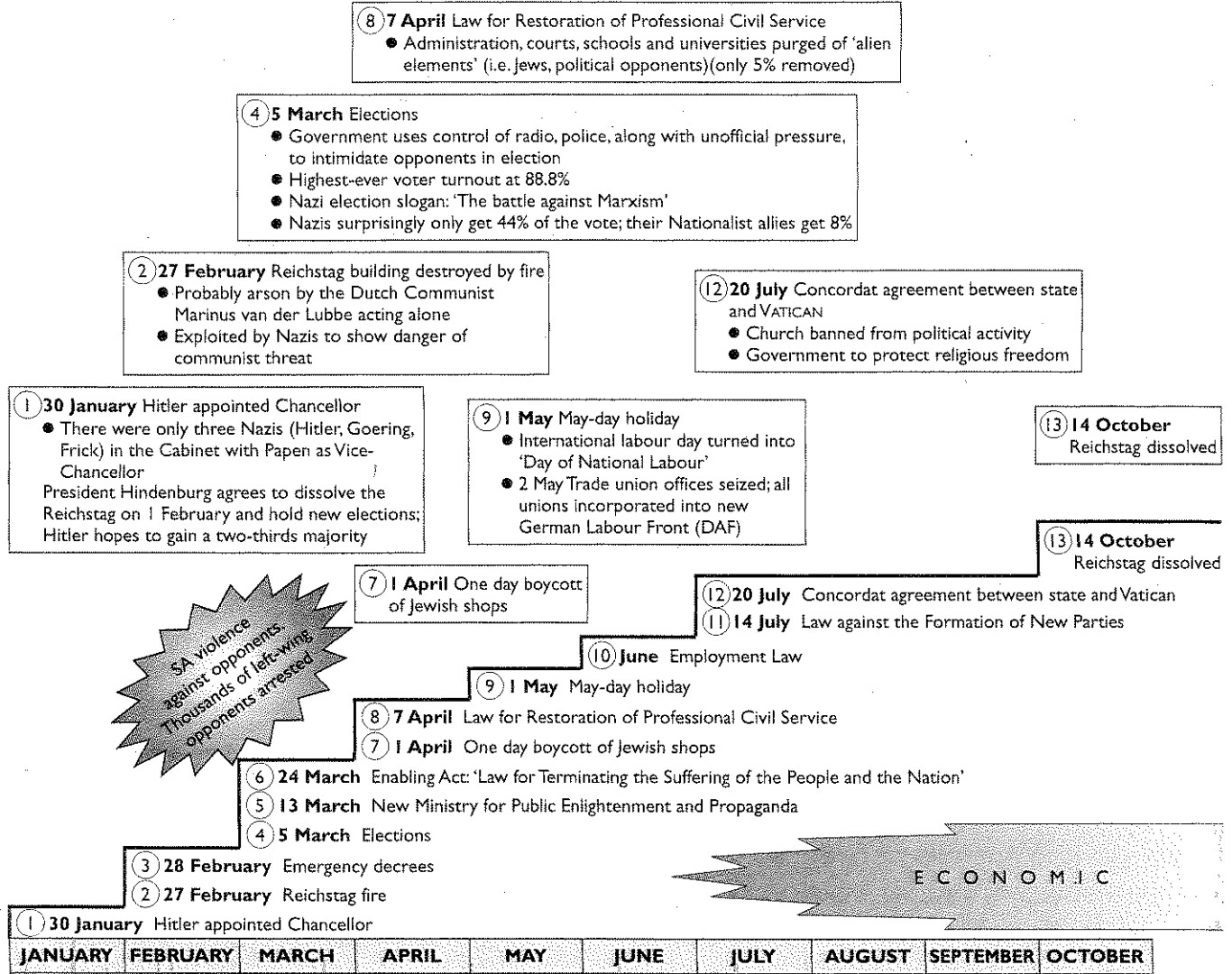


10A Key steps in the Nazis' consolidation of power



1933

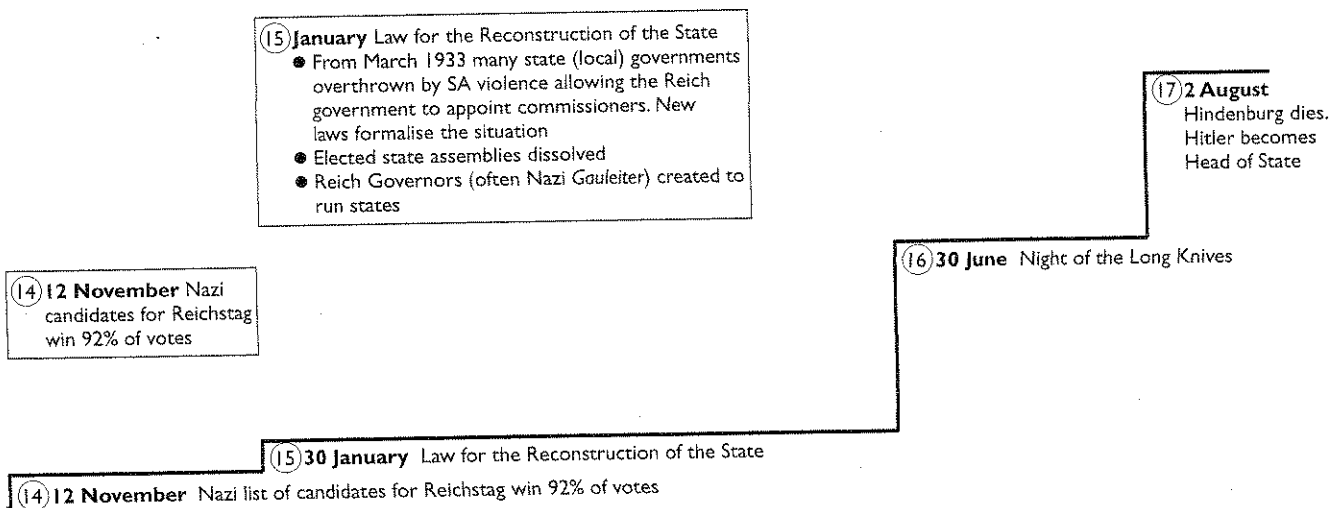
3 28 February Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of the Nation and the State
 ● Issued by Hindenburg using Article 48
 ● Suspended constitutional civil rights
 ● Gave secret police power to hold people indefinitely in protective custody
 ● Used to repress the KPD
 ● Remained in force throughout the Third Reich: in effect the basic law of the Third Reich

5 13 March New Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda
 ● Goebbels appointed as its head
 ● Exercised control of all media

6 24 March Enabling Act: 'Law for Terminating the Suffering of the People and the Nation'
 ● Passed by Reichstag (relocated to the Opera House after the fire) as SA and SS surround building and intimidate deputies
