likely were workers to vote for the NSDAP?', in *The Rise of Nationalism and the Working Classes in Weimar Germany*, ed. C. Fischer, 1996, pp. 34 and 40

According to our estimates, probably one in three workers of voting age backed the NSDAP ... From July 1932 onwards more workers would have voted NSDAP than voted KPD or SPD ... On a regular basis more than a quarter of National Socialist voters were workers ...

In terms of its electoral support the NSDAP was clearly Protestant dominated, but otherwise in social terms it was a distinctly heterogeneous [mixed] party ... There is unmistakable over-representation of voters from the middle classes, a fact certainly disputed by no one as yet. On the other hand, it no longer appears admissible, given so high a proportion of voters from the working class, to speak of a middle class party. The National Socialists' electoral successes were nourished by so many different sources, that the NSDAP might really best be characterised as an integrative [all-embracing] protest movement ... Its composition was so socially balanced ... that ... it possessed the character of a people's party or national party more than any other large Weimar party.



LO: To know which areas of German society voted for the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to explain why people voted for Nazi Party.

New Info

SOURCE 7.19 B. Peterson, 'Regional Elites and the Rise of National Socialism' in *Radical Perspectives on the Rise of Fascism in Germany*, 1989, p. 172

Most [historians] now generally agree that the social class most inclined to join and vote for the National Socialists was the petty bourgeoisie, including artisans, shopkeepers, and peasants. Substantial support, however, has been shown to have come from higher social strata. Recent studies have demonstrated that residents of affluent neighbourhoods, vacationers, cruise ship passengers, civil servants and RENTIERS – all arguably elite – supported the National Socialist German Workers Party. On the other hand, big business and Junkers – the core groups of the ruling class in Weimar Germany – were generally disinclined to join or vote for the Nazis although some of them gave various other kinds of direct and indirect support.

SOURCE 7.20 Conan Fischer, *The Rise of the Nazis*, 1995, pp. 63 and 99

[The Nazis] intended to MOBILISE all 'ethnic' Germans, tried to do so and enjoyed a degree of success in crossing class, regional, confessional [religious], gender and age barriers which was unprecedented in German political history...

An impressive body of evidence... supports the overall picture of National Socialism as a predominantly Protestant, middle-class rassemblement [movement], and this line of interpretation has provided the starting point and the conclusion for most of the general histories of Nazism... The latest EMPIRICAL work on the National Socialist constituency [voters] has now created problems for this long-standing consensus which have yet to be fully addressed. It appears that some 40 per cent of voters and party members were working class and some 60 per cent of SA members were working class, leading to the typification of Nazism as a popular or people's movement instead of a class movement.



New Info

SOURCE 7.21 R. Geary, *Hitler and Nazism*, 1993, p. 27

The NSDAP was most successful where it did not have to cope with strong pre-existing IDEOLOGICAL and organisational loyalties. Where these did exist, as in Social Democratic and Communist strongholds, it did far less well. The same applied to Germany's Catholic community, strongly represented over decades by the Centre Party (or the BVP in Bavaria). Loyalty to the party was reinforced by a plethora [great range] of Catholic leisure organisations which penetrated daily life and also by the pulpit, from which the NSDAP was sometimes denounced as godless. On the other hand, Nazi success in Protestant rural and middle class Germany was facilitated by the fact that political loyalties there were either weak or non-existent.

Until the 1980s the predominant view was that the key group was the petty bourgeoisie (*Mittelstand*) who provided the Nazis with mass support. They shared responsibility with the elite (who intrigued to get Hitler appointed) for the catastrophe of the Nazis coming to power. Left-wing historians could thus blame the Right and portray the working class as largely without blame. By the 1990s two developments challenged this view. Firstly, the centrality of the whole concept of class has been questioned. The phenomenon of many workers voting for right-wing governments in Britain and the USA led to more sophisticated analysis of political support and voting behaviour. Other factors, such as religion and the local community, have been identified as additional important influences on voting. The end of the Cold War and the decline of Marxism as a major force in Western universities have also encouraged a more empirical approach.

Secondly, more sources have been examined, with new techniques. The use of computers and refined statistical methodology have allowed more data to be viewed in different ways. There has been a growth in local studies, so the German people have been looked at in small groups and as individuals, not as classes. This has inevitably led to more complex views emerging. The collapse of the East German communist regime has further opened up many records. As a result, recent historians such as Falter, Conan Fischer and Brustein have all produced convincing arguments that German workers were far more attracted to the Nazis than many have argued in the past.

This does not mean, however, that the long-standing stress on the importance of support from the petty bourgeoisie can be rejected. The evidence does powerfully suggest that this class voted disproportionately for the Nazis, but far less than used to be thought. Religion and local community influences seem to have been a greater determinant of voting behaviour than class.

Read the historians’ interpretations of who voted for the Nazi Party.

Mark a tick if the historian identifies a group as prone to vote Nazi.

Group	1 Noakes (Source 7.17)	2 Peterson (Source 7.19)	3 Fischer (Source 7.20)	4 Falter (Source 7.18)	5 Geary (Source 7.21)
Working class					
Petty bourgeoisie/middle class, e.g. shopkeepers, white-collar workers					
Wealthy, i.e. upper middle-class					
Protestants					
Wide range, i.e. a people’s movement					

What overall conclusions can you reach from these sources?

How valuable are these sources as evidence of why people voted for the Nazi’s?



Lesson 4: Why did people support the Nazi Party?



LO: To know which areas of German society voted for the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to explain why people voted for Nazi Party.

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WHY DID THE NAZIS BECOME THE LARGEST PARTY IN WEIMAR GERMANY?

FOCUS ROUTE

- 1 List the range of reasons why people voted for the Nazis.
- 2 Which of these reasons do you consider the most important?
- 3 How have historians' interpretations changed in recent years?

SOURCE 7.23 Nazi publication, *Der Betriebs-Stürmer*, 1931

The years 1914-18 involved the destruction of the German Reich's economic pre-eminence and thus the freedom of German labour. November 1918 did not result in the deposition [overthrow] of the FEUDAL lords to the benefit of the workers. Instead the 9th November brought the defeat of Germany as a state. But the German worker paid the price.

His masters today are the irresponsible, faceless, international big capitalists and the Jews of the banking world ... National Socialism demands a transformation from the utterly unscrupulous profit-motivated economy to an economy geared to need.

SOURCE 7.25

A Nazi election poster, 1932: 'We want work and bread!'



E Why did people support the Nazis?

ACTIVITY

We will begin to investigate the reasons why some people voted for the Nazis by examining Nazi propaganda in the form of leaflets and posters.

- 1 Draw and complete a table like the one below, using Sources 7.23-32.

Source	Group directed at	Their grievances	What the Nazis offered	Other comments

- 2 What overall conclusions can you reach from these sources?
- 3 How valuable are these sources as evidence of why people voted for the Nazis?

SOURCE 7.24

A leaflet from July 1932



GERMAN WOMEN! GERMAN MOTHERS! Our Young People Defiled.

The present Prussian Welfare Minister ... has confirmed ... that in a German Grammar School for Girls 65 per cent of the girls had experienced sexual intercourse and 47 per cent had some form of sexual disease ... The number of sexual offences and cases of incest pile up in the most gruesome manner! ...

This is the result of the many years during which our people, and in particular our youth, have been exposed to a flood of muck and filth, in word and print, in the theatre and in the cinema. These are the result of the systematic Marxist destruction of the family ...

The National Socialists must win the election so that they can put a halt to this Marxist handiwork, so that once again women are honoured and valued, and so that the cinema and the theatre contribute to the inner rebuilding of the nation.

German women and mothers. Do you want your honour to sink still further?

Do you want your daughters to be playthings and the objects of sexual lust?

If NOT, then vote for a National Socialist majority on July 31st. Then vote for

LIST TWO

HITLER-MOVEMENT

NAT.SOCIAL GERMAN WORKERS PARTY

SOURCE 7.26

A 1924 Nazi poster: 'First bread! Then reparations'



SOURCE 7.27

A 1932 Nazi election poster showing Marxism as the guardian angel of big business. The angel has SPD on his helmet - the Nazis called the moderate Socialists Marxists to discredit them

Der Marxismus ist der Schutzengel des Kapitalismus Wählt Nationalsozialisten Liste 1



Lesson 4: Why did people support the Nazi Party?

LO: To know which areas of German society voted for the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to explain why people voted for Nazi Party.



SOURCE 7.28 A 1929 leaflet

TRADERS! SMALL PRODUCERS! ARTISANS!

For a long time you have kept out of sight and let corruption, favouritism and the NEPOTISM of others run all over you. You believed that obeying law and order was the first duty of the citizen. But what has this led to? Ever more exploitation by those in power. The tax-screw being turned ever tighter. You are HELOTS of this system. Your only job is to work and pay taxes which go into the salaries and pensions of ministers. What have your parties done for you? They promised the world but did nothing. They made coalitions, prattled away before the elections then disappeared into parliament until the next. They didn't unite against the treacherous leaders of Marxism. They horse-dealt over ministerial posts and never gave you a thought. They have ruled with Social-Democrats and forgotten the aim of that party - Death to the Middle Class! Have you forgotten the inflation? How you were robbed of your savings and commercial capital? Have you forgotten how taxes have slowly throttled your businesses? Have you forgotten how the Department Stores and Co-operatives have ruined you? ... Middle classes, why is it so bad? Why are your shops empty? Why are you out of business? Look at the banks and their massive profits! They are eating you out of existence! Marxism is guilty of pawning the German economy to international high finance. Therefore citizens, you belong to the ranks of those who make no pact with Marxism, but fight it wherever it is to be found.

GERMAN NATIONAL SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

SOURCE 7.29
'We're for Adolf Hitler!'



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WHY DID THE NAZIS BECOME THE LARGEST PARTY IN WEIMAR GERMANY?



Kopf-Handarbeiter wählt:
Völkischen Blut

SOURCE 7.30
An anti-Jewish poster.
It says: 'The puppet master. Head and Hand vote Nazi.'

SOURCE 7.32 A 1929 leaflet

SOURCE 7.31

A 1932 Nazi poster:
'Women! Millions of men without work. Millions of children without a future. Save the German family. Vote Adolf Hitler!'



GERMAN FARMERS!

Farmers, it's a matter of your house and home!

Factories, forests, railways, taxes and the state's finances have all been robbed by the Jew. Now he's stretching his greedy fingers towards the last German possession - the countryside.

Insatiable [never satisfied] Jewish race-hatred and fanaticism are the driving forces behind this devilish attempt to break Germany's backbone through the annihilation [destruction] of the German farming community.

Doesn't it open your eyes when you see the economy of the countryside being crippled by unnaturally high taxes, while you have insufficient income to set off against this because of low prices for livestock and grain?

Huge imports of frozen meat and foreign grain, at lowest prices, undercut you and push down your earnings ... You cannot obtain credit to tide you over these hard times. If you want money the usurious [very high] interest rates will wring your neck. Under the protection of the state it won't be long before the greater part of the land-owning farmers will be driven from their farms and homes by Jewish money lenders.

**Help us build a new Germany that will be
NATIONALIST AND SOCIALIST**

NATIONALIST because it is free and held in respect.

SOCIALIST because any German who works and creates will be guaranteed not just a slave's ration of bread, but an honourable life, decent earnings and the sanctity of his hard-earned property.

Farmers, it is a matter of the most holy possessions of a people, THE LAND AND THE FIELDS WHICH GOD HAS GIVEN US.

Farmers, it is a matter of house and home,
Of life and death, of our people and our fatherland!

THEREFORE FARMERS - WAKE UP!

JOIN THE RANKS OF OUR DEFENCE FORCE. FIGHT WITH US IN
THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST GERMAN WORKERS PARTY

Complete the table below using sources on the previous page:

Source	Group directed at	Their grievances	What the Nazis offered	Other comments



Lesson 4: Why did people support the Nazi Party?



LO: To know which areas of German society voted for the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to explain why people voted for Nazi Party.

Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

Where did the Nazi's get most of their support from?	In social terms what was the NSDAP distinctly?	What do most historians now agree on?	What percent of voters were working class?	What percent of the SA were working class?
Where did the NSDAP not succeed?	Up until the 1980s what group provided the Nazis with mass support?	What was the message of the election poster of 1932?	What did the Nazis call the moderate Socialists?	What rural group did the Nazi's target with propaganda?

Why did people vote for the Nazis?

Choose **two reasons** that you thought were the **most important** as to why people voted for the Nazis.

For **each one** you choose, write a **PEEE paragraph** explaining why this factor gained support for the Nazis.

Success Criteria:

Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can evaluate the different reasons why German people voted for the Nazis	Identify and explain one reason why Germans voted for the Nazis Support your argument with precise historical evidence	Evaluate why this factor led to people voting for the Nazis	Identify, explain, support and evaluate a second reason why Germans voted for the Nazis Come to an overall conclusion
Sentence starters	<i>One reason why the Germans voted for the Nazis was due to... This was because... For example...</i>	<i>Therefore, Germans voted for the Nazis because...</i>	<i>A second reason why the Germans voted for the Nazis was due to... This was because... For example... Therefore, Germans voted for the Nazis because... To a larger extent, Germans voted for the Nazis due to... This was because...</i>



Lesson 5: Why was Hitler appointed chancellor in January 1933?

LO: To know the events surrounding Hitler's appointment as chancellor.

LO: To be able to evaluate the reasons for Hitler's rise to power.



Use the information on the next pages to complete the table below:

Key events	Hindenburg	Hitler	Schleicher	Papen	Influential leaders (e.g. army)
4 November 1932 – Letter to Hitler					
6 November – Federal elections					
17 November – Papen's resignation					
23 November – Hitler's demand for chancellorshi p					
December – Schleicher's government					
January 1933 – Hitler appointed chancellor					

20 June 1932

Von Papen lifted the ban that had been placed on the SA and SS in April.

20 July

Papen removed the Prussian SPD government. He assumed control himself as Reich Commissioner of Prussia. His justification was the need to bring to an end the uncontrolled street fighting perpetrated by the SA and the Communists. In reality, the intention was to remove one of the last strongholds of democracy.

31 July

Federal elections. The NSDAP saw the greatest gains, securing 37 per cent of the vote and making it the largest party in the *Reichstag* for the first time. The combined seats of both anti-Republican parties (the NSDAP and KPD) totalled more than 50 per cent of the *Reichstag*, effectively blocking the creation of any majority government which did not include them.

13 August

Hitler's demand to be made chancellor was rejected by Hindenburg. Hitler refused to take any other post in Papen's cabinet, reneging on his 'gentleman's agreement' with Schleicher to support Papen's government. New elections were scheduled for November. Hitler's 'all or nothing' strategy was a huge risk, leading to rumbles of discontent in the NSDAP about his tactics.

4 November

Papen addressed an open letter to Hitler:

'It is the exclusiveness of your Movement, your demand for everything or nothing, which the Reich President could not recognise and which led to his decision of 13 August. What is at stake today is this: The question is not whether this or that party leader occupies the Chancellor's chair, whether his name is Brüning, Hitler, or von Papen, but rather that we meet on common ground so that the vital interests of the German people can be assured.'

Hitler had been demanding presidential powers, which Hindenburg refused to grant to a party leader.

6 November

Federal elections. The results saw a significant drop for the Nazi Party and increases for the Communists and the national conservative DNVP. The results were a great disappointment for the Nazis who once more emerged as the largest party with 33 per cent of the vote but not enough to form a government majority in the *Reichstag*.

17 November

Papen resigned and submitted his resignation to Hindenburg. The resignation was accepted pending the appointment of a successor. Von Papen had been trying to form a coalition government with the Nazis but deemed Hitler's demands unacceptable.

23 November

Hindenburg again rejected Hitler's demand for the chancellorship. Hindenburg reasoned that the powers Hitler insisted on would transform the chancellorship into a dictatorship.

3 December

Kurt von Schleicher was appointed Reich Chancellor by Hindenburg and formed a cabinet.



Lesson 5: Why was Hitler appointed chancellor in January 1933?

LO: To know the events surrounding Hitler's appointment as chancellor.

LO: To be able to evaluate the reasons for Hitler's rise to power.



New Info

Kurt von Schleicher and the role of the army

Von Schleicher was the head of the political office, the *Ministeramt*, of the German army. The army was much more than the military arm of the state. It exercised enormous social and political power in Germany and operated almost as a state within the state. The army was fundamentally anti-democratic and in the crisis years following the onset of the Great Depression, it exerted enormous influence on political developments. Schleicher was the 'fixer-in-chief'. Together with Hindenburg's son Oskar, a major in the army, General Groener, the Minister of Defence, and Otto Meißner, the head of the President's office (a group that came to be known as the 'Camarilla'), Schleicher plotted the destruction of the democratic system by persuading Hindenburg to use his presidential powers to by-pass the *Reichstag*.

