

From Kaiser to Fuhrer: Germany, 1900-1945



REVISION GUIDE

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Unit 1: The Second Reich: 1900-1919

Entrenched autocracy, elite dominance or a growing democracy?

Autocracy

- The Kaiser dissolved the Reichstag in 1906 when the SPD and Centre Party members joined forces to vote against the government's budget, in protest against the colonial policies. A new election was called, known as the Hottentot election.
- Bulow was forced to resign after the Daily Telegraph Affair. In 1908 conversations that the Kaiser had with a British colonel were published in the Daily Telegraph. The Kaiser made various unguarded comments, such as the British were 'mad, mad a March hares!' for thinking that Germany posed a threat to peace. The Kaiser was perceived to have exceeded his authority in talking to the foreign press in this way and led to criticism of him in the Reichstag. Bulow was pressurised to resign because he had been too supportive of the Reichstag
- The Chancellor and ministers were appointed by the Kaiser and not accountable to the Reichstag. Hollweg was appointed because of his weaknesses in the area of foreign policy. Hollweg lost a vote of no-confidence in the Reichstag but remained as Chancellor. This followed the Zabern Affair where in Zabern, in Alsace, a German soldier made a derogatory comment about the Alsatian locals. Tensions escalated between the army and local inhabitants and matters came to a head when the soldier was acquitted by a military court of injuring a man who had jeered at him. Hollweg backed the army and the vote of no-confidence was passed. However he refused to resign, saying he depended only upon the authority of the Kaiser
- The army was only accountable to the Kaiser and so was not affected by the Reichstag's criticisms following the Zabern Affair in 1913.
- The country followed the Kaiser's political agenda of Weltpolitik which entailed seeking colonial expansion and a more dominant position in Europe and the world. Germany built up its military might, particularly through naval expansion and acquired land in Africa. The Kaiser shaped his government to include ministers and Chancellors (such as Bulow) who shared his vision.

Elite dominance

- The agenda of the conservative elite was followed in naval, militaristic and colonial expansion. A second navy Law sailed through the Reichstag in 1900 which proposed to build 38 battleships over the next 20 years and in 1906 a third Navy Law added six cruiser style ships to the programme. This brutal imperialist agenda was largely supported by the German public, as demonstrated by the strengthening of the conservative parties after the 1907 Hottentot election
- Conservative pressure groups like the Agrarian League and the Central Association of German Industrialists successfully lobbied for increased agricultural tariffs in 1902

- The power of the Bundesrat meant that the government was dominated by conservatives. It was created as a barrier to radical legislation and could veto Reichstag legislation if 14 members voted against a bill.
- A conservative Prussian elite dominated the government. Prussia had 17 of the 58 seats in the Bundesrat ensuring Prussian dominance in the passing of legislation. The electorate for the Prussian Chamber of deputies was divided by a 'three class franchise'. The votes of those who paid more tax counted for more than the votes of those who paid less tax. The lowest tax payers made up 92% of the electorate. This meant it was always dominated by Conservatives. 418,000 votes translated into 212 Conservative seats while 6000,000 votes translated into 6 SPD seats.
- Germany was undergoing rapid change and a new group of powerful industrialists was emerging. The traditional elites wanted to maintain their power against what they regarded as a threat to democracy and thus sought an alliance with these newly emerging elites. They hoped to bring this about by offering them a stake in the system and the promise of armaments contracts and colonial markets overseas. This plan has been called 'Sammlungspolitik'; a policy of 'concentration' to integrate the range of conservative forces. This allowed them to disregard the forces of democracy and socialism by portraying them as unpatriotic. The unification between the old and emerging elites would be achieved through a policy of protectionism and through the rallying of Germans through the following of a nationalist foreign policy (Weltpolitik).

Growing democracy

- The Reichstag was democratic in the sense that all classes of men had the right to vote
- The Reichstag was able to reject legislation and did so in 1906 when they rejected the government's budget, in protest at the colonial policies.
- The Reichstag was increasingly assertive, as can be seen from their stance on the 1906 budget, their criticisms of the Kaiser in the wake of the 1908 Daily Telegraph Affair and their passing of a vote of no-confidence against Hollweg in 1913. Following the Daily Telegraph Affair, the Kaiser had to guarantee that he would not make similar pronouncements and he avoided political interventions following this event
- The ruling elites had to respond to pressure from below for social reform and a range of moderate reforms were passed:
 - 1899 - Increase in old age pensions
 - 1900 – Accident insurance was extended
 - 1903 – Sickness Insurance Law was amended to give longer and more generous help to workers in poor health
 - 1908 – Law to reduce the amount of factory work
 - 1911 Hollweg tried to please the workers. He introduced the Imperial Insurance code which consolidated all previous workers insurance laws and amended and extended their provisions. Certain groups were insured against sickness, old age and death

- Political participation was high: the trade union movement was large, pressure groups influential and women participated in political movements despite not having the vote

Why was the status quo maintained?

Moderate Reforms

To place the threat of socialism

1899 - Increase in old age pensions

1900 – Accident insurance was extended

1903 – Sickness Insurance Law was amended to give longer and more generous help to workers in poor health

1908 – Law to reduce the amount of factory work

1911 - Imperial Insurance code which consolidated all previous workers insurance laws and amended and extended their provisions. Certain groups were insured against sickness, old age and death

Nationalistic foreign policies

Sammlungspolitik: To build up an alliance of Conservatives, Liberals, Junkers and Industrialists which would present a broad front against socialism and democracy and provide support for the political status quo. This would be done by following a policy of Protectionism and a strong foreign and colonial policy (Weltpolitik). Flottenpolitik was an integral part of this in that it aimed to create a navy to rival that of Britain. A second navy Law sailed through the Reichstag in 1900 which proposed to build 38 battleships over the next 20 years. In 1906 a third Navy Law added six cruiser style ships to the programme. Nationalism and patriotism had helped to soak up tensions.

Hottenthot Election and Bulow Bloc: An election was called because the SPD and Centre Party voted against the government's budget, in protest at the colonial policies. Bulow managed to gain a convincing majority by creating the famous 'Bulow Bloc' - he warned Nationalist/Conservative and Liberal Groups (Conservatives, Free Conservatives, Agrarian League, National Liberals, Progressives and Anti-Semites) that they had to unite on the issue of Nationalism otherwise risk facing a Red-Black victory (Centre and Socialist). He succeeded in frightening German voters into supporting Bulow-Bloc.

The 1912 election: Here the SPD actually gained the most votes and became largest party in Reichstag with 110 deputies due to their alliance with Liberals. But in 1913 they voted for an army bill to increase size of army because they did not want to be labelled as unpatriotic.

The Constitutional power and support for the power of the Kaiser

The Kaiser's constitutional position at the top (responsible for army, Chancellor answerable to him, Wilhelm II aims to be at the centre of power) was not challenged throughout the period, thus this lack of challenge helped to maintain political status quo. The power of the idea of Nationalism and Patriotism around the Kaiser as the figurehead at the centre of it all meant many people saw him as a pillar of strength within the disunity of the political parties of the Reichstag. He was seen as symbol of power of German Reich, making it strong on an international and domestic level.

Daily Telegraph Affair 1908 (removal of Bulow) and the Zabern Affair 1913 (ignored the vote of no-confidence) are both examples of this

Disunity of parties in the Reichstag

1912 election: SPD did actually become a real potential threat but other parties would not work with them.

Fragmentation of Right Wing groups: The fragmentation and radicalisation of right wing politics occurred because of the economic changes taking place and the fact that different groups wanted to protect their own interests. The Agrarian League became politically more important. The Mittesland Association (1904) and the Mittesland League (1911) represented farmers and small shopkeepers. The lower middle class was organised into a range of groups from the socialist Association of Commercial Assistants (LEFT) to the right wing German-national Commercial Assistants' Association. Nationalist groups were formed with the intention of lobbying in favour of national priorities. They campaigned from an anti-socialist viewpoint. They helped radicalise German politics.

To what extent did WWI increase Germany's existing tensions?

Political Impact

- In 1914 huge demonstrations were held across Germany following the immediate outbreak. This changed once the government presented the campaign as a defensive one against Russian aggression as there developed a general consensus on the side of national duty and what was understood to be morally right. Thus there developed images of cheering crowds. The Kaiser summarised the feeling of national unity by saying that he knows no parties anymore, only Germans. Even the socialists fell in line and voted for war credits. The political divisions of the pre-war era seemed to be over. The Reichstag passed the Enabling Act (known as Burgfrieden). This meant that the Reichstag delegated all legislative power to the Bundesrat which was to rule the Home Front by emergency legislation

- The Kaiser soon became side-lined by the military and by 1916 Supreme Commanders Generals Hindenburg and Ludendorff were essentially in charge of the country, running what has been characterised as a 'silent dictatorship'. This exacerbated political tensions.
- By July 1917 the leaders of the SPD found it more difficult to support the war. Thus the Kaiser was persuaded by Hollweg to give a hope of reform. In April the Kaiser introduced the 'Easter Offer' which promised to end Prussia's three-class system of voting and reform the Bundesrat after the war was ended. This did not convince those both within and outside the Reichstag who wanted to negotiate a 'peace without victory' rather than wait for a 'victorious peace'
- In September 1918, realising that defeat was certain, the Generals advised the Kaiser to negotiate an armistice and form a new civilian government consisting of members of the Reichstag. In October Prince Max of Baden formed a new government containing liberal and socialist members of the Reichstag

Social Impact

- The socialists supported the war following its outbreak. They voted for war credits in 1914. Opposition from the SPD was minimal in 1914, thus their isolation was ended and they were no longer mistrusted.
- In 1915 the British government ordered the Royal navy to seize all goods that were destined for Germany. This was a problem for a country that imported 25% of what it consumed. The government's response was to assume control for the relegation and distribution of food. The Imperial Grain Corporation (January 1915) was set up to administer the distribution and rationing of grain. This was followed by the creation of 40 different Imperial Corporations who competed with the government at every level to administer the food supply. This was a bureaucratic nightmare. To try and solve it the War Food Office was set up but it did not have the power to control all the organisations. This chaos meant that decisions were made that were counter-productive. For example in early 1915 a decision was taken to kill 9 million pigs as they consumed grain. The consequences were less pork and a damaging effect on food supply
- In January 1915 the government introduced rationing. This led to Germans looking for substitute goods. Examples included Ersatz coffee (tree bark) and Ersatz sausages (no meat). There was a shortage of animal fats because the government needed them in the manufacture of glycerine, essential for explosives.
- Fighting the war was an enormous economic strain. Printing money led to inflation and the mark declined in value by 75% between 1913 and 1918. Living standards fell by 20-30%
- In May and June 1916 strikers in Berlin took to the streets carrying placards demanding 'Freedom, Bread and Peace'. In 1916 Liebknecht addressed a rally and was imprisoned for criticising the war. Thousands of workers went on strike in support of him.

- In 1916 the Hindenburg programme marked the beginning of Total War, the mobilisation of all resources within a nation. This included the Auxiliary Labour Law which was set up to mobilise all male labour which made it compulsory for all those between 17 and 60 to work for the war effort. This was basically forced labour.
- The desperately cold winter of 1916-1917 made the shortage of fuel and raw materials worse. Coal production decreased. The freezing of rivers and railways led to transportation problems. Shortage of animal fats led to a soap shortage. Clothing was in short supply. To save fuel local authorities dimmed street lights and cut back on trams. Shortage of labour caused a reduction in the wheat harvest. Thus they relied more heavily on potatoes but the cold winter and damp spring led to a potato blight which devastated the harvest. This led to considerable hunger and psychological damage. Germans were forced to use the Turnip as an Ersatz potato. The winter of 1916-1917 became known as the 'Turnip Winter'. Local authorities set up soup kitchens but could not prevent rising levels of malnutrition
- By 1917 the peasantry became alienated by the government. They were hampered in their work by lack of labour. State prices were low and did not take into account production costs. The peasantry were jealous of the Junkers (Aristocracy with land) who maintained their tax privileges until 1916.
- In 1917 the working class resented state control, the lack of food and the Polonaise (the nickname for the food queue). The working class resented the black market on which 20-35% of food was sold. They blamed the middle class and in some cases the Jews
- In January 1918 huge strikes gripped Berlin. They had been inspired by the USPD but because of their size the leadership of the SPD attempted to seize the initiative. They wanted an end to the war, more food and democratic rights
- Prince Max began negotiation with the allies and the Ludendorff resigned. The prospect of defeat and peace sparked mutiny in the navy ports, sailors refused to fight the Royal navy. Councils of workers and soldiers were set up (Soviets). In November Kurt Eisner (socialist) led a revolt to the proclamation of a democratic and socialist republic in Bavaria. The allies agreed to an armistice if the Kaiser abdicated. The socialist members of Max's government enforced this. The leading members of the SPD withdrew their support from Prince Max's government and Ebert of the SPD became chancellor of a new government consisting solely of members of the SPD and USPD

Radicalisation and polarisation of Politics:

- The Russian Revolution of 1917 provided an inspiration for all those that opposed the war and the following announcement of a reduction in bread rationing led to wide spread strikes in April 1917. Some workers formed workers councils, copying the Russians. They were not supported by the SPD in the Reichstag but they were supported by those who had been thrown out of the SPD for refusing to vote for war credits. They formed the breakaway party, the USPD.