 ● Gave emergency powers to government for four years
 ● Cabinet (in effect, Hitler) could pass decrees without the President's involvement
 ● Needed a two-thirds majority since it was a constitutional amendment
 ● Passed by 441 votes to 94 (only SPD voted against; KPD banned); Centre Party supported it after Hitler made promises
 ● Renewed in 1938
 ● Became the virtual constitution of the Third Reich

10 June Employment Law
 ● Major public works schemes

11 14 July Law against the Formation of New Parties
 ● KPD and SPD already banned
 ● Other parties had dissolved themselves
 ● No new parties allowed, so Germany becomes a one-party state

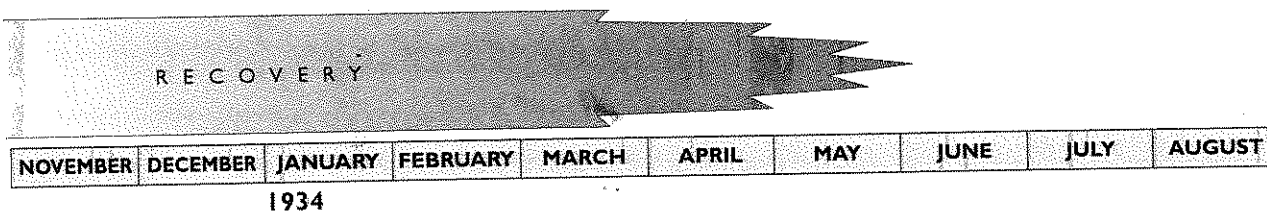


Other measures

- very few changes to original Cabinet of January 1933
- more assertive foreign policy
- October Germany withdrew from Disarmament Conference, and from League of Nations

