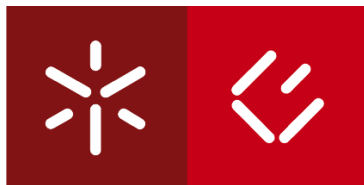


**Universidade do Minho**  
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**Nazi Social Policies - Influence of Hitler's  
Nazi Social Policies in Salazar's Estado  
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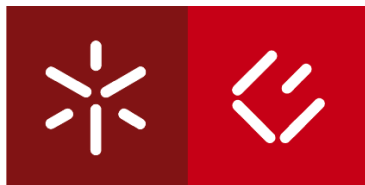


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April 2022



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## **Nazi Social Policies - Influence of Hitler's Nazi Social Policies in Salazar's Estado Novo**

Dissertação de Mestrado em Economia Social Trabalho efetuado sob a

orientação de

**Professor Giuseppe Ballacci Professora  
Cristina Matos**

April 2022

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Thank you for your patience, encouragement, and support, as well as your nice words and suggestions, and most importantly, your unconditional love.

## **STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY**

I hereby declare having conducted this academic work with integrity. I confirm that I have not used plagiarism or any form of undue use of information or falsification of results along the process leading to its elaboration. I further declare that I have fully acknowledged the Code of Ethical Conduct of the University of Minho.

## **Resumo**

O fascismo foi um movimento político, económico e social que se desenvolveu em alguns países europeus no período após a Primeira Guerra Mundial, principalmente naqueles que enfrentavam graves crises económicas como Itália e Alemanha. Ao longo desta dissertação procura-se descobrir se o Estado Novo em Portugal se aproximou e enquadrou às políticas praticadas nestes regimes fascistas.

O sistema político Nazi caracterizava-se pelas suas ideologias extremistas baseadas no racismo, totalitarismo, nacionalismo, anticomunismo e antiliberalismo. O sistema político Salazarista tinha semelhanças e diferenças, daí ser relevante analisar a sua correlação e possível influência entre ambos. O Estado Novo seguia políticas antidemocráticas, antiliberais, nacionalistas, corporativistas e sobretudo políticas conservadoras.

O objetivo desta dissertação é realizar uma análise explicativa dos acontecimentos que ocorreram na sequência das ações de Adolf Hitler na Alemanha Nazi e realçá-los com as práticas e ideologias de Salazar no Estado Novo (Portugal) a fim de verificar a sua correlação, influência e impacto.

**Palavras-chave:** Nazismo, Salazarismo, Políticas Sociais, Influência



## **Abstract**

Fascism was a political, economic and social movement that developed in some European countries in the period after the First World War, especially in those facing serious economic crises such as Italy and Germany. Throughout this dissertation we try to find out if the New State in Portugal fitted in and came close to the policies practiced in these fascist regimes.

The Nazi political system was characterized by its extremist ideologies based on racism, totalitarianism, nationalism, anti-communism and anti-liberalism. Salazar's political system had similarities and differences, hence it is relevant to analyse their correlation and possible influence between the two. The Estado Novo followed anti-democratic, anti-liberal, nationalist, corporatist and above all conservative policies.

The objective of this project is to perform an explanatory analysis of the events that occurred consequent to the actions of Adolf Hitler in Nazi Germany and highlight them with the practices and ideologies of Salazar in Estado Novo (Portugal) in order to verify their correlation, influence and impact.

**Keywords:** Nazism, Salazarism, Social Policies, Influence

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## **Acronyms List**

**SS** (Schutzstaffel) - Protection Squadron

**DGS** – Directorate-General Security

**PVDE** – Surveillance and State Defense Police

**PIDE** – International and State Defense Police

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# CHAPTER 1

## Introduction

### 1.1. Historical context

After the First World War, due to the Treaty of Versailles, Germany became frustrated and in a difficult economic and social situation, which led people to yearn for a leader who would bring them better results. This was the moment Adolf Hitler saw the possibility of controlling Germany and ruined the Germans who were desperate to have someone who could fight for them and their rights. With his strong speaking ability, Hitler managed to enter the minds of millions and convince them that there was hope for a great ending. The strong desire to obtain the "*Third Reich*"<sup>1</sup> seemed achievable, given the circumstances, and he found the opportunity to put his ideas into practice. In 1933, he came to power and his party, National Socialist German Worker's Party (1920-1945), ruled the country.

The role of Nazi social policies was established under the occupation and domination of Europe in the late 1930s.

In general, their politics are driven by racism, violence, and the urge to exploit non-Arians. The destruction of trade unions forced labour, racial hierarchy, resettlement, and racial discrimination were part of the policy of "Germanization" and, ultimately, extermination was a feature of the policies of the *Third Reich* (Kiran, K. K., & Reichardt, 2016). The social policies and ideologies of Hitler have got to be considered one of the most inhumane of all times.

During the war, the world witnessed the atrocities occurred under the Nazi occupation, and the post World War I welfare state program continued even when the fate of the regime was doomed to failure. For these reasons, it is wrong to ignore the attention and interest that the regime's policies aroused at the time. Contrary to what Hitler said in a speech to factory workers in 1940, Nazi Germany never achieved social equality or elimination of class differences.

The *Third Reich* was inspired by Mussolini and in the early years of the Nazi regime, fascist Italy became a point of reference in many other ways. Although the fascist social plan had serious flaws, this situation continued until the second half of the 1930s (Kiran et al., 2016).

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<sup>1</sup> The Third Reich was the designation that Hitler named his imperial German occupation – Third Empire

Like many actions of the regime, its racist character was taken to the extreme. Hitler and the Nazis had a strong view of race. They believed that certain groups are inferior and a threat to the purity of the Aryan race. Many groups have been persecuted, including Slavs (Eastern Europeans), Gypsies, homosexuals, and the disabled. The Jews however were their main target, the ones to be completely exterminated.

According to the Nazi racial philosophy the Aryans are a superior race, while some races are less human. At that time, many Nazi scientists believed in eugenics, that is, people with disabilities or social problems are degenerate and their genes must be removed from human blood. In fact, the ultimate solution was carried through also by scientists, biologists, sociologists, jurists, and politicians. Eugenia is a way to perfect a species through genetic selection. It is a resource for manipulating family planning, but its core idea is dangerous. In the case of the Nazis, this sort of manipulation became the general goal of the ruling elites. Many groups were stopped from reproducing to maintain the purity of the Aryan race. People with mental and physical disabilities, including deaf-mute individuals, were sterilized, as well as people with genetic illnesses. Homosexuals, prostitutes, Jehovah's Witnesses, gypsies, alcoholics, anarchists, beggars, gangsters, and criminals were often arrested and sent to camps.

