THE RISE OF TOTALITARIANISM

ESSENTIAL QUESTION TODAY:
- What were the similarities and differences between the totalitarian governments of Russia, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Japan?
- What conditions contributed to the rise of these systems?

TOTALITARIANISM
- Centralized government:
  - Adherence to one powerful authority
- Authoritarianism:
  - Form of government
  - Based on blind and unquestioning obedience to authority
  - Against individual freedom
- Ideology:
  - Perfect mankind
  - Individual is less important than the state
- Cult of Personality:
  - People, especially in times of fear, are vulnerable to one powerful figure

TOTALITARIANISM VS. AUTHORITARIANISM
- 'Authoritarian' refers to the structure of government rather than to society.
- Totalitarian regimes seek to control virtually all aspects of the social life.
  - Including: economy, education, art, science, private life and morals of citizens.
  - Use of propaganda and terror

RISE OF TOTALITARIANISM
- Totalitarianism begins with WWI
  - Attrition required total effort
    - institutions & individuals subordinate to victory
  - Russia (1917), Italy (1922), Germany (1933), Spain (1939), Japan (1926)

RUSSIA
- Attempt at Democracy gave rise to authoritarian gov't
  - Why would democracy fail and authoritarianism rise in Russia?
  - Civil War ended with Bolshevik rise in 1922
    - Review: Communism and the Red Scare in USA
  - Lenin dies in 1924 = Josef Stalin takes over

STALIN'S REIGN
Stalin shifted away from Lenin’s policy

Problems faced by Russia:
- USSR not fully industrialized**
- Catch up to the West
- Unstable government
  - Tsar → Democracy → Civil War → Bolshevism
  - Use intimidation and force to inflict control
- Lenin’s NEP (New Economic Plan) granted some freedom- Stalin would eliminate this through *collectivization*

"Stalinism"- Stalin’s style for the Soviet government
- Stalin- “The Man of Steel”
  - Rejected dissent
  - Stalin = sole interpreter of communism
  - Postponed global revolution- (Remember: Red Scare)
- Economic Changes
  - *Rapid Industrialization* (Five Year Plans)
    - 1937- Industrial power surpassed only by the United States
  - *Collectivization of Agriculture*
    - Effective BUT...
- Purges
  - Millions killed (8-13 million, plus famine deaths...)
  - Guilty executed or sent to *Gulag*

**RESULTS OF STALINISM:**

**UKRAINE FAMINE (HOLODOMOR)**
- Ukrainian Famine (1932-33)- “Death by Hunger”
  - Resulted from forced collectivization
  - Broke the will of peasants to resist collectivization.
  - Death toll: Estimates range from 2-10 million.

**REVIEW: STALIN**
- Ideology:
  - Catch up to the West through collectivization (Agriculture first)
  - Five-year plans would allow Russia to “catch up”
  - Achieve stability through power and control
- Rise to Power:
  - Took over for Lenin in 1924- USSR
- Extent of Totalitarianism:
  - Collectivization
  - All dissenters → sent to gulag or murdered (purges)
- Life under Stalin?:
  - Dissenters- killed, deported, sent to labor camps
  - Individual inferior to state
  - Women have some opportunities
Can’t get rich!
Main source of infamy?: Purges, Ukraine Famine

ITALY & WWI
Before WWI
Italy = liberal state w/ monarchy
During/ After WWI -- Italy had many problems:
- Lack of nationalism
- Did not support World War I- betrayal by government
- Promised lands? - Did not receive colonies
- Heavy debts
- Rising unemployment led to unrest in cities
Socialism becomes tempting
Inspired by Russian Revolution

MUSSOLINI
- Opposed to Socialism
- Was nationalistic/socialistic hybrid
- Used verbal assaults on socialists to gain support from conservatives and landowners
- Joined Parliament in 1921
- Used Squadristi who terrorized/threatened socialists/communists – don’t try to run for election!

FASCIST ITALY
- Blackshirts: Paramilitary group.
- Violence (inc. murder) and intimidation against opponents.
- Black shirts have gov't support: fear of a communist revolution.

MARCH ON ROME
March on Rome: October, 1922
- Coup d'état →
  - National Fascist Party to power
  - King Victor Emmanuel III “gives” power to Mussolini.
  - Mussolini supported by military, business, & liberal right-wing.
  - Named prime minister; granted dictatorial authority
- Why?!?!?!
- Mussolini established dictatorship

LIFE UNDER MUSSOLINI
- Abolishment of rights:
  - No freedom of press
  - Fixed elections
  - Government ruled by decree (no voting, etc.)
- Arrest of political opponents
- No independent labor unions
- Fascists in charge of schools
- Youth movements*** (Hitler too?)
- By 1925, Mussolini had total power
THE CHURCH
- Lateran Agreement (1929)
  - Considered an "independent state"
  - Fascists gave church $ 
  - In return, church supported Mussolini

LIFE UNDER MUSSOLINI
- Abolished divorce
- Censorship; End of voting; Poor industrial growth
- Women must stay at home and tend to family
  - Limited to 10% of top paying jobs; men = 90%
  - Comparison to Stalin?
- Tax on bachelors- 1934
  - Why?
- No racist violence; Never destroyed monarchy
- Driven by self interest?