16 30 June Night of the Long Knives

- SS shoot many SA leaders and other people seen as threat



17 August Hitler becomes undisputed head of government

- 1 August Law Concerning the Head of State of the German Reich merges the offices of the President and the Chancellor in the new position of 'Führer and Reich Chancellor'. Confirmed by a plebiscite
- 2 August Hindenburg dies
- Army takes oath of personal loyalty to Hitler: 'I swear by God this sacred oath: I will render unconditional obedience to Adolf Hitler, the Führer of the German nation and people, Supreme Commander of the armed forces, and will be ready as a true soldier to risk my life at any time for this oath.'

ACTIVITY

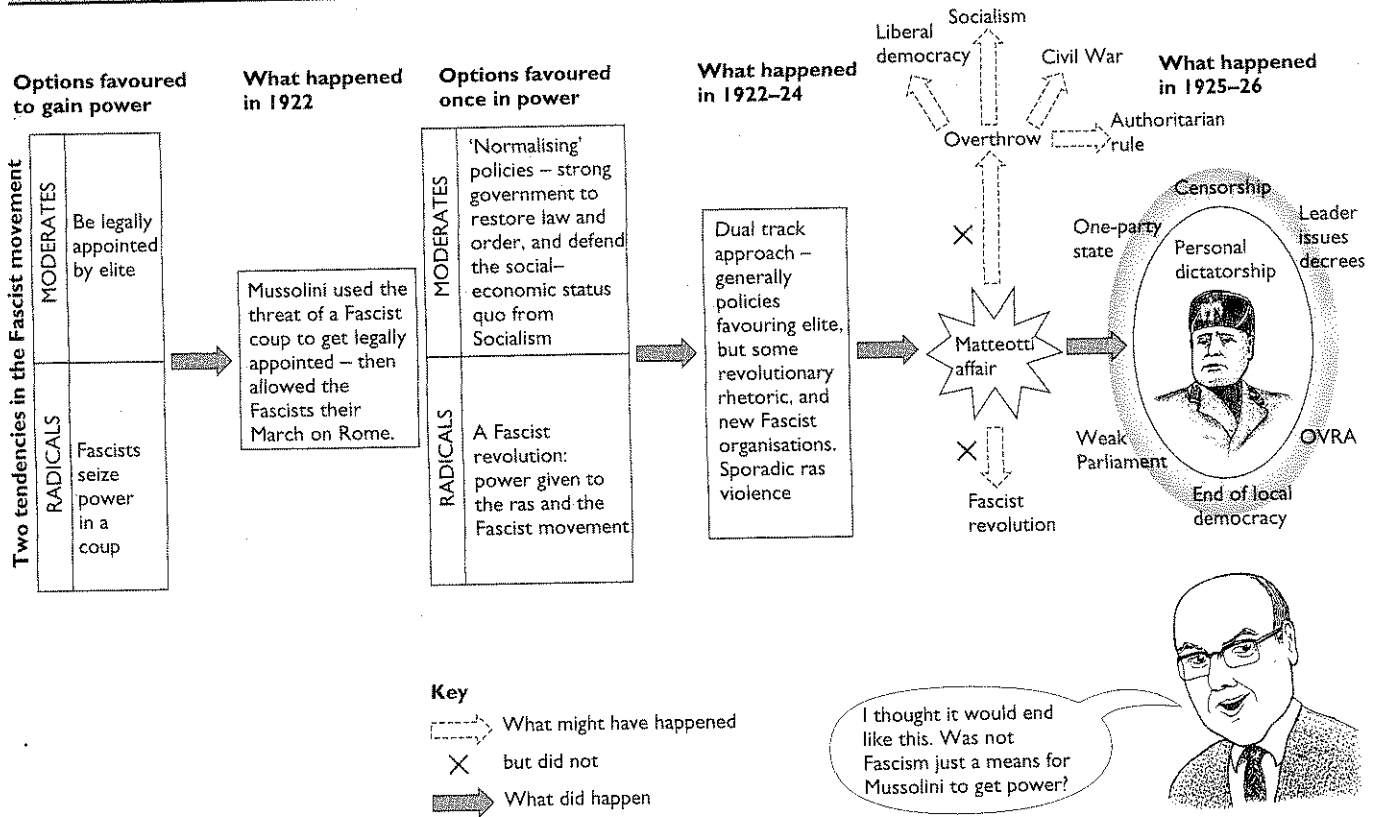
- 1 Study Chart 10A. Compare your predictions (in the Activity on page 169) with what actually happened.
- 2 a) Which groups did Hitler appear to conciliate and which did he suppress?
b) Why did he treat them differently?
- 3 With which of the following statements on the period 1933–4 would you agree:
 - a) 'Once in power, nothing prevented Hitler from imposing his ideas on Germany.'
 - b) 'Hitler took a mixture of radical and more cautious measures.'
 - c) 'Where he took more drastic measures, it tended to be policies which the elite welcomed, and which weakened the Left.'
 - d) 'Within the first year Hitler established complete control of all key institutions.'
 - e) 'Hitler was prepared to compromise on areas not crucial to him.'

