Age of Anxiety (1919-1939)

-20 year period between the WWI and WWII
  -totalitarian dictatorships established in Italy, Russia, and Germany
    -German Nazism and Italian fascism shared a common ideology of racist nationalism and the glorification of war
  -Russian Communism
  -Western democracies of England, France, and U.S.
    -democratic institutions tested by economic collapse and aggressions of the dictatorships
  -conflicts led to the worst war in human history

-Russia
  -1917-1921
  -Russian Civil War (Bolsheviks – Reds vs. anti-Bolsheviks - Whites)
    -Whites supported by WWI Allies (Britain, France, and U.S. all sent forces – 200,000 in total) vs. Bolsheviks Red Army under Leon Trotsky
      -Reds controlled the workers and the cities of Petrograd and Moscow, while the Whites controlled the minority ethnic groups and the peasants in the countryside
      -Whites hated War Communism and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
    -fought for control over remainder of Russian Empire
    -in Aug. 1918, peasant discontent was highlighted by 5 rural districts rising up against the Soviet gov’t
      -Lenin instructed local officials “to carry out merciless mass terror against the kulaks, priests, and White Guards; persons of doubtful standing should be locked up in concentration camps outside the city.”
    -Aug. 30, 1918 after Lenin spoke to an assembly of factory workers, a SR, Fanny Kaplan, shot Lenin twice in the street
      -was badly hurt, but survived
      -Trotsky rushed to Moscow to be with him, while Stalin decided not to
      -later a point of contention between the two
      -that same day, the Cheka chief in Petrograd, Moisay Uritsky, was shot and killed by a SR

  -Cheka launched the Red Terror in summer of 1918, arresting and executing thousands of suspected political opponents
    -feared a counterrevolution and a military threat
    -unleashed a wave of terror against society
      -“For the blood of Lenin, let there be floods of blood of the bourgeoisie”
    -6,000 political opponents were executed by the end of 1918
    -created the Red Army under Trotsky
also started Gulags (concentration, or labor, camps) in 1919
abbreviation of Главное управление лагерей, Russian for “Chief Administration for Corrective Labor Camps”
political prisoners -- intellectuals, party and army officials who had been accused of being “enemies of the people”
arrested for who they were, not what they did
main reason is economics, not to punish or rehabilitate
huge quantities of coal, gas, oil, and wood in Siberia and Kazakhstan, and gold in northeast
worked in logging, mining, construction, factory work, farming, designing airplanes and artillery

as anti-Bolshevik forces approached the Ipatiev House in Yekaterinburg, in the foothills of the Ural Mountains (900 miles east of Moscow) in Siberia on July 4, 1918, the former tsar and his family were killed by Bolshevik guards to keep them from becoming rallying symbols for anti-Bolsheviks
Bolshevik guards knifed and shot to death the czar, his wife, five children, a doctor and three servants in the basement of the house (11 in all)
the guards first discarded the mutilated bodies in a mine shaft, then moved them to a ravine off a main road
killing was almost certainly on the orders of Lenin, who at that time had embarked on a policy of mass killing of “class enemies in order to terrify and paralyze possible opposition to the Bolshevik regime
early 1990s, the remains of most of the royal family were found, except the czar’s son, Aleksei, and one of his daughters (Tatiana, Maria or Anastasia), and interned in a cathedral in St. Petersburg in 1998
many people have claimed to be these people since then, especially Anastasia, but DNA proves they aren’t
in 2007, the remains of Aleksei and his sister were found in a separate spot at the site
**Why were they not dug up before then?
-Nicholas and his family were canonized as saints in 2000 by the Russian Orthodox Church
but now, there is scientific evidence that proves the entire family was killed there
“The results of our studies provide unequivocal evidence that the remains of Nicholas II and his entire family, including all five children, have been identified,” a team of prominent Russian, American and Canadian researchers
wrote in 2009 in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States
-the United States Armed Forces DNA Identification Laboratory reached the same conclusion in 2009

-Communist International (Comintern; aka. Third International) established in March 1919 by Lenin in order to promote worldwide revolution following the Russian model
  -Soviet Communist Party was the head and purse of the Comintern until the Comintern’s demise in 1943
  -focused on Europe, but soon looked towards Asia

-Communists win Civil War because their enemies (czarists, middle class) couldn’t unite
-Reds won the Civil War, but it ruined the nation
  -the people were tired after 3 ½ years of WWI and 4 ½ years of Civil War, and 2 revolutions, as well as massive food shortages
  -more Russian died in the civil war than Russians died in WWI
  -5 million Russians died in the civil war, and another 5 million died because of starvation b/c of rationing during the war
  -the victory of the militantly atheist Communists over the monarchist Russian Orthodox Whites
  -thousands of Orthodox priests were shot

-division in the Bolshevik party ranks – “factionalism”
  -2 issues brought division after the civil war: the idea of peasants having the ability to sell their surplus grain AND the idea of having trade unions
  -Trotsky and Lenin disagree over War Communism in 1920
    -Trotsky wanted to abolish war communism and relieve the peasantry of requisition of their grain
  -there were 3 million members in the Russian trade unions in 1920
    -they wanted to play a primary role in directing the national economy
    -objected to Lenin’s idea of one-man management of factories
    -Trotsky, Bukharin, and Dzerzhinsky back the unions and had a formidable following
    -Lenin was furious that the workers now had to choose sides between he and Trotsky over this
      -Lenin felt Trotsky should have keep this disagreement private rather than making it public
      -Stalin took advantage of this, as 3 Trotsky-backers were not re-elected by the Congress to the Central Committee and 3 Stalin-backed men replaced them

-peasants and workers staged prolonged strikes in 1920-1921
-peasants wanted an end to War Communism
-they desired to keep and sell their surpluses at a profit on the free market

-Lenin: “We regard the freedom to trade as a crime”
-since they grain was merely being taken by the gov’t, peasants simply stopped working as hard, leading to food shortages and famine
-Lenin discussed prizes for peasants instead, but many feared the prizes would merely go to the kulaks (prosperous farmers)

-prizes of farm equipment would just add to class distinctions amongst the peasants, so they decided to just give out household items and medals

-Kronstadt revolt in March 1921
-sailors aboard 2 ships joined together with the Kronstadt garrison at a meeting in Kronstadt in opposition to Lenin
-wanted a democratic soviet system, not dominated by one socialist group
-demanded re-election of soviets by secret ballot, and freedom of speech, press, assembly
-led by a 20-yr. old petty naval officer Stepan Maximovitch Petrichenko, a peasant from Ukraine
-10,000 troops had amassed in support
-Politburo ordered an assault on Kronstadt led by Trotsky
-quickly put the revolt down, but Petrichenko fled to nearby Finland
-credited as the “father of the NEP”

-in March 1921 he conceded and instituted the New Economic Policy (NEP), a compromise with capitalism

-peasants could freely sell their surplus crops on the open market (let economy recover and ended resistance to the gov’t)
-legalized private trade
-abandonment of requisitions of surplus peasant grain
-peasants could now plant, reap, and sell at will
-unsuccessful, though, b/c there were virtually no consumer goods for the peasants to buy with their money now

-in terms of workers, trade unions were nationalized the way Trotsky and Bukharin wanted, but Lenin only gave them limited power in regards to the national economy
-Lenin also decided to offer oil, timber, mining, and manufacturing concessions to foreign companies
-many criticized this as a means of recognizing the power of capitalist states
-Lenin realized this was the only solution to peasant and worker discontent and keeping the Soviet state alive
-had been forced into this by strikes, revolts, and economic catastrophe
-Lenin bent his socialism to necessity – the most important thing was party unity and the survival of the state
-NEP was an economic Brest-Litovsk – surrender to survive

-height of the food crisis was the 1921 famine
-result of Russia being an underdeveloped country in which the collapse of industry, the paralysis of transportation, the havoc of world war and civil war, and the peasants reluctance to war communism grain confiscations
-gross output of agriculture was ½ the pre-war output
-acute shortages of prime necessities, like bread, meat, clothing, etc.
-Russia tried to alleviate this by buying food abroad from capitalist countries (contrary to the beliefs of communism)
-5 million people died
-numerous cases of cannibalism occurred
-14 million Russians dead since the 1917 revolution

-checked only by US President Herbert Hoover who launched his American Relief Assc. in response, giving Russia food aid in response from Sept. 1921 to July 1923
-saved millions of lives

-Communist Party membership in Russia: 1917 250,000
-1920 611,978
-1921 732,521

-by 1921, only 8% had been members before 1917 and only 41% of the party were workers
-Lenin saw this as a serious issue, so…
-Lenin ordered a purge of the party, seeing a lot of corruption in party membership
-every member had to apply for re-registration in the party
-workers conducted the re-registration, deciding who was in or out
-offered an opportunity to expel undesirables by refusing to re-register them
-170,000 (25%) members of the party had been expelled for “ideological backsliding, corruption, indifference, disillusionment, drunkenness, etc.”
-by 1922, party membership dropped to 532,000

-1922
-Lenin started thinking about possible replacements when he died, and he did not want the USSR run as a dictatorship
-Lenin: Stalin and Trotsky are the “two most able leaders of the present Central Committee”

-in Jan. 1922, Lenin took a rest and put Stalin in charge of the party and Kamenev in charge of the state (in Lenin’s absence, Kamenev became chairman of the Politburo)

-in April 1922, Stalin was appointed, with Lenin’s recommendation, to General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party

-this was a new office that Lenin regarded as a temporary measure during his illness

-Stalin, as Gen. Sec., thus resigned from his roles as Commissar of Nationalities and head of Rabkrin

-he knew the party was the powerhouse of Russia, and that Lenin governed it while his health was good

-but with Lenin ill, Stalin thought that he, as Gen. Sec., would be the next in line as ruler of the party and therefore Russia if Lenin died

-Lenin said of his performance as Gen. Sec. in Dec. 1922: “Stalin, having become General Secretary, has unlimited authority concentrated in his hands, and I am not sure whether he will be capable of using that authority with sufficient caution.”