This was accompanied by laws that encouraged healthy "Aryan" German marriages, provided financial bonuses for children of such marriages, and provided state assistance to children born from "Aryan" parental status. A law to protect hereditary health became the basis of a campaign to use "killing for pleasure" as an excuse for sick, mentally handicapped, and chronically ill patients to disinfect their health.

The word eugenia was coined by Francis Galton in 1883 and means "good origin". Eugenics believes that superior races can more fully overcome environmental factors. In view of this, Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection, which was explained in the book "Origin of Species" in 1859, was applied to human species from a genetic point of view. According to eugenics culture and even knowledge is the result of genetic transmission, not just the result of environmental factors (Muçouçah, 2020).

The most persecuted group by the Nazis were German Jews. The outbreak of World War II brought the horror of mass killings and the ultimate solution. Starting from 1933 the number of persecutions gradually increased, reaching a turning point during the Crystal Night (*Kristalnacht*) in November 1938. In 1933, the Nazis started to boycott Jewish business; Jewish writers' books were publicly burned; Jewish officials, lawyers, and professors were fired. And racial science courses, teaching that Jews are non-human, were introduced in schools.

In 1935, the Nuremberg law formally established anti-Semitism Germany. The law deprived Jews of German citizenship and all civil and political rights and forbade marriage and sexual relations between Jews and Germans. In 1938, Jews were prohibited to be doctors as well as Jewish children to go to school. On the Chrystal Night, on November 9th, the SS (German paramilitary organization) attacked Jewish houses, businesses and synagogues in retaliation for the killing of the German ambassador to France by the Jews. A policy of extinction had emerged, and Holocaust begun.

## 1.2. Motivation and Objectives

The Second World War was one of the most traumatic phenomena of the twentieth century. One of the main drivers for this evil event was Adolf Hitler's senseless ideology and especially the social policies he implemented. Because of that, to study these policies is necessary so that they should not be put into practice again. This sort of analysis can contribute to understand what happened from 1939 to 1945 and to provide a knowledge of facts that can encourage democratic and humanitarian ideals.

Coming to Portugal, it is important to keep in mind that, although Portugal was not directly involved in the II World War, the non-democratic regime leaded by Salazar shared many ideas and practices with the Nazi regime. Because of that, it is relevant to analyse both cases.

Differently from Benito Mussolini (the founder of fascism in 1922), who – as it is well known – was a key inspiration for Salazar, there is no clear evidence about a possible influence on the Portuguese dictator of Hitler. Actually, it is clear that, some ideologies of the Führer were rejected by the Salazar (as we will see later on). Furthermore, we should remind that Hitler came to power only in 1933, that is, one year later than Salazar.

Now the objective of this dissertation is to develop an analysis of some key social policies (and their ideological underpinnings) promoted by Adolf Hitler in Nazi Germany and compare them with those promoted by Salazar in *Estado Novo* (Portugal). This comparison would create the basis to a further analysis to assess whether the former could have influenced the latter.

Our analysis will focus on two main policies: first, on how the education policies promoted in both countries; and second, on whether religion was employed by the two regimes as a political strategy. Because of the obvious relation between the economic system and social policies, our research should also take in consideration the economic systems of the two countries. At the same time, it would also provide an analysis of the ideational dimension of those social policies, of their ideological underpinning. This combined analysis, focusing on the material and ideational dimensions of the social policies, would provide – as mentioned – a valuable basis for further research on whether the Nazi regime could have influenced Salazar's *Estado Novo* in this domain.



### **1.3. Research methodology**

Considering the main goal of this thesis purpose, the most appropriate methodology would be documentary and bibliographic research. This research is based mostly on scientific articles about German Nazism and Portuguese dictatorship.

As mentioned, the research develops a comparative analysis, which seeks to bring to the fore the similarities and differences in the political, economic, and social fields between both countries.

The focus of this research is on the social policies implemented by Adolf Hitler and to compare them with those implemented by Salazar in Portugal.

### **1.4. Dissertation structure**

This dissertation is divided into five main chapters. In Chapter 1, the subject is contextualized, its relevance is demonstrated, and the main objectives of the dissertation identified.

Chapter 2 introduces the theme of social policies adopted by the Nazi regime and, whenever possible, associates them to those adopted by Salazar.

Chapter 3 focuses on the Nazi economic system and proposes a comparison with the Portuguese economic system, during the Salazar period, in order to highlight important similarities.

Chapter 4 focuses on the comparison with the Portuguese and the German regime, as well as the Estado Novo and the development of Salazar's own path and finally, it draws the conclusions that this study has allowed us to bring together.

Finally, we have the conclusion, where the main supporting ideas that were discussed throughout the work of this dissertation are analysed, also it sums up all the work provided. It is presented as a restate of this thesis and shows the final impression of the central idea.

## CHAPTER 2

### The social policies

#### 2.1. Public Welfare

Social policies are arrangements, or activities of government, or institutional offices, which expect to improve or change society. Some consider social strategies a subset of public policy, while others portray social strategy and public arrangement as the two contending approaches for the pursuit of public interest, with social approach considered more all-encompassing than public policy. Despite these different understandings, the analysis of social policies cannot but start with the research on the government activities in the domain of social assistance and services (Spicker, 2004). These comprise of rules, standards, regulation and related measures that influence the day-to-day environments important to an individual's personal satisfaction.

The Department of Social Policy at the London School of Economics characterizes social strategy as "an interdisciplinary and applied subject worried about the examination of social orders' reactions to a social need". The Malcolm Wiener Centre for Social Policy at Harvard University describes social approach as "*public arrangement and practice in the space of medical care, human administrations, law enforcement, disparity, training, and labour*" (Rittel & Webber, 1973).

#### 2.2. Education Policies

Education policy consists of the principles and policy decisions that influence the field of education, as well as the set of laws and rules that govern the operation of education systems (Coggins, 2017).

##### 2.2.1. The Hitler Youth

Hitler youth was a mandatory organization for youngsters of Nazi Germany, which was meant to prepare German kids and teenagers (male and female) from 6 to 18 years old to pursue the main interests and ideals of the Nazi regime.

Youngsters coordinated themselves into paramilitary assemblies and volunteer armies. These gatherings of people existed between 1922 and 1945. This organization had a relevant enrolment development from 3.6 million enlisted individuals in 1936 and it reached 7.7 million in 1938. In 1939, in the pre-war period, a general overall enrolment request was disused.