C Review: How did Mussolini establish his dictatorship 1922-27?

Study the two charts in this conclusion. Chart 4E portrays the development of Mussolini and the Fascist regime 1922-27 from its roots before 1922, identifying the two trends, legal-normalising and violent-revolutionary, which operated within the Fascist movement and then the regime. This ambiguity was largely resolved after the Matteotti crisis, with the establishment of a dictatorship. However, it was not really a Fascist dictatorship, but more a personal dictatorship of Mussolini himself. The chart suggests that from its beginning Fascism can be partly explained as a vehicle for Mussolini to gain power.

Chart 4F summarises how the regime developed between 1922 and 1927, both chronologically and thematically. It thus centres on key stages in Mussolini's rise to power. Around this central image, it looks at what happened in important political areas, in the two key stages between 1922 and 1924, and 1925-27.

CHART 4E The ambiguous nature of Fascism



FOCUS ROUTE

- 1 Either:**
Explain what Chart 4E shows about the two strands in Fascism 1922-25, and how they developed into Mussolini's personal dictatorship.
Or:
Choose to be either the ras Farinacci, or the moderate Fascist Rocco in 1927. (You may like to refer to Chapter 5 page 96 for more details on Farinacci.) Using Chart 4E as a guide, explain your view of how Mussolini should have gained power, what policies he should have adopted, and how you now view the regime.
- 2** From the list of measures in Chart 4F, identify examples of:
 - a) increasing control by Mussolini over the Fascist Party
 - b) the strengthening of the power of the state
 - c) policies reassuring the elite.
- 3** Did the creation of dictatorship after 1924 mark a complete change of approach, or an intensification of earlier policies?
- 4** Write an essay with the title 'How and why did Mussolini set up a dictatorial regime in Italy in 1922-27?'