-Lenin, in Jan. 1923, then proposed Stalin’s dismissal:

-“Stalin is too rude, and this defect…becomes intolerable in a General Secretary. This is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way to remove Stalin from that post and appoint another man who in all aspects differs from Comrade Stalin…”

-Lenin on Trotsky

-didn’t like Trotsky’s vanity and intellectualism

-in Dec. 1922, Lenin said of him: “Personally he is, I think, the most able person in the present Central Committee, but he also has an exceptionally extensive self-confidence and an exceptional fascination for the purely administrative aspects of affairs.”

-didn’t like Trotsky’s stance on trade unions, though, as this was a huge issue in Lenin’s mind

-December -- Soviet government declared the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), or CCCP in Russian, a federal union
consisting of Soviet Russia and neighboring areas that were under Russian military occupation or ruled by branches of the Communist movement

- Russia, the largest republic, dominated the other republics, though
- Ukraine, the Caucasus Federation (Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia), and others would join “voluntarily” as “independent” republics
- the Caucasus Federation (Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia) were reincorporated into Russia by the Red Army
- Ukraine, Byelorussia, Tadjikistan, Uzbekistan, and others voluntarily acceded to the Soviet Union

-Stalin and Lenin disagreed over the extent of self-gov’ts in the republics of the USSR

- Lenin favored independence of republics and voluntary admission
  - “independence” – limited self-gov’t
- Stalin wanted to force admission to the USSR as nationalism to him was dangerous
  - called this “autonomy” -- no self-gov’t (similar to China today with Tibet)

-passes “nationalities reform” in 1922
  - with new national groups joined together, cultural identity was encouraged and tolerated
  - allowed schools to teach in native languages
  - gave smaller ethnic groups autonomous regions within the major republics, like Chechnya

- Exiled bishops and clerics broke away from the Russian Orthodox Church in 1922 in Siberia
  - proclaimed the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, a sect of the mother church, later relocating to the United States
  - It cut all ties with its mother church in 1927, after the leader of the church in Russia, Patriarch Sergiy, declared loyalty to the Communists
  - The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad reunited with the Russian Orthodox Church after 80 years of schism in 2007

-in May Lenin has a stroke, and in December, Lenin has three more strokes
  - he’s left in serious condition

-March 1923, Lenin has another stroke (his 5th) where he can’t speak
  - in April at the 12th Party Congress, with Lenin incapacitated, Zinoviev took the mantle of the party
  - Stalin and Kamenev stood behind him as the “troika” opposing Trotsky
    - Stalin knew he had to work behind the scenes – too early for him to show his true colors

-Lenin eventually dies at the age of 53 on January 21, 1924
  - Stalin telegraphed Trotsky in the Caucasus to tell him the funeral would take place before it was possible for him to get back to Moscow
    - in fact, the funeral was on Jan. 27, which would have given Trotsky plenty of time to get back to Moscow
-Trotsky missed Lenin’s funeral – made him look unloyal
-Stalin then put pressure on the party to embalm Lenin’s body and his tomb to be turned into a mausoleum (organs and body fluids removed and preservative liquids were substituted)
-contrary to what Lenin wanted, which was to be buried alongside his mother in Petrograd
-he hated personal glorification, though
-his wife also wanted “no external reverence” for him
-just like Ho Chi Minh
-Petrograd renamed Leningrad in 1924 and stayed that way until 1991 and fall of Soviet Union, now it is back to St. Petersburg

deaht left bitter struggle over leadership between Stalin and Trotsky, even thought Zinoviev was the acting head
-Animal Farm

-Trotsky was considered left-wing and argued that the revolution in Russia would only succeed if new revolutions took place elsewhere
-said Russia needed the skills and wealth of other nations to build its economy
-also said that party members should be allowed to criticize the gov’t and the party
-Stalin was considered right-wing and argued for “socialism in one country”
-communism could be achieved in Russia alone

-Trotsky on Stalin
-since Trotsky was an intellectual, he didn’t like Stalin’s vulgarity and lack of culture
-wasn’t loyal b/c he didn’t come to Moscow to be with Lenin after he had been shot in 1918
-complained to Lenin that Stalin had been drinking wine from the tsar’s cellars in the Kremlin in 1919
-said that in Feb. 1923 that Stalin asked for poison for Lenin to have at his bedside in case his sufferings became intolerable (wasn’t supported and never allowed, though)
-outstanding user of speech and propaganda, as well as being a savvy politician

-Stalin on Trotsky
-Stalin asked the Central Committee of the party to dismiss Trotsky from command of the Red Army in 1919
-Trotsky, before the revolution, had been a Menshevik and had criticized Lenin and the Bolsheviks
In April 1923 with Lenin incapacitated, Stalin suggested that Trotsky should be the lead speaker at the 12th Party Congress.

- Trotsky knew it was a trick as he would be assumed to be acting as Russia’s new leader, so he refused.
- Trotsky not loyal b/c he didn’t show up at Lenin’s funeral.
- Trotsky is too intellectual, on top of being Jewish.

Succession battle between Stalin and Trotsky (1923-1929)
- Politburo elected in June 1924
  - Zinoviev and Kamenev (left bloc); Bukarin, Rykov, Tomsky (right bloc); Stalin; Trotsky
  - “tolka” (Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin) were the leading core of the Politburo
    - Kamenev was Party leader in Leningrad; Zinoviev was president of the Comintern; Stalin was Gen. Sec. of the Party
    - Stalin let Kamenev and Zinoviev criticize Trotsky publicly while he stayed in the background
    - In response, Trotsky published The Lessons of October in 1924 about the Nov. 1917 revolution
      - about Zinoviev's and Kamenev's opposition to Lenin's decision to launch an armed uprising in the fall of 1917
      - Zinoviev and Kamenev retaliated by reminding the Party again of Trotsky's sharp disagreements with Lenin prior to 1917.

In Jan. 1925, Zinoviev and Kamenev urged the Central Committee that Trotsky be expelled from the party.
- Trotsky kept his spot on the Politburo, but resigned from his role as War Commissar
  - Trotsky’s only support was the dead Lenin.
- By 1929, Stalin had outmaneuvered a series of opponents
  - First he opposed and demoted Trotsky while in alliance with Zinoviev and Kamenev.
  - Then, he defeated the Kamenev-Zinoviev bloc while in alliance with Bukharin-Rykov-Tomsky.
    - Stalin removed Zinoviev from the presidency of the Comintern.
    - Trotsky and Zinoviev led street demonstrations on the 10th anniversary of the Nov. Revolution (November 7, 1927) to protest Stalin and what he was doing.
    - Stalin replied by expelling Trotsky from the party in 1927, and from the country in 1929.
      - He continued to criticize Stalin from abroad in Turkey, France, Norway, and Mexico until he was finally killed in Mexico in 1940 by a Stalinist agent w/ an ice pick.
-Zinoviev and Kamenev submitted and renounced their earlier-stated views and were permitted to crawl back into the Party

-finally, with a loyal group of followers, he was able to defeat Buharin-Rykov-Tomsky

-Bukharin compared Stalin with Genghis Khan, and said, “He will slay us”

-referred to Stalin’s “lust for power,” and that “Stalin knows only vengeance…the stab in the back.”