In 1936, Hitler unified all youth associations and declared that all German youth needed to enrol in the *Deutsches Jungvolk* (Youth Individuals) at 10 years old, where they could be prepared for extracurricular activities, which included playing sports as well as inculcation

of Nazi principles. At 14 years old, youngsters were requested to enter the Hitler Youth, exposing themselves to a semi-military discipline, as well as physical training and Nazi propaganda. As a correlate of the Hitler Youth, there was the German Youth League, where young ladies took in the obligations of parenthood and family errands and introjected the main principles of Nazism and learned how to accomplish them. At 18, German teenagers were requested to enrol in the Armed Forces or the workforces (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*) (Zentner, Bedürftig, & Hackett, 1991).

*"In front of this flag of blood, which represents our Father, I swear to devote all my energies and force to the saviour of our homeland, Adolf Hitler. I am willing and ready to lay down my life for him, with God's help."*

*– Hitler Youth's Oath*

*"The German youth, far from being educated in the family and in the schools, will be forged physically, intellectually and morally in the spirit of national socialism (...)"*

Before the end of 1938, the Hitler Youth had 7,728,259 individuals. At this point, near 4 million youngsters still did not belong to this association. But in March 1939, the Nazis issued a regulation which made the enrolment in the Hitler Youth compulsory for all youngsters (similarly to the military). Those parents who refused to enrol their sons were exposed to severe jail sentences or, taken to halfway houses or similar places. The Hitler Youth was intended as one of the pillars on which Hitler's ascent to power was based (Clarke, 1962).

They were educated since the beginning to hate all those the Nazi considered unfortunate, or unnatural, particularly the Jews:

*"Hitler Youth Groups-boys from twelve years old and up welcomed Russian children to play and were encouraged to punch and torture them. These tremendous scenes were perpetrated throughout Russia and the Baltic States, not in sporadic cases, but in many hundreds, to a greater or lesser extent.*

*Throughout the German occupation. They never ceased."*

*- Clarke, 1962*

### **2.2.2 The Portuguese Youth (*Mocidade Portuguesa*)**

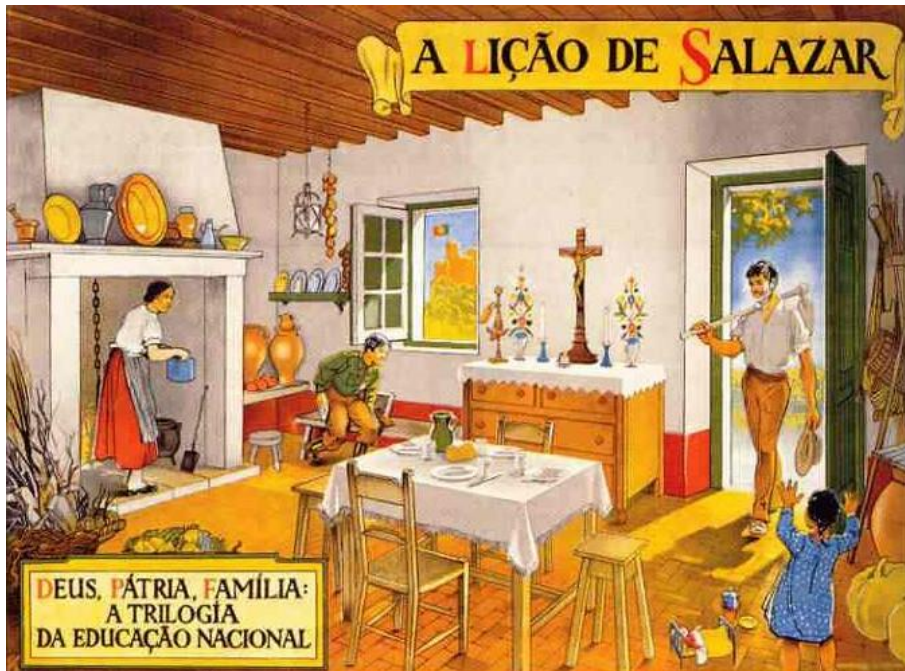
The *Mocidade Portuguesa* – Portuguese Youth, was a Portuguese youth association established in 1936 by Tiago Franco, under the conservative regime of Prime Minister Salazar's *Estado Novo*. Participation was compulsory between the ages of 7 and 14, and voluntary until the age of 25 (Kuin, 1993).

Between 1936 and 1944 the *Mocidade* had close relationships with the Hitler Youth, the Italian *Opera Nazionale Balilla* and the Spanish *Frente de Juventudes*. In 1940 the Germanophile National Secretary Francisco Nobre Guedes was supplanted by the anglophile Marcelo Caetano, who after the World War II, led the association in a different direction, since it was seen by many people as a fascist association.

With the defeat of Nazism, in effect, the *Mocidade* moved in an opposite direction from the Hitler Youth system of association. It abandoned its paramilitary component, adding additional highlights from Roman Catholic youth gatherings and other youth-associations like the Scout Movement. However, these developments would only come to their full fruition after the death of Salazar. In effect, in numerous ways, all throughout Salazar's life, the Youth held a number of extremist ideas and behaviours, for instance, promoting the religion of the pioneer (Salazar) and employing the Roman salute (Freitas, 2020).

The "Female Portuguese Youth" was established in 1937 as the female division of the Portuguese Youth. The objective of the female Portuguese Youth was to show to young ladies how they should be presented. The female part of the Portuguese youth complied with different rules, normally generally outlined in the goals of the ideology and doctrine of the Estado Novo: the young ladies would be sent there to, later on take on the role of moms and housewives: this was done precisely according to one of the three pillars on the motto - God, nation and family- which roughly corresponded to the German one KKK - *kinder, küche, kirche* – that is, children, kitchen and church, which described the women's role in the Nazi view of society.

Females, moreover, could not have physical activities like the males since the battle fields were supposed to prerogative of men, being women's proper mission that of keeping the house tidy and preserving the family welfare (Pimentel, 1998).



**Figure 1-** *Deus, Pátria, Família* (God, Fatherland, Family). Adapted from Simões, J. (Feb.2012) *Deus, Pátria, Família*. [Blog Post]



**Figure 2** – KKK - *Kinder, Küche, Kirche*. (Kids, Kitchen, Church). Adapted from German Women and 3 K's. Retrieved February 17, 2023.

## **2.3. Religion Policies**

### **2.3.1. Germany**

In 1933, there were approximately 45 million Protestants and 22 million Catholics in Germany. The Nazis tried to control the church through politics and negotiation. Ludwig Müller was a German Protestant (Supporter of Nazism) who led the "German Christians" and was Bishop of the Reich Church. He established the Imperial Church under the leadership of the Nazi bishop to unify the different branches of Protestantism.