- In 1917 polarisation gained pace. The Pope issued a peace note urging warring states to consider a seven point peace plan. The idea was ignored by Ludendorff but cheered by those that supported the 'Peace Resolution'. In September a new pressure group was founded. This was called the German Fatherland Party. It was supported by Ludendorff and promoted victorious peace through excessive annexation of territory. This prompted the creation of a rival pressure group. The Peace League for Freedom and Fatherland which prompted the idea of a moderate peace.
- The entry of the USA in April 1917 polarised German politics as many people did not see the USA as a natural enemy. This was because the USA was a democracy and many wanted democracy in Germany
- By 1918 the USPD party had 100,000 members who campaigned for: An immediate end to the war followed by social reform, an immediate repeal of the Auxiliary Service Law, no more war loans. The expansion of the USPD was a clear example of polarisation

Unit 2: To what extent was Germany responsible for WW1?

In 1961 Fischer claimed that Germany's ruling class was determined to establish Germany as a world power and was ready to wage a war of aggression in order to achieve its objective. Fischer's overall conclusion was supported by four arguments:

1. The German government was actively planning to achieve domination in Europe before 1914.
2. The government was intent on European war before 1914 and German diplomacy before 1914 was aggressive
3. Germany saw the Austro-Serbian crisis as an unmissable opportunity to bring war about
4. The ruling class believed they faced a crisis at home that jeopardised their political future and saw war as a solution to these domestic policies.

	FOR:	AGAINST:
<p>Germany had a plan for European domination (Strong German blaming interpretation)</p>	<p>From the 1890s Germany followed a policy of Weltpolitik which sought colonial expansion and a more dominant position in Europe and the world</p> <p>The 1905 Schlieffen Plan can be interpreted as a war of aggression as it entailed potentially unprovoked attacks on France and Belgium</p> <p>At the 1912 War Council, the possibility of a future war with Russia was discussed and plans were made to prepare the public for this eventuality</p> <p>The 1914 September Programme, written by Hollweg in the early days of the war, outlined Germany's war aims. It contained a clear indication that Germany sought to subordinate France, and dominate Eastern Europe by annexing large amounts of territory.</p>	<p>The Schlieffen Plan could be regarded as a plan for the possibility of a war on two fronts</p> <p>Fischer may have placed too much weight on the War Council. It was not attended by Hollweg and little action occurred in response to the meeting</p> <p>The War Council may reflect German fears of encirclement rather than an aggressive desire for war. It could be seen as a response to Britain's declaration that they would support France unconditionally in the event of war</p> <p>The September Programme was written after the war commenced and cannot necessarily be taken as a clear indication of a plan for aggression and domination that predated the war</p>
<p>Germany was intent on European war before 1914 and their diplomacy was aggressive (Strong German blaming interpretation)</p>	<p><u>Antagonising Russia:</u> In 1890 the Kaiser allowed the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia to lapse. This treaty was an agreement not to attack each other. Instead Germany sought closer relations with the Austro-Hungarian Empire</p> <p>In 1908, during the Bosnian Crisis, Germany's support for the Austrian annexation of Bosnia antagonised Serbia, who regarded Austria as imperialists, and their ally Russia. The plan was to inflict a diplomatic humiliation on Russia but it only left them resentful</p> <p><u>Antagonising France:</u> The First Moroccan Crisis (1905-6): The Kaiser demanded an international conference on France's role in Morocco, which the French were developing as a colony. He has</p>	<p>The antagonism that developed between Russia and Austria made it extremely difficult for Germany to stay on good terms with Russia and Serbia</p> <p>It could be claimed that Germany was acting due to an increasing fear of encirclement; the Triple Entente was confirmed the year before. Furthermore Austria-Hungary did not consult Germany initially and Austria antagonised Russia by threatening them with war</p> <p>Germany provoked the crisis to destroy</p>

	<p>intervened in a matter in which no vital German interest was at stake. The Kaiser hoped to isolate France and protect German economic interests in Morocco. An international conference (Algeciras, 1906) sided with France allowing it substantial control of Morocco</p> <p>The Second Moroccan Crisis (1911): The French suppressed an anti-French uprising in Morocco which led Germany to argue that the French has exceeded their rights. The Kaiser sent a gunboat as an indication of support for the rebels. Britain and France regarded German actions as aggressive and Germany was given the right to control parts of the Congo in return for accepting French influence in Morocco</p> <p>Antagonising Britain: Germany supported the Boers during the Boer War (1899-1902).</p> <p>German naval expansion caused tensions. The Second Naval Law in 1900 increased the navy to 38 battleships and further expansion occurred in 1906, 1908 and 1912. In 1912 Britain tried to negotiate with Germany, to limit their naval expansion, but to no avail</p>	<p>the Anglo-French entente and thus their encirclement. They believed that Britain would not stand by France</p> <p>Germany was not alone in behaving provocatively and Britain's policy here was extremely forceful. German actions may well have owed something to a wish to impress public opinion at home.</p> <p>Britain participated in the naval race and launched the dreadnought class of warship in 1906. This provoked Germany to expand their navy in the Third Naval Law (1906). Britain was determined to maintain naval supremacy. France also contributed to the arms race by expanding her army.</p>
<p>German actions in the summer of 1914 caused war in Europe (Strong German blaming interpretation)</p>	<p>On 28 June 1914, the heir to the Austrian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, was murdered by Bosnian associates of the Serbian nationalist Black Hand organisation. Austria blamed Serbia for the assassination. Germany gave their full support to the Austrians in pursuing a tough line against Serbia and Hollweg urged the Austrians to take swift military action against the Serbian government. He offered whatever financial and military assistance required and this unconditional support has been termed the 'Blank Cheque'. The Austrians subsequently issued an ultimatum to the Serbians and when the demand, to access Serbia to find the terrorists, was not met, they declared war on the 28th July.</p> <p>Russia, who was allied with Serbia, and who wanted to prevent Austrian expansion, began to mobilise her army. Germany demanded a halt to Russian mobilisation. Russia responded by ordering a full mobilisation and so on 31st July Germany declared war on Austria</p> <p>Germany decided to enact the Schlieffen Plan as war with Russia might have meant war with France. Germany declared war on France when they refused the German demand to stay neutral. Germany demanded that Belgium allow troops to cross their territory. Belgium refuses, Germany invaded Belgium and Britain, who had an alliance with Belgium, declared war on Germany</p> <p>Another argument is that Germany did not so much have a long term plan for war, instead they took a risk on war when the crisis developed in 1914. They took the chance to escalate the conflict between Austria and Serbia, as they hoped they would gain easy victories. If a larger conflict developed, the Germans calculated that it was better to have a war sooner rather than later with the Entente powers, whose military expansion was not yet fully realised.</p>	<p>Austria-Hungary was ultimately responsible for the decision to go to war and the event that triggered the crisis did not originate in Germany</p> <p>It could be argued that when Germany's leaders issued the 'blank cheque' to Austria they mistakenly assumed that Russia would back down once they knew that they intended to stand by Austria – much as Russia had done in the 1908-9 Bosnian crisis</p> <p>Russia's decision to mobilise her army pushed Germany to enact the Schlieffen plan.</p> <p>Germany only declared war on France when they refused the German demand to remain neutral in the event of a Russo-German war</p>

<p>The 'Escape Forwards' theory (Strong German blaming interpretation)</p>	<p>German politicians sought a war in order to resolve domestic difficulties, to 'escape' from these problems by pushing forwards with an aggressive war. This included the growing problem of the SPD, tensions caused by the Zabern Affair and a budget deficit. The conservative political and military elite sought to pursue war to strengthen their own position to try and create national unity, and to distract attention away from the need to reform the political system.</p>	
<p>Preventive war (Less extreme German blaming interpretation)</p>	<p>Germany embarked upon a preventative war because in 1914 German leaders and army chiefs were fearful of Russia's growing military power and wanted to eliminate the Russian threat before it was too late.</p> <p>In 1904 the combined armies of Russia and France outnumbered those of Russia and Germany by 260,000; by 1914 the figure was over 1 million. In the years before 1914 the military spending of the Triple Entente was much higher than that of the Triple Alliance</p>	
<p>The war was caused by tensions, rivalry and instability between European countries (Shared guilt interpretations)</p>	<p>The principle cause of war was the 'Realpolitik' practised by decision makers in all of the Great Powers. The basic assumption is that states are obliged to compete with one another for survival and thus formed alliances and built up their armed forces to ensure their security. The aim was to give rise to an equilibrium which would ensure peace. However it produced a flawed international system as it led to friction, tension, suspicion and fear and in this climate Europe stumbled into war.</p> <p>German established the Dual alliance with Austria in 1879 and Germany's continued commitment owed much to fears that its collapse would lead to a power vacuum from which Russia would benefit. France desperately needed an ally and wooed a newly isolated Russia when Germany did not renew the Reinsurance treaty. This was a surprise to Germany and left them open to a war on two fronts, especially in 1904 and 1907 when Britain allied themselves with France and then Russia respectively</p> <p>Britain participated in the naval race and launched the dreadnought class of warship in 1906. This provoked Germany to expand their navy in the Third Naval Law (1906). Britain was determined to maintain naval supremacy. France also contributed to the arms race by expanding her army.</p> <p>In the 1908 Bosnian crisis Austria-Hungary did not consult Germany initially and Austria antagonised Russia by threatening them with war</p> <p>Britain was extremely forceful in the Second Moroccan crisis (1911) by warning Germany that they risked war</p> <p>In 1912 and 1913 in the Balkan Wars countries including Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, Bulgaria and Romania fought against the Ottoman Empire and among themselves for territorial control of the Balkan region. This saw the Ottomans largely forced out of Europe and</p>	<p>1890 was a turning point for German foreign policy as they embarked upon Weltpolitik which referred to Germany's aims of building a colonial empire and transforming itself into a world power. As a result they commenced naval expansion and the following arms race</p> <p>Germany weighed in strongly on Austria's side and forced Russia to climb down. This left them bruised and resentful</p> <p>This started as another attempt by Germany to break the Anglo-French entente</p>

	<p>Serbia double in size. These wars destabilised peace in Europe and did not involve Germany.</p> <p>Austria-Hungary was ultimately responsible for the decision to go to war and the event that triggered the July crisis did not originate in Germany. Russia's decision to mobilise her army pushed Germany to enact the Schlieffen plan.</p> <p>A variation on this theme is that the Great powers were boxed in by war plans that they had made (war by timetable). In this situation military considerations began to take priority and army chiefs, desperate not to be caught in a disadvantage, took control of the crisis. Russia's generals, knowing it took six weeks to move their forces into position, pressured a hesitant Tsar into ordering mobilisation as a precautionary measure. Also it was Germany's commanders demanded the implementation of the Schlieffen Plan.</p>	<p>Germany's leaders at the very least knew when they gave the 'blank cheque' that there was a serious risk that general war would result</p>
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Unit 3: Weimar Republic

What threats did the Weimar Republic face (1919-1923)?

Revolutionary Left

In December 1918 the Spartacists broke away from the USPD. They were led by Liebknecht and Luxemburg. They wanted a revolution similar to that in Russia. They wanted a cancellation of elections for the new National Assembly. They wanted all power transferred to workers' and soldiers' councils. They would disband the police and army and set up workers' militias. This was a big threat from the left. On the 1st January 1919 held their first congress in Berlin and with the support of other left wing groups they created the German Communist Party, the KPD. This was followed by a revolutionary uprising in Berlin (Spartacist uprising). The uprising was poorly planned and crushed by the army; Liebknecht and Luxemburg were murdered. The government had to use anti-democratic forces in order to maintain the democracy.

In February 1919 the murder of the USPD leader in Bavaria triggered a revolution in Bavaria which led to the declaration of the Bavarian Soviet Republic. In May 1919 it was crushed by the Army and the Freikorps.

In response to the threat from the Freikorps, workers in the Ruhr formed a 'Red Army' which was a workers militia. On the 15th March 1920 they seized power and set up a government with the aim of establishing a Soviet state. The government sent in the Freikorps to crush the revolution. Prisoners were taken and shot on the spot. The government used the same forces to protect them that had just tried to overthrow them in the Kapp Putsch. The Ruhr revolution failed.