For Schleicher, the issue was simple: democracy was an impediment to military power; it was too much of a 'lottery' and Germany needed to return to its pre-1918 authoritarian roots. Just as Hitler was to do when he took office, Schleicher was careful to undermine democracy by the appearance of acting within the law. In effect, between 1930 and 1933, he was plotting a coup d'état by 'legal' stealth. His reputation for deviousness was legend. Arrogant in the extreme, he believed he was the 'strong man' Germany needed to recover its lost honour and power.



Kurt von Schleicher, 3 December 1932–30 January 1933

Politics had now become akin to a high stakes poker game. Hindenburg was increasingly tired of Schleicher's intrigues but gave in to his demands to be appointed chancellor. Schleicher was taking a huge gamble by emerging from the background; his arrogance convinced him that now was 'his time'. He believed that Hitler needed him more than he needed Hitler, and that Hitler's 'all or nothing' strategy was unsustainable at a time when the Nazis were losing seats and were in financial difficulties. To bring further pressure on Hitler, Schleicher began secret negotiations with Gregor Strasser, Hitler's loudest critic in the Nazi Party, in a covert attempt to split the NSDAP.

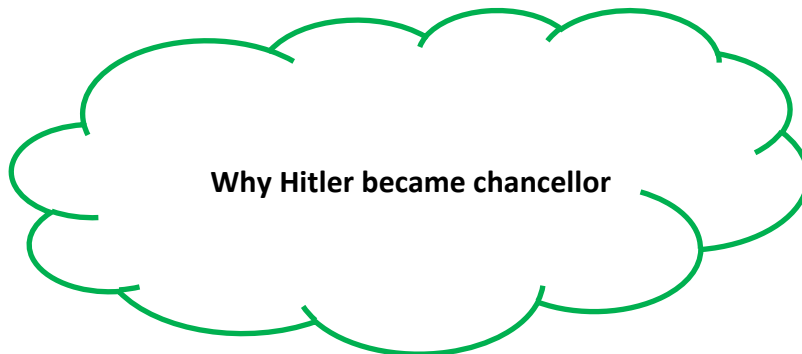
However, Schleicher's control was diminishing:

- Hitler forced Strasser to resign on 8 December, preventing any possible split.
- Schleicher had offended Hindenburg's son Oskar with an off-the-cuff social remark; the President began to listen to Papen more than he did to Schleicher.
- The influential *Junker* Agrarian League were lobbying Hindenburg against Schleicher because of the latter's refusal to protect their interests by raising tariffs on food imports.
- Papen, obsessed by getting his revenge on Schleicher for being forced out of the chancellorship, was meeting with Hindenburg and Hitler in secret, proposing a Hitler-led government with Papen as vice-chancellor; Papen promised Hindenburg that Hitler could be controlled. His biggest lever with Hindenburg was his assertion that unless Hitler be 'used', the army would have to step in and rule by martial law, a step that Hindenburg abhorred.

In the end the entourage around Hindenburg persuaded him that he had no choice. Hitler promised that he would be able to get a majority in the elections and Hindenburg hoped that he could at last take a back seat. Hitler's gamble had paid off; Schleicher's had not. Hitler was appointed chancellor on 30 January 1933. The bringing of the Nazis into government, supposedly on von Papen's terms, was seen as a last ditch way out of the governmental crisis. For Hitler's appointment as Chancellor was the opportunity he had shrewdly held out for; it had taken a mixture of luck, intrigue and political miscalculation to put him at the head of government. The Nazis did not know where they were going, but they knew they had arrived. Hitler immediately called for fresh elections to be held in March, determined to use his new authority to win the overall majority his pursuit of 'legal' power necessitated.

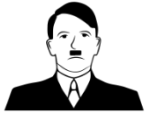
Create a spider-diagram with 'Why Hitler became chancellor' in the centre.

Around it put as many factors as you can think of as to why Hitler became chancellor by January 1933.





Lesson 5: Why was Hitler appointed chancellor in January 1933?



LO: To know the events surrounding Hitler's appointment as chancellor.

LO: To be able to evaluate the reasons for Hitler's rise to power.

Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

What did Von Papen lift on the 22 nd June 1932?	What gains did the NSDAP make on the 31 st July?	What did Hitler demand on the 13 th August?	What did Papen do on the 4 th November?	When did Papen Resign?
When was Schleicher Chancellor?	Who did Schleicher negotiate with?	What was Papen proposing in revenge for being forced to resign?	What did Hindenburg want to avoid?	When was Hitler appointed Chancellor?

Why was Hitler appointed Chancellor in January 1933?

Success criteria:

Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can explain the different reasons as to how Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in 1933	Explain and evaluate one long-term reason why Hitler became Chancellor	Explain and evaluate one short-term reason why Hitler became Chancellor	Come to an overall conclusion as to why Hitler became Chancellor
Sentence starters	<i>One long-term reason why Hitler became Chancellor in January 1933 was due to... This was because... For example... Therefore, this helped Hitler become Chancellor because...</i>	<i>On the other hand, a short-term reason that contributed in making Hitler Chancellor was... This was because... For example... Therefore, this aided Hitler in becoming Chancellor in January 1933 because...</i>	<i>To a larger extent, Hitler became Chancellor due to... This was because...</i>



Lesson 6: How did Hitler create a one-party authoritarian state?

LO: To know the events surrounding Hitler's rise to power.

LO: To be able to evaluate the consolidation of Hitler's power.



Use the information on the next pages to complete the task below:

You need to **create a flow diagram** showing the **steps** of how Hitler **consolidated** his power and became dictator by **1934**.

You will need to find out about the following events:

- *Hitler becoming Chancellor*
- *The Reichstag Fire*
- *Decree for the Protection of the People and the State*
- *1933 March elections*
- *The Enabling Act*
- *The destruction of trade unions*
- *The elimination of other political parties*
- *Law for the reconstruction of the State*
- *The Night of the Long Knives*
- *The death of President Hindenburg*

For **each event** you must:

- **Describe** what happened **during** the event in **2-3 sentences**
- **Above each stage** write whether the development:
 - *increased Hitler's own powers,*
 - *helped to create a one-party state, and/or*
 - *helped the Nazis to extend control over the German people*
- **Below each stage** write the **significance** of the event in helping Hitler consolidate his power.

An example has been completed for you to start you off:

Increased Hitler's own power

Stage 1: Hitler becoming Chancellor, January 1933

Hitler was made Chancellor by President Hindenburg. Three out of a cabinet of twelve were Nazis and Hindenburg retained his power.



Significance: Hitler becoming Chancellor made him superior to other members of the cabinet in constitutional terms and so the Nazis were finally able to have a say within the Reichstag.

New Info

How did Hitler create a one-party authoritarian state?

Initially, Hitler's position seemed weak. Only three out of a cabinet of twelve were Nazis and Hindenburg retained his power as President. However, it took Hitler just eight weeks to achieve total control, and by August 1934 most major German institutions had been either 'co-ordinated' or neutralised. This was achieved by a combination of means: a 'legal revolution', terror and a process of co-operation and compromise with key institutions. Hitler's consolidation of power in this period is often referred to as *Gleichschaltung* (literally: co-ordination).

Hitler's strengths

Papen convinced Hindenburg that Hitler would be 'framed' within the Cabinet by Conservatives who would control policies. Papen boasted: 'Don't worry, we've hired him'. However, Papen did not understand how Hitler might exploit his position:

- Hitler was Chancellor, superior to other members of the cabinet in constitutional terms; this was well understood by Hitler and was the basis of his 'all or nothing' strategy.
- The two other Nazi cabinet members had important posts. Goering, as Prussian Minister of the Interior, had direct control over Berlin; he was ruthless in purging the Prussian government and police of all potential opponents, appointing Nazi sympathisers in their place. Frick, as Minister of the Interior, had a key role in drawing up plans for the March elections.
- Hitler was able to employ his paramilitary forces, the SA and SS, to intimidate and crush opponents.
- Von Blomberg, the Defence Minister, was sympathetic to the Nazis and ensured that the army did not attempt to stop Nazi terror attacks.
- The propaganda campaigns orchestrated by Goebbels were successful in complementing the campaign of terror, portraying the government's actions as necessary to deal with a national emergency.
- The influential right-wing elites threw in their lot with the Nazis, as outlined in Source C.

Summarise the argument above in to the key factors:

New Info

The 'legal revolution'

Hitler's abortive putsch in Munich in 1923 (see page 103) taught him a vital lesson: power in Germany could not be obtained through a coup, but through the democratic and constitutional processes of the Republic. Hitler would use democracy to destroy democracy by undermining it from within. His route to total power, therefore, had to give the appearance, at least, of legitimacy. And if it meant that he would have to 'hold his nose', as he put it, in the company of Weimar democrats in the *Reichstag*, this was the price he would pay for 'legal' power.

The legal basis of the Nazi consolidation of power was established by two pieces of legislation:

- The first was the Decree for the Protection of the People and the State (sometimes referred to as the *Reichstag Fire Decree*), passed on 28 February 1933, which suspended constitutional civil rights. It also gave the federal government greater powers of arrest, allowing it to hold 'political opponents' in prison indefinitely in so-called 'protective custody'. The Decree, which remained in force for the duration of the Third *Reich*, was used by the Nazis to ban the KPD and to arrest thousands of Communists; it gave the Nazis the legal power to arrest whoever they wanted without giving any reason, and to imprison them for as long as they wanted without any judicial interference. In effect, it was the basic law of the Third *Reich*, abolishing all civil liberties.
- The second piece of legislation was the Enabling Act, passed on 24 March. This gave Hitler the right to rule by decree for four years, allowing the government to pass laws without consulting the *Reichstag*. It was never repealed. The Act removed all democratic accountability and was the foundation stone of one-party rule, which was formally established on 14 July by the Law against the Formation of New Parties. On 30 January 1934 the Law for the Reconstruction of the State dissolved all state assemblies, replacing them by Nazi-appointed *Reich* Governors.

Summarise the argument above in to the key factors:

New Info

If Hitler's dictatorship was effectively achieved within his first eight weeks in power, and formally established by the first anniversary of his appointment, he did not yet hold all political authority in his hands. While President Hindenburg lived, Hitler could still be dismissed, particularly if he alienated the army, which remained loyal to the President. The army was the one institution which Hitler feared might act against him. His relationship with the army was threatened by the SA. By May 1934, the army was making its position very clear to Hitler: either he take action against the SA or Hindenburg would declare martial law and the army would remove him. Hitler moved quickly to purge the SA in an action which became known as the Night of the Long Knives (see page 157). Hitler's purge not only removed an internal threat to his authority, but it also ensured the loyalty of the army. On 2 August 1934, following President Hindenburg's death, the army swore an oath of allegiance to Hitler as commander-in-chief of the armed forces and head of state; Hitler had essentially combined the posts of chancellor and President.

The Enabling Act

The Nazis secured 44 per cent of the vote in the elections held on 5 March 1933. This was their best ever result but not enough to give Hitler the decisive two-thirds majority he required in the *Reichstag* to amend the constitution. What followed was political calculation and corruption masquerading as legitimacy. Hitler won backing for a proposal to suspend rule by majority in parliament, and to replace it with rule by chancellor decree. The DNVP readily gave Hitler their support and, shamefully, so did the Centre Party in return for an assurance that the Nazis would allow the Catholic Church absolute independence in Germany – the Concordat, struck with the Pope in July 1933. Having banned the KPD and already imprisoned 26 SPD deputies, only the remaining SPD members voted against the Bill, which was passed by 441 votes to 94.

Summarise the argument above in to the key factors:

New Info

The use of 'terror'

The democratic Weimar constitution, basic civil liberties, freedom of the press, pluralism and federalism were all abolished by 'legal' process. Parallel with this process was the use of terror. Following the *Reichstag* Decree, SA and SS men were appointed as auxiliary policemen, given firearms and free rein. Nazi political opponents were attacked in the streets, in the public eye, spreading 'paralysing fear'. Those elites who had brought Hitler into power failed to foresee the extent of the violence that would accompany the establishment of one-party Nazi rule.

Nazi terror targeted not just their Communist and socialist political opponents, but also critical journalists, writers and artists. Jews were indiscriminately attacked and threatened in the streets. The Enabling Act itself was passed in an atmosphere of intimidating terror, SA and SS men filling the Kroll Opera House where the vote was taken. According to historian Ludolf Heist:

'When the SA persisted in threatening a "Second Revolution", and continued its uncontrolled violence and intimidation on the streets, Hitler turned terror on the terrorists, unleashing the SS in the purge of the SA in the Night of the Long Knives. Legitimacy was undeniably important to Hitler in his consolidation of power, but its legal power was achieved on the back of terror.'

(Quoted in 'Topography of Terror', a collection of documents published by *Stiftung Topographie des Terrors*, Documentation Centre, Berlin, 2010.)

Summarise the argument above in to the key factors:



Lesson 6: How did Hitler create a one-party authoritarian state?

LO: To know the events surrounding Hitler's rise to power.

LO: To be able to evaluate the consolidation of Hitler's power.



New Info

The Night of the Long Knives

On the night of 30 June 1934, Hitler ordered the SS, with tacit army support, to arrest and murder Ernst Röhm and other prominent SA leaders. The SA had become a political embarrassment, a threat to Hitler's relationship with the conservative elites and, particularly, with the army; the SA had refused to rein in its intimidation and violent actions on the streets, continued to demand a 'Second Revolution' against Germany's privileged elites and lobbied for control of the army. Hitler increasingly regarded Röhm as a personal threat to his leadership. The purge of the SA delivered significant benefits to Hitler: it removed a threat within the Party, won over powerful conservative critics and guaranteed that the army would swear an oath of personal allegiance to Hitler as leader on Hindenburg's death. Hitler's purge continued until 2 July, using the SA action as an opportunity to settle some old scores: von Schleicher, Gregor Strasser and von Kahn, who had suppressed Hitler's putsch in Munich in 1923, were all murdered.

Summarise the argument above in to the key factors:

New Info

The use of compromise

Hitler's purge of the SA in the Night of the Long Knives was a key example of his political pragmatism, by putting his own political interests ahead of personal friendship and principle. He knew the importance of ensuring the army remained loyal to the Nazi state, sacrificing both Röhm and the SA, and the more socialistic aspects of the Party's 25 Point Programme in order to accommodate the army's demands. Hitler did the same with big business interests by promising to ignore the anti-capitalist elements of the Party's programme. Similarly, anxious not to alienate the Catholic Church, in July 1933 Hitler completed the Concordat with the Pope, which had been part of the deal with the Centre Party in eliciting its support for the Enabling Act. All three of these actions indicate Hitler's willingness to compromise with powerful elements in the state and society in order to consolidate his position in power.

Summarise the argument above in to the key factors:

Use the information from the previous pages to complete the task:

Increased Hitler's own power

Stage 1: Hitler becoming Chancellor, January 1933

Hitler was made Chancellor by President Hindenburg. Three out of a cabinet of twelve were Nazis and Hindenburg retained his power.



Significance: Hitler becoming Chancellor made him superior to other members of the cabinet in constitutional terms and so the Nazis were finally able to have a say within the Reichstag.



Lesson 6: How did Hitler create a one-party authoritarian state?

LO: To know the events surrounding Hitler's rise to power.

LO: To be able to evaluate the consolidation of Hitler's power.



Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

By May 1934 what had did the Army make clear to Hitler?	What did Hitler's purge ensure?	What is the purge better known as?	What did the Enabling Act enable?	What were the SA and SS appointed as?
When was the Night of the Long Knives?	What did the SA demand?	Who was murdered in the Night of the Long Knives?	What did Hitler agree with the Pope in July 1933?	What is this evidence of?

How did Hitler create a one-party authoritarian state?

Choose the **two most significant** actions/events that helped **Hitler consolidate** his power.

You must write a **paragraph** for **each one explaining its significance** in relation to Hitler becoming dictator of Germany by **1934**.

Success criteria:

Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can evaluate how Hitler was able to consolidate his power by 1934	Explain and evaluate one significant action/event that helped Hitler become dictator	Explain and evaluate a second significant action/event that helped Hitler become dictator	Come to an overall conclusion as to why Hitler became dictator by 1934
Sentence starters	<i>One event that was significant in helping Hitler to consolidate his power was... This was because... For example... Therefore, this helped Hitler to become dictator because...</i>	<i>Additionally, x helped Hitler to further consolidate his power. This was because... For example... Therefore, this helped Hitler to become dictator because...</i>	<i>To a larger extent, Hitler became dictator of Nazi Germany by 1934 due to... This was the most significant action/event because...</i>



L7: What were the roles of Hitler and Hindenburg in bringing about the death of Weimar democracy?

LO: To know the events surrounding the death of Weimar democracy.

