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**MOBILIZING FOR TOTAL WAR:  
THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST LEADERSHIP  
AND  
SOCIAL AND LABOUR PREREQUISITES  
FOR INTENSIFYING  
THE GERMAN WAR EFFORT, 1941-1945**

A thesis

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
submitted to the Australian National University

by

Eleanor Iris Margarete Hancock

June 1988

I hereby attest that this thesis is my own original work and that all secondary material used has been cited,

Signed

*E Hancock*

Eleanor Iris Margarete Hancock

29 May 1988

## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the differing concepts of total war, and the resulting policies and strategies for their acceptance pursued from 1941 to 1945 by four prominent National Socialist leaders, Martin Bormann, Heinrich Himmler, Joseph Goebbels and Albert Speer. Speer and Goebbels suggested, and later historians have agreed, that the National Socialist government only reluctantly oriented its economic and social production to the war effort. A study of the policies and ideas of these men is important to see whether this was the case.

In examining the policies of the leadership, the thesis argues that previous interpretations of the National Socialist political system as either polycratic or monocratic have become too polarised. Instead it shows the existence at this level of both monocratic and polycratic elements of authority; but finally it emphasizes the importance of Hitler's authority for the pursuit of total war policies. It suggests the origins of this authority should be seen in the charismatic nature of his rule.

The changing policies which these men pursued both in their own areas of responsibility and in the wider German society indicate that they supported total war. There were differences in the emphasis on the policies to be followed. Early efforts to win more German workers to the armaments industry and the front in 1941-42 foundered on the availability of foreign labour and a failure to realize the seriousness of Germany's position. Speer and Goebbels supported a more economically efficient and rational use of resources and labour in the period 1943-44. Their efforts to make women liable for labour and to close inessential businesses met with some support from Hitler after Stalingrad, when a Committee of Three was set up to enforce the measures. This committee failed to make all the changes the two men thought necessary but their expectations were unrealistic. From 1943 on there was also support in the leadership for ideological mobilization and, eventually, paramilitary forces as a contribution to preventing defeat.

In addition to their emphasis on the economically rational use of resources, Goebbels and Speer were also aware of the need for burdens of the war to appear to be equally distributed. Himmler supported total war but his interpretation was more ideological. He

supported administrative simplification and sought to increase the role of the SS in economic production. By 1944 he was willing to abandon certain ideological precepts to prolong the life of the regime. Bormann's view of the need to orient the home front for the pursuit of the war was also more ideological; he also represented Hitler's opinions. For Goebbels in particular the policies of total war were to be combined with moves towards a compromise peace to allow the regime to remove itself from the war.

The thesis demonstrates that these members of the leadership did agree on the need for total war; in particular on the need for administrative simplification and greater use of labour reserves. Some of their policies foundered on opposition from Hitler; in other cases their expectations of what else could be achieved were unrealistic or foundered on other systemic constraints.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND GERMAN TERMS

- Abt.** - (Abteilung) - department.
- Abt. Pers.** - Abteilung Personal - personnel department.
- Allgemeines Heeresamt** - general army office.
- Arbeitseinsatz** - mobilization of labour.
- av.** - arbeitsverwendungsfähig - capable of work.
- AWA** - Allgemeines Wehrmachtsamt - General armed forces office.
- BA** - Bundesarchiv - German Federal Archives, Koblenz.
- BA MA** - Bundesarchiv Militärarchiv - German Federal Military Archives, Freiburg.
- Bereitsstellungsschein** - certificate showing availability for call-up.
- Chef. H.L.** - Chef Heeresleitung - head of the army leadership.
- Chef. H. Rüst u. BdE** - Chef Heeresrüstung und Befehlshaber des Ersatzheeres - head of army armaments and commander of the Replacement Army.
- DAF** - Deutsche Arbeits Front - German Labour Front.
- Deutsche Frauenwerk** - German Women's Enterprise, Nazi-led federation of women's groups from 1934 to 1945.
- Dreier Ausschuss** - Committee of Three.
- Ersatzheer** - Replacement Army.
- Fernschreiben** - teleprint or teletype message.
- Frauenschaft** - Women's League of the NSDAP.
- Führerhauptquartier** - main Führer headquarters.
- Führerinformation** - submission.
- g.** - geheim - secret.
- Gau** - region, the main territorial division of the NSDAP.
- Gauleiter** - Nazi Party functionary responsible for administration in a province or federal state.
- GBA** - Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz - General plenipotentiary for employment.
- GBK or GBTK** - Generalbevollmächtigter für den Totalen Krieg - General plenipotentiary for total war.
- GBV** - Generalbevollmächtigter für den Reichsverwaltung - General plenipotentiary for Reich administration, Interior Minister.
- GenGouv** - Generalgouvernement - General Government, administration of unannexed sections of central occupied Poland.
- Gestapo** - Geheime Staats Polizei - Secret State Police.
- gK** - geheime Kommandosache - military top secret.
- gR.** - geheime Reichssache - civilian top secret.
- gv.H.** - garnisonsverwendungsfähig Heimat - capable of serving in a garrison on the home front.
- Gliederungen** - Formations or divisions; the collective name for paramilitary groups and other sections, including the Hitler Youth.
- Hauptamt** - Main Office.
- Hauptschule** - high school.
- Haushaltsabteilung** - budget section or office.
- HWaA** - Heereswaffenamt - army weapons office.
- Hoheitsträger** - 'Bearer of sovereignty', title given to territorial chiefs in the PO.
- HSSPF** - Höhere SS- und Polizei Führer - Higher SS and Police Leaders.
- IfZ** - Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich.