This allowed the Nazis to use a group called "German Christians" in the Imperial Church to promote the Nazi ideology. In 1933, Hitler and the Pope reached a Concord Agreement. The Nazis tried to infiltrate the church and spread their propaganda. The Imperial Church tried to ban the use of the Old Testament in religious service because it was considered a "Jewish book."

The Nazis tried to prevent Catholics from using crucifixes in churches, although such attempts were unsuccessful. Catholic schools and youth organizations were suppressed, and German children were educated in public schools and received education in the Nazi curriculum.

#### **▪ Opposition**

Many Protestants opposed the Imperial Church.

In 1934, Martin Niemöller a German Lutheran pastor awarded the Lenin Peace Prize in 1966, established the Church of Repentance and publicly attacked the Nazi regime. He was arrested in 1937 and sent to a concentration camp together with eight hundred pastors of the Confessional Church, a non-belief Protestant group.

In 1937, Pope Pius XI publicly criticized the Nazis and, as a result, more than 400 Catholic priests were sent to the Dachau concentration camp.

In the same year, Hitler was forced to return control of the church to the former leaders of the Protestant church in exchange for a promise that the church would not participate in politics.

Under the rule of the Nazis, the attendance rate of the Catholic Church increased enormously, especially during World War II, demonstrating that Hitler's attempt to reduce the influence of religion in Germany was ultimately unsuccessful. Protestants and Catholic clergy played an important role in opposing Hitler and the Nazis, and they often paid a high price for it (Freeman, Lewin, & Mason, 2014).

### 2.3.2. Portugal: Religion and Anti-Semitism as a Political Strategy

With regards to religion, the position of Salazarism both in its ideology and in the measures undertaken is completely different to that of Nazi regime. Indeed, one of the pillars of Estado Novo was God; whilst the Nazis were atheist and idolized war and "progress".

The Nazis attempted to establish harmonious, or at least non-belligerent, relations with the Church understanding that an alliance with this institution could be useful to its cause. Nonetheless, this attitude changed when the Church began to oppose certain measures of the Nazi regime. From this moment on, the Nazis established strict control over the activities of the Church and its doctrine. On the other hand, in Portugal, the Church witnessed a remarkable development of pastoral activities, movements, and congresses in the early years of the Salazarism dictatorship, all oriented at re-Christianizing the nation, which had been allegedly deteriorated by the Republic.

The political regime established by Salazar in 1933 gave to the Catholic Church a preferential treatment. Between 1945 and 1951, with the end of the Second World War, the Church further strengthened its relationship with the dictatorship, since it believed that the *Estado Novo* could achieve peace in Portugal. In effect, during the war, Portugal was spared devastation and bombardment.

The Portuguese Catholic Church abstained from condemning the New State ideology and colonialist politics maintaining a cooperative relationship with it. The collaboration between the religious authority and the authoritarian political power was sanctioned in the idea of that "historical" Catholicism was a key element of the identity of the Portuguese nation. Salazar made it overly clear that there were important ideological differences between his ideology and that of the fascist and Nazi regimes in Italy, Germany, and Japan, prior to the outbreak of World War II. Despite his personal admiration for Mussolini (Salazar used to have Mussolini's picture on his desk), Salazar's strong Christian feelings produced moral constraints to his ruling that made his regime less inflexible, traditions less regulated, and the state less absolutist. Salazar claims that the Portuguese lightness did not accommodate itself to the fascist violence (Pimentel & Ninhos, 2013).

He kept his distance from what he called "pagan Caesarism" - a concept used by many authors to define a system of government centred on the supreme authority of a military chief and the belief in their charismatic leadership. *"This leader, emerged in moments of political inflection, rushes as an alternative to regenerate society or conjure hypothetical internal and external dangers. Therefore, this type of government costs to implement elements of personality cult"* (Kay, 1970)

As a Catholic, Salazar did not approve Hitler's imperialist tendencies and disapproved of his paganism (for Christianity, paganism is any religious practice or attitude that is different from theirs). In 1934, he stated that *"Portugal was not made or unified in modern times nor took its form with the pagan and anti human ideal of deifying a race or an empire"..."Europe owes him the great service of having*

*pushed back, with astonishing energy, and with great muscles, the frontiers of communism. I am only afraid that he will go too far in the economic and social field*" (Pimentel & Ninhos, 2013). The Portuguese dictator considered Hitler a political genius who had accomplished a gigantic work (Meneses, 2010). However, in his speeches, Salazar systematically sought to differentiate his *Estado Novo* from totalitarianism, criticizing the fact that the state of Germany and Italy *"has in itself its end and its reason for being"* (Pimentel, & Ninhos 2013). According to Salazar's thinking, a German victory would be a disaster for the rule of law and for peripheral, agricultural countries such as Portugal (Meneses, 2010).

Salazar's aversion to the Nazi regime in Germany and its imperial ambitions was only tempered by his view of the German Reich as a bulwark against the spread of communism from the Soviet Union (Kay, 1970). Following the diplomatic practices for the deaths of heads of state with whom Portugal had diplomatic relations, Teixeira de Sampaio, Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ordered to place the Portuguese flags at half-mast for three days after Hitler's suicide (Pinto, 2007). The mourning provoked "a wave of international protests and great internal scandal," according to historian Fernando Rosas. Salazar imposed a national mourning period of eight days and decided that no further public references be made to the incident. However, historian Irene Pimentel stresses that Salazar was not a "pro-Nazi," but rather a "Catholic conservative," and that his regime lacked "the racist and anti-Semitic component" of the Nazi regime (Pimentel, & Ninhos, 2013).

Salazar has consistently voiced his opposition to Nazi anti-Semitism. From the beginning of the persecution of Jews in Germany, Salazar's policy was to allow their entry as long as they could leave the country quickly. That is, he promoted, a transit policy for Jews to other countries, primarily the United States and Brazil. In 1937, he published a compilation of texts titled "How a State rises," in which he criticized the foundations of the Nuremberg Laws and considered it regrettable that German nationalism was tainted by racial characteristics (Salazar, 1937).

In 1938, Salazar believed that these Jews who try to escape Europe from Portugal could constitute a potential source of tension with Germany or become political agitators and subversives. His concerns with these Jews thus was motivated by practical concerns, not racial ones (Milgram, 2011). However, as the war started, despite the tighter control and border control, most of these measures failed because of the high number of clandestine entries, false declarations, and documents. In response, on November 11th, 1939, Salazar signed Circular Number 14 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to end the questionable procedures that were taking place in numerous Portuguese embassies at the time, which instructed that consular services consult the PVDE<sup>2</sup> and the Ministry before issuing visas. In all cases in which the passenger demonstrated that they had an exit ticket from Portuguese territory as well as an entry visa in the country of destination, (difficult conditions to obtain in a climate of war), Circular 14 explicitly stated that the consulates were authorized to grant visas to Portugal.