LO: To be able to evaluate the contribution of both Hitler and Hindenburg.



New Info

The role of Hindenburg

The vital events of the years 1929–34 were shaped by a small group of people who had access to Hindenburg. His role was crucial in a number of ways:

- His constitutional powers were central: Article 23 allowed him to dissolve the *Reichstag*; Article 48 gave him the authority to issue emergency decrees, by-passing normal *Reichstag* procedures; under Article 53 he had the power to appoint the chancellor. 'Presidential' government effectively replaced parliamentary government from the fall of Müller's cabinet in 1930.
- Hindenburg's military career had made him a national hero; as commander-in-chief, the army's oath of loyalty to his person was inviolable. Germany was a country in which the army took precedence over every other institution; in effect, whoever had the army's loyalty controlled Germany.
- His social position placed him at the apex of German society; he was regarded by many Germans as the emperor the Republic never had; in this respect Hindenburg was a national icon and living myth, transcending political fault lines.

Hindenburg, however, was keen to stick to the rules of the constitution. He believed in duty but was a conservative who had little sympathy with democracy. He was also in his 80s and tired of the extra responsibility he had had to bear since 1930; increasing senility made him open to suggestion. He wanted nothing more than to retire to his estate in Prussia. Neither had he any love for the Nazis. He called Hitler 'that Austrian corporal'. He thought he was mediocre but at least he was a nationalist. He liked the Nazis even less after they had attacked him during the 1932 Presidential campaign. Both Schleicher and Papen unashamedly used their access to Hindenburg to pursue their own anti-Republican agenda.

The Day of Potsdam, 21 March 1933

Following the success of the Nazis and their conservative supporters in the *Reichstag* elections, a 'day of national unity' was held in the city of Potsdam, long associated with Germany's royal past. The event was a stage-managed piece of pure propaganda. Hindenburg was presented in front of huge, adoring crowds, in the company of the fawning Hitler, to send out a symbolic message of fascist and conservative unity, designed to further legitimise Nazi rule.

Further evidence of Hindenburg's crucial role in the establishment of Hitler's dictatorship is provided by Hitler's all-too-easy manipulation of Hindenburg following the arson attack on the *Reichstag*. He was persuaded, on trumped-up evidence, that the fire was the prelude to a Communist revolution, acceding to Hitler's demand for emergency powers, which effectively put Hitler beyond the law. Hindenburg allowed himself to be flattered by Hitler by events such as the Day of Potsdam and by Hitler's constant, grovelling public pronouncements about the high esteem in which Hindenburg was held and the public debt owed to him by the nation. Though it did not entirely disappear, his distrust of Hitler was replaced by a grudging thankfulness that the responsibilities of state no longer weighed so heavily on him. This is also evident by Hindenburg's reaction to the Night of the Long Knives:

'Through your decisive intervention and your courageous personal commitment you have nipped all the treasonable intrigues in the bud. You have saved the German nation from serious danger and for this I express to you my deeply felt gratitude and my sincere appreciation.'

Hindenburg died on 2 August 1934, a revered national treasure, yet he had largely been blind to the **Machiavellian** way in which he was manipulated. Perhaps there can be a degree of sympathy for an old man increasingly tired and incapable of the duties required of him, yet duty aside, his social and political orientation, his values and mindset, predisposed him against democratic institutions and in favour of authoritarianism. There is certainly an argument to be had that without Hindenburg, a Nazi dictatorship would not so easily have occurred.

Summarise the short term factors which lead to the demise of Weimar democracy?

Complete the table below to provide an assessment of the roles of Hindenburg and Hitler in destroying democracy and establishing a one-party state.

	Actions	Significance	Rating
Hindenburg			
Hitler			



L7: What were the roles of Hitler and Hindenburg in bringing about the death of Weimar democracy?

LO: To know the events surrounding the death of Weimar democracy.

LO: To be able to evaluate the contribution of both Hitler and Hindenburg.



Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

What did Hitler avoid in his policy?	Who did Hitler turn into scapegoats?	What was his ideology built of?	What did the argument of the Aryan race revive?	What were the left unable to do?
What did Article 23 allow Hindenburg to do?	What was Hindenburg in the eyes of the nation?	What did Hindenburg call Hitler?	When was the day of Potsdam?	When did Hindenburg die?

Who had the more significant role in destroying Weimar democracy; Hindenburg or Hitler?

Explain your answer.

Write your answer in **paragraphs**; one paragraph should focus on Hindenburg; a second on Hitler; a third coming to an overall conclusion.

Success criteria:

Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can evaluate how Hitler was able to consolidate his power by 1934	Explain and evaluate one significant action/event that helped Hitler become dictator	Explain and evaluate a second significant action/event that helped Hitler become dictator	Come to an overall conclusion as to why Hitler became dictator by 1934
Sentence starters	<i>One event that was significant in helping Hitler to consolidate his power was... This was because... For example... Therefore, this helped Hitler to become dictator because...</i>	<i>Additionally, x helped Hitler to further consolidate his power. This was because... For example... Therefore, this helped Hitler to become dictator because...</i>	<i>To a larger extent, Hitler became dictator of Nazi Germany by 1934 due to... This was the most significant action/event because...</i>



LO: To know the features of Nazism as an ideology.

LO: To be able to evaluate the Nazi ideology.

New Info

National Socialist ideology

The concept or ideal that lay at the heart of Nazi ideology and the Nazi state was that of the *Volksgemeinschaft*: the nation and people as a community or national community, which put common good before personal advancement; a community in which the individual was de-personalised; one which was based on race not class. It was a community, therefore, into which you could only be born and where everyone had a shared genetic inheritance. By definition, it could not be inclusive – a ‘foreigner’ could not become a ‘national’ – and nor could it be multi-cultural, nor multi-faith. It was a vision of a society which would operate as a racial **meritocracy**, where the best, synonymous with the most loyal, would rise to lead this community of one people. At the apex of this national community was the *Führer*, whose leadership was validated not by any democratic process but by an emotional bond. It was: ‘*Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Führer*’ – ‘one nation, one people, one leader’. Nazi ideology required that the people, the *Volk*, give unquestioning obedience to the Leader according to the *Führerprinzip*.

Hitler’s ideological world view rested on his Social Darwinist outlook, which recognised a natural struggle for existence between peoples and races. He was convinced of the superiority of the Aryan race. Nazi ideology also drew on the science of **eugenics**, advocating action against those considered genetically unfit, the mentally and physically disabled who were a threat to the aim of breeding a pure and healthy ‘master race’. This view also extended to cover those whose personal practices the Nazis considered unnatural, such as homosexuals.

Another way of understanding Nazi ideology is to identify what it opposed. It was anti-modern, anti-capitalist, anti-democratic and anti-Communist. In this respect, Nazi ideology was backward looking, designed to appeal to ‘traditional’ German values of family, faith and nation. Such an outlook is represented by concepts such as **Blood and Soil** and the **Cult of Motherhood**. Nazism was presented as a movement, not as a party in the traditional sense.

In many respects, Nazi ideology was a rather vague catch-all set of beliefs, designed to appeal to a broad mass of patriotic Germans who longed for national unity and revival and an end to the humiliation, economic weakness and political divisions associated with Weimar democracy. There was little that was radically new in Nazi ideology but its strength was its all-embracing big picture, which offered solutions and scapegoats for Germany’s problems. To the workers, Nazism promised an end to economic and social privilege, yet Hitler courted big business and the social elites by promising to block the advance of Communism. Often contradictory and incoherent, Nazi ideology consisted of a mass of positive and negative stereotypes, ranging from idealised versions of German peasant families and biologically pure, blond-haired and blue-eyed Aryan men and women, to the ugly parasitic Jew, the grasping capitalist and the self-seeking liberal democrat.

In practice, the economic objectives of **autarky** (economic self-sufficiency) and rearmament always took precedence over ideological objectives like Blood and Soil. Ideology which idolised farmers as the life spring of the nation were routinely sacrificed to prepare for a war only a modern industrial society could manage. The Nazi glorification of the Aryan peasant as the key to the nation’s racial health and the finest upholder of traditional moral values proved little more than empty rhetoric. Nevertheless, ideology infiltrated every aspect of German society and state under the Nazis, permeating the lives and activities of every German; every individual had to put nation before self. Being a *Volksgenosse* (national comrade) was everything. Nazism was more than a political or economic revolution, it was an ideological revolution, a struggle to the death between Aryans and their racial enemies, especially the Jews. Struggle, force, violence: these were the eternal values of Nazism.

Summarise the information above into the key factors:



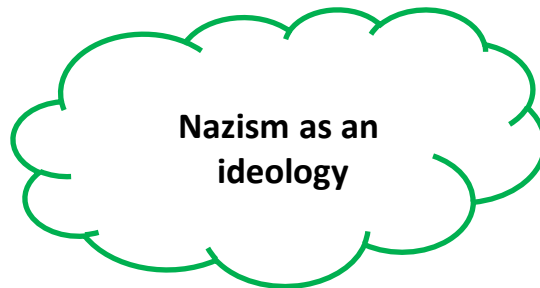
Lesson 8: What was unique about Nazism?



LO: To know the features of Nazism as an ideology.

LO: To be able to evaluate the Nazi ideology.

Complete the spider diagram below using the information on the previous pages.





Lesson 8: What was unique about Nazism?



LO: To know the features of Nazism as an ideology.

LO: To be able to evaluate the Nazi ideology.

Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

What was at the heart of Nazi Ideology?	What version of society did it try to emulate?	What does Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Fuhrer mean?	What did Hitlers world view rest on?	What did Nazi science did Nazi ideology draw on?
What concepts did the Nazis use to appeal to traditional Germans?	What was the Nazi ideology?	How did it appeal to the workers?	What was the economic objective known as?	What is a Volksgenosse?

Which aspects of Nazi ideology had been achieved by the end of 1934, and which had not been acted upon?

Answer the lesson question by **summarising** your answer in a **PEEE paragraph**.

Success criteria:

Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can evaluate the long/short-term factors that led to the collapse of Weimar democracy	Identify and explain an argument supporting the pessimistic or optimistic view	Support your argument with precise historical evidence	Evaluate why your factor led to the collapse of Weimar democracy
Sentence starters	<i>One argument for the collapse of Weimar democracy has been put forward by pessimistic/optimistic historians. These historians suggest that Weimar democracy collapsed because...</i>	<i>For example, a political/economic/social long-term factor of the failure of the Weimar Republic was...</i>	<i>This caused the collapse of Weimar democracy because...</i>



LO: To know the features government under the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to evaluate Hitler's style of government in Nazi Germany.

DO NOW



THE RED PERIL.

THE OLD CONSUL (to HITLER). "THIS IS A HEAVEN-SENT OPPORTUNITY, MY LAD. IF YOU CAN'T BE A DICTATOR NOW, YOU NEVER WILL BE."

Answer the **following questions** around your cartoon:

- Who is the man next to Hitler?
- How is Hitler **depicted** in this cartoon?
- What is the **message** of this cartoon?

Caption reads:

The Red Peril: The Old Consul (To Hitler): "This is a heaven-sent opportunity my lad. If you can't be a dictator now, you never will be".

[illegible]



Lesson 9: How was Germany governed during the Third Reich?



LO: To know the features government under the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to evaluate Hitler's style of government in Nazi Germany.

New Info

Hitler's style of government

Contrary to what one might imagine about a modern totalitarian dictatorship, the Nazi state was far from a smooth-functioning, rationally organised regime; there was no coherent system of government in the Third *Reich*. Historians instead are fascinated by the relative chaos of Nazi institutions and the rampant competition within its power structures, as individuals and groups fought to establish their own domination within the state. Indeed, this situation gradually worsened as Party bureaucracies expanded, often operating in parallel with existing state ministries. The lines of power and authority between state and Party, and between social and economic institutions, blurred amidst this struggle for influence and scarce resources. It is hardly surprising that students of this period find it difficult to discern the lines of decision-making in a state whose only reason for being seemed to be the imposition of its own ideological world view on others.

The key Nazi leaders were indefatigable in creating their own power bases and in defending them by whatever means they could:

- Goering created his own military-industrial complex around his roles as head of the air force and as Plenipotentiary of the Four-Year Plan (see page 170), forging close links with Germany's industrial giants such as the chemical firm I. G. Farben, and enriching himself immensely in the process.
- Himmler's power bloc comprised the whole security apparatus and the Race and Settlement Office, giving him the power and authority to re-shape German society and the occupied territories along racial-ideological lines.
- Goebbels dominated the media and access to information through the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda; next to Hitler, he was the voice of the regime.
- Martin Bormann had his power base as head of the Party Chancellery and as Hitler's personal secretary. Perhaps of all the leading Nazis, Bormann was the least visible but arguably by the end of 1942 the most powerful. He was a master of intrigue and in-fighting; his control of the Party bureaucracy, his power over appointments and promotions and, perhaps more important than anything else, his position as the recipient of Hitler's total trust, made him virtually second in the Party to Hitler. Known as the 'Brown eminence' for his almost invisible control of Party affairs, Bormann increasingly decided who Hitler saw, managing his appointments and his schedule.

Hitler was at the centre of this web of competing individuals and power blocs, untouchable, standing above the fray. Hitler was the integrative force that held the state together, his massive popularity undeniable; it is not surprising that Goebbels always insisted that the Hitler Myth was his greatest creation, elevating Hitler to messianic proportions. Inevitably, access to Hitler was the key to power and influence in the Third *Reich*, and, when this was not possible, actions could always be taken by the ubiquitous justification of 'working towards the *Führer*'. The historical debate over whether Hitler was a weak dictator, allowing subordinates to direct policy, or a strong dictator, responsible for all major decision-making, seems rather redundant when put into the context of the chaotic power structures within the Third *Reich*. The weight given to his habits of work – the late nights watching films, long morning lie-ins, and his frequent absences from Berlin – also seems unconvincing as evidence of weak leadership. In the end, all political authority emanated from Hitler, whether by direct order, or whether it was justified by being in line with the *Führer*'s pronouncements.

Hitler was extremely careful to avoid public association with unpopular policies, just as he was to avoid marriage, until the day before his suicide, lest the adoration of German women diminish by losing his claim to be married to the nation. It was only in defeat that Hitler's 'untouchability' disappeared as he came to be primarily blamed for the policies which led to war. In the ruins and devastation of defeat, most Germans could no longer stomach Hitler's 'survival of the fittest' dictum; his thousand-year *Reich* had lasted merely twelve years, and Nazi boasts of racial superiority lay in tatters.

Summarise the information above into the key factors:



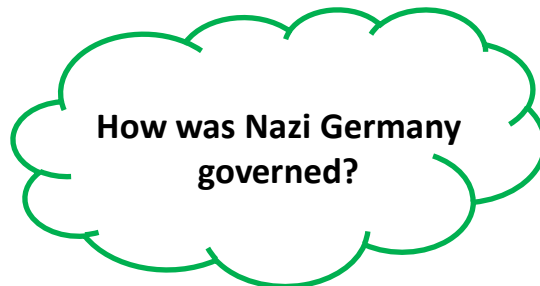
Lesson 9: How was Germany governed during the Third Reich?

LO: To know the features government under the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to evaluate Hitler's style of government in Nazi Germany.



Complete the spider diagram below using the information on the previous pages.





Lesson 9: How was Germany governed during the Third Reich?

LO: To know the features government under the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to evaluate Hitler's style of government in Nazi Germany.



Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

What was the Nazi state far from?	What was blurred within the Party?	What did Goering create?	What was Himmler in control of?	What did Goebbels dominate?
What did Borman do?	What was the phrase used to show Hitlers support of a plan?	What was Hitler careful to avoid?	Why was Hitler not married?	What led to Hitlers downfall?

Was Hitler an all-powerful Fuhrer or a 'weak dictator'?

Write down your **final thoughts** of whether Hitler was a **strong** or **weak dictator**.

Write your answer in **2 paragraphs** arguing **both sides** of the debate.

Come to an **overall conclusion** in a **third paragraph**.

Success criteria:

Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can evaluate the historiographical debate surrounding Hitler's style of leadership	Evaluate the intentionalist argument	Evaluate the structuralist argument	Come to a judgement as to whether you agree more with the intentionalist or structuralist view
Sentence starters	<i>On the one hand, Hitler can be seen as an all-powerful Fuhrer. This was because... For example, the intentionalist historian x states that... Therefore, Hitler was clearly a strong dictator because...</i>	<i>On the other hand, Hitler can alternatively be viewed as a weak dictator. This was because... For example, the structuralist historian y states that... Therefore, Hitler was clearly a weak dictator because...</i>	<i>To a larger extent, Hitler was definitely more of an all-powerful/weak dictator. This was mainly because...</i>



Lesson 10: How did Nazi Germany become a terror state?

LO: To know the features government under the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to evaluate to what extent Germany became a 'terror state' under the Nazi's.