CHART 4F The development of dictatorship

Key
 Stage 1 1922-24
 Stage 2 1925-27

Government/Parliament

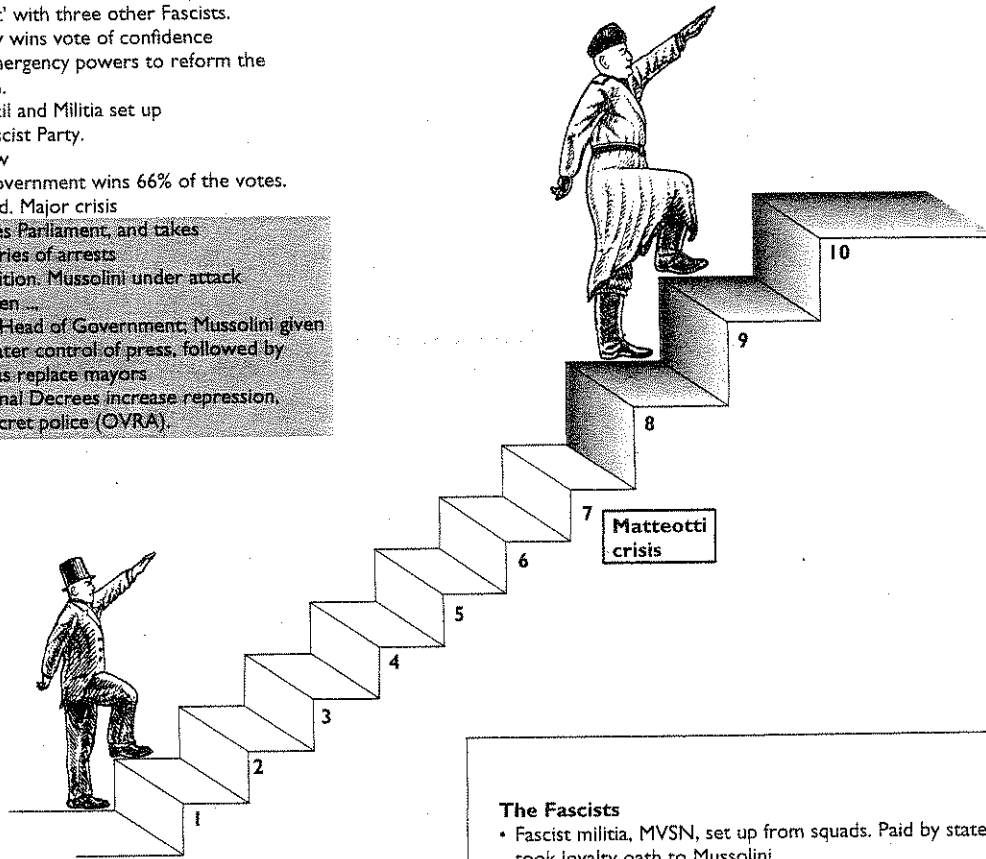
- Cabinet initially included representatives of every party except PSI and PCI. By mid-1923 most had left.
- 1922 7% MPs Fascists, Apr 1924 66%
- **Mussolini given great powers; could legislate by decree**
- **Responsible to King not Parliament**
- **Parliament lost power to initiate laws.**
- **1925 All-Fascist Cabinet**

Administration/Local government

- Immediate purge of opponents in civil service but no major change
- Local Socialist councils replaced
- Mussolini proclaimed the prefect supreme over the local party
- **Judges, civil servants, teachers purged**
- **Elected municipal councils eliminated**
- **7000 government-appointed PODESTAS replaced elected mayors**
- **Powers of prefects extended**

The steps to dictatorship

- 1 Oct 1922 Mussolini appointed Prime Minister of new 'National Government' with three other Fascists.
- 2 Nov 1922 Government easily wins vote of confidence in Parliament, and is voted emergency powers to reform the administration and tax system.
- 3 Dec-Jan Fascist Grand Council and Militia set up
- 4 Feb 1923 Nationalists join Fascist Party.
- 5 July 1923 Acerbo Election Law
- 6 April 1924 New elections. Government wins 66% of the votes.
- 7 June 1924 Matteotti murdered. Major crisis
- 8 3 Jan 1925 Mussolini addresses Parliament, and takes responsibility for violence. Series of arrests. Most MPs withdraw in opposition. Mussolini under attack from all sides; major crisis, then ...
- 9 Dec 1925 Law on powers of Head of Government; Mussolini given great executive powers. Greater control of press, followed by purge of civil service. Podestas replace mayors
- 10 Nov 1926-Jan 1927 Exceptional Decrees increase repression, with new Special Tribunal, secret police (OVRA).