-of the 7 men elected as full members of the Central Committee in June 1924, 6 would be killed by the lone survivor, Stalin

-Stalin fully in power by late 1929

-totalitarian – one party dictatorship regulates ever aspect of people’s lives

-rate of economic growth was declining and peasants were not producing enough grain to satisfy demand

-instead of giving the peasants economic incentives to raise production, Stalin chose a policy that forced them into state-owned collective farms

-first act was to get rid of Lenin’s New Economic Policy, and to institute collectivization

-consolidated small farms into communes, hoping to increase crop yields, which would result in more grain that would be able to be sold abroad for machinery to industrialize rapidly

-so collectivization was necessary for industrialization

-“procurement crisis” of 1927-1928

-the harvests were normal, but the peasants began to hold back their surpluses, refusing to meet their quotas for sale to the state at low, state-determined prices

-there was no incentive to produce

-peasants thus either sold their surpluses on the free market to get cash or kept their surpluses till the prices for grain went back up

-endangered food supplies to urban areas and the army

-grain exports virtually ceased, foreign currency earnings fell, and the gov’t was unable to import machinery needed to industrialize

-Stalin saw millions of class enemies attempting deliberate sabotage to overthrow Soviet power

-in 1928, Stalin instituted a program of forced confiscation of grain

-included house-to-house searches to find hidden grain, which was thus confiscated

-demanding more grain than was being harvested

-wanted to build a “strategic grain reserve” in Russia

-kulaks, most successful peasant farmers, were targeted to be destroyed as a class
-very broad definition – could be determined a kulak even if you once hired a peasant or had too many shovels
- rural class war against the kulaks – considered “class enemies”
  - led to dekulakization
    - hardest-working and most ambitious peasants were eliminated
- labor camp population increased from 30,000 in 1928 to 2 million in 1931
- 4% of the peasantry, produced about 20% of the grain
- many kulaks “liquidated themselves” by simply grew less just so they wouldn’t be known as a kulak, slaughtered their animals, hiding their money and valuables, burned crops, destroyed their tools
  - 4 million horses were slaughtered, ¼ of the cattle, 1/3 of all pigs, and ¼ of goats and sheep were slaughtered
- Bukharin said, “The peasant is afraid to install an iron roof for fear of being declared a kulak.”
- peasants concluded that since surplus production would be confiscated, there was no sense in sowing as much grain as they had in the past
- their economic incentive was destroyed
- Stalin instituted rapid collectivization

-Simultaneously, he pressed forward with a program of rapid industrialization, which began with the first Five-Year Plan in 1928 (coal and steel production accelerated)
  - Stalin believed the Soviet Union had to industrialize rapidly in order to strengthen the Communist regime and enable the country to defend itself against foreign enemies
  - rapid industrialization required huge expenditures to import foreign technology and machinery
  - therefore they needed to greatly expand exports, primarily grain
    - the Soviet regime was selling 1.7 million tons of grain on Western markets each year
  - but Great Depression dropped the price of grain 49% on the world market in 1930, Russia’s principal export
    - so they had to export twice as much grain as it had in 1928 to get the same amount of machinery
  - exports could only be stopped if the 5-year plan was abandoned, and Stalin would never do that
- industrialization was achieved, but at great cost
second Five-Year Plan started in 1933 to modernize factories which made
Russia a leading industrial power

Ukraine – bread-basket of Russia -- was accounting for 27% of
the Soviet Union grain harvest
- a severe drought, though, hit the Ukraine in July 1929 that caused massive
losses in the Ukrainian harvest
- Stalin was convinced that they were still hoarding grain, though, so he
continued to use forceful measures of grain confiscation and quotas
-Ukrainians had been most militant in resisting
collectivization, their loyalty was suspect as they were
considered separatists, too
- the largest ethnic minority in the Soviet Union,
they were also considered the “most pressing
nationality problem in the Soviet Union”
- their nationalism was attacked b/c it was perceived
as a threat to Stalin’s procurement policies, thus
endangering rapid industrialization
- but they were mostly peasants, too, so
collectivization would naturally affect them much
more than other nationalities
-Dec. 1932 Ukrainian decree by Stalin called named numerous
villages who were guilty of sabotaging grain procurement
- collective death sentence as all stores were closed there, all
goods removed from the villages, all trade was banned, all
grain was seized, and even all grain seed was seized
-massive famine in by the end of 1932 in Ukraine, but also the
North Caucasus, the southern Urals, and Kazakhstan
- between 7 and 10 million people just in Ukraine perished
by murder and famine (25% of Ukraine)
- genocide? Forced famine?
- multitude of interconnected policies
- consequence of a ruthless economic
policy
- the famine was the result of
Stalin’s efforts to totally
reconstruct Soviet society
through rapid
industrialization
- Called Holodomor in Ukrainian - meaning murder by
hunger
- these were also potential army recruits that were
dead
- U.S. knew of this but had its own problems with the Great
Depression

**Compare famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933 and the Irish Potato
Famine in 1845-1849**
Stalin worried about potential conspiracies against him, even though he had full control of the government.

Show trials in the 1930s -- highly publicized “show trials” of leading party figures—including Kamenev, Zinoviev, and Bukharin—were staged in Moscow and resulted in their swift execution on trumped-up charges (tortured into confessions).

- Forced to commit to trumped up charges of treason and conspiracy with capitalist countries.

Great Terror (1936-1938)
- Set in motion a massive purge of the party following the assassination of Leningrad party chief and Politburo member Sergei Kirov in December 1934.
- Stalin had him killed b/c:
  - Kirov was found to be giving extra food to Leningrad workers, feeling this would improve productivity.
  - Kirov was the main opponent to Stalin, and Stalin felt he was conspiring to take over as Gen. Sec.
  - Kirov was wildly popular throughout Russia.
- Stalin planned this to get rid of Kirov, but also used the assassination as a reason for the need to purge the party and country.
  - Similar to Hitler’s Reichstag fire.
  - Assassin of Kirov was assassinated weeks later to cover it up (along with his wife, ex-wife, sister-in-law, and brother).

- In 1934, the secret police (NKVD) was set up.
- Headed by Lavrenti Beria (member of the Cheka and OGPU before).
  - Known as the executor of Stalin’s Great Purges.
  - "Let our enemies know that anyone who attempts to raise a hand against the will of our people, against the will of the party of Lenin and Stalin, will be mercilessly crushed and destroyed".
- One of Stalin's most trusted subordinates.
- Took over after Stalin’s death briefly, but was executed on the orders of Khrushchev.

Stalin accused Nikolai Bukharin of conspiring with Trotsky to kill Kirov and overthrow the Soviet Union, and even planning to kill Stalin.
- Had him killed.
- By 1936 the NKVD was arresting and executing party members by the hundreds of thousands.
Stalin accused Politburo members Kamenev and Zinoviev of being agents of Hitler.
Beria killed them.
even the NKVD was purged, too.

- those accused of “counterrevolutionary terrorism” deprived of legal rights and enabled authorities to carry out sentencing, including execution, immediately.
-Stalin even set quotas to be arrested.

- 1937 – 363,000 executions
- 1938 – 328,000 executions

-admired Hitler’s way of executing opponents:
“Have you heard what’s happened in Germany? Hitler, what a lad! Knows how to deal with political opponents.”

-in 1937 and 1938 the terror spread to all of Soviet society, including the military high command.
- 2/3 of its officer corps arrested and many of its senior officers executed.
- Estimates of those arrested and executed from 1936 to 1938 in the Great Terror range between 1.5 million and 7 million.
- included were ½ of the party that were arrested, and over a million party members that died by execution and in the labor camps.
- over 5 million sent to Gulags.
- thousands of individual camps all throughout the country.
- meant to punish people for who they were and to help meet production quotas of Stalin with massive industrialization.
- Purges stopped at the end of 1938, the purge left Stalin with a new generation of officials loyal to him alone.
- Inner circle included Molotov, Khrushchev, Beria, Malenkov, etc.
- But the decimation of the military ranks left the country vulnerable.

-Western democracies after WWI
- Britain
  - high unemployment in the 1920s (11%)
  - to make their products more competitive on the world market, Britain attempted to lower prices by cutting wages.
  - the coal industry was the sector most directly affected by this
  - labor relations in the coal industry had long been unruly.
-in 1926, the coal miners went on strike
  -sympathetic workers in other industries engaged in
  a general strike lasting 9 days
  -in the end, the miners and other unions capitulated
    -with such high levels of unemployment,
      organized labor was in a weak position
-in the fall of 1936, 200 protestors marched from the town of Jarrow in NE England to London to demonstrate their need for employment and the plight of their town since the closure of their shipyard the year before
  -known as the “Jarrow Crusade”
  -highlighted the labor situation in Britain
-the National Party (Conservatives) took over as a result of the Depression
  -Neville Chamberlain became Prime Minister in 1937
  -policy of appeasement (willingness to give into the demands of the aggressive dictatorships)
    -Churchill was a fierce critic of appeasement

-“Irish question”
  -labor conflicts by union organizer James Larkin
    - in 1908 he founded the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU)
    -with socialist James Connolly, Larkin helped form the Irish Labour Party in 1912
  -By 1913, two major Dublin employers remained non-union firms and a target of Larkin's organizing ambitions: Guinness and the Dublin United Tramway Company
    -Guinness staff was well-paid and enjoyed generous benefits from a paternalistic management, and as a result they showed little interest in trade unions
    -the tramways were different
      -in August 1913, the company dismissed 40 workers suspected of ITGWU membership, followed by another 300 over the next week
      -in late August, the tramway workers officially went on strike
      -led by the Dublin United Tramway Company, over 400 of the city's employers retaliated by requiring their workers to sign a pledge not to be a member of the ITGWU and not to engage in sympathetic strikes
  -Employers in Dublin engaged in a lockout of their workers when the latter refused to sign the pledge, employing labor from Britain and elsewhere in Ireland
-for seven months the lockout affected tens of thousands of Dublin's workers and employers
-the lockout eventually concluded in early 1914 when the calls for a sympathetic strike in Britain from Larkin and Connolly were rejected by the British Trades Union Congress (TUC)
-became one of the most severe labor disputes in Irish history
-in September 1923 Larkin formed the Irish Worker League (IWL), which was soon afterwards recognized by the Comintern as the Irish section of the world communist movement
-in 1924 Larkin attended the Comintern congress and was elected to its executive committee