New Info

The terror state

The Nazi state was a terroristic state. The 'legal' destruction of the rule of law went hand-in-hand with the National Socialist takeover of the police, purging it of political opponents and recasting it as an instrument of the regime. The so-called 'terror complex' grew inexorably.

The Gestapo

The Prussian Secret State Police (*Gestapo*) was created on 26 April 1933 under the leadership of Rudolf Diels. In April 1934 it was absorbed into the SS under the overall control of Heinrich Himmler. Given almost complete autonomy above the law, the *Gestapo* was able to target the regime's ideological opponents with impunity. The *Gestapo* was rightly feared as an instrument of terror but it also had widespread support from the general population, relying on denunciations from ordinary citizens for many of its arrests. The popular view of a *Gestapo* officer on every street corner was a myth; the Prussian *Gestapo*, for example, had less than 4,000 members in 1935.

The concentration camp system

The early camps set up in 1933 were known as 'wild camps' and used as overflow prisons for the thousands arrested in the early months of the Nazi terror. Many of these early camps were disbanded by the middle of 1934 and gradually replaced by a network of 25 purpose-built camps with about 1,200 sub-camps. These new camps were modelled on the first of the concentration camps set up at Dachau, near Munich, in 1933. Dachau was unique as the only camp which existed throughout the twelve years of the Third Reich.

The SS

Himmler was appointed *Reich* Leader of the SS in 1929. The SS had originally played a minor role in the state as Hitler's elite bodyguard within the broader SA movement. However, the SS became an independent Party organisation following its prominent role in the purge of the SA in the Night of the Long Knives. Himmler was assiduous in developing his SS 'empire' and in 1936 he was appointed Chief of the German Police, assuming total control of all elements of the police system. The SS now fully symbolised National Socialist repression.

Alongside the General SS, there were also special Death's Head units which guarded the concentration camps, and, fighting alongside the regular army (the *Wehrmacht*) during the war, the *Waffen* SS, whose members viewed themselves as 'political soldiers' and a military elite. Himmler regarded the SS as a State Protection Corps whose primary goal was to pursue the ideological and racial objectives of the Nazi state. For example, special mobile units (*Einsatzgruppen*) of the SS, SD and police carried out killing expeditions in the eastern occupied territories, murdering tens of thousands of Jews, Slavs and Communists. SS training demanded unquestioning obedience, contempt for the inferior and arrogance towards those who did not belong to the SS.

Summarise the information above into the key factors:

Complete the spider diagram below using the information on the previous pages outlining each area.



Read the extract below.

- Summarise Evans' view in the extract
- Reflect on whether his view is exaggerated, under-played, or acceptable and convincing
- Explain what evidence you would cite to justify your opinion.

EXTRACT 3

Fear and terror were integral parts of the Nazis' armoury of political weapons from the beginning. The state and party could use them because, within a few months of Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor, they had systematically deprived all Germans of virtually every basic human and civil right they had enjoyed under the Weimar Republic. The law was no protection against the state if the state, or any of its agencies, suspected that a citizen was disinclined to demonstrate approval of its policies and purposes. On the contrary, vast numbers of new, draconian laws were decreed that gave the police, the Gestapo and the SS virtual freedom to deal with anyone suspected of deviating from the norms of human behaviour laid down by the Third Reich for its citizens Everything that happened in the Third Reich took place in this pervasive atmosphere of fear and terror, which never slackened and indeed became far more intense towards the end. 'Do you know what fear is?' an elderly worker asked an interviewer some years after it was all over: 'No. The Third Reich was fear.'

Adapted from Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power*, 2005

This image shows a blank sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and extend across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.



Lesson 10: How did Nazi Germany become a terror state?

LO: To know the features government under the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to evaluate to what extent Germany became a 'terror state' under the Nazi's.



Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

Who were the Gestapo?	When were they formed?	Who was in charge of the SS?	What did Himmler become in 1936?	Who were the Einsatzgruppen?
Who were the SD?	Where was Heydrich assassinated?	What was the RSHD?	How many members of staff did the RSHD have in 1944?	What is protective custody?

What factors brought about the collapse of Weimar democracy?

Answer the lesson question by **summarising** your answer in a **PEEE paragraph**.

Success criteria:

Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can evaluate the long/short-term factors that led to the collapse of Weimar democracy	Identify and explain an argument supporting the pessimistic or optimistic view	Support your argument with precise historical evidence	Evaluate why your factor led to the collapse of Weimar democracy
Sentence starters	<i>One argument for the collapse of Weimar democracy has been put forward by pessimistic/optimistic historians. These historians suggest that Weimar democracy collapsed because...</i>	<i>For example, a political/economic/social long-term factor of the failure of the Weimar Republic was...</i>	<i>This caused the collapse of Weimar democracy because...</i>



Lesson 11: Why was there relatively little overt opposition to the Nazi state?

LO: To know the main forms of resistance to the Nazis.

LO: To be able to evaluate to what extent there was resistance to the Nazis



New Info

The main opposition up to 1939

- Underground networks of resistance were formed by the Communists, such as the Red Orchestra and socialists in exile communicated anti-Nazi material through their organisation SOPADE, but both were very small and barely any threat to the regime.
- There was some opposition from the Protestant Church. Led by Martin Niemöller and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a group of Protestant pastors set up the Confessional Church in opposition to attempts to Nazify the main Protestant Church. However, this involved only about 3,000 pastors, one-sixth of the total in the Church, and their breakaway was motivated largely over Church autonomy not on broader moral or political grounds. Niemöller was imprisoned in Dachau from 1937 to 1945 but survived the war; Bonhoeffer was hanged in Flossenburg concentration camp in April 1945, two weeks before the war's end.
- The main opposition from the Catholic Church prior to the war was a **Papal Encyclical** read out from church pulpits in 1937 condemning state interference in the Church. As with the Protestant Church, the Catholic Church as an institution did not speak out about the regime's anti-Jewish policies or its racial ideology.
- By the end of the 1930s small numbers of disaffected young people set up their own groups in opposition to the Hitler Youth: the mainly working-class Edelweiss Pirates set up their own gangs with their own distinctive dress code, often fighting with the Hitler Youth. The middle-class Swing Youth were also non-conformist in their dress and their musical tastes, preferring to listen to banned American swing and jazz music.
- A group around General Beck opposed Hitler in 1938. Beck was Chief of Staff of the German army from 1935 to 1938; increasingly disillusioned with Hitler's aggressive foreign policy, Beck tried but failed to persuade the German General Staff to resign en masse; he himself resigned in August 1938. He was executed in 1944 for his part in the 1944 bomb plot.

Practice

	How did the opposition try to resist?	What was the result of the resistance? How did the Nazis respond?	How significant was the resistance?
Political opponents			
Opposition from the church			
Opposition from the youth			
Opposition from within the army			

Many Germans admired Hitler and liked what the Nazis were doing. For example, many teenagers enjoyed the adventures they had in the Hitler Youth; wealthy businessmen and factory owners were pleased to help the Nazis mass-produce weapons and equipment for war; employed people were motivated by the Strength through Joy movement and the work conditions improved by the German Labour Front. They supported the Nazis because of what they were achieving in Germany.

However, not everyone supported what Hitler and the Nazis were doing. Some Germans were uncomfortable with the concentration camps and the dreaded Gestapo, while others were shocked at the treatment of Jews or the physically or mentally disabled. Others hated the restrictions and limits put on their lives. However, it was very difficult to actually show that you didn't support Hitler. You couldn't vote for someone else in an election because there were no elections, and you ran the risk of being arrested or punished if you publicly spoke out. In spite of this, a small number of Germans did find ways to show their unhappiness with the Nazi regime and oppose Hitler.

Moaning or 'grumbling' about the Nazis

The lowest type of opposition to the Nazis was moaning or 'grumbling'. Often in the privacy of their own homes, people might tell an anti-Hitler joke or complain about the way their Jewish friends were being treated.

Fact

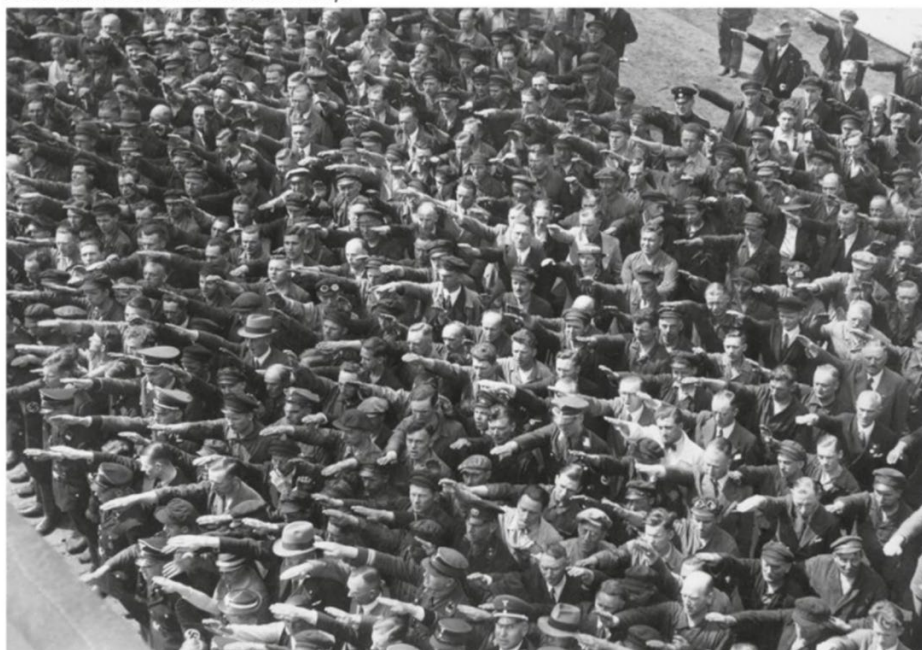
'Hitler and Goering are standing on top of Berlin's radio tower. Hitler says he wants to do something to cheer up the people of Berlin. "Why don't you just jump?" suggests Goering.'

This is an example of an anti-Nazi joke, known as *Flüsterwitze* [whisper jokes]. A Berlin factory worker, identified only as Marianne Elise K., was convicted of undermining the war effort 'through spiteful remarks' and was executed in 1944 for telling this joke.

▼ **INTERPRETATION A** *From The World at War by Richard Holmes (2007), in which Hertha Beese, a Berlin housewife who was part of the Communist Party, is interviewed:*

I once took in the baby of a school friend, because both parents had been leading Communists and had been taken away. The baby had not been with me for an hour before they arrived to search my flat. Who was watching us, informing on us? Somebody must have seen us returning and must have informed on us immediately. It seemed we were surrounded by invisible, evil spirits, who watched and betrayed us.

▼ **SOURCE B** *At this 1936 launch of a new battleship, a shipyard worker refused to give the 'Heil Hitler' salute. Historians believe the defiant man was August Landmesser. In 1935, he applied to marry a Jewish woman named Irma Eckler, but was refused permission. They went on to have two children, but when they tried to flee Germany in 1937 they were arrested and Landmesser was sent to a concentration camp.*



Passive resistance

Passive resistance was when Germans publicly showed they didn't support the Nazis, by refusing to do exactly as they were told. They refused to give the 'Heil Hitler' salute (see Source B), or to give money to the Hitler Youth members who went from house to house collecting funds, for example.



Lesson 11: Why was there relatively little overt opposition to the Nazi state?

LO: To know the main forms of resistance to the Nazis.

LO: To be able to evaluate to what extent there was resistance to the Nazis



New Info

Open opposition

Some Germans, like the Swing Youth, openly declared their dislike of Nazi ideas and policies by listening to jazz music and having Jewish friends. Other groups like the **White Rose group** urged Germans to get rid of Hitler. They handed out anti-Nazi leaflets, put up posters and wrote graffiti on walls. Banned youth groups such as the Edelweiss Pirates and the Navajos beat up Nazi officials and helped army deserters. Others sabotaged railway lines and acted as spies, passing on military secrets to other countries. The leaders of Germany's two main religious faiths – the Protestant Church (40 million

▼ **SOURCE C** The leaders of the White Rose group included brother and sister Hans and Sophie Scholl, who were Munich University students. They were particularly upset that the German people were not standing up to Hitler. They were caught in 1943 and beheaded for their 'crimes'.



members) and the Catholic Church (20 million members) – made some criticism of the Nazis too. For example, the Catholic Church spoke out in 1941 against the killing of disabled people.

Attempts to kill Hitler

Hitler and the Nazis could not be voted out, so some felt that one of the only ways to get rid of them was to **assassinate** Hitler. In fact, there were around 50 attempts on Hitler's life, some by lone individuals, and others by organised groups. The **Kreisau Circle**, for example, consisted of army officers, university professors and aristocrats who were shocked by Hitler's plans for war and the brutality of the Nazi regime. They discussed assassinating Hitler and getting rid of the Nazis, but didn't actually do anything. The Beck-Goerdeler group (led by former army general Ludwig Beck and Nazi official Karl Goerdeler) even contacted the British about the possibility of removing Hitler, but nothing could be agreed. The group did, however, make attempts on Hitler's life in March and November 1943, and was behind the **July Bomb Plot** of 1944.

▼ **SOURCE D** The execution of a group of Edelweiss Pirates in November 1944. There were approximately 2000 young rebel groups all over Germany. During the war, they continued their resistance and even helped crashed enemy airmen get back to Britain.





Lesson 11: Why was there relatively little overt opposition to the Nazi state?

LO: To know the main forms of resistance to the Nazis.

LO: To be able to evaluate to what extent there was resistance to the Nazis



New Info

Opposition during wartime

Most people in Germany still did not actively challenge the Nazis during wartime, but the strains of fighting the war produced an increase in opposition, particularly from 1943:

- The Catholic Church continued to protect its own interests and independence. In 1941 its protests against the removal of crucifixes from Bavarian schools caused this order to be reversed; Bishop Galen led protests against the Aktion T4 euthanasia programme (see page 179), which was publically halted, though continued in secret.
- Bonhoeffer continued to speak out against the Nazis and played a role in the 1944 bomb plot. However, individuals such as Bonhoeffer within the Church were relatively rare.
- Some of the Edelweiss Pirates became more active during the war, working with the Communist underground, helping to smuggle escaped prisoners out of Germany. Thirteen of the leaders of the Pirates in Cologne were publicly hanged in 1944.
- The White Rose student movement, formed in Munich in 1942, urged Germans to reject Nazism on moral and ethical grounds through the distribution of anti-Nazi pamphlets. Six students, including brother and sister Hans and Sophie Scholl, and Professor Huber, a supporter of the White Rose, were executed in 1943.
- The invasion of Russia in 1941 led to a resurgence of Communist resistance, but this was short lived; most of the underground groups had been discovered and broken up by 1943.
- Conservative and military opposition was the greatest threat to the Nazis during the war: the Kreisau Circle was a conservative group, led by Helmuth Graf von Moltke. It had contacts with left-wing and military opponents of the regime but it did little more than talk and plan – its diverse membership, fear of discovery and disagreements on goals limited its effectiveness. Army officers led by Claus von Stauffenberg carried out the 1944 bomb plot.

The July 1944 bomb plot

The conspirators of the July bomb plot of 1944 had mixed reasons for attempting a coup. Many believed that Hitler was leading Germany to utter destruction and the likelihood of a Communist takeover led by the Soviet Union. Others were motivated by ethical considerations, anxious to put a stop to the exterminations occurring in the East; others had more pragmatic reasons, believing that there was a greater likelihood of a more favourable negotiated peace with the Allies with Hitler dead. Many had never had full faith in Hitler and now saw a leader losing touch with reality. The assassination attempt failed, and in the following months about one thousand actual or suspected conspirators were executed or committed suicide.

Which groups opposed the Nazi regime during the Second World War?

The July Bomb Plot

The 1944 plot was the closest any Germans got to assassinating Hitler. The war was going very badly at this stage, and a disillusioned army officer, Colonel Claus von Stauffenberg, agreed to be part of a group that would detonate a bomb where Hitler was meeting other Nazi leaders. Then, they hoped to take over, end the war, and change Germany for the better. Despite killing four men, burning Hitler's hair, bursting his eardrums and blowing some of his clothes off, the bomb failed to kill Hitler.

▼ **INTERPRETATION E** *From The World at War by Richard Holmes (2007), in which Major General Warlimont, a high ranking Nazi army officer who spent from 1945 to 1957 in prison for war crimes, is interviewed:*

I couldn't say that the July plot had any effect on Hitler's ideas; he just kept to this illusionary idea that it would be possible to resume the offensive in the west as soon as possible. But his relations to the [leading army generals] had never been particularly good because they were, in his Nazi eyes, a flock of intellectuals or defeatists. And from July on, this opinion deepened to a suspicion of almost every General Staff Officer as an [enemy] of his regime and even his person.