- Kampfzeit** - literally period of struggle, period before the NSDAP came to power.
- KDF - Kraft durch Freude** - Strength through Joy, a DAF programme for worker recreation.
- KL - Konzentrationslager** - concentration camp.
- Kreisleiter** -district party leader.
- KTB Chef Wi Amt - Kriegstagebuch Chef Wirtschaftsamt** - war diary of the head of the armed forces' economic office.
- Kristallnacht** - night of broken glass, government sponsored anti-Semitic pogrom in November 1938.
- kv. - kriegsverwendungsfähig** - fit for active service.
- Länder** - province, administrative and government unit.
- Leiter Pro. - Leiter Propaganda** - head of the propaganda section.
- Luftkriegsschädenausschuss** - air war damage committee.
- Machtergreifung** - NSDAP seizure of power in 1933.
- M-Beauftragten - Mobilisations-Beauftragten** - mobilization deputies.
- Ministerratsverordnung** - ministerial council decree.
- NL - Nachlass** - private papers.
- NSDAP - Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei** - National Socialist (Nazi) German Workers' Party.
- NSFO - Nationalsozialistische Führungsoffizier** - National Socialist leadership officer in the armed forces.
- NSKK - Nationalsozialistische Kraftfahrer-Korps** - National Socialist Automobile Corps.
- NSKOV - Nationalsozialistische Kriegsopferversorgung** - National Socialist war victims' welfare.
- NS-Reichskriegerbund** - National Socialist war veterans' league.
- NSV - Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt** - National Socialist welfare organization.
- OKH - Oberkommando des Heeres** - Supreme Command of the Army.
- OKL - Oberkommando der Luftwaffe** - Supreme Command of the Air Force.
- OKM - Oberkommando der Marine** - Supreme Command of the Navy.
- OKW - Oberkommando der Wehrmacht** - Supreme Command of the armed forces.
- ORBs - Oberste Reichs Behörden** - Supreme Reich authorities.
- Ostministerium, or RMO - Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete** - Reich ministry for the occupied Eastern territories.
- OT - Organisation Todt** - building organization involving state building administration and private firms.
- Persönlicher Stab Reichsführer SS** - Personal Staff of the Reichsführer of the SS.
- Pg. - Parteigenosse** - Party comrade; party member.
- PK - Partei-Kanzlei** - Party Chancellery.
- PO - Politische Organisation** - political organization; cadre for mobilizing NSDAP political activists.
- Promi - Propaganda Ministerium** - Propaganda Ministry.
- RAD - Reichsarbeitsdienst** - Reich Labour Service.
- Reichspostdirektionen** - Reich post management offices.
- Reichsbevollmächtigte für den totalen Krieg** - Reich plenipotentiary for total war.
- RFSS - Reichsführer-SS** - Reich leader of the SS.
- RK - Reichskanzlei** - Reich Chancellery.
- RK - Reichskommissar** - Reich commissioner; title of a Nazi chief of civilian administration in the occupied areas of Europe.