-in 1914 “home rule” was granted by the British parliament
- Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), a Protestant militia, was set up to defend Ulster against the threat of Home Rule and resist it by force
- but its implementation was postponed until after WWI
- Irish nationalists refused to wait

-Easter Uprising
- nationalist uprising of 1,000 volunteers against British rule for 5 days in Dublin in April 1916
- occupied the General Post Office and other buildings in Dublin
- led by James Connolly and Padraig Pearse
- Pearse read the proclamation of Ireland's independence at the GPO, a "proclamation of the republic" - a ringing declaration that Ireland, long part of the British empire, was now independent
- signed by 7 members of the Uprising
- It was 6 years before that vision was realized
- Two years into WWI - a war in which tens of thousands of Irishmen, Catholic and Protestant, were fighting under British colors in Europe - the Easter Rising was seen as a treasonable stab in the back
- British executed its leaders after the failure of uprising
- Nearly 2,000 Irish were interned and 15 of the leaders were executed

-momentum of the nationalist cause spread
- Sinn Fein (“Ourelves Alone”) gained more and more support – won all but 4 Irish parliamentary seats outside of Ulster in 1918
- military wing was the IRA
-refused to go to Parliament at Westminster
-decided instead to create the Irish Parliament (*Dail Eireann*)
-on Jan. 1919, they declared Irish independence
  -first president was Eamon DeValera, who had been born in the US
-touched off several years of guerrilla warfare (Anglo-Irish War)
  -mastermind was Michael Collins, the Commander-in-Chief of the National Army
  -didn’t want violence, but felt there was no other way to achieve independence
  -others didn’t want the violence, they wanted international opinion to be able to get British out
-led to reprisals by the British (killings, houses burn ed, etc.)
  -British brought in the secret police, and Collins was determined to have them all killed in one night (Bloody Sunday)
  -in retaliation, Black and Tans (more properly known as the *Royal Irish Constabulary Reserve Force*) went to a hurling match the next day and opened fire at the spectators and players, killing 12 and wounding 60
  -Black and Tan drink is Guinness and Bass
-but English in July 1921 called for a truce
  -brought British Empire to its knees
  -Collins brought British to the negotiating table for the first time in 700 years
  -Irish won the War of Independence
-treaty negotiations
  -British invited Irish President DeValera (Dev-a-lar-a) to London to negotiate the treaty
  -he knew the British wouldn’t give the whole of Ireland its freedom, so instead of taking the blame for a compromised treaty, he made Collins become the scapegoat and sent him blindly for negotiations instead
  -British Sec. of State for the Colonies was Churchill
  -Collins walked into the trap
-Dec. 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty
  -independence from the UK for 26 southern counties; six northern (Ulster) counties remained part of the United Kingdom and became known as Northern Ireland
Irish Free State became a dominion in the British Empire, along with Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa - control of their own tariffs and economic policy - but members of their parliament had to swear an allegiance to the British crown - British said there would be an all-out war if the Irish didn’t ratify the treaty - treaty divided the whole of Ireland, both literally and figuratively - Collins was pro-treaty as he saw it as progress and a stepping stone for the whole republic, but DeValera was against the treaty as a compromise with the British and still being subjects of the crown - civil war was the product of the treaty

Irish Civil War 1922-1923 - conflict between supporters and opponents of the Anglo-Irish Treaty that split up Ireland in 1921 - Irish Republican Army’s President DeValera and his supporters refused to accept the treaty because it wasn’t complete independence; Collins said it was a stepping stone for complete independence, though - Opponents of the Treaty objected to the fact that it retained constitutional links between the United Kingdom and Ireland, and that the six counties of Northern Ireland would not be included in the Free State - over 4,000 deaths in civil war, more than in the war for independence - very sore subject for Irish, but exactly what British wanted - *Michael Collins* - assassinated by IRA at age 31 in 1922 during Irish Civil War

The IRA fought on against the Free State Army which followed immediately - the end result was that the dissidents of DeValera were defeated and the majority of the people favored the compromise - Ireland didn’t get their complete independence until 1949 when the Republic of Eire was proclaimed

Iraq - Iraq was occupied by Britain during the course of World War I (formerly part of Ottoman Empire); in 1920, it was declared a League of Nations mandate under UK administration
- put the separate Ottoman administrative regions of Basra, Mosul, and Baghdad into one entity known as Iraq
- An uprising of more than 100,000 armed tribesmen against the British occupation swept through Iraq in the summer of 1920.
- Churchill sent in the Royal Air Force and ordered gas attacks on Iraqis

On the possible use of gas weapons (tear gas) in quelling uprisings in the British mandated territories of the former Ottoman Empire, Churchill wrote:

_I do not understand this squeamishness about the use of gas. We have definitely adopted the position at the Peace Conference of arguing in favour of the retention of gas as a permanent method of warfare. I am strongly in favour of using poisoned gas against uncivilised tribes. The moral effect should be so good that the loss of life should be reduced to a minimum. It is not necessary to use only the most deadly gases: gases can be used which cause great inconvenience and would spread a lively terror and yet would leave no serious permanent effects on most of those affected._

- The rebellion was thwarted, with nearly 9000 Iraqis killed
- In stages over the next dozen years, Iraq attained its independence as a kingdom in 1932

- India
  - Churchill hated Gandhi and his movement to get the British out of India
  - "a half-naked fakir" who "ought to be laid, bound hand and foot, at the gates of Delhi and then trampled on by an enormous elephant with the new viceroy seated on its back".
  - Churchill opposed Indian home rule

- France
  - death, devastation, and debt (3 Ds) created economic chaos and political unrest
  - Germany made first reparations payment with everything they had in gold, coal, and iron, but could not make the 2\textsuperscript{nd} payment
  - Germans defaulted on their reparations to France (which was to get 52\% of the $33 billion), and nearly collapsed French economy
  - Jan. 1923 Prime Minister Raymond Poincare decided to teach the Germans a lesson and force them to comply with reparations payments
    - claimed that coal and timber deliveries had been withheld by Germany, French and Belgian troops occupy the heavily industrialized Ruhr region of Germany
      - their mining and manufacturing district in the Rhineland (largest industrial region of Germany)
      - the German gov’t ordered passive resistance
    - led to a general strike where workers refused to work for the French
-Poincare sent French civilians to run the German mines and railroads

-formed alliances with Belgium and Poland to surround Germany in the event of a resurgence of militarism there
-afraid of another German attack, in 1925 they come up with idea of a series of concrete fortifications along German border (Maginot Line) – after Defense Minister Maginot

-depression increased class tensions and gave birth to a radical right that supported gov’t reorganization along Fascist lines
-Fascist riots broke out all over France in 1934
-gave rise to the Popular Front (coalition of left-wing parties: socialists, republicans, labor unions, Communists) to oppose Fascists
-established in 1935 to preserve the republic and press for social reform
-1936 elections saw the Popular Front win a majority in the Chamber of Deputies
-socialist Leon Blum became Prime Minister under Popular Front following
-wages were raised between 7 and 15%
-employers were required to recognize unions and to bargain collectively with them
-workers given annual paid 2-week vacations
-44-hr. work week was established throughout French industry
-Blum resigned in 1937
-replaced by conservative Edouard Daladier
-overturned Blum’s reforms and practiced appeasement to Hitler

-Dictatorship
-Fascism in Italy

-Fasci di Combattimento (Bands of Combat) formed in 1919 in Milan
-made up of Italian war veterans who felt Versailles had cheated Italy out of the hard-won fruits of victory, including territory
-also feared the spread of communism
-leader was Benito Mussolini, a former socialist who converted to nationalism during WWI
-served in the Italian army during the war and was wounded fighting the Austrians
-name comes from fasces (rods carried by Imperial Roman officials as symbols of power)
-fascism is an Italian word used to describe govt’s that are:
-anti-democratic -anti-parliamentary
-anti-Marxist  -anti-Semitic
-hold back the international spread of communism
-nationalistic, strong determination to make their country strong again
-rejected liberalism
-make the world safe for the middle class, small businesses, small farmers, and land owners