Key Words

White Rose group assassinate
Kreisau Circle July Bomb Plot

► **SOURCE F** *Hermann Goering, Hitler's second-in-command [in white] shows other Nazi leaders the bombed-out remains of the map room after the explosion in July 1944. The bomb failed to kill Hitler and the planned takeover failed. Stauffenberg and Goerdeler were executed for their role in the plot, and Beck committed suicide. About 5000 others were executed in revenge for the attack.*



Work

- 1 List as many different ways as possible that the average German citizen could show their opposition to Hitler and the Nazis. Your first example could be 'telling an anti-Hitler joke' but you should be able to identify at least five others.
- 2 a Create a mind-map with the reasons why people resisted or opposed the Nazis near the centre, and the ways in which people resisted and opposed the Nazis are around the outside.
b How effectively did the Nazis deal with each group?
- 3 According to **Interpretation E**:
a What effect did the 1944 July Bomb Plot have on Hitler's attitude to the war?
b What was Hitler's attitude to the leading army generals before the plot?
c Did the plot change Hitler's attitude towards them?

Extension

Find out more about how different groups tried to oppose the Nazis openly. For each group you identify, try to find out why the group opposed the Nazis, their methods, and how effective their methods were.





LO: To know the main forms of resistance to the Nazis.

LO: To be able to evaluate to what extent there was resistance to the Nazis

Complete the questions from the blue box on the previous page below:

[illegible]



Lesson 11: Why was there relatively little overt opposition to the Nazi state?

LO: To know the main forms of resistance to the Nazis.

LO: To be able to evaluate to what extent there was resistance to the Nazis



New Info

Why there was so little opposition to the Nazis when the war was obviously lost seems, on the surface, quite a paradox. A lack of popular support was an obvious factor; opposition groups had very few members – most Germans were largely preoccupied with simple survival amidst the chaos and destruction caused by Hitler's decision to fight to the end on German soil. Moreover, terror and repression intensified during the war; resisters faced enormous risks. Even in the final months of the war fanatical SS units carried out arbitrary executions of Germans even suspected of 'defeatism', desertion or collaboration with the enemy. Fundamentally, key groups such as the elites and elements of the armed forces acted too late, only starting to resist the regime when their own power was secure. Of course, there were still those who retained belief in Hitler's capacity to find a 'miracle weapon', or clung to their faith in Hitler and Nazism. Unlike in 1918, there was no repeat of a revolution against the state, whether from above or below. For most, surviving another day was their best hope.

Why was there a lack of popular support for opposition movements?

How did the Nazi regime limit opposition during the war?

What role did elites play in this process?



Lesson 11: Why was there relatively little overt opposition to the Nazi state?

LO: To know the main forms of resistance to the Nazis.

LO: To be able to evaluate to what extent there was resistance to the Nazis



Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

What was the underground communist opposition known as?	Name a leader of the opposition in the Protestant church?	How many pastors were involved in the opposition?	What was the Catholic opposition known as?	What were the working-class opposition known as?
What job did General Beck have?	What was the student movement known as?	Who led the Kreisau Circle?	Who led the 1944 July Bomb Plot?	Rather than opposition, what was people's best hope?

What impact did the Second World War seem to have on the degree of resistance to the Nazi regime and the Nazi response?

Which resistance group might be considered the greatest threat?

Answer the questions by using the PEEE paragraph structure.

Success criteria:

Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can evaluate the impact of the Second World War on resistance to the Nazi regime.	Identify and your argument .	Support your argument with precise historical evidence	Evaluate the impact of the Second World War on the opposition to the Nazis.
Sentence starters	<i>On one hand it could be argued that the Second World War had a _____</i> <i>This is because _____</i>	<i>For example, before the War the main opposition came from _____</i> <i>This was _____</i>	<i>However, as the war progressed _____ .</i>



Lesson 12: What devastating impacts did the Depression have on the German economy?



LO: To know the economic of the Great Depression.

LO: To be able to evaluate the impact of the Great Depression on Germany's economy.

DO NOW

Read the extract below and answer the following questions:

EXTRACT 1

In 1929 came the onslaught of the Great Depression. The sudden recall of large sums of American money quickly caused the collapse of the loan-induced prosperity of the late 1920s. The victory of the Nazis, in September 1930, which alarmed many foreign investors, accelerated this process. Since many German banks and industrial enterprises had used short-term credit to finance long-term investment programmes, the withdrawal of loans quickly caused a cash-flow crisis and forced institutions into bankruptcy. Brüning believed that the best way of combating economic collapse was to adopt a policy of deflation. The budget had to be balanced. If state revenue declined, state expenditure had to be cut. The results of Brüning's deflation were nothing less than catastrophic. Perhaps he was left with little room for manoeuvre. Yet the question remains as to whether the recipes applied took the form they did because they were inseparably connected with non-economic objectives. These were the transformation of the Weimar constitution to a point where a return to parliamentarianism would be impossible.

Adapted from Volker R. Berghahn, *Modern Germany*, 1987

Q1. What was the result of the Great Depression for Germany?

Q2. How did Chancellor Brüning react to the Great Depression?

Q3. What does Berghahn suggest was the reason why Chancellor Brüning reacted in the way he did?



LO: To know the economic of the Great Depression.

LO: To be able to evaluate the impact of the Great Depression on Germany's economy.

New Info

The impact of the Depression

By 1929 the German economy, which had suffered tremendously in the post-war period, had finally surpassed its 1913 levels. Thanks to US loans and investment following the Dawes Plan of 1924, Germany was equipped with modern machinery, fast rail transport, and efficient planning through vast industrial conglomerations and cartels.



Fig. 1 *People queuing for food in Berlin during the Great Depression, 1931*

Of course, the development had been uneven. Indeed, Richard Overy has argued not only that there were signs of recession in Germany before the US Wall Street Crash in October 1929, but that this recession actually helped cause the crash, since American investors grew concerned about their German investments.

Brüning and the impact of the Wall Street Crash

Nevertheless, the collapse of the American stock market in October 1929 brought US loans and investment in Germany to a rapid end. As export markets disappeared, prices and wages fell and bankruptcies occurred. Mounting unemployment and falling tax receipts produced a budget deficit of 1700 million Marks by the end of 1929.

A CLOSER LOOK

Unlike in 1923, the Depression of 1929 to 1932 was a deflationary crisis. Prices dropped, bringing falling profits, lay-offs, and closures. The value of German exports fell from £630 million in 1929 to £280 million in 1932.

Brüning (Chancellor from 1930 to 1932) attempted to balance the budget by implementing a policy of deflation or austerity. He cut government spending and tried to balance outgoings against income from taxation. However, the latter decreased as unemployment increased, while demands for unemployment benefit grew, forcing him to adopt unpopular measures such as cutting the salaries of public workers and decreasing unemployment benefits. Thanks to the powerful agricultural interests at the centre of government (including President Hindenburg himself), agriculture continued to be 'protected' by government subsidies and taxes on the import of foreign foodstuffs, which kept food prices artificially high.

Summarise the information above into the key factors:

The July 1931 banking crisis

In March 1931, the Weimar government announced that it was setting up a customs union with the Austrians. The British and French had not been consulted and the French showed their anger by withdrawing currency from the Austrian banks. As a result, in May Austria's largest bank, the Kreditanstalt, collapsed. There were corresponding withdrawals of foreign currency from German banks and in July 1931 Germany's largest private bank, the Danatbank, also collapsed, while others were placed in a vulnerable position.

Brüning's one success was in negotiating an end to reparations. In July 1931, the US President Herbert Hoover agreed to a **moratorium** on the payment of reparations and war debts. In June 1932 (under Papen) reparations were finally abandoned.

Belatedly, Brüning drew up a plan for modest 'reflationary measures' shortly before being forced from office by Papen. He suggested borrowing money to fund job creation schemes and devaluing the Mark to make exports more competitive. However, his plans for 'agrarian socialism' met with disfavour from Hindenburg and he lost his position before he could put his measures into effect.

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[illegible]

The Depression under Papen and Schleicher

Both Papen and Schleicher tried to introduce measures to halt the mounting unemployment, which peaked at 6 million in 1932. Papen issued an emergency decree in September 1932 offering:

- tax rebates granted to employers that took on new staff
- end of compulsory arbitration
- relaxation of the system of wage agreements.

This was approved by employers but opposed by trade unions and left-wing parties.

From November 1932, Schleicher attempted to win over the trade unions with a programme of public works, price fixing, restoration of wage and relief cuts, and land settlement in East Prussia. However, he alienated industrialists and large landowners, as well as President Hindenburg. In fact, the worst of the Depression was already over before Hitler took the Chancellorship in January 1933, thanks to some revival in world trade, but none of this was due to the efforts of the last Weimar chancellors.

The performance of the German economy between 1929 and 1932, relative to other countries, can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1 *Economic performance, 1929–1932, in relation to 1913 (1913 = 100)*

	1929	1932
Germany	117	70
UK	100	83
France	143	105
USA	181	94
World	153	108

Summarise the information above into the key factors:

Complete the table below using your work on the previous pages:

	What action(s) did he take?	What was the effect/impact of this action?
Bruning (1930-1932)		
Papen (June 1932-November 1932)		
Schleicher (November 1932-January 1933)		



Lesson 12: What devastating impacts did the Depression have on the German economy?



LO: To know the economic of the Great Depression.

LO: To be able to evaluate the impact of the Great Depression on Germany's economy.

Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

Which US loans helped support the US economy?	What were there signs of in Germany before 1929?	How large was the budget deficit by 1929?	How far did German exports fall between 29 – 32?	Who was chancellor between 1929 and 1932?
How did he try to reverse the impacts of the depression?	What did President Hoover agree to?	What did unemployment peak at by 1932?	Who replaced Brüning as chancellor?	Who was alienated by the new measures?

Does the government's reaction deserve to be called 'catastrophic'?

Do we agree with Berghahn's arguments?

Answer the lesson question by **summarising** your answer in a **PEEE paragraph**.

Success criteria:

Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can evaluate the long/short-term factors	Identify and explain an argument.	Support your argument with precise historical evidence	Evaluate your factor
Sentence starters			



Lesson 13: How successful were the Nazis in reviving the German economy?

LO: To know the economic achievements of the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to evaluate the impact of Nazi policies on Germany's economy.



DO NOW



- Write down three questions you would like to ask about this cartoon.
- Leave a line under each question to write the answer at the end of the lesson.



Lesson 13: How successful were the Nazis in reviving the German economy?

LO: To know the economic achievements of the Nazi Party.

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New Info

Economic developments

How successful were the Nazis in reviving the German economy and preparing the economy for war?

The Nazis were very late in developing a coherent economic programme. Hitler had little interest in economics; for him, economics was simply about providing the material resources to achieve his racial and political goals. The economic points outlined in the party's 25 Point Programme written in 1920 largely consisted of a few, largely disparate goals aimed at winning the votes of discontented workers and the lower middle classes. By 1932, however, when the prospects of achieving power seemed imminent, a much more cogent programme of economic recovery and development was needed to tackle the persistent problems of the Depression and to attract the support of industrialists and big business. By 1933 a number of broad policy goals, or aims, had been established.

Economic aims

- The immediate priority was to begin a major expansion of public work-creation schemes, directed by the state and paid for by a policy of **deficit spending**, to solve the unemployment problem and to revive the economy by boosting domestic demand.
- Two longer-term priorities focused on the attainment of autarky and the acquisition of **living space**.
- A further goal focused on the concept of a *Wehrwirtschaft* (defence economy). One of the conclusions reached about Germany's defeat in the First World War was that it had failed to organise the economy effectively enough to fight a total war. This concept became the main goal of Nazi economic policy prior to the outbreak of war. Indeed, economic policy between 1933 and 1939 was dominated by the conflicting priorities of preparing for war and at the same time ensuring a reasonable standard of living for the German people. This conflict of goals is often referred to as 'guns or butter'.

The peace-time economy

As already outlined (see page 149, Section 1) the condition of the economy was grim. By the time of Hitler's appointment the number out of work had reached about 8.5 million and those in work had seen their earnings decline and the average working day cut from about 7.5 hours to 6 hours. Hitler typically believed that the solution to Germany's economic problems was, as with all things, a matter of will. Germans would have to pull together as a national community, abandoning their class differences and become one people dedicated to the needs of the state; the *Volk* would be expected to work hard and to make personal sacrifices for the greater good of the nation. Hitler had promised time and time again to put people back to work; he knew that his regime would stand or fall on this issue. The task of reviving the German economy was made easier by the general recovery of world trade from about 1932, however the NSDAP was almost devoid of economic specialists. Hitler, therefore, gave the responsibility for economic recovery to Hjalmar Schacht, a Nazi sympathiser though not a member of the Party. He was made President of the German central bank, the *Reichsbank*, in March 1933.

What were Nazi Germany's economic aims?



Lesson 13: How successful were the Nazis in reviving the German economy?

LO: To know the economic achievements of the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to evaluate the impact of Nazi policies on Germany's economy.



New Info

The Battle for Work

This was one of several propaganda schemes in the first years of the regime, aimed at restoring confidence and creating the impression of something being done. The Law to Reduce Unemployment in June 1933 set in motion perhaps the most effective assault on unemployment in the industrialised world. Money was poured into public works schemes. The most trumpeted of these is the construction of the *autobahns* (motorways), but there was investment in a wide range of projects such as house building, railroads and forest planting, all of which absorbed hundreds of thousands of the jobless.

Unemployment was further reduced by the creation of the **Reich Labour Service (RAD)** and, in 1935, by the introduction of conscription, plus a great expansion in the state bureaucracy. Between 1932 and 1938 government spending rose from 5 billion to 30 billion marks and by 1936 the number out of work had fallen to 1 million and by 1938 there was a labour shortage of about 0.4 million. These figures have been challenged: women were not included in the statistics, and neither were Jews after 1935. The so-called 'work shy' – a mix of vagrants, the persistent unemployed and petty criminals – found themselves shipped off to concentration camps for 're-education'. Nevertheless, the decline in unemployment was real and won much admiration at home and from abroad. For example, the former British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, who visited Germany in 1936, reported:

'Whatever one may think of Hitler's methods, and they are certainly not those of a parliamentary country, there can be no doubt that he has achieved a marvellous transformation in the spirit of the people, in their attitude to each other and in their social and economic outlook. This great people will work better, sacrifice more, and, if necessary, fight with greater resolution because Hitler asks them to do so. Those who do not comprehend this central fact cannot judge the present possibilities of modern Germany.'

How does Lloyd George qualify his admiration for Hitler's achievements?

Practice

AIMS	SUCCESES	FAILURES



Lesson 13: How successful were the Nazis in reviving the German economy?

LO: To know the economic achievements of the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to evaluate the impact of Nazi policies on Germany's economy.



New Info

The New Plan

By 1934 Germany was facing two related economic crises: a debt crisis caused by the demands of spending on both rearmament and public works, much of which necessitated raw materials bought from abroad, draining Germany's foreign currency reserves; and a balance of payments deficit caused by a fall in exports and a rise in imports. Schacht's solution was his New Plan:

- This set up a more tightly regulated system of controlling imports, and a series of trade agreements with countries in south-eastern Europe prepared to allow Germany to pay for raw materials with *Reichsmarks*, which would have a dual benefit: a saving on foreign currency reserves and reducing dependence on overseas imports in the event of a war.

The New Plan worked as a short-term measure only. By 1935–36 another crisis point was reached; three linked, general trends were working to undermine Schacht's strategy and Germany's economic situation:

- Export prices were declining and import prices increasing, worsening Germany's balance of payments deficit.
- The work-creation and rearmament programmes were causing an enormous increase in the demand for imports.
- Once again, Germany lacked the foreign currency to maintain both the import of foodstuffs to feed the population, particularly fats and meat, and the raw materials needed to meet the army's requirements for rearmament.

Practice

AIMS	SUCSESSES	FAILURES



Lesson 13: How successful were the Nazis in reviving the German economy?

LO: To know the economic achievements of the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to evaluate the impact of Nazi policies on Germany's economy.



New Info

The Four-Year Plan

Schacht fell out of favour with Hitler in 1935–36 by arguing against Hitler's priorities: he criticised the prioritisation of spending on rearmament, recommended the abandonment of autarky and advocated less state control of the economy. For the first time Hitler intervened directly in economic affairs, writing a long, detailed memorandum, announcing his new Four-Year Plan in August 1936. Hermann Goering was put in overall charge of economic development and given the bombastic title of Plenipotentiary of the Four-Year Plan; he was awarded exceptional powers in the economic domain despite his ignorance of economics. The plan entailed:

- a strict control of imports, prices and wages
- an absolute priority given to the manufacture of essential war materials, particularly 'ersatz' products such as synthetic rubber and oil, as well as a focus on extracting more of Germany's raw materials, particularly coal and iron, even when this was more expensive than importing from abroad
- restrictions on workers' freedom, giving the state the powers to force people to work where the economy most needed them
- an absolute focus on autarky and self-sufficiency.