People in Germany were terrified of a Communist revolution. They had seen attempts by the Spartacists in Kiel (January 1919), in Bavaria (April 1919) and in the Ruhr (March 1920). However the perception of the threat of the extreme left (the fear) never matched the reality. The revolutionary left was divided (USPD/KPD) and did not benefit from widespread worker support. The most important consequence of the false perceived threat of the revolutionary left was that it deflected attention from the most serious threat to democracy – the anti-Republicanism of right wing nationalism. The perceived threat of left wing revolution made many believe (late 1920s) in the views of the right that the Republic was based on weak government and needed to be placed

Extreme Right and their political violence

The actions of the Spartacists concerned the leaders of the SPD as they knew that they could not rely on the support of the army in the face of a revolt. Thus a deal was done with the right wing (the pre 1918 military, judiciary and civil service). A deal with General Groener (Ludendorff's replacement) said that Ebert would protect the status of the army against the idea of a workers militia and thus in return the army would put down any revolutionary activity. Thus the right resumed their influence.

Wolfgang Kapp was leader of the Patriotic Party and Luttwitz was leader of the Freikorps. In March 1920 the government ordered that the Freikorps disband in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles. Luttwitz refused and instead demanded the resignation of Ebert and new elections to the Reichstag. On the night of 12-13 March Luttwitz led his Freikorps into Berlin where they seized the government district of the city. The government ordered the act but the Head of the General Staff ordered his troops to stay in their barracks as they would not fire upon their own army. Luttwitz declared Kapp Chancellor. The government fled to Dresden and appealed to the workers to strike in defence of the Republic. A large General strike paralysed

the capital and thus the Kapp regime collapsed. The Kapp-Lüttwitz Putsch revealed the army's reluctance to support the Republic. It also showed how the government's survival depended on unreliable forces.

The events of the Kapp Putsch convinced many on the right that the Republic was propped up by communist-inspired unions. Thus they joined secret organisations dedicated to a campaign of intimidation and violence. In the summer of 1921 Gareis (USPD leader) and Erzberger (Centre party politician) were murdered. In June 1922 the Foreign Minister (Walter Rathenau) was shot

Treaty of Versailles

- Germany had to accept blame for starting the war
- Germany's army was reduced to 100,000 men
- Germany was banned from having any submarines or aircraft
- Germany had to pay a huge £6.6 million to pay for the damage they caused. Called REPARATIONS
- Germany lost Alsace-Lorraine to France
- The Saar land was taken away and run by the League of Nations
- Germany was forbidden from uniting with Austria
- Germany was split into two so Poland could have access to the sea
- A League of Nations was set up as an international police force.

Rather than accept the treaty Schiedemann's government resigned (20th June 1919). The new government was led by Chancellor Gustav Bauer of the SPD and Vice Chancellor Matthias Erzberger of the Centre Party. Both accepted, as did the German Parliament (based in Weimar), that Germany did not have the means to resist an allied invasion and therefore had no choice but to sign the treaty. It was signed on the 28th June 1919.

In November 1919 Hindenburg said that the Versailles treaty was a humiliating Diktat (dictated without negotiation), a shameful peace and one which should not have been signed. This was hypocritical considering it was him who asked for an armistice. According to Hindenburg the treaty was signed by a clique of anti-patriotic left wing politicians (November Criminals) who had founded the Weimar Republic. These criminals were also to blame for stabbing the armed forces in the back (Stab in the Back theory) because they had been undermined by these weak politicians.

These theories were useful for the anti-Republican right as they removed themselves and the military from any responsibility for the events of 1918 and they gained popular support due to their resentment of the treaty. The elections of 1920 (to the first Reichstag of the Weimar Republic) were overshadowed by the disappointment of Versailles and the industrial worker unrest. The votes cast showed a swing of the balance of power from the 'Weimar Coalition' to the extreme left and extreme right. The old 'Weimar Coalition' received only 44.6% of the vote. The DNVP went up to 14.9% and the USPD to 17.9%. The SPD could not form coalitions with them.

These myths (as a result of the Versailles treaty) caused one of the greatest threats to the Republic's legitimacy.

Weimar Constitution

The January 1919 elections were a triumph for those parties that supported the concept of parliamentary democracy. This was the Centre Party, SPD and DDP. The first Reich President was Ebert (leader of the SPD) and the first coalition cabinet was led by Schiedemann with ministers from the SPD, Centre Party and DDP. The USPD only received 7.6%; showing that the support for revolution from the left was weak. The DVP polled only 4.4% demonstrating the support of the liberal middle classes for democracy. The DNVP were the main party contesting the election and they only received 10.3% of the vote. This would suggest that a stable government had been formed.

In January 1919 a cross-party group was created to consider the possibilities of a new constitution for Germany. The decisions were made and adopted on the 31st July 1919.

Reich Chancellor and Reich Cabinet		President		The Reichsrat
This was the government of Germany. They had to resign if they lost the Reichstag's confidence (Article 54)		The President was elected for seven years by the whole electorate. (Had to have over 50% of the vote). The President was head of the state and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The President had emergency powers to take whatever measures necessary to restore order (Article 48)		This represented the 17 states (Lander). States were represented in the Reichsrat by members of their state governments. It could block laws made by the Reichstag, but the Reichstag could override a veto with a 2/3's majority.
The Reichstag				State Governments
This was the law making body. They were elected for four years by Proportional Representation. Voters would vote for a list of candidates (representing each party). Every party received one seat for every 60,000 votes				There were 17 states each responsible for their educational, judicial and police system
The Electorate				

All Germans over the age of 20

STRENGTHS of the Weimar Constitution:	Weaknesses of the Weimar Constitution:
The Chancellor and his Cabinet needed majority support in the Reichstag	The President had strong powers to counter-balance those held by the Reichstag
A Bill of Rights guaranteed individual rights such as freedom of speech and the right to belong to a union	The constitution was the product of a compromise between the parties that were most successful in January 1919. Yet they did not poll close to this number of votes again. Thus the constitution's base was un-representative
All political opinion was included, including those on the nationalist right such as the DNVP	Proportional Representation led to Coalition Governments that rose and fell and failed to establish themselves. In the period up to 1923 the longest lasted for 18 months
PR was accepted by most across the political system. The SPD were committed to it and opponents of the SPD saw this as a means to prevent the socialists having overall control	
PR allowed sectional interests – not related to class - (such as Centre for Catholics) to continue to be represented	
The President was elected directly by the people and thus could counterbalance any elected parliamentary dictatorship. This was why Article 48 was established.	

Army and the Judiciary

Article 54 meant that the Judiciary maintained their independence. They misinterpreted the constitution and many judges showed bias against the Republic and towards those who tried to destroy the new democracy. This provided challenges with a veneer of legality

Erzberger was hated by enemies of the Republic because he had argued in favour of signing the Versailles treaty. In early 1920 Helfferich (leader of the DNVP) accused him of fraud and corruption. Erzberger accused Helfferich of libel and took him to court. The judiciary ruled against Erzberger and he was forced to resign. This decision was dubious at best

In June 1922 Rathenau (Foreign Minister) was shot. This resulted in the Law for the Protection of the Republic that set up special courts to deal with terrorists. The judiciary failed to use the law to the full and it was used against forces of the left

In October 1922 Fechenbach (secretary to the leader of the Bavarian revolutionary government in 1918) was given 11 years imprisonment for violating the Press Law. In contrast in 1924 Adolf Hitler (leader of the Munich Putsch) was given only five years for high treason

In 1923 the KPD tried to unleash a German 'October Revolution' in Saxony and Thuringia. It failed due to the prompt unleashing of army units

A month later in 1923, General von Seeckt initially failed to send in troops to deal with an attempted coup by the right in Munich. In this Munich Putsch did not want to order the army into battle against his comrades on the nationalist right. In the end the Putsch was put down by the Bavarian police

Reparations

There were huge problems in coming to terms with economic readjustment and debt. Reparations made matters worse. By late 1922 their national debt was 469 milliard marks. In July 1922 the government asked for permission to suspend reparation payments. This request was refused by the French Prime Minister. Thus the German government printed more money to cover its debts. This move was taken as sabotage to reparation payments. At the end of the year the Reparations Commission declared that they had failed to meet their Reparation promises.

The German defaulting on Reparations led to the Franco/Belgian occupation of the Ruhr in January 1923 with 60,000 troops. The German government encouraged the workers to offer passive resistance. This meant that the government had to pay millions of marks to those that lost income and it also led to less income from tax. Thus the government printed more money. The German government collapsed into hyperinflation. The savings of the middle class were destroyed and the working class saw their income drop.

How stable were the Stresemann years? (The 'Golden Years')

Political Stability

The problems for the Republic's political system of coalition governments were made worse by the behaviour of the SPD. Between 1924 and 1928 they resisted becoming involved in coalition governments because they believed that coalition with 'bourgeois' parties would be a compromise of their ideals. This weakened the whole process of democracy as it contradicted the process of representation (as a result of votes cast to the Reichstag). This reluctance of the SPD was made worse by the election of President Hindenburg who tried to exclude the SPD from government; this made political consensus unlikely.

Hindenburg had a great influence in deciding who would be members of coalition governments and he worked tirelessly to make sure that the SPD were not. These exclusions made workable coalitions difficult. Even when they were included in government (for example the Muller government of 1928) the coalitions were not very successful because the DVP and the Centre Party shared Hindenburg's reluctance to allow SPD domination, despite them being the largest party in the Reichstag. Furthermore, whenever possible, Hindenburg insisted on the inclusion of the DNVP and thus the fourth Marx government of 1927 ruled out the possibility of a 'grand coalition' covering the political spectrum.

The May 1928 election was a turning point as the left made considerable gains (the SPD went from 22 to 53 seats) and the parties of the centre and right saw their share of the vote drop. Thus the SPD was now prepared to form coalitions but political polarisation now meant that forming a stable majority government became impossible; there was a rise in the support for splinter parties.

Muller's government of 1928 became known as the Grand Coalition but this was eventually brought down because the SPD rejected the compromise of the Centre Party regarding the contributions to unemployment benefits. The inability of the parties to agree was indicative of a narrowing of their interests which caused voters to look for extreme parties, which would seem to represent their wider concerns. The actions of the SPD in bringing down Muller's government was political suicide.

Economic Stability

FOR	AGAINST
<p>Stresemann negotiated the Dawes Plan with America. It was introduced in 1924. In this plan it was agreed that the French would leave the Ruhr and that Reparations could be paid over a longer period of time. It was also agreed that Germany would receive an international loan (800 million Reich marks) to cover 4/5 of the reparations payments. This would help stimulate the economy. Annual reparation payments would remain at 1000 Reich marks per year and would only increase after 1929</p>	<p>It was very hard to get Reichstag support for the Dawes Plan. The main problem was that it accepted that Germany would continue paying Reparations. The collapse of the SPD vote in the May 1924 elections (and the divisions over the issue within the SPD) made the task of pushing through the agreement with a 2/3's majority even harder. It was eventually passed due to the support of the DNVP, the largest party in the Reichstag from the right.</p>
<p>The 1928 elections meant that the new government was once again dominated by socialists. A new 'grand coalition' was formed and this included members of the DDP, DVP, Centre Party and BVP. Their main task was to steer through the Reichstag the Young plan of 1929. It was formulated because Germany was worried about the higher annual reparation payment which was due to start in 1929. The Young Plan proposed increasing a larger timescale for payments, up to 1988. It proposed to reduce the new annual figure from 2,500 million marks to 2,000 million marks. If this was passed then the French would agree to evacuate the Rhineland. The Young Plan was passed by the Reichstag</p>	<p>In 1929 the leader of the DNVP formed the Reich Committee for a Referendum to oppose the Young Plan. The committee won the support of a range of anti-Republican groups, including the leader of the NSDAP – Adolf Hitler. The referendum was defeated and the Young plan was eventually passed in 1930. However it was overshadowed by the Wall Street Crash in 1929.</p>
<p>1924-1929 saw significant monetary stability and</p>	<p>The downside to the influx of foreign capital was</p>

an end to hyperinflation. This was due to the establishment of a new currency – the Rentenmark.	that this policy had potential dangers. A downturn in the world economy would lead to the rapid withdrawal of such investment
1924-1929 saw significant monetary stability and an end to hyperinflation. This was also due to the influx of foreign capital. 25.5 billion Marks were sent to Germany between 1924 and 1930. This led to the reconstruction of German industry	The spectacular growth rates in industry meant that working conditions did not increase at the same pace. This caused some polarisation of employers and employees
The Dawes Plan meant that less money had to be paid each year in reparations. This meant that more money was available for growth in industry. Industry experienced spectacular growth rates	There was industrial growth in this period but there was not agricultural growth. In 1922 food prices collapsed which led to widespread rural poverty
	A return to confidence in the mainstream parties of the Republic during the elections was not shown during the 'Stresemann years'. In fact the opposite is true. The DDP and the Centre Party saw a drop since 1919. The votes won by the DVP steadily declined over the Stresemann years
	Unemployment remained considerably high. In late 1928 those out of work stood at 3 million; 15% of the workforce