-1919 depression broke out with nationwide strikes and class tensions

-Benito Mussolini
-squadristi (paramilitary blackshirts that acted as local squads of terrorists) attacked Socialist Party meetings, beat up Socialist leaders, and intimidated socialist supporters
-attacked strikers and protected strike breakers
-promising to protect private property, he quickly won support of the conservatives and businessmen
-1921 Mussolini and 34 fellow Fascist Party members were elected to the Chamber of Deputies
-movement now had hundreds of thousands of supporters

-October 1922
-the fascists began a march on Rome from Milan
-known as the Black Shirt March
-Mussolini stayed in Milan and didn’t take part in the march

-King Victor Emmanuel III (1900-1946)
-refused to send the army to stop the marchers, which caused his cabinet to resign in protest
-on Oct. 29, he called Mussolini in Milan and asked him to become his prime minister
-Mussolini accepted and then went to Rome as the new Prime Minister of Italy
-got into power legally
-Nov. 1922 – the King and parliament granted Mussolini dictatorial powers for 1-year to bring order to local and regional gov’ts
-by 1924, the Fascists won complete control of the Chamber of Deputies
-by 1926, all other political parties were dissolved and Italy was transformed into a one-party dictatorial state

-Mussolini as dictator
-created a totalitarian state
-strengthened the economy and built up the army
-Lateran Accord  Feb. 1929
-Catholic Church and the Italian state made peace with each other (had been at odds since the 1860s)
-recognized the pope as the ruler of the independent state of Vatican City
-Italy agreed to recognize Catholicism as the religion of the nation and exempted church property from taxes
  -gave papacy $92 million for seized church lands in return for Pope Pius XII’s recognition of his state
-Church recognized Mussolini as leader of Italy
-supports other fascists, especially in Germany and Croatia
  -in Croatia, Ustashe (“uprising”) was started in 1929
    -leader was Ante Pavelic
    -Mussolini provides training and sanctuary in Fascist Italy for the movement
    -Pavelic will pay him back when he cedes the entire Dalmatian coast to Italy in 1941
-in Sept. 1938 Mussolini gave foreign Jews 6 months to leave
  -film *Life Is Beautiful*
-Fascist accomplishments:
  -internal improvements like electrification and road building
  -protected private property
  -kept communists out
  -suppression of the Mafia
    -a organized criminal secret society which evolved in mid-19th cent. in Sicily
    -prosecuted the Mafia, forcing many Mafiosi to flee abroad or risk being jailed

-Weimar Germany
  -from the armistice to the Weimar Republic
  -the early years of the Weimar Rep. (1918-1924)
    -marred by coups, mutinies, assassinations, and chaos
    -social misery, war destruction, economic ruin, and political instability were the perfect breeding ground for radical parties and extreme groups
      -the German Revolution of 1918-1919
      -the Kiel Naval Mutiny of Oct.-Nov. 1918
        -although preliminary negotiations for a WWI ceasefire had already begun by the end of October 1918, the German navy was
ordered to set out for one last engagement with British naval units on October 24, 1918
-the war-weary sailors of the *Thuringia* and the *Helgoland* refused to obey the order
-around 1,000 mariners were arrested and sent to Kiel for a court-martial
-a mass rally in support of the mariners in Kiel broke out on November 3, 1918
  -became a general rebellion of over 40,000 soldiers, sailors, and workers
  -several demonstrators were shot by military patrols
-the rebellion in Kiel was brought under control after the formation of a soldiers’ council on November 4, 1918
  -the uprising inspired the formation of workers’ and soldiers’ councils in other cities throughout Germany, wanting to model the revolution on the Russian October Revolution
-spread to Bavaria and Berlin in early Nov.
  -on Nov. 7, 1918 the revolutionary Bavarian Republic was proclaimed in Munich
  -on Nov. 9, 1918, just 2 hours after SPD member Philipp Scheidmann declared the “German Republic” from a Reichstag balcony in Berlin, KPD co-founder Karl Liebknecht declared the formation of a “Free Socialist Republic” from the Hohenzollern palace in Berlin
  -2 parallel revolutions, one democratic led by the reformist Social Democrats and one by the sailors and workers that formed work councils or soviets, a movement that posed a direct threat to the SPD
  -2 very different conceptions of what post-Wilhelmine Germany should look like

-revolution did not stop with the abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm II in Nov. 1918 or with the signing of the Compiegne Armistice
-weeks of violent street battles between the communists and the gov’t in the capital
-Jan. 5-12, 1919 German Communist Party (KPD) co-founders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht (and their group, the Spartacist group) called for a violent overthrow of the gov’t
- Luxemburg, 47 at this time, was a Jewish woman born in Russian-controlled Poland
- a combative intellectual and Marxist who opposed World War I and favored revolution over parliamentary democracy
- Luxemburg had published *The Mass Strike, the Political Party, and the Trade Unions* in 1906
- she argued for the necessity of the violent overthrow of capitalism and emphasized the role of workers in achieving the revolution
- called for a revolution based on the Soviet model
- after battling in the streets of Berlin, it was put down and Luxemburg and Liebknecht were executed in Jan. 1919
  - martyrs to the communist cause today

-the National Assembly, elected in Jan. 1919, opened in the city of Weimar b/c of the revolution in Berlin
- the largest political party was the SPD
- elected SPD member and current chancellor Friedrich Ebert president and SPD member Philipp Scheidmann chancellor
- part of a coalition gov’t comprised of mainly SPD, but also the German Catholic Center Party, and others
- eventually signed a liberal constitution into law on July 31, 1919
  - called for directly elected president, parliament (Reichstag), and senate (Bundesrat) by universal suffrage
chancellor was appointed and removed by the president, though
included Article 48, which allowed the president to have dictatorial powers in an emergency
became known as the Weimar Republic
governed Germany from 1919 to 1933
-Feb. 1919 Kurt Eisner, the head of the Bavarian gov’t, was assassinated by a right-wing extremist
-March 1919 communist attempt to overthrow the gov’t
gov’t ordered troops to fire on the insurgents, killing 1,200 people

-in this atmosphere of military and communist revolutions and coups, in Munich a far-right party formed – the DAP (German Workers Party)

-started by Anton Drexler, Gottfried Feder and Dietrich Eckart
-German Army was worried that it was a left-wing revolutionary group and sent Adolf Hitler (born in 1889 in Austrian town of Waldviertal), one of its education officers, to spy on the organization
-Hitler discovered that the party's political ideas were similar to his own
-joined as the 555th member, and became 7th member of the board in Sept. 1919
-put in charge of party propaganda
-stab-in-the-back” theory – Jews and communists were responsible for loss of the war and therefore current chaotic state of Germany
-even though 12,000 German Jews died fighting during WWI
-designed party flag with swastika on it
-held first mass meeting at the Hofbrauhaus (beer hall) in Feb. 1920 where he read the party’s program, the 25 Points
-refused to accept Versailles Treaty, which had been signed in June 1919
-called Germans who signed the armistice of WWI as the “November criminals”
wanted unification of Germany and Austria
-exclusion of Jews from German citizenship
-“All non-German immigration must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who entered Germany after 2 August 1914
shall be required to leave the Reich forthwith.”

changed name in April 1920 to NSDAP (Nationale Socialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei – National Socialist German Workers Party) with urging of Hitler

Hitler’s “socialism” was the subordination of all economic enterprise to the welfare of the nation, protected small businesses

-NOT state ownership of the means of production

-Nazi Party is formed

forms his own army, the SA (Sturmabteilung, Storm troopers, brown shirts) under Ernst Roehm

-instrument for terror and intimidation

-purpose was to attack socialists and disrupt other political meetings

-gave members foods and paid them

NSDAP executive members didn’t like Hitler, though, and how powerful and popular he became so quickly

-To weaken Hitler's position, they formed an alliance with a group of socialists from Augsburg

-Hitler countered them by announcing his resignation from the Party on July 11, 1921

-They realized the loss of Hitler would effectively mean the end of the Nazi Party

-Hitler seized the moment and announced he would return on the condition that he was made chairman and given dictatorial powers

-Hitler's demands were put to a vote of the party members

-Hitler received 543 votes for, and only 1 against

-on July 21, 1921, introduced as Führer of the Nazi Party, marking the first time that title was publicly used to address him

-means leader

NSDAP membership: 1922 6,000
1923 55,000

-Treaty of Versailles signed on June 28, 1919

-known as the “treaty of shame”

-led to even further radical actions by those in the opposition

-March 1920 Kapp Putsch
- Based on opposition to the Treaty of Versailles -- aimed at overthrowing the Weimar Republic
- in early 1919, the regular army was estimated at 350,000, with an additional 250,000 men enlisted in the various Freikorps
  - under the terms of the Versailles Treaty, Germany was required to reduce its armed forces to a maximum of 100,000
  - in March 1920, orders were given for the disbandment of various divisions
- Gen. Walther von Lüttwitz, commander of the Berlin division of the army, and a fervent monarchist, responded by calling on President Friedrich Ebert and Defense Minister Gustav Noske to stop the troop reductions
  - Ebert refused, and Lüttwitz ordered troops to march on Berlin, occupying the capital on March 13, 1920
    - Wolfgang Kapp, the Minister of Finance, organized the putsch
      - supported by the large landholders who were anti-democratic
    - Noske called upon the regular army to suppress the putsch, but the army refused to fire on their fellow soldiers
  - the government was forced to abandon Berlin and moved to Dresden
  - the putsch eventually fell apart, though, b/c the workers never rallied to its defense and most of the leading military commanders refused to join the putsch, perhaps with the view that it was premature