Hitler finished his memorandum with the following two demands:

- The German armed forces must be operational within four years.
- The German economy must be fit for war within four years.

The Four-Year Plan was a watershed in German economic policy, initiated because Schacht's New Plan could not solve the problem of providing the raw materials needed for rearmament or sustain the levels of food imports to avoid the possible need to ration key foodstuffs, both politically unacceptable to Hitler. Schacht had to go.

Practice

AIMS	SUCCESES	FAILURES

The economy by 1939

The Four-Year Plan failed to meet a number of key targets, particularly in the production of synthetic oil, which increased by 130 per cent in the years 1936–39 but covered only 18 per cent of the demand. By the outbreak of war Germany still imported one-third of her raw material needs. The fundamental problem was that it was trying to square the circle: it could not rearm as fast as possible, feed its population and put enormous sums of money into prestigious, awe-inspiring construction projects, such as the Nuremberg rally grounds, all at the same time. By 1939 the economy had managed to sustain tolerable levels of food production, and had provided a clear improvement in people's material circumstances but the goal of achieving a defence economy had not been achieved. The country may have been better prepared for war in 1939 than it had been in 1914 but the cracks were beginning to show, particularly in the inadequacies in planning and co-ordination.

How far were Schacht's economic policies successful in reviving the German economy?

How far was Goering's 'Four Year Plan' a success in achieving its aims?



Lesson 13: How successful were the Nazis in reviving the German economy?

LO: To know the economic achievements of the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to evaluate the impact of Nazi policies on Germany's economy.



Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

What was the Nazi's first economic priority?	How was this paid for?	What were their two longer term priorities?	What had been concluded about WWI?	How many were unemployed when Hitler came to power?
Why was there a debt crisis by 1934?	Who attempted to change this?	What was the New Plan?	What was the problem with this?	What was the name given to replacement products?

Answer the following **two questions** in **paragraphs**:

1. How far were Schacht's economic policies successful in reviving the German economy?
2. How far was Goering's 'Four Year Plan' a success in achieving its aims?

Answer the questions using a **PEEE paragraph structure**.

Success criteria:

Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can evaluate the long/short-term factors	Identify and explain an argument.	Support your argument with precise historical evidence	Evaluate your factor
Sentence starters	On one hand, it could be argued that... On the other hand....	An example of this was...	To an extent... To a degree...



Lesson 14: How successful were the Nazis in preparing the economy for war?

LO: To know the economic achievements of the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to evaluate the success of the Nazi's war time economy.



New Info

The wartime economy

German economic and armaments planning was characterised by the existence of a great number of competing authorities – a situation that on the one hand offered some flexibility, but on the other also created planning chaos and led to rivalries that created weakness all around. In 1940, economic and armaments planning was undertaken by all of the following: Göring's Office of the Four-Year Plan, the Defence Economy and Armament Office under General Georg Thomas, the Ministry for Armaments and Munitions under Fritz Todt, and the Economics Ministry under Walther Funk. The following extract from the memoirs of Hans Kehrl, written in 1973, provides some insight into the fragmented and inefficient management of the economy by autumn 1940. At the time, Kehrl was General Consultant for Special Affairs in the Economics Ministry, where he was responsible for obtaining raw materials from the occupied territories. He later became Chief of Planning in the Armaments Ministry under Albert Speer.

Developments in wartime, 1942–1945

Speer worked extremely hard, overseeing everything himself. He persuaded Hitler to establish a Central Planning Board in April 1942 to organise the allocation of raw materials and ensure that a larger proportion went into armaments. This Central Planning Board:

- set norms for the multiple use of separately manufactured parts to reduce unnecessary duplication
- provided for substitution in raw materials and ensured the development of new processes
- increased industrial capacity (sometimes by converting existing plant)
- placed bans or limits on the manufacture of unnecessary goods
- set schedules and issued output comparisons
- organised the distribution of labour, machinery and power supplies.

As a result of Speer's efforts, armament production rose 50 per cent, guns by 27 per cent, tanks by 25 per cent, and ammunition by 97 per cent within 6 months. Despite military losses and Allied bombing raids, which averaged 111,000 tonnes of bombs per month in the second quarter of 1944 (many of which fell on fuel plants and refineries), Speer continued to increase production. In 1940, 3744 aircraft were produced, but 25,285 were produced in 1944, and 500 new planes were still built in the first four months of 1945.

Speer was impeded in his work by constant military interference and battles with other Nazi leaders, such as **Goering, Himmler and Bormann**, as well as by obstructive local Gauleiters. Fritz Saukel, who was officially responsible for the supply of labour, tried to prevent female conscription and it was not until January 1943 that Speer got agreement for female conscription into the factories. Hitler was often unrealistic and never fully understood Germany's economic position. The Führer was reluctant to endorse rationing or to cut consumer production, which was still only 3 per cent below peace-time production in 1942.

Speer was only able to increase production by using 7 million foreign workers (both male and female) who were transferred to German factories. And even he was unable to prevent German defeat. By 1945, 400,000 civilians had been killed in bombing raids, transport had broken down, and factories lay in ruins. Hitler's last order to Speer in 1945 was to destroy all remaining economic capacity to prevent it falling into enemy hands. Fortunately, Speer countermanded the order, but the German economy was already in ruins.

KEY PROFILE



Fig. 5 Albert Speer

Albert Speer (1905–1981), a young architect, joined the Nazis in 1932 and became an SS man. He produced plans for the rebuilding of Berlin and raised production in wartime. He served 25 years in prison after the Nuremberg trials, and on his release in 1966 he published his memoirs. He claimed to know nothing of the Holocaust. However, Hugh Trevor-Roper has described him as 'the real criminal of Nazi Germany', because he saw faults and did nothing.



Lesson 14: How successful were the Nazis in preparing the economy for war?

LO: To know the economic achievements of the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to evaluate the success of the Nazi's war time economy.



Complete the spider diagram below using the information on the previous pages.





Lesson 14: How successful were the Nazis in preparing the economy for war?



LO: To know the economic achievements of the Nazi Party.

LO: To be able to evaluate the success of the Nazi's war time economy.

Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

Who oversaw the Nazi War economy?	What did he persuade Hitler to establish?	How much did armament production rise by?	How many aircrafts were produced by 1940	What impeded Speer in his progress?
What was Hitler reluctant to do?	How many foreign workers did Speer add?	How many civilians were killed in bombing raids?	What was Hitler's last orders to Speer?	How did Trevor-Roper described Speer?

How successful were the Nazis in preparing the economy for war?

Answer the lesson question by **summarising** your answer in a **PEEE paragraph**.

Success criteria:

Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can evaluate the long/short-term factors that led to the collapse of Weimar democracy	Identify and explain an argument supporting the pessimistic or optimistic view	Support your argument with precise historical evidence	Evaluate why your factor led to the collapse of Weimar democracy
Sentence starters	<i>One argument for the collapse of Weimar democracy has been put forward by pessimistic/optimistic historians. These historians suggest that Weimar democracy collapsed because...</i>	<i>For example, a political/economic/social long-term factor of the failure of the Weimar Republic was...</i>	<i>This caused the collapse of Weimar democracy because...</i>

To what extent did life improve under the Nazis?

The Nazis had promised the German people 'a better deal'. The extent to which the quality of life improved in Nazi Germany is an extraordinarily contentious subject. On the one hand, life for many Germans of all social classes, in material terms, did get better, with hopelessness giving way to greater confidence and self-assurance. The *Volksgeist* was more than just mere rhetoric and the achievements of the Nazi 'economic miracle', if less than claimed by the regime, were much more than mere propaganda. Had Hitler died in 1937 or 1938 he would undoubtedly have been regarded as one of the greatest Germans ever. However, all of this must be balanced, and the question – at what cost? – must be answered. Ultimately, Germany under the Nazis was a terroristic regime, based on power, domination and a megalomaniacal world view. For those Germans who fell short of the Nazi ideal, all those who did not fit the 'picture': the political, social, racial and religious outsiders who were excluded from the national community, and even for many who were not, this was a regime which inexorably, step by step, stripped away civil and social liberties, discriminating against and gradually dehumanising great swathes of society.



Volkswagen automobiles parked outside a new car factory in Fallersleben. Hitler, wearing a dark coat, stands behind the cars, preparing to dedicate the new factory.

Standards of living

The difficulty for the historian in deciding whether the German people got their 'better deal' is typified by the debate over living standards. The extent to which day-to-day life improved is an especially contentious matter and open to much interpretation.

The 'positive' interpretation

On the face of it, the evidence for a 'positive' interpretation looks very strong. For many Germans, wages and working conditions generally did improve steadily from 1933. So too did living conditions: rents remained stable, and there was a relative decline in the costs of heating and lighting. Prices actually declined for some consumer goods, such as electrical appliances, clocks and watches, as well as for some foods. According to Niall Ferguson, 'consumer prices rose at an average annual rate of just 1.2 per cent between 1933 and 1938. This meant that German workers were better off in real terms: between 1933 and 1938, weekly net earnings (after tax) rose by 22 per cent, while the cost of living rose by just seven per cent'. Even after the outbreak of war in September 1939, workers' income continued to rise. By 1943 average hourly earnings of German workers had risen by 25 per cent, and weekly earnings by 41 per cent.

The People's Car (the Volkswagen)

In his speech at the opening ceremony to mark the launch of this scheme in 1938, Hitler promised to solve the problem of transport for ordinary working people: 'The car will serve as a symbol of the Nazi *Volks* community.' Money from a savings scheme for those wishing to save up for a car paid for the factory. However, all production went to the armed forces as the Second World War broke out before any cars were produced.

The normal working day for most Germans was eight hours, and pay for overtime work was generous. In addition to higher wages, benefits for industrial workers included markedly improved working conditions, such as canteens with subsidised hot meals, sports fields, parks, subsidised theatre performances and concerts, exhibitions, sports and hiking groups, dances, adult education courses and subsidised tourism, most of which was provided through the German Labour Front. The launch of the People's Car, the *Volkswagen*, proved very popular. An already extensive network of social welfare programmes, including old age insurance and a national health care programme, was expanded.

'Life improved under the Nazi's'

FOR

AGAINST

[illegible]

To what extent did life improve under the Nazi's?

[illegible]



Lesson 15: To what extent did life improve under the Nazis?

LO: To know key features of German Society under the Nazis.

LO: To be able to evaluate society in Nazi Germany.



New Info

Putting the community before the individual was all part of Nazi ideology, in which the 'will of the nation' was identified with the aims of the state. In order to sell *Volksgemeinschaft*, extensive propaganda was employed – from newsreels and radio to work schemes and the organisation of leisure activities. In all aspects of life, at work or at play, the Nazis appealed to pride and patriotism – the ennobling aspects of a person's labour, the benefits of community spirit, and the glory of self-sacrifice in the interests of the state.

Of course, *Volksgemeinschaft* was also linked to Hitler's racial theories. The 'national comrades' (*Volksgenossen*) that made up the people's community were also to be united by blood: Aryan Germans who were genetically 'pure' and socially useful. Hitler's social policies were thus directed to these ends – the creation of a 'healthy' society of individuals who would commit all their energies to the glory of the state. Those that did not fit this definition were to be removed.

KEY TERM

Volksgenossen: literally 'race comrade', this term referred to a person who was racially pure and could therefore be considered worthy of German citizenship

ACTIVITY

Research

Carry out research online to find a propaganda poster that illustrates an aspect of *Volksgemeinschaft*. Reproduce it on a PowerPoint and explain to your class why you chose it and what message it conveys.

Social policies and workers

Although the right of workers to join free trade unions was enshrined in the 1919 Weimar constitution, this disappeared in May 1933 when Dr Ley announced the creation of the DAF (Deutsche Arbeitsfront) to replace the independent trade unions. The DAF encompassed workers and employers and was intended to be a 'symbol of the nation'; it used slogans such as 'work ennobles' and produced posters promoting idealised Aryan workers. Those who had risen from humble beginnings were singled out for praise and the 'factory community' was heralded as the first stage of assimilation into the 'national community'.

The DAF ran training courses and offered various 'perks', perhaps some compensation for the holding down of wages so as to finance rearmament. May Day, for example, became a 'National Day of Labour'. In November 1933, 'Strength through Joy' (Kraft durch Freude, or KdF) was created to organise workers' leisure time. A subdivision, 'Beauty of Work' (Schönheit der Arbeit), ran propaganda campaigns to popularise good working practices and improve facilities. Competitions, outings and holidays were offered, factory sports fields and swimming baths were opened, and savings schemes were arranged.

In July 1935, the Reich Labour Service (RAD) Act was passed, which forced every man aged between 18 and 25 years to:

- complete 6 months training in a camp
- wear military uniform and undertake military or physical exercise every day
- accept a basic living allowance only.

RAD developed from a voluntary scheme under the Weimar Republic. Most trainees were employed in agriculture or public works, where 'respect for manual labour' was encouraged. However, while Nazi propaganda idealised rural living and the traditional German peasant working close to the soil, the farming community gained little from Nazi social change. Indeed, this rather romantic element of *Volksgemeinschaft* clashed with Hitler's need for modernisation and industrial strength to prepare for war.

Workers were, on the whole, prepared to take advantage of the schemes and benefits the National Socialists offered and, coupled with successful pre-war economic policies, most embraced the idea of the 'national community'.

A CLOSER LOOK

A savings scheme organised by the DAF invited workers to put 5 Marks a week into a fund to buy a Volkswagen car. Many did so, but no worker ever actually received one before Volkswagen production was switched to military needs in 1939.

CROSS-REFERENCE

Chapter 16 discusses the limited extent to which the Nazi government implemented 'socialist policies', including measures favouring farming communities.



Lesson 15: To what extent did life improve under the Nazis?

LO: To know key features of German Society under the Nazis.

LO: To be able to evaluate society in Nazi Germany.



New Info

Nevertheless, as historians Tim Mason and Ian Kershaw have argued, the regime did not fulfil its aim of destroying perceptions of class, nor all other loyalties, such as those to the churches.

Social policies and women

In order to fulfil his aims, Hitler needed women to be the bearers of healthy Aryan stock. A mixture of propaganda and legislation was therefore used to recast the female role. Women were to see themselves first and foremost as mothers. However, they were taught that such a role was of equal importance with that of men and that by supporting their husbands and through voluntary work as community organisers, they were contributing in a valuable way to the national community.

Measures included:

- To encourage motherhood:
 - Birth control centres were closed and abortion was made illegal unless necessary for the eradication of 'genetic defects'.
 - Maternity benefits were increased and income tax allowances for dependent children were raised.
 - In May 1939, 'The Honour Cross of German Motherhood' was established to encourage women to 'bear a child for the Führer'. 'Prolific' mothers were awarded medals and large families given concessions on expenses such as railway fares.
- To ensure genetic purity:
 - 1935: couples needed a certificate of 'fitness to marry' before a marriage licence could be issued.
 - 1938: 'unproductive' marriages could be ended.
 - 1941: couples found cohabiting after their marriage had been banned could be sent to concentration camps.
- To enforce the female role:
 - June 1933: 'Law for the Reduction of Unemployment' offered allowances to women who gave up work. Marriage loans of around 6 months' earnings at low interest rates were reduced on the birth of each healthy child. After four children, a couple owed nothing.
 - 1934: all married women were compelled to leave careers in medicine, law and the civil service.
 - Women were declared ineligible for jury service, banned from senior positions in the Nazi leadership and the Reichstag, and discouraged from attending universities, which took only 10 per cent female students until the late 1930s.

From 1936, when a labour shortage began to affect rearmament plans, women were increasingly encouraged to return to the factories. From 1937, women didn't have to leave work to qualify for marriage loans and there was a relaxation of the policy of excluding women from higher education. Compulsory agricultural labour service was introduced for women under 25 in 1939. From January 1943, women aged between 16 and 45 became eligible for conscription to the war effort, although it took all of Speer's energies to persuade Hitler to agree to this.

Social policies and young people

Enveloping the youth, at every stage of their development, with Nazi values was key to the future of the Reich. The education system and Nazi youth movements were the means by which young people were moulded into Volksgenossen, prepared to devote themselves to the glories of the nation and aware of the importance of racial purity, 'struggle' and war. Nazi propaganda offered the youth comradeship and the pioneering role of rejuvenating Germany, laying the foundations for a new world order.



Fig. 2 A poster for the 'woman's assistance programme', encouraging women to bear children for the Führer; the caption reads 'Support the assistance programme for mother and child'

ACTIVITY

Thinking point

1. Identify the Nazi messages conveyed about women and girls in Fig. 2 of this chapter and Fig. 1 of Chapter 14.
2. Make a chart to compare Nazi attitudes to male and female workers. Which group benefited the most from National Socialist policies?