Social Stability

FOR:	AGAINST:
Article 119 of the constitution put family at the centre of German life. It became the responsibility of adults to make sure that they protect and nurture their children	
Articles 135-141 of the constitution guaranteed religious freedoms. Freedoms included the ability to worship how, when and where people like	
Article 157 protected employees from being exploited by their employers	
The death of many soldiers in WWI left widows	However many of these benefits were only at a

and orphaned children. All were financially helped by two laws passed in 1920. One was the Reich Relief Law and one was the Serious Disability Laws.	subsistence level
The 1927 Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance Law introduced unemployment insurance which protected people from job losses	
Article 155 committed the government to building quality housing. Public spending on housing grew rapidly throughout the 1930s and between 1927 and 1930 300,000 homes were either built or renovated.	
Better health insurance was introduced. This led to better medical provision and a reduction in deaths from certain diseases. This has included tuberculosis and pneumonia	
There was some small change in the jobs that women did and some gained a higher status. More women worked in the civil service, teaching or social work	The jobs that women did in the 1930s remained the same throughout the 1930s as it did before the Weimar Republic came into existence. Attitudes towards women remained generally conservative. The vast majority who had worked in men's jobs during WWII gave this work up once the war was over
	There was considerable debate during the Stresemann years over whether married woman should work. This increased after 1924 when the rationalisation of some businesses saw some men laid off and this criticism of women working became even sharper in the depression. In 1932 the Law Governing the Legal Status of Female Civil Servants was passed. This made possible the dismissal from the Civil Service of women who lived with a working man
The Weimar Republic tried to improve the upbringing of us children. The Reich Youth Law of 1922 claimed the right of all children to a decent upbringing.	This claim was difficult to fulfil in reality
Child criminals were helped by the Reich Youth Welfare Law of 1922 and the Reich Juvenile	

Court Law of 1923. This improved the rehabilitation of young offenders	
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Cultural Stability

Germany saw a flourishing of cultural experimentation and a more liberal and tolerant atmosphere. Society also reflected these values: gay life flourished in Berlin and some young women in cities were able to pursue careers and live in an independent manner.

In art, George Grosz and Otto Dix produced works reflecting on the impact of WWI. In architecture and design the Bauhaus movement created modern designs for buildings and furniture. In music American jazz became very popular. In literature, Erich Maria Remarque's 'All Quiet on the Western Front' looked at the traumatic impact of WWI on German soldiers. In cinema Germany had a world leading industry and Fritz Lang's 'Metropolis' was particularly influential. Cabaret became very popular in Berlin.

However many did not view these changes positively and came to associate the Weimar system with decadence. Outside large urban areas, most Germans still preferred traditional culture and traditional roles for women, and did not tolerate homosexuality.

Stability resulting from Foreign Policy

FOR:	AGAINST:
Fulfilment – Significant progress was made towards the revision of some of the articles of the Versailles treaty. By trying to fulfil the terms he could show unjust and how unworkable they were	Stresemann failed in his main foreign policy objective to completely revise the Versailles treaty
Stresemann achieved a greater understanding with France as reflected in the Locarno Treaties of 1925	There was no consensus on the best tactic to revise the Versailles treaty. Thus his diplomacy did not result in political stability
Stresemann achieved considerable success given the difficult international situation within which he was working	The treaty of Versailles and the 'Stab in the Back' theory continued to undermine the Weimar Republic. Fulfilment brought some relief but did not alter the humiliation felt in large parts of Germany. An example of this is 5.8 million people voting for the Freedom Law in opposition to the Young Plan
Germany worked towards agreement with the Soviet Union (Treaty of Berlin) which prompted the Western Powers into a more systematic	The first evacuation from the Rhineland does not represent a wholesale change in French attitudes. There was no political French will to

approach with Germany	withdraw
Soon after the Locarno Treaties the first evacuation of the Rhineland took place. This was a remarkable achievement considering the events in the Ruhr the year before	The issue of the Versailles Treaty plagued politics and caused disagreements between the DNVP and DVP/DDP – causing their 1925 coalition to collapse
Stresemann's policies resulted in Germany regaining diplomatic influence over the Allies and helped achieve a seat on the League of Nations' permanent council	The gradual approach to the restoration of German power meant that those who proposed more radical action were still able to act as a destabilising influence
The Young Plan rescheduled the reparation debt	
The Dawes Plan strengthened Germany's industrial base and fostered better relationships with the USA	

Why did the Weimar Republic survive until 1929?

1. Fear of Communism (in the early years the right would protect the left wing coalitions against communist uprisings)
2. Revision of the Treaty of Versailles
3. Economic Stability
4. Foreign policy success
5. Social change
6. New Weimar Constitution

Unit 4: Rise of the Nazis

Account for the Nazi rise to power

The September 1930 elections were a triumph for the Nazis who saw their representation in the Reichstag increase from 12 to 107 seats. The new Brüning cabinet governed with even less support and had to rely on the toleration of the SPD. The electoral success led to the joining of 100,000 new party members and saw a spectacular growth in sectional party organisations; most notably the AA which extended Nazi influence in the countryside. The July 1932 elections made the Nazis the largest party in the Reichstag as they gained 37% of the vote.

Munich Putsch (November 1923)

- In the atmosphere of crisis in late 1923 Hitler attempted to take over the government. On 8 November in a beer hall in Munich, Hitler and Rohm, with the backing of Ludendorff, took control of a conservative political meeting and Hitler announced a national revolution
- Hitler hoped to unite right wing nationalists in an armed march to seize control
- Instead some of the conservative politicians reported the plot to the authorities and the Bavarian police were able to stop the putsch as they marched through Munich on the 9 November
- In prison Hitler had the time to write Mein Kampf and sales helped to support Hitler in his political work

Party reorganisation

- Hitler reconsidered his tactics and decided to use the Weimar system to try to gain power instead of force (Ballot not bullet)
- At the Bamberg Conference (1926) Hitler asserted his ideology and the Führerprinzip (the principle that Hitler possessed all power and authority)
- Hitler established a national party network. Regional party bosses (called gauleiters) were appointed and accountable to Hitler. They assisted with election campaigning
- Party organisations were set up to target various groups in German society including for doctors, teachers and an agricultural movement was set up to draw in the peasantry (AA)
- Despite these efforts the Nazis only gained 2.6% of the vote in the 1928 election.
- However the reason that the party was able to provide a political home for those discontented after the crash of 1929 was because of the flexibility of the party structure created and developed in the 1920s.

Economic depression

- Following the Wall Street Crash the US economy experienced a severe depression. The German economy was heavily dependent upon US money and so the German economy was severely affected.
- Industrial production declined by more than 40%
- 6 million people were unemployed by 1932 (1/3 of the working age were out of work)
- 50,000 businesses were bankrupted
- Five major banks went bankrupt
- Homelessness and poverty increased

- Voters looked to more radical parties for solutions

Failure of mainstream politicians

- The political system struggled to cope with the difficulties.
- Muller's Grand Coalition fell apart as the parties disagreed over the issue of unemployment benefits. Subsequent governments were minority administrations which lacked Reichstag support. Brüning's government failed to get backing for its July 1930 budget and so Hindenburg dissolved the Reichstag and called a new election. Von Papen's government also fell apart as a vote of no-confidence was passed.
- The German political system moved in a more authoritarian direction. Brüning and later von-Papen had to rely extensively on emergency decrees rather than parliamentary government; 44 were issued under Article 48 in 1931. In July 1931 von Papen and Hindenburg also used Article 48 to seize control of regional governments in Prussia, where they rejected the left-wing SPD-led government.
- However politicians did not gain popular support because they did not take effective action to deal with the depression. Modest reflationary measures were only started in mid-1932. As a result Germans lost faith in the political system; Brüning was labelled the 'hunger Chancellor'
- The problem worsened as political violence returned to the streets. During the July 1932 election campaign there were 461 riots in Prussia in which a number of people died. The SA were responsible for lots of the violence as they battled against communists. This increased person's discontent.

Propaganda

- Nazi propaganda was tailored to different audiences to maximise support. Messages about bread and work were deployed in working class areas. Messages about the Weimar Republic's lax moral standards were tailored to conservative mothers and anti-Semitic messages were targeted at small shop keepers.
- The Nazis used posters, leaflets, rallies and speeches as well as modern technology, such as radio and film. Rallies were designed to provoke an emotional response through the orchestration of image, sound and emotive measures.
- Goebbels cultivated an image of Hitler as Germany's heroic saviour which contrasted with current politicians who seemed weak and ineffective. The 'Hitler over Germany' campaign portrayed him as dynamic and modern.

Support from the conservative elite

- Hindenburg resisted making Hitler chancellor after the July 1932 election and did not consider mass popularity sufficient for him to be elected. What eventually led to his appointment was the support he received from some in the political and economic elite.
- Conservatives in big business turned to Hitler for fear of a communist takeover as they had seen the KPD vote increase from 3.2 million in 1928 to 5.9 million in November 1933. Thus influential industrialists and bankers put pressure on Hindenburg to appoint Hitler Chancellor. They also contributed to Nazi funds. Furthermore army leaders told Hindenburg that they would be unable to

deal with uprisings from both the communist militia and SA. Thus they wanted a deal with Hitler in order to gain the support of the SA

- Hitler benefitted from the intrigue of the time. Von Papen schemed against von Schleicher, appointed in December 1932. The plan involved convincing Hindenburg to make him vice-Chancellor and Hitler Chancellor in a cabinet where Nazi members would be a minority. Von Papen wanted to use Hitler's popular support to give the legitimacy to an authoritarian government that his own government had lacked in 1932. Von Papen assumed he would be able to control Hitler. Hindenburg relented when von Schleicher failed to gain Reichstag support in the same way as von Papen.
- Hitler was appointed Chancellor on 30 January 1933, despite a decline in the vote in November 1932

How did the Nazis consolidate their power by the end of 1933?

Brutality and Violence

A decree in Prussia in 1933 resulted in the police being reinforced by 'volunteers'; i.e. the SA.

After the Reichstag fire the police were given the powers to detain suspects indefinitely without reference to the courts. The decree was used to justify the arrest, imprisonment and often torture of thousands of political opponents. The leader of the KPD (Ernst Thälmann) was arrested on the 3rd March and 25,000 political prisoners were in custody in Prussia alone by the end of April.

On 23 March 1933 Hitler presented the Enabling Act to an intimidated Reichstag; brown shirted SA packed the public gallery. The Reichstag passed laws which voted itself out of existence. The communists were barred from voting. The power to pass laws was now given to the Cabinet and they could change the constitution as they saw fit. This bought Hitler four years of a dictatorship.

Following the March 1933 election the Nazis could start the process of destroying the political opposition and in March in Bavaria Himmler (leader of the SS) set up a concentration camp in Dachau to house political opponents. The Nazis managed to use terror with efficient ruthlessness

After the Enabling Act was the destruction of local state government. Under the orders of Frick all state governments were dissolved and ordered to reconvene with membership that reflected the recent elections from which the communists had been barred.. By the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (April 1933), Jews and political opponents of the Nazis were thrown out of the civil service.

In May 1933 SA members stormed the ADGB (huge socialist trade union organisation) and disbanded it. Other trade unions voluntarily disbanded or joined the German Labour Front. This violence led many leaders of the SPD to flee abroad and in June its party was officially banned. The 3000 that remained were arrested and a number were killed. In Kopenich 100 resisted arrest and were murdered in cold blood. In July the Nazi party were declared the only legal party.

Fear, failure and exploitation of Communism

The potential challenge to Hitler from the Communists was very real. In the two elections of 1932 the KPD had seen their votes increase from 14.3% in July to 16.9% in November. The Red Front Fighters' League matched the SA on the streets. The SPD won 24% of the vote in the November 1932 election

The widely perceived threat of a communist revolution explains why the Nazis were quickly able to undermine the constitution of the Weimar Republic and why many non-Nazi groups were willing to go along with the process of Gleichschaltung; the national community promised by Hitler did not include communists.

The Communists believed that Hitler's government would not last. They believed that his appointment as chancellor signalled a problem for capitalism that would eventually lead to economic collapse and the victory of communism. Thus their tactic was to do nothing and wait. This was despite clear provocation. The SA volunteers led to a wave of violence against communists and socialists in Germany.