- RKFDV** - Reichskommissar für die Festigung Deutschen Volkstums - Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germandom.
- RKO** - Reichskommissariat Ostland - Reich commissariat Eastland; the territorial administrative area for the Baltic countries.
- RKU** - Reichskommissariat Ukraine - Reich commissariat Ukraine.
- RL** - Reichsleitung - Reich leadership; top level bureaucratic decisionmaking entity of NSDAP.
- RM** - Reichsmarks - German unit of currency.
- RPÄ** - Reichspropagandaämter - Reich propaganda offices.
- RPL** - Reichspropagandaleitung - propaganda leadership; NSDAP propaganda office.
- RSHA** - Reichssicherheitshauptamt - Reich Security or RSSHA Main Office.
- RuSHA** - Rasse- und Siedlungs-Hauptamt - Race and Settlement Main Office of the SS.
- SA** - Sturm Abteilung - Storm troop(s).
- S-Betriebe** - Sperr-Betriebe - blocked firms, in the occupied territories whose employees were protected from transport to Germany
- Scheinarbeit** - illusory employment, nominal employment designed to prevent the employee from being called on for actual labour.
- Schlüsselkräfte** - key workers, protected from call up because of their importance to the war effort.
- Schnellbrief** - priority letter.
- SD** - Sicherheitsdienst - Security Service (SS secret intelligence unit).
- SE** - Sondererziehung - special call up programme (known as SEI, etc.)
- SS** - Schutzstaffel - Guard squadrons.
- SS-Führungshauptamt** - SS Leadership Main Office.
- uk** - unabhkömmlich - indispensable workers.
- Verordnungsblätter** - decree paper.
- VJH** - Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, Munich.
- Volksgemeinschaft** - national community.
- völkisch** - national, racial, of the folk.
- Volkstum** - Germandom.
- Volkssturm** - 'People's Storm'; militia organization.
- VoMi** - Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle - Liaison Office for Ethnic Germans.
- VWHA** - Verwaltungs- und Wirtschafts-Hauptamt - Main Office for Administration and the Economy of the SS.
- WaA** - Waffen Amt - Weapons Office.
- Warthegau** - German Gau set up in the west of occupied Poland.
- Wehrhilfsdienst** - armed forces' auxiliary service.
- Wehrmachtssanitätswesens** - armed forces' medical service.
- Wehrersatzdienststellen** - armed forces' recruiting offices.
- Wehrersatzplan** - armed forces' replacement plan.
- Wehrwirtschaft** - defence economy.
- Wehrpflichtige** - those liable for military service.
- WFSt.** - Wehrmachtsführungsstab - armed forces' leadership staff.
- WiRüAmt** - Wehrwirtschafts- und Rüstungsamt - war economy and armaments office.
- WVHA** - Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungs-Hauptamt - Main Office for Economy and Administration in the SS (reorganization of VWHA).

## LIST OF LESS WELLKNOWN LEADERS

- Amann, Max - Head of NSDAP publishing house, 1933-45.
- Backe, Herbert - State secretary in the Reich ministry of agriculture 1933-42; acting minister of agriculture 1942-45.
- Berger, Gottlob - Head of the SS main administrative office 1938-45; Himmler's personal liaison officer with the Ostministerium.
- Brandt, Rudolf - Himmler's personal adjutant; second in command of the Reichführer-SS Persönlicher Stab.
- Bürckel, Josef - Gauleiter of the Palatinate 1933-44; Reich commissioner in Lorraine, 1940-44.
- Daluege, Kurt - Head of the state police, 1936-45.
- Darré, R. Walther - Reich minister of agriculture, 1933-42.
- Dietrich, Otto - Reich press chief, 1933-45.
- Florian, Karl - Gauleiter of Düsseldorf, 1933-45.
- Frank, Hans - Governor-General of Poland, 1939-45.
- Frick, Wilhelm - Interior Minister, 1933-43.
- Friedrichs, Helmuth - head of the party division of the Party Chancellery, 1934-45.
- Funk, Walther - Reich Minister of economics, 1938-45.
- Ganzenmüller, Teodor - State secretary in the Transport Ministry.
- Hanke, Karl - State secretary in the Propaganda Ministry, 1933-40; Gauleiter of Lower Silesia, 1941-45.
- Henlein, Konrad - Gauleiter of the Sudetenland, 1938-45.
- Heydrich, Reinhard - Head of the SD, 1933-1942; Reich Protector in Bohemia and Moravia, 1941-42.
- Hildebrandt, Friedrich - Gauleiter of Mecklenburg, 1933-45.
- Hildebrandt, Richard - Head of the SS Race and Settlement Office.
- Hoffmann, Albert - Leading trouble shooter in the Party Chancellery; deputy Gauleiter of Upper Silesia, 1941-43; Gauleiter of Westphalia-South, 1943-45.
- Holz, Karl - Acting Gauleiter of Franconia, 1940-45.
- Ifland, Otto - Party Chancellery official since 1938; Party Chancellery representative on von Unruh commission 1943.
- Jüttner, Max - Head of the leadership office of the SS.
- Kaufmann, Karl - Gauleiter of Hamburg, 1933-45.
- Klopfer, Gerhard - Head of the state division of the Party Chancellery, 1938-45.
- Koch, Erich - Gauleiter of East Prussia, 1933-45; Reich commissioner in the Ukraine, 1941-45.
- Krüger, Friedrich W. - Head of the SS in occupied Poland, 1941-43.
- Meyer, Alfred - Gauleiter of Westphalia North, 1933-45; state secretary in the Ostministerium, 1941-45.
- Milch, Erhard - Luftwaffe Field-Marshal and Chief of Staff of the Luftwaffe.
- Mutschmann, Martin - Gauleiter of Saxony, 1933-45.
- Ohlendorf, Otto - Head of SD Amt Inland.
- Pohl, Oswald - Reich treasurer of the SS, 1936 on; head of the SS economic administration office, 1942-45.
- Prützmann, Hans - HSSPF to Southern Army Group, Kiev, 1941-43.
- Saukel, Fritz - Gauleiter of Thuringia, 1933-45; Reich plenipotentiary for labour, 1942-45.
- Simon, Gustav - Gauleiter of Koblenz-Trier, 1933-45; chief of civil administration in Luxemburg, 1940-45.
- Stuckart, Franz - State secretary in the Interior Ministry.
- Tiessler, Walter - Liaison officer of the Party Chancellery to the Propaganda Ministry, 1940-43.