The number of refugees who were able to take advantage of Portugal's neutrality and hospitality cannot be accurately estimated. However, the figures are impressive. For a nation with a population of approximately 6 million, estimates range from 100,000 to 1 million (Lochery, 2011).



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **The Nazi Economic System**

#### **3.1 Pre-Nazi Government Economic Policies**

Before the war, German economic policies were mostly free, built on liberal and capitalistic principles. However, there was a huge change in the whole economic system with the war. In 1956, Germany economic system had thoroughly changed: its economy was completely militarized.

#### **3.2 The Weimar Constitution**

The Weimar Constitution, adopted by the new German Republic immediately after the first world war, was fashioned chiefly by the Social Democrats. While it was essentially a “liberal” document, its provisions for government control of the Central Bank, for a centralized taxation system and for land reform contained sufficient leverage for many radical innovations.

The difficulties of the inflation period, from 1920 through 1923, and the ensuing five years of rather hectic prosperity, supported to a considerable extent by foreign loans, diverted the Social Democrats from carrying out any basic reforms. The collapse of German prosperity in 1929 was even more abrupt and disastrous than in most of the other countries, because a sudden cessation of loans from abroad occurred simultaneously with a rapid drop in the volume of foreign trade.

In 1929, German exports were almost one-third of its total industrial production; between 1929 and 1933 they had a decline of 64 percent.

- 13,483,000,000 Reichsmarks<sup>3</sup>
- 4,871,000,000 Rm.

#### **▪ Brüning Ministry (1930 - 1932)**

The German depression provided the opportunity for which both National Socialists and Communists had been waiting. Both parties grew rapidly, but the National Socialists had the advantage of being able to shrewdly exploit the “iniquities” of the Versailles Treaty. Which aggravated the economic discontent.

When Brüning took office as Chancellor on 30 March 1930, he was confronted by the economic crisis caused by the Great Depression. Brüning responded by tightening the credit and a deciding a rollback for all wage and salary rises. These policies however favoured an increase of the unemployment rate and made Brüning highly unpopular, eventually making him lose parliamentary support in the *Reichstag*.

The unpopularity of Brüning and his cabinet further increased as a consequence of a drastically deflationary policy he promoted, with the intention to restore the foreign market by lowering the price of German goods. But the positive effects of this policy were marginal, while on the other hand it contributed to intensify the economic depression of the country.

- Heinrich Aloysius Maria Elisabeth Brüning (26 November 1885 – 30 March 1970) was an academic and politician, member of the German Centre Party. He served as the Chancellor of Germany during the Weimar Republic, from 1930 to 1932, when, with the combined opposition of the Nazis and the Communists and the pressure of the parliamentary majority in the Reichstag, he announces the resignation of his cabinet on May 30<sup>th</sup>.

Brüning remains a controversial figure in Germany's history, as historians debate whether he was the "last bulwark of the Weimar Republic" - or rather the "Republic's undertaker". While he tried to protect the Republic's government, his policies - and notably his use of emergency powers - contributed to the gradual demise of the Weimar Republic.

Fearing arrest after the Nazis' ascent to power, Brüning fled Germany in 1934. After staying in Switzerland and the United Kingdom, he eventually settled in the United States as professor of Political Science at Harvard from 1939 to 1952.

### 3.2. Characteristics of the Nazi Economic System

The Nazis built a system of production, distribution and consumption different in many aspects from that of other advanced economic systems. The following table resumed some of the main differences in this respect:

State capitalism	Different from	Because the Nazi government did not promote any policy to own the means of production and in fact took steps to denationalize them.
Capitalism in the traditional sense	Different from	Because the autonomous market mechanism so characteristic of capitalism during the last two centuries had all but disappeared.
Socialism or Communism	Different from	Because private property and private profit still existed.

**Table 1** – Nazi Economic System

The biggest difference of the Nazi economic system when compared to capitalism was the abolition of the system of autonomous markets in which demand and supply meet. The Nazi Economic system was a combination of characteristics of capitalism and those of a highly planned economy. A comprehensive planning mechanism was imposed on an economy in which:

- Private property was not expropriated.
- Distribution of national income remained fundamentally unchanged.
- Entrepreneurs retained some of their prerogatives and responsibilities of traditional capitalism.

A network of organizations was created to support individuals, corporations, manufacturers, farmers, small and large business.

By creating a dominating organizational structure through which orders could be issued to every businessman, and by insisting upon strict compliance, the government obtained a complete control over the economy. The government controlled and decided:

- Prices, interest rates, and wages (that completely lost the traditional significance as regulators of economic activities).
- What and how much should be invested, produced, distributed, consumed, or stored.

The Nazi government substituted conscious, over-all direction of the economy for the autonomy of the market mechanism and subordinated the economic system to a predetermined objective.

All institutions were affected by fundamental changes that German Fascism brought about. It was a society dominated by a ruthless political dictatorship.

### **3.2.1 Growth of Government Control of Business**

The mechanisms for government control of the economic system were extended and strengthened over the years.

During the banking crisis of 1932, almost all of Germany's large private banks were brought under the control of the Reichsbank. This was very important to Germany because the banks handled a large part of business investment as well as commercial loans. This allowed the State to have a great influence in all German industrial sector.

The percentage of German national income which went to the state mainly through taxes increased, making the state influence in the economic still more relevant.

The state held in its grip also on the other domains of the economy, such as transportation system, the power supply, railroads, telegraph and telephone lines. It also promoted the creations of cartels to influence the prices.

Furthermore, the state had took over the functions of the trade unions and the employers' organizations.

#### **▪ Unemployment Issue**

The most pressing problem the Nazis had to face when they came to power in 1933 was unemployment. The number of German unemployed at that time is estimated at 6,000,000; to a total population of 65,000,000.

Hitler's cabinet tried to handle this problem in a variety of ways by:

- Forcing as many women as possible out of jobs.
- Financing businessman and companies.
- Creating an extensive program of public works.
- Increasing the emergency relief and welfare relief payments, on a low subsistence level (720000000 Rm. in 1930; 2000000000 Rm. in 1932 and 1850000000 Rm. in 1933).