- led to separatist and revolutionary uprisings followed in central Germany and the Ruhr Valley
  - 50,000 armed men took control of the Ruhr region
    - fighting killed 1,000 rebels in March 1920

- June 24, 1922 right wing extremists murdered Foreign Minister Walter Rathenau b/c he was Jewish
  - represented the “Jew Republic” which right-wing extremists hated
- blamed him for the conditions of the Versailles Treaty

-the KPD founded their own militia in 1924 – the Red Front Fighter League (RFB)
  - had 110,000 members
  - its members protected KPD rallies against attacks
  - KPD leader by this time was Ernst Thälmann
    - member of the Reichstag from 1924-1933, running for president in 1925 and 1932

-the Weimar Republic’s major issue, besides signing the Treaty of Versailles and the numerous coup attempts, was inflation
  - Germany had borrowed to finance the war and had continued deficit spending in the postwar period
    - over 700,000 of the war-injured were dependent on state assistance
    - industrial production fell to the level it was 1888
    - led to their currency falling
    - printing presses just printed more and more money
  - this, combined with war reparations and the French occupation of the Ruhr valley in Jan. 1923
    - the German workers went on strike in the Ruhr as a result, which led the French to deport 150,000 Germans from the Ruhr
      - numerous political parties and opposition groups blamed the Weimar Rep. for its culpability with the French
    - led to hyperinflation, impoverishment, and another coup attempt, this time by Hitler in 1923
  - hyperinflation
    - workers were negotiating their contracts twice a day, steelworkers got paid twice a day
    - middle class were financially wiped out
    - by November 1923, a loaf of bread cost 428 billion marks (4 billion marks to buy a dollar)
    - money wasn’t worth the paper it was printed on
    - used as firewood b/c it was cheaper than wood
    - stores were unwilling to exchange goods for the worthless currency
-the rate of inflation hit 3.25 million % per month (prices double every 49 hours); the highest value banknote issued by the Weimar government's Reichsbank had a face value of 1 trillion marks

-Hitler’s Beer Hall Putsch (November 8-9, 1923)

-Hitler had been talking since Sept. 1923 about a march from Munich up to Berlin to overthrow the republic, similar to Mussolini’s March on Rome

-at a Munich gov’t meeting in the Burgerbraukeller beer hall on Nov. 8, Hitler and his SA stormed in and while Hitler started yelling, SA took gov’t officials von Kahr and von Lossow prisoner

-"The National Revolution has begun!" Hitler shouted

-SA screwed up though and let them go

-von Kahr informed Berlin, so Hitler couldn’t go up there anymore, so he decided to march through Munich for support on November 9, 1923

-von Kahr also ordered the breakup of the Nazi party and its fighting forces

-marched to the Feldherrnhalle in Munich with 3000 men, including Hermann Goring, Ernst Roehm, and Erich Ludendorff; street blocked by police

-police fire into the ground to stop them, then Nazis fire back, and in the end 21 people are dead, including 16 Nazis (a guy linked to Hitler’s arm was shot and killed)

-Hitler jumped into a car right as shooting started
- the 16 “Immortals”, Nov. 9 made a national holiday under Hitler, their blood was “the holy water of the Third Reich”

- the blood-soaked flag of the party from the putsch would be a staple at all party rallies – the “blood flag”

- Hitler arrested for treason
  - the trial was in Munich, under the Bavarian gov’t that hated the Weimar Republic, so they sympathized with him
  - he did not get the death penalty, but only 5 years in prison, of which he only served 9 months b/c he became eligible for parole

- jailed in the Landsberg Prison
  - had a private cell with a fine view
  - was like a celebrity, having over 500 visiting him in jail
  - received packages, letters, and cakes almost daily
  - had his own private secretary, Rudolph Hess
  - wrote Mein Kampf (My Struggle) while in prison

- Originally called Four Years of Struggle against Lies, Stupidity and Cowardice

- published first in July 1925

- Germans didn’t lost WWI, Jews and Communists lost it,

- Treaty was a
humiliation, and Germans were a master race destined to expand into Eastern Europe to obtain lebensraum (living space) and to rule inferior races like Jews

-dictated to Rudolf Hess, also imprisoned for his part in the putsch, who later became Hitler's deputy.

-later became a required school textbook and given to all German newlyweds -illegal in Germany today

-what Hitler learned from Beer Hall Putsch:

1. no more coups, adopted a Legality Policy to do everything legal
2. never go against the army (the Bavarian army didn’t support him)

-the stable years of the Weimar Rep. (1924-1929)

-relative stability, peace, and quiet in domestic affairs, economic prosperity, and cultural blossoming

-industrial production increased

-the Dawes Act (1924) pared down German payments and diminished the ability of the French to collect

-Charles Dawes, a Chicago banker, headed the Reparations Commission of the Allied nations

-called for evacuation of French from Ruhr Valley

-key player in order for U.S. to get their money was Germany, but they needed a budget and a currency

-Germany was to get loans from U.S. if they stopped printing “fake” money

-U.S. had to pay if it wanted to be paid

-ended hyperinflation

-lastled only until 1929

-Pres. Ebert died in 19125 and Paul von Hindenburg, a military hero and conservative, was elected as Weimar’s new president
-Germans saw in Hindenburg the glory of Germany, the glory of the German army during WWI as he was the most important general in that war

-Oct. 1925 Weimar gov’t signs Locarno Pact
-recognized the French-Belgium-German boundaries set at Versailles
  -Britain and Italy agreed to intervene against whichever side violated the frontier or if Germany sent troops into the demilitarized Rhineland
-France supported German entry into the League of Nations and agreed to end its occupation troops from the Rhineland in 1930 (5 years earlier than agreed to at Versailles)
-further irritated nationalists, especially Hitler and the Nazis

-Nazi participation fell to only 12 seats in Reichstag in 1928
-b/c of economic success of the Dawes Plan, the Locarno Pact, Hitler’s coup being a failure and he being thrown in jail, no communist threat anymore, etc.

-cultural flourishing (Germany’s version of the Roaring ‘20s)
-Weimar was referred to by those in opposition to it as the “Jewish Republic”
  -the 1919 Weimar Constitution gave Jews in Germany equality for the first time
    -all forms of employment were now open to them
    -there were 560,000 Jews in Germany (less than 1% of the German population)
    -Germany’s population was 63,400,000
  -but the Jews were prominent in a number of fields:
    -20% of Germany’s independent businessmen were Jews
    -16% of all German lawyers were Jews
    -flourished in academia, like Albert Einstein who was a professor at Berlin’s Humboldt University
    -there were 2,800 synagogues in Germany in the early 1930s
    -Berlin had more synagogues than any other western European city at the time
  -thriving gay community
    -Magnus Hirschfeld
  -thriving arts community

-the end of the Weimar Rep. (1929-1933)
the worldwide depression in Oct. 1929 brought about poverty, desperation, and radical parties.

-the Depression affected Germany tremendously as the foreign credit they desperately relied on and needed was withdrawn.
-unable to export enough products to pay for imports of raw materials and food.

-unemployment rose (33% of Germans were unemployed)
-thousands of unemployed joined the SA
-membership went from 100,000 members in 1930 to 1 million in 1933.

-businesses failed, banks collapsed

-Sept. 14, 1930 parliamentary elections
-NSDAP got 18.3% of the vote
-aimed for the downfall of the parliamentary system
-Nazi parliamentary seats grew from 12 in 1928 to 107 in 1930
-Nazi Party support:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 1924</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 1930</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1932</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1933</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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-KPD got 13.1% of the vote

-April 10, 1932 presidential elections
-Hindenburg won the election, but the KPD candidate (Ernst Thalmann) did well, as did the NSDAP candidate (Adolf Hitler)
-83-yr. old Hindenburg got 53% of the vote, but Hitler got 37% of the vote

-Hindenburg appointed Franz von Papen as chancellor
-von Papen called for new elections in July 1932
-wanted to use the Nazis growing power without giving Hitler power

-in July 31, 1932 Reichstag elections, Nazis gained 37.4% of the vote

-showed that the Weimar gov’t and its constitution was seemingly finished

-Nazis now the single largest political party in Germany

-had 230 seats in Reichstag, a voting strength of 13,700,000 and a private army of 400,000 SS and SA

-Hitler demanded that he be appointed chancellor as the head of the largest political party

-in late 1932, von Papen resigned and General Kurt von Schleicher was named chancellor, but he resigned in Jan. 1933