- Wagner, Robert** - Gauleiter of Baden, 1933-45; Reich commissioner in Alsace, 1940-45.
- Wahl, Karl** - Gauleiter of Swabia, 1933-45.
- Walkenhorst, Heinrich** - Head of the personnel office of the party chancellery, 1942-45.
- Wegener, Paul** - Gauleiter of Weser-Ems, 1942-45.
- Weiszäcker, Ernst von** - State secretary in Foreign Ministry to 1943; Ambassador to the Vatican 1943-45.
- Zander, Wilhelm** - Head of the party chancellery section on mobilization affairs, 1937-45.

Details taken from Gerald Reitlinger, The Final Solution (revised edition, London, 1971), pp. 552-67 and Dietrich Orlow, The History of the Nazi Party II: 1933-1945 (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 499-503.

## INTRODUCTION

'The German example should have provided an adequate lesson of the results of initiating war measures too late', wrote Germany's Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels in March 1945.<sup>1</sup> Since 1941 he had advocated policies, to which he gave the overall description of 'total war', designed initially to ensure German victory and later to avert defeat. Writing just before final defeat, he suggested that the National Socialist government should have taken more drastic action to mobilize all forces for war purposes two years earlier. Instead it had not done enough, and where it had adopted suitable policies, it had done so too late. Various leading members of the regime lacked the nerve and energy to take the necessary decisive steps.<sup>2</sup>

Germany's Armaments Minister, Albert Speer, had been Goebbels' ally in 1943 in seeking to make the conduct of the war more total. He also judged the war effort unsatisfactory. Writing to Hitler in March 1945, he suggested that the regime had lost precious time through comfort and indolence in the period 1940-41. 'Without my work the war would perhaps have been lost in 1942-43'.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Entry for 9 March 1945 in Hugh Trevor-Roper (ed.), Final Entries 1945 The Diaries of Joseph Goebbels (New York, 1978), p. 88. See also Goebbels' comments quoted in entries for 15 and 16 October 1944, 19 and 21 January 1945, and 8 February 1945 in Wilfred von Oven, Finale Furioso: Mit Goebbels bis zum Ende (first published 1948-50, Tübingen, 1974), pp. 496-8, 545, 549-50, 576.
  2. Entry for 4 March 1945, Trevor-Roper, Final Entries, p. 41. 'Neither in the military nor the civilian sector have we strong central leadership', he observed: entry for 7 March 1945, ibid., p. 71. The main tenor of Goebbels' criticisms, however, was against the military failings of Hermann Goering as commander of the Luftwaffe.
  3. Speer to Hitler, 29 March 1945, BA R 3/1538, p. 2.



Immediately after the war, he blamed 'the corrupt and largely exhausted leading group' for being 'incapable of mastering further developments in the later stages of the war'.<sup>4</sup> In his memoirs published some twenty five years later, he suggested as additional reasons for the unsatisfactory organization for war on the home front Hitler's fear of popular unrest which made him reluctant to ask the population for heavier burdens, his reluctance to face unpleasant realities, excessive bureaucratization in the administration and armed forces, and the failure to employ women fully.<sup>5</sup>

Both men believed the German economy and society were not mobilized for 'total war', and they suggested Hitler's leadership style, the opposition of key leaders and the organization of the regime were obstacles. Their criticisms were based on an alternative model, sometimes explicit and sometimes implicit, of 'total war', a 'design' for total war in Carroll's definition.<sup>6</sup> The concept of total war will be examined more fully in Chapter One. It can be defined as the complete orientation of a society in its economic, political and social life for the pursuit of the war effort, involving both total mobilization of resources for war and the total destruction of the enemy.<sup>7</sup> This thesis will examine the policies designed to achieve total war and the strategies for their acceptance pursued by four powerful National

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4. Notes typed by Speer after the war, probably at Nuremberg, 'AH/III/Blatt 13', BA R 3/1626, p. 8. He expressed similar views in his post-war interrogations: J.K. Galbraith, 'The Speer Interrogation: Last Days of the Third Reich', Atlantic, July 1979, p. 52.
  5. Albert Speer, Inside the Third Reich (London, 1970), on Hitler's fear of unrest, p. 214; Hitler's reluctance to face reality about enemy capacity and to relinquish his building projects, pp. 165, 168, 181; excessive bureaucratization, p. 213; the failure to employ women, pp. 220-1.
  6. Berenice Carroll, Design for Total War: Arms and Economics in the Third Reich (The Hague, 1968), p. 9.
  7. ibid.