In February 1933 Goring ransacked the Communist headquarters and announced that evidence had been discovered showing a Communist conspiracy to seize power. The Nazis created 'anti Communist hysteria' and for the Communists to react violently would play into Communist hands.

The split between Communist and Socialist parties further undermined their ability to oppose the Nazis

Hitler believed his own propaganda that the communists were planning to take over and concluded that the Reichstag fire was the first act in the long-awaited backlash. It gave the regime the legality to crush the communists. Hitler and the leadership ignored the initial evidence that the fire had been started by van der Lubbe on his own as retaliation to the oppression felt by the working class.

The Nazis passed the 'Decree for the Protection of People and State' which suspended the rights of freedom of speech, assembly and press. The police gained the power to detain suspects indefinitely and Goebbels propaganda machine meant that these acts were widely accepted. The collapse of the rule of law was given a legal veneer. This all paved the way for success in the March 1933 election. This was still only 43.9%. The banning of KPD members gave him a political advantage.

Veneer of Legality

The Nazi leaders were pragmatic in their understanding that their revolution had to be achieved by legal means for it to be acceptable to the majority of the population. This explains Hitler's 'Appeal to the German People' broadcast on the 1st February which was very tame in nature

The decree following the Reichstag fire is a good example of how the Nazis were keen to ensure that there was a legal front to their activities despite the fact that in reality the decree signalled the collapse of law and order

The regime still needed to portray itself as respectability and so the opening of the Reichstag on Potsdam day showed Hitler wearing morning dress and bowing in front of Hindenburg. It was a propaganda masterpiece

On the 21st March 1933 the Malicious Practises Law banned criticism of the regime and its policies

Collaboration with the conservatives/middle class

The centre Party gave the Nazis the 2/3's majority necessary to introduce the 'Enabling Act' which paved the way for the dictatorship.

Hindenburg had allowed himself to be fooled into thinking that Hitler could be contained. Conservative and nationalist leaders calculated that by allying themselves with the Nazis that they could moderate Hitler's idealism. They were then out manoeuvred.

To achieve the majority for the Enabling Act the Nazis needed the support of the Centre Party (Catholics) as they could present a significant voting bloc. Thus Hitler made reassurances that the act would not affect the church in any way.

After the passing of the act Hitler's priority was to eliminate the political role of the church but was prepared to compromise on its social functions for the time being. The result was the Concordat signed on the 20 July 1933. Catholic Church members could still assemble for worship.

Propaganda

The Nazis deployed propaganda effectively as a means of deceiving the political nation of their real intentions and significances of their actions

For example after the Reichstag fire the Goebbels propaganda machine portrayed the decree as a necessary step in the battle against communism

In 1933 Goebbels moved quickly to seize control of all forms of communication and by the end of 1933 they had control of all forms of the media. Jewish, communist and socialist journalists were dismissed.

'The Nazi consolidation of power was complete by the end of 1933' How far do you agree with this judgement?

1. Control of political system
2. Removal of political opposition
3. Ideological dominance
4. Veneer of Legality
5. Collaboration with business/acceptance of independent church and lack of respect from army

Why did the Weimar Republic fail by 1933?

1. Economic depression
2. Failure of mainstream politics
3. Actions of the conservative elite
4. Nazi propaganda, terror and an illusion of moderation

Unit 5: How popular and efficient was the Nazi regime in the years 1933-1939?

POPULARITY	
FOR	AGAINST
<p>A substantial amount of enthusiasm from the middle class and Protestants due to: the destruction of the KPD as an organised political force, the removal of the economic slump, the assertive foreign policy and the hard line youth policies which were seen as a return to sanity after the Weimar decadence. Furthermore propaganda placed Hitler above the party and 'the Hitler Myth' made Hitler more popular than his party</p>	
<p>Enthusiasm also came from large sections of the youth who had been subjected to systematic indoctrination via a school curriculum which prioritised 'racial science', physical education and the Nazi interpretation of Germany's recent history. This was supplemented with 'military athletics' and propaganda via the Hitler Youth during evenings and at weekends. It is not a coincidence that many of the German soldiers who committed war crimes in Poland and Russia came from this generation.</p>	
<p>There was a lack of active resistance. The SPD and KPD organisations had been destroyed and leaders were arrested or had fled. The SPD did maintain an underground information gathering network (SOPADE) and distributed leaflets and an illegal newspaper to 200,000. The KPD set up a spy network known to the Nazis as 'Red Orchestra' which survived for four years before it was broken up by the SS. In both cases they were just concentrating on survival until the regime collapsed.</p> <p>Niemoller and Bonhoffer were the leading Protestant resisters who established the Confessional church in response to the Nazi takeover of Evangelical churches. Individual catholic priests condemned Nazism and in 1937 there was a protest in Oldenburg when the Nazis attempted to remove crucifixes from school classrooms. However both churches wanted to defend their interests rather than reject Nazism.</p>	<p>There was more passive resistance. For example women wearing make-up and young people listening to jazz. This could also include the level of grumbling throughout the 1930s. It could be argued that this indifference limited the authority and impact of the regime.</p> <p>This concept has been questioned by some historians and says that this indifference only existed because they were indifferent to politics as a whole. Women wore make-up not because they dissented from the regime but because they wanted to look good. Historians have instead coined the term 'Loyal reluctance'. The non-conformity that existed did not challenge the regime or mean disloyalty to the regime.</p> <p>The 'Swing Kids' were a middle class group who resented the regimentation of the Hitler Youth and expressed this by wearing their hair long and listening to jazz. The 'Edelweiss Pirates' were gangs of working class youth who adopted the slogan 'Eternal War on the Hitler Youth'. They ambushed Hitler Youth patrols and beat up Hitler Youth members. They were arrested and sent to execution camps; ringleaders were executed</p>
<p>The German people were deluded due to control of all means of communication. Propaganda was successful in that it cultivated the Hitler myth, portrayed the Nazi regime as a stabilising force and played on frustrated German nationalism. For many it was easier to believe the propaganda than question it, many also could push to one side their doubts because of its perceived successes; especially compared to Weimar.</p>	<p>Reports suggest that the working class became bored by the flood of propaganda. There was no enthusiasm for the Anschluss as few wanted war and thus did also not support actions in the Sudetenland. Most were appalled by Kristallnacht which forced Hitler into acting more secretly in the future. Goebbels was a shrewd propaganda operator and wanted to use propaganda to integrate all 'national comrades' into a single 'national community' (Volksgemeinschaft) in which divisions of class and religion would be broken down. He was not successful.</p>
<p>Goebbels realised that middle-aged and elderly people brought up within the working class or Catholic camps would not be turned into committed Nazis and thus aimed at neutralising rather than converting them. Thus he wanted to deflect their attention away from politics and do so by feeding them a diet of light entertainment. This explains why little of the film output was political, half the films produced were romances or comedies and a third</p>	

<p>were thrillers. Only a small number were crude National Socialist propaganda. The emphasis was on depoliticising life. The same applied to radio where a lot of light music was played. The availability of the 'People's Receiver' at low cost gave Germany the highest rate of radio ownership in the world.</p>	
<p>6 million jobs were created which attracted working class support. Unemployment fell from 25.9% in 1933 to 7.4% in 1936</p>	<p>However real wages only rose above 1929 levels in 1938, those in consumer goods industries struggled to maintain real incomes, working hours increased and the fall in unemployment owed much to the removal of women and Jews</p>
<p>Opposition was neutralised by leisure and cultural opportunities. 'Strength through Joy' was set up to fill the gap left in people's lives by the liquidation of the SPD and KPD by offering a wide range of leisure and cultural opportunities such as sports competitions, choirs and evening classes. The Nazis became heavily involved in the tourism business, sponsoring cheap travel inside Germany and providing opportunities for travel abroad on cruise ships. The 'People's Car' scheme invited people to start paying 5 marks a week and 300,000 people signed up. The project was scrapped when war broke out.</p>	
<p>The ideology of 'Blood and Soil' suggested real sympathy for the peasants; it portrayed them as the purest racial element, the provider of Germany's food and the symbol of traditional German values. Many farm debts and mortgages were written off, small farmers were given low interest rates and the government maintained extensive tariffs. The 1933 Reich Food Estate supervised every aspect of agricultural production and distribution especially food prices and working wages</p>	<p>At first all farmers benefited from an increase in prices but by 1936 peasant disillusionment set in. This was because wages were higher in the towns and the regulations of the Reich Food Estate were resented</p>
<p>Most women's organisations were happy to become part of the Women's Front as they were pleased to support a regime that was nationalistic and supportive of the traditional role of women (Gleichaltung)</p>	<p>By 1937 Nazi ideological convictions were threatened by the pressures of economic necessity; the rearmament boom led to an increasing shortage of labour, thus the decline in female employment was reversed. In 1939 it was decided to end the marriage loan scheme for women who withdrew from the labour movement. Improved welfare services made life easier for women but Nazi views were idealistic and impractical. The teaching profession felt its status to be under threat as the crude indoctrination alienated many. Standards in academic subjects fell by the start of the war.</p>
TERROR	
FOR	AGAINST
<p>The SS was founded as Hitler's personal bodyguard in 1925. Himmler became the leader in 1929. The SD (Security Service) was created in 1931 and headed by Heydrich which was an intelligence service with the aim of spying on enemies. In 1933 the SD was given the responsibility for establishing concentration camps to detain Nazi political opponents. The camps were run by 'Death Head's units' of the SS. In 1934 Himmler was given control of the secret police force (the Gestapo) which operated in parallel with the SD – this was created out of the political branch of the Prussian state police. In 1936 Himmler was made Chief of all German Police which gave the SS a monopoly over all policing. In 1939 the SS, SD and Gestapo were incorporated into the Reich main Security Office. The SS became the principle instrument of Nazi oppression. It was responsible for: keeping watch on the German people, neutralising suspected enemies ('protective custody'), controlling an elaborate system of concentration camps</p>	<p>It has been questioned whether this terror system actually subdued the Germans and instead suggested that terror did not control a nation but was used as a tool against certain enemies. This is supported by the number of concentration camp detainees. The Gestapo were only a small organisation, for example the 4 million people in the Dusseldorf district of the Ruhr were watched over by a mere 300 Gestapo personnel. Nationally the Gestapo had a staff of 32,000. The SS numbered a ¼ of a million in its entirety in the late 1930s.</p>

<p>The threat of arrest, prosecution and incarceration in brutal and violent conditions loomed over all. They were intimidated into acceptance. The mere existence of the Gestapo created a climate of fear and warned the opposition not to step out of line. Regular courts also dealt with political opposition, the number of prison inmates doubled. 200,000 'block-wardens', the Hitler Youth and the Labour Front were all part of the Nazi terror apparatus which kept people under surveillance and reported them to the Gestapo</p>	
<p>It mustn't be forgotten that The SPD and KPD were wiped out. These were not small minorities but parties that had won 13 million votes</p>	
<p>Popularity and Terror: Not mutually exclusive</p>	
<p>The support of ordinary Germans may suggest that people believed in Nazi ideas and wanted to work for the Nazis. The use of concentration camps seems to have been widely known about and supported by many Germany people in the 1930s. Terror was used against certain groups and this was popular amongst the populace.</p>	