-Hindenburg saw that the best way to control Hitler was to grant Hitler the Chancellorship.
-also appointed von Papen the vice-chancellor as the one who would monitor Hitler
-so on January 30, 1933, Hindenburg appointed Hitler as Chancellor (entered gov’t legally)
-start of the Third Reich (other 2 were Charlemagne in the 9th century and Bismarck in the 19th century)
-only one other cabinet member was a Nazi
-called for new elections on March 5, and through his chancellorship, he controlled the media and started to persecute “leftists”
-Catholic Center Party still got 13.9% of the vote, and actually gained 3 Reichstag seats
-Prussia is Germany’s biggest state, and that’s where Hermann Goring becomes Minister of the Interior (power of police)

-Feb. 27, 1933, a week before national elections
-Reichstag fire broke out in Berlin
-blamed a Dutch Communist, Marinus van der Lubbe, for it (even though he most certainly started it himself) and said it was first stage of a communist coup, and Hindenburg used it to declare emergency powers for his gov’t
-the Communist arsonist, van der Lubbe, was tried, convicted, and beheaded

-in Jan. 2008, Germany’s federal prosecutor overturned the guilty verdict finally (75 years later)
-under Art. 48, Hitler issued an emergency decree for the arrest of communists and alleged communists
-many communists arrested b/c of this, and jails couldn’t hold them, so start using concentration camps (March 8 under Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick)

-Feb. 1933
-Hitler dissolved Reichstag, took control of radio, and under “Decree for the Protection of German People,” free speech curtailed; Goring permits shooting of enemies of the state
-SA and SS (Hitler’s bodyguards, Schutzstaffeln, blackshirts) under Heinrich Himmler made “auxillary police”, so they are allowed to shoot enemies of the state, too

-March 5 elections
-Nazis receive 44% of the vote and win 288 seats in the Reichstag
-March 9 Himmler, police president of Munich, opens Dachau as a concentration camp – used to create terror
-March 23  Enabling Act enacted
  -needed 2/3 of Reichstag to pass Enabling act, so he started negotiations with the Vatican for a concordat that would eliminate political Catholics (Catholic Center Party)
  -Hitler given dictatorial powers for 4 years  
    -within 6 months, all political parties except Nazis were outlawed

-April 1-4  SA nationwide boycott of Jewish stores and businesses
  -Aryanization – companies told that if they had Jews on their board of directors, they wouldn’t get gov’t money or contracts

-April 7  Law for the Restoration of a Professional Civil Service
  -all Jewish civil servants were fired (teachers, police, gov’t employees)

-May 10  first book burnings throughout Germany
  -about 25,000 books were burned during student rallies
    -“un-German” works
  -burned works of “undesirables” (Einstein, Freud, Marx, Thomas Mann, Engels, Helen Keller, Lenin, Marc Chagall, Ernest Hemingway, Jack London, Stalin, Upton Sinclair, Trotsky, H.G. Wells, etc)
  -believed all non-Aryan culture had a corrupting influence on the German people
    -seized 500 tons of books and magazines in Berlin alone by May 1933
  -a tactic of Joseph Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda

-July 14  Law for the Protection of Hereditarily Sick Offspring
  -over 360,000 sterilizations carried out so people couldn’t reproduce
  -anyone of hereditary mental or cognitive diseases, including blindness, deafness, schizophrenia, depression, epilepsy, alcoholism, and any physical deformities
  -sterilized without their families’ consent
  -a form of “racial cleansing”
  -lasted until 1940 when they just killed them instead
    -“unworthy lives”

-July 8, 1933
  -The Vatican’s secretary of state, Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli (the future Pope Pius XII) signed a concordat with Hitler  
    -aka. Hitler’s Pope
    -the long process, begun in 1967, to make Pope Pius, who was pontiff from 1939 to 1958, a saint is currently underway
  -specified the church’s rights in the Third Reich
  -The Concordat effectively legitimized Hitler and the Nazi government to the eyes of Catholicism, Christianity, and the world
  -Vatican got:
-authorized papacy to impose new Church law on German Catholics, granted privileges to Catholic schools and clergy
-German paying for and protecting education of Catholic pupils from primary education up to secondary education
-Nazi Germany got:
  -German Catholic Center Party (Zentrumspartei) and its hundreds of associations and newspapers “voluntarily” withdrew from German politics
  -ensured Nazism could rise unopposed
-papal endorsement of Nazism
-Hitler: “The fact that the Vatican is concluding a treaty with the new Germany means the acknowledgment of the National Socialist state by the Catholic Church.”
-the treaty constrained the Vatican to silence on any issue the Nazi regime deemed political
-Hitler on July 14, 1933: Pacelli’s nonintervention left the regime free to resolve the Jewish problem
-in a cabinet meeting, the minutes report that Hitler “expressed the opinion that one should only consider it as a great achievement. The concordat gave Germany an opportunity and created an area of trust that was particularly significant in the developing struggle against international Jewry.”

-Nov. 1933 Gestapo created (secret state police – Geheimo Staatspolizei)

-it was also in 1933 that math professor Albert Einstein, a Jew, decided to leave Berlin for the U.S., along with another Jew, Sigmund Freud (Austrian), and Thomas Mann (author, critic of Hitler)
-called the “brain train”
-scientists that left Germany eventually led to American developing atomic bomb before Germany
-Hitler: “If the dismissal of Jewish scientists means the annihilation of contemporary German science, we shall do without science for a few years”

-June 30, 1934 Night of Long Knives
-SA under Ernst Roehm was the Nazi army, while the SS under Heinrich Himmler was Hitler’s bodyguards
  -SA numbered 1 million, while the SS has only 52,000 members
-SS took SA leaders as prisoners, and eventually shot and killed them, including Roehm (total of 170 leading Nazis killed)
-Hitler organized this because he feared the SA as they weren’t under his control, but Roehm’s
-afraid of a civil war between SA and SS
-President Hindenburg died in Aug. 1934
-as Chancellor, Hitler also decided to make himself President
-labor unions outlawed, strikes outlawed, full employment resumed with arms production (western powers didn’t react b/c they were immersed in depression)
-economy
-33% of Germans were unemployed, so he started public works programs
  -construction of Autobahn (Germany's national highway system)
    -at the time, Germany had a fully-developed rail network, but only a small number of roads
    -construction started on May 1, 1933
    -used plans from the 1920s initially designed for a network of roads
    -planned to expand it 1,000 km/year
      -suspended in 1939 due to the war
    -showcased the advanced state of German engineering
    -jobs and military advantage (just like Eisenhower’s 1956 highway system)
  -started heavy industrialization
    -in the aircraft industry alone, the number of workers increased from 4,000 in 1933 to 208,000 in 1938
  -electrification
    -unemployment: 1931 6 million, 1938 .5 million

-Hitler takes on foreign policy to add much needed lebensraum (living space)
-1934 wanted to unite Germany with Austria
  -Hitler’s most cherished ambition
  -had a number of Austrian Nazis who supported him
  -attempted Nazi takeover of the Austrian gov’t in 1934 ended in failure
  -kept fighting for it, though, b/c he knew that the democracies wouldn’t fight to protect Austrian independence

-Nuremberg Laws of Sept. 15, 1935
  -help distinguish Jews from Mischlinge (Germans of mixed race) and Aryans
  -Jew – anyone whose grandparents visited a synagogue
    -if 3 grandparents visited synagogue, you were a full Jew;
      then ½ Jewish, ¼ Jewish
  -stripped Germany’s 500,000 Jews of their rights as citizens
  -Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor
    -marriages between Jews and Germans are forbidden
  -needed Ahnenbuch (racial passports)
- Oct. 1935 Mussolini attacked Ethiopia
  - wanted an Italian empire
    - wanted revenge on Ethiopia who had defeated Italy in 1896 under attempted imperialist war
  - used tanks, planes, and poison gas
  - executed 30,000 persons, including about half of the younger, educated Ethiopian population
  - Racial separation, including residential segregation, was enforced
  - the Bishop of Terracina, “O Duce!, today Italy is fascist and the hearts of all Italians beat together with yours. The nation is ready for any sacrifice to ensure the triumph of peace and of Roman and Christian civilizations…God bless you, O Duce.”
  - League of Nations ordered sanctions against them (embargo on trade in arms and raw materials, but not oil, though, which would have prevented Italian victory); not enforced
    - democracies didn’t want to make Italy mad, so they protested it verbally, but that’s it
    - England actually allowed Italian troops and munitions to reach Ethiopia through the Suez Canal
    - Emperor Haile Selassie moved to Britain when Ethiopia was defeated in June 1936 and only came back with the British army in 1941
      - before the League of Nations in 1936, he prophetically said, "It is us today, it will be you tomorrow."
  - with Britain, France, and Italy involved in the Ethiopian crisis, Hitler sent troops to occupy the Rhineland

- March 1935 Hitler announced that he was rearming, thus taking over the Saarland
  - first of his annexations
  - Hitler’s annexations: Saarland March 1935
  - Rhineland March 1936
  - Austria March 1938
  - Sudetenland Sept. 1938
    - a German-speaking area of Czechoslovakia with a large ethnic German population
    - rest of Czechoslovakia March 1939
      - included Slovakia, Bohemia, and Moravia