Socialist leaders, Martin Bormann, the Secretary to the Führer and head of the Party Chancellery, the Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, Goebbels and Speer. It will set out how and why these views changed and competed, and will suggest that some of the competition arose because of differing concepts of total war. It will compare their proposals to Hitler's views, where these are known, and to the measures which Hitler approved. It will examine the extent to which Speer and Goebbels' assessments of whether policies failed, and why, were accurate. In studying these leaders' views the following questions arise. What were the proposals of the four leaders? What concepts of total war underpinned them? How did the leaders seek to have their ideas introduced? If they failed, why was this the case? At this level of the leadership, what were the reasons for the delay perceived by Goebbels and Speer in adopting total war policies? By studying the policies of several National Socialist leaders on total war issues, the thesis will assess whether Hitler's attitudes and decisions, leadership rivalries, conflicting ideas and/or the workings of the National Socialist political system affected the adoption of these proposals. It will seek to explain if the regime failed to mobilize for total war at the highest levels, and if so why.

The proposals for total war put forward by Goebbels in 1942-43, which were part of a more general 'package' aimed at avoiding defeat, and his attempts to have them adopted are used as a central focus for a study of the leaders' concepts of total war. By comparing Goebbels' ideas and actions to those of other leaders, and by examining the manner in which the leaders sought to have their ideas adopted, the workings of the National Socialist system of government at the highest levels will be further clarified.

The thesis concentrates on the period from winter 1941 to the end of the war in 1945, a period which saw the deterioration of



Germany's military position and the beginning of Goebbels' campaign to have total war policies adopted, the setting up of the Dreier Ausschuss, a committee to implement such measures, and the eventual appointment of Goebbels as Reich plenipotentiary for total war (Reichsbevollmächtigter für den totalen Krieg) in July 1944. It thus also studies a political system coming under increased stress, in which resources were becoming scarcer and competition for them accordingly fiercer, and in which options were steadily decreasing. In assessing the leaders' response to Germany's situation, the thesis will bear in mind that 'neither thorough planning of production nor the timely mobilization of every last potential reserve could have saved Germany'<sup>8</sup> once her enemies included three economic powers (the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain) who could out-produce her and if a compromise peace was excluded by her enemies.

The thesis will not seek to re-examine the details of German economic mobilization for war, wartime labour policy, propaganda, or armaments production itself, all of which have been studied in other works, but will draw on these studies to examine what part these played in the leaders' conceptions of total war. Goebbels' total war policy after 1942 was part of a wider attempt to seek a political solution of the war. Studies of proposals for a compromise peace, the treatment of the Jews and of the Eastern peoples will accordingly be drawn on where they form a component of the debate on total war. The thesis will concentrate, as the leaders did, on the social and labour prerequisites of total war. There was far less debate on the allocation of resources for production, increasingly under Speer's control in the period under study, or about the military strategies to be followed, which were Hitler's responsibility. For reasons which will

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8. Gustav Stolper, Karl Häuser and Knut Borchardt, The German Economy 1870 to the Present (second edition, London, 1967), p. 163.

be developed in Chapter One, it was difficult for the leaders to criticize the military conduct of the war, because this entailed criticizing Hitler, and they tended not to do so.

Since the focus of the thesis is on the policies supported by the leadership, their underlying concepts and the reasons for the leadership's failure to agree, it will not examine the implementation and/or effectiveness of the policies at the local level, except where this came to the attention of the leadership and affected the policies they sought to pursue. The implementation of total war policies is a separate important question for study, but it presents considerable difficulties. It would be a useful supplement to the current study. This would, however, be the subject of several theses, requiring extensive regional comparisons and presenting considerable problems in finding sources, particularly for the Eastern Gaus. The implementation of total war policies during the war varied from region to region, and depended on the policies and attitudes of local party leaders, the economy of the area, and its location, particularly whether the area was heavily bombed or not.

The four leaders who have been chosen for analysis were all significant and powerful members of the regime, and their powers and responsibilities increased from 1941. Speer organized the armaments economy in this period; Himmler controlled the regime's police system and the implementation of its racial policies; Bormann, because of his powers in the party and his control over access to Hitler, could favour or thwart proposals; while Goebbels controlled the regime's mobilization of enthusiasm for the war. All four men had direct access to Hitler, enjoyed his confidence and gained powers directly relevant to any pursuit of total war in the period: Bormann as the leading member of the Dreier Ausschuss; Speer as the minister in charge of armaments production; Himmler as the leader of an

organization with its own economic enterprises and captive labour force, which also had links to the Economics and Agriculture Ministries; and Goebbels, both as the most vocal advocate of total war, and later as plenipotentiary for total war. Historians have seen all four men as occupying important positions on the home front during the war. The activities of other leaders will be considered where they affected the attitudes to and policies on total war of the four men studied. Göring, who had earlier exercised considerable power in economic decision making, took a less prominent role from 1941 on. His earlier role has been discussed in two recent studies.<sup>9</sup>

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The main sources which have been used for this thesis are the files in the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz of the Propaganda Ministry (R 55) and the Reichspropagandaleitung (NS 18), Goebbels' diaries (NL 118), the Reich Ministry of Munitions and War Production (R 3), particularly its ministerial office, the Party Chancellery files (NS 6), augmented by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte's reconstruction of these files,<sup>10</sup> the files of the Reichsführer-SS's personal staff (NS 19) and the Reich Chancellery (R 43 II). The files of the Reich Chancellery are among the most comprehensive sources for the activities of the Dreier Ausschuss and those of the plenipotentiary for total war. Memoirs and interviews held by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte were also drawn on, as were the records of the trial of the major war criminals at Nuremberg. Military files, particularly those of the OKW and its Wehrwirtschaftsrüstungsamt, were examined at the Bundesarchiv

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9. R.J. Overy, Goering the 'Iron Man' (London, 1984) and Stefan Martens, Hermann Göring "Erster Paladin des Führers" und "Zweiter Mann im Reich" (Paderborn, 1985). On Göring's diminishing power see Overy, Goering, p. 205.

10. Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Akten der Parteikanzlei Teil I (Munich, 1983-1985). Henceforth cited as IfZ APK.

Militärarchiv in Freiburg. In view of Keitel's position on the Dreier Ausschuss, I examined these files in the expectation that Keitel also may have followed an independent policy or sought to promote a 'design' for total war, but found no evidence that this was the case.<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless he and the head of the Reichs Chancellery, Hans Lammers,<sup>12</sup> were in positions potentially to thwart or support such issues.

The private papers of Speer and Goebbels' state secretary, Werner Naumann, are not yet available.<sup>13</sup> The Propaganda Ministry files were extensively destroyed in 1945<sup>14</sup> and survive only in a fragmented state, with most remaining policy files being held in the German Democratic Republic's archives in Potsdam. Unfortunately, I was not granted permission to use these files, nor to consult the files of the Berlin Document Center. The records of the Berlin Gau do not appear to have survived the war. Inquiries to various German archives and of various researchers revealed no trace of them.<sup>15</sup> This

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11. Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel was appointed to head the High Command of the Armed Forces (Oberkommando der Wehrmacht-OKW) with a status equivalent to a Minister in 1938; Martin Broszat, The Hitler State (London, 1981), p. 295. He was made a Field Marshal in 1940: Keitel to Dr. Nelte, 25 March 1946, 'Fragen zur Person', BA MA N54/10, p. 1.
  12. Hans Lammers was appointed Head of the Reich Chancellery with the rank of Reich Minister in 1937. Until Bormann's rise, he co-ordinated the process of legislation and instructed Hitler on issues: Broszat, Hitler State, pp. xiii, 283-5, and Walter Vogel and Gregor Verlande, 'Vorbemerkung', Findbücher zu Beständen des Bundesarchivs Band 13 Bestand R 43 Reichskanzlei (Koblenz, 1975), p. xlv.
  13. Advice from Dr. Real, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, and Ms Elke Fröhlich, Institut für Zeitgeschichte.
  14. Heinz Boberach 'Die schriftliche Überlieferung der Behörden des Deutschen Reiches 1875-1945: Sicherung, Rückführung, Ersatzdokumentation' in Heinz Boberach and Hans Booms (eds.), Aus der Arbeit des Bundesarchivs: Beiträge zum Archivwesen, zur Quellenkunde und Zeitgeschichte (Boppard am Rhein, 1978), p. 51.
  15. Mr. Nathan Stoltzfus of the History Department, Harvard University, has advised me that he did not find the Berlin Gau files in the archives of the German Democratic Republic.

prevented me from examining the measures Goebbels instituted in his own Gau.

The post-war moral revulsion at the National Socialist regime's policies, particularly its extermination of the Jews, have created particular problems for the historian. Memoirs of survivors are less candid than would normally be expected; there is a reluctance to make some material available to researchers, for fear of the use it might be put to. Denial of participation in or knowledge of certain events is accompanied by a tendency to cast blame on those members of the leadership who did not survive to put forward their side of the story, in particular Bormann, Himmler and Goebbels. In contrast Speer enjoyed the survivor's advantage of setting out his version of events at length. The Armaments Ministry files, while extensive, were edited by Speer at the end of the war, as was the Chronik or office diary of Speer's activities.<sup>16</sup> His post-war accounts contain a large degree of self-justification, as Matthias Schmidt has shown in Albert Speer: the end of a myth, and alternately exaggerate or downplay his importance, using a technique of frankness to disarm the reader.<sup>17</sup> These apologetics are more subtle than those of other National Socialists<sup>18</sup> but still have to be used with care, particularly The Slave State.<sup>19</sup> Goebbels' account in his war time diaries also

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16. Matthias Schmidt, Albert Speer - The End of a Myth (London, 1985), pp. 14-21.

17. See the hostile assessment by General Thomas at Nuremberg quoted in Robert E. Conot, Justice at Nuremberg (New York, 1983), pp. 433-4.

18. This can be seen in the contrast between the unpublished memoirs of Walter Tiessler, the liaison officer between the Propaganda Ministry and the Party Chancellery, 'Licht und Schatten oder Schonungsloser Wahrheit (1922-1945)', which are held in the Institut für Zeitgeschichte (IfZ), ED 158, and Speer's memoirs.