	INTENTIONALISM	STRUCTURALISM
<p>Definitions</p>	<p>At the heart of the Nazi state was the ideology, personality and leadership of Hitler Hitler had a clear world view and the aims of it were defined in Mein Kampf He remained consistent to these aims throughout his political life There were moments when there was deviation from Hitler's programme but they were only for pragmatic reasons Hitler was all powerful and central to all events from 1933-1945 All political decisions were made by Hitler; the Nazi state was a monocratic state There was political infighting and chaos but this was a deliberate policy of divide and rule</p>	<p>The key to explaining domestic and foreign policy developments was the context within which Hitler and other decision makers operated There were agencies, power blocs and individuals that competed in a chaotic structure This chaos existed because Hitler was unwilling to create an ordered system of government and because there was a lack of clear planning and direction This chaotic competition explains the radicalisation of policy up until 1945</p>
<p>Hitler's Bohemian Lifestyle</p>		<p>Hitler was by instincts an artist and from 1935 he lived in a way that did not conform to normal patterns He spent next to no time on administration of the government When in Berlin he would take lunch and then meet with dignitaries for no more than an hour in the afternoon. He would then take a walk, eat supper and watch films (his favourites included Disney cartoons). Guests would often be subjected to a lengthy monologue on Hitler's favourite themes before he retired to bed, sometimes as late as 2am. Hitler did not like Berlin, preferring the mountain air and sensational views from his retreat in Bavaria. There his routine was none too strenuous. He would emerge just before noon to read extracts from the newspapers. A lengthy vegetarian lunch would be followed by an afternoon walk down the hill for tea and cakes, before the same evening and night time routine as in Berlin. During the day he would occasionally deal with matters that were brought to his attention, but they would often be trivial, for example deciding on the punishment of traffic offences.</p>
<p>Economy</p>	<p>Intentionalists would explain the events with regards to the management of economic changes</p>	<p>Hitler allowed Schacht free reign from 1933-1936 to reduce unemployment. However Hitler</p>

	by saying it was part of the policy of 'Divide and Rule'	undermined him when he sanctioned the Four Year Plan led by Goring. The aim was to make Germany self-sufficient with regards to raw materials Goring undermined Schacht so much that he resigned from his post in 1937. He was replaced by Funk who was willing to subordinate the Ministry of Economics to the Four Year Plan
Party v State	<p>Intentionalists would explain the events with regards to the struggle between the party and the state by saying it was part of the policy of 'Divide and Rule'</p> <p>Hitler was prepared to intervene and side with those most effectively interpreting his world view, for example in 1936 when he put Himmler in charge of the German police.</p>	<p>When Hitler became Chancellor the Civil Service remained intact. This then became increasingly challenged by the emergence of National Socialist agencies that ran in parallel to the traditional state. From 1935 Hess and Bormann were successful in asserting the dominance of the party over the state civil service. From 1937 all state officials were made responsible to Hitler and in 1939 it was compulsory for all civil servants to be members of the party.</p> <p>Hitler was not concerned to protect the interests of state or party. He was happy to support the civil service as it provided the legitimacy his regime needed and at the same time he allowed party organisations, such as the SS, to develop. These became mini-states and their influence depended on their ability to interpret the Fuhrer's will. Agencies were allowed to fight amongst themselves and the strongest prevailed.</p>
Hitler and the Gauleiter	Gauleiter were unquestioning in their support of the Fuhrer, they fought off all local opposition and thus were the backbone of Hitler's power.	<p>In 1934 the Law for the Reconstruction of the Reich meant Frick tried to put the newly created Reich Governors under his control as head of the Ministry of the Interior; thereby centralising control. It did not work because most of the governors were also Gauleiter with large local power bases. In the end Hitler agreed to place them nominally under Frick's control but in reality they could appeal directly to the Fuhrer.</p> <p>Rauschning was one of Hitler acquaintances up until 1934. To him Hitler was not a dictator but depended on the Gauleiter for his power; he said that he never had an opinion contrary to their wishes. It must be remembered that Rauschning fell out of favour with the regime and this would have clouded his views.</p>
Hitler's Decisions	Hitler's power as head of party, state and military was unassailable. The 'Triumph of the Will' showed him as a demigod worshipped by the German people and it was this propaganda that distanced him from the need to be involved in day to day decisions. The crucial peacetime decisions were made by Hitler; most notably the Night of the Long Knives.	From 1934 Hitler showed little interest in decision making. The number of cabinet meetings declined from 72 in 1933 to none in 1938. Hitler rarely read important documents before making a decision and disliked signing official papers. Instead subordinates sought a verbal agreement or a nod of the Fuhrer's head. (Fuhrer's orders). Sometimes contradictory orders led to confusion, for example when contradictory orders were given for and against Jewish emigration in November 1935.
Foreign Policy	Hitler made all the key foreign policy decisions: Clear explanation of aims in Mein Kampf Pragmatic diplomacy between 1933 and 1935 which support to revise the Versailles treaty Introduction of rearmament and conscription which strengthened Germany's position by 1935 Reoccupation of the Rhineland in 1936 Anschluss with Austria in 1938	

	Negotiation of the gaining of the Sudetenland with Britain and the seizing of Czechoslovakia between 1938-1939 The decision to invade Poland in 1939	
Working towards the Fuhrer		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hitler had a world view • Hitler hated bureaucracy and saw himself above the day to day politics • In failing to focus on routine matters he left a vacuum for others to fill • Therefore power and influence was up for grabs • You gained this power and influence if you successfully worked towards the world view in the right way for that particular time • This led to cumulative radicalisation as Hitler (one of the most radical Nazis) would increasingly prefer and accord power to those that adopted an increasingly more radical position • Hitler was a strong dictator in a state where all were 'working towards the Fuhrer • This explains how policies emerged <p>This can evidently be seen in how the policy towards the Jews and disabled developed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Following Hitler becoming Chancellor in 1933 there was spontaneous attacks against the Jews on the streets • Streicher demanded a boycott of Jewish businesses in response to the American and European threat of a boycott in response to the violence. Hitler decided that it could only last a day as he was worried about international backlash. • The unease about street violence resulted in the decision to introduce discriminatory laws instead. Ministers framed laws including Frick who framed the 'Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service' which prohibited Jews. 'On the hoof' racial policy continued because on the same day a law banned Jewish lawyers. • Spontaneous violence broke out again in 1935. Once again it was still deemed necessary to adopt a legal approach to the Jewish question instead; thus in August Hitler ordered an end to the random attacks. In September Wagner (Reich Doctors' lawyer) made a speech indicating that a law banning mixed marriages was imminent. Civil servants presented four drafts to Hitler and Hitler chose the most conservative (Draft D) which made marriage between Jews and Aryans illegal. This was followed by a law that removed citizenship from German Jews and both of these became known as the Nuremberg Laws • The Anschluss with Austria incorporated 195,000 extra Jews into the Reich. This caused a resurgence of street violence, much worse than had been seen before. This was followed by Goring's law that demanded Jewish property to be valued and registered to the state. In this atmosphere agencies competed to draft further legislation and in June 1938 Jewish doctors were forbidden from treating Aryan patients. Hess claimed credit for the January 1939 law which forced all Jews to adopt the names Israel and Sarah and for their passports to be stamped with a 'J'. In 1938 Eichmann created the 'Central Office for the Emigration of Austrian Jewry. • By 1938 Goebbels had fallen out of favour due to his affair with the Czech actress and thus he used his position as Gauleiter of Berlin to cause agitation against the Jews, in order to gain approval. Shops in Berlin were attacked with ferocity. In November 1938 an official in the Germany Embassy in Paris was shot by a Polish Jew and the press seized upon this as evidence of a nationwide Jewish conspiracy. This gave Goebbels the green light for further radicalisation and violence against the Jews on Kristallnacht was widespread and extreme. Hundreds of Jews were murdered, 8000 businesses and synagogues were destroyed and over 30,000 Jews were arrested and sent to concentration camps. Himmler and Heydrich were not aware of the pogrom and Goring was angry due to the effects on the economy. Goring chaired the November 1938 meeting to discuss the next measures and it was decided that to pay for the damage that a huge fine would be levied on the Jewish community and the Jews were forbidden from economic life. • By January 1939 Goring had set up the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration • In early 1939 a father of a severely disabled child petitioned the Fuhrer asking that he allow his son to be killed. Hefelmann (an official responsible to Bouhler in the Reich Chancellery) took the petition to Hitler. Out of this was born a policy of child 'euthanasia' under the direction of Bouhler. The organisation to be responsible was nicknamed Aktion T4. The result was the death of up to 90,000 children. 		

Unit 6: Life in Germany during WWII

How did WWII affect moral in Germany?

Response to victory

Germans fought patriotically for their fatherland and celebrated the 1939 victories

On 8th November 1939 Georg Elser attempted to assassinate Hitler by exploding a bomb when Hitler was making a speech. The bomb exploded but not when Hitler was in the hall. Public opinion was relief and propaganda blamed the British

In June 1940 there was elation over the victory over France and this was replaced by frustration at Britain's refusal to submit

Morale was further damaged when Hess flew to Scotland in May 1941 to seek peace

Response to defeat

In June 1941 the war against the Soviet Union provoked concern especially when an appeal was put out for winter clothing for the troops

The failure to win outright victory in the east straight away led many to question Nazi ideology for the first time

Despite the bleak fortunes after Stalingrad propaganda was used to exploit patriotic defiance. Goebbels Total war speech (Feb 1943) rallied many.

As German forces were defeated in North Africa, the Soviet Union, the Atlantic and Italy, there emerged greater contempt for the Nazi leadership

Hitler's increasing isolation in his bunker in Berlin meant that the Fuhrer was prone to great criticism and jokes.

The defeat at Stalingrad clearly marked a turning point in morale.

Goebbels continued to offer hope in the form of a secret weapon – perseverance which generated a spirit of resistance

Once it became clear that the Allies could not be thrown back and that the V1 and V2 bombs (launched at the south east of England) would not have the required impact, morale sank to an all-time low.

As the reality of defeat loomed, Nazi propaganda became less effective

Response to rationing

The regime was highly sensitive to the issues of rationing and shortages on the home-front. They wanted to avoid a repetition of the scarcities in basic foodstuffs and clothing that caused widespread unrest during the war

The consumer did not make considerable sacrifices until 1942 and the 1939 rationing system was fair and sufficient

For a predominately meat eating nation the ration of 500 grams a week was perceived as difficult but following conquest of Europe, there was an improvement in the supply of general foodstuffs.

The most serious reduction in rations was in April 1942 when the meat ration was cut to 300 grams per person. This caused unrest and so the ration was raised by 50 grams in October

Extra rations were given for those undertaking strenuous operations.

Propaganda stunts masked any rationing difficulties

Clothing became scarce in 1941 but this was a result panic buying at the beginning of the war

By 1942 there were shortages of soap, permits were introduced for furniture and household goods were rationed in 1943

Response to bombing

The bombing campaign undertaken by the RAF and USAF was partly aimed at destroying the German war industry but also at undermining morale on the Home Front

The bombing caused widespread death and destruction. 305,000 Germans were killed and nearly 2 million homes destroyed.

Firestorms caused by the bombing of Dresden and Hamburg killed at least 80,000 civilians between them

The state attempted to provide bomb victims with alternative accommodation but demoralisation (especially in the Rhineland) was unavoidable.

The sense of impending doom was made worse by the knowledge of the approach of the Soviet armies

What was the opposition to the Nazis during WWII?

Christian opposition

- The Catholic Church continued to speak out where they felt their interests were threatened. For example in 1941 when large posters against an order to remove crucifixes from schools were reversed and when Bishop Galen attacked the Aktion T4 programme which caused it to be covered up
- Individual Protestants spoke out against the regime. For example Dietrich Bonhoeffer was arrested in 1943 and executed in 1945

Youthful opposition

- Some Edelweiss Pirates became more active during the war and, working with the left-wing underground, helped to smuggle out prisoners of war. The leaders in Cologne were publicly hanged for their activities in 1944

- The White Rose Movement was formed in Munich in 1942 which urged Germans to reject Nazi values on ethical grounds. They distributed anti-Nazi letters and leaflets. Brother and sister Hans and Sophie Scholl were beheaded as a result in 1943

Left-wing opposition

- Robert Uhrig established resistance cells in factories; there were 89 in Berlin in the summer of 1941
- There was some active underground resistance but the groups were very isolated. The Communist network Rote Kappelle collected intelligence and distributed anti-Nazi leaflets. This was uncovered and destroyed in 1942. The Communist groups led by Wilhelm Knochel were broken up in 1943
- Opposition was limited due to the fear of the terror system

Conservative opposition

- A group around Carl Goerdeler included officials and diplomats who sought a restoration of the rule of law and an end to the war
- The Kreisau Circle led by von Moltke had contacts with the left-wing opposition and opponents of the regime in the army
- Some army officers rejected the regime and attempted to overthrow it after Stalingrad. In the 1944 Bomb Plot, an army group sought to assassinate Hitler and to seize power. Stauffenberg's bomb did not kill Hitler and the plot was uncovered. As a result 22 generals were executed.
- The bomb plot only involved 22 out of 2000 generals. Many felt bound by their oath to Hitler
- The conservatives acted too late, they only started to resist the regime once its power was secure

How efficient was the German war economy?

War Production

- In September 1939 the responsibility for the planning of the war economy was shared among competing agencies. The Ministry of War led the armaments programme and this rivalled the Ministry of Economics (led by Funk) and the office of the Four Year Plan (led by Goring)
- Ironically between 1939 and 1940 (in order to maintain morale) output in the arms industry fell by 12.5% and output in the consumer industry rose by 16%
- In March 1940 confusion with regards to war production was ended as a Ministry of Munitions was created under Fritz Todt
- From 1939 to 1942 the economy was not fully mobilised for war. Instead it fought a series of quick wars (called Blitzkrieg) which did not place great demands on production. Thus strains in the economy inevitable grew.
- By 1943 Germany was struggling on the Eastern Front, thus a campaign of Total War was launched. The plan was to improve production and productivity by closing all non-essential businesses. This

was reinforced by the appointment of Speer as Reich Minister for Armaments and Production. This gave him responsibility for all industrial output and raw materials.