REVIEW: MUSSOLINI
- Ideology:
  - Seize power based on nationalism, not socialism or communism (like Stalin); Based on love of nation; “Spazio vitale” for Italy
- Rise to power:
  - Used fear of communism and resentment toward Parliament- was granted total power by Victor Emmanuel
- Extent:
  - Restricted rights, no total collectivization (communism), but did promote gov’t control of banks, business; never eliminated monarchy
- Life under rule:
  - Denial of dissent, less rights for women, no voting or freedom of speech; Public works projects reduced unemployment
- Other: Political violence

WHAT IS FASCISM?
- Fascism is a combination of many ideas to achieve national rejuvenation
  - Promoted by state propaganda
  - Fasces= bundle of rods tied around an ax handle
- Nationalism
- Imperialism
- Political Violence
- War (Romantic?)
- Anti-Communism **
- Racial superiority**

MOTIVATION FOR FASCISTS?
- Humans motivated by heroism not economics.
- “Third Way” - neither Communist nor Capitalist.
significant government control over business and labor

Nation and race above all else

Glorification of state; Romantic

COMMUNISM   FASCISM
1. History = class struggle
2. Nations are arbitrary → class should unite the world
3. Global viewpoint
4. Gov’t runs industry
5.
6. Struggle between nations & races
7. Nations are natural thus national pride is emphasized
8. Gov’t has some control over industry

GERMANY: WEIMAR REPUBLIC

A parliamentary republic (1919)

Included Senate and PM

Problems:

Hyperinflation

Political extremists

War Reparations

WEIMAR FAILS

Germany defaults in 1923 on war debt

French seize the Ruhr

ADOLF HITLER

Austrian-born German- fled to Germany in 1913

Devastated by Germany’s loss in WWI

Organized National Socialist German Workers Party or Nazi Party after WWI

Blamed Democracy, communism, and Jews for Germany’s ills

ADOLF HITLER (CONT)

By 1921 known for oratory skill

Nazi Party: Centered in Munich

S.A. - Stormtroopers/"brown shirts"- Paramilitary organization

Helped Hitler to power by disrupted opposition

Eventually superseded by SS (former group within SA) and purged

S.S. - Stormtroopers loyal to Hitler- Concentration camps

Gestapo: official secret police of Nazi Germany

Mission: achieve “Lebensraum” (Living Space) for Aryans and exterminate “inferior” races

BEER HALL PUTSCH

NOVEMBER, 1923
Failed Coup attempt to seize power  
Nazis declare a new government in a Beer Hall  
November 9th – The March Begins and quickly destroyed

ARREST, TRIAL, PRISON
Hitler arrested for treason  
 Trial  
 Sentenced to 5 years  
 Served less than one year  
 Mein Kampf: “My Struggle”  
 Part Autobiography, part political rant  
 Helps spread his ideas, like Lebensraum

STRATEGY OF LEGALITY
New strategy: “The Strategy of Legality:”  
 Adhere to the rules of Weimar  
 Obviously coup didn’t work  
 Use the institutions of the government to destroy it/come to power

DEPRESSION, ELECTION
Depression strikes Germany  
 President Paul von Hindenburg ran for re-election in 1932  
 Wins election  
 Gave support to Nazis to prevent takeover of Communists  
 1933 Hindenburg appointed Hitler Chancellor of Germany  
 Conservatives figured he could be controlled

HINDENBURG DISASTER – 1937
LAKEHURST, NJ  
 35 deaths

HITLER’S RISE TO POWER
February 1933: Reichstag (Parliament building) set on fire  
 The fire began Hitler’s rise to total power  
 Reichstag Fire Decree (February ’33)  
 Suspends civil liberties; terrorize opponents  
 Enabling Act (March ’33)  
 Hitler given dictatorial powers for four years  
 Hindenburg dies (August ’34)  
 “Führer” (head of state)

PROPAGANDA AND POWER
Triumph of the Will – Leni Riefenstahl  
 How do these scenes serve as propaganda?  
 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yR67q5P - YU  
 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6hEzs7x5aEM
Life as a Youth in Germany
Aryan race = supreme- more opportunity  
Purged opposition
Hermann Göring - designated successor, and commander of the Luftwaffe

Joseph Goebbels - Minister of Propaganda. One of Hitler’s closest associates/followers. Architect of Kristallnacht

Heinrich Himmler - One of most powerful Nazis. Over saw police forces, SS, & Gestapo

Adolf Eichmann: “The architect of the Holocaust” - managed the mass deportation of Jews to ghettos & extermination camps

Rudolf Hess: “Deputy to the Fuhrer” Adolf Hitler’s deputy in Nazi Party.