A CLOSER LOOK

Women and families

While the Nazis promoted 'the family', they also taught young people to put the Party first. Mothers who prevented their children from attending the Hitler Youth could have their children removed. Similarly, while stressing the value of marriage, the Nazis promoted illegitimate births through the 1935 *Lebensborn* (Spring of Life) project, which encouraged unmarried Aryan women to become pregnant by selected SS men. Divorce was also made easier and there was compulsory sterilisation for those with genetic defects.



Lesson 15: To what extent did life improve under the Nazis?

LO: To know key features of German Society under the Nazis.

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New Info

A CLOSER LOOK

New elite schools

Napolas (national political educational institutions) were set up from April 1933 and run by the SS from 1936. They focused on military training. Adolf Hitler Schools were designed to produce highly-trained administrators. Ten Ordensburgs, set up from 1937, had an emphasis on physical training.

Although no substantial change was made to the structure of education, except for the establishment of some elitist schools, the Reich Education Ministry under Bernhard Rust ensured that schools followed a Nazi curriculum. Furthermore, attitudes to education changed. Nazism was anti-intellectual; the emphasis was on preparing young people for their role in Nazi society.

Changes included:

- Conveying Nazi ideology:
 - In science, 'Jewish' theses, such as Einstein's theory of relativity, were banned and biology lessons were used to teach social Darwinism and racial difference.
 - History emphasised the glories of the German past and military heroism.
 - Geography, German, music and art lessons encouraged a consciousness of German culture and heritage, with an emphasis on folklore. Even in maths and other subjects, problems were posed in ideological language.
 - There was a differentiation between the male and female curriculum, with the latter emphasising home economics.
 - New subjects such as genetics, racial theory, folklore, military studies, and the study of German borderlands were offered in colleges and universities.
 - Religious education was no longer required from 1935.
- Ensuring loyalty of teachers:
 - Teachers were controlled through the NSLB (National Socialist Teachers' League) established in 1929; over 95 per cent of teachers belonged by 1937.
 - Some were dismissed under the 1933 Civil Service Act.
 - The Führer decree (1935) allowed political vetting of all civil service appointments, including teachers.
 - In 1939 all teachers became Reich civil servants.
 - The NSLB and National Socialist Lecturers' League organised special 'camps' to reinforce values. At these camps, all teachers below 50 years were expected to participate in sport.
 - The teaching profession was required to be actively anti-Semitic.

A CLOSER LOOK

Physical education in schools

Physical education was emphasised in Nazi schools and colleges. Schoolchildren were expected to undertake five hours of physical exercise each week and reach a certain standard in sport before moving to the next class. Sport became an examination subject for Gymnasium (selective grammar school) entry (and a child could be refused entry to any secondary school, either Gymnasium or non-selective Hauptschule, for a serious physical handicap) and for the school leaving examination. Persistently unsatisfactory sporting performance could be the grounds for expulsion.



Fig. 3 A poster for the Bund Deutscher Mädel

In July 1933, Hitler appointed Baldur von Schirach as 'youth leader of the German Reich'. He took control over all youth organisations, except for the Catholic ones. Membership of the Hitler Youth (Hitler Jugend or HJ) became compulsory in 1936 and Catholic youth groups were finally closed down in March 1939. There were separate boys' and girls' divisions – the HJ catered for boys aged between 6 and 18 years, and the League of German Maidens (Bund Deutscher Mädel or BDM) for girls aged between 10 and 21 years. These aimed to train boys for war and girls for motherhood.

Young people were encouraged to accept discipline and show uncritical devotion to Hitler and the state, even if that meant reporting friends or family.



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New Info

At every level there were uniforms, competitions, expeditions, collections, sports, musical activities, theatrical productions, and displays. For the boys, much time was spent on military games; for the girls, housecraft, aerobic exercise, and charitable work were more in evidence. The round of incessant activity was deliberate. These organisations had no place for the weak and uncommitted. Particularly academic or sensitive children found conditions tough.

For the most part, German youth was particularly receptive to the idea of a 'national community'; the Hitler Youth was popular with young people. Few youngsters wanted to be 'outsiders', although the excessive regimentation and militarism did lead to some falling off in the late 1930s. 'Alternative groups' such as the Edelweiss Pirates and Swing Movement grew in the later 1930s. While the academic quality of educational provision declined and the constant extra youth activities sapped young people's energies, the willingness of millions to fight for the Nazi cause when war broke out must suggest some degree of success. In wartime, of course, the conscription of teachers and evacuations disrupted education considerably.

ACTIVITY

Hold a class debate. Individuals should write and give speeches for and against the motion: 'Life was good for young people under the Nazi regime'.



Fig. 4 A poster for the Hitler Youth, who were viewed as the future Aryan supermen

Maintaining social conformity

Since the Nazis' social policies were focused on creating a feeling of 'national community', direct legislation was augmented by propaganda. This included the development of various public rituals, such as those to celebrate important Nazi days, parades, speeches, and the widespread display of posters and flags.

Winterhilfe (winter help) was a scheme introduced in 1933 to help victims of the Depression. It involved doorstep collections of money, food and clothing for distressed families and was designed to show the Germans helping one another. It was successful in that 9 million were receiving payments by 1938 – but the collectors sometimes had to resort to intimidation.

The Eintopf ('one pot') meal scheme encouraged families to have only one dish for Sunday lunch in winter and donate the money saved. It was described as 'the meal of sacrifice for the Reich' and involvement was seen as proof of loyalty. However, as unemployment receded, families became less inclined to act charitably. By December 1942, after the German defeat at Stalingrad, Hitler threatened death to those who kept materials intended for collections. Such a pronouncement was a far cry from the Nazi ideal of the compliant national community.

ACTIVITY

Compare Figs 3 and 4. What do they show about the differing Nazi attitudes to boys and girls?

ACTIVITY

Research

Find out more about the Nazis' use of propaganda and censorship. In groups research key areas and give a short PowerPoint presentation of their findings. Areas for research could include: use of posters, the press, rallies, and radio.

A CLOSER LOOK

Propaganda and censorship

Goebbels met newspaper editors every day to brief them and private newspapers were gradually bought out by the Nazi press. Radio broadcasts were controlled by the Reich Broadcasting Corporation, established in 1933, and a plentiful supply of cheap, shortwave-range radios ensured that most Germans received a regular dose of Nazism from the Volksempfänger (People's Receiver) in their own homes. This was supplemented by loudspeakers in workplaces and public spaces. The cinema became home to Nazi 'newsreels' and a few propagandist films, although these were never very popular. Other cultural areas, such as music, art, architecture and theatre, were also restrained by ideological demands.



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New Info

KEY PROFILE

Ludwig Müller (1883–1945) held strongly nationalist and anti-Semitic views and was a staunch Nazi supporter. He was a 'German Christian' and Germany's Reich Bishop of the Protestant Church from 1933. However, he was increasingly marginalised and committed suicide in 1945.

Martin Niemöller (1892–1984) initially welcomed Hitler's appointment as Chancellor, but he opposed Nazi efforts to politicise the Church and helped found the Confessional Church. He was arrested in 1937 for his outspokenness and sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp. He was released by the Allies in 1945.

CROSS-REFERENCE

For more on opposition to the Nazi regime from the church (and in general), look back to Chapter 14, pages 135–137.

CROSS-REFERENCE

Dietrich Bonhoeffer is profiled in Chapter 14 on page 139.

Destroying church allegiances

Volkgemeinschaft also demanded the harnessing or removal of alternative sources of loyalty, of which the most powerful were the German churches. However, both the Protestant and Catholic Churches (representing 58 per cent and 32 per cent of the population respectively) shared largely right-wing views and were, like the Nazis, hostile to Marxism and cultural 'modernism'. Therefore, Hitler was more concerned with 'harnessing' them than attacking them outright.

The Protestant Church

A Protestant Reich Church was established in May 1933, with **Ludwig Müller** as Reich Bishop. This was intended to act as an 'umbrella organisation', coordinating branches of the Protestant Church. Müller himself led a branch known as the German Christians. They wholeheartedly embraced Nazism, even wearing a uniform with a swastika symbol and demanding the gospels be purged of Jewish texts.

However, a breakaway group of 100 pastors headed by **Martin Niemöller** refused to acknowledge the Reich Church and formed the Confessional Church in October 1934. It had around 5000 clergy and, while not set up to oppose Nazism directly, it wanted to protect the Church from state interference and the influence of the German Christians. In 1936, hundreds of Confessional pastors were sent to concentration camps for their opposition to Nazi ideology. After that, this church (whose prominent members included **Dietrich Bonhoeffer**) often found itself at odds with the regime.

The Catholic Church

By the Concordat of July 1933, the Pope accepted the Nazi regime and German Catholics were instructed to keep out of politics in return for control over their own schools and youth and community organisations. This relationship soon soured, although Pope Pius XII, who succeeded Pius XI in 1939, never openly condemned Nazism and has been criticised for his tolerance of the regime. Bishop Galen was the regime's most outspoken Catholic critic and his three widely-popularised sermons against euthanasia in 1941 earned him the title the 'lion of Münster'. Nevertheless, although many Catholic priests were sent to the concentration camps, there was no organised Catholic opposition and most Catholics seemed to prefer to 'keep their heads down'.



Fig. 5 Reich Bishop Ludwig Mueller preaching a sermon in Berlin, 1933



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New Info

The German Faith Movement

Within the Nazi Party itself there was a movement to replace Christianity with a new pagan faith, known as the German Faith Movement. In the mid-1930s a 'Church Secession' campaign encouraged Germans to abandon the churches. Although Hitler never supported the campaign directly, many among the SS did, and it had some influence on policy. Carols and nativity plays were banned from schools in 1938 and the word 'Christmas' was forbidden and replaced by 'Yuletide' in the war years. However, this was never more than a fringe movement of around 200,000 supporters.

Although the churches lost influence in areas such as education, both Protestant pastors and Catholic priests largely retained the loyalty of their congregations, with church attendance remaining steady until 1939 and increasing thereafter. Volksgemeinschaft could never be complete whilst alternative institutions flourished; yet on the whole, both the Catholic and Protestant Churches were prepared to compromise in order to survive. It was more individuals within the churches than the institutions themselves that caused concern for the Nazi regime.

The racial state

Those who failed to fit Nazi criteria for *Volksgenossen* were subject to intimidation and persecution. One such group were the so-called 'asocials'. In September 1933, around half a million 'workshy' were rounded up and given a permit (*Wanderkarte*) providing board and lodgings in return for compulsory work. However, those that failed to work were sent to concentration camps and made to wear a black triangle. Another similar round-up took place under the 'Workshy Reich' programme of 1938. Juvenile delinquents were particularly targeted from 1939 and sent to a youth concentration camp set up in Moringen near Hannover. Both old and young could be compulsorily sterilised, as 'social deviants'. Few of the 10,000 'workshy' incarcerated during the Third Reich survived.

Biological outsiders

The main victims of *Volksgemeinschaft* were the 'biological outsiders'. This included those suffering hereditary 'defects' as well as the non-Aryans. From July 1933, those suffering from specified hereditary illnesses could be sterilised and the sterilised were forbidden to marry fertile partners.

The disabled were portrayed as 'burdens on the community' and from the summer of 1939, a euthanasia programme was set up. This initially targeted children under three, but was later extended to children up to 16 years of age. By 1945, 5000 children had been murdered by lethal injection or deliberate malnutrition.

Euthanasia was also practised on 72,000 adults in six mental hospitals in various parts of Germany, until this was stopped in 1941 following Bishop Galen's protests. However, the secret programme '14F13' (1941 to 1943) led to the gassings of between 30,000 and 50,000 people suffering from mental illness or physical incapacity in extermination camps.

The **Roma and Sinti** were among those persecuted for their alleged inferior racial character. Although there were only c30,000 in Germany, they were included in the Nuremberg Law of 1935, which banned marriage between Aryans and non-Aryans. They were subjected to racial 'tests', with a distinction made between true Sinti/Roma and those with some Aryan blood, known as *Mischlinge*. They had to be registered from the end of 1938 and, from 1940, were deported to Poland to work in camps. In December 1942, c20,000 were transferred to Auschwitz. There were 11,000 murdered there and around another half a million met the same fate in occupied Europe.

ACTIVITY

Group work

The class should divide into two groups. One will research Catholic Church attitudes, and the other those of the Protestant Church. Each group should produce an illustrated poster showing both conformism and opposition within their church group. Include pictures and details of individuals who supported or defied the Nazi regime.

KEY TERM

asocial: a broad term for people who did not contribute to Nazi society; examples included criminals, beggars and the 'workshy', alcoholics, prostitutes, homosexuals, and juvenile delinquents

A CLOSER LOOK

Some so-called hereditary illnesses, such as 'schizophrenia' and 'chronic alcoholism', had a dubious hereditary base. Hereditary courts considered individual cases and between 1934 and 1945, around 350,000 people were sterilised under this law.

CROSS-REFERENCE

Nazi attitudes to the **Roma and Sinti** are first discussed in Chapter 17 on page 173.

How successful were the Nazis in imposing their view of the role of women in society?

YES

NO

[illegible]

Did working class Germans benefit from Nazi rule?

YES

NO

[illegible]

How effective were the Nazis at indoctrinating the youth of Germany?

YES

NO

[illegible]

How successful were the Nazis at limiting the influence of the Protestant and Catholic churches?

YES

NO

[illegible]



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Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

What factors brought about the collapse of Weimar democracy?

Answer the lesson question by **summarising** your answer in a **PEEE paragraph**.

Success criteria:

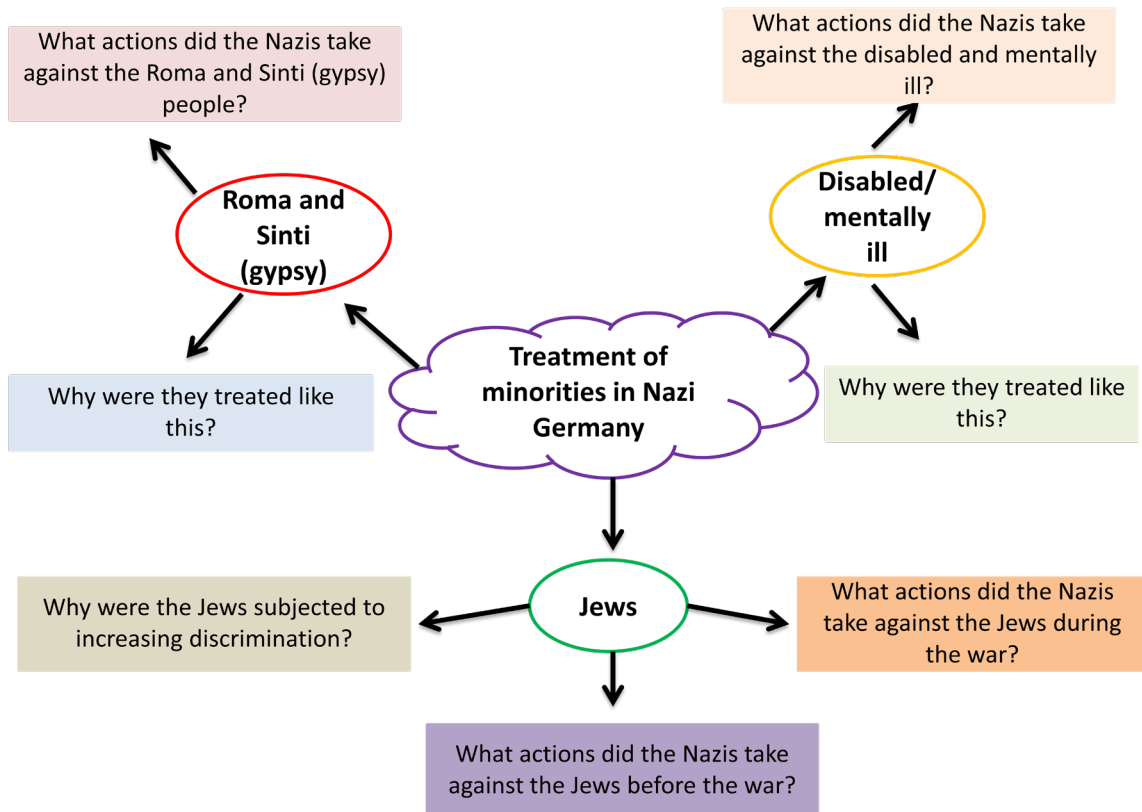
Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can evaluate the long/short-term factors that led to the collapse of Weimar democracy	Identify and explain an argument supporting the pessimistic or optimistic view	Support your argument with precise historical evidence	Evaluate why your factor led to the collapse of Weimar democracy
Sentence starters	<i>One argument for the collapse of Weimar democracy has been put forward by pessimistic/optimistic historians. These historians suggest that Weimar democracy collapsed because...</i>	<i>For example, a political/economic/social long-term factor of the failure of the Weimar Republic was...</i>	<i>This caused the collapse of Weimar democracy because...</i>



Lesson 16: How were minorities treated in Nazi Germany?