- in Sept. 1936 Hitler announced a 4-Year Plan
-focused on rearmament and economic self-sufficiency
  -the army and the economy were to be ready for war
- Hermann Goring was put in charge of this
- German military spending as % of GDP:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% GDP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>60.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>72.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>88.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-March 7, 1936 Hitler’s troops occupied Rhineland, which Treaty of Versailles made into a demilitarized zone
  -breach of the Versailles Treaty and the Locarno Pact
  -knew Germany wasn’t ready for a war with France yet, though, so he ordered a retreat in the event of a French attack
  -he gambled on his hunch that the democracies would shrink from taking action against him
  -most action taken was that Britain verbally protested it

- October 25, 1936 Hitler signs Axis Treaty with Mussolini
  - Berlin – Rome link – both helped out in Spanish civil war in 1936
    - used as an exhibition game for war (practiced maneuvers, strategic bombing, etc.)
  - Hitler found an ally
  - Germany, Italy, and Japan sign Anti-Comintern Pact to oppose international communism
    - Japan is also fascist
    - Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis
      - a pledge of mutual cooperation between the 3 nations that called for separate military ventures

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-Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)
  - Following the Spanish-American War (1898), Spain lost the remainder of its once-great empire
    - United States won control of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, while Cuba gained its independence from Spain
  - Spain was traditionally a conservative, Catholic monarchical state
  - military coup in 1923 that led to Spain’s king, Alfonso XIII, making General Miquel Primo de Rivera, head of the government
    - Primo de Rivera’s authoritarian regime suppressed far-left groups
      - forced to resign in early 1930s and with that, there was distaste for monarchy for letting this dictatorship happen
      - elections of April 1931 were won by republicans and King Alfonso was forced to leave the country
  - Spanish Republic created in 1931 (called the 2nd Republic)
-new republic started reforms centered on restructuring the military and reducing the church’s power, including reforms included legalizing divorce, which had been illegal under Catholic Spain, and seizing land from elite landowners and redistributing it to peasants in order to address the problems of migrant labor and high unemployment in agricultural areas
-these reforms threatened Spain’s wealthy classes (military, Church, monarchists) who controlled most of the country’s land and industry
-elections of 1936 won by the left again with Manuel Azana as Prime Minister

-anti-republican generals sent out of the country, including Gen. Francisco Franco, who was sent to the Canary Islands
-The military uprising against the democratically elected government in July 1936 led to three years of war and then four decades of fascist dictatorship under Gen Francisco Franco
-military leaders started to plot a coup because they knew current gov’t was weak
-Franco and his Spanish Falangists (Fascists) began and insurrection against the democratically chosen republican gov’t (the failed coup turned into a civil war)
-supported by Mussolini and Hitler with arms, money, and men
- Hitler sent 20,000 German soldiers to fight for Franco
-Nazi Germany helped the Spanish generals attack their government
-Stalin backed Spain's democratically elected administration (the loyalists) with aid
-3,000 Soviet “volunteers,” along with hundreds of tanks and plans, were sent to the loyalists
-the Comintern organized and sent an additional 42,000 “volunteers”
-democracies sided with the Loyalists, but the appeasement of Britain and France and neutrality of the US prevented Loyalists from acquiring weapons they needed to fight the war
-the three-year struggle is often regarded as a rehearsal for World War II
-war divided Spain into two hostile camps: the Nationalists (Franco) and the Loyalists (gov’t)

- Spain's military, backed by conservative political forces and the Roman Catholic Church, saw the Civil War was a battle against communism
- For the Republican government the conflict was a struggle against fascism

-Loyalist group known as the Red Terror targeted the Catholic Church
-When the civil war broke out, long-standing resentment against the church boiled over into violence. Some revolutionaries sacked and burned churches and convents and destroyed religious monuments.
-Revolutionaries also killed approximately 7000 clergymen and clergywomen
-Nationalist group known as the White Terror targeted Loyalists
-Nationalists executed as many as 80,000 Loyalists
-September 29, 1939 Franco was named Generalísimo (commander in chief) of the Nationalist troops, as well as el Caudillo (the leader), head of Nationalist Spain

-legacy of the civil war
  -lasted over 3 years and killed 600,000
  -Fascists won and Franco became longest reigning Fascist dictator (ending in 1975)
  -General Franco's most imposing legacy: The Valley of the Fallen, the former leader's colossal burial chamber on the outskirts of the capital
  -just months after Fascists won, Europe emerged itself in WWII

-Anschluss of March 1938
  -Hitler invited Austrian Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg to his retreat in Berchtesgaden
  -Hitler forced him to give major concessions to the Austrian Nazis
  -after he returned to Austria, he was forced to resign under threat of Hitler invading
  -the new Austrian Chancellor was a Nazi who took orders directly from Hitler
  -Germany was now invited to help “restore order” in Austria
  -March 11, 1938 union of Austria and Germany (Anschluss) – no fighting
  -protests made by democracies, but he made the usual promises that he had no further territorial ambitions

-Hitler then quickly turned his attention to Czechoslovakia
  -already 3.5 million Germans in the country
  -Hitler’s aim was to frighten his enemies into conceding peaceably
  -Czechs relied on their British and French friends for advice
  -but on September 30, 1938 Britain, France, Italy and Germany met in Munich (Munich Conference) and decided to give Sudetenland to Germany
  -section of Czechoslovakian land between Germany and Czechoslovakia that had 3.2 million German inhabitants
  -Chamberlain told parliament the pact had "averted a catastrophe which would have ended civilization as we have known it".
  -Hitler: “I have no more territorial demands to make in Europe.”
-all the countries in Munich gave vows of eternal peace, though
-most dramatic failure of the appeasement policy
-left Czechs with a crippled economy and ineffective defense system

-on Nov. 7, 1938 in Paris, the German embassy secretary, Ernst vom Rath, was murdered by a Jewish teenager (Rath died two days later of the wounds)
-17-yr. old Herschel Grynszpan, a refugee from Germany living in Paris with his uncle, heard in a letter that his parents had been deported from Germany to Poland on Oct. 28, 1938
-his parents, Polish citizens, had been living in Germany since 1911
-so he entered the German embassy in Paris and shot the first official he came across
-meant to draw the world's attention to the suffering of the Nazis’ Jewish victims
-was arrested by French police
-held by them until the Germans took over France and then they had him sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp

-so in response…
-November 9, 1938 Kristallnacht (night of Broken Glass)
-nationwide pogrom against Jews where 91 Jews were killed, 1,400 synagogues ransacked, almost all Jewish cemeteries desecrated, 7,500 Jewish businesses ransacked
-30,000 Jews rounded up and sent to concentration camps
-caused about 130,000 German Jews to leave Germany (25% of German Jews)
-of those who stayed, over 90% were murdered
-the Nazis' first centrally organized operation of large-scale, anti-Jewish violence
-since 1933, over 2,000 anti-Jewish measure had been taken to isolate and impoverish the Jews

-March 1939 Hitler annexed the rest of Czechoslovakia
-the policy of appeasement was finally discredited and abandoned
-Hitler planned to call the Jewish Museum in Prague the "Exotic Museum of an Extinct Race"
-During the war, Jewish artifacts from all over Europe were brought to Prague and stored in preparation for this museum
-France and Britain guarantee Polish independence

-1939 Mussolini invades Albania
Hitler and Stalin sign Non-Aggression Pact in August 1939
aka. Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact
Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union agreed a carve-up Eastern Europe

- assigned western Poland and Lithuania to Germany
- After the Nazi-Soviet invasion of Poland the following month, Germany renounced its claim to Lithuania for a larger share of Poland
- assigned eastern Poland, Latvia, Estonia and northern Romania to the Soviet Union
- because of Poland being annexed by both powers, this agreement became known as the “4th Partition of Poland”

-not to fight if the other went to war, especially not to join in a war against Germany

-fear – Hitler feared communism, Stalin feared fascism
- Hitler did not want a two-front war, Stalin wasn’t ready for war
- pact was supposed to last for 10 years (actually lasted only 2 yrs.)

-in 1939, the German military was at full strength:
- 2.75 million soldiers in the army
- 400,000 men in the air force
- 50,000 men in the navy

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MAJOR Nazi SLOGANS

- Deutschland Erwache!—Germany Awake!
- Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Fuhrer!—One State, One People, One Leader!
- Deutschland Ist Hitler! Hitler Ist! Deutschland—Germany is Hitler! Hitler is Germany!
- Deutschland Uber Alles!—Germany Above Everything!
-art (POWERPOINT)
  -expressionism – abstract and nonrepresentational, painted with bold colors to focus on emotions and imagination
    -pioneered by van Gogh, Cezanne, and Gauguin
  -cubism – mood depicted through use of geometric angles, planes, and lines
    -pioneered by Pablo Picasso (Spanish)
  -dadaism and surrealism (abstract styles created by various artists)
    -Salvador Dali (Spanish)