19. Karl Dietrich Bracher, 'Die Speer Legende', Neue Politische Literatur, 15, 1970, pp. 429-31 and 'Nur die Niederlage verhinderte den Sklavenstaat',



exaggerates his importance and effectiveness, but is still valuable as a reflection on the events at the time, rather than a post-war apologia. The major part of these diaries first became available in the 1970s, and consequently they have not been used by many historians of the period.

In addition, despite the extensive German archival holdings, there are gaps in the records. Hitler's personal archives, such as they were, were destroyed in 1945; the Goebbels diaries for the war-time period are incomplete and are not available for 1944; Todt's papers have not survived to any great extent. The fragmented state of the Party Chancellery files means that the extent to which Bormann influenced Hitler's views or merely reflected them is still not clear.

Studies of total war have so far concentrated on the questions of armaments production, and have tended to rely on Speer or Thomas' accounts of the National Socialist system. Carroll's Design for Total War concentrates on the concept of total war of General Georg Thomas, head of the OKW's Wehrwirtschaftsrüstungsamt, the armed forces supreme command economics and armaments office, from 1934 to 1942; Gregor Janssen's Das Ministerium Speer is a study of the Armaments Ministry and its increasing control over and achievements in armaments production;<sup>20</sup> Jutta Sywottek has studied the use of propaganda to prepare the population for war.<sup>21</sup> The study of the 'mobilization of enthusiasm' in the regime's wartime

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Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 13 August 1981, p. 6. On Speer's inaccuracies see Schmidt, Speer Myth, pp. 120-2, 181-94.

20. Gregor Janssen, Das Ministerium Speer Deutschlands Rüstung im Krieg (Frankfurt, 1968).
21. Jutta Sywottek, Mobilmachung für den totalen Krieg: Die propagandistische Vorbereitung der deutschen Bevölkerung auf den Zweiten Weltkrieg (Opladen, 1976).

propaganda has been extensive.<sup>22</sup> Ludolf Herbst has studied the debate on total war from a different perspective, that of the Economics Ministry and its plans for the post-war economy. He argues that the absence of a clear concept of a normal National Socialist economy made it difficult to maintain the population's willingness to make sacrifices.<sup>23</sup> His main focus is on the proposals for a National Socialist economy which were put forward during the war to win popular support.<sup>24</sup>

Historians have differed in their judgements of Speer and Goebbels' proposals. Ulrich Herbert considered that Goebbels was 'the only one within the National Socialist leadership who could link a clear view of the actual military and economic situation of Germany at the change of year 1942-43 with a total concept of domestic and foreign policy'.<sup>25</sup> Some of Goebbels' biographers agree with the assessment that he genuinely sought a mobilization of economic effort for the war.<sup>26</sup> Carroll and Herbst are more critical of Goebbels' sincerity. Carroll claims Goebbels' design for total war 'was simply a prolonged, shrieking demand for "sacrifices" on the part of the German public'.<sup>27</sup> Indeed she suggests that he was not innocent of the

22. See among others Jay W. Baird, The Mythical World of Nazi War Propaganda, 1939-1945 (Minneapolis, 1974) and E. K. Bramsted, Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda 1925-1945 (East Lansing, 1965).
23. Ludolf Herbst, Der Totale Krieg und die Ordnung der Wirtschaft. Die Kriegswirtschaft im Spannungsfeld von Politik. Ideologie und Propaganda 1939-1945 (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 13-15.
24. ibid., p. 15.
25. Ulrich Herbert, Fremdarbeiter - Politik und Praxis der "Ausländer - Einsatzes" in der Kriegswirtschaft des Dritten Reiches (Berlin, 1985), p. 238.
26. See, for example, Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel, Doctor Goebbels (second edition, London, 1969), chapters six and seven; Viktor Reimann, The man who created Hitler: Joseph Goebbels (London, 1977), pp. 254, 268.
27. Carroll, Design for Total War, p. 242.

sabotage of the total war effort by the Dreier Ausschuss.<sup>28</sup> (Her study concentrates on the early years of the war and does not examine Goebbels' proposals in any detail.) Herbst sees Goebbels' moves to adopt 'total war' in 1943 as a response to a crisis of the credibility of the regime's propaganda and does not study it in a wider context.<sup>29</sup> Janssen sees Goebbels' views as less soundly economically based than those of Speer.<sup>30</sup> None of these historians have subjected Goebbels' proposals to close scrutiny. Speer on the other hand is generally given considerable credit for what steps were taken to mobilize the German economy for war in the period 1942-1944, although historians have been sceptical about his claims to have originated the system of 'industrial self-responsibility' for the armaments industry, and the other policies which assisted increases in production.<sup>31</sup>

Historians have echoed some of Goebbels and Speer's criticisms of the regime's conduct of the war. They have agreed with Speer that female labour was never successfully mobilized.<sup>32</sup> For ideological reasons 'the party left relatively untapped a large part of the country's labour resources'.<sup>33</sup> Carroll, Milward and Herbst have suggested that Hitler sought to avoid total mobilization of Germany's

28. ibid., pp. 242-3.