LO: To know how minorities were treated in Nazi Germany.

LO: To be able to evaluate the treatment of minorities in Nazi Germany.





Lesson 16: How were minorities treated in Nazi Germany?



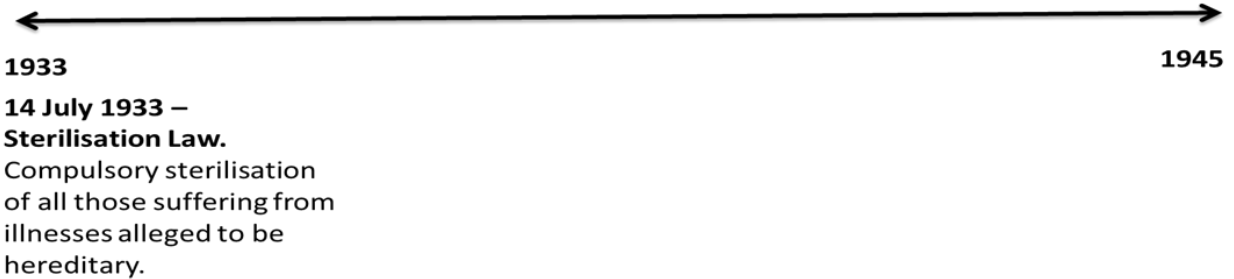
LO: To know how minorities were treated in Nazi Germany.

LO: To be able to evaluate the treatment of minorities in Nazi Germany.

Using your **completed spider-diagrams** and **pages 178-181** of the Hodder Education textbook, **construct a timeline** of events in the escalating persecution of **Jews** (and **other ethnic minorities**) from **1933 to 1945**.

Include **major laws, events and actions** put forward by the Nazis.

The timeline should then be **colour-coded** using a key to identify the **legal, economic and violent persecution** of **each** major event.





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New Info

Eugenics

The science of eugenics was gaining credibility in Europe and the United States towards the end of the nineteenth century; improvements in medical science had led to increasing numbers of those with hereditary illnesses and disabilities surviving beyond their early years. Eugenicists argued that this would lead to a deterioration of the race. In addition, social scientists had begun to attribute social 'ills', such as habitual criminality, alcoholism, homosexuality and prostitution, to heredity.

Sterilisation

By the 1920s in Germany, sterilisation had come to be seen as the preferred option for halting the alleged deterioration of the race. On 14 July 1933 the Nazis issued a Sterilisation Law legalising the compulsory sterilisation of all those suffering from illnesses alleged to be hereditary. Hereditary courts were established to pass judgement on individual cases, but decisions were largely subjective, based on social and political prejudice rather than scientific 'fact'. For example, having a reputation for being work shy, or of strong left-wing views might be used to support a decision to sterilise. Between 1934 and 1945, about 350,000 German men and women were sterilised under this law.

Euthanasia

However, notions of 'racial hygiene' went much further than sterilisation. A body of opinion was growing that those suffering from physical and mental disabilities were becoming 'burdens on the community' (*Ballastexistenzen*). This led to the 'euthanasia programme', a euphemism for the mass murder of the mentally sick and handicapped, which began in secret in the early summer of 1939 for children, and was extended in August 1939 to adults on Hitler's order. Initially, children were murdered either by lethal injection or deliberate malnutrition, but as the policy was extended to adults, murder by gassing was initiated. Gas chambers were constructed in six mental hospitals throughout Germany. By the time the programme, officially known as Aktion T4, was officially stopped in August 1941 after public protests led by the Roman Catholic Archbishop von Galen, over 70,000 people had been murdered. Despite being officially halted, the process continued unabated in the concentration camps, with 30–50,000 murdered over the next two years.

Many of those experienced in working on the T4 programme transferred to Poland to work in the death camps to murder the non-Aryans, predominantly the Jews, but also the Gypsies, who had long been regarded by the Nazis as asocial, work shy or habitually criminal. Gypsies were often subject to intensive scientific experiment by Nazi 'racial experts' who were fascinated by the way that they had sustained their own strong sense of race identity, albeit of an inferior nature, and because of their propensity to give birth to twins. A special Gypsy camp was set up at Auschwitz, mainly to facilitate the experiments of the notorious 'Angel of Death', Dr Josef Mengele.

'Asocials' were subject to regular round-ups and harassment. It is thought that at least 10,000 tramps and beggars were imprisoned in concentration camps; few of them survived. This policy had the approval of many Germans. Even juvenile delinquents were targeted and a special Youth Concentration Camp was set up near Hanover. The Third Reich's policy towards racial and social minorities is a warning to history, but one that the modern world has yet fully to embrace.

Major laws, events and actions put forward by the Nazis:



Lesson 16: How were minorities treated in Nazi Germany?

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New Info

The Jews

German Jews formed less than one per cent of the German population, about 500,000 in total in 1933. Most were assimilated into the life of the community. For the rank-and-file Nazi, the Jew was a sub-human creature responsible for all of Germany's troubles. Anti-Semitism was at the heart of Hitler's ideological world view; however, once in power he had to 'manage' the outbursts of anti-Semitic violence that greeted his appointment as German chancellor, if only initially in the interests of protecting the Party's image as the protector of law and order. The Party's anti-Jewish policies advanced in a series of stages, each more extreme than the last, in a process termed 'cumulative radicalisation'.

- **March 1933:** a boycott of Jewish shops, intended originally to last longer than one day but restricted to 24 hours because of public apathy and the need to avoid adverse foreign reaction.
- **April 1933:** Jewish civil servants were dismissed, though Hitler had to yield to Hindenburg's demands that Jews who had fought in the First World War were exempted.
- **September 1935:** the Law for the Protection of German Blood was introduced, forbidding sexual relations between Jews and Gentiles, and Jews also lost their rights of citizenship. These were the so-called Nuremberg Laws.
- **1937-38:** Jewish businesses were expropriated as the regime aimed to Aryanise the economy, removing all Jews from economic activity; many professions were also closed to Jews.
- **November 1938:** an attack on Jewish synagogues and property, known as the Night of Broken Glass (or Crystal Night), resulted in the deaths of 91 Jews and the deportation of between 20,000 and 30,000 Jews to the concentration camps.

As early as 1934 attempts were made to encourage Jewish emigration from Germany but this was not particularly successful. Only 120,000 of the 503,000 Jews living in Germany in 1933 had left the country by 1937. This process accelerated in 1939: a further 78,000 left following the atrocities on Crystal Night.

The outbreak of the war saw an enormous radicalisation of actions against the Jews. The invasion of Poland in 1939 brought a further 3 million Polish Jews under German jurisdiction. Many were arbitrarily persecuted and killed alongside tens of thousands of Poles; by 1941 most Eastern Jews had been herded into ghettos, sealed off and isolated from the Aryan parts of towns and cities. The German invasion of Russia in June 1941 sealed the fate of the Jews, escalating the war to a racial war of conquest and extermination. On 20 January 1942, fifteen representatives of the Nazi state met, under the chairmanship of Heydrich, in the Berlin suburb of Wannsee, to discuss and set in motion the Holocaust of the European Jews. A decision had been reached by Hitler, in the late summer or autumn of 1941 – no written order has ever been found – to proceed with the 'Final Solution' of the Jewish problem: the extermination of Europe's 11 million Jews. Six 'death camps' were identified in Poland as sites for the mass industrialised killing of the Jews. By the end of the war, about 6 million Jews had been murdered. The Holocaust remains as perhaps the greatest crime in human history and is proof, if it is needed, not only of the evil and the irrationality of the Nazi movement, but also of what happens when common humanity is blinded by intolerance and prejudice.

Major laws, events and actions put forward by the Nazis:



Lesson 16: How were minorities treated in Nazi Germany?

LO: To know how minorities were treated in Nazi Germany.

LO: To be able to evaluate the treatment of minorities in Nazi Germany.



Consolidate: Key Knowledge Questions

What factors brought about the collapse of Weimar democracy?

Answer the lesson question by **summarising** your answer in a **PEEE paragraph**.

Success criteria:

Learning Outcome	Grade C	Grade B	Grade A
I can evaluate the long/short-term factors that led to the collapse of Weimar democracy	Identify and explain an argument supporting the pessimistic or optimistic view	Support your argument with precise historical evidence	Evaluate why your factor led to the collapse of Weimar democracy
Sentence starters	<i>One argument for the collapse of Weimar democracy has been put forward by pessimistic/optimistic historians. These historians suggest that Weimar democracy collapsed because...</i>	<i>For example, a political/economic/social long-term factor of the failure of the Weimar Republic was...</i>	<i>This caused the collapse of Weimar democracy because...</i>



New Info

Nazi culture

The creation of *Volksgemeinschaft* was based on the concept of a specifically German cultural heritage. Both elite art, such as classical music, paintings, sculpture, and theatre, and the more popular arts, such as film, radio broadcasting, and light entertainment, thus became ways of reinforcing the Germans' shared heritage. Nazis despised the modernist styles of the 'decadent' Weimar era and favoured 'traditional' art forms, particularly those that glorified the German past.

However, 'Nazi culture' was dangerously entwined with 'Nazi propaganda' and much of the output of the Nazi years was sterile after the vibrancy of the later Weimar period. A rigid censorship was maintained by **Joseph Goebbels** and the *Reichskulturkammer* (Reich Chamber of Culture), to which all artists had to belong. The anti-intellectualism of the Nazis was seen in the book-burnings of May 1933, which symbolically destroyed 'un-German' works regardless of artistic or academic merit, and the annual German art exhibitions where realistic, heroic or German folk-style paintings were displayed regardless of artistic merit. While Albert Speer led the movement for huge classical architectural forms, reinforcing the permanence of the Third Reich, Arno Brecker produced huge muscular sculptures to extol the Aryan form. However, the works of the Jewish composers such as Mahler and Mendelssohn were banned, American jazz and foreign dance-band music (referred to as '*niggermusik*') was forbidden, and modernist paintings were removed from art galleries or displayed as 'degenerate art'.

A CLOSER LOOK

Many great contemporary artists were expelled from Germany or chose to flee. These included conductors Bruno Walter and Otto Klemperer, composers Schoenberg, Hindemith and Kurt Weill, and singers Marlene Dietrich and Lotte Lenya. Others, however, enjoyed a chequered career under Nazi sponsorship. Richard Strauss became the first President of the Reich Chamber of Music, and Elizabeth Schwarzkopf performed for the regime.

What could be seen, heard or read was thus controlled, although there was no shortage of cultural events. The Nazis encouraged popular festivals such as the Wagnerian Bayreuth Festival, as well as many folklorist displays. However, the diet was bland.

Nazi culture

How did the Nazis use culture to reflect and represent the German national community?

Just as in the political sphere, all artistic and cultural organisations were 'co-ordinated' under the direction of Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry and purged of Jews, other 'un-Germans' and anyone accused of holding the 'wrong' political, racial or artistic views, which the regime labelled as 'degenerate'. The *Reich* Culture Chamber, set up in September 1933, was the umbrella organisation designed to police the arts, comprising separate Film, Music, Press, Theatre, Literary, Fine Arts and Radio Chambers. Nothing was to be produced, written or spoken that was not prior approved. For Goebbels the aim of *Reich* culture was to 'purify' the German soul, and to 'mobilise the spirit'; the SS could be left to purify the German state but Goebbels saw himself with the greater mission: he would fuse together art, culture and state.

Art

Hitler regarded art in particular as the pure expression of the ideals of National Socialism. He condemned 'degenerate' art, by which he meant all modern, abstract and impressionist art, in favour of 'healthy' Aryan art, heroic and literal in its idealisations of the *Volk*. This was particularly true of sculpture, which was invariably designed to depict the biologically pure and athletic Aryan. Public buildings were considered incomplete without such adornment. Hitler designated Munich as his 'city of art' and in 1937 opened one of the first of Nazi Germany's monumental public buildings, the *Haus der Deutschen Kunst* (House of German Art), to exhibit great German works of art.

Hitler had very clear and unambivalent views on the role of art. He was absolutely clear that it must play a central role in building the nation. His pronouncements had the force of law. Art must represent the German soul and the German identity; it had to be national not international, eternal and comprehensible and not some passing, indecipherable, expressionist whim or fad. Above all, it had to be uncritical.

Architecture

Architecture too had a function beyond the prosaic. Public buildings were intended to represent the grand vision of a thousand-year *Reich*. Buildings were a form of propaganda in themselves, often built of granite, to last, and faced with marble, to impress. The scale of these enterprises reflected the scale of the Nazi vision; they were built for eternity. Perhaps the greatest physical representation of monumental buildings were Albert Speer's plans for the Nuremberg rally grounds, covering 11 square kilometres, though only one structure was ever finished, the Zeppelinfeld, an arena built to hold 200,000 seated spectators. Speer was Hitler's architect-in-chief, spending hour upon hour with Hitler planning their great schemes of reconstruction, including the almost total rebuilding of central Berlin, which would be renamed Germania.

Can you find any examples of:

Change

Continuity

Film and radio

Hitler was at one with Goebbels about the importance of cinema and the radio, impatient with other leading Nazis who saw entertainment as a diverting sideshow to the main business of power domination. But for Hitler, politics was the greatest art of all, and film and radio were ideal vehicles for transmitting emotion. When he spoke to the masses he aimed for the heart and soul, not the brain. He wished to engage their feelings not their powers of critical analysis. Over 50 of Hitler's speeches were broadcast on the radio in 1933 alone; it was the sole medium that could take Hitler into the living room, the workplace and the cafes. The mass transmission of the Hitler Myth was the purpose behind the most famous film to come out of Nazi Germany: *Triumph of the Will*, shot at the 1934 Nuremberg Party rally, and released in 1935. Though grandiose in its scale and conception, its real significance is the film's subtle manipulation of image and illusion, a kind of emotional remote control. In the film, Hitler is the lead. The *Volk* are the film extras; only the leaders can speak. Hitler is portrayed as wedded to the nation, the High Priest of the Nazi movement, offering spiritual guidance from the pulpit of the rally-ground podium. Ultimately, it may be argued that Hitler came to believe his own mythic propaganda, lost in his own adulation, believing that his will was omnipotent and could achieve all.

Goebbels was a vicious anti-Semite, but he waited until war had broken out before using film as a means of radicalising emotion against the Jews. The two most infamous examples of this radicalisation were released in 1940: *Der Ewige Jude* (*The Eternal Jew*), depicting Jews as infestations of rats, and *Jud Süess* (*The Jew called Süess*), portraying the Jew as subversive money-lender, rapist and torturer. An estimated 20 million people saw *Jud Süess*; it was often screened in areas where deportations of Jews were planned and shown to SS soldiers before actions against Jews. If further evidence is needed of the power of cultural forms to influence and to manipulate, the stories of ordinary Germans attacking Jews on the street after seeing this film are persuasive of the impact of culture to influence behaviour.

Literature, theatre and music

Literature, theatre and music also had to promote Nazi virtues. The book-burning ceremonies in many German cities in May 1933, where books of non-approved authors were ceremoniously thrown into the flames and their crimes read out, were intended to symbolise the beginning of a new era.

As with art, 'decadent' music was banned, particularly jazz, considered Western and **negroid**, in favour of patriotic, classical German composers such as Richard Strauss and Wagner. In theatre too, only ideologically sound productions were permitted, and performers had to be politically vetted, with background checks the norm.

Conclusion

Whether cultural quality decreased in the Third Reich is open to some debate, but not much. Most commentators in most fields of cultural activity have pointed to a decline in creativity and imagination, a stultification of expression and the intellect. The requirement to extol the virtues of National Socialism left little room for experimentation or risk. In many ways, Nazi culture spoke volumes but said very little. Neither were the Nazis truly successful in censoring the forbidden. Banned books remained in people's homes and were read; jazz still found itself on the radio, at least until the latter stages of the war, to cheer up returning troops; the Exhibition of Degenerate Art, held in Munich in 1937, had more visitors than the parallel Exhibition of German Art. Essentially, Hitler feared freedom of expression; criticism was anathema, as was individualism, because it could not be controlled. In the end, all Nazi culture ended as caricature, devoid of meaning beyond the 'dream machine' of Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry. Goebbels was engaged in his own version of the *Truman Show* and, as in this film, the real world could not be kept out. Perhaps the last word on Nazi culture should go to Charlie Chaplin in his satirical film condemnation of Hitler. *The Great Dictator*, released in 1940:

[illegible]



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