The Fascists

- Fascist militia, MVSN, set up from squads. Paid by state; took loyalty oath to Mussolini
- Fascist Grand Council set up as rival to Cabinet
- Fascists merged with Nationalists
- **Mussolini centralised the Party.**

Other parties

- Mussolini exploited tension between PPI and Pope, to weaken them; 1923 they left the government.
- PSI, PCI were tolerated, but activities liable to disruption.
- **All non-Fascist parties suppressed**

Other policies 1922-27

- **Church**
- Concessions to Catholic Church (see pages 174-75)

Economy

- From 1922, economic recovery
- Laissez-faire policies favouring industrialists (see page 128)

Foreign policy

- Intimidated Greece by invading Corfu, 1923 (see page 212)
- Gained Fiume, 1924 (see page 212)

Judiciary/repression

- Existing court system used
- Hostile press, politicians intimidated
- **Judiciary lost independence**
- **Special Tribunal for political crimes**
- **Law for Defence of State**
- **Administrative powers widely used (a government official could order an arrest without justification)**
- **Secret police OVRA created**
- **Free press ended**

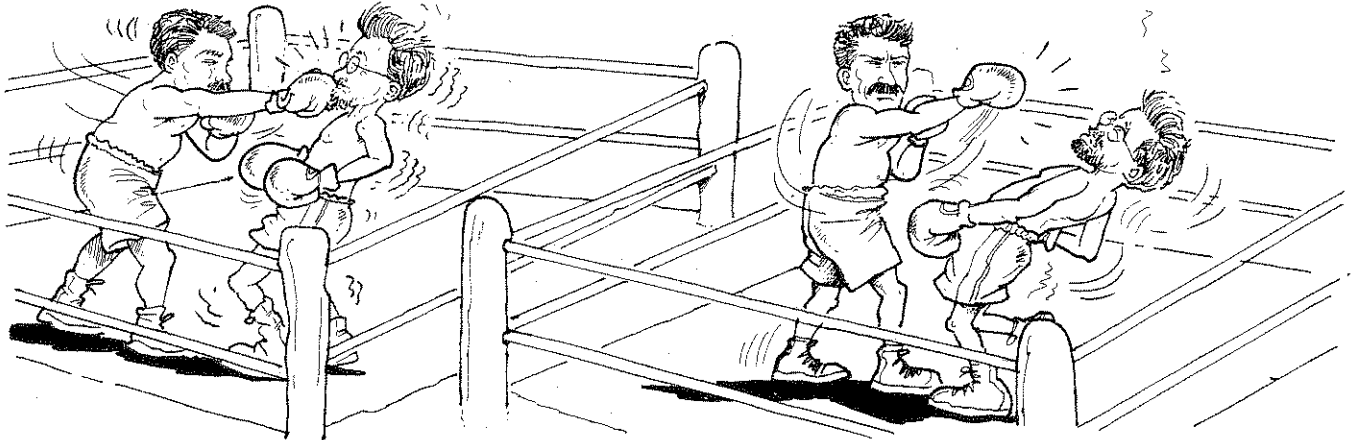
Trade unions

- Tolerated but intimidated
- Number of strikes fell
- **1926 Law on Corporations (see page 137)**
- **Fascist unions recognised as sole representatives of workers**
- **Strikes, lockouts illegal**

10E The power struggle

BEFORE THE BOUT BEGINS

- The positions Stalin held in the party administration – General Secretary from 1922, and member of the Orgburo and Secretariat – gave him enormous power over the policy and personnel of the party. This was the case even before Lenin died, but his rivals did not realise it and underestimated him.
- The ban on factions in 1921 was potentially a devastating weapon in the hands of the man who could control votes at party congresses.



Round 1: Stalin ahead on points

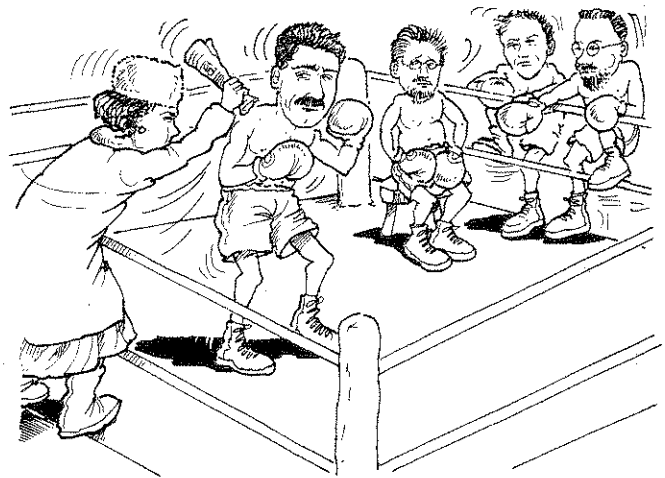
Stalin struck two significant blows at Lenin's funeral:

- He tricked Trotsky into not turning up for the funeral, severely damaging Trotsky's reputation and political prestige
- He made the most of the funeral, setting himself up as Lenin's disciple, the person who would carry on Lenin's work

Round 2: Stalin dodges a knock-out blow

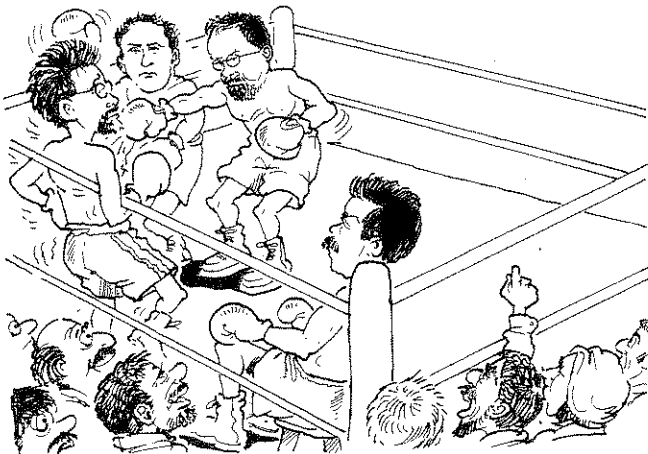
Krupskaya gave Lenin's secret testament to the Central Committee in May 1924 just before the Thirteenth Party Congress. If read out to the congress, it would have spelt the end of Stalin's career. But Zinoviev and Kamenev urged that it should not become general knowledge, probably because

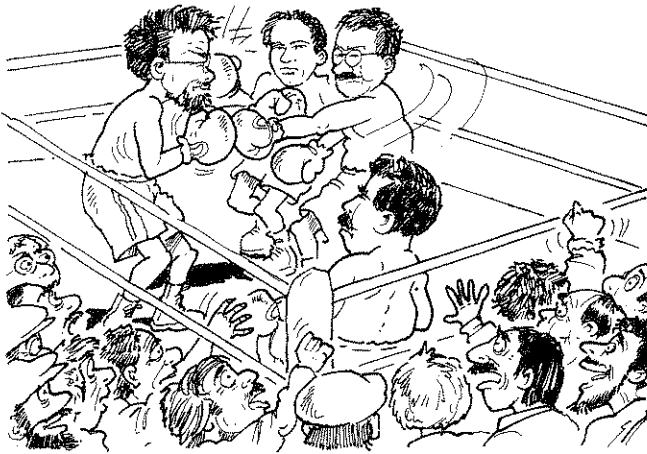
- it was not very flattering about them because of their opposition to Lenin in 1917; this was not something they wanted to bring to the congress's attention when they hoped to become its leading lights
 - they thought that Stalin presented no real threat to them or the party and they wanted Stalin's help in defeating Trotsky
 - they thought the testament might help Trotsky.
- Trotsky remained silent, unwilling to become involved. This was a major mistake on his part and was to cost him dearly later.



Round 3: Trotsky on the ropes

The Thirteenth Congress in 1924 saw hostilities out in the open. Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin, now effectively a triumvirate leading the party, presented party policy at the congress. Trotsky criticised the party for becoming bureaucratic and less democratic. Despite making brilliant speeches, Trotsky was easily defeated in the votes because the congress was packed with 'well-instructed Stalinist delegates' as well as the powerful blocs controlled by Zinoviev and Kamenev. Trotsky could have appealed to supporters inside and outside the party, but he had approved the 'ban on factions' in 1921 and was unwilling to cause splits in the party.