29. Herbst, Totale Krieg, p. 197. He does not appear to have been able to consult Goebbels' diaries or papers.

30. Janssen, Ministerium Speer, pp. 274-5.

31. Carroll, Design for Total War, p. 247; Alan S. Milward, The German Economy at War (London, 1967), pp. 54, 59-71.

32. Leila J. Rupp, Mobilizing women for war: German and American Propaganda, 1939-1945 (Princeton, 1978), p. 86; Ursula von Gersdorff, Frauen im Kriegsdienst 1914-1945 (Stuttgart, 1969), p. 56; William Jeffress Fanning Jr., 'The German war economy in 1941: a study of Germany's material and manpower problems in relation to the overall military effort' (Texas Christian University Ph.D. thesis, 1983), pp. 173-4.

33. Alan S. Milward, War, Economy and Society 1939-1945 (Berkeley, 1977), pp. 220-1.



resources for war, only began to do so reluctantly at the end of 1941, and did not achieve total mobilization until 1944.<sup>34</sup> Speer himself suggested that the leadership did not accept the need to prepare for a long war until autumn 1941.<sup>35</sup> Other reasons for this delay have been suggested by Mason who argues that the regime could not mobilize fully because it could not rely on working class support<sup>36</sup> and Herbst who sees the absence of a clear National Socialist economic policy, and the fear that total war policies would commit the regime to a certain line of policy after the war, as an obstacle.<sup>37</sup> Milward suggests that the organization of the National Socialist political system into ad hoc overlapping organizations competing for power prevented effective organization for total war.<sup>38</sup> More recently a historiographical debate has developed whether the regime began by seeking to maintain 'a peacetime war economy' or whether it oriented itself from the beginning, however inefficiently, to a long total war. (This debate will be considered in Chapter Two.)

While there has been considerable study of the organization of the German economy and the armaments industry during the war, particularly based on the files of the Armaments Ministry and Speer's recollections, there has not been an examination of the policies, concepts, competition and cooperation of these four men. Individual

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34. Carroll, Design for Total War, pp. 10, 93; Milward, German Economy, pp. 6, 8-16; Herbst, Totale Krieg, pp. 174-5; Edward R. Zilbert, Albert Speer and the Nazi Ministry of Arms: Economic Institutions and Industrial Production in the German war Economy (East Brunswick, 1981), pp. 228, 231.

35. Speer, Third Reich, p. 215.

36. Tim Mason, 'The Legacy of 1918 for National Socialism' in Anthony Nicholls and Erich Matthias (eds.), German Democracy and the Triumph of Hitler - Essays in recent German History (London, 1971), pp. 215-39.

37. Herbst, Totale Krieg, p. 227.

38. Milward, German Economy, pp. 8-11; see also Herbst, Totale Krieg, p. 120.

aspects of Goebbels' campaign for total war have been studied, by Herbst and Longerich in particular,<sup>39</sup> but this thesis is the first study of Goebbels' policy and concept of total war over the period 1941 to 1945, drawing on Goebbels' diaries and memoranda. This is also the first comparative study of Bormann and Himmler's views of total war, and in doing so sets Goebbels and Speer's ideas in a broader perspective.

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Before the debate on total war is examined in the succeeding chapters, two introductory chapters will provide information needed to set the debate in perspective. Chapter One will discuss the concept of total war in its historical context, linking this to the National Socialist interpretation of Germany's defeat in World War One; it will summarize the careers of the leaders to be studied and note the two differing interpretations of the National Socialist political system. Chapter Two will summarize the course of German preparation for war and note the differing interpretations of German preparedness for war. Each chapter concerned with the period 1941-45 will examine, where relevant, indications pointing to what each leader understood by, or advocated as, total war policies, particularly in the areas of simplification of the administration and the economy, transfers of production from less necessary to essential goods, and finding extra sources of labour. These views will be linked with the leaders' attitudes to the treatment of the peoples of the occupied East and the Jews, their assessment of the progress of the war, and moves for a compromise peace. Conflict and co-operation between the leaders will be examined. This will be set against the background of

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39. Peter Longerich, 'Joseph Goebbels und der totale Krieg: eine unbekanntes Denkschrift des Propagandaministers vom 18. Juli 1944', Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, vol. 35, 1987, pp. 289-314.

Germany's changing military fortunes, and the policies which Hitler agreed to. Chapter Three will deal with the German attack on the Soviet Union and its consequences which raised for the first time in the leadership calls for a more 'total' war effort. Chapters Four and Five will analyze the response to Stalingrad - Chapter Four concentrating on the setting up of the Dreier Ausschuss, and Chapter Five on Goebbels' attempts to revitalize Göring. Chapter Six will look at the response to Italy's leaving the war, and further moves in 1943 to introduce total war on the Home Front. Chapters Seven and Eight will examine renewed attempts to have total war measures adopted in 1944; and Chapter Nine the results of Goebbels' appointment as Reichsbevollmächtigter für den totalen Krieg. Chapter Ten will look at the last attempts to pursue such policies in 1945.