- From 1943 onwards Speer introduced a variety of labour, time and space saving methods to boost production. These included promoting the better use of floor space (increased the number of planes), reducing the number of tank models, centrally controlling raw materials, reducing the amount of aluminium needed in guns and the setting up of production lines (increased the number of tanks)
- There was an impressive improvement under Speer in war production but there was still a lack of coherency due to the competing agencies/power blocs in forming policy

Raw Materials

- In 1939 Germany lacked the natural resources (iron, coal, oil) that it needed for a sustained war effort. Above all other it lacked high quality iron-ore. Göring tried to counter this by developing the production of low grade ore but it would never meet the demand of expanding military needs
- Germany needed to annex other nations so that they could control their natural resources so that they could sustain a war. From 1942 Blitzkrieg started to fail and thus these resources were not forthcoming. For example Germany had a limited supply of oil, steel and coal.
- The supply of high quality iron-ore increased as the war went on. There were imports from the neutral Sweden and the annexations of Europe provided high quantities.

Labour

- In the early days of the war there was a shortage of labour (3.5 million fewer workers in 1940 than in 1939) and this was made up for using mainly French prisoners of war. There were 2 million extra foreign workers but this was not enough to cover the numbers being drafted into the army
- The shortage of workers in the early days of the war produced urgent measures. In August 1942 Fritz Sauckel issued a compulsory labour decree for all occupied countries. Thus by the end of 1942 there were some 6.4 million foreign workers in Germany
- Foreign workers were treated appallingly and this lowered their productivity. For example from 1940 Polish workers suffered numerous restrictions, including being forced to wear a yellow badge marked with a P and not being able to use public transport
- Between 1939 and 1944 only 2000,000 extra women joined the workforce and this was despite the labour shortage. This was due to Hitler's refusal to allow the conscription of women and the previous propaganda. Also the benefits paid to the wives of soldiers were a great disincentive to work. Also many women already worked in other jobs and the majority of these worked in textiles and agriculture – essential for the war
- In 1944 there were attempts to increase production by improving the situation of all workers with regards to pay and overtime. In March 1944 all eastern workers were given the same pay and benefits as other foreign labourers. These attempts to improve conditions from 1944 for foreign workers were too little too late. Thousands died on projects such as the V2 rocket production for want of basic food, shelter and sanitary provision

What caused the emergence of the Final Solution?

The role of Hitler

In Hitler's speeches, the 25 points of the Nazi party of 1920 and in Mein Kampf, Hitler's view that the Jews were not and should not be Germans was clear. This language was proto-genocidal and his anti-Semitism was a core part of his world view. Hitler's ideas were the inspiration behind the ever-escalating anti-Semitism of his regime and it is clear that he agreed to the policy of the Final Solution. Himmler's diary entry indicates that at a meeting to discuss the 'final solution to the Jewish question' in December 1941, Hitler authorised or ordered that Jews should be 'exterminated as partisans'

However Hitler did not have a clear plan for the 'Final Solution' that predated the war

Cumulative radicalisation and the chaotic state

The Final Solution was a consequence of the process of ever-growing extremism that occurred as the result of chaotic decision-making processes. The chaos encouraged local initiatives and ideological radicalism. Cumulative radicalisation led to escalating action. At the start of the war German Jews were subject to restrictions and repression, then Polish Jews were ordered into overcrowded ghettos run by the SS, then following the invasion of the Soviet Union, Einsatzgruppen, who followed the army, had wide ranging instructions to eliminate opponents, and massacres of Jews followed.

Impact of WWII

The Final Solution developed in the context of war

- The German invasion of Poland created what the Nazis regarded as a problem: the Jewish population was large. Around 3 million were forced into ghettos which were insanitary. The problem intensified when Jews were deported from other parts of Europe
- June 1941: The invasion of the Soviet Union further increased the number of Jews. The invasion of Russia was justified by propaganda that referred to it as a 'racial war'. Thus the invasion of Russia is a reason for the Holocaust and not just a stage to it because the insistence on war between races was necessary to convince the public of the need to invade Russia and gain Lebensraum. Thus the need to destroy the Jews became a consequence of the policy to gain this living space. As Nazi troops swept across the Soviet Union, SS Einsatzgruppen were authorised to exterminate Jews; 700,000 were murdered in eight months.
- The invasion of the Soviet Union put strains on the German war economy and the cost of feeding people in the Ghettos was considered too great
- The Madagascar Plan failed. This plan was really one of annihilation as Madagascar could not sustain the Jewish population of Europe. The weakness of the plan was that it relied on gaining control of the seas. In contrast small-scale experiments with murder by gas were more successful.
- As a result the plan for the 'Final Solution' was drawn up. In January 1942 the Wannsee Conference was chaired by Heydrich. At the conference Buhler asked that his area have its

Jews removed as quickly as possible. By the spring work began on concentration camps. In the next few months Jews were deported to the ghettos in the east and then on to death camps.

How to answer the exam questions

Section A:

Introduction:

1. Interpret the question
2. Explain your line of argument which should support, reject or modify the judgement in the question to a specified degree
3. Explain how your line of argument will be developed and proved

Main Paragraphs:

	How far do you agree with the interpretation?	How far do you agree with a cause as the most important?
POINT	Make a point that answers the question. This should contain a factor, a judgement and a reason for this judgement Link this point to your overall line of argument (that you outlined in your introduction)	Make a point that answers the question. This should contain a factor, a judgement and a reason for this judgement Link this point to your overall line of argument (that you outlined in your introduction)
EVIDENCE	This should be detailed, precise and relevant. It must be selected to prove your point. It must include evidence FOR and AGAINST in a balance that is necessary to support the judgement in your point	This should be detailed, precise and relevant. It must be selected to prove your point. It must include evidence FOR and AGAINST in a balance that is necessary to support the judgement in your point
EXPLAIN	Explain throughout and at the end of your paragraph how your evidence proves your point's judgement	Explain why this factor is a cause (what is the explicit link between the factor and the question) Explain throughout and at the end of your paragraph how your evidence proves your point's judgement
LINK	Explain how your point supports your line of argument	Explain how your point links to other points (How the factors link together) Explain how your point supports your line of argument

Conclusion:

1. Explain your line of argument
2. Explain how your line of argument was developed and proved

Section B:

Introduction:

Interpret the question

Explain the judgement of the three sources and whether they agree or disagree with the opinion in the question

Explain the controversy that the question refers to

Paragraph 1:

Construct an argument FOR the opinion in the question

Explain which source largely agrees and how this source largely agrees with the opinion in the question (use small quotes)

Use your own knowledge to explain the evidence from this source

Explain which sources agree with each other and how these sources agree with each other about the opinion in the question

Use your own knowledge to provide further evidence to support the judgements of this argument

Use your own knowledge to evaluate this argument

Paragraph 2:

Construct an argument AGAINST the opinion in the question

Explain which source largely disagrees and how this source disagrees with the opinion in the question (use small quotes)

Use your own knowledge to explain the evidence from this source

Explain which sources agree with each other and how these sources agree with each other in disagreeing with the opinion in the question

Use your own knowledge to provide further evidence to support the judgements of this argument

Use your own knowledge to evaluate this argument

Paragraph 3:

Construct an argument that covers a middle way (a combination of FOR and AGAINST the opinion in the question)

Explain which source largely agrees and how this source largely agrees with this middle way (use small quotes)

Use your own knowledge to explain the evidence from this source

Explain how the sources agree and disagree with each other regarding this middle way

Use your own knowledge to provide further evidence to support the judgements of this argument

Use your own knowledge to evaluate this argument

Conclusion:

Re-state the three interpretations

Re-state your three evaluations

RECONCILE these interpretations and evaluations into a line of argument

How your essays are marked

Question A

Level 1	1-6 Grade: U	Highly simplistic Irrelevant to the question Highly generalised
Level 2	7-12 Grade: U-E	A story without addressing the question OR Address the question without providing supporting examples
Level 3	13-18 Grade: E-C	An attempt to focus on the question The focus on the question may drift in places, a lack of specific examples in places or a story in places
Level 4	19-24 Grade: C-A	Answers the question throughout Detailed and wide ranging knowledge to support the argument
Level 5	25-30 Grade: A-A*	Answers the question throughout Detailed and wide ranging knowledge to support the argument Balanced and carefully reasoned argument which is sustained throughout the essay

Question B – AO1 – Using historical knowledge to form an explanation

Level 1	1-3 Grade: U	Very limited focus on the question Inaccurate supporting knowledge No integration of sources and own knowledge
Level 2	4-6 Grade: U-E	Limited focus on the question Accurate and relevant supporting evidence but this is generalised Limited attempt to integrate sources and own knowledge
Level 3	7-10 Grade: E-C	Focus on the question Mostly accurate and relevant supporting evidence Some integration of sources and own knowledge
Level 4	11-13 Grade: C-A	Strong focus on the question Accurate and relevant supporting evidence Integration of sources and own knowledge
Level 5	14-16 Grade: A-A*	Sustained analytical focus on the question Accurate and well-selected supporting evidence, showing a range of knowledge Full integration of sources and own knowledge

Question B – AO2 – Analysing source material

Level 1	1-4 Grade: U	Information from the sources is copied or paraphrased Extremely limited links between the sources
Level 2	5-9 Grade: U	Information from the sources is summarised and used to provide a simple answer to the question Some use of the sources in combination
Level 3	10-14 Grade: E-D	Evidence from the sources is used to support and challenge the view expressed in the question The sources are used in combination
Level 4	15-19 Grade: C-B	The interpretations of the sources are used to debate the view expressed in the question The sources are used in combination The essay reaches a judgement based on the interpretations of the sources and own knowledge
Level 5	20-24 Grade: A-A*	The interpretations of the sources are used to debate the view expressed in the question The sources are used in combination The essay reaches a fully substantiated judgement based on the interpretations of the sources and own knowledge

Exemplar German Essays

'A strong sense of patriotism and nationalism firmly kept power in the hands of the Kaiser during the period 1900-1914'

How far do you agree with this judgement?

During the years 1900-1914 the Kaiser faced many potential threats to the extent of his power. These ranged from demands for social reform, from the SPD, to the demands for constitutional change, from the liberals, to demands for more power, from the Centre Party and finally to demands for a more aggressive foreign policy. Despite these threats ultimate power remained in the hands of the Kaiser in 1914. This retention of power was primarily due to the sense of patriotism and nationalism that existed in Germany and can most clearly be seen in the support that was apparent for nationalist foreign policies. The exact workings of the political structure of Germany also allowed the Kaiser to retain control but this structure could only remain because of the patriotism and nationalism that the Kaiser both exploited and enjoyed. It cannot be denied that a small amount of moderate reform also played a small role but its limited scope together with the failure to introduce some of the intended reform show once again that it was really the sense of nationalism and patriotism that kept the power where it was. It cannot be denied, however, that the lack of unity of the political parties meant that a real threat to power was never even attempted. In this sense the Kaiser was fortunate but because the threat did not materialise it was primarily the sense of nationalism and patriotism that allowed him to maintain his power.

The support for nationalist foreign policies followed throughout this period highlight the strong sense of nationalism and patriotism that existed and ultimately explain the most important reason why power remained in the hands of the Kaiser. The policy of *Sammlungspolitik* under the chancellorship of Bulow clearly shows this in action. This policy aimed to ally the Conservatives, Liberals, Junkers and Industrialists against socialism and towards the current political system, with the Kaiser at the helm. Both protectionism and a strong colonial policy, called *Weltpolitik*, were used to enforce support for the political system and show the strength that an appeal to nationalism could have. The attempt that was made to further the size of the navy, via a second navy law which would build 38 battleships in twenty years, further proves this and shows how nationalism and patriotism were used to soak up any tensions that existed. The Herero uprising can be seen as evidence to contradict the power that nationalism had. This is because the use of the policy of genocide, which was used as revenge against an uprising of the people against their colonial oppressor, tore apart the coalition as the Centre party were horrified by events and demanded more parliamentary control over the financing of all current affairs. However what this evidence actually shows is that ultimate power actually always remained in the hands of the Kaiser as not only were these demands ignored but the Reichstag was dissolved after the parties with the balance of power voted against the building of a new railway in the region. The use of patriotism and nationalism to keep power in the hands of the Kaiser was then ultimately shown by Bulow managing to gain a victory for his 'Bulow-Bloc' in the next election by portraying the socialists and Catholics as unpatriotic. Even the SPD voted for an army bill in 1913 because they did not want to be seen as unpatriotic. In short nationalism and patriotism were inherent throughout

Germany and their existence is clearly shown in the support for the foreign policy. They proved to be a very useful tool to keeping power in the hands of the Kaiser

A study of the political structure of the federal state during the second Reich both provides us with another important reason why power remained in the hands of the Kaiser but also once again emphasise the important role that patriotism and nationalism had in achieving this. The political system was such that the chancellor, who had control of the Bundesrat, was chosen and responsible to the Kaiser. Furthermore the ministers for this Bundesrat were voted in using a three tier voting system that favoured the Conservatives and the Prussians, who were the Kaiser's allies. Finally the Kaiser could, and did, dissolve the Reichstag, if it threatened the status quo. In short power rested with the Kaiser. In such a system it would be easy to explain the existence of opposition. However the reason that this opposition did not grow into a real threat to the Kaiser's power is because the Kaiser was seen as a pillar of strength and the figurehead in the midst of squabbling and failed coalitions between political parties. The importance of nationalism and patriotism cannot be overemphasised here as they provided the Kaiser with a respectability that was crucial in allowing him to keep his power. It must be remembered of course that the exact technicalities of the structure of the system provide another smaller reason why the Kaiser maintained power. For example the political structure meant that the Kaiser was able to remove Bulow after the Daily Telegraph affair when he was blamed for failing to censor the interview between the Kaiser and the British. Also the Kaiser forbid the chancellor from informing the Reichstag that he sent a military officer to investigate the Zabern affair and ignored the Reichstag when they passed a vote of no confidence against Hollweg for his actions. This evidence clearly show that the political structure aided the Kaiser in keeping his power but it must be remembered that the reason he was able to maintain this political structure in the first place was because of the patriotism and nationalism that he both exploited and enjoyed.