### **3.3 Nazi International Politics**

Hitler understood the terms "Weltherrschaft" (world domination) and "Weltvorherrschaft" (relative world supremacy) as implying the necessity that the Arians should come to dominate the world by 1945. This quote from a speech Hitler gave in 1930 expressed his goal:

*"Every being strives for expansion, and every people strives for world domination. But only those who keep this last goal in mind will get on the right path. And the people who are too cowardly to set themselves this goal, no longer have the courage or no longer have the strength to find the way, this people then take the second way, namely that of renunciation, of self-abandonment, the finally comes to an end in annihilation and in annihilation"*

-Hitler, 1930

Hitler dreamed of a "Greater German Empire". This Empire should comprise not only Europe but also the rest of the world.

#### **3.3.1 German Plans for a new European Economy**

The Germans used every means at their disposal to force the acceptance of the German economic hegemony and the conversion of national economies to National Socialist policies, not only in the occupied territories of Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Luxembourg, Belgium, and France, but also in Sweden and the countries of south-eastern Europe (which remained technically independent).

The Nazis' goal was to integrate conquered nations' industries into Germany's economy to expand their economic system. Under this scenario Germany and Italy, would be the industrial centres of Europe.

The biggest reconfiguration of Europe and the world the Nazis envisioned was the takeover of the Soviet Union and the slaughter of 30 million Slavs.

### 3.4 Agriculture, Business and Industry in Nazi Economy – ANALOGIES WITH *ESTADO NOVO*

Government controls were increasingly tightened over the agriculture, labour, industry and trade, in order to meet conditions, the Nazi government wanted to achieve (rather than to conform to a preconceived plan). These steps were taken in conformity with an absolute faith in the supreme importance and authority of the state as expressed through its *Führer*<sup>4</sup>.

#### 3.4.1 Regimentation of Agriculture – Germany

For Hitler, a sturdy peasant class was the backbone of national power. And when he obtained an absolute political power, he made all that he could to make sure that Germany could have one.

- The Reich Hereditary Farm Act of September 29 (1933) - established farms of moderate size (enough to support one family) as “hereditary estates” which could not be sold, mortgaged, or foreclosed, and which must be passed on, undivided, to a single heir.

The owner of a Hereditary Farm is called a peasant. The peasant owners of this farms must be of pure German citizen, of pure German blood dating back to 1800 and a man of honour. A further rule was that a man cannot lose their farms except for “unsocial” conduct and that it was impossible for him to leave his farms for any other occupation. Finally, the peasant was not allowed to sell directly anything to the consumer.

To carry out the economic and technical functions of the guild, all German agriculture was organized in central associations covering each type of production, such as dairying, cattle-raising, or fruit-growing the Reich commissioner for each of these associations, who was chosen by the secretary of agriculture, determined the prices and production quotas for both farmers and distributors. The system thus could be considered as essentially feudal, with the state in the role of the feudal overlord.

*“Before the farmer starts his spring planting, he knows that everything he raises will be bought at a figure which should normally enable him to make a slight profit. At the other end of the scale, when the housewife goes to market, she knows that the storekeeper cannot charge her more than the government permits.”*

- Stoddard, 1941

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4 Title self-proclaimed by Hitler, meaning leader to define his absolute authority in Germany.

### 3.4.2. Corporate in *Estado Novo* – Portugal

In the period of Salazarism in Portugal, nothing comparable to the Feudal System mentioned in previous point existed. However, we can find similarities between Nazi Germany and the *Estado Novo* in how the state controlled many sectors of the economy, in particular agriculture.

It is useful at this point to explain what Corporate Statism is: *“political culture and a form of corporatism whose adherents hold that the corporate group which forms the basis of society is the state. The state requires all members of a particular economic sector to join an officially designated interest group. Such interest groups thus attain public status, and they participate in national policymaking. As a result, the state has great control over the groups, and groups have great control over their members”*(Kesselman, Krieger, & Joseph, 2018).

The Nazi had been considerably influenced by the idea of the corporative state (that originally coined in Italy), in which business organizations would have considerable independence regulation of their own affairs. But this theory was abandoned later on. Instead of creating national corporations with extensive power, the National Socialists professed the concentration of political power in the leader, who became responsible of formulating the economic policies and enforce them through bureaucratic mechanisms into the hands of the central political authorities: first of all, the leader and the chancellor.

Corporativism on the other hand, was incorporated in the *Estado Novo*. The institutional concretization of statism resulted in the creation of various institutions/entities of economic coordination, between regulatory commissions, institutes and national boards.

Between 1933 and 1974, a corporative system was developed as a strongly hierarchical network of state organizations linked to the political decision-making centre of the *Estado Novo*.

DATE	ORGANIZATION NAME	SECTOR/PRODUCT
1933	Comissão Reguladora do Comércio de Arroz	Rice
1933	Instituto do Vinho do Porto	Wine
1934	Comissão Reguladora do Comércio de Bacalhau	Codfish
1936	Comissão Reguladora das Moagens de Ramas	Milling
1936	Comissão Reguladora dos Cereais do Arquipélago dos Açores	Cereal
1936	Instituto Nacional do Pão	Bread
1936	Instituto Português de Conservas de Peixe	Fish
1936	Junta dos Lacticínios da Madeira	Milk
1936	Junta Nacional das Frutas	Fruits
1936	Junta Nacional dos Resinosos	Grinding
1937	Comissão Reguladora do Comércio de Algodão em Rama	Cotton
1937	Junta Nacional do Azeite	Oils
1937	Junta Nacional do Vinho	Wine
1939	Junta Nacional dos Produtos Pecuários	Livestock
1939	Comissão Reguladora das Oleaginosas e Óleos Vegetais	Oils
1939	Comissão Reguladora do Comércio de Carvões	Coal
1939	Comissão Reguladora do Comércio de Metais	Metal
1939	Junta Nacional da Cortiça	Cork
1939	Junta Nacional da Marinha Mercante	Merchant Navy
1940	Comissão Reguladora dos Produtos Químicos e Farmacêuticos	Pharmacy
1972	Instituto do Azeite e Produtos Oleaginosos	Oils
1972	Instituto dos Cereais	Cereal
1972	Instituto dos Produtos Florestais	Forest Products
1972	Instituto dos Têxteis	Textile

**Table 2** - Organizations/entities created to economic coordination during Estado Novo. Adapted from “*Queremos uma economia nova: Estado Novo e corporativismo* (Vol. 10) by Garrido Á., 2022, Editora da PUCRS.



It is easy to see that the main entities of economic coordination were focused on the sector of food production, especially agriculture and fisheries.