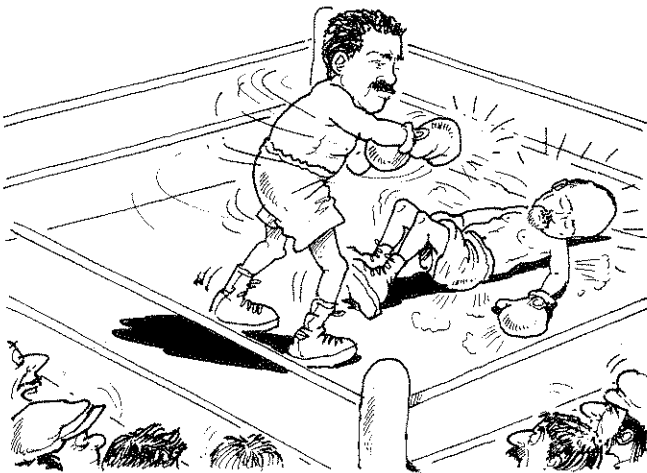




Round 5: Knockout blow for the left

In 1925, Stalin's policy of 'Socialism in One Country' proved very popular with party members, attracting the right wing of the party because it seemed to fit in with the NEP – their own route to socialism. A new alliance emerged between Stalin in the centre of the party and Bukharin on the right, supporting NEP and co-operation with the peasants. At the Fourteenth Party Congress in 1925, Zinoviev and Kamenev attacked Stalin, calling for a vote of no confidence in him, the ending of the NEP and a tough line against the peasants. But Stalin's control of the party machine was now so complete that they gave him little trouble. They lost every vote because Stalin had control of the delegates.

In 1926, they joined Trotsky, their old enemy, to form a 'United Opposition' and made a direct appeal to the party masses and the workers, trying to organise demonstrations in Moscow. This was a mistake because they could now be accused of 'factionalism'. As a result, all three lost their positions of power (see page 195) and in 1927 were expelled from the party.

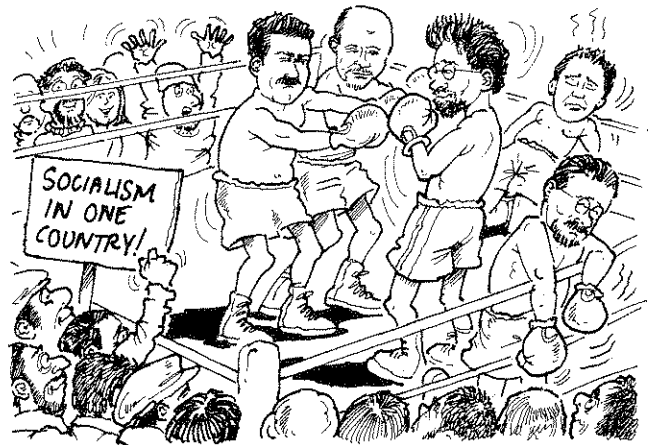


The winner

In December 1929, Stalin celebrated his fiftieth birthday. He was now the undisputed leader of the USSR.

Round 4: The left slugs it out

In 1924, Zinoviev and Kamenev mounted a vicious campaign against Trotsky, questioning his loyalty and raising his opposition to Lenin before 1917. Trotsky retaliated by attacking them in *Lessons of October*, in which he criticised their unwillingness to back Lenin in the 1917 revolution. Stalin stayed in the background, happy to see the left wing tearing itself apart while he continued to build his power base. He seemed to be the moderate peacemaker, anxious to maintain party unity. Zinoviev and Kamenev, still frightened of Trotsky, allowed Stalin to bring more of his supporters into key positions in the party organisation, forming the majorities on committees and at conferences.



Round 6: Knockout blow for the right

In 1928, Stalin turned against the NEP and attacked the right wing of the party. He now advocated rapid industrialisation and the use of force to make the peasants co-operate – the very policies of the left that he had just smashed! Bukharin mounted a strong defence of the NEP but at the congress of 1929 found himself outvoted by Stalin's supporters, who were joined by those on the left who supported the anti-NEP line. Bukharin and the other right-wing leaders, Rykov and Tomsky, were removed from the Politburo and other party bodies (Rykov had been Premier since Lenin's death and Bukharin had been head of the Comintern).