Moderate reform played a small part in keeping power in the hands of the Kaiser but its limited scope together with the lack of any real success show once again that it was patriotism and nationalism that played a more pivotal role. This is clearly shown in the lack of substance inherent in Bulow's and Hollweg's reforms to placate the socialists together with the failure of Hollweg's reforms to reform the constitution. On the surface it seems that Bulow's reforms to solve the socialist threat show that it was actually reform that maintained power in the hands of the Kaiser, these include the laws to extend accident insurance, to give longer and more generous hours to workers in poor health and those to reduce the amount of factory work. However the introduction of a tariff law in 1902, which put higher duties on imported grain and thus raised food prices, turned worker support away from the Kaiser's system and to the SPD and thus proves that moderate reform was never intended to be the mechanism to keep power in the hands of the old elites. This is clearly shown once again in the chancellorship of Hollweg when his attempts to reform the Prussian voting system were defeated by the Conservatives and thus the proposals had to be dropped. It cannot have been reform that maintained the Kaiser's power as the lack of reform to a clearly biased and unpopular voting system was not carried out but yet the Kaiser's power was maintained. The small reforms of Hollweg, including the Imperial insurance code, are not significant enough to counter this evidence. Thus the lack of any real depth to any reform together with the lack of success in some of its

implementation clearly show that moderate reform only played a small role and one that is not as significant as the sense of patriotism and nationalism.

The strong sense of nationalism and patriotism were largely important but not solely so because the disunity of the Reichstag parties also played a minor part. In short the political parties could have dented the power that the Kaiser had but their disunity prevented this from happening. The main example of this was in the 1912 election when the SPD won the most votes but an effective coalition was not formed because other parties would not work with them; their views were too different. The political parties were keener to protect their own interests than they were to work with each other and this would ultimately play into the hands of the Kaiser and allow him to keep his power. Other examples include the emergence of new middle class groups, including the Mittesland Association and Mittesland League together with the emergence of groups on the other side of the political spectrum, including the Association of Commercial Assistants. All these groups were interested in their own interests and survival and thus would not collaborate. This meant that an effective front was not provided against the Kaiser's power and it meant that the Kaiser had further opportunities to exploit the heavily nationalistic and patriotic nature of the country.

The lack of unity of the political parties in the Reichstag clearly meant that a realistic threat to the Kaiser's power never materialised. In this sense the Kaiser was fortunate, it meant that the Kaiser could enjoy and exploit the great sense of patriotism and nationalism that existed in Germany in order to maintain his power. This is clearly shown in a range of foreign policies that had nationalism as their underlying aim. Furthermore it allowed the Kaiser to be a pillar of strength and a figure head in the midst of these quarrelling parties which again shows the role of nationalism in maintaining power. It might have been the exact working and technicalities of the political system that allowed the Kaiser to dissolve the Reichstag and remove chancellors but this system only existed because of the nationalistic and patriotic support that he enjoyed. It could be argued that moderate reform played a more important role but a real examination of this evidence clearly shows that the reform was too limited and in many cases without success to be a real reason why power was maintained. The sense of nationalism and patriotism was at the heart of the Kaiser's retention of power.

'The power of the Fuhrer was comprehensive and total'
How far do you agree with this opinion?

Use the evidence of sources 1, 2 and 3 and your own knowledge of the issues relating to this controversy

(From Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power*, published 2005.)

The Nazis, far from concealing the existence of repressive institutions and practices, regularly announced executions, prison sentences, court verdicts against dissent, 'malicious gossip' and so on in the newspapers and other propaganda organs of the regime. Therefore, some argue, the vast majority of ordinary people who read the newspapers had no objection to these practices. But a major function of advertising the terror imposed by the regime on deviants and dissenters was to deter millions of ordinary Germans from going down the same road. The truth is that, far from Nazi terror being levelled exclusively against small and despised minorities, the threat of arrest, prosecution and imprisonment in increasingly brutal and violent conditions loomed over everyone in the Third Reich.

(From Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, published 1993.)

The Nazi state saw the dissolution of the government into a multiplicity of competing and non-coordinated ministries, party offices, and hybrid agencies all claiming to interpret the Führer's will. Hand in hand with this development went the growing autonomy of the Führer's authority itself, detaching itself and isolating itself from any framework of corporate government and correspondingly subject to increasing delusions of grandeur and a diminishing sense of reality. The overall structure of government was reduced to a shambles of constantly shifting power bases or warring factions.

(From Geoff Stewart, *Hitler and the Nazi State*, published 2002.)

Albert Speer admitted to being baffled by the way Hitler chose to squander his working time. He got up late, often not until lunchtime, went for walks and in the evening watched innumerable films. It was not the lifestyle of a hands-on dictator. Once he became Führer, the number of cabinet meetings declined steadily from 72 in 1933, to 12 in 1935 and seven in 1937, and finally the last one was held on 5 February 1938. It must be remembered that he was an outsider with limited knowledge of Germany's political system. He had no training or experience to fit him for the job of governing the most powerful nation in Europe.

This question concerns the extent and strength of Hitler's power and refers to the controversy concerning the efficiency of the Nazi regime; the debate between intentionalist and structuralist viewpoints. Evans in source 1 argues that the Nazis publicised terror in order to enforce control; thus largely supporting the viewpoint that the Fuhrer's power was comprehensive. On the other hand Stewart in source 3 presents the evidence of Hitler's bohemian lifestyle which would seem to disagree with the view that the power of the Fuhrer was total. Kershaw adopts a middle way and whilst he accepts that the structure of government was a shambles with competing factions, he argues that they did so in order to interpret Hitler's world view; thus showing a different and interpretation of total and comprehensive power.

Evans clearly demonstrates the extent of the terror system and this can be used to support the opinion of the total and comprehensive power of the Fuhrer. Furthermore Evans explains how this system was greatly publicised as a method of control so that everyone became fearful of 'arrest, prosecution and imprisonment in increasingly brutal and violent conditions'. Indeed the terror system was efficiently run by Himmler and from his desk Himmler did control a whole network of spies, torturers, policeman and informers which spread into every town, factory, school and house. This was a result of his overall control of the SS and police. Further evidence to support this view of the totality of Hitler's power were the key decisions he made, most notably Operation Hummingbird, and his foreign policy decisions, most notable to reoccupy the Rhineland, to form an Anschluss with Austria and to seize Czechoslovakia. To an extent Kershaw agrees with the totality of Hitler's power, and thus with Evans, as he argues that the autonomy of the Fuhrer grew over time and that it 'detached and isolated itself from any corporate government'; thus showing that Hitler had such power that he need not concern himself with the mundane government business. This is supported by Stewart who demonstrates this isolated, but yet total, power by referring to the declining number of cabinet meetings. Kershaw may go on to mention the 'competing and non-coordinated agencies' but intentionalists would explain this as Hitler's policy of divide and rule; a key component that was intended to maintain total power. This can clearly be seen in the sphere of the economy when Goring was allowed to undermine Schacht when he took control of the Four Year Plan; leaving Schacht with no choice to resign. Thus there is no denying the strength of Hitler's power but Evans is mistaken in his explanation of its nature. The terror system did not enforce this total power as it was actually directed at certain sections of society, most notable political opponents such as communists and socialists, and furthermore the terror did not 'loom over people' but was actually popular amongst them; many, for example, were appreciative of the removal of the communist threat. Furthermore even the SS warred amongst themselves. Thus the power of the Fuhrer was comprehensive but not in the way that Evans' evidence seems to suggest; instead it was a mystical and isolated power and this cult of the Fuhrer was enforced by the Goebbels' propaganda machine.

Stewart's evidence presents the opposite viewpoint as his evidence would seem to present the case that the Fuhrer's power was limited; the very opposite of comprehensive and total. Stewart refers to Hitler's bohemian lifestyle which was not the lifestyle of a 'hands-on dictator'. Furthermore Stewart mentions that Hitler had 'limited knowledge of the political system' and that he did not have any 'training or experience to fit him for the job of governing'. Thus Stewart is in direct contrast to Evans. To further these opinions structuralist historians would refer to Hitler's reliance on the power of the Gauleiter, as shown when he could not support Frick in trying to subordinate them, the setting up of rival agencies to that of the traditional state which created political chaos and the use of Fuhrer

orders which were often contradictory. The latter was notably the case when in 1935 both Hess and an official from the Ministry of the Interior were given contradictory orders with regards to whether it would be best for the Jews to be allowed to stay in Germany. To an extent Kershaw agrees with this structuralist view as he refers to the reducing of the structure of government to a 'shambles of constantly shifting power bases' and 'warring factions'. To accept the evidence of Stewart in supporting the viewpoint of a lack of power would be to show a misunderstanding of Hitler's role and significance. His absorption of the powers of Chancellor and President combined with the army's oath, both in 1934, gave unassailable power. This then allowed Hitler to be presented as a demigod who was worshipped by the German people, most notably in the Triumph of the Will which portrayed the Nuremberg Rally. In short Hitler's dictatorship was so powerful that he could distance himself from the detail of government and furthermore this helped maintain power as blame for any unpopular measures would be directed to subordinates and not as an attack against the Fuhrer himself. Thus the bohemian lifestyle and competing agencies that were left behind do not show weakness in power but completely the opposite.

It has been shown that the Fuhrer's power was total but in a mystical and isolated sense and that the competing ministries and agencies left behind did not impact upon this. It is in this context that Kershaw provides the most acceptable account of the Fuhrer's total and comprehensive power. Kershaw accepts that the vacuum left by Hitler's distancing created a 'dissolution of the government into a multiplicity of competing and non-coordinated ministries'. However this chaos does not show a lack of comprehensive power as within this vacuum the agencies were competing to 'interpret the Fuhrer's will'. In fact a situation where all were trying to find the right method to achieve an element of the world view at the right time shows a much higher level of power. This competition to deduce the most appropriate method was constantly motivated by the reward of influence in being allowed to make the proposal a reality. This viewpoint can clearly be supported by analysing how the policy towards the Jews was formulated. Frick's 'Aryan Clause', Wagner's speech leading to the Nuremberg laws, the street violence following Anschluss, the 1938 legislation to isolate the Jews and Goebbels' green light for Kristallnacht were all methods and legislation formed by those 'working towards the Fuhrer'; trying to come up with the right method at the right time. Kershaw would further support this by disagreeing with Evans by saying that in 1933 even the SS, a fundamental part of the terror system that Evans' mentioned, even had to work towards the Fuhrer and their success was shown by the ensuing Night of the Long Knives. This theory on the totality of the Fuhrer's power explains the strength of the dictatorship mentioned by Evans and the apparent lack of leadership mentioned by Stewart.

The power of the Fuhrer was comprehensive and total. Evans is right in implying this but incorrect in saying it was a result of terror mechanisms that were put in place. Stewart is right in presenting Hitler's bohemian lifestyle but it would be wrong to use this evidence to argue a lack of power. Instead it was Hitler's hand off approach that allowed a much higher level of power to develop. By distancing himself from government Hitler left a vacuum that was filled by competing agencies and ministries all trying to form a method that fully interpreted his world view. Kershaw is correct to adopt this viewpoint as this style of government did create chaos but it was this competing chaos to please and gain influence from Hitler, supported by the representation of Hitler as a mystical religion in propaganda, that show the true totality and comprehensiveness of the Fuhrer's power