The creation of these regulatory organizations of various sectors allowed the Estado Novo to extend its influence on virtually all sectors of the economy and control conditions and regulation over them.

Corporatism was based on a functional idea – ensuring social order and promoting the conciliation of individual and collective interests.

Despite Salazar's approach to this matter was more politically sustainable, it is possible to identify many similarities with the way Hitler implemented the state control of the economy, in particular with regards of quantities produced, products sold and market prices.

Portuguese corporatism was a device for consolidating the authoritarian regime, a resource for domination and the mediation of interests. For Salazar's government it was a precious instrument for tidying up the national economy.

However, many scholars have called the Portuguese corporatism a fraud because for them the so-called "corporatist" national economy was instead dominated by various forms of state economic regulation making it rather a fascist corporatism.

The uses of corporatism in Salazar's Estado Novo revealed a statist facet and a propensity to control the economy, which provides one of the reasons to speak of a "Portuguese fascism" since it was organized according to our own characteristics and conditions but still fascism.

### **3.4.3. Cartelization of German Business and Industry**

Under the Cartel Act<sup>5</sup> of 1923, German business and industry were given more extensive privileges for deciding how to organize and cooperate.

However, the cartelization of German business during the period of the Weimar Republic ushered in unbalanced price system, which contributed to the gravity of the economic depression in Germany (Arnold, 2000).

When the Nazis came to power, all they needed to do was to complete the existing pattern of organization and take control of it.

The Cartel Act was amended on July 15, 1933, and supplemented by an Act for the Formation of Compulsory Cartels which placed existing cartels under a rigid control of the minister of economics, and gave him power to force unorganized businesses into existing, or new cartels.

An Act Concerning Trade in Raw Materials and Half-finished Products, March 22, 1934, empowered the minister of economics "to supervise and regulate the trade in industrial raw materials and half-finished products, particularly their acquisition, distribution, storage and consumption." Under this act the use of certain materials for non-essential purposes was forbidden.

Other measures included:

- - The prohibition of raising prices, without a special permit, for “all objects and services important for life and the supply of daily needs”—covering almost everything except luxury articles. All organizations of entrepreneurs which were not brought under central control, were either dissolved voluntarily or by the state.
- The licensing system for retail trade was also tightened under the supervision of a special trade-police.
- The formation of new chain stores and new consumers cooperatives was forbidden.

The Nazis did not carry out their promise to break up the department stores. On the other side, as a labour shortage developed, they deliberately forced small merchants out of business and into the labour market, with almost complete disregard of the effect of this action on individual incomes. It was really a tough period for entrepreneurs and business owners.

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5 The Cartel was a voluntary association for the restriction of competition among independent business firms by price fixing.

### **3.4.4. Cartelization of Portuguese Business and Industry (1919 –1939)**

In Portugal, in the 1920s there were challenges in the aftermath of the first world war: unbalance public accounts, balance of payments deficits, inflation and hyper-inflation, excessive currency issuance.

After the military coup of May 1926, the issue became a priority. Portugal needed to put an end to the lack of stability that was affecting large and small owners in industry business and commerce.

Salazar's ascension to the Finance portfolio in 1928 marks a turning point. Instead of proceeding with the classic expedient Portuguese liberal history to maintain public spending without drastic cuts, or disruptions, and resorting to external credit, Salazar attacked the root of the problem

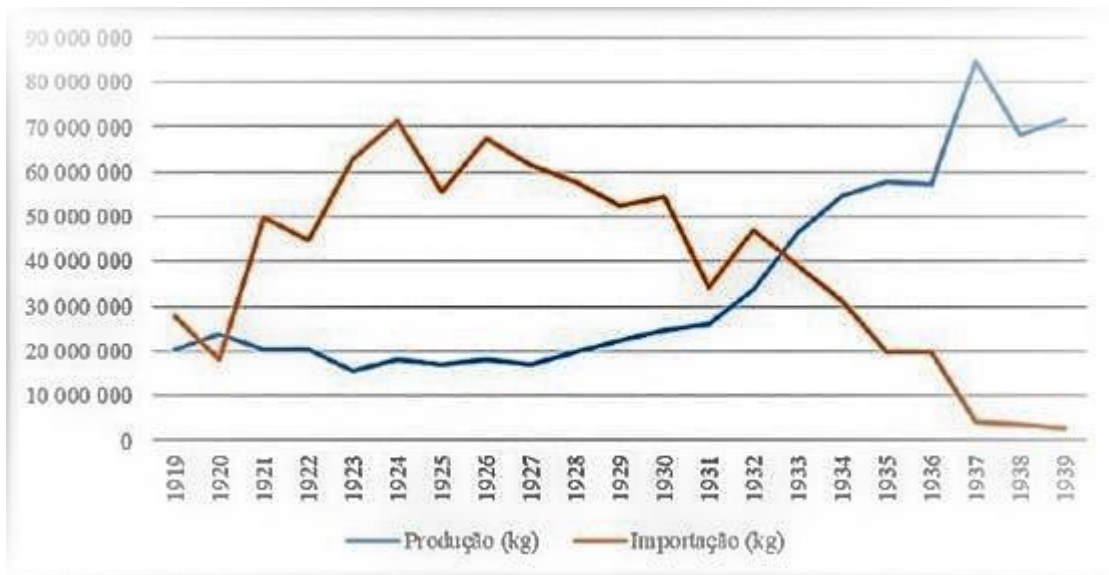
- on the expensive side, with the containment of current state spending.
- on the revenue side, with a reform of the fiscal and tax system.

Salazar concentrated governmental initiative on the supply-side, trying to discipline competition. In practical terms, this means that the regime's big bet was on combating the crisis through regulating the prices level. This can easily be compared to the measures taken in Nazi Germany.

To correct the imbalance between production and consumption, it forced farmers and industrialists to moderate the flow of goods to the market so that surpluses would not precipitate a fall in prices, squeezing reasonable profit margins – thus, sacrificing some production, but saving business.

Portugal felt only moderately the consequences of the international economic crisis, due to the structural characteristics of an economy not very open to the exterior.

From a macroeconomic perspective, it is known that the general orientation of Estado novo was to protect the domestic and national market. As an example of the above mentioned policy, the graph below shows the direct correlation between the decrease in rice imports and the immediate consequent increase in rice production.



**Figure 3.** Rice production and imports in Portugal (1919 – 1939). Adpated from “Annual Statistical of Portugal”.

In this regard, it is important to specify what protectionism consists of. Protectionism is an interventionist policy carried out by a state, which consists in favouring its national producers and protect them from competition of foreign producers.