Dr. Josef Mengele: “Angel of Death” - At Auschwitz, he determined who was to be killed and who was to do forced labor.

RISE OF DICTATORSHIPS

What did all three of these dictators have in common with one another?

Their countries?

What distinguishes them from one another?

FRANCISCO FRANCO

Head of State of Spain from 1936-1975.

Franco’s governance went through various phases

All emphasized:

Spanish nationalism

Maintaining territorial integrity

Catholicism

Anti-Communism

Emphasis on traditional values

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

1936 - 1939: It began after a coup by Spanish Army Generals led by Franco

The war ended with the victory of the rebel forces

Republican gov’t overthrown

Dictatorship established with Franco at its helm.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR: PETRI DISH

The War increased tensions in Europe

Proxy War?

Use of third parties

Spanish Republic backed by USSR, Mexico

Nationalist (Franco) backed by Portugal, Germany, Italy
New tactics tried
- Blitzkrieg ("lightning war")
- New tank warfare tactics
- Terror bombing of cities from the air.

GUERNICA
- Pablo Picasso depicts the bombing of Guernica by German & Italian war planes.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR AS "PROXY WAR"
- Western democracies remained neutral
  - A few thousand Americans crossed the Atlantic to join Republican forces
  - Soviet Union provided Spanish Republic with equipment and advisors
- Hitler and Mussolini sent troops, weapons, tanks, and planes
  - Rome-Berlin Axis formed in 1936
- Franco wins in 1939- Dictatorship is established

EMPEROR HIROHITO & HIDEKI TOJO
- Prime Minister of Japan during much of WWII
  - After the end of the war, sentenced to death for war crimes

THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN
- Rapid industrialization and Militarization \(\rightarrow\) emergence as a world power
  - Leads to membership in the Axis Alliance of WWII
- Also desired "living space"
  - Mussolini and Hitler?
- 1931- Attack Chinese province of Manchuria
  - Rich in natural resources
  - Japan quits League of Nations after investigation launched
  - Recall: What was one of the "missions" of the league?

NANKING MASSACRE:
- RAPE OF NANKING
  - 1937: A six week period
    - Hundreds of thousands of civilians murdered
    - 20,000–80,000 women were raped by Japanese soldiers

EXTENT OF EMPIRE

AGGRESSION IN EUROPE
- 1933- Hitler leaves League of Nations and begins to build up army; Brings back draft and expands military into Rhineland in '35
- 1936- Italy takes Ethiopia
  - "It was us today. It will be you tomorrow"
  - Western countries = neutral

TIMELINE
- 1931-32
Japan invades Manchuria
1935:
- Italy invades Ethiopia
- Germany reintroduces Conscription (violation)
1936
- Germany Remilitarized Rhineland
- Franco revolts against Spanish Gov't.
- Rome-Berlin Axis
- First Concentration Camps

1937
- Japan – full scale invasion of China (Rape of Nanking)
1938
- Anschluss: Germany invades/ annex Austria
- Hitler claims Sudetenland
- Germany seizes Czechoslovakia
1939
- Italy invades/ annexes Albania
- Hitler demands Danzig (Poland)
- Sept. 1, 1939
- 1940- Tripartite Pact (Axis Powers)

WHERE WAS THE U.S.?
- Recall Kellogg-Briand (1928)- signed by 62 nations (including all the ones we've spoken about)
  - “Pact” to renounce war and use other means- Realistic in the face of dictatorships?
- 1935- Neutrality Acts in U.S. (next slide)
  - Will not be dragged into another war for $$ (war profits)
- 1937- Japanese invasion of China (recall Nanking)
  - U.S. did not officially declare war
  - Sent arms and supplies to China
  - Still- no “official” action against aggressor nations to stop spread war
    - When did U.S. officially intervene?

U.S.- NEUTRALITY ACTS
- 1935- No arm sales to a nation at war
- 1937- No arm sales to a nation engaged in civil war.
  - Won't help Spain fight fascist insurgents
  - Volunteer Abraham Lincoln brigades go to Spain

FDR WANTS TO ENGAGE- EVIDENCE
- FDR gives Quarantine Speech October 1937
  - GOOD 90% of nations should quarantine BAD 10%
- Isolationists say FDR wants to lead US into war
- December 1937 Panay Incident
US sends support to China
March 1939 FDR writes Hitler
Asks him not to invade long list of countries.
This is after Hitler annexes Austria and Czechoslovakia

CONCLUSION
What was the atmosphere in Europe like during the 1930s?
Where do we see evidence of aggression? Expansion? of:
Italy?
Germany?
Japan?
What were the actions of Western nations?
England? France?
USA?

MUSSOLINI RISES TO POWER
1919: Founded National Fascist Party
“fasces” → Roman symbol unity/strength

1921 - Entered Parliament
1922 - Became Premier of Italy
1925 - Declared Italy a fascist dictatorship
No longer responsible to Parliament
Could only be removed by the king.