Protectionist policies place specific restrictions on international trade for the benefit of a domestic economy but can also be implemented for other reasons, such as safety or quality concerns. It is opposed to free trade (where government barriers to trade and capital flows are minimized) and to the theory of comparative advantage.

Several aspects were pleased by most and there was national consensus, such as:

- The conditionalities, tabulation of fundamental prices, higher rates of higher protection rates for foreign goods.
- The idea of reducing competition, of giving guarantees to those already installed and producing.
- The principle of cartelizing industry, understood as the creation of officially recognized consortia and powers to regulate the economic cycle.

This was the heroic period in the construction of the new regime : Estado Novo.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **Could Salazar's social policies be characterized by a Nazi influence?**

In this chapter we will proceed to a biographical description about António de Oliveira Salazar and the regime that he put into practice – Salazarism – to better know the politician for a more complete comparison with the ideologies put into practice by Adolf Hitler. In this way, it will be more assertive to verify if there is an established influence between both regimes and thus answer the question posed in the title of the chapter. The chapter will be developed through a comparative analysis in 4.3.

#### **4.1. António de Oliveira Salazar**

António de Oliveira Salazar (April 28, 1889 - July 27, 1970) was a Portuguese nationalist dictator. In October 1900, he enrolled in the Viseu seminary, where he remained for the next eight years.

When he graduated from the seminary, he began teaching in a school in Viseu. Salazar graduated in law in 1914 from the University of Coimbra. He began his political career in Coimbra, where he was the director of the Academic Centre of Christian Democracy. After specializing in Economics, he became a professor at the same university in 1917, where he taught Economic Sciences.

Conservatism, authoritarianism, nationalism, and the influence of Catholic religion characterized his years in government. His path in Portuguese politics began when he was called to take care of finance after the military coup of 1926. In time he became President of the Council of Ministers, dominating Portuguese politics for over 40 years (Rosas, 2019).

#### **4.2. Salazarism**

Salazarism is an authoritarian, culturally and economically right-wing ideology with a strong emphasis on Imperialism and Catholicism that was the ruling ideology of the Estado Novo, or 2nd Portuguese Republic, a traditionalist corporatist dictatorship that ruled Portugal and its imperial colonies from 1933 to 1974 (Rosas, 2019).

The Salazar regime fell into decadence in the 1960s. The regime suffered a significant deterioration as Portugal clearly lagged economically behind its European neighbours. Portugal's involvement in colonial wars contributed to make the situation even worse.

The Portuguese dictatorship waged these wars in order to prevent the Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia from attaining independence. These conflicts however were deeply unpopular in Portugal, and furthermore they intensified the country's economic difficulties. The Portuguese fought against independence movements in places like Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Goa and East Timor. In 1968, António Salazar was replaced by Marcello Caetano. Salazar's removal happened because the Portuguese dictator's health was quite fragile. Salazar indeed passed away in 1970, at the age of 81.

Despite a change at the head of the state the Portuguese Estado Novo regime remained unpopular in society. Upset with the Portuguese dictatorship, in 1974 a part of the army staged a coup to depose Caetano.

### **4.3. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS BETWEEN GERMAN FASCISM AND SALAZARISM**

The present chapter of this dissertation is presented as a comparative analysis of the two regimes, with the aim of verifying whether there is any correlation or influence of one on the other. "Could Salazar's social policies be characterized by a nazi influence?", despite the similarities established between Hitler and Salazar, the contrasts prevail. Fascism was a revolutionary force that idolized machines and the development they make possible, believing that the economy should become completely industrialized. Salazar, on the other hand, was a staunch traditionalist in this respect.

Fascisms in Europe were expansionist and wanted to establish empires. Salazar, on the other hand, considered it sufficient to preserve the empire he had inherited from the past. Salazar subjected to the repression of the regime those who actively opposed it, which makes him a dictator, although he did not institute the death penalty. Furthermore, the PIDE persecuted those Portuguese active in the revolt, but it never reached the point of cruelty of the Gestapo or the SS. In the Estado Novo censorship was also gradually implemented as the ultimate tool for controlling culture and the circulation of ideas. It was relatively long duration, surviving the 'era of fascism' and much of the Cold War, ending only some years after the natural death of its dictator in the 1970s.

The dictator's rule was capitalist, conservative, and nationalist in nature, but strictly opposed to internationalism, communism, fascism, socialism, and syndicalism. He established an 'organic' vision of society and used all the ideological and social instruments of administrative, corporative, educational, and propagandistic domination to bring that vision to reality.

Salazar set himself apart from fascism and Nazism, describing them had no regard for legal, religious, or moral boundaries, we can say that his position over religion was a good weapon as a political strategy to stay away from any kind of deal with fascist regimes, this way Portugal kept its neutrality in the World War II. It can be considered that there is indeed some influence of Hitler on Salazar due to the similarities for example, in the case of youth organizations, however there is no scientific evidence of this influence, in fact there are few works similar to this one, not discarding the work of Fernando Rosas "Salazar and fascisms" which is a work that establishes many comparisons between one leader and another.

This dissertation can then be a first step towards further study on this subject.

## **Conclusion**

To conclude, we have argued that Nazi social policies are highly racist when it comes to gender, sexuality, race, education and many other areas and contributed to suffering of millions of people.

The Nazi's ideals were put in practice by the social policies that Hitler implemented in Germany. These policies were carried on in various areas, such as that of labour where the Nazis established a number of organizations to control and manage the German workers, women were under the yoke of patriarchy. Germany created organizations that were dedicated to promote the role of women of being a housewife, a mother, and a woman of faith.

In education, the curricula were thought to indoctrinate the students on the greatness of Germany and Hitler himself. Different religious groups also suffered under the severe control and persecution of the Nazis, which tolerated only the Christian church.

The most terrifying aspect of the Nazi ideology was probably the obsession with the superiority of the Aryan race and the hate against other racial groups, with higher focus on the Jews – anti-Semitism. It was an unhuman racist ideology that caused millions of deaths.

In the Portuguese dictatorship, we could verify that the spirit of repression is the same existing in Germany but Salazar chose to not be as radical as Hitler.

Considering the analysis carried out between the two regimes and the comparisons established between the Nazi regime and the Portuguese dictatorial regime, there is no scientifically proven direct influence, there are no records of connection or communication between one leader and another that verifies any influence. There are, indeed, several similarities in the policies put into action, as is the case of the organizations both Hitler and Salazar created mentioned in Chapter 2, however they are only coincidences because there is no scientific evidence for them.

# Attachments

Auschwitz – Birkenau I, II, III, February 2020 (Pictures 1- 5